THE OTTOMAN WAQF BUILT HERITAGE IN CYPRUS:
TRANSITIONS IN THE UPKEEP AND CONSERVATION
PRACTICES DURING THE BRITISH COLONIAL ERA
(1878 to 1960)

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of
PhD

In the Faculty of Humanities

2013

Reyhan Sabri

School of Environment, Education and Development
ARCHITECTURE
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<td>AD</td>
<td>Anno Domini</td>
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<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td>Anno Hegira</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEF</td>
<td>British Era Files</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>Colonial Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; edition</td>
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<td>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; edition</td>
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<tr>
<td>BDE</td>
<td>British Delegate of Evkaf</td>
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<td>CEA</td>
<td>Cyprus Evkaf Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDPF</td>
<td>General Directorate of Pious Foundations</td>
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<tr>
<td>GE</td>
<td>Government Engineer</td>
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<tr>
<td>PWD</td>
<td>Public Works Department</td>
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<td>RIBA</td>
<td>Royal Institute of British Architects</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPAB</td>
<td>Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMK</td>
<td>Sultan Mahmud Kütüphanesi [Sultan Mahmud Library]</td>
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<tr>
<td>TDE</td>
<td>Turkish Delegate of Evkaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRNC</td>
<td>Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus</td>
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Abstract

The Ottoman Waqf had a key role in history as the institution responsible for the formation of religious endowments within Ottoman imperial territories. Key urban facilities such as religious properties and income-generating commercial assets were created through its well-established legal frameworks, and resources were endowed for their upkeep and maintenance. The continuity of the facilities was thus ensured in a self-sustained system. Similarly, the Ottoman Waqf on Cyprus had established practices for maintaining, repairing and re-constructing its endowed buildings, including their re-adaptation for new purposes. The buildings thus continued to operate as urban public facilities generating an income that was fully or partially re-invested in their upkeep and maintenance.

The beginning of the British Colonial era in Cyprus (1878 to 1960) coincided both with major changes in the administrative structure of the originally autonomous Ottoman Waqf institution which for centuries had owned and managed a large number of heritage buildings, and also with the evolution of Western concepts on heritage and architectural conservation. Core conservation principles enabled a selection of functioning buildings to be labelled as ancient monuments. This research drew upon extensive discrete data available at the hitherto neglected colonial-era archives belonging to the Cyprus Evkaf Administration. The changing role of the Waqf institution in Cyprus during the British colonial era and the resulting implications for the conservation of the Waqf-built heritage – buildings of both Ottoman and Western origin – is reviewed. Ottoman Waqf’s traditional upkeep processes framework of initiation-authorisation-and-implementation has been unpacked and procedures including mainly administrative, legislative, financial and technical concerns have been examined to reveal the colonial input and to explain the changes and developments within this system during the British colonial era.

The timeframe has been divided into three sub-periods and procedural, technical and political changes and negotiations have been surveyed chronologically to show the key moments of transition within the Waqf’s traditional building-upkeep system. The analysis has revealed how the British colonial authorities re-shaped the framework to suit their own political agenda. Through a series of transitional procedural changes the Ottoman Waqf’s sustainable building-upkeep practices were abolished and selective architectural conservation practices were stimulated. This research ultimately contributes to architectural heritage and conservation studies by developing a new angle through which institutional heritage conservation practices may be abolished, re-invented, transferred, recuperated and transformed.
Declaration
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Acknowledgements

Ever since my introduction to the field of architectural heritage many years ago, I have been involved in architectural conservation both as a lecturer and practitioner. It was the accumulation of knowledge I gained through my experience in the field of architectural conservation that encouraged the initiation of this doctoral research. The end product itself is the result of three years of postgraduate study to which several people contributed in different ways. Without it being possible to name everyone, I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation for all the support and encouragement that has been given along the way.

There are naturally particular individuals to whom I am indebted for help and support. I owe a deep debt to Professor John Alexander Smith who inspired me to undertake this PhD research and encouraged my application in the first instance. I wish to express gratitude to my supervisors Dr Magda Sibley, Dr Albena Yaneva and Dr Leandro Minuchin. Dr Sibley has graciously supported me throughout my candidature. Dr Yaneva’s critical guidance played a significant role in the initial development and shaping of my research. Dr Minuchin, who joined the supervisory team at the third and final year of my PhD studies, has always been ready with support during the analyses and writing-up stage that has been greatly appreciated. Dr. Minuchin’s intellectual challenges to my work undoubtedly contributed to its improvement. I have also been privileged to benefit from the ideas and comments of Professor Michael Hebbert, who accepted the role of advisor during the first two years, and contributed so much by keeping me on track. And of course, I am grateful to the entire team at Manchester’s School of Environment and Development. I am particularly indebted to Professor Cecilia Wong, the Director of SED during my candidature, for being there for me whenever it was necessary. For support of a different kind, I would like to thank Monica Hicks for proofreading and editing my final text.

The Cyprus Evkaf Administration has allowed me to spend many hours and days in their invaluable archives studying the largest possible number of documents. I would like to thank cordially the following members of the institution for their help: Mr Mustafa Kemal Kaymakamzade, the General Manager of Evkaf during the time of my archival survey between October 2011 to June 2012, for believing in my project.
from the first instance and providing me with the permission to access to the archival resources of the late-Ottoman and British colonial eras; Mr Mustafa Kemal Kasapoğlu, who provided me with valuable and much appreciated assistance during the long archival survey; and Mr Mehmet Kanan and Ms Kerime Darbaz for the long discussions on the technical aspects of the architectural conservation processes of Waqf built heritage in Cyprus. Special thanks are due to Ms Yeliz Karagözül for sharing her office with me for nearly two months in the final part of my survey in the digital archives belonging to the Cyprus Evkaf Administration in Nicosia. Special thanks go to Mr Altay Sayıl for generously opening his personal photographic archives to me. My research benefited greatly from discussions with Ms İlkcay Feridun and Mr Tuncer Bağışkan. I would like to acknowledge Ms Ruth Keshishian’s assistance in making her Moufflon Bookstore in South Nicosia a welcoming place for me and offering invaluable materials in relation to the colonial historiography of Cyprus.

I also wish to express my appreciation to the Ministry of Education of the TRNC in granting me a scholarship that supplemented my research expenses during my PhD education. Special thanks are due to my friend Sercan Yalçın for her unconditional help throughout the last three years and for being always there to share my concerns. Last but not least, my son Firas and daughter Rana: heartfelt thanks to you for your patience and understanding for the many times that I have been an absent mother. And to my husband Salah: without you this would have never happened.
Salah...

My husband,

Without whom this would have never happened...
Chapter 1

Introduction

Heritage concepts and architectural conservation discourses were invented and shaped by the raft of ideas and ideologies that shaped the Western Modernity\(^1\), often necessarily reflecting a Eurocentric perspective of the world (Graham et al., 2000). Heritage discourses, commonly argued, began to flourish in Europe during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, stemming from a desire to connect past and present within a continuous trajectory (Lowenthal, 1998; Graham et al., 2000; Graham and Howard, 2008). A key influence point has been the development of scientific survey method differentiating between different periods, which gradually led to the consideration that the history of each epoch and nation was unique (Hunter, 1981). It has been widely agreed that historicity has served as a basis for the emergence of national heritage concepts, underpinning the evolving nationalist concepts since the nineteenth century\(^2\). Therefore, physical relics of the past came to matter in their own right and works of art and of historic buildings started to be considered as unique, and so worthy of conservation as expressions of particular cultures and a reflection of national identities (Jokilehto, 1999). Gradually, the developing ideas of historical progress and continuity as well as romantic notions of attachment to places and objects have in some way paved the way for the modern conceptions of heritage. The scope of heritage that was initially restricted to certain ruins and architectural edifices of national symbols broadened up, covering a wide array of heritage buildings and urban sites from earlier and much recent eras and lands as well as intangible remnants (Erder, 1986; Jokilehto, 1999; Martinez, 2008; Orbaşlı, 2008; Stubbs and Makas, 2011). Nevertheless, national heritage constructs

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\(^1\) Modernity typically refers to a post-traditional, post-medieval historical period, one marked by the move from feudalism toward capitalism, industrialization, secularization, rationalization, the nation-state and its constituent institutions (Barker, 2005: 444). The ‘modern’ is used in the present thesis for the period between the nineteenth and the mid-twentieth century.

have often remained in the foreground and played a decisive role in architectural conservation agendas supported by governments (Kohl & Fawcett, 1995; Hamilakis, 2007; Atakuman, 2010).

The genesis of the heritage concepts and architectural conservation discourses coincided with Western colonialism of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth century, which presumably acted as a key factor in their transmission to the colonized non-Western world. It is likely that organizations of the modern Western empires, led by Great Britain and France, acted as agents in transferring the knowledge, evolving in heritage and conservation fields in the West, to the colonized territories. One such case is the exportation of the conservation principles of the Society of the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) to the British colonies and elsewhere during the late nineteenth and first part of the twentieth century (Sharp, 2005). The SPAB itself was then under the sway of Morris, who had considered the medieval era edifices of Gothic origin in Great Britain as the ultimate national heritage (Miele, 2005b). Thus, the Society’s overseas activities were confined selectively to the medieval era edifices, reflecting its practice in Great Britain (Jeffery, 1906; Sharp, 2005).

The development of this view in the first quarter of the twentieth century and considering the cultural heritage as a universal value to mankind aided the Western oriented heritage concepts and conservation discourses to expand further to the non-Western countries (Smith, 2004). International gatherings and organizations were set up from the early years of the twentieth century onwards, which led to the attempted formulation of universally applicable principles that inspired the shaping of the relevant regulations in various parts of the world. While preservation of authenticity of the tangible remnants always kept its place as the core principle of the Western conservation discourses, intervention methods and tools have been continuously revised to improve their physical condition (Demas, 1997). However, despite the century long efforts, arguments on the impacts of the universal acceptability and applicability of the so-called universal principles precipitated towards the new millennium (Pendlebury, 2009). While debates scrutinizing the role of heritage in

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3 See Jokilehto 1999 and Stubbs & Makas 2011 for recent overviews regarding the approaches to conservation theory and practice in various Western countries and from other selected geographies.
different contexts have been carried over, conservation agendas faced the problem of resources for the ever increasing numbers of built heritage to be preserved as well as the diversifying practices elsewhere in the world (ibid.). Since the last decade of the twentieth century, heritage as a concept and its multi-dimensional socio-political and economical roles within the contemporary world has received a rather bold scrutiny. Smith's (2004) groundbreaking argumentative analysis of the authorized heritage discourses dominated by the Western world, which attempted at securing universal approval as the sole authority, found immediate approval by the commentators.

Scholarly criticism on the fixed outstanding universal values essential in the determination of the world heritage list continued to fill the gap in the literatures, debating their political scope and their non-compatible stand within the local, national and regional values.

On the other hand, debates on facing the odds of conservation increasingly showed themselves, essentially in scrutinizing the different practices and their outcomes at various locations. Stubbs (2009), in his presentation to approaches used in various countries, observed the difference between the historic preservation in the West from the understanding of conservation in the rest of the world. Singh (2008) remarks how (despite being controversial in Western heritage practices) cultural heritage realms in certain religious areas of South Asia and far-east have been dominated by the emphasis given towards the protection of intangible rituals rather than the physical fabric itself. Martinez (2008) observed how the highly controversial case of the wooden Japanese Shinto temples that have been re-constructed in specific intervals to provide the continuity of traditional building rituals and not the tangible relics themselves, forced the international community to re-examine the notions traditionally related to heritage, such as authenticity, on the basis that not all cultures necessarily understand the concept in the same way.

While attempting to cope with the controversial practices found in other locations, the fathers of the conservation theory, the Europeans, or at least the Britons, remarked Pendleury (2009), had yet to achieve the ideal results at home. The author

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4 See for example Kohl and Fawcett, 1995; Diaz-Andreu and Champion, 1996; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2007, 2000; Harvey, 2001; Bevan, 2006; Ross, 2007; Graham and Howard, 2005
6 See for example Smith, 2004; Labadi, 2007; Pendlebury, 2009; Atakuman, 2010; Harrison, 2010.
(ibid: 183) has recently criticized how the principles of conservative repair, enshrined to a greater or lesser degree in the manifestos of the modern conservation movement from Morris (1877) to ICOMOS (1964) (Venice Charter) and in the official documents are applied in practice in a rather diluted way. This, Pendlebury continues (ibid.), ‘is partially due to the lack of resources, as the expansion of the heritage sector has not been matched by a parallel expansion in the financial, technical and administrative resources’. According to the author, what have been achieved in theory has yet to be applied in practice, because of the highly challenging nature of practice that is essentially depended on physical resources.

Such challenges, which are very much related to the availability of and accessibility to resources, highlighted the significance of integrated architectural conservation and sustainable policies. Developments in the last few decades brought the international community to recognize the importance of the integrated and context-conscious approach in the conservation and protection of heritage buildings, which reflected in the relevant international conventions and charters (Orbaşlı, 2008; Nour, 2012). Parallel to these developments, the significance of comparative chronicles of preservation in various milieus has been recognized as a tool aiding in drawing context-conscious roadmaps (Lowenthal & Binney, 1981; Erder, 1986). Such studies offer invaluable lessons for the formulation of sustainable conservation policies, as they reveal evidence of the role of geographical aspects involving the cultural, social and political realities, as well as technical dimensions and economic means.

The architectural conservation literature gained much in studies tracing, mapping, and analysing the impact of earlier and recent developments over build heritage at different locations during the last few decades. These studies have revealed approaches varying from historic practices to adoption of modern conservation understandings. Yet, the key landmark studies offering international scope, like for example Jokilehto (1999) and much recently Stubbs (2009) and Stubbs and Makas

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7 See for example Delafons, 1997, Rodwell, 2007 and Stubbs & Makas, 2011. Delafons (1997: 177) suggests that sustainable conservation ‘involves an approach to conservation that preserves the best of the heritage but does so without imposing insupportable costs and which effects a rational balance between conservation and change. This approach necessitates being clear about what to conserve and meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’.

(2011) tend to focus more on the Western experience. The key reason for this is clearly expressed by Stubbs:

The absence of an accurate inventory of global architectural conservation practice has left the field faced with fragmentary evidence of its own history and accomplishments. While many studies of cultural heritage conservation efforts in specific places – even entire countries – exist, this information has not been synthesized to show how accomplishments in architectural conservation in sub-regions of the world would fit together to form a whole (Stubbs, 2009: 285).

This shall be accepted as the main signpost for the need for demonstrating different perspectives in architectural heritage practices in the non-Western world. Amongst the least studied avenues are the colonial transfers regarding the Western heritage concepts and architectural conservation understandings to the non-Western world from the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century and their blending into the local contexts. Also, an under-researched area are the colonial reflections of metropolitan governments’ (changing) approaches towards the conservationist cause, essentially in policy making and heritage practices. By investigating the case of Waqf during the colonial era, the present research will provide further insights in these directions.

1.1 Waqf and Its Role in Shaping and Protecting the Built Environments in the Islamic World

Waqf has been the Islamic religious endowment institution, supported by a legal, administrative and operational structure. Waqfs, having been established to fulfil religious obligations, were endowed with inalienable properties to provide services for the foundations in question. Hence, a diversity of buildings and building complexes were erected through this system in order to serve religious, municipal, social and commercial purposes. While new buildings were erected and/or existing ones were re-adapted for Waqf purposes, resources were endowed for their maintenance as well (Behrens-Abouseif 1994; Madran 2004; Akar 2009). Religious facilities were often the central objects of waqfs, supported with the income of the endowed commercial facilities. Mosques, tekke complexes, tombs, religious schools and soup kitchens were among the buildings which were erected for religious and charity purposes. On the other hand, hammams (public baths), khans (inns), bazaars, shops, and residential properties were endowed for income generation for these
facilities, including their upkeep and maintenance. It has been commonly argued that the institution has played a significant role in the formation and maintenance of the key urban facilities on the Islamic lands until its reconfiguration during the mid-nineteenth century (Assi 2008; El-Habashi 2008; Akar 2009; Nour 2012). In a way, almost every aspect of urban life had become in one way or another entangled with the institution.

1.1.1 A Gap in the International Architectural Conservation Literature: Waqf’s Traditional Building Upkeep9 and Maintenance System and Heritage Conservation Practices

Research on architectural conservation practices of Waqf, the widespread historic Islamic religious endowment institution that owns a substantial number of heritage buildings and acts as one of the main players within the field in the Muslim world is nearly invisible in the international architectural conservation literature. Jokilehto, for example, in his key landmark study, attached no specific importance to it when stated that ‘in Turkey, as in other Islamic states, the responsibility for religious Islamic buildings was with the Waqf department’ (Jokilehto, 1999: 245). This is partially due to the difficulty in accessing the publications on the Waqf institution because of language limitations and sometimes the unavailability of such publications.

Being a religious endowment institution, Waqf shares the same concerns with other pious foundations at large that are observed by Nielsen (1972) and Lagemann (1999). Accordingly, pious foundations, standing on a grey zone between public and private, have been known historically for not being open to objective and critical studies of themselves. Lagemann (1999: ix) argues that they discouraged scholarly writing and preferred to chronicle their own achievements that resulted in no more than boring to read house histories. Yet, Lagemann (1999: x) is optimistic that despite the long-standing barriers to the development of critical scholarship about foundations and their histories, things are now changing. The author notes that the

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9 The word ‘upkeep’ will be used throughout this thesis as a capacious portmanteau including various physical interventions on the built properties, which were assumed by the concerned authorities as ordinary assets and which are ranging from various repairs to reconstructions and renovations. The word will be used to define such practices during both the Ottoman and British colonial eras.
history of foundations started to attract scholars from across the social disciplines and now stand in a fruitful relation to some of the most interesting and productive lines of research in history and social sciences. Even though both Nielsen (1972) and Lagemann (1999) based their studies in the context of American philanthropic foundations, their remarks shall be safely applied to the foundations at large, although many of them elsewhere might not still welcome the critical writing of their histories. Among such are probably the religious endowments that have been in existence for many centuries and have orthodox ways of dealing with their chronicles and are known for their unwillingness to open their archives to outsiders. This may be one of the main reasons why studies in the architectural practices of the Islamic Waqf have been nearly invisible until the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Religious endowments, which represent the largest component in the larger world of pious foundations, have historically known to be involved in the upkeep and maintenance of the built properties under their control. Although there has always been diversity in this practice that varied from place to place and era to era, it was mainly underpinned by functional and spiritual considerations. Parallel to the evolution of Western oriented heritage concepts and architectural conservation discourses, religious endowment institutions appeared as the owners of heritage buildings, responsible for their protection in this new sense. However, investigations in the conservation practices of religious endowment institutions have suggested how reluctantly they assumed their new role. Church authorities, for example, which until recently have directed the decisions regarding the rebuilding or demolition of their endowed properties, attracted much critical writings and protests. Similarly is the case of the Shinto and Buddhist temples in the Far East, which have been subjected to regular reconstruction practices as part of the religious tradition. Such practices, being contrary to the modern architectural conservation theories, have received much criticism until recently.

Waqf, the Muslim religious endowment institution, similar to its counterparts in other religions, entered the Western dominated modern architectural conservation era as

11 See for example Fawcett, 1976b; Pevsner, 1976.
12 See Martinez, 2008; Singh, 2008.
the owner of heritage buildings. Having been deeply rooted in history, the institution owns significant amount of heritage buildings most of them many hundred years old and spreading over various locations (Barnes, 1987). In history, waqfs were founded wherever Moslem communities have existed, and became the primary source of providing key urban facilities. In the original system, each waqf has been an autonomous unit, administered by the mütevelli (trustee) according to the principles put forward by the donor in the original waqfiyya (endowment deed) and supervised by the kadi (the local judge). As the continuity of the waqfs has essentially depended on the existence of spaces built or renovated on purpose, regular maintenance and repair of waqf buildings had been among the priorities. As a result of this self-sustained system, not only a rich variety of building types have been erected, maintained and revitalized, but they also sustained their functions throughout centuries, thanks to the legal preventive measures preconditioned in the endowment deeds. The originally autonomous institution witnessed transformative changes in the nineteenth century, first due to reconfigurations as part of centralization attempts and later due to the colonization of the administration of waqf religious endowments at various locations mainly by the Western powers (Assi, 2008; el-Habashi, 2008; Oberauer, 2008; Kozlowski et al., 2010).

The colonization coincides with the genesis and evolution of Western heritage concepts and architectural conservation discourses. It has been suggested elsewhere that the Waqf assumed a new role during this period as the owner of heritage buildings and became the recipient of the Western conservation understandings (Nasution, 2002; Assi, 2008; el-Habashi, 2008; Nour, 2012). The present research departs from this point and aims at shedding light on the changing role of Ottoman Waqf from the traditional building upkeep and maintenance system to the modern architectural conservation practices in the colonial era with a particular focus on the case study of the Waqf in Cyprus. As such, this research will address a gap in the understanding of Waqf practices in the context of heritage conservation. It is argued in this thesis that procedural, technical and political developments during the British colonial era in Cyprus (1878-1960) acted as key factors performing transitions within the Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system, which finally

13 See Erdoğan 1968; Bakrer 1973; Madran 1996, 2004; Akar 2009, 2010. Also see Chapter 3 of the present thesis
led to the dissolution of its sustainable elements and the emergence of selective heritage practices.

In order to highlight the existing scholarly literature in the field, the next section will discuss the state-of-the-art in Waqf studies within the context of built heritage. A detailed literature review is presented in Chapter 3, focusing on the institutional aspects of the Waqf and its role in shaping and protecting the built environment of cities in the Islamic World.

1.1.2 The State of the Art in Waqf Studies with Special Reference to Heritage Practices

Waqf\textsuperscript{14}, the Islamic religious endowment institution developed based on the concept of alienation of movable and unmovable properties in the name of God for the use of public welfare including religious, educational, municipal, commercial and philanthropic services\textsuperscript{15}, has received a continually growing informed interest both as an institution and as physical property in the Muslim world\textsuperscript{16}. Hoexter (1998: 474), in her analysis of the state-of-the-art in Waqf studies in the twentieth century, observes that although the study of the Waqf has always been part of the broad field of Islamic studies, it remained marginal, attracting the interest of a relatively small number of students and scholars until the last few decades of the twentieth century. According to Hoexter (ibid: 474-5), although the grounds were laid for the study of the Waqf by the nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars, the focus of these studies has been on the legal aspects, primarily jurisprudence and law\textsuperscript{17}. It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that the Waqf attracted an intensified

\textsuperscript{14}The word ‘waqf’ has been transliterated in numerous forms, such as, wakf, vakf, vakf, Evkaf, awqaf, awkaf and they have been rendered as endowments or foundation or institution with different qualifying adjectives such as ‘religious’, ‘Islamic’, ‘Muslim’, ‘pious’, ‘charitable’, etc. (Islahi 2003)

\textsuperscript{15}See the ‘Waqf’ article in EI1 and EI2. Also see Köprülü, 1942; Öztürk, 1983; Akgündüz, 1996; Akar, 2010

\textsuperscript{16}A key publication on bibliographical advancements was cited as the state-of-the-art in the twentieth century by Hoexter (1998), where the commentator analyzes the stages of waqf studies. Also available is a bibliography by Islahi (2003) aiming at compiling the publications in English and organizing them under a classified scheme, concentrating more on the legal, economic and managerial aspects, in which the urban-architectural field did not receive any dedicated space.

\textsuperscript{17}The existing literatures on the institution highlight a general favour on its economical and legal dimensions; Western scholars having focused on the economic and financial implications and their counterparts from the Eastern institutes mostly on the legal dimensions (Islahi 2003).
research activity from scholars of different disciplines such as law, history, economics, political studies, as well as sociology and architecture.

**Waqf** studies in the field of architectural and urban conservation have gradually developed into two categories since the sixties: In the first category is the investigation of the **Waqf**’s role in the upkeep and maintenance of the built environments in the historic Islamic cities until the modernisation of the institution in the nineteenth century. In the second category is the investigation of the institution’s role in the modern world as the owner of built heritage and its approach to the modern conservation understandings at various locations.

Erdoğan’s study in 1968 is amongst the pioneering works investigating the building upkeep procedures practiced by the **Waqf** in various cities of Anatolia during the Ottoman era. The author points to the gap in the repair procedures implemented during the Seljuk and Ottoman eras (1968: 149). Thus, deciphering around hundred and twenty **Waqf** documents related to the Ottoman Anatolian mosques covering a rather long era (973 AH/1565 AD to 1279 AH/1861 AD), the researcher, (ibid: 164-205) observed the relevant repair procedures. These include the administrative, financial and technical aspects, ranging from getting permission for undertaking the required repairs to cost estimations and from the types of materials to be used to the specifications of the repairmen to be employed. Soon, Bakırer's (1973) landmark text commenting on the stipulations found in **waqfiyyahs** (endowment deeds) regarding the upkeep procedures of **Waqf** buildings and the conformity issues followed. Being an analytical study on the developments in a chronological order, the text observed the professionalization in the field of construction and repairs starting from the **waqfiyyah** of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in 1479, soon to include the employment of the architects from **Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı** (The Corps of Court Architects) for the repair of the buildings belonging to the imperial **Waqfs**. More works in this line of research followed, deciphering the contents of the historic archival documents belonging to the single or a group of buildings18 as well as other

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18 See for instance Yücel (1973) and Ateş (1993)
relevant aspects\(^\text{19}\) that led to more generalized analyses covering building upkeep procedures at large.

The landmark studies that examined the various dimensions of Waqf building upkeep and maintenance procedures during the Ottoman era are essentially those of Madran and Mazlum. Based on the assessment of the archival sources from the eighteenth century, essentially those related to the repair of the buildings following a major earthquake in Istanbul in 1766, Mazlum revealed, in extensive detail, the quality of the building repairs and the practiced techniques and highlighted the relevant terminology used then in the field (Mazlum, 2001, 2011). Madran, a renowned Turkish scholar in the field, carried out an extensive research through the primary and secondary sources on Waqf as part of his investigation into the chronological development of heritage understanding and practice in Turkey from the Ottoman era to present time (Madran, 1996; 2002; 2004). Analysing this data, Madran (2004) revealed the technical and legislative details of the institutionalization and professionalization within the field of construction during the classical Ottoman period (sixteenth to eighteenth century), while also commenting on the various attitudes and procedures visible in the upkeep and maintenance of Waqf built properties during the same era. In summary, studies in the first category show the existence of a well established institutionalized upkeep and maintenance system for the Waqf built properties during the Ottoman era. Such studies presents the framework behind Ottoman Waqf’s traditional upkeep and maintenance practices, which aids in discussing the transitions within this traditional system during the modern times.

The second category of Waqf studies within the context of built heritage, which relates more specifically to the present research, deals with the aspects surrounding the modern Waqf institution as the owner of a vast portfolio of heritage buildings. Waqf studies focusing on the impact of attempted Westernization of the institution and its consequences on the conservation of built heritage in different areas emerged gradually and gained momentum from the beginning of the present century. Madran’s 2002 study is amongst such works, which aims to analyse the attitudes and

\(^{19}\) See for example Barnes (1987); Akgündüz (1996); Kahraman (2006); Öztürk (1983; 1995); Yedişeylül (1982; 1983; 1984; 2003) and the primary sources at their reference lists.
approaches towards the protection of the Waqf built heritage from the Ottoman Tanzimat era to the mid-twentieth century Turkey via a thorough investigation of the legislations and regulations that appeared since early nineteenth century. The study highlights the impact of the radical transformations that the Ottoman Waqf institution encountered during the Westernization movements in the nineteenth century and afterwards. Madran’s study also symbolizes the genesis of a research agenda scrutinizing the various interventions and transitions the widespread Waqf institution faced during the modern times and their negative consequences on the protection of the built heritage that had, prior to that, survived many centuries through the Waqf’s original legislation and practice principles.

There have been a number of studies that focused on the centralization in the 1820s and the subsequent transformations aiming for Westernization that subsequently impacted on the care of the Waqf built heritage (Öztürk, 1995; Madran, 2002; Assi, 2008; El-Habashi, 2009; Akar, 2009; Nour, 2012). El-Habashi (2008) has highlighted how the abolishment of the original Waqf system in modern times in five selected case study countries in the Mediterranean has not been necessarily in favour of the income generating Waqf heritage buildings such as the historic hammams, which, because of the new arrangements and regulations, lost their financial importance along with any incentives to keep the buildings in good condition. Akar’s research (2009) has provided a new understanding of the sustainable building protection principles inherent in the original Waqf that has the potential to be revitalized in the process of long term conservation planning.

Amongst the topics that recently began to attract the attention of scholars are the transformations that the Waqf institution and building practices encountered in the colonized Islamic lands during the nineteenth and twentieth century and their impact on the institution’s traditional role as the owner of built heritage (Nasution, 2002; Assi, 2008; El Habashi, 2009; Nour, 2012). These studies have highlighted the role colonization played in the majority of the formerly Islamic lands under British and French Empires during the nineteenth and early twentieth century in accelerating the transition of the Waqf system, especially within the context of built heritage conservation. They have also highlighted the shortcomings existing in the contemporary Waqf institution as the consequence of the non-compatibility of
imported conservation concepts based on Western discourses. Nour (2012), for example, focusing on the British colonial and post-colonial eras, has observed the circumstances surrounding the non-compatibility of the imported Western conservation principles within the traditional Waqf settlements of historic Cairo. Nasution (2002) has provided a new understanding of the transformation of the Waqf owned settlements in urban Penang in Malaysia through the British Colonial interventions, reflecting ideological assumptions that have culminated in the re-modelling of certain Waqf buildings in a series of projects to bear the architectural expressions of the British Empire.

Despite the intensification of research on Waqf’s heritage practices during the last decade, research dealing with the transfer of Western heritage concepts and conservation principles to the colonial geographies of the Islamic world and their influence on the transformation of Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance practices remained an under-researched area. The present research is, therefore, the first one that aims to analyse the historical changes within the Cypriot Waqf’s traditional building upkeep system during the British colonial era from 1878 to 1960, coinciding with the beginning of the British modern architectural conservation discourse.

1.2 The Ottoman Waqf Institution within the History of Cyprus

Ottoman Waqf institution has been established on Cyprus immediately after the conquest of the island in 1571 (Altan 1986; Jennings 1993; Yıldız 2005). Prior to reviewing the existing research findings and gaps related to the Cyprus Ottoman Waqf studies, a brief chronological history of the island is presented in the following. This presentation aims to establish the geographical and historical context within which the institution has been established and operated.

1.2.1 A Brief History and Chronology of Cyprus

Located at the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea, at an intersection point of the sea routes between the East and the West, Cyprus has continuously attracted human
settlement since times immemorial. According to Karageorghis (1982: 11), if it was not for this special geopolitical location, an island the size of Cyprus would have probably been condemned to eternal oblivion and isolation. Instead, it turned into a focal point for both the emerging powers of the region and of those aiming to take the region under control, economically or politically (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1 Cyprus location map during the early British colonial era (Source: Varnava 2009)

Starting with the Late Bronze Age onwards, the island has witnessed the Mycenaean, Phoenician, Persian, Hellenistic, Egyptian (Ptolemaic), Roman, Byzantine, Frankish (Lusignan and Venetian), Ottoman, and British periods (see Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). As understood from the literatures, along with each foreign presence, the island has witnessed cultural imports that played significant role in the shaping of its built environments.

According to Karageorghis (1982), Cyprus started to receive its first settlers from the nearby coastlines during the Neolithic age (approx. around 7000BC) and this...
continued until the Middle Bronze age (approx.1650 BC). Amongst the remains from this period is Khirokitia, now an entree in the World Heritage List, one of the best representatives of the human settlement and material culture of the Neolithic age. Karageorghis (1982: 11) argues that unlike the immigrants in the succeeding periods, the early settlers were attracted to Cyprus in their search for fertile lands suitable for establishing a homeland. The author asserts that the technical developments in navigation from the Bronze Age onwards allowed for crossing further distances in the Mediterranean Sea, which made this strategically important island easily accessible by the emerging powers of the region. Even though it is argued to be one of economic nature, its first colonisation was by the Mycenaean of the Aegean during the Bronze Age (Table 1.1). The island often remained a colonial dominion from the Classical Antiquity until its Independence in 1960. An exception is the Lusignan era, during which the island was not a dominion: instead it was owned and ruled by the descendents of the royal Latin family who fled Jerusalem after the 3rd Crusade (Table 1.2). A brief chronology of Cyprus is presented in Table 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3.

Maps showing the settlement development in Cyprus indicate to the emergence of towns in the same localities ever since the Early Bronze Age. Earthquakes that shook the island regularly since the early periods of its history became one of the main reasons in rebuilding of these settlements, often in the same vicinity. During the Hellenistic era Salamis at the north coast was the capital city, which was replaced by Paphos on the south coast during the Roman era (Karageorghis 1982). Starting from the tenth century, Nicosia, which until then was a small size inland settlement, became the capital city and remained so throughout the subsequent eras until present time (Table 1.2). Main towns of the island also remained the same since the medieval era onwards. These are Kyrenia on the north coast, Famagusta on the east coast, and Larnaca, Limassol, and Paphos on the south coast. This is followed by a set of smaller scale towns and several villages spread especially over the rural inlands (Figure 1.2).

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22 See for instance Karageorghis 1982: 41, 115
23 See for instance the rebuilding of the ancient Roman city of Salamis on the North coast of the island, the commercial capital of Cyprus during the Roman era, under the name of Constantia following the earthquakes in the 4th century AD (Karageorghis 1982). Constantia was abandoned later to be rebuilt a few miles away under the name of Famagusta and became the emporium of the Frankish era.
Hegemonies that undertook the control of the island throughout its history initiated building programmes which instigated changes in the island’s architectural landscapes. It is likely that construction know-how and design understandings were transferred by them from the mainland. Looking into the various moments during the medieval and modern era one can see how for instance the Byzantines dotted the island with the domed churches covered with frescoes (Hunt 1990a); the Lusignans introduced the Gothic style cathedrals with flamboyant decorations and pointed arches (Enlart 1899); the Venetians brought along the Renaissance traits which dominated the castle and fortification architecture of the era (Enlart 1899); the Ottomans put in the domed mosques with slender minarets raising over the skies of both urban and rural settlements, as well as the rounded arcs and large eaves doting the facades of both religious and secular architecture (Yıldız 2002b); and finally the British instigated colonial features into the design of public buildings (Schaar et al 1995).

It is likely that these new hegemonies which set up their construction programmes had their respective institutions actively involved in the construction field. The organisation of the construction and building upkeep field in Cyprus during the medieval and modern times is in general an under-researched area. The present research has started with an interest in undertaking an investigation on the Ottoman waqf institution, which was established following the conquest of the island in 1571 and survived through centuries as a key institution in shaping and protecting the key urban facilities. The main aim of the research is the investigation of the building upkeep and conservation practices of Ottoman Waqf in Cyprus, focusing on the changes and transfers that the institution encountered during the subsequent British colonial era.
Figure 1.2 Map of Cyprus (Source: Purcell 1969)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BC</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEOLITHIC 7000 (?)-4000</strong></td>
<td>Colonisation of Cyprus by farmers from Syria or Cilicia (Anatolia)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHALCOLITHIC 4000-2500</strong></td>
<td>Emergence of metal-users and settlement of west Cyprus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **BRONZE AGE 2700-1050** | 2700 -1900 Arrival of settlers from Anatolia  
1900-1600 Beginning of contacts with the Aegean; development of urbanisation  
1600-1050 Mycenaean settlers established trading posts, including Enkomi and Paleopaphos |
| **CYPRO-GEOMETRIC 1050-750** | 1050-950 Organisation of ten city kingdoms  
950-850 Obscure period (Dark Age)  
850-750 Phoenician colony was established at Kition. Royal tombs at Salamis were built |
| **CYPRO-ARCHAIC 750-475** | 750-600 Ten city kingdoms of Cyprus fell under Assyrian domination  
569-545 Egyptian domination  
545-480 Persian domination |
| **CYPRO-CLASSICAL 475-325** | 475-333 Persian domination  
333-323 Alexander the Great gains victory over Persians and starts to dominate Cyprus |
| **HELLENISTIC 325-30** | With the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC, Cyprus becomes a dominion of Ptolemy of Egypt |
| **THE ROMAN PERIOD 30 BC-330 AD** | Cyprus annexed by Roman emperor Augustus in 30 BC as an imperial province. Paphos serves as the capital and Salamis becomes the emporium of the East Mediterranean |

Table 1.1 Chronology of Cyprus during the prehistoric, early historic and classical antiquity (Source: Hunt 1990a: 277-280)
AD

THE BYZANTINE PERIOD 330-1191
332-342 Devastating earthquakes shook the island and Salamis was rebuilt as Constantia.
395 Cyprus became part of the Eastern Roman Empire, governed from Constantinople; Greek in language and Orthodox Christian in religion.
647-88 Cyprus remained under the control of the emerging Islamic Umayyad reign. Umm Haram, a companion of Prophet Mohammed, has been martyred nearby Larnaca in 649.
9th century Cyprus remained on and off under the control of Islamic Abbasid reign.
965 Byzantine Emperor Nicephoros Phocas brought Cyprus under control and Nicosia became the capital city.
1184 Isaac Comnenos, a cadet of the Byzantine imperial family, declared independence and started an oppressive rule.

RICHARD I AND TEMPLARS 1191-1192
1191 Richard I of England, on his way to the Third Crusade, which had been initiated by the conquest of Jerusalem by the Seljuk Turks under Salaheddin Eyyubi, deposed Isaac Comnenos and sold the island to the Knights of Templar for 100,000 dinars. Richard married Berengaria of Navarre in Limassol where she was crowned queen of England.
1192 The Templars resell Cyprus to King Richard I, who transferred it at the same price to Guy de Lusignan as a compensation for the loss of his kingdom of Jerusalem.

THE FRANKISH PERIOD 1192-1571
1192-1489 The Lusignan Dynasty
1209 Foundation of Cathedral of Ayia Sophia in Nicosia.
1260 The Bulla Cypria brought the Orthodox Church in Cyprus under the Roman; all their properties were confiscated and their tithes went to the Roman clergy.
1267-1369 The most splendid years of the Lusignan Dynasty as Cyprus was turned into the emporium of the East.
1426 Cyprus became suzerainty of Islamic Mameluke reign of Egypt.
1453 The conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans severed the trade routes between the East and the West by land and initiated the search for sea routes. The Age of Discovery introduced new maritime routes between the Western Europe and East Indies, avoiding the highly disputed Mediterranean Sea routes. Cyprus lost its economically strategic importance.
1489-1571 The Venetian Period
1489 Cyprus passed to the Venetian reign via marriage.
1517 Ottoman Sultan, having conquered Egypt, became Suzerain of Cyprus.
1562 Conspiracy of Greek Cypriots against oppressive Venetian rule. Venetian rulers fortified the country against Ottoman attack.

Table 1.2 Chronology of Cyprus during the medieval and early modern era: Byzantine and Frankish periods (Source: Hunt 1990a: 280-285; Davey 1994: xvii-xxiv)
**THE OTTOMAN PERIOD 1571-1878**

1571 Cyprus becomes a province of the Ottoman Empire introducing the island its Muslim Turkish community. Nicosia remained as the capital and Waqf endowments were started to be established to undertake religious and secular services. Millet system was introduced, which classified subject peoples by religion rather than race. 1572 Expulsion of Latin hierarchy and restoration of Greek Orthodox Church with autonomous status to control its endowments

The administration remained inefficient for most part of the last two centuries and the tax collection methods caused displeasure amongst the subjects.

1821-9 Independence War of Greeks of Greece provoked the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus’ politicization for the same purpose. Orthodox religious leaders were executed

1839-1876 Tanzimat reforms aiming the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire improved the condition of Cyprus. Tax farming was abolished and some part of the revenues were spent on public works

1869 The opening of Suez Canal by the British redirected maritime trade through the eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus regained its strategic importance

1878 Cyprus ceded to the British Empire in return for an annual tribute and mutual support against the Russians

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**THE BRITISH PERIOD 1878-1960**

1914 Ottoman Empire supported the Germans in the First World War. Britain retaliated by annexing Cyprus

1923 Turkey, as the successor of Ottoman Empire, renounced its claim to Cyprus at the Treaty of Lausanne

1925 Cyprus proclaimed a British Crown Colony

1931 Greek Cypriotes, aiming at independence for enosis (annexation to Greece), revolted against British colonial administration

1955 EOKA (the Greek Organisation of Cypriot Struggle) started an ethnic struggle against the colonial power aiming for enosis. Tripartite Conference between Britain, Turkey and Greece was held to find a solution.

1958 Zurich Agreement gave constitutional status to Cyprus

1960 London Agreement saw the foundation of bi-communal Republic of Cyprus under the guarantorship of Britain, Turkey and Greece. Evkaf and Greek Orthodox Church has been recognised by the Constitution as autonomous institution, responsible for the religious endowments of each community

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**THE INDEPENDENT CYPRUS REPUBLIC 1960-**

1960 Cyprus joined British Commonwealth and became a United Nations member

1963 Proposals for constitutional revisions put forward by the Greek leadership resulted in Turkish side’s withdrawal from the Parliament and sparked inter-communal fighting

1964 ‘Green Line’ was established, dividing the two communities in Nicosia and marking arrival of the United Nations Forces in Cyprus as peacekeepers.

1963-1968 Turkish Cypriotes withdrew into enclaves

1974 Greek military coup on Cyprus cause clashes provoking the Turkish military intervention and culminated into the de-facto separation of the island with Turkish Cypriotes in the North and Greek Cypriotes in the South

1983 Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) has been established at the North that remained as a politically unrecognized entity

2004 Republic of Cyprus gained membership to European Union along with an unsolved ‘Cyprus problem’

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Table 1.3 Chronology of Cyprus during the modern era: Ottoman, British and Independence periods (Source: Hunt 1990a: 277-280; Davey 1994: xvii-xxiv; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 20)
1.2.2 The Ottoman *Waqf* Institution in Cyprus and Its Changing Role in Heritage Conservation Practices during the British Colonial Era (1878 to 1960)

The *Waqf* in Cyprus was a three hundred year old religious endowment institution and the owner of built properties of Ottoman (Islamic) and Western (Islamised) origins at the time of the Island’s turn over to Great Britain in 1878 (Yıldız, 2005 & 2009). With the gradually developing heritage agendas the institution moved to and through the twentieth century as the owner of a progressively expanding portfolio of built heritage. Notwithstanding that *Waqf* has been a continuous source of debate during the British colonial era (a debate that is well reflected in the newspaper writings24), scholarly interest in the Cypriot *Waqf* studies has not emerged until the seventies. Perhaps the only scholarly work, published during the British colonial era has been the transcription of a *waqfiyya* (endowment deed) by Beckingham (1956). Despite its existence and its prominent role on the island since the late sixteenth century, the appearance of the Cypriot *Waqf* in the scholarly works narrating the history of the island has been rather rare until the 1960s. For example, in the most prominent studies of the political history of the island, Hill (1952) and Alastos (1955) tended to overlook the Ottoman *Waqf* institution. The same applies to the studies of architectural histories. Jeffery (1918; 1935a; 1935b) for instance neglected the Ottoman era buildings, and described those with Western origins without paying any attention to their conversion into *Waqf* purposes to which they owed their survival through the long centuries. These were mainly the war-abandoned built properties belonging to the former Latin rulers prior to the Ottoman conquest (Yıldız, 2002b).

Until the 1960s, neither the *Waqf* itself as an institution nor the *Waqf* built heritage of Ottoman origin has received any research attention. This in part reflects the reality that many scholars were not yet concerned either with Ottoman institutions or with *Waqf* heritage buildings in the modern colonial times. Although it is mentioned elsewhere25 that the Ottoman era heritage has been disregarded and neglected due to

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24 See Ateşin 1996 and 1999 for content analysis of the newspaper reporting on Cyprus *Evkaf* issues during the colonial era. Also see Nevzat 2005

25 Eyice (1974: 8) for example is curious about the way Alastos (1955) treated the three hundred years Ottoman era in Cyprus as no more than a barbaric invasion. As a matter of fact, Alastos devoted only a minor space for the Ottoman era, where he overlooked its institutions. Inalcık (1971: xv-xx ), on the other hand, intents to shed light on the Ottoman past of the island for similar reasons, aiming
political motives, the lack of knowledge and appreciation of Ottoman heritage buildings, is another reason behind this neglect. For example the Büyük Han, an operational property belonging to the Imperial Waqf of Sultan Selim II, and one of the most significant examples of the sixteenth century Ottoman classical architecture in the island was under slum conditions used by paupers when an article was published in 1954 in the Times in London, criticizing the ignorance of the authorities causing the fast deterioration of the era’s built heritage\textsuperscript{26}.

While Waqf studies were already advancing elsewhere in the sixties to treat the broader implications of the institution, including its role in shaping and protecting the built environment; in Cyprus, research investigating the Waqf through the archival sources was just being initiated. As such, it is not surprising that the first group of relevant publications emerged only in the last quarter of the twentieth century, whereas texts treating the role of the Waqf in shaping and protecting the built environment in Cyprus started to emerge only very recently. The First International Congress of Cypriot Studies, held in Nicosia in 1969 has been influential in the genesis of research investigating the various dimensions of the Island’s Waqf institution. It was in this gathering that the significance of the Waqf archival records as the main sources in understanding the various aspects of Ottoman history was recognized. Bedevi, already excited by the studies investigating such records in Turkey in the fifties\textsuperscript{27}, emphasized their capacity for carrying out various research projects and introduced the existing fifty-four Ottoman court registers in Cyprus which covered a period from 1580 to 1888 (Bedevi, 1971: 149-50). At the same gathering, a brief history of the institution was presented by Dizdar (1971), a retired official, who also started the tradition of home history presentations by the Evkaf personnel, to be followed by Altan (1986), Barış (1991) and Ünsal (1991).

It was perhaps Bedevi’s presentation regarding the archival collections that attracted Jennings to Cyprus, an American historian who surveyed extensively in the Ottoman archives in Turkey. Jennings, deciphering a group of court registers, disclosed valuable information on the first Waqf establishments and the properties belonging to them. The researcher then presented a paper on the fundamental characteristics of the

\textsuperscript{26}See Chapter 8 for further details and analysis
\textsuperscript{27}Bedevi (1971: 149, footnote 1)
early Waqfs in Cyprus, at the international seminar held in Jerusalem in June 1979. This seminar, according to Hoexter (1998: 475) was the first international gathering devoted entirely to the Islamic endowment institution, and by bringing together scholars from several disciplines, dealing with various regions of the Islamic world, it provided a platform for the expansion of Waqf studies to cover broader implications of the institution. Jennings’ research, thus, not only shed light on the foundation details and socio-economic implications of the first group of Waqfs established at Cyprus, it also introduced the archival materials to the international community and highlighted the pathway for other researchers. However briefly, the research has also provided indications in Waqf’s role in shaping the urban environments, which later became a key reference study in the field. Afterwards, the two-volume book by Altan (a scholar-official who has worked for the North Cyprus National Archives since 1971) surfaced in mid-eighties, as an attempt to construct the trajectory of the Evkaf (Waqf institution) in Cyprus, mainly focusing on the late Ottoman and British Colonial history of the Cypriot Waqf.

Although offering documented information on the first foundations established at the island and their administrative mechanisms, Altan (1986) has primarily shed light on the developments and consequences concerning the centralization of the Cypriot Waqfs as well as the other provincial Waqfs under the Evkaf-i Hümayun Nezareti (Ottoman Imperial Ministry of Evkaf), and following their centralization under the Evkaf Office established at the island in 1834. The author has then focused on explaining the key events in and around the Office following the British takeover in 1878, along the dual administration of the Turkish and British delegates. Being an extensive compilation of official documents not published elsewhere before, as well as selected newspaper clippings throughout the twentieth century the study offers

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28 See Özkul 2010: 18-27 for a review on the scholarly research carried over the aforementioned Cyprus Sharia Sijjils that started in early nineties and intensified ever since. Accordingly, detailed investigations were carried out including several PhD studies, and publications appeared; the majority of them dealing with socio-politic, economic and religious life in Cyprus in various moments of the Ottoman era. Among others, Özkul mentions Merkelbach (1992), Çiçek (1992), Jennings (1993), Dündar (1998), Erdoğan (1998) and Çevikel (1999) (ibid.)

29 Waqf chapter in Jennings (1993) is a slightly revised version of Jennings (1979). His continuing investigations in the aforementioned registers led Jennings to afford explanations on the socio-political, economic and administrative life at the island during the era. Jennings published widely especially in the eighties (see bibliography in Jennings 1993)

30 Evkaf, which is the plural of waqf, has been used to describe the Waqf institution after the centralisation of its administration in 1826 (Kahraman 2006). The present thesis will use alternately ‘Waqf institution’ and ‘Evkaf’.
essential data for portraying the canvas of the era’s *Evkaf* agendas and the politicization of the institution starting at the outset of the twentieth century. However, since no other references were utilized in the book other than selectively chosen archival materials – mainly official documents – and the lack of any comparative analysis makes it difficult for the reader to see the institution in a wider perspective. Moreover, the study develops into a prejudicial approach heavily tending to demonstrate the British administration’s responsibility in the deterioration of the institution during the colonial times\(^{31}\). Yet, by displaying, however selectively chosen, several hitherto hidden materials that are not easily accessible to the outsider researchers, it is a valuable source in tracing the politicization of Cypriot *Evkaf* as well as displaying the certain viewpoints towards the preservation of *Waqf* built heritage.

Other publications followed, which have mainly focused their efforts on demonstrating the mal-administration of the institution during the British colonial era\(^{32}\) (1878-1960). Sarnay (2000), for instance, has presented qualitative information gathered from the Ottoman *sijjils*, revealing more than six hundred *Waqfs* established on the island and registered in the courts along with their endowed properties\(^{33}\). However, like the previously cited works, the attention once again was primarily on the properties with land. The increased accessibility of the archival resources from the beginning of the twenty-first century has attracted research interests both from the local researchers and the international community on the various socio-political aspects of the Ottoman past and the history of its institutions\(^{34}\), and opened the way for a new stage of studies on the broader implications of the Ottoman *Waqf* institution in Cyprus\(^{35}\).

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\(^{31}\) Altan (ibid.) focused his efforts in the second volume of his compilation on displaying the correspondence material and the newspaper clippings on the Turkish ethnic struggle against the British Colonial Administration for recovering their autonomous rights towards the Cypriot *Waqf* institution, which stands forward as the main element in the volume, highlighting the author’s hypothesis of the deterioration of the institution during the British Colonial era.

\(^{32}\) See for instance Barış, 1990; Ünsal 1990; Sarnay, 2000

\(^{33}\) A protocol was signed in the nineties between the Cypriot *Waqf* administration, General Directorate of Pious Foundations in Turkey and the Ottoman Archives of the Turkish Premiership of Turkey to transcribe all the *Sharia Sijjils* [Ottoman court registers] available at the *Evkaf* archives in Cyprus (Şengör, 2004).

\(^{34}\) See Michalis, Mathias and Gavriel (2009), an edited monograph aiming to propose new interpretative frameworks and analytical readings of the Ottoman past. The authors attempted to present new studies on various topics, primarily historical but also covering other disciplines like
1.2.3 Cyprus Waqf Studies in the Context of Built Heritage

Studies of the medieval era architecture of the island took off during the late nineteenth century and continued through the twentieth century. Enlart (1899), in a nearly exhaustive study, investigated in depth the Gothic and Renaissance era architecture of the island and afforded descriptive illustrations from the surviving edifices. Later, Jeffery (1918) presented further details in the same direction. Initially I’Anson (1883) and later Jeffery (1918) and Caröe (1933) highlighted these built properties as the national heritage of the West at the East. Attempts to fill the gap regarding the Ottoman era architecture that was hitherto overlooked in the architectural historiography of the island gained visibility only during the 1970s. Not surprisingly, when such studies started to emerge, their main aim was to bring forward the glories of the Ottoman era buildings. Hence, starting with Aslanapa (1975), Ottoman buildings were regarded as the national heritage of the Muslim-Turkish community of the island.

While research in built heritage of both Western and Ottoman origins have concentrated on their architectural identification and their construction as national heritages, the Waqf system, which has ensured their shaping and/or protection throughout centuries, has been overlooked. It has been only at the beginnings of the last decade that the Ottoman Waqf in Cyprus has received scholarly attention as the owner of a substantial heritage portfolio, consisting of Islamic and Islamised heritage properties. Yıldız (2002b; 2005; 2009), combining the separated studies on Ottoman architecture in the island and the documentary studies of the Cypriot Waqf’s history, classified the Ottoman heritage buildings into certain groups and afforded information on the Waqf’s role in their shaping (Yıldız, 2002b; 2005; 2009). The author, based on archival data, afforded further information on the establishment of the noteworthy Waqfs and offered brief insights into the various attitudes and

history of art, folklore and literature as well as offering new approaches to the history of institutions and developments during the era.

35 Özkul (2010: 258-71), for example, in a recently completed study, provided information on the Waqfs established on the island during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, involving details of certain foundations aiming for the upkeep of certain religiously important buildings or schools, as well as a court decisions regarding the mal-administration.

36 Among such are Çağdaş (1965), Aslanapa (1975); Çuhadaroğlu and Oğuz (1975); Alasya (1977), Tekman et al. (1982) and Andız (1990). Further studies could be added to the list (see also the bibliography section of this thesis), among them being the works by Esin (1965, 1974) on the artistic aspects of the era and by Yıldız (1998, 2002).
approaches ranging from the reuse of existing buildings of Western origins through alterations to the construction of new ones (Yıldız, 2005). The author afforded explanations on how the institution (which was already in its well-developed stage during the sixteenth century\textsuperscript{37}) found a widespread application on the island, overseeing the erection of new buildings as well as conversion of the existing ones for Waqf purposes. Yıldız (2009) has presented supplementary insights into the institution’s condition in the late Ottoman era.

In the meantime, a much more extensive inventory of the Waqf built heritage in Cyprus was completed by Bağışkan, who not only compiled archival data but also the narratives of the life-stories of the buildings (Bağışkan, 2005; 2009)\textsuperscript{38}. In his most recent work, Bağışkan (2009) has presented a nearly exhaustive inventory of the Waqf built heritage of the island, composed of both Islamic and Islamised properties. The work has also disclosed valuable information on the repair facilities during the Ottoman and British Colonial eras, sourced essentially from the Evkaf Archives and National Archives in Northern Cyprus. Although the contents of the book lack any systematic classification and analytical approach, it provides an index of archival collections belonging to Cyprus Evkaf Administration’s archives that has not been referred to elsewhere and as such, it is a great resource for those intending to carry out analytical studies on the architectural and social dimensions of the concerned built heritage.

The above mentioned existing research on Ottoman Waqf in Cyprus indicates to four main periods on the institution’s timeline: the classical era Ottoman Waqf between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the late-Ottoman era between 1834 and 1878; the British colonial era between 1878 and 1960; and the post-colonial era from the independence in 1960 until the present time. Despite the recent works by Yıldız (2005 & 2009) and Bağışkan (2005 & 2009) presenting brief insights, Ottoman Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance understandings and modern heritage practices in Cyprus have remained under-researched. There are research gaps for instance regarding the transition of the traditional building upkeep system from classical Ottoman era to the late Ottoman era during which the administration of the institution had been centralised. Similarly, there are main


\textsuperscript{38} Bağışkan (2009) is an updated version of Bağışkan (2005), translated into English by T. Sinclair.
research gaps in the transitions from the late-Ottoman era (1834 to 1878) to the British colonial era (1878 to 1960). Doubtlessly, the British colonial era is an interesting period within the institution’s trajectory, as it coincided with the evolution of Western heritage concepts and architectural conservation discourses, during which many functioning buildings were inscribed as ancient monuments. Investigation of this era will provide insights on the British mode of Waqf government as well as the transitions in Waqf’s building upkeep and conservation understandings.

In fact, starting from the nineties there has been an intensification in research, scrutinizing the various dimensions of the British colonial legacy in Cyprus\textsuperscript{39}, presumably due to the increased accessibility of the colonial era archives. As Faustmann and Peristianis (2006: 9) implied earlier, the controversy about Britain’s role and legacy in Cyprus continues, because, even though there are substantial analyses of British colonial policy towards Cyprus these are yet to provide straightforward answers to the questions and criticism on its impact on the course of the Cypriot history. There is still much to scrutinize for finding answers, essentially to the prevailing assumptions that have yet to be proofed with solid evidence.

One such case is the gap in knowledge regarding the colonial influences on Cyprus is the Waqf (Evkaf) institution and its heritage practices. The maintenance and upkeep practices provide not only the procedural and technical developments behind the upkeep projects, but also reveals insights from the everyday negotiations of the colonial powers confronting established institutional and bureaucratic networks and regimes. It aids in highlighting the tensions between the locals and the colonial authorities and the inner practices of locals adapting, accepting, debating, and altering foreign influences.

The hitherto neglected British colonial era archives belonging to Cyprus Evkaf Administration, which were made accessible to the research community only since 2011, provide the primary data for this thesis. However, as Graham et al. (2000: 3) argues, ‘different approaches in different eras are demonstrated towards heritage

buildings that can only be explained considering complexly interlinked topics from a variety of angles’. In other words, there may be a multifaceted environment, which is instrumental in the conservation of built heritage at any given period of time. As the surveyed literature indicates, such a multifaceted environment might involve a decisive role in the construct of heritage concepts and in the shaping of the conservation processes during the British colonial era. Thus, secondary sources may also provide in many ways valuable data in developing an understanding of the conditions under which certain shifts took place in the Waqf administration of Cyprus that directly or indirectly influenced the way its built heritage was dealt with. Therefore, alongside the primary archival data, scholarly publications and newspapers articles provide a valuable source of information about the prevailing attitudes of the time rather than the specific conservation strategies and interventions applied in different periods. These writings, although focused essentially on religious, ideological or political dimensions of historic events and developments, reveal a good deal of information about public opinion regarding the selective conservation approaches and the neglect of Waqf built heritage during the colonial period. Starting from narratives of the events following the British takeover in 1878 that culminated in the island’s promulgation as a Crown Colony in 1925 and beyond, such writings highlight the shifts the religious Waqf institution has undergone in the public's mind during the last century. Such writings, rather sketchily and often indirectly, points out the role of different socio-political dimensions over the conservation or no-conservation of Waqf built heritage of the island during the colonial times.

1.3 The Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 presents a brief overview of architectural conservation literatures and defines the gap for the present research. The emerging field of enquiry on heritage practices in the non-Western world and the transmission of the Western heritage concepts and architectural conservation understandings during the modern colonial period.

era are highlighted. The *Waqf* is introduced as an Islamic endowment institution from the non-Western world with traditional building upkeep and maintenance system. The state of the art in the existing research is reviewed. Narrowing down the focus of the research on to the Ottoman *Waqf* in Cyprus the theme of the present research is defined and it is positioned within the wider literature.

Chapter 2 presents the research methodology of the thesis. Research questions, aims and objectives are highlighted, followed by the research methodology. The main contents of the Ottoman and British colonial era archives of Cyprus *Evkaf* Administration are presented as the primary sources of data for this research.

Chapter 3 provides a theoretical focus on the institutional procedures of the upkeep and maintenance system of the buildings of the classical Ottoman *Waqf* (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries). The original legislation and the administrative, financial and technical procedures are explained as the key aspects of the authorisation of the proposed upkeep projects. This theoretical framework is then used to explain the establishment and the development of the Ottoman *Waqf* religious endowments on Cyprus and their role in the shaping and the protection of the key urban facilities, which is supported also with some new empirical evidence. Construction of new *waqf* buildings in the main towns is addressed with highlights on the adaptive re-use of war abandoned Latin edifices for *Waqf* purposes.

Chapter 4 examines the centralisation of the originally autonomous Ottoman *Waqfs* during the nineteenth century as part of the Westernisation movements and the procedural changes concerning the upkeep and maintenance of *Waqf* built properties. Based on this theoretical framework, the focus turns to the centralization of Ottoman *Waqfs* in Cyprus in the 1830s under the *Evkaf* Office and the new aspects of the *Waqf*’s building upkeep and maintenance system is explained in the light of new archival evidence.

Chapter 5 presents a literature review on the genesis and evolution of the Western heritage concepts and modern architectural conservation movement. As Cyprus has been a British colony (1878 to 1960), special reference is given to the British heritage and conservation discourses in the second part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century. The British Government’s and various
societies’ approach to conservation, the Society of Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), its conservation pillars and its involvement on behalf of conservation projects at other locations, the British preservationist legislations and their scope are all reviewed. The relevance of these to the colonial practices in Cyprus is then explained.

**Chapter 6** is the first of the three data analysis results chapters concerning the transitions in the Cyprus *Waqf* institution’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system during the British colonial era. Based on archival evidence, the state of the *Evkaf* and the new arrangements, which were introduced during the early years of the colonial period (1878-1905) aiming for the modernisation of the institution are investigated. In order to analyse the transitions within the *Evkaf*’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system during this period, the mode framework of initiation-authorisation-and-implementation processes has been re-constructed. The analysis reveals the transitional role of the colonial input including the procedural changes, colonial bureaucracies and colonial negotiations with the existing institution, a new form of professionalism and the importation of upkeep technologies.

**Chapter 7** is the second of the three data analysis results chapters concerning the transitions in the Cypriot *Waqf* institution's traditional building upkeep and maintenance system during the British colonial era. This second sub-period starts with the introduction of the first statutory protection for the ancient monuments of the island in 1905 and extends until 1935. Based on the re-constructed framework of the initiation-authorisation-implementation processes of the upkeep and maintenance projects, the influence of the developments in the relevant procedures and further negotiations in the existing institution are analyzed, revealing the dissolution of the sustainable upkeep principles and the emergence of selective heritage practices.

**Chapter 8** is the last of the three data analysis results chapters concerning the transitions in the Cypriot *Waqf* institution's traditional building upkeep and maintenance system during the British colonial era. This sub-period starts with the enactment of the revised Law of Antiquities in 1935 and extends until the end of the colonial era in 1960. The analysis of the historic changes within *Evkaf*’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system continues based on the re-constructed
framework of the initiation-authorisation-and-implementation processes of the upkeep projects and maintenance works of Waqf built properties and the conservation projects of those inscribed as ancient monuments, between 1935 and 1960. The analysis shows how during this period the sustainable building upkeep and maintenance principles of the Waqf have disappeared with the accomplishment of the modernisation of the institution. It also reveals how in the new era the decisions regarding the upkeep of the built properties within its portfolio have started to be defined by varying political motives.

Chapter 9 presents the discussion of the findings of the research presented in the previous three chapters and highlights the original contribution this research has made, and draws the final conclusions of the thesis as well as presents suggestions for future areas of research emerging from this work.

1.4 Conclusion

The present chapter has introduced the wider context of this research. It has first presented a review of the architectural conservation literatures in order to highlight the gap in knowledge regarding the heritage conservation practices of the non-Western world. The transfer of the Western heritage concepts and conservation discourses to the non-Western world during the modern colonial era in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century and their influence on the existing practices has been identified as a newly emerging field of enquiry. The Ottoman Waqf, a widespread historic and religious endowment institution over the Islamic lands and the owner of a large portfolio of built heritage has been introduced as sustaining buildings over centuries through its traditional regular upkeep and maintenance practices. A literature review of Waqf studies has been presented in order to identify the state of the art in research conducted in the context of building upkeep and maintenance practices of this centuries old institution. Key published scholarly works have been identified and have enabled the present study not only with the wider context of this research but also to identify the ways in which the present research will add to the existing body of knowledge.
Focusing on the Ottoman *Waqf* institution in Cyprus and its building upkeep and maintenance practices, the scope of this research has been narrowed down. Despite the fact that the institution is the owner of a large portfolio of built heritage in Cyprus and acts as one of the heritage conservation players in the island, the literature review revealed the limited number and scope of the scholarly literatures investigating its conservation practices. As such, this is an area of research that is yet to receive scrutiny. The literature review also highlighted that because the Cypriot *Waqf* is a long-lived historic pious institution extending from the Ottoman rule (1571 to 1878) to the successive British colonial (1878 to 1960) and post-colonial eras (1960- ), a research on the institution forms a complex field of enquiry that needs to be approached in a chronological and thematic fashion and from a variety of perspectives. While neither of the sub-eras has received any research attention, the British colonial era has been defined as the main time frame for the present research, due to the availability of accessible archives, which have been open since 2011. As it has been highlighted earlier at the present chapter, the genesis and evolution of the Western heritage concepts and architectural conservation discourses coincide with the beginning of the modern colonial period, through which their transmission to the non-Western world occurred and is an under-researched topic. In addition to this, the recent accessibility of the British colonial era archives belonging to the administration of the *Evkaf* has provided a unique opportunity for such a research to be conducted, accessing and analysing the archival evidence systematically in a chronological order for the first time. Accordingly, the present research has been designed to investigate the historical transitions within the traditional building upkeep and maintenance system of the *Waqf of Cyprus* during the British colonial era (1878-1960). The present research makes, therefore, an original contribution by developing a new angle of view through the transformations experienced in the institutional practices of conservation.
Chapter 2

Research Questions and Methodology

This chapter presents the research questions and introduces the aims and objectives of this research. This is followed by the explanation of the research methodology, based on the examination of the under-researched archival data belonging to the Cyprus Evkaf Administration (CEA). A presentation of the archival resources, which constitute the main body of the research primary data, as well as the general information regarding their contents, provides an understanding of the type of archival historical evidence examined and how the archival evidence has been collected and analysed.

2.1 Research Hypothesis and Questions

The Ottoman Waqf institution has owned and managed a large portfolio of built properties that have sustained themselves for many centuries through the institution’s established upkeep and maintenance system. During the period when the administrative control of the Ottoman Waqf institution in Cyprus has passed to the British colonial powers between 1878 and 1960, the British authorities have reshaped the mode of the traditional practice through a series of transitional procedural changes in the initiation, authorisation and implementation processes of the projects to suit the colonial politics. This has resulted in the abolition of the Ottoman Waqf’s sustainable building upkeep practices and stimulated selective architectural conservation. This research poses the following questions:

- What transitional changes have been introduced to the Ottoman Waqf (Evkaf) institution in Cyprus and to its self-sustained traditional building upkeep and maintenance system during the British colonial era (1878 to 1960)?

- How did the procedural changes including legislative, administrative, financial and technical aspects impact on the Ottoman Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance practices?
• How did the British colonial authorities negotiate the changes with the existing institution and how did the political factors influenced the way Waqf assets were dealt with, and how this have impacted on the Waqf’s building upkeep system?

• How did the colonial transfers of building technologies and heritage conservation understandings shape the characteristics of the architectural conservation practices of the Waqf built heritage, and how did the colonial authorities seek to consolidate their power through specific conservation strategies?

2.2 Research Aims and Objectives

The beginning of the British Colonial era in Cyprus not only coincides with major legislative and administrative changes to the originally autonomous Ottoman Waqf institution, which owned and managed for centuries a large number of heritage buildings, but also with the evolution of the Western heritage concepts and modern architectural conservation discourses that introduced the core conservation principles and enabled the inscription of a selection of functional buildings as ancient monuments. This research aims to shed light onto the changing role of the Waqf institution in Cyprus during the British colonial era (1878 to 1960) and the implications this had on the conservation of the Waqf built heritage, which is composed of buildings of Ottoman (Islamic) and Western (Islamised) origins. The present research focuses on providing an understanding of the transitions and their impact on the Ottoman Waqf’s self-sustained traditional building upkeep and maintenance system and on the shaping of the characteristics of its heritage conservation practices during the British colonial era. In order to do so, the role of the colonial inputs including bureaucracies, political uses of Waqf assets, imported upkeep technologies and imported heritage conservation understandings will be analysed based on the procedural changes within the system. This research ultimately aims to shift the focus of conservation discourses to look into the role of the procedural and political developments and negotiations behind the institutional practice and to reveal their implications on the heritage conservation practices.
The Ottoman *Waqf* institution in Cyprus is part of the larger world of the Islamic *Waqfs*, which are widely spread over the Muslim world and own substantial portfolios of heritage buildings. By offering a new understanding regarding the key shifts and transitions that the Cypriot *Waqf*’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system has undergone during the British colonial era and the dynamic mechanism behind the shaping of its heritage practices, this empirically based investigation will reveal insights relating to the backgrounds of this non-Western institution’s new role in heritage practices during the modern times. As such, this research makes an original contribution to the international architectural conservation literature by providing a new understanding of heritage conservation practices in the non-Western world through the *Waqf* institution’s traditional self-sustained upkeep and maintenance system that predates the modern conservation. This research also makes an original contribution to the research field of *Waqf* studies, filling in the research gaps in the transitions within the *Waqf*’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system and in the genesis and evolution of the institution’s heritage practices; to the architectural historiography of Cyprus, which have a research gap in heritage conservation discourse and practices during the British colonial era. This research also makes a contribution to the British colonial historiography by providing new insights in the negotiations of the colonial authorities with the existing institutions at the colonized territories and in the cultural heritage politics that the British have developed to consolidate their presence.

### 2.3 Research Methodology

The timeframe of this research, which covers the British colonial era in Cyprus between 1878 and 1960, has necessitated and justified the utilization of archival data as the primary source. As such, archival investigation has been identified as the primary technique for data collection. The literature review has indicated that neither the late Ottoman nor the British colonial era archives belonging to the CEA have received any scholarly scrutiny in the field of building upkeep and/or heritage practices of the *Waqf*. Hence, this research has been designed to examine and analyse the content of the late-Ottoman (1834 to 1878) and British colonial (1878 to 1960) era archival sources as the primary research method. The originality of this research
stems from analysing systematically and in a chronological order the archival documents that have not received any scrutiny before.

2.3.1 Archives of the Cyprus Evkaf Administration (CEA) in Nicosia

The Archives belonging to the CEA shall be considered as the main repository of primary records regarding the Evkaf’s building upkeep works and heritage practices during the British colonial era (1878 to 1960). There are additional groups of documentary files from the era at the National Archives of TRNC, at the State Archives of Republic of Cyprus and at the Public Records Office in London. However, a preliminary survey in these archives has indicated that the main repository housing the most relevant files regarding the Waqf’s building upkeep and heritage practices is the one belonging to the CEA in Nicosia. Therefore, due to limitation in time and difficulty in accessing the other archives, the archival survey program of the present research has focused on these archives.

The Archives belonging to the CEA also houses records from the Ottoman era including among others sijjils (court registers), waqf registers and repair books. The original copies are handwritten manuscripts in Ottoman Arabic. While the former two have been transcribed into the Latin alphabet and made accessible for research, the latter, which has more relevance to the present study, has not been transcribed to Latin alphabet yet, rendering its utilization difficult. Since on departure from the island in 1878, the main body of the Waqf registers and books were moved to Istanbul, the main repository for the Ottoman era records for the Cypriot Waqf is in the Ottoman Archives of the Turkish Premiership in Istanbul, and to certain extent the Archives of the GDPF in Ankara. However, due to the time limitations for the present research, the archival survey within the Ottoman era records has been confined to the documents available for research at the CEA in Nicosia. This limited archival survey has revealed supplementary insights on the Ottoman Waqf practices in Cyprus, while the characteristics of the Ottoman Waqf’s upkeep and maintenance system which constitutes the base for identifying the key transitions during the subsequent British colonial era have been examined via the published sources and scholarly literatures.
The present study specifically intends to shed light onto the key shifts and transitions in the traditional Waqf building upkeep and maintenance practices during the British colonial era. As such, the archival survey has been designed to be conducted primarily within the mentioned British era files belonging to the Archives of the CEA, which were available for research at the newly established Sultan Mahmud II Library Research Centre, located in Nicosia (Figure 3.1). The Ottoman era records, which are available for investigation at the same Centre have been included in the survey, for providing new insights relating to the Waqf practices during the classical Ottoman (sixteenth to eighteenth century) and late Ottoman (1834 to 1878) era in Cyprus.

The Sultan Mahmud II Library Research Centre is an early nineteenth-century Ottoman library building, originally a Waqf built property, which has been renovated (2005 to 2008) and opened as a research centre in April 2011 (Figure 2.1). However, at the time of doing this research the Centre was running on extremely limited facilities. The hardcopies of the records and files belonging to both the British and Ottoman eras are preserved in a strong room which is situated at the main building of the Evkaf Administration in Nicosia. Unfortunately, the suboptimal storage prior to their shelving within the strong room has caused degradation and destruction of some of the British colonial era documents (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.1: The Sultan Mahmud II Library Research Centre: Outside view (left) and main reading room (right) as it stood in 2012 (© Reyhan Sabri)
The archival holdings at Sultan Mahmud II Library Research Centre, which constitute the primary archival sources of this research, are digitally listed under the SMK (Sultan Mahmud Kütüphanesi) Index and are classified into two sub-groups as the Ottoman and British era files.

Figure: 2.2 Samples from the documents from the early British colonial era folders, stored in the archives belonging to the Cyprus Evkaf Administration in Nicosia (© CEA)

2.3.1.1 The SMK Index Cyprus Ottoman Records

A group of Ottoman era files, which are available for scholarly investigation at the Sultan Mahmud II Library Research Centre, have been briefly examined for the purpose of the current research in order to reveal new evidence regarding the Waqf building upkeep and maintenance practices during the classical Ottoman (16th-18th century) and late-Ottoman era (1834-1878). These records consist of:

- Catalogues of the 54 Ottoman court record registers (Kıbrıs Şeriye Sicilleri; Cyprus Sharia Sijjils) with summaries in modern Turkish (These books cover a period from H 1015 (AD1606) to H 1307 (AD 1889)

- Transcriptions (to Latin alphabet, modern Turkish) of the 54 Ottoman court record books
- **Vakfiye defterleri kataloğu** (Catalogue of Waqfiyya books)
- **Kara kaplı vakfiye kaydı defter no: 4** (Book of Waqfiyya registers, no: 4)
- **Kara kaplı vakfiye kaydı kataloğu** (Book of the catalogue of Waqfiyya registers) (AH1240-1290s; AD 1820-1870s)
- **Küçük vakfiye kaydı defter** (Waqfiyya registers book)
- **Mutasarrıflık; Gelen Evamir Kaydı** (Register book of the imperial orders)
- **Evamir ve Muharrerat Kaydı** (Register for the orders and the correspondence)
- **Atik Emirname Kaydı** (Register for the new orders)

The 54 *sijills* (court registers) that survived from the Ottoman era constitute invaluable information regarding the socio-political aspects of the periods they were recorded in. As it has been mentioned in Chapter 1 of this thesis, several studies have been conducted earlier in relation to these archival records and amongst them are the pioneering studies by Jennings in 1970s and 1980s. Later on, the Cypriot *Sharia Sijills* have attracted the attention of historians especially from the early nineties onwards, who attempted to analyse the legislative and socio-economic life of the island during the era. Alongside historians, who have worked on single or a small group of *sijills* to analyse a specific era, a team of archivists from the State Archives of Turkey surveyed in the late nineties the whole body of these 54 *sijills* focusing on demographic data, land distribution and income bearing properties belonging to the *Waqfs*.

These registers have been transliterated into Latin alphabet recently by a team of archivists from Turkey, appended with translated summaries in modern Turkish. Each book is the register of court orders that span in period from one year to

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41 Özkul (2010: 17-28) provides footnote information on such works including books, journal articles, conference proceedings and unpublished post-graduate studies. Also, see Çevikel (2006: 28-46) on the archival sources and relevant scholarly studies on the Ottoman era in Cyprus.
42 The qualitative and quantitative data generated during this survey was published by Sarısay (2000).
43 The transliteration project has been realized through a protocol signed between the Cyprus Evkaf Administration, National Archives of TRNC and Ottoman Archives of Turkish Premiership at 6/8/1996 (Şengör, 2004).
sometimes a decade; the majority though span a period of two years and the dates
given are all in Anno Hegira (AH). Also, some of Cyprus Sharia Sijills, though
listed, were not on the computer system yet at the time of the research. Amongst the
contents of these registers have been the imperial orders and/or court decisions
concerning the upkeep and management of Waqf built properties. Sijills were often
used to register the imperial orders sent by the Porte (Özkul, 2010). As such, these
registers furnish detailed information on a variety of matters regarding the properties
of the Waqf such as their functional uses during the late Ottoman era and decisions
regarding their upkeep or demolition. They also reveal insights regarding the
appointment of the trustees and other personnel; annulment of existing trusteeships;
lease and right of use of income generating Waqf built properties; transfer or
annulment of use rights; as well as endowing revenue generating built properties or
cash money to supplement the existing religious Waqfs.

While the Ottoman era court registers of the Archives belonging to the CEA have
been frequently researched by historians, the present researcher has not found any
studies done so far analysing the content of these sijills in terms of what they can
reveal about the traditional Waqf building upkeep and maintenance practices.
Because the present research aims to shed light on the transitions that the traditional
Waqf building upkeep and maintenance system has undergone during the British
colonial era, the classical Ottoman (sixteenth to eighteenth century) and late Ottoman
era documents in the Archive have been briefly surveyed in order to provide
empirical evidence concerning the procedures and processes of the Waqf upkeep and
maintenance practices during the era. The brief survey in the Sijils nos.: 1-34
revealed new evidence regarding the general framework of the upkeep and
maintenance works during the classical Ottoman era, which has been presented in
Chapter 4 of the present thesis. The survey within the late Ottoman era records has
been concentrated to a timeframe covering the centralization of Cypriot Waqfs under
the Evkaf-i Hümayun Nezareti (Imperial Ministry of Evkaf) in Istanbul from 1834 to
the late 1870s. The survey in Sijils nos.: 35 to 54 and the Atik Emirname Kaydı
(Register of New Orders) revealed information regarding the building upkeep
procedures, including authorisation for repairs and cost estimates, as well as orders
that were sent from the Ministry in Istanbul and concerning the Waqf legislation and
its enactments. The new empirical evidence, acquired from this survey has been
presented in Chapter 5. This brief exploration of Ottoman archival material and its analysis has not only provided the present research with solid evidence regarding the Waqf’s upkeep and maintenance procedures in the pre-colonial era, it has also set up the agenda for further research in these archival records.

2.3.1.2 The SMK Index British Era Files

These files, which have been coded as BEF, constitute the primary archival sources for the present research. This is a large group of documents, consisting of a list of 7415 files that are currently stored within 360 boxes in the strong room in the main building of the CEA in Nicosia. At the time of doing this archival survey, they were supplied as hardcopies in accordance with the document ordering policies of the Sultan Mahmud II Library Research Centre (Figure 2.2). The British era files had been looked into before, rather briefly by Altan (1986) and somewhat more comprehensively by Bağışkan (2005 & 2009). Both works, although not aimed at any systematic review of the building upkeep and maintenance practices of the Cypriot Waqf, informed the development of the present research with certain general indications they provided.

The British era files are mainly in English, while some are in Ottoman or Greek languages. The documents from the early decades of the Colonial era (1878-1920s) are mainly handwritten, rendering them, depending on the personal style used, fully or partially illegible to the untrained eye. Moreover, the office copies of the outgoing correspondence documents were on thin tracing papers, where ink had dissolved with time, affecting the legibility of the text. In several cases, due to the suboptimal storage conditions, the thin tracing papers have badly decayed (Figure 2.2).

These files consist of correspondence letters between the Evkaf Office (now the CEA) and various governmental departments as well as personal or communal petitions, reports, receipts, telegrams and newspaper clippings concerning a variety

44 As an attempt to digitalize the British era files during early 2000s, a digitalized list, presenting the titles of the files in Turkish has been prepared. Some 30 boxes of these files out of the existing 360 boxes have been digitalized during the same attempt. The Sultan Mahmud II Library has been renovated between 2005 and 2008 and re-opened as a research centre in April 2011 (This information has been provided by the Archive officer Mr. M.K. Kasapoğlu on the 4th of October 2011).
of issues. The British era files include information varying from fiscal year reports and tax issues to the celebration ceremonies for the British royalties. The relevant files for the present research have been chosen via a digital catalogue, enlisting the titles of the files. The selected files have been supplied in the form of original copies (Figure 2.3). These documents have furnished the present research with empirical data regarding the upkeep and maintenance procedures and methods of the Waqf built properties. An indicative summary of the scope of the data that spread throughout the British colonial era is as follows:

- Petitions for all kinds of upkeep and maintenance, ranging from simple repairs to complete rebuilding
- Official correspondence regarding the decision making and authorisation of processes of the projects
- Cost estimates and specifications of the proposed projects
- Tendering for contracts
- Certificates, issued after the accomplishment of certain stages of the contracted works and payment done in return
- Reports from superintendents on the upkeep works

Figure 2.3: British colonial era files are accessible as hard copies in the Sultan Mahmud II Library Research Centre (© Reyhan Sabri)
2.4 Content Analysis of the Archival Data

The present research has been initiated with an exploratory research into the Waqf archives. This initial research at the archives of the CEA has been conducted in order to check the availability of the primary data and help focus the research questions. This has been done in agreement with Blaikie (2010: 70), who argues that exploratory research is necessary for offering an understanding of a phenomenon or a topic when very little is known, or not investigated formerly in the same context. Similarly, according to Hart (1998: 47) exploratory research aims to understand a phenomenon by observing the detail of the elements that makes it a phenomenon in order to provide an empirical basis for a valid argument. Hence, through the data generated by this exploratory survey, a general perspective was acquired regarding the contents of the data about the Waqf’s building upkeep and maintenance practices throughout the British colonial period.

The main goal at the beginning of the archival survey was the collection of data to allow for the investigation of the Evkaf’s building upkeep and heritage practices over the timelines of a selected set of case study buildings. The archival survey, which was conducted between November 2011 and June 2012, covered around 350 folders, which included data on Evkaf’s building upkeep, maintenance, new constructions and heritage practices. Investigation has revealed substantial numbers of discrete data spreading throughout the British colonial era at the island and concerning the procedures and processes regarding the upkeep and maintenance of Waqf built properties. The archival data has already been coded as explained above in Sections 2.3.1.1 and 2.3.1.2.

These substantial numbers of discrete data have been synthesized and key moments of transitions in the Waqf’s traditional upkeep and maintenance system have been identified as the enactment of Antiquities Law in 1905 and in 1935. Dividing the British colonial era on Cyprus into three sub-periods, the operational framework of the upkeep and maintenance system has been specified. Accordingly, the initiation, authorisation and implementation processes of upkeep projects and maintenance works have been re-constructed. Based on this reconstruction, the procedural changes were examined in a chronological order. The framework has been re-constructed in detail, including not only the shifts due to colonial inputs, but the
continuities as well, in order to use them as the reference points for the further changes in the subsequent periods.

Synthesising the data, the procedures in the initiation of the projects and the variations in the petitioning for the upkeep works according to the Waqf categories as well as the building types have been analysed, the key actors initiating the upkeep projects have been identified, and the postulated upkeep works have been classified according to their nature. Then, the procedures in the authorisation processes have been described and key moments of change in these procedures have been identified, including the administrative, financial and legal aspects. The criteria and various colonial politics in the authorisation of the expenditures for the upkeep projects have been described. In summary, the content analysis of the data provided this research with original insights of the upkeep and maintenance practices on the Waqf built properties as well as the colonial inputs and knowledge transfers. The examination of the data has allowed the author of this dissertation to gain an understanding of colonial bureaucracies, tensions and politics of heritage that re-shaped the mode and scope of heritage practices in Cyprus.

Alongside this rich archival data, various printed reports printed during the British colonial era in Cyprus, including newspaper articles and published scholarly research have been examined and referred to at certain points in order to provide the analysis with the prevailing conditions and approaches during the period under investigation. Such conditions relate to public opinion about selective preservation and negligent behaviours towards Waqf built heritage as well as the role of different socio-political factors in affecting the decision to conserve (or not) specific buildings.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has first presented the research questions, aims and objectives. Then the research methodology has been introduced and the archival resources that have been used as the primary research data during this investigation were detailed. The contents of the Ottoman era and British colonial era archives belonging to the CEA in Nicosia have been briefly presented. Then the re-construction of the operational framework of Waqf building upkeep and maintenance system has been explained by synthesising the archival data systematically and in a chronological order.
Chapter 3

Waqf in the Classical Ottoman Era and Its Role in Shaping and Protecting Built Environments

Since the primary aim of this research is the investigation of the shifts and transitional changes within the Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system during the British colonial era in Cyprus (1878 to 1960), it is essential to understand first the original system in order to understand the subsequent shifts. Therefore, by unpacking the Waqf’s historic role in shaping and protecting endowed assets, this chapter sets the stage for subsequent discussion regarding the shifts and transitions within Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system during the British colonial era. As the majority of the waqfs in Cyprus were established during the classical Ottoman era between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century, this presentation draws heavily on the characteristics of the classical Ottoman waqf institution, supplemented with new archival evidence on Waqfs in Cyprus collected in the context of this research. Therefore, the present chapter is divided into two parts, addressing first the characteristics of the classical Ottoman Waqf institution in general and second the Cyprus Waqf in particular.

The first part of this chapter addresses the Waqf’s role in providing key urban facilities in cities during the classical Ottoman era and the institutional frameworks of the original Waqf’s building upkeep and maintenance practices. Through a brief re-construction of the initiation, authorisation and implementation stages, the role of the various legal, administrative, financial and technical aspects of the process is explained. By revealing the dimensions of the Ottoman Waqf’s original building upkeep and maintenance system, this review sets the stage for understanding the scope and nature of the institutional practice prior to the key transitions in the nineteenth century.

The second part of the chapter is dedicated to the establishment of Cyprus waqfs during the classical Ottoman era, following the conquest of the island in 1571, and their role within the context of the shaping and protection of built environments on the island. The formation of waqf-built complexes in the towns, composed of new
buildings and adaptive re-use of the war-abandoned built properties of the previous Latin period, is addressed in particular. Finally, the upkeep and maintenance processes of waqf-built properties during the era are investigated in the light of new archival evidence collected in the context of this research. The brief insights acquired by the new evidence sheds some light on the initiation, authorisation and implementation processes of Waqf practice in Cyprus.

3.1 Waqf: Origins and Evolution

Waqf, an Arabic word meaning ‘to prevent, restrain’, in Muslim legal terminology means to protect a thing from becoming the property of a third person. Thus, waqf is to keep something separate and safeguarded from the proprietorship of a third person also known as tamlik (Heffening, 1934:1096). The origins of waqf has long been a subject of debate among scholars, who are divided into those considering the institution an authentically Islamic one, and those considering a background rooted in pre-Islamic societies. Köprülli (1942: 7-10), one of the pioneers of waqf studies, by comparing its characteristics to Byzantine charity foundations, suggests the existence of strong relationships between the two. Öztürk (1983: 40) and Akgündüz (1996: 67) identify the attributes of the institution with Islam, evolved directly from the principles of the Koran. Yediyıldız (1986: 155) and Barnes (1987: 8-16) on the other hand, highlight the possibility that Islam might have blended some of the principles of the charity foundations of Roman and Byzantine societies into its very own religious endowment understanding.

It is agreed in general, however, that, waqf has developed into a unique multifunctional institute shaped primarily by Islamic law. It has been widely accepted that the institution has been structured around the strongly stressed concept of ‘alms’ and ‘offerings’ mentioned in the Koran as helping the poor (Singer 2008). Based on these premises, the preliminary waqfs have been said to be established as early as during the lifetime of Prophet Mohammed⁴⁵. The Waqf institution later developed in parallel to the tangible and moral issues of the societies in which it had been established; allowing itself to blend within their political, social, economical

⁴⁵ See for example Heffening (EI¹, 1934:1096).
and cultural structure. Its evolution continued during the Ommayad and Abbasid periods and gained widespread use during the Mamluk dynasties of Egypt and Seljuk of Rum. When the Ottoman era started in Anatolia during the early fourteenth century, *waqf* was already an advanced multifunctional institution, operating in a wide range of activities and providing services for the welfare of the society which would be normally expected from the state\(^\text{46}\).

Yediyıldız (2003:10-14) remarks that it has been the donors’ gains in terms of social and economic benefits that turned *waqf* into the most widespread institution over Muslim lands. Accordingly, these benefits involved both public and personal dimensions including among others religious satisfaction, uplifting one’s social status, maintaining prestige among the public, keeping the economy alive, providing security for properties against confiscation, providing municipal services and diffusing the religious and political views of the governing body. According to Köprülü (1942:14) the major *waqfs* of the medieval ages had been established during the Ottoman era, not only because it was economically and socially the most glorious empire of the Islamic world but also because the administrative, political, financial and legal structure of the Ottomans had formed the most suitable opportunities for the development and expansion of the system. According to the author (ibid.), this aided in spreading it over newly conquered lands over three continents and the institution had continued its existence and service in many lands up to the present date. One such territory was Cyprus, where *waqfs* started to be founded immediately following the Ottoman conquest in 1571 (Jennings, 1979 &1993; Altan, 1986; Yıldız, 2005).

### 3.1.1 The Legal Definition and Classification of *Waqfs* According to their Purpose

Islamic law defines *Waqf* as the act of founding a charitable trust, and hence the trust itself (Islahi 2003; Akar 2010). Thus, the essential elements are that a person, with the intention of committing a pious deed, declares part of his or her property to be henceforth inalienable and designates persons and public utilities as beneficiaries of

\(^{46}\) For details see Akgündüz (1996); Köprülü (1942); Yediyıldız (1986).
its yields (Kozłowski et al., 2010). Yediyıldız (1986: 154) explains it as ‘the legal process of appropriation of movable or immovable property to a religious, charitable and social intention by an individual for the purpose of gaining the consent of God, together with social and public service forever’. In other words, waqf is an individual enterprise based on the donation of an individual property forever for the public welfare and under the possession of God.

Even though the system is primarily based on Islamic law common to all Islamic societies, there might be differences in application according to different Islamic sects or even imams in these sects and the local customary laws (Schacht, 1953: 444-52; Akgündüz, 1996: 63-94). Ottomans, like the preceding Seljuk of Rum, developed their waqf concept according to the principles of the Hanefi sect and followed the jurist Ebu Yusuf’s opinion. Accordingly, once a property had been declared as waqf, it could not be transferred back as private property anymore, because the dedicated properties have been regarded as the property of Allah (Singer, 2002: 24).

In the Ottoman application the procedure for establishing a waqf used to be started with the definition of the type of the waqf to be established and allocation of the resources to be endowed (Öztürk 1983). Then, the endowment deed, known in Islamic literature as waqfiyya, was prepared to legalise the process. Waqfiyya included the details of the donor, the beneficiaries, the endowed properties, the income-generating resources, as well as the stipulations. The endowment deed was approved by the court in the presence of the kadı (local judge) and the witnesses, and was finally recorded with all its particulars in the court registers. Albeit under the indirect supervision of the State, a waqf was an autonomous entity. Although it was not possible to change the conditions of an endowment deed once it had been declared official, additional income sources or charity organisations could often be added in the form of attached documents called zeyl (appendage).

Even though the classical doctrine does not make any distinction among different types of waqf, modern legislation distinguishes three groups: waqf khayri (charitable waqf), dedicated totally to pious causes; waqf ahli (family waqf), made in favour of one’s relatives and descendants; and waqf mustarak (semi-family waqf), beneficiaries being both the descendants of the family and pious causes (Yediyıldız, 2003:14-19). In waqf khayri, as a rule, neither the founder nor his descendants had
any material benefit, so all the revenues had to be spent within the foundation as per the principles of the endowment deed. The beneficiaries in this type of *waqf* have been mainly public utilities, such as mosques, schools, soup kitchens; infrastructural works like public fountains and bridges; as well as the poor. In *waqf ahli*, the revenues were being used by the founder for his designated descendants. There was no public benefit intended with this type of foundation. In a semi-family *waqf*, on the other hand, the founder and later his designated descendants could accrue the surplus after all the expenses including those for the charity services as defined in the endowment deed had been deducted. As a rule, once the descendants of the semi-family and family *waqf* came to an end, the trusts were converted into charity *waqf*, with the incomes being used for provisions for the Holy cities of Islam, mainly Mecca and Medina (Yediyıldız, 1986:154; Singer, 2002: 38-39). Scholarly research points to the similarity of the *waqf* types which were founded in Cyprus with those in the centre of the Ottoman Empire (Jennings 1979 & 1993; Altan 1986; Yıldız 2005). As such, the *waqf khayri* type that aimed to provide for religious and charitable services on the island, although not abundant in number, abounded in scale. This type of *waqf*, as described in the second part of this chapter, had a key role in the formation of building complexes within cities and providing key urban facilities. Before moving to the case of Cyprus, first the classical Ottoman *Waqf*’s foundational structure is described and then the dimensions behind the institutional building-upkeep and maintenance practices are unpacked.

### 3.1.2 The Foundational, Administrative and Operational Aspects of Ottoman *Waqfs*

Scholarly research has revealed that the majority of *waqfs* during the Ottoman era were founded by the members of the ruling class, including sultans, viziers and pashas (Akar, 2009:14; Yediyıldız, 1982: 146). According to Yediyıldız (2003: 10-14), the founders expected to gain both public and individual gains through their donation, including religious, social and economical benefits. The primary reason for establishing a *waqf* has often been a religious one, providing the donor with the ultimate satisfaction of helping the poor and needy as has been stressed in the Koran. Worldly satisfactions like uplifting one’s social status within society, gaining prestige
and having one’s name to be everlasting as well as financial benefits such as securing the family fortunes from being confiscated by the authorities were among the main incentives of the practice.

Legal frameworks of the waqf foundation and operation come essentially through Ahkam-ul Evkaf\textsuperscript{47}, the historic legislative source on Ottoman waqfs, which is referred to in the empirical chapters of this thesis. Accordingly, waqf as a term not only defines the Islamic pious foundation as the whole system, but also the properties subject to the foundation. Such properties have been grouped into two groups: the first group has been referred to as Aynyla intifa olunan (benefited from its own). ‘Müessesat-i hayriye’ or ‘hayrat’ defines the properties erected for religious or charitable purposes which are non-revenue bearing. This group includes among others, religious buildings like mosques, mesjids, tombs and tekkes (dervish lodges); educational buildings like madrasa (high schools) and libraries; health-care buildings like darüssifa and charity buildings like imaret (soup kitchens). Along with the buildings, there were also movable items that could be practically anything that was useful to the foundation including furniture, kitchen utensils and books that were registered in the endowment deeds.

The Second group has been referred to as Aynyla intifa olunmayan, gelirile intifa olunan (benefiting from their income) and these are also known in Turkish Waqf terminology as akar. This group, being income generating, has versatile sources ranging from agricultural rural lands to urban real estates. It has been the income generated from this group that secured the functioning of the former. It included among others, commercial buildings like khan (inn), hammam (public bath), bazaars and shops; mills and workshops, aqueducts, agricultural land as well as cash money (Akgündüz, 1996: 186-233; Imber, 2009: 152-157, Öztürk, 1995: 74-77).

Since a primary mission of waqfs was to exist forever, precautions had been taken in endowment deeds to guarantee their accurate administration. Until the centralisation

\textsuperscript{47} Although known as Ahkam-ul Evkaf, the book’s full name is Ithaf-ul Ahlaf Fi Ahkam-il Evkaf’ that had been prepared by Ömer Hilmi Effendi in 1889 who was a jurist and also worked as an Evkaf Inspector in Istanbul. The book is a compilation of waqf legislation from the canonical and customary laws aiming at organising and presenting the waqf legislation for the use of jurists, law students and waqf officials. As the book explains the legal terms regarding waqf put forward the judgements on the nature, establishment, continuity, variations, stipulations, administration and operations, and is accepted as one of the primary sources in Ottoman waqf studies.
of the *waqfs* under the *Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti* (Ministry of Pious Foundations) in Istanbul during the nineteenth century, *waqfs* had been administered by their *mütevelli* (trustee), based on an autonomous structure and in accordance with the principles defined in their respective endowment deeds. While the administration of a *waqf* used to be practised in accordance with principles set by the donor, the State had the role of supervising the administration through judges (*kadi*) in local courts. Copies of all of foundation records were kept in the court archives. Hence, *waqfs* were independent enterprises, whose activities were under the indirect control of the state (Imber 2009: 168). *Mütevelli* (trustee), being the chairman of a *waqf*, was responsible for its operation, including supervising employees and spending the revenues (generated from the endowed commercial properties) in the most efficient way (Yediyıldız 1982). Among the primary duties of the trustees was undertaking the repair and maintenance of the *waqf*-built properties (Akar 2009). The founder was often the first manager of a *waqf*; after him the trustee was usually assigned by a local judge as per the conditions specified in the foundation deed. Although the primary aim(s), principles and the operation system defined in the deed were not open to revision, in some exceptional cases minor changes could be permitted, provided they would be beneficial to the *waqf* (Singer 2002:12; Imber, 2009: 162-167).

Continuity of a *waqf* has been maintained through the income sources donated for that purpose. While in the Ottoman application donation of both movable and immovable properties was acceptable, the main income resources were often the immovable properties. These were composed of all kinds of real estate including buildings, building plots, agricultural lands, gardens, revenue bearing trees, etc. Cash money also constituted an income in the Ottoman *waqf* application (Yediyıldız 2003-116-118). In general, the one and only operational method for income generation properties was through renting them (Yediyıldız 2003:133-141; Akar 2009). The renting had to be done in accordance with the current market price, which is known to be the most beneficial renting method in terms of economic gains, as it provides increase in rentals parallel to market prices (Akgündüz 1996; Yediyıldız 2003).

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48 Also see Akgündüz, 1996: 314-320 for further details on the trustees.
Having briefly explained the key legal, administrative and operational frameworks of Ottoman waqfs during the Empire’s classical era (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), which is the timeframe in which the majority of waqfs in Cyprus were established, the next section explains their role in shaping the built environments.

3.2 Waqf’s Role in Shaping the Built Environments and Providing Key Urban Facilities in the City during the Classical Ottoman Era (sixteenth to eighteenth Centuries)

At the beginning of the classical Ottoman era, Waqf had already acquired its developed form, supported by a legal, administrative and operational structure, and the institution had already found a widespread application over Ottoman territories. Individually established autonomous waqfs gained a primary role in the development of key urban facilities in Islamic cities. During the classical Ottoman era, while the State carried out essentially military constructions, including castles and fortification walls, palaces for the royal family, and the public infrastructure like roads and bridges; religious, educational, commercial, health and charity buildings for the public’s welfare were constructed via the waqfs (Madran, 2002: 4). As a result, a diversity of buildings and building complexes were erected to serve religious, municipal, social and commercial purposes. Hence, almost every aspect of urban life had become in one way or another entangled with Waqf.

Waqfs, having been established to fulfil religious obligations, were religious foundations, endowed with inalienable properties to provide services for the foundations in question. Previous studies have revealed that the waqf khayri (waqfs aiming for public benefit) essentially involved themselves with prestigious architectural projects that contributed to urban development all around the Empire. Sultans, through the imperial waqfs they established, not only satisfied religious aims, but also their ultimate desire for self-glorification. This was well reflected in the splendid architectural expressions of endowed built properties that were erected

49 See for example Cezar (1983) for the diversity of commercial buildings and building complexes erected through the system in various geographies of the classical Ottoman era; see also Behrens-Abouseif (1994) and Raymond (2000) for the urban projects realised through Waqf in Cairo-Egypt, and its contribution towards urban expansion.
essentially in Istanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman state. According to Necipoğlu-Kafadar (1985: 92), an important instance is the Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul, sponsored by Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver, as the largest of the Ottoman building enterprises through an extensive building programme that not only transformed the environments of its setting but also the architectural and artistic expressions of its era. The author describes this glorious building complex which was constructed in Istanbul in 1550s, as a rationally planned socio-religious complex with geometrically organised dependencies. Hence, the complex consists of the monumental Süleymaniye Mosque and the two mausolea (tombs of the Sultan and his wife Haseki Hürrem Sultan, built in a walled enclosure) at the centre, separated by an outer courtyard from four general madrasas; two specialised madrasas (one for the study of medicine and the other for the study of hadith), a Koran school for children, a hospital, a hostel, a public kitchen, a hammam, a caravanserai, and rows of small shops (ibid). Obviously the last three were endowed for income generation for the extensive religious, educational and charity services offered by this foundation.

Raymond (2000: 235) argues that the endowed buildings were often grouped close to the monument that the waqf was intended to benefit, not only for the practical purpose of improved administrative monitoring, but also to increase the prestige element of the waqf in question by displaying the number and size of the properties in its endowment. Income-generating commercial structures, like houses, shops, apartment houses, public baths, or establishments of artisan productions were grouped within the same neighbourhood of the buildings of religious, educational or charity purposes that the waqf was intended to benefit. Thus, the waqfs of various aims and size, if not always, often formed the religious and commercial nuclei of their neighbourhoods in an Islamic city. According to Raymond, ‘a large urban waqf could thus become a veritable urban planning project and call for the remodelling or restructuring of a whole quarter. Such undertakings were most likely to occur in expanding sections of the city, in zones where more spaces were available and the density of buildings was lower’ (ibid.). This, in turn greatly helped in the development of the neighbourhoods. The author writes on the waqf of Iskandar Pasha in Cairo, mentioning that it was a great urban project comprising a large mosque, a takîyya (monastery), and a sabîl (public drinking fountain) that were financed by a number of commercial buildings, including 27 shops, two rental
buildings and a sugar refinery, that made it possible to overhaul the plan of the entire neighbourhood, which was previously undeveloped (ibid: 219). Thus, as Raymond (ibid: 238) observes, the Waqf institution contributed towards the running of a city that had no specialised municipal administration or public institutions.

During the Ottoman era, the cities within the empire were donned with numerous waqfs of various types and sizes, like the religious and charity foundations of the imperial and Haramayn waqfs\textsuperscript{50}, or those established for public or personal interests by the high-ranking governors like the pashas and black eunuchs, the religious dignitaries, as well as the local elite. The size of the waqfs and the ambitions of the founders became reflected in the architectural features of endowed built properties, ranging from pretentious designs to modest ones (Behrens-Abouseif 1994: 222). Re-adapting existing buildings for waqf purposes has often been practised during the Ottoman era (Singer 2002; Behrens-Abouseif 1994). Behrens-Abouseif (1994: 221) argues that in a situation like Cairo, which was already a colossal city during the conquest, Ottomans preferred to occupy and improve existing areas instead of establishing new quarters and as such, waqfs used the available resources by investing in repairing deteriorated buildings instead of embarking on pretentious building programmes. A similar approach was adopted in Cyprus, where the war-abandoned buildings belonging to the previous Latin rulers were re-adapted for waqf purposes – which is addressed in the second part of this chapter.

### 3.3 Waqf’s Role in the Protection of the Built Environments during the Classical Ottoman Era (sixteenth to eighteenth Centuries)

Since the waqf-built properties were erected with the intention of functioning in perpetuity, they had to be well maintained and regularly repaired (Madran 2004:19-37, 140-2). As a result, Waqf has been active in building upkeep and maintenance practices, because its continuity often depended on the existence of endowed assets. However, it grew the character of a developed system at the beginning of the classical Ottoman era in the sixteenth century (ibid.). Accordingly, during the

\textsuperscript{50} Haramayn waqfs were established for providing for the Holy cities of Islam, thus the beneficiaries were various people and services in Mecca and Medina.
classical period, upkeep and maintenance works have been practised in a multi-dimensional framework, which was underpinned by the legal, administrative, financial and technical aspects. The built properties belonging to the waqfs, which were founded by the upper class (the sultans, members of the royal family, the viziers and high rank governors) were especially well-cared-for due to their political significance (Singer 2002: 191). Thus, waqf-built properties were maintained and repaired throughout the classical Ottoman era due to their religious, economic (usage) values and political values.

The first precautionary measures taken to protect the endowed built properties have been taken care of in the waqfiyyas (endowment deeds). According to Bakirer (1973), waqfiyyas prepared during the classical Ottoman era presented a systematic approach to the repair and maintenance process, involving detailed information ranging from the budgets to be allocated to the transfer of financial resources for the purpose. The mutevelli (trustees) were given the responsibility of initiating the repair processes and supervising the practice. The endowment deeds of large scale foundations stipulated the employment of technical staff for repair purposes and their wages.

The endowment deeds also specified the primary income for upkeep and maintenance works, which were through the akars (income-generating properties) (Madran 2004:117). Presumably intending to safeguard the continuity of income, the founders often prioritised repairing the akars and then the hayrats (religious or charitable buildings) (Akar 2009: 37). Yet, there might be instances when the expenditures for the required works could not be paid for by the endowed resources, especially buildings damaged by natural disasters or wars. In such cases, other financial sources were used including mütevelli’s personal resources, contributions or donations from the waqf personnel, the tenants, the local people, and by the State (Akar, 2009:44). The latter was made possible depending on the public importance of the concerned property (Kunter 1933).

It is likely that the founders often intended to safeguard the eternal functioning of their endowment by taking the necessary precautions towards the care of the facilities in the endowment deeds. There were exceptions, however, like stipulating the undertaking of the repairs after meeting all the other expenses of the concerned
Waqf or cases in which no stipulations had been put towards the repairs (Akar 2009: 37). Yet this did not mean that the repairs were to be ignored. Akgündüz (1996: 401-402) argues that even in cases where repairs were not stipulated in the deeds or were opposed by the funder from the beginning, according to the canon law they had to be undertaken a priori. In cases where the repair and maintenance of waqf built properties had not been set as a condition in the waqfiyyas, canon law safeguarded the application with relevant conditions, responsibilities and punishments (Akgündüz 1996; Akar 2009). In addition to these, the mutevellis’ actions regarding the upkeep and maintenance works were under the supervision of the kadi (local judge). Thus, underpinned by both customary and canon law, regular monitoring and maintenance of built properties became one of the essentials of Waqf’s traditional building maintenance system. It is likely that numerous waqf-built properties managed to survive many centuries up to the present day thanks to this regular monitoring and maintenance system.

While the care of endowed built properties had often been a condition set out in the endowment deeds, the nature and scope of the physical interventions to the waqf-built properties were defined by customary and canon law. We are informed by Ahkam-ul Evkaf that demolitions and/or spatial alteration were approved only if they were for the benefit of the concerned waqf. As such, unauthorised interventions to the fabric of buildings were discouraged. On the other hand, extending the life of an asset by making repairs was possible as long as they were beneficial for the waqf’s purposes (Derzinevesi & Kasapoğlu 2003). Thus, if there were financial benefits in replacing a waqf building with another one after demolishing it or public benefits in re-adapting it for other purposes through physical alterations (like partitioning the spaces or adding new spaces to the existing ones) it was possible to get the approval of the local judge.

Waqf not only erected new buildings, but also re-adapted the existing ones for its purposes, and extended its protection to them.51 Obviously the institution used the potential of the existing buildings, no matter whether in ruins, functional or non-functional and re-adapted them for new purposes to suit the benefits of the waqf and public welfare. Singer (2002:86) points to the example of a private residential

51 See for instance Behrens-Abouseif (1994: 221) for the revitalisation of the buildings of the Memluk period in Cairo (Egypt) for waqf purposes during the Ottoman era.
property that had been repaired and enlarged to be used as a soup kitchen belonging to Waqf of Hurrem Sultan in Jerusalem. Akar (2009: 36) states that some waqfs had an effective role in repair activities from the very beginning, by endowing buildings which had been constructed earlier by others but fell in ruins within time. In such cases, all the necessary repairs and alterations were effected by the waqf, which also ensured the building’s restoration to full functioning for the public benefit. A reflection of this approach has been the re-adaptation of several buildings from the Latin era in Cyprus for waqf purposes, which after the conquest of the island by the Ottomans no longer functioned for their intended purposes. This is addressed below in Section 3.5.

3.4 The Initiation, Authorisation and Implementation of the Upkeep and Maintenance Works on Waqf-Built Properties

Existing research on Ottoman Waqf indicates the existence of a developed framework regarding the processes for the upkeep and maintenance of waqf-built properties during the classical Ottoman era (Bakırer 1973; Madran 1996, 2002, 2004; Mazlum 2001, 2011; Akar 2009, 2010). Departing from the findings of previous studies, this framework has been re-constructed in this research to prepare a theoretical background that will ultimately assist the subsequent discussion regarding the transitional changes over Waqf’s building upkeep and maintenance system during the British colonial era.

The Initiation of upkeep and maintenance works on waqf-built properties started with reporting the matter officially before any physical action was taken (Madran 2004:45-46). Accordingly, there were two groups of people responsible for raising requests or demands for upkeep and maintenance works. In the first group was the donor and the mütevelli (trustee), who was also responsible for the implementation of the repair works, or any of the supervisors including the nazır, kadi and naib. In the second group there were the beneficiaries of facilities in such properties, tenants in case of revenue-bearing assets and sometimes even the local people. Madran (ibid: 45-63), based on the archival sources, argues that these demands or requests used to pressurise the mütevelli to act promptly.
The authorisation processes involved a multidimensional framework that consisted of legal, administrative, financial and technical aspects. The process used to start with the notification of the kadi (the local judge) by the mutevelli regarding the required repairs and obtaining his consent for undertaking the job. At this stage the initial cost estimation and the specifications of the proposed works were submitted to the office of the kadi. Depending on the scale of the works to be done, the kadi sought the diwan’s (local council) approval and the mütevelli had to wait for the announcement of final approval by the kadi before undertaking any physical repair work.

The mütevelli was responsible for the preparation of both the financial and technical schedules regarding any repair to be done, that included the designation of the repair personnel and sourcing out the repair materials (Madran 2004: 73). Repair materials and techniques were often chosen from local sources. The required construction materials for repairs were often stocked in advance by the waqfs to provide for emergency repairs; therefore preventing further damage and more costly later repairs (Bakırer 1973).

The implementation of the proposed repair works was commenced only after obtaining authorisation by the local judge. Among the technical personnel employed during the repair process were mimar (architect), kuruşuncu (lead roof repairer), benna (builder), neccar (carpenter), su yolcu (technician who was responsible for the maintenance of water conduits), meremmetci (restorer) (Madran 2004:73-91). Large scale waqfs might have also employed full-time personnel responsible for specific construction and repair jobs in accordance with the stipulations of the endowment deeds (Bakırer, 1973: 121). Furthermore, for the intricate repairs essentially of the sultan waqfs (imperial foundations), architects belonging to the Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı (Imperial Corps of Architects) used to be employed along with the other designated personnel (Madran 2002: 5-6).

Repair activities of the institution vary in scale and quality from the technical point of view. They include a variety of physical interventions ranging from cleaning to consolidation, from basic repairs to reconstruction (Mazlum 2001 & 2011). Madran (2004: 54-58) argues that in terms of their aim and scope, the upkeep and maintenance works are categorised into three types: Maintenance, intense repairs
(restorations) and reconstructions. According to the author, interventions like plastering, jointing, repairing the glass work of windows, and sanitary installations as well as renewal of lead roof coverings, were considered to be maintenance works as they did not result in any change in spatial, elemental or structural characteristics of the building. Intense repairs had been effected either following natural disasters or human disruption like wars and vandalism, or in cases when regular maintenance had been skipped, eventually causing structural damage. When the building was all or partially in ruins, in this case reconstruction had been implemented (ibid.). In such cases, the remains of the ruined buildings had often been re-used as materials either for reconstructions or repairs (Mazlum 2001 & 2011). The ultimate aim was to facilitate the continuity of function of buildings with the most convenient technical and cost-effective financial solutions available. All the repairs and necessary alterations during the era were executed in the context of the then current construction know-how and building materials (Madran 2004; Akar 2009).

Once the repair was completed, the final cost estimation was submitted to the offices of the kadh (local judge), who was responsible to match it with the initial estimate and advise the mütevelli on the matter (Akar 2009). The kadh had to arrange for a final supervision of the executed works before giving his consent for registering the expenditures to the account books (ibid.).

With regard to the Waqf’s building upkeep and maintenance system during the classical Ottoman era, the next section presents the foundation of waqfs specifically on Cyprus.

3.5 Understanding the Characteristics of Ottoman Waqf on Cyprus during the Classical Ottoman Era (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries)

The Ottoman tradition of founding waqfs in newly conquered lands continued on Cyprus. The first waqf to be established following the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571 was the Imperial Waqf of Sultan Selim II, the Ottoman sultan at that time (Jennings 1979 & 1993; Altan 1986; Yıldız 2005). According to Yıldız (2009), following the conquest of Nicosia in September 1570, orders came from the Porte to convert the war-abandoned St. Sophia Cathedral in the city, and the most prestigious
Latin Cathedral of the island, into the Chief Mosque. Being of waqf-khayri (aiming for public benefits) type, this imperial waqf was later to be known as the Waqf of Ayasofya, which is a corrupted version of Ayia Sophia\(^{52}\) (Yıldız 2009: 121). Arguably, by re-adapting this war-abandoned prestigious Latin edifice for waqf purposes, the Ottoman Sultan not only satisfied religious demands but also gained political kudos. Erdoğan (2009: 58-64) states that, in addition to the first Waqf of Sultan Selim II, which comprised commercial and agricultural properties endowed for the religious services of the Ayasofya Mosque, a second waqf was founded by the same Sultan, providing for the newly established Great Madrasa in Nicosia. The Waqf of Sultan Selim II was not only the first and largest Ottoman waqf established on the island during the Ottoman era but it also started the historic tradition of the Haremeyn waqfs on Cyprus that would be followed by others (Altan 1986: 88-90). Initially it was the Latin ecclesiastical properties that changed hands following the conquest and came into the possession of the Ottoman State that have been used for waqf purposes (Jennings 1993). Later, properties, which were purchased from the natives on purpose, were endowed. In time, natives also started to establish waqfs. Jennings (1993: 40-41) argues that military officers predominated over waqfs in the early period of Ottoman rule in Cyprus, indicating that a sizable portion of the early donors and the mütevellis derived their wealth from holding military office (Jennings: 41-2). Obviously, as was customary, all the state lands and public properties as well as the large-scale fiefdoms belonging to the preceding Latin rulers and the elite, changed hands and were transferred to either miri property or donated to the newly established waqfs\(^ {53}\) (Yıldız, 2009). Thus, the pashas (the high-ranking imperial governors) followed the Sultan in founding waqfs with their war gains to provide various religious, charitable and municipality services as had been the case in other Imperial provinces. The Waqf of Sultan Selim II, for example, was immediately followed by that of Lala Mustafa Pasha, the commander of the military expedition to Cyprus.

\(^{52}\) While this Mosque has been named also as St. Sophia Mosque, San Sofia Mosque, Ayia Sophiosa Mosque and since 1950s as Selimiye Mosque (after Sultan Selim II), throughout this thesis it will be called Ayasofya Mosque.

\(^{53}\) Allocation of the conquered countries’ lands as miri land (state land) and/or as waqf property had a widespread application in the Ottoman canon. For further details see Barnes 1987.
The predominance of the military class in *waqfs* was overtaken by civilians by the fiftieth anniversary of the conquest, with primary evidence indicating the gradual change both in *waqf khayri* and in *waqf ahli* (Jennings 1993). Within time, endowments of various sizes in the form of appendages to existing *waqfs*, aimed at providing supplementary income for their services, gained popularity among the Cypriot Muslims. Supplementary endowments for the *waqfs* of Ayasofya Mosque, Ömerge Mosque and Mevlevi Tekke stood forward during the first century of the conquest (Jennings, 1993: 54-55).

The main sources of income of *waqfs* in Cyprus, very similar to the *waqfs* in the Anatolian lands of the empire, have been in the form of urban and/or agricultural rentals, shares in certain businesses, as well as interest from lending money (Jennings 1993: 62; Özkul 2010: 258-71). There is ample evidence in the Sharia *Sijjils* (Ottoman court registers), indicating the foundation of new *waqfs*, as well as endowing resources for the services in the previously established ones as a continuous practice throughout the three centuries of Ottoman rule on the island. Özkul (ibid.), for instance, analysing a group of court registers from the second quarter of the eighteenth century, observed that among the newly established *waqfs* during the timeframe of his research were the endowments aiming for providing income for educational purposes, both for the *sıbyan mektebi* (elementary school) and the *madrasa*, as well as for other religious services.

### 3.5.1 Ottoman Waqf in the Shaping of the Built Environment in Cyprus

The first and the largest imperial *waqf* established on the island, was that of Sultan Selim II, followed by the *Waqf of Lala Mustafa Pasha*, the commander of Ottoman Army that conquered Cyprus. Following the conquest, Latin ecclesiastical built properties became the possession of the Ottoman State (Jennings 1993). Wherever these Latin cathedrals and churches – which lost their practical purpose following the departure of the Latin community from the island – became available, they were adapted to be mosques (Yıldız 2002b; Bağışkan 2005 & 2009). As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, taking advantage of the buildings which fell out of use and adapting them for *waqf* purposes was common practice during the Ottoman era. Otherwise, new buildings were constructed in accordance with demand.
In general, the Cyprus waqfs were a combination of existing old buildings, which were adapted in accordance with the waqfs’ specified purposes and new constructions. Among several waqfs that exemplify this is the Imperial Waqf of Sultan Selim II (Ayasofya Waqf). The island’s main cathedral, the St. Sophia in Nicosia, became first a Friday mosque after necessary interior alternations. Then, by the addition of two minarets, it was turned into the Chief Mosque on the island, known as the Ayasofya Mosque (Figure 3.1). The growth of the Ayasofya Waqf continued with the construction of new elementary schools and the Büyük Madrasa (the religious high school) in the immediate vicinity (Erdoğru 2009). The Mosque and the schools became the religious objects of the Waqf.

Fig. 3.1 Ayasofya Mosque (former St. Sophia Cathedral) in Nicosia as it stood in 2012 (© Reyhan Sabri)

As was the preferred practice in Islamic cities, urban commercials were placed around the religious objects of Ayasofya Waqf, altogether forming a nucleus. Accordingly, a nearby church was converted into a bedastan (closed bazaar). A new inn, later to be called the Büyük (Great) Khan (Figure 3.2) was constructed in the same neighbourhood, and various other commercial rentals, including shops and residential properties were attached (Jennings 1993; Yıldız 2005). Moreover, the income of the Büyük (Great) Hammam, built in the same neighbourhood by Lala

54 See Altan (1986: 102) for the transcription of the document from the Ottoman mühimme book (daily register) dated 19 Zilhicce 979 AH (May 1, 1572 AD) for the Sultan’s order for adding two minarets to the main Friday mosque in Nicosia and one minaret to the one in Mağusa (Famagusta).
Mustafa Pasha, was endowed specifically for the Büyük Madrasa (Erdoğan, 2009: 59). Examining a document dated 1572 and displaying the income and expenses of the waqf, Erdoğan observed that there were nearly 500 shops, and nearly 200 houses, the majority of them having just one room, whose rental was endowed to the expenses of the Ayasofya Mosque and the Büyük (Great) Madrasa (ibid.). All these properties were in the Nicosia citadel. In time, the number of endowed properties to the Sultan’s Waqf increased by further attachments composing an array of urban and rural facilities (Jennings 1993: 46, 54), as well as farms and mills in the countryside (Yıldız 2009: 125).

Figure 3.2 Mesjid at the Büyük Khan (left) and the arcaded yard of the Büyük Khan (right) as it stood in 2012 (© Reyhan Sabri)

It is possible from the above information to construct an urban image of the late sixteenth century Nicosia with religious and charitable buildings forming the nucleus of the city and the endowed commercial facilities radiating around. The next urban project that was carried out in the same way was through the Waqf of Lala Mustafa Pasha, where the Ömeriye (also known as Omerge) neighbourhood of Nicosia was developed. First, the remains of the lower parts of the Augustinian Church were built up and converted into a Mosque, named after the second caliph of Islam (Bağışkan 2005) (Figure 3.3). Next, a school building was built in the immediate vicinity. Finally, a new hammam (public bath) was built nearby, and several commercial
shops and houses were endowed to provide an income for the religious and educational services of the Ömeriye complex (Yıldız, 2009: 129-30).

Figure 3.3 Omerge Mosque in Nicosia as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)

The endowment deed of the Waqf of Mehmed Bey Abou Bekir provides new evidence in this direction. Prepared in 1 Safer 1001 AH (1584 AD), and known also the Waqf of Sansofiya Mosque in Paphos, the deed reveals the repairing and conversion of the former St. Sophia Church in the city into the Mosque as the central religious object (BEF 1898-86-2049; BEF1898-86-2060) (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4 Mehmet Bey Abou Bekir Mosque in Paphos (Source: Anonymous 2005)
The mentioned deed then describes the endowed properties for generating income for the *waqf* to include among others a *hammam* (public bath), a coffee house, shops within a converted church building, and houses within the town, and agricultural lands in the country (ibid.). Obviously, these endowed properties had formed a complex as the nucleus of the town of Ktima (Paphos). It appears that *waqf*-built complexes of different sizes, consisting of mosques and schools as the central religious objects (Bağışkan 2005). These religious and/or pious services were often supported with the income of endowed commercial facilities, located in the same neighbourhood.

3.5.2 Ottoman *Waqf* in the Protection of the Built Environment on Cyprus

While the general institutional features of the Ottoman *waqfs* on Cyprus and their role in the provision of key urban facilities have been revealed in the existing literatures, there are research gaps in knowledge on the upkeep and maintenance of the *waqf*-built properties during both the classical and late-Ottoman eras. Yet, from the random data which has been published, similarities to the Ottoman *waqf* application in the centre of the Ottoman Empire is visible. The contents of the endowment deeds relating to Cyprus *waqfs*, essentially the stipulations regarding the upkeep of the *waqf*-built properties, are directly comparable. In the above mentioned endowment deed of the *Waqf* of Mehmed Bey Abou Bekir, after the definition of the endowed properties, a stipulation follows regarding the repair of the Great Mosque in Paphos, which is the central religious object of the said *Waqf* (BEF 1898-86-2049; BEF1898-86-2060).

While the upkeep and maintenance works were initiated by the trustees of the concerned *waqfs* in a way similar to classical Ottoman application in the Centre, the required works on the buildings belonging to the *Haremeyn Waqf* had to be directed to the offices of *Darüssade Ağası* for permission. As such, when repairs were required for the Sinan Pasha Mosque in Famagusta in 1584, Porte’s permission was asked (Yıldız 2009: 119).

55 See Beckingham1956, Altan 1986 and Jennings 1993 for details from the Cypriot *waqfiyyahs* (endowment deeds)
The initiation stage was followed by authorisation of the proposed works. The new evidence that has emerged from the present archival survey, points to the comparability in the authorisation processes for required upkeep and maintenance works. Accordingly, the process started with the preparation of initial cost estimates. For instance, when repairs were required at the Büyük Hammam (Great Hammam) belonging to the Waqf of Ömeriye Mosque, an order was registered at 9 Sefer 1110 AD (1698 AD) instructing cost estimates to be prepared by the architects and assessors and the repairs to be commenced accordingly (Figure 3.5) (SMK Sicil 6-199-460). Evidently, the required repair works were classified in the cost estimates according to their types, which were often related to masonry or carpentry. The list included the quantities and the quantity prices of required materials separately under these classifications. It also included the required number of masons and carpenters, as well as the labourers and the total wages to be paid. A document, dated 15 Ramazan 1218 AH (1802 AD), reveals a cost estimation including the required materials, their quantities and quantity prices regarding the repair of the Governor’s residence in Tuzla, as well as the required workmanship (SMK Sicil 28-50-10). It appears from the nature of the required materials and their quantities that the dilapidated components, like doors, windows and roof beams were replaced with new versions using the same materials. It also appears from the nature of the cost estimates that the contracts were awarded on the lump sum method.

On the completion of the repair works, a final assessment of the job was undertaken before the approval was given for the expenditure to be registered in the waqf’s accounts. A document, dated 1 Safer 1126 AH (1714 AD) informs us that when the repair of a school in the Tahtakale district in Nicosia that belonged to the Waqf of Emine Hanım, was carried out by the said Waqf’s trustee, the repairs were controlled by the officers sent for the final supervision and approval was granted for registering the expenditures in the account books (SMK Sicil 8-79-314). Similarly, another document, dated 10 Rebiulahir 1160 AH (1746 AD), informs us that the tenants of the Kumari Khan in Nicosia, a Mehmed bin Ishak and a Mustafa bin Ebubekir Ağa undertook repairs on the building that belonged to the Waqf of Kılıç Ali Pasha (Figure 3.6). It is understood from the document that following the completion of the repair, the final cost estimation was prepared. It is only after this that approval was given to register the expenditures in the account books (SMK Sicil 16-112-170).
Figure 3.5 The Hot Room of the Büyük Hammam in Nicosia as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)

Figure 3.6 The courtyard of Kumarcılar Khan in Nicosia as it stood in 2013 (©Reyhan Sabri)
Even though an extensive archival survey in the relevant Ottoman archives is still required, insights into the system, taken from the new evidence that emerged from the present survey, may be safely taken as indicative that the upkeep and maintenance works on waqf-built properties on Cyprus were undertaken according to the method which was customary at the centre of the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, the first step was the emergence of the demand. Thus, the required works were petitioned by the mutevellis (trustees). Depending on the type of the waqf, if it was belonging to Haremeyn, permission for continuing with the preparation of cost estimates was given by the relevant office at the Porte; otherwise it was taken under the control of the local judge. The next step was the preparation of the cost estimates and awarding of the contracts. Deteriorated materials and components were renewed with locally available materials and construction know-how. Upon the accomplishment of the job, the final supervision was undertaken by assigned officers, before approval was given to register the expenditures in the books.

### 3.6 Conclusion

When Waqf entered the modern world with many of its functional buildings turned into cultural heritage properties needing to be conserved, this was not a totally new practice for the institution. Waqf has been in institutional building upkeep and maintenance practices from its early beginnings, because the continuity of its services had depended upon the existence of the built properties endowed for the purpose. These practices were initiated, authorised and implemented through a developed system, underpinned by a legal, administrative, financial and technical framework. This system prioritised the regular monitoring and maintenance of the built properties, a concept that later became one of the core principles of the modern conservation movement. On the other hand, protection of historic layers has not been prioritised over the fabric of the building in the sense of what was later understood by modern conservation practice.

Although quite different in scope from contemporary conservation understandings, which ultimately aims to protect and conserve historic layers over the materials and fabric and the authenticity of the design, Waqf’s was a self-sustained system that
ensured the continuity of many buildings through centuries prior to the emergence of the Western heritage conceptions and the modern architectural conservation movement. Via this system, \textit{waqf}-built properties were constructed, repaired, re-constructed and re-adapted for new uses, turning into a canvas that reflects changing understandings of changing times.

The next chapter addresses the key transitional changes within the framework of the traditional building upkeep and maintenance system of the \textit{Waqf}, as a result of the centralisation of the Ottoman \textit{waqf} institution in the nineteenth century.
Chapter 4

The Centralisation of Ottoman Waqfs in the Nineteenth Century and Transitions in Building Upkeep and Maintenance Procedures

This chapter examines how the centralisation of the hitherto autonomous Ottoman waqfs’ administration under the newly established Imperial Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul impacted on the traditional building upkeep and maintenance system. This was part of the reformation practised during the Westernisation era which aimed to modernise Ottoman institutions during the nineteenth century. Looking at this period is fundamental in order to establish the procedural frameworks of the Ottoman Waqf when the Cyprus Waqf (Evkaf)’s administration passed onto the British colonial authority in 1878. Understanding the mechanics behind the upkeep and maintenance processes of waqf built properties during this era aids in identifying and analysing the transitions during the British colonial era which are investigated in Chapter 6 of the present thesis. Examination of the procedural frameworks of the waqf building upkeep system during this period has been made in two stages. In the first part of the chapter, the procedural developments have been examined in general and informed by the existing literature. In the second part, empirical data that have been acquired from the survey of the archives belonging to the CEA have been used alongside published research in order to establish a general understanding of the procedural frameworks regarding the waqf building upkeep processes and practices on the island during the era.

The chapter first presents the causes of centralisation and its goals. It then explains the revisions that were made to the legislation and the administrative re-structuring, which caused key shifts within the Waqf building upkeep system. The Ottoman Waqf Ordinance of 1863 is reviewed with particular emphasis on its implications for the authorisation of the upkeep and maintenance projects for the waqf-built properties. A brief review of the Ottoman Laws of Antiquities, which were enacted during the
Tanzimat⁵⁶ is presented to highlight the exclusion of the historic waqf-built properties from statutory provision.

The second part of the chapter investigates the state of Cyprus waqfs during the centralisation era between 1834 and 1878. The highlights of the building upkeep procedures and the transitions within the traditional waqf system are presented, based on the new archival evidence acquired from the survey in the Ottoman archives belonging to the CEA. The chapter ends by considering the general state of the Ottoman waqf institution on Cyprus at the time when the control of Evkaf was turned to the British colonial administration in 1878.

4.1 The Centralisation of the Waqfs as Part of the Westernisation Attempts of the Ottoman State

The Ottoman Empire entered into the nineteenth century with political and social problems. According to Ortaylı (1983), it was the most troublesome century for this the longest and the largest Empire of Islam. Its decline, which had already started at the end of the preceding century, had accelerated: several of its Western dominions in the Balkans were already fighting for their independence and major parts of its lands in Muslim geographical areas were being gradually colonised by modern European Empires. While its territories were being re-defined, the Ottoman State attempted a set of reforms, ultimately aimed at strengthening the central authority by modernising the organisational and legislative structure in line with the West (Madran, 2002: 1-4). Consequently, the need for professionalisation in a variety of fields emerged, which initiated the establishment of various ministries. The first Ministry to be established was the Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti (Ministry of Evkaf) in 1826 (Yediyıldız, 1986: 162-3; Madran, 2002: 1-4). The hitherto autonomous Ottoman waqfs were now centralised under a ministry.

Prior to this centralisation there were some arrangements providing the central administration in the Porte with some control, mainly of the large scale imperial waqfs founded by sultans and the members of the royal family as well as the high

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⁵⁶The reform era that took place between 1839 and 1876, aiming at the modernisation of the Ottoman State in line with the West
rank governors like the grand-vizier and viziers. Also the *Haremeyn waqfs*, whose surplus revenues were donated to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, had necessitated a more centralised management method since the sixteenth century. Henceforth, various offices were already established over time for the administration of the Imperial and *Haremeyn waqfs*. The supervision of the thousands of *Haremeyn waqfs* established in the different parts of the Empire, for example, had been granted to the offices of *Darüssade Ağası*, which had been restructured later in 1586 as *Evkaf-ı Haremeyn Nezareti*, as the first central organisation for the administration of Ottoman pious foundations (Öztürk 1983). Imperial *Waaf* of Sultan Selim II that was established in Cyprus following the conquest of the island in 1571 was among the *Haremeyn waqfs* and was supervised accordingly (Jennings 1993). However, the centralisation practices in history were concentrated on gathering the same group of waqfs under one roof to provide better supervision over their administration. Thus, the administration of such waqfs remained in line with the stipulations of their respective endowment deeds.

The centralisation of the originally autonomous waqfs under the *Evkaf* Ministry in 1826 went beyond the scope of just a gathering of various autonomous administrations under a central body. Even though Sultan Mahmud II issued a decree immediately afterwards explaining the reason for the centralisation was to maintain a more successful administration and supervision for the waqfs, and be more active in repairing religious and charity buildings, it is widely argued that the centralisation targeted the reconfiguration of the administrative and legislative system (Lewis 1961; Barnes 1987; Öztürk 1995). The benefits of this re-configuration were underlined by a variety of reasons including an improved administration and prevention of corrupt practices of the mutevelli\(^7\) that had dramatically increased from the eighteenth century onwards (Öztürk 1995:69-70); gathering all the surplus revenues of the waqfs within the State’s treasury and re-directing them to other state institutions with poor resources (ibid.); taking under control the religious authority, namely the *ulema*\(^7\), who gained control over their surroundings through the power exerted by the economically strong waqfs that they controlled (Lewis 1961:94); and collecting the revenues of the state lands that were previously donated to the waqfs through imperial orders (Barnes 1987: 83-86). While citing several reasons for the

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\(^7\) The doctors of Muslim canon law, religion and theology.
centralisation of waqfs, the authors also agree that with the new regulations a fundamental change in the life of historic waqfs took place. The endowment deeds were no more the basis for decisions to be taken regarding the waqf properties and expenditures were now restricted to central orders (Öztürk 1995; Kahraman 2006).

With the new arrangements, waqfs have been categorised into three main types: mazboutah waqfs, mulhaka waqfs, and mustesna waqfs. Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti (from now on Ministry of Evkaf) assumed the ownership and full responsibility of administering all the mazboutah waqfs. Also known as evkaf-ı mazboutah, the mazboutah waqfs consisted of imperial (sultan) waqfs, Haremeyn waqfs, as well as those whose descendants became extinct by the time they had been turned over to the Ministry of Evkaf (Derzinevesi & Kasapoğlu 2003: 36-7). The second category, also known as evkaf-ı mülhaka, mainly consisted of the waqfs which were administered by their trustee under the supervision of the Ministry of Evkaf (ibid: 37). The third category, also known as evkaf-ı müstesna, was the privileged waqfs belonging to certain Sufi brotherhoods, whose administration was independent from the Ministry (ibid: 38).

While the new arrangements were ongoing, the nineteenth century witnessed the foundation of new waqfs. However, the scale and mission of the newly established waqfs changed considerably when compared with those established in the classical Ottoman era. Öztürk (ibid.) states that the new waqfs were modest both in scale and number and were rarely involved with erecting public buildings for charitable purposes. They mostly endowed supplementary resources for maintenance and other functions for the existing waqfs. In addition, after the reforms of the Tanzimat era, provision for public infrastructure and buildings had become the responsibility of the State and the newly established municipalities (Öztürk, 1995: 31-48). The majority of the waqfs established during the Tanzimat era were waqf ahli (family waqfs), whose beneficiaries were the family members of the founder. Öztürk (1995:32) observed that more than the half of the nineteenth century foundations were cash waqfs, established in an attempt to save family fortunes from confiscation. According to the author, in order to prevent the exploitation of the system for such purposes, the Ministry of Evkaf had to revise the regulations regarding establishing
new *waqfs*. From then on, the founders had been compulsorily required to erect buildings for the benefit of public and donate the necessary resources to their repairs.

4.1.1 The Administrative Re-structuring

During the early years following the establishment of the Ministry of *Evkaf*, several methods had been tried and failed to improve the administration of the *waqfs* in the provinces. Finally, regional organisations had been established to be administered by the *Evkaf* directors, who had been appointed from the headquarters in Istanbul (Madran, 2002: 1-82). Depending on the workload, there were also *Evkaf* offices in the districts alongside the regional organisations (Öztürk, 1995: 85-86). Thus, similar to the application in other imperial provinces, a district office had been established in Cyprus in the second part of the nineteenth century, administered by an *Evkaf* officer who reported to the Ministry of *Evkaf* in Istanbul (Altan, 1986; Ünsal1990).

The first official department responsible for repair works had been organised under the Ministry of *Evkaf* in 1832, named as *Ruznamecilik* which was essentially responsible for the repair works of religious buildings (Yediyıldız, 1986:163). Other departments later became established under the central structure of the Ministry. In the regional organisations, on the other hand, *Evkaf* directors became responsible for the repair process including both its implementation and supervision. Kahraman (2006: 16, 140) mentions the existence of specialised units regarding the repair of *waqf*-built properties within regional organisations. Accordingly, construction committees were formed in some districts to be in charge of the supervision of the repair of *waqf* buildings (ibid.).

4.1.2 The Revisions of *Waqf* Legislation during the Centralisation Period and their Implication for the Upkeep and Maintenance Procedures of *Waqf*-built Properties

The Centralisation of the *Waqf* institution has been supported with the continuously revised regulations that appeared throughout the *Tanzimat* era, introducing new elements into the building upkeep process (Kahraman 2006). The key transitions that took place during this period were often financial, which gradually transferred
authorisation of upkeep projects to the Ministry’s control. While authorisation for the required upkeep projects and maintenance works was based locally prior to the centralisation period, now the projects became subject to the newly established bureaucracies. The first radical change took place in 1840, when a new financial regulation demanded the collection of surplus revenues belonging to the *mazboutah waqfs* for the Evkaf Treasury (Madran, 2002: 35). Further regulations appeared in 1858 (ibid: 36) and in 1863 (Kahraman, 2006:117-118). With these new regulations, the authorisation procedures for repair and maintenance of *waqf* assets were radically altered. From then on, sanctioning of the required expenditures came under the authority of the Evkaf Ministry in Istanbul (Öztürk 1995: 69).

The Ottoman *Waqf* Ordinance of 1863, which also re-configured the administrative structure of the regional organisations of the institution and its directors, is accepted as the most comprehensive legal arrangement (Akar 2009). With this Ordinance, the authorisation procedures of repair and maintenance of *waqf*-built properties were radically altered. Now, sanctioning expenditures for the required repair works and decisions on the transfer of financial resources came within the realm of the *Evkaf* Ministry in Istanbul (Öztürk 1995: 69). Accordingly, repair expenses of *mazboutah waqfs* could be met by the regional *Evkaf* directors with the Council’s approval up to 2500 *kuruş* (piaster), provided that the concerned *waqf* had enough income. In case the concerned *mazboutah waqf* lacked the necessary funds, then this would be reported to the Evkaf Ministry in Istanbul to request approval. For the *müthaka waqfs*, on the other hand, *mütevelli* were authorised for repairs for up to 500 *kuruş*. For cases where costs were estimated to be between 500-2500 *kuruş* (piaster) the approval of the regional *Evkaf* Director and Council was needed. For amounts exceeding 2500 *kuruş*, both for *mazboutah* and *müthaka waqfs*, the Evkaf Treasury’s approval had to be sought (Akar, 2009:56). As such, the Ordinance brought the authorisation of repair works costing over 2500 piaster under the control of the Ministry of *Evkaf* in Istanbul. This included all the built properties belonging to the *waqfs* in the Ottoman province, including Cyprus. The Ordinance of 1863 remained in force until the end of the Ottoman Empire and even beyond. It was the main regulation in the Republic of Turkey (the successor of the Ottoman State) until the enactment of the *Waqf* Law in1935 (Madran, 2002). As the evidence suggests (see
Chapter 6 of this thesis), this Ordinance remained in force in Cyprus during the early decades of the British colonial era between 1878 and 1905.

Alongside defining authorisation procedures regarding the allocation of finance for repair works, the Ordinance of 1863 pioneered a statement promoting small-scale repairs as a preventive measure for arresting decay that otherwise would necessitate later comprehensive repairs (Akar 2009: 56). Regular monitoring and maintenance was indeed the method that had been efficiently used by the institution prior to centralisation, and it was because of this preventive maintenance that many Waqf buildings had survived several centuries up to the modern era. It is interesting to note that the same method of preventive maintenance was going to be advocated 15 years later by the newly-formed SPAB in Britain.

Lewis (1961: 95) has argued that despite these attempts to develop relevant regulations, there were barely any funds left from the other expenses of the Ministry of Evkaf to be transferred to the waqfs in need. Thus, the efficiency in transferring resources between the foundations to save those with low budgets – one of the primary reasons for establishing the centralised authority – could not be achieved (Akar, 2009: 55-59). Consequently, the new arrangements restricted the ministry’s resources even for basic repairs and maintenance of historically important buildings (ibid.). According to Akar (ibid.), the waqf revenues, which were collected at the central Treasury, were allocated for the use of other State institutions. Eventually, this decreased Evkaf’s share of its own resources.

At the beginning of the twentieth century nearly all of the waqfs spread over Ottoman lands were collected under the Ministry of Evkaf. Yet, although the first attempts to centralise in the 1820s were decades earlier, the Ministry still lacked both the funds for repairs and a systematic approach for the protection of waqf buildings. Akar (ibid: 55-59) argues that the centralisation had negative effects on their repair. Because of the lack of financial resources, requests for repairs were often rejected or totally ignored or lost in the bureaucratic structure of the ministry. As a result of this, several historic waqf-built properties were left to perish. Obviously, the new system not only operated against the original waqf legislation, bypassing the stipulations of the original endowment deeds, it also introduced long-distance bureaucracies into the upkeep and maintenance processes of waqf assets. This was an indication of the
beginning of the dissolution of the hitherto self-sustained *waqf* building upkeep system in which proposals for upkeep were solved within the local context using the concerned *waqf*’s resources endowed for this purpose. Now, whether the individual *waqf*s had the necessary financial means for the repairs or not, sanctioning the expenditure had to be approved by the Porte which often caused delays in the execution of the required work.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ministry of *Evkaf* undertook several large-scale restoration projects, essentially in Istanbul. It was not only the quality of the execution of these projects that was criticised later on, but also the lack of specialised personnel and systematic preventive maintenance (Kahraman, 2006:118). According to Tekeli-İlkin (see Akar 2009), when, for example, in 1908, Mimar Kemalettin had been asked to report on the *Tamirat ve İnşaat Kalemi* (Repairs and Construction Department) of the Ministry of *Evkaf*, among his findings was the lack of monitoring of physical decay in the historically important *waqf* buildings. He then suggested that regular maintenance was very important for the preservation of buildings. Mimar Kemalettin also emphasised the importance of the formation of an advisory body to discuss physical interventions on historic *waqf* buildings prior to interventions (ibid.). As it is addressed in Chapter 5, the period between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has witnessed debates regarding appropriate physical interventions to historic buildings in the West.

Conservation repairs were gaining wider ground as the core of conservation criteria in Western geographical areas. The Ottoman State introduced statutory provision for ancient archaeological remains, but *waqf*-built properties were not however considered as ancient monuments.

### 4.2 *Waqf*-Built Properties within the Context of the Ottoman Law of Antiquities

Among the new regulations that appeared during the *Tanzimat* era was the Law of Antiquities. The Ottoman Westernisation movement that took place in the nineteenth century coincided with the evolution of the Western heritage concepts and modern conservation understandings which are presented in Chapter 5. Informed by historical writings, several Western expedition teams had been engaged during the
early decades of the century on archaeological excavations in Ottoman lands. According to Atakuman (2010: 110), the intensified antiquarian interests in the lands of the Orient played a key role in shaping the Ottoman State’s heritage debate and practice. The Ottomans imported the institutional format of heritage discourses of Europe in the form of museums and archaeological practice. The political and ideological context within which ancient artefacts gained value across the Ottoman Empire was reflected in the establishment of the first antiquities edict of 1869 and the subsequent laws of 1874, 1884, and 1906 (ibid.). Hence, the first Ottoman Law of Antiquities that was enacted in 1869 consisted of seven articles, aiming at formalising policies to authorise archaeological excavations. This had been previously regulated through the granting of imperial firmans (orders) to individuals (Stanley-Price 2001: 267). Amendments to the Law appeared later in 1874 (ibid.) and in 1884, however the focus was always classical antiquities, and no regulations dealt with historic Islamic buildings (Brown 1905: 222-24). In fact, the basic postulates of the 1884 Law of Antiquities that primarily regulated archaeological excavations and treatment of the findings were carried over into the 1906 law (Madran 2002; Atakuman 2010). Even though the latter for the first time included Islamic monuments, this was in a rather narrow and selective definition (Madran 2002). In other words, historic waqf-built properties did not receive any statutory protection during the Ottoman era. Instead, they continued to be repaired and maintained independently by the Ministry of Evkaf, in accordance with new Waqf regulations.

Having addressed the general administrative and legislative framework concerning the conservation of waqf-built properties during the centralisation era of the Ottoman Waqf administration, the next section examines the centralisation of Cyprus waqfs in 1830s as an appendage to the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul.

4.2 The Centralisation of the Cyprus Waqf Institution during the late-Ottoman era and the Key Changes in the Building Upkeep and Maintenance System

The centralisation of the hitherto autonomous waqfs in Cyprus started in 1834 in accordance with the Ottoman Waqf reforms. The following two sections look into the
institutional re-structuring that occurred between 1834 and 1878. The above-
mentioned developments regarding the re-structuring of the Ottoman Waqf
institutions under the Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul have been taken as the base and
their projection into the Waqf institution and its building upkeep practices in Cyprus
have been examined through archival evidence and existing research. The influence
of centralisation over the upkeep and maintenance procedures of the waqf-built
properties in Cyprus has been investigated in the light of new evidence, acquired
from the Ottoman archives belonging to the Cyprus Evkaf Administration in Nicosia.
By doing so, light is shed onto the situation prior to the transfer of the institution’s
administration to the British colonial authorities in 1878.

4.2.1 Administrative Re-Structuring of Cyprus Waqf Institution during the
Centralisation Period (1834 to 1878) and the State of Waqfs

Following initial attempts to centralise Ottoman waqfs in 1826, the provincial waqfs
were started to be collected together and put under provincial departments,
essentially from 1834 onwards (Öztürk 195; Kahraman 2006). The existing waqfs
were centralised under the Cyprus Evkaf management, which received regular
updates relating to legislative, administrative and management aspects.

During the centralisation period, the Ministry of Evkaf had attempted to establish
various departments to deal with waqfs. One such department was the Muaccelat
Office, which was an attempt by the Ministry in Istanbul to have greater control and
more detailed supervision of the provincial waqfs, which were mainly on rural
estates having substantial revenue-bearing capacities (Kahraman 2006; Akar 2009).
A Muaccelat Office was established at Cyprus in 1837 (Altan 1986: 108; Ünsal
1990: 195-196). The Muaccelat officer, who reported to the Ministry in Istanbul, was

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58 An order, dated 27 Rebiulahir 1279 AH (1862 AD), for example, instructs on holding examinations
to assess the compatibility of Evkaf personnel prior to their appointments (SMK Sicil 46-130-
173). Also for other re-organisations in other managerial and administrative aspects see SMK Sicil
46-130-174; SMK Sicil 51-105-209; SMK Atik Emirname Kayd 15-19; 16-20; 21-30; 22-32; 22-
33. The registers reveal that during the era, Cyprus Evkaf management continuously received
revisions on policies and orders regarding the organisation of the large-scale waqfs and their
accounts. It appears that diligent submission of the accounts continued to be a problem until the
end of the era. A document, dated 19 Zilkadde 1285 AH (1868 AD) informs us that even though
submission of accounts every three months was required by law, those from Cyprus were not sent
for a whole year (SMK Atik Emirname Kayd 52-79).
in charge of informing the relevant bodies and the mütevellis of the mülhaka waqfs in Cyprus about updates to Waqf legislation (ibid.).

Following administrative re-structuring by the Ministry of Evkaf in accordance with the Hatt-i Hümayun (imperial decree) of 1863, the Management Office of Cyprus Evkaf was established (Altan 1983: 109-114). The above-mentioned Waqf Ordinance of 1863, which was the most comprehensive legal agreement enacted during the centralisation era, had introduced regulations regarding re-structuring the administration of regional waqf organisations and their directors. In accordance with the principles of the Ordinance of 1863, a new organisational structure was established in Cyprus, consisted of a Mudir (manager) and a Muhasebeci (accountant) (Altan 1986: 108-109; Ünsal, 1990:196-197).

According to Altan (1986: 107-266), the Cyprus Evkaf managers regularly received orders and updates regarding administrative and legislative issues and developments. Official letters were often sent from the Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul to the Evkaf management on the island, ordering to be supplied with the copies of the account books of Cyprus waqfs (Altan 1986: 217-250). These are indicative of the attempts to take more detailed control of waqf accounts. We are informed by Altan (1986) that several Evkaf officials serving in Cyprus during the Tanzimat era had been implicated in corrupt practices that resulted in their dismissal.

The survey undertaken at the Ottoman era archives belonging to CEA in Nicosia during the present research revealed further evidence regarding the state of waqfs and the Waqf administration on the island during the centralisation period. Accordingly, the surplus revenues from Cyprus mazboutah waqfs, including from buildings and other properties, were deposited in the Evkaf Treasury in Istanbul until control of the institution was transferred to the British administration in 1878.59 A document, for example, sent from the Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul to the Evkaf Manager in Cyprus at 27 Cemaziyelevvel 1261 AH (1844 AD), instructs on the procedures regarding repairs of the buildings and financial management of the resources belonging to the Imperial and Haremeyn waqfs, now both in the

59 See for example SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 84-134, dated 9 Saban 1288 AH (1870 AD) for an instruction for the clarification of the waqf revenues. According to the order, the revenues send to the Treasury should be furnished with details regarding the source of income and the period it covered.
Another document, dated 27 Zilhicce 1288 AH (1871 AD) informs us that the authority on the island was ordered to send Evkaf profits to the Treasury in Istanbul. The profits, according to the document, were going to be used for the repair of the hayrats (the religious and charity buildings) (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 93-148).

It appears that although the surplus revenues were sent, the account books were not posted to Istanbul regularly. An order, dated 18 Ramazan 1287 AH (1870 AD), demands further clarification of the accounts, essentially the revenues from the khans, hammams and rural estates belonging to the imperial waqfs (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 79-123). In another document, dated 17 Cemaziyelevvel 1293 AH (1876 AD) the Ministry enquires about the reason for not sending the account book and the concerned persons are warned not to act against the rules (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 173-271).

While attempts to organise the waqf accounts on the island are visible from the beginnings of the centralisation process in 1834, attempts to register the waqfs were intensified towards the 1870s. An order sent from the Ministry of Evkaf to the Governor of Cyprus at 13 Rabiulahir 1289 AH (1872 AD) instructs on carrying out inspections in the waqf registers. It appears from the order that the main issue was to bring into the open the hidden waqf properties (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 102-164). As discussed in Chapter 6, attempts for the registration of waqf properties would continue during the early years of the British administration as well. It appears from the intense correspondence between the Ministry in Istanbul and the Evkaf Office in Cyprus towards the end of the period that the main issue was the registration of the waqf ahli (family waqfs) properties (Altan 1986: 121-267). The main intention was to bring the family waqfs, now categorised as the mülhaka waqfs, under the State’s control. Such waqfs demonstrated some indications of mismanagement and corrupt practice. This ranged from disorganised accounts and mismanaged properties to buildings in a derelict condition. Perhaps that is why, when the British took over the institution in 1878, the first survey that they conducted was on mülhaka waqfs (Seager 1883).
4.2.2 Highlights from the Waqf’s Building Upkeep and Maintenance Procedures in Cyprus during the Centralisation Period (1834 to 1878) and Shifts from Traditional Practice

Building upkeep procedures and practices in the era from the inception of the centralisation of Cyprus waqfs in 1834 up to the British takeover of the island in 1878 have not received scholarly scrutiny. Using the new evidence acquired from the archival survey within the late-Ottoman era records of the archives belonging to Cyprus Evkaf Administration, a general framework prior to the British takeover of the institution is presented in the following section. A brief look into key shifts within classical Ottoman waqf building upkeep and maintenance procedures during the centralisation period is the base for an analysis of the late-Ottoman era Waqf institution and its building upkeep practices in Cyprus. This section also provides context that aids the subsequent discussion in Chapter 6, where the further shifts and transitions within the system during the early British colonial era are investigated.

The upkeep of Waqf buildings in Cyprus was subjected to new regulations and related instructions. It is understood from the correspondence between the Evkaf Office on the island and the Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul that immediately after the enactment of the aforementioned Waqf Ordinance of 1863, decrees were sent by the Minister, Abdulhamid Ferid Pasha, to the Evkaf Office on Cyprus to prepare the list of the buildings in need of repair and allocating the necessary budgets to carry out the repairs (Altan, 1986: 159). Further correspondence followed until the beginning of the British colonial era on the island (ibid.). Obviously, with the centralisation, the repairs required to the waqf-built properties in the mazboutah category started to be planned within the annual budgets of the Ministry of Evkaf. On the other hand, as understood from Altan (1986), in many cases the buildings belonging to family waqfs (now in the mulhaka category) were in a dilapidated condition. A case in point was the aqueducts carrying water to Larnaca that were constructed by Ebu Bekir Pasha in 1747 AD (Figure 4.1) (Yıldız 2009: 142). Belonging to the family waqfs of the said Pasha, the aqueducts were in a dilapidated condition in the 1840s.

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60 A brief survey, carried out by the present author, of the court records starting with SMK Sicil no: 35 (1834s) up to Sicil no: 54 (early1880s) and the Atik Emirname Kaydı [Register of the New Ordinances] (1865s-1885s) indicates that these records hold evidence relevant to the building upkeep procedures and practices during the period.
due to the disputes between the appointed mütevelli (trustee) and the beneficiaries (ibid: 123-24).

Figure 4.1 Ebu Bekir Pasha Aqueduct in Larnaca c 1950 (Source: Wideson 2010)

The archival survey of the court registers and other books from the late Ottoman era in Cyprus (1834-1878) revealed the following aspects of building upkeep and maintenance procedures during the centralisation period (1834 to 1878) and suggested shifts within the classical Ottoman application:

From the technical point of view, the repairs were carried out according to practices that were in place prior to centralisation. As mentioned earlier, during the classical Ottoman era cost estimations were prepared by classifying the works to be done according to their type, as for example, relating to masonry or carpentry repairs. The list included the materials to be used, quantities, and quantity prices. There is evidence that the same process was continued in Cyprus after the centralisation era. An estimation of the cost of repairing the Zaviye (dervish lodges) of Ağlayandede in Famagusta lists the materials required for the job, including the required quantities for each item and the total prices. The list also includes the necessary workmanship and the total wages to be paid and ends with the total cost estimation (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 111-173, dated 25 Şaban 1289 AH (1872 AD). In summary, during the centralisation era of the Ottoman waqfs, the repairs and maintenance works of
waqf assets continued to be practised within the same technical framework as used in the previous Ottoman era.

The key transitional changes occurred in the authorisation process of the proposed upkeep and/or maintenance projects. With the centralisation of the *waqfs*, an elongated process was introduced to sanction expenditure for the proposed projects. The permission of the *Evkaf* Ministry in Istanbul was required for carrying out repairs to *waqf* buildings, essentially those above certain budgets. Thus, unlike the previous era when the permission process for such expenditure was finalised locally, it subsequently depended on the approval of the Imperial *Evkaf* Ministry in Istanbul. Hence, approval of budgets between 500 and 2500 piaster were at the discretion of the *Evkaf* manager in Nicosia, and those above 2500 piaster required the approval of the Ministry of *Evkaf* in Istanbul. For instance, the cost estimation for the repair of the abovementioned Zaviye of Ağlayandede in Famagusta was forwarded by the governor of the town to Nicosia. The cost estimation was 1782 piaster, which according to the 1863 regulation was within the limits that the *Evkaf* manager in Nicosia could sanction, provided that the said *waqf* had enough funds. Otherwise, the approval of the Ministry would be required to obtain funds from the central administration.

On the other hand, the authorisation of proposed projects, where the initial cost estimates were above 2500 piaster, in accordance with the *Waqf* Ordinance of 1863 lay directly at the discretion of the Ministry of *Evkaf* in Istanbul only. *Waqf* buildings belonging to the *mazboutah* category (directly managed by the Evkaf authority) were repaired from *Evkaf* funds, subjected to the approval of *Evkaf* Ministry. In 1863, an order was received by the *Evkaf* management of the island, to authorise retaining a part of the annual revenues of Cyprus *Evkaf* to be kept at the *Mal Sandığı* (the Treasury) of the island in order to finance the required repairs of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia, before sending the rest of the funds to the central *Evkaf* Treasury in Istanbul (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 57-85, dated 27 Safer 1286 AH). Similarly, when further repairs were required for the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia, the Ministry was approached with the proposal. As understood from a decree arriving from Ahmed Kemal Pasha, who was the head of the Ministry of *Evkaf* at Istanbul in 1870
and in 1873, he approved the budget of 43,400 kurus (piaster) and ordered the repairs to be started (Altan 1986: 168).

As an 1873-dated document indicates, the Ministry of Evkaf was unsympathetic to unauthorised expenditures. The document shows that when one of the Cyprus Evkaf Managers, a Mehmed Beğ, was in office, repairs were carried out at the Ömerge Mosque and Büyük Hammam in Nicosia, both belonging to the Waqf of Lala Mustafa Pasha, without authorisation being sought from the Ministry (document, dated 2 Rabiu-lahir 1296 AH (1873 AD) in SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 194-307). As the money spent was greater than the amount the Evkaf accountants were allowed to authorise for expenditure, the said money was ordered to be deposited back to the central Evkaf Treasury in Istanbul after being retrieved either from the contractor himself or from the said manager.

Following the authorisation of expenditures for the repairs, contracts were awarded to carry out the work. Evidently, the repairs were carried out with contracts on a lump sum method and they were awarded to the lowest bidder. Two orders in 1866, one for the repair of the Library in Nicosia (Figure 4.2) (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 10-10, dated 25 Rabiu-lahir 1283 AH) and the other one for the Pir Pasha Mosque in Lefke (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 26-40, dated 25 Şaban 1283 AH) instructs that priority should be given to the lowest bid below the initial cost estimate; otherwise the repairs should be carried out according to the initial cost estimate under the supervision of the Cyprus Evkaf Manager. A similar order was received a few years later regarding the repairs to the Ömerge Mosque in Nicosia, indicating attempts to apply the principles of the Waqf Ordinance of 1863 in Cyprus, which prioritised awarding the contracts to the lowest bids (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 61-92, dated 2 Rabiu-lévvel 1285 AH (1868 AD)).
It also appears from the documents that the new repair procedures did not condone unforeseen repair works that emerged during an ongoing upkeep or maintenance project. In order to highlight this, an order was sent to the _Evkaf_ management of the island in 1871 from the Ministry in Istanbul, commanding adherence to cost estimations while carrying out the constructions or repairs, and in the meantime refusing to authorise additional expenditures (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 88-138, dated 2 Ramazan 1288 AH (1871 AD)).

In summary, the centralisation of the administration of _waqfs_ resulted in shifts in the upkeep and maintenance practices on _waqf_-built properties belonging to Cyprus _Evkaf_ due to the changes in the allocation and authorisation of the funding of projects. The process depended on the scale and cost of the repairs as well as the nature of the _waqf_. The technical execution procedures of repair and maintenance projects remained similar to those practised prior to the centralisation era. However, the cost estimation was prepared according to the type of workmanship required, such as masonry, carpentry, etc and listing the required materials, their quantities, the quantity prices, labour and total wages to be paid. The estimate was concluded with a total price. Contracts were awarded on a lump sum method and awarded to the lowest bidder. The main changes occurred in the approval of projects and the sanctioning of expenditure. In accordance with the Ottoman _Waqf_ Ordinance of 1863, projects with budgets exceeding 2500 piaster now had to be approved by the Imperial Ministry of _Evkaf_ at Istanbul. Henceforth, cost estimates for proposed
upkeep and maintenance works going beyond this amount had to be forwarded to
Istanbul for their expenditure to be sanctioned. This long-distance and bureaucratic
procedure resulted in significant delays to starting on the projects; this in turn is
likely to have resulted in allowing the buildings marked for repair to decay further.

The contract of repairs was commissioned to the lowest bidder, and the job,
depending on its scale and importance, was carried under the supervision of the
Evkaf manager. Expenditures for unforeseen works that emerged during repairs were
not favoured by the Evkaf Ministry. It is likely that the elongated process in
requesting further authorisations discouraged the locals from raising concerns or
requests. The Ministry communicated with the island sending regular updates on
regulations and was unsympathetic to any bypass of the rules. The authorised repair
works recorded in the court registers from the period are relatively low in number,
indicating how the long-distance bureaucracies handicapped the traditional system.

While previously proposals for upkeep or maintenance works were initiated by the
local community and solved within the local administrative system, now they had to
be forwarded to Istanbul for authorisation. As Akar (2009)’s findings indicate, the
projects which were forwarded from the provinces to the Ministry in Istanbul were
often lost within the bureaucracies or totally ignored.

In 1878, prior to the arrival of the British colonial power, a decree was received by
the Evkaf accountant in Cyprus, forbidding him from acting against the principles of
the regulations concerning the repair of the mosques and other charity buildings in
the provinces (SMK Atik Emirname Kaydı 178-279, dated 19 Ramazan 1295 AH
(1878 AD). While the Ministry attempted to keep the Evkaf of the island under
control, the impact of these long-distance bureaucracies on the repair and
maintenance practices of waqf buildings did not receive any scholarly scrutiny. As is
explained in Chapter 6, in which the main empirical body of the present research is
presented, the Ottoman Waqf legislation remained in force in Cyprus during the early
decades of the British colonial era (1878 to 1905); however, the bureaucratic
procedures changed into a new format.

4.3 The General State of Ottoman Waqf Institution at the Time of the Cyprus
Evkaf’s Transfer to the British Colonial Administration in 1878
The nineteenth century witnessed major transformations of the Ottoman Empire and its institutions. While on the one hand the Sublime Porte embarked on Westernisation reforms to prevent the Ottoman Empire from dissolving, on the other hand the dominions started their war of freedom. Others were falling into the colonial portfolios of the newly emerging modern European empires (Lewis 1961; Ortaylı 1983). The Sublime Porte had to recognise Greece’s independence in 1829, followed by other emerging nation-states in the Balkans. Thus, the last 50 years of Ottoman rule in Cyprus coincided with the fall of the Empire. Eventually, the island became part of the colonial portfolio of the British Empire in 1878. The general state of the Ottoman Waqf institution during the timeframe that Cyprus was turned to Great Britain was briefly as follows.

The Ottoman waqfs had been centralised since 1826 onwards as part of a Westernisation process. However, the centralisation of the hitherto autonomous waqfs was a difficult task, which required the employment of substantial number of staff, both at the Ministry and at the regional offices (Madran 2002: 10). Hence, a surplus of employees had been created in the Ministry of Evkaf and at the regional offices that necessitated the allocation of substantial financial resources for their wages, especially for certain duties previously undertaken on a voluntary basis such as supervision of project operations (ibid.). Moreover, the resources of the institution were channelled into other fields for political favours. Hence, the budget of the ministry shrunk without any sizeable funds being left for building repairs (Akar 2009). Besides, during the era several ongoing wars in various Ottoman territories had negatively affected the financial resources of the waqfs as their incomes dropped sharply; long-term leasing of waqf assets appeared as the rescue-plan quickly to generate financial resources to repair the income-generating built properties (Öztürk 1995:69-70). In addition, there were loopholes in the legislation that were open to exploitation. Legal actions against wrongdoings were not preventive (Öztürk, 1994: 28-31). The registration of properties belonging to the mulhaka waqfs in the provinces and bringing their accounts under control was still problematic. As a result, although the Ministry of Evkaf had been established to improve the administration of waqfs and their properties, finance-related corruption continued.
As the aforementioned archival evidence may suggest, at a time when control of the Cyprus Evkaf was turned over to the British colonial administration in 1878, the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf was yet to achieve its full control of the Ottoman waqfs in the island. Nearly six decades after the inception of the centralisation of the Ottoman waqfs aiming to improve their administration, the institution was still struggling to achieve its initial goals. The revisions of the Ottoman Waqf legislation and the institution’s administrative re-structuring had in fact resulted in negative consequences on the traditional building upkeep and maintenance system of the institution. The authorisation of projects above certain budget levels had to be approved by the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul adding long-distance bureaucratic procedures to the process, which had previously been managed locally.

The Waqf institution was already in transition with respect to its administrative procedures since its centralisation in 1826. This was further exacerbated by the colonisation of Ottoman territories by European imperial powers and the subsequent founding of more than three dozen states added further layers to this transition (Öztürk 1995; Nasution 2002; Assi 2008; el-Habashi 2008; Oberauer 2008; Akar 2009; Kozlowski et al 2010). In other words, if the first transitional period for the Ottoman waqfs was the centralisation of the institution, the next stage was its colonisation. Colonisation by foreign powers, as Nasution (2002) has argued, caused further complications within the already troubled system. According to Assi (2008), during the colonisation period, essentially the first half of the twentieth century, waqf laws were issued in almost all Muslim countries and several communities to establish a Ministry of Evkaf or General Directorate of Evkaf. From then on, the institution turned into a branch of government, being managed in the same way that other branches of the public sector were managed. Further transitions followed with changes in the ruling systems (ibid.). Several Islamic countries remained colonised by modern Empires for varying periods starting from the early nineteenth century up to the 1970s, each developing their own Evkaf stories. Cyprus was among the British colonies.

The British colonial era started in Cyprus in 1878, with the transfer of sovereignty of Cyprus to Great Britain by a convention signed between Sultan Abdulhamid II and

61 By the end of the century, the majority of the former Islamic territories spread over Asia and Africa fell into the colonial portfolios of the emerging modern British, French and Soviet empires.
Queen Victoria (Hill 1952; Purcell 1969; Varnava 2009). Following the hand over, Evkaf found itself within a new administration system. In accordance with the articles of the convention, Cyprus Evkaf was going to operate under the control of an Ottoman and a British delegate: The former was to be appointed by the Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul, and the latter was to be picked up by the colonial governor of the island (Altan, 1986; Ünsal, 1990:197). Thus, A. Hulusi Effendi, who was the Mouhasebedji (accountant) of Evkaf in Cyprus prior to the Convention, took over the position as the Turkish delegate, and M. B. Seager was appointed as the British delegate (Seager, 1883).

It has been widely argued that, albeit indirectly, the second clause of the Annex of the Cyprus Convention of 1878 that was concerned with its administration led to British assumption of full control over the administration of Cyprus Waqf from the very beginning (Altan 1986; Ateşin 1996; Fedai 1997; Fedai & Altan 1997, 2000; Nevzat and Hatay 2009). The clause, foreseeing a dual administration, stated that ‘a Muslim resident of the island, nominated by the Board of Pious Foundations in Turkey, should superintend the administration of all property belonging to Muslim Pious Foundations and the religious establishment, with a delegate appointed by the British authorities’ (Hutchinson & Cobham 1907: 45; Altan 1986: 272). However, the powers and duties of these delegates were not defined (Altan 1986; Fedai & Altan 2000). This system of dual governance, as understood from Nasution (2002: 305), would have later also been applied to the administration of waqf endowments in colonised Penang (Malaysia) and perhaps elsewhere. According to the author, the board of delegates of Evkaf formed in Cyprus that comprised a senior officer of the civil service and a representative of the Mohammedans, constituted a precedent (ibid.). The British colonial era in the island started with such a new model of administration for Cyprus Evkaf.

4.4 Conclusion

The centralisation of the waqfs under the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf as part of the Ottoman State’s Westernisation efforts during the early nineteenth century was transitional: the legislation was revised introducing new bureaucracies for the authorisation of upkeep or maintenance projects. In the meantime, attempts to bring the State in line with the West caused the enactment and the subsequent revisions of
Laws of Antiquities, in which historic waqf-built properties were excluded. As such, the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf remained as the main authority for taking decisions regarding waqf-built properties.

Similar to the other provincial waqfs, in other territories, the Ottoman waqfs in Cyprus were centralised under the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul. This started the registration process of the waqfs in the mazboutah and the mulhaka categories in accordance with the new Ottoman Waqf legislation. The Ministry of Evkaf became the main authority in the decision making process regarding the funding and authorisation of proposed upkeep projects or maintenance works. As clearly reflected in the low number of authorised projects during the era, the involvement of long-distance bureaucracies caused complications and delays within the system. The registration of properties belonging to mulhaka (administered by their trustee under the supervision of the Ministry of Evkaf) category was still going on at the time when the control of Cyprus Evkaf was turned over to British colonial administration, and the Ministry of Evkaf continued forwarding to the island’s Evkaf Office the updates made to the Ottoman Waqf legislation. In summary, the Ottoman institution on the island was already in a transitional process of being centralised which aimed to modernise the institution. This had introduced long distance-bureaucratic procedures within Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system. The transitions that occurred in Ottoman Waqf (Evkaf) institution’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system following the change of authority during the British colonial era (1878 to 1960) in Cyprus are investigated in depth in Chapter 6 of the present thesis. Prior to this, the next chapter investigates the genesis and evolution of the heritage discourses and architectural conservation understandings in the West with particular emphasis on the British discourses during the British colonial era in Cyprus.
Chapter 5

The Genesis and Evolution of Western Heritage Concepts and Modern Conservation Movement: Projections in Cyprus during the British Colonial Period (1878-1960)

This chapter presents an overview of the heritage and architectural conservation discourses during the time frame of the British colonisation of the island of Cyprus. It discusses the heritage conceptions of the colonial power and its understandings of conservation that are likely to have had a direct or indirect impact on the upkeep of Cypriot Waqf buildings and conservation practices while Cyprus has been under the control of British colonial authorities between 1878 and 1960. The present chapter is divided into two parts: The first part presents the scope of heritage and its cultural realm as understood in the context of the relevant Western discourses. It focuses in particular on national heritage conceptions and the evolution of the architectural conservation understanding with special reference to the British context. The modern conservation movement and the evolution of architectural conservation criteria are reviewed by looking into the key ideas, actors and international gatherings that dominated the conservation movement during the time frame of 1870s to 1960s. The British architectural conservation understandings of the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century are examined in ordered to provide an insight into the theory and practice at the metropolis before focusing on their projection on colonial Cyprus. The foundation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), its activism against the destructive restoration proposals for the medieval churches in Britain and its overseas activities are specifically examined. The governmental approaches and codification for the protection of built heritage in Britain during this time frame is also reviewed as they form the background of the practices implemented in Cyprus.

The transfers of such practices into the colony of Cyprus are examined in detail through collected archival evidence that are analysed in the discussions of the

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62 The word ‘metropolis’ is used in the present thesis for England as the mainland and/or the centre of the British colonial empire.
research findings in the empirical chapters of this thesis. The second part of this chapter examines the cultural heritage politics and architectural conservation understandings in Cyprus during the British colonial era (1878-1960). The key factors that have contributed to the emergence of national heritage constructs during this time frame are reviewed, presenting brief insights into the nature of these conceptions. The key external factors that influenced the evolution of architectural conservation understandings on the island, including amongst others the SPAB of London, are reviewed. The role of the colonial bureaucracies in the implementation of building upkeep and conservation practices on the island is examined with a particular focus on the role of the Public Works Department and the Antiquities Department, in their provision to the Waqf (Evkaf) of Cyprus with technical expertise and supervision regarding the upkeep of works and conservation projects for Waqf built properties. Amongst the key issues that are addressed in this chapter are the colonial authorities’ approaches towards the heritage practices through their statutory provision for ancient monuments, which implicitly excluded most of the built properties owned by the Waqf (Evkaf) of Cyprus.

5.1 Origins and Conceptual Frameworks of Heritage

It is commonly agreed in the scholarly fields that the current Western discourses of heritage began to flourish in Europe during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, stemming the raft of ideas and ideologies which shaped the modern era and often necessarily reflecting a Eurocentric perspective of the world (Lowenthal, 1998; Graham et al., 2000; Graham and Howard, 2008). The key agent in the modern heritage conceptions has been the rise of historicism that started with the historicist writings and the development of scientific survey method differentiating between historic periods, which gradually led to the consideration that the history of each epoch and nation, indeed of each individual, was unique (Hunter, 1981). With this conception, material relics became an essential adjunct of historical study and a prime source of empathetic understanding of the past (ibid). More specifically, at the moment of its conception, since historicity has served as a basis for nationalism, it led to the emergence of national heritage constructs.
Graham et al., (2000: 1-3), writing at the outset of the twenty-first century, has emphasized how the range of meanings attached to the formerly precise legal term ‘heritage’ has eventually undergone a quantum expansion to include almost any sort of intergenerational exchange or relationship, welcome or not, between societies as well as individuals. Thus heritage gained the capacity of being interpreted differently within any one culture at any one time, as well as between cultures and through time. Therefore, it is not rare to see it fulfilling several inherently opposing uses while carrying conflicting meanings simultaneously. The authors have argued that consequently heritage has turned into a construct of ‘the political and economic structures of the present using the past as a resource, but as that present becomes markedly more diverse and heterogeneous, heritage itself becomes even more complex and malleable’ (ibid. 7).

Widely accepted as the selective use of the past for contemporary purposes, heritage can be seen as an aggregation of myths, values and inheritances determined and defined by the needs of societies in the present (McDowell, 2008: 37). It can be envisaged as knowledge, simultaneously a cultural product and a political resource (Graham & Howard, 2008: 5). Among a number of different meanings attached to ‘heritage’, common to all is the reference to a ‘form of collective memory, a social construct by the political, economic and social concerns of the present’ (Graham & Howard, 2008: 5). It is considered ‘a powerful tool, a technology of governance and a point of validation or legitimization of the present in which actions and policies are justified by continuing references to representations and narratives of the past that are encapsulated through manifestations of tangible and intangible’ (Smith, 2006: 2).

In other words, heritage is not a ‘thing’ but a world of meaning created during selective remembering of the past that perpetuate certain forms of understanding and engaging with present (Atakuman, 2010: 108). Heritages are therefore, present-centred and are created, shaped and managed by, and in response to, the demands of the present (Graham & Howard, 2008: 3). Consequently, these present-centred demands and invented meanings lend themselves to a decisive role in what to conserve and what to abandon. The present-centred demands are often the key

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64 Also see Erder (1986); Pendlebury (2009)
factors in shaping the decisions behind the architectural conservation decisions and practices.

According to Harvey (2008: 19), the meaning of heritage is founded upon idealized representations of a collective past, which has purpose (or use value) in the present, together with a sense of projection into the future that inevitably reflects in a struggle to control the use of heritage within society. The author asserts that ‘the link between heritage and identity’ within such an understanding ‘tends to focus upon the control and use of heritage by official powers, and often concentrates on the nation as the primary vehicle for such a project’. Inevitably, the history of heritage is a showcase of big identity politics of heritage control and struggles over, at an official and often national level (ibid.). The construct of national heritages, as it is addressed further in the following section, are intermingled with national identities and intrinsically they assume political roles. Chapters 6 to 8 in the present thesis reveal how the national identification of the colonial elites in Cyprus with the physical traces of the medieval Western civilization on the island resulted in selective conservation practices for the Waqf built properties of Western origin.

5.1.1 National Identities and Nationalized Heritages

It is generally agreed that nationalism and national heritage developed synchronously in Europe from the eighteenth century onwards (Hunter, 1981; Graham et al., 2000; Pendlebury, 2009). Hunter (ibid, 24) asserts that the rise of nationalism in Europe’s emergent nation-states reinforced the emotional and symbolic importance of relics in the form of providing focus for national self-consciousness. The modern nation-states needed national heritage in order to consolidate their national identification, to absorb or neutralize potentially competing heritages of social-cultural groups or regions, and to combat the claims of other nations upon their territory or people, while furthering claims upon their nationals in territories elsewhere (Graham et al., 2000: 183). Therefore, during the process of nation-building the distant past was invoked and traditions were invented as part of the construction of the national heritages (Pendlebury, 2009: 21).
Lowenthal (1998) argues that heritage has been used by the modern nations as the primary element in national history writing and consequently in the formation of national identity. After the formation of new states, especially following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the concept of ‘national heritage’ and its protection evolved dramatically (Brown, 1905). Hence, various European countries, including the newly emerging states, developed legal frameworks and heritage bureaucracies to protect their national heritages. Accordingly, relics were revered, preserved, and where necessary were invented as symbols of national and social aspirations. As Graham and Howard (2008: 7) notes, the self-conscious delineation of heritage originated at the national scale, which it still remains very much defined at this level. In other words, national heritage was fundamental to the idea of modern nation-state. As a result, the fostering of national heritage has long been a major responsibility of governments and that the provision of many aspects of heritage, including its conservation, has long become in most countries a near-monopoly of national governments (ibid: 183-4). The literature review below in Section 5.5 presents the heritage politics and practices in Cyprus during the British colonial era (1878 to 1960). The evidence in the empirical chapters provides further insights into colonial Cyprus; that it has not been immune to these imported national heritage constructs and in fact the Waqf built heritage has been subjected to selective conservation practices.

Having reviewed briefly the concept of heritage and national heritage constructs, the next two sections define the architectural conservation terminology that relates to the present research and looks into the key moments of the architectural conservation movement during the period between 1870s and 1960s, which marks the British colonial period in Cyprus.

5.2 Terminology and Definitions

65 Greece, for example, as soon as it has won its struggle against the Ottoman Empire in 1820 and declared independence, declared the surviving relics of ancient Hellenistic civilisation as the common heritage of all Hellenes and prepared the legislation accordingly, in order to strengthen the Greek nationhood. Brown (1905: 217), points to the nationalist side of the Greece legislation of antiquities prepared in 1834. Also see Hamilakis (2007).

The terminology within the context of architectural conservation has dynamically changed through the modern and post-modern times, highlighting the necessity to establish a static one for the comprehension of any scholarly work in the field. Borrowing the definitions from Erder (1986), Delafons (1997), and Orbaşlı (2008), if not otherwise stated, in the present study the term ‘monument’, ‘architectural monument’, ‘cultural heritage’, ‘architectural heritage’, ‘heritage buildings’, and ‘built heritage’ are used to designate buildings, building groups or settlements having historic, artistic, architectural, cultural, symbolic, social and/or scientific attributes.

‘Conservation’ is used to designate a variety of activities involving the above. However, it goes much wider than the protection of individual buildings and can extend to whole areas and to features other than buildings. It also implies a different policy approach, reflecting a broader range of public interest. ‘Conservation’, as it is defined by the Burra Charter 1999, covers ‘all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance. It includes maintenance and may according to circumstance include preservation, restoration, reconstruction and adaptation and will commonly be a combination of more than one of these’, and as such it provides a convenient inclusive term for the whole business. The term ‘preservation’, which implies undertaking necessary maintenance to maintain a built property in its existing form and condition, is often used in a similar way the term ‘conservation’ used. The term is also used to imply retention with minimal alteration.

Among a variety of activities that is covered by conservation, the following are those that have relevance to the present research:

‘Adaptive reuse/adaptation’ is used implying making changes on the fabric and spatial layout of a building to accommodate a new use in order to enable their continued usefulness. Associated with adaptive reuse is the term ‘rehabilitation’, implying putting back into usage based on necessary physical alterations and social adaptations.

‘Consolidation’ implies physical interventions undertaken to stop further decay or structural instability. It may involve capping of the exposed wall tops or inserting metal rods within structural components of the buildings.
‘Preventive maintenance’ is used implying measures aiming to minimize the deterioration and damage of built heritage, thus avoiding major restoration interventions. It may include regular monitoring of the built heritage and carrying out small scale repairs.

‘Protection’ is used implying legal or physical measures against all kinds of destruction. It may include the inscribing the heritage buildings and/or putting fences and appointing security for safeguarding them.

‘Reconstruction’ is used implying the re-creation of a building in part or in whole based on the present reinterpretation of the past. Similarly, ‘reproduction’ is used implying the recreation of decorative building components based on the reinterpretation of the past.

‘Restoration’ is used implying returning a building or parts of it to a form in which it appeared at some point in the past. It may involve significant physical intervention on the fabric, which may extend to substantial rebuilding.

5.3 The Modern Architectural Conservation Movement and the Key Approaches

Even though there is evidence suggesting the existence of concern for the protection of certain artistic and architectural creations – mostly because of their symbolic, political or religious meanings – from very early times onwards, as many scholars also argue, this concern has not gone beyond isolated cases (Erder, 1986; Jokilehto 1999; Martinez, 2008). Erder (1986) has argued that it took a variety of shapes, depending on the circumstances, before such isolated concerns have evolved throughout a timeline into a consciousness of historical environments that led to the contemporary understanding of conservation. According to the author (1986:21), it is not unreasonable to expect that the individuals or societies who endeavoured to erect monuments have also concerned themselves with their perpetuity. Indeed, as discussed further in Chapter 4 and 5 of this thesis, studies of the Islamic Waqf has revealed a developed building upkeep and maintenance practice based on a well established legislative, administrative and control mechanism that enabled continuity
throughout the medieval ages up to the modern times. Yet, as addressed in Chapter 4, although self-sustained within itself, the Waqf’s building protection understanding was not on a par with the cultural heritage concept and conservation discourses of the modern world. As it has also been argued by Martinez (2008: 246), the upkeep and maintenance works practiced in the history has inevitably retained the flavour of their own epoch, without much consideration for the earlier layers. Obviously, the ultimate aim of such practices was to extend the life of the built properties.

Notwithstanding the rather random antecedents for appreciations of certain architectural objects because of their religious, aesthetic or symbolic-political meanings, it is widely agreed that preservation of architectural objects because of their historic values does not seem to be a regular practice before the Western Enlightenment (Hunter, 1981; Jokilehto, 1999; Martinez, 2008; Pendlebury, 2009; Stubbs & Makas, 2011). With the emergence of heritage constructs, debates were initiated concerning the appropriate treatment for their protection, which initiated the modern conservation as a scientific discipline that is very different from the artisan practices of the past. The rise of historicity promoted the belief that each period in history has its own values and strongly influenced the concern for their preservation (Hunter, 1981: 19). In the meantime, the systematic survey and cataloguing method of architectural monuments and movable antiquities that was developed in 1764 by Winckelmann, led to distinguishing the different historic layers and styles over the original fabric (Jokilehto, 1999). This has been a milestone that would become later an important principle for the Western oriented conservative repair movement, which assumed an international character during the twentieth century (ibid.).

Investigating the architectural conservation principles and practices essentially in the West from the eighteenth century onwards, Jokilehto (1999) has noted two competing conceptions that dominated the treatment of historic buildings in the nineteenth century: stylistic restoration versus conservation. According to Pendlebury (2009: 15-16), although there have been always debates on the appropriate treatment of historic buildings since the Italian Renaissance, yet such debates have never been as fierce as between these two conceptions that also underlined the modern conservation movement. These two concepts, which exemplify many of the competing ideas and notions towards historic buildings,
became especially associated with the French Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (stylistic restoration) – and the English John Ruskin and William Morris (conservation) (ibid.). Attention will be given specifically to the latter, as it relates to the case of Cyprus, which has been a British colony during the evolution of modern conservation theories and which has been in direct contact with Britain throughout the era more than any other Western country.

The most successful representative of stylistic restoration, the French architect Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), firmly believed that since restoration was a process requiring critical assessment underpinned by a systematic analysis of a building, restorers should be equipped with a good knowledge of architectural history and styles. In his understanding, the aim of restoration was to maintain the unity of style, thus the completion of an artistic idea. Therefore, ‘to restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or to rebuilt it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which may have never existed at any given time’ (Viollet-le-Duc, 1866, cited in Jokilehto, 1999:151). Since restoration was a creative process aiming at the achievement of unity, the removal of the original fabric and any subsequent historic layers that did not fall within the style that was being restored was justified a la priori. Martinez (2008: 247) argues that despite its leading to elimination of historic layers from the physical fabric and causing conjectural reconstruction of the historic buildings, stylistic restoration dominated the international panorama for the most of the nineteenth and the first third of the twentieth century.

On the British side of this restoration-anti restoration debate were Ruskin and Morris, advocating the ‘conservative repair’ against ‘stylistic restoration’ that would later turn into the cornerstone principle of the western conservation discourse. This approach, which is further addressed below in Section 5.2.2 focusing on the British conservation discourse, denounced all kinds of physical interventions on historic fabrics and promoted preventive maintenance. Restoration-anti restoration polemics kept going on both in England and Continental Europe until towards the end of the nineteenth century. In fact, according to Jokilehto (1999), it has actually never ended, at least in practice: In England and Italy the emphasis has been on conservation ever since and in France on restoration (ibid.). However, a third approach emerged in Italy that avoided both the style-obsessed excesses of the restorers and the radicalism of
those that prefer to see the disappearance of a building rather than an intervention. This new approach was developed by the Italian professor Camillo Boito (1836-1914) (Jokilehto, 1999: 200-203; Martinez, 2008: 249). Boito was a disciple of the French school, who was also influenced by the ideas of Ruskin and Morris (Jokilehto, ibid.). The combination led to the formation of *restauro filologico* (theory of philological restoration) that turned into guidelines from 1883 to 1893 (ibid: 201-202). Accordingly, Boito emphasized conservation over restoration, but did not reject restoration a la priori. Instead, he stressed that in case the monument is in danger, restoration should be preferred over its complete disappearance, yet the intervention should be kept to the minimum, avoiding any kind of stylistic reconstruction. Boito also emphasized the preservation of the authenticity of the monument, involving the subsequent layers added after its first construction: the monument was not limited to the first structure, that is why all subsequent alterations and additions were equally valid as historical documents, and therefore, to be preserved as such (ibid: 201). Another criterion introduced by Boito is the differentiation of the new materials and additions from the original (ibid: 202).

Boito’s ideas that were first expressed at the Fourth Congress of Engineers and Architects in Rome in January 1883 were refined, through speeches and written works, into the celebrated ‘eight points’ that were adopted by the Italian administration and became the first modern document that set out criteria for intervention (Jokilehto, 1999: 201). According to Martinez (2008: 250), Boito had enormous influence on Italian engineer Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947) who adopted and meliorated his principles. Giovannoni added the concept of the value of the ambience of the monument (as in old towns) and an interest in lesser (vernacular) architecture’ (ibid.). The author (ibid.) argues that this was a key development as conventional restoration practice had looked at monuments in isolation, a process that ignored and ultimately led to the loss of many urban areas of historical importance in Western cities. Giovannoni’s ideas led the evolution of restoration as an arena of international concern in the twentieth century. He was one of the influential actors in drafting the Athens Charter in 1931 (Demas, 1997; Jokilehto, 1999). The resolutions of this Charter, as discussed further in the second part of this chapter, became influential in the revision of the Antiquities Law of Cyprus in 1935.
Entitled as the Conclusions of the Athens Conference, the 1931 Athens Charter is the first international document that advocated abandoning stylistic restoration and favoured conservation, and maintenance of architectural monuments that respected the styles of all periods (Martinez, 2008: 249). This document is argued to be the reflection of the efforts to formulate internationally agreed standards (Jokilehto, 1999), and in fact it is the first international document outlining modern conservation policy (Orbaşlı, 2008: 21). With it, the understanding of ‘restoration as a process of conservation’, which underlines the current Western heritage discourse, became the dominant ideology, if not always the dominant practice (Martinez, 2008). The Charter introduced important conservation concepts and principles such as the idea of a common world heritage, the importance of the settings of the monuments and the principles of reintegration of new materials. Demas (1997) argues that although the recommendations were ahead of their time in calling for the reburial of archaeological remains when their conservation cannot be guaranteed, they were short-sighted in their advice of the use of reinforced concrete for consolidation of ancient monuments. The Athens Charter remained as the primary text on architectural conservation criteria until the declaration of the Venice Charter in 1964. As such, it was in effect during the last three decades of British colonial era in Cyprus. The influence of these resolutions within the context of conservation of waqf built properties is investigated in Chapter 8.

Having presented an overview of the genesis and evolution of modern conservation movement and its key moments with its debates and approaches in Europe, the next section revisits the British conservation discourses focusing essentially on the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, a period during which Cyprus was a British colony.

5.4 Architectural Conservation Movement in Britain during the British Colonial Era in Cyprus (1878-1960)

Although there might be isolated moments in history when there were protective attitudes towards artefacts of certain periods in Britain, as in many parts of the Western world, the beginnings of the British discourse on conservation has always
been associated with the events that had resulted in the formation of the SPAB in 1877 (Hunter, 1981; Delafons, 1997; Pendlebury, 2009). This was one year before Cyprus was turned into a British colony in 1878. The conceptions of British heritage, similar to the rest of the Western world, had been inspired by the historicism that was facilitated by the Enlightenment (Hunter, 1981). Even though there was a common appreciation of the ancient sites and archaeological remnants of the much distant epochs, the national heritage discourses had been shaped mainly bounded upon the fabric of the medieval era. At the same time, there was an ongoing movement since the end of the eighteenth century that led to the extraordinary passion for rebuilding English cathedrals and lesser churches under the directions of the Church authorities (Delafons, 1997: 13). Until the 1870s, many ecclesiastical buildings, which were often amalgams of different periods and styles, had already been restored to their supposed original and best forms to the detriment of others (Fawcett, 1976b; Pevsner, 1976).

Even though such works were criticized from time to time by the Society of Antiquaries, this was not compelling enough to stop Church authorities from engaging in such an extensive building repair and renovation programmes (Hunter, 1981: 12). A key personality, who expressed loudly his opinions against the ecclesiastical restorers, condemning both the patrons and the architects within such practice was J. Ruskin, the notable art-critic. Ruskin (1849) had firm believed that a historic building was the unique creation of an artisan or artist and the fundamental aim should have been the preservation of the old fabric and not the production of a modern replica. According to Ruskin (ibid.), restoration and the removal of fabric were thus an act of destruction. Such an action could be a necessity only because of the dilapidated state of the building (see Delafons, 1997: 16-17). Yet, Ruskin’s views were not reached a larger audience before his disciple W. Morris drew up the Manifesto for the SPAB in 1877, as a reaction to the architect G. G. Scott’s restoration proposals for Tewkesbury Abbey (Delafons, ibid: 12-20).

Around the same time, Morris & Co., owned by Morris, ceased to accept commissions for stained glass for the windows of restored ancient churches (Delafons, 1997: 20). Despite the vociferous criticism and activism, restorations of ancient churches continued in England as there was no statutory protection to cover
them for a long time to go. In fact stylistic restoration was going to be attempted in some extent in the 1880s in the newly acquired colony of Cyprus as the archival evidence analysed in Chapter 6 shows. Even though Morris and the SPAB was against their production for the use at restorations, tinted cathedral glass rolls would be imported from England to replace the perforated gypsum panels that had replaced the stained glass windows of the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta during the sixteenth century conversion of this former Gothic cathedral.

5.4.1 The Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings and Its Overseas Activities

The SPAB was founded shortly after the brutality of Gilbert Scott’s restoration proposals for Tewkesbury Abbey provoked Morris to write to the Athenaeum in March 1877, suggesting an association to act as a watchdog over such works (Delafons, ibid: 20). Morris was the secretary and Ruskin among the committee members. In the manifesto of the Society, Morris urged those concerned for old buildings for routine care over the fabric (ibid.). The manifesto also expressed the view that if an ancient building had become inconvenient for its present use, rather than alter or enlarge it, it would be better to replace it with another building. It suggested basing the protection of historic buildings not on style but on a critical evaluation of the authenticity of the material fabric. Removing the historic layers, or restoring them or copying them would lead to a loss of authenticity and the creation of a fake (Pendlebury, 2009: 18).

Morris, the founder and the most influential figure of the SPAB, had strong value judgements and he did not think that all things should be conserved (Miele, 2005c: 3). He liked medieval architecture above all others because it was based on unalienated labour (ibid.). In a way he was reflecting on Ruskin, who had already signified the preservation of medieval British architecture as the national heritage (Pendlebury, 2009: 21). In accordance with this view, the early SPAB had imposed an unofficial cut-off point at c.1700; generally work after this date was not considered as part of the genuine historical record (Miele, 2005c: 12). Obviously, the SPAB had favoured the preservation of the medieval era edifices, as they symbolized the national heritage of the country. As it is further investigated in Chapter 7 in the
the present thesis, G. Jeffery, the SPAB’s representative at the island since the beginning of the twentieth century, had demonstrated a similar selective consciousness regarding the preservation of the Waqf built properties. While he highlighted the historic and architectural values of buildings with Western origin, he neglected the Ottoman buildings (Jeffery, 1918). The former were consisted to be historic buildings dated to the Latin-Frankish rule of the island between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

According to Pendlebury (2009), the SPAB was not only the first body in England specifically concerned with protecting ancient buildings, it was also the first effective pressure group in the field of conservation. Dominated by non-architects it was first and foremost a campaigning body, initially in opposition to those with a different vision of the appropriate treatment of historic buildings. A network of correspondents was established in the early years for alerting the Committee in London about the insensitive restorations or demolitions (Miele, 2005b: 47-49). Correspondents were also investigating or verifying the cases reported in newspapers. G. Jeffery, a conservationist architect whose activities in relation to the conservation of Waqf built properties in Cyprus is investigated in Chapter 7 of the present thesis, was one of the active international correspondents of the Society, writing initially from Italy, then from Palestine and finally from Cyprus (Sharp, 2005; Pilides, 2009). According to Miele (ibid: 48), once established the facts through this network, the Society then wrote directly to the persons in charge to convince them that restoration was an unnecessary expense when low-key, inexpensive repair would do.

The SPAB played an important role in uniting those opposed to conjectural restoration and promoting maintenance and conservationist treatment (Pendlebury, 2009). Its agenda quickly broadened and extended into a wider role, promoting the significance of architectural cultural heritage and campaigning against the demolition of buildings of a wide range of types, far beyond the initial focus on ecclesiastical buildings (ibid.). According to Miele (2005b: 55), the SPAB soon claimed that historic monuments were akin to national property and they should be treated appropriately. However, it also had a dogmatic tone, a doctrinaire approach and a rigid adherence to its original concepts that has attracted criticism (Delafons,
1997: 20). Ruskin and Morris reflected a highly Romanticist sense, almost as radical as the stylistic restorations. They believed in minimum intervention, which often meant that they preferred to see the disappearance of a building rather than an intervention (ibid.). In 1924, the SPAB had to issue an interpretative note modifying that rigid position and allowing for modest alterations over historic buildings (Delafons, 1997: 20).

The SPAB’s expansion of its mission to include historic buildings from overseas localities in its agenda began immediately after its establishment (Sharp, 2005: 187). The Society constituted a Foreign Committee as early as 1879 and started a protest campaign against the restoration proposals for St. Mark’s Cathedral in Venice (ibid: 187-88). However, the Society’s confrontational approach in St. Mark’s case was not well received by the Italians who nearly caused a diplomatic scandal (ibid.). Sharp (2005) argues that this particular case that led to attacks on the SPAB both in Britain and abroad made the Committee soften its tone of criticism and be more sympathetic towards foreign concerns. Yet, from the decision in 1878 to get involved on behalf of foreign projects until the World War I, the Society made a number of significant contributions to protecting important monuments throughout Europe and the Middle East as well as the British colonies (ibid.).

The Society’s involvement on behalf of ancient monuments in Cyprus is addressed in the second part of the present chapter. Prior to looking into the projections of these developments in heritage conceptions and practices in Cyprus, the next section investigates the codification for the protection of heritage buildings in Britain during the same era, involving the response of the government and the enactment of legislation. This section deliberately covers the first group of British Ancient Monuments Acts, which were enacted during 1882-1953 while Cyprus was a colony.

5.4.2 Preservationist Legislation: British Ancient Monument Acts 1882 to 1953

The beginning of codification of heritage conservation principles and the introduction of listing in Britain was much slower than many European countries.\(^\text{67}\)

\(^\text{67}\) The results of a survey, compiled by Brown at the outset of the twentieth century on legislation and methods of historic preservation then in force in European countries and some others, demonstrated
Interest in ancient monuments on the part of the State did not materialize until the end of the nineteenth century (Erder, 1986: 180). Brown (1905) for example complained that the Government funds for the maintenance of religious and educational properties were allocated in the form of a lump sum to the private body concerned, with no direct control on how the money was spent (ibid.). In fact, until the establishment of the SPAB in 1877, no official body for maintenance, repair or supervision of monuments existed in Britain (Erder, 1986: 180). Obviously, the British conservation movement was just in its beginnings in the metropolis when Cyprus became a colony in 1878.

The first bill on the protection of historic monuments was introduced in the Parliament in 1873 by Sir J. Lubbock, under pressure from private organizations, essentially the Society of Antiquaries and the SPAB. According to Suddards (1988: 180-81) Lubbock steered on to the statute book the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, though not without some difficulties. Despite the pleas for modest protection, the politicians were not well convinced “why they should bother retaining anything from the bygone barbarous past” (ibid.). The bill was also opposed on the grounds that it interfered with the rights of private ownership and allowed expropriation of private property (Erder, 1986: 180). It was finally passed in 1882, albeit in a diluted form. While the church built properties were excluded from statutory listing, the Church retained its authority in their maintenance. A similar position had been taken nearly two decades later in Cyprus, and as it is explained in Chapter 6 of this thesis, the first Law of Antiquities in 1905 had excluded the historic built properties belonging to the Muslim *Waqf* (*Evkaf*) and Greek Orthodox Church.

According to Brown (1905), despite the Act of 1882, Britain lagged behind many other European countries in the statutory provisions for ancient monuments and other objects of historical interest. Brown (ibid.) remarked how because of the shyness of the British Parliamentary, the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 could that some Western countries had taken the lead in conservation at an early stage (Brown, 1905). For example Sweden in 1666, Portugal in 1721, Germany in 1780, Denmark in 1807, Greece in 1834. Several European countries, according to Brown (1905) devised comprehensive acts to cover not only the archaeological remains but in some cases extended protection to outstanding buildings of much more recent date: In Prussia up to about 1870; in Italy a limit of fifty years and in Hesse of thirty years. Some countries had also realized that no protective system could be fully effective unless there was a method of recording or listing the building that ought to be preserved. Moreover, many countries had recognized the need for the State to intervene to protect, or if necessary to acquire compulsorily, monuments that were at risk of destruction.
hardly contemplate anything nearer in date than pre-historic standing stones and tumuli. Yet, the activism continued, and the protective system for Ancient Monuments of Britain has slowly evolved in the subsequent acts of 1900, 1913, 1931, 1947 and 1953 (Delafons (ibid.). In time, a wider range of monuments were covered and the aesthetic aspect of new buildings also became an issue of concern (Erder, 1986: 180). However, for a long time to go, the historic build properties under private ownerships, essentially the inhabited ones, were excluded from statutory provisions (Delafons, 1997: 29). According to Delafons (ibid.) this restriction remained a key feature of the Ancient Monuments Acts until the 1980s as a major defect in Britain’s statutory system of conservation.

The Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act of 1913 defined the scope of listing in wider terms, covering not only ancient monuments but ‘any other monuments or things, the preservation of which is a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, architectural, traditional, artistic, or archaeological interest attaching thereto; and the site of any such monument, or of any remains thereof’ (Delafons, 1997: 31-32). The Act also provided for an Ancient Monuments Board to oversee the preparation of a list of monuments, the preservation of which was of national importance (Suddards, 1988: 181). According to the author, the Board was also empowered to prepare a list of other monuments, which were of less than national importance but which should be preserved in the public interest.

The Act of 1913 had originally contained a separate section on the maintenance and repairs of ecclesiastical buildings, but before it was presented to Parliament the Church expressed its desire to take care of its own buildings (Erder, 1986: 181). Consequently, buildings used for religious purposes were left outside the jurisdiction of the law (ibid.). Every diocese initially formed its own advisory board, as if to proclaim its independence; these were subsequently united under the title of Central Council of Diocesan Advisory Committees for the Care of Churches, who gained legislative strength in 1938. In the meantime a separate advisory council was formed for the maintenance of cathedrals, which were large buildings demanding particular attention (ibid.). As it is explained further in Chapter 8 of this thesis, a similar position towards the historic built properties belonging to the religious bodies in Cyprus was taken by the British colonial Government at the island. The Law of
Antiquities of 1905 and 1935 recognized the respective authority of the Muslim Waqf (the Evkaf) and the Greek Orthodox Church.

In Britain, starting from 1913, advisory boards were set up with a task of compiling ancient monument lists, furnishing information to the Ministry on listed monuments and those in need of urgent repair, and for assisting private owners in the restoration of their property (Erder, 1986: 181; Delafons, 1997: 30). Additions to and alterations of listed buildings were restricted. Experts were included in the advisory boards, and the lists of classified buildings started to be published from 1921 onwards (Erder, 1986). However, Delafons (ibid.) argues that despite the apparently wide definition in the 1913 Act, the Advisory Board did not extend its listing activities beyond the traditional scope of the ancient monuments system. As a result, buildings later than the sixteenth century, inhabited houses and ecclesiastical buildings in use were excluded from the list of 3000 monuments prepared by 1931 (ibid.).

In an amendment in 1931, strengthening powers were introduced in particular in relation to schemes for the purpose of preserving the amenities of an ancient monument (Suddards, 1988: 181). Accordingly, the environment of historic buildings was also brought under protection by measures such as regulation of new constructions around them. A 1944 decision foresaw the inclusion of historic buildings with their environments in town plans (Erder, 1986: 181). Later, the Town and County Planning Act of 1947 provided further solutions to the area conservation problem. The next Act was the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act of 1953, which brought under control not merely the ancient monument, but its owner. The range of ancient monuments was widened to include monuments which had a reference to industrial archaeology by virtue of that Act (ibid.).

Delafons (1997:1) argues that the Government in Britain was initially reluctant in getting involved in conservation issues, but in time heritage and its conservation was found to be a source of political capital. According to the author (ibid.), gradually ‘the values that motivated the pioneers became obscured by other interests. What began as an antiquarian and scholarly pursuit, and became an elitist cause, has developed into a populist movement. As attitudes changed, so did government policies’. Nevertheless, the Church in Britain retained the authority in the decisions
concerning the conservation of the historic built properties under its ownership up to the second part of the twentieth century.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when Cyprus was turned into a colony, the SPAB had just been established, and initiated activism against the Church restorers. The Society was advocating conservative repair principles and minimum physical interventions to the historic fabric of monuments and buildings. The SPAB had gained large grounds by utilizing the news media in protesting the restorers’ attitudes and the government’s approach, both in the metropolis and in its colonies. It also had a key role in promoting the medieval era built heritage of England as national heritage. The government in the metropolis, though initially reluctant to accept responsibilities in the heritage sector has eventually got involved in policy making. Religious heritage properties were excluded from statutory listing and provisions for a long time in the twentieth century. How did the British Government’s changing approaches to the conservationist cause at the mainland have affected its practices in its colonies remains an under-researched area. Although this falls outside the main aim of this research, investigating the case of the Cypriot Waqf (Evkaf) during the colonial era will provide new insights in this direction.

The two previous sections have briefly looked into the genesis and evolution of the heritage and architectural conservation in the West in general and in Britain in particular during the time frame of the British colonisation of the island of Cyprus. The colonial power’s heritage conceptions and conservation understandings that are likely to have had a direct or indirect impact on the Cypriot Waqf’s building upkeep and conservation practices has been examined. The modern conservation movement and the evolution of architectural conservation criteria have been reviewed by looking into the key ideas, actors, and international gatherings that dominated the conservation movement during the time frame of 1870s to 1960s. The British architectural conservation understandings of the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century are examined in ordered to provide an insight into the theory and practice in the metropolis before focusing on their projection in colonial Cyprus. The foundation of the SPAB, its activism against the destructive restoration proposals for the medieval churches in Britain and its overseas activities have been specifically examined. The governmental approaches and codification of the protection of built
heritage in Britain during the time frame have also been reviewed, since they form the background of the practices that took place in Cyprus. The next two sections focus on the theoretical framework of heritage conceptions in Cyprus during the British colonial era (1878-1960) and the subsequent developments in heritage conservation practices within the local organizational, professional and legal contexts.

5.5 Heritage Conceptions and Politics of Cultural Heritage in British Colonial Cyprus

It is commonly agreed that in many countries cultural heritage and national histories are intermingled (Kohl & Fawcett, 1995; Silberman, 1995; Meskel, 1998; Graham & Howard, 2008). It has also been agreed that the archaeological and historical narratives and thus the practice of archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean are intricately linked to the socio-political realities and Cyprus, being in the heart of this region, has not been immune to this (Silberman, 1995; van Dommelen, 1997; Knapp and Antoniadou, 1998; Meskel, 1998; Hyland, 1999; Scott, 2002; Meskel, 1998: 2-3). If many of the features of modern Cypriot society emerged during the British colonial period as it has been argued by Faustmann and Peristianis (2006:7), in all likelihood, nationalist aspirations, historicist consciousness and heritage conceptions gained visibility in the island during the same era as well. It can be assumed that the political motives for constructing and/or further consolidating the ethnic nationalisms in the island has led to the emergence of the respective national heritage conceptions. These national heritage constructs have been underpinned by the aspects that the nations identified themselves with, including religious and symbolic dimensions.

According to Jacobs (1996: 35) national heritage sites ‘take on powerful political roles and set the stage for struggles over cultural identity and political power. Heritage, then, imbues certain places with symbolic values and beliefs, and transforms them into a space where cultural identity is defined or contested, and where the social order is reproduced or challenged’. As such, the ancient sites of Hellenistic civilization in Cyprus were invented as the national heritage of the
Greeks of the island (Silberman, 1995: 259; van Dommelen, 1997: 306). However, the British colonialist authorities were not always comfortable with the Greek nationalist heritage discourses (Given, 1998). For example, in 1920s they attempted to redirect the attention by inventing the Eteocypriots, the non-Greek and non-Turkish indigenous population. This, however, was not going to have any impact on the heritage narratives of the Greek elites, for whom the most culturally important historical events were the Mycenaean immigrations of 1400 BC during which the Greek culture was established on the island, and the Byzantine period (AD 300-1192) (Scott, 2002: 105).

While on the one hand the Cypriot Greek elites efficiently utilized the ancient Hellenistic and medieval Byzantine religious heritage for the construct of a national identity, on the other hand, Cypriot Turkish elites zealously adopted Turkey’s Kemalist ideologies of nationalism (Ateşin, 1996, 1999, 2006; Nevzat, 2005; Nevzat & Hatay, 2009). The British colonial era in Cyprus coincides largely with the rise of Kemalism in Turkey between 1923 and 1950, during which the Islamic heritage was rejected in favour of constructing a secular national identity based on Western culture (Atakuman, 2010). The Waqf built properties were implicitly excluded from the national heritage constructs and the preservationist legislation of the new Republic (Madran, 2002; Akar, 2009; Atakuman, 2010). The national constructs of the new secular Turkish Republic were invented completely based on a non-Islamic past (Atakuman, 2010). Thus, Anatolia’s pre-historic civilizations, essentially the Hittites came to represent the national heritage of the country. Yearning for adopting the Kemalist ideology, the secular Cypriot Turkish elites embarked on constructing a similar secular national identity (Ateşin, 1996; Nevzat, 2005; Nevzat and Hatay, 2009). Thus, the Islamic Waqf (Evkaf) was visualized as a substantial economic resource inherited from the Turkish ancestors that lived on the island since 1571 AD, without attaching much symbolic significance to the built properties they inherited (Ateşin, 1996; Nevzat and Hatay, 2009). Chapter 7 and 8 of this thesis provide new insights into both the Muslim-Turkish community’s perception of Waqf heritage during the era and the colonial attempts to set up heritage constructs.

While the two communities of the island had their own nationalistic agendas and national heritage conceptions during the colonial era, the British rulers also had their
own constructs. It appears from the texts from various moments of the era that they identified themselves with the ancient monuments with Western origin (I’Anson, 1882; Jeffery, 1906, 1918, 1935a, 1935b; Caröe, 1931; Caröe, 1933; Anonymous 1934). As the Chapters 3 and 4 have revealed, many of such monuments were owned by Evkaf and used for Waqf purposes since the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571.

5.6 Evolution of Architectural Conservation Understanding in Cyprus during the British Colonial Era (1878-1960) and Its Implications on Evkaf’s Heritage Practices

There is no evidence to suggest the existence of cultural heritage conceptions among the Cypriot elites prior to the British colonial era. The takeover coincided with the time frame that the elites in the metropolis were actively involved in the conservationist cause and by establishing Societies had exerted influence on the Government there for the enactment of the preservationist legislation. They were already enlightened in the historic values of physical remains of past epochs and were determined that these remains warranted preservation. In Cyprus, however, the involvement of the local elites in the conservationist cause has not gained any visibility during the colonial era. Existing literature indicates that the initiation of the heritage conservationist cause on the island was primarily done by external agents rather than internal ones.

The SPAB of London, for instance got involved on behalf of the protection of the medieval era monuments on Cyprus especially during the late nineteenth-early twentieth century (Pilides, 2009). Later, in 1933, as an initiative of the societies and conservationist elites in London, the Mersey Committee was formed to collect funds for assisting the colonial Government in Cyprus in the conservation of ancient monuments (Anonymous, 1934). As it is addressed further in the following sections, heritage practices at the Cyprus have remained in the realm of the colonial authorities. Criticism on the heritage practices (or the lack of them) on the island

68 See for instance Schaar et al., 1995, Pilides, 2009 and Limbouri, 2011
emerged not from the native community but from the British Societies and elites in the metropolis.

5.6.1 The Involvement of the British Societies and Conservation Elites on Behalf of Ancient Monuments in Colonial Cyprus

The SPAB has been the key Society that has been involved on behalf of the conservation of ancient monuments in Cyprus since the beginnings of the colonial period. In fact, Sharp (ibid: 204) argues that the Society achieved its greatest success in the colonies in Cyprus. According to the author (ibid.), the Society made its first attempt to intervene in Cyprus in August 1878 soon after the British takeover of the island, and asked for the advice from a politician on how to influence the government to at least initiate a survey of medieval buildings on the island. Obviously, this was a reflection of the Society’s already well known concerns for the medieval era monuments of Western origins. In the case of Cyprus these monuments were symbolising the Western national heritage in the East. While the SPAB’s attempt regarding this survey is not known to yield any solid results (ibid.), the Society, in a letter addressed to the Chief Secretary of the island, on the 17th December 1897, criticized the island’s government as overlooking those using the remains of the medieval churches and other places of interests in Famagusta as stone quarries (quoted in Limbouri 2011: 48). The publication of French archaeologist Camille Enlart’s book in 1899 based on a survey of the medieval monuments in Cyprus attracted the Society’s attention to the island once more (Pilides, 2009). There were public outcries over the British government’s failure to protect the medieval era monuments of the island (ibid). Reports appeared in London newspapers indicating a growing consensus that the British government should do more to protect Cypriot monuments (Sharp, 2005: 205). On the other hand, Italians blamed the SPAB for making a public row over their restoration proposals for St. Mark’s Cathedral in Venice, while at the same time there was ongoing looting and demolition of the monuments of Italo-Greek origins on colonial Cyprus (Sharp: 204-05). However, the Society did not make any further attempts apart from the

69 See for instance Jeffery’s Report on the medieval era monuments in Cyprus (Jeffery, 1906).
collection of such newspaper clippings until it was approached by G. Jeffery in 1903. Jeffery highlighted the danger to many prominent historic structures and destruction since Enlart’s survey and he offered to act as a SPAB representative in Cyprus (Sharp, 2005; Pilides, 2009). Consequently, Jeffery became the Cyprus correspondent for the SPAB, providing the Society in London with information about the conditions of the ancient monuments and the entities that has authority over them. He was eventually became a member of the Committee of the SPAB, in recognition of his services (Sharp, 2005: 205). Through Jeffery, heritage conceptions of the Society and its architectural conservation understanding would be imported to Cyprus, which is examined in the light of new evidence in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

According to Pilides (2009: 5), George Jeffery (1855-1935) was a conservationist architect who, before arriving in Cyprus, had much experience in ecclesiastic works ranging from new designs to repair or renovation of the existing buildings. This passion, maintains the author, took him to various lands including Italy, Germany and Palestine. It is understood from his writings that Jeffery had a highly romantic view of preservation without alterations and even the very necessary alterations were vandalistic in his sense of understanding (Pilides, 2009). He was a true follower of the anti-restoration movement and he denounced any kind of intervention other than conservative repairs (Limbouri, 2011: 48). Jeffery, in line with the SPAB, was mainly concerned with the medieval era monuments of Western origin. It is understood from the ample correspondence between Jeffery and the Society that ever since his first visits to Cyprus, Jeffery was convinced that ‘the monuments of Medieval date were regarded as symbols of oppressive foreign rule and were therefore neglected, demolished or used as sources of building materials’ (Pilides, 2009: 20). According to Pilides, both Jeffery and the representatives of the SPAB recognized that a combination of Archaeological Societies on the island would bear fruitful influence on the preservation of ancient monuments of European origin, even though it was the responsibility of the home government to take the initiative’ (ibid.). Obviously, this was the diplomatic tone, adopted by the Society in the aftermath of the aforementioned bad publicity, caused by its intervention on behalf of the St. Mark’s restoration proposals.
During this time, enlisting the help of the Earl of Balcarres\textsuperscript{70}, the SPAB succeeded in convincing the colonial Government of the island to revise the plans of demolishing the medieval sea wall of the Famagusta fortification. Based on the SPAB’s plans, archways were opened into the wall instead of pulling down the whole wall structure (ibid: 206-07). In another case, after seeking advice from the Society, Jeffery filled the emptied spaces on the walls of a medieval tower with concrete mortar, which could not be confused with the original, but would also be useless to the locals who were removing the original stones (ibid: 208).

Sharp (ibid.) remarks that after 1914, there is little record of substantial achievements on the Society’s part and with the retirement of Jeffery in 1930s, the SPAB’s involvement on behalf of conservation projects on the island ended. According to the author, while the SPAB was able to influence the fate of certain buildings in Cyprus, it was not very influential on many historic properties owned by the religious authorities of the island. The author asserted that these authorities were altering the historic buildings dramatically that was rather difficult for SPAB to achieve success on many occasions (ibid). Obviously, among the religious authorities mentioned by Sharp was Evkaf (Waqf institution). The investigation in Chapter 7 of this thesis sheds light in Jeffery’s involvement in Evkaf’s heritage practices between 1903 and 1935, offering expertise services for the conservation of ancient monument owned by the institution. The evidence in Chapter 7 suggests how he had became one of the key initiators of a selective conservation understanding, favouring the protection of Waqf built properties with Western origins without experiencing much difficulties from the Evkaf in this direction.

According to Pilides (2009: 16), during his presence in the island Jeffery was convinced that the natives were incapable of any work in the field of conservation. The author asserts that Jeffery 'disagreed with the suggestion of employing a Cypriot assistant to the Curator and was, in fact, convinced that if he were succeeded by a Cypriot all his hard work for the preservation of the Medieval monuments would be lost....He maintained that there should be an assistant Curator of Ancient Monuments, who should be an

\textsuperscript{70}A Conservative MP from 1903-1913, who had been a leading parliamentary supporter for the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1900. He demonstrated interest in Cypriot monuments, and using a continual stream of information provided by Jeffery, kept pressure on the Colonial Office (Sharp, 2005: 206-07).
Englishman, in touch with current restoration principles and nominated by the Secretary of the SPAB (Pilides, 2009: 16).

Apparently, his firm views had their impact locally, as by the time Jeffery retired in 1935, the training of natives in the field of architectural conservation was yet to be considered. In 1930, W. D. Caröe, the renowned British ecclesiastical architect, arrived in Cyprus and was commissioned restoration projects by the PWD, which also involved the Evkaf (Pilides, 2009: 13). He can be considered as the second key British professional that contributed to the protection of the monuments of Cyprus during the colonial era, especially through his writings (Limbouri, 2011: 48). Pilides (2009: 13) argues that Jeffery was not pleased with his style and wrote to the SPAB about Caröe, reporting that he acted against the principles of restoration that were defined by the SPAB in England. Apparently Caröe, who arrived in the island at the time when the recommendations of the aforementioned 1931 Athens Charter were fresh, was not pleased with Jeffery’s style either. In his lecture, Caröe (1931) has described the rich cultural heritage of Cyprus, advocating the preservation of monuments from all periods and outlining the improved methods of conservation then practiced in England. It has been argued that with this lecture, Caröe, albeit indirectly, had criticised the methods used by Jeffery (Pilides, 2009: 15; Limbouri, 2011: 48). According to Limbouri (ibid.), Caröe’s texts involved references to Camilo Boito’s restauro filologico, which had been advocated a few years earlier in Europe and also influenced the drafting of the 1931 Athens Charter. In his text, Caröe (1931) expressed ideas that at certain cases physical alterations might be acceptable, provided that the new work over historic fabric made intelligible, but also in harmony with the rest. Caröe is known to provide some expertise services to Evkaf during his short life in Cyprus, concerning the Waqf built properties of Western origin (Pilides, 2009). While Caröe attempted to improve the physical intervention methods on par with the developments in conservation theory, the newspaper reporting in London on the neglected conditions of the ancient monuments of Cyprus have intensified once again.

In the autumn of 1933 a letter appeared in The Times, signed by several British archaeologists, calling attention to the bad condition of the ancient and artistic buildings and other historical remains in the Crown Colony of Cyprus (Anonymous, 1934: 1). We are informed by a subsequent report (ibid.) that the letter had reminded
the unique importance of Cypriot monuments as examples of nearly every phase of Western culture and civilization, and pointed to the lamentable state of decay into which they were rapidly falling. Consequently, a Committee was formed with the approval of the Secretary of State for Colonies and of the Governor of the island to enquire into this state and to suggest remedies, if possible. A recognized expert, Sir Charles Peers, then the President of the Society of Antiquaries was sent to the island to report on the situation. He was accompanied by Sir George Hill, the Director of British Museum to report to the Colonial Office on the local Law of Antiquities and on the condition of the museum in Nicosia.

Sir C. Peers, in his report mentioned that ‘in Rhodes the Italian Government have transformed a city of dirt and ruin into one of the sights of the East; while in Syria a wise but lavish expenditure by the French yearly discovers, restore and preserves the famous relics of past ages’ (Anonymous, 1934: 5-6). According to Sir Peers, ‘only in Cyprus, a centre of antiquities not unworthy of its neighbours, have the British failed to do their duty. Succeeding to a priceless heritage they are rapidly allowing the treasures for which they are responsible to fall into disrepair and gradually disappear’ (ibid.). Consequently, the Cyprus Committee, also known as the Mersey Committee, appealed to the British public who could afford to do so to help them in a worthy and patriotic task. Funds were gathered yearly and sent to the Director of the newly founded Department of Antiquities, to be utilized in the required conservation projects.

5.6.2 The Approach of the Colonial Authorities in Heritage Practices and the Involvement of the Colonial Bureaucracies

The British colonial authorities in Cyprus, as in the case at the Government in Britain, were reluctant in getting involved with the provision of statutory measures for the ancient monuments. The first British Monuments Act on the island was enacted nearly three decades after the commencement of the colonial era. Although statutory provisions for safeguarding the ancient monuments were delayed, the infamous British bureaucracy had been established immediately after the commencement of the British rule at the island (Schaar et al., 1995: 23). The Public
Works was amongst the first permanent departments, which was established under the Civil Service (ibid: 11). The Public Works Department, as investigated further in Chapters 6 to 8, had been given a prominent role from the early beginnings in providing technical expertise during the authorisation processes and supervising the implementation of the upkeep of works regarding the Waqf built properties, historic or otherwise, which continued throughout the colonial era.

During the first year of British rule, and until the establishment of the Public Works Department, the Royal Engineers had been employed to supervise public construction and repair works (Schaar et al., 1995: 14). Following their withdrawal at the end of 1879, the island’s government started to appoint engineer(s) for the Public Works Department in order to oversee the construction works of public buildings and infrastructure. Amongst the duty of the government engineer was the provision of technical expertise and supervision for the repairs on historic buildings (ibid.). As such, the relationships between the Evkaf and the PWD had started immediately after the establishment of the latter.

Schaar et al., (1995: 19, 27, 31) argue that the Government’s budgets at the early decades of the British colonial era were extremely limited, not allowing extensive projects of conservation of the historic buildings to be undertaken. According to the authors (ibid: 31), the PWD oversaw the repair of certain unused historic buildings and re-adapted them for specific uses for specific purposes. Adapting old structures as cheaply as possible into something useful was the favoured solution. One such case, which is further investigated in Chapter 6, was the adaption of the historic Büyük (Great) Khan into a prison and barracks for the local police force.

Subsequently, many medieval churches within the walls at Famagusta, most of them disused, were converted into stores (Schaar et al., 1995).

Due to the reality that the colonial Government was rather reluctant in getting involved in the protection of ancient monuments, it took two decades before the first appointment of a conservationist architect was made at the PWD. Schaar et al., (1995: 30) argue that although there were a minority of governmental officials, who were in the opinion that ‘the ancient monuments ought to be preserved in their own rights’, this did not materialise until the appointment of G. Jeffery (mentioned earlier
in respect to his relations with the SPAB) as the Curator of Ancient Monuments in 1903.

The colonial Government’s reluctant approach in introducing statutory provisions for the protection of ancient monuments continued until the enactment of the first Antiquities Law in 1905. Even then, neither the SPAB’s earliest criticism of their indifference or Jeffery’s protests prevented the government of the island from pulling down the Gateway of the Palace of the Frankish kingdom in Nicosia in 1905. Being adapted to their needs, the palace, also known as the Konak, had been reused as the administrative and residential quarters of the Ottoman rulers during the three centuries of their rule. According to Schaar et al., Frank Cartwright, the Director of the PWD, was of the opinion that

"being gradually demolished over the past years as various parts became dangerous, the gateway, with its Lusignan coats of arms and Flamboyant Gothic window, would be an anachronism. To leave it in place would prevent the new buildings from shewing to advantage from the Square, thus sacrificing Art to Antiquity. As for any part which might have historical value, room could no doubt be found for it in the Town Museum (Schaar et al., 1995: 30)."

Cartwright also expressed the opinion that ‘photos were taken for posterity using the Chief Secretary’s camera, was going to be a waste of film and paper’ (ibid.). Obviously the British colonial authorities were not much interested in the historic buildings. There were not any budgets for expensive conservation projects and besides, there were not many governmental officials to fight for such a noble cause (Schaar et al. 1995: 27, 31.).

It appears that the PWD remained as the sole technical support provider in the field of historic repairs until the establishment of the Department of Antiquities in 1934. The aforementioned criticism by the conservationist elites in London in 1933, which had been reflected in newspapers reporting pointing to the island’s government’s neglect towards the preservation of the ancient monuments, acted as a key initiator for this formation (Anonymous, 1934). One year later, in 1935, the Department received its character, in the form of a new Antiquities Law (Megaw, 1957: 3). By that time Jeffery was made redundant by the Governor of the island, before he passed away in 1935 (ibid.) and Caröe has retired. As described in an annual report by A.H.S. Megaw, the Director of Antiquities of Cyprus between 1935
and 1960, the Department of Antiquities was established with the main objective to make better provision for the preservation of sites and buildings of archaeological and historic interest (Megaw, 1957: 3). Henceforth, the Department essentially became responsible for the control of archaeological excavations and discoveries (ibid.).

As it is understood from the reports, published annually since its foundation in 1935, the Department focused essentially on archaeological excavations, but also maintained relations with both the Evkaf and the Greek Orthodox Church and provided technical expertise and consultancy regarding the conservation projects for the inscribed built heritage, which is owned by these two institutions. The Department of Antiquities remained as a centralised body overseeing the conservation of the inscribed ancient monuments of Cyprus until the end of the colonial era in 1960, while the Evkaf and the Greek Orthodox Church continued to exercise their custodial responsibilities over such monuments (Hyland, 1999). Limbouri (2011: 49) asserts that during the colonial era the British administration of the Department focused its attention to the protection of the monuments of the medieval era of Cyprus, which were visualised as the evidence of Western civilization. As it becomes clear under the light of new archival evidence, which is investigated in Chapter 6 to 8 of this thesis, the British authorities had perceived the medieval era built heritage of Western origins as their national heritage and they used it to consolidate their power at the island. Their conservation became centralised under the colonial bureaucracies, initially the PWD and subsequently the Antiquities Department. Many of such monuments, as it is investigated further in the empirical chapters of this thesis, have been owned by the Evkaf. Legal measures, which have been taken for the protection of the ancient monuments in Cyprus, many of them owned by Evkaf, are reviewed in the following section.

5.6.3 Preservationist Legislation in British Colonial Cyprus

For more than twenty years after taking over the administration of Cyprus, the British authorities maintained in force the Ottoman antiquities legislation (Stanley-Price, 2001: 267). This was based on a Regulation that had been issued by the
Ottoman authorities in Constantinople in 1874, essentially defining the conditions on which the excavations on the Ottoman lands could be officially authorized (ibid.). It is discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis that the Ottoman antiquities laws and regulations were antiquarian in scope, and they did not introduce provisions the protection of the Waqf built properties. In 1905 the Legislative Council of the island passed the new Antiquities Law.\(^71\) The Law defined monuments as the relics of the eras from the prehistoric times until the beginning of the Ottoman era at the island (clause 1.4). In addition, the ancient monuments in private hands (mainly the Evkaf and the Greek Orthodox Church) were excluded.

Criticism on the Law’s narrow scope came immediately after its enactment. G. Jeffery attacked the Law for aiming only at regulating the illicit excavations and trade in antiquities (Jeffery, 1906). He sadly complained how ‘the monuments of Gothic art as public or private property are not specifically mentioned in it’, continuing that it was ‘the desire of the present writer and of most Europeans who visit the island of Cyprus that the memorials of Medieval Kingdom and the Italian occupation should be preserved’ (ibid.). However, as Almog argues, the scope of this Law was only the antiquities and not the conservation of monuments, because ‘as in Britain itself, this was regarded as too great an impingement on private property rights’ (see Pilides, ibid: 45). The relevant Law that had been enacted in Britain in 1882 barely covered more than a few prehistoric monuments, and a wider definition was not introduced until the 1913 Act (Erder, 1986; Delafons, 1997; Pendlebury, 2009). And even then, buildings erected later than the sixteenth century, inhabited houses and ecclesiastical buildings were still excluded from the lists.

On the other hand, by the end of the nineteenth century several other European countries had devised more comprehensive acts to cover not only the archaeological remains but in some cases extended protection of outstanding buildings of much more recent date. The relevant legislation both at the Ottoman State and Great Britain, on the other hand, being essentially antiquarian in scope, and not covering any of the privately owned built heritage, lagged much behind many other Western countries. Thus, when the Law of Antiquities was enacted in Cyprus in 1905, buildings belonging to the Evkaf and the Greek Orthodox Church were implicitly

\(^{71}\) See Cyprus Gazette, 19th May 1905, p.5626-5636, 5727
excluded (Pilides, 2009: 46). The two institutions, which owned the largest portfolio of heritage buildings of the island, maintained their private status in the 1935 Antiquities Law. This law was used as the Antiquities Law of the Republic of Cyprus (1960) and it is still in force with subsequent amendments in 1964, 1973 and 1996\(^{72}\).

The Law of 1935\(^{73}\) covered the movable or immovable monuments up to 1700 AD (clause 2.b). Clause 2.a defines an ancient monument as ‘any object, building or site specified in the first and second schedule to this law’ and those to be included by an Order later (2.b). Ancient monuments are classified in the first and second schedules; the latter consisted of those in private hands. Clause 24 describes the ‘Exemption for churches, mosques, etc’. This clause describes the monuments in private hands as: Properties belonging to any religious community or the Evkaf Department should not be inserted in the First Schedule or acquired under any provision of this Law. Law defined the term ‘owner’ also in the same article. Accordingly, the Delegates of Evkaf or other persons administering the trusts of the same for the time being is the owner of ‘Mosque, Tekye or other Muslim religious body or institution. However, they were not allowed to make any alterations, additions or repairs affecting the architectural character of the ancient monuments in the Second Schedule without previously obtaining a permit from the Director of Antiquities (Clause 8.1). The Director was also given the power to allocate a budget for assisting the maintenance, preservation of restoration of such monuments (Clause 8.2). The Law also introduced limitations for the new buildings to be erected in the neighbourhood of the ancient monuments and for the construction works to be carried over the existing ones (Clause 11). The preservation of the character of the vicinity of ancient monuments was obviously one of the themes discussed a few years earlier at the 1931 Athens Conference. The amendment to the Monuments Act of 1931 in Britain had also introduced similar provisions.

### 5.7 Conclusion


\(^{73}\) See Anonymous (1985) for the reproduction of the Cyprus Antiquities Law of 1935.
The emergence of Western built heritage concepts caused among others the invention of national heritages, aiming to underpin the nationalist aspirations. It became clear from the early beginnings that politics would have had a significant role in heritage inscriptions as well as in decisions regarding the conservation or no-conservation of historic buildings. At the same time, the necessity for the conservation of such heritages, led to debates about the appropriate intervention methods. When Cyprus turned into a British colonial land, the metropolis had already lagged behind many Western countries in terms of statutory provisions and the Government was reluctant in getting involved with the destructive church restorations undertaken by the Church authorities. During the British colonial era, the metropolis witnessed the beginnings of the modern conservation movement in the lead of the SPAB (1877). The Society had firmly advocated the medieval era historic buildings as the national heritage of the Kingdom and carried out protests against the church restorers. It became a key agent in the conservative repair movement and subsequently exported this movement by getting involved on behalf of restoration projects of ancient monuments overseas. The SPAB had prioritised the medieval era monuments of Western origin as the national heritage and its activities in Cyprus have been confined to the monuments of the Western civilization. G. Jeffery, a British conservationist architect and a true follower of the SPAB’s pillars, became a key figure from 1903 to 1935 in the conservation field in the island.

The colonial Government in Cyprus, initially reluctant in getting involved in the protection of ancient monuments, enacted the first Antiquities Law in 1905 and the revised second one in 1935. The Government’s reluctance in setting up statutory provisions for ancient monuments owned by the religious authorities remained visible in the legislation. In the former, the built properties belonging to the religious authorities, namely the Muslim Waqf (Evkaf) and the Greek Orthodox Church have been excluded. In addition, the Waqf built properties from after 1571 were not deemed to warrant preservation. In the Law of 1935, the cut-off point was slightly extended to 1700 AD, yet many of the Waqf built properties, constructed after this date, were excluded.

While the debates about the destructiveness of stylistic restoration and the passivity of Morris’ pillars for conservative repair were going on at the West, a third approach
was developed in Italy, based on Boito’s principles. The architectural conservation principle that dominated in the West since the Athens Charter of 1931 rejected stylistic restorations, but allowed room for necessary physical alterations and use of new materials. British conservationist societies and news media played a role in the early 1930s by applying pressure on the island’s government to revise the preservationist legislation at Cyprus. How did the transfer of Western conservation theory to the island through these colonial relations impacted on the conservation of Waqf built heritage during the British colonial era (1878 to 1960) in Cyprus is investigated in the light of archival evidence in Chapters 6 to 8 of this thesis.
Chapter 6

Cyprus Evkaf in Transition: Colonial Inputs to Waqf’s Traditional Building Upkeep System during the Early British Period (1878 to 1905)

Cyprus Evkaf was a three hundred years old institution having a legacy of building upkeep systems at the time when its control was taken over by the British colonial administration in 1878. The administration of the institution had been centralised under the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf in the 1830s in accordance with the reforms, aiming at the Westernisation of the Ottoman State. The main focus of the present research is the colonisation of the administration of Cyprus Evkaf between 1878 and 1960 by the British Government and the analysis of the historical changes within the institution’s building upkeep and maintenance system running through three sub-periods.

Focusing on the first colonial sub-era between 1878 and 1905, the present chapter analyses the major procedural changes that have taken place in the upkeep of waqf assets in Cyprus from 1878 until the enactment of Antiquities Law in 1905. The chapter begins with a descriptive analysis of the state of Evkaf and an introduction to the administrative re-structuring and the new arrangements concerning the authorisation of the upkeep projects during the early years of the British colonial period. Alongside the data collected from Cyprus Evkaf Administration’s colonial era archives, an under-researched report prepared by M. B. Seager and known as the Seager’s Report, printed by the Cyprus Government in 1883, was analysed as it presents a survey on the state of waqf properties and it provides information on the initial revisions on the upkeep procedures during the period between 1878 and 1882.

The chapter, then, investigates the mechanics behind the building upkeep practices, structured into three consecutive stages: the initiation of the upkeep projects, their authorisation, and their implementation. The framework has been re-constructed in detail, including not only the shifts due to colonial input, but the continuities as well in order to use them as the reference points for the further changes in subsequent periods. The local procedures in the initiation of the projects and the variations in the petitioning for upkeep works according to the waqf categories and to the building
types are analysed, the key actors initiating the upkeep projects are identified, and the postulated upkeep works are classified according to their nature. Then, the key procedures in the authorisation processes are described, including the administrative, financial, and legal aspects. The legal arrangements are described, revealing the selective nature in the application of the relevant Ottoman Waqf Ordinance in a manner to suit the benefits of the colonial governance. Then, the financial aspects are described, disclosing the criteria and various colonial politics in the authorisation of the expenditures for the upkeep projects. Following the investigation of the key procedures, the preparation of the technical planning is scrutinised. The preparation of the specifications and cost estimates of the projects, the consultation processes, the key persons involved during the preparations of the projects, materials and interventions techniques and the awarding of the contracts are investigated in detail. Colonial input within the technical planning processes, including knowledge transfer in construction know-how and materials, and their reflection in practice; as well as the imported heritage concepts and their reflection in conservation practices are analysed. Subsequently, the key persons and factors instrumental in the execution of the projects are identified.

The investigation has revealed how the colonial authorities assumed Evkaf to be a backward Ottoman institution and aimed to modernise it from the beginning of their rule. The investigation has also revealed how the colonial authorities maintained the Evkaf’s building upkeep and maintenance framework of initiation, authorisation and implementation as the main governance structure in order to prevent tensions in the community, while gradually giving it a new format by revising its administrative and financial procedures and by introducing a new form of professionalism into the technical planning stage. Finally the research has indicated how the colonial inputs within the technical planning stage, including the imported upkeep technologies, the use of industrialised materials and the imaginings for the ideal architectural expressions have given the Waqf’s building upkeep system an imperial facelift.

6.1 General State of Evkaf during the Early Years of the British Colonial Era
In order to understand Evkaf’s position in the upkeep of the waqf built properties during the first sub-period (1878-1905) it is necessary to gain an insight into the new arrangements introduced after the establishment of the institution’s British colonial administration in 1878. The period started with the signing of the interim Convention between the Ottoman State and Great Britain that handed over the control of the island to Great Britain on June 4, 1878. Presumably because the Convention was provisional, the annex to the Convention had dealt with only the managerial issue of the Evkaf and had provided for the appointment of two delegates: a representative of the British Government and a representative of the Ottoman State. The power of duties of these delegates, however, was not defined, which allowed the British rulers to assume the control of Evkaf immediately after the establishment of the new Government in the island.74

As the evidence suggests, the colonial Government assumed the authority for financial decisions and was actively involved in the administration of the institution from the beginning. Allowing the aforementioned article of the annex to the Convention to remain in abeyance for not appointing the British delegate immediately, instead the Government had undertaken the administration of Evkaf directly (Seager 1883: 89). While the Ottoman Waqf legislation was taken as the main guidance from the outset, its application bore selective tones. For instance, the regulations that laid down the control of the authorities in Istanbul were bypassed and the authority for sanctioning the expenditures, which included also those regarding the upkeep works for the waqf built properties at the island, was taken over by the British High Commissioner (Seager 1883: 6, 89, 91).

As it is understood from Seager (1883: 89), the colonial administration was aware that the first object of the mazboutah revenues was the support of the endowed religious assets and maintaining the upkeep of waqf buildings. As long as the money was spent on upkeep projects and there was no surplus, and the non-sending of money to Istanbul was prima facie warranted (ibid.) Thus, the British rulers embarked on extensive upkeep projects on waqf built properties in the island immediately after their arrival to justify the blocking of the transfer of surplus revenues from the mazboutah category (Seager 1883). This ensured the silence of the

74 See Anonymous 1950; Altan 1986; Atesin 1996, 1999; Nevzat & Hatay 2009 for arguments on how this article implicitly relinquished the control of Evkaf to the British Government
Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul, which, except for a few attempts to forward the updates in Waqf regulations\(^{75}\) and a few queries on the mazboutah waqfs, prevailed until the annexation of Cyprus to Great Britain in 1914.

While on the one hand the British colonial Government took matters in hand by discontinuing the financial relationship between Cyprus and Istanbul, and taking over the authority for the upkeep projects, on the other hand it ordered a survey on the state of the Ottoman waqfs on the island. We are informed by Seager (1883) that the delegates were not officially appointed until 1881, and instead, a British official was put in charge from the very beginning undertaking inquiries on the state of the waqfs. This official was assisted by the Mouhasebedji (accountant) (ibid.).

According to the information, supplied by Seager (1883: 6), initially, a commission of Turkish notables was formed in May 1879, with Fuat Effendi (himself a trustee) as president, in order to help the Mouhasebedji and force the mutevelli (trustees) of the mulhaka waqfs to comply with the law, which required a yearly statement and settlement of their accounts. As it is understood from Seager, the said commission failed to bring the trustees’ activities fully under control, which provided the British rulers with self-justification for taking control of the whole institution: there were ongoing abuses and unlawful practices and the British rulers were of the opinion that such a state called for a radical remedy that they only could provide (ibid.).

According to Seager (ibid: 6-7), Evkaf needed reformation, and its current head, the official holding the post of Mouhasebedji (accountant) was unable to do it without the Government’s help. This was not news, as the British colonial officials had already expressed their opinion from the very beginning that the natives were unable to undertake professional jobs (Schaar et al., 1995: 22).

Having been convinced that this three-centuries-old unique Muslim institution had not been administered properly and in aiming to grant Evkaf the good government that it deserved, the High Commissioner ordered a more comprehensive inquiry on the state of the waqfs. M. B. Seager (the third British official already within a short period of two years, who was assigned with the duty of the administration of Evkaf)

\(^{75}\) See for example the Waqf regulations, which were sent from the Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul to the Government of Cyprus in 1887 (BEF 1887-19-493).
was appointed to carry out an extensive investigation with a focus on the state of the accounts of the *mulhaka waqfs* (family or semi-family *waqfs* that were administered by the *mutevellis*). Orders were sent by the High Commissioner of the island to the commissioners of the towns regarding the identification of trustees of various *waqfs* in their districts (BEF 1882-6-180). In addition, the commissioners were instructed to assist M. B. Seager towards the furtherance of his objective and all the *Evkaf* affairs in their respective districts.

6.1.1 Seager’s Report and Planning for *Evkaf*’s Future

The investigation that was led by M. B. Seager from 1880 to 1882 was resumed with a list of some 131 *waqfs* and their location, which had been provided by the Ministry of *Evkaf* in Istanbul (ibid: 7-11). In all likelihood this list was the fruit of the attempts made during the late Ottoman era for collecting the autonomous *waqfs* in the island under one registry. Among these *waqfs*, only a dozen were in the *mazbuta* category that was administered by the *Evkaf*. Among the others were some which were either double listed under different names or their whereabouts were not recognised at all. The survey provided the list with several new entries and indicated that some 200 *waqfs* were now brought under *Evkaf*’s control, most of them being in the *mulhaka* category. Some of these *waqfs* were found to exist in name only and no information was found regarding their properties.

In the final report, Seager embarked on providing highlights on the mal-administration of certain *mulhaka waqfs*, and the corrupt practices of their trustees: moneys belonging to certain *waqfs* had been loaned without any back payments, which now could be considered as bad debts. Properties had been let in accordance with the benefits of the trustees, and several others were unlawfully converted into *idjaretein* (long-term lease). It appears, despite the legislative attempts during the late-Ottoman era, that the long term rentals, which had caused deterioration in *waqfs*’ financial resources ever since the eighteenth century, could not be prevented.

Seager’s conclusion was that the task of bringing the *mulhaka waqfs* under control was going to be much tougher than was initially thought. He was of the opinion that in the future, the administration of all of the *mulhaka waqfs* should have been taken
over and added to the *mazboutah* category (Seager 1883: 90). This, in a way, indicates how the colonial understandings of *Waqf* clashed with the existing local administrative and customary practices in the early stages. Seager disregarded the communal benefits in general and highlighted that the only beneficiaries of the system were those who got their pay-checks from the *waqfs* (Seager 1883: 90). Thus, he deduced that the Muslim community and the heads of their religion would have seen greater benefits in the expropriation of the system and so would the Government. Seager foresaw the task of devising a sustainable supervision method for the *waqfs* as a complicated one, and thus he recommended the immediate expropriation of the institution or else its gradual dissolution after acquiring all the *mulhaka waqfs* under the *mazbouta* category.

The opinions expressed in Seager’s report are important in understanding the dogmatic approach towards the *Waqf* institution at the outset of the colonial period and the colonial ideas concerning the future of this historically rooted and uniquely Muslim religious endowment institution. It is easily conceivable from the cited text that there was a lack of understanding regarding the attributes of the institution, its communal benefits and the particulars of the original system that had ensured the survival of the Cyprus *Waqf* for more than three hundred years. Despite his two-year investigation of the *Waqf* affairs at the island, Seager himself did not refrain from taking a negative stance towards the whole institution a priori and established the departure point of his criticism solely based on the recent attempts to centralise the institution and the subsequent maladministration of the trustees. This negative stance had been presumably inspired by the zeitgeist that considered the ideologies and institutions related to the Ottomans as backward and corrupted (Said 1979; Makdisi 2002). Hence, Seager, by focusing only on the consequences of the administrative and financial reconfigurations during late-Ottoman era, found nothing but a burdensome institution inherited from the Ottomans.

A letter, dated December 23, 1882, informs us that Sir Robert Biddulph (the High Commissioner from 1879 to 1886) was so pleased with Seager’s report on the inquiry of the *waqfs* of the island that he forwarded it to the colonial office with a request that it should be printed as he thought that it included information on the subject which had hitherto been inaccessible to British officials: as such it could be of great
use also to other British embassies like those in Egypt and in Istanbul (BEF 1882-8-240). Apparently, at an era when their imperialism over the Islamic geographies was at its peak, the British had yet to acquire established knowledge about this widespread institution. Thus, Seager’s report was printed in 1883 and it was in use for a long time, as is understood from the references made to it in documents in subsequent years. However, presumably due to its political implications, the British rulers abstained from putting into practice the radical decision recommended at the conclusion of the report regarding the expropriation of waqf assets in the island. Instead, the alternative recommendation mentioned in the report was put into practice: the gradual dissolution of the institution over time.

Seager’s opinions in his report led the way in many aspects concerning the administration of Evkaf and had an impact on the colonial dealings with the institution. He had, for instance, clearly emphasised how the natives had proved that they were not competent enough in running the institution: thus it was his opinion that nobody but an Englishman should have supervised the Evkaf (Seager 1883: 90). As explained later in this chapter, during the first period of the British era (1878 to 1905), the Turkish Delegate’s opinions or approval was rarely sought as evidenced in the official documents and correspondence.

Despite his bold expressions heroically raising the status of the benevolent British ruler, who aimed to “reform the Evkaf over the ashes of the greedy and destructive Ottoman”, and orientalising the Muslim natives, Seager’s report is an important landmark in informing us about the colonial ideas regarding Waqf and the stance that the Government assumed from the beginning. On the surface, this report provides us with an understanding of early colonial ideas on how the Waqf has been imagined as a backward Ottoman institution that needed modernisation. It has also revealed the reasons behind this interest in modernisation: its wealthy financial resources and its key socio-religious role within the Muslim community have attracted the attention of colonial authorities from early on and they clearly understood that Evkaf needed to be controlled immediately. Among the procedural changes which have been put into practice early on were the new arrangements that were adopted regarding the upkeep of waqf built properties, which are highlighted in the following section.

76 See for instance the reference made by the Secretary of State in London that, according to Seager’s Report in doc.no: 661, dated January 21, 1885 in BEF 1885-3-57
6.1.2 New Procedures Concerning the Upkeep Processes of the Waqf Built Properties during the Early Years of the British Colonial Period (1878 to 1882)

The gathered archival evidence regarding the processes of upkeep and maintenance of Waqf built properties during the early years of the British colonial period is relatively less when compared with the amount found in subsequent years. The main source of information on the general aspects of early arrangements, essentially regarding their administrative and bureaucratic dimensions is Seager’s Report. As such, the report represents one of the most important key documents on the early years, from 1878 to 1882.

It is understood from Seager’s report that the upkeep requirements of Waqf built properties had been used as the justification for the decision to block sending surplus revenues from the mazboutah category to the Treasury in Istanbul. As such, at the outset of the period, several buildings were subjected to a wholesale upkeep programme, practised between the years 1878-1882 (Seager 1883: 80-90). Initially, during the early days of the British period, repairs to the roofing of Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia had been overseen by the Royal Engineers (Seager 1883: 78). With their departure from the island towards the end of 1879, the Royal Engineers were replaced with the office of Government Engineer (GE), soon to be officially established under the Public Works Department (Schaar et al 1995). We are informed by Seager (1883: 78) that the GE assumed a primary role in the upkeep of waqf assets during the early years. According to the author, the upkeep works were processed and carried out according to a new arrangement, which runs as follows:

The delegates should report their requirements in writing to the Chief Secretary, stating, in general terms, the work to be done, and its nature; this to be forwarded to the Government Engineer, who would estimate the cost of the proposed work, and communicate with the delegates, who, on receipt of the estimate, would make application to the Chief Secretary for the issue of a Government order on Evkaf funds for the amount required. On receipt of this Government order, the Government Engineer should be notified, and the work then is left in his hands, with application being made from time to time to the delegates for the payments on account. Finally, the Government Engineer should furnish a certificate, in writing, to the delegates, affirming that the work (whatever it was) had been performed according to contract,
and the account settled; this arrangement to hold good for all works whose cost exceeds the sum of 2,500 piaster, and the cost of which is defrayed from the Evkaf Treasury (Seager 1883: 78).

It is understood from Seager’s report (1883: 78-79) that all the works in the mazboutah category were carried out in strict accordance with the abovementioned arrangement. For the mulhaka works, whose cost estimate was under 2,500 piaster, which was the limit set by the Ottoman Waqf Ordinance of 1863, the Delegates could authorise the trustee to carry them out. On completion, the Delegates gave notice to the GE, who caused the work to be inspected. A certificate from him was then obtained confirming that the price paid was a fair one, and the work done of average standard. For repairs over this sum, application must first be made to the High Commissioner for permission. Such application had to state the necessity of the work, its nature, the financial status of the concerned waqf, the proposed manner of payment, as well as the approximate cost. However, Seager had some reservations on the manner that the upkeep works were undertaken by trustees of mulhaka waqfs. According to him, in works which cost more than 2,500 piaster, the GE’s involvement was a question of doubt as these waqfs were still administered by their trustees who had the right to reject his cost estimates (Seager 1883: 79).

The GE had assumed a significant role in the early years both in the authorisation and implementation processes, in the preparation of the cost estimates and arranging for the tenders, as well as superintending the execution of the upkeep works77. As it is understood from Seager’s above description, the British administration preferred the GE’s services no matter what his cost estimations were. This, however, caused a potential dispute between Evkaf administration and the trustees of the mulhaka waqfs. In fact, there were concerns on the applicability of the new arrangements, not only for the case of mulhaka waqfs, but also for the mazboutah category. According to Seager (ibid: 79), this speedy settlement between the Government and the Evkaf had not gone unopposed and the Muslim dignitaries, including the Müftü, had started to express their reservations on the new arrangement. As such, trusting the decisions

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77 See for instance the Government Engineer S. Brown’s correspondence with Seager (the British Delegate of Evkaf) relating to the upkeep works at the Kukla Mosque (BEF 1882-4-101 (57/82) & BEF 1882-6-176) and the Zuhuri Mosque in Larnaca (BEF 1882-6-166). Also see Seager 1883: 78-79
concerning the expenditure on works to the GE, who was not connected with the Evkaf caused some discontent among them.

In all likelihood, the native Muslims, being used to having the waqf properties maintained regularly that obviously did not cost substantial amounts, were suspiciously watching the new arrangements. This was presumably the beginnings of tension between the colonial rulers and the Muslim community. As understood from Seager’s following comments, the colonial administration’s understanding of the Waqf’s building upkeep system was rather superficial: ‘We knew that the native mind could not grasp the idea of spending hundreds of pounds on buildings that for ages had only had hundreds of piaster spent on them’ continued Seager (ibid.). Presumably, Seager conceived nothing about the Waqf’s traditional building upkeep system from this opposition, but only the political implications of the new arrangements and an opportunity for orientalising the Muslim natives.

It appears that Seager’s comment on the consequences of the relationship of the GE with regard to Evkaf’s repair works received the attention of the Secretary of State in London, who suggested in a Colonial dispatch that ‘the Government Engineer should cease to be connected with these works’ (no: 294, dated 3/6/1883 in BEF 1885-3-57). Notwithstanding the opinion in the colonial dispatch, the GE’s role in waqf works did not come to a halt, presumably owing to the scarcity of trained civil engineers and architects on the island during the focus period. However, his role was gradually reduced in accordance with a proposal that had been made by Seager earlier in 1882. The proposal was: that upon requisition from the Delegates, via the Chief Secretary’s Office, the GE would have provided Evkaf with the specifications of the required upkeep works and the cost estimates. However, the Delegates would have the freedom to accept the GE’s report and estimates in total or as much of it as they felt able (Document, dated January 4, 1882 in BEF 1882-5-128). Hence, instead of halting the relationships altogether, a more limited involvement of the GE and the Public Works Department (PWD) was provided. As shown in the following sections, whenever needed, Evkaf turned to the GE and the PWD both for consultation and supervision.

In summary, the British colonial era started with a new administrative system for Evkaf, which inaugurated certain reconfigurations within the upkeep method of the
waqf built properties. The new arrangements, likewise those introduced during the previous late-Ottoman era, were primarily related to the regulation of the authorisation procedures of the upkeep projects. The main focus was the regulation of key persons who were involved in the decision making processes, particularly those concerning preparation of the specifications and cost estimates for the projects, as well as those with authority to sanction expenditure. Initially the GE, then his colleagues at the PWD, assumed key roles during the decision-making process as professional inspectors and consultants. At the same time, the High Commissioner of the island became the top authority in sanctioning expenditures for the proposed upkeep and maintenance projects. With these new arrangements, the authorisation processes of the proposed upkeep projects, which following the centralisation had became the realm of the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul during the late-Ottoman era (1834 to 1878), now became the realm of British colonial authority. In addition to this, the PWD has been established as the main player in the technical planning stage. As such, the Waqf’s upkeep practices from the early beginnings of the British colonial era were negotiated within the colonial bureaucracies.

The amalgamation of these new arrangements into the existing Waqf building upkeep system and the evolution of new forms during the first period of the British rule (1878 to 1905) is investigated in the following sections. The key procedural changes including the legislative, administrative, financial and technical aspects are identified and their impact on the traditional system is analysed over the re-constructed framework of initiation, authorisation and implementation stages.

6.2 The Initiation of Upkeep Works for the Waqf Built Properties

The initiation process of the upkeep projects remained mainly in the realm of the users of the concerned assets and the community members during the early British colonial era between 1878 and 1905, without any considerable shifts except for the occasional involvement of colonial officials, which is explained in Section 6.2.1. In all likelihood, petitioning for the initiation of upkeep works was in a continuation of the traditional waqf system as explained in Chapters 4 and 5. Petitions were either appended with the specifications of the required work, and an estimate of costs; or
the cost estimation was directed to be prepared after the reception of the concerned petition. In any case, the nature of the job (whether it was for normal wear and tear or structural) and the parts or components of the buildings that required attention was generally specified in the petitions. As such, petitions had direct influence in drawing up the upkeep projects. In general, the upkeep works that were postulated in the petitions were similar in scope to those in the preceding Ottoman era: they aimed at improving the structural or functional conditions of the concerned properties. Three categories of postulated upkeep works were found in the present research as follows:

1. Normal wear and tear: this comprised a diversity of expectations ranging from repairs to carpentry\textsuperscript{78} (doors, windows, balustrades, etc.), whitewashing the walls, and patching up leaking roofs\textsuperscript{79} and openings\textsuperscript{80}. The majority of the petitions during this era were for low budget repairs (around or less than 2,500 piaster) and they did not include much detail regarding the nature of the upkeep; judging from the amount of money requested these were presumably for normal wear and tear\textsuperscript{81}.

2. Structural decay: this comprised postulations ranging from structural strengthening\textsuperscript{82} to partial or complete rebuilding\textsuperscript{83}. Petitions for rebuilding the decayed minarets abound in this group as minarets were physically affected by the regular earthquakes that shook the island as well as storms, floods and lightning\textsuperscript{84}.

\textsuperscript{78} See the petition asking for repairs to the railings of the veranda and the windows of the Azizie Mosque at Dali (BEF 1888-26-656).

\textsuperscript{79} See the petitions for repairing the roofs of the Tahtakale Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1895-86-2059) and Zuhuri School in Larnaca (BEF 1896-80-1898).

\textsuperscript{80} For example, in the petition that was sent to Evkaf in 1882, regarding the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta, attention had been called to the falling plaster and broken windows (BEF 1887-64-1538). A similar petition arrived concerning the same Mosque in 1901, complaining of rainwater leakage through the previously repaired windows (BEF 1901-100-2373).

\textsuperscript{81} See for example BEF 1900-94-2216 for the petition for sanctioning the expenditure of 2000 piaster to be used for the repairs at the Büyük Medrese in Nicosia). Also see BEF 1888-28-687 for the Pir Pasha Mosque, Medrese and School in Lefke and BEF 1887-20-510 for Djami Kebir shops at Limassol.

\textsuperscript{82} See for instance BEF 1887-21-529 for structural strengthening of the side walls of the Aga Cafer Mosque in Kyrenia.

\textsuperscript{83} See for example the petition for rebuilding the shops belonging to the \textit{malhaka waqf} of Mahmud Chelebi in Nicosia (BEF 1887-21-520). Also see BEF 1894-70-1681 for rebuilding the yard walls of the Zuhuri Mosque and School at Larnaca.

\textsuperscript{84} The cost estimate for the repairs to Lapithos Mosque included 600 stones for the minaret, which indicates the intention to rebuild the structure (BEF 1887-21-530). Also see the petitions for the minarets of the Kebir Mosque in Paphos (BEF 1898-86-2049) and the Kebir Mosque in Larnaca (BEF 1898-109-2574).
3. Functional requirements: this comprised postulations for alterations ranging from the addition of new spaces or enlargement of the existing ones, to tiling the roofs and fencing the yards.

6.2.1 The Key Persons Involved in the Initiation of the Upkeep Works for the Waqf Built Properties

Throughout this period, upkeep projects were mainly initiated by the petitions of the users of the concerned waqf buildings, who were the tenants for the operational properties and the Mosque personnel and/or the leading inhabitants of the neighbourhood for religious buildings. While petitions were more or less the same in terms of their content and did not differentiate the mazboutah and mulhaka categories, there were certain differences in the key persons involved in the process. Imams of the mosques, schoolmasters of the school buildings, as well as the muhtars (village headmen) and the leading inhabitants of the neighbourhoods were the key figures in calling attention to the required repairs of the religious built properties including the mosques and educational buildings in the mazboutah category. If the concerned building was in Nicosia, the petitions were submitted either to the Mouhasebedji or to the Delegates; if in other towns to the Evkaf Agent or to the Commissioner of the town. The Evkaf Agent used to forward the petition directly to the Mouhasebedji or to the Delegates. If the petition was submitted to the Commissioner of the town, then it was forwarded either directly to the Delegates or via the Office of the Chief Secretary. In addition, sometimes the Evkaf Agents in the towns or Mouhasebedji in Nicosia initiated the upkeep processes themselves by

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85 For instance, see the petition for the construction of a room at the San Sophia School and a fountain at the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1894-69-1660).

86 See for instance the petitions from the imam of the Mosque at Dali (Aziziye) in 1882 (BEF 1882-4-72), in 1888 (BEF 1888-26-656), in 1891 (BEF 1891-48-1212) and in 1893 (BEF 1891-48-1212).

87 See for instance the petition of the schoolmaster of Omerge School (BEF 1886-10-291) and Sarai Onou School (BEF 1892-54-1345);

88 A petition that was submitted to the Commissioner of Famagusta on September 11, 1886, requesting certain repairs to be undertaken at the Ayasofya Mosque in the town, had been signed by the imam of the Mosque, the muhtar and some 63 leading dignitaries (BEF 1886-10-286). One year later on November 14, 1887, under the leadership of the imam of the said Mosque, another petition was submitted, this time to the Evkaf agent in Famagusta, who forwarded it on behalf of them to the Mouhasebedji in Nicosia (BEF 1887-20-516). Another one was followed in 1901 (BEF 1901-100-2373).
reporting to the Delegates, mostly following oral conversations with the inhabitants of the area of the concerned waqf building\textsuperscript{89}.

According to the Ottoman Waqf Law, repair works in the mulhaka category had to be initiated by the mutevelli (trustee) of the waqf and they were authorised only if the concerned waqf had the necessary funds to cover the required expenditures. As such, any petition towards this purpose had to include the nature of the work to be done and appended with the cost estimation\textsuperscript{90}. For the waqfs, whose endowed incomes diminished with time for various reasons, the mutevelli petitioned the Evkaf or the Government for a loan\textsuperscript{91}.

As much as there are examples of trustees who were actively involved in the maintenance of the built properties and who initiated the upkeep procedures, there were also inactive ones. Inevitably, in such cases the users of the concerned built properties were involved: after failing to convince the trustee to undertake the required repairs, the leading inhabitants of the neighbourhood and the users of the concerned buildings sent petitions to the Evkaf agent in their town, to the Mouhasebedji, or the Delegates of Evkaf\textsuperscript{92}. In failing to receive attention from the Evkaf, then they petitioned to the High Commissioner directly, or via the Commissioner of their town\textsuperscript{93}. This was an indication of the beginning of a

\textsuperscript{89} For example, when repairs to Ağa Cafer Pasha Mosque were required in 1887, Zaki Effendi, the Evkaf agent in Kyrenia sent a petition to the Mouhasebedji in Nicosia, with a cost estimate appended (BEF 1887-21-529). In another case, it was the Mouhasebedji himself, following conversations with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who submitted the petition regarding repairs, which were required to the Haidar Pasha Mosque in Nicosia (the converted St. Catherine Church): There were cracks and leaks in the building, mentioned by the Mouhasebedji in his letter to BDE at November 7, 1892 (BEF 1892-55-1356).

\textsuperscript{90} The petition by the mutevelli of Koçatlı Mosque puts forward the cost estimation, highlighting that it was chargeable to the waqf of the said Mosque (BEF 1886-13-349). Another such petition was from the mutevelli of Kebir Mosque (Djami Kebir) in Larnaka, who send a cost estimate to the Mouhasebedji regarding the repairs of the roof and veranda of the building.

\textsuperscript{91} At one instance, the mutevelli of the Kebir Mosque in Larnaca and the leading inhabitants petitioned the High Commissioner for Evkaf’s financial assistance for rebuilding the minaret of the Mosque as it was in a dangerous condition (BEF 1898-109-2574). There were insufficient funds in the accounts of the said Waqf to undertake that required upkeep works. However, due to the nature of the problem, the loan was sanctioned.

\textsuperscript{92} For instance, in 1886 a petition arrived from the villagers of Lapithos requesting the involvement of Evkaf in the repair of the Mosque that belonged to the Waqf of Seyyid Mehmed, as no notice had been taken by the Mutevelli Ali Effendi and the said Mosque was falling into ruins (BEF 1886-9-266).

\textsuperscript{93} A petition at June 11, 1887 from the inhabitants of Kalipornou addressed to the High Commissioner, stating that their mosque was in ruinous condition and complaining of misconduct of the mutevelli of the Waqf, who was also the imam of the said Mosque (BEF 1887-19-502). In another case, when in 1891 repairs were needed for the Saghir Mosque at Ktima (Paphos), the
transitional change from the customary practice. Whereas the initiation process was between the users and the Evkaf, a new form started to evolve: the colonial Government started to be taken by the local community to be the ultimate authority regarding the authorisation of proposed upkeep or maintenance projects mainly for the religious buildings. The initiation process was going to move further into the domain of colonial authority in the second sub-period (1905 to 1935) until the disappearance of community engagement in the final period (1935 to 1960).

As for the rental properties in mazboutah category, it was the tenants who initiated the upkeep processes by sending a petition. These properties consisted mainly of the khans, hammams, shops and the residential homes. The tenants usually sent petitions to the Mouhasebedji, enclosed with nature of the problem, required upkeep works and cost estimations as was the customary practice prior the British colonial era. Among rental properties, petitions for repairs to hammams (public bath buildings) abound. Repairs were continually petitioned by the operators of the Ömerge Hammam\(^\text{94}\) (Figure 6.1) and the Büyük Hammam\(^\text{95}\) (Figure 6.2) in Nicosia, both belonging to the Waqf of Lala Mustafa Pasha. Repairs for the operational buildings belonging to the mulhaka category were usually initiated by oral conversation between the tenant and the mutevelli, following which the latter had to petition the Evkaf for authorisation of the expenditure\(^\text{96}\). When the mutevelli failed to petition the Evkaf, users of the concerned buildings or the leading inhabitants in the neighbourhood petitioned the officials\(^\text{97}\).

In summary, the users of the waqf assets and the local community members remained actively involved in the initiation of the upkeep projects by sending collective petitions throughout the early British colonial period from 1878 to 1905. Yet, this involvement was inspired primarily by functional considerations as it had been

\(^94\) In 1888, for fixing the fireplace of the Ömerge Hammam (BEF 1888-26-652); then in 1893, further repairs were petitioned regarding the fireplace and the construction of a new water reservoir (BEF 1893-59-1444).

\(^95\) The bath keeper of the Büyük Hammam sent petitions and cost estimates for small scale repairs in 1885 (BEF 1885-4-100) and in 1888 (BEF 1888-25-613), and for large scale upkeep works at 1891 (BEF 1891-47-1172).

\(^96\) See for example BEF 1896-80-1899 and BEF 1893-56-1394

\(^97\) For instance when cleaning and repairs were required in 1884 for the aqueducts carrying water to the town of Larnaca, and the trustee of the concerned Waqf of Ebu Bekir Pasha made it clear that he wished to undertake minor repairs only, the inhabitants and the Municipality of Larnaca approached the Evkaf, via the Commissioner of Larnaca (BEF 1886-9-272).
during the Ottoman era. Upkeep works were petitioned for mosques, schools, hammams, or other built properties as far as they were functionally demanded by the community. On the other hand, during the focus period, the colonial officials – essentially the British commissioners – gained a new role in the initiation process by forwarding the communal petitions or following them up. The involvement of the colonial authorities in the initiation process of the upkeep projects was an indication of a shift from the customary practice which was going to aid in the gradual transformation of the institution into a governmental department as was recommended in Seager’s aforementioned report.

Figure 6.1 Omerge Hammam in Nicosia as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)

Figure 6.2 The Büyük Hammam in Nicosia (left) and the hot room (right) as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)
6.3 Legal, Financial and Administrative Procedures behind the Authorisation of Upkeep Projects and Maintenance Works

Within the Waqf’s traditional upkeep system, the next stage following the submission of a petition, was the decision making process to approve it or reject it. As mentioned in Chapter 3, in the classic Ottoman waqf system various legislative, administrative and financial procedures had formative roles both in the technical planning and in the decision making (authorisation) process. As explained in Chapter 4, during the centralisation period in the late-Ottoman era, the main re-configuration was on these legal, financial and administrative procedures, aiming at establishing the direct Governmental control over the authorisation process. This included full control of whether to approve or reject upkeep proposals, as well as the allocation of budgets. The investigation in the following sections reveals how during the early stages of the British colonial period, these procedures were re-shaped to form a new governance, bringing the authorisation processes under the control of the colonial authorities.

6.3.1 Legal Aspects

While throughout the early British colonial period (1878 to 1905), the primary legal texts that were referred to during the decision making process for the upkeep of waqf built properties were the Ottoman Waqf Ordinance of 1863 and the Ahkam-ul Evkaf, which was published in 1889\(^98\), the application had a selective nature. The former regulated the financial aspects regarding the authorisation of the proposed upkeep and maintenance works which is further discussed in Section 6.3.2.

The primary legal text that was taken as guidance in relation to the upkeep works of waqf assets during the focus period was the Ahkam-ul Evkaf. As understood from the relevant correspondence, it was translated into English soon after its print in 1889 in Istanbul and turned into the main legal text concerning the waqf issues, including physical interventions to built properties (BEF 1899-347-7121). While with various clauses in the text, the upkeep of waqf properties is emphasised a priori\(^99\), demolition

\(^{98}\) See the relevant correspondence in BEF 1887-19-493 and in SMK Evamir ve Muharrerat Kaydı 36-36.

\(^{99}\) See clause 399, clause 414 and clause 415 in Derzinevesi & Kasapoglu 2003: 206
or radical alterations are not ruled out. For instance, clause 188 allowed for pulling down a mosque for rebuilding a larger one in case of insufficient capacity of its interior space\textsuperscript{100}. Similarly, clause 189 allowed for the extension of the inner spaces of a mosque by the addition of an attached built property belonging to the same "waqf"\textsuperscript{101}. Likewise, clause 347 provides for pulling down a dilapidated mosque and using the materials in the construction of a new one\textsuperscript{102}. Clause 270 allowed the physical alterations and functional changes of operational properties when their income falls short of their expenditures\textsuperscript{103}. Accordingly, if for instance the income of a hammam building is less than the expenses required for its operation and as such it causes monetary loss to the concerned "waqf", the size of the hammam can be reduced and the rest of the space can be converted into another commercial use. Hence, while in general "waqf" legislation provided for the upkeep of built properties, it also allowed for physical alterations, including demolition and complete reconstruction for the sake of functional requirements or financial profit.

During this period there were no statutory provisions at the island to regulate physical interventions to historic assets in accordance with the evolving understanding of architectural conservation. The Ottoman Law of Antiquities of 1873, which had remained in force in Cyprus during the early decades of the British colonial period was limited in scope to regulations concerning archaeological excavations and findings\textsuperscript{104}. This Law lacked any provision for built properties owned by religious authorities. Attempts for enacting a Monuments Bill by the colonial authorities had started only in 1899, which did not meet the Legislative Council’s approval\textsuperscript{105}. Presumably this was due to the fact that the Law had empowered the Government to acquire any ancient monument except for those in religious service\textsuperscript{106}. Subsequent attempts for passing the revised bills in 1902\textsuperscript{107} and

\textsuperscript{100} See Derzinevesi & Kasapoğlu 2003: 206
\textsuperscript{101} See Derzinevesi & Kasapoğlu 2003: 207
\textsuperscript{102} See Derzinevesi & Kasapoğlu 2003: 397-399
\textsuperscript{103} See Derzinevesi & Kasapoğlu 2003: 316-317
\textsuperscript{104} See Cyprus Gazette 1905, May 19 p.5636
\textsuperscript{105} See Draft of a Law ‘For Better Preservation of Ancient Monuments’ in Cyprus Gazette Supplement March 17, 1899 p.3859
\textsuperscript{106} See Clause 4 in Draft of a Law ‘For Better Preservation of Ancient Monuments’ in Cyprus Gazette Supplement March 17, 1899 p.3859
\textsuperscript{107} See Cyprus Gazette Supplement June 27, 1902 p.4767
in 1903\textsuperscript{108} also failed, possibly due to the disputes regarding the Government’s involvement on behalf of historic built properties owned by Evkaf and the Greek Orthodox Church. When the revised Bill passed the Legislative Council in 1905, it marked the beginning of a new era for the upkeep processes of \textit{waqf} built properties, which is investigated in the following chapter.

Meantime, the newly enacted Municipality Law of 1885\textsuperscript{109} was pertinent to the \textit{waqf} built properties. With this Law the municipalities, among others, had been given the duty of paving, widening and improving any street or public space and the authority to order the demolition of any dilapidated built property within the municipal limits. This Law had opened the way to pulling down built properties for urban development. Yet, relevant correspondence on the subject between the municipalities and Evkaf administration during the focus period remains scarce. As investigated in Chapters 7 and 8, the municipalities’ involvement in the decisions regarding the \textit{waqf} assets in their districts was going to gain visibility in the second sub-period from 1905 to 1935 and this involvement was going to be intensified in the third sub-period from 1935 to 1960.

In summary, the technical planning of the upkeep projects for \textit{waqf} properties during this sub-period were undertaken in accordance with the legal procedures specified in the Ottoman \textit{Waqf} Ordinance and \textit{Ahkam-ul Evkaf}. The former regulated essentially the financial budgets. The latter defined the conditions for physical interventions, without ruling out demolition and reconstruction, but also providing for adaptive reuse. The colonial Government had not demonstrated any visible interest to introduce statutory protection for historic built properties in the island, several of which belonged to Evkaf’s portfolio. This reluctance was a direct projection of the mainland Government’s position regarding the matter. The Government in Britain had passed the first Monuments Act in 1882 which excluded the ancient monuments belonging to the Church from the statutory protection. This approach had its projection at Cyprus where the colonial authorities were reluctant to revise the existing legislation regarding upkeep and changing the mode of upkeep practices on historic buildings. Obviously, introducing limitations to the physical interventions to

\textsuperscript{108} See Draft of Law ‘To Consolidate and Amend the Law Relating to the Ancient Monuments and Antiquities of Cyprus and to Provide Museums’ in Cyprus Gazette Supplement April 24, 1903 p. 5048

\textsuperscript{109} Municipal Council Law 1885 (Cyprus Gazette, March 28, 1885)
the *waqf* religious properties would cause tension in the community. This was something that the colonial authorities wanted to avoid as *Evkaf* was the key element in the consolidation of the colonial power among the Muslim-Turkish community of the island.

### 6.3.2 Financial Aspects

As mentioned above, financial regulations, which were specified in the Ottoman *Waqf* Ordinance of 1863 remained in force in the island throughout the early British colonial era. With this, upkeep projects on the *waqf* built properties remained solely dependent on the financial resources of *Evkaf*’s funds for the *mazboutah* category and the relevant *waqf*’s accounts for the *mulhaka* and *mustesna* categories. At the end of every financial year, *Evkaf* administration submitted a report regarding the upkeep works for the *mazboutah* built properties planned for the subsequent year (Seager 1883; BEF 1887-64-1538; Cyprus Gazette September 25, 1896 p. 3163).

If the funds were inadequate for undertaking the planned upkeep works, they were put on hold until there were sufficient funds in the accounts\(^{110}\). Owing to deficient budgets, delays in undertaking the required upkeep works became inevitable\(^{111}\). Alternatively, loans could have been given by the Government to be paid back by instalments with an interest rate\(^{112}\). Alongside the *mazboutah waqfs*, loans could have also occasionally been arranged for repair works to built properties belonging to the *mulhaka waqfs*. On the other hand, the *mustesna waqfs* (privileged *waqfs*), which during the nineteenth century Ottoman *Waqf* reforms aiming at the

\(^{110}\) At one instance, the trustee of the *Waqf* of Kebr Mosque in Limassol applied to the Evkaf for certain repairs to two shops belonging to the said *waqf*. However, there were insufficient funds to undertake repairs on both the coffee shop and the baker’s shop (BEF 1893-56-1394). As a result, permission was given to repair the coffee shop only, and the *mutevelli* was advised to forward the matter again once the Mosque’s funds would accommodate repairs to the baker’s shop (letter, dated April 5, 1893 in BEF 1893-56-1394).

\(^{111}\) At one instance, when repairs were required for the Ağa Cafer Pasha Mosque in Kyrenia in 1887, it was found that the income should have come from the landed properties of the said Mosque which were rented to the Municipality of Nicosia, who did not pay the rentals for 15 years (BEF 1887-21-529). It appears from the documents that originally in the *mulhaka* category, the *Waqf* of Ağa Cafer Pasha was administered by Evkaf since the beginning of the colonial era. The said properties were rented to the Municipality of Nicosia during the times of M. B. Seager, and rental was paid only once. After the involvement of the Delegates and the High Commissioner, finally in 1890 the due rents were collected and the budget was ready to proceed with the repairs (BEF 1887-21-529).

\(^{112}\) For instance, at July 22, 1882, a letter from King-Harman, the assistant to the Chief Secretary, informed the BDE that the Government was sanctioning an advance of £300 for the repair of the Ayasofya (San Sofia). The advanced money was going to be paid back at Evkaf’s convenience. They suggested that it could be paid back in three years on annual instalments with an interest of 5% (BEF 1882-4-95).
centralisation of the administration of waqfs maintained their autonomous status, remained as appendages to the headquarters in Konya and did not receive any financial assistance towards the upkeep works as their surplus revenues were directed to their headquarters in Konya. Thus, when in one instance in 1885 the Sheikh of the Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia (figure 6.3) sent a petition requesting financial assistance from Evkaf funds for the much needed repairs to the Tekke building, the High Commissioner rejected sanctioning the use of any funds or advancing money towards the expenses required for the work, on the grounds that Evkaf had no financial responsibility towards the said waqf (BEF 1885-3-54). This fact illustrates the colonial authorities’ indifference at the time towards the Ottoman era built heritage: although the concerned classic Ottoman era building had the capacity of being a historic landmark in Nicosia, the colonial Government had failed to show any interest in aiding its preservation not even through giving a loan for the urgently required repairs. As it will be discussed in Chapter 8, Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia was going to be subjected to a restoration project in the mid 1930s with the directives of the colonial authorities and in accordance with evolving heritage politics.

Figure 6.3 Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia as it stood in 2013 (©Reyhan Sabri)

As mentioned earlier, with the new arrangements made by the British administration in the relevant articles of the Ottoman Waqf Ordinance, the authorisation of all expenditures in excess of 2,500 piaster had passed to the British Governor of the island. In general, approval of expenditures for the projects whose cost estimates
were less than 2,500 piaster was less complicated and fast moving. If funds were available for the purpose in all categories, the Mouhasebedji or the Delegates could approve expenditures without further procedures. On the other hand, if the cost estimate was above 2,500 piaster (then approximately equivalent to £22), for any of the waqf categories, it set the bureaucratic machine rolling. Evidently, in higher amounts, no matter how urgently the repairs were required, the proposals were subjected to the scrutiny of the Government, or more precisely the High Commissioner. The latter had to be convinced that the proposed expenditures were justified.

Financial feasibility remained an important criterion for sanctioning expenditures for upkeep projects on income-providing properties throughout the period. There was not much to do once they failed to attract tenants offering prices that would have afforded Evkaf with the substantial upkeep costs. As early as 1882 the decision was reported to abandon two residential properties belonging to the Waqf of Sultan Selim II, owing to the fact that they were in a bad state of repair, and the cost of repairing them, would be too great compared with the rental that could be obtained (Seager 1883: 68). At the same time, the expenditures required for the upkeep of the Ömerge Hammam (Figure 6.1) in 1882 had been approved on the basis that these would be recovered from the annual rents (ibid.). However, the Hammam had to be leased at a much lower rent than had been expected when the reparation work had been undertaken. This was probably owing to the restrictions placed by the Government on wood cutting and the consequent high price of fuel (ibid: 69). In fact, J. H.

113 See the cost estimate of 2385 piaster, prepared by the carpenter Hadji Hasan for repairs at the top of the minarets of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia. The carpenter was verbally instructed by the BDE to commence the works, only four days after the submission of the petition (Documents, dated October 14 and 18, 1893 in BEF 1893-61-1405). Also see BEF 1886-10-291 for the quick approval of upkeep works at the Ömerge School in Nicosia, where the cost estimate was 461 piaster; and see BEF 1900-94-2216 for the approval of upkeep works at the Buyuk Medrese in Nicosia, for 2000 piaster. For instance, when the mütevelli of the Djami Kebir (no location is mentioned in the file) sent a petition to the Mouhasebedji concerning repairs to the roof and veranda, including a cost estimate of 1476 piaster, the latter after investigating the concerned Waqf’s accounts, recommended to the BDE that the requested repairs could be undertaken at the expense of the Waqf’s funds (BEF 1887-63-1533).

114 When repairs were required to Sarai Onou Mosque in Nicosia, the Mouhasebedji forwarded the cost estimate of £26.70 by Mason Nicolaki Kalla to the BDE (document, dated May 18, 1894 in BEF 1894-70-1692). There were structural cracks that also let water leak into the Mosque. The building, reported the Mouhasebedji, had not been repaired for some time and if not repaired now it would cost much more in the future (previous repairs were in 1889; BEF 1889-30-746). The BDE informed him that according to the Evkaf Law the Delegates of Evkaf were only allowed to expend 2500 piaster and as the amount asked for the repairs exceeded the aforesaid sum then Government authority was therefore required for this expenditure.
Hutchinson, the contractor, had proposed to build new end walls inside the large hot water tank at the Hammam to reduce its size and cut down heating expenses (BEF 1882-4-89). However, it can be speculated from the further reduction in the annual rent of the Hammam that this measure did not contribute much in reducing the heating expenses (BEF 1888-22-543). Evidently, a decrease in the revenues of the rental properties discouraged the authorities from sanctioning expenditures for extensive repairs that would have not been feasible in terms of financial gains. As such, the petitions from the tenants of the rental properties were scrutinised and if found not feasible they were put on hold.

In summary, the British colonial authority followed the late-Ottoman regulation regarding the sanctioning of expenditures for the required upkeep works, which was determined by the availability of waqf funds for the purpose. As in the Ottoman era, in addition to the availability of funds, the financial feasibility of undertaking the postulated upkeep works for the income-providing properties was considered as an important factor in sanctioning the required expenditures. This was irrespective of the historic values of the concerned properties.

6.3.3 Administrative Aspects

The administrative re-structuring of the Waqf institution was one of the main colonial inputs within the system. Accordingly, the British High Commissioner replaced the Ottoman Imperial Evkaf Minister as the top of the authorisation process hierarchy so that the expenditures were subjected to the final approval of the British High Commissioner. The Mouhasebedji of Evkaf, who was the accountant manager of the institution during the British takeover, was appointed by the Imperial Evkaf Ministry as the Turkish Delegate of Evkaf (TDE) alongside his post as the accountant. The British Delegates (BDE), on the other hand, were appointed by the High Commissioners, holding at the same time other governmental posts. Although on paper the institution was managed based on this dual administration of a Turkish and a British Delegate, the former’s absence in the concerning correspondence

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115 See for instance the correspondence between the bath keeper of the Büyük Hammam and the delegates of Evkaf in which the bath keeper accused the Delegates of ignoring his petitions for repairs to the building for many years (BEF 1891-47-1172).
116 See the note about Mehmet Sadık Effendi, the Mouhasebedji and the TDE since the date of British occupation (Cyprus Gazette, dated June 5, 1903, p. 5092). Afterwards separate Mouhasebedji and TDE were appointed.
throughout the period suggests an inactive or silent partnership\textsuperscript{117}. Apparently, the colonial governors agreed with Seager’s (1883) recommendation at the early years of the colonial period that only an Englishmen was able to manage Evkaf and its vast financial resources. Hence, the British Delegates managed the resources of Evkaf and as it relates to the current topic, became the authority within the institution, concerning the upkeep projects.

Apparently, throughout the focus period, the Mouhasebedji was given a symbolic responsibility, which was to oversee the processing of the low budget upkeep works in all waqf categories, which in total were less than 2500 piaster\textsuperscript{118}. As the evidence indicates, this arrangement remained in force until the end of the period\textsuperscript{119}. At the same time, the British Delegates were responsible for the processing of the high profile and costly upkeep works. Among their duties was the need to communicate with the key stakeholders during the preparation of the upkeep projects, which were essentially related to the technical aspects, including:

- Directing the preparation of specifications and cost estimates, themselves or via the Mouhasebedji or the Evkaf Agents
- Directing consultation for remedies on structural decays
- Directing the investigation of funds required for the postulated or proposed upkeep works
- Directing the tendering and awarding stages of the contracts for the upkeep works
- Arranging for a superintendent of upkeep works
- Directing the sourcing of the required upkeep materials

\textsuperscript{117} For instance, it was only the BDE, who was authorised to frank official correspondence during this period (BEF 1897-81-1927). The Turkish Delegate’s approval and signature was rarely sought in the official documents from the period.

\textsuperscript{118} See the relevant order in document, dated October 28, 1886 in BEF 1886-13-350.

\textsuperscript{119} For instance, when the muevelli of the Djami Kebir (no location is mentioned in the file) sent a petition to the Mouhasebedji concerning repairs to the roof and veranda, including a cost estimate of 1476 piaster, the latter, after investigating the concerned Waqf’s accounts, recommended to the BDE that the requested repairs could be undertaken at the expense of the Waqf’s funds (BEF 1887-63-1533). In another instance, when in 1892 the worshippers complained about the broken windows and cracks in the roof of the Haidar Pasha Mosque in Nicosia, the Mouhasebedji obtained the cost estimate from a mason and ensured the repairs were commenced immediately (BEF 1892-55-1356). In a similar instance that took place in the same year, when Yeni Djami [Mosque] and its minaret required urgent repairs, the Mouhasebedji forwarded the cost estimation to the BDE. The latter informed the Chief Secretary that the total expenditure was slightly above the limit of 2500 piaster, which they could any time authorise (Document, dated 18/11/1892 in BEF 1892-55-1348).
Alongside the above mentioned duties relating to the technical aspects of the upkeep works, the Delegates (or the British Delegate more precisely) were responsible for communicating with the *mutevellies* (trustees) of the *mulhaka waqfs*. As much as there were fully cooperative *mutevellies*, there were those who were not cooperative. Enforcing such *mutevellies* for the maintenance of the built properties was often a time-consuming task, extending the authorisation process of the required upkeeps.\(^{120}\)

However, although their key role in the decision-making stage related to the upkeep projects, the British Delegates did not remain in office for periods longer than one or two years.\(^{121}\) In addition, besides superintending the *Evkaf*, the British Delegates were holding primary posts, including commissionerships of Nicosia or the directorship of certain Governmental Departments. In other words, the British Government assumed the administration of *Evkaf* to be like any other governmental department. As the BDE changed regularly, it took some time until the new appointee took control over matters. Obviously, this caused delays in the authorisation process for the required upkeep projects.\(^{122}\)

As the present investigation has revealed the legal, financial and administrative procedures behind the *Waqf*’s upkeep practices were revised within the colonial bureaucracies in negotiation with the existing institution. The revised procedures did not only simply shape the mechanics behind the authorisation processes, but they also provided the colonial Government with full control over the *Evkaf*’s building upkeep projects. From then on, any proposal for upkeep or a conservation project for

\(^{120}\) At one instance that took place in 1887, the *Evkaf* agent H. Rashid Effendi reported to the Delegates that the *mutevelli* of Djami (mosque) Djedid and Medresse at Limassol failed to undertake certain upkeep works (BEF 1887-63-1529). When the Delegates’ attempts for urging the trustee to undertake the repairs failed, the agent was instructed to consult to the Mejlis-i Idari (Local Council) and act on their advice (BEF 1888-22-560). Another illustrative case took place from 1898 to 1900, during which the *mutevelli* of the Djami Kebir Mosque was tried to be convinced to undertake the structural strengthening works on the Minaret. Nearly two years after the initial petition and only after the involvement of the Delegates of *Evkaf*, Chief Secretary, High Commissioner, Commissioner of Paphos and the Kadi (Local Muslim Judge) of Limassol and Paphos, the *mutevelli* of the said *Waqf* had the funds ready for proceeding with the remaining steps in the authorisation stage (BEF 1898-86-2049 & BEF 1898-86-2060).

\(^{121}\) See for instance the appointment of Lieut. S. C. N. Grant, the Director of Survey, as the British Delegate of *Evkaf* in the place of W. R. Collyer, who has resigned (Cyprus Gazette no: 15, dated January 3, 1885); appointment of H.C. Nicolle, as the British Delegate to superintend in conjunction with Houloussi Effendi, in the place of Captain R.E. Grant, who has resigned the appointment (Cyprus Gazette no: 201, dated June 5, 1886).

\(^{122}\) At one instance, for example, S. Brown (the G.Eng), enquired from S. C. N. Grant (the newly appointed BDE) whether the repairs to the Büyük Hamman that were discussed some months previously with the former BDE, were going to be implemented. However, Grant was not able yet to say whether they had the necessary funds (BEF 1885-4-100).
the historic waqf assets had to proceed within the colonial bureaucracies. The following section investigates the changes introduced to the technical planning stage.

### 6.4 Colonial Inputs in Traditional Technical Planning for Upkeep Projects and Maintenance Works at Waqf Built Properties

The technical planning of upkeep projects of waqf assets were traditionally started with the preparation of initial cost estimates and specifications, which were prepared in accordance with the available construction know-how and materials and in agreement with the Waqf’s legislative, administrative and financial procedures. The following section presents the revisions of traditional technical planning by colonial inputs during the early British colonial period (1878 to 1905), highlighting knowledge transfers in building upkeep technologies. The investigation reveals how these imports, ranging from technical expertise to using industrialised materials for the first time have introduced new understandings within traditional technical planning, which hitherto took into consideration solely the available local knowledge of construction. The investigation also reveals how a new form of colonial hegemony rose in the technical planning stage of building upkeep projects, underpinned by these knowledge transfers.

#### 6.4.1 Preparation of Project Specifications and Initial Cost Estimates and the Key Persons Involved

The initial cost estimates listed the types, quantities and quantity prices of required materials as well as the required workmanship and daily wages. At the end of the list was the initial total cost estimate. However, depending on the scale of the works to be undertaken and the person who prepared them, cost estimates and specifications varied in terms of the details they included. Those for the low budget projects were combined, including the material types, quantity of materials, quantity prices as well as the required masons, labourers, their total wages and finally the

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123 See for instance the cost estimates for the proposed upkeep works at the Kotchatli Mosque (BEF 1886-13-349 (E167/86)); at the Peristerona Mosque (BEF 1887-18-474 (E113/87)); at the shops belonging to the Waqf of Kebir Mosque in Limassol (BEF 1887-20-510 (E140/87)); at the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (BEF 1887-20-516 & BEF 1891-47-1172); at the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1893-61-1480); at the Azizzie Mosque in Dali (BEF 1891-48-1212 (E158/91))
total cost\textsuperscript{124}. These are more or less similar to the cost estimates, which are explained in Chapter 4 and were customary during the late-Ottoman era in Cyprus and even earlier.

For high profile projects, specifications with detailed definitions on materials, material mixtures, and techniques were prepared\textsuperscript{125}. Initially the GE, and later with the expansion of the PWD, the Director or one of the engineers were commissioned for the preparation of the specifications and initial cost estimates for large scale upkeep projects\textsuperscript{126}. Besides those working at the PWD, freelance architects and civil engineers could also be commissioned for the purpose\textsuperscript{127}. The involvement of trained engineers and architects marks the beginning of a new era in the technical planning of projects: even though small sketches occasionally accompanied the specifications prepared by the local masons, architectural drawings were started to be appended to the specifications. An illustrative example is the sketch, appended to British contractor J. H. Hutchinson’s cost estimate and specifications for the proposed Porch at the West Entrance of Ayasofya Mosque (former St. Sophia Cathedral) in Nicosia (BEF 1890-37-943 (E65/90)) (Figures 6.4 & 6.5)

\textsuperscript{124} See, for example, the combined specifications and cost estimates for requested upkeep works at the Mosque in Peristerona (BEF 1887-18-474); Ashagi Djami (Pir Cami) in Lefka (BEF 1888-26-659); and for Azizie Mosque in Dali (BEF 1891-48-1212).

\textsuperscript{125} The operator of the Büyük Hammam, in the specifications of the repair works that were sent to the Mouhasebedji on September 18, 1888, proposed the use of a plaster mixture of lime, gypsum and hair (BEF 1888-25-613).

\textsuperscript{126} Seager, in 1882 noted that repairs to Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta were already being contemplated, and the Delegates were waiting for the Government Engineer to send the estimate of cost, wishing that it would not exceed £300 (Seager 1883: 8).

\textsuperscript{127} See for instance the cost estimate and specifications for the required upkeep works at the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta that were prepared by T. Fenneck, a freelance architect who had been commissioned by the Evkaf authorities for the purpose (document, dated March 1, 1888 in BEF 1887-20-516).
Figure 6.4 Sketch, appended to British contractor J. H. Hutchinson’s cost estimate and specifications for the proposed Porch at the West Entrance of Ayasofya Mosque (former St. Sophia Cathedral) in Nicosia (Source: BEF 1890-37-943 (E65/90) ©CEA).

Figure 6.5 West Porch at Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)
Another illustrative case is the plan and elevation drawings attached to the proposal for repair works at the Omerge Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1894-69-1663) (Figures 6.6 & 6.7)

Figure 6.6 Sketch drawing by British contractor J. H. Hutchinson, appended at the repair proposals at the roof and side wall at the veranda of the Omerge Mosque in Nicosia (Source: BEF 1894-69-1663, ©CEA)

Figure 6.7 The veranda of the Omerge Mosque in Nicosia as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)
In addition to sketches, written descriptions relating to the proposed physical intervention techniques and materials gained wider space in the specification reports. (Figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8 Specifications of the required repair works at the roof and side wall at the veranda of the Omerge Mosque in Nicosia and the cost estimates proposed by British contractor J. H. Hutchinson (Source: BEF 1894-69-1663, ©CEA)

The Western trained British engineers and architects introduced a professional dimension to the technical planning stage of the upkeep projects for the waqf built properties. However, while this input aided in upgrading the technical planning details to Western standards, it remained confined within the circles of British professionals. It reflected the prevalence throughout this period of Seager’s arguments that the natives were incapable of professional jobs. In a way, this technical advantage was exploited to reinforce the colonisation of Evkaf. Following revisions of the legal, financial and administrative procedures, then the technical planning of the upkeep works at the waqf built properties, essentially of the high
profile projects, became the monopoly of the British engineers. As shown later in this chapter, this advantage was used for awarding contracts for the high profile jobs to the British contractor J. H. Hutchinson throughout the early colonial period between 1878 and 1905.

6.4.2 Materials, Methods and Techniques of Physical Interventions

In the traditional building upkeep and maintenance system, the different types of building material which were planned to be used in the projects and the required quantities were listed in the cost estimates. With the involvement of the British engineers in the preparation of cost estimates, detailed specifications started to appear, including descriptions of the intervention techniques and methods, alongside material types and quantities (Figure 6.9). While the native masons continued to include locally sourced materials and material mixtures in their cost estimates, the British engineers preferred imported construction materials. The latter were usually to be purchased from the stores of the PWD. Owing to budget restrictions the consultant engineers often had no option but to advise using locally available native materials and material mixtures as these were more affordable when compared with the imported-industrialised materials.

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128 C.Dudley, in his recommendation letter regarding the upkeep works of the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta, mentioned that he preferred Portland cement over any other local binding material (BEF 1892-53-1306).

129 During the upkeep works at the Büyük Hammam it was found that the boiler required re-settling with firebricks. As they were not available in the local market, instructions were given by the C.Sec to provide the 600 bricks required for this purpose from the stores of PWD based on the prices the latter would ask for (document, dated September 18, 1891 in BEF 1891-47-1172).
Figure 6.9 Sketch-diagram for the planned intervention points at the East-end of Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (former St. Nicholas Cathedral) (top) and the list of specifications for the proposed works (bottom), prepared by British contractor J. H. Hutchinson (BEF 1893-60-1470, ©CEA)
In addition, there were times when certain imported materials that had been specified in the contracts were unavailable in the market place, so alternative solutions were called for. Despite their higher costs, imported-industrialised materials, especially Portland cement and French tiles, gradually gained visibility in cost estimates and specifications during the period. At the end of the period under review, in 1905, Jeffery (1906: 487) had observed how the red French floor and roofing tiles gained wide use all around the country, and turned into a symbol of economic prosperity during the British administration. This wholesale replacement of older roofs with red French tiles, according to the author, was one of the unfortunate practices resulting from the new administration. The use of Portland cement, owing to its high price in this period, was limited to high profile jobs. Besides, as opposed to the British engineers’ acquaintance with the material, the local masons were unaccustomed to its use. As such, during the period of 1878 to 1905, it is found mostly in the specifications for the upkeep works that were undertaken by the British engineer-contractor J. H. Hutchinson. Towards the end of the period, local masons also started to place the imported materials, essentially Portland cement in their cost estimates. One of the first local innovative masons to insert cement mortar in his cost estimate, if not the first, was N. Kalla, who became the specialist mason for Evkaf in the subsequent sub-period (BEF 1891-47-1172).

130 At one instance, when there was no more French lime left at the Stores of the PWD, the Government Engineer recommended as an alternative concrete made with local lime and puzzolona (document, dated December 23, 1899 in BEF 1898-109-2574). The said concrete was needed for the upkeep works at the Larnaka Kebir Mosque and Minaret.

131 For example, the cost estimate and specifications of the required upkeep works for the Büyük Hammam defines the plaster to be consisted of a mixture of lime, gypsum and animal hair (BEF 1888-25-613).

132 As opposed to Bağışkan’s (2009: 16) assertion that cement was used for repairs on mosques and other waqf buildings in the years 1907 to 1910, the present investigation revealed that Evkaf used cement as a physical intervention material much earlier. The specifications for the upkeep works at the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta involved cement mortar of Portland cement variety (BEF 1887-20-516 and BEF 1892-53-1306).

133 According to Bağışkan (2009: 23) grooved tiles (known as alaturka) were replaced with the so-called Marseille tile, first manufactured in France, during the British colonial period.

134 See BEF 1887-20-516. At 1905 F. Atkinson (engineer from PWD) described cement concrete as being ‘infernally expensive’ and had recommended to make the concrete that would be used at the reconstruction of Djami Djedid Mosque at Limassol with French lime and puzzolana (BEF-1903-111-2614).
Similar to the preceding Ottoman era, physical intervention aims, methods, and techniques used during the early British colonial period were classified broadly into two groups: the first was aimed mainly at conservative repairs and the second group at physical alterations. Conservative repairs were physical interventions aimed at mending the material or structural decays that had resulted either from normal wear and tear or from natural forces such as earthquakes and floods. It was explained in Chapter 4 that the traditional waqf building upkeep system had favoured regular monitoring of built properties to prevent early stages of decay: simple repairs, aiming at consolidation of the defects with minimal physical intervention, were not costly and were easier to manage within the financial budgets of the concerned waqf. Presumably, owing to the users’ continuing active involvement in initiating the upkeep works during the period under review, small scale repairs abounded. Such works included among others: pointing the joints between the stone blocks and the cracks on the walls, repairing the existing plaster, mending the wooden components and interior furnishings, strengthening the side walls with buttresses, and tying the stone blocks or components with iron rods or clamps.

Native materials and techniques were used in simple repairs, except for a few random cases of pointing, for which Portland cement was used.

Alterations for structural or functional requirements were among Waqf’s traditional building upkeep practices. Evidently, these practices continued during the early British colonial period from 1878 to 1905. Alterations for structural requirements aimed at renewing the existing material or structures varying from minor modifications in replacing only the pieces of material with defects to the complete rebuilding of the structures. These practices among others included renewal of

135 For instance, the specifications of the upkeep works, which aimed to strengthen the side walls of the Ağa Çafer Pasha Mosque in Kyrenia, included rubble stone filling in the cracks, plastered with a lime and sand mixture (BEF 1887-21-529).
136 See the specifications of the upkeep works required for the Büyük Hammam for ‘repairing the plaster with hair mortar’ (BEF 1891-47-1172).
137 See the cost estimate by the carpenter Hadji Hasan for the repair of the top parts of the minarets of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1893-61-1405).
138 See the cost estimate of the upkeep works at the Omeriye School in Nicosia for repairs to desks (BEF 1886-10-291). Also see the cost estimate for the upkeep works for the Kuklia Mosque and School for repairs to windows and the pulpit of the Mosque (BEF 1882-4-101(57/82)).
139 For the insertion of an iron frame to strengthen the marble door jamb at the Haidar Pasha Mosque in Nicosia, see BEF 1900-91-2153.
plaster and whitewashing the walls\textsuperscript{140}, renewal of floor slabs\textsuperscript{141}, re-tiling the roofs\textsuperscript{142} (Figure 6.2) and replacing wooden components and furnishings\textsuperscript{143}, reconstructions, varying from partial\textsuperscript{144} to complete rebuilding\textsuperscript{145}. For reconstructions, either newly sourced materials\textsuperscript{146} were used for the whole construction or dismantled old materials were re-used\textsuperscript{147}. Towards the end of the period under review, there is an intensification of both partial reconstructions, especially in the cases of structurally decayed minarets (Figure 6.10), and complete reconstructions\textsuperscript{148}. These reconstructions, as the evidence indicates, were based on the colonial ideas of history (Figure 6.11).

The second category of alteration was for functional requirements aimed at improving the conditions within or around the existing spaces. These practices included among others the addition of new spaces such as ancillary rooms, WCs and fountains, and to the public buildings, an addition of porches\textsuperscript{149} (Figure 6.6), enlargement of the existing spaces\textsuperscript{150}, opening new voids\textsuperscript{151} or closing the existing

\textsuperscript{140} See the cost estimate for the upkeep works at the Kuklia Mosque and School for renewing all plaster and white-washing the walls (BEF 1882-4-101(57/82))
\textsuperscript{141} See the cost estimate of the upkeep works at the shops belonging to Arab Ahmed Mosque for 5000 floor tiles (BEF 1886-10-290). Also see the specifications for the upkeep works required for the Büyük Hammam for ‘relaying existing fire-proof slabs where sound, providing and fixing - if required - new fire-proof slabs, and twice whitewashing the walls’ (BEF 1891-47-1172).
\textsuperscript{142} See BEF 1892-54-1345 for tiling the roof of the Sarai Onou School
\textsuperscript{143} See the item ‘wood for windows’ in the cost estimate of the upkeep works for the Omerie School in Nicosia (BEF 1886-10-291). Also see BEF 1891-50-1237 for laying a wooden floor at Zuhori Djami at Larnaka.
\textsuperscript{144} Among the upkeep works required for the Büyük Hammam was ‘taking up the old floor at the hot chamber and supports underneath; and rebuilding rough stone pillars wherever necessary under the hot floor’ (BEF 1891-47-1172).
\textsuperscript{145} See the rebuilding of the Minaret of the Kebir Mosque at Paphos (BEF 1898-86-2060); rebuilding of Sarai Onou School (BEF 1898-86-2050); rebuilding of Sarai Onou Mosque (BEF 1900-91-2153)
\textsuperscript{146} At the case of Lapithos Mosque ‘600 stones for the minaret’ is included in the cost estimate, implying that a rebuilding was going to happen and new stones were going to be used for the rebuilding (BEF 1887-21-530).
\textsuperscript{147} Contract for the demolition of Sarai Onou Mosque specified the ‘Dismantling the building as far as the foundation or the level of the ground and all materials to be kept for reuse. The archways of the doors and windows to be extracted unbroken and the arch stones cleaned after numbered or otherwise marked for reuse (BEF 1900-91-2153).
\textsuperscript{148} See for instance the rebuilding of the Minaret of the Kebir Mosque at Paphos (BEF 1898-86-2060); rebuilding of Sarai Onou School (BEF 1898-86-2050); rebuilding of Sarai Onou Mosque (BEF 1900-91-2153)
\textsuperscript{149} See for instance the addition of a Porch at the West entrance of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1890-37-943 (E65/90)
\textsuperscript{150} See the cost estimate for the upkeep works at the Kuklia Mosque and School and for enlarging the school windows and enlarging the doorway of the courtyard (BEF 1882-4-101(57/82))
\textsuperscript{151} See the specifications of the upkeep works required for the Büyük Hammam for ‘repairing the fire chimney and putting a new skylight in the roof’ (BEF 1891-47-1172).
ones, inserting iron gates and iron fences around historic buildings\textsuperscript{152}, re-tiling roofs\textsuperscript{153}, glazing the openings and inserting iron rails at the windows\textsuperscript{154}.

Alongside the alterations for structural or functional requirements, there was a new group of alterations which aimed directly at restoring aesthetic features. This group is often symbolised by the reproduction of various decorative components. Among the practices that highlight this type of intervention is the reproduction of Gothic

\textsuperscript{152} See for example BEF 1882-6-163 for the correspondence regarding the iron gates to be inserted at the doorways at the westerly courtyard of the Ayia Mosque in Nicosia; and BEF 1882-8-25 for the iron fences around the same Mosque. Also see BEF 1887-64-1550 for iron railings around the Arab Ahmed Mosque in Nicosia.

\textsuperscript{153} Re-tiling of roofs mainly aimed at better water-proofing of the roofs, which were formerly covered with mud, slabs or grooved tiles. Imported French tiles were preferred if there were sufficient funds for it. See for instance the document, dated November 10, 1897 in BEF 1897-83-1978 regarding replacing the mud roofs of the ancillary buildings at Hala Sultan Tekke with French tiles. Also see for the same subject the documents in BEF 1898-86-2053; and BEF 1894-69-1663 for tiling the roof of the Porch of Omerge Mosque in Nicosia.

\textsuperscript{154} See the item ‘iron railings for windows’ in the cost estimate of the upkeep works for the Omerge School in Nicosia (BEF 1886-10-291)
tracery of the windows of Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (Figures 6.11 & 6.12) (BEF 1887-20-516; BEF 1892-53-1306; and BEF 1893-60-1470). During this project, several layers, which had been added to the fabric during the Ottoman period, like the wooden external staircase, were removed (ibid.).

Figure 6.11 Sketch showing the proposed reproduction for the Gothic window tracery at the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (former St. Nicholas Cathedral) (left) (Source: BEF 1893-60-1470, ©CEA); and reproduction of the Gothic pinnacle (right) (Source: BEF 1887-20-516, ©CEA) both by the British contractor J. H. Hutchinson.

In general, simple repairs were undertaken in the traditional mode during the period under review. However, industrialised materials were started to be imported during the colonial era and started to be used rather sparingly, owing to their higher cost. Upkeep projects, which involved structural or functional alterations, were also practised in the same way as the preceding Ottoman era. Because of the fact that the colonial authorities did not want to allow tension to build-up within the Muslim-Turkish community, the technical planning of the upkeep and maintenance works were realised in accordance with the postulations in the petitions. Thus, the building fabric was altered via reconstructions whenever no alternative solution could be
provided to solve the structural problems other than the total demolition of the original building and its rebuilding from scratch.

![Ayasofya Mosque](image)

**Figure 6.12** Ayasofya Mosque (former St Nicholas Cathedral) in Famagusta as it stood in 2011 (©Reyhan Sabri)

In many cases, building a new structure was considered to cost nearly the same as repairing the existing old structure, and often demolition was considered to be the best option. While the users’ requirements were accepted as an important factor during the technical planning stage of the majority of the upkeep works, in certain cases, as for example exemplified by the case of Ayasofya Mosque (former St. Nicholas Cathedral) in Famagusta, the decorative architectural components were reproduced aiming at a stylistic restoration to reveal their pre-Ottoman architectural character (Figure 6.12). Thus, while on the one hand the colonial authorities aimed to assert their power within the Muslim-Turkish community of the island by authorising

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155 See for instance the rebuilding of Kebir Mosque in Limassol
the undertaking of the required upkeep works on the waqf assets in accordance with the requirements of the community, on the other hand they prioritised the restoration of the waqf built properties with Western origins in a way to reveal their pre-Ottoman architectural character. The British colonial authorities had identified themselves with such edifices and they had considered them as their national heritage consolidating the colonial presence at the island. However, as the ultimate target was the prevention of tension building up within the Muslim-Turkish community, no stylistic restoration was allowed to be practised at the interior space of such edifices which had been re-adapted and used for mosque purposes since the late sixteenth century. The stylistic restorations that were practised on such buildings were only at the exterior facades of the edifices and confined to reproduction of Gothic tracery on the windows and certain other decorative components.

### 6.4.3 Professional Consultation for Intervention Methods Regarding Structural Decays and the Key Persons Involved

Seeking professional consultation from trained engineers was a new practice, introduced as early as the start of the British colonial era. Consultation was carried out in two stages: advice was sought on addressing the structural deficiencies and it was also sought regarding cost estimates and specifications. The engineers advised on the structural strengthening techniques, methods, and materials to be used in such cases. Initially the GE, and later on the Director of the Public Works or one of his colleagues at the PWD from the civil engineering profession provided professional consultation and advice to Evkaf throughout the era. Whenever structural problems emerged concerning the built properties of the mulhaka waqfs, Evkaf enlisted their consultation on behalf of the mutevelli as well. It can be argued

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156 See for instance, the advice by W. Williams, the Director of PWD, after he examined the roof of the porch of the Ömerge Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1898-107-2498). Also see the advice by C. Bellamy, the Director of the PWD, concerning the remedial action on the structural deficiencies on Haidar Pasha Mosque in Nicosia in the aftermath of earthquake which occurred in January 1900 (document, dated January 15, 1900 in BEF 1900-91-2153).

157 In 1902, C. Bellamy, the Director of the PWD wrote to the Chief Secretary that PWD engineers could continue to provide consultation and advice to Evkaf on a paid basis (BEF 1902-103-2435).

158 See for example BEF 1898-109-2574 for consultation regarding Kebir Mosque in Larnaca, and BEF 1898-86-2049, regarding Kebir Mosque in Paphos. At December 12, 1900 the mutevelli of the Kebir Mosque in Paphos had been informed that W. Williams (the Director of the PWD) was...
from the number of cases that recommended demolition of historic structures and the rebuilding of new ones that the British engineers were inexperienced in repairing or strengthening historic structures (Figure 6.13). Among such cases of structures were the decaying minarets of the mosques. For instance when there were structural cracks at the Minaret of the Kebir Mosque in Larnaca (Figure 6.14), Mr. Nicolle, the Divisional Engineer of the PWD, had recommended putting bands around the existing part and building the new minaret on top of it (document, dated July 17, 1899 in BEF 1898-109-2574). However, C. Bellamy, the Director of the Public Works, advised the Evkaf administration that the body was not strong enough to support any superstructure and that the best option was to pull it down and re-erect it (document, dated October 15, 1901 in BEF 1898-109-2574). Finally, the Delegates requested authorisation of the estimated expenditures for erecting a new minaret as they were convinced that the old one could not be repaired (document, dated June 14, 1902 in BEF 1898-109-2574). Apparently, although this form of professionalism in modern construction techniques, materials and methods was a new input in Evkaf’s upkeep and practices, it was not an informed one in the field of the evolving architectural conservation principles then in Great Britain.

arriving in town to be consulted regarding the safest way to pull down the Minaret, which had been declared structurally unsafe (BEF 1898-86-2060).
Figure 6.13 The Minaret of the Köprülü Hacı İbrahim Ağa Mosque in Limassol, blown up with dynamite after it had been declared dangerous following a flood in 1894 (Photo by J.P.Foscolo in Malecos (1992))

Figure 6.14 Great Mosque in Larnaca as it stood in 1962 (Source: Atay 2010)
Another illustrative case where the PWD consultants recommended the demolition of an old structure and rebuilding a new one is the Sarai Onou Mosque in Nicosia, which had suffered structural cracks following an earthquake in early January 1900 (BEF 1900-91-2153). The building, originally constructed as a church during the Latin era, had been converted and used as a Mosque since the Ottoman conquest in the sixteenth century. C. Bellamy, the Director of the PWD, who was consulted in the aftermath of the earthquake for advice on future action, initially advised to remove the roof gable, which appeared in the enclosed sketch drawing as a vaulted one, and to construct a timber trussed roof (Figure 6.15) (document, dated January 15, 1900 in BEF 1900-91-2153).

Some months later Bellamy suggested the erection of a skin of masonry within the building in order to support the badly decayed external shell (documents, dated April 30, 1900 and then on June 20, 1900 in BEF 1900-91-2153). Apparently, the Delegates were not convinced by the solution advised by Bellamy, as the shell suggested by him would have altered the shape of the building, which would have reduced the interior size, impairing its usefulness as a mosque (ibid.). Thus, they argued that, although the building would perhaps have been safe so far as the internal...
skin would have prevented the exterior shell falling on the worshippers it was not clear how that exterior shell would have been itself rendered safe from risk of falling outwards (ibid.). Not being able to offer an alternative solution, Bellamy recommended the whole structure to be pulled down and a new mosque be erected on the foundations of the old one (BEF 1900-91-2153) (Figure 6.16).

Figure 6.16 Sarai Onou Mosque in Nicosia as it stood in 2013 (©Reyhan Sabri)

It was not only C. Bellamy, the infamous Director of Public Works, who was not particularly experienced in structural repairs of historic buildings but also the engineers of the PWD in general. As such, they often advised the total demolition of existing structures and rebuilding new ones from scratch, rather than taking the risk of strengthening them. In addition, they were unaccustomed to local construction techniques and as such, they often considered rebuilding as a less risky practice. While rebuilding was an intervention method that had been practised from the beginning of the colonial period, it dramatically intensified during the final years of the nineteenth century.

The British engineers obviously played a key role in importing knowledge to Cyprus and to Evkaf, regarding construction materials and techniques as well as architectural

159 See for instance for the correspondence regarding the Minaret of Kebir Mosque at Paphos, in which the PWD engineer advised that ‘Evkaf authorities should be urged strongly to have it taken down and rebuild it’ (document, dated January 19, 1899 in BEF 1898-86-2049).
160 See BEF 1882-5-150/226/827 for the rebuilding of Djami Kebir in Limassol
design ideas. They introduced the use of Portland cement as a restoration material, favoured the use of French lime and French tiles over native versions, and even designed mosques, inspired by Tunisian styles, to replace the structurally decaying existing mosques (Figures 6.16 & 6.17). Although it was argued that the demolition of existing Ottoman structures was aimed at removing the visual signs of the Ottoman identity of the city\textsuperscript{161}, it is more likely that the Tunisian-style inspired new Mosques were reflecting colonial ideas about the ideal architectural expressions that mosques in this part of the Empire should have. Apparently the funds were insufficient to build a new mosque with all the proposed decorative elements, so the revivalist architects had to settle with Tunisian-styled arches only. Yet, as suggested by Schaar et al (1995: 35), these pointed horseshoe arches in alternate red and white voussoirs were enough to bring glory and an academic impression among the unassuming and simplified Ottoman built environments. It can also be argued that it was the similar colonial ideas that inspired the Moghul-revival styled mosques to replace the local vernacular architecture in colonial Penang (Malaysia) at the outset of the twentieth century (Nasution 2002: 308-09). In summary, the historic values of heritage buildings were sacrificed whenever there was room to bring into practice colonial ideas for imperial architectural expression. Fortunately for the less impressive Ottoman era buildings, there were not enough funds at the disposal of Evkaf and the Government for such major reconstruction practices.

\textsuperscript{161} See for instance Yıldız 2007
6.4.4 The Genesis of a New Conservation Understanding: Approaching the Waqf Built Properties within the Perspective of Heritage Concepts

The preservation of architectural remnants symbolising previous epochs as the heritage for contemporary communities had already been an accepted concept in Western geographical regions during the nineteenth century. At the time when Cyprus was taken over by the British in 1878, there were ongoing debates on
appropriate conservation methods, which had gained wide acceptance both in Britain and in other Western European areas by the end of the nineteenth century. In Cyprus, although intervention methods were in general in accordance with existing Waqf regulations, a relatively more sensitive approach concerning physical interventions to a selected set of waqf built properties with Western origins started to gain visibility and gradually intensified towards the end of the period. In fact, the conceptualisation of these properties, albeit indirectly, as part of British national inheritance has gained visibility from the start of the colonial period. We are informed by Seager (1882) how the repairs required at the Ayasofya Mosque (former Gothic Cathedral of St. Sophia) in Nicosia received the immediate attention of the Royal Engineers in 1878 to 1879 (Figure 6.18). Later, when there was leakage in the north part of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia in 1885, although the Government Engineer was overloaded at the time, the High Commissioner authorised his services for this purpose, highlighting the importance of the edifice (document, dated March 4, 1885 in BEF 1885-3-53). It appears from the following evidence that while heritage consciousness by the colonial rulers towards the waqf built properties with Western origins was visible throughout the reviewed period its reflection into practice was confined by the available Evkaf’s funds to be used for the purpose. Whenever Evkaf’s funds allowed, the conservation of such properties were prioritised and professional resources were allocated at the technical planning stage of the authorisation process.

PWD Engineers were often involved in the preparation of cost estimates and specifications of such projects, often with drawings and detailed descriptions appended. Besides, the British civil engineer-contractor J. H. Hutchinson was preferred by the colonial authorities who trusted his implementation. The following section highlights how although the importance of protecting the historic fabric started to gain visibility, this was confined to the protection of Western traces on the monuments. Besides, it did not rule out the conjectural reproduction of architectural components. Portland cement and French lime were preferred whenever funds allowed, as they were the best repair materials for the waqf built properties with Western origins.
Albeit occasionally, third parties were involved and expressed their opinions during the decision making processes relating to waqf built properties of Western origin. These third parties consisted of a number of British governors or government officials, who developed a self-induced awareness for the preservation of historic buildings. Among the first of these, who expressed their opinion about the historic value of some of the buildings owned by Evkaf, was Sir H. E. G. Bulwer, the High Commissioner from 1886 to 1892. According to Schaar et al., (1995: 32), he was the first British ruler with a positive attitude to the protection of the ancient monuments in the island. In fact, as the evidence in the present research suggests, Sir Bulwer, (the top authority for sanctioning required expenditures for Evkaf’s building upkeep projects), ignited the awareness of the protection of waqf built properties. This awareness was, however, selective as it related to those structures which predated the Ottoman occupation of the island. His first action was right after his appointment in 1886, when he inserted a note on the authorisation letter regarding the construction of a new San Sofia School in the yard of Haidar Pasha (former Cathedral of St.
Catherine) Mosque (Figure 6.19). He forewarned the Delegates that ‘no escutcheons or stones of historical interest are taken from the San Sofia (Ayasofya) Mosque and St. Nicholas for use in the new building’ (BEF 1886-10-293). The construction of the said school was put on hold for reasons not explained in the documents. However, when the project was forwarded again, another notification was received, raising the issue of the protection of the historic aspect of the nearby Haidar Pasha Mosque. This was the first time (according to the analysed archival evidence) that the subject of the relationship between a historic building and a new construction had ever been voiced (BEF 1886-10-293). A similar attitude was visible sometime later in 1890, during the authorisation process of the erection of a porch at the North entrance of Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia. Sir Bulwer authorised the project on the condition that the look and character of the main building would not be spoiled (Figure 6.4) (BEF 1890-37-943).

Figure 6.19 Haidar Pasha Mosque as it stood in 2013 (©Reyhan Sabri)
Sir Bulwer had also opposed the initial upkeep project for the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (Figure 6.12) in 1887, on the grounds that certain physical interventions would have damaged the historic fabric (document, dated March 31, 1888 in BEF 1887-20-516). Receiving the report from T. Fenneck, the architect, who had been commissioned to prepare the specifications and the cost estimates for the required upkeep works of the edifice, H. C. Nicolle (the BDE) had forwarded them on March 5, 1888 to the Chief Secretary, requesting the authority of the Government to sanction the necessary expenditures from the Evkaf’s funds for undertaking the repairs. Sir Bulwer, much annoyed with the destructive nature of the proposed upkeep works, scolded the Delegates in a letter that he dictated to the Chief Secretary. An extract from the letter runs as follows:

‘The principal part of the work proposed appears to be to remove all the plaster in the interior of the building, without distinction, until the surface of the stone is exposed, then to re-plaster and whitewash the interior...[The walls beneath the existing plaster may] bear any frescoes, as are frequently met with in medieval churches...[These] might have been covered up when the building was assigned for Mahommedan worship but supposing that such frescoes do exist, His Excellency would not wish that any work should be undertaken should be likely to injure or destroy them. His Excellency cannot therefore consent to any removal of the plaster unless it was done by skilled hands specially employed, and obtained from Europe for the purpose and unless the future preservation of any frescoes found underneath were guaranteed, which his Excellency presumes it would not be possible to accomplish in a building devoted to Mahommedan worship. His Excellency therefore thinks it will be better to have the plaster as it is and simply whitewash the interior without removing any part of the plaster. His Excellency is also opposed to the removal or destruction of the old windows and if any of the windows require repair they should be repaired by strengthening or supporting work such as will not injure the original structure.’ (document, dated March 31, 1888 in BEF 1887-20-516)

This is likely to be the first time since the beginning of the colonial era a decade earlier in 1878 that one of the key stakeholders in the authorisation process had voiced the importance of preserving the historic layers and carrying out structural strengthening instead of demolition and rebuilding. However, Sir Bulwer’s concept
for the preservation of historic layers bore selective tones that were reflected in his approach to various cases. His awareness was confined to the *Waqf* assets with Western origins. While on the one hand he engaged himself with the protection of the medieval city walls of Kyrenia\(^{162}\) and the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia and in Famagusta, on the other hand he was occupied with clearing the area of the Nicosia Konak from the debris resulting from the demolition of its Ottoman additions\(^{163}\) (BEF 1887-64-1548). In the meantime there were substantial alterations being made to the Büyük Khan (Figure 6.20), which was converted into prison and police barracks while it was being leased by the Government (BEF 1887-18-461). Apparently, the wooden door and window shutters of the Khan were replaced with irons versions, walls were built in the arcades and certain rooms were converted into magazines to store gunpowder (BEF 1898-108-2530).

Figure 6.20 Büyük Khan in Nicosia as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)

Sir Bulwer’s self-induced awareness – although being selective – initiated the genesis for architectural conservation understanding, which gradually shaped *Evkaf*

\(^{162}\) Schaar et al (1995: 32) remarks that when the Commissioner of Kyrenia had reported that parts of the medieval city walls were being destroyed, Sir Henry Bulwer had immediately sent orders that the demolition should be stopped.

\(^{163}\) See the letter sent by S. Brown, the Government Engineer, to the British Delegate of *Evkaf* (document, dated March 25, 1887 in BEF 1887-64-1548). The Konak of Nicosia was the kingdom Palace from the Frankish era that was renovated as the residential and administrative courts of the Ottoman rulers (Schaar et al 1995).
administrators’ attitudes relating to the upkeep of the waqf built properties. For the first time, they started to demonstrate more care about the historic value of the buildings as is evident in their use of terminological descriptions in their subsequent correspondence, such as the regular use of the expression ‘preservation of the ancient monument’ (BEF 1887-20-516). The conservation awareness, related to the physical interventions on waqf built properties with ancient monument attributes gained more ground towards the end of the period. When, for instance, the demolition of the aforementioned Sarai Onou Mosque had been recommended by C. Bellamy, the Director of PWD, in 1900, A. M. Ashmore, the British Delegate, reported the matter to the Government:

If this was an ordinary modern building, the Delegates would not refer to Government but would exercise their own discretion in the matter, but it is reported to be an old Gothic Church of unique character, and they are reluctant in the circumstances to take any measure which would alter its shape or divert it of its antiquarian interest. [However], their belief is that the building is rotten throughout that the mortar has perished, and that it is only the buttresses which the Department has erected to strengthen it in the past 20 years that prevent its collapsing like a pack of cards. We shall be glad to know if the Government has any orders in the matter (documents, dated April 30, 1900 and then on June 20, 1900 in BEF 1900-91-2153).

In the meantime, T. J. Chamberlayne had been invited by the Evkaf administration for an expert opinion on the historic values of the building (BEF 1900-91-2153). The said Mosque was a converted Latin church from the thirteenth century. Major Chamberlayne, then the Commissioner of Nicosia and Kyrenia164, who was well known with his knowledge and interest in antiquities, had published the inscriptions from the building in 1894, one of them particularly important in dating the building from the thirteenth century. Following an inspection, Chamberlayne expressed the opinion that this was an ancient building that deserved to be preserved by virtue of age. Unlike Bellamy’s opinion, he argued that the side walls of the building were structurally sound (BEF 1900-91-2153).

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164 Major T. J. Chamberlayne, the Commissioner of Kyrenia was appointed by the High Commissioner to act as the Commissioner of Nicosia from November 28, 1900 (Cyprus Gazette 1900)
While on the one side the *Evkaf* administration was inquiring about the age values and historic attributes of the concerned building, on the other side it was under pressure by the local community to re-open the Mosque for the service of worshippers (BEF 1900-91-2153). The situation had caused tension between the governmental officials: Bellamy was advising to pull down the superstructure and to rebuild a new one on the same foundations. The stones of the arches could be marked and numbered for reuse in the new construction (document, dated October 25, 1900 in BEF 1900-91-2153). Chamberlayne, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the building had to be protected as it was. Its historic attributes should have not been sacrificed for the sake of functional requirements. Besides, its 500 to 600 year-old walls were in excellent condition (BEF 1900-91-2153). On the contrary, the British Delegate was convinced that the concerned walls were neither 500 to 600 years old or safe. He argued that these walls had evidently been at some period rebuilt from re-used building materials (BEF 1900-91-2153). Finally, the decision was made to pull down the building to the level of its foundations. If desired, the inscribed slabs were free to be taken to the Museum (document, dated April 17, 1901 in BEF 1900-91-2153). Obviously, the British Delegate was of the opinion that the Sarai Onou Mosque had already lost its historic value, because it had been altered during the Ottoman era. In the newly evolving heritage concept and conservation understanding, there was no place for Ottoman era traces, as they did not fall within the definition of ancient monuments. Most importantly, it was likely that any attempt to stop using the building as a Mosque for the sake of its preservation as a historic structure would cause tensions within the local community. Thus, political considerations were prioritised and the Mosque’s demolition was authorised by the colonial authority.

Even though the final decision of *Evkaf* and that of the colonial Government was to pull down the historic structure in order to construct a new Mosque, Chamberlayne continued to endorse his opinion that the demolished structure was an old one. He criticised the *Evkaf* authorities of not showing care for the historic aspects of the building, and emphasised the importance of care particularly for the inscribed stones, now lying with the others on the ground. As the evidence suggests,

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165 T. Chamberlayne wrote to the Chief Secretary that ‘as traces of ancient [n,d] had been discovered therein might be left as it was until Mr. Lu [n,d] arrives in Cyprus. The day before yesterday I noticed
Chamberlayne’s consciousness did not remain isolated and the age value of buildings became an aspect to discuss during the authorisation process of the upcoming upkeep projects. One such project was the Kebir Mosque in Limassol, during which decisions were taken to protect the remains of an ancient underground chapel (BEF-1903-111-2614). However, this awareness of historic value remained confined in general to pre-Ottoman era buildings and artefacts. It was mainly based on age values, justifying the preservation of the converted waqf built properties of Western origin per se.

While on the one hand there was a historic consciousness for the waqf built properties with Western origin among the colonial officials from the beginning, this awareness could not provide protection. The colonial British administration’s primary concern during the period (1878 to 1905) was taking the Evkaf institution under control, while devising an operation method to prevent political tensions. A significant number of waqf built properties were used for religious purposes and there were demands for physical alterations, resulting from such uses. Besides, many such properties were converted edifices, bearing the fabric of Latin and Ottoman eras. As the case of the Sarai Onou Mosque exemplifies, when this some seven centuries old Latin era church building, which had been converted and used as a Mosque for several hundred centuries was damaged by the earthquake, the community’s wish was to continue to use it as a Mosque. Presumably, in order to avoid a political dispute on this matter, the Government authorised the demolition of this historic building to enable a new Mosque to be built on its foundations (Figure 6.16).

While the consultation of experts for structural defects became part of the technical planning process for the upkeep projects of the waqf built properties during the focus period, the consultation of experts regarding their historic aspects remained confined to a few cases. However, albeit small in number, such cases were indicative of a new input to Waqf’s traditional building upkeep understanding, which was the protection

that the building, of which the walls were certainly with excellent condition – notwithstanding their 500 to 600 years of age, had been razed to the ground... If it is decided to demolish with speed such an ancient building, care might at least be taken to preserve the inscribed and carved stones and not as was done in the case of the adjacent Arab Ahmed Mosque, to allow the ignorant and malicious workmen who pull down the building to destroy them...If it is intended to reconstruct the Mosque, care will be taken to avoid the utilisation or mutilation of any stones bearing inscriptions’ (letter, dated February 22, 1901 in BEF 1900-91-2153).
of material fabric because of its age value. This was a new concept within the traditional upkeep framework, as the built properties were hitherto maintained owing to their spiritual and/or use values. As such, this was also indicative of a new form of 'professionalism', which gained visibility in the end of the period: the ancient monument expertise as introduced by the colonial authorities.

In summary, the planning of the upkeep projects and maintenance works of waqf built properties were designed in a technical framework, which was embedded with colonial inputs, and authorised in accordance with the revised legal, financial and administrative procedures. The next section investigates the final step of the process and that is the awarding of contracts and project execution.

### 6.5 Awarding the Contracts and Implementing the Projects

According to the findings of this research, following the sanctioning of expenditures by the British High Commissioner of the island in accordance with the initial cost estimates, the next stage was the awarding of a project contract. While the contract was awarded directly to an invited mason, without a tendering process for small scale projects (less than 2,500 piaster), for larger scale projects tenders were invited as had been the case during the preceding Ottoman era. Tenders were invited for works whose specifications were drawn up as part of the first stage; as in the late-Ottoman era the tendency was to award the contract to the lowest bidder. As the quality of previous works and the professional backgrounds of the bidding contractors started to matter. Starting in the early 1890s, tender invitations started to be published on a notice-board, gradually replacing the oral announcements, and the tendency for accepting the lowest bidder declined.

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166 See the conditional approval of the expenditures for the required upkeep works stating that ‘provided that you are satisfied that the work could not be carried out at a cheaper rate’ at the Omurge School in Nicosia (BEF 1886-10-290) and at the shops belonging to Arab Ahmed Djami (BEF 1886-10-290).

167 The Büyük Hammam is one of the first projects, if not the first, that the Notice of Tender was published on a board. The notice runs as follows: “Tender for certain repairs and alterations required to the Büyük Hamam at Nicosia will be reserved at the office of the British Delegate of Evkaf up to noon on Monday July 20, 1891. Specifications of the work required can be seen on application to the British Delegate of Evkaf. The Delegates of Evkaf do not find themselves to accept the lowest or any tender” (document, dated May 19, 1892 in BEF 1892-54-1339). In
The contracts were awarded on a lump sum base, as in the preceding Ottoman period. As such, the specifications of the works and the cost estimates of the bidding contractors were stated clearly in the contract papers. With this type of contract, the contractor agreed to perform the work described in the contract documents for a fixed sum of money. In addition, the contracts allowed for the removal of most of the old materials and the provision of new materials. If the removed materials were not going to be re-used within the same project they were then considered as debris and became the property of the contractor\textsuperscript{168}.

The frequent recurrence of J. H. Hutchinson’s name in the surveyed archival documents suggests that he was the preferred contractor by the British administration. He was awarded the contracts of several high profile projects during the early part of the British colonial administration\textsuperscript{169}. Being a civil engineer, who took permanent residence in Cyprus at the beginning of the colonial era\textsuperscript{170}, J. H. Hutchinson was more advanced in modern civil engineering techniques than the local masons, and this is reflected in his reports that he presented to the Delegates of the \textit{Evkaf} on structural or decorative repairs\textsuperscript{171}. He was among the first contractors in the island, if not the first, to use Portland cement in repair works. Hutchinson’s reports were accompanied by descriptive technical explanations on the decay

\textsuperscript{168} See for example the case of Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (BEF 1897-80-1918) and the Büyük Hammam in Nicosia (BEF 1892-54-1339). At the Büyük Hammam, the contractor was allowed to own all the unused materials except for the European marbles.

\textsuperscript{169} Hutchinson undertook upkeep works in both the mazboutah and mulhaka categories. Among his earliest works were: Touzla Mosque and School (Larnaca, mulkaka) and Mathiati Mosque and School (Nicosia, mulhaka), both repair works were finished before 1882 (Seager 1883: 80). At the same time he was engaged with the repairs to Omerge Hammam (BEF 1882-4-78; BEF 1882-4-92); Kuklia Mosque and School (BEF 1882-4-101); Serai Onou and Iplok Bazaar Mosques in Nicosia (BEF 1882-7-203). He was continued to be awarded with contracts until late 1890s. Among them were the big profile upkeep works at the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (BEF 1887-20-516) and the Büyük Hammam in Nicosia (BEF 1892-54-1339). Hutchinson also constructed new buildings for Evkaf. Among the earliest were the rebuilding the Kebir Mosque at Limassol (BEF 1882-5-150/226/827) and the construction of the new shops at Limassol (BEF 1882-7-189).


\textsuperscript{171} When repairs were required for the porch of Ömerge Mosque, Hutchinson presented to the BDE a sketch plan and a front elevation, showing the cracks that required repair on the veranda and a cost estimate. He recommended pointing the cracks on the roof and side walls and the other defected parts with cement and covering the roof with French tiles delivering into lead or zinc gutters (document, dated January 12, 1894 in BEF 1894-69-1663). Both Portland cement and French tiles were started to be imported to Cyprus during the beginnings of the era.
problems and remedies. When repairs were required for the porch of Ömerge Mosque for instance, Hutchinson had presented to the BDE a sketch plan and a front elevation, showing the cracks that required repair to the veranda and a cost estimate (Figures 6.6 & 6.8). He recommended pointing the cracks on the roof and side walls and the other defected parts with cement and covering the roof with French tiles delivering into lead or zinc gutters (document, dated January 12, 1894 in BEF 1894-69-1663). Both Portland cement and French tiles were started to be imported to Cyprus during the beginning of the period (Bağışkan 2009: 23).

The British rulers openly favoured the contractor J. H. Hutchinson as evidenced in the number of contracts he was awarded for Evkaf projects. In fact, as early as 1882, S. Vacher (I’Anson 1882: 30) had disclosed in his presentation to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) about the contemplated structural repairs to be done to the Cathedral of Famagusta (Ayasofya Mosque), under the superintendence of ‘an able English engineer’. According to Vacher (ibid.), the Governor of the island was highly pleased with the report of this capable engineer. As it appears, this civil engineer, who was later awarded contracts for undertaking the restoration projects at the said Edifice from 1887 to 1895, was nobody but J. H. Hutchinson.

The Mouhasebedji of Evkaf, on the other hand, preferred the local masons, probably on the grounds that they were less costly. The demise of Hutchinson in 1902 brought an end to the imported contractor era, and the native mason N. Kalla replaced him as the specialised mason in Evkaf’s building upkeep works. N. Kalla undertook several restoration projects for Evkaf during the period of 1905 to 1935, which is investigated in the next chapter.

In general, contracts allowed for the jobs to be undertaken in stages, and payment of the contractor was based on the accomplishment of each specified stage. For instance, when repairs were required for the Haidar Pasha Mosque in Nicosia, the Mouhasebedji obtained the cost estimate from Salva, stating that it was going to be less costly to employ a local mason (BEF 1892-55-1356). Later in 1894, he forwarded a cost estimate by another local mason, Nicolaki Kalla, for the repairs at the Omerge Mosque and requested from the BDE that Mason Nicolaki’s tender was accepted (BEF 1894-69-1663).

N. Kalla had also submitted a tender on June 4, 1891 alongside J. H. Hutchinson for the upkeep works to be undertaken at the Büyük Hamam, whereas Hutchinson had been given the contract on July 24, 1891.

The contract that was awarded to Hutchinson included a schedule of prices, which also showed the order of the works to be executed. Materials and material mixtures were described in detail. For example, plaster was described to be composed of one part of fresh lime and two parts clean sand,
profile projects, the commencement of the project and the duration was also specified in the contracts\textsuperscript{175}. In addition, warranty statements were added in the contracts of the high profile projects\textsuperscript{176}.

\subsection*{6.5.1 The Implementation of the Upkeep Projects, their Supervision and the Final Submission}

The implementation of any upkeep project started only after the authorisation process was completed and the contract was awarded to a contractor. The implementation was undertaken under the superintendence of an assigned person. Accordingly, as it was in the preceding period, the superintendent could be the imam or an assigned inhabitant for small scale projects in the villages\textsuperscript{177}, imams of the mosques or the \textit{Evkaf} agents or the \textit{Evkaf} commissions in the towns for small scale projects in the towns\textsuperscript{178}. For the high profile projects, the Government Engineer, one of his colleagues (an architect or civil engineer) from the PWD\textsuperscript{179}, or a freelance architect/civil engineer\textsuperscript{180} was commissioned by the \textit{Evkaf}. Commissioning professional architects or engineers for the supervision of project execution was a new practice, introduced from early on in the colonial era.

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	\textsuperscript{175} See the contract of the repairs to the Büyük Hammam in Nicosia in which an article was inserted stating that the work was going to be accomplished within a month of taking possession of the Bath premises (BEF 1891-47-1172). See for example E. R. Kenyon’s statement on June 16, 1882 that ‘if required the contractor consents to allow 20\% of the contract amount to remain unpaid until one month after the date of completion ’(BEF 1882-7-189). Also for precautions taken towards the contractor, see the contract for the upkeep works at the Büyük Hammam in 1891(BEF 1892-54-139).

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	\textsuperscript{176} M.B. Seager, the British Delegate of \textit{Evkaf}, informed the Government Engineer that the repairs that were undertaken at the Mosque of Dali, under the superintendence of the Imam of the Mosque were completed (document, dated March 27, 1882 in BEF 1882-4-72). The Commission of managing the \textit{Evkaf} affairs in Famagusta was authorised to take charge of Kutup Osman Tekke and to undertake the necessary repairs (BEF 1898-108-2552).

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	\textsuperscript{177} The Director of the PWD, after providing consultation on the structural state of the Haidar Pasha Mosque in Nicosia following the earthquake in 1900, declared that the PWD was happy to undertake this work if funds were supplied’ (document, dated January 15, 1900 in BEF 1900-91-2153). Also see the supervision of the reconstruction of the Sarai Onou Mosque by F. (BEF 1900-91-2153). A check of £30 was forwarded to Atkinson by the Delegates for this supervision (document, dated December 8, 1903 in BEF 1900-91-2153).

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	\textsuperscript{178} At the restoration project of Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta Evkaf authorities commissioned the freelance architect T. Fenneck for supervising the execution of the contracted works (BEF 1887-20-516).
Superintendents were responsible for controlling building practice to ensure that it was in accordance with the specifications of the contract. Among their responsibilities were the supervision of the quality of the work and timely completion. They ensured the use of materials, material mixtures and intervention techniques in accordance with the specifications. It was among the superintendents’ main duties to issue payment certificates to the contractor at the finish of certain stages of the work (Seager 1883: 78). In the reports they presented from time to time to the Mouhasebedji or to the Delegates, and within the payment certificates they issued to the contractor, they documented the accomplished stages of the works. In case of disputes, which resulted from the contractor’s failure to fulfil the contracted works, the superintendent communicated with the Delegates and did not issue any payment certificate for the concerned works until the dispute was settled. Unlike in the late-Ottoman era, the extra works that emerged during the implementation stage were tolerated during the British period. Immediately after the completion of the project execution or following the maintenance period as agreed within the contract, the officials were called in for the final receipt of the building. The Government Engineer or one of his colleagues at the PWD inspected the work along with a representative from the Evkaf. The inspection was undertaken according to the contract and the payment vouchers were given to the contractor.

An example from the earliest certifications is one prepared and signed by E. R. Kenyon (the acting G.Eng) on June 20, 1882. In the certificate Kenyon declared that: ‘I thereby certificate that the masonry and earth work, with removal of old buildings at the west front of St. Sophia [Ayasofya] Mosque in Nicosia, have been duly completed in accordance with contracts arranged with Therapoin Loiso and that he is entitled to receive payment for the same amounting to £179’ (BEF 1882-6-164). Also see for the certificates, issued by the supervisors following the accomplishment of specified stages: Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (BEF 1887-20-516 and Ağa Cafer Pasha Mosque in Kyrenia (BEF 1887-21-529).

See documents dated September 14 and 18, 1889 in BEF 1887-20-515 for the dispute during the upkeep works at the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta. When J. H. Hutchinson (the contractor) did not want to empty the infill of an opening (one of the contracted items), the supervising architect refused to issue his payment certificate and communicated with the Delegates on the issue, who ordered Hutchinson to act in accordance with the contract.

E. R. Kenyon (the acting G.Eng) issued a certificate for the completion of repairs to the Serai Onou Mosque and the same to the Iplik Bazaar Mosque which were not included in the contract and then he stated the amount that the contractor J. H. Hutchinson was entitled to the payment (document, dated June 14, 1882 in BEF 1882-7-203). During the upkeep works at the Büyük Hammam in 1891 by the same contractor, when it was found that the boiler required re-settling, further allowance was sanctioned for the required firebricks (BEF 1891-47-1172).

E. R. Kenyon (the G.Eng), being informed by the BDE that the repair works at Dali Mosque under the superintendence of the imam were finished, requested to be forwarded with the original estimation and the vouchers to arrange an early inspection of the work and asked if Seager himself would be present during the inspection or whether he would send a representative (BEF 1882-4-72).
6.6 Conclusion

At the time when its control was taken over by the British colonial administration in 1878, Cyprus Evkaf had an established building upkeep system that was based on the initiation of projects, their authorisation, and their implementation. The present investigation has shown how the colonial Government maintained this framework as the main governance structure during the reviewed period (1878 to 1905), while reshaping some of its procedures with colonial inputs. Thus, the analysis of the archival evidence has highlighted how the Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance decisions have started to be negotiated within the colonial bureaucracies following the revisions in its administrative and financial procedures. It has also highlighted how the system was gradually given a new format by introducing a new form of professionalism and the input of civil engineers into the technical planning stage, through which new construction knowledge regarding the materials and techniques were imported and practised. Finally, the investigation indicated that the colonial rulers identified themselves with the waqf built properties with Western origins and gave priority to proposals for their repair. At the same time, the mainland Government’s reluctance in getting involved with the protection of historic properties owned by the religious authorities had its projections on the island. The colonial authorities did not wish to provide statutory provisions for such properties in order to prevent tensions from building-up within the local community.

While the involvement of the users of the waqf built properties and the local community at the initiation stage remained active throughout the period, Governmental officials started to get involved in the process for forwarding petitions and sometimes acted as intermediary between the petitioners and Evkaf. Thus, towards the end of the period, the users started to consider the Government as the main authority. During the Ottoman era the State was supervising the waqfs’ building upkeep practices through local judges, to ensure that the practice was in accordance with the Law; during the late-Ottoman era the State became the authority in approving or rejecting the upkeep proposals as well as continuing its role in supervision of practice. During the early British period (1878 to 1905) the State started to get involved also in the initiation of projects, alongside its key role in their authorisation and implementation. This was indicative of Evkaf’s gradual
transformation into a governmental department, and the involvement of colonial bureaucracies in every aspect of Evkaf’s building upkeep practices.

The most significant colonial inputs have been in the authorisation processes. Even though the Ottoman Waqf legislation remained as the main legal text, its application was selective. For instance, the articles regulating authority regarding financial management were bypassed and the authority for sanctioning expenditures for required upkeep projects passed from the Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul to the British High Commissioner in Cyprus. This arrangement eliminated the long-distance procedures between Cyprus and the Sublime Porte for sanctioning expenditures for the proposed upkeep works. However, new colonial bureaucracies were introduced and the absence of a dedicated administrator for Evkaf during the period remained as a handicap. New bureaucratic procedures were mostly related to financial management and as they occupied a substantial part of the authorisation process, consequently caused delays in the start of the project execution stage.

With the new arrangements, a new form of professionalism was introduced to the technical planning stage. Professional collaboration with the Government Engineer and PWD became an essential part of the process, providing Evkaf with cost estimates, detailed specifications often appended with sketches or technical drawings as well as consultation on the required physical interventions. Civil engineers or architects, who were often commissioned by the PWD, also supervised the implementation of high profile upkeep projects. Yet, the engineers were not particularly trained or experienced in physical interventions on historic buildings. Neither were they accustomed to native materials and construction techniques. Their preference, providing that the budgets allocated were sufficient, was for the imported-industrialised materials. As such, cement mortar was used in preference to local lime mortar, though it did not gain wide usage during the period owing to the high price of imported materials. Due to their inexperience in structural intervention methods on historic buildings, the civil engineers commissioned from the PWD did not abstain from advising the total demolition of the existing structures and rebuilding from scratch with new materials instead of strengthening the existing with local materials and construction techniques. Essentially in reconstruction cases, whenever Evkaf’s funds allowed for it, the engineers leaned towards demonstrating
their colonial ideas on how the ideal architectural expressions of the mosques at this part of the British Empire should have been.

The period also witnessed the genesis of awareness regarding the historic aspects of the built properties of Western origin, which illustrated the transmission of the national heritage concepts developed on mainland England. Yet, no statutory provisions emerged to regulate the physical interventions in accordance with modern architectural conservation understandings. The colonial authorities, as the Government in the mainland, were reluctant to introduce statutory provision for historic buildings owned by religious endowment institutions as this was considered an infringement of private rights. Nevertheless, awareness of the historic values of *waqf* built properties with Western origin prevailed among the colonial officials from the beginning and reflected itself in the way these buildings received high priority in the allocation of Evkaf funds for their repair. This is well exemplified by the case of Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia and Famagusta. However, this awareness was not always instrumental in enabling protection of historic buildings with ancient monument values. The colonial Government’s primary concern during the period (1878 to 1905) was to use *Evkaf* as a step in consolidating its power among the local Muslim-Turkish community. In order to achieve this consolidation it was important to prevent tensions arising in the local community. Thus, the Government often authorised proposals concerning the physical alterations on the *waqf* built properties, required for functional use however destructive to the historic fabric these would be. As the case of the Sarai Onou Mosque exemplifies, when this seven-hundred-year old building was damaged by an earthquake, in order to prevent any political dispute on this matter, the Government granted the community their wish and authorised the Mosque to be demolished and be replaced with a new Mosque. The protests of T.J. Chamberlayne, the ancient monuments expert, who attempted to convince the Government to save the building, had fallen on deaf ears: the community was yet to foster any conservation awareness and there were no incentives for the Government to assume further responsibilities.
Chapter 7

Introduction of Statutory Protection for Ancient Monuments and Transitions in Evkaf’s Building Upkeep System (1905 to 1935)

The early decades of the British colonial period (1878 to 1905) had seen arrangements re-shape administrative, legal and financial procedures – essentially in the authorisation stage of proposed projects – and transform the whole process into a negotiation within the colonial bureaucracies. In addition, colonial imports in building upkeep technologies had initiated a new form of professionalism in the technical planning stage. However, although the colonial rulers identified themselves with the waqf built properties with Western origins, and prioritised proposals for repairs to them as the symbols of their national heritage, these imported heritage conceptions have not led to any legislative measure to protect these buildings until the outset of the twentieth century. Following external pressures on the island’s Government and its failure to protect ancient monuments, the first statutory provisions were introduced with the enactment of an Antiquities Law in 1905. The Law, excluding the Ottoman era buildings a priori, covered only the waqf built properties with Western origins. Besides, the religious authorities had been given freedom in altering religious built properties if functionally demanded. Yet, despite this modest start with major limitations, the colonial Government of the island had acknowledged for the first time responsibility for conservation of ancient monuments and as such it marked the beginning of a new era.

The present chapter investigates the developments in Waqf’s building upkeep and maintenance system starting from the enactment of the first Antiquities Law in 1905 until the enactment of the subsequent Antiquities Law in 1935. By looking into the legislative changes as well as the other procedural developments related to the waqf building upkeep framework of initiation, authorisation and implementation, the aim is to reveal how the new inputs influenced decisions behind practice during this period. The chapter starts by investigating the changes in the initiation process and reveals how the Government assumed an intensifying role in this activity, which previously was mainly in the domain of the users and the community members. The
initiation of projects on ancient monuments as a new field in the stage is investigated. The role of the newly emerged activities in the initiation of projects, including the mobilisation of *waqf* built properties for emerging tourism promotion purposes; as well as the municipalities’ intensifying proposals for physical interventions in and around the *waqf* built properties, as part of their development of the streets and squares of the city and the introduction of sanitary improvements is investigated.

Then the investigation moves to describing revisions in the legislative, administrative and financial aspects, which were involved in the authorisation processes. The contents of statutory provisions for ancient monuments which relate to the *waqf* built properties are described. This is followed by the description of the other legislative and administrative changes which relates to the upkeep practices. Annexation of the island to Great Britain in 1914, which introduced new administrative and financial arrangements for the *Waqf* and the Order in Council in 1928, which saw the transformation of the institution into a governmental department by the colonial Government as a means to consolidate its position is addressed. Insights from the mobilisation of the institution in political battles between the pro-British colonial administration and the Muslim-Turkish leadership are presented. The new procedures in the financial system of the institution are investigated, revealing data on the shift within the institution’s existing historical financial system that re-directed the endowed financial resources as grants in aid for sponsoring the newly emerging needs of the Muslim-Turkish community and prioritised upkeeps in the rural areas as a means of political consolidation.

Having explained the context and the new procedures behind the authorisation of the upkeep and conservation projects, the investigation continues to consider the technical planning processes. Presenting evidence on the insights of the technical planning process, it focuses on the influence of the new procedures. The investigation has revealed how the *Waqf* built properties were divided into two groups as ancient monuments and ordinary assets following the enactment of Antiquities Law of 1905 and how a selected set of *waqf* built properties with Western origins started to enjoy expert attention for physical interventions, while the upkeep planning of the others remained within the traditional frameworks. The emerging
ancient monument expertise as a new form of professionalism and the importation of the SPAB’s conservation principles to Evkaf via G. Jeffery has been analysed. The investigation has revealed how the selective conservation practices have emerged during this period. It has also showed how despite their transfer to Evkaf via Jeffery, the pillars of the SPAB were exclusively used for the protection of the waqf built properties with Western origins, while the Ottoman era fabric was neglected. In general, the investigation has revealed how during the period between 1905 and 1935 the colonial authorities intensified their negotiations relating to the authorisation of Evkaf’s building upkeep practices, manipulating them in accordance with their political agendas; while at the same time developments in heritage and architectural conservation understandings introduced a new layer in the initiation, authorisation and implementation processes.

7.1 New Elements in the Initiation of Upkeep Projects and the Key Actors Involved in the Process

Even though the users of both the mazboutah\textsuperscript{185} and mulhaka\textsuperscript{186} waqf properties continued to send petitions and remained as one of the key initiators during the period between 1905 and 1935, this was not as intense as the preceding period. There are, for instance, fewer petitions postulating upkeep works for the religious built properties in the towns when compared with the preceding period. On the other hand, Evkaf itself, Government and the Municipality of Nicosia increasingly gained visibility in the initiation stage. The Government’s involvement in the initiation process which had started during the preceding period, now gained wider ground. This was an indication of the transition of the initiation process from the bottom, which was the realm of the community to the top, which was the realm of the colonial Government. In other words this was an indication of Evkaf’s transformation

\textsuperscript{185} See for instance the petition of the Muslim inhabitants of Famagusta, requesting upkeep works at the Ayasofya Mosque in their town, which they stated to be in ruinous condition (document, dated January 8, 1908 in BEF 1908-137-3216). Also see the petitions for Ömerge Hammam (BEF 1925-163-3770) and for the Büyük Khan in Nicosia (BEF 1925-165-3822).

\textsuperscript{186} See for instance the mutevelli petitions requesting authorisation for repairs to be undertaken to the roof of the Kalavason Mosque (BEF 1905-124-2926); and the veranda of Kebir Mosque in Paphos (BEF 1906-128-3009); and at the Büyük Medrese in Nicosia (BEF 1906-127-297; BEF 1906-130-306; BEF 1910-251-7207)
from an autonomous religious endowment institution owned by the community into a governmental department.

As in the pre-colonial and early colonial period (1878 to 1905), during the period between 1905 and 1935 imams, muhtars and the leading Muslim inhabitants led the preparation and sending of petitions concerning the upkeep of the built properties for religious functions. Petitions for the upkeep of local mosque buildings dominated activity in the rural areas\(^\text{187}\). As in the preceding period, petitions were sent to the Delegates of Evkaf either directly\(^\text{188}\), via Evkaf agents\(^\text{189}\) or via Governmental officials\(^\text{190}\). It appears from the documents that rural communities with diminished financial resources appealed to town commissioners or directly to the High Commissioner himself for financial aid for the required upkeep works and/or rebuilding village mosques and schools.

Unlike the preceding sub-period, except for a few cases, there were no major disputes that took place between the mutevelli\(^\text{2}\) and Evkaf during the period between 1905 and 1935\(^\text{191}\). The decline in the number of such petitions can be explained by the fact that the Evkaf had already taken over the administration of the majority of the mulhaka waqfs\(^\text{192}\), under the name of mulhaka non-meshrouta waqfs. As such, the administrative control of the majority of the waqfs passed to the Evkaf. As in the

\(^{187}\) See for instance petitions for the Konedra Mosque (BEF 1905-125-2938); Kalavason Mosque (BEF 1905-124-2926); Evdim Mosque (BEF 1906-129-3044); Balikitre Mosque (BEF 1908-140-3286); Melunda Mosque (BEF 1909-141-3299); Psillates Mosque (BEF 1911-147-3441); Ay Yakovou Mosque (BEF 1912-147-3439); Koudratha Mosque (BEF 1913-149-3483); Episkopi Mosque (BEF 1920-159-3711)

\(^{188}\) See for instance the petition of the mütevelli of the Büyük Medrese, addressing the Delegates of Evkaf (BEF 1910-351-7207 (4))

\(^{189}\) See the petition sent by the Evkaf agent requesting repairs to the structural cracks in the Minaret of the Ashagi Djami [Mosque] in Lapithos (Document, dated September 15, 1909 in BEF 1909-143-3356) and for the Minaret of the Pir Pasha Mosque in Lefke (document, dated January 4, 1910 in BEF 1910-145-3391)

\(^{190}\) See the petition sent by the Muslim inhabitants of Limassol to the Commissioner of the town, urging for the upkeep works to be undertaken at Djami Djedid (document, dated April 3, 1905 in BEF-1903-111-2614). The inhabitants stated in their petition that Evkaf had not take the matter seriously in previous applications.

Also see the petition, forwarded to the Delegates via the Commissioner of Nicosia, concerning the rebuilding of the Orta Keuy [Ortakoy] Mosque (document, dated March 18, 1913 in BEF 1913-149-3485 (9))

\(^{191}\) See for instance the enquiries on the mutevelli of the Waqf of Djami Djedid in Limassol (BEF-1903-111-2614); the mutevelli of the Waqf of the Kebir Mosque at Paphos (BEF 1907-133-3130); and the mutevelli of the Waqf of the Lapithos Mosque (BEF 1910-145-3397)

\(^{192}\) See the Evkaf Report of Delegates on Accounts for the year 1926 stating that 'the village mutevelliis have been abolished and the bulk of the Mulhaka waqfs have been placed in charge of the Evkaf Agents stationed at the headquarters of each district and it is hoped that during 1927 all the mulhak waqfs will be administered by the different Evkaf Agents' (BEF 1927-168-3875)
preceding period, the upkeep of the rental properties in the *mazboutah* category was initiated by petitions sent directly to the Delegates of *Evkaf* by the tenants or via the *Evkaf* Agents. In the case of the *mulhaka* category, petitions were sent either directly by the *mutevellis* or by the *Evkaf* Agents. Obviously, the *Evkaf* had already established its control over the *mutevellis* through its Agents. Hence, during this period, it was customary for the users of the buildings that caused concern to carry their problems to the *Evkaf* Agents.

The required upkeep and maintenance works at the rental built properties were always brought to the attention of the *Evkaf* by the *waqf* building users and this was sustained for as long as the building was under use. At the same time, there was a decline in upkeep requests on behalf of certain other built properties, whose maintenance responsibilities passed to the Government or to the municipalities. Among such were the schools, whose management gradually became the realm of the newly formed school governing bodies; and the aqueducts, whose management and control was gradually vested in the municipalities. It is safe to deduce from the low number of petitions for initiation of upkeep works at the existing school buildings, the number of *waqf* operated schools declined visibly during the period. Instead, *Evkaf* received communal petitions throughout the period, requesting financial assistance in building new schools with larger capacities. The *Evkaf* administration’s response to such petitions and its

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193 See for instance the petition of the tenant of the Büyük Khan, stating that the stairs required to be urgently repaired and complaining that the water supply to the building was not at the usual quantity (document, dated September 8, 1925 in BEF 1925-165-3822). See the request for repairs to be undertaken at the Omerge Hammam (BEF 1925-163-3770). Also see the Petty Repairs to the *Evcaf* Properties for the year 1928 (BEF-1927-183-4104 (59) and for the year 1930 (BEF 1930-219-4685). See for instance the Draft of the Law of the Education Law, 1905 (Cyprus Gazette Supplement, March 4, 1905) and the Draft of Secondary Education Law (Cyprus Gazette Supplement, May 10, 1905).

194 For instance, when repairs were required at the Hammam that belonged to the *Waqf* of Kebir Mosque in Paphos, they were conveyed to the *Evcaf* Agent by the bath-keeper (document, dated January 13, 1904 in BEF 1904-115-2714). Sometime later when certain upkeep works were required at the Kebir Mosque, this time it was the *mutevelli* of the said *waqf*, who sent the petition, requesting authority for expenditures (BEF 1906-128-3009).


196 See for instance the Draft of Nicosia Water Management Law-1900 that aimed to vest the management and control of the two *waqf* aqueducts, known respectively as Arab Ahmed and Silikdar Aqueducts to the Municipality of Nicosia (Cyprus Gazette Supplement Aril 6, 1900).

197 Among the petitions which requested upkeep works at the *waqf* operated schools are those for the Büyük Medrese in Nicosia (BEF 1906-127-297; BEF 1906-130-306; BEF 1910-251-7207); the Zuhuri School in Larnaca (BEF 1905-124-2925); and the Medrese in Lefke (BEF 1926-168-3864).

198 See for instance the appeal for financial aid from *Evkaf* funds for the construction of the Girls School at Larnaca (BEF 1906-129-3032)
consequences are further investigated in the following section on administrative and financial aspects of the authorisation processes.

7.1.1 The Initiation of Upkeep Works (and Conservation Projects) by the Evkaf Administration and Government Officials.

Unlike the preceding period in which the community members were actively involved in the initiation process, during the period between 1905 and 1935 the Evkaf administration and the Governmental officials started to gain dominance. This involvement had two dimensions:

i. Initiation of upkeep projects for functional and religious purposes.

ii. Initiation of conservation projects for historic and architectural interests.

7.1.1.1 The Initiation of Upkeep Projects for Functional and Religious Requirements

Similar to the preceding period, petitions postulated upkeep works on the concerned built properties varying from mending defects, caused by normal wear and tear\textsuperscript{199} to more severe structural decays\textsuperscript{200}. In addition to these, more radical physical interventions were also postulated, seeking alterations to increase the capacity of the existing buildings\textsuperscript{201} or to adapt them for new functional requirements\textsuperscript{202}. There was also intensification in the petitions during period, requesting permission and

\textsuperscript{199} See for instance the required upkeep works for the Büyük Medrese in Nicosia (BEF 1906-127-297; BEF 1906-130-306; BEF 1910-251-7207); Kebir Mosque at Paphos (BEF 1906-128-3009)

\textsuperscript{200} See for instance the petition for the large scale upkeep works for the Djami Djedid Mosque in Limassol (BEF-1903-111-2614). During the period, structural problems with the mosque minarets dominate: see for the instance the case of the Minaret of Ashagi Mosque in Lapithos (BEF 1909-143-3356); the Minaret of Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1926-169-3896) and Azizie Mosque in Dali (BEF 1930-220-4694)

\textsuperscript{201} See the petition for the enlargement of Ovgoros Mosque (BEF 1905-121-2850); Kandu Mosque (BEF 1909-141-3306); Psillates Mosque (document, dated March 11, 1912 in BEF 1911-147-3441)

\textsuperscript{202} See for instance the petition for the enlargement of Zuhuri School that requested the addition of two new rooms to the existing building for fitting to the new educational programme (BEF 1905-124-2925).
financial assistance for pulling down and rebuilding the mosques, essentially in the rural areas. Both the Delegates and the Evkaf Agents were active during this sub-period in initiating the upkeep of decaying waqf religious assets if compared with the preceding period. Meanwhile, the Municipality of Nicosia started to be involved in the initiation of physical interventions for the improvement of the sanitary conditions in and around the Waqf built properties. More radical physical interventions involved the demolition of certain waqf built properties as part of the street improvement schemes. In one instance, in order to enlarge the street in front of the Büyük Hammam, the Nicosia Municipality approached Evkaf for authority to alter the gateway of the edifice (BEF 1927-177-4028).

7.1.1.2 Initiation of Conservation Projects for Historic or Architectural Interests

While awareness for preserving certain built properties of historical interest, essentially those of Western origin, gained some visibility during the preceding period, these had been random cases. The establishment of the office of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in 1903 and the subsequent enactment of the Law of Antiquities in 1905 marked the beginning of the new period. Even though the built properties with ancient monument attributes in Evkaf’s portfolio were excluded from the listing, they started to receive special attention both by the Evkaf administration and Governmental officials. Short reports stating the condition of certain Waqf built properties started to surface, indicating the necessity to take steps to stop the

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203 See the petitions applying for rebuilding the mosques in the villages of Eledion (BEF 1905-125-2950); Kelekitra (BEF 1905-125-2951); Astani (BEF 1908-139-3260); Ay Yavou (BEF 1912-147-3439); Orta Keuy (BEF 1913-149-3485); Geunelli (BEF 1913-149-3487); Kalavach (BEF 1913-149-3488); Koudrapha (BEF 1913-149-3483)

204 See for instance the Evkaf Agent Assaf Bey’s report to the Delegates regarding the ruinous condition of the mud-brick walls of the yard of the Arablar Mosque and his proposal for rebuilding them with stone (document, dated February 17, 1913 in BEF 1913-149-3482). As it is understood from the document, he obtained cost estimates from a mason for the purpose. Also note his involvement in the previous upkeep works at the same Mosque in 1909 (BEF 1909-143-3336)

205 See for instance the Municipality’s application for connecting the Büyük Khan and the Büyük Hammam in Nicosia to the main drainage system (BEF 1928-183-4119 (82)). Also see the petty repairs to the Waqf built properties (BEF 1927-183-4104)

206 See for instance the Delegates’ involvement on behalf of the Haidar Pasha Mosque (the converted St. Catherine Church) (BEF 1905-125-2935) and the Ayasofya Mosque (the converted St. Sophia Cathedral) in Nicosia (BEF 1926-169-3896 (83)).
process of building decay. Delegates, for instance, in 1905, right after the enactment of the first Law of Antiquities, requested authorisation from the High Commissioner for carrying out certain upkeep works at Haidar Pasha Mosque (the former Cathedral of St. Catherine): ‘This Jami is not very often used but it being the finest building of archaeological interest we should like to preserve it in [n.d] repairs’ reported the BDE (document, dated September 8, 1905 in BEF 1905-125-2935). This instance marks the first time a Waqf property in Cyprus was protected and conserved as according to the Antiquities Law it was classified as an ancient monument. The initiation of the upkeep works was not for operational necessities but for preserving the building as an architectural heritage property. As such, it highlights a major shift in approaching the ancient monuments in a different perspective.

The most important key Governmental official, who was involved in the process of safeguarding the ancient monuments under Evkaf’s ownership, was the Curator of Ancient Monuments. As the present investigation indicates G. Jeffery, who was the Curator of Ancient Monuments from 1903 to 1935 played a key role not only as an initiator of upkeep projects, but also as an advisor to Evkaf concerning conservation projects of certain waqf built properties.

As early as 1904, Jeffery inspected the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta together with the imam of the said Mosque and had presented a report to the Government, drawing attention to the decaying roof of the edifice. The report had been forwarded to the Delegates via the Chief Secretary (BEF 1904-352-7230). In the meantime, he drew attention to the significance of fencing of the medieval era monuments to improve their appearance and preservation (BEF 1905-122-2868). Later, Jeffery, together with the delegates, was actively involved in the initiation of the upkeep works at the Arablar Mosque (former church building) in Nicosia (Figure 7.1) (BEF 1909-143-3336).

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207 See a note on the renewal of Jeffery’s appointment in the Cyprus Gazette August 26, 1904 no: 7279, p.5411
208 Extract from Jeffery’s report, dated October 12, 1904: ‘The Hodja [imam] of the principal mosque in Famagusta [Ayasofya] has recently drawn my attention (with urgency) to the serious damage caused by water percolating through the vaulting of the main nave at different points and especially at the N.E corner. I have informed him that I would report the matter to Government’ Jeffery, c.a.m [curator of ancient monuments] (BEF 1904-352-7230).
A different approach also gained visibility during the period, which was the initiation of conservation projects for the \textit{waqf} built properties for touristic interests: With the island’s reception of its first Western tourist groups after the First World War and in the 1920s, a new approach started to evolve. A set of \textit{Waqf} built properties, including the Ayasofya Mosque, Omerieh Mosque and the Bedestan in Nicosia, and the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta was included in the tours and the Government, to promote tourism, made sure that the tourist parties were welcomed to them\textsuperscript{209}. Certain \textit{waqf} owned buildings, built during the Ottoman era and not defined as ancient monuments by the Antiquities Law, started also to attract the interest of tourists, and as such their upkeep and maintenance became a priority. Upkeep projects aimed at improving their appearance were initiated. In one instance, the Delegates informed the Colonial Secretary that the Sultan II Mahmud Library, which was situated at the Büyük Medrese, near the Ayasofya Mosque, required certain repairs to the building and to furniture (Figure 7.2).

\textsuperscript{209} In an official letter sent to the \textit{Evkaf} administration on January 25, 1927, the Colonial Secretary and the Governor were interested that \textit{Evkaf} extended facilities to tourist parties arriving in Cyprus (BEF 1927-176-401).
In their opinion this was a very important Library on the island and as such it should have been kept in a proper condition as visitors to Cyprus frequently inspected it (document, dated May 31, 1926 in BEF 1926-169-3886). ‘This Library is included in the list of properties belonging to Government and repairs are always carried out by the PWD and we shall be glad if you will kindly ask the Director of PW to inspect this Library and carrying out the necessary repairs. The furniture repairs to be carried out by the Evkaf Department’ continued the letter (ibid.). It appears that the Library had been assigned to the Department of Education some time previously, and according to Bağıshkan (2009: 500), it was kept in a state of general neglect. Turning it into a touristic attraction aided in initiating a conservation project for its better

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210 It is understood from the subsequent correspondence that responding to the request of the Delegates, the Director of Public Works had given instructions for repairs to doors and windows and painting and whitewashing of the Sultan’s Library (document, dated August 20, 1926 in BEF 1926-169-3886). Mazbuta Accounts indicates that ‘improvement of Sultan’s Library’ was executed during the year 1926 (BEF 1927-168-3875).
presentation. Hence, Sultan Mahmud II Library emerged as one of the first, if not the first Waqf heritage building from the Ottoman era (Figure 7.3).

![Sultan Mahmud II Library](image)

Figure 7.3 Sultan Mahmud II Library (the domed structure on the right) as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)

In summary, during the period between 1905 and 1035, while the users remained as a key initiator for the upkeep works at the waqf built properties whose functions were in demand. On the other hand, both the Evkaf’s and the Government’s involvement on behalf of the ancient monuments gained visibility – initially following the enactment of the first Law of Antiquities in 1905, and subsequently in the mid 1920s with the arrival of Western tourist groups. However, the waqf built properties that were protected by Law or owing to their attributes as touristic attractions were a minor portion of the Evkaf’s actual portfolio. In the meantime, Nicosia Municipality was gradually turned into a key initiator for physical interventions concerning sanitary improvements at waqf built properties in the town, as well as for the demolition of others for the sake of modern urbanisation projects.

The period between 1905 and 1935 witnessed two significant transitional changes within the initiation process: First, the initiation process was gradually transformed from the realm of the community to the realm of the colonial bureaucracies. The Government’s involvement in the initiation of upkeep and maintenance works on
Waqf built properties in the rural areas indicated new inputs into the process, aiming for political consolidation. Second, the initiation of projects for the sake of conservation of the historic fabric began in this period. Because of the early cut-off date in the Antiquities Law, only a small set of waqf built properties had been defined as an ancient monument. The low number of initiations aiming at the conservation of historic built properties for their age value is presumably a reflection of the fact that the colonial authorities continued to accept the issue of statutory provision for religious assets belonging to the religious institutions as a matter of infringement of their rights. The majority of such monuments have been converted into mosques since the sixteenth century and as the evidence discussed in the technical planning processes in the following sections reveals, there was the risk of communal tension in becoming involved with these monuments. Thus, colonial politics prevented the emergence of long-term statutory conservation policies and the conservation of such monuments was realised according to short-term decisions.

7.2 Authorisation Processes

With the enactment of Law of Antiquities in 1905, expertise in ancient monuments constituted a key role in Evkaf’s practices concerning the waqf built properties with ancient monument attributes. Via this new form of professionalism, the SPAB’s conservation principles were imported into a selected set of Evkaf’s building upkeep practices. Another major legislative change was the Order in Council in 1928 that converted Evkaf into a Government Department. The analysis in this section highlights the negotiations on adapting the existing institutional upkeep practice into the context of imported conservation understandings and the developing colonial bureaucracies.

7.2.1 The Enactment of the First Antiquities Law in 1905 and its Implications on the Protection of Waqf Built Heritage

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 6, towards the final years of the nineteenth century, the British colonial Government of the island was criticised for not providing proper
protection for the ancient monuments of the island. The first attempt to revise the
Ottoman Antiquities Law that remained in force on the island during the British
colonial era was in 1899, but it did not pass the Legislative Council\textsuperscript{211}. Presumably
this was due to the fact that the Law had empowered the Government to acquire any
ancient monument except for those in religious service\textsuperscript{212}. Subsequent attempts to
pass the revised bills in 1902\textsuperscript{213} and in 1903\textsuperscript{214} failed, presumably due to disputes on
the Government’s involvement on behalf of historic built properties owned by \textit{Evkaf}
and the Greek Orthodox Church. Finally the Law of Antiquities was enacted in
1905\textsuperscript{215}.

Presumably inspired by the mainland Government’s approach to the issue, the scope
of the Law of Antiquities in Cyprus had parallels with the Act of 1882 in England.
As such, the built properties belonging to religious foundations were implicitly
excluded. The Law, as also mentioned in Chapter 5, had a cut-off date of 1571,
excluding the material fabric of the Ottoman era from its definition of ancient
monument (clause 2.4). In fact, with this cut-off date, Cyprus dragged behind
Western geographies, in most of which, by then, legislation had been revised to
cover architectural properties from more recent times\textsuperscript{216}. In Cyprus, with the
exclusion of the Ottoman era, only a selected set of \textit{waqf} built properties received the
island’s first statutory protection: These were the edifices essentially from the earlier
Latin era, which were re-adapted to be used for \textit{waqf} purposes during the Ottoman
rule. With the clause 28 of the Law of 1905, \textit{Evkaf} had been recognised as the
statutory owner of all such ancient monuments within its portfolio.

In general, the arrangements for the protection of the ancient monuments that were
introduced by this Law, and remained in force until the new Antiquities Law in 1935,
were controversial: while the High Commissioner became the authority to initiate
any work that was advised by the Museum Committee as necessary to be carried out

\textsuperscript{211} See Draft of a Law ‘For Better Preservation of Ancient Monuments’ in Cyprus Gazette Supplement
March 17, 1899 p.3859
\textsuperscript{212} See Clause 4 in Draft of a Law ‘For Better Preservation of Ancient Monuments’ in Cyprus Gazette
Supplement March 17, 1899 p.3859
\textsuperscript{213} See Cyprus Gazette Supplement June 27, 1902 p.4767
\textsuperscript{214} See Draft of Law ‘To Consolidate and Amend the Law Relating to the Ancient Monuments and
Antiquities of Cyprus and to Provide Museums’ in Cyprus Gazette Supplement April 24, 1903 p.
5048
\textsuperscript{215} See Cyprus Gazette May 19, 1905 p.5614
\textsuperscript{216} See Brown 1905; also see Chapter 2
for the restoration, preservation or protection of any ancient monument (clause 14), at the same time Evkaf had been empowered to undertake physical alterations on waqf built properties with ancient monument attributes in order to meet functional demands (clause 28). Thus, while the Law prohibited the destruction or alteration of the archaeological character of ancient monuments in general, at the same time it allowed for modifications of the ancient monuments which were used for religious worship (clause 11). Alterations, ranging from enlargement to reconstruction, were permitted for the sake of more convenient religious performance. Hence, the Law was a far from being effective in terms of the protection of the architectural heritage.

Concerns about the ineffectiveness of the Law started to surface during the early 1930s, when reports on the deteriorating condition of ancient monuments and antiquities of the island and the Government’s failure in providing them with proper protection appeared in newspapers in London. The early 1930s were an important stage in the evolution of conservation principles and there was greater awareness regarding attributes of the built heritage as well as intervention techniques and methods. A letter published in The Times in London in the autumn of 1933, signed by several distinguished archaeologists, among others being Sir Charles Peers (then the President of the Society of Antiquaries) and Sir George Hill (then the Director of the British Museum) that drew attention to the poor condition of the ancient and artistic buildings and other historical remains in the Crown Colony of Cyprus marked a shift. It opened the way for the establishment of the Department of Antiquities and the revision of the Antiquities Law, which is investigated in Chapter 8.

In the meantime, the Municipal Council Law in 1885 and the subsequent bye-laws, which are addressed in the previous chapter, gained effectiveness in initiating physical interventions regarding the waqf built properties during the mid-1920s and onwards. As mentioned earlier, the municipalities initiated physical alterations as part of the street and square improvement schemes, as well as sanitary arrangements, in and around the Waqf built properties.

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217 Anonymous 1934:1
218 See Anonymous 1934:1
While the enactment of the first Antiquities Law in 1905 marked the beginning of a new era in the way a set of Waqf built properties were dealt with, on the other hand, certain other administrative and financial arrangements which are examined in the following section played significant roles in re-shaping the authorisation processes.

7.2.2 The New Legal, Administrative and Financial Arrangements and Evkaf’s Riding in the Realm of Politics

The period between 1905 and 1935 witnessed important developments in the way the Evkaf administration dealt with its built assets and their maintenance and upkeep under British rule. Political interplays on Evkaf, which emerged during the early years of the twentieth century, dominated the agendas of the British Government and leading Muslim inhabitants throughout the 1905 to 1935 period. This was when leading Muslim inhabitants started to raise their voice against the British domination of Evkaf affairs and demanded control of the institution. They were supported by newspaper columns, which openly targeted the Evkaf administration and aided in spreading the cause as an ethnic-religious issue. Obviously not intending to do so, and in aiming at continuing to control the institution with less tension, the British rulers devised a new formula: financial assistance from the Evkaf’s funds was allocated to meet the religious and educational requirements of the Muslim Community. In addition, the Turkish Delegates, who were the hitherto silent partners of the dual administration, were given visibility as key actors of decision making processes during the period between 1905 and 1935.

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219 See for instance the allegations against Evkaf administration initially in March 1907 by Bodamyalizade Mehmed Munir Effendi and two years later in March 1909 by the Kadi Numan Effendi. It appears that the allegations concerning the mismanagement of the institution’s resources had initially started in 1899 to 1900, and then Kadi Numan Effendi was blaming Evkaf for selling lands of Kiti Farm etc. and investing in commercial properties in the cities (BEF 1907-N-7191). As it is understood from the correspondence documents, the administration defended its actions as a method for using the money for investing in economically more profitable assets (ibid.).

220 A compilation of newspaper articles including harsh criticism on the managerial issues of the Evkaf Office has been published by Mustafa Sadreddin as early as 1908 entitled the Ada’nin Evkaf Dairesi [The Island’s Evkaf Department]. See newspaper clipping from the Seuz Newspaper on the allegations of mismanagement in 1928 (Doc no: 62 in BEF 1928-344-7057 (75)). Also see Chapter 4; Altan 1986; Atesin 1996, 1999, 2006; Fedai 1997; Fedai & Altan 1997; Nevzat and Hatay 2009

221 As the various British Era Files, investigated for the present research, demonstrate the opinion of the Turkish Delegates was regularly sought during the period from 1905 to 1935, and they were
mutating to a political institution (but the reasons for this lie outside the terms of this research).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Evkaf institution had started to receive petitions requesting financial contributions towards the upkeep of mosques in rural areas\textsuperscript{222}. These requests were random and were only occasionally met. As has been mentioned in the previous section, communal appeals for financial aids for the repair or rebuilding of village mosques and schools were intensified at the outset of the twentieth century\textsuperscript{223}. The Government started to get involved with the process by forwarding such petitions and following them up, which eventually led the Evkaf administration to assume a new responsibility\textsuperscript{224}. Being an indication of the mobilisation of the institution’s financial resources in gaining control over the rural areas, this enforced responsibility formed a shift in traditional Waqf practice, as opposed to traditional practice. This drew resources from the local endowments of those concerned about buildings and the upkeep or reconstruction of the waqf built properties. The central Evkaf administration was now allocating monies for these newly emerging requirements from its existing resources, without receiving additional revenues. Obviously, the colonial authorities started to negotiate Evkaf’s resources in consolidating its power among the Muslim-Turkish community during this period. Being under the sway of the colonial authorities, the Evkaf administration went ahead with this new invention and allowed the grants in aid to newly emerged requirements to become a regular practice for the institution. This

\textsuperscript{222} See for instance the petition of the Muslim inhabitants of Ay Sergi (BEF 1894-74-1761) and from Galatya (BEF 1895-74-1762), requesting financial assistance from Evkaf for the repair of the mosques in their respective villages.

\textsuperscript{223} See the petitions from the villagers of Eleidon (BEF 1905-125-2950); Kelektora (BEF 1905-125-2951); Artemi (BEF 1908-139-3260); Balikitre (BEF 1908-140-3286); Psilates (BEF 1911-147-3441); Ay Yakovou (BEF 1912-147-3439); Orta Keuy (BEF 1913-149-3485); Geuneli (BEF 1913-149-3487); Kalavach (BEF 1913-149-3488); Koudrapha (BEF 1913-149-3483)

\textsuperscript{224} In one instance, the Delegates were informed by the Commissioner of Nicosia that he received an application for assistance to rebuild the village mosque of Orta Keuy and that he hoped that Evcaf authorities would have assisted in the work (document, dated March 18, 1913 in BEF 1913-149-3485 (9)). In another instance, the Delegates forwarded a cheque to the Commissioner of Nicosia towards the rebuilding of the village mosque in Geuneli (document, dated May 19, 1913 in BEF 1913-149-3487. Also see for instance the Evcaf Report of Delegates on Accounts for the year 1926 that £292 was granted in aid of repairs and buildings of schools and mosques at the villages upon petition (BEF 1927-168-3875)
would later turn into a customary practice, which led to the dissolution of the institution as the endowed revenues were now spent according to new agendas.

Allocations from its funds for purposes other than the concerned Waqf were contrary to traditional waqf practice, which had been sustained for centuries by balancing endowed incomes and expenditures. During the Ottoman period, the financial resources of waqf had been used solely for the purposes for which they were endowed and alternative financial resources had been created for extra expenditures. For instance, when the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia had suffered structural damage after an earthquake in the early 1730s, financial aid had been granted by one of the dignitaries from the Sublime Porte (SML Sicil 15-21-98, dated 20 Zilkade 1149 AH (1736 AD)). As understood from another contemporary document, charitable citizens were also actively involved in arranging for the required expenditures in such extraordinary cases, which fell outside the category of regular maintenance or upkeep (SML 15-104-388, dated 1 Receb 1149 AH (1736 AD)). As a rule, it was against Waqf Law to expend Waqf’s financial resources on anything other than its own requirements. However, the central Evkaf administration was now not only financing the upkeep of its existing built properties, but also the construction of new mosques and schools, which were required by the Muslim community of the island. These became regular expenditure items in the annual budgets of the institution. Therefore, the new approach that was assumed during the period between 1905 and 1935, for responding to the communal appeals by allocating financial aid from Evkaf’s funds was not only against the Law, but it also accelerated the dissolution of the institution by diverting its endowed incomes to newly emerged requirements. Realising the socio-religious importance of Evkaf within the local Muslim-Turkish community and its wealthy financial resources, the colonial authorities were clearly aware that the institution was a key element in consolidating colonial power in this community.

See for instance Evkaf Accounts for the Year 1906 to 1907 in Cyprus Gazette June 14, 1907 p. 6203; Cyprus Gazette January 7, 1910 p.6976; Cyprus Gazette February 16, 1912 p.7664; Cyprus Gazette March 12, 1915 p. 8838; Cyprus Gazette February 9, 1917; Cyprus Gazette February 7, 1919; Cyprus Gazette March 19, 1920 p.98; Cyprus Gazette April 15, 1921 p.147; Cyprus Gazette March 5, 1923 p.7; Cyprus Gazette September 4, 1925 p.430; also see for instance grant in aid for school constructions for the year 1931 (BEF 1931-223-4733) and for the year 1934 (BEF 1934-229-4815). See the same for the mosque constructions for the year 1931 (BEF 1931-223-4731) and for the year 1934 (BEF 1934-229-4813)
In 1914, the 1878 Convention was annulled and the island was annexed to Great Britain. Following this in 1915, an Order was issued from Buckingham Palace in London, introducing new arrangements for the administration of Evkaf\textsuperscript{226}. The dual administration that had been stipulated in the Convention of 1878 remained, but the appointment of the Turkish Delegate for Evkaf was taken over by the British Government\textsuperscript{227}. During the years of the First World War the Evkaf saw a dramatic decline in its affairs in general and in terms of upkeep of the Waqf built properties in particular. However, its activity started to pick up in the 1920s\textsuperscript{228}, by the end of which, most of the mulhaka waqfs were taken under the direct administration of Evkaf\textsuperscript{229}(BEF 1927-168-3875). As was investigated in the previous chapter, gaining the administrative control of the mulhaka waqfs and converting the institution into a Government department was a mission that was set in the early years of the colonial administration. Eventually, with the amalgamation of a substantial amount of mulhaka waqfs (under the name of mulhaka non-meshrouta waqfs) the number of waqf built properties, which were directly managed by Evkaf increased. Finally, with an Order in Council in 1928\textsuperscript{230}, the institution was transformed into a branch of the Government, resulting in an increase of demands by the Muslim-Turkish community of the island from the Government for returning the control of the Evkaf institution to the local community as had been the case in the past.

7.2.2.1 The Order in Council in 1928 and Evkaf’s Transformation into a Government Branch

\textsuperscript{226} See the ‘The Cyprus (Mussulman religious property) Order in Council 1915’ (Cyprus Gazette (Extraordinary), December 30, 1915). Also See Altan 1986; and Sarınay 2000

\textsuperscript{227} See Clause 1 in The Cyprus (Mussulman religious property) Order in Council 1915 (Cyprus Gazette (Extraordinary), December 30, 1915)

\textsuperscript{228} The documented files from 1914 to early 1920s are fewer when compared to the British Era Files of preceding period.

\textsuperscript{229} See the Evkaf Report of Delegates (A.G. Gallagher and M. Munir) on accounts for the year 1926: ‘Village mutevellis have been abolished and the bulk of the Mulhaka waqfs have been placed in charge of the Evkaf Agents stationed at the headquarters of each district and it is hoped that during 1927 all the mulhak waqfs will be administered by the different Evkaf Agents. 195 mulhak waqfs were audited by the Government Auditor.’ (BEF 1927-168-3875)

\textsuperscript{230} See the ‘Cyprus Evcaf (Mohammedan Religious Property Administration) Order in Council, 1928 (BEF 1929-192-4269 (68)). The Order came into effect with its publication at the Cyprus Gazette at January 1, 1929 (Document no: 12 in BEF 1929-192-4269 (68)).
The Order in Council, which was issued from Buckingham Palace in 1928, converted Evkaf literally into a Government Department\textsuperscript{231}. With this Order, the Governor of the island gained full authority both of the actions of the Delegates (clause 8), and the revenues of the institution (clause 12). The Order also introduced stipulations on the expenditure of the revenues of the waqfs to meet the religious, charitable and educational requirements of the Muslim community on the island (clause 12). With this Order in Council, the Delegates became responsible with the administration of the funds of the mazbouts and the mulhaka non-meshrouta waqfs, and the superintendents and the directors of the meshrouta-mulhaka waqfs (clauses 5 & 6). The latter remained under the administration of the mutevells (clause 5). In addition, precautions were taken to remove the unresponsive mutevells from their duties and put such mulhaka waqfs under the direct administration of Evkaf (clauses 14 & 26).

At the moment when nationalist aspirations were accelerating on the island, it can be concluded that with this Order, the colonial Government had aimed to gain full control of the institution, presumably to be able to use the resources freely and to consolidate its position among the Muslim-Turkish community. Thus, although grants in aid from Evkaf’s funds were given to the rural areas for building schools and mosques since the final years of the preceding period, the allocated budgets for this purpose had increased and turned into regular expenditure items after the transformation of Evkaf into a Government Department\textsuperscript{232}.

\section*{7.2.2.2 The Administrative and Financial Aspects of the Upkeep Projects of Waqf Built Properties}

The administrative structure relating to the decision-making and authorisation process during the period between 1905 and 1935 remained centralised. As it was in the preceding period, the Delegates of Evkaf and the High Commissioner (Governor after 1925) remained as the key actors administering the authorisation process. As

\textsuperscript{231}See the “Cyprus Evcaf (Mohammedan Religious Property Administration) Order in Council, 1928 (BEF 1929-192-4269 (68)). The Order came into effect with its publication in the Cyprus Gazette on January 1, 1929 (document no: 12 in BEF 1929-192-4269 (68)).

\textsuperscript{232}See the Annual Evkaf Accounts published in Cyprus Gazette since 1897
mentioned above, since the start of the century, the hitherto silent Turkish Delegate of Evkaf was actively involved in the decision-making process. Delegates’ and Agents’ duties were similar to those cited in Chapter 6, section 6.3.3. Accordingly, they continued to communicate with the stakeholders throughout technical planning. A new aspect of their role during the period from 1905 to 1935 was to direct consultation via the Curator of Ancient Monuments or the Inspector of Antiquities regarding the physical interventions to the built properties with antiquarian values. As in the preceding period, the High Commissioner (Governor after 1925) remained at the top of the authorisation process. Unless otherwise stated, the Delegates directed the technical preparations related to the upkeep works and the High Commissioner (or the Governor) directed the Delegates’ activities.

As for the financial aspects, similar to the preceding period the Evkaf funds were used for the mazbouta and the mulhaka non-meshruta category. The annulment of the Convention of 1878 at the beginning of the World War I in 1914 marked legislative and administrative changes for Evkaf. The Order in Council in 1915 and in 1928 introduced new administrative arrangements and responsibilities. With the regulations made under the Order of Council in 1928, the budget limit, which in accordance with Ottoman Waqf Ordinance was previously 2500 piaster, was revised as £100 (clause 3) BEF 1928-344-7057). Order in Council in 1928, similar to the Ottoman Waqf Ordinance, regulated the financial aspects and the authorisation authorities. However, similar to the annulled Ordinance, it did not involve any provision regarding the decision-making and technical planning processes of the upkeep projects. Instead, relevant provisions in Ahkam-ul Evkaf remained in force as

233 See for instance the correspondence between M. Irfan Effendi (the TDE) and G. I. Smith (the BDE), concerning the repair works at the Djami Djedid in Limassol (document, dated April 3, 1905 in BEF1903-111-2614). Also see for further correspondence regarding the TDE’s opinion on waqf assets BEF 1909-143-3336; BEF 1925-166-3836) and BEF 1927-177-4028.

234 See the estimated cost that was forwarded by Raif Effendi for the repairs to be undertaken at Djedid Mosque in Limassol (document, dated April 9, 1905 in BEF-1903-111-2614). Also see relating to the cost estimates, forwarded by Evkaf Agent Assaf Bey for the Minaret of the Ashagi Mosque (document, dated September 15, 1909 in BEF 1909-143-3356) and for the Arablar Mosque (document, dated February 17, 1913 in BEF 1913-149-3482).

235 See for instance the authorisation of the expenditures and the appointment of G. Jeffery as the superintendent of the works relating to the rebuilding the South Minaret of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia by the Governor of Cyprus (BEF 1926-169-3896).

236 See the ‘The Cyprus (Musulman religious property) Order in Council 1915’ (Cyprus Gazette-Extraordinary, December 30, 1915).

237 See the ‘Cyprus Evcaf (Mohammedan Religious Property Administration) Order in Council, 1928 (BEF 1929-192-4269 (68)). The Order came into effect with its publication at the Cyprus Gazette at January 1, 1929 (document no: 12 in BEF 1929-192-4269 (68)).
the main legal text concerning the upkeep decisions relating to the waqf built properties\textsuperscript{238}. However, these provisions, which are identified in Chapter 6, were not on a par with the steadily evolving Western conservation understandings of the twentieth century. In general, they did not rule out the demolition, reconstruction or other radical alterations for the sake of better spatial planning or structural considerations. Meanwhile, the Western conservation discourses, advocating the preservation of historic fabric gained wider ground during the early decades of the twentieth century.

As mentioned earlier, Evkaf’s funds for the mazboutah category, and the concerned Waqf’s individual resources for the mulhaka category were used for upkeep works. Similar to the preceding period, upkeep works were put in the annual estimates\textsuperscript{239}. In a document from the early beginnings of the period it is understood that the required upkeep works at the built properties were undertaken according to a financial management plan (BEF 1903-111-2614). In one instance, when the inhabitants of Limassol were pressing for the upkeep works to be urgently undertaken at the Djedid Mosque, W. Collet (the BDE) informed the Government that: ‘In another paper we have reported that it will be necessary to carry out extensive repair to this Mosque. It is only one of several mosques requiring repair; but work will probably be started this year’ (document, dated April 17, 1905 in BEF 1903-111-2614). However, despite the limited funds even for the pressing upkeep works on the waqf built properties, grants in aid were allocated for the upkeep of mosque and school buildings in the rural areas as well as for the construction of new ones\textsuperscript{240}. This, as mentioned earlier, was part of the new administrative (and political) agendas, aiming to consolidate the colonial power among the Muslim-Turkish community. Thus, authorisation of upkeeps or new constructions emerged as new inputs within Evkaf’s schedules, mobilised in accordance with political directives.

\textsuperscript{238} Upon their requisition of the translated copies of the Ahkam-ul Evkaf, on January 20, 1913 the Chief Secretary informed the Delegates that there were no more copies available (BEF 1899-347-7121). In 1929, Cobham’s translation of the Turkish text in the Destour on the Law of Waqfs was reprinted (Cobham 1929).

\textsuperscript{239} See the Annual Evkaf Mazboutah Estimates published in Cyprus Gazette since 1897

\textsuperscript{240} See the Annual Evkaf Accounts from between 1905 and 1935, published annually in the Cyprus Gazette
7.3 Technical Planning of Upkeep, Maintenance and Conservation Projects on Waqf Built Properties

Similarly to the preceding period, Evkaf continued to seek advice on technical aspects prior to preparation of the specifications of the upkeep works and the cost estimates. While during the preceding period, this consultation concerned essentially the structural decays on any waqf asset, now a new avenue was opened specifically for built properties with ancient monument values. This was an indication of a new form of professionalism, which had started following the enactment of the Antiquities Law in 1905. As such, the consultation that Evkaf received during the period from 1905 to 1935 had two dimensions:

i. Consolidation of structural decays both on ordinary waqf built properties and on those with ancient monument values

ii. Architectural conservation on waqf built properties with ancient monument values

7.3.1.1 Consultation for Consolidation of Structural Decays and the Key Persons Involved

Consolidation of structural decays was concerned with remedies for the structural problems of the waqf built properties in general. In addition to the Engineers from the PWD\(^\text{241}\), the specialist masons\(^\text{242}\) also advised on the physical intervention techniques and materials during the period of 1905 to 1935. The specialist masons, experienced in structural strengthening works, had already gained the role of key actors in the technical consultation process since the early years of the twentieth century. However, there was no specific intention from either side to preserve the historic layers of the material fabric. Except for isolated cases, during which the side

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\(^\text{241}\) See for instance the related correspondence for Djami Djedid in Limassol (BEF-1903-111-2614)

\(^\text{242}\) See for instance referring the case of the Minaret at the Mosque in Dali to the minaret expert Karakuana (BEF 1930-220-4694 (72))
effects of certain intervention materials or techniques were highlighted\textsuperscript{243}, there is no evidence suggesting any systematic assessment of the consequences of the earlier practice either. The same radical physical alterations, varying from partial to complete rebuilding of the structurally decayed built properties that they regularly recommended during the preceding period, and the same physical intervention techniques and materials remained on the agendas of the engineers during this period also\textsuperscript{244}. In the meantime, recommendation of Portland cement as an intervention material escalated due to its new affordability\textsuperscript{245}.

\subsection*{7.3.1.2 Consultation for Architectural Conservation for \textit{Waqf} Built Properties with Ancient Monument Values and the Key Persons Involved}

The architectural conservation aspect was concerned with physical interventions to built properties with ancient monument attributes. Even though the Antiquities Law in 1905 did not allow for listing of these ancient monuments, which were owned by religious bodies, it enforced \textit{Evkaf} to acknowledge certain awareness towards the ancient monuments under its ownership. Thus, for the \textit{waqf} built properties, which were falling into the ancient monument definition of the Law, it became the usual practice to seek the advice of the ancient monument expert as well as consulting the engineer from the PWD\textsuperscript{246} and/or the specialist mason\textsuperscript{247}. Throughout the period from 1905 to 1935, ancient monument expert G. Jeffery, who held the post of Curator of Ancient Monuments on the island, served as \textit{Evkaf}'s consultant. Jeffery was regularly approached for his independent opinion regarding the physical

\textsuperscript{243} See for instance PWD engineer Price’s report mentioning the danger of using iron bars for strengthening the stone blocks (document, dated July 14, 1925 in BEF 1926-169-3896)

\textsuperscript{244} See for instance the PWD Engineers’ advice for the reconstruction of Kebir Mosque in Limassol (document, dated December 12, 1905 in BEF 1903-111-2614) and on reconstructing the bulged pier at the Arablar Mosque with Paraskevi stone of hardest quality (document, dated April 7, 1910 in BEF 1913-149-3482); and the mason’s advice in rebuilding the ruinous mud-brick walls of the yard of the same Mosque with stone (February 17, 1913 BEF 1913-149-3482).

\textsuperscript{245} See the petty repair files in BEF 1927-183-4104

\textsuperscript{246} See for instance the related correspondence for the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1926-169-3896)

\textsuperscript{247} See for instance referring the case of Arablar Mosque (BEF 1909-143-3336) and the case of the South Minaret at the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia to the specialist mason N. Kalla (BEF 1926-169-3896)
interventions on the ancient monuments in Evkaf’s portfolio\textsuperscript{248}. Towards the end of the period W. D. Caröe, another expert in architectural conservation, who took permanent residence in Cyprus was also referred to for certain cases\textsuperscript{249}.

The colonial Evkaf administration was now more aware of the multi-dimensional political implications of the conservation of the waqf built heritage. The Islamised church properties of Western origin were shared heritage: the national heritage of the British rulers and spiritual heritage of the Muslim-Turkish community. The British had identified themselves with the historic properties with Western origins. Therefore, they were primarily concerned with the traces of the Western era, not paying any particular attention to the Ottoman era fabric. Thus, tensions occurred from time to time regarding the advice of professional engineers and the users of the concerned buildings. The following cases exemplify how the specific idealisations of heritage were mobilised at the technical planning stage and how the colonial bureaucracies negotiated the heritage practice at this stage with the religious bodies of the community:

When the upper part of the Minaret of the Ayasofya Mosque (former Cathedral of St. Sophia) in Nicosia, the Chief Mosque on the island, was damaged at the outset of the twentieth century, C. Bellamy, the Director of the PWD had firmly expressed his professional opinion as being against the rebuilding of the Minaret and advised that it should be shortened (BEF 1902-103-2435). Bellamy insisted that the structure was not sound enough to carry the load of an upper structure. Besides, the safety of the historic structure, which for him was the Cathedral, was going to be under risk by this rebuilding action. However, the Moslem dignitaries collectively rejected the idea and applied pressure on the Evkaf administration for rebuilding the Minaret as it was before. Their claim was supported by the experienced native minaret mason N. Kalla’s opinion that the structure was sound enough to carry the load. When the attempts for convincing them to agree in a minaret shorter than the original one failed, and in order to prevent further tensions, the High Commissioner of the island authorised the rebuilding in accordance with the original design (BEF 1902-103-

\textsuperscript{248} See for instance the case of Arablar Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1909-143-3336); the case of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1926-169-3896); and the case of the Büyük Khan in Nicosia (BEF 1927-180-4057)

\textsuperscript{249} See for instance the case of Bedestan (the converted St. Nicholas Church in Nicosia) for Caroe’s involvement (document number: 99 in BEF 1934-232-4855)
Finally the Minaret was rebuilt in accordance with the original design with Ottoman character (Figure 7.4, the Minaret on the left). It became a reference for the heritage negotiations between the colonial authority and the local community.

Figure 7.4 Ayasofya Mosque (former Cathedral of St. Sophia) in Nicosia; the Minaret on the right (South Minaret), re-constructed with a slender body as advised by Price (Source: J.P.Foscolo c1928 in Malecos 1992)

The second round of the heritage negotiations at the technical planning stage gained visibility after World War I. When there were structural cracks, this time at the South Minaret of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia in 1926, the Evkaf mason reported to the Delegates that the structure was in dangerous condition, requiring rebuilding (document, dated May 22, 1926 in BEF 1926-169-3896). It appears that the Delegates, requested consultation from the PWD, which was approved\textsuperscript{250}. Soon, H. R. Price, the commissioned engineer from the PWD presented a report, mentioning that he inspected cracks that had been increasing in size for 20 years. An extract from his report runs as follows:

This movement is probably due to the weight of the upper gallery, which does not seem to be adequately supported by its corbels. Attempts have been made in the past

\textsuperscript{250} The Colonial Secretary informed the Delegates of Evkaf that an engineer from PWD was going to inspect the building and his consultation fee of £10 should to be paid in advance (document, dated June17, 1926 in BEF 1926-169-3896).
to strengthen this gallery by the use of iron stays, which are anchored in the masonry. These stays (braces), however, are the source of greatest danger for they not only subject the masonry to tension but they also rust in it, and so expand and crack it. On the whole, I consider that it is impossible to guarantee the safety of the building especially in a country liable to earthquakes and high winds; and I advise the rebuilding of the minaret from the bottom gallery onwards. If it is rebuilt I think the bottom gallery should be widened to allow room for the wall of the Minaret to be built squarely on the existing wall and not to be corbelled inwards as it is at present. This fact no doubt helped to render the Minaret unstable. (document, dated July 14, 1925 in BEF 1926-169-3896)

Price had particularly pointed to the danger of using iron bars during the structural consolidations, which, as shown earlier, had been a widely practised physical intervention technique during the preceding period that was still in use in the period between 1905 and 1935. At the same time, Price had advised the reconstruction of the said Minaret. Until then no alternative solutions could have been found for the structural consolidation of the minarets, and professional advice was still in favour of their being rebuilt. Having the earlier experience of the tensions in the early years of the century regarding the PWD’s advice for a building a shorter Minaret, a new method was recommended: rebuilding the Minaret as tall as the other one but on a different layout.

The Colonial Secretary forwarded the Engineer’s report to the Delegates, with a highlighted note from the DPW: ‘In addition thereto, the Director of Public Works recommends that in rebuilding the minaret the best quality stone and British Portland cement mortar should be used’ (document, dated July 19, 1926 in BEF 1926-169-3896). As it was usual in prestigious conservation projects to recommend the use of mortar of Portland cement as the best material, it was also recommended in this case by the PWD. There were no concerns at this time regarding its compatibility and side effects when used in conjunction with the historic materials.

[251] See for instance the proposal for tying of the columns of the dome at the Araclar Mosque with iron (document, dated June 2, 1909 in BEF1909-143-3336). Also see Jeffery’s report regarding the accomplishment of the repairs to the Buyuk Khan, during which the roofing of the office was renewed with corrugated iron and some strengthening was done with iron bars (document, dated December 12, 1927 in BEF 1927-180-4057).
As is understood from further correspondence, the Delegates felt necessary to ask the independent opinion of G. Jeffery at this point and, apparently, he shared the PWD’s advice for rebuilding the Minaret. He recommended to the Delegates that the best way of rebuilding was to employ the two minaret experts who had already built several minarets throughout the island, for daily wages. As the estimate of the cost of rebuilding the Minaret was found difficult, it was not possible to give it out on contract as it was (document, dated January 18, 1928 in BEF 1926-169-3896). As it is understood from the following correspondence, his recommendation was approved and the rebuilding of the Minaret commenced based on in situ directions by Jeffery (BEF1926-169-3896).

Finally, the Southerly Minaret was rebuilt on a new design with a slender body, one that was quite different from the Ottoman character. Re-named by the community as the Thin Minaret, this was obviously a colonial imagination for a minaret (Figure 7.4). This time the Müftü, the chief Muslim religious authority, was not in a position to negotiate the design of the new Minaret. His office was abolished around the time when the Thin Minaret was built. The new religious authority, the Fetva Emini, was placed under Evkaf Department, which had been converted into a Governmental department in 1928. From then on, there were no authorities to negotiate the heritage practices on behalf of the Muslim-Turkish community. They became the realm of the colonial authorities and their bureaucracies.

Technical planning of the projects concerning the waqf built properties with ancient monument values were negotiated within the colonial bureaucracies, Evkaf often being in a passive role during the decision-taking stage. In other words, there were no attempts from the institution’s side in assuming a key role in heritage negotiations, specifically in what to protect as heritage. At another instance, when upkeep works were required at the Büyük Khan in Nicosia (Figure 7.5), G. Jeffery had been commissioned by the Evkaf administration to inspect the building alongside Kolumbries, a local mason (BEF 1927-180-4057).
Jeffery reported to the Delegates that there were structural defects to the arcade on the upper floor of the West side. This was, according to Jeffery, a serious undertaking and the mason could not have seen how it could have been done considering the height from the ground and the ruined condition of the construction. So, Jeffery and the mason concluded that the only thing to be done was to:

Remove the whole of the vaulting on the arcaded gallery on the upper floor on the West side; then, if possible, repair the arches and columns when this enormous weight is removed, and in place of this vaulting substitute a roof of plain valichis, matting and native tiles. The lower floor on the West side can be restored to its original condition, the vaults being repaired, and that over the back entrance rebuilt in a different way (Document, dated 3/9/1927 in BEF 1927-180-4057)

The improvements, which were suggested by Jeffery, were specifically reconstructions, based on a new design. His proposals were contrary to the conservation principles of the SPAB, which he was fiercely advocating. In all
likelihood, Jeffery was not valuing this late sixteenth century Ottoman building worthy of conservation.

In a subsequent letter, shortly after the first, Jeffery had further suggestions:

The entrance to the back premises is in a dangerous condition. The wooden supports, which have been introduced, are of no use in case of its collapse. It seems to me that this archway and the two adjoining vaults must be removed, and either rebuilt, or a wooden floor carrying marmaras [native marbles] substituted, with two new arches, introduced to carry the construction. This latter will be the cheaper way of doing the job. With regard to the small Mosque in the centre of the enclosure, now used as a grain store, the tenant evidently thinks this is to be restored as a store and not as a mosque. It can certainly be restored as the structure seems sound and is at present supporting an immense weight of grain in sacks. One of the columns of the main arcade must be restored. The staircase should be rebuilt, and the fountain remodelled. The tomb of the founder should be respected and also remodelled.

(document, dated September 3, 1927 in BEF 1927-180-4057)

Jeffery suggested physical alterations, involving reconstruction and remodelling of the premises to ensure the continuity as a building stock. It shall be safely assumed from the absence of the concept of preservation of historic fabric in his notes that Jeffery did not approach the building as an ancient monument. In a way, his proposals echoed his earlier comments about the Büyük Khan. The building, except for ‘conferring a certain oriental air upon the centre of Nicosia’, Jeffery had written a nearly decade ago, was ‘not in any sense an architectural monument’\(^\text{252}\). Hence, while he suggested certain improvements to the Büyük Khan, these were not aiming further than keeping its overall oriental ambiance (Figure 7.6). Overall, Jeffery’s suggestions were against the tone of the SPAB’s principles he had avidly advocated. His approach in this particular case was not inspirational, and the Evkaf administration, as is investigated further in the following chapter, continued to maintain the Khan only to ensure income generation.

\(^{252}\) Jeffery 1918: 98
Even though G. Jeffery was known to be an avid follower of SPAB’s principles, which were primarily based on conservative repair, yet, his recommendations concerning the Ottoman fabric over the waqf built properties were far from the pillars of the SPAB. It is likely that Jeffery shared Morris’ strong value judgements as well as his opinion that not all things should have been conserved. In one instance, when the Municipality of Nicosia approached Evkaf for the alteration of the gateway to the Büyük Hammam as part of the road enlargement scheme (Figure 7.7) and his opinion was asked, Jeffery replied that:

‘After inspecting the Woman’s Bath in Nicosia with a view to its being modified from the purpose of improving the adjoining roadway on the north side, I see nothing to prevent such an improvement being carried out provided that the remains of a more ancient building built up into the north wall of the bath house are carefully

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253 See Pilides 2009 & Limbouri 2011; also see Chapter 2
254 See for instance Jeffery’s recommendation to Evkaf, following the Municipality’s application for the alteration of the Gateway of the Büyük Hammam in 1927 (document, dated March 1, 1927 in BEF 1927-177-4028)
255 As Miele (2005c: 3,12) argues, Morris liked medieval architecture above all others and in accordance with this view, early SPAB had imposed an unofficial cut-off point at c.1700; generally work after this date was not part of the genuine historical record. Also see Chapter 2
taken down and removed to the “Stone Museum” by my expert mason who has experience in such matters. The interesting architectural remains built into the north wall do not belong to this building and the facade which they cover up will be quite presentable when laid bare’ (document, dated March 1, 1927 in BEF 1927-177-4028) 256.

Figure 7.7 Sketch-diagram showing the street improvement scheme, proposed by the Nicosia Municipality (Source: BEF 1927-177-4028, ©CEA)

Sharp (2005) argues that while the SPAB was able to influence the fate of certain buildings in Cyprus via Jeffery, it was not very influential on many historic properties owned by the religious authorities of the island. According to the author, these authorities were dramatically altering historic buildings, and it was rather difficult for SPAB to achieve success in many instances (ibid). However, as the evidence found in the present research may suggest, Evkaf, one of the primary religious authorities of the island, sought professional advice prior to physical interventions. As has also been argued recently by Pilides (2009), Jeffery not only considered himself as the honorary Evkaf architect, but also introduced Münir Bey, 256 Fortunately for this late sixteenth century Ottoman Hammam, the Delegates decided to take R. Gunnis’ advice, who was then the Inspector of Monuments. Consequently, the said road remained with no further enlargement and the facade was allowed to stand in its place, where it was built more than three centuries earlier (document, dated March 17, 1927 in BEF 1927-177-4028).
the Turkish Delegate of *Evkaf*, to the SPAB where he received honorary membership in 1932. In the light of the above mentioned evidence it shall be safely suggested that Jeffery was consulted on several occasions by *Evkaf*, and in fact his recommendations were a long way from the pillars of the SPAB when he was dealing with buildings from the Ottoman era. On the other hand, Jeffery treated the *waqf* built properties with Western origins and/or the Western traces on the *waqf* assets in accordance with the conservation principles of the SPAB. He approached *Evkaf* in one instance to allow him to provide fences around the Church ruins in Famagusta (BEF 1905-122-2868). Fencing the ruins to protect them from further human destruction was the highly romanticist method of preservation, advocated by the Society.

7.3.2 Preparation of the Specifications and the Cost Estimates and Awarding of the Contracts

While expert consultation prior to the physical interventions to the *waqf* built properties with ancient monument attributes gained wider ground during the period between 1905 and 1935, this was mainly to safeguard the architectural characteristics of the concerned properties. There is no evidence of any awareness regarding the intervention materials during the period. Similar to the preceding period, the specifications and the cost estimates were prepared either by the engineers from the PWD or by the masons. The types of material and the intervention techniques were identified in the specifications of the works and the cost estimates were prepared accordingly. In general, the use of native materials and material mixtures remained in the cost estimates of low budget projects that were mainly in the rural areas. Otherwise, the native binding and plastering materials and mixtures were replaced with varieties made of imported Portland cement and French lime. The use of cement mortar became more prevalent for projects during this period when

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257 See for instance for the preparation of the cost estimate and specification for the upkeep works at the Arablar Mosque in Nicosia (document, dated June 2, 1909 in BEF 1909-143-3336). Also see the *Evkaf* Agent Assaf Bey’s report to the Delegates that the mud-brick walls of the yard of the Arablar Mosque was in a ruinous state and that the mason proposed to rebuild them with stone and submitted a cost estimate for the purpose (document, dated February 17, 1913 in BEF 1913-149-3482).

258 See for instance the cost estimate of the works for Mosque at the village of Kalavach (BEF 1913-149-3488)
compared with the preceding era\(^{259}\). By the late 1920s, cement mortar had a significant place in nearly all upkeep works\(^{260}\).

As in the preceding period, contracts included material types and quantities, quantity prices, required labour and wages, schedule and specifications of the works to be undertaken\(^{261}\). A tendering process and awarding the contracts on the base of a lump sum also remained as the main practice\(^{262}\). However, preference was given to experienced masons in complicated cases. For instance, when there were severe structural decays at the Djedid Mosque and Minaret in Limassol, the British Delegate of Evkaf informed the Government that they had decided to send the specialist mason N. Kalla from Nicosia to undertake the required upkeep works (document, dated May 5, 1905 in BEF-1903-111-2614). Later, when it was decided to pull down the structure and build a new Mosque on the foundations of the old one, the PWD Engineer W. Williams recommended mason Neofilos, whom he knew from the works that he did previously (document, dated January 1, 1906 in BEF 1903-111-2614).

Archival evidence has indicated there was continuity in the implementation process for the waqf built properties which were considered ordinary as it had been in the preceding period. On the other hand, the execution of the projects of waqf built properties with ancient monument values was started to be undertaken under the supervision of the ancient experts. As in the preceding period, the execution of the works commenced following the signing of the contract between the Evkaf and the

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\(^{259}\) The preceding period had closed with the advice of E. H. D. Nicolls (the Director of the PWD) that ‘A good deal of cement plastering is necessary’ on the restoration works (BEF 1903-114-2684). At the early beginnings of the period of 1905 to 1945, Evkaf started to import Portland cement from Great Britain on its own account (BEF 1907-136-3184 & BEF 1909-143-3348).

\(^{260}\) See for instance Jeffery’s report regarding the accomplishment of the repairs to the Buyuk Khan, during which the roofs of the Khan were covered with concrete cement, and the floor of a shop was covered with concrete (document, dated December 12, 1927 in BEF 1927-180-4057). The documents on the Petty Repairs to Evkaf Properties from 1928 onwards included cement mortar. The Municipality for instance ordered the shop owners to cover the floors with cement concrete from the late 1920s onwards (BEF 1927-183-4104; BEF 1933-359-7363; BEF 1935-240-4972). Also see the PWD Engineer’s report, recommending the use of British Portland cement mortar at the upkeep works at the South Minaret of Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (document, dated January 18, 1928 in BEF 1926-169-3896).

\(^{261}\) See for instance for the Ömerge Hammam (BEF 1925-163-3770); Also see the Petty Repairs to Waqf Properties (BEF 1933-359-7362)

\(^{262}\) See for instance the case of Djami Djedid in Limassol (BEF 1903-111-2614); Arablar Mosque (BEF 1913-149-34-82)
contractor, and the works were supervised by the person assigned to the duty\textsuperscript{263}. The payment of the contractors remained according to the principles as it had been in the preceding period. They were paid upon the accomplishment of the works as scheduled in their contracts\textsuperscript{264}. In cases where there were not fixed contracts, the payment was made after the accomplishment of all of the works, based on the final cost estimates, which were prepared by the superintendent of the job\textsuperscript{265}.

Following the retirement of J. H. Hutchinson in late 1890s, no other foreign contractors executed upkeep works for Evkaf. The contractors during the period from 1905 to 1935 were mainly local masons. Among them, N. Kalla was considered as the specialist mason, and the Delegates entrusted him with several prestigious jobs.

In addition, a new approach was taken during the period for projects that involved quantities of work, which could not have been accurately stated during the consultation process. In such cases masons were employed to undertake the works on daily wages. Supervisors had more responsibility compared to the traditional lump sum method, as they had to remain on site in order to keep accurate and detailed records for the works executed and to verify the quantities of works actually completed. This is well exemplified with the cases of the upkeep works at the Büyük Khan in 1927 (BEF 1927-180-4057) and the rebuilding of the South Minaret of the Ayasofya Mosque in 1928 (BEF 1926-169-3896). In both cases, G. Jeffery, the Curator of Ancient Monuments, had been authorised to supervise the works and

\textsuperscript{263} See for instance PWD Engineer W. Williams’ being paid for his services for: design and tracing, details, supervision of works and keeping accounts for work of New Kebir Mosque at Limassol from November 1, 1905 to October 15, 1906 (document, dated October 3, 1906 in BEF 1903-111-2614). Also see G. Jeffery’s appointment as the supervisor of the implementation of upkeep works at the Arablar Mosque (BEF 1913-149-3482), at the South Minaret of Ayasofya Mosque (BEF 1926-169-3896), and the Büyük Khan (BEF 1927-180-4057).

\textsuperscript{264} See the final certificate that was issued to the contractor for the works at the Kebir Mosque in Limassol by the supervising engineer W. Williams (document, dated October 3, 1906 in BEF 1903-111-2614). See the extract from the letter from G.Jeffery to M. Munir Bey, the TDE, that runs as: 'The work of building the wall and fixing the gate and iron railings at the Arablar Mosque appears to be finished in a satisfactory way and the builder D. Stavro is entitled to payment for same according the contract (document, dated January 14, 1927 in BEF 1913-149-3482).

\textsuperscript{265} See for instance the case of Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (BEF 1926-169-3896) and the Buyuk Khan (BEF 1927-180-4057). For the latter, the G.Jeffery, who was the supervisor of the works, reported to the Delegates of Evkaf that the repairs to the Büyük Khan, which included covering of the roofs with concrete cement, repairs to the arches at the entrance, covering the floor of a shop with concrete and renewal of roofing of the office with corrugated iron, as well as some strengthening with iron bars were successfully completed (document, dated December 12, 1927 in BEF 1927-180-4057).
prepare the final cost estimates after the accomplishment of the works. Thus, while the native masons gradually gained role in the execution of upkeep and conservation projects of waqf built properties with ancient monument values during this period, their supervision has always remained in the domain of the British expertise.

7.4 Conclusion

The beginning of this period has been marked by the enactment of the Antiquities Law, which introduced for the first time statutory protection for the ancient monuments on the island. The Law, similar to the Act of 1882 in Britain, had recognised the religious endowment institutions’ autonomous role in physical interventions to the built properties in their portfolio. Besides, its cut-off date, which was defined by the beginning of the Ottoman era on the island in 1571 AD, was presumably one of the earliest cut-off dates found in contemporary Western legislations. Thus, while the Waqf built properties with Western origins were covered by the Law of 1905, the Ottoman era buildings were excluded. Obviously, the British had identified themselves with the medieval Western civilizations at the island and had conceptualised heritage as the remnants of the medieval Western civilisation and the previous epochs. Highlighting the historic heritage of the Western civilization, this Law in a way justified the British presence on the island. The Antiquities Law has been the most important input in the initiation and the authorisation of conservation projects during this period.

The period between 1905 and 1935 has witnessed revisions in its model framework of upkeep and conservation practices. Accordingly, the Government’s involvement in the initiation process which had started during the preceding period, gained wider ground during this time. This was an indication of the transition of the initiation process from the bottom, which was the realm of the community to the top, which was the realm of the colonial Government. Evkaf was being transformed from an

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See the note that was put down by the BDE that he had spoken to Mr. Jeffery and it had been decided that Koulombris (the mason) would have commenced the work at the Büyük Khan and the cost estimate would have been prepared by Jeffery upon the finish of the job and that the mason agreed with this condition (document, dated September 15, 1927 in BEF 1927-180-4057).
autonomous religious endowment institution owned by the community into a governmental department, and as such the initiation processes were moving into the realm of the colonial bureaucracies in general. In particular, the Curator of Ancient Monuments gained a key role in the initiation of conservation projects on waqf built properties with ancient monument values. Evidently, the heritage conservation strategies, mechanisms and procedures were mobilised as part of the political agendas to consolidate certain colonial imaginations.

Another input to the Evkaf’s model framework during this period has been the intensification of the colonial involvement in administrative and financial procedures, which finally led to the transformation of the institution into a Government department in 1928. At the same time, the opposition in the Muslim-Turkish community started to intensify, criticising the pro-British colonial administration and demanding self-rule for the institution. This investigation has revealed how during the period, the colonial authority started to negotiate Evkaf’s resources in consolidation of its power among the Muslim-Turkish community.

Being under the sway of the colonial authorities, the Evkaf administration went ahead with this new invention and allowed the grants in aid to newly emerged requirements to become a regular practice for the institution. This would later turn into a customary practice, which led to the dissolution of the institution as the endowed revenues were now spent within new agendas, decreasing the share for upkeep and conservation projects on the historic waqf built properties.

This investigation has revealed how technical planning processes of the upkeep projects of waqf built properties had been similar to those in the preceding period, except for certain changes in upkeep materials and technologies. Portland cement gained wider application owing to its affordability. On the other hand, the investigation has revealed how with the involvement of age value, a selective conservation understanding started to emerge in Evkaf’s practices, which had hitherto assumed the maintenance of the built properties mainly for their spiritual and usage values. Such properties started to receive special attention during the authorisation stage. The British colonial authorities identified themselves with the heritage of the Western civilization as a means of justifying their presence on the island and they were concerned with its conservation. Evidently, such specific
idealisations of heritage were mobilised at the technical planning stage during this period and the colonial bureaucracies negotiated heritage practice alongside existing institutional practice.

During this period, ancient monument expertise has emerged as a new form of professionalism. Evkaf started to refer such cases to the ancient monument expert G. Jeffery, who served as Evkaf’s consultant while holding the post of Curator of Ancient Monuments on the island throughout the period from 1905 to 1935. Even though G. Jeffery was known to be an avid follower of SPAB principles, which were primarily based on conservative repair, yet his recommendations concerning the Ottoman fabric over the waqf built properties were far from the rubric of the SPAB. Even though, Jeffery was consulted on several occasions, his recommendations were a long way from the SPAB’s conservative repair principles when he was dealing with buildings from the Ottoman era.

While the technical planning of projects concerning the waqf built properties with ancient monument values were negotiated within the colonial bureaucracies, Evkaf remained in a passive role during the decision taking stage. During the period, interventions to the physical fabric of the historic built properties were negotiated in accordance with colonial politics and imaginations. Evkaf remained reluctant to assume a key role in heritage negotiations.
Chapter 8

Procedural Changes and Colonial Heritage Politics: Evkaf’s Selective Conservation Practices between 1935 and 1960

The period between 1935 and 1960 was politically the most vibrant one since the beginning of British colonial rule, owing to the intensifying Greek irredentist movements on the island, and the rise of secular-nationalism among the Turkish elites, who were zealously following the Kemalism of Turkey. The secular-nationalist Turkish leadership and the newspapers under their control intensified their campaign for the turnover of the control of Evkaf to the Turkish community. In the meantime, external pressure to reverse the Government’s failure to protect the island’s ancient monuments intensified. In the backdrop of these political movements, the new Antiquities Law was enacted in 1935. Inspired by the resolutions of the Athens Charter of 1931 which introduced a more inclusive heritage concept and presented core conservation principles, the Law marked the beginning of a new era in Evkaf’s building upkeep system by providing for the first time the inscription of a specified set of waqf built properties and bringing them under statutory control. However, as shown in table 8.1, these were mainly the Islamised waqf built properties of Western origin. The Law was designed to protect architectural heritage only up to 1700 AD, and this still dragged behind the similar legislation of many European countries, which by then had covered properties up to the end of the nineteenth century. As such, the Antiquities Law of 1935 had implicitly excluded two-thirds of the Ottoman era, allowing only a small group of waqf built properties of Ottoman origin to be inscribed. Alongside the new procedures concerning the conservation of the inscribed ancient monuments, the era witnessed further colonial inputs into Evkaf’s building upkeep framework relating to the administrative, legislative and financial aspects. Besides, political uses of heritage emerged as a new concept. This chapter investigates how these new colonial inputs re-shaped the upkeep framework for waqf built properties during the period between 1935 and 1960.
The investigation starts with the shifts in the initiation processes. The intensified involvement of the colonial bureaucracies in the initiation of upkeep works is presented. The decline in communal petitions for the upkeep of waqf religious built properties as a result of the Kemalist-secularism rising among the Muslim-Turkish Cypriots is explained. The colonial Government’s involvement in the initiation of conservation projects on a set of waqf religious built properties with symbolic-religious values, which indicates the political uses of heritage, is investigated. Besides, the role of external pressure on the initiation of conservation projects, including the Mersey Committee and newspaper reporting in the Great Britain is addressed.

Then, the procedural changes and developments in the authorisation processes are investigated. Changes in the administrative and financial aspects of the institution and their implications in the planning of upkeep and conservation projects are analysed. The new legislative procedures in the conservation of inscribed waqf ancient monuments are presented. New inputs within the technical planning stage of the conservation projects, including the role of the Director of the Department of Antiquities as the expertise provider are investigated. Insights from the preparation of the specifications of the projects, the determination of the intervention techniques and methods, as well as the awarding of contracts and implementation of projects during the period are presented.

The research has shed light on the shifts in the initiation processes, which removed them from the realm of building users to the realm of colonial bureaucracies. It has also highlighted the shifts and transitions in the administrative, legislative and financial procedures taken into consideration during the authorisation of upkeep and conservation projects and it has afforded insights into technical planning processes. The investigation has revealed how the Department of Antiquities, as the expertise provider, has often focused on the conservation of inscribed waqf ancient monuments with Western origins, aiming to bring forward the best of the original design of these converted properties. At the same time the inscribed Ottoman era ancient monuments received involuntary attention by the Department. The investigation has also revealed changes to a set of waqf religious built properties
within the context of colonial politics aiming at using them to divert the local Muslim-Turkish community's attention away from the secular-Kemalist ideology.

8.1 The Initiation Process and the Key Actors in the Initiation of Conservation Projects

Communal petitions postulating upkeep works for religious built properties in the main towns disappeared during this period. Such petitions had filled the agendas of Evkaf during the first period from 1878 to 1905, and they had gradually declined in the second period from 1905 to 1935, before they totally disappeared during the final period from 1935 to 1960. The Delegates or Agents of Evkaf remained as the initiators for upkeep or conservation projects on such properties\(^\text{267}\). As for income-generating built properties, the tenants remained as the key initiators for upkeep projects throughout the period\(^\text{268}\). In addition to the traditional initiators, there were new initiators, who were stimulated by the historic values of heritage properties. Among these were journalists and antiquarian societies in Great Britain, who became influential in forming the Mersey Committee, and the Director of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus. Besides, the colonial Government initiated a set of conservation projects during this period stimulated by the political values of these heritage buildings.

8.1.1 Initiation of Conservation Projects on Inscribed Waqf Built Properties through the Mersey Committee and the Department of Antiquities

The Mersey Committee\(^\text{269}\), which had been instrumental in the establishment of the Department of Antiquities in 1934 and the enactment of the new Antiquities Law in 1935, provided the required financial funds and initiated conservation projects on a

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\(^{267}\) See for instance the application of the Turkish Delegate of Evkaf to the Director of Antiquities for causing an inspection on the Minaret of the Mosque at Hala Sultan Tekke and reporting back for the required restoration works (document, dated November 17, 1948 in BEF 1928-188-4194)

\(^{268}\) See for instance the doc nos.: 21, 119 & 121 in BEF 1936-249-5097 (75); nos.: 4, 32, 75, 80, 81 & 90 in BEF 1937-256-5215 (75); no: 38 in BEF 1938-262-5341 (75); no: 38 in BEF 1938-262-5341; nos.: 21, 51, 72 & 78 in BEF 1941-279-5658 (79); nos.: 70 & 82 in BEF 1942-288-5823 (79); no: 8 in BEF 1949-314-6440 (73); no: 10 in BEF 1954-337-6949 (55)

\(^{269}\) The Committee was formed in December 1933, with the approval of the Colonial Office and of the Cyprus Government, to assist in the preservation, maintenance, discovery and examination of the Antiquities of Cyprus and to collect funds for the purpose (anonymous, 1935: 1)
set of inscribed *waqf* built properties of Western origin. The first property to be put under their conservation programme was the *Bedestan* (former Cathedral of St. Nicholas) in Nicosia (Figures 8.1 & 8.2).

Figure 8.1 *Bedestan* (former Latin Church of St. Nicholas) in Nicosia as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)

Figure 8.2 Interior of *Bedestan* in Nicosia as it stood in 2012 (©Reyhan Sabri)
It appears from their report that Münir Bey, the Turkish Delegate of Evkaf was sympathetic to their cause and provided them with encouragement and assistance (anonymous 1935: 5). Presumably, Münir Bey saw it as mainly the job of the Antiquities Department to deal with the building and turned the custody of Bedestan over to the Government. Afterwards, all the Ottoman additions over the fabric, including the inner walls and the vault were pulled down, and the building was returned to its original layout (Figure 8.3) (anonymous 1935: 5, 9; anonymous 1936: 4). The Committee similarly arranged with Evkaf to take over the restoration of Sinan Pasha Mosque (former Ss. Peter and Paul Church), during which Ottoman additions were erased and the building was readapted for being used as Medieval Museum for Famagusta (anonymous 1938). Similarly, the Committee was instrumental in initiating conservation projects for the Gothic remnant at Yeni Djami in Nicosia (anonymous 1942), Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta and Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (anonymous 1949; Megaw 1950: 10)

Figure 8.3 Removal of the Ottoman vault at the Bedestan during the restoration in 1935 (Source: Report of the Department of Antiquities, 1935)
The enactment of the new Antiquities Law in 1935 introduced the Director of the Department of Antiquities as the key professional in initiating conservation projects relating to the Waqf built properties that were declared ancient monuments. In 1945, A. H. S Megaw, the Director of Antiquities, focused his attention on Lala Mustafa Mosque (former Latin Church) in Famagusta that was used to store carobs, causing damage to the building’s physical fabric. Hence, Megaw requested the Delegates not to lease it anymore and said that the Department of Antiquities would carry out essential repairs to recondition the damaged parts (document, dated March 2, 1945 in BEF 1945-302-6154). Later in 1950 Megaw brought to the attention of the Delegates that the Mayor of Nicosia had ordered the demolishment of a house which was now an ancient monument and it could not be demolished and that Evkaf should take immediate action to repair it in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Antiquities (document, dated July 20, 1950 in BEF 1950-320-6609). In another instance in 1954, the Director of Antiquities brought to the attention of the Evkaf administration the works which he considered necessary to remedy the existing defects in the Omerieh Mosque in Nicosia (document, dated May 26, 1954 in BEF 1954-338-6974).

A. H. S Megaw, the Director of Antiquities between 1935 and 1960, relied upon Evkaf’s funds or those collected in England by the Mersey Committee for initiating projects for inscribed ancient monuments. For the ancient monuments owned by the Evkaf, he turned to the institution’s funds. For instance, following its inscription, he informed the Delegates that the ruined Mosque and Minaret of Yeni Djami in Nicosia was in urgent need of conservation (document, dated February 23, 1942 in BEF 1942-288-5833) (Figures 8.4 & 8.5)). As a matter of fact, it was not the Mosque itself, but the adjacent Gothic remnants, which required conservation, and the project was realised using Evkaf’s funds (anonymous 1942). This is among one of several cases that reveals the hidden agendas behind the Department of Antiquities’ approach to the conservation of heritage properties owned by the Evkaf: the Antiquities Department’s main concern was the protection of the remnants of Western civilisation and Evkaf’s financial resources, endowed for the maintenance

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270 See the document, dated December 1, 1949 in BEF 1950-320-6609 regarding the declaration as an ancient monument the medieval Church ruins and minaret of Yeni Djami in Nicosia, the masonry portions of an arched aqueduct and the ruined mill erected by Abu Bekir Pasha, and the facade of a dwelling house and archway in Nicosia.
and upkeep of *waqf* built properties, were now used for the conservation of selected architectural components.

![Figure 8.4 Yeni Djami (at the background) and the ruined older mosque and the tower of the minaret at the foreground as it stood in 2013 (©Reyhan Sabri)](image)

Figure 8.4 Yeni Djami (at the background) and the ruined older mosque and the tower of the minaret at the foreground as it stood in 2013 (©Reyhan Sabri)

![Figure 8.5 The ruined Minaret of Yeni Djami in Nicosia c 1950s (Source: Wideson 2010)](image)

Figure 8.5 The ruined Minaret of Yeni Djami in Nicosia c 1950s (Source: Wideson 2010)
8.1.2 Initiation of Adaptive Re-use of Waqf Built Properties for Museum Purposes

During the period between 1935 and 1960, the Director of Antiquities emerged as the initiator of the adaptive re-use of certain waqf built properties, essentially their conversion and re-use for museum purposes. This new use of waqf heritage buildings gained visibility essentially in the 1950s, mainly in towns where there was a need for museum buildings. With the Evkaf’s consent, the Department of Antiquities undertook the renovation of a set of waqf built properties, like hammams, which ceased to be used for their intended purposes. At one instance in 1954 he applied to the Evkaf administration for taking over the Hammam that belonged to the Mehmed Bey Abu Bekir Waqf of Ktima (Paphos) and converting it into a museum after also improving the approach to the building through the yards (Figure 8.6) (document, dated October 22, 1954 in BEF 1950-319-6573).

![Figure 8.6 Hammam that belonged to the Mehmed Bey Abu Bekir Waqf of Ktima (Paphos) as it stood in 2008 (Source: Atay 2010)](image)

At another instance the Director requested the Delegates of Evkaf to put under the Department of Antiquity’s custody the waqf hammam next to the Franciscan Church in Famagusta, as had been done, for example, in the case of Bedestan in Nicosia, on the understanding that the cost of maintaining it in proper condition was borne by the Government (document, dated April 26, 1955 in BEF 1950-319-6573). The premises were not in use as a public bath anymore and they were derelict. The hammam,

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271 With the approval of the Delegates, the waqf Bath at Ktima was renovated as a temporary home for the Paphos District Museum (document, dated June 21, 1955 in BEF 1950-319-6573).
according to the Director, held some architectural interest, and it could have been renovated as a museum for displaying Turkish antiquities\textsuperscript{272} (document, dated December 15, 1955 in BEF 1950-319-6573). With the Department’s undertaking the adaptation of the \textit{waqf} built properties with certain architectural interests and re-using them for museum purposes weakened \textit{Evkaf}’s planning capacity for such cases. The \textit{Evkaf} administration saw it as the Department of Antiquities’ responsibility to deal with these cases and as the mentioned evidence suggests, it easily turned the custody of such built properties to the Department. Apparently, neither the Department of Antiquities assumed a wider position in the use of \textit{waqf} heritage buildings in general, so the conversion for museum purposes remained as isolated practices for meeting emerging space requirements. As the case of the Büyük Khan, which is investigated below reveals, in the mid-1950s, the Director of the Antiquities had no use particular use for the Khan. From its foundation in 1934 as the centralised body responsible for the conservation of ancient monuments until the end of the colonial period in 1960, the Antiquities Department did not develop a policy neither regarding the inscribed Ottoman era built properties nor the others which although not inscribed they bore heritage values.

8.1.3 Municipalities’ Role in Physical Interventions in and around \textit{Waqf} Built Properties

During the period between 1935 and 1960, the municipalities, essentially the Nicosia Municipality, intensified pressure on \textit{Evkaf} regarding health and sanitary improvements of the \textit{Waqf} built properties in the towns\textsuperscript{273}. The improvements were not always on behalf of the protection of the built properties and in certain cases the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{272} The Director of Antiquity’s request to rent the \textit{waqf} bath for 33 years for displaying Turkish antiquities was approved on the condition that the repair and maintenance was to be done by the Department of Antiquities (document, dated December 17, 1955 in BEF 1950-319-6573).
\item \textsuperscript{273} See for instance the document nos.: 4, 22, 46, 58, 113, 114, 120 & 126 in BEF 1936-249-5097 (75); document nos.: 22 & 63 in BEF 1937-256-5215 (75); document nos.: 16, 27, 33, 56, 57, 58 & 70 in BEF 1938-262-5341 (75); document nos.: 44, 45, 57 & 108 in BEF 1946-345-7079 (72) and document no: 1 in BEF 1947-311-6348 (73). In addition to the files at the archives, the \textit{Mazbouta} Accounts published by the Delegates annually at the official Cyprus Gazette throughout the period reveals that substantial expenditures occurred on built properties in the towns at the special request of the Municipal authorities for improving sanitation. See for instance the Cyprus Gazettes published at: March 25, 1937, March 25, 1938, May 5, 1939, April 3, 1940, April 23, 1942, April 15, 1943, April 6, 1944, April 19, 1945, April 4, 1946, May 8, 1947, May 20, 1948, May 20, 1948, June 15, 1950, June 20, 1951, July 2, 1952, and July 16, 1953.
\end{itemize}
Municipalities ordered the demolition of the buildings which were structurally unsound or lacked the necessary facilities for human habitation. At one instance in 1937, Dr. Dervis, the Mayor of Nicosia had ordered the demolition of the Büyük Khan, as it was unsuitable as a residence for families\textsuperscript{274}. If Evkaf needed to use it for residential purposes, the building had to be pulled down and reconstructed in accordance with a plan to be drawn up by the Municipal engineer (document, dated March 26, 1937 in BEF 1935-245-5038). As the Khan had already been inscribed as an ancient monument in the previous year in accordance with the Law of 1935, demolition was out of the question and a large scale restoration project was executed instead. Evkaf did not develop a policy throughout the period that aimed to stop the municipalities initiating the demolition of waqf built properties. Thus several waqf built properties, including the Büyük Medrese of the Imperial Waqf of Sultan Selim II in Nicosia, were pulled down during the period by the Municipality either for the sake of urban development or for being unsuitable for human habitation (Figure 8.7). Thus, involvement of the Municipality as a new initiator has often been destructive of Ottoman heritage buildings as it caused their demolition rather than improvement. In the case of the Büyük Medrese, although the building fell into the ancient monument definition of the Antiquities Law of 1935 as the building’s fabric had historic layers from the early seventeenth century, it had not yet been listed as an ancient monument. None of the stakeholders, including Evkaf and the Antiquities Department raised a voice against this demolition as none had a policy on the matter.

\textsuperscript{274} The order from Dr. Dervis, Mayor of Nicosia to the Delegates of Evkaf runs as follows: ‘This is to inform you that the Mayor and Councillors of the Municipal Corporation of Nicosia have decided and ordered that buildings no: 89, Asma Alti Street, which are within the municipal boundaries of Nicosia, should forthwith be evacuated and pulled down, as they are used as a Khan and are not safe for human residence. You are, therefore, enjoined hereby from using the said buildings as such until they are rebuilt on a plan to be approved by the Architect of the Municipal Corporation of Nicosia.’(BEF 1935-245-5038)
8.1.4 The Role of Press Coverage in Initiation of Rescue Operations and Conservation Projects on *Waqf* Built Properties with Ancient Monument Attributes

Another key initiator on conservation during the period between 1935 and 1960 has been press coverage. As discussed at the end of the previous chapter, newspapers in London were reporting on the deteriorating condition of ancient monuments on the island and this had initiated the enactment of the new Law of Antiquities in 1935. The deteriorated conditions of ancient monuments of Cyprus continued to occupy the agendas of newspapers, both internally and externally. Newspaper reporting played a key role in alerting the *Evkaf* administration to the condition of the *waqf* built properties with ancient monument attributes. In aiming to prevent the creation of a negative image of the institution among the community and any possible use of such cases by the opponents, the relevant newspaper reports were received by the *Evkaf* administration seriously and immediate actions were taken to address the...
problem, which had been the subject of the publicity. Such actions were presumably guided by political considerations rather than a policy to care for ancient monuments. For instance the early 1950s witnessed bitter press attacks on both the Evkaf and the Department of Antiquities concerning their misuse of Sinan Pasha Mosque (former St Peter and Paul Church) for commercial purposes (document, dated October 19, 1951 in BEF 1945-302-6154). In order to avoid such bad press coverage, the Evkaf delegates ceased to lease the building to the Government for storage purposes and put it under the custody of the Department of Antiquities. When a similar case was on the table, this time concerning the Lala Mustafa Mosque (former Latin Church) in Famagusta, the Director of Antiquities advised that if the Government persisted in using the building for other purposes, it should apply pressure on those concerned with newspaper reporting to prevent bad publicity (document, dated October 19, 1951 in BEF 1945-302-6154).

Perhaps the highlight of the era was a newspaper article published in the Times in London on October 19, 1954, which reported on the conditions of the Büyük Khan in Nicosia, illustrating with photographs the poor condition of the building (Figure 8.8). It was one of the first times, if not the first, that an Ottoman era building had received such attention and more importantly this attention came externally. The report triggered a reaction from the Colonial Office in London, which called for the immediate attention of the colonial Government of the island and the Delegates of Evkaf (document, November 3, 1954 in BEF 1927-180-4057). The author of the newspaper article report was a Mr. T. Driberg, a member of the British Parliament, who had recently visited the Khan while on a tour of the island. Mr. Drieberg had also made representations to the Secretary of State in London, during which he pointed out two problems relating to the Büyük Khan: the social problem linked to the unsuitable overcrowded living conditions of the several hundred people inhabiting the Khan, and the need to protect an important ancient monument, which was showing signs of serious decay. He was of the opinion that the Büyük Khan had to be protected effectively, by relocating the tenants to modern houses, and carrying out a proper restoration project of the building allowing it to be an attraction for both antiquarians and tourists visiting the island.
Although the restoration project of the Büyük Khan did not start before 1963, this report had triggered the involvement of the Government and initiated the beginning of a course of action relating to the evacuation of the inhabitants (Figure 8.9). However, throughout these events, presumably in order to avoid further bad press coverage, attempts were made to keep the building in a more presentable condition (BEF 1927-180-4057).
Press reporting on the conditions of heritage buildings in Cyprus intensified during the period between 1935 and 1960 and played a key role in raising public awareness for the need to improve the physical conditions and the uses of the historic buildings owned by Evkaf. Most of such reports related to the waqf built properties with Western origins. It was as late as 1954 when the conditions of a waqf built property from the Ottoman era first received press coverage. As a response to the press coverage regarding the conditions of the ancient monuments in its portfolio, Evkaf attempted to take matters in hand either by initiating conservation schemes and ceasing to use the historic buildings for commercial purposes or by transferring the ownership of some such buildings to the Department of Antiquities by putting them under the Government’s custody. In general, while Evkaf attempted to respond to the cases that gained publicity, evidence suggests that this was an involuntary attention rather than an enlightened awareness.

8.1.5 Political Motives Underlying the Conservation or No-Conservation of Waqf Built Properties with Symbolic Values
Kemalism had gained wider ground among Cypriot Turkish elites since the 1930s and this was against the wishes of the British colonial Government\textsuperscript{275}. Obviously, the underlying motives behind the Government’s initiation of the restoration project at the \textit{Mevlevi Tekke} in Nicosia during the late 1930s had been political, aiming to reinforce religious feelings among the community. Although politically motivated, the attempt to revive the Ancient Order of the \textit{Mevlevi} Brotherhood in Nicosia, initiated conservation projects for the \textit{Tekke} buildings\textsuperscript{276} (Figure 6.3). Restorations had been supervised by G. Jeffery, who had also designed the new gate to the building complex (Figure 8.10).

![Gateway to the Mevlevi Tekke Complex in Nicosia as it stood in 2013](https://example.com/gate.png)

In another attempt to re-construct the Ottoman roots of Muslim-Turkish Cypriots, the colonial authority authorised the rebuilding of the Southerly Minaret of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia in the Ottoman style. As mentioned in Chapter 7, when this Minaret suffered structural decays in 1920s, it was rebuilt in a new style in 1928 (Figure 7.1). Unfortunately, the records for the reasons of this reconstruction could not be accessed during the present survey. However, for some reasons the Minaret was reconstructed again in the 1930s. Unlike the colonial imagination for creating a

\textsuperscript{275} See Kızılyürek 2006: 321

\textsuperscript{276} See Cyprus Gazette March 25, 1937, p.137; Cyprus Gazette April 3, 1940 p.145
non-Ottoman style which was reflected in the 1928 Minaret, the new one was re-constructed only a few years later in a purely Ottoman style (Figure 8.11). Apparently, the colonial politics to invent the non-ethnic Cypriots in 1920s in order to prevent polarisation between the two communities had failed (Given 1998). The Kemalist-secularism was gaining wider ground among Muslim-Turkish Cypriots. It is likely that the British were now trying to balance this with an Ottoman revivalist approach. As evidence in the following may indicate, this was reflected in the conservation of buildings that reflected Ottoman ideology.

Figure 8.11 Southerly Minaret at the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (on the left), after its reconstruction in Ottoman style in 1930s (Source: c1930s-1940s Mangoian in Marangou 1996)

At the same time, the Bairaktar Mosque on the Constaza Bastion in Nicosia had been restored\(^\text{277}\) and Hala Sultan Tekke was inscribed as an ancient monument in the second schedule\(^\text{278}\). Neither of the two building complexes fell into the Antiquities cut-off date of 1700 AD. However, both of the complexes had been developed during

\(^{277}\) See the Annual Evkaf Accounts, published at the Cyprus Gazette April 3, 1940, p.145
\(^{278}\) Hala Sultan Tekke declared as Ancient Monument as item 11 in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Schedule to the Antiquities Laws 1935 and 1945, by Not. No. 104 in the Cyprus Gazette No. 2821 of March 21, 1940
the Ottoman period around the tombs of the holy Muslim soldiers. Hala Sultan Tekke complex was developed around the tomb of the Umm Haram, who had been martyred during the first Islamic conquest of the island in the eighth century AD (Figure 8.12). Two years before its inscription in the ancient monument list, attempts started in 1938 to collect funds from external Muslim dignitaries for restoration of the premises (BEF 1938-343-7055). The Bairaktar complex, on the other hand, had been developed around the tomb of the first standard bearer, who had carried the Ottoman flag over the bastion during the Ottoman siege of 1571 AD (Figure 8.13). The complex had been inscribed as an ancient monument in the second schedule in 1935. Curiously, the Bairaktar Mosque was the first Ottoman era built property to be inscribed as an ancient monument\textsuperscript{279}. This inscription had been presumably underpinned by political considerations, aiming at diverting the rapidly secularising Turkish community from the secular-nationalism of Kemalist ideology.

Figure 8.12 Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaca as it stood in 2011(©Reyhan Sabri)

\textsuperscript{279} Cyprus Gazette May 10, 1935 p.324
Efforts for re-inventing the religious-Ottoman roots of the community did not gain much ground and the rejection of the Ottoman legacy accelerated. The more the secular Turkish leadership gained control within the community, the more the community’s involvement on behalf of the conservation of the religious \textit{waqf} built properties declined. Newspaper reporting not only served as an initiator for conservation projects as has been mentioned in the previous section, but also reflected the community’s changing perspectives concerning the values of \textit{waqf} built properties. On the September 11, 1945 the Söz Newspaper reported the ruinous condition of the buildings belonging to the complex of Hala Sultan Tekke, criticising Münir Bey, the Turkish Delegate of \textit{Evkaf} for not allocating resources for the restoration of this building which was obviously a good inspiration for the Muslim inhabitants in the surrounding areas (document, dated September 11, 1945 in BEF 1938-343-7055). A few days later, on September 19, 1945 the avidly \textit{Kemalist} Halkın Sesi newspaper of Dr Fazıl Küçük scolded:

\begin{quote}
 Aren’t the authors of Söz aware that medreses and tekkes in the mainland Turkey have been razed to ground to be replaced with modern institutions? Aren’t you aware that in order for our community to advance itself we need to follow the reforms in the mainland Turkey? If you are not accepting this than we need to scream that: We are following the Kemalism and do not create obstacles in our pathway. Get your
\end{quote}
journalists and go to Damascus’ (document, dated September 19, 1945 in BEF 1938-343-7055).

The Turkish leader Dr Fazıl Küçük, in his first speech following the victory of the Kemalists in gaining control of Evkaf from the British colonial administration in 1956, indicated the new direction that this uniquely Muslim legal institution was going to follow in the post-colonial era. Dr. Küçük had proudly declared his plans for demolishing the Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia in order to replace it with a much needed modern cinema and shopping complex. Clearly, the leader was not sympathetic with institutions reflecting the Ottoman ideology. The Tekke, according to him, was an obsolete building without historic value and there was no place for it in the modern Nicosia. Fortunately, it was not possible to secure the necessary financial resources required for the construction of the new buildings. So, the post-colonial Evkaf administration had to put the demolition plans on hold. The colonial era archives for Evkaf ends with the beginning of Turkish self-rule in 1956. Unfortunately, the post-colonial archives could not be accessed during the conduct of the present research. However, judging from the intention of getting rid of the Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia, and based on the observations made by Nevzat and Hatay (2009), it can be argued that the post-colonial administration’s priority was not protecting the past, but building the future. Thus, contrary to their former protests regarding the dilapidated conditions of the mosques under the Evkaf’s pro-British administration, the new leadership was not in a hurry to initiate the conservation of Ottoman built heritage. As Nevzat and Hatay observed (2009), the new administration’s first prestigious project was acquiring a loan from Barclays Bank for the construction of a new landmark hotel.

Prior to the turnover of the control of the institution to the secular Turkish leadership, in a last attempt in 1953, the Governor of the island initiated a conservation project aimed at improving the appearance of the Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaca. The Governor wanted the Delegates of Evkaf to ‘brighten up’ the precincts as they looked rather shabby and dilapidated (document, dated March 13, 1953 in BEF 1938-343-7055). The Governor had insisted that the premises were ready for Coronation Day, during which the Royal Navy would visit. It appears that the Governor persuaded the

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280 Kızılyürek (2006: 323)
Delegates Evkaf to collaborate with the Director of the Department of Antiquities to prepare to improve Tekke’s external appearance (ibid.) (Figure 8.14).

Figure 8.14 Hala Sultan Tekke Complex in Larnaca c 1950s (Source: Wideson 2010)

In summary, the key actors and factors, which played a role in the initiation of conservation projects or other types of intervention diversified during the period between 1935 and 1960 as compared with the preceding period. While the tenants of the operational waqf built properties remained among the initiators, this was obviously on behalf of income generating properties. While the Department of Antiquities became a key initiator for conservation projects of inscribed waqf built properties, it also undertook the adaptive re-use of waqf assets, which ceased to be used for their intended functions, like the hammams. However, this position was not widened to affect all waqf heritage buildings. In the meantime, the municipalities, but especially the Nicosia Municipality initiated physical interventions in and around waqf built properties for the sake of street and sanitary improvements, which led to demolitions. During this period, press coverage on the conditions of the ancient monuments played a prominent role in activating Evkaf administration to undertake measures for their safekeeping. The highlight of this period, however, was the intensification of political agendas underlying the conservation or no-conservation of waqf built properties with symbolic/political values. While the colonial Government
became the initiator of upkeep projects on certain religious *waqf* built properties with strong symbolic values, like the Bairaktar Mosque, the *Mevlevi Tekke* and Hala Sultan Tekke complex, the secular *Kemalists* fiercely protested this practice. Both the colonial Government, through the pro-British *Evkaf* administration, and the secular *Kemalist* opponents in the community, pursued their specific political agendas via the *waqf* built properties with religious-symbolic values. Having all these temporal dimensions influencing the initiation of upkeep projects in the background, how the authorisation processes have been influenced during the period between 1935 and 1960 is investigated in the following section.

8.2 The Authorisation Process

8.2.1 The Administrative and the Financial Aspects

The administrative and financial aspects of the authorisation processes remained similar to those of the preceding period until control of the institution was handed over to the Turkish community in 1956. Delegates of *Evkaf* assumed the same duties that were held during the preceding period. Similarly, for instance, they communicated with the PWD for the supply of construction materials and equipments required for the restoration works\(^{281}\), arranged the tendering processes and awarded the contracts. One major change in their duties had been due to the new policy that obliged them to apply for permission and follow the guidelines from the Director of Antiquities prior to the execution of any physical intervention to the *waqf* built properties inscribed as ancient monuments in accordance with the Antiquities Law of 1935\(^{282}\). The Director of Antiquities advised them on the undertaking of the upkeep work immediately or its inclusion into the *Evkaf* Estimates for the following

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\(^{281}\) See for instance the letter that the Delegates send to the Director of PWD, requesting the iron scaffolding belonging to the Department to be given to *Evkaf* on loan in order to put the work in hand at the Minaret of the Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaca (document, dated March 17, 1949 in BEF 1928-188-4194).

\(^{282}\) See for instance the application of the Delegates of Evkaf to the Director of Antiquities for a permit to make certain repairs to the interior of Hala Sultan Tekke, and some external repair of the vaulting of the same monument (an ancient monument appearing under item 11 of Larnaca District in the Second Schedule to the Antiquities Law of 1935) (document, dated June 29, 1949 in BEF 1928-188-4194).
year, depending on the urgency of the case. Eventually the Evkaf administration assumed that their role in the upkeep of inscribed ancient monuments or those with ancient monument attributes was confined to the allocation of the budgets and the main responsibility in planning the technical aspects and undertaking the implementation belonged to the Department of Antiquities.

The financial budgets and their planning witnessed further changes during this period. The mazboutah accounts, which were published annually indicated the intensified continuity of allocation of resources as grants in aid for the building or rebuilding of village mosques and schools. Following the conversion of Evkaf into a Government department in 1928, the colonial authorities were increasingly under pressure from the Kemalists, who were claiming to have the self-rule of the institution (Ateşin 1996, 1999; Nevzat & Hatay 2009). In aiming for consolidating their presence, the colonial authorities prioritised the newly emerged requirements of the island’s Muslim Turkish community. As the following case indicates, exploitation of funds for such purposes as if they were Governmental funds became widely practised during this period. Diversion from the endowed requirements and allocation of the resources for new purposes would continue by the Kemalist leadership after the Evkaf’s rule was handed over to them in 1956.

While in essence mazboutah funds had to be used for the requirements for the mazboutah waqfs, now they were used in other areas. At one instance, in 1938, the outstanding balance of the loan that was advanced on the direction of the Governor in 1925 to help the heavily indebted villagers in the western part of the Colony and to enable them to repay their debts, was written off as irrecoverable and charged to the Mazboutah funds. At another instance, when the Delegates requested authorisation to spend money on buying certain properties as a part of the Ayasofya Mosque and surroundings improvement scheme, the Colonial Secretary warned them that: ‘Under the existing conditions the Evkaf was unable to have adequate provision

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283 See for instance the document send by the Director of the Department of Antiquities to the Delegates of Evkaf on December 18, 1952, regarding a set of the ancient monuments owned by Evkaf and advising the budget for the required upkeep works to be put in Evkaf Estimates for the year 1953 (document no: 11 in BEF 1951-327-6782 (72)). The set of ancient monuments included the Ayasofya Mosque, Sultan Mahmud Library and Arablar Mosque in Nicosia, and the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (ibid.)

284 See for instance Cyprus Gazette, dated: March 25, 1938 p.173; April 23, 1942, p.83; April 6, 1944, p.78; June 20, 951, p.229

285 See Cyprus Gazette May 5, 1939 p.306
for various undertaking such as the erection and repair of Mosques, schools, school-masters’ residences and cemetery walls as well as the supply of villages charitable assistance to poor Muslims... Evkaf should not curtail these to make other improvements. However, the Governor authorised expenditure for St. Sophia [Ayasofya] scheme’ (document, dated March 22, 1939 in BEF 1939-N-5412). Obviously, the priorities of the historic Waqf institution were now re-defined. Its funds were selectively expended in accordance with the political agendas of the colonial Government, mainly aiming to consolidate their power. Fortunately, in this case, because in the eyes of the British authority Ayasofya was a symbol of national identity, funds for this improvement scheme were authorised. As evidence presented in this chapter has revealed, during this period, the authorisation of funds for upkeep or conservation projects had been negotiated in accordance with the political uses of the heritage buildings.

Using Evkaf’s funds as grants in aid inevitably accelerated the dissolution of Evkaf’s hitherto self-sustained building upkeep system, as the purposely endowed resources were now diverted to other avenues. On the one hand the Evkaf administration allocated substantial grants in aid to the upkeep and rebuilding of mosques and schools in rural communities, which lacked their own financial means to undertake such projects. On the other hand, the institution itself lacked the funds to undertake large scale conservation projects. In one instance in 1938, Münir Bey, the Turkish Delegate of Evkaf, with the approval of the Government, sent petition letters to three Muslim dignitaries from different parts of the world asking for their financial support for the required extensive repairs required to Hala Sultan Tekke complex (document, dated April 7, 1938 in BEF 1938-343-7055). It appears that the financial aid could not be secured, and in the late 1940s the premises were in the same dilapidated condition, if not worse (BEF 1938-343-7055). However, the incident is important in revealing two points: first, Evkaf did not have any funds for spending on big profile conservation projects, presumably owing to the diversion of its financial resources to meet the other requirements of the community. Second, it reveals the attempts for reviving the Ottoman religious institutions, which have been mentioned above.

8.2.2 New Arrangements in the Administration of the Post-Colonial Evkaf

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The press campaigns that had started in the preceding period, criticising the pro-British administration and demanding that control of the institution be handed over to the community intensified from 1930s onwards. Finally, the Evkaf administration gained its independence from the colonial government in 1956, four years earlier than the country’s independence. There were ongoing talks concerning the Evkaf’s independence between community leaders and the colonial government since 1948 (Altan 1986). As a result, the new Law of Evkaf was enacted in 1955, and the Order in Council of 1928 was cancelled. Accordingly, a High Council was constituted by the elected representatives from the towns to supervise the new administrative body. With the abolition of the post of Delegates, a Turkish general manager was appointed by the High Council to manage the Evkaf institution and be the representative of the institution on the central Antiquities Advisory Board. As such, during the last four years of British colonial rule of the island, the final decisions regarding the expenditures of the upkeep works for the Waqf built properties became the responsibility of this general manager, under the supervision of the Evkaf High Council. The independence, as is suggested elsewhere, had been acquired through the intervention of the Government of Turkey (Nevzat and Hatay 2009). Immediately after the independence, on November 18, 1956 the Evkaf Manager requested permission from the Chairman of the High Council to conduct studies at the Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü [The General Management of Waqfs] at Ankara. This may be safely taken as an indicator of the new direction that Cyprus Evkaf was going to assume during the post-colonial era. This was also an indication that they were going to act in union with Turkey’s Evkaf and that the latter would provide the mode of management for upkeep and conservation projects.

The post-colonial Evkaf administration consisted of the secular leaders of the Muslim Turkish community of the island, who had fiercely protested since the 1930s against the colonial Government’s attempts to upgrade Ottoman religious institutions, especially the tekke complexes (Ateşin 1996). They were zealously following the Kemalist reforms in the Republic of Turkey, and as such they had

\[\text{286} \] In a newspaper clipping from Halkın Sesi, dated February 15, 1945 the Evkaf administration was criticised by Necati Özkan for issuing long term leases which was against the Law and this was damaging the institution’s financial resources (BEF 1947-312-6372).

\[\text{287} \] See the correspondence regarding the elections in document nos.: 20 & 21 in BEF 1955-343-7050.

\[\text{288} \] See the relevant correspondence in document no: 30 in BEF 1955-343-7050; and in document no: 8 in BEF 1955-343-7050.
assumed Evkaf as a communal fund rather than a legal Muslim institution (Nevzat & Hatay 2009). As soon as the control was taken over by the leadership of the Turkish community, donations for purposes which were not originally intended intensified and gained further dimensions. In 1956, for instance, an income bearing Waqf land of 19 donums next to the Famagusta Gate in Nicosia was donated for building a stadium (document no: 63 in BEF 1955-343-7050). Using Evkaf’s funds as grants in aid continued during the post-colonial era (1956-1960) bringing further dissolution to the institution. Departing from the Chairman’s demands for the demolition of the Mevlevi Tekke, one can assume that the post-colonial Evkaf (1956 to 1960) was not enthusiastic in allocating funds for the conservation of waqf built heritage (Figure 8.15). For them, the buildings symbolising the Ottoman ideology were obsolete structures, not worthy of conservation.

![Mevlevi Tekke Complex in Nicosia c. 1959](https://example.com/mevlevi_tekke_complex_1959.jpg)

Figure 8.15 Mevlevi Tekke Complex in Nicosia c. 1959 (©Altay Sayılı)

### 8.2.3 The Legislative Aspects

In the early 1930s reports on the deteriorating condition of ancient monuments and antiquities of the island and the Government’s failure to protect them properly started
to appear in the newspapers in London\textsuperscript{289}. The early 1930s was an important moment in the evolution of conservation principles and there was more awareness regarding attributes of the built heritage as well as intervention techniques and methods\textsuperscript{290}. The appearance of a letter published in The Times in the autumn of 1933, signed by several distinguished archaeologists, and calling attention to the bad condition of the ancient and artistic buildings and other historical remains in the Crown Colony of Cyprus marked a shift (anonymous 1934:1).

Accordingly, a Committee was formed with the approval of the Secretary of State for Colonies and of the Governor of the island to inquire into the state of the monuments. Hence, Sir Charles Peers (then the President of the Society of Antiquaries) was sent to the island to report on the situation, accompanied by Sir George Hill (then the Director of British Museum) to report to the Colonial Office on the local Law of Antiquities and on the condition of the museum in Nicosia (ibid.). Consequently, Sir G. Hill redrafted the Antiquities Law of the island to regulate the acquisition and secure tangible remains and schedule monuments and sites. The Law was enacted and immediately afterwards the Department of Antiquity was formed.

The redrafting of the Law of Antiquities and its enactment in 1935 constitutes a milestone that introduced for the first time the listing of \textit{waqf} built properties as ancient monuments as well as compulsory provisions concerning the physical interventions to such monuments. The inscribed \textit{waqf} built properties during the period between 1935 and 1960 are presented in table 8.1.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{289} Anonymous 1934:1
\item \textsuperscript{290} See the evolution of the international conservation principles in the 1930s in Chapter 5
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waqf Ancient Monument</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Re-adapted from</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Mosque and garden situate on the Bairaktar Bastion</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayasofya Mosque</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Cathedral of St. Sophia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedestan</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Church of St. Nicholas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beuyuk [Büyük] Khan</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koumarjilar Khan</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haidar Pasha Mosque</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Church of St. Catherine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beuyuk [Büyük] Hammam</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Church of St. George of the Latins (partial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omerieh Mosque</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Augustinian Church (partial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arablar Mosque</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Church of Stavros tou Mis’Errikou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirklar Tekke</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medieval Church and Minaret of Yeni Djamı</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Latin Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Sophia (Ayasofya) Mosque</td>
<td>Famagusta</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Cathedral of St. Nicholas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mustafa Pasha Mosque</td>
<td>Famagusta</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Latin Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinan Pasha Mosque</td>
<td>Famagusta</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>St Peter and St Paul Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabak Khane Mesjid</td>
<td>Famagusta</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesjid</td>
<td>Famagusta</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Templar Church of St. Anthony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hala Sultan Tekke</td>
<td>Larnaca</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Masonry portions of arched aqueduct and ruined wall</td>
<td>Larnaca</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1 Inscribed *waqf* built properties as ancient monuments in the Second Schedule of the Antiquities Law of 1935 during the period between 1935 and 1960 (Source: anonymous 1959: 29-38)
The Antiquities Law of 1935\textsuperscript{291} covered the movable or immovable monuments up to A.D. 1700 (Clause 2.b) and introduced for the first time the scheduling (2.a).

‘Ancient Monument’ was defined as ‘any object, building or site specified in the first and second schedule to this law’ (Clause 2.a) and those to be included by an Order later (2.b). ‘Antiquity’ was defined as ‘any object, whether movable or immovable or a part of the soil, which has been constructed, shaped, inscribed, erected, excavated or otherwise produced or modified by human agency earlier than the year 1700 A.D., together with any part thereof which has at a later date been added, reconstructed or restored’. Clause 23, relating to the ‘Exemption for churches, mosques, etc.’, brought light to the monuments in private hands: Properties used for religious purposes and belonging to any religious community or the Evkaf Department should not be inserted in the First Schedule or acquired under any provision of this Law.

Clause 2b defined ‘Owner’ to include ‘in the case of property in the occupation of any Mosque, Tekye or other Muslim religious body or institution, the Delegates of Evkaf or other person administering the trusts of the same for the time being, as the case may be’. Similarly, the Bishop of the Diocese became the owner of the Church properties. As a new provision of the Law in 1935, the owners were not allowed to make any alterations, additions or repairs affecting the architectural character to the ancient monuments in the Second Schedule without previously obtaining a permit from the Director of Antiquities (Clause 8.1). The Director was also given the power to allocate a budget to assist the maintenance, preservation or restoration of such monuments (Clause 8.2). The Law also introduced limitations for the new buildings to be erected in the neighbourhood of the ancient monuments and for the construction works to be carried over the existing ones (Clause 11). This was one of the themes discussed a few years earlier at the aforementioned 1931 Athens Conference (Limbouri 2011). It had positive impact for bringing new constructions in the neighbourhood of the ancient monuments under control.

At one instance when Evkaf administration forwarded a proposal for the erection of buildings and quarters for the sheikh and imam of the Hala Sultan Tekke Complex in Larnaca, which had been inscribed as ancient monument in the second schedule in 1940, Megaw had opposed to the execution of the scheme as the style and scale was

\textsuperscript{291} A Bill, entitled, A Law to Consolidate and Amend the Law Relating to Antiquities, published in Supplement to Cyprus Gazette no. 2441 May 10, 1935
not in harmony with the existing historic buildings of the Tekke (document, dated May 18, 1948 in BEF 1928-188-4194). However, as the number of the inscribed waqf built properties was very low, several buildings with ancient monument attributes were not given such attention. A case in point was approving the construction of garage in the yard of the Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia in 1946 (document, dated August 5, 1946 in BEF1946-344-7059)\(^{292}\). Being a building from the early seventeenth century\(^{293}\), the Mevlevi Tekke complex was before the cut-off date introduced by the Antiquities Law. Yet, like several other buildings from the Ottoman era, it was not inscribed as ancient monument.

To sum up, the period between 1935 and 1960 introduced new administrative, financial and legal aspects to the upkeep processes of the waqf built properties. During this period, the colonial Government exerted further influence in transforming Evkaf into a Government department to be responsible for meeting the religious, educational and social requirements of the Muslim Turkish community of the island. Thus, the mazboutah funds were allocated to such purposes, and even pressing needs for the upkeep works at the waqf built properties were scrutinised before the required expenses were sanctioned. On the other hand, with the enactment of the revised law of Antiquities and the establishment of the Department of Antiquities, which marked the beginning of the period, a set of waqf built properties were inscribed as ancient monuments and started to receive the direct attention of the Department of Antiquities. Soon Evkaf’s role in the conservation of the ancient monuments in its portfolio with Western origins had been reduced to supplying the necessary funding. This selective approach was pursued by the Department of Antiquities until the end of the colonial era.

\(^{292}\) See the press coverage criticising the construction of a garage in the yard of the Mevlevi Tekke, entitled ‘Mr B. C. Petritts’ in Levhası’ in the secular-Kemalist Halkin Sesi newspaper on October 5, 1946, which protested against the construction of a garage while the citizens’ expectations were to have a modern cinema complex (document no: 12 in BEF 1946-344-7059). More than a year later, the aesthetic incompatibility of the garage was criticised in another report entitled ‘Saray Önü Camii Yanmdaki Arsa Meselesi’ at Hür Söz newspaper on January 16, 1948 (document no: 7 in BEF 1947-312-6372).

\(^{293}\) See Bağışkan 2009: 35 for the references regarding the building’s trajectory
8.3 New Inputs to Technical Planning of Upkeep and Conservation Projects

8.3.1 Consultation for Physical Interventions and the Key Persons Involved

The *Evkaf* administration continued to commission engineers from the PWD or architects in private practice for the preparation of initial cost estimates and project specifications for required upkeep and maintenance works on the *waqf* built properties. For instance, following the devastating earthquake in 1953 that shook the Paphos district, the architectural firm Th. Photiades & Son was commissioned to prepare a report on the condition of the *waqf* mosques and the measures to be taken for repairs and structural strengthening (document, dated September 10, 1953 in BEF 1953-353-6888).

Following the enactment of the Antiquities Law in 1935, the policy for obtaining the permission of the Director of Antiquities prior to physical interventions to inscribed *waqf* built properties gained ground. A.H.S. Megaw, who was the Director of Antiquities throughout the period from 1935 to 1960, emerged as the key person, providing expertise concerning the nature of physical interventions to the ancient monuments owned by *Evkaf*. While he kept an eye on the physical interventions to all of the scheduled ancient monuments, as is indicated from his directions in a variety of cases, Megaw, as Jeffery had done in the preceding period, prioritised the preservation of the historic traces of Western origin. For instance, during his early days in the Office, all the Ottoman layers including among others the inner walls and the vault were removed from the fabric of *BeDESTAN* (former Latin Church of St. Nicholas) in order to return the edifice to its original layout (Figure 8.1) (anonymous 1936: 4). Afterwards, he declared the conservation projects for the Ayasofya Mosque294 and Omerieh Mosque295 in Nicosia or Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta296 (Figure 8.16) as of special character and ensured that they were undertaken by the Department of Antiquities. All these three built properties were Islamised Latin churches.

294 See Cyprus Gazette March 25, 1937 p.137; April 23, 1942 p.83; May 20, 1948 p.243; June 20, 1951 p.229
295 See the document, dated May 26, 1954 in BEF 1954-338-6974
296 See Cyprus Gazette April 15, 1943 p.82; April 6, 1944 p.78; April 19, 1945 p.83; April 4, 1946 p.114; May 8, 1947 p.164; May 20, 1948 p.243; June 20, 1951 p.229; July 2, 1952 p.250; July 16, 1953 p.294
On the other hand, when large scale upkeep works were required for the Büyük Khan, a sixteenth century Ottoman edifice, which had been inscribed as an ancient monument in 1936 in the second schedule from Nicosia district, Megaw did not see anything of special character. Unlike the abovementioned properties, whose conservation projects were prepared directly at the Department of Antiquities, the renovation project for the Büyük Khan had been prepared by Gaffiero, the PWD engineer, alongside the plans for the new garage and shop premises to be constructed adjacent to the Khan. Gaffiero was also commissioned to supervise both the practice of the restoration project within the Khan and the mentioned new garage and shop constructions (BEF 1935-245-5038). The project, prepared by Gaffiero, and approved by Megaw, involved among others, pulling down two sets of rooms near the main gate and making them into one room by removing part of the intermediate walls and supporting the vault by means of eight 12-inch girders; covering the rooms on the ground floor, as well as the yard and the spaces under the archways with cement concrete; the replacement of the old wooden railings and the handrail of the existing staircases by galvanised iron pipes, re-pointing the stone walls where
required (document, dated August 11, 1936 in BEF 1935-245-5038). It had also been put as a general condition that all the cement required for these works must be English Portland cement of any approved brand.

It appears from the correspondence that Megaw did not have any issue – neither with knocking down the walls wherever required or replacement of the original components with new ones, nor with the use of cement mortar, which by then had already been accepted in Western conservation discourses as a physically inappropriate material for historic restorations. His only objections were to the alterations on the exterior fabric, and as such he had not permitted the enlargement of the windows\textsuperscript{297} (document, dated June 7, 1937 in BEF 1935-245-5038). Megaw’s indifference towards the Ottoman fabric remained until the end of the colonial period. For instance, when there was international press coverage in 1954 on the dilapidated condition of the Büyük Khan, which triggered the Colonial Office in London to call for immediate attention from the Government of the island, Megaw had declared that he had no use to which he himself would wish to put the Khan as an antiquity. He also made it clear that there would be no objection from the antiquities angle, if rooms were thrown together, extra window space was allowed or an additional entrance into the courtyard provided, but that the Khan should continue to “look inwards” (document, dated November 19, 1954 in BEF 1927-180-4057). Even though the Khan was only one of the few inscribed Ottoman era buildings, the Director of Antiquities did not take safeguarding its original layout as a priority. Obviously, alterations of the original architectural design that Megaw was suggesting was not in accordance with the pillars of architectural conservation that had gained common ground in Western geographies by then. This was an indication that Jeffery’s approach to Ottoman era buildings in the period between 1905 and 1935 as oriental features rather than architectural interests was going to prevail until the end of the colonial period in 1960. As such, the Department’s conservation strategies for the inscribed Ottoman era buildings remained confined specifically to protection of the exterior ambiance.

\textsuperscript{297} On the inspection of the premises, which then were being used as flats accommodating poor families, the Director of Medical Services had ordered the enlargement of windows to provide adequate ventilation of rooms on the ground floor (document, dated June 7, 1937 in BEF 1935-245-5038).
In another instance, when Evkaf forwarded a proposal for the erection of buildings and quarters for the sheikh and imam of the Hala Sultan Tekke, which had been inscribed as an ancient monument in the second schedule 1940, Megaw opposed to the execution of the scheme as the style and scale were not in harmony with the existing historic buildings of the Tekke (document, dated May 18, 1948 in BEF 1928-188-4194). This was in accordance with clause 11 of the Antiquities Law of 1935, which had introduced limitations to the new buildings to be erected in the neighbourhood of ancient monuments and for construction works to be carried over the existing ones. Megaw, as with the case of the Büyük Khan, was concerned with protecting the exterior picturesque atmosphere rather than the authenticity of the fabric. As it happened, when the Minaret at Hala Sultan Tekke required repairs in the same year, Megaw informed the Delegates of Evkaf that he was ready to issue the permit so the work could be carried out directly by Evkaf’s mason (document, dated November 17, 1948 in BEF 1928-188-4194). Minarets, as in the two preceding periods, were considered as architectural components of no interest and were pulled down and rebuilt whenever structural problems surfaced. Evidently, the reconstructed minarets could also feature different ideologies. With the case of Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia (Figure 8.4), the newly reconstructed Southerly Minaret was in the Ottoman style, reflecting the attempts of the colonial authorities to invent the religious-Ottoman roots of the Muslim-Turkish community, who were increasingly falling under the sway of the Kemalist-secularism of Turkey. Apparently, the Department of Antiquities had no clear strategies on the style of the reconstructed minarets. In another instance, when the Minaret of the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta was going to be rebuilt, the Gothic tower which the Ottoman minaret was resting on was extended upwards on a conjectural reconstruction, and a smaller minaret was placed on top of it (Figure 8.15). Apparently, it was not the international conservation principles but mainly the political uses of heritage that was instrumental in such interventions.

In the meantime, although recent developments like the foundation of the Department of Antiquities, the enactment of a more comprehensive Antiquities Law, inscription of the a set of waqf built properties as ancient monuments, and more importantly acceleration of knowledge transfer relating to the established Western architectural conservation principles, especially through the key architectural
conservation expert W. D. Caröe, Evkaf administration had not formed an institutional policy on the subject. They, for instance, permitted the construction of a garage within the historic yard of the Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia. The action had been fiercely criticised by the avidly Kemalist Halkin Sesi newspaper, on the grounds that while it was expected to have a modern cinema complex at the Mevlevi Tekke gardens near the Kyrenia Gate in Nicosia, instead a garage was built (document, dated October 5, 1946 in BEF 1946-344-7059).

It was nearly the end of the colonial era, when in 1948 the abovementioned project regarding the ancillary buildings to be constructed within the yard of the Hala Sultan Tekke had been commissioned. Following the preparation of the plans by the architectural firm Th. Photiades & Son\textsuperscript{298}, the Delegates, without having any issue with the inappropriate scale and shape of the proposed buildings within the historic environs of the Tekke, forwarded them for permission to the Director of Antiquities (document, dated May 18, 1948 in BEF 1928-188-4194). Curiously, albeit being in continuous contact for expertise service with G. Jeffery, the Curator of Ancient Monuments throughout the preceding period, with A. H. S. Megaw, the Director of Antiquities, throughout the period between 1935 and 1960, and with W. D. Caröe during 1930s, the Evkaf administration had not developed an established conservation understanding. During the focus period, Evkaf administration continued with its traditional model of authorisation process, trusting the expertise to the Department of Antiquities for the cases required by Law. Assigning the responsibility to the Department of Antiquities prevented Evkaf from developing an understanding for architectural conservation. Obviously, Evkaf’s conversion into a Governmental department had caused the institution’s amalgamation within the colonial bureaucracy, eventually making it dependent on the Department of Antiquities in the field of architectural conservation. The latter prioritised the conservation of historic traces of Western heritage and undertook the initiation, authorisation and implementation processes as primary responsibility. Its considerations for the Ottoman era built heritage were confined to the protection of their picturesque oriental ambiance, without much concern for the application of modern conservation principles. The Antiquities Department had left technical

\textsuperscript{298} Evkaf administration had previously commissioned plans for the new mosques as well as several restoration projects, as in the case of the Paphos earthquake, to the architectural firm Th. Photiades and Son
planning decisions in non-Western buildings to Evkaf and to the PWD. Obviously, under these circumstances there was no inspiration for Evkaf to revise its traditional upkeep methods for the upkeep and conservation of heritage buildings.

During this period, the colonial administration of Evkaf did not demonstrate any will to define the heritage portfolio and develop an architectural conservation policy independent from that of the Department of Antiquities. The heritage buildings, thus, remained confined to the small set inscribed as ancient monuments by the Department of Antiquities as well as the small group that the colonial authority had brought forward due to their political uses. Hence, while the conservation of the small set of inscribed waqf built properties became the realm of the Department of Antiquities, Evkaf continued to undertake the upkeep of the others as ordinary buildings and through its upkeep system. Evkaf did not develop any institutional policy for the conservation of the heritage buildings in its portfolio.

8.3.2 Preparation of the Specifications, Cost Estimates and the Awarding of Contracts

Except for the projects prepared for a selected set of waqf built properties, which were inscribed as ancient monuments in the second schedule in accordance with the Antiquities Law of 1935, the preparation of the specifications and cost estimates was carried on grounds similar to the preceding period. Mainly, engineers from the PWD or architects in private practice were commissioned for the job. For the ancient monuments, specifications of the works were either prepared by the Evkaf administration, subject to the approval of the Director of Antiquities, or they were directly prepared at the Department of Antiquities. For the latter, the Department of

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299 Delegates reported to Colonial Secretary that, as arranged between the Director of Antiquities and the PWD, engineer Gaffiero prepared the plans and undertook to supervise both the new constructions adjacent to the Buyuk Khan and the renovation works within the Khan itself (document, dated August 3, 1936 in BEF 1935-245-5038).

300 Throughout the period Evkaf administration commissioned the architectural firm Th. Photiades & Son for the preparation of the plans of new buildings and restoration projects for the old ones. Towards the end of the era, a Cypriot Turkish architect, A. V. Bahaeddin replaced the Greek firm (see document, dated August 7, 1956 in BEF 1938-343-7055).

301 See for instance the Schedule of the permit for the upkeep works to be undertaken at the Mosque of Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaca (an ancient monument appearing under item 11 of Larnaca District in the Second Schedule to the Antiquities Law of 1935), which consists of: 1) Filling of cracks and whitewashing of the interior of the Mosque 2) External repairs to the vaulting of the same Mosque (Licensor: P. Dikaios; Licensees: Delegates of Evkaf) (document, dated June 29, 1949 in BEF 1928-188-4194).
Antiquities had corresponded with Evkaf only on financial matters or for the works not being of specialised character. In one instance in 1949, while the Department of Antiquities practised certain restoration works at the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia, the Evkaf administration undertook to polish the doors, windows and the surrounding iron railings around the Westerly yard (Cyprus Gazette, dated June 15, 1950 p. 420).

In another instance, when restoration works were required for the Omerieh Mosque in Nicosia in 1954, the Director of Antiquities recommended that Evkaf undertook repairs to the roof tiling of the main building and the porch, and supply rainwater gutters all around the roofs and down-pipes (document, dated May 26, 1954 in BEF 1954-338-6974). Meanwhile, the Department of Antiquities would undertake the following in view of the specialised character of the work: internal repair of masonry including removal of plaster and whitewash; external repair of the masonry including the porch, closing of two modern windows and forming two new windows in original window openings in upper parts of this wall; provide glazed gypsum panels for all existing windows as had been done for the windows of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia and Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta (ibid.).

Evidently, the Department of Antiquities undertook the restoration works without the involvement of Evkaf in the technical process. These cases shall safely suggest how the Department had separately carried over the technical planning of the conservation projects for the inscribed waqf built properties of Western origin. Thus, while Evkaf met all the required expenditures for the restoration works undertaken at the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia and Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta by the Department of Antiquities302, the absence of any correspondence between the two Departments relating to the technical aspects of the authorisation or implementation stages is indicative of Evkaf’s exclusion from these stages. Since its establishment in 1934, the Department of Antiquities had become the central authority in the colonial bureaucracy for the initiation, authorisation and implementation of conservation works.

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302 See, for instance the report send by Megaw, the Director of Antiquities, to Evkaf, regarding the provision for repair of certain Evkaf buildings which were ancient monuments. The report included the expenses on the repairs to Sultan Mahmud II Library, Arablar Mosque, Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta and Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia. The only detail regarding the nature of the executed upkeep works that is provided in the report is a brief sentence relating to the continuation of current substitution of glazed panels for open grills in the windows, for which some part of the current year’s allocation had been used (document, dated December 18, 1952 in BEF 1951-327/28-6782).
projects of inscribed ancient monuments. The prioritisation of the waqf built properties with Western origin by the central conservation authority suggests that they were cared for as the national heritage of the colonial authorities. At the same time, Seager’s comments on the early years of the occupation, and Jeffery’s thoughts throughout the preceding period between 1905 and 1935 that the natives were not capable of professional jobs had prevailed until the end of the colonial era in 1960. The conservation of national heritage buildings was among such jobs. The Department of Antiquities, under the leadership of Megaw, remained as the sole expertise provider in the field between 1935 and 1960. While the Antiquities Department often undertook the initiation, authorisation and implementation of these projects, Evkaf was detached from the process except for paying the expenses required for the conservation.

3.3.3 Physical Intervention Methods, Techniques and Materials and Contract Awarding

While Evkaf continued to employ the techniques and materials proposed by the commissioned engineers for the case of the ordinary waqf built properties, for the inscribed ones the institution turned to the Department of Antiquities. One of the most popular structural strengthening methods, advocated by the Department of Antiquities was the insertion of concealed reinforced concrete ties into the existing structural system. On the other hand, although there was now established knowledge that Portland cement was an inappropriate material to use for the restoration of historic buildings, its continued wholesome usage indicates that Evkaf had yet to build a capacity for discerning the appropriate physical intervention materials and techniques for conservation works. Curiously, the Department of Antiquities had no reservations for the use of materials, as the material lists for the upkeep works at the Büyük Khan suggest (document, dated November 19, 1954 in BEF 1927-180-4057).

303 As understood from the Evkaf Agent’s report, following the Paphos earthquake in 1953 and in accordance with the proposals prepared by the architectural firm Th. Photiades & Son, the damaged Mosques were structurally strengthened with additional reinforced concrete columns and beams surrounding the structures, also tying with iron (document, dated March 8, 1955 in BEF 1953-353-6888).

304 See for instance the permit that had been issued by the Department of Antiquities considering the insertion of concealed reinforced concrete ties at the base of the dome and above the arches of the Mesjid at the Buyuk Khan in Nicosia (document, dated July 27, 1955 in BEF 1927-180-4057).
In the meantime, the Department of Antiquities, from the beginning of the period under review to the end, advocated stylistic reconstructions for the sake of bringing forward the former architectural and decorative characters of the buildings. This was well reflected, for instance, in the case of Bedestan, where all the Ottoman additions were removed (Figure 8.1). In the case of Omerieh Mosque, a similar proposal was made, aiming at closing two windows from the Ottoman era and forming two new windows in the original window openings in upper parts of the same wall (BEF 1954-338-6974).

For awarding contracts belonging to the ordinary \textit{waqf} built properties, a condition was put during the tendering process that the \textit{Evkaf} administration was not supposed to award the contract to the lowest bidder. However, similar to the preceding period, contracts were awarded to the lowest bidder especially if \textit{Evkaf} administration or PWD was familiar with the works of the bidding contractor$^{305}$. 

The implementation of the contracted works had witnessed a shift during this period. The enactment of the Law of Antiquities of 1935 and the subsequent inscription process explicitly caused the categorisation of the \textit{waqf} built properties into ordinary buildings and ancient monuments. Accordingly, the authorised upkeep works for the case of ordinary \textit{waqf} built properties had been implemented by the contractors under the supervision of \textit{Evkaf} administration as had been customary. For those inscribed as ancient monuments, the authorised projects were executed either by the Department of Antiquities or contracted by \textit{Evkaf} and supervised by the Department of Antiquities$^{306}$. 

$^{305}$ For the big profile renovation project that was prepared by the PWD engineer Gaffiero in 1936, the contract was awarded to the Coloumbrides Brothers in accordance with Gaffiero’s recommendation. The engineer noted that the Coloumbrides brothers offered the lowest bid and as he was satisfied with their previous work, he recommended their tender to be accepted (document, dated August 1, 1936 in BEF 1935-245-5038).

$^{306}$ When repairs were required for the Mesjid at the Buyuk Khan in 1953, Megaw informed the Delegates of Evkaf that owing to a shortage of staff he could not undertake the repair of this building, but if they decided to put the work in hand, he would issue the necessary permit and directions and supervision would be provided by his Department (document, dated March 17, 1953 in BEF 1927-180-4057). Shortly after this letter, the permit was issued and signed by Megaw on April 2, 1953, putting down a schedule for: the repair of the Mosque building in the courtyard, including the insertion of concealed reinforced concrete ties at the base of the dome and above the arches.
8.4 Conclusion

The beginning of the period has been marked by the enactment of the revised Law of Antiquities (1935), which provided for the first time the listing of historic waqf built properties as ancient monuments and introduced statutory provisions for their protection. With this Law, the assets in Evkaf’s portfolio were divided as ancient monuments and ordinary buildings. The upkeep and maintenance of the ordinary buildings was undertaken in accordance with Evkaf’s customary framework. Listing introduced a transition for the case of waqf built properties which were now inscribed as ancient monuments and their conservation became the realm of the Antiquities Department.

With the establishment of the Department of Antiquities (1934) the colonial bureaucracies have been re-shaped during this period: now, the Department of Antiquities was the central body for the conservation of inscribed ancient monuments. Evidently, the initiation, authorisation and implementation of conservation projects of waqf ancient monuments with Western origins had been removed from Evkaf and became the realm of the Department of Antiquities. As the evidence has indicated, the relationship between the two stakeholders remained low-key in these cases, limited to the financial planning. Such properties had received the special attention of the Department throughout this period. On the other hand, although the technical planning and implementation has been subjected to the approval of the Antiquities Department, the inscribed Ottoman buildings remained Evkaf’s responsibility. Department’s contribution in such cases remained confined to the protection of the overall oriental ambiance of such properties.

Although the intensification of knowledge transfer from the established Western conservation discourses to the island, neither the Department of Antiquities, nor the Evkaf used this knowledge to develop policy and build capacity in heritage practices concerning waqf historic assets. Although the Antiquities Department attempted to restore and re-adapt some waqf heritage buildings (which had lost their original function) for museum purposes, this occurred in isolated instances and was not adopted more widely. Besides, the Department’s conservation projects aimed to reveal the pre-Ottoman characters of the converted buildings. Hence, during this period Evkaf maintained its traditional position and undertook the upkeep and
maintenance of the assets in its portfolio in its model framework, while trusting the conservation of inscribed ancient monuments to the Department of Antiquities. As such, Evkaf continued to oversee physical alterations to original layouts and material fabrics of the buildings and employ current construction materials, methods and techniques in the technical planning of the repair works.

Besides the differentiation of waqf built properties as inscribed ancient monuments and ordinary assets, the period also witnessed the development of heritage conceptions. The colonial authorities had already invested in the protection of the built heritage of Western origins since the outset of the century, if not earlier, as the evidence of their national heritage. Obviously this continuing interest in the protection of national heritage was underpinned by the need to justify their presence on the island. During the period between 1935 and 1960, in aiming for consolidating their power among the Muslim-Turkish community, which was increasingly under the sway of secularist-Kemalism of Turkey, the colonial authorities have not only diverted the endowed financial resources for meeting the newly emerging requirements of the community, but have also negotiated the waqf religious assets for political uses. As such, a set of waqf heritage buildings, which have been specifically chosen owing to their religious-symbolic identities, were subjected to architectural conservation, irrespective of being inscribed as ancient monuments or not. Political motives emerged as important inputs in choosing what to conserve during this period. It is likely that the post-colonial administration of Evkaf, under the leadership of a Kemalist team, continued with the same philosophy. Leaving the planning and implementation of the inscribed ancient monuments to the Antiquities Department, the post-colonial Evkaf administration’s first attempt was the preparation of plans for the demolition of the Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia. This historic building, which had been conserved in 1930s by the British colonial authorities as part of inventing Ottoman heritage conceptions for the Muslim-Turkish community of the island to divert them from the secular-Kemalism, was now declared an obsolete structure in the middle of Nicosia. This was an indication that the waqf assets were going to be treated with their political uses more than their age values during the post-colonial era.
Chapter 9

Findings, Discussion and Conclusion

Modern heritage conceptions and the architectural conservation movement have been commonly agreed to be products of the European Enlightenment and as such the field remained until recently Western oriented. Their development has coincided with the spread of European colonialism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which, as recent scholarly research has indicated, became a key agent in transmitting this knowledge to the non-Western world. Major parts of Ottoman territories have been among the areas colonised during this period. Prior to the colonisation, Ottoman territories had the well established Waqf system of building upkeep and maintenance practices, which played a key role in sustaining the public built properties for many centuries. This thesis has collected and analysed archival evidence in order to shed light on the practices of building upkeep and maintenance by the Waqf institution in Cyprus before and during the British colonial period.

Existing literature indicates that the Ottoman Waqf religious endowment institution had a key role in history as one of the main actors both in the formation and in the upkeep of the built environments within the Islamic World via established legal frameworks. Through the resources endowed on purpose, spaces for a rich variety of key urban facilities were created, ranging from religious and educational to commercial and residential ones. Resources were also endowed for the provision of the maintenance and upkeep of such spaces, which ensured the continuity of the facilities in a self-sustained system. The Ottoman Waqf at Cyprus, founded following the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571, had established practices for maintaining, repairing and reconstructing its endowed buildings so that they continued operating as urban public facilities while generating income that was fully or partially re-invested in upkeep. Alongside newly constructed buildings, war abandoned Latin buildings were re-adapted and used for waqf purposes throughout the Ottoman era (1571 to 1878). While, the Waqf’s building upkeep system has
allowed for extensive physical alterations on the buildings, which has contradicted with the principles of the modern conservation theory, it has also involved sustainable heritage practices. Via the engagement of local communities in the initiation process of upkeep and maintenance projects and the provision of income bearing properties for the financing of such projects, a sustainable system has emerged that played a key role in providing preventive maintenance. This regular monitoring and availability of financial resources endowed on purpose has ensured that waqf assets were never in an advanced state of decay.

With the Tanzimat reforms – the Westernisation attempts of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth-century – the administration of the originally autonomous Ottoman waqfs was centralised under the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf in Istanbul. Existing research indicates that the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the colonisation of its lands by Western imperial powers introduced new layers to the governance of the institution and impacted on its traditional system for building upkeep. Accordingly, Evkaf departments or ministries were established in the mandates, responsible for the administration of the waqfs and for the authorisation of building upkeep practices. However, despite being a widely spread institution with historically rooted building upkeep practices all over Muslim countries and communities, studies on the impact of the colonial elements over the established building upkeep system of Waqf is an under-researched area.

The present research has been initiated with an interest in shedding light on the transitions within the Cyprus Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system during the British colonial era (1878 to 1960) and to reveal the evolving mechanics behind the institutional building upkeep and heritage conservation practices. The study has embarked on analysing how the various procedural changes, political agendas and imported heritage conservation understandings and building upkeep technologies have impacted on such practices. The research ultimately has aimed to shift the focus of conservation discourses to look into the mechanics and negotiations behind the chronological evolution of the institutional practice and to reveal how the sustainable elements of the historic practice has been dissolved in the modernisation efforts while selective architectural conservation practices emerged as
a result of the attempts to implement new political directives and how those mechanisms served to consolidate the hegemonic position of the colonial powers.

In order to specify the dimensions, which have been developed in time causing shifts and transitions within the traditional *waqf* building upkeep system, the framework in which the upkeeps were processed, consisting of the initiation-authorisation-and-implementation of projects has been re-constructed. This re-construction has drawn upon numerous discrete data, collected from the colonial era files belonging to Cyprus *Evkaf* Administration. The data has been examined and analysed chronologically and systematically. The key aspects that influenced these processes have been specified and evaluated based on the content analysis of the official correspondence letters and reports. The introduction of statutory preservationist legislation in 1905 and in 1935 have been identified as the two key transitional moments in these processes, dividing the era into three sub-periods: early colonial period (1878 to 1905), the transition period (1905 to 1935) and the final period (1935 to 1960). Embarking on this framework, and running through these three sub-periods, the colonial influence in the genesis and evolution of the heritage practices within *Waqf*’s traditional building upkeep system and the strategies that were specifically adapted for conservation have been systematically specified and analysed through the collected archival evidence. The results are presented in the following section.

9.1 Findings and Discussions

9.1.1 Early British Colonial Period (1878 to 1905)

When the British colonial administration commenced in Cyprus in 1878, *Evkaf* was a three centuries old institution that was responsible for a significant number of *waqf* properties and for which it had a well established and self-sustained maintenance and upkeep system. The majority of the *waqfs* in Cyprus had been established during the classic Ottoman *waqf* era (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries). As explained in Chapter 4, the classic Ottoman *waqf* system had various legislative, administrative, financial and technical procedures, which played a key role in the planning and implementation of upkeep projects on its built properties. Technical aspects of the
projects, involving essentially the preparation of the cost estimates and the specifications of the required upkeep works were prepared in accordance with the available local construction materials, construction techniques and workmanship and in agreement with the Waqf’s legislative, administrative and financial procedures. As highlighted in Chapter 5, the centralisation of the Waqf administration in the nineteenth century resulted in the reconfiguration of the existing legal, financial and administrative procedures. However, technical planning remained similar to the pre-centralisation period, as it sustained itself in accordance with the locally available construction know-how and techniques. In both the classic Ottoman waqf application and during the centralisation era of its administration, the upkeep projects aimed to safeguard the buildings and/or adapt them for newly needed functional requirements.

As clearly illustrated in the case of Cyprus, existing buildings were re-adapted for new purposes and spatial alterations were made accordingly. Among such were the war abandoned buildings belonging to the Medieval Latin kingdoms of Lusignan and to the Venetians. Several Catholic Church buildings were converted into Mosques and made waqfs’s properties during the Ottoman era. Commercial properties were endowed to generate income for their maintenance and upkeep works. The same system applied to the newly constructed waqf buildings at Cyprus until the beginning of the British colonial era. The Waqf’s established building upkeep system ensured the safekeeping of both these converted and the newly built properties throughout centuries. In accordance with the established regulations of the system, alterations to the fabric or reconstructions were allowed as long as there were functional or structural reasons justifying such practices. Physical interventions to the fabric of waqf built properties inevitably retained the flavour of their own epoch.

As the findings of the present research suggests, as soon as the control of Evkaf was taken over by the British colonial administration in 1878 and following the arrangements within its administrative, legislative and financial procedures, the institution was amalgamated into the colonial bureaucracy. Ignoring its key socio-economic role in the life of the community, the colonial imagination had reduced the institution into a financial element responsible for care of the mosques and the pay-checks of religious personnel. We are informed by Seager (1883) how the colonial rulers were confident that Evkaf was a backward Ottoman institution, which required administrative re-structuring under good British governance. Besides, the natives
were constructed in the colonial imaginations as incapable of professional jobs. Initial attempts to amalgamate Evkaf into the well known British bureaucracy were so sudden that the colonial imaginations for this historically rooted and uniquely Muslim religious endowment institution clashed with existing local administrative and customary practices. Henceforth, the colonial authorities’ Evkaf related decisions have been shaped by manoeuvres to prevent tension. Thus, contrary to intentions at the beginning, the institution’s transformation into a governmental institution was left to be spread over a long time frame, running through the three sub-periods of the present research.

Evkaf had already a well established building upkeep system pre-dating the British colonial era, which was based on a system of processes involving the initiation, authorisation and implementation of projects. While this legacy constituted the core of the modus operandi of Evkaf’s building upkeep projects during the period between 1878 and 1905, evidently colonial interventions influenced some of these processes to varying degrees. According to the findings of the present research, as in the preceding late-Ottoman epoch, the initiation of upkeep and maintenance works remained in the realm of the users of the concerned built properties. The users remained as the key stakeholders, initiating upkeep projects from the bottom upwards. While the users’ engagement in preventive maintenance assisted in extending the lifecycle of the buildings with minimal physical interventions and financial expenditures, or prevented the further dilapidation of Waqf built properties by exerting pressure over the concerned officials, yet this active involvement was for the functionally demanded built properties only. While in general the initiation process enjoyed continuity from the late-Ottoman to the early British colonial period (1878 to 1905), there were also indications of a gradual change, which would gain visibility in the subsequent sub-period. Starting from the early years of the occupation, the colonial authorities gradually got involved in the process for forwarding petitions and sometimes for mediating between the petitioners and the Evkaf administration. Presumably, this marks the attempts of the colonial Government to configure itself as the authorised and effective agent in Evkaf affairs. Towards the end of the period between 1878 and 1905, the community started to recognise the Government as the top authority, which is evident in the direction of the petitions sent essentially from the rural areas to the commissioners of the towns
or the High Commissioner himself, instead of being sent to the Evkaf administration. The involvement of the Government in the initiation stage of upkeep projects was an indication of a key transition in customary practice, transferring the initiation process from the responsibility of the users of the concerned built properties to the realm of the colonial bureaucracies. This would have gained wide visibility in the subsequent sub-period.

While the initiation processes during the early British period between 1878 and 1905 followed more or less the Waqf’s traditional system, based on sending petitions for the required upkeep works, the authorisation process of the upkeep projects was, however, subjected to certain reconfigurations. As the analysis of the archival data has revealed in Chapter 6, the British colonial era for Cyprus Evkaf had commenced in 1878 with a new administrative system for Evkaf, which inaugurated certain reconfigurations within the upkeep method of waqf built properties. The investigation has revealed how the legal, financial and administrative procedures concerning the authorisation of Waqf’s upkeep projects were revised within the colonial bureaucracies in negotiation with the existing institution. The revised procedures did not only simply shape the mechanics behind the authorisation processes; they also provided the Government with full control over the Evkaf’s building upkeep projects. From now on, any proposal for upkeep or a conservation project for the historic waqf built properties had to proceed within the colonial bureaucracies.

The main focus of the colonial reconfiguration was the regulation of key persons involved in the decision making process. These key persons included essentially those responsible for the preparation of the specifications and the cost estimates for the projects and with the authority to sanction the required expenditures. With the reconfiguration of the concerned Ottoman Waqf regulations at the outset of the colonial era in 1878, the offices of the British High Commissioner of the island became the top authority in sanctioning expenditures for required upkeep works on Evkaf properties. Initially the Government Engineer, then his colleagues at the Public Works Department assumed key roles in the decision making processes as professional inspectors and consultants.
With the introduction of consultation by the civil engineers and/or architects on required physical interventions, the planning stage of the upkeep works for waqf built properties gained a new form of professionalism. Professional assistance, provided essentially by the PWD engineers, was also reflected in the preparation of detailed specifications and cost estimates, which were often appended with sketches or technical drawings, as well as in the tenders and contracts for the upkeep works. Yet, the PWD engineers were not particularly trained or experienced in the physical interventions on historic buildings. Neither were they accustomed to the local materials and native construction techniques. Their choice of building material was for the imported-industrialised materials every time financial budgets allowed for this. As such, cement mortar was used in preference to local lime mortar, though it did not gain wide usage during the early-colonial period owing to its high cost. Presumably, due to their lack of experience in local structural construction methods, the Government engineers did not abstain from advising to pull down existing historic structures and rebuilding them with new materials and techniques instead of strengthening what already existed. As the evidence has indicated, high profile upkeep projects were prepared with the know-how offered by the engineers of the PWD. The same applied to the implementation stage. J. H. Hutchinson, the civil engineer-contractor, who took residence on Cyprus right after the arrival of the colonial rulers, was awarded the majority of contracts for prestigious projects until his retirement towards the end of the nineteenth century. He became one of the first, if not the first, contractor who used Portland cement in upkeep works on waqf built properties. He led the way for the native masons to follow.

The implementation process of upkeep projects remained more or less the same as in the preceding late-Ottoman era as was the case with project initiation. During the British colonial era, civil engineers or architects, who were often commissioned by the PWD, supervised the execution of high profile upkeep projects. This introduced a professional dimension to the Evkaf upkeep practice for some buildings, while the imams, muhtars or the Evkaf agents continued to undertake the role of superintending the practice in the traditional way for what was considered less important buildings.
It was not only upkeep technologies that were transferred during the early decades of the British colonial period (1878 to 1905), but also new design ideas concerning historic buildings found their way onto the island. The colonial officials, who were on the move from one colony to the other, imported ideas from various British colonial regions. For example, the town commissioner Mr. Dudley had advised the imitation of Indian decorative works to be followed as an example for the project for the windows of the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta that was under consideration. S. Brown, the Government Engineer, had designed a new mosque in North African style to replace the heavily damaged Sarai Onou Mosque. The same style was repeated later by W. Williams in the design of the new Kebir Mosque in Limassol.

During this period, except for a few personal attempts to highlight the historic significance of certain built properties of Western origin (Islamised *waqf* built properties), the maintenance and upkeep of built properties in *Evkaf*’s portfolio were undertaken in programmes as diverse as simple repairs and reconstructions as had been commonplace in the preceding Ottoman epoch. The British Government’s primary concern was taking control of the *Evkaf* institution, while stirring up the least possible political tension. So, it followed an operational mode without making radical changes to the Ottoman application: *Waqf* built properties were maintained as long as they were in demand by the local community and as long as the required funds were available in the accounts of the *Waqf* institution. Otherwise as stated, the colonial administration’s stance had been directed to the financial and political implications of *Evkaf*. To ensure the flow of income generated from *Waqf* buildings, the key modus operandi of *Evkaf* was to look into the operational side of its properties to continue generating the service or the income for which they were built and not the appropriateness of the conservation practice on its buildings. In most cases, it was the postulations in the petitions of the local users that guided the nature of the physical interventions to the building fabric.

There have been a few exceptions within this traditional framework, where the historic-architectural characteristic of a small set of *waqf* built properties received special attention. Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia and the Ayasofya Mosque in Famagusta exemplify this exceptional treatment. Being considered as symbols of medieval Western civilisation on the island, these edifices have been regarded as the
national heritage of the colonial authorities and subjected to immediate restoration programmes following the British take-over of Evkaf’s administration. Such practices reveal the importation of Western heritage concepts to the island, which led to the conservation of historic buildings according to their age and when they had been built. It is likely that the selection of these built properties has been influenced by their symbolic values, which led to them being perceived as the national heritage of the colonial authorities. While attending to the protection of waqf built properties with Western origins, the colonial authorities have taken on board the religious significance of such assets to the island’s Muslim-Turkish community. In order to prevent tensions, they allowed mosque sites to continue to provide a mosque function. A case in point is the authorisation of the demolition and rebuilding of the Sarai Onou Mosque in Nicosia, which had suffered structural damages during an earthquake in 1900. This was a seven centuries old Latin era church building, which had been converted and used as a Mosque since the Ottoman conquest in the late sixteenth century. The community’s wish was to continue to use it as a Mosque. In order to prevent any political dispute on this matter, the Government authorised the demolition of this historic structure to be replaced with a new Mosque on its foundations, despite the expert’s recommendation for preserving the remaining structure as a heritage building.

It can be concluded that while the traditional Waqf building upkeep and maintenance system of initiation-authorisation-and-implementation has been maintained as the general framework during this period, colonial inputs have re-shaped essentially the authorisation processes by introducing new forms of professionalisation and new upkeep technologies. The investigation has revealed revisions to traditional technical planning by colonial inputs, indicating knowledge transfers from Great Britain and its overseas areas to the colony, mainly in the field of civil engineering. These imports, ranging from technical expertise to the first time use of industrialised materials such as Portland cement and French tiles, introduced new understandings within the customary technical planning, which hitherto had revolved round available local construction knowledge. Thus, while the Waqf’s traditional building upkeep framework has been maintained on the surface, the technical planning stage of building upkeep projects have been brought under colonial hegemony.
Revision of upkeep processes for ancient monuments in accordance with the newly evolving architectural conservation understandings were not on the colonial Government’s agenda during the first 30 years of their rule. During this period, the British rulers’ self-induced awareness regarding the built properties of Western origin shows how national heritage concepts, developed on mainland England, were being transferred to Cyprus. Yet, no statutory provisions emerged to regulate physical interventions in accordance with the evolving architectural conservation understandings. The concerns remained as isolated cases, which reflected either the antiquarian concerns like those of T. Chamberlayne or national heritage concepts like those of Sir H. Bulwer’s. However, the publication of Camille Enlart’s book in 1899 on the condition of the Gothic and Renaissance era monuments of the island and the related newspaper reporting demonstrated to the wider Western community how inadequate the island’s colonial Government was. The enactment of the first Antiquities Law in 1905, although arriving very late when compared with other geographical Western areas, constituted a turning point in Waqf’s building upkeep system by re-shaping the legislative dimensions involved in the authorisation process of projects.

9.1.2 The Transitional Period (1905 to 1935)

The enactment of the Antiquities Law in 1905 introduced the first statutory provisions and as such marked the beginning of a new period in the timeline of Evkaf’s building upkeep system. However, the Law was relevant only to a selected set of Waqf built properties due to its early cut-off date of 1571. Even though any architectural remnant built earlier than the Ottoman occupation of the island in 1571 had been considered to be a monument, the Law did not allow for the listing of the ancient monuments belonging to the religious foundations like the Evkaf and the Greek Orthodox Church of the island. As such, the Antiquities Law of 1905 reflected the metropolitan government’s reluctance to acknowledge any responsibility for historic buildings under private ownership. Echoing this same curatorial and antiquarian attitude, the later Law of Antiquities in 1935 in Cyprus prioritised archaeological remains by deliberately excluding from statutory provision monuments of subsequent periods, especially those properties belonging to the Evkaf
and the Greek Orthodox Church. The Law did not allow for the inscription of such properties. Albeit not inscribed, a set of *waqf* built properties, which were defined as ancient monuments, started to receive special attention. With this Law, *waqf* built properties were started to be categorised as ancient monuments and ordinary buildings.

During the period from 1905 to 1935, *waqf* built properties from the Ottoman era, which were considered by the Antiquities Law of 1905 as ordinary assets, continued to be maintained in accordance with the traditional *Waqf* mode framework of initiation-authorisation-and-implementation. While the community members at large remained active in calling attention to the required upkeep works of religious built properties solely in the rural settlements, the *Evkaf* administration and the Governmental officials intensified their engagement in the initiation of upkeep works in Nicosia and other main towns. Thus, during this period, the initiation process for religious public assets such as mosques and schools has steadily moved from the realm of the users, which were members of the local community, to the realm of colonial bureaucracies.

On the other hand, with the introduction of statutory provision for ancient monuments in the Law of 1905, the initiation of conservation projects to serve historic and architectural interests emerged as a new practice. Such projects have been initiated by the Curator of Ancient Monuments, an office which was established as part of the colonial bureaucracy in 1903.

During this period, certain changes in the legislative, administrative, financial and technical aspects re-shaped the authorisation mode of upkeep and conservation projects. For prestigious projects on ordinary *waqf* built properties, the engineers from the PWD and experienced native masons were consulted concerning physical interventions. Albeit it was very slow, native people started to gain visibility in the professional field, mostly as masons for prestigious upkeep or conservation projects. Even though intervention methods, construction techniques, and building materials used for the upkeep of *waqf* assets remained similar to those practised in the preceding period from 1878 to 1905, cement mortar became more widely used in repair works as it became increasingly affordable.
As for the conservation projects on waqf ancient monuments, the Curator of Ancient Monuments gained a key role as a consultant concerning the technical planning stage. During this period, the ancient monuments expertise, which emerged as a new form of professionalism concerning the technical planning stage of conservation projects, remained mainly in the realm of the Curator of Ancient Monuments. Throughout the period from 1905 to 1935, the British ancient monument expert G. Jeffery, who held the post of Curator of Ancient Monuments on the island, served as Evkaf’s consultant for ancient monuments. One of the significant findings of the present research is that although G. Jeffery was known to be an avid follower of principles of the SPAB, which were primarily based on conservative repair, his recommendations concerning the Ottoman fabric of the waqf built properties strayed far from those principles. Jeffery had shared Morris’ strong value judgements as well as his opinion that not all things should have been conserved and the Ottoman era fabric was among such. As evidenced by his recommendations, which included the removal of historic layers, rebuilding with new materials, and physical alterations to the original designs, Jeffery’s advice regarding the Ottoman era fabric was mostly of utilitarian nature. This attitude prevailed throughout the period, because, until the arrival of W. D. Caröe in the early 1930s and the establishment of the Department of Antiquities in 1934, Jeffery, who was the Curator of Ancient Monuments for more than 30 years, was the only ancient monument expert that Evkaf administration consulted regarding physical interventions to waqf built properties with ancient monument attributes. Throughout this era, while Jeffery showed sensitivity to monuments of Western origin, he was indifferent towards edifices built in the Ottoman era. It may be concluded from his selective approach that Jeffery played a key role in the fact that Evkaf administration did not assume responsibility for the protection of Ottoman era fabric, and this continued until the end of the colonial period in 1960.

Despite the exclusion of Ottoman era buildings from coverage by the Antiquities Law of 1905, a small set of built properties of Ottoman origin did receive special attention towards the end of this period as they were turned into touristic attractions, catering for oriental flavours. Hence, while the majority of the built properties in Evkaf’s portfolio were considered as ordinary assets and continued to be maintained for extending their life as spiritual or income generating spaces needed by the
community, a selected set of *waqf* built properties was approached from the new perspective of protecting the buildings for their archaeological and tourist values.

During this period, the institution was caught in political battles between the pro-British colonial administration and the Muslim-Turkish leadership. The institution’s existing historical system for allocating endowed resources for upkeep projects of *waqf* assets began to be dissolved with increased allocation of grants in aid since the outset of the twentieth century going to sponsoring the newly emerging expenses of religious or educational facilities of the Muslim-Turkish community. Henceforth, the institution has started to assume priorities other than its original missions. During the period between 1905 and 1935, *Evkaf* was gradually turned into a political bastion, whose control was claimed both by the British colonial Government and the opponent Muslim-Turkish leadership. Finally with an Order in Council in 1928, *Evkaf* was transformed into a government Department by the colonial authority as a means to consolidate its position with the Muslim-Turkish community. By then the majority of *mulhaka waqfs* were already centralised. With these bureaucratic developments, the colonial authority officially gained full control over the authorisation process of upkeep and conservation projects.

In summary, during this period the initiation of projects on public buildings, especially religious ones including mosques and schools, steadily moved from the realm of the community to the realm of the colonial authority. At the same time, colonial interventions in legislative, administrative and financial procedures and developments in technical aspects caused transitions in authorisation processes. While the implementation of projects maintained its traditional aspect in the majority of cases, expert supervision during the execution of conservation projects of *waqf* built properties with ancient monument values emerged as a new practice.

The period between 1905 and 1935 witnessed two key transitions, which influenced the way *Evkaf*’s built properties were managed and maintained. With the Antiquities Law of 1905 *waqf* built properties were categorised as ordinary assets and ancient monuments; the latter started to enjoy ancient monument expertise. With the Order in Council in 1928, *Evkaf* was transformed from an autonomous institution underpinned by religious motives to a Government department underpinned by complex political considerations. By then the majority of the *mulhaka waqfs* had
been taken under the full control of Evkaf. Not only was the way Evkaf’s funds were allocated to upkeep projects, but also the whole authorisation process started to be negotiated now within the colonial bureaucracies. Modernisation of this uniquely Muslim legal institution, which was regarded as backward by the early colonial rulers, has been on the agenda of the colonial authorities since the early beginning of the occupation. In order to prevent tensions, modernisation i.e. incorporating it within governmental bureaucracy and undertaking its management accordingly, was achieved gradually as was recommended by Seager in 1882. With this, the colonial authorities gained full control over the initiation-authorisation-and implementation processes of upkeep and conservation projects, which were now negotiated at the top without the involvement of the community members and the traditional know-how. While the enlightened colonial rulers managed the modernisation of Evkaf at the end of this period, external criticism on their inadequacy in the protection of ancient monuments intensified in the early 1930s. Among these were the waqf ancient monuments with Western origins. This external awareness and pressure culminated in the gathering of the ancient monument experts in London in 1934 in order to assist the Government of the island to revise the Antiquities Law as well as collect of funds for conservation projects on ancient monuments. In 1935 a new Antiquities Law was enacted, marking the beginning of the final sub-period.

9.1.3 The Final Period (1935 to 1960)

The beginning of this period coincided with efforts to formulate internationally accepted architectural conservation principles, which had culminated in the Athens Charter of 1931. The Charter introduced important conservation concepts and principles such as the idea of a common world heritage, the importance of the settings of the monuments, and the principles of reintegration of new materials. It was the first international document that advocated abandoning stylistic restorations and favoured conservation and maintenance of architectural monuments that respected styles of all periods. These concepts had been partly reflected in the newly enacted Cyprus Antiquities Law of 1935. This had been led by external criticism of the island’s colonial Government’s approach to the protection of ancient monuments during the early 1930s, marking the beginning of the period between 1935 and 1960.
The revised cut-off date of 1700 AD by the new Antiquities Law of 1935 was still an early one when compared with contemporary legislation in the Western geographies. This Law enabled for the first time the listing of ancient monuments belonging to the religious foundations. However, it had implicitly excluded two-thirds of the Ottoman era buildings, allowing only a small group of waqf built properties of Ottoman origin to be inscribed. Thus, this Law, though it benefited some monuments owned by the Evkaf, could have only catered for a selected group, which was dominated by the built properties of Western origin.

As in the preceding period, the decisions behind the upkeep and conservation of waqf assets continued to be negotiated separately during this time as 1) ordinary buildings and 2) ancient monuments. In addition to centralisation of conservation planning and execution for ancient monuments under the newly established Department of Antiquities, the period has also witnessed the influence of political motives behind the decisions for the conservation of waqf built properties. Consequently, the legislative, technical and political developments in the period between 1935 and 1960 caused further shifts and transitions in Evkaf’s building upkeep and conservation system, which is visible in its framework of initiation-authorisation-and-implementation.

The initiation of conservation projects for ancient monuments has been now the domain of the Department of Antiquities. Since its establishment in 1934, the conservation policy and practice had been centralised under the Department of Antiquities of the colonial Government. In theory, it seemed that there was a shared responsibility between the Evkaf and the Department of Antiquities for the conservation and maintenance of the ancient monuments. In practice, however, the Department of Antiquities demonstrated from the beginning a discriminatory approach, and invested heavily in the conservation of the waqf ancient monuments of Western origin, excluding the Evkaf from the technical planning and implementation processes it adopted for such buildings. In such projects, Evkaf was involved only in financial matters. On the other hand, the Evkaf administration was given permission to act with certain technical guidance for conservation works concerning the inscribed waqf built properties of Ottoman origin.
Among the key initiators of conservation projects on *waqf* built heritage was the Mersey Committee, which was founded in London in 1934 to assist the colonial Government of the island to conserve ancient monuments, offering monetary donations and technical expertise. In addition, press coverage on the conditions of the *waqf* built properties with ancient monument attributes turned into a key initiator for conservation projects by alerting the *Evkaf* administration, which at certain times preferred silence. If it was not for the article published in the Times newspaper in London in 1954, for instance, the Büyük Khan’s deteriorating conditions under poor usage was not going to receive any attention.

During the period between 1935 and 1960, initiation of upkeep and maintenance projects for the ordinary *waqf* religious properties increasingly became the domain of the *Evkaf* administration. It can be argued that as a consequence of the spread of Kemalist secularism among Turkish elites in the towns, religious practices were loosened and the community’s involvement in the initiation of upkeep projects on behalf of the *waqf* religious built properties declined dramatically. In fact, communal petitions postulating upkeep works for religious built properties in the main towns disappeared. Such petitions had filled the agendas of *Evkaf* during the first period from 1878 to 1905, and they had gradually declined in the second period from 1905 to 1935, before they totally disappeared during the final period from 1935 to 1960. Instead, the *Evkaf* administration and/or the Government received and responded to the petitions from the rural areas, requesting grants in aid for religious and educational requirements. On the other hand, the upkeep works on the operational *waqf* assets were initiated by the tenants and/or by the municipalities. The latter gained visibility during this period as a key initiator for upkeeps aiming for sanitary improvements on both religious and operational properties. The municipalities have also initiated the demolition of *waqf* assets for the sake of street improvement schemes. The Büyük Medrese of the Ayasofya complex in Nicosia, an early seventeenth century theological school building which belonged to the Imperial *Waqf* of Sultan Selim II, was among the heritage buildings demolished during this period.

The period between 1935 and 1960 witnessed *Evkaf’*s mobilisation in the political arena, which influenced the initiation of conservation projects in accordance with the emerging political ideologies. At the beginning of the period and as part of its
political agenda in the post-1931 revolt, the colonial authority put forward efforts in restoring the religious aspects of the Muslim Turkish community in order to undermine the ethnicist-nationalist movements. The colonial Government attempted to construct an Ottoman heritage for the Muslim-Turkish community in the face of the fast spreading secular-nationalist Kemalism at the island, which rejected the past wholesale. This aided the initiation of conservation projects for another selected set of waqf built properties, for example the rebuilding of the South Minaret of the Ayasofya Mosque in Nicosia in the Ottoman style, the restoration of the Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia and the inscription of the Bairaktar Mosque and Hala Sultan Tekke complex as ancient monuments.

Evidently, during the period between 1935 and 1960, the Kemalists vociferously protested against the existence of Ottoman ideological institutions on the island such as the medrese and tekke. Consequently, demolition of the several centuries old Büyük Medrese did not excite the community or the national press. There was virtually no public mention of the damage, as during the mid 1930s Kemalist secularism was at its peak among the Turkish citizens of the Nicosia. On the other hand, although the building was considered to be an ancient monument by the Antiquities Law of 1935, like many other Ottoman heritage buildings it was yet to be inscribed at the time of its demolition. The Department of Antiquities was slow in the inscription of Ottoman buildings. One such case was the Mevlevi Tekke in Nicosia, which had not been inscribed during the colonial period, leaving it vulnerable. While the colonial authority had restored the building as part of its political agenda, the post-colonial Turkish leadership contemplated plans for its demolition following the take-over of the control of Evkaf in 1956 as it did not fit into the political ideology of the new administration.

While developments in the preservationist legislation and/or various political concerns played a prominent role in the initiation of upkeep and conservation projects during the period, developments in the legislative, administrative, and financial procedures re-shaped the authorisation process. During the period between 1935 and 1960, from the Government’s standpoint, Evkaf was literally turned into a governmental department with its substantial financial resources diverted to serving the emerging requirements of the Muslim-Turkish community to consolidate the
existence of the colonial authority. Evkaf’s funds remained as the primary financial resources for upkeep works as well as the conservation projects undertaken by the Department of Antiquities. Whether it was for the inscribed ancient monuments or not, the Government did not allocate any supplementary budget for Evkaf’s conservation expenditures. In addition, the administration preferred turning the custody of commercially used built properties with ancient monument attributes to the Government, to be used by the Department of Antiquities for museum purposes.

Following the enactment of the new Law of Antiquities of 1935, the authorisation of the conservation of ancient monuments became centralised under the Department of Antiquities. During this period, while the Evkaf administration saw dealing with conservation of all ancient monuments to be mainly the job of the Antiquities Department, the Department was primarily focused on those with Western origins. With the Law of Antiquities of 1935, most of the Islamised waqf built properties of Western origins were inscribed as ancient monuments, and conservation projects, which were mainly initiated by the Director of the Department of Antiquities, focused on revealing the best of their original design. Although stylistic restorations were abandoned in the 1931 Athens Charter, which favoured respect to all historic layers, this was not practised well in the case of waqf ancient monuments. Wherever possible, as in the case of Bedestan, all additions pertaining to the three centuries old Ottoman use were removed.

On the other hand, Evkaf had not developed any policy for the protection of its built heritage, other than those forced by the Law of Antiquities. Megaw, the Director of Antiquities between 1935 and 1960, like his predecessor Jeffery had done in the preceding period, prioritised the preservation of the historic remnants of Western origin. Thus, while allocating staff to prepare technical planning and implementation stages of the projects of such properties, except for providing certain guidance, he left the preparation of technical planning for the properties of Ottoman origin to the Evkaf administration and to the engineers of the PWD. As is evidenced in the case of the improvement project in and around the Büyük Khan in 1936, Gaffiero, the PWD engineer drew the new plans for the garage and shop constructions behind the edifice, while at the same time he also planned for the physical interventions to the fabric of the Khan. Apparently, Megaw did not have an issue with either knocking
down the inner walls of the Khan wherever required or the replacement of the original components with new ones. Megaw’s main concern regarding the Ottoman buildings was not the protection of the fabric but the protection of the overall oriental appearance. Thus, physical alterations over the authentic fabric received Megaw’s approval as far as they did not diminish the oriental image of the building.

The insertion of concealed reinforced concrete ties into the existing structural system, which evidently became one of the most popular structural strengthening methods advocated by the Department of Antiquities, was practised as a structural consolidation technique throughout this period. This technique had been advised in the 1931 Athens Charter. Despite the established knowledge in the 1950s regarding Portland cement’s incompatibility with many historic materials, the Department of Antiquities had carried on practising physical interventions including cement mortar and reinforced concrete tie beams. The Department of Antiquities, which was the primary expertise provider for Evkaf had yet to build a capacity in the appropriate physical intervention materials and techniques for conservation works. During this period, minarets, no matter whether they belonged to ancient monuments or not, were considered as architectural components of no interest and were pulled down and rebuilt whenever structural problems surfaced as was the case during the two preceding periods. In general, although the 1931 Athens Charter had introduced a relatively more inclusive heritage concept, the Ottoman era structures did not receive any special attention from the Department.

Despite the Law of Antiquities in 1935 provided for the listing of ancient monuments under private ownership, the Department of Antiquities acted slowly in the inscriptions of the waqf built properties of Ottoman origin as ancient monuments. As such, several edifices, although falling in the cut-off date of 1700 AD were not listed and were left vulnerable to physical alterations. During this time frame, the municipalities intensified their town and street improvement schemes and among the buildings demolished for the purpose were waqf built properties, like the Great Medrese, which dated from the early seventeenth century and belonged to the Imperial Waqf of Sultan Selim II in Nicosia. Evkaf had no policy to protect built heritage, other than those forced by the Law of Antiquities.
During this period, no matter whether for inscribed ancient monuments or other built properties, Evkaf undertook all kinds of upkeep works and conservation projects in its traditional mode framework, while trusting the expertise for architectural conservation of the Department of Antiquities. The analysis of the archival evidence for the period between 1935 and 1960 shows that Evkaf’s strategies for the upkeep of the built properties within its portfolio have been heavily defined by varying political motives.

**9.2 Contribution and Future Research Agenda**

The Ottoman Waqf institution in Cyprus is representative of the larger world of the Islamic waqfs, which are widely spread over the Muslim world and own substantial portfolios of heritage buildings. By offering a new understanding regarding the key shifts and transitions that Cyprus Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system has undergone during the British colonial era and the dynamic mechanism behind the shaping of its heritage practices, this empirically based investigation has revealed insights relating to the background of this non-Western institution’s new role in heritage practices during modern times. As such, this research has made an original contribution to the international architectural conservation literature by providing a new understanding of heritage conservation practices in the non-Western world through the Waqf institution’s traditional self-sustained upkeep and maintenance system predating the modern conservation movement. This research also has also made an original contribution to the research field of the Waqf studies, which has research gaps in the transitions within the Waqf’s traditional building upkeep and maintenance system and in the genesis and evolution of the institution’s heritage practices; to the architectural historiography of Cyprus, which has a research gap in heritage conservation discourse and practices during the British colonial era. This research has also made a contribution to the British colonial historiography by providing new insights in the negotiations of the colonial authorities with the existing institutions in the colonised territories and in the cultural heritage politics that they developed to consolidate their presence.
The present research has highlighted the pathway for a future research agenda on the following topics: an investigation of the architectural conservation understandings of the Public Works Department and the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus; an investigation of Cyprus Evkaf institution’s heritage and conservation practices in the post-colonial era (1960 to ); an investigation of Ottoman Waqf institutions’ building upkeep practices during the classical Ottoman (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) and during the centralisation era (nineteenth century).

9.3 Conclusion

This research has aimed to investigate the key transitions in the traditional Ottoman Waqf building upkeep system on Cyprus during the British colonial era (1878 to 1960) and to reveal the mechanics behind the institution’s heritage practices. The investigation has focused on revealing how the procedural, technical and political developments have influenced the decisions behind the upkeep and conservation projects of the waqf built properties.

The autonomous Ottoman Waqfs had already witnessed the first transitional period with the centralisation of their administration under the Imperial Evkaf Ministry at the Porte starting from 1826 onwards which took place prior to the commencement of the British colonial era in Cyprus. Waqfs were categorised into mazboutah (controlled directly by the Ministry), mulhaka (administered by the trustees under the control of the Ministry) and mustesna (a small group of privileged waqfs belonging to ancient sufī brotherhoods and administered independently by their headquarters without the involvement of the Ministry). Except for the latter, authorisation of upkeep and maintenance works, both in the Centre of the Empire and in the provinces has been connected to the Ministry. This introduced long distance bureaucracies within the authorisation process of upkeep works, causing complications and delaying the implementation process. However, during this period, except for this administrative and financial transition in the authorisation process, the technical planning and the execution of upkeep projects were undertaken with locally sourced materials and local know-how in construction techniques.
Centralisation of the Cyprus waqfs had been going on when the control of the institution was passed to the British colonial authorities in 1878. Mazboutah waqfs were already identified and put under the control of the Evkaf office on the island during the late-Ottoman period (1834 to 1878) and there were ongoing attempts to register the properties belonging to the mulhaka waqfs. Inspired by the zeitgeist that assumed the Ottoman-Islamic institutions backward, the British colonial authorities decided from the very beginning that Evkaf needed modernisation. Legislative, administrative and financial revisions were re-configured to amalgamate the institution within the colonial bureaucracy. With modernisation, the British colonial authority had mainly aimed the appropriation of Evkaf’s resources and the dissolution of the institution, targeting the political and economical benefits from this dissolution. This way, numerous valuable waqf assets and their incomes would be controlled directly by the Government. Meeting the payments of the Muslim religious services and the required maintenance works for religious assets from the Government’s treasury, would enable the colonial authority to have full control over religious dignitaries and their facilities. Hence, attempts started early in the colonial period to bring all the mulhaka and mustesna waqfs under direct control of the Evkaf. However, in order to prevent political tensions among the Muslim-Turkish community, modernisation was undertaken in gradual steps, which took half a century to finalise. By then, the majority of the mulhaka waqfs were under the direct control of Evkaf, the mustesna waqfs were abolished and their properties were put in Evkaf’s portfolio. Finally, with an Order in Council in 1928, Evkaf became a governmental department, fully incorporated into the colonial bureaucracy.

While these legislative, administrative and financial reconfigurations were going on in the name of modernising Evkaf, tensions could not be eliminated altogether. The institution was caught in the battles between the colonial authority and the opposing Muslim-Turkish elites at the outset of the twentieth century. The political and social changes at the beginning of twentieth century had left the Turkish community on the island with nothing to hold onto but Evkaf, and they started political activism, demanding self-rule for the institution. From the secular-Kemalist Turkish community’s standpoint, Evkaf was the main element of the Turkish ethnic struggle against the British colonial Government; they ultimately aimed to recovering their autonomous rights within the institution. At the same time, in order to consolidate
their position within the Turkish community of the island, the colonial rulers appropriated Evkaf’s resources, which were originally endowed for the upkeep of built properties and the provision of religious services, in the newly emerging requirements of the community. The appropriation of Waqf as a vehicle to implement new political directives reshaped the priorities and accelerated the dissolution of this religious institution.

The analysis of the archival data has revealed that the reconfigurations aiming for the modernisation of Evkaf also targeted its traditional building upkeep and maintenance system. Starting from the beginning of the colonial era legal, financial and administrative procedures behind the Waqf’s upkeep practices were revised. While doing so, the colonial bureaucracies negotiated revisions with the existing institution and undertook them gradually in order to prevent tensions. Thus, during the early colonial era, initiation of projects remained in the realm of the users of the waqf assets and the community members at large as was the traditional practice. However, while meeting the demands of the community regarding the required upkeep and maintenance works on religious assets, the colonial authorities transferred the authorisation process of such works from the domain of the Imperial Ministry of Evkaf in the Porte to their domain via the reconfigurations in the legislative, administrative and financial procedures. Thus, through a well-devised plan, which was applied from the beginning, the colonial authorities used religious built properties to consolidate their position among the Muslim-Turkish community. The upkeep and maintenance works were often realised in accordance with the postulations in communal petitions and as found fit by the colonial authorities even if this needed the demolition of a historic structure to be replaced with a new one. Authorisation of upkeep and conservation projects has often been appropriated in consolidating colonial governance.

Based on their opinion that the native people were incapable of holding professional roles, the colonial authorities arranged technical planning and the implementation of prestigious projects during the early decades to remain in the domain of British engineers in the newly established Public Works Department. Tensions, which were caused because of this new input into the traditional waqf building upkeep system, were resolved by negotiation, such as decreasing the role of government engineers in
the preparation of cost estimates or in the awarding of the contracts. However, the
technical planning stage of such projects was always undertaken under the directives
of government engineers.

With the involvement of British civil engineers, the early colonial era witnessed the
beginning of a new form of professionalism in Waqf’s building upkeep practices. As
opposed to traditional practice, which involved simple cost estimates involving the
required material types, quantities and prices, now they have started to be appened
with detailed specifications and technical drawings. Besides, new industrialised
materials were started to be imported to the island and whenever the budgets allowed
the colonial civil engineers and architects preferred to use these materials, such as
Portland cement, French lime and French tiles instead of the locally sourced
materials. Local know-how in construction techniques were abandoned in most
prestigious projects during the early decades. However, the PWD engineers were not
particularly trained or experienced in the consolidation of historic structures, which
often resulted in recommendations for demolition whenever there were advanced
structural decays. Several buildings and minarets were demolished and re-
constructed during the colonial period. That is why the civil engineers’ contribution
to the process of repairing historic structures have often been limited to the
preparation of detailed specifications and technical plans, with no significant
endeavours to consolidate existing structures. Even though they played a prominent
role in the technical planning stage of the high profile upkeep and conservation
projects of Evkaf assets throughout the colonial era, no attempts by PWD engineers
gained visibility in improving the know-how on strengthening historic structures.
Thus, the main governmental department which had a key role in the technical
planning stage of the upkeep works on waqf properties during two thirds of the
colonial period, assumed these works simply as interventions to ordinary buildings.
With the establishment of the Antiquities Department in 1934 and the enactment of a
revised Antiquities Law in 1935, the conservation of ancient monuments was
centralised under the Department. In other words, the modernisation of Evkaf did not
aim to build an institutional capacity for modern heritage practices and conservation
understandings. It remained limited to the appropriation of its resources by political
directives. By the 1930s community involvement in the initiation of upkeep and
maintenance of religious properties disappeared and the financial resources endowed
for upkeep were allotted to the newly emerging needs of the community. As such, Evkaf continued to employ its traditional intervention techniques which often included radical alterations to the historic fabric and original layouts except for the inscribed ones. These were not on par with the conservation principles which gained wider ground after the Resolutions of the Athens Charter in 1931. At the same time, with modernisation, Evkaf lost its sustainable elements enabling preventive maintenance of its assets.

Although there was awareness that many waqf built properties owned by Evkaf had ancient monuments values, except for demonstrating certain sensitivity regarding the repair of those with Western origins, no attempt to make statutory provision for ancient monuments was seen during the first decades of the colonial period in Cyprus. Echoing the reluctance of the metropolitan Government to enact preservationist legislation, the colonial Government of the island delayed the enactment of the Antiquities Law until 1905. This Law had one of the earliest cut-off dates in similar laws in Western countries. Reflecting political considerations, it had covered the architectural remnants pre-dating the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1571. With this Law, while the colonial authority highlighted the built properties of Western origin as its national heritage, at the same time it excluded the Ottoman buildings as they were not considered worthy of preservation.

The next key moment of transition within heritage practices was the enactment of the revised Law of Antiquities in 1935. The Law, prepared with the assistance of the Mersey Committee in London, which was established to aid the island’s government in the protection of ancient monuments, reflected the architectural conservation resolutions of the Athens Charter of 1931. The revised cut-off date of the Law, 1700AD now included in part the Ottoman era built properties. Besides, this Law opened for the first time a way to list ancient monuments belonging to Evkaf. Even though the listing was a slow process and the number of waqf built properties which were documented by 1959 was fewer than 20, architectural conservation of ancient monuments started to gain acknowledgement as a new discipline. In theory, the conservation of the inscribed waqf built properties became the realm of the newly established Antiquities Department. In practice the Antiquities Department controlled the initiation-authorisation-and-implementation processes of conservation
projects on *waqf* ancient monuments with Western origins, while it involved *Evkaf* in only the finances. Despite being against internationally agreed principles following the Resolutions of the Athens Charter of 1931, most conservation works undertaken by the Department during the period between 1935 and 1960 focused on revealing the pre-Ottoman character of the converted *waqf* built properties. The Antiquities Department had an indifferent approach to the inscribed monuments with Ottoman origin during this period, providing involuntary assistance and focusing on the preservation of their oriental exterior appearance, rather than the original design and fabric.

As far as the procedural changes and knowledge transfers became influential in shaping the decisions behind the upkeep and conservation practices, there were also political dimensions. From the beginning, the *waqf* built properties with Western origins received attention, as they were identified initially by the elites in Europe and eventually by the colonial authority of the island as part of the Western built heritage. While the colonial Government often prioritised the repair of such buildings as supporting the national built heritage which consolidated the presence of the British on the island, the practice was not on a par with the evolving conservation principles applied in its own home city areas.

In fact, it was the colonial Government’s inadequate methods to protect such monuments which had invoked external protest and pressure for the enactment of an Antiquities Law both in both 1905 and 1935. The enactment of the Antiquities Law in 1935 coincided with the period when the British colonial authority attempted to construct an Ottoman heritage for the fast secularising Turkish Cypriots under the sway of their Kemalist leadership. The period between 1935 and 1960 witnessed a new form of political use of heritage, by the conservation of a set of Ottoman religious buildings as part of the colonial agenda aiming to revive the Ottoman identity against this secularisation. Buildings, which were denied conservation earlier, started to receive special governmental attention.

Analysis of the heritage practices against the backdrop of this wider colonial history, has revealed that the driving force behind British heritage practices were short-term, determined by the prevailing political situation. As the colonial authorities were pre-occupied with the present and lacked a coherent vision for the future, they did not
have a clear policy towards the conservation of *waqf* built heritage. Evidently, they discovered the political values of *waqf* heritage buildings, which placed them in the realm of political consumption. Thus, priorities were given to protecting particular monuments for particular symbolic identities. Contradictory approaches, causing controversial interventions to heritage buildings, mostly led by political considerations rather than a sound heritage consciousness, followed one another until the end of the British colonial era. *Evkaf* institution, encapsulated by dominant ideological and political agendas, displayed an inability to determine what to preserve and what to abandon, which is one of the essentials of creative success in conservation. Several *waqf* heritage buildings conveying invaluable cultural messages were removed for the sake of urbanisation, abandoned or became subject to extensive alterations that destroyed their authentic fabric.

This research has identified the conditions in which the traditional upkeep system of the *waqf* built properties in Cyprus, developed within the Ottoman era, was transformed into a very different type of institutional practice during the British colonial period, with political considerations often defining the agenda. This investigation has drawn on examples from Cyprus *waqf* institution’s building upkeep practices during the British colonial period, which do not necessarily translate to all *waqf* institutions in other geographical and historical contexts. However, by investigating the many dimensions and the versatile nature of the backgrounds of the heritage practices, it gives insights which can be compared. The findings of the present research have also contributed to the illumination of the transmission of Western heritage concepts to the non-Western world during the modern colonial era, underlined by agendas of political control over cultural assets that caused selectivity in heritage practices.

The present research, based on the outcomes of the *Waqf* practice in Cyprus, finally argues that institutional heritage conservation understandings and practices are negotiated and shaped in multi-faceted environments, consisting of various dimensions of historic building upkeep legacies, contemporary building know-how, upkeep technologies and conservation knowledge as well as the political uses of heritages. The institutional heritage conservation practices are ultimately defined by the various temporal amalgamations of these dimensions through which conservation
understandings are abolished, re-invented, transferred, recuperated and transformed. Thus, institutional heritage conservation practices are not necessarily and absolutely loyal to the modern conservation theory. Neither is the tendency for developing universally applicable standards justified within various local, national or regional contexts. There is a symbiotic relationship between using heritage and political control over cultural assets gaining visibility at the national level, and this plays a key role in selective architectural conservation practices.

9.4 Post Script and Questions for Further Research

Ottoman *Waqf* on Cyprus continued to enjoy jurisprudence rights over its properties after the reconfiguration of its administration in modern lines during the British era, colonial politics became determinant in choosing what to conserve and what to abandon. The decisions taken by the Cypriot Turkish leadership, immediately after the takeover of the control of the institution in 1956 shall be safely assumed as indicator for the continuing role of politics in the postcolonial era. Preparation of plans for demolition of the hundreds years old *Mevlevi Tekke* building in Nicosia in order to open up space for a modern shopping and entertainment complex was a projection of the Kemalist approach to *Waqf* historic heritage. This was an indicator that the political agendas evolved in Turkey were going to be influential in shaping the post-colonial *Evkaf* administration’s decisions regarding approaches to the conservation of *Waqf* built heritage on the island.

The post-colonial era for the island started with the Independence and the foundation of the Cyprus Republic in 1960. *Evkaf* was recognised by the Republic Constitution as the autonomous Muslim Turkish religious endowment institution with jurisprudence rights over its built properties. After a period of peace for three years, inter-ethnic conflicts started in 1963 and continued until the island’s de facto partition in 1974 (See Table 1.3). This opened a new era for *Evkaf* and its dealings with *Waqf* historic assets. It established yet another context for the operation of *Waqf* in the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot administrative halves of the island. Another key moment in the post-colonial timeline of *Evkaf* is its amalgamation to the Turkish Premiership of the island’s Turkish Republic (TRNC) which was established
in the north in 1983 to be recognised only by Turkey. Such key moments in its timeline raise the importance of the investigation of the heritage conservation practices of post-colonial Evkaf. Utilising the initiation-authorisation-and-implementation model which has been developed for the present research as the framework for the analysis, the post-colonial period could be examined thoroughly to reveal the transitions within the system.

At the time of writing, the four centuries old Islamic Waqf institution of Cyprus, the island’s property rich religious foundation with a large and extensive architectural heritage portfolio, if not the largest, stands in the limelight with prime responsibility in the decision making process regarding their conservation. This responsibility extends in many cases to involve a diversity of departments as far as project planning, finance allocation, tendering, and implementation of the project, control of the implementation and management. On the other hand, announcements on commencing or forthcoming projects indicate to a variety of international stakeholders contributing through financial and technical expertise resources. One such stakeholder is Turkey’s General Directorate of Pious Foundations (GDPF), which gained increased visibility with its resource allocations for architectural conservation practices on Waqf built properties in North Cyprus since the beginnings of the twenty-first century. This presumably has been a projection of the politics of the Islamist AK Party which has been in the Government since 2002 in Turkey and prioritised the conservation of Waqf historic buildings both in Turkey and on the former Ottoman lands. Along with Turkey’s GDPF, United Nations Development Programme –Partnership for Future (UNDP-pff) stands as another key stakeholder with increasing activities especially since the accession the Republic of Cyprus to European Union in 2004. Several conservation projects on Waqf built heritage have been planned and executed ever since.

\[307\] In a report, published at the Turkey’s Zaman Newspaper on November 21, 2011, the GDPF revealed plans for undertaking the conservation of Waqf historic buildings abroad. In a press conference at September 30, 2012, Turkish Premier Recep Tayyip Erdoğan announced that more than 4000 Waqf historic buildings were restored during the last decade. In a subsequent press talk in November, 2012, the Premier declared that more than a thousand of Waqf historic buildings were restored abroad in the former Ottoman lands.

\[308\] See \url{http://www.undp-pff.org}

\[309\] See \url{http://www.evkafo.org} for the accomplished and/or forthcoming conservation projects
Notwithstanding its historic building upkeep legacy, present Evkaʃ lacks any conservation policy and often relies on external support for financial resources and technical expertise. It is obvious that the institution needs to revise its operational strategies, practices and systems. By unpacking and analysing the dynamic mechanism behind the institutional strategies and practices during the British colonial era (1878 to 1960), this research has revealed how the self-sustained building upkeep principles and practices were lost through procedural changes and political agendas in the past. Investigation of the post-colonial era shall probably afford further clues in this direction. This research has thus contributes to Evkaʃ’s conservation practice by offering the analysis of the past as a guide for the formulation of a sustainable architectural conservation policy.
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Kara kaplı vakfiye kaydı kataloğu [Book of the catalogue of waqfiyya registers]
Küçük vakfiye kaydı defter [Small Waqfiyya registers book]
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