THE ART HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ODYSSEY

OF ERNST DIEZ

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- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
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ABSTRACT

The Art Historiographical Odyssey Of Ernst Diez

The thesis traces the biography of Ernst Diez as a signifier of the transformations of Austro-German art historical scholarship in the first half of the twentieth century. It derives its incentive from the criticisms against Diez's reading of Byzantine and Armenian precedents to Turkish art and architecture in his 1946 book *Türk Sanatı*. The thesis interprets this controversy as a confrontation of Diez's academic and intellectual background in turn of the century Vienna. Diez's biographical journey from Vienna to the United States and to the 1940s Turkey presents an art historiographical odyssey in which the art historiographical know-how of the beginning of the century, particularly as established in Vienna, confronts new contexts as well as re-definitions.

ÖZET

Ernst Diez'in Sanat Tarihi Yolculuğu

Tez, Viyanalı sanat tarihçisi Ernst Diez'in biyografisini yirminci yüzyılın ilk yarısının düşünsel ve akademik dönüşümlerinin izleği olarak okumaktadır. Tezin çıkış noktasını Diez'in 1946 tarihli *Türk Sanatı* kitabına yönelik eleştiriler sonucunda 1949 yılında İstanbul Üniversitesi'ndeki görevine son verilmesi oluşturmaktadır. Tez eleştirileri 1940'lar Türkiye'sine konumlandırmakla birlikte, daha çok yüzyıl başı Avusturya-Alman sanat tarihi yazımının karşılaşması olarak okumaktadır. Böylelikle tez, Diez'in Viyana'dan Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne ve 1940'lar Türkiye'sine biyografik yolculuğunu bir sanat tarihi yazımı yolculuğu olarak tartışmaktadır.

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PROLOGUE

ODYSSEY'S SCAR

1946 ENCOUNTER IN TURKEY

Ernst Diez's (1878-1961) book on Turkish art, written in Turkey as a handbook for his teaching at Istanbul University and titled *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art From Its Origins Until Today) was subject to severe criticisms within Turkey soon after it was published in September 1946. The criticisms directed against Diez's depiction of Byzantine, Islamic and Armenian connections to Turkish art and resulted in Diez's dismissal from professorship at Istanbul University three years later in 1949.

Diez accepted the professional position at Istanbul University's Art Historical Institute in 1943, after ministerial correspondences between Ankara and Berlin.[1] Nevertheless, a year after his arrival, Diez was interred among other German nationals in Turkey, after Germany's defeat at the end of the Second World War, and due to Turkey's siding with the Allies.[2]

Diez wrote his book on Turkish art during his internment between September 1944 and December 1945.[3] In a letter to his wife Beryl Diez dated 29 January 1946, Diez mentions the book as a request from the dean (Ord. Prof. A. Hâmid Ongunsu

[1] Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Vienna to Rectorate, 20 November 1942, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder, Vienna. A document dating 16.11.1942 notes Diez' vocation to Istanbul for the year 1942-43. It is through Ministry for Science, Education, and Culture (*Der Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*) in Berlin, that the arrangement was made. In another document, the rector of Istanbul University thanks Diez for his willingness to teach. The rector also writes to Diez of his willingness for support if the Turkish payment is not sufficient. German Consulate, Istanbul to the Ministry of Science, Education, and Culture, Berlin, 31 October 1942, Do.No. 6682, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder, Vienna.

[2] Diez was was initially at the German School of Istanbul until August 1945, and later in the Central Anatolian town of Kırşehir. Ernst Diez to Beryl Diez, 29 January 1946, Ernst Diez Papers, Correspondances, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. Beryl Diez was in Vienna at the time.

[3] Oktay Aslanapa mentions that Diez also ran a course in Kırşehir on Islamic and Turkish art .Aslanapa 1993.

was the dean between 1939 and 1948), along with a series of articles on Turkish art. [4] The book was intended as a coursebook for his lectures at Istanbul University. Yet Diez was left without references due to the conditions of internment at a Central Anatolian town Kırşehir. Diez wrote in his diary on 9 June 1945 that he was in need of further material and so was not able to continue.[5]

> I needed material for my Turkish art that I can only find outside, and I have reached a deadlock.

Diez's return to writing and teaching at Istanbul University in December 1945 was as abrupt as his internment. On 29 January 1946, he wrote in a letter to his wife Beryl Diez that he started his lectures immediately. In a diary entry of 8 March 1946, he wrote that he was busy with lectures, articles, and also with the book.[6] In his 1997 article, his student Semavi Eyice recalls Diez's hard work to establish the art history institute at Istanbul University, in spite of all the technical and material inadequacies. He underlines how Diez also took over responsibilities from other professors who had left the university, thus lecturing on many areas of art history, including aesthetics, Western art and Byzantine art history.[7]

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[4] These should be the ones that got published in the periodical *Istanbul*. Diez, "Türk Sanatı I, İslam Mimarisinde Türklerin Payı"(Turkish Art I, The Contribution of Turks to Islamic Architecture), 5-6; "İlk Devirden Beri Türk Maden Sanatı", 9-11; "Türk Sanatı, Çadırlar, Yapıları, Süsleri, Halıları" (Turkish Art, Tents, Buildings, Ornaments, Carpets), 8-10; "İslamdan Sonraki Devirde Tasvircilik" (Representation after Islam), 12-14. In an interview with Semavi Eyice, Eyice tells that the book was part of the requisites of Diez's contract as was the case with other foreign professors, but not everyone went through writing and it was Diez's assistant Oktay Aslanapa, who encouraged him.

[5] Ernst Diez, 9 June 1945, Diary Entry, Ernst Diez Papers, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel."Ich brauchte Material für meine Türkische Kunst das ich nur draußen finde und bin auf einem toten Punkt angelangt." He also wrote in the diary that he cannot continue with his book without new material, and instead works on his book "Akbar". Ernst Diez, 28 June 1945, Diary Entry, Ernst Diez Papers, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. "Da ich am meiner „Türkischen Kunst" vorläufig wem weiter arbeiten kann bin ich neuer material bekäme, beschäftige ich mich wieder mit dem Text für Akbar und tippe Konzepte in die Maschine."

[6] Ernst Diez, 8 March 1946, Diary Entry, Ernst Diez Papers, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. "Zwei Monate vergangen sehr rasch. Die Fülle der Beschäftigung mit Vorlesungen und Schreiben im Hab. Türk. Kunst und Artikeln zieht von bezüglicher Tagebuch Tätigkeit ab."

[7] Eyice 1997, 12. Eyice makes a comparison with Steven Runciman, who had come to Turkey in the same time with Diez, but "left suddenly" in 1944. Eyice also provides a brief account of the history of the art history institute, pointing out that before the 1933 University Reform, Albert Gabriel gave conferences on Turkish architecture at the Faculty of Literature, and these lectures were translated by Fehmi Karatay, the director of the University library, into Turkish. It was only after the university

Diez must have finished the book during his internment. He wrote to his wife Beryl Diez on 16 May 1946 that the book was partly printed and was due in the Fall. During this time, his student at Vienna University and assistant at Istanbul University, Oktay Aslanapa, translated the book from German into Turkish.[8] The original German book was not published, so the criticisms as well as the thesis' discussions on the book are based on Aslanapa's translation (Figure 1).

The criticisms of Diez and the book began in December of 1946. Architect Sedat Çetintaş (1889-1965) and Topkapı Museum director Tahsin Öz (1887-1973) wrote columns on the topic in daily newspapers.[9] Initially in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* of 20 December 1946, Çetintaş condemned the book in an article whose title was expressive of the nationalist tone that followed: "A New Assault on the History of Our Civilization: A Foreign Professor at Istanbul University Shows Armenian art as a source for Turkish Architecture" (Figure 2).[10]

> We would not have been surprised had Professor Diez demonstrated the origins of Turkish architecture in Arab, Iranian and Byzantine sources, as was the case with the old conservative authors. The professor found a separate and completely new and more functional father to Turkish architecture: Armenian architecture, and even as a support to it, he also mentions Georgian architecture.

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reform, when Prof. Dr. Th. H. Bossert (1889-1961) became the head of the Department of Archaeology, some books were acquired for art history.

[8] Ernst Diez to Beryl Diez, 29 January 1946, Ernst Diez Papers, Correspondences, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel.

[9] Sedat Çetintaş (1889-1965) graduated as architect from Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi (Fine Arts School) of Istanbul in 1918. Worked mainly at Ministry of Education, Department of Culture. He was famed by his architectural survey drawings of Ottoman era buildings, initially around a commission on Şehzade Mosque for the Chicago Fair of 1933. See Ödekan 2004, Dervişoğlu (ed.), 2011 for compilations of his works. Tahsin Öz (1887-1973) was the director of Topkapı Museum from its establishment in 1924 until his retirement in 1953.

[10] Çetintaş, 20.12.1946. "Eski mutaassıb müellifler gibi professor Diez de bu kitabda Türk mimarisinin menşeini Arab, Acem ve Bizans kaynaklarında göstermiş olsaydı şaşmıyacaktık. Profesör, Türk mimarisine, bu saydıklarımdan ayrıca fakat yepyeni ve hepsinden daha faal bir baba daha bulmuştur: Ermeni mimarisi, hattâ ona yardımcı olarak Gürcü mimarisinden bile bahsetmektedirler."

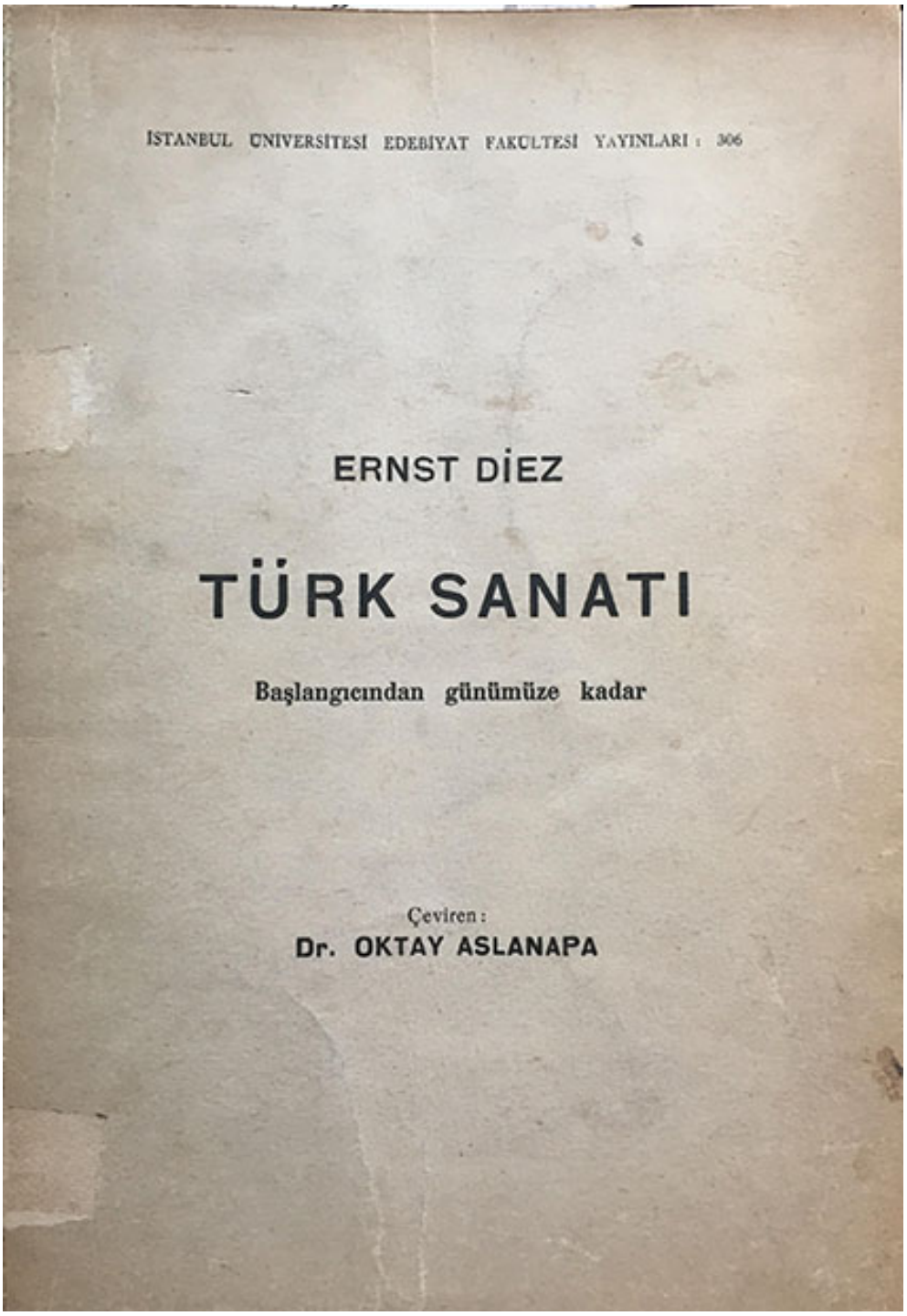

Figure 1. Cover of *Türk Sanatı*, 1946

Çetintaş took offense mainly to Diez's depiction of Armenian art and architecture as source of Turkish art.[11] He described Diez's discussions as an outsider's (Turkish word *ecnebi*) preconceptions. He drew a parallelism with Charles Texier's 1839 book *L'Asie mineure*, in its bias of a lack of Turkish architecture due to nomadic attributes.[12] He stressed that the generation difference put Diez in an inexcusable position.[13]

The criticisms transformed into a campaign and within five days, Tahsin Öz wrote a critical column against Diez's book, again in *Cumhuriyet* (Figure 3). This time the subtitle carried an assertive tone: "Prof. Diez has to prove his claims!" Öz proclaimed that Diez lacked knowledge of Turkish art and that his interest started only upon his arrival in Turkey.[14] He pointed out discrepancies in the book's photos and plans and took offence particularly in the depiction of Armenian precedents. Öz declared the book as a felony being funded by state money.

[11] Çetintaş, 20.12.1946. "I. Ermeni mimarisini doğululer mithologie'sindeki Kaf dağının ardındaki bir nesne gibi meçhul bırakmamamalı; onun kavramlarını, şahsiyet ve hüviyetini de bize tarif etmelidirler. II. resimleri yanyana koymak şart ile ilmî tahlil ve mukayeselerini kendilerinden isteriz. III. Ayasofyanın birer taklidi olduğu keyfiyetini planlara ve vesikalara dayanarak sanat ve teknik bakımından izaha mecburdurlar."
[12] Texier 1839, 1849.
[13] Çetintaş, "Medeniyet Tarihimize Yeni Bir Tecavüz-İstanbul Üniversitesi'ndeki Bir Ecnebi Profesörü, Türk mimarisine Ermeni Sanatını Kaynak Gösteriyor", *Cumhuriyet*, 20.12.1946, "…milli medeniyet tarihimize karşı bugün bir Charles Texier zihniyetinin hortlamasına tahammül edebilecek bir tek Türk münevveri tasavvur edilemez. Çünkü, saltanat devrinin dünkü etraki bî-idraki yerine bugün (Ne mutlu Türküm diyene) vecizesile göğsünü şişiren ve vicdanını besliyen Cumhuriyet nesli gelmiştir."
[14] Öz, "Türk Sanatı adlı eser dolayısile, Prof. Diez iddialarını ispat etmelidir!" *Cumhuriyet*, 25.12.1946. "Dikkati çeken nokta, profesörün Türk mimari eserlerile hatta Türk sanatile iştigalinin memleketimize geldikten sonra başlaması, ve bu kısa zamanda da Bursa ve İstanbulda bazı binaları ancak görebilmiş olmasıdır."



SANAT BAHİSLERİ

Medeniyet tarihimize yeni bir tecavüz

İstanbul Üniversitesindeki bir ecnebi profesörü, Türk mimârisine Ermeni sanatını kaynak gösteriyor

Yazan: Yüksek Mimar
Sedad Çetintaş

1832 de yurdumuzda yaptığı bir ilmî gezinin verimi olmak üzere Fransa âlim ve sanatkârlarından Charles Texier'in 1862 de yayımlamış olduğu L'Arîe mi-neure adlı kitabında: (Türklerin göçebe bir millet olduklarından mimarîleri bulunmadığı ve görülen eşyelerin Arab, Acem ve Bizans kaynaklarından gelme oldukları) yolundaki yanlış hükümleri bugünkü Türklerin vicdanını bir dikenn gibi yaralamakta ve sızlatmaktadır.

Bununla beraber On dokuzuncu asır ndanı olan Texier'nin suçunu hafifletecek ve kendisini mazur gösterecek bazı zaman şartları görebiliyoruz, meselâ:

1 — O vakitler doğu ve islâm medeniyet tarihi Avrupalılarca yeni ele alınmak üzere olup, etüdler henüz olgunlaşmamıştı.

2 — İnsanlar din tasyiki baskısından kurtulup da modern bir zihniyetle bilim denilen şeyi tarafsızlık sahasına henüz alamamışlardı.

3 — On dokuzuncu asırda tahtat bizde umumî idi. İrkının ve yurdunun en temiz çocukları olan köylüleri, hattâ pa-şalıktı zekasından olmayanları (Kılıç Türk) diye tahkir eden aldırın yabana o zamanın Türk aydınları, salonlarında bu hakaretin (Etraki bî-idrak) diye edebiyatını da yapmağa çalışıyordu.

Koca Sinanın çocukları: (Oğlum paşa olur inşallah) duasile gırınga edile edile nihayet cemiyette bir padişah bendesi ve bir silâhlıhâfil-ilem dallavuğu olabilir, bu ise cemiyetin en yüksek ve ideâl mertebesi sayılır, refah vasıtası olurdu. Eedad mirası olan mimarlık ve sanatkârlık ise asağı bir meslek diye ekalliyetlere bırakılmış, onlar da bu iti keseri sırtında ve ameli yetişmiş cahil kalfalara terketmişti.

Bu sebebdendir ki Ondokuzuncu asır Türk topraklarında bu konuda bir fe-lâket asrı olmuş, zavallarımız ve dinî olmayan bütün binalarımız kör zamanın dişlerinde can vermiş, dinî binalarımız ise cenâb amelîyelerile tahrib edilmiştir. Öyle ki fiilîyat, sedef kakmalı en yüksek tahta işleri, yağlı boya ile boyanmış, Edirnedeki Selimiye ve İstanbuldaki Sü-leymaniye de dahil olmak üzere bütün âsâr-ı atîkların nefis kalem işleri, hattâ Yavuz Sultan Selim türbesindeki çi-nilere varıncaya kadar sıva, badana ile örtülmüştür. Bütün bunların tek sebebi (cehalet) tir.

Halbuki gunu söylemek isterim ki o vekiller Charles Texier'nin başındaki iyi niyetlerle yazdığı esin kitabı değil de, sırf milletimize hakaret maksadile yazılmış hüfürmameler intisar etmiş olsaydı bile, İmparatorlukta dinî tasavvufa dokunmadıkça millî cepheden onları o-kuyup da müteessir olacak ve ilmî yönden müellifin hatasını tashih edebilecek bir tek adam bulunamazdı.

İşte bunlara benzer daha bir çok zaman şartları sebebîledir ki şimdi bizler geçmişteki Avrupalı müelliflerin bir taraftan hatalarını düzeltmeğe çalışırken, diğer taraftan da hatalarından dolayı onları mazur görüyor, hattâ sırasına göre medeniyet tarihimizle meşgul olduklarından için onlara teşekkür bile ediyor ve minnet duyuyoruz.

Fakat bütün bunlara rağmen millî medeniyet tarihimize karşı bugün bir Charles Texier zihniyetinin hortlamasına tahammülî edebilecek bir tek Türk mü-nevveri tasavvur edilemez. Çünkü, saltanat devrinin dünkü etraki bî-idrakî yerine bugün (Ne mutlu Türküm diyene) vecîzesile göğsünü şişiren ve vicdanını besliyen Cumhuriyet neşil gelmiştir. Bugün bu nesil medeniyet tarihinin ne kadar engin ve zengin olduğunu hiç kimseye sormıyacak kadar derin bir insânla biliyor, gurur ve iftiharla okuyor ve çocuklarına okutuyor. Eminim ki eğer dünkü Charles Texier ve benzerleri bugün mezarlarından kalkacak olsalar, Türk medeniyet tarihî hakkındaki kanaatlerini mezarlarında soyunup dökünerek, haktan ve hakîkatten özür dileyeceklerdir.

Bugün aramızda bizler kadar temiz heyecanla çalışmakta olan Charles Texier'nin temiz evlâdı Profesör A. Gabriel bu hakîkatin canlı bir timsalidir.

Yukarıki hasbıhalî bana yaptıran şey, son günlerde çıkmış acayib bir kitab oldu, adı (Türk Sanatı), müellifi İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Sanat Tarihi Enstitüsü profesörü Ernest Diez'dir. Almancadan çeviren ile profesörün asistanı Dr. Oktay Aslanapadır. Edebiyat Fakültesi yayınlarından 306 ncı ve 1945 tarihlidir.

Türk sanatı ve medeniyeti tarihi üzerinde az çok bilgisi olan bütün Türklere istirab veren, müellifin de Edebiyat Fakültemizde profesör olması ve fakülte adına neşredilmesi itibarile de istirabı kat'merdiştiren bu kitabın mütalâyatından parçalar ve cümleler alıp da tenkide girişmekte acele etmiyeceğim.

Eski mutasavvıf müelliflerden gibi profesör Diez de bu kitabda Türk mimarisinin menşeini Arab, Acem ve Bizans kaynaklarında göstermiş olsaydı şaşmıyacaktık. Profesör, Türk mimarisine bu saydıklarımdan ayrıca fakat yepyeni ve hepsinden daha faal bir âmil daha bulmuştur; Ermeni mimarisi, hattâ ona yardımcı olarak Gürcü mimarisinden bile bahsetmektedirler.

Kitabda Selçuk ve Osmanlı anıtlarından bahsederken (Ermeni mimarisinden gelmedir, daha evvelce Ermeni eserlerinde görülmüştür, Ermeni mimarisi yapmıştır, Ermeni kilîselerinde kullanılmıştır.) gibi garib kelimelerle ve adeta maraza bir insanla Türk mimarisinin bütün hüviyetini Ermeni mimarisi kaynaklarında çürütmeğe yeltenmiştir. Eğer bu kitabın muhteviyatına inanmak icab etse Türk mimarisinde Türk ruhundan doğma, Türk kafasından çıkma hiç bir unsur yoktur. Bunlar Ermeni, Gürcü sanat hazinelerinden aşırılarak bir halita halinde ortaya konmuş şeyler olduğu gibi Sinanın Edirnedeki Selimiyesi, İstanbuldaki Süleymaniyesi de dahil olmak üzere bütün büyük Türk camileri Ayasofyanın birer taklîdi ve onun çocuklarıdır.

Evvelce de söylediğim gibi profesörün bu garib iddialarını tenkidde acele etmiyeceğim, ancak bu konu üzerinde çalışmakta olan bir Türk mimarı sıfatile kendilerinden çimdilik şunları istiyorum:

I — Profesörün şahsî kanaatine göre Türk sanatına kaynak olmak çerçevesi taşımakta olan Ermeni mimarisini doğrudan doğruya onun kanunlarını, şahsiyet ve hüviyetini de bize tarif etmelidirler.

II — Profesörün iddiasına göre Türklerce Ermeni mimarisinden taklîd edilmiş sanat unsurlarının Ermeni binalarındaki asılları ile Türk binalarındaki taklîdlerinin resimlerini yanyana koymak şartile ilmî tahlil ve mukayeselerini kendilerinden isteriz.

III — Edirnedeki Selimiye de dahil olmak üzere isimlerini saymak suretile sıraladıkları yedi büyük Türk camiinin de Ayasofyanın birer taklîdi olduğu keyfiyetini plânlara ve vesikalara dayanarak sanat ve teknik bakımından ispata mecburdurlar. Böyle mühim konularda iddialar indî değil ilmî olmalıdır. Bu bir umumî kaidedir. Eğer profesör ilme ve hakîkate hürmetkâr, üniversitesinde mühim bir vazife almış oldu-ğu Türk milletine karşı nezâkete lüzum görüyorlarsa bu isteklerimi yerine getirmek kendileri için de zevkli bir iş olacaktır.

Yüksek Mimar
S. ÇETİNTAŞ



2

"Türk Sanatı" adlı eser dolayısile

Prof. Diez iddialarını ispat etmelidir!

Yazan: Tahsin Öz

Profesör E. Diez, bugünlerde «Türk Sanatı» adı ile Üniversitemiz için bir el kitabı yayınladı. 215 sahifeden ibaret olan bu kitabın 259 sahifesi mimarî eserlerimize hasredildiğine göre, müellifin Türk mimarî tarihini ele aldığı görülüyor. Dikkati çeken nokta, profesörün Türk mimarî eserlerile hattâ Türk sanatlarile iştigalinin memleketimize gelişten sonra başlaması, ve bu kısa zamanda da Bursa ve İstanbulda bazı binaları ancak görebilmiş olmasıdır. En yüksek ilim müesseselerimiz için hazırlanan el kitabının her bölümü, bu görgü mahsulü olduğunu pek açık bir-liriyor ki sayın milletvekilimiz I. Baltacıoğlunun yabancı profesörlerin seçimine dair Büyük Millet Meclisindeki mütalealarının isabet ve ehemmiyeti bu gretle bir daha anlaşılmış oluyor.

Kitabın basımı, resimleri, hele plânları ayrı birer tenkid mevzuu halindedir. Bilhassa göze çarpacak derecede çeşidli yanlışlar, bazı esassız iddialar da o kadar çoktur ki bunların sırasile ortaya çıkacağına şüphesizdir.

Bugün kısaca ele almak istediğimiz nokta, müellifin kitabında Türk mimarî organlarının en önemlilerinin, Ermeni sanat eserlerinden alındığı ve camilerden başlıyarak türbeler, hattâ mezar taşlarımızın Ermeni ustalarının elinden çıkmış olduğu iddiasıdır. Bakınız; Türk mimarî organları bahsinde ne buyuruyorlar:

Sütunlar: (sahife 41)

Kırşehir Cacabey camilerindeki taş oymalı sütunlardan bahisle, (muhtemelen bu ağaç şekillerini daha evvel Ermeni ve Gürcü kilise inşalarında yapılmış bir halde buluyoruz. Buradan bunlar Anadoluya girmişlerdir. Ermenistan Selçuklularının bir eyaleti olunca oradan lüzumu kadar taşçı getirmek mümkün olmuştur.) (Sütunlardaki bu süs şekillerini daha evvel Ermeniler de yapmış olup bunların inşalarında çok defa göze çarpmaktadır.)

Sütun başlıkları: (sahife 43)

(Kayseri Hacı Kılıç Medresesinde (671-1239) ve daha bazı Selçuk binalarında ve en eski Osmanlı inşaatında (Niğde-de Akmedrese kapısı, İzmik Yeşil cami) yalnızbaşına hâkim bir başlık şekli olarak görülüyor ki bu daha on üçüncü asırda tamamile gelişmiş olduğuna işaret eder. Bunların daha eski örneklerini 11-12 nci asır Ermeni sütun başlıklarında buluyoruz.)

Pencereler: (sahife 48)

(Daha Osmanlılar devrinde Bursada sanat işi plâstik mugarnat kornişlerle çerçevelenen dört köşe pencereler üzerinde, çok defa kör kemerler konularak rölîyef halinde palmet gruplarile süslenmiştir. Bu süslü pencere kenarlarını Ermeniler de kullanmışlardır.)

Büyük kapılar: (sahife 58)

(... Diğer bazı şekiller gibi Selçuk inşalarında portalların ilk örneklerini de Ermeni kilise inşalarında bulabilirsiniz.)

Türbeler: (sahife 91 ve 93)

(1050 yıllarında Selçuklar tarafından fethedilen Van gölü mıntakasında bulunan türbeler, Erzurumdaki çifte minareli medrese gibi Anadolu türbelerinde Ermeni tesirini göstermektedir.) (Van gölü çevresindeki bu türbelerin Ermeni ustaları tarafından yapıldığı düşünülmektedir.) (Bu kubbelerin Ermeni kilîselerinin dörtlü tamburlarile benzerlikleri göze çarpıyor.) (Yüksek nişler de Ermenilere âid hususiyetlerdir.) (Duvar yüzünü yuvarlak bir dekor şeklinde süsliyen yuvarlak çubuklar da Ermeni inşalarında çoktur.)

Selçuk dinî inşalarında tezyinî portallar: (sahife 96, 100)

(Bu taşçılar arasında Türklerden başka Ermeniler ve Rumlar ve diğer milletlerden taşçılar da vardı.) (Müslüman ve Hıristiyan mezar taşları da aynı taşçılığın izlerini gösteriyor.) (Bu çeşid dekorasyonun benzerlerini Hıristiyan Ermeni din kitablarında bulmaktayız.)

İşte profesör, Türk mimarî organlarından sütunlar, başlıklar, süslemeli pencereler, cümle kapıları (portallar), türbeler, mezar taşları, kubbe tamburları, yüksek nişler ve yuvarlak çubuklar gibi kısımların Ermeni mimarisinden alındığını, veya tesiri görüldüğünü iddia, ve nihayet Ermeni ustaları tarafından yapıldığını gözile görmüş gibi yazmaktadır. Plânlara dair iddiaları ve görüşleri ise ayrı bir yazı konusu olacak durumdadır. Çünkü Anadolu ve İstanbuldaki en mühim anıtlarımızın, bunlara Edirnedeki Selimiyeyi de katarak, bir takım türbelerle beraber plânlarının kiliselerden alındığını söylüyor. Binaenaleyh organ ve plânlar yabancı olunca şüphesiz ki Türk mimarisi yoktur manası çıkıyor. Hem de verilen misaller 12-13 ncü yüzyılları ihtiva ettiğine göre, Türk mimarisi olmamış ve olamamış, ortada bir kopyecilik devam edip gitmiştir. Hattâ müellif buna da imkân bırakmıyarak, çalışan ustalar da Ermenidir diyor.

Profesör bu iddialarından bazılarında zayıf bir iki kaynak gösteriyor. Şüphesiz bu kaynakları arayıp seçmekten, doğruluğunu araştırmamaktan ve hattâ bu arada ismi geçen ve fakat iddialarını gürüten bir kaynak da bulunduğu halde onu da ortaya koymamaktan kendi kendisidir. Zaten bu kaynaklar Ermeni kilise ve binalarından bâhis olduğu halde, sözü geçen buluşlar müellifin görüşüdür. Diğer iddiaları ise, tamamen kendi kanaati olarak belirtiyor. Böyle ilim âlemince tanınmış bir iki kaynakla yahud mukayese ve sahsî görüş ve tahminle ülkeler silsilyen ve herbiri semalara yükselen Türk mimarlığını ve sanatlarını sıfıra indirmek reva mıdır? Böyle toptan bir mühim mimarî eserlerimizin Ermeni organlarına ve kilise plânına dayandığı iddiası değil, yalnız bunlardan biri tetkik mevzuu olarak ele alınmış olsaydı bile, biraz düşünmek ve bunu discutable bir monografi ile yayınlamak lâzımgelmez miydi?

Halbuki profesör bu iddia ve düşüncelerinin hepsini, kesin birer hakîkatmış gibi öğretim müesseselerimiz için hazırladığı ve devlet parasile basılan bir el kitabına koymuştur ki, ilim ve bilim yönünden ne kadar esef edilse azdır.

Herhalde bu yersiz iddia ve sahsî düşünceler, tevsik edilmedikçe Türk anıtlarına, Türk mimarî tarihine karşı yapılmış birer tecavüz ve iftiradır. Bilindiği veçhile iftira, ahlâk ve kanun nazarında bir suçtur. Bu suçtan kurtulmak için de tek çare iddiayı ispat etmektir.

Bu kitabın bilhassa yüksek mimar ve mühendislerle sanat tarihi mensupları üzerinde yarattığı güvünün her gün çoğaldığını görmekteyiz. Binaenaleyh profesörden ilk ricamız, Türk mimarî organlarının kaynağı olduğunu söylediği Ermeni eserleri hangileri ise isimlerini, tarihlerini, resimlerini ortaya koyarak bunların kopyası bulunduğunu zannettiği Türk eserlerile yanyana getirerek neşretmesi, Ermeni ustalarının çalıştığını gösterir dökümanları ortaya koymasıdır. Yani iddialarını bütün delillerile ispat etmelidir. Hem bu, tez bir zarurettir. Çünkü Türk anıtları, Türk sanat tarihi böyle şüpheli bir perde arkasında kalamaz.

Hizmetçisini döven hanım

Lâlelide, Astıkır sokağında 36 numaralı evde oturan Zehra adında bir kadın, hizmetçisi 17 yaşındaki Gülizarı yaptığı bir kabahatten ötürü bir hayli dövdükten sonra maşa ile gözünden yaralamıştır. Gülizar tedavi altına alınmış, Zehra hakkında kanunî takibata başlanılmıştır.

Figure 2. Sedat Çetintaş writes in the *Cumhuriyet* of 20 December 1946, "A new Offence to Our Civilization History"
Figure 3. Tahsin Öz in the *Cumhuriyet* of 25 December 1946 writes "Prof. Diez Has to Prove His Claims!"

Diez responded in a column two days later on December 27 in *Cumhuriyet*, after a visit to its editor-in-chief Nadir Nadi (1908-1991) (Figure 4).[15] Diez's answer was primarily a defense of Çetintaş's attack on foreign scholarship. He pointed out how foreign scholars were formative in the establishment of the art historical knowledge on the region and referred particularly to his teacher at Vienna University, Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941). Diez claimed his own role as author of twelve books and a teacher of Islamic art both in Europe and the United States.[16]

> Today the scene of art history is at a more advanced level then is described. For sure, this development did not occur immediately and that easily. Learning in the area of Eastern arts owns today's success to continuous works of innumerable tireless art historians. One of these art historians and maybe the greatest was Strzygowski. As a student and a successor of his chair at Vienna, I myself have witnessed the works of this great man and as the author of twelve books on Eastern Art and with the role of educator to many devotees of scholarship working for Islamic art in Europe and America, I have tried to do what has befallen to my share.

In answer to the criticism of the depiction of Armenian precedents, Diez referred to the concepts of adoption, appropriation and fusion as traits of "great art". [17]

> We see in history not an existence out of nothing, but development, continuity and progress. Every great art that is born makes use of the preceding one. This is not copying. This is adoption, appropriation, melding in one's own being, rebirth and creation.

He reiterated a quote from Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), which he had also used at the beginning of the book: "A truly rich people becomes rich through borrowing and further developing ideas from others".[18]

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[15] Diez, "Ernst Diez Cevap Veriyor", *Cumhuriyet*, December 27, 1946, 2.

[16] Diez, December 27, 1946. "Bugün sanat tarihi ilmi, tasvir olunan durumdan çok daha ileri bir merhalede bulunuyor. Elbette bu terakki birdenbire ve öyle kolayca oluvermemiştir. İlim, Doğu sanatları sahasında bugünkü başarılarını, sayısız sanat tarihçilerinin yorulmak bilmiyen devamlı çalışmalarına borçludur. Bu sanat tarihçilerinden biri ve belki de en büyüklerinden biri Strzygowski idi. Onun bir talebesi ve Viyana'daki kürsüsünün muakkibi olarak bu büyük adamın çalışmalarına ben de çok yakından şahid oldum ve Doğu sanatı üzerinde çıkan on iki kitabı müellifi ve Avrupa ve Amerika'da, islâm sanatlarına çalışan bir çok ilim âşıklarına hocalık etmiş bir insan sıfatile, ben de kendi hisseme düşeni yapmağa çalıştım."

[17] Diez, December 27, 1946. "Tarihte yoktan var olma değil, tekamül, devam ve terakki görüyoruz. Doğan her büyük sanat, kendinden öncekinden faydalanır. Bu bir taklid değildir. Bu bir alma, benimseme, kendi öz varhğı içinde eritme, yeniden doğma ve yaratmadır."

Nadir Nadi also wrote an editorial in support of Diez, dismissing the accusations as personal complexes (Figure 5).[19]

> In the Professor's book there is no bad intention and an aim of depraved emotions, such as to insult Turkish identity and to belittle Turkish art… let alone insulting Turkish identity, it was the purpose to present Turkish art's creative superiority…History of civilization, whose routes are drawn by its own laws is based on liaisons of individuals and societies. This is not a characteristic only of the art of architecture, but a sociological truth that is spread over all areas concerning humans.

The campaign nevertheless continued in other newspapers. Within ten days of Diez's columnar, on 10 January 1947, Çetintaş wrote in *Vatan*, depicting Diez's answer as circumvention from the intentions of the book (Figure 6).[20] Tahsin Öz wrote in *Akşam* of 20 January 1947, characterizing Diez's discussions as "myths on the "Orient" (The Turkish word he uses is *şark*) (Figure 7). [21]

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[18] Diez, December 27, 1946. "Gerçekten zengin olan bir kavim, ancak başkalarından çok şey almak ve aldıklarını ilerletmek suretile zenginleşir." Evonne Levy in her book *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism (1845 - 1945): Burckhardt, Wölfflin, Gurlitt, Brinckmann, Sedlmayr* refers to the same quotation to be an opening citation of Brinckmann's 1915 Survey of Baroque Architecture. Levy 2015, 261." Ein wahrhaft reiches Volk wird dadurch reich, dass es vieles von anderen übernimmt und weiterbildet."

[19] Nadir Nadi, "Türklüğü Tahkir"(Insult to Turkishness), *Cumhuriyet*, 23. I. 1947, 1, 3. "[...] profesörün kitabında Türklüğü tahkir, Türk sanatını küçük görme gibi kötü niyete ve kötü duyguya dayanan bir maksad yoktur. Türklüğü tahkir şöyle dursun, tam tersine Türk sanatının yaratıcı üstünlüğü ortaya konmak istenmiştir [...] Kendi kanunları içinde kendi yolunu çizen medeniyet tarihi, ferdlerin ve cemiyetlerin sürekli münasebetlerine dayanır. Bu, yalnız mimarlık sanatına ait bir hususiyet değil, insanı ilgilendiren bütün sahalara yaygın bir sosyolojik mütearifedir." Nadir Nadi (Abalıoğlu) graduated from Department of Political Sciences at the University of Lausanne. After the death of his father Yunus Nadi in 1945, became the director and chief editör of *Cumhuriyet*.

[20] Çetintaş, "Süleymaniye Ayasofya'nın Taklidi Değildir"(Süleymaniye is not a copy of Hagia Sophia), *Vatan*, 10 January 1947. A deontologist, Süheyl Ünver, also got involved in the discussion with a column in the *Vatan* of 17 January 1947, asking with reference to Diez and Aslanapa, "why didn't they ask us". Süheyl Ünver, "Türkiye'de resim ve yazı tarihi"(The History of Painting and Writing in Turkey.

[21] Tahsin Öz, "Türk Sanatı Kitabındaki Sayısız Yanlışlar" (Innumerable Mistakes in The Book "Türk Sanatı"), *Akşam*, 20.1. 1947. "...şarka ait efsanevi görüşlerden addetmek zaruridir". Öz referred to the discussion of madrasas, where Diez seems to have re-used his discussion in the 1915 book *Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker*, in pointing out to the Koranic lectures taught and also the existence of a *turbe* (mausoleum) alongside the madrasa. Öz took offense, pointing out that "in a Turkish madrasa, medicine was taught even in its clinical form, as well as astronomy, geography."



2

"Türk sanatı" adlı eser dolayısile

Profesör Ernst Diez cevab veriyor

Profesör: «Meydana getirdikleri dev gibi eserler karşısında Hayreddin, Sinan, Davud ve Mehmed Ağaları küçümsemeğe kalkışmak kimin aklından geçer» diyor

İstanbul Üniversitesi Türk ve İslâm sanatları profesörü E. Diez'in «Türk Sanatı» adlı broşürü hakkında yüksek mimar Sedad Çetintaş ve onu takiben Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Müdürü Tahsin Öztın yazdıkları yazılar malûmdur. Profesör Diez bunlara cevaben bir yazı yazmış ve bize göndermiştir. Bu yazıyı aşağıda okuyacaksınız:

Cumhuriyet gazetesinin 20/XII/1946 tarihli nüshasında, mimar Sedad Çetintaş imzasile, «Medeniyet Tarihimize Yeni Bir Tecavüz» gibi pek sansasyonel bir başlık altında bir yazı çıktı. Şahsım hakkında hakikate uymıyan bir sürü isnadda bulunulan bu makalenin cevabını veriyorum. Efkârı umumiyenin bu meseleye hakkında hükmünü vermesini dilerim.

Mimar Çetintaşın makalesi unun bir «giriş» le işe başlıyor. Muharrir burada, Doğu ve İslâm medeniyet tarihinin, bugünkü şeklini almadan önceki merhalelerine dönerek, frenk muharrirlerinin yaptıkları hataları, hattâ insafsızca hükümlerine işaret ediyor ve XIX uncu asırda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun bizzat kendi evlâdlarının eserlerine karşı ne kadar lâkayd kaldığını kaydederek acı acı şikâyet ediyor. Mimar Çetintaş, pek uzun olmıyan makalesinin yarısından fazlasını bu «giriş» e ayırmış olduğu için, böyle eski zamanları hatırlatmasının her halde hususi bir sebebi olması lâzımgelir. Bugün sanat tarihi ilmi, tasvir olunan durumdan çok daha ileri bir merhalede bulunuyor. Elbette bu terakki birdenbire ve öyle kolayca olıvermemiştir. İlim, Doğu sanatları sahasında bugünkü başarılarını, asırsız sanat tarihçilerinin yorulmak bilmiyen devamlı çalışmalarına borçludur. Bu sanat tarihçilerinden biri ve belki de en büyüklerinden biri Strzygowski idi. Onun bir talebesi ve Viyanadaki kürsüsünün müakkibi olarak bu büyük âlimin çalışmalarına ben de çok yakından şahid oldum ve Doğu sanatı üzerinde çıkan en iki kitabın müellifi ve Avrupa ve Amerikada, İslâm sanatlarına çalışan bir çok ilim âşıklarına hocalık etmiş bir insan sıfatile, ben de kendi hissime düşeni yapmağa çalıştım. Acaba Çetintaş, bize böyle eski zamanları hatırlatmakla, Doğu sanat tarihinin tekâmülüne uzaktan, yakından hizmetleri dokunanlara, Türk mimarisinin bir meraklısı sıfatile teşekkür etmeyi mi düşünmekteydi, diye bir sual sormak insanın aklına geliyor. Epey zamandanberi İstanbul Üniversitesinde Türk ve İslâm sanatları kürsüsünün hocası olarak çalışıyor, kendimi talebeme ve Türk sanatının araştırılmasına vakfetmiş bulunuyorum. Elbette kadirşinaslık insanı memnun eder değil mi? İşte Çetintaşın makalesini böyle bir ruh hali içinde okumağa başladığım sırada, hiç beklenmiyen bir netice ile karşılaştım. Makaleyi yazan, birdenbire bana dönerek, beni Türk medeniyetine tecavüz etmiş bir saygısız olarak herkese teşhir ediyor ve bana karşı Türk sanatını müdafaa ediyormuş gibi pek de tuhaf bir tavır takınmıya kalkıyor. Makalenin başile devamı arasındaki bu uygunsuzluğu ben anlıyamadım. Acaba Çetintaş, sanat tarihi literatürüne hiç vâkıf olmadığı için mi, böyle bir temaruza düşmektedir? Kendisi bir sanat tarihçisi olmadığı için, bunu bilmemekte mazur görülebilir. Fakat bu mazeret hakikate uymıyan ithamlarda bulunmayı haklı gösterir mi, bilmem. Bunun takdirini, bu satırları okuyanlara bırakıyorum.

Şimdi esas meseleye, bu tecavüz bahsine geliyorum. Bu satırları okuyanlar, benim Türk sanatına tecavüz etmiş bir saygısız olarak gösterilmekliğimin sebebini, pek haklı olarak öğrenmeyi isteyeceklerdir. İşlemiş olduğum suç nedir? Hemen cevab vereyim: Son zamanlarda «Türk Sanatı» adı altında ve aslatanım Dr. Oktay Aslanapa tarafından türkçeye çevrilen bir kitabım çıktı. Bu kitabda Türk sanatile Bizans ve eski Ermeni sanatı arasında bulunan bazı münasebetlere işaret ettim. İşte makalenin muharriri, bu noktalara takılmakta ve beni bu münasebetlere işaret etmek gibi büyük bir suçu işlemiş olduğumdan dolayı Türk medeniyeti tarihine tecavüz etmekle itham etmektedir.

Her şeyden önce, bu «tecavüz» kelimesi üzerinde durarak, iki medeniyet çevresi arasında bir münasebet bulunduğunu göstermenin, neden bunlardan birine bir tecavüz sayılabileceğini öğrenmek isterdim. Sanatta «yoktan var olma» diye bir şeyin bulunmaması, sanat tarihile uğraşanların bildikleri eski bir hakikattir. Mitoloji bize Jupiter'in kafasından Athena'nın birdenbire doğduğunu anlatır. Bu bir efsanedir. Tarih bize buna benzer bir şey kaydetmiyor. Tarihte yoktan var olma değil, tekâmül, devam ve terakki görüyoruz. Doğan her büyük sanat, kendinden öncekinden faydalanır. Bu bir taklid değildir. Bu bir alma, benimseme, kendi öz varlığı içinde eritme, yeniden doğma ve yaratmadır. Bir sanatın büyüklüğü, meydana getirdiği âbidelerle ölçülür. Bünyesine karışan unsurların çeşitliliği, onu küçültmez, ona zenginlik verir. Roma sanatı, Yunan sanatına dayanır. Fakat bundan dolayı Roma mimarlığının orijinal olmadığını söylemek gülünç olur. Antikite olmasaydı, Rönesans olamazdı. Fakat bu yüksek Rönesansın değerini eksiltmez, büyük mimar, ressam ve heykeltraşlarının dehasını gölgeleyemez. Osmanlı mimarlığı için de aynı şey söylenebilir. Ayasofyadan istifade etmiş olmaktan utanacak bir mimarı, ben tasavvur edemiyorum. Aksine, büyük Türk mimarlarının, bu muazzam eserin karşısında, ondan faydalanmadan kalabileceklerini düşünmek, kanaatimce, bu mimarların ruhlarına bir sayısızlık olur. Büyük olanı meydana getiren, büyüklükten kaçmaz. Beyazıd, Sehzade, Süleymaniye gibi, ölmez âbideleri yaratanlar. Bizansla yüz yüze gelmekten kaçınacak insanlar değillerdi. Fakat meydana getirdikleri dev gibi eserlerin karşısında, onları, Hayreddini, Sinanı, Davud ve Mehmed Ağaları küçümsemeğe kalkışmak kimin aklından geçer. Türkler, medeniyetlerine karışan unsurların çeşitliliğini inkâra tenezzül etmiyecek kadar büyük bir medeniyet meydana getirmişlerdir. Rönesans medeniyetinin eşsiz tarihçisi Jokob Burckhardt'ın söylediği gibi «Gerçekten zengin olan bir kavim, ancak başkalarından çok şey almak ve aldıklarını ileri'etmek suretile zenginleşir.»

Bir sanatın, yabancı bir kültür çevresinden faydalanmakla değeri azalmıyorsa, o halde Türk sanatının da diğer kültür çevrelerinden faydalanmış olduğunu göstermek, Türk medeniyetine bir tecavüz sayılamaz. Fakat aksine, tarihî bir vâkıadan bahsolunurken, «vay sen benim dinime, imanıma tecavüz ediyorsun» tarzındaki bir tenkid tarzı, başkalarına bir tecavüz, hem de haksız bir tecavüzdür. İlim münakaşalarında efkârı umumiyenin hassasiyeti istismar edilmemelidir. Çünkü aldatıldığını anlarsa, ilmin affetmediğini, efkârı umumiye de affetmez. Diğer taraftan taassub zihniyetinden doğan bu gibi «sözde tenkid»lerin ilim için de ne kadar tehlikeli olacağını söylemeğe lüzum var mı bilmiyorum. Ancak bu zihniyetten kurtulunursa, bir meselenin ilim sahasına intikal etmesi ümid olunabilir. Aksi takdirde hakikat gürültüye feda edilmeğe mahkûm kalır.

Fakat, bir mesele ilim sahasına intikal etti mi iş değişir. Bu sahada doğru veya yanlış olan iddialar vardır. Doğru olanlar kabul, yanlış olanlar da reddedilir. Fakat şahsi temaslara girişilmez ve esasen kimsenin bunu yapmağa hakkı da olmaz. Şimdi acaba Çetintaş benim Türk sanatının yabancı kültür cevherleri ile olan münasebetleri hakkında söylediklerimi doğru bulmuyor mu, diye sormak mümkündür. Makalesinin sonunda sordukları bazı suallerden ben bunu anlıyorum. Fakat o kadar dolambaçlı bir yoldan gidersek bu noktaya varıyor ki, insan doğru yol varken, niçin eğrinin tercih edilmiş olduğunu sormaktan kendini alamıyor. Çetintaş, suallerini üç kısma ayırıyor. Evvelâ Ermeni sanatının menşei hakkında bir sual soruyor, sonra Ermeni ve nihayet Bizans sanatlarile Türk sanatı arasında ne gibi münasebetlerin bulunduğunu öğrenmeyi istiyor. Günlük gazetelerin hacmi ve mahiyetleri müsaid olmadığı için, bu suallere İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi tarafından çıkarılmakta olan «Felsefe Arkivi» nin beşinci nüshasında, etraflı bir surette cevab vermeyi daha münasib buluyorum. Alâkadar olanların, bu yazıyı okumalarını rica ederim. Belki okuduktan sonra da, bazı noktaların daha aydınlanmasını benden isteyecekler bulunabilir. Onlardan ilmî risalelerde, fakat Çetintaşın yolundan gitmemek şartile, beni ikaz ve tenkid etmelerini, ayrıca rica ederim. Tâ ki objektif delillere dayanan bir münakaşa gelişebilsin ve bu münakaşadan bizim kadar okuyucular da istifade edebilsinler. Şairin söylediği gibi, «Barikat hakikat, musademet efkârdan doğar».

Ernst Diez



Türklüğü tahkir

Yüksek mekteblerimizde vazife gören bir yabancı profesör, Türk sanatına dair bir kitab yazmış, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı da kitabı bastırmış. Bu gibi bahisleri yakın bir ilgi ile takib ettiğini sandığım bir yüksek mimar arkadaşım, haber göndermek ve telefon etmek suretile bana şu sözleri ulaştırdı:

— Profesör kitabında Türk sanatını Ermeni sanatından kopya edilmiş gibi gösteriyor; Süleymaniye de dahil olmak üzere en güzel mimarî eserlerimizin Ayasofyadan taklid edildiğini söylüyor. Türklüğe karşı bundan ağır bir hakaret olamaz. Makale yazıp adama cevab vereceğim.»

Türk devletinin hizmetinde çalışmayı kabul etmiş bir yabancı ilim adamının durup dururken milletimize hakaret maksadile bir kitab yazmaya, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının da bu kitabı körükörüne kabul ederek kendi hesabına bastırmasının kolay inanılır bir şey olmamakla beraber, bu gibi mevzularda ihtisası olduğuna inandığım sayın arkadaşımın teklifini kabul ettim. Yazı Cumhuriyet'te basıldı.

Türk sanatını inkâr etmek, en güzel eserlerimizin birer taklidden ibaret olduğunu ileri sürmek gibi ağır bir töhmet altında bırakılan yabancı profesör, bir kaç gün sonra bir cevabla beraber kitabından da bana bir nüsha gönderdi. Arada yüksek mimarın arkadaşı olan bir müze müdürünün de aynı mahiyette bir makalesi çıkmıştı. Profesörün cevabını Matbuat Kanununa göre basmağa mecburduk. Ciddî bir ilim adamına yaraşacak bir dille kaleme aldığı yazısında, profesör, hakkındaki iddiaları reddediyor, muhtelif medeniyetler arasındaki karşılıklı münasebetlerden bahsetmenin, bunlardan birini inkâr demek olamıyacağını söylüyordu.

Yüksek mimar arkadaşım işi büyütmeğe taraftardı, Profesörün tevil yoluna saptığından bahsediyor, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının böyle bir kitabı gençlere nasıl okutabileceğinin hesabını sormak istiyordu. Kendisine herhangi bir cevab vermeden önce bir defa kitaba göz gezdireyim dedim. Ve üzülerek söylüyorum, yüksek mimar arkadaşımı haksız bulduın.

Arkeolog değilim, mimarlıktan da anlamam. Kitabda ilim bakımından sakat ve yanlış iddialar, çürük faraziyeler var mıdır? Varsa bunların derece ve sümulü nedir? bu hususta bana söz düşmez.

Fakat türkçe bilen, az çok sosyoloji okumuş bir insan sıfatile söyliyebilirim ki, profesörün kitabında Türklüğü tahkir, Türk sanatını küçük görme gibi kötü niyete ve kötü duyguya dayanan bir maksad yoktur. Eser, herkesin kolayca anlıyabileceği olduğu kadar temiz bir dille türkçeye çevrilmiştir ve Türk mimarisinin millî kaynaklarını göstermek, ayrıca, Osmanlılar devrindeki tekâmüllü yolunda Türk camî mimarisinin, aynı devreye raslayan Avrupa barok mimarisinden daha aşağı kalmadığını meydana vurmak hedefini gütmüştür; yani Türklüğü tahkir şöyle dursun, tam tersine Türk sanatının yaratıcı üstünlüğü ortaya konmak istenmiştir.

Kendi kanunları içinde kendi yolunu çizen medeniyet tarihi, ferdlerin ve cemiyetlerin sürekli münasebetlerine dayanır. Bu, yalnız mimarlık sanatına ait bir hususiyet değil, insanı ilgilendiren bütün sahalara yaygın bir sosyolojik müteallıdır. Ferdler öteki ferdlerle, milletler öteki milletlerle münasebette buluna buluna yaşarlar. Avustralyada, Orta Afrikada ve diğer bazı yerlerde oturan iptidaî kabileler, ortaya yaratıcı bir medeniyet çıkaramamışlarsa, bunun en büyük sebebi, başka medeniyetlerle temas imkânından mahrum kalmış olmalarıdır.

Orta Asyadan kalkıp Orta Avrupaya kadar uzanan ecdadımız, binlerce yıllık tarihimiz boyunca çeşidli milletlerle düşüp kalkmış, bunlardan kimine bir şeyler vermiş, kiminden bir şeyler almış, netice itibarile dünyanın hayranlığını kazanan bir sanat üstünlüğüne ulaşmıştır. Selçuk mimarisinde bazı Ermeni motiflerine rastlanması, Süleymaniyede Ayasofyadan bir ilham sezilmesi neden Türklüğe bir hakaret sayılacakmış?.

NADİR NADİ

— *Arkası S. 3, Sü. 4 te* —

Figure 4. Ernst Diez answers in *Cumhuriyet* of 27 December 1946
Figure 5. Editor-in-Chief of *Cumhuriyet* Nadir Nadi writes in defense of Diez, "Türklüğü Tahkir"(Insult to Turkishness), 23 January 1947



VATAN

FIKIRLER VE TENKITLER

Süleymaniye, Ayasofya'nın taklidi değildir

Profesör Ernst Diez bu hakikati mutlaka öğrenmelidir. Kitabındaki sathi fikirleri gazete sütunlarında tevile kalkışmak ta bir ilim adamına yakışmaz.

Yazan
Sedat Çetintaş
Yüksek Mimar



20 Ocak 1947

Türk sanatı kitabındaki sayısız yanlışlar

— Tahsin ÖZ —

Figure 6. Sedat Çetintaş in *Vatan* of 10 January 1947, "Süleymaniye Ayasofya'nın Taklidi Değildir"(Süleymaniye is not a Replica of Hagia Sophia)
Figure 7. Tahsin Öz in *Akşam* of 20 January 1947, "Türk Sanatı Kitabındaki Sayısız Yanlışlar" (Numerous Mistakes in the Book *Türk Sanatı*)

Öz accused Diez of "notorious massive discussions" and "pages full with digressive claims". He highlighted the offense in the depiction of Armenian influence, which for him put Turkish art in a weaker position. [22]

> As is well known, high art always influences weaker arts, and it remains for the impoverished art to copy. In relation to this principal, the sentences of Diez's book reduce Turks' power and talent for art; depict it to be under the influence of Armenian art, to have produced similar results, and more so to have turned to foreign craftsmen to build them.

Öz also pointed out to incorrect photography, as well as chronological and terminological mistakes in the book, the latter of which he attributed rather to its translator Oktay Aslanapa.[23]

Öz also wrote in the daily *Vatan* of 22 January 1947 this time criticizing Diez's terminology of "Turkish-Islamic State Art" (*Türk-İslam Devlet Sanatı*). He viewed the approach as an aftermath of Diez's background in Islamic art historical scholarship, which for Öz was an obstacle for the work on Turkish art history. [24]

The campaign appears to have come to a halt with a column of Sedat Çetintaş in the *Akşam* of 24 January 1947, titled "Laxity or Malice?"(*Gaflet mi Kasıt mı?*) (Figure 8). Çetintaş recapped his initial criticisms on foreign scholarship and on generational difference. He accused Diez of bigotry in ignoring up-to-date scholarship.[25] Çetintaş further distinguished between friends and "bigoted foreigners," favouring Albert Gabriel (1883-1972), who was then the director of the

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[22] Tahsin Öz, 20.1. 1947. "Bilindiği veçhile yüksek sanat daima zayıf sanatı tesiri altında bırakır, düşkün sanatlara da kopyecilik kalır. İşte bu prensibe göre Diez'in kitabındaki cümleler, Türkler'in sanat kudret ve kabiliyetini o derecelere düşürüyor ki, Ermeni sanatı tesiri altında kalmış, onun sanat eserlerinin benzerlerini yapmış, hatta onları da yapmak için yabancı ustalara başvurulmuş olduğu gösteriliyor."

[23] Tahsin Öz, 20.1. 1947. These translations included calling the "Hünkâr mahfili" "sultan locası" (sultan's lodge), "Alçı pencere" (plaster window), "alçı kafes" (plaster cage); "şebeke" madeni kafes (metal cage), "Sırlı tuğla" (glazed brick) cilalı tuğla(polished brick).

[24] Öz, "Türk Sanatı Kitabı Dolayısıyla-With relation to the book "Türk Sanatı", *Vatan*, 22.1.1947.

[25] Çetintaş, "Gaflet mi Kasıt mı?" (Laxity or Malice?), *Akşam*, 24 January 1947. Çetintaş referred to a 1922 discussion on the ingenuity of the architecture of the Ottoman mosques by Karl Wulzinger and pointed out that Wulzinger depicted the nine centuries between the foundation of Hagia Sophia and Sinan's monuments, to prove the reverse of what Diez claimed. Çetintaş might have referred to the book, Alexander Raymund, Karl Wulzinger, *Alttürkische Keramik in Kleinasien und Konstantinopel*, 1922.

French Institute of Anatolian Studies in Istanbul and Bruno Taut (1880-1938), who had been a state architect in Turkey between 1936 and 1938.[26] In this final column, Çetintaş demanded Diez's job at the university to be suspended, as he accused the book of "content that is able to pervert the Turkish youth on its own civilization history".

The reactions to the book did not initially have an influence on Diez's job and in the following two years, Diez continued a busy schedule, also giving courses at *İstanbul Teknik Okulu* (Istanbul Technical School, present Yıldız Technical University) between 1947-48, and at the Academy of Fine Arts (Figure 9).[27] In a letter to his daughter Doris Brehm dating to 12 October 1947, Diez wrote that he wrote for a Turkish Encyclopaedia (probably his Bursa article in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*).[28] In another letter to his daughter dating to 14 May 1948, Diez wrote about his wish to stay in Turkey at least until 1953, in view of the events of the 500th anniversary of Turkish conquest of the city.[29]

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[26] Sedat Çetintaş had contributed to Gabriel's book "Turkish Monuments of Anatolia" (Monuments *turcs d'Anatolie*) and they also partook in the same committee for an unrealized monograph on Sinan. Necipoğlu explains that a brochure of Sinan's monograph was published in 1937, on the occasion of the Second Congress of Turkish History, and in it Fuat Köprülü referred to Gabriel as a "true friend of our nation" and his "intimate friend." Çetintaş's notation thus appears as a rephrasing of Köprülü's and points to a common dilemma over foreign scholarship.
Trained as an architect-archaeologist, Albert Gabriel taught in the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University between 1926 and 1930 and subsequently served as the first director of the French Institute of Archaeology until 1956. Necipoğlu discusses Gabriel's role in conceptualizing a singularly Turkish architectural character through his compilation of architectural drawings under the title "Anatolian Turkish Monuments" (*Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*) and particularly through depicting Sinan's works as products of a national character. Ekrem Akurgal in his 1944 article on Sinan titled "Sanat Tarihi Bakımından Sinan" also refers to Albert Gabriel's choice of Sinan's buildings over Hagia Sophia. Necipoğlu 2007. Akurgal 1944.
Bruno Taut came to Turkey in 1936 after an offer for a position as Professor of Architecture at the "State Academy of Fine Arts" in Istanbul (currently, Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts). In the two years he spent in Turkey he designed Ankara University's Faculty of Philology, History and Geography (1937-1939) and also wrote a book titled *Mimari Bilgisi* (Knowledge of Architecture). Ali Sami Ülgen refers to the book's discussion on a shared "conception" between Topkapı Palace, Turkish house and Süleymaniye Mosque. Ülgen 1957.
[27] Doğramacı 2008, 332.
[28] Ernst Diez to Doris Brehm, 12 October 1947, Ernst Diez Papers, Correspondences, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel.
[29] Ernst Diez to Doris Brehm, 14 May 1948, Ernst Diez Papers, Correspondences, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. „Aber selbstverständlich hangt alles von meiner Gesundheit auch von allfälligen Ereignissen etc. ab, so dass Man stets für einen „Rückzug" bereit sein nun."



• Serbes Sütun •

Gaflet mi, kasıt mı?

Türk gençliğini kendi medeniyet tarihi üzerinde dalâlete sevkedici mahiyette olan şu mahut (Türk San'atı) adlı kitabı, hem de İstanbul üniversitesi edebiyat fakültesi adına negreden profesör Ernst Diez şirf kendi acayip görüşüne göre muhtelif cephelerden Osmanlı camilerini birer Ayasofya taklidi, Türk mimarları ile birlikte Padişahları da: (Ayasofyayı geçmeğe, geride bırakmağa, ondan daha büyüklerini yapmağa!) uğraşan, fakat bir türlü muvaffak olamıyan aciz ve becerikâz taklitçiler olarak göstermiştir ki şimdiye kadar Türk basınında yaptığımız yayınlarla bu dâvanın kökten çürüklüğünü gereği gibi ortaya koyduk sanıyoruz. Fakat yara çok derin ve geniş olduğu için kestirme tedavi çaresi bulununcaya kadar susmağa imkân bulamıyoruz.

Müellif, Avusturyalı bir Alman ve oldukça yaşlı bir zat olduğuna göre, her milletinkinden evvel Alman bibliyografisinden bilgili olması gerektir ve Alman müellifleri arasında taassup başlarından kurtularak ilmeri ve vicdani duygularla hak ve hakikati gören ve söyliyen temiz yürekli bir çok insanların şahsiyetlerinden de haberdar olması lâzım gelirdi. Muhakkak ki bunların hepsini bizim daha iyi bilirler. Bunlardan birkini tesadüfen misal verelim:

1922 de yani 25 yıl evvel München'de basılmış Altbyrhische Keramik adlı kitapta (Karl Waulzinger) şunları yazıyor: «... Osmanlıların İstanbulu işgali ile Ayasofyayı taklit etikleri hakkındaki umumi fikir çok yanlıştır. Unutmamalı ki Ayasofyanın kuruluşu ile Bizans İmparatorluğunun yıkılışı arasından dokuz asır geçmiş, son devrede zayıf sanat kırıntıları haline gelmiş olan Bizans eserleri ile Sinan'ın muazzam eserleri arasında büyük bir tezat husule gelmiştir.

Eğer Türkler Bizansta hâkim olan inşa tarzına bağlanmışlardı hiç bir zaman böyle muazzam ve şahane yapılara ve İstanbul şehrine hâlâ hâkim bulunan kubbe dağlarına malik olamazlardı...» diyor.

Hakka ve hakikate doğru taraflez bir görüşün ifadesi olan bu sözler Alman kültürünün yetiştirmiş olduğu tamamen 25 yıl evvelki bir Alman müellifinin sözleridir.

Şimdi ise aradan 25 yıl geçmiştir, yani modern ilim ve Almanlar Türk medeniyet tarihi üzerinde aydınlığa doğru 25 yıllık mesafe almış olduktan sonradır ki 1946 yılında Münih veya Berlinde değil, İstanbulda, hattâ bir Türk üniversitesi kürsüsünde ve onun yüksek adına yayınladığı bir kitapta bir coğrafi profesörün bu kadar menfi ve hatalı fikirler ve iddialarla ortaya atılabilmesi masum bir gafletten daha ziyade taassup sevkile vukua gelmiş cüretkâr bir kasıt diye mütalâa olunabilir. Müellifin gafleti yalnız şu noktaya münhasır kalabilir ki: (Medeniyet tarihimize yeni bir tecavüz) başlıklı birinci makalesinde belirtmiş olduğum gibi bu günkü Cumhuriyet irfan ailesinin XIX ncu asır veyahut 25 yıl evvelki nesli olmadığını kestirmiyişidir.

Saym müellif profesör şu noktayı hiç unutmamalıdır ki geçmişte zaman özellikleri ve kendilerinin pek bilmedikleri bir çok sebeplerden dolayı Türk medeniyeti ve mimari tarihi üzerinde bazı müelliflerin gayretlerile bir çok hakikatler yukarıda nakletmiş olduğum Karl Wulzinger'in söylediği gibi yanlış olarak umumi fikirler halinde yayılmıştır ki bu gibi yanlışlıkları, tıpkı Ernst Diez gibi, çarpık görüşlü ve taraf güder müelliflerden yapılar, bu yanlış şeylere herkesle beraber maalesef babalarımızdan bile inanmak safiğinde bulunanlar oldu, fakat bundan sonra işte şu Karl Wulzinger gibi, profesör mimar Bruno Taut gibi ve profesör A. Gabriel gibi bir çok realist üstatlarımızla birlikte biz de, bugünkü Cumhuriyet nesli hakikati söyliyeceğiz. Bundan böyle herkesle beraber, bilhassa müteassip cenahlar, öğrenerek, hatalı bilgilerini düzeltmeğe mecbur olacaklardır.

Profesör Diez ve benzerlerinin görüşü ne kadar makûs olursa olsun ve bu görüş tarzı ister bir gaflet eseri, isterse en yaman bir kasıt mahsulü olsun bundan pervamız yoktur. Dünya ilim ailesinde realist bilginler grupu kuvvetli oldukça ve bizimle beraber bulundukça Türk aydınlarınca ortada endişeye değer hiç bir tehlike yoktur. Bilâkis hakikatin müdafaası bizlere zevk verici bir eğlence teşkil eder.

Fakat bugünkü durumun bambaşka bir rengi vardır ki o da bu saçma kitabın yüksek bir mânevi şahsiyete dayanmakta oluşu felâketidir. Evet, felâkete değil felâketlere uğramıştır. Çünkü müellifi kim olursa olsun bu kitap İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat fakültesi adına yayınlanmış olduğu için müdafaa cephemiz bu dayanış ile rahnedar edilmiş oluyor, ve Türk sanat tarihi konusu hakkında henüz mühim bir boşluk taşıyan yabancı memleketlerin sağ ve bâkir muhitinde bu adla intişar etmiş bir kitabın tahlikeli ve müteessih bir hava yaratacağından müdafaasının bizlere tatsız ve zevksiz bir çok mücâdeler çıkarışacağı pek tabiidir. İşte bunun içindir ki ilim namına baştan başa bir çok sakatlıklar ve acayipliklerle dolu olan bu kitap hakkında ilgili büyüklerimizin dikkat nazarını çekmek bize mühim bir borç oluyor.

Yüksek mimar: S. ÇETİNTAŞ

Figure 8. Sedat Çetintaş writes in *Akşam* of 24 January 1947, "Gaflet mi Kasıt mı?" (Laxity or Malice?)

Nevertheless, the criticisms found effect in early 1949, when Diez's contract at Istanbul University was not renewed at a senate meeting in spite of the backing of Diez from the Faculty of Literature. The decision found place in daily newspapers. Şevket Rado (1913-1988), in his column in the daily *Akşam* of 2 April 1949, wrote that in spite of the consensus of the Literature Faculty's Commission of Professors to continue on with the contract, the Senate that consisted of representatives of the Faculties of Medicine, Law, Economy, Science and Forestry did not renew the contract. Rado quoted from the decision that it was taken on grounds that Diez "did

not and would not provide the anticipated contribution to the University and academic life". [30]

> The contract of Diez, Professor of Turkish and Islamic art, is not renewed. The Senate has lengthily examined the situation of this professor and has decided that as he did not and would not provide the anticipated contribution to the University and academic life, the Senate did not see the necessity and benefit from renewing the contact and prolonging the employment.

Rado, in view also of the dismissal of Professor Hellmut Ritter (1892-1971) pointed out that among all the universities of the world, it was "we", who did not need foreign professors.[31]

Within a week of the decision, journalist Vâlâ Nureddin (1901-1967) interviewed Diez and published his impressions in the daily *Akşam* of 10 April 1949 (Figure 10).[32] In the article, he pointed out to Diez's background at the University of Vienna's Art History Institute, which he emphasised to have contributed to the study of Turkish art by disengaging it from categories of Islam and the Orient. A historian of Turkish Studies, Hüseyin Namık Orkun (1902-1956) also wrote a column dating to 22 May 1949, underlining that Diez was irreplaceable. Orkun underlined that Diez's book had introduced a methodology to Turkish art historiography.[33] Orkun's criticism of Diez was his failure to take note of pre-Islamic Turkish art, and that he related to a lack of background in the field.

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[30] Şevket Rado, *Akşam*, 2 February 1949, "Türk ve İslâm profesörü Diez'in mukavelesi yenilenmemiştir. Senato bu profesörün durumunu uzun uzun tetkik etmiş ve bunun Üniversite ve Türk ilim hayatına istenilen faydayı temin etmediğine ve edemiyeceğine kanaat getirdiği için, kendisiyle yeniden mukavele yapmakta ve istihdamına devam etmekte bir lüzum ve fayda görmemiştir." Şevket Rado (1913-1988) wrote in the newspaper Akşam between 1934 and 1960.

[31] Şevket Rado, 2 February 1949. Hellmut Ritter had started teaching Arabic and Persian Philology at Istanbul University in 1933. Rado points out that upon hearing Ritter's dismissal, Byzantinist Schneider gave up his decision to come to Istanbul University. In my interview with Semavi Eyice, Eyice also pointed out that all arrangements for Schneider's arrival had been made. Tonbul, Zehra, Interview with Semavi Eyice. Personal Interview. Istanbul, November 13, 2014.

[32] Vâlâ Nureddin, 10 April 1949. Vâlâ Nureddin was the son of the last Ottoman governor of Beirut Nureddin Bey, and had participated in the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) in Moscow in the early 1920's, along with close friend the poet Nazım Hikmet. He became a journalist in Turkey from 1926, and wrote in Akşam between 1927-1933 and 1939-1966, where he wrote with the pseudonym Vâ-Nû.

[33] Hüseyin Namık Orkun ,"Prof. Diez ve Eseri" (Prof. Diez and His Book), 22.5.1949.



Figure 9. Ernst Diez in Turkey with Oktay Aslanapa next to him, Source: [Oktay Aslanapa Archives]



Üniversiteden çıkarılan ilim adamı

Beğenmediğimiz profesör Diez'le konuştum

Edebiyat Fakültesinin, bu salı günü, çıkarma kararı aleyhinde veto'sunu kullanacağı anlaşılıyor

Hiçbir işe yaramadığı iddiasiyle Üniversiteden çıkarmak istediğimiz profesör Diez ile görüştüm; hakkında kısaca malûmat veriyorum:

1924 te Viyana Üniversitesinde profesör olarak bulunmuş.

1926-1938 arasında on iki sene müddetle Amerikada gene profesörlük ediyor.

1939 da tekrar Viyana Üniversitesine dönüyor. Felsefe Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Enstitüsünde başkan olarak dört sene müddetle çalışıyor.

1943 te İstanbul Üniversitesinin daveti üzerine Türkiyeye gelmiş. Bugüne kadar Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Enstitüsünde ders veriyor.

★

Eserlerinin listesini aldım. 30 kitabı vardır ki, bize taallûk edenleri şunlar:

Prof. Diez

(Vâ-Nû)

(Arkası 3 üncü sahifede)

Figure 10. Vâlâ Nureddin interviews Ernst Diez, published in the *Akşam* of 10 April 1949, "Beğenmediğimiz professor Diez'le konuştum" (I talked to the disapproved professor Diez)

In spite of his dismissal, Diez's influence persisted in Turkish scholarship, mainly through a generation of students he taught, including Semavi Eyice (b. 1922), Turgut Cansever (1921-2009) and Haldun Taner (1915-1986). The book became the basis of later versions by his assistant Oktay Aslanapa (1914-2013), who claimed Diez's legacy.[34] Diez returned to Turkey in 1959 upon invitation for the "First International Congress on Turkish Art" (*Milletlerarası Birinci Türk Sanatları Kongresi*) and gave two short papers.[35] In the proceedings, he was mentioned as

[34] Oktay Aslanapa, *Türk ve İslam Sanatı* (Turkish and Islamic Art), İstanbul 1959; *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London 1971, New York 1972; *Türk Sanatı I*, İstanbul 1972; *Türk Sanatı ll*, İstanbul 1973; *Türk Sanat Tarihi*, Ankara 1976; *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Türk Sanatı - 14. yüzyıl*, (Hazırlayan ve Mimari, Çini, Keramik, Halı, Minyatür Bölümleri), Ankara 1977; *Türk Sanatı*, İstanbul 1984; *Türk Sanatı I-II*, İstanbul 1984.

[35] Diez, "Embleme im Byzantinischen Palast und in den Türkischen Grossmoscheen (Emblems in the Byzantine Palaces and the Turkish Mosques)" and "Maler der Steppe" (Painter of the Steppe) in *I. Türk Sanat Kongresi Bildirileri* (Proceedings of the First Turkish Art Congress), Ankara 19-24 October 1959, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 8-12,140-142.

"Professor Emeritus University of Vienna" and "Bryn Mawr College Pennsylvania, U.S.A." and his background at Istanbul University was not indicated.

Upon news of Diez's death at age 83 in 1961, Haldun Taner wrote an obituary in the daily *Vatan* of 4 August 1961, titled "Prof. Ernst Diez, one of the first people to introduce Turkish art history to the European scientific world, has left us" (*Avrupa bilim dünyasına Türk sanat tarihini ilk tanıtanlardan biri olan Profesör Ernst Diez Dünyamızdan ayrıldı*) (Figure 11). Taner portrayed Diez as "one of the most genial, mature men of learning" that he had ever known. He referred to the events of a decade ago as defamation. [36] He noted that the attackers had personal inferiority complexes and blurred the public opinion due to their use of what he termed to be "crooked feelings of national honour" and demagogical language.[37]

Taner reviewed the criticisms through a reference to Goethe, emphasising that every art is an adoption and recreation; and is not a product of a nation's genius.[38]

> Every art that is born made use of the previous ones. This should have been called not copying but as Goethe said, as an adoption, an embracing, dissolving know-how in one's own being and re-creating.

Two years after Diez's death, a dedicatory collection of articles was published by Istanbul University's Art History Institute, under the editorship of Oktay Aslanapa, who ended his introduction on a note of the Turks' loss of a respected teacher, a perfect man, a great academic and a true friend of Turkey (Figure 12).[39]

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[36] Haldun Taner, 4 August 1961. "[...] bizde bütün iyi başaranlar gibi, bir jurnale bir karalamağa kurban gitti."

[37] Haldun Taner, 4 August 1961. "[...] işe çok çarpık bir milli onör duygusuyla girdikleri için, mantıktan çok duygu ile hüküm veren kamu düşüncesini demagojik bir şekilde bulandıranlar elbette ki daha şanslı olacaklardı."

[38] Haldun Taner, 4 August 1961. "Oysa tarihin hiçbir devrinde yalnız bir milletin dehasından fışkırmış bir sanat oluntusuna rastlamak mümkün değildi...Doğam her büyük sanat kendin öncekilerden faydalanmıştı. Bunu taklit değil Goethe'nin de dediği gibi bir alma, bir benimseme, bir veriyi kendi varlığı içinde eritip yeniden yaratma diye tanımlamak daha doğru olurdu."

[39] Aslanapa 1963, XII. "Wir Türken haben mit ihm unseren verehrten Lehrer, einen vollkommenen Menschen, einen grossen Wissenschaftler und einen wahrhaften Freund der Türkei verloren."



GÜNÜN YAZISI

Avrupa bilim dünyasına Türk sanat tarihini ilk tanıtanlardan biri olan Profesör Ernst Diez

Dünyamızdan ayrıldı

Yazan: **Haldun TANER**

Dünya çapında bir bilim adamı, geçende dünyamızdan ayrıldı.

Profesör Ernst Diez'i Türkiyede tanımayan pekaz aydın vardır.

1878 de Karnten de doğan Graz ve Viyana Universitelerinde Sanat tarihi ve arkeoloji okuyan Diez, daha sonra Josef Strzygowski ve W. Gurlitt'in yanında doktora yapmış 1903 - 1904 yıllarında İstanbul ve Romada incelemelere başlamış, daha sonra Viyana, Berlin müzelerinde çalışmış 1911 de Viyana Universitesinde asistan 1913 de Docent 1924 de Profesör olmuştu.

Gençliğindenberi Anadolu İran, Hindistan, Mısır, Japonya, Çin ve Cava da unun incelemeler yapan Prof Diez, Sanat Tarihindeki büyük otoritesi yüzünden yabancı Universiteler tarafından birçok davetler almıştı. 1943 de İstanbul Universitesinin Prof. Ernst Diez'i İstanbula çağırması bu bakımdan çok isabetli bir hareket olmuştu.

Değerli profesörün İstanbul Üniversitesindeki en olumlu işi Avrupa Universiteleri metodu ile kurduğu Sanat Tarihi Enstitüsü oldu. Ayrıca Avrupa bilim dünyasına Türk sanat tarihini ilk tanıtanlardan biri olan Diez ilk Türk sanatı kitabını buradaki hocalığı sırasında 1946 da yazdı.

Buradaki hocalığı sırasında onun öğrenciliğini yapmış talihliler içinde ben de bulundum. Türk sanatına olan büyük sevgi ve ilgisi onu dinliyenlere kendiliğinden geçiverirdi. Profesör Von Aster ve Taschnerle birlikte tanıdığım en yumuşak ve olgun bilim adamlarından biri idi. Bütün o yoğun yaşayan, dünya konukluğu yıllarını semereli işlerle dolduran bilim kepçileri gibi dudağından tatlı bir gülümseme hiç eksik olmazdı. Türk sanatı ile Türklerle hasır neşir olmak onu Prof. Taschner gibi bizlerden biri sayabilecek kadar yüce, evet yalnız yüce, bize benzetmişti. Müşfik bakışları, beyaz sakalı ile bayramda eli öpülecek bir büyük baba gibi aramızda yedi yıl dolaştı çalıştı, yüzlerce öğrenci bir kaç çok değerli hoca yetiştirdi ve yine bir de bütün iyi iş başarılar gibi, bir jurnale bir karalamağa kurban gitti.

Kişisel aşağılık komplekslerini, hemen başkalarına çamur bulamak suretiyle doyurmağa kalkanlar o tarihde de, bugünkü kadar çok ve arsız olmamakla birlikte aramızda vardılar. Diez'in Türk Sanatı Tarihinde bazı eserlerde bulduğu yabancı etkileri Türk sanatına Türk dehasına bir tecavüz sayamaya kadar gittiler. İki uygarlık çevresi arasında bir münasebet bulunduğunu belirtmenin bunlardan birine bir tecavüz sayılabileceğine inanabilmek için ille hasta bir duygululuk ya da başka niyetlerle çarpılmış bir mantık gerektiğinden zavallı hoca bu işe çaşıp kalmıştı. Sanatta hiç bir şeyin yoktan varolmadığı sade tarihle uğraşanların değil, sağduyu sahibi her aydının kolayca varabileceği bir gerçekken, hem de isim yapmış bir iki uzmanın İstanbulun en tanınmış güneşlerinde, böyle bir iddiaya kalkabilmesi ve bunun kolaylıkla bir cephe yaratabilmesi karşısında şaşmamak için yüzce değil, mastıkca da hiçden olmak lâzımdı. Türk Üniversitesinden maaş aldığı halde Türk sanatına tecavüzde bulunmak sayguncluğu ile tahmetlendirilmek istenen Diez ve onu tanıyan bir iki bilim adamına kadar uğraştılar, karşı tarafı ikraya sevkıtlarsa da kâr etmedi. İşe çok çarpık bir milli onur duygusuyla girdikleri için, mantıktan çok duygu ile hükmü veren kamu düşüncesini demagojik bir şekilde bulundurmalar elbette ki daha şanslı olacaklardı.

Oysa tarihin hiç bir devrinde yalnız bir milletin dehasından fışkırmış bir sanat olunmuyuna rastlamak mümkün değildi. Doğan her büyük sanat kendinden öncekilerden faydalanmıştı. Bunu taklit değil Goethe'nin de dediği gibi, bir alma, bir benimseme, bir verişi kendi varlığı içinde eritip yeniden yaratma diye tanımlamak daha doğru olurdu.

Bu açıdan bakılınca, bünyesine karışan unsurların çeşitliliği bir sanatı küçültmez olsa olsa ona zenginlik verir. Yunan sanatına dayanan Roma sanatının orijinal olmadığı iddia edilebilir mi? Antikite olmadan bir Rönesans sanatı düşünülebilir mi? Sanatın ortak bir insanlık örgüsü, akraba bir çatısının toplamı olduğunu unutup ille de ille dört duvar arasında mahrem bir aile eseri sanmak ilkelliğinden kurtulamayan bu tekelci görüş Osmanlı Mimarisinin Ayasofyadan bazı ilhamlar almış olabilmesini milli gurura bir tecavüz saymak uçuzluğuna elbette ki kolayca düşebilirdi.

Nitekim o sıralarda yazdığı bir yazında Diez aynen şöyle diyordu:

«Ayasofyadan etkilenmiştir. Bu tutanacak bir mimar bulamıyorum. Tersine, Yunan mimarlarının bu eserden karşımızda onlara faydalanmış kalabilecekleriyle ölçüsünde o mimarlara bir sayg Büyük olanı meydana yükülükten kaçınan, Beyazıt, zade, Süleymaniye gibi, nitlar yaratabilenler Sinan gibi yüce gelmekten kaçınacak lar değillerdi. Yaratıkları bi eserler karşısında Sinan, Davutu, Mehmet küçülmemek kimin aklına çer? Türkler medeniyetine rşası çeşitli unsurları tenezzül dahi etmeyecek büyük bir medeniyet getirmişlerdir.»

Yalan da değil. Rönesans tarihcisi Jacob Burc «Gerçekten zengin olan kim almak başkalarından alarak ve aldıklarını suretiyle zenginleşir» mu?

Yabancı bir kültür ürünü faydalanmakla bir unsuru ri sınamayacağına göre Türkatının başka kültür üründen faydalanmış olduğunu lemek neden tecavüz olu

Bunu tarih yıkıyla, nekleriyle, bilim sonuçla dar belgelemeğe çalışmış lışın, karşımızdakiler, Peygamber demeyen sayı ler, bilim tartışmasın duygululuğunu istimal magoji yapar, işi görülü rebilir, üste çıkabilirler.

Diez bu olaydan sonra sevgisine ve inşilne Türkiyede fasla kalmadı ya kürsüsüne döndü. Ana leri sevmekten Türk sana yaya aynı heveste tanı da geri kalmadı. 1937 de Türsanata adlı kitabını bastırdı sör Oktay Aslanapa ile daha da genişletip yeniledi. Ölümüne kadar da kılmalarını Türk ve Müslü ları üzerine araştırmalara ü. Viyanada bulunduğu her sabah National Bibliyalışmaya giderken Kunst ches Museumun anıtlarını tasladığım insan Profesör olurdu. Sabahın bu çok atinde elinde çantası, gökçek çalışın o kunduz hevesi, bu seksenlik delişelâmlaşır ve sanki sıradan tanıcasına o gönlü daha bir heyecle ve vardım.

Ölümüne kadar böyle gibi çalışıp. Bilimsel araş bilimsel sevklerden başka kaygısı olmaksızın huzur duygun bir hayat geçirmüzü ve hizmet çok erken yük olduğu için affetmedi.

Kimsin yazdığı zeki Sözümü bir beyin kanaatleri gelmiş. Fakat Prof. Diez'e bu gözüne gelenin bir farkında ma. Baş ucundan ayrılmazına haftalarca hep bir gezisi hazırlıklarından kendisini bir incelemeye de sunmuş.

Ölümünün bütün sevçevreleri ile birlikte onurini yakından tanımış olacağı muhakkaktır.

Prof. Ernst Diez'in gün bir insan, büyük bir adamı ve gerçek bir Türkü kaybetmiş bulunuyoruz.

Figure 11. Diez's student Haldun Taner writes on Diez's death in the *Vatan* of 4 August 1961, **"**Avrupa Bilim Dünyasına Türk sanat tarihini ilk tanıtanlardan biri olan Profesör Ernst Diez Dünyamızdan ayrıldı"(Prof. Ernst Diez, one of the first people to introduce Turkish art history to European Scientific World has left us)

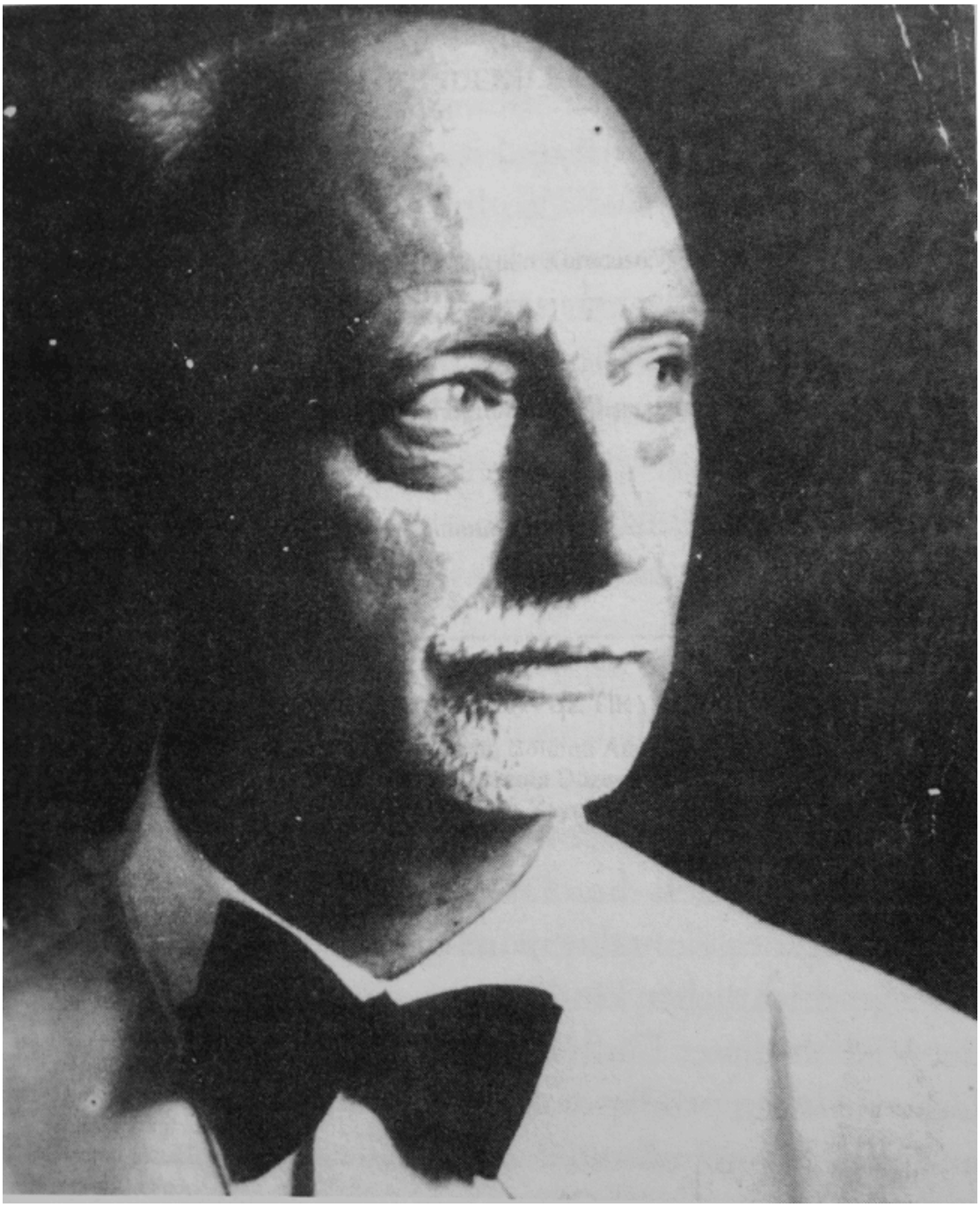


Figure 12. Portrait of Ernst Diez, Source: [Paul Sacher Stiftung]

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:

THE ART HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ODYSSEY

The thesis investigates the criticisms against Diez's 1946 book *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art, From Its Origins Until the Present) in terms of his background in fin-de-siècle Vienna. As lecturer of the "Art History of the Orient" (*Kunstgeschichte des Orients*) from 1919, as professor extraordinarius (*außerordentlichen Professor*) in the "Study of Historical Monuments of the Orient"(*Denkmalkunde des Orients*) from 1924 at the University of Vienna, Diez's scholarship offers perspectives into the emergence of studies on the "Orient" in turn of the centuy Austro-German art historical academia.[40] His scholarship on Islamic art history, as assistant to Friedrich Sarre at the newly founded Islamic section of the Imperial Museum of Berlin for the pioneering exhibition *Meisterwerke Mohammedanischer Kunst* (Masterworks of Mohammedan Art) in 1910, as author of the first German language book on Islamic art in 1915 (*Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker*) opens insights into the place of Islamic art history in the critical making of the scholarship. Diez's biographical journey thereafter traces the shifts and adaptations of the scholarship from the context of pre-First World War Austria and Germany to interwar United States and to 1940's Turkey.

The thesis considers Diez's dismissal from Turkey in the late 1940's an "Odysseus' Scar". Similar to the unfolding of Homer's Odysseus' memory in the moment of the recognition of his scar, the instance in Turkey simultaneously holds and unfolds the memory of Diez's scholarship. "Odysseus' Scar" is the name of the

[40] "Außerordentlichen Professor" is a term in Austrian universities denoting non-tenured professorship.

first chapter of Erich Auerbach's (1892-1957) same year book *Mimesis: Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur* (Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature). Auerbach discusses the scene of the maid Euryclea's recognition of Odysseus' scar as a Homeric literary approach, in which a single moment opens up episodes from Odysseus' journey.[41] Auerbach wrote the book in Istanbul, from the Archimedean point of his exile, where he was a colleague of Diez at Istanbul University.

Comparable to Auerbach's interpretation of Homer's Odyssey, the thesis unfolds episodes of Diez's biographical and academic odyssey from fin-de-siècle Vienna to 1946 Turkey. It uses the context of criticisms against Diez's book *Türk Sanatı* in 1946 as a lens to look back into its horizon of scholarship. The thesis consequently narrates Diez's odyssey as symptomatic of the history of Austro-German art historical scholarship during the first half of the twentieth century.

In an initial episode, the thesis investigates Diez's intellectual background at the Strzygowski Institute of the University of Vienna (Initially *Kunsthistorische Seminar I,* then *Kunsthistorische Institut I*, hereby will be referred to as the Strzygowski Institute). The research depicts the subject of the controversy, i.e. Byzantine, Armenian, Islamic art historical connections to Turkish art as fundamental to its studies. An understanding of Strzygowski's works illustrates that the reception of his scholarship was highly selective in Turkey. Diez's reference to Armenian art in the book *Türk Sanatı* appears as a startling confrontation for the Turkish critics, and the discussions of Byzantine and Islamic sources were found offensive. Sedat Çetintaş declared that Diez took him by surprise by proposing

[41] Edward Said in his introduction to the 2003 publication of the book reviews Auerbach's discussion of the Homeric approach as a paratactic style, in which "it deals with reality as a line of externalized, uniformly illuminated phenomena, at a definite time and in a definite place, connected together without lacunae in a perpetual foreground". Said 2003, x.

Armenian art as "the functional father to Turkish architecture".[42] Chapter 2, titled "*Denkmalkunde des Orients* at the Strzygowski Institute, 1910-1933", characterizes the topics as footholds of Strzygowski's inquiry into Eastern routes to European art. The discussion opens a view into the role of Oriental studies in turn of the twentieth century revisionist approaches against previous Rome-based imperial historiographies.

In a second episode, the thesis addresses Diez's 1947 article "Endosmosen", which he wrote in answer to criticisms and published in the periodical of Istanbul University's Faculty of Philosophy, *Felsefe Arkivi*. In the article, Diez refers to a "Theory of Endosmosis" by the historian Karl Lamprecht (1856-1915) that denotes a parallelism between cultural interactions and osmotic phenomena of the cell. The chapter traces the adoptions of the term from cell biology within 19th century German thought and reads its influences on Lamprecht's cultural historical scholarship. The discussion reveals a biogeological understanding of a universal cultural geography, in which human groups migrate, exchange, adapt and grow analogous to organisms. The chapter opens a view into the influence of geographical research on turn of the century art historical scholarship and aids to situate Strzygowski's emphasis on geographical world routes.

A third episode of the thesis is an overall reading of Diez's art historical writings. The reading situates Diez in the wider intellectual framework of the turn of the century and addresses his relation to his cousin the composer Anton Webern (1883-1945) as an indicator of shared quests. The chapter discusses Diez's understanding of art as cultural expression as part of the milieu of Expressionism. It

[42] Çetintaş, 20.12.1946. "Eski mutaassıb müellifler gibi professor Diez de bu kitabda Türk mimarisinin menşeini Arab, Acem ve Bizans kaynaklarında göstermiş olsaydı şaşmıyacaktık. Profesör, Türk mimarisine, bu saydıklarımdan ayrıca fakat yepyeni ve hepsinden daha faal bir baba daha bulmuştur: Ermeni mimarisi, hattâ ona yardımcı olarak Gürcü mimarisinden bile bahsetmektedirler."

acknowledges Expressionism as a quest of a generation into Universal histories and abstraction.

The chapter depicts Diez's understanding of art as part of the holistic understanding of "culture". It relates Diez's uses of the contemporaneous notions of *Weltanschauung* (worldview) and *Weltgefühl* (world-feeling) to the scholarships of Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) and Oswald Spengler (1880-1936). It presents the reflections of Universal cultural approaches to art historiography through Alois Riegl's (1858-1905) notion of *Kunstwollen* that translates as artistic volition of a culture or period.

The chapter depicts how Diez's art historiography extends to incorporate abstract transcendental-logical (what he calls the metaphysical) approaches that are framed by a neo-Kantian understanding on the expressivity of form. Diez adopts art historical treatises that are inspired by contemporary Cubist discussions of form and he singularly applies the approach to Islamic art history. In two articles titled "Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art" that date to 1936 and 1938, Diez applies what he calls the metaphysical categories of Ludwig Coellen (1875-1945) in his 1921 book *Der Stil in der bildenden Kunst*, *Allgemeine Stiltheorie Und Geschichtliche Studien Dazu* (The Style In Visual Arts, General Theory Of Style And Historical Studies) to Islamic art. He subsequently coins an Islamic cubism, reading parallelisms between Modern and Islamic art. Diez's 1937 article titled "Simultaneity in Islamic Art" further reads an inspiration from Simultaneism or Orphic cubism. Diez uses the categories developed by Franz Lehel (also Ferenc Lehel, Francis Lehel; 1885-1975) in a 1929 book *Fortschreitende Entwicklung: Versuch einer reinen Kunstmorphologie* (Progressive Development: In Search of a Pure Morphology of Art, originally published in Hungarian titled *Haladó művészet. Újrendszerű*

stílusmorfológia vázlata) that take inspiration from Robert Delaunay's (1885-1941) paintings. Lehel applies the Cubist understanding of simultaneity to his morphological art history, in which simultaneity denotes formal characteristics of a mature phase of a tri-partite artistic development, which he calls the baroque and whose initial phases are primitivism and classicism. Diez interprets Islamic art and architecture through Lehel's notion of baroque-simultaneity. The reading connects Lehel's approach to Heinrich Wölfflin's (1864-1945) 1915 book *Principles of Art History*, in which Wölfflin reads classic and baroque as successive phases of a polar art history.

Diez's art historiography thus communicates an inquiry into a new Universal understanding of art history based on the inquiries into abstractions of form that challenges the visual codes of European Christianity and also the historiographical lineage from Greek and Roman Art to Renaissance Europe. The thesis ultimately characterizes the turn of the century quest into new forms and cultures within Expressionism. The narrative presents now a foreign landscape and prose in which Turkish and Islamic art historical scholarships were part of a revisionist map of the world, on which they became formative of a European modernism.

1.1 The book *Türk sanatı* and Turkey in 1946

The controversy around Diez ensued from his depiction of Islamic, Byzantine and Armenian sources to Turkish art in the book *Türk Sanatı*. Contrary to the criticisms, in his introduction to the book, Diez writes that his aim is to depict "national sources" to Turkish art and to differentiate Turkish elements from the general umbrella of Islamic art. In this, he refers to Arthur Upham Pope's 1939 "Survey of

Persian Art" as an example.[43] He starts his preface with a criticism of the term "Islamic art", considering it as haphazard and too general. He points out to the need to subdivide Islamic art into its national and local characteristics, naming Maghreb, Egypt, Syria, Iran, India and ultimately Turkish art as the topics of the sub-divisions.[44] Diez points to the book's evolutionary cultural perspective, while he characterizes the previous work of Arseven as under-researched, works of Albert Gabriel and Ernest Mamboury (1878-1953) as catalogues.[45] Diez thus introduced a unique categorization to look into Turkish art history. Although he wrote the book under internment, he had a variety of references largely from contemporary European scholarship.

Diez makes a brief inquiry into pre-Islamic Turkish art that nevertheless was central to Turkish national history. The book includes a recounting of excavations in Central Asia and a reference to the memoirs of a 7th century Chinese monk Xuanzang.[46] He refers to René Grousset's (1885-1902) 1929 book *Sur les traces du Bouddha*, Sinologist Paul Pelliot's (1878-1945) Dun Huang manuscripts, Albert von Le Coq's (1860-1930) publication on the Turfan Expedition (Chotscho: Koeniglich Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen, 1913). Diez highlights the movement of Seljuk Turks from Transoxiana to Western Asia as the beginning of a new era for entire art history.

The book follows with sections on "Eurasian animal and vine motifs" (*Evrazya hayvan ve filiz kıvrım üslûbu*), "Ornamentation"(*Tezyinat*) and "Architectural Elements" (*Mimari Organlar*) (Figure 13). In "Eurasian animal and

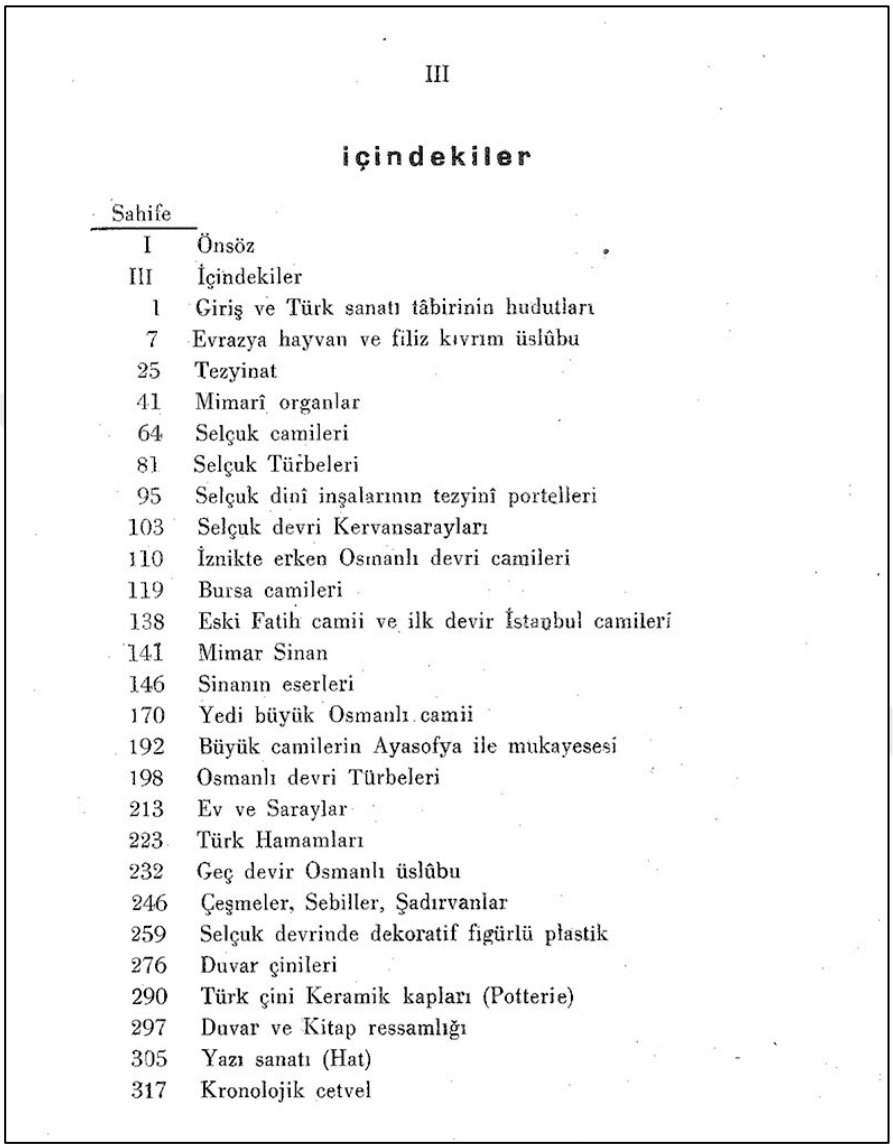
[43]A.U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York: Oxford University Press, 1939). Diez also contributed with a section.
[44] Diez 1946, I.
[45] Eyice also refers to Arseven's books to include neither a system nor a synthesis: "bu kitapların hepsi de Türk sanatının sistematik bir tarihi olmadığı gibi, bir sentezi de değildi." Eyice 1997.
[46] Translated initially by Stanislas Julien in 1853.

vine motifs", his main references are Michael Rostovtzeff's (1870-1952) 1929 book *The animal style in South Russia and China*, André Godard's (1881-1965) 1931 book *Les bronzes du Luristan*, Marcel Brion's (1895-1984) 1937 book *La résurrection des villes mortes* and Jurgis Baltrušaitis' (1903-1988) work on Sumerian and Roman art, which was translated into Turkish in 1939 (For a list of Diez's references in Türk Sanatı, see Appendix A). Diez relates the "animal style" to a Nordic tradition, while he characterizes the vine motif with a Greek origin.[47] Diez refers to Ernst Herzfeld and Ernst Kühnel's works on Samarra ornamentation; and mentions a Turkish influence in Samarra in reference to Heinrich Glück's 1920 article *Türkische Dekorationskunst*.[48]

The most controversial section of the book was the following section titled Architectural Elements (*Mimarî Organlar*), in which Diez traces Armenian, Georgian, Byzantine and Sassanian precedents to columns, column heads, tromps and domes. His references are indeed predominantly works on Armenian art, including Strzygowski's 1918 book *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa,* Marie-Félicité Brosset's (1802-1880) *Les ruines d'Ani, capitale de l'Arménie sous les rois Bagratides, aux Xe et XIe s.: histoire et description* and Bachmann's 1913 book *Kirchen und Moscheen In Armenien.* Diez thereafter groups the art and architecture of Seljuks under four topics: Mosques (*Selçuk camileri*), Mausoleums (*Selçuk Türbeleri*), Ornamental Portals of Religious Seljuk buildings (*Selçuk dini inşalarının tezyini portelleri*) and Caravanserais (*Selçuk devri Kervansarayları*). In this section, his main reference is his 1915 book *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*. He also refers to Rudolf Meyer Riefstahl's (1880-1836) 1931 book *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*. For Seljuk mosques, Diez traces Armenian or Christian

[47] Diez 1946, 34.
[48] Diez 1946, 28.

basilica precedents. In his discussions on the Seljuk mausoleums, Diez depicts an indigenous Turkish mausoleum typology. [49] He nevertheless differentiates Eastern Anatolian mausoleums to relate to Armenian influence. [50]



III

içindekiler

Sahife	
I	Önsöz
III	İçindekiler
1	Giriş ve Türk sanatı tâbirinin hudutları
7	Evrazya hayvan ve filiz kıvrım üslûbu
25	Tezyinat
41	Mimarî organlar
64	Selçuk camileri
81	Selçuk Türbeleri
95	Selçuk dinî inşalarının tezyinî portelleri
103	Selçuk devri Kervansarayları
110	İznikte erken Osmanlı devri camileri
119	Bursa camileri
138	Eski Fatih camii ve ilk devir İstanbul camileri
141	Mimar Sinan
146	Sinanın eserleri
170	Yedi büyük Osmanlı camii
192	Büyük camilerin Ayasofya ile mukayesesi
198	Osmanlı devri Türbeleri
213	Ev ve Saraylar
223	Türk Hamamları
232	Geç devir Osmanlı üslûbu
246	Çeşmeler, Sebiller, Şadırvanlar
259	Selçuk devrinde dekoratif figürlü plastik
276	Duvar çinileri
290	Türk çini Keramik kapları (Potterie)
297	Duvar ve Kitap ressamlığı
305	Yazı sanatı (Hat)
317	Kronolojik cetvel

Figure 13. Contents page of *Türk Sanatı*

The book then includes the topic of early Ottoman mosque architecture in three sections based on cities of İznik, Bursa and Istanbul (*İznikte erken Osmanlı devri Camileri, Bursa devri camileri, Eski Fatih Camii ve ilk devir Osmanlı*

[49] Diez 1946, 81.
[50] Diez 1946, 91.

camileri). In Ottoman Iznik, Diez observes the use of Byzantine churches as mosques; in Bursa he discusses the emergence of the typology of the domed mosque that he views to have paved the way for the later monumental mosques. His main references in this section are Katharina Otto- Dorn's (1908-1999) recent 1941 book *Das islamische İznik* (Islamic Iznik), Franz Taeschner's (1888-1967) 1932 article "Beiträge zur frühosmanisches Epigraphik und Archäologie", Cornelius Gurlitt's (1850-1938) 1912-1913 article "Die Islamitischen Bauten von İznik (Nicea)" and Hans Wilde's 1909 book *Brussa, Eine Entwickelungsstätte Türkischer Architektur in Kleinasien unter den ersten Osmanen*. For the early Ottoman architecture in Istanbul, Diez refers to Mehmet Ağaoglu's (1896-1949) 1926 article "Die Gestalt der alten Muhammedije in Konstantinopel und ihr Baumeister", Riefstahl's 1930 article "Selimiye in Konia" and Halil Ethem's (1861-1938) 1933 book *Camilerimiz* (Our Mosques).

Diez thenceforth builds up his main discussion in the book, that of the Ottoman Mosques of Istanbul under four topics: Architect Sinan, Works of Sinan, Seven Great Ottoman Mosques and the Comparison of the Great Mosques with Hagia Sophia (*Mimar Sinan, Sinan'ın Eserleri, Yedi Büyük Osmanlı Camii, Büyük Camilerin Ayasofya ile Mukayesesi*). His discussion centres around the influence of Hagia Sophia on the "Seven Great Ottoman Mosques". It characterizes Hagia Sophia as a paradigm for the Ottomans for imperial monumentality and thus a model for Sinan's mosques.[51] His discussion relates to a 1930 article by Martin A. Charles in the *Art Bulletin*, in which Charles views Ottoman mosques as technical copies of Hagia Sophia. Diez's "Seven Great Ottoman Mosques" also parallels Charles' list, and furthermore his reference to them as "children of Hagia Sophia" that attracted

[51] Diez 1946, 192-198.

criticisms, appears to be a paraphrase of Charles calling them "descendants of Hagia Sophia".[52]

Diez acknowledges recent discussions on Sinan's Turkishness, with reference to Heinrich Glück's 1926 article "Neues zur Sinan Forschung"(What is New in Sinan Research), Mehmed Ağaoglu's 1926 article "Herkunft und Tod Sinäns"(Heritage and Death of Sinan), as well as Ahmet Refik's 1931 book *Mimar Sinan.* He also mentions Sai Mustafa Çelebi's 16th century manuscripts on Sinan and his buildings (*Tezkiret-ül Bünyan*, *Tezkiret-ül Ebniye*).

His subsequent topic on late Ottoman architecture is a reading of decline with reference to Celâl Esat Arseven's (1876-1971) periodic categories in the 1939 book *L'Art Turc*: Tulip Period between 1703-1730, Baroque between 1730- 1808, Empire between 1808-1874 and Neo-classic between 1877- 1930.[53] Diez classifies architectural typologies under the topics of Mausoleums, Houses and Palaces, Turkish Baths, Fountains, Sebils and Shadirvans (*Osmanlı devri türbeleri, Ev ve Saraylar, Türk Hamamları, Çeşmeler, Sebiller, Şadırvanlar*).[54] In a last section, Diez makes a discussion of decorative arts under the topics Seljuk Figurative Plastic, Wall Tiles, Pottery, Wall Painting and Book Illuminations and Calligraphy (*Selçuk devrinde dekoratif figürlü plastik, Duvar çinileri, Türk çini Keramik kapları (Potterie), Duvar ve Kitap ressamlığı, Yazı Sanatı (Hat*)).

The book thus maps out a historical scheme, which was formative of later writings on Turkish art and architecture. Diez's tracing of origins and cross-cultural

[52] Diez 1946, 170. This might also be related to Oktay Aslanapa's translation from German. Its Turkish is as follows: "Bu camileri Ayasofya'nın çocukları diye vasıflandırabiliriz, onun tahrik edici örneği olmasaydı bunlar hiçbir zaman şuurlu olarak ona rekabet edecek bir ölçüde yapılamazlardı" (We can characterize these mosques as children of Hagia Sophia. If its provoking exemplar did not exist, these would not have been built in such a competitive scale.). Charles 1930, 322.
[53] Diez 1946, 233.
[54] Diez's main reference in this section is Heinrich Glück's 1924 article *Turkische Brunnen in Konstantinopel* (Turkish Fountains in Constantinople).

influences nevertheless offended the quest in Turkey for an original and persisting "Turkishness".

The criticisms mainly by architect Sedat Çetintaş (1889-1965) and Topkapı Museum director Tahsin Öz (1887-1973) in daily newspapers borrowed the language of the Turkish Republican pursuit for a national history a decade earlier. The Turkish National History Thesis of 1930 and the following First National History Congress in 1932 were means to proclaim a national history around a pre-Islamic Central Asian emphasis and denied the influence of Islamic and Byzantine cultures, while the Armenian nexus seems to have been out of the question. Ahmet Ersoy in his discussion of a 1931 text ordered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk from the historian Afet İnan (1908-1985), "Prolegomena to an Outline of Turkish Art History", refers to the racial focus of the 1930 Turkish history thesis, as he quotes its aim: "To reveal the mysteries of the Turkish genius and moral character, to demonstrate to the Turk himself his own uniqueness and power and to explain that our national development is embedded in deep racial roots."[55]

It was paradoxically Diez's teacher at the University of Graz and later colleague at the University of Vienna, Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941), who was a main source of the Central Asian emphasis in Turkey. Strzygowski's 1917 book *Altai- Iran und Völkerwanderung* (Altai-Iran and Great Migration) acknowledged Turks as agents of cultural routes that connected Europe to Central Asia, through the agency of their migration. Strzygowski thus situated Turks at a key position in a Universal historical narrative and furthermore as formative of European culture. As such, Strzygowski worked miracles for the Turkish Republican quest that sought for

[55] Ersoy 2010, 56.

a distinguished standpoint vis-à-vis the West, after centuries of adaptive procedures of what has came to be called "Westernization".[56]

At the History Congress of 1932, then the Secretary of the Turkish Historical Society, soon to be the Minister of Education, Reşit Galip (1893-1934) referred to Strzygowski as the foremost person to work for and defend Turkish Art.[57]

> In the case of Turkish art and civilization, we have seen from the beginning that it too has been endlessly slandered, nevertheless did not totally lack valuable defenders. Foremost among these is the author of Altai-Iran and the Viennese institute director Strzygowski who has given the most valuable effort to Turkish art.

Strzygowski was then invited to contribute to the journal of the Turcology Institute of Istanbul University *Türkiyat Mecmuası* in 1935 by the historian Mehmet Fuad Köprülü.[58] In his article titled "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi" (Turks and the Question of Central Asian Art), Strzygowski depicted a Turkish character, rooted within Upper Asia, at South Siberian plains, whose "true nature" was not changed by Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Anatolia or Byzantium. He distinguished Turkish art as the source of creative Asiatic link to Islamic art as versus the Persian and Arabic. In the article, Strzygowski urged Turkish people to defend their cultural status from being overlooked by what he viewed to be the Mediterranean based scholarship in Berlin that he pointed out to trace Roman, Hellenic heritage to European and also Islamic art. The defensive assertive tone that Strzygowski intended for Berlin-based

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[56] Ahmet Ersoy in his book *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary* discusses the adaptation processes during the late Ottoman Empire. Ersoy 2015, 1. "Immersed in a complex dramaturgy of change, nineteenth century Ottomans were forced to straddle conflicting poles of identification: while they actively sought to be incorporated into the Concert of Europe, appropriating myriad institutions and cultural forms, they also had to reckon with the idea of being "Orientals" themselves."

[57] *Türk Tarih Kongresi : [bildiriler]* 1932, 160. "Türk sanat ve medeniyetine gelince, baştan beri gördük ki, o da sonsuz iftiralara uğramış, fakat kıymetli müdafilerden de büsbütün mahrum kalmamıştır. Bunların en ileri safında Türk sanatı hakkında şimdiye kadar en kıymetli mesaide bulunmuş ve eserler neşretmiş olan Altay-İran müellifi Viyanalı Enstitü Müdürü Strzygowski gelir." Consistently, Halil Edhem in his 1933 book titled *Anadolu Selçuklu Devrinde Mimari ve Tezyini Sanatlar* (Architecture and Decorative Arts in the Period of Anatolian Seljuks) asserted origins in Central Asia. Edhem 1933. "Bu sanatın asırlarca evvel ve tedricen tekâmül ederek daha uzak mahallelerden, Orta Asya'dan gelmiş olduğuna kanaat getirmek lâzımdır."

[58] Köprülü 1974, VI.

scholarship would be borrowed a decade later to aim at his student and assistant Diez.

The year of Diez's book was further a transformational moment for Turkish nationalism. The end of the Second World War caught Turkey between the two poles of world politics; between Russia and Germany; between Communism and Race-based Nationalism. Universities were one of its main arenas and Diez's case was not a singular instance, but a part of political accusations against university professors. Diez's writing and publication of the book coincided with the heated debates around a court case against a cadre of reactive nationalists (or as they have been called "Turkists") and referred to commonly as the "Racism-Turanism case". The case took place between 1944 and 1947 and just before the publication of Diez's book in the September of 1946, the case took a turn in favour of the Turkists at a second set of hearings beginning on 29 August 1946. The course of the case appears to have determined the later political atmosphere and soon after in 1947 there was another court case against four professors from Ankara University's Faculty of Philology, History and Geography, this time on a charge of "discouraging the nationalist tendencies of their students and promoting leftism in their classrooms." [59] Although acquitted of all charges, Pertev Naili Boratav (1907-1998), Behice Boran (1910-1987), Niyazi Berkes (1908-1988) and Muzaffer Şerif Başoğlu (1906-1988) were dismissed from their positions.

The universities were a contested ground of politics, also in relation to the change in their structuring during the same period. In a law dating to 13th of June 1946, just before Diez's book was published, appointment of new scholars became possible by the decision of the University Senate. Previously, it was the Ministry of

[59] Öztürkmen 2005, 185.

Education, who ran the appointments. Semavi Eyice views that the law was the main reason for the attack on Diez, as he believes that the critics wanted positions at the university.[60]

The University politics and also the stance against foreign professors appear also a repercussion of a revolutionary change back in 1933, when 92 professors out of a total of 151 were dismissed from their positions in parallel to the transformation of *Darülfünün* into Istanbul University. The transformation was an aftermath of a University reformation process and a report by Professor Albert Malche (1876-1956) from the University of Geneva on University Education in Turkey dating to 29 May 1932, which asserted that Darülfünun was not up to the standards of its Western counterparts. The positions were filled by academics fleeing Germany and initially 34 scholars came in October of 1933. The offer was extended to these scholars at the initiation of Prof. Malche, who wrote to Prof. Philipp Schwartz, director of the *Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland* (Emergency Society of German Scholars Abroad). This replacement nonetheless seems to have evoked a general reproach against foreign scholars in Turkey.[61] The campaign against Diez 16 years later coincided with Parliamentary discussions on selective measures in the appointment of foreign professors by mainly İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, who was the dismissed Dean of Istanbul University in 1933.[62]

[60] Eyice 1997, 13. Eyice repeated the same view in the interview with the author. Tonbul, 13 November 2014.
[61] See Mazıcı 1995. Dölen 2010. Bahadır 2007. Adlı, 13 May 2013.
[62] Minutes of the Parliamentary Meetings (TBMM Tutanakları), 16.12.1946, 23.12.1946.

1.2 Sources and method

Archival work has been fundamental to the thesis. The work initially comprised of a survey of the newspaper articles on the topic of Diez's book *Türk Sanatı* at Beyazıt State Library in Istanbul. Also, for Diez's years in Turkey a first hand knowledge was made possible through an interview with his student Semavi Eyice.

The personal archives of Ernst Diez have been collected by Hans Moldenhauer, the biographer of Diez's cousin composer Anton von Webern, and exist today at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, Switzerland. Diez's correspondence with his wife Beryl Diez and daughter Doris Diez (later Brehm) during his years in Turkey (1943-1949) provide insight into his years in Turkey and his writing of the book *Türk Sanatı*. His two diaries that date to two distinct biographical eras depict Diez's intellectual sources. The first diary dates between the years 1899 and 1907 and covers the time of Diez's doctoral studies at Graz, his relation with his cousin Anton Webern, and ends about the time of his marriage to Beryl Diez. The second diary starts with Diez's internment in 1945 at age 68, and largely dates to the years in Turkey. It continues, although infrequently, until 1960, a year before his death at age 84. The first diary displays an interest in nature and poetry, as well as a fascination with transcendental thought and Buddhist texts. The second diary starts with the day of Diez's internment and thus provides an insight into his feelings of exile. Both diaries trace a bibliographic trajectory through references to his readings, which prominently consists of biographies, historical novels and memoirs. A reconstruction of this mental library is provided in Appendix B. The work aided to perceive Diez's intellectual affinities as background to his academic works.

The research encompassed archival work also at the University of Vienna and Department of Art History Archives. The University archives have provided

institutional documents around the assignment and promotions of Diez. The archival work at the University of Vienna further involved a survey of courses at the two art historical institutes of the University from 1910 to 1943. The work aimed to explore the place of the topics on the "Orient" also through tracing parallels in the other departments of the University, mainly in the Department of Geography, Ethnology and Prehistorical Archaeology (Department of Geography, Ethnology and Prehistorical Archaeology and Anthropology from Summer Semester 1914 onwards) and the Department of Comparative Linguistics and Oriental Philology (*Vergleichende Sprachforschung und orientalische Philologie*). The work aided an interdisciplinary perspective to the role of Oriental Studies at turn of the century Viennese academia.

The Art History Institute archives at the University of Vienna did not have an archive on Diez, yet the Strzygowski and Hans Sedlmayr papers aided to contextualize Diez's years at the Institute. Strzygowski papers comprised mainly of manuscripts and photographs. Sedlmayr papers included letters and institutional documents that provided an understanding of the state of Oriental studies at the Institute after Sedlmayr's selection as director of the then united two art historical institutes in 1937. Sedlmayr papers included a correspondence with Diez, which have been significant to understand the context of Diez's return to Vienna in 1939.

Archival research for Diez's years in the United States between 1926 and 1939 aimed to trace Diez's art historiographical odyssey also through contextualizing it within the general shift of German scholarship to the United States in the 1930's. It included an investigation of the courses Diez gave at the Bryn Mawr College. Also the archives of the Case Western Reserve University provided a document dating to 1930 on Diez's assignment for a possible excavation in Iran. At the centre of

research was an investigation of Myron Bement Smith and Ernst Herzfeld papers at the Smithsonian Institute Archives in Washington D.C. Particularly the high number of documents on correspondence depicted the excavations in Iran and the museum work around the finds as a highly contested and capitalized arena in the United States. Mainly the letters between Herzfeld and Richard Ettinghausen provided an insight into the character of the shift of the scholarship. The letters aided the thesis' narrative of odyssey through Herzfeld's expressions of displacement. The papers also aided a perspective back into the turn of the century establishment of Islamic art historical scholarship by providing a parallel reading of the journeys of Herzfeld and Diez.

Secondary literature is scarce on Diez. In spite of his pioneering position for Islamic art historiography, Diez's art historical legacy is largely absent in Austro-German scholarship. Diez has hitherto been subject to art historiographical discussions concerning his academic position in Turkey and his influence on Turkish art historiography. Only on the occasion of an obituary for Diez in 1963, did Ernst Kühnel (1882-1964), director of the Berlin State Museum (*Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*) for Islamic Art from 1931 to 1958, provided a one-page biography and two-page bibliography. Kühnel depicted Diez as one of the leading researchers of Islamic art and identified his 1915 book *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker* as the "first comprehensive representation of the area" and an "in-depth study particularly of its architecture". [63] He referred to Diez's co-authorship for *Die Kunst des Islam* (The Art of Islam) of 1925 to have contributed to a broader interest in Islamic Art. Kühnel mentioned Diez's book on Turkish Art, and pointed out that it did not reach the non-Turkish reading audience. The memory of Diez appears to have been lost to the next

[63] Kühnel & others, 1963, 110-112.

generation of art historians in Vienna and Germany. It was in 1996, in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* that Jens Kröger wrote on Diez with an emphasis on his role for Islamic and Persian art historical scholarship. [64] Similar to Kühnel, Kröger highlighted Diez's 1915 book as "the first study devoted to this field in the German language", and characterized it as a "comprehensive survey of Islamic art." Kröger traced Diez's scholarship to Strzygowski's research scope, to the Munich exposition of Friedrich Sarre, and also to the Vienna School, which he connected with the broad spectrum of Diez's interests. Kröger considers Diez's interests as ranging from "theoretical principles of art" to the "general outlines of artistic development" and to the "historical study of monuments within well-defined regional boundaries". He thus situates Diez within the first generation of European scholars to develop an interest in Asian cultures, and also among the last to write general art histories (in Diez's case Kröger points out to Islamic, Far Eastern and Indian art).

Diez's work on Turkish art history is absent from Kröger's discussion. The book nevertheless served to uphold Diez's memory uniquely within the Turkish academia, in spite of the controversy in the 1940s. Particularly, the formal and chronological structure of Diez's book remained in its rewriting by a student and assistant of Diez, Oktay Aslanapa, though barren of its controversial historical connections. Initially in 1956, Aslanapa re-published the book with his own additions.[65] In his 1963 obituary for Diez, Aslanapa designated Diez as the founder and builder of Istanbul University's Art History Institute. Later in a 1993 synopsis of Austrian art historians and artists in Turkey, Aslanapa portrayed Diez "as an

[64] Kröger 1995, 401–402.

[65] He included a section on pre-Islamic Turkish Art (*İslâmlıktan Önce Türk Sanatı*), a section on Turkish column-capitals from a recent doctoral thesis by Turgut Cansever that Diez supervised in Istanbul, a section on Seljuk Art in Iran (*İranda Selçuk Devri Sanatı*), an update of material on Anatolian Seljuk buildings, a section on Karamanid architecture of 14th century from yet another recent co-authored book with Diez (*Karaman Devri Sanatı,* Aslanapa, M. M. Koman &Diez, 1950), a section on Edirne Monuments to complement Diez's previous sections on Iznik and Bursa and a separate introductory section on Istanbul Monuments.

educator of a whole generation of young art historians". Aslanapa pointed out that it was with Diez that the art history courses became a separate discipline at Istanbul University, after which he asserted that "scientific and systematized art historical research" became possible.[66]

In the obituary, Aslanapa sought a redemptive language in explaining Diez's dismissal. He referred to Diez's book as the first summary of Turkish art history and pointed out that in Istanbul, Diez dedicated himself to the study of Turkish Art. Aslanapa recalled the controversy also in his 1993 book and referred to it as a misunderstanding of Diez's art historiography. He reviewed Diez's historiography mainly as an inquiry into a history of style and a quest into origins and broad connections. He pointed out that Diez followed Strzygowski's comparative and developmental view of art history. [67] Aslanapa subsequently linked Istanbul University's Art History Institute to the heritage of the Strzygowski Institute.[68]

Another student of Diez, Semavi Eyice, also wrote an article on Diez in the 1997 yearbook of Istanbul University. In the article, Eyice does not necessarily narrate a lineage with Strzygowski or Aslanapa. Instead, he characterizes Diez's scholarship primarily as cultural history. He portrays Diez as a man of the previous century with a wide horizon and a startling enthusiasm in lecturing on many areas of art history.[69]

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[66] Aslanapa 1993, 9-10.
[67] Aslanapa 1963, 25. "Prof. Diez doktorasını Graz'da yapmakla beraber Viyana ekolünden yetişen bir sanat tarihçisi olarak hocası Strzygowski'nin geniş görüşlü mukayeseler ve gelişmelere dayanan sanat tarihi anlayışına bağlı kalmıştır."
[68] Aslanapa 1963, 24. Aslanapa himself earned his doctoral degree from University of Vienna in 1943.
[69] Eyice mentions Diez' *Glaube und Welt des Islam* (Creed and World of Islam, 1941), *Entschleiertes Asien* (Asia Revealed, 1940) and *So Sahen sie Asien: Reiseberichten von Herodot bis Moltke* (How They Saw Asia: Traveller Accouns From Herodot to Moltke, 1942), *Akbar* (1961) and *Die Sprache der Ruinen* (The Language of the Ruins, 1962) as signifiers of Diez' interest in cultural history. Eyice 1997, 8, 11. "Fakat bu geçen yüzyılın yetiştirdiği ilim adamı şaşırtıcı bir gayretle, genel sanat tarihi ile İslam ve Türk sanatları dışında, o sıralarda öğretim üyesi olmayan, Batı Avrupa ve Bizans sanatlarının derslerini de yüklendiği gibi, yurdumuzda bilinmeyen eski Hint ve Uzak Doğu sanatları hakkında da dersler vermekten kaçınmıyordu."

> Yet, this man of science of the last century through a startling enthusiasm, would take on courses on Western European and Byzantine art along with topics of Islamic and Turkish art, and furthermore would not hold back from giving lectures on topics of Ancient Indian and Far Eastern art that were unknown in our country.

Like Kühnel, Eyice highlights Diez's 1915 book as a first synthesis of Islamic art, pointing out that the only previous attempt was the 1907 book *Manual d'art musulman* by Henri Saladin (1851-1923) and Gaston Migeon (1861-1930). Eyice views the book co-authored with Heinrich Glück *Die Kunst des Islam* (Art of Islam, 1925) as a collection of photographs rather than an art historical book.[70] Eyice also mentions the difficult circumstances around the controversy on Diez's book in 1946. He characterizes the book as a first synthesis of Turkish Art, while he points out that this essential character was lost in the second version of the book by Aslanapa.[71]

The Strzygowski lineage of Turkish art historical scholarship was the subject of Oya Pancaroğlu's 2007 article, in which she delineates a formalist, ahistorical, nation-based art historiography based on a line of scholarship linked to Strzygowski. For Pancaroğlu, the lineage includes Diez along with two other Strzygowski students, Heinrich Glück (1889-1930) and Katharina Otto-Dorn (1908-1999).[72] Glück (1889-1930) was a younger colleague of Diez at the University of Vienna, and had picked up the topic of Turkish Art as early as 1917 in a lecture he gave at the Hungarian Institute in Istanbul. Otto-Dorn (1908-1999) earned her doctoral degree in 1934 from the University of Vienna and took on the professorship of art history at Ankara University of Turkey in 1954.

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[70] Eyice 1997, 6. "Diez'in bu ilk Almanca İslam Sanatı el kitabı da gerek düzeni, gerek içindeki hükümler bakımından bu türden aksaklıklardan arınmış sayılmazdı. Fakat her şeye rağmen İslam sanat tarihinin ilk sentezi olarak önemliydi." He informs that Diez' book was printed thrice in 1915, 1917 and in 1925.

[71] Eyice 1997, 6. "[…] hacmi çok genişleten bu açıklama, tamamlama ve eklerle eser daha doğru ve çok ayrıntlı bir biçim almakla beraber, ilk redaksiyondaki sentez karakterini oldukça kaybetmiş, metin ayrıntılar ile boğulmuştur."

[72] Pancaroglu 2007, 67-78.

Burcu Doğramacı has most recently worked on the role of Ernst Diez in Turkish art historiography as part of her 2008 book on German cultural transfer and Turkish national identity, *Kulturtransfer und Nationale Identitat, Deutschsprachige Architekten,Stadtplaner und Bildhauer in der Türkei nach 1927*.[73] In line with Aslanapa's and Eyice's narratives, Doğramacı situates Diez as the founder of art historical scholarship in Turkey. She constructs a narrative of cultural transfer from German scholarship to Turkey that extends to students of Diez, mainly Oktay Aslanapa and Semavi Eyice. Doğramacı refers to the 1946 controversy and observes in Aslanapa's 1956 version of the book exclusion of the quest for sources relating to Armenian and Islamic art.[74]

Doğramacı situates Diez in the lineage of Strzygowski scholarship, which she characterizes with comparative and empirical knowledge. She relates Diez's interpretation of Hagia Sophia to the "cross-epochal, cross-cultural and cross-religious" inquiries of Strzygowski, whereby Diez constructs a line of genesis extending from Ancient Iran and Pantheon to the Ottoman mosques.[75] Doğramacı points also to the influence of Alois Riegl and Franz Wickhoff on Diez through an emphasis on object-based studies. She discusses that Diez combined the study of museum objects with what she terms a "traveller researcher" (*das reisende Forschen*) approach based at the Strzygowski Institute.[76] Doğramacı subsequently names Diez's approach as a scholarship of "culture of place", which she characterizes with photographic documentation as well as a view into artefacts.

[73] Doğramacı 2008 (*Kulturtransfer*…), 325-343.
[74] Doğramacı, 2008 (*Kulturtransfer*…), 339-340.
[75] Doğramacı, 2008 (*Kulturtransfer*…), 333.
[76] Doğramacı, (*Kulturtransfer*…), 332. Other articles by Doğramacı are Doğramacı 2008 (Kunstgeschichte in Istanbul: Die Begründung der Disziplin durch den Wiener Kunsthistoriker Ernst Diez) and Doğramacı 2013 (Josef Strzygowski, Ernst Diez et la construction d'une histoire nationale de l'art turc).

The thesis avoids to lineate Diez's scholarship to any particular heritage. It provides a re-worked bibliography of Diez, from which it traces a critical reading of Diez's intellectual background and sources (See Appendix D for Diez's bibliography). The thesis subsequently works to open up a horizon of influences that ultimately serve a discussion of his turn of the century intellectual heritage. The discussion works beyond the confines of Islamic and Oriental art historiography and presents a milieu of Austro-German modernism.

The thesis initially expands on the influence of Strzygowski on Diez in Chapter 2. It traces the courses at the Strzygowski Institute and compares them to the courses of the Second Art Historical Institute of the University as well as the courses of other departments, mainly Department of Geography, Ethnology and Pre-historical Archaeology, and Department of Comparative Language Research and Oriental Philology (*Vergleichende Sprachforschung und orientalische Philologie*). The research consequently depicts Strzygowski's position as part of a growing academic interest in topics of the Orient.

The chapter offers an alternative history of the Vienna School of Art History, instead of Julius Schlosser's 1934 history that neglected and excluded Strzygowski and his students, and with them also the role of the University of Vienna on non-European topics in art historical scholarship. The chapter narrates a history of the Strzygowski Institute from its foundation in 1910 until its demise in 1933. It divides the history into its three decades. The first section presents the establishment of the studies on the Orient in the 1910's. In the second section on the 1920s, the thesis depicts how topics of the Orient sustained their significance at the Strzygowski Institute through new lectureships of Diez and Heinrich Glück. In a third section, the

chapter reflects on the aftermath of the Strzygowski Institute, through the conditions of Diez's return to the University in 1939.

The secondary literature on Strzygowski concentrates on his controversial role at the University of Vienna at the beginning of the century. Suzanne Marchand and Matthew Rampley discuss Strzygowski's position as a reflection of his perception of the Habsburg Empire.[77] Rampley underlines the conflict between Strzygowski, Riegl and Wickhoff as a "reprise of a decade-long debate over the place of Austria-Hungary in Europe".[78] Marchand discusses class differences as decisive of the controversy. She characterizes Strzygowski as a "product of Habsburg periphery" and a "Germanophile nationalist from the Slavic provinces".[79] At his opposite, she places Riegl and Wickhoff with "their double Roman (and Catholic) and Germanic heritage" and Rudolf Eitelberger (1817-1885), who in Rampley's words was "the liberal father of Viennese art history".[80] Marchand considers that Strzygowski "despised the liberal imperialist vision that Eitelberger had implanted in the monarchy's cultural institutions, seeing in it the lingering Roman, aristocratic and cosmopolitan prejudices."[81] She characterizes Strzygowski

[77] Marchand in her articles "The Rhetoric of Artefacts and the Decline of Classical Humanism" and "The View From the Land: Austrian Art Historians and the Interpretation of Croatian Art" and Matthew Rampley in his 2013 book *Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847-1918.*

[78] Rampley 2013, 2.

[79] Marchand 1994, 37. She further observes in Strzygowski's background a shift from a commercial middle class (*Besitzbürgertum*) to educated middle class (*Bildungsbürgertum*). She also deems Strzygowski with an inferiority complex: "Strzygowski felt himself underappreciated by his more urbane and better connected colleagues" or "never had such cosmopolitan-liberal illusions nor such generous instincts." Marchand 1994, 108. Matthew Rampley also addresses class issues among the members of the Vienna School, however he characterizes the Viennese background as an exception held only by Albert Ilg, Franz Wickhoff and Julius von Schlosser. Rampley 2013, 1.

[80] Rampley 2013, 4.

[81] Marchand 2014, 22-23, 34-35. As the founder of *K.Z. Zentral-kommission für Kunst-und historische Denkmale* (Central Commission for Protection of Monuments) in 1853 and as the director of the "Austrian Museum of Art and Industry" (*Oesterrichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie*) in 1864, Eitelberger led the imperial project of surveying the peripheral lands of the Empire, and also bringing cosmopolitan taste to the provinces. Eitelberger organized travelling exhibitions together with the institution of provincial museums, through which Marchand discusses an attempt was undertaken to "bring metropolitan taste to the provinces," and in view of a "common aesthetic vision". Marchand also observes that Rudolf Eitelberger emphasised the Balkans as an integral part of

with anti-centralism, anti-imperialism, anti-liberalism and anti-cosmopolitanism. The thesis traces that Strzygowski's work was part of a wider revisionist milieu that was informed by contemporary Universalist histories and a quest beyond the previous Roman perspective to Europe.

Chapter 3 is an investigation of Diez's reference to Karl Lamprecht and the "Theory of Endosmosis". The research includes a survey of the uses of the term "Endosmosis" in 19th century German scholarship. It also concentrates on the historiography of Karl Lamprecht with the aid of Roger Chickering's 1993 biographical work. Both courses of investigation present an interdisciplinary web of bio-geographical, Universal and organic understanding of the world through a discussion of references to geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904), anthropologist and biologist Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902), zoologist William Henry Rolph (1847-1883), zoologist Ernst Haeckel (1834-1918) and geographer Moritz Wagner (1813-1887). The discussion ultimately opens a perspective into the role of bio-geographical thought in turn of the century scholarship on topics of the Orient.

There are a number of recent critical literatures on Lamprecht's role on turn of the century Modernism. The articles also point out to the later loss of Lamprecht's legacy within German academia. Christa Spreizer in her article "The Old Guard and the Avant-Garde: Karl Lamprecht, Kurt Pinthus, and Literary Expressionism" characterizes Lamprecht's scholarship as an interdisciplinary approach to history. She observes that Lamprecht's book *Deutsche Geschichte* (1881-1909) challenged Rankean historiography and its concentration on the historic personality, placing in its stead a universal cultural history. [82] She views Lamprecht's "valuation of cultural and psychogenetic forces to explain historical transition" as an alternative to the

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the Holy Roman Empire to which the Habsburgs were heirs, but he "did not like Byzantium and feared the East". Marchand 2014, 22.

[82] Spreizer 2001, 285.

Enlightenment and positivism.[83] Lamprecht's anti-imperialism and interdisciplinary methodologies was the means of a famed methodological crisis (*Methodikstreit*) in Germany between 1893 and 1899. Kathryn Brush in her article "The Cultural Historian Karl Lamprecht: Practitioner and Progenitor of Art History" points out how Lamprecht's "all-embracing study of the collective psyche" that connected art history, psychology, religion, philosophy, and anthropology was controversial to academic historians.[84]

> Lamprecht's all-embracing study of the collective psyche, which drew not only on art history, but also on psychology, religion, philosophy, and anthropology, was regarded with suspicion by academic historians in Germany, because it did not conform to the established conceptual boundaries of the historical discipline. So disquieting were these ideas that a bitter methodological dispute (Methodenstreit), waged within the German historical community during the 1890s, pivoted on Lamprecht's work, and especially on his Deutsche Geschichte, in which he portrayed German civilization over the centuries as an orderly progression through successive stages of cultural development, or what he termed Kulturzeitalter.

The thesis interprets Lamprecht's scholarship as parallel to Strzygowski's, as a product of a milieu of Universalist, anti-imperial, non-Enlightenment Modernist quests. Spreizer interprets Lamprecht's scholarship as a reflection of a "crisis of historical consciousness" that she believes to characterize the milieu.[85] Similarly Christopher Wood underlines how Strzygowski was inspired by American modernism, whose objective, scientific stance he believed would counter the

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[83] Spreizer 2001, 284, 286, 287. Lamprecht proposed five episodes to history: "Symbolism" up to the tenth century, "Typism" between tenth century and thirteenth century, "Conventionalism" between thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, "Individualism" between fifteenth and eighteenth centuries and "Subjectivism" after the eighteenth century to the present day.
[84] Brush 1993, 144.
[85] Spreizer 2001, 284, 285, 287, 288. Spreizer further discusses that Lamprecht related these characters to the "phenomena of decadence" and "a new nervousness in literature, which he found to be presaged by Nietzsche's *Der Fall Wagner*(1888). Spreizer in her discussion of literary Expressionism underlines the "cultural and political watershed of the turn of the century", "when a new Idealism and interest in the interiorization of the subject became the focus of academic and artistic inquiry."

European traditional standpoint. [86] Accordingly, Suzanne Marchand's allegory of a "Grub Street" to identify "battalion of paraacademic outsiders" and which included Strzygowski and Oswald Spengler could thus extend to include Karl Lamprecht.[87]

The thesis proposes to situate Diez within a generation of writers, composers and painters, who produced their main works closely preceding and during the First World War, whose work is characterized as Expressionism. It dwells to portray the milieu with an anti-Enlightenment Modernism through the influence of Nietzsche and a new understanding of space-time. To this purposes it uses contemporary writings as well as secondary academic sources, such as Steven E. Ascheim's 1992 book *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany 1890-1990* and also Stephen Kern's 2003 book *The Culture of Time and Space: 1880-1918.* Geoffrey Waite's observation of the contemporaneity between Worringer's book *Abstraction and Empathy*, Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, Schönberg's String Quartet, No.2 would thus extend to include Diez's 1915 book *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker* as part of the same landscape.[88]

The discussion refers to the largely untrodden field of Expressionism in art history that has so far found place in the discussions of mainly Udo Kultermann (1966), Kimberly Smith (2014) and Neil Donahue (1995, 2005). Kultermann considers Alois Riegl, Max Dvořák, Wilhelm Vöge and Benedetto Croce Expressionism's academic forbearers, and names Wilhelm Worringer, Fritz Burger, Hans Jantze, Friedrich Rintelen, Ernst Heidrich and Wilhelm Pinder as its utmost representatives.[89] Expressionism in art history has been the main theme of a 1995 monograph on Wilhelm Worringer edited by Neil Donahue and entitled *Invisible*

[86] Wood 2005, 217.
[87] Marchand 1994, 111.
[88] Waite 1995, 16.
[89] Kultermann 1993.

Cathedrals: Expressionist Art History of Wilhelm Worringer.[90] Most recently in 2014, Kimberly Smith edited a collection of Expressionist art history writing based on Kultermann's list.[91] The discussions point to a genre of art historical writing at the beginning of the twentieth century that is characterized by the influence of Alois Riegl's notion of *Kunstwollen* (art will, urge to art) and is thought to find its epitomes in Wilhelm Worringer's 1907 thesis *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (Abstraction and Empathy) as well as Max Dvořák's (1874-1921) 1921 book *Kunstgeschichte as Geistesgeschichte* (art history as a history of the "spirit").

Riegl's influence characterizes a generation of art historiography in Austria and Germany. Diez mentions his own inspiration from Riegl in a posthumously published article *Zur Kritik Strzygowskis* (On the Critique of Strzygowski).[92] Christopher Wood mentions the influence on Max Dvořák (1874-1921), Wilhelm Worringer (1881-1965), Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) and Hans Sedlmayr (1896-1984).[93] Thomas Levin discusses Walter Benjamin's (1892-1940) methodological affinity to Riegl, in his "analysis of artworks, which considers them as a complete expression of the religious, metaphysical, political and economic tendencies of an epoch." [94]

Chapter 4 is a related analysis of the writings of Diez. It investigates an emphasis on the notions of *Weltanschauung*, *Weltgefühl* and *Weltbegriff* in denoting the relation of cultural traits to art. It traces the background and uses of the notions in

[90] Donahue (ed.) 1995.
[91] Smith 2014.
[92] Diez 1961, 98. The article was published posthumously after being found by Diez' daughter Doris Brehm. He starts the article with a note on how art historians have all been mistaken as he viewed was the case with Strzygowski; yet he pointed out that it was only Riegl, who was not. "Bei den üblichen Vorwürfen gegen Strzygowski wären folgende Punkte zu bedenken: Erstens, daß Strzygowski in fast allen Fällen immer der erste war, der die orientalischen Kunstwerke zu analysieren und zu datieren versuchte. Auch andere große Kunsthistoriker, wie Wickhoff, haben sich geirrt (Wiener Genesis etc.). Nur Riegl nicht."
[93] Wood 2000.
[94] Levin 1988, 78.

Austro-German philosophical and historical thought. The discussion opens an understanding of the notion of "style" in which art is a representation of the worldview of a culture. The chapter discusses former and contemporary understandings of style in the works of Alois Riegl, Heinrich Wölfflin and Wilhelm Worringer (1881-1965). The discussion refers to Meyer Schapiro's 1953 article in the *Anthropology Today* titled "Style" as a substantial memory of the turn of the century understanding of the notion. Since then the term has come under doubt and recently in his 2005 book *Blind Spots: Critical Theory and the History of Art in Twentieth Century Germany*, Frederick J. Schwartz observes "a strangely slow and bloodless, invisible death of the concept".[95]

The chapter investigates Diez's understanding of style through his references to the art histories of Ludwig Coellen and Franz Lehel and presents his adaptation of both histories to Islamic art. Both histories similarly employ contemporary cubist abstract understanding of form as means of a Universal history of art. The chapter discusses how the new investigations of form aided to free art history from previous criteria of Euro centrism and Renaissance perspective. The thesis addresses the philosophical basis of the cultural and psychological expressivity of form in contemporary neo-Kantian thought. It proposes to perceive the approach within the philosophical notion of Expressionism.

The thesis traces back Diez's odyssey to turn of the century intellectual landscape, where Islamic, as well as Turkish, Persian, Byzantine and Armenian art could be part of a universal intelligence of forms. The thesis employs both biographical and art historiographical approaches, but turns out ultimately an intellectual history of the first half of the twentieth century.

[95] Schwartz 2005, 36.

1.3 Biographical outline

Diez was born on 27th of July 1878 in Lölling, Kärnten (Carinthia).[96] He was the son of Maria Luise von Webern and mine instructor Friedrich Diez (Figure 14). The composer Anton von Webern (1883-1945) was Diez's maternal cousin. Webern's biographer Moldenhauer writes that Diez's family lived at Vodernberg, Styria, where the father was a mining administrator.[97] Diez went to high school in Klagenfurt and Graz. In 1896, he started studying both law and art history at the University of Graz. He passed the state examination on legal history, yet he continued studying art history and archaeology with Josef Strzygowski and Wilhelm Gurlitt in Graz, and obtained his doctoral degree in 1902. Diez's doctoral dissertation was an interpretation of the miniatures of an early sixth-century illuminated manuscript of *De Materia Medica* by Dioscorides in Greek, discovered in Istanbul in the 1560s by the Flemish diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, and brought to Emperor Ferdinand the First and later came to be known as the "Vienna Dioscurides".

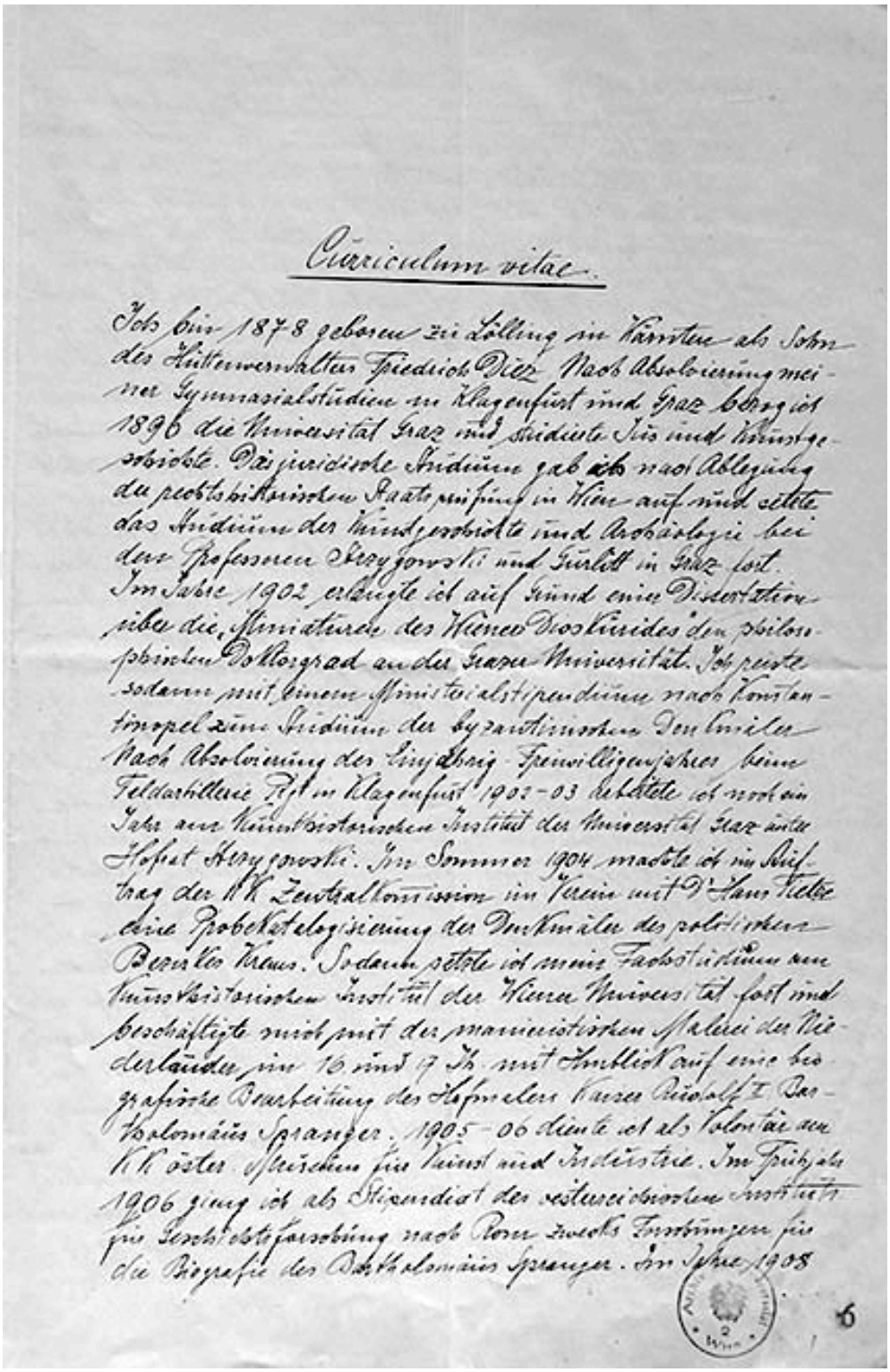
Diez's dissertation was published in 1903 in the journal *Byzantinische Denkmäler* (Byzantine Monuments), which was edited by his teacher Strzygowski. Following his degree in 1902, Diez took a ministerial stipend to travel to Constantinople to study Byzantine monuments. In 1903, Diez returned to Graz to work with Strzygowski. In the summer of 1904, he prepared a catalogue of monuments of Krems for the Imperial Commission (*K. K. Zentralkommission*) with Hans Tietze (1880-1954) from the University of Vienna. His association with the University of Vienna thenceforth commenced in 1904. He acknowledges in his curriculum vitae of 1918 that he prepared in his application for Habilitation at the

[96] See Appendix C. Ernst Diez to the Professors Colleagiate of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna, 9 December 1918, Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna. Ernst Diez to the Ministry of Science, Education, and Culture in Berlin, 11 August 1939, Ernst Diez Papers, Paul Sacher Sitftung, Basel.
[97] Moldenhauer 1979, 29.

University of Vienna, that he worked initially on the subject of Dutch Mannerist painting of 16th and 17th centuries, and on the biography of Bartholomeus Spranger (1546-1611). In the spring of 1906, Diez went to Rome, with a stipend from the Austrian Institute for Historical Research (*Österreichisches Institut für Geschichtsforschung*) to conduct his biographical research on Spranger. Possibly also as a result of this trip, Diez co-authored a book on Umbria dating to 1907, in which he wrote the section on art, and the co-author Paul Stefan wrote the chapters on the cities and the people.[98]

Diez's museum work started on his return from Rome. Between 1906 and 1907, he worked as a volunteer at the Austrian Imperial Museum for Art and Industry (*K. K. Österreichische Museen für Kunst und Industrie*). In the same year, under instructions from Wilhelm Gurlitt (1844-1905), professor of Classical Archaeology and Diez's teacher at the University of Graz, Diez published the findings of the excavations in Krungl and Hohenberg, which was initially planned to be published in the second volume of Alois Riegl's *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (Late Roman Industry), but was given up due to Riegl's unexpected death.

[98] Diez& Stefan 1907.



Curriculum vitae.

Ich bin 1878 geboren zu Zölling in Kärnten als Sohn des Hüttenverwalters Friedrich Diez. Nach Absolvierung meiner Gymnasialstudien zu Klagenfurt und Graz bezog ich 1896 die Universität Graz und studierte Jus und Kunstgeschichte. Das juridische Studium gab ich nach Ablegung des rechtshistorischen Staatsprüfung in Wien auf und setzte das Studium der Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie bei den Professoren Strzygowski und Gurlitt in Graz fort. Im Jahre 1902 erlangte ich auf Grund einer Dissertation über die Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurides den philosophischen Doktorgrad an der Grazer Universität. Ich bezog sodann mit einem Ministerialstipendium nach Konstantinopel zum Studium der byzantinischen Denkmäler. Nach Absolvierung des Einjährig-Freiwilligenjahres bei Feldartillerie Rgt in Klagenfurt 1902-03 absolvierte ich noch ein Jahr am Kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität Graz unter Hofrat Strzygowski. Im Sommer 1904 machte ich im Auftrag der K.K. Zentralkommission in Verein mit Dr Hans Folnesics eine Probeklassifizierung der Denkmäler des politischen Bezirkes Krems. Sodann widmete ich mein Fachstudium am Kunsthistorischen Institut der Wiener Universität fort und beschäftigte mich mit der manieristischen Malerei der Niederlande um 16 und 17 Jh. mit Hinblick auf eine begonnene Bearbeitung des Kupferstichwerkes Kaiser Rudolf II. Bartholomäus Sprangers. 1905-06 diente ich als Volontär am K.K. österr. Museum für Kunst und Industrie. Im Frühjahr 1906 ging ich als Stipendiat der österreichischen Akademie zur Fortsetzung nach Rom zwecks Forschungen für die Biografie des Bartholomäus Sprangers. Im Jahre 1908

Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien

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Figure 14. Curriculum Vitae, Ernst Diez to the Professors Collegiate of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna, 9 December 1918, Source: [University of Vienna Archives]

Diez went to Berlin in 1908, as a volunteer at the Imperial Museum (*Königliche Museen zu Berlin*), where he initially worked at the Graphic Collection (*Kupferstichkabinett*) under the direction of Max Friedlander (1867-1958), then in the Painting Gallery (*Gemäldegalerie*) with Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929). Subsequently, Diez started working with Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945), the director of the newly founded Islamic department of the museum, for a pioneering exhibition on Islamic art, that took place in Munich in 1910, called *Meisterwerke Mohammedanischer Kunst* (Masterworks of Mohammedan Art). Diez writes in his curriculum vitae that it was from this appointment onwards that he was oriented to the study of Islamic art and also took Arabic lessons in Berlin. Diez later published his work for the catalogue of the exhibition on ivory objects and pyxides (*Bemalte Elfenbeinkästchen und Pyxiden der islamischen Kunst*).[99] Diez also wrote on the reception and content of the exhibition in the journal *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, which serves as a marker of his initial approach to Islamic art (*Islamische Kunst: Zur Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München*; Islamic Art: On the Exhibition of Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art in Munich).[100]

Diez's appointment in Berlin might have contributed to his employment as assistant to Josef Strzygowski at the University of Vienna in the spring of 1911. In 1910, Strzygowski had started his own seminary at the Institute of Art History, with a perspective on studies of the Orient, in which he aimed to involve the topic of Islamic art history. Diez explains in his Curriculum Vitae that it was part of Strzygowski's plan to publish a handbook on Islamic art. To that purpose, Diez was assigned to undertake a study trip to Cairo in the winter of 1911 and then to East

[99] Diez 1910. Diez 1911.
[100] Diez 1910. During this time, he also continued working on topics of mainstream European art history. He finished his work on Spranger, and published it in the yearbook of the *Kaiserhauses*. He published in 1910 on another museum object, a cartoon for a tapestry for Leo X. In the following two years, he prepared two short monographs on Raphael and Millet.

Persia (*Ostpersien*, the geographical denotation refers to Diez's own use, See Appendix C) in the fall of 1912. Strzygowski arranged this trip as auxiliary to an expedition by lieutenant Oskar von Niedermayer (1885-1948). This second trip determined Diez's later career, as he wrote his pioneering book on Islamic art *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker* (The Art of the Islamic People) soon after his arrival in Vienna. After its initial 1915 publication, the book was reprinted two more times in 1920 and in 1926. The direct outcome of the trip nevertheless was Diez's *Habilitation* thesis of 1918 on the "Monuments of Khorasan" (*Churasanische Baudenkmäler)*. A consequent volume, which aimed to bring an analytical approach to the monuments, appeared later in 1923, with the title *Persien, Islamische Baukunst in Churasan* (Persia, Islamic Architecture in Khorasan). A report dating to March 8th of 1924 on the professorship of Diez, following a meeting on 19th of February signed by Josef Strzygowski, points out that this second book was a pioneering attempt to treat Islamic art systematically, with its quest into material, method, origin, meaning and aim of building types and its sketching of a developmental history (*Entwicklungsgeschichte*) (See Appendix C).[101] Diez appears to have become versed in the Arabic and Persian languages in these years, through courses at the School for Oriental Languages. He took the state exams for Persian in 1915. The First World War years were thus formative for Diez's scholarship, although he was taken into the military as a Second Lieutenant at the Arsenal of Vienna in the spring of 1916. He writes in his curriculum vitae that consequentially he was "starkly withheld from academic work".[102]

Diez was appointed a lecturer (*Privatdozent*) for the "Art History of the Orient" (*Kunstgeschichte des Orients*) on 22 July 1919, and professor extraordinarius

[101] *Bericht* (Report), 8 March 1924, Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna.
[102] Ernst Diez to the Professors Colleagiate of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna, 9 December 1918, Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna.

(*außerordentlichen Professor*) on 28 April 1924 (See Appendix Figures C1, C2).[103] He was given a three-hour teaching status in *Denkmalkunde des Orients* (Monuments of the Orient) from the summer semester of 1925 onwards.[104] Diez also received a lectureship (*Habilitation*) at an introductory level on the subject of "Ancient Orient", in view of his further work on Buddhist art in his 1922 book *Einführung in die Kunst des Ostens* (Introduction to the Art of the East) and the 1924 book on *Afghanistan.*

Diez nonetheless chose to suspend his position at the University of Vienna in 1926 in order to accept the offer from Bryn Mawr College in the United States, a position that was initially offered to Strzygowski.[105] Diez appears in the College Calendars from 1926, as associate professor elect. His courses include "Art of the Far East", "Medieval Art, Byzantine and Romanesque", "Medieval Art, Gothic", "Oriental Art" and "Baroque art". Diez suspended his teaching in 1939; and with the fellowship from ACLS (American Council for Learned Societies), he travelled to Greece with Otto Demus, a colleague from Vienna and a student of Strzygowski, after which they co-authored a book titled *Byzantine Mosaics of Hosios Lukas and Daphni*. In 1930, Diez also became a fellow of Harvard Yenching Institute in Beijing and spent the following years travelling in Asia including India and China. [106] In these years, he was also a scholar at Case Western Reserve University, in connection to an anticipated excavation in Persia (See Appendix Figures C4, C5).[107] He started

[103] Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy (Der Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät) of the University of Vienna to the German Austrian Ministry of Education (Deutschösterreichische Stattsamt für Unterricht), 22 June 1919, Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna. Federal Ministry of Education(Bundesministerim für Unterricht) to Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy (Der Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät), 28 April 1924, Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna.
[104] Ministry of Education of Austria (Bundesministerium für Unterricht) to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy (Dekanat der philosophischen Fakultät) of the University of Vienna, 30 December 1924, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder,Vienna.
[105] Ernst Diez to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, 26 June 1926, Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna.
[106] News of Diez' journey to China, Bryn Mawr College News, 1930.
[107] The employment form for Ernst Diez from the Case Western Reserve University Provost's Office (25 February 1930). Case Western Reserve University Archives. Flora Stone Mather College.

teaching back at Bryn Mawr College in 1933, where he stayed until 1939. During his time at the United States, Diez contributed to the newly founded journal *Ars Islamica* of the University of Michigan, to Arthur Upham Pope's renowned *Survey of Persian Art* with a section titled "The principle and types" in the volume "The Architecture of the Islamic Period" and also to the Volume 3 of *Enzyklopädie des Islam*, published between 1932 and 1937.[108]

Diez returned to the University of Vienna in the winter semester of 1939, at age sixty-one, by the appointment of the Ministry of Education in Berlin, as "Extra-Budgetary Professor of Art History of the Orient and Far East" (a*ußeretatmäßiger Professor für Kunstgeschichte des Orients und Fernen Ostens*) (See Appendix Figure C6).[109] The Strzygowski Institute had closed down in 1933 and had merged with the Second Art Institute in Vienna under the directorship of a student of Julius von Schlosser, Hans Sedlmayr (1896-1984) in 1937.[110] On his return to Vienna, Diez produced books for broader audiences, including *Entschleiertes Asien* (Asia Revealed, 1940), *Glaube und Welt des Islam* (Creed and World of Islam, 1941), *So sahen sie Asien: Reiseberichten von Herodot bis Moltke* (How They Saw Asia: Traveller Accounts From Herodot to Moltke, 1942). *Entschleiertes Asien* became

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Requirements And Courses For The Academic Year 1931-1932 With Announcements For The Session Of 1931-1933. Western Reserve University Bulletin. XXXIV(17). 14.

[108] Diez 1934, Diez 1936, Diez 1937, Diez 1938, Diez 1939

[109] A.Marchet to the Dean of Faculty of Philosophy, 20 August 1939, Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna. Letter From the Ministry Of Science, Education And Culture to Curator of Scientific Schools, Vienna, 15 April 1940, Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna.

[110] Sedlmayr held the chair at the University of Vienna from 1936 until 1945, then at the Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich from 1951 until 1964. In 1964 he was appointed as visiting professor at the University of Salzburg, where he established the art history curriculum. On Seldmayr's art historiography, see Wood, 2000. Wood discusses that Sedlmayr with Otto Pächt founded the "New Vienna School" of art history, on the influence of Alois Riegl, around a methodology he called *Strukturforschung* (structure research) or *Strukturanalyse* (structure analysis). Wood points out to the 1931 article by Sedlmayr, *Zu einer strengen Kunstwissenschaft* ("Toward a Rigorous Study of Art" as its manifesto. He is the author of Verlust der Mitte: Die bildende Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts als Symptom und Symbol der Zeit (1948, "Loss of the Center: the Fine Arts of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries as Symptom and Symbol of the Times"), published in English in 1957 as Art in Crisis: The Lost Center.

translated into four languages, titled in its English version of 1961 *The Ancient Worlds of Asia: From Mesopotamia to the Yellow River*. The book narrates episodes of cities, kings and geographies with a view into the recent excavations.[111] *Glaube und Welt des Islam* is a cultural book on the religion, yet included a section on Islamic art and architecture. *So sahen sie Asien: Reiseberichten von Herodot bis Moltke* is a two-volume compilation of traveller's accounts of Asia.

Diez took the job offer from Istanbul University in the summer of 1943, at age sixty-five. The position was extended to him by the Ministry of Science, Education and Culture (*Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*) in Berlin, at the demand of Istanbul University, and after the reference of then the director of the Islamic section of the Berlin Museum, Ernst Kühnel (See Appendix C, Appendix Figure C7).[112] Diez was taken under internment in August 1944 among with other German nationals in Turkey, due to Germany's loss in the Second World War, after Turkey took sides with the Allied Powers few months before the end of war in February 1945.

During his internment, Diez was initially at the German School of Istanbul until August 1945 and later in the Central Anatolian town of Kırşehir until December

[111] The chapters of the book were titled "The Golden age: The descendants of Noah; The palaces and temples of the Assyrians; The Tower of Babel; So tells King Darejawosch; The Iranian Light Religion; At the court of the Sassanids; The City of Peace; Isfahan, Nisfi Jehan; Buddhist Cave Temple; The divine mountain Meru; Excavations in China; The great city of Shang; The culture of Chou; The Third Chinese Empire".

[112] Ernst Kühnel to Ernst Diez, 19 August 1942, German Archeology Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*), Orient Department (*Orient Abteilung*) Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin. Ernst Diez to Ernst Kühnel, 2 September 1942, German Archeology Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*), Orient Department (*Orient Abteilung*) Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin. Ernst Kühnel to Ministry of Science, Education and Culture (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung Oberregierungsrat Dr. Scurla), 5 September 1942, German Archeology Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*), Orient Department (*Orient Abteilung*) Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin. Ministry of Science, Education and Culture (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung Oberregierungsrat Dr. Scurla) to Ernst Kühnel, 16 September 1942, German Archeology Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*), Orient Department (*Orient Abteilung*) Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin.

1945.[113] Diez wrote his book on Turkish art history after a demand from the Dean of Istanbul University that became published after the end of his internment in the fall of 1946. Yet, the reactions to his book's tracing of Armenian and Byzantine precedents to Turkish Art soon followed at the end of 1946 and eventually led to his dismissal from Istanbul University in 1949. Nonetheless, he continued his relations with his student and assistant Oktay Aslanapa and in 1950 contributed to his book on the art of the Karamanids (*Karaman Devri Sanatı*). Diez returned to Turkey only once in 1959, and that upon the invitation for the First International Congress of Turkish Art.

Diez quitted his academic career after he left Turkey in 1950, yet until his death in 1961, he continued writing mostly on the topic of Islamic art for general books of art history.[114] His two last books were one on the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and the other on the recent excavations, *Die Sprache der Ruinen* (The Language of the Ruins). Diez passed away on 8 July 1961 at age 83 after a brain haemorrhage.

[113] Ernst Diez to Beryl Diez, 29 January 1946, Ernst Diez Papers, Correspondances, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel.
[114] He wrote on Central Asia and Eurasian Art Circle, and also on Indian Art in *Das Atlantisbuch der Kunst* (Atlantisbook of Art, 1952); wrote on Islamic art in *Kleine Kunstgeschichte der außer europäischen Hochkulturen* (Art History of non-European High Cultures), 1957); on Indian and Islamic art in *Illustrierte Welt-Kunstgeschichte* (Illustrated World-Art, 1960); and on Islamic Art in Ullstein Books on Art History, which appeared after his death in 1964.

CHAPTER 2

DENKMALKUNDE DES ORIENTS

AT THE STRZYGOWSKI INSTITUTE

1910-1933

The controversial issues in *Türk Sanatı*, Diez's references to Byzantine, Armenian and Islamic art histories were preceded by Strzygowski's pioneering work in these areas at the turn of the twentieth century. Diez was Strzygowski's doctoral student at the University of Graz, and then became his assistant at the University of Vienna in 1911, where Strzygowski founded a separate institute based on his studies on topics of the Orient (See Figure 15). Diez was its first designated lecturer in Islamic art historiography, subsequent to his 1915 book on Islamic art. He became a lecturer in *Kunstgeschichte des Orients* (Art History of the Orient) in 1919 and a professor of *Denkmalkunde des Orients* (Heritage Sciences of the Orient) in 1924.

In the first decades of the century, for Strzygowski, Turkish, Armenian, Byzantine as well as Islamic art historiographies were parts of the same quest for an alternative geographical and historical route to Europe in the "Orient". For Strzygowski, Turks were carriers of Central Asian Art westwards, and Armenian art formed within its crossroads with Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran.



Figure 15. Josef Strzygowski (sitting), Ernst Diez (standing left) Source: [University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives]

Strzygowski's "Orient" denoted initially and mainly Byzantine Art against Roman Art, and Constantinople against Rome.[115] As early as 1891, Strzygowski began editing a series titled *Byzantinische Denkmäler* (Byzantine Monuments), which significantly preceded the renowned *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* that began to be published a year later in 1892.[116] The first volume followed Strzygowski's initial expedition to Constantinople and Armenia in 1889 and included an article on the Armenian manuscript known as "Etchmiadzin Gospels", in which he spoke of a common hinterland that extended from Ravenna to Syria, Egypt and Armenia at the time of the Byzantine Empire.[117] The second volume that came out in 1893 included an article by Philipp Forchheimer on the cisterns of Constantinople.[118]

Strzygowski's emphasis on Byzantine art developed during his work for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin during the 1890s. He worked with the director of the museum Wilhelm von Bode in the acquisition of artefacts. Gabriel Mietke in her article *Josef Strzygowski und seine Tatigkeit für die Berliner Museen*, quotes a letter from Strzygowski to Bode to point out how these same artefacts formed the background to Strzygowski's 1901 book *Orient oder Rom* (Orient or Rome) (Figure 16).[119]

> What I present here in samples mainly for the Department of Christian art of the Orient shall overthrow our previous views on the foundations of Christian art.

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[115] Suzanne Marchand traces Strzygowski's early years in "The Rhetoric of Artifacts and the Decline of Classical Humanism" . Strzygowski reviews these years in his autobiographical work *Aufgang des Nordens*. Marchand 1994. Strzygowski 1936.

[116] Ernst E. Herzfeld, W. R. W. Koehler, C. R. Morey in their obituary for Strzygowski discuss Strzygowski's expedition to Greece, Asia Minor and Russia between 1888 and 1890 to have been formative of his orientation to Byzantine Art, after which they point out that he wanted to write a comprehensive history, but failed to accomplish. Herzfeld& Others, 1942. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* was established by Karl Krumbacher from the University of Munich.

[117] Strzygowski 1891. Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar. Beiträge zur Geschichte der armenischen, ravennatischen und syro-ägyptischen Kunst (The Etchmiadzin Gospels. Contributions to the History of the Armenian, Ravenna and Syro-Egyptian Art).

[118] Forchheimer 1893.

[119] Mietke 2012, 8. "Was ich hier in Stichproben durchführe, das sollte die Abteilung für die christliche Kunst des Orients im Großen beabsichtigen, den Umsturz unserer bisherigen Anschauungen über die Fundamente der christlicher Kunst."

Strzygowski thus declared his stance against Rome-centred scholarship. The book was soon followed in 1902 with *Hellas in des Orients Umarmung* (Hellas in the Embrace of the Orient), and in 1903 with *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* (Asia Minor, A New Land for Art History). Concurrently, in his introduction to the third and last edition of *Byzantinische Denkmäler* in 1903 titled *Ursprung und Sieg der altbyzantinischen Kunst* (Origin and Aim of Early Byzantine Art), Strzygowski depicted Constantinople as the "head" of Byzantine Art, whose body was "Asia Minor". In Constantinople, he observed an "Orient-infiltrated Hellenism" at the time of early Christianity. In Strzygowski's Byzantine Orient, the Hellenistic South met with the routes of the East Asian Orient, and created an "un-Roman" (*unrömischen)*, and "Hellenistic-Oriental" (*hellenistisch-orientalisch*) art. [120] Strzygowski discussed a historical geography of world economical routes through which he asserted a flow of art (*Kunstströmen*) from Hellenistic metropoles, Indian and East Asian markets to Byzantium, where both East- West, and North-South met.[121] Strzygowski thus asserted cultural routes that connected Central Asia to Europe, Persia to India and China via Pontic and Caspian seas. He also discussed a route from Persia via Armenia and the Black Sea into southern Russia and the Danube, from where it reached all of Europe.[122] Similarly, it was a trade-based route, through which he traced the influence of Constantinople on Italian ground. Both Turks and Armenians played a significant role in what Diez would later call *orientalische Flut* (Oriental flood).[123]

[120] Strzygowski 1903.
[121] Strzygowski 1903, xiv.
[122] Strzygowski 1903, i.
[123] *Orientalischen Flut* was a term used by Diez in his posthumously published article on Strzygowski. Diez 1963, 99.



ORIENT ODER ROM

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER SPÄTANTIKEN

UND

FRÜHCHRISTLICHEN KUNST

VON

JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

MIT 9 TAFELN UND 53 ABBILDUNGEN IM TEXTE
U. A. NACH AUFNAHMEN DER
PALMYRA-EXPEDITION SOBERNHEIM

LEIPZIG
J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG
1901

Figure 16. Josef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, 1901

Two articles in the 1903 issue of *Byzantinische Denkmäler* by Diez and Josef Quitt were illustrations of Strzygowski's "Oriental" routes. Diez traced Hellenistic-Oriental features and craftsmanship in the miniatures of the 6th century Byzantine botanical-medicine book "Vienna Dioscurides" and Josef Quitt discussed Byzantine

elements in the mosaics of San Vitale of Ravenna.[124] The two articles together depicted a hinterland from Jerusalem to Rome and subsequently asserted a reversal of influence from Constantinople on Rome.[125] Strzygowski thus declared the significance of the Byzantine Orient. [126]

> I am curious, how much longer the old bias for Rome and classical antiquity will conflict with the full knowledge of the truth: that it was the Orient, which had the new style, and that the Christian art, wherever it may occur, especially in Rome and Italy, now is the bearer of this new, almost non-antique, but therefore not less important, so great and prolific movement.

Strzygowski's position was particularly controversial for the scholars at the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna, whose relation to "Austrian Institute for Historical Research" (*Österreichisches Institut für Geschichtsforschung*) subscribed to an imperial approach, and sought the legitimization of the Habsburg Empire via a Late Roman heritage. Strzygowski himself declared his position against the scholarship of Franz Wickhoff (1853-1909), who was then the head of the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna, in his *Orient oder Rom*, calling it "Wickhoff Monstrosity of the Roman Imperial Art" (*Wickhoffische Monstrum der römischen Reichskunst*).[127] Strzygowski was critical of the prominence of Classical studies at the institute (then called *Kunsthistorische Apparat*) at the University of Vienna, which he later called "degenerate Science" (*entartete Geisteswissenschaft*).[128] Wickhoff's course in the Winter Semester of

[124] It was the means fof publication of Diez's doctoral thesis at the University of Graz "The Miniatures of the Vienna Dioscorides" (*Die Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurides*).
[125] Diez 1903. Quitt 1903. Diez refers to the link to an Asia Minor-Syrian school of miniature painting, which he discusses to have also produced the Orpheus-Mosaik in Jerusalem. Diez 1903, 68.
[126] Strzygowski 1903, xxviii. "Ich bin begierig, wie lange noch die alte Voreingenommenheit für Rom und die Antike der vollen Erkenntnis der Wahrheit entgegenstehen wird: dass es der Orient war, der den neuen Stil gezeitigt hat und dass die christliche Kunst, wo immer sie auftreten mag, vor allem auch in Rom und Italien, bald Träger dieser neuen, geradezu unantiken, aber deshalb nicht minder bedeutenden, ja großartigen und überaus fruchtbaren Bewegung ist."
[127] Strzygowski 1901, 7.
[128] Strzygowski 1936, 125. Marchand also quotes Strzygowski's own struggle with overcoming Classicism: "I myself had to step by step leave behind classical archaeology, and over the course of

1901-1902 "The Emergence of Christian Art from Antiquity" (*Der Herausbildung der christlichen Kunst aus der Antiken*) and Julius Schlosser's course in the Summer Semester of 1903-1904 on the "Antique in the Middle Ages" (*Die Antike im Mittelalter*) as well as on-going courses by Emil Reisch from the Department of Classical Studies formed the antithesis of Strzygowski's inquiries.[129]

These different standings characterize the role of Oriental Studies in art historiographical scholarship in turn of the century Vienna. Meanwhile, Oriental Studies were integral to the curriculum of other departments at the University of Vienna. At the Department of Geography, Ethnology and Pre-historical Archaeology, Eugen Oberhummer was teaching Asian and Near Eastern topics. At the Department of Comparative Language Research and Oriental Philology (*Vergleichende Sprachforschung und orientalische Philologie*) the courses encompassed a large spectrum of Arabic, Syrian, Ottoman and Armenian Language and Literatures.

2.1 The establishment of Oriental studies in the 1910's

Strzygowski's appointment at the University of Vienna in 1909 for the chair of Wickhoff, who had recently passed away, was a breakthrough and significantly it was the demand for the consideration of Oriental Art History by scholars outside the discipline that finalized the decision.[130] Physical chemist Rudolf Wegscheider (1859-1935) and Indologist Leopold von Schroeder (1851-1920) defended Strzygowski's appointment in heated debates against Emil von Ottenthal from the **"**Institute for

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decades had to give up one prejudice after another before I reached the perspective I offer in this book." Marchand 1994*,* 50, quoting from Strzygowski's *Altslavische Kunst* (1929*)*, xiii.

[129] *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der K.K. Universität zu Wien*, University of Vienna Archives.

[130] Strzygowski had become a lecturer (*Privatdozent*) previously in 1887 in Vienna. At the time, his colleague Alois Riegl had criticized Strzygowski's 1887 book *Cimabue und Rom*, for its inquiry into Byzantine sources to Cimabue's art.

Austrian Historical Research", Professor Emil Reisch from the Faculty of Archaeology, and Professor Laurenz Müller from the Catholic-Theological Faculty.[131] Wegscheider argued that the previously unoccupied professorship of Alois Riegl (who had passed away in 1905) gave the opportunity to consider Oriental Art, and declared "most decidedly, we are convinced that the occupation of the art history professorship at the University of Vienna cannot and should not be evaluated by the relatively narrow aspects of the special interests of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research."[132]

Subsequently, two different subdivisions were formed and while the position of Wickhoff was given to Strzygowski, the chair of Alois Riegl was given to Max Dvořák (1874-1921). The two positions were spatially and institutionally separated. Strzygowski's section was titled *Kunsthistorische Seminar I* from the summer semester of 1913, while the section under Dvořák remained Department of Art History (*Kunsthistorische Apparat*). [133]

When Strzygowski joined the university in the winter semester of 1909-1910, the change was readily evident. His initial course was on the Balkans, and in the

[131] Walter Höflechner and Christian Brugger in their discussion of the Vienna School refer to archival material on this selection. Höflechner& Brugger 1992, 6-71. Marchand sees it a possibility that "Archduke Franz Ferdinand had a hand in promoting Strzygowski's candidacy" in Marchand 1994, 120.

[132] From Wegscheider's speech, quoted by Höflechner& Brugger 1992, 38: „auf das Entschiedenste, dass nach unserer Überzeugung die Besetzung der kunstgeschichtlichen Professur an der Wiener Universität nicht von dem relativ engen Gesichtspunkte der speziellen Interessen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung beurteilt werden kann und darf." Wegscheider also argued that if not chosen, Strzygowski might be lost to Germany.

[133] Until the summer semester of 1913, the two fractions were commonly designated with the title "Kunsthistorische Apparat". As indicated in *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der K.K. Universität zu Wien*. Strzygowski was supported by university funds for institute space, expeditions and publications. Höflechner and Brugger mention a list of six requirements from Strzygowski dating to 13 November 1912, four of which were accepted. The two that were not accepted were about the appointment of geographer Hanslik, and another position for the Orient. Höflechner& Brugger 1992, 53. Marchand mentions Strzygowski's request for two faculty posts in Teheran and Beijing in 1912. Marchand refers to the floor plan of the institute in these years as a signifier of the geography of Strzygowski's scholarship. She portrays two large rooms for Western Asia and Eastern Europe, and smaller ones marked "Islam" and "Austria", with Eastern Asia and Western Europe in the same office space. Marchand 2014, 45.

summer semester of 1910, he lectured on "Hungarian Finds from the Time of the Great Migration" (*Ungarische Funde aus der Zeit der Völkerwanderung*).[134]

One of Strzygowski's initial undertakings was the topic of Islamic art history and appointment of Diez. Diez later recalls that Strzygowski had plans for a handbook of Islamic art already at his appointment as assistant at the University of Vienna in 1911.[135]

> My scholarly work continued to be devoted exclusively to the late antique, Islamic, and medieval European art, first with the aim of compiling a handbook of Islamic art directed by Strzygowski.

Strzygowski's concern with Islamic art history appears a consequence of his previous work for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Strzygowski's expedition to Egypt in 1894-95 contributed to the collection of the section on Islamic Art that was to be established in 1907. Gabriele Mietke points out that of the 1600 objects Strzygowski acquired in Egypt, about 300 objects were given to the Islamic section of the museum.[136] Another crossroads was the acquisition and dating of the Mshatta Palace. Strzygowski included it in a list that Wilhelm von Bode had asked him to prepare for German Kaiser Wilhelm, as a wish from Sultan Abdulhamid during his visit to Constantinople in 1898.[137] Strzygowski had the aim to place it in a museum section on "Christian Art of the Orient" (*Abteilung für die christliche Kunst des Orients*) in view of his dating it to the late-antique period between the fourth and the sixth

[134] *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der K.K. Universität zu Wien*, University of Vienna Archives.
[135] Diez points this out in his application for lectureship (*Habilitation*) at the University of Vienna, December 9th 1918. "Meine wissenschaftliche Arbeit blieb weiterhin ausschließlich der spätantiken, islamischen und mittelalterlich europäischen Kunst gewidmet zunächst mit dem auf Abfassung eines von Strzygowski geplanten Umfassen den Handbücher der islamischen Kunst gerichteten Ziel." Ernst Diez to the Dean of Faculty of Philosophy, 9 December 1918, Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna. Strzygowski knew Diez as his doctoral student at the University of Graz, yet the choice for Diez must have also been related to Diez's assistantship to the director of the Islamic Section of the Berlin Museum Friedrich Sarre for the 1910 Munich Exhibition *Meisterwerken Mohammedan Kunst* (Masterworks of Mohammedan Art). See Troelenberg, 2010, 2012.
[136] The section was founded in 1900 under the title "Collection of Early Christian-Byzantine art" (*Sammlung alt-christlich-byzantinischer Kunst*), and also encompassed the late antique and early Medieval art of the West. Mietke 2012, 7, 10.
[137] Strzygowski explains the incident in his autobiographical work *Ausgang des Nordens*. Strzygowski 1936, 13.

centuries.[138] However, after Ernst Herzfeld's dating the palace to early Islamic Umayyad period in 1910, the piece became part of the Islamic section of the museum.[139]

Strzygowski started a seminar on Islamic art already in the winter semester of 1911-1912, complemented by a student trip to Cairo in the same semester; yet his main means of work on Islamic art historiography was involving Diez in an expedition to East Persia (translation from Diez's German use *Ostpersien*) in the Fall of 1912. One of the expedition's main outcomes was the first German language book on Islamic art with the title *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker* (The Art of the Islamic People) written by Diez in 1915. Strzygowski also held a seminar with the materials from the expedition in the Summer Semester of 1915.[140] The geography of the expedition, North-Eastern Persia and particularly Khorasan appears as a means to situate Islamic art along the routes from Central Asia; and thus to take a position against the Berlin-based scholarship of Islamic art of Friedrich Sarre, Ernst Herzfeld and Carl Becker through inquiring into the Asian/Oriental component to Islamic art. Diez's 1918 book *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* (Monuments of Khorasan) situated Khorasan as a crossroads, a meeting point of cultures and of cross-cultural influences, in connection to Strzygowski's "world routes" (*Weltverkehr*) from Central Asia over Persia to Northern Europe. Strzygowski could thus argue against the one-way Hellenistic influence on the arts of the region including Armenian, Byzantine and Islamic arts.

[138] Strzygowski wrote in 1904 an article on his discussion titled "Mschatta".
[139] Herzfeld 1910. See also Troelenberg 2014.
[140] *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der K.K. Universität zu Wien im Sommer Semester 1915*, 46. University of Vienna Archives. "Kunsthistorisches Seminar: Islamische Kunst (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des vom Ass. Dr. Diez auf der Institutsexpedition im Iran gesammelten Materials)" .

The geography of Diez's expedition also corresponds to the shift of the centre of Strzygowski's Orient from Byzantium to Eastern Persia, which became explicit in his only two books of the decade: *Altai- Iran und Völkerwanderung* (Altai-Iran and Great Migration) in 1917 and *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (The Architecture of Armenia and Europe) in 1918 (Figure 17).[141] The two books produced a year apart would later form the two antithetical sides of Diez's controversy in Turkey; nevertheless together they formed Strzygowski's Oriental routes. Turks took role these routes as carriers of Central Asian Art westwards, and Armenian art formed within the crossroads of these economic and migratory routes, forming a hub between Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran. Strzygowski consequently proposed that Armenian art was a bearer and transmitter of Mazdaic, Central Asian and Aryan cultures. [142]

In the following years, Strzygowski continued to extend the geographies of his scholarship, while the section under Dvořák continued on with European and Classical topics of art history.[143] Strzygowski mainly gave courses on the Balkans, and on Byzantine and Early Christian Art. [144] He also opened courses on the comparative aspects of European and Asian histories.[145] It was also in this decade that his perception of the Orient extended beyond Byzantium further East to Armenia

[141] Also at the university, Strzygowski gave a course on *Altaier und Iranier im Rahmen der Kunstforschung* (Altai and Iran in the Context of Art Research) in the summer semester of 1916.
[142] Strzygowski 1918, 5.
[143] See Appendix E for a list of the books of the Strzygowski Institute.
[144] *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der K.K. Universität zu Wien*."The Monuments of Bukowina in the Frame of Orthodox Art" (WS 1914-15), "Bulgarian Monuments"(WS 1916-1917). "Emergence of Christian Art"(WS 1910-11), "Early Christian Art in Egypt"(SS 1911),Ravenna's Position in Early Christian Art"(WS 1913-14), "Seminary on Constantinople and Its World Status"(WS 1914-1915), Seminary on "The Early Christian Mosaic from Rome and Ravenna"(WS 1917-18).
[145] *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der K.K. Universität zu Wien*. "European Art in the Frame of Comparative Art Research"(SS 1913), "The German Art Character" (SS 1915), "Europe and Movement of Art in the Black Sea" (SS1915); "Asian and European Art in the time of the Carolingians", "World History of Art in the Time of the Crusades "(WS 1911-12), "The Renaissance of the West and the Orient"(SS 1912).

and Persia, and also to East Asia.[146] Strzygowski's course "Visual Arts in Sweden" in the summer semester of 1917 was an initial course on his inquiry into Northern European countries that would find more emphasis in the 1920's.


ALTAI-IRAN UND VÖLKERWANDERUNG

ZIERGESCHICHTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER DEN EINTRITT DER WANDER- UND NORDVÖLKER IN DIE TREIBHÄUSER GEISTIGEN LEBENS

VON

JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

ANKNÜPFEND AN EINEN SCHATZFUND IN ALBANIEN

MIT 229 ABBILDUNGEN UND 10 LICHTDRUCKTAFELN

LEIPZIG
J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG
1917

DIE BAUKUNST DER ARMENIER UND EUROPA

ERGEBNISSE EINER VOM KUNSTHISTORISCHEN INSTITUTE DER UNIVERSITÄT WIEN 1913 DURCHGEFÜHRTEN FORSCHUNGSREISE

PLANMÄSSIG BEARBEITET VON

JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

UNTER BENÜTZUNG VON AUFNAHMEN DES ARCHITEKTEN THOROS THORAMANIAN
MITARBEITER: ASSISTENT DR. HEINRICH GLUCK UND LEON LISSITZIAN

MIT 828 ABBILDUNGEN SAMT EINER KARTE

BAND II
ZWEITES BUCH: WESEN. IV. FORM, V. INHALT
DRITTES BUCH: GESCHICHTE
VIERTES BUCH: AUSBREITUNG

1918

KUNSTVERLAG ANTON SCHROLL & CO. IN WIEN

Figure 17. Josef Strzygowski's two books, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* (Altai-Iran and the Great Migration) of 1917 and *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (The Architecture of Armenia and Europe) of 1918

[146] *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der K.K. Universität zu Wien*. Islamic Art"(WS 1911-12), "Syrian Art Circle" (WS 1912-13) and Seminary on Armenian Art (SS 1913). He initially opened a seminar course on Buddhist Art in the summer semester of 1912 with the title "Buddhist Art of the first Millennium- *Übungen Buddhistische Kunst des ersten christlichen Jahrtausends*. "Syrian Art Circle" (WS 1912-13) and Seminary on Armenian Art (SS 1913). ; "Seminary on Central Asian Art" (WS 1913-1914), "Exercises on Buddhist Art of the First Millennium"(SS 1912), "Seminary on Chinese Art in the First Millennium"(SS 1914), "East Asian Art"(WS 1919-20), "Seminary on Indian Art"(WS 1919-20).

2.2 Oriental studies in the 1920s

Christina Maranci views Strzygowski's book *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* of 1918 as his last book on the Orient and suggests that the book was a culmination of his inquiries in the Orient. [147] She reads a shift in his art historiographical emphasis from Oriental Studies to the studies of the North, which she reasons might have been caused by post-war conditions that hindered expeditions.

Yet, an examination of the courses at the University of Vienna in the 1920s and the establishment of two professorships in *Denkmalkunde des Orients* during the early twenties, account a different history. Strzygowski appointed Ernst Diez and Heinrich Glück to the topic. [148] He himself continued to give courses on the topic and ran a course titled "Works and exercises for the advanced students in the Institute of Art History" (*Arbeiten und Übungen für vorgeschrittene im Kunsthistorischer Institut*), which continued to cover all geographies of Strzygowski's scholarship that were listed in the course syllabus as Austria, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Western Asia and Eastern Asia.[149]

Diez's and Glück's works in the 1920s are continuations of Strzygowski's inquiries in the Orient. Diez received his *Habilitation* and the title *Privatdozent* for the Art History of the Orient (*Kunstgeschichte des Orients*) in 1919. Heinrich Glück

[147] Maranci 2001-2002, 305. "Strzygowski made no more trips to the East nor devoted any further works to the study of its art and architecture. Instead, he focused on what he perceived as the indigenous artistic traditions of Northern Europe. Certainly, the heightened nationalism and the difficulty of Eastern travel during the post-war period would have discouraged any plans for expeditions. But perhaps Strzygowski no longer thought it necessary to study the East. Perhaps in Armenia, he found the reflection he had been seeking."

[148] Strzygowski fought against the objections of the Second Art Historical Institute then directed by Julius Schlosser , who took over the direction after the death of Max Dvořák in 1921. At a meeting on May 7th 1924, Schlosser comments against Diez' position on grounds that Heinrich Glück is already teaching in the "Art of the Orient"- *Kunst des Orients*, and instead a new teaching position is needed for Austrian art. University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder, Vienna.

[149] He also gave a course on the "Modern Persian Indian Painting and Europe"(*Die neu-persisch Indische Malerei und Europa*) in the winter semester of 1921-22. *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Wien*. Likewise, Marchand observes that after the First World War, Strzygowski was one of the few Austrian scholars to continue studying Balkan art. Marchand 2014, 49.

(1889-1930) was Strzygowski's assistant from the summer semester of 1915 onwards and received his *Habilitation* in 1920.[150] Glück became extraordinarius professor in 1923 and Diez in 1924. Glück extended his *venia legendi* to include "Art History of the Middle and New Ages". Diez received a second *Habilitation* at an introductory level in Ancient Orient in view of his 1922 book *Einführung in die Kunst des Ostens* (Introduction to the Art of the East).[151]

Diez gave courses on Islamic art of Persia (*Die Islamische Kunst in Persien*) in the winter semester of 1919-1920 and on "Art History of the Orient" (*Einführung in die Kunstgeschichte des Orients*) in the summer semester of 1919-1920. He also emphasised in the 1920's East Asian and Indian topics, and also addressed Asian topics in conformance with his additional *Habilitation*.[152] He gave a course on "Islamic Monuments in Persia and India" (*Die islamische Baudenkmäler in Persien und Indien*) in the winter semester of 1924-25. His introductory course to Oriental art in the summer semester of 1926 extended to include Far Eastern art history (*Einführung in die Kunst des Orients und Fernen Ostens -Ägypten, Vorderasien, Indien, Ostasien*).[153] In the same semester, he also opened a course on the symbolism in Oriental Art titled *Die Symbolik in der orientalischen Kunst.*

Glück, on the other hand, involved Early Christian art in his courses. He gave courses on the topic in the winter semesters of 1920 and 1923-24. He also employed comparative discussions of Islamic art with Byzantine and Early Christian art in

[150] In the same year, Karl Ginhard became the second assistant to Strzygowski with Glück.
[151] University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder, 8 March1924.
[152] "Indian Art" in the winter of 1920, "Buddhist art in the Tarim Basin" (*Buddhistische Kunst im Tarimbecken*) in the summer of 1921; "Buddhist art in East Asia" (*Buddhistische Kunst in Ostasien*) in the winter semester of 1921-22; "East Asian Painting" (*Ostasiatische Malerei*) in the summer semester of 1922; "East Asian Architecture" (*Ostasiatische Baukunst*; "Indian Sculpture"(*Indische Plastik*) in the summer semester of 1924. In the winter semester of 1924-25, he lectured on "Eastern Christian Art of the Mediterranean in the First Millennium" (*Die ostchristliche Kunst der Mittelmeerländer im ersten Jahrtausend*) and "Early Christan Art"(*Altchristliche Kunst*) in the winter semester of 1923-24. *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Wien*.
[153] Art of the Orient and Far East, covering topics of Egypt, Near East, India, and East Asia.

courses such as "The West, Orient and the Renaissance" (*Abendland, Orient und Renaissance*) in the summer semester of 1922, "The Art of the Mediterranean at the Accession of Islam" in the winter semester of 1923 -24, "Exercises on the Problem of Early Christian and Islamic Art Research in New Literature" in the summer semester of 1924, and "Exercises on the Early Christian, Byzantine and Early Medieval Art" in the winter semester of 1928-29. After Diez left for the United States in 1926, Glück commenced a series of courses titled *Denkmalkunde des Orients*, which included arts of Islamic, Indian, East Asian, as well as pre-Islamic Art of the Near East.[154]

Glück was the first scholar to singularly dwell on Ottoman and Turkish Art. His "trial lecture"(*Probevorlesung*) for his lectureship (*Habilitation*) in 1920 was titled "Origin and Character of Ottoman Art" (*Anfange und Wesen der osmanischen Kunst*) and followed his visit to Constantinople in 1917. [155] He had a course on "Constantinople and the Sphere of Byzantine Art" (*Konstantinopel und der byzantinischer Kunstkreis*) in the winter semester of 1922-23 and on "Turkish Art" in 1924-25. Glück also ran courses on Northern and Central Asia.

Diez and Glück further collaborated in these years in the writing of two books, one on Constantinople, and the other on Islamic art history. The 1920 book *Alt-Konstantinopel* (Old Constantinople) is a "Picture Book" (*Bilderband*) with a historical introduction by Diez and an art historical commentary by Glück. *Die Kunst des Islam* of 1925 is part of the series *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*. Diez wrote the sections on the architecture of Persia and India ("Die Baukunst der Persischen lander und Indiens") and Islamic Applied arts ("Das islamische Kunstgewerbe"), while Glück wrote on the architecture of Arabic and Turkish lands ("Die Baukunst

[154] *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Wien*.
[155] University of Vienna Archives, Heinrich Glück Folder, Vienna.

der Arabischen und Türkischen Länder“) and on “Book Illuminations and Miniature painting” (“Buchkunst und Miniaturmalerei”).

Strzygowski, on the other hand, continued to be a proponent of arts of the Orient through a more public position. In these years, he wrote extensively against the conduct of the Berlin Museum, which he viewed to be Mediterranean-based and Antiquity oriented. Marchand reiterates Strzygowski’s criticisms of the re-planning of the Pergamon museum in 1929 over the style disposition and contents that did not give “Asiatic art” its rightful place. [156]

> An obsolete worldview held unrelated items together and prohibited the uniting of truly similar objects; Asiatic art, divided between five museums, had been misdistributed and incorrectly categorized as ethnographic material rather than as the expression of a great civilization, equal to that of Mediterranean.

Marchand further refers to Strzygowski’s suggestion of shipping back the Pergamon Altar and Mschatta Gate if they continued to “serve Mediterranean delusions” in Berlin.[157] Marchand points out that Strzygowski also attacked Ernst Herzfeld and Carl Becker, the editor of the periodical *Der Islam*, and then Under Secretary at the Prussian Cultural Ministry, also on the issue of Islamic art, “charging them with making a deliberate attempt to obscure the relationship of Northern and Oriental Art in order to glorify the Mediterranean world.”[158]

In the 1920s, Strzygowski put emphasis on the relation of the oriental routes to Northern European art and culture. At the university, he gave courses on topics of the Northern art. In the summer semester of 1921he gave a course titled “Irish, Anglo-Saxons and Normans in the Development of Art” (*Iren, Angelsachsen und*

[156] Marchand 1994, 126-127.
[157] Marchand 1994, 127. Mietke discusses that Strzygowski felt inadequately appreciated for his role at the Berlin Museums, and for not having been offered a position at Berlin University. Mietke 2012, 9. Strzygowski in his 1926 article „Das Schicksal der Berliner Museen“ mentioned his controversy with the Kaiser to be an obstacle for a position in Berlin.
[158] Marchand 1994, 126.

Normannen in der Kunstentwicklung). He lectured on Giotto and Nordic Art in 1923-24 and gave a seminar on "The Meaning of North in Fine Arts" (*Die Bedeutung des Nordens in der bildenden Kunst*) in the summer semester of 1924. Strzygowski explains the course of his studies from an emphasis on the Orient to Northern Europe in his autobiographical work *Aufgang des Nordens* of 1936. He declares what he calls *Die Entdeckung des hohen Nordens* (The discovery of the high North) as his ultimate point of research and traces its sources back to his 1913 article "Ostasien in Rahmen der vergleichenden Kunstforschung" (East Asia in Comparative Art Research) and to his 1917 book *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* (Altai-Iran and the Great Migration).[159]

> At first, it had been only Iran and the contrast of its art to that of the Mediterranean circle, but to a certain extent also to that of the migrating and East Asian peoples. But then gradually began the view into research beyond the mainland to the northern seas around the pole.

In the 1920's, Strzygowski's academic work on previously untrodden fields expanded his scholarship outside Central Europe. In 1919, he gave eight lectures at the Olaus Petri Foundation in Uppsala. He went to the United States in 1921 by the invitation of the Howell Institute and the Archaeological Institute of America. He gave lectures at United States and Canadian universities, mainly on the topic of "Origin of Christian Church Art". [160] Between 1921 and 1925, Strzygowski also held the position as professor in Art History at the recently founded Swedish-language Åbo Academy of University in Turku in Finland.[161] He had invitations from foreign

[159] Strzygowski 1936, 44. "Zuerst war es nur Iran gewesen und der Gegensatz seiner Kunst zu der des Mittelmeerkreises, aber bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch zu der der Wander und ostasiatischen Nordvölker, die mich hatten beobachtend aufblicken lassen".
[160] Wood discusses Strzygowski's reception in the United States. Wood 2005. The lectures were published as a book in three languages, German, Swedish and English. Strzygowski 1920, Strzygowski 1923.
[161] Lars Berggren's lecture on "Josef Strzygowski in Finland", in *Josef Strzygowski und die Kunstwissenschaften / Josef Strzygowski and the Sciences of Art*, 29 – 31 March 2012, Bielsko-Biala.

universities in these same years, including Santiniketan in 1920, Warsaw in 1922, Tartu (Dorpat) in 1923 and Bryn Mawr in 1926.[162]

As such, the role of Oriental art historiography as means for a revisionist, anti-central, anti-imperial art historiography extended to include the peripheries of European art historiography. Strzygowski's students partook in this journey. Stella Kramrisch (1899-1993) was invited by Rabindranath Tagore to teach initially at the Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan in 1922, after which she was appointed professor of Indian art at the University of Calcutta in 1924; Ernst Diez took on the offer from Bryn Mawr University in 1926 initially extended to Strzygowski himself; Maurice Sven Dimand (1892-1986) became a curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1923; Alfred Salmony (1890-1958) founded the journal *Artibus Asiae* in the States in 1936 and Mehmed Agaoglu (1896-1949) held the first chair of Islamic art history at the University of Michigan between 1934 and 1938. [163]

2.3 Strzygowski Institute aftermath 1930s

Although at the beginning of the 1930's Strzygowski Institute had an important presence with its library and outreach, it closed down after Strzygowski's retirement in 1933, which the later dean of the University of Vienna Marchet describes as a political decision.[164] With Diez gone to the United States in 1926 and Glück having

[162] Höflechner& Brugger 1992*,* 49-56.
[163] Maurice Sven Dimand (1892- 1931) was a research assistant Institute Fine Arts, University Vienna, 1916-1918. Assistant Metropolitan Museum Art, New York City, 1923-1925, assistant curator, 1925-1930, curator Near Eastern art, from 1930. Mehmed Agha-Oglu had his PhD from the Strzygowski Institute in 1927, and was appointed as the first chair in the history of Islamic art in America at the University of Michigan, and its parallel editorship of a new journal *Ars Orientalis* between 1934 and 1938. Agaoglu had come to the States from Istanbul in 1929, initially to Detroit Institute of Arts as Curator of Near Eastern Art.
[164] Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Vienna to Ministry for Science, Education, and Culture in Berlin, 11 August 1939, Do. No. 6671, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder,Vienna. Höflechner and Brugger point out that in 1931 the Strzygowski Institute had a rich library of 4000 books, 52,000 photographs and images, and 20,000 slides. They also point out that 85 jobs existed at the institute. Höflechner and Brugger 1992, 53.

passed away just at the turn of the decade in 1930, the institute was also left without its main inheritors.[165]

Significantly in 1934, a year after the Strzygowski Institute closed down, Julius Schlosser (1866-1938), the director of the Second Art Historical Institute at the University of Vienna and a lifetime opponent of Strzygowski wrote his version of the history of the Vienna School. In his history, Schlosser excluded Strzygowski and his students, and consequently neglected the studies on the Orient. Schlosser himself left the university in 1936, two years before his death in 1938, and an era of the Vienna school caught between Orient and Rome ended.

The legacies of both institutes lingered on for a few more years until the Second World War, significantly with Ernst Diez who came back from the United States in 1939 and also with a student of Schlosser, Hans Sedlmayr (1896-1984), who became the head of the then united institute in 1937. Sedlmayr claimed the heritage of both institutes in his speech of 1937, where he mentioned his intention to pick up the studies on the Orient, yet his correspondence with Diez in the same year reveals that his agenda of the Orient was mainly the art history of the Balkans.

In the letter, Diez asked from Sedlmayr a position at the university addressing the decline of studies on Islamic, Indian and Chinese art and pointing out the flight to the United States (Figure 18). [166]

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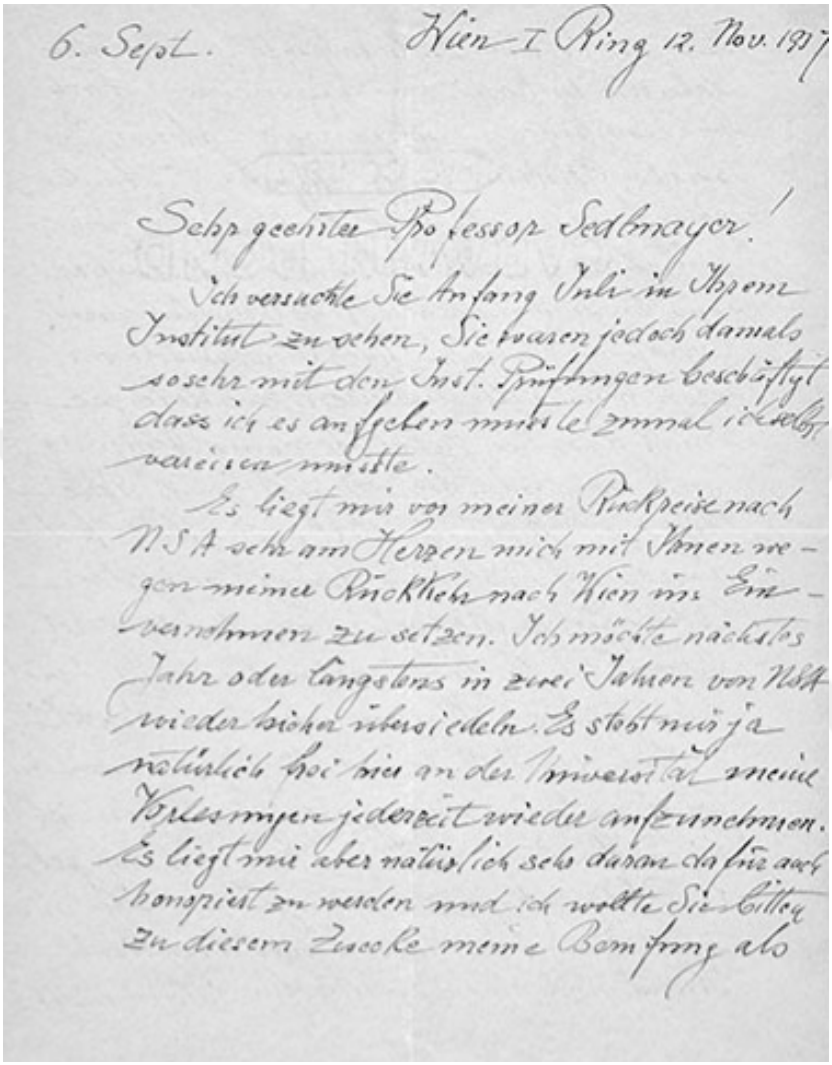
[165] Strzygowski expresses in his obituary for Glück that he had thought of Glück as his successor: "On June 24, 1930 my long-time collaborator Heinrich Glück, whom I once thought as successor to the Vienna chair of art history died"(Am 24.Juni 1930 starb mein langjähriger Mitarbeiter Heinrich Glück, den ich mir einst als Nachfolger an der Wiener Lehrkanzel für Kunstgeschichte dachte.) Strzygowski 1930, 165. Strzygowski then established an Institute of Comparative Art Research(*Institute für Vergleichende Kunstforschung*) in 1934, where he worked until his death in 1941.

[166] Referring to Ludwig Bachofer. Ernst Diez to Hans Sedlmayr, 6 September 1937, University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives, Sedlmayr Folder, Vienna. "In Deutschland gibt es jetzt mit Ausnahme von Kühnels gelegentlichen Vorlesungen in Berlin gar keine Gelegenheit etwas über islamisch, indische und chinesische Kunst zu mögen, nachdem auch Bachofers von München nach USA abziehen musste!"

In Germany, except for the occasional lectures of Kühnel in Berlin, there is at the present no opportunity to learn about Islam, Indian and Chinese art after also Bachofers had to go from Munich to the United States!



6. Sept. Wien I Ring 12. Nov. 1937

Sehr geehrter Professor Sedlmayer!

Ich versuchte Sie Anfang Juli in Ihrem Institut zu sehen, Sie waren jedoch damals sosehr mit den Inst. Prüfungen beschäftigt dass ich es anstehen musste zumal ich selbst variieren musste.

Es liegt mir vor meiner Rückreise nach U.S.A. sehr am Herzen mich mit Ihnen wegen meiner Rückkehr nach Wien ins Einvernehmen zu setzen. Ich möchte nächstes Jahr oder längstens in zwei Jahren von U.S.A. wieder hieher übersiedeln. Es steht mir ja natürlich bei der Universität meine Vorlesungen jederzeit wieder aufzunehmen. Es liegt mir aber natürlich sehr daran da für auch honoriert zu werden und ich wollte Sie bitten zu diesem Zwecke meine Berufung als

Figure 18. Letter from Diez to Sedlmayr, 6 September 1937, Sedlmayr Papers, University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives, Vienna

Sedlmayr rejected Diez's wish, calling an academic position for "Oriental Art" a utopia.[167] He referred to scarcity of conditions and resources, and expressed his

[167] Hans Sedlmayr to Ernst Diez, 22 September 1937, University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives, Sedlmayr Folder, Vienna. "Der Gedanke, ein bezahltes Extraordinariat für orientalische Kunst durchzusetzen, wäre heute aus mehr ist einem Grunde eine Utopie". In the letter, Sedlmayr also refers to the previous opposition at the department, as he states that it is not the reason for rejection, as evinced by his hiring of Otto Demus, and Novotny, both of whom he points out to be Strzygowski's students: "Und dass meine Haltung auch nicht ein Reflex des unheilvollen Schulzwistes der vorigen Gegenration entspringt, habe ich durch die Habilitierung von Demus, der jetzt die von Novotny folgen soll, bewiesen."

prime emphasis on Austrian and what he called "Universal European Art History" (*universale europäische Kunstgeschichte*). He gave the second place to the study of Byzantine and Balkan Art, which he called the "closest Orient": „*das uns am nächsten liegende gebiet des „Orients"*.[168]

It turned out nevertheless that Sedlmayr's plans for Balkanian art history, which he called the "Southeast Work" (*Südost Arbeit*) was interrupted. The main appointee for the plan Otto Demus (1902-1990), who was himself a student of Strzygowski, escaped to England in 1939, after the German occupation of Austria in 1938 (*Anschluss*) and its discriminatory academic aftermath. Sedlmayr himself had to leave his position for personal reasons in the summer semester of 1942.[169]

Diez acquired the job at the University in 1939, as "Extra-Budgetary Professor of Art History of the Orient and Far East" (*außeretatmäßiger Professor für Kunstgeschichte des Orients und Fernen Ostens*) in the winter semester of 1939. [170]

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[168] Hans Sedlmayr to Ernst Diez, 22 September 1937, University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives, Sedlmayr Folder, Vienna.

[169] Otto Demus was a student at the Strzygowski Institute between 1921 and 1928, and also a co-author with Diez in a 1931 book titled *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*. Otto Demus appears in the university programme to teach for four semesters from the summer semester of 1938 to the winter semester of 1939-40. Sedlmayr leaves due to the loss of his parents and also his wife, and in search for his brother. University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives, Sedlmayr Folder, Letters.

[170] On March 11th 1939, we find Diez writing to Professor Dr Viktor Christian, who was then appointed as the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, asking for a paid job at the university. The dean answers back positively and asks Diez to apply officially, which Diez does on 25th of April. The Dean writes to the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* (Minister for Science, Education, and Culture) in Berlin for Diez' employment. The letter is accompanied by ancestral documents and a questionnaire, which supports the racial background of Diez. In a letter dating to 20 August 1939, and signed by Sr. A. Marchet from *Dbdf.- Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, *Geuleitung Wien* (National Socialist German Workers Party, District Government Vienna) accepts Diez's title as *tit.a.o. Professors Dr. Ernst Diez zum Dozenten neuer Ordnung mit Diäten und außerplanmäßigen Professor* (Professor Dr. Ernst Diez for Faculty New Order with Diets and Associate Professor). It is on 15 April 1940 that the Ministry in Berlin appoints him. Ernst Diez to Victor Christian, 11 March 1939, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder,Vienna. Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy to Ernst Diez, 25 March, 1939, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder,Vienna. Ernst Diez to the Dean of Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna, 25 April 1939, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder,Vienna. Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna to the Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, 11 August 1939, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder,Vienna. A. Marchet to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna, 20 August 1939, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder,Vienna. Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, Berlin to Curator of Universitys of Vienna, Forwarded to Ernst Diez, 15 April 1940, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder,Vienna.

It was the dean, Professor Viktor Christian, who arranged for the position through an argument of the importance of reviving Oriental studies in Vienna. He also mentioned the heritage of Strzygowski and Glück (See Appendices Q, R).[171]

> Diez's scientific work includes late antiquity, Islamic and Medieval European art, but his research focuses on the Orient, which he knows from his own experience. Diez travelled to East Persia in 1912-1914, but also studied Islamic monuments in Iraq, India, Egypt, Asia Minor and Constantinople. As lecturer (*Privatdozent*), Diez has unfolded a fruitful teaching. I therefore welcome heartily his application for appointment as adjunct professor. At the same time, I request that he is to be appointed for the position of Art history of the Orient and the Far East, and my justification is as follows: Vienna had a leading position in the field of research on the art of the Orient under the now retired o. Prof Strzygowski. With the resignation of the mentioned by the *Magisterium* also for political reasons this important occupation with the East broke off. From the students of Strzygowski, who devoted themselves to this area, Glück, has died, the other, Diez had gone to the U.S.A. It appears important for the continuation of the important art-historical Orient-research (*Orientforschung*), which is of great importance to Vienna, to give Diez the means of commitment to teaching in the area.

Diez's courses between 1939 and 1943 are described in the university course booklet under the title "Department of Asian Studies at the Institute of Art History" (*Asiatische Abteilung der Kunsthistorische Institut*). They encompassed topics of Chinese, Buddhist and Japanese art histories, along with courses and seminars on Islamic and Iranian art.[172] Diez's work in Vienna however only lasted till 1943, when he chose to leave for Turkey.

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[171] Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna to the Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, 11 August 1939, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder, Vienna.

[172] *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Wien.* In the winter semester of 1939-40, Diez gave a course on Chinese art, and a seminar on "Iranian art of the Sassanid and Islamic Periods". In the academic year 1940, his work covered "Exercise course on Islamic art", and a course with the name of his 1915 book *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*-"The Art of the Islamic People", Chinese Painting, Buddhist Art in India and East Asia and Exercises on Buddhist Art. In 1941, his topics extended for the first time to Japan. In the winter semester 1941-42, Diez gave a course on "Asian Art Circle"(*Die Kunstkreise Asiens*) and also an exercise course on ""Bronze-Art of Asia". In the summer semester, he continued with similar topics, while in the winter semester of 1942-43, and in the following summer semester, he lectured again on the Islamic theme. His final courses before he went to Turkey was on Chinese art in the winter semester of 1943-44.

During this short time span in Vienna, Diez produced five books, which provide a view into art historiography on the Orient in these years.[173] Initially in 1940, Diez published a book that became translated into four languages, titled, in its English version of 1961, *The Ancient Worlds of Asia: From Mesopotamia to the Yellow River* (its German title was *Entschleiertes Asien* that translates as "Asia Unveiled"). The book narrated episodes of cities, kings, and geographies with a view into the recent excavations.[174] Two sections of the book "At the Court of the Sassanids" and "The palaces and temples of the Assyrians" were reprinted in 1942 for the use of the German army as readings for the soldiers. Diez's two volume work on the travellers' accounts of Asia titled "How They Saw Asia: Traveller Accounts From Herodotus to Moltke" (*So sahen sie Asien, Reiseberichte von Herodot bis Moltke*) appear as a heritage of the expedition-culture of the turn of the century. The books illustrate how the revisionist framework of turn of the century inquiries into the *Orientalflüte* lost its political and academic vigour and transformed in these years into a distant parable.

[173] 1940 *Entschleiertes Asien* (Asia Unveiled); 1941 *Glaube und Welt des Islam* (Creed and World of Islam); 1942, 1944 *So sahen sie Asien, Reiseberichte von Herodot bis Moltke* (How They Saw Asia: Traveller Accouns From Herodot to Moltke); 1943 *Shan Shui, Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei* (Shan Shui, Chinese Landscape Painting); 1944 *Iranische Kunst* (Iranian Art).

[174] The chapters of the book were titled "The Golden age: The descendants of Noah; The palaces and temples of the Assyrians; The Tower of Babel; So tells King Darejawosch; The Iranian Light Religion; At the court of the Sassanids; The City of Peace; Isfahan, Nisfi Jehan; Buddhist Cave Temple; The divine mountain Meru; Excavations in China; The great city of Shang; The culture of Chou; The Third Chinese Empire".

CHAPTER 3

ENDOSMOSIS:

BIO-GEOGRAPHICAL SOURCES OF DIEZ'S ART HISTORIOGRAPHY

Diez's main defensive argument against the criticisms on his book on Turkish art was the role of migration and adaptation in cultural development. Already before the criticisms, he began the book *Türk Sanatı* by a quote from cultural historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897): "A truly rich people becomes rich by borrowing much from others and developing it further". [175] In the same vein, Diez published an article in the periodical of the Istanbul University's Faculty of Philosophy *Felsefe Arkivi*, with the title "Endosmosis", in which he referred to another cultural historian Karl Lamprecht.[176] He started the article by underlining the relation of Anatolian Seljuk art with its neighbours as a consequence of a "law of Endosmosis" presented by Lamprecht.[177]

[175] "Gerçekten zengin olan bir kavim, ancak başkalarından çok şey almak ve aldıklarını ilerletmek suretile zenginleşir." Evonne Levy in her book *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism (1845 - 1945): Burckhardt, Wölfflin, Gurlitt, Brinckmann, Sedlmayr* refers to the same quotation to be an opening citation of Burckhardt's 1915 *Survey Of Baroque Architecture*. Levy 2015, 261." Ein wahrhaft reiches Volk wird dadurch reich, dass es vieles von anderen übernimmt und weiterbildet."

[176] The periodical had been founded in 1945 and included philosophical topics from phenomenology to ontology, atomism, from prominent scholars, including Erich Auerbach (1892-1957), Nicolai Hartmann (1882-1950) and Macit Gökberk (1908-1993). Diez's article was in the first issue of its second volume that concentrated on theoretical topics of art history. The issue included two articles by Diez, one on his teacher Josef Strzygowski and other on his answer to the criticisms in the daily newspapers, with a title borrowed from turn of the century historian Karl Lamprecht. Karl Lamprecht (1856-1915) took his doctoral degree in 1878 from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Leipzig. He initially became a lecturer at the University of Bonn and, in 1891, he took the chair of Medieval and Modern History at the University of Leipzig, where he stayed until his death in 1914. The chair was previously held by Georg Voigts (1827–1891). Lamprecht took his habilitation from the University of Bonn in 1880 and became extraordinary Professor in 1888, and initially took a position at the University of Marburg in 1890.

[177] Diez 1947, 221. "Anadoludaki Selçuk yapı sanatını komşu ülkelerle ve devrin üslubu ile ilgisi olmıyan bir kültür tezahürü olarak telakki etmek pek amatörce bir iş olur. Hiçbir kimse tarafından münakaşa edilmeyen orijinalliğine rağmen bu sanat da, diğer bölgelerin sanatları kadar, Leipzigli büyük kültür tarihçisi Karı Lamprecht'in ortaya attığı " endosmos", yani "kültürel hulûl" kanununa tâbi bulunuyordu. İşte bu sebepten bu sanat da komşu ülkeler, bilhassa Transkafkasya, Suriye ve Kuzey Mezopotamya ile birçok müşterek vasıflar ihtiva ediyor ve evvelce mevcut şekil ve şemaile, bunları Türk yahut daha umumi olarak İslam kültürüne uygun olarak geliştirmek üzere, başvuruyordu. Hiçbir sanat tarihçisi Selçuk yapı tezyinatının yüksek orijinalliğini inkar edemez. Fakat her sanat

> It would be very amateurish to consider Anatolian Seljuk art as a cultural manifestation without any relation to neighbouring countries or the style of the times [*Zeitstil*]. In spite of its undisputed originality, this art, as much as the arts of other regions was subject to the law of "endosmosis", that is "cultural penetration" that was presented by the great cultural historian from Leipzig, Karl Lamprecht.

In the article, Diez defines "Endosmosis" as "cultural penetration" (*kültürel hulûl* in its Turkish, *der kulturellen Durchdringung* in its original German). The term denotes a biological analogy of the osmotic phenomena of the cell to denote exchange between neighbouring cultures. Investigation of the uses of the term discloses 19th century bio-geographical grounds of cultural studies. Lamprecht used it in 1897 in an article titled "Was ist Kulturgeschichte? Beitrag zu einer empirischen Historik" (What is cultural history? Contribution to an Empirical History) in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (German Journal of History).[178] He recapped the same analogy in his 1904 lecture "On the Problems of Universal History" at Columbia University. [179]

> The means of mediation may be single or manifold, intermittent, continuous, one-sided, lying open only to the initiative of the one community in question, or two-sided, distinctions which occasionally may be traced to special climatic and geographic conditions as well as special culture-differences. And according to this we shall be able, when using the picture of a well-known psychic process, to speak with reference to these processes of osmotic phenomena of *diosmosis, endosmosis, and exosmosis*.

"Endosmosis" refers to the influence from, while "exosmosis" denotes influence on surrounding cultures and diosmosis means a two-way influence. Lamprecht discusses briefly how this could depend on climatic and geographical conditions as well as cultural differences. He declares, "no nation is isolated; […] all communities of men,

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tarihçisinin başlıca vazifesi her şeyden önce münferit yapı ve dekorasyon motiflerinin evveliyatını ve menşe'ini araştırmaktır."

[178] Lamprecht 1897.

[179] Lamprecht 1905, 196-197.

great and small, are, partly in a hostile, partly in a friendly way, closely associated with their neighbours."[180]

The cell metaphor preceded Lamprecht's use. Biologist and anthropologist Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) developed a notion of the Cell-State (*der Zellenstaat*). He perceived individuals analogous to cells and wrote in 1859, "*The individual is* […] *a unified commonwealth* in which all parts work together for a common end".[181] In 1866, zoologist Ernst Haeckel (1834-1918) proposed what he called the *Theorie der Zellseele* (Theory of the Cell-Soul), in which he considered that every living cell has "psychic properties", intelligence and will. He later called this "The Riddle of the Universe".[182]

> […] that every living cell has psychic properties, and that the psychic life of the multicellular animals and plants is merely the sum-total of the psychic functions of the cells which build up their structure.

The use of the term *Endosmosis* preceded Lamprecht's use by another Leipzig scholar, zoologist William Henry Rolph (1847-1883). In his 1882 book *Biologische Probleme* (Biological Problems), Rolph underlined *Endosmosis* as the main formant of diffusion, assimilation and growth both in the organic and inorganic world, in which "social organism" was "the final stage in the evolution of the natural world". [183] Rolph taught at the University of Leipzig between 1876 and 1879 when Lamprecht was a student there. An interdisciplinary scholarship of social, cultural,

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[180] Lamprecht 1905, 192-193.
[181] Moore 2002, 35. Quoting from Rudolf Virchow, "Atoms and Individuals" [1859], reprinted in *Disease, Life, and Man: Selected Essays by Rudolf Virchow*, translated and with an introduction by Lelland J. Rather (Stanford, 1958), 120-141, p. 124, italics in original.
[182] Moore 2002, 41. English philosopher and biologist Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) also refers to a notion of "transcendental physiology" in his 1873 book *The Study of Sociology* and *Principles of Sociology*. Moore 2002, 76.
[183] Moore 2002, 47, 76. "This elementary proposition is expressed as a law of assimilation, a law operative in both the organic and inorganic world. Growth, Rolph argues, is determined by a process of diffusion, in which endosmosis predominates over exosmosis. All organic functions, from nutrition and reproduction right up to evolution, can be explained by, and reduced to, this fundamental activity". Likewise, Moore argues Rolph had an influence on Nietzsche's philosophy of "will to power".

psychological and biological studies appears to have developed at Leipzig. In his biography of Lamprecht, Roger Chickering situates Lamprecht in a "Leipzig circle" that includes along with Lamprecht, the geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904), economist Karl Bücher (1847-1930) and psychologist Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920). Chickering points out that the circle regularly met and exchanged ideas and that "the lines of cross-fertilization in their work were many".[184] He characterizes the Leipzig circle with "grand intellectual designs", whose main inquiry was bridging the divide between natural and cultural sciences.[185]

Ratzel appears a fundamental influence on Lamprecht with his notion of "biogeography", in which plant geography, animal geography and anthropogeography are understood as part of the same continuum. [186] Ratzel also employed the analogy of the cell, whereby he viewed the protoplasm as the breeder of all the phenomena of life.[187]

> The protoplasm is the breeder and bearer of life in plants, animals and humans. Not on the cell, as people used to think, but also on the living contents of the cell or on the cell as protoplasmic globules, all the phenomena of life on our planet are traced.

For Ratzel, humans and human activity were likewise geographical facts. Brunhes discusses that Ratzel "saw men as realities covering patches of the earth's surface" and that "human groups and human societies develop within the limits of a natural setting (*Rahmen*), occupying a precise position on the globe (*Stelle*), and always in need to nourish themselves, to subsist, to grow, from a certain space (*Raum*)".[188]

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[184] Chickering 1993, 295.
[185] Chickering 1993, 294.
[186] Chickering underlines the close relationship of Lamprecht and Ratzel. Chickering 1993, 290.
[187] Müller 1986, 6. in his 1902 book *Die Erde und das Leben* (*The Earth and the Life)*. Müller 1986, 9. "Das Protoplasma ist der Heger und Träger des Lebens bei Pflanzen, Tieren und Menschen. Nicht auf die Zelle, wie man früher meinte, sondern auf den lebendigen Inhalt der Zelle oder auf die Zelle als Protoplasmaklämpchen sind alle Lebenserscheinungen auf unserem Planeten zurückzuführen".
[188] Müller 1986, 5. Quoting from J. Brunhes (1904). Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904). *La Géographie.* 10. 103-108, "(. . .) il a, en vérité, renouvelé la manière de comprendre l'humanité et l'activité humaine

Ratzel further defined a *Lebensraum* (living space; habitat) for human populations, which denoted the geographical surface area required to support its size and mode of existence.[189] Adaptation was a main aspect of Ratzel's concept of *Lebensraum* and the prime means of adaptation was culture. [190].

This view into an intelligible-biological-human-geography informs Lamprecht's and also Strzygowski's work through its emphasis on migration. Smith discusses that in Ratzel's notion of *Lebensraum*, migration and colonization were consequences of a "need to expand" and were means of historical change, through which the cultures developed and diffused. [191]

> Two key elements of Ratzel's concept of Lebensraum are of particular interest here. One was the heavy emphasis that he placed on migration, the behavioural consequence of the need to expand Lebensraum, and on colonization, the effective occupation and exploration of new space by a species. Of the many forms of human migration, only that resulting in colonization created historical change and encouraged the development and diffusion of culture.

Ratzel's colleague from his studies at the University of Munich, Moritz Wagner (1813-1887) had proposed a "migration theory" in the early 1870s, according to which all living species migrated over the earth's surface as a natural consequence of

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comme faits géographiques. Il a vu les hommes comme réalités recouvrant des parcelles de la surface terrestre, revêtement vivant digne de l'observation du géographe au même titre que le revêtement végétal ou le peuplement animal. Il a vu les groupes humaines et les sociétés humaines se développant toujours dans les limites d'un certain cadre naturel (Rahmen), occupant toujours une place précise sur le globe (Stelle), et ayant toujours besoin, pour se nourrir, pour subsister, pour grandir, d'un certain espace (Raum)"

[189] W. Smith 1980, 53.

[190] W.Smith 1980, 53. "The history of any species, including man, was thus the story of its changing patterns of adaptation to its *Lebensraum*. Man's prime means of adaptation was culture, which Ratzel saw as technology, intellectual traits, and social organization. […] The form that a state or an entire culture took was therefore shaped by the relationship to *Lebensraum* and the struggle for it." He subsequently developed the notion of "political geography" and his student Rudolf Kjellen (1864-1922) worked on a "theory of geopolitics", both of which had impact on twentieth century politics. W. Smith 1980, 55. Initially published in 1897, Ratzel's book on political geography in its second edition in 1903 appeared with an additional alternative title: " Political Geography or the Geography of the States, the Mobility and the War" (*oder die Geographie der Staaten, des Verkehrs und des Krieges*).

[191] W. Smith 1980, 54.

life.[192] Ratzel dedicated his 1882 book *Anthropo-Geography* to Moritz Wagner and in his introduction; he underlined Wagner's migration theory, and its conception of history as a great sum of movements.[193] Congruently, Lamprecht emphasized migration as means of *Endosmosis*. [194]

> The form of the transmission of influence can either be men themselves or any human products. We have an example of the first instance, cited above, in the wandering of the nations, at least in so far as it left two or more peoples dwelling permanently together; the second is indicated by the transference tools, inventions of all kinds, and especially through purely intellectual values such as monuments, language, and writings (hieroglyphics, alphabetical writings, musical notation, etc.).

Migration was a fundamental theme of also Strzygowski's scholarship. The migration of Turks from Central Asia to the Near East for him was a means of cultural transfer. His emphasis on the term *Weltverkehr* (world-routes, world traffic) denoted a geographical understanding of economic and human mobility of world history that Strzygowski viewed as means to explain the migration of art motifs and artistic tendencies.[195] The term significantly had a parallel use at University of Vienna's Department of Geography, by Ratzel's student Eugen Oberhummer (1859-1944). Oberhummer was a professor for *historische und politische Geographie* (historical and political geography) from 1902 to 1930.[196] His work was central to

[192] Wagner, M., *Die Darwinische Theorie und das Migrationsgesetz der Organismen* (*The Darwinian Theory and the Migration Law of Organisms*), 1868.
[193] Quoted in Müller 1986, 5.
[194] Lamprecht 1905, 195.
[195] SS 1914-1915 *Die bildende Kunst im Weltverkehr und Völkerrecht* (Visual Arts in World Routes and Law).
[196] Eugen Oberhummer studied *Naturwissenschaften und klassische Philologie* (Natural Sciences and Classical Philology) at the University of Munich from 1877 onwards: simultaneously studied Geography and Geology in the Technical School of Munich (*Technischen Hochschule München*). From 1886 until 1892 he was a *Privatdozent*, and from 1892 *außerordentlicher Professor* of Geography at the University of Munich. Friedrich Ratzel was from 1875 onwards a lecturer in geography at the Technical High School in Munich. In 1876, he was promoted to assistant professor, then full professor in 1880. In 1886, he accepted an appointment at Leipzig University. Oberhummer edited in 1923 a book of his teacher Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*(*Political Geography*). *Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Wien*. WS 1915 *Weltverkehr und Weltwirtschaft* (World Routes and World Trade),; SS 1917 *Die Weltverkehrswege in der Levante und ihre Bedeutung in der*

the historical studies of what he called the Near East (*Vorderasien*), and what in art history would be Orient. He wrote his pioneering book on Turkish history in 1917 with the title *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich* ("The Turks and the Ottoman Empire"), the same year that Strzygowski wrote his *Altai- Iran und Völkerwanderung* (Altai-Iran and Great Migration).

Geographical studies appear to have become an alternative to previous philological dominance in Oriental studies. Along with Oberhummer, Hans Mžek worked on topics concerning the Near Eastern geographies. Oberhummer gave courses on the historical geographies of the Near East and the *Weltverkehr.*[197] Mžek lectured on Arabic geographers and particularly on Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*.

The science of Geography- of measuring, mapping the world- both physically and culturally- aided Strzygowski's inquiry beyond Europe into the Orient. He sought to involve geography in his work already early in the establishment of the Institute. He wrote in 1930 that the geographical investigations of the Institute stem from the time when he employed the geographer Erwin Hanslik to the Institute.[198] Hanslik took his Habilitation in anthropogeography in 1911 and started teaching at the Department of Geography with Oberhummer in 1913.[199] Hanslik later had a course Geological and Social Sciences of the Orient (*Erd-und Gesellschaftskunde des Orients*). Hanslik's emphasis on the topics of the Orient extended beyond his

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Geschichte (World Routes in the Levant and Their Meaning in History); WS 1919-1920. *Verkehrgeographie*.

[197] "Griechenland und die Türkei, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der historischen Geographie" (Greece and Turkey, with particular reference to historical geography) in summer semester of 1905; "Geographie von Asien mit spezieller Länderkunde Westasiens"(Geography of Asia with Special Emphasis on the Countries of Western Asia), winter semester of 1907-1908; "Vorderasien mit Berücksichtigung der historischen Geographie Weltverkehr und Weltwirtschaft" (Near Asia with consideration of the historical geography of world traffic and the world economy), winter semester 1915-1916. University of Vienna Archives.

[198] Strzygowski 1930, 165." Die Untersuchung stammt aus der Zeit, in der ich, um die in der Antrittsvorlesung 1909 ausgesprochenen Absichten der Lehrkanzel zu fördern, den Geographen Erwin Hanslik in das Institut aufgenommen hatte." Höflechner&Brugger nonetheless write that the University declined the quest in 1912. Höflechner& Brugger 1992, 53. Hanslik was a compatriot of Strzygowski from home-town Bielsko-Biala.

[199] Strzygowski 1930. Henniges 2015.

courses. In 1915, together with the Orientalist Edmund Küttler (1884-1964), he founded the Viennese "Institut für Kulturforschung" (Institute for Cultural Research).[200]

At the Strzygowski Institute, Heinrich Glück sought to develop an art historiography based predominantly on geographical determinants of art under the term "Geography of Art" (*Kunstgeography*). In their obituaries for Glück, both Diez and Strzygowski underlined Glück's geographical approach and Strzygowski deemed Glück as having a talent for what he called *Bodenkräft*- „talent for Land".[201] The expeditions that formed the backbone of Strzygowski Institute in its first decade were informed by the geographical inquiries. Glück went on an expedition to Syria in 1911, after which Strzygowski opened a course on Syrian Art (*Das Syrische Kunstkreis*). Strzygowski himself joined an expedition to Armenia in the 1913. Buddhist art became a theme of courses in parallel to Strzygowski's student Karl With's (1891-1980) expedition to Japan in 1913-1914.[202]

The knowledge of geography also connected to the military and political inquiries of the First World War decade. From 1914 until 1919, the Institute produced fifteen books (See Appendix E). Although Strzygowski took on a bitter tone in recalling these years in his obituary for Glück, he underlined that, during the war, he managed to plan an expedition to Armenia, and another one for Glück to Constantinople during 1916 and 1917, while his other students With, Salmony and Wachsberger took on a trip to East Asia. [203]

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[200] Norman Henniges writes that Hanslik saw himself as a mediator between the "western" and "eastern" world" and developed the vision of a larger Habsburg empire expanding to the east in his 1917 book *Österreich, Erde und Geist* (Austria: Earth and the Spirit). Henniges discusses that cultural-biologistic ideas and geopolitical research was central to Hanslik's work, through which he points to the influence of Ratzel. Henniges 2015, 1332, 1340-1341. Referring to Hanslik 1917, 7.
[201] Strzygowski 1930, 165. "Glück zeigte ein besonderes Geschick für die Forschung nach dem Anteile der Bodenkräfte an der Entwicklung der Bildenden Kunst."
[202] Strzygowski himself gave a course on Chinese art in the summer semester 1914.
[203] Strzygowski 1930, 166.

> The war had not been able to destroy everything that was then started, and Glück, whom I could exempt from military service, could participate in the work related to India. Even during the war I managed to send him to Constantinople so he could study Islamic monuments and their context; later followed shorter trips to Cairo, Syria and Asia Minor.

Diez's expedition to Persia was made possible by the expedition of the Bavarian lieutenant and also geographer Oskar Niedermayer, who was sponsored by the Ministry of War. (Figures 19, 20) Although both Strzygowski and Niedermayer describe the purpose of the expedition as geological, geographical and ethnographical, the sponsorship and Niedermayer's second trip to Afghanistan during 1915-1916 reveal the military role and inquiry behind the expedition. The expeditions had academic outcomes both for Niedermayer and Diez. Niedermayer wrote his doctoral dissertation for Ludwig-Maximilians University of Munich "The Inner Basins of the Iranian Plateau" (*Die Binnenbecken des iranischen Hochlandes*) and Diez wrote his 1918 book *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* (Khorasan Monuments) based on the findings of the expedition.[204] The geographical and military character of the expeditions reflected to Diez's art historiography. His narrative of Khorasan of 1918 reads as an itinerary that accounts for landscape, town life and people, with additional notes on commercial and military activities. [205]

[204] Niedermayer 1920. "Eine in den Jahren 1912-1914 unternommene wissenschaftliche Forschungsreise und eine in den Kriegsjahren 1915/16 ausgeführte zweimalige Durchquerung Persien und Afghanistans…" Diez also contributed to Niedermayer's 1924 book on Afghanistan, which Niedermayer wrote after his military trip to Afghanistan, to which Diez did not participate. Niedermayer 1924. Diez had a chapter on the Buddhist monuments. Yet, the topics of the book Climate(*Klima*), "Soil Conditions"(*Bodenbeschaffenheit*)," Ethnographic structure and characterization of residents" (*Ethnographische Gliederung und Charakterisierung der Bewohnerschaft*), agricultural distribution, physiological traits, mental disposition, cultural status of the individual tribes and folk elements, economic activities as well as comments on the possibility of future development, along with the number of photographs map a"State Picture" (*Staatsgebilde)*.

[205] For example, in "Kunst und Gesellschaft in Ostpersien,"(Art and Society in East Persia) in the *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* (1916), Diez talks about Mashad, its commercial role as a point of export from East Persia to Russia. He also mentions that it is the only Persian city to hold a Russian Garnison. He also wrote on North Persia, on "Isfahan"(Isfahan), "Burgen in Vorderasien"(Cities of Near East), "Persische Städte (Meshhed)"(Persian Cities, Meschhed).



Figure 19. Diez (on the right) with Niedermayer in Persia, January 1913, Source: [Seidt 2002]



Figure 20. Through the Khorasan Steppe towards Afghan Border, May 1913, Source: [Seidt 2002]

3.1 Endosmosis in Diez's writings

Already in his 1915 book *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Diez refers to Lamprecht and asserts in his conclusion that a Universal history of Islamic art needs to be written in the manner of Lamprecht's scholarship. He characterizes Islamic art through Lamprecht's language, as a chain of receptions, and refers to the notion of endosmosis.[206]

> The history of Islamic art is therefore a chain of receptions to which Lamprecht would call phenomena when they are temporary and framed by imports from simultaneous cultures, and endosmosis, when they are of a lasting effect.

In the book, Diez defines Islamic art through a historical-geographical approach, as the medieval art history of the East spanning the geographies of western half of Asia, North Africa and Spain. He interprets this geographical position -apart from the Maghrib- as a midpoint between the European West and Indochinese "Far East".[207] He portrays "the people of Islam" through geographical (and also racial) means, as "Hamito-Semitic People of the Desert Table, Aryan of the Iranian Highlands, and Turanian-Mongolian steppe people".[208] Diez's approach also reads a geographical determinism, as he claims that Sassanian Persian culture could dominate whole of Western Asia through the natural protection of the mountains of Iran. His interpretation of what he sees as the end of Islamic art –and in this he denotes Medieval Islamic art- is based on a similar geographical reasoning. He depicts the

[206] Diez 1915, 207." Die Geschichte der islamischen Kunst ist daher eine Kette von Rezeptionen, wie Lamprecht die auf räumlichen Import aus gleichzeitigen Kulturen anderer Völker beruhenden Erscheinungen nennt, wenn sie vorübergehend sind, und von Endosmosen, Rezeptionen von bleibender Wirkung."
[207] Diez 1915, 206-207.
[208] Diez 1915, 5. "Es sind im wesentlichen drei große bodenständige Rassekomplexe, die der Islam vereinigte: Hamitosemitische Völker der Wüstentafel, Arier des iranischen Hochlandes und turanisch-mongolische Steppenvölker."

desert character of the soil and the transit position of its geography to have caused its end.[209]

The notion of migration of people, cultures and art motifs was central to Diez's scholarship, in the manner of both Strzygowski and Lamprecht. In his 1915 book, Diez adopts Strzygowski's emphasis on *Weltverkehr* (World Routes) and *Völkerwanderung* (Migration of People) in his portrayal of Islamic art as a product of big migrations that transpired along the trans-Asiatic and Indo-Arabian world routes (*Weltverkehr*).[210] Diez's terminology in this 1915 book expresses a physical geographical analogy to migration of cultures and arts that includes *Kunststrom* (Art Current) and *Kulturabflüsse* (Cultural Flood). He discusses that Seljuk ornamentation was a result of an art current (*Kunststrom*) that moved along the trade routes from Central Asia to Northern Europe.[211]

> A trade route from Central Asia went to the south of and beyond the Urals, to Eastern Germany and to the Baltic England. Cities of commerce, such as Hamburg, Lübeck, Riga, Nizhny Novogrod were subsequently founded in the second half of the 12th century. East of Moscow, Vladimir and Suzdal outstripped Kiev of its prominence. The old church facades of these two cities still bear witness of the Turko-Islamic ornament style that infiltrated into Europe, and has so much in common with the "Romanesque", through the fantastical animal figures, whose origins arose from the same route.

In a section on the "Sacred Architecture of Ayyubids and Mamluks in Cairo" (Chapter IX, *Die Sakralbauten der Ajjubiden und Mamluken in Kairo*), Diez highlights the geographical situation of what he calls Kurdistan and Armenia as crossing roads of the migrations (*Völkerwanderung*), and thus as grounds of cultural

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[209] Diez 1915, 206. "Bestimmend für ihren Ablauf waren zwei Hauptfaktoren: Der Wüstencharakter des Bodens und seine Zwischenstellung, die ihn zum Durchzugsgebiet zwischen dem fernen Osten und dem Westen und zum Schweifungsgebiet nomadisierender Volker machte".
[210] Diez 1915, V.
[211] Diez 1915, 124-125. "Nun ging eine Handelsstraße von Mittelasien südlich des und über den Ural, Ost- Deutschland und die Ostsee nach England. Handelsstädte, wie Hamburg, Lübeck, Riga, Nischnij Nowgorod wurden in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts gegründet. Wladimir und Ssusdal östlich von Moskau überflügelten Kiew an Bedeutung. Die alten Kirchenfassaden dieser beiden Städte sind heute noch Zeugnis jenes nach Europa vordringenden Turko islamischen Dekorationsstils, der in seinen phantastischen Tiergestalten mit dem „romanischen" so viel gemeinsam hat, dessen Ursprung aus der gleichen Bewegung hervorging".

blending. Respectively, he situates the Syrian cities of Aleppo, Damascus and Jerusalem as transit stations of "cultural flows" (*Kulturabflüsse*) to Cairo. [212]

> Nevertheless, today it is still an open question whether all developmental-historical problems of Cairo's architectural history can be solved once and for all. The answer depends on the results of research in Kurdistan and Armenia, where cultural blending took place since the very beginning. We are all the more dependent on the exact investigation of these difficult regions, while the Syrian cities Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem can give us very little information about the Ayyubid and the Mamluk period as they are transit stations from North-East to South.

His discussion of Islamic architecture in India (Chapter X, *Die islamische Baukunst in Indien*) features how Turks carried the timber architecture, the pointed arch and the domed architecture of India westwards.[213]

Diez emphasizes cross-cultural influences in the manner of Lamprecht's discussion of *Endosmosis*, whereby art forms migrate, merge and get adapted. In the 1915 book, he presents Islamic art as the merging ground of ancient civilizations, a mix of Hellenistic, Babylonian, Indo-Aryan, Chinese and Nordic-nomadic arts.[214]

In an initial section, Diez discusses historical and cultural movements between Hellenic and Persian art during the pre-Islamic period through tracing structural characteristics of squinches and domes.[215] He presents the Seljuk madrasas as outcomes of the merging of the Persian model with the Mesopotamian-Anatolian "Tarmahaus" (house with a columned front entrance called *Tarma*, a reference to Oscar Reuther's 1910 book *Das Wohnhaus in Bagdad und anderen Städten des Irak-*

[212] Diez 1915, 140. „Trotzdem ist es heute noch eine offene Frage, ob alle entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Probleme der kairinischen Baugeschichte einmal restlos werden gelost werden können. Ihre Beantwortung hangt vom Ergebnis der islamischen Denkmäler- Erforschung in Kurdistan und Armenien ab, in jenem Volker durchzugsgebiet also, wo sich seit den ältesten Zeiten Kulturmischungen vollzogen haben. Wir sind auf die genaue Durchforschung dieser schwierigen Gebiete um so mehr angewiesen, als uns die syrischen Städte, Aleppo, Damaskus und Jerusalem als Durchgangsstationen von Nordost nach Süden mangels bedeutsamer Denkmaler nur sehr geringen Aufschluss über die ajjubidische und mamlukische Bauperiode geben können. „

[213] Diez 1915, 158.

[214] Diez 1915, 207. Much later, in his 1939 contribution to Arthur Upham Pope's *Survey of Persian Art*, Diez similarly underlines Islam's capacity "for amalgamating dissimilar elements". Diez 1939, 920.

[215] Diez 1915, XVI, XVII. In line with Strzygowski, he consequently discusses against the one-way influence of Rome and declares the contrary.

The Residential Houses in Bagdad and Other Cities of Iraq). His discussion of Islamic architecture in India is based on its interaction with the Persian ideas of space building. For Diez, India received from Persia ideas of spatial construction, while Persia received from India ideas of monumental construction.[216] In his section on Umayyad Architecture, Diez underlines the heritage of the sanctity of Jerusalem as yet another means of cultural transmission. He further terms it "the architectonical objectification of the change of two societal and cultural epochs" (*Die architektonische Objektivierung des Wechsels zweier gesellschaftlicher und kultureller Epochen*).[217]

3.2 Endosmosis in the book *Türk Sanatı*

Diez's 1946 book on Turkish Art reads correspondingly a search for Endosmosis, migrations and adaptations. He characterizes Seljuk and Ottoman arts as adaptations of the monumental arts of the countries they came to contact: Persians in Iran, Armenians and Greeks in Anatolia. In the discussion of ornamentation, he points out that the use of various artistry was an enriching factor for Seljuk art. He connects the animal style to a Eurasian art circle; he associates the "tendril" motif (*filiz kıvrım üslubu* in Turkish, *Wellenranke* in German) with a Greek origin and traces its transmission through Hellenism into Central Asia. He underlines the migration of a "Turkish figural motif" to Northern Europe during the Middle Ages.[218]

In the section on Architectural Elements (*Mimarî Organlar*) of Seljuk architecture, Diez traces Armenian, Georgian, Byzantine and Iranian precedents to

[216] Diez 1915, 156-170.
[217] Diez 1915, 20.
[218] Diez 1946, 275.

column heads, portals, arches, windows, squinches and pendentives.[219] For the decorative columns, window frames and portals, he points out to Armenian and Georgian examples. He discusses the use of "lowered pointed arches" (two-centred arch, *şişkin sivri kemer*) in Seljuk architecture to be of Central Asian origin. He discerns the use of monumental walls with openings, whose precedents he postulates to be Urartian. He depicts Kab'eh-ye Zardusht, or the "Cube of Zoroaster" as its earliest standing example (*Gabr-i Zerdüşt* in Aslanapa's translation). In his discussion of Seljuk domes, Diez proposes that squinch domes are of Iranian and pendentive domes are of Mediterranean origin.

Diez reads basilical characteristics within Seljuk mosques and refers to Max Van Berchem's term *mosquée église*.[220] In his discussions on the Seljuk mausoleums, Diez depicts an indigenous Turkish mausoleum typology characterized by its tower-like form that bears an affinity with the nomadic tents (Figure 21).[221] He differentiates the eastern Anatolian mausoleums with Armenian influence through the evidence of squinch domes, conical structures, high niches, decorative round strips.[222] Diez highlights the rich ornamentation of Anatolian Seljuk portals, as products of the merging of different cultures, yet points out to the prominent role of the nomadic textile and tent ornamentations.

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[219] His references predominantly include works on Armenian art- Strzygowski's 1918 book *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (The Architecture of Armenians and Europe), Marie-Félicité Brosset's (1802-1880) *Les ruines d'Ani, capitale de l'Arménie sous les rois Bagratides, aux Xe et XIe s.: histoire et description* (The ruins of Ani, the capital of Armenia under the kings Bagratides, in the 10th and 11th centuries: History and description) and Bachmann's 1913 book *Kirchen und Moscheen In Armenien* (Churches and Mosques In Armenia). Diez thereafter characterizes the art and architecture of Seljuks under four topics: Mosques (Selçuk camileri), Mausoleums (Selçuk Türbeleri), Ornamental Portals of Religious Seljuk buildings (Selçuk dini inşalarının tezyini portelleri) and Caravanserais (Selçuk devri Kervansarayları). In this section, his main reference is his 1915 book Die Kunst der islamischen Völker. He also refers to Riefstahl's (1880-1836) 1931 book Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia.

[220] Diez 1946, 66.

[221] Diez 1946, 81.

[222] Diez 1946, 91. Diez refers to the material in Bachmann's 1913 book *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan.*



(Şekil : 61)
Kırşehir : Melik Gazi Türbesi

Figure 21. Diez depicts Melik Gazi Mausoleum in Kırşehir as an example of tent architecture, Source: [Diez 1946, 85.]

In his discussion of Ottoman art and architecture, Diez defines an Ottoman state art as a product of the merging of Greek, Iranian and Islamic traditions.[223] He traces an initial phase in Iznik as a transition period from Seljuk building features to the Ottoman domed mosque typology. [224] In Bursa, he traces a second phase through the merging of Near Eastern cross-plans with the plan of Seljuk court-madrasas.[225]

Diez thenceforth builds up his main discussion in the book, that of the Ottoman Mosques of Istanbul, which centres on the influence of Hagia Sophia. Diez

[223] Diez 1946, 6." Bu artık öz Türk Sanatı değil, kurulması ve gelişmesinde Yunanlı, İranlı ve umumiyetle islâmî anane ve tecrübelerin de rol oynadığı, Osmanlı devleti Sanatı idi."
[224] Diez 1946, 125.
[225] Diez 1946, 119-138.

praises Turks on the courageous task of reworking the dome system and extracting variations from it.[226]

> The greatness of the Ottoman mosques, which has powerful influence does not diminish with these observations of comparative art history. These, like Hagia Sophia, are also wonders of constructional techniques and successfully resisted the earthquakes that have for centuries turned Istanbul upside down. From all the cultured nations on the earth, it is only Turks who have shown the courage to rework the fascinating dome system of Hagia Sophia, to extract variations from it and finally surpass it in terms of scale.

Already in his 1915 book**,** Diez had mentioned the influence as a merit in adaptation.[227]

> When the Ottomans conquered Constantinople in 1453 and Muhammed II made Aja Sophia [sic] a mosque with the cry of the Islamic creed, a firmly founded Ottoman architecture already existed. Admittedly, it gained its spatial course by the example of the Church of St. Sophia. Even though it had previously come to terms with the generally established spatial compositions of that period, it was then that the ancient, and much more powerful space requirements awakened again and that the purely historical space idea was revived. This merit of the Ottomans to the art of space cannot be underestimated.

Diez's discussion of cross-cultural influences and depiction of Ottoman mosques as adaptations of Hagia Sophia thus connected from early in the century to the bio-geographical understanding of a Universal history, where adaptation was a natural necessity and also a merit. It was a corresponding approach that opened up the investigation of non-European cultures including Strzygowski's discussion of

[226] Diez 1946, 197-198. "Bu mukayeseli sanat tarihi müşahedelerile Osmanlı camilerinin çok kuvvetle tesir eden büyüklüğü hiçbir zaman azalmış olmaz. Ayasofya gibi bunlarda yapı tekniğinin birer harikâsı olup asırlar boyunca İstanbulu alt üst eden yer sarsıntılarına muvakkafiyetle karşı koymuşlardır. Yeryüzünün bütün kültürlü milletleri içinde yalnız Türkler Ayasofyanın çok hayranlık uyandıran kubbe sistemini ele almak, ondan varyasyonlar çıkarmak ve nihayet mıkyas itibarile onu aşmak cesaretini göstermişlerdir. İbadet ananeleri ve genel olarak üslupların cari olan zaman bağlılıkları bizim kaldırmağa çalıştığımız hudutların onlara evvelden çizmiş bulunuyorlardı."
[227] Diez 1915, 131. „Als die Osmanen 1453 Konstantinopel eroberten und Muhammed II. die Aja Sophia mit dem Ausruf des islamischen Glaubensbekenntnisses zur Moschee machte, existierte also bereits eine festgegründete osmanische Baukunst. Ihren großräumigen Zug gewann sie freilich erst durch das Vorbild der Sophienkirche. Hatte sie sich bisher mit den allgemein eingeführten Raum Körpern jener Zeit abgefunden, so erwachte jetzt das alte, weitaus gewaltigere Raum Bedürfnis wieder und eine scheinbar schon rein historisch gewordene Raum Idee wurde zu neuem Leben erweckt. Dieses Verdienst der Osmanen um die Raumkunst kann nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt werden."

Oriental routes to Europe, by involving them in a total organism of the world that extended beyond political borders. As such, Lamprecht's and Strzygowski's scholarships took part in turn of the century Austro-German anti-imperial Modernism, yet the anti-imperialism ultimately gave way to a race-based understanding of the world. The later criticisms in Turkey against the language of appropriation and adaptation reflected the transformation in the twentieth century from anti-imperial Universalism towards a race-based nationalism.

CHAPTER 4

EXPRESSIONISM OF ERNST DIEZ

A portrait of Ernst Diez by the Austrian Expressionist painter Richard Gerstl hangs in the galleries of Belvedere Palace in Vienna in a room with Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele paintings (Figure 22). In a letter to the art historian Otto Breicha, Diez writes that this was one of the two portraits that Gerstl painted of him in 1906 and it was the composer Arnold Schoenberg, who arranged the commission in order to help Gerstl.[228] Diez must have met Schoenberg through his cousin Anton Webern, who along with Schoenberg and Alban Berg was one of the proponents of twelve-tone music. Theodor Adorno characterizes their music with Expressionism and points out a need of an understanding of Expressionist art to appreciate it.[229] Adorno compares Berg to Kokoschka and draws parallelisms between Webern, Paul Klee and Franz Kafka.[230]

> It is for nothing that Webern puts us in mind of Paul Klee. It helps us to specify more exactly the idea of absolute lyricism that guided him. His affinity with the painter extends more deeply than the mere analogy between approaches that led both in their middle years to abandon all impasto and everything voluminous and to confine themselves to line. […] Furthermore, both Klee and Webern explore an imaginary twilight world somewhere between line and color […] The oeuvres of the two men in their respective media migrate from the established genres into this twilight world.

[228] The letter dates to 25 November 1960. Ernst Diez to Otto Breicha, 25 November 1960, http://www.richardgerstl.com/chronology-of-gerstls-works/1906-1907/ernst-diez1

[229] Adorno 1999, 92-93. "The idea informing Webern's music is his absolute lyricism: the attempt to resolve all musical materiality, all the objective elements of musical form, in the pure sonority of the subject, without an alien remainder that refuses to be assimilated. As a composer, Webern never departed from this idea, whether consciously or not. To understand it requires that we reflect on the role of Expressionism in the arts."

[230] Adorno 2002, 402. "Berg's relation to the expressive music of the late nineteenth and beginning twentieth century parallels that of Kokoschka's portraits to those of the impressionists". Adorno 1999, 104.



Figure 22. Portrait of Diez by Richard Gerstl, 1908, now at Belvedere Galleries in Vienna.

The portrait performs as a signifier of a shared intellectual milieu in art, music, literature, as well as scholarship, to which Diez was part. [231] Stephen Toulmin and Alan Jannik situate Wittengstein (1889-1951) similarly in an intellectual milieu shared by writers Karl Kraus and Robert Musil, Sigmund Freud, painters Gustav Klimmt, Egon Schiele, Oscar Kokoschka, composers Gustav Mahler and Schönberg.[232] Carl Schorske in his famed 1980 book *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* likewise considers fin-de-siècle Vienna through shared intellectual pursuits.

The thesis proposes to characterize the milieu through Expressionism, as a language and quest of a generation, who were born in the last quarter of the 19th century and produced their main works closely preceding or during the First World War. This was free from disciplinary and occupational differences. When geographer Erwin Hanslik founded the "Institut für Kulturforschung" (Institute for Cultural Research) in Vienna in 1915, Gustav Klimt, Otto Wagner, Josef Hoffmann (1870-1956), Oskar Kokoschka (1886-1980), and Adolf Loos became members; Egon Schiele (1890-1918), Kokoschka and Hoffmann as well as the filmmakers Berthold Bartosch (1893-1968) and Hans Cürlis (1889-1982) helped in the design of exhibitions, books and films.

Literature on Expressionism is nonetheless scarce and dated, as its memory appears to have been ultimately lost. In his 1968 book, Victor Miesel portrays Expressionism as the embodiment of the mood of the First World War decade, which he characterizes as “part-utopian expectation, part apocalyptic terror”, with reference to a 1914 book by Paul Fechter (1880-1958) under the same name, *Der*

[231] Victor H. Miesel reviews the origin and the uses of the term in art in his article “The Term Expressionism in the Visual Arts (1911-1920)”. See Miesel 1968.
[232] Janik &Toulmin 1973.

Expressionismus.[233] Miesel also quotes from Hermann Bahr's (1863-1934) 1916 depiction of Expressionism (Figure 23). [234]

> Never was an age so shaken by dread, by such fear of death. Never was an age so deathly still. Never was man so small. Never was he so anxious. Never was joy so distant and freedom so dead. Necessity cries aloud; man shrieks for his soul, the whole age is one great cry for help. Art also shrieks out, in the depths of the night art cries for help, it cries for the spirit: that is Expressionism.



Figure 23. Hermann Bahr's 1916 monograph titled *Expressionismus*

[233] Miesel 1968, 139. Fechter 1914.
[234] Miesel 1968, 141. Bahr 1916.

Miesel refers to Kasimir Edschmid's (1890-1966) 1919 book *Über den Expressionismus in der Literatur und die neue Dichtung* (On Expressionism in Literature and the New Poetry) as one of the main manifestos of Expressionism.[235]

> Now a great cosmic feeling arose against the atomistic fragmentation of the Impressionists […] a new image of the world had to be created, one that was free of Naturalism […] we had to create reality. The object had to be suppressed. One dare no longer be content with believed, supposed, noted fact; the image of the world must be mirrored pure and undistorted. But that image lies only within ourselves. Thus the Expressionist artist's whole sphere becomes vision. He does not look, he sees. He does not represent, he experiences. He does not imitate, he creates, he does not take, he searches. The chain of facts no longer exists: factories, houses, sickness, whores, shrieks and hunger. Now, what exists is the vision of them.

The Expressionist milieu is marked most profoundly by the influence of Nietzsche and his revolt against positivism. In his 1928 article *The Old Café des Westens*, writer and critique from Berlin, Ernst Blass (1890-1939) refers to Expressionism as a "post-rational Dionysos", with reference to Nietzsche's 1872 book *The Birth of Tragedy.* Nietzsche used the Greek mythological figures of Dionysius and Apollo to denote the dichotomy between instinct and logic.[236] Blass underlines the pre-First World atmosphere of the then closed *Café* as the analogy of the Expressionist "air", inspired by Van Gogh (1853-1890), Nietzsche (1844-1900), Freud (1856-1939) and Wedekind (1864-1918).[237]

> What was in the air? Above all Van Gogh, Nietzsche, Freud too, and Wedekind. What was wanted was a post-rational Dionysos. Van Gogh stood for expression and intense experience opposed to Impressionism and Naturalism as flaming concentration, youthful sincerity, immediacy, depth; exhibition and hallucination.[…] The word "expressionism" was baked by others; But our circles had long been sailing in expressionist waves. Van Gogh: That was (for us) the courage to express oneself; Nietzsche: the courage to own one's own experience; Freud: The depth and problems of one's self; Wedekind: Interpersonal problems and explosions (in sharp faces).

[235] Miesel 1968, 143, 150. Quoting Edschmid 1919, 39-78.
[236] Spreizer similarly characterizes the milieu as a "cultural and political watershed of the turn of the century when a new Idealism and interest in the interiorization of the subject became the focus of academic and artistic inquiry". Spreizer 2001, 287.
[237] Donahue 2005, 5. Blass 1928, 3-4.

Donald E. Gordon in the 1987 book *Expressionism: Art and Idea* also points out that Expressionists took stimulus from Nietzsche's opposition to materialism and positivism.[238] Steven E. Ascheim in his 1992 study *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany 1890-1990* similarly characterizes the influence through "the revolt against positivism and materialism". [239]

The Nietzschean influence is traced also in the works of Karl Lamprecht. Spreizer points out that Lamprecht considered Nietzsche (along with Wagner), "as representatives of the revolt against bourgeois spirit and Enlightenment rationalism".[240] Lamprecht uses Nietzsche's notion of *Reizsamkeit* (Vivacity) to describe the era through "a frenetic intensity of feeling of modernity", irrationality, neo-Romantic tendencies, fragmentation and "nervous tension". [241] In his sound discussion of Nietzschean Legacy in Germany between 1890 and 1910, Ascheim similarly portrays Nietzsche as a "maker of a new kind of European modernity", characterized by its "celebration of post-Enlightenment, irrational modalities". [242]

At Diez's intellectual base Vienna, the influence of Nietzsche appears to have preceded Germany.[243] Schorske portrays the turn of the century Vienna with what he calls a "Post-Nietzschean Culture" of irrationalism, subjectivism, abstractionism and

[238] Gordon 1987, 1-2.
[239] Ascheim 1994, 10. Ascheim adds "by the predicament of nihilism and its transvaluative, liberating, and cataclysmic potential".
[240] Spreizer 2001, 289.
[241] Spreizer 2001, 288.
[242] Ascheim 1994, 51.
[243] Ascheim 1994, 17. He points out to the *Austrian Pernerstorfer* Reading Group of 1875-1878, named after the politician and journalist Engelbert Pernerstorfer (1850-1918), and included most prominently the composer Gustav Mahler (1860-1911). Mahler's *Third Symphony* was originally entitled *The Gay Science,* after Nietzsche's book.

anxiety.[244] Freud is depicted as Nietzsche's Viennese counterpart and Ascheim points out to their common exploration of "irrational depths". [245]

Anton Webern set one of Nietzsche's poems *Heiter* to music in 1904, during when Moldenhauer states: "Diez coached Webern in the various branches of art history, and Webern spent all day at the Musicological Institute in Vienna".[246] Susanne Rode-Breymann underlines the influence of Nietzsche on Webern, and further suggests it was Diez who brought Nietzsche to Webern's attention. She refers to quotes from Nietzsche in Diez's diary entries of 1900 and 1901-- on Nietzsche's opinions of Wagner's music, on the famed Bayreuth Festival (to which they travelled together) and also quotations from *Also sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*).[247]

The traits that characterize Webern's music as Expressionist can be investigated through Diez's art historiography. Diez has been a prominent figure in studies on Webern as a substantial intellectual inspiration. Webern's biographer Hans Moldenhauer contends that Diez, "five years older than Anton, shared with the composer an abounding love for both music and nature, affinities that made them life-long friends" (Figure 24).[248] Moldenhauer portrays Diez as "a lover of good music, playing the piano very well himself".[249] He quotes from a letter from Diez's daughter Doris Brehm, for the depiction of their close relationship.[250]

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[244] Schorske 1980, xix.
[245] Ascheim 1994, 54. He quotes from Arnold Zweig(1887-1968) in pointing out what was common to Freud and Nietzsche: "the daring new perspective on antiquity, the reversal of values, the critique of Christianity, and the thoroughgoing re-evaluation of civilization". Ascheim 1994, 138.
[246] Moldenhauer 1979, 82.
[247] Rode-Breymann 1996, 9-10.
[248] Moldenhauer 1979, 29. The studies particularly point out to the shared interest in lyric poetry and in nature. Susanne Rode-Breymann discusses the context of their upbringing in Graz, and the influence of Ferdinand Avenarius to depict a common transcendental approach to nature. Diez' diary dating to these years include comparable quotes on nature, poetry and also transcendental themes.
[249] Moldenhauer 1979, 38.
[250] Moldenhauer 1979, 82.

> Ernst was his chosen friend. He looked up to him, and there was nothing that he would not do for him. Later, too, when with their growing years the difference in age became irrelevant, it remained that way.

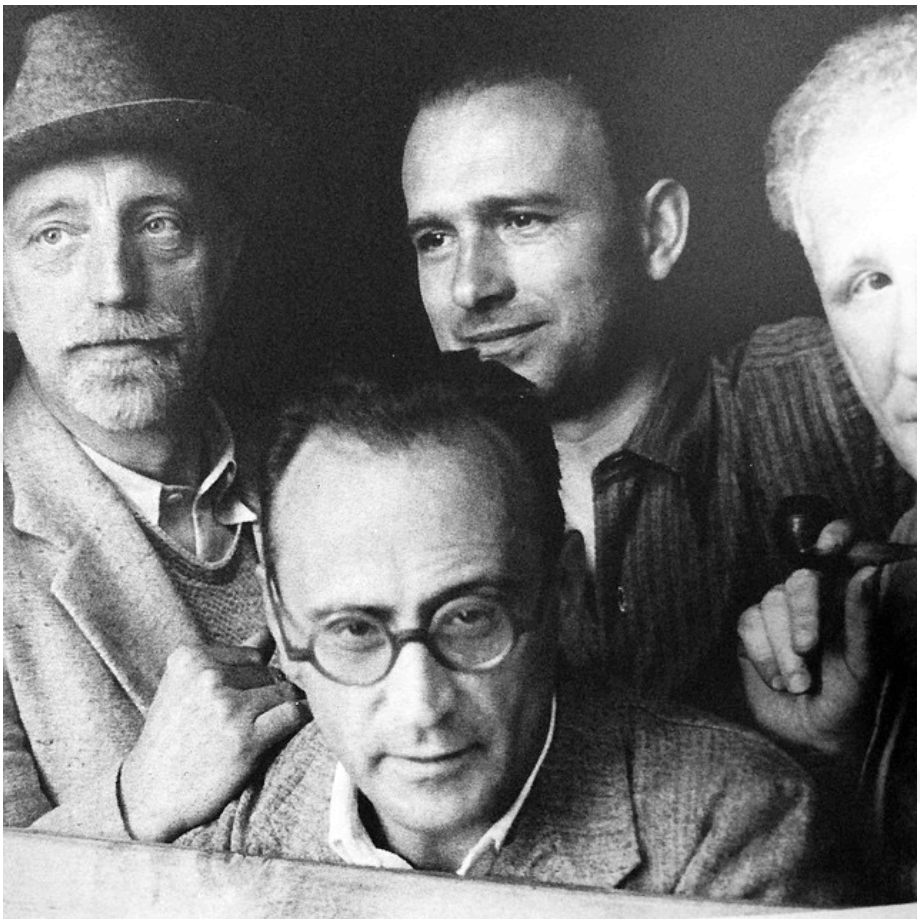

Figure 24. Ernst Diez (left) and his cousin and friend Anton von Webern (at the center) on a trip in the 1930's, Source [Moldenhauer 1979]

The key to their shared pursuit is a letter from Webern to Diez. Webern writes to Diez on 17 July 1908 in request of an opera libretto, yet he underlines his demand into abstraction, and characterizes its manner through the symbolist Belgium writer Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949). [251]

> However, I make the following conditions: no procession, no combat, nothing of the sort that in any way requires "illustration". I need nothing but a few characters. By no means a theatrical piece. To a certain extent Maeterlinck writes in this vein. But I want it even more so. Just get away from everything that is now called theatre. The opposite.

[251] Moldenhauer 1979, 116. Moldenhauer emphasises that the mystical and metaphysical writings of the Belgian author Marice Maeterlinck exerted a strong influence at the turn of the century.

4.1 Expressionism in art historiography

The notion of Expressionism in art historical scholarship can be characterized as a Nietzschean anti-Enlightenment re-mapping of the world, in which art as cultural expression is thought to form an ontologically intelligible Universal history. The notion exists in the scholarship before the Second World War. Julius von Schlosser in his 1934 history of the Vienna School attributes Riegl's scholarship Expressionist qualities, through the universal historical approaches and the Herbartian formalism, whose goal he points out "was to recognize the grand internal and universally historical coherences".[252] Schlosser thus distinguishes Riegl "from the positivist, anti-philosophical empiricism of his later university colleague Wickhoff", whom he characterizes with Impressionism.[253] In 1929, Walter Benjamin also points out that Riegl's 1901 book *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (Late Roman Art Industry) carried and preceded the "sensitivity and insights of Expressionism" by evading notions of decline through attributing a *Kunstwollen* to Late Roman Art.[254]

> […] epoch-making work [that] applied with prophetic certainty the sensitivity and insights of expressionism (which occurred twenty years later) to the monuments of the late Imperial period, broke with the theory of "periods of decline," and recognized in what had previously been called "regression into barbarism" a new experience of space, a new artistic volition [*Kunstwollen*].

Riegl's notion of *Kunstwollen* thus appears at the centre of Expressionism in art historical scholarship. The notion expresses a correspondence between art and presumed psychological characteristics of cultures and period.

Riegl's definition of *Wollen* in his 1901 book *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (*Late Roman Art Industry*) builds on another contemporary German concept,

[252] Schlosser 1934 trans. 2010, 36.
[253] Schlosser 1934 trans. 2010, 29, 34.
[254] From Walter Benjamin, "Bucher, Die Lebendig Geblieben Sind", 1929. Quoted in Levin 1988, 80.

Weltanschauung that translates as the worldview of a culture. .[255]

> The character of this Wollen is always determined by what may be termed the conception of the world at a given time [Weltanschauung] (again in the widest sense of the term), not only in religion, philosophy, science, but also in government and law.

The popularity of the term *Weltanschauung* in the first decades of the twentieth century illustrates the interdisciplinary arena of Riegl's art historical scholarship (Figure 25). One should point out particularly to Wilhelm Dilthey's definition of the term. [256]

> The worldviews are not products of thinking. They do not arise from the mere will of knowledge. [...] They emerge from the conduct and experience of life, and the structure of our psychic totality.

Dilthey's 1914 book *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation* (Worldview and the Analysis of Humanity Since the Renaissance and Reformation) presented an understanding of history through three different worldviews. [257] Dilthey built his concept of history as *Geistesgeschichte* on the notion. Hodges translates Dilthey's historical approach as a "history of the minds of men".[258]

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[255] Quoted in Neher 2004, 11. "Der Charakter dieses Wollens ist beschlossen in demjenigen, was wir die jeweilige Weltanschauung (abermals im weitesten Sinne des Wortes) nennen: in Religion, Philosophie, Wissenschaft, auch Staat und Recht, — wobei in der Regel eine der genannten Ausdrucksformen über alle anderen zu überwiegen pflegt."

[256] Dilthey has a 1911 article with the title "Die Typen der Weltanschauung und ihre Ausbildung in den Metaphysischen Systemen" (Types of Worldviews and Their Background in the Metaphysical Systems) and Simmel has a 1916 book on the modern "worldview" with the title *Kant und Goethe: Zur Geschichte der modernen Weltanschauung*" (Kant and Goethe: On the History of Modern Worldview). Dilthey 1911,15. „Die Weltanschauungen sind nicht Erzeugnisse des Denkens. Sie entstehen nicht aus dem bloßen Willen des Erkennens. […] Aus dem Lebensverhalten, der Lebenserfahrung, der Struktur unserer psychischen Totalität gehen sie hervor." He distinguished three types of worldviews in relation to man's relation to nature: Naturalism, Idealism of Freedom (or Subjective Idealism) and Objective Idealism.

[257] He identified them as naturalism, idealism of freedom and objective idealism. Hodges 1969 (3rd ed.), 99.

[258] Hodges 1969 (3rd ed.), viii. Hodges refers to Dilthey's 1883 book, *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften. Versuch einer Grundlegung für das Studium der Gesellschaft und der Geschichte* (Introduction to the Human Sciences. Attempt at Ground-Laying the Study of Society and History).

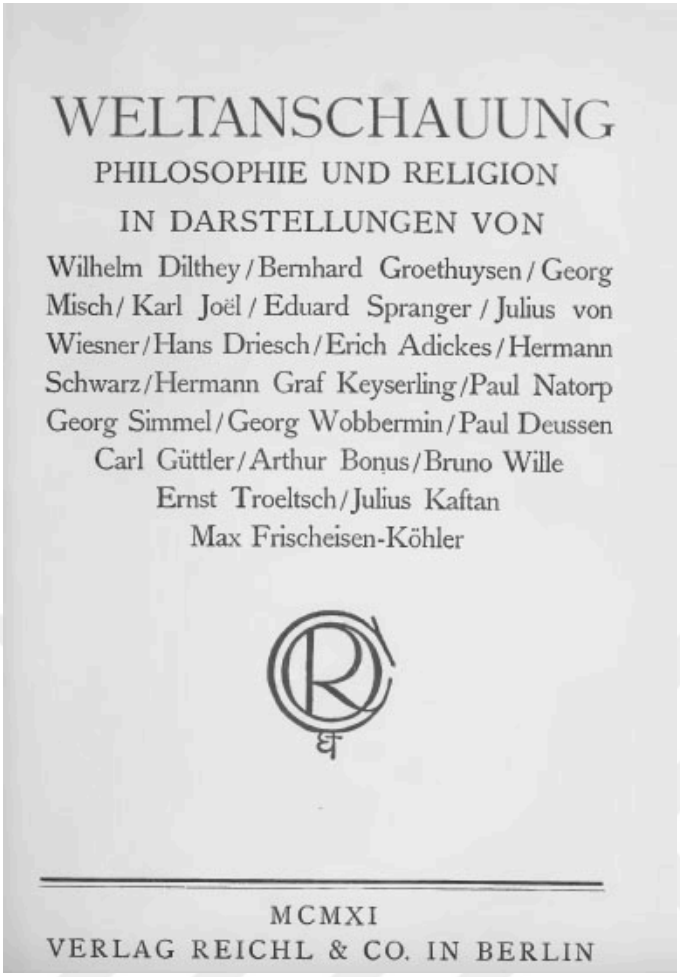

Figure 25. The inside cover of a 1911 book on *Weltanschauung*, *Weltanschauung Philosophie Und Religion in Darstellungen* (Worldview Philosophy And Religion in Representations) including an article by Wilhelm Dilthey

Dilthey's philosophy of history found correspondence in art history mainly in the art historiography of a colleague of Diez from the University of Vienna, who was also the director of the Second Art Historical Institute, Max Dvořák in his post-mortem 1924 book *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte* (Art History as *Geistesgeschichte*).[259] Kultermann perceives the title as a motto of Expressionist art

[259] Smith 2014, 11. Kultermann 1993, 190. Smith explains "Dvořák began his studies in Prague, moved to Vienna in 1895, and received a doctoral degree in history in 1897. He shifted his attention to the history of art, becoming Franz Wickhoff's assistant at the University of Vienna in that year, then after his Habilitation was appointed lecturer in the art history program in 1902. In 1905, Dvořák became associate professor and director of the Central Commission for the Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments after both posts were left vacant by Riegl's death. By 1909, still only in his mid-30s, Dvořák had been appointed chair of the art history program, a highly prestigious, if deeply contested, position formerly held by Wickhoff".

history. Smith similarly portrays Expressionist art history as *Geistesgeschichte*.[260] She points out that history of art as *Geistesgeschichte* worked with how culture's "worldview" (i.e. *Weltanschauung*) was expressed in the artwork.[261]

> The history of art as *Geistesgeschichte* focuses on drawing broad, inferential connections between the formal aspects of an artwork and the totality of a culture's spiritual or intellectual world view, which is assumed to be consistent across phenomena (literature, religion, politics, etc.) and thus also expressed in that art object.

Smith ultimately defines Expressionist art historiography as a common neo-idealist and anti-positivist model of art historical knowledge based on broad cultural truths and expressivity of form.[262]

> Methodologically, these art historians represent the emphatic push in early twentieth-century scholarship towards a neo-idealist, anti-positivist model of art historical knowledge, as well as (with the possible exception of Einstein) a shared belief in the expressivity of form and the conviction that an engaged, intuitive beholder can infer broad cultural truths from those forms.

Diez's art historiography connects to this framework of art historical knowledge through uses of the notions of *Kunstwollen* and *Weltanschauung*. In an early article on the 1910 Munich Exhibition *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst* (Exhibition on the Masterworks of Mohammedan Art), Diez refers to the *Kunstwollen* of "Oriental people", which he views to have culminated in the technical aspects of the applied arts. His terminology in this first article further includes *künstlerischen Drang* (the artistic urge) and *Stilgefühl* (feeling for style),

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[260] Smith 2014, 3. She lists "a range of attributes" such as "formalist, spiritual, poetic, intuitive, passionate, psychologized, or nationalist" as well as "effusive, penetrating, speculative, subjective, exclamatory, emotive". Wood identifies Dvořák's art historiography tentatively as Expressionist through its "intuitive and unsystematic analogies between works of art and broader cultural patterns". He nevertheless overlooks Expressionism as he argues that "whether this kind of writing actually gets disparaged as expressionist may simply depend, in the end, on rhetoric, tone, and the degree of belletristic or demagogic ambitions". Wood 2000, 29, 30.

[261] Smith 2014, 9.

[262] Smith 2014, 3. She lists "a range of attributes" such as "formalist, spiritual, poetic, intuitive, passionate, psychologized, or nationalist" as well as "effusive, penetrating, speculative, subjective, exclamatory, emotive".

both of which resonate Riegl's *Kunstwollen*.[263] In his 1915 book *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker,* Diez merits Riegl on the basis of the notion.[264]

> Propagated by Alois Riegl in so an ingenious way, *Kunstwollen* must be taken into account as a generator especially in the field of ornament.

From the 1915 book onwards, the notion of *Weltanschauung* takes prominence in Diez's writings. In his 1923 article on the "Orientalische Gothik" (Oriental Gothic), Diez discusses the pointed arch as a symbol of the *Weltanschauung* of the Gothic. He consequently portrays Gothic as a Eurasian "Weltstil" (world style) with a "single realm of feeling, knowing, imagining and willing" (*ein einziges Reich des Fühlens, Wissens, Vorstellens und Wollens*) whose geography extends from the Atlantic Ocean to North Asia.[265] In *Iranische Kunst* of 1944, he comes up with a description of the Islamic *Weltanschauung*, "as a theory of universe, with no forms and figures". In the same book, he asserts, "the boundaries of Islamic art were mapped out by the limits of its *Weltanschauung*".[266]

Diez's art historiography presents uses of other contemporary notions of *Weltgefühl* (world-feeling), *Weltseele* and *Weltbegriff* (world-concept) in ways parallel to the notions of *Kunstwollen* and *Weltanschauung* that ultimately open a view into the broader web of intellectual contemporary influences on his art historiography. Significantly the controversial book *Türk Sanatı* is a signifier of this broader web. In the book, Diez differentiates Hagia Sophia from the Ottoman mosques on a discussion of difference of worldviews. He writes, "Construction is a technical issue, yet style is related to worldview and spirit".[267] Diez characterizes

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[263] Diez 1910, 224. He referred to a lack of *künstlerischen Drang* in Islam; and a *Stilgefühl* (feeling for style) in Persian miniatures that he found comparable to Quattrocento in Italy.
[264] Diez 1915, 68. "Das von Alois Riegl in so geistvoller Weise propagierte Kunstwollen muss daher als Generator besonders auf ornamentalem Gebiet stets mitberücksichtigt werden."
[265] Diez 1923, 169.
[266] Diez 1944, 232. "Die Grenzen der islamischen Kunst waren also durch die Grenzen ihrer Weltanschauung vorgezeichnet".
[267] Diez 1946, 193. "Konstrüksiyon teknik bir meseledir fakat üslup dünya görüşü ve ruhla ilgilidir."

Hagia Sophia as the expression of a pneumatic spirit, a terminology he adapts from another early twentieth century scholar Oswald Spengler's 1918 book *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (Decline of the West). Diez defines this spirit's stylistic correspondence as *entmaterialisierung* (dematerialization), which he observes in the masking of the architectural elements and the accentuation of optical impacts in Hagia Sophia and finds it lacking in the Ottoman mosques.[268]

> Since Hagia Sophia is an expression of the pneumatic worldly soul, its highest stylistic goal is to get rid of any concrete plasticity as much as possible that is stripping of from any materiality.

The Turkish for the "worldly soul" *dünyevi ruh* appears as a translation of Oswald Spengler's term *Weltseele*. In his *Decline of the West*, Spengler writes a universal history based on three different *Weltseele* (or *Seele* - souls), which he terms Apollonian, Faustian and Magian and correspond to Classic, Western and Arabic, Persian cultures respectively.[269] In line with the understanding on the cultural expressivity of form, Spengler inquires into the spatial expressions of the different *Weltseele*. [270] Spengler emphasises the Arabesque as the "genuine Magian motive" in its anti-pictorial aspects, while for him the dome and the mosaics are the forms of the Magian culture.[271]

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[268] Diez 1946, 193. "Ayasofya pnömatik dünyevi ruhun açık bir ifadesi olduğundan her türlü elle tutulur plastikliği mümkün mertebe gidermek yani maddelikten sıyrılma onun en yüksek üslup kanunudur." Spengler views the understanding of the "pneuma" as a differentiating factor of the *Magian* soul. "Whereas the Faustian man is an "I" that in the last resort draws its own conclusions about the Infinite; whereas the Apollinian man, as one soma among many, represents only himself; the Magian man, with his spiritual kind of being, is only a part of a pneumatic "We" that, descending from above, is one and the same in all believers. As body and soul he belongs to himself alone, but something else, something alien and higher, dwells in him, making him with all his glimpses and convictions just a member of a consensus which, as the emanation of God, excludes error, but excludes also all possibility of the self-asserting Ego." Spengler 1918(trans. 1926), 235.

[269] Spengler 1918 trans. 1927, 183. Apollonian appears as a Nietzschean term, while Faustian marks the influence of Goethe.

[270] Broms discusses that for Spengler, the Apollonian culture understood the world as solid bodies, while the Faustian culture built a conception of infinity and emptiness, while the prime symbol of the Magian culture was "a world cavern or cave". Broms 1972, 10.

[271] Spengler 1918 trans. 1927, 215.

> [...] finally, throughout the Persian-Anatolian world, mobility and bizarrerie culminate in the Arabesque. This is the genuine Magian motive — anti-plastic to the last degree, hostile to the pictorial and to the bodily alike. Itself bodiless, it disembodies the object over which its endless richness of web is drawn.

Diez recurrently employed Spengler's notion of the *Magian* for Islamic art. As early as 1921, in an article titled „Eine Seldjukische Türklopfer"(A Seljuk Doorknocker), Diez refers to a "mythical- magian *Weltanschauung* of Oriental people"(*mythisch-magischen Weltanschauung der Orientvölker)* in his discussion of the winged dragon motif (Figure 26).[272] In his 1923 book *Persien* (Persia), Diez discusses that round minarets are expressions of a Magian "world feeling" through their symbolic abstractive qualities and their de-spatialization (*Enträumlichung*).[273] In his 1941 book *Glaube und Welt des Islam* (Religion and the World of Islam), he quotes from Spengler on the relation of the Arabesque with the *Weltgefühl* of Early Christianity, Gnosticism, Mithraism, and Neo-Platonism.[274]

> The arabesque means a tremendous depreciation of the real, to which you attach your own meaning, which corresponds precisely to the *Weltgefühl* of primitive Christianity, of Gnosis, of Mithraism, of Neoplatonism, of the departure of the first Christians from the State, and of the advanced civilization of the East.

[272] Diez 1921, 20.
[273] Diez 1923, 78.
[274] Diez 1941, 176, 177.„Die Arabeske bedeutet, was dem Weltgefühl des Urchristentums, der Gnosis, des Mithraskultes, des Neoplatonismus, der Abwendung der ersten Christen vom Staate, dem bis zum Typus der Styliten gesteigerten morgenländischen Einsiedlertum genau entspricht, eine ungeheure Entwertung des Wirklichen, dem sie die eigene Bedeutung abspricht und das sie nur eines lässigen Genusses für wert hält" Spengler 1920, Vol. 1, 307. Translation by the author.

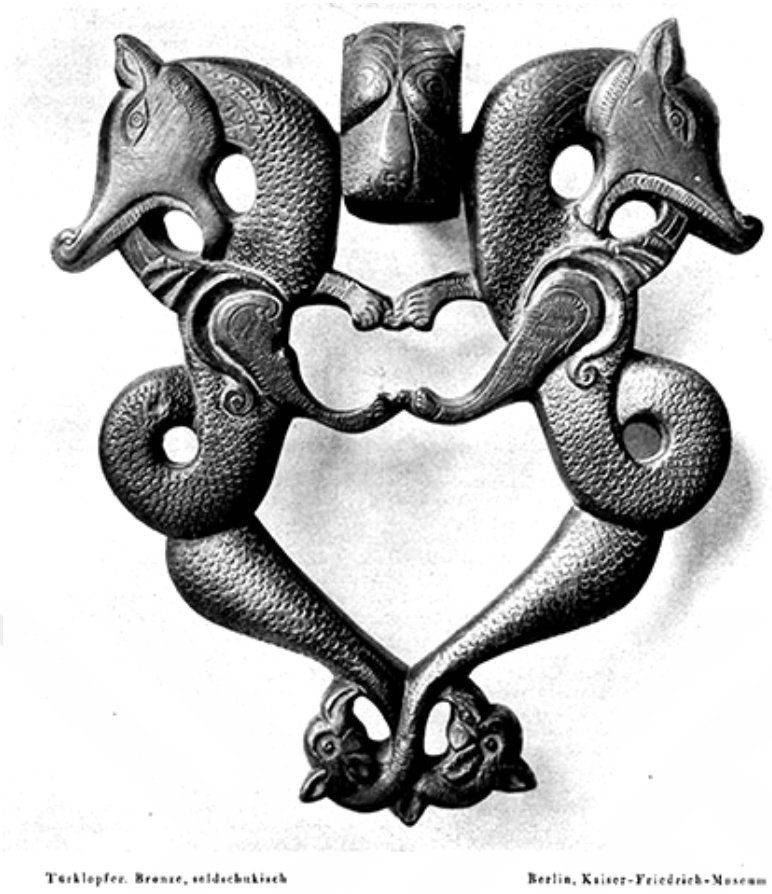

Figure 26. The subject of Diez's article "Eine Seldjukische Türklopfer"(A Seljuk Doorknob).

Diez appears to have adapted this view into cultural expression, which might be called *Weltanschauungslehre* to a course he gave at the Bryn Mawr College in 1933 titled "Sociology of Art". In the syllabus, Diez refers to a "social feeling" with a note of its German original *Gemeinschaftsgefühl*, which appears as a 1930's adaptation of the notions of *Kunstwollen, Weltanschauung* and *Weltgefühl*.[275]

> The main function of any work of art is the expression of emotions and their communication to the observer, who thus feels emotionally exalted. Accordingly the investigation of this eminent social function is the subject of Sociology of Art. There are two sections in this field, the intellectual and the emotional, which complement each other. Thus the social feeling (Gemeinschaftsgefühl) [sic.] as a result of the social-economic conditions in the various periods of human culture will be discussed and the varying sense

[275] Bryn Mawr Calendar Undergraduate Courses 1933, 74. Bryn Mawr Calendar Graduate Courses 1933, 67. The syllabus runs, "".

> of style will be demonstrated as the adequate formal frame for the realization of art as the emotional expression of each period.

Central to Diez's course is the notion of style. The syllabus pronounces the notion as the emotional expression of different periods, which it declares to be the social function of art. Art as cultural expression is beheld in the notion of "style" from Winckelmann (1717-1768) onwards. Meyer Schapiro's 1953 article titled "Style" discusses that the study of style acknowledges a correlation between form and expression.[276] Schapiro also points out that for the historian of culture or the philosopher of history, style "is a manifestation of the culture as a whole, the visible sign of its unity".[277] As early as 1915, Diez underlines that Islamic art is not a *Mixtum compositum*, but a whole that is processed by the same style laws. [278]

> How then this blend of Hellenistic, Babylonian, Indo-Aryan, Chinese and Nordic-nomadic took place in the art of Islam? Should not one expect from the merging of such seemingly heterogeneous elements a style-less Mixtum compositum? The opposite is the case. So in manifold ways the formal elements, the ornamental systems, that pour from the east, west and north into this world-art, are all processed by the same style laws into a whole that appears as something peculiar and new.

Diez understands "style" primarily as a philosophical notion with reference to the neo-Kantian approaches of an art historian from Munich, Ludwig Coellen (1875-1945). Diez uses Coellen's 1921 book *Der Stil in der bildenden Kunst*, *Allgemeine Stiltheorie und Geschichtliche Studien dazu* (The style in visual arts, general theory of style and historical studies) for a stylistic analysis of Islamic art in his articles in

[276] Schapiro 1953, ed. 1994, 56-58, 75. He refers to Alois Riegl's and Heinrich Wölfflin's art histories through the notion. He discusses how for Riegl art history was a schema of the haptic and optic; and for Wölfflin, it was a schema between the Classic and the Baroque. Allister Neher comparably views Riegl's notion *Kunstwollen* as essentially a replacement of the word "style". Neher 2004, 9. Also for Wilhelm Worringer, "style" is the expression of the *Kunstwollen*. Worringer 1908(trans.1997), 12-13.
[277] Schapiro 1953, ed. 1994, 52.
[278] Diez 1915, 207.

Ars Islamica between 1934 and 1938.[279] In the same years, he also has course titled "Philosophy of Art" at Bryn Mawr College based on Coellen's stylistic analysis.

An investigation of the works of Ludwig Coellen opens a perspective into discussing a philosophy of Expressionism. In a unique article on the philosophical aspects of Expressionism, dating to 1973, György M. Vajda characterizes Expressionist thought as a modernized version of Kant's doctrines through the inquiry into symbols, cyphers and signs.[280] A view into philosophical connotations of the term "expression" is provided by Deleuze's interpretation of the philosophy of Spinoza (1632-1677) in his 1969 book *Spinoza et le problème de l'expression*. Deleuze reads in Spinoza's *Ethics* a postcartesian understanding of a new materialism and a new "formalism", whereby God expresses himself in forms and attributes.[281] At the turn of the twentieth century, God appears to take on the form of an intelligible Universal cultural history and art forms are taken to be its different expressions.

Coellen's inspiration from Kant is manifest in a 1911 article in the periodical of the Kant Society, *Kant-Studien*, where Coellen praises Kant's *Einheitsidee* (idea of totality) and declares his own inquiry to build on Kant's transcendental-logical ideas. [282] Central to Coellen's 1921 book is the Kantian notion of *Weltbegriff*, which translates as world-concept. Coellen defines style as "an artistic equivalence of the world concept of the periods".[283] Kant defines *Weltbegriff* in his *The Critique of Pure Reason* as a "cosmological idea" and also "a sum of all appearances". [284]

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[279] In 1936, Diez began to write his more theoretically oriented articles titled "A Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art" in 1936, "Simultaneity in Islamic Art" in 1937, and finally "A Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art II" in 1938.
[280] Vajda 1973, 47, 53. Vajda includes Ernst Cassirer's (1874-1945) symbols and Edmund Husserl's (1859-1938) Phenomenology within Expressionism.
[281] Deleuze 1992, 321-325.
[282] Coellen 1911.
[283] Coellen 1921, 10.
[284] Kant 1781,1998(trans.), 466.

> Above I have called the ideas with which we are now concerned "cosmological ideas," partly because by "world" is understood the sum total of all appearances, [...] thus in my opinion one can quite appropriately call them collectively *world-concepts*. [*Sic*] [Weltbegriff]

While the term relates to the notions of *Weltanschauung*, *Weltgefühl* and *Weltseele*, it particularly signifies philosophy, religion and art as parallels. Diez ventures to describe the term in his 1936 article, as a metaphysical and ethical quest in which religion, philosophy and art are in accord.[285]

> Perception of the current "Weltbegriff" is thus given as the basis and point of departure for Coellen's metaphysical stylistic analysis. This current life-conception is the origin of the current religion, philosophy and art.

Coellen's approach to the theory of style presumes a relation between *Weltbegriff* (world concept) and space organization.[286] Coellen further views artistic creation as an ethical task of man, by which man becomes a historical being. For Coellen, art and architectural forms are dependent on the historical time and thus he calls them "time-space forms" (*zeitlichräumlichen Form*). He declares, "all creation can only be understood in the unity of culture".[287]

Diez views Coellen's book as "the most satisfactory attempt at a metaphysical categorisation of the fine arts since Alois Riegl".[288] He merits Coellen's approach over descriptive and comparative methods, the latter of which was significantly associated with Strzygowski.[289]

> The only universal-genetic presentation of historic styles in existence has been put forward by Ludwig Coellen in his book *Der Stil in der Bildenden Kunst*. The emphasis is on the notion "genetic" in contrast to all preceding and succeeding stylistic analyses, which are all merely descriptive and have been arrived at empirically.

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[285] Diez 1936, 202.
[286] Glaser 1923.
[287] Coellen 1921,10. "Alles Schaffen lässt sich nur begreifen in der Einheit der Kulturbildung."
[288] Diez 1934, 169. In this, he refers to Alois Riegl's 1893 book *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Problems of Style: Foundations For A History Of Ornament) and the 1901 book *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (Late Roman Art Industry).
[289] Diez 1936, 201.

Diez's articles of 1930's thus illustrate the ways in which Diez's art historiography deviates from his teacher's. The fateful presence of a review by Strzygowski on Coellen's 1924 book "On The Method of Art History, a Historical-Philosophical Investigation" (*Über die Methode der Kunstgeschichte, eine geschichts-philosophische Untersuchung*) is further revealing.[290] Central to Strzygowski's critique is the philosophical claim and the metaphysical approach. Strzygowski asserts instead the need for an object-based art-historical study free of theory. He challenges Coellen to apply his methodology to Asian art, and ironically, it turns out years later that his own student Ernst Diez undertakes the venture.[291]

4.2 Expressionism and non-European art historiography

The turn of the twentieth century was a milieu of scientific and technological developments that connected the world as never before. Stephen Kern characterizes the milieu uniquely as a culture of time and space. [292]

> From around 1880 to the outbreak of World War I a series of sweeping changes in technology and culture created distinctive new modes of thinking about and experiencing time and space.

Kern points out to Einstein's "Theory of Relativity" as well as technological innovations such as the telephone, wireless telegraph, the introduction of the standard time, x-ray, cinema, bicycle, automobile, and airplane as means of a new intellectual mapping of the world. One has to relate the universal study of cultures also to this revolutionary outlook. It appears that as early as 1923, José Ortega y

[290] Strzygowski 1926.
[291] Strzygowski 1926, 315. "Im Rahmen der „Artibus- Asiae" wird es mehr willkommen sein, wenn im Anschluss an einen zweiten Aufsatz über „Asiatische Kunst" im ersten Bande des „Jahrbuchs der asiatischen Kunst" etwas darüber gesagt würde, wie sich die Gedanken Coellens vom Standpunkte der Asienforschung aus darstellen."
[292] Kern, 2003, 1.

Gasset (1883-1955) precisely refers to the significance of Einstein's "relative space" for the study of non-European cultures in his book *El tema de nuestro tiempo,* translated into English as *The Modern Theme.* [293]

> The theory of Einstein is a marvellous proof of the harmonious multiplicity of all possible points of view.
> [...]
> It is the same with nations. Instead of regarding non-European cultures as barbarous, we shall now begin to respect them, as methods of confronting the cosmos, which are equivalent to our own. There is a Chinese perspective, which is fully as justified as the Western.

Ortega y Gasset further underlines Nietzsche's philosophy of "perspectivism" as an inspiration for the study of cultures, in its underlining the need to address multiple viewpoints as "affective interpretations".[294]

Nietzsche's "perspectivism" coincided with the shift from Euro-centred perspectives also in art historiography. As Expressionist art defied the Renaissance lineer perspective, art historiography challenged the historical lineage from Greek art to European art. Smith underlines that Expressionist art historiography worked beyond the previous historical and visual criteria of classical antiquity, the Italian Renaissance, academic naturalism and Impressionism.[295] Smith's compilation of Expressionist art historical writings nonetheless misses out on non-European topics.[296]

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[293] Gasset 1923, trans. 1961, 144. Albert Einstein published the theory of special relativity in 1905. The final form of general relativity was published in 1916.
[294] José Ortega y Gasset published a manifesto on perspectivism in the first issue of *El Espectador* (The Spectator) in 1916. Kern defines "perspectivism". Kern 2003, 150. "In opposition to the positivists' belief in the truth of objective facts, he [Nietzsche] insisted that there are no such things, only points of view and interpretations, and he urged philosophers "to employ a variety of perspectives and affective interpretations in the service of knowledge".
[295] Smith 2014, 28.
[296] Smith's compilation includes Worringer's "Introduction to Old German Book Illustration" (1912), Fritz Burger's "From Cezanne and Hodler; Introduction to the Problems of Contemporary Painting" (1913), Ernst Heidrich's "Flemish Painting" (1913), Max Dvořák's "Tintoretto" and "Foreword to Oskar Kokoschka: Variations on a Theme" (1921), Heinrich Wöfflin's "Principles of Art History. A Revision" (1933) and "Italy and the German Sense of Raum"(1921-1922), Carl Einstein's writings on Ernst Ludwig Kirchner (1926), Kandinsky (1926) and George Grosz (1926).

The main means of relating to non-European art histories was the current quest into abstraction. In this regard, Wilhelm Worringer (1881-1965) stands central to the Expressionist discourse with his 1907 thesis (and then book) *Abstraction and Empathy: A contribution to the psychology of style* (Abstraktion und Einfühlung: ein Beitrag zur Stilpsychologie) (Figure 27). In the thesis that subsequently became a popular book, Worringer Worringer portrays the naturalism of Greek art as inferior to the abstraction of Oriental art. [297]

> What could Greek philosophy have to say to such a man of the world beyond? As it advanced toward the East it found itself face to face with a much profounder view of the world [*Weltanschauung*], by which it was then in part silently swallowed up, and in part assimilated to the point of unrecognizability. And the same fate befell Greek art with its naturalism. Our European arrogance is amazed to see how little it finally pervaded the Orient, and the extent to which it was finally absorbed by the ancient Oriental tradition.

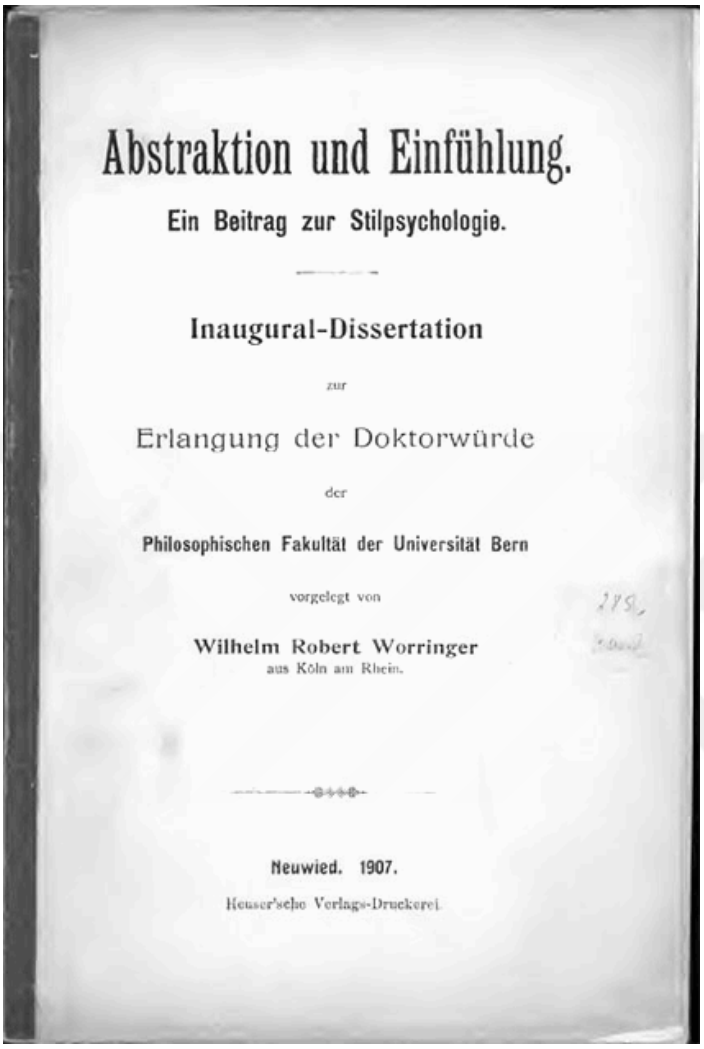
Kultermann believes that the book "created the spiritual foundation for an art turn that led from sensualism to abstraction". [298] Smith mentions the book's influence on Marc, Kandinsky and August Macke "as a way of both explaining and justifying their own increasingly abstract works". [299] The anti-Roman quest of Strzygowski thus found its correspondence in the anti-Greek approach of Worringer and also Paul

[297] Worringer 1908, (1997), 44. The term *Einfühlung* was first used by Robert Vischer (1847-1933) in his 1873 doctoral thesis and developed by Theodor Lipps (1851-1914) in a 1903 work *Ästhetik: Psychologie des Schönen und der Kunst* (Aesthetic: Psychology of the Beautiful and Art). Worringer 1908, 1997(trans.), 15. Smith explains, "Worringer wrote Abstraction and Empathy as his dissertation, which he self published in 1907. It was brought out by Piper Verlag in 1908, with the added subtitle A Contribution to the Psychology of Style, after which multiple editions appeared due to the book' continued and striking success. His next book, Form Problems of the Gothic (1911), was also extremely popular, going through multiple editions in subsequent year. Between the two publications, Worringer took a position as lecturer in the art history program at the University of Bern, which he held until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. After the war, he taught at Bonn as lecturer (1918-25) and Professor (1925-28), then a Professor Ordinarius at Königsberg (1928-45) and Halle (1946-50)". Smith 2014, 4.

[298] Kultermann 1996 edition, 193.

[299] Smith 2014, 28.

Gaugin, who declared, "Have before you always the Persians, the Cambodians, and a little of the Egyptian. The great error is the Greek, however beautiful it may be".[300]


Abstraktion und Einfühlung.

Ein Beitrag zur Stilpsychologie.

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur

Erlangung der Doktorwürde

der

Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Bern

vorgelegt von

Wilhelm Robert Worringer

aus Köln am Rhein.

Neuwied. 1907.

Heuser'sche Verlags-Druckerei.

Figure 27. Worringer's 1907 thesis *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* stands at the centre of Expressionist art history

The place of Islamic art from the perspective of the anti-Greek, anti-perspective quest finds voice in Diez's Islamic art historiography. Its influence on the artists and art works of the time has only been marginally observed, and that mainly through the Persian influence. It is absent from both Kultermann's and Smith's discussions. Fereshteh Daftari has a doctoral thesis titled *The Influence of*

[300] Quoted in Kultermann 1993, 189. From a letter from Gaugin to Georges-Daniel de Montfried, October 1897. Translation from Robert John Goldwater 1986, 66.

Persian Art on Gauguin, Matisse and Kandinsky dating to 1991.[301] Most recently, in 2010, Annette Hagedorn and Joachim Kaak have written articles that refer to the influence of the 1910 Exhibition of Islamic Art in Munich *"Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst"* on the artists of the period.[302]

Hagedorn names a curious list of visitors to this first German exhibition on Islamic art, which includes Le Corbusier (1887-1965), August Macke (1887-1914), Henri Matisse (1869-1954), Albert Marquet (1875-1947), Edvard Munch (1863-1944) and Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944). Hagedorn points out to Matisse's and Paul Klee's (1879-1940) inspiration from Persian miniatures.[303] She mentions Franz Marc's (1880-1916) observation of the Persian carpets as a mockery of European painting in their abstractive qualities. Marc's only comparison then was Kandinsky's compositions. [304]

.4.3 Islamic Cubism

Diez's interpretation of Islamic art is informed by the new investigations of form in art that aids him to understand Islamic art history as part of a Universal language of forms. Diez's two main references in this respect are art histories of Ludwig Coellen and Franz Lehel, both of which apply new Cubist understandings of form to art history.

Cubism was a topic of Diez's art historiography from 1920's onwards and he used the term particularly for Turkish art. Initially in a 1921 article "Ein

[301] Daftari 1991.
[302] Hagedorn 2010. Kaak 2010.
[303] Hagedorn 2010, 298, 302.
[304] Hagedorn 2010, 301.

seldschukischer Türklopfer"(A Seljuk Doorknocker), Diez portrays the Seljuk doorknocker in question as a "cubist-Turkic form of architecture".[305]

> The point of departure of this plastics lies in the ancient Ural-Altaic toreutics, whose oldest finds date back far beyond the pre-Christian period, and whose style according to our modern diction must be called abstract-cubist. In the Seljuk period of the 12th - 13th century, from when our piece comes, this Cubist-Turkic form of architecture, which among other things had produced very peculiar results in the zigzags on the architectural level.

In his discussion of the mausoleum towers in *Die Kunst des Islam* of 1925, Diez refers to an "Asiatic inclination for abstraction" and a Turkish "cubic design urge" (*kubische Gestaltungsdrang*). [306]

> The formally interesting thing about these towers is the completely abstract-rhythmic structure of their cylindrical facades […] one also has to admit that this cubic design of Turkish origin, which was probably at work here, would never have been objectified in this manner without the stimulus given by the older material.

In *Türk Sanatı*, Diez characterizes the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque (1548) with a cubic simplicity. He observes a "cubisation" of the structure in comparison to Hagia Sophia.[307] In his comparison of Bayezid, Sehzade and Suleymaniye Mosques, Diez observes an increase in the cubical order that reaches its culmination in the Suleymaniye Mosque.[308] He further terms it a "cubic will" (*kübik irade*) that reflects his inspiration from Riegl's notion of *Kunstwollen*.

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[305] Diez 1921, 20. "Der Ausgangspunkt dieser Plastik liegt in Jener uralaltaischen Toreutik, deren älteste Fundstücke weit in vorchristliche Zeit zurückreichen und deren Stil nach unserer modernen Diktion ein abstrakt-kubistischer genannt werden muß. In der seldschukischen Periode des 12.-13. Jahrhunderts, aus der unser Stück stammt, hatte sich diese kubistischtürkische Formgebung, die u. a. auf architektonischem Gebiet in den Zackentürmen höchst eigenartige Resultate zeitigte 6, schon der , altorientalischen Flächigkeit angeglichen und die ostasiatische modellierende Linie als Ausdrucksmittel übernommen".

[306] Glück&Diez 1925, 57.

[307] Diez 1946, 149.

[308] Diez 1946, 160. "Üç caminin resimlerini karşılaştırınca üst inşadaki şekil gelişmesi göze çarpmaktadır. Bayezit camiine karşı Şehzade camiinde kubbe çevresinde bir toplanma, daha kuvvetli bir nizam ve aynı figürlerin kübik vuzuhu görülür. Süleymaniyede bu gayretler biraz daha artmıştır. Bayezit camiinin kubbe çevresindeki bir çok kulecikler yerine yalnız dör kule vardır, bunlar Şehzade camiinde daha silindirik fakat Süleymaniyede çok köşeli olup en kuvvetli bir kübik tesire ulaşmıştır. Yivli olarak yapılmış kubbeler bu kübik iradeyi artırıyorlar".

In his articles in *Ars Islamica* in the 1930's, Diez ventures for a stylistic analysis of Islamic art based on the forms and philosophy of Cubism. In his 1934 article, Diez terms an "Oriental- Byzantine-Islamic" cubism, as he refers to the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock as a step towards "cubisation". [309]

> For the present case, i.e. the clear distinction of the still remaining antique treatment of ornament and the new Oriental- Byzantine-Islamic one, the explanation of two main stylistic qualities of Coellen will be sufficient, the distinction of the organizistic and the cubistic style. Organizistic is the classic Greek art, cubistic the Byzantine, Islamic, Romanesque and Gothic Art.

In the articles, Diez refers to Coellen's 1921 book *Der Stil in der bildenden Kunst,* which he characterizes as a metaphysical thus philosophical analysis. In the book, Coellen presents *Kubismus* and *Organizismus* as stylistic correspondences of two different *Weltbegriff*. He consequently classifies Greek art, Renaissance and Baroque as "organizistic", and the Byzantine, Romanesque and Gothic Art as "cubistic". Diez thus adds to Coellen's latter list the topic of Islamic art. In his 1936 article, Diez explains Coellen's categories for the English speaking audience; and central to his explanation is the dismissal of perspective in the cubistic style. [310]

> Perspective is not valid for cubism because the actual existence of the object is not represented. The cubistic style has, through the elimination of perspective, as a principle, the form of a plane. To it the general space means the ideal plane, before which or on which the objects are arranged.

Diez's reference to cubism in art historiography takes on another facet in the 1937 article "Simultaneism in Islamic Art". In reference to a 1929 book by a Hungarian artist Franz Lehel (also Ferenc Lehel, Francis Lehel; 1885-1975), Diez uses the Orphic notion of simultaneity to characterize Islamic art as a late and baroque art

[309] Diez 1934, 236, 237. "The gradual "stylisation," as this process was called hitherto, or cubisation as we call it, can be perceived by starting from the Ara Pacis, passing the Ravennatic mosaics and arriving at the Palestinian ones. […] The peculiar development towards the Islamic cubism is well displayed by the group "Composite Motives."
[310] Diez 1936, 208.

phase.[311] Diez merges Lehel's approach with Coellen's and portrays Islamic art as a baroque phase of cubistic art.[312]

In the book, Lehel discusses a tri-partite morphological scheme of cultural development. He appears to adapt Heinrich Wölfflin's (1864-1945) art history in the 1915 book *Principles of Art History* to his tri-partite historiographical scheme that comprises of "primitive-simple", "classic-constructed" and "baroque-interlaced". [313] In *Principles of Art History*, Wölfflin presents Baroque and Classic as recurrent phases of art, whereby Baroque is the late and mature phase of a morphological development. Wölfflin thus deems forms with a developmental intelligence, and "baroque" is a fulfilment of forms that are at a constant flux.[314]

> The history of forms never stands still. There are times of accelerated impulse and times of slow imaginative activity, but even then an ornament continually repeated will gradually alter its physiognomy.
> […]
> That every occidental style, just as it has its classic epoch, has also its baroque, assuming that time is given it to live itself out.
> […]
> The development, however, will only fulfil itself where the forms have passed from hand to hand long enough or, better expressed, where the imagination has occupied itself with form actively enough to make it yield up its baroque possibilities.

[311] Lehel 1929. Originally published in Hungarian titled *Haladó művészet. Újrendszerű stílusmorfológia vázlata* and translated into German as *Fortschreitende Entwicklung: Versuch einer reinen Kunstmorphologie* (Progressive Development: In Search of a Pure Morphology of Art).
[312] Diez 1937, 189.
[313] Diez 1937, 185. Diez depicts Arnold von Salis's (1881-1958) 1919 book *Die Kunst der Griechen* as Lehel's inspiration, in which Salis divides Greek art into three phases - primitive, ripe, and late manneristic or baroque; yet Von Salis was a student of Wölfflin both at the university of Basel and later in Berlin.
[314] Wölfflin 1915, (trans.) 1929, 230, 232.

For Wölfflin, the notion of the baroque applies to different eras, yet he confines himself to the boundaries of Western art. He points to the Gothic as a baroque phase, through its atectonic character and because it "had been so long on the move and had so many generations behind it". [315]

> There is classic and baroque not only in more modern times and not only in antique building, but on so different ground as Gothic.

Wölfflin presents a set of polar formal characteristics that differentiates the morphologies of the classic and the baroque forms. These are linear and painterly, plane and recession, closed and open form, multiplicity and unity, clearness and unclearness that correspond to classic and baroque phases respectively.

Lehel conceives a new set of formal signifiers for his tri-partite universal scheme and claims to have constructed a pure science of art (*reine Kunstwissenschaft*). He has six formal criteria for his scheme that include structure, line, color, grouping, rhythm and dimension. Diez mentions them in his 1937 article; as simple, constructed, interlaced structures; current, intersected, or simultaneously changing lines; even, shaded, or iridescent colours; juxtaposed, overlapping, interpenetrating groupings; symmetric, contra posting, spiral rhythms; two, three and four dimensions which correspond to primitive, classic and baroque phases respectively (Figure 28).

[315] Wölfflin 1915, trans. 1929, 150, 231, 232.

VERGLEICHSTABELLE DER DREI GRUNDTENDENZEN DES STILS NACH DEN SECHS ANSCHAUUNGSWEISEN

Anschauung	primitiv	klassisch	barock
Struktur	einfach	konstruiert	verflochten
Linienführung	fortlaufend	überschnitten	abwechselnd
Kolorit	gleichmässig	schattiert	irisierend
Gruppierung	juxtaponiert	halb bedeckt	durchdrungen
Rhythmus	symmetrisch	kontraponiert	gewunden
	parallel	winkelig	gekreuzt
	strahlenförmig		
Ausdehnung	2 Dimensionen	3 Dimensionen	4 Dimensionen

Figure 28. Lehel's Table of Six Ways of Seeing, Source [Lehel 1929,54]

Central to Lehel's analysis is the notion of "simultaneity" that he views to characterize mature phase of an art form. Lehel's reference for the notion is the paintings of Robert Delaunay (1885-1941), which are described through Simultaneism or Orphism.[316] Delaunay used the term as a title of his painting *Simultaneous Composition: Sun Disks* (1912–13) that comprised of superimposed circles of colour. For Delaunay, the colours of circles reflected a rhythm that aided simultaneous perception.[317]

> Reality is endowed with Depth (we see as far as the stars) and thus becomes rhythmic simultaneity. Simultaneity in light is the harmony, the color rhythms which give birth to Man's sight.

[316] The term "simultaneity" also recalls Henri Bergson's 1922 book *Duration and Simultaneity* (*Durée et simultanéité*). Bergson 1922. Kern discusses that the notion extended to an understanding of poetry, music as well as art. Kern 2003,11.

[317] Quoted in Johnson 2010, 107. From Delaunay 1912, Light. in ed. A. A. Cohen (ed.), D.Shapiro&A.A. Cohen (trans.) *The New Art of Color: The Writings of Robert and Sonia Delaunay*, New York: Viking, 1978. The notion had roots in chemical research of Michel-Eugène Chevreul (1786-1889). In his book *De la loi du contraste simultané* (1839, Chevreul termed a simultaneous colour contrast, where he argued that "the eye perceives all the parts in one single moment". Bière 2013, 118. Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918) interpreted the paintings through musical qualities.

In his 1937 article, Diez describes formal aspects of simultaneity, as deformation, interlacing, non-linearity, iridescence of colour and spiral rhythm.[318]

> Each structure which combines two elementary forms, such as a quadrangle with rounded corners, or which overemphasizes a form by stretching or other deformation is a simultaneous form. The interlacing of linear features and the constant changing of line, the iridescence of color, the interpenetration of groups, and the spiral rhythm are simultaneous forms. The modern painter develops the possibilities of simultaneity to the utmost degree. He crosses figures or draws them into each other by rendering intermittently one part of each object only, or he cuts the object in two, or superimposes one upon the other, merely indicating its opacity, and shades the covered part darker, thus complicating the contours (Picasso and others).

Diez then inquiries in Islamic art Lehel's category of the baroque-simultaneous.[319] Initially in his section on architecture, Diez points out to tomb towers and minarets to display simultaneous forms. He names the minaret of Ibn Tulun in Cairo and the *malwiyas* at Samarra as paradigmatic of a Baroque torsion through their spiral forms (Figures 29, 30). [320]

> The minaret of Ibn Tūlūn at Cairo and still more its prototypes the malwiyas at Sāmarrā, are paradigmatic for the baroque torsion as used on late Hellenistic, late Gothic, and seventeenth century Baroque columns and pillars. The screw is a final form.

[318] Diez 1937, 185.
[319] Lehel himself includes what he calls "Mohammedan" art within the same formal category, along with Byzantine, Gothic and Modern art. Lehel 1929, 147.
[320] Diez 1937,



Figure 29. Diez refers to *malwiya* at Samarra as paradigmatic of a Baroque torsion, Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library

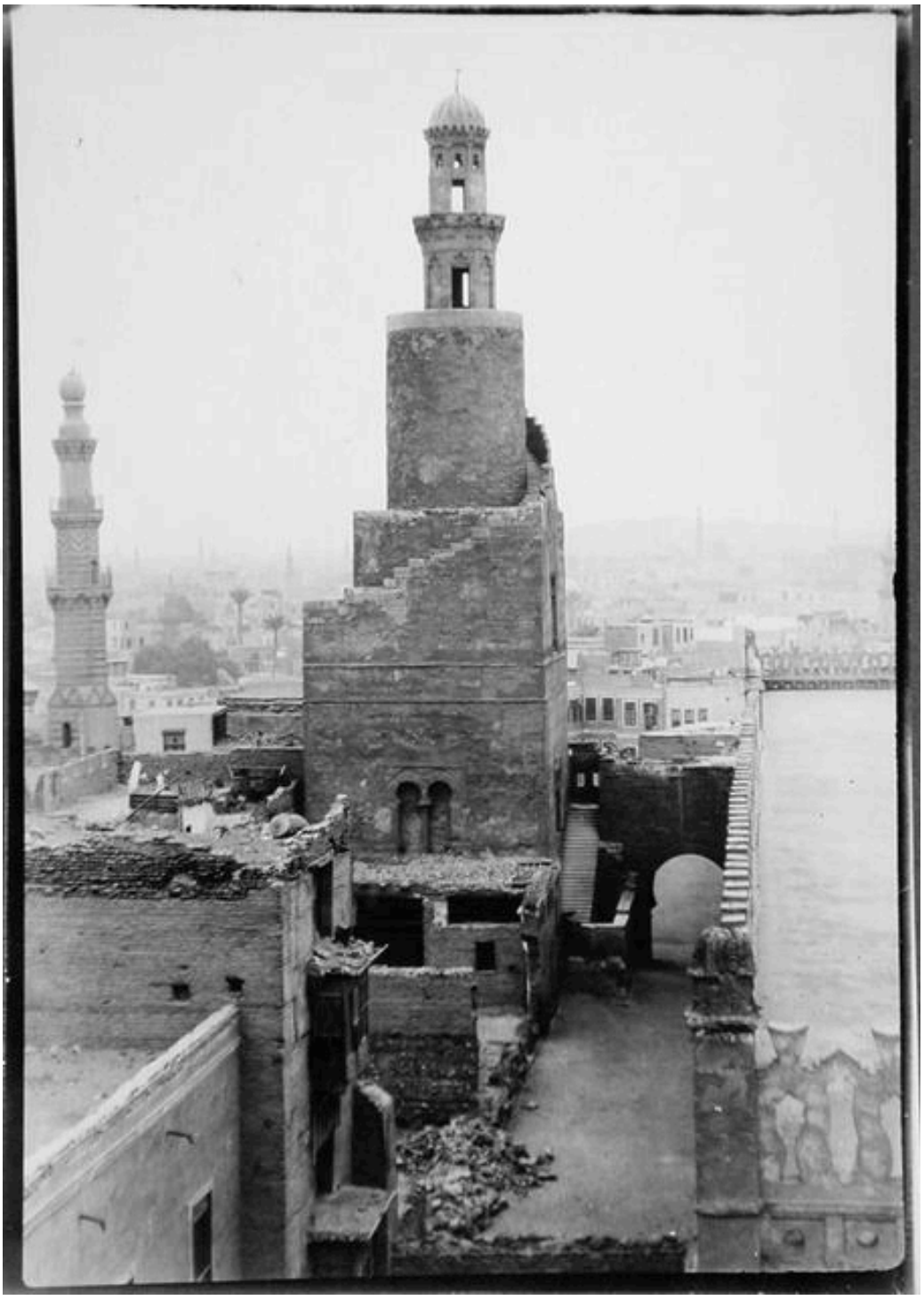

Figure 30. Minaret of Ibn Tulun in Cairo, Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library

Diez discusses that the stellate and wedge-shaped flanges of 10th and 11th century tomb towers in Iran bear a "simultaneous impression." He lists the so-called Towers of Victory at Ghazna (Ghaznī) with their star shapes, the Turbe Nur al-Din ibn Timur at Tokat with its wedged roof, the minaret of Djar Kurgan (Jar Kurgan) in Turkestan, and the Kutb Minar in Delhi, with their "wedge and pipe shaped projections" within the notion of baroque-simultaneity (Figures 31-33). [321]



Figure 31. Bahram Shah Minaret and Minaret of Mas'ud III in Ghazna, which Diez refers to as "Towers of Victory at Ghazna (Ghaznī)", General view from east showing Minaret of Mas'ud III Minaret with Bahram Shah Minaret and Palace of Mas'ud III seen in the background photo circa 1970, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library

[321] Diez 1937, 186.



Figure 32. Bahram Shah Minaret (Minar-i Bahram Shah), Copyright Bernard O'Kane, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.
Figure 33. Qutb Minar, Qutub Minar, Kutub Minaret, Kutb Minar (Alternate transliterations), commissioned by Qutb al-Din Aybak (reg. 1206 - 1211) in 1199, View of the base of the Qutb Minar showing the fluted and wedge-shaped first story, Aftab Jalia (photographer), archnet

Diez considers what he calls “concave forms” as a characteristic of simultaneity and explores the niches and iwans as concave negative forms with their dark intervals. He names as examples Hasht Bihisht (Hasht Behesht) at Isfahan, Qadam Gah (Mosque of Qadamgah) near Nishapur, Khogja Rabi' (Imamzada Khvajah Rabi' Mausoleum) near Mashhad (Figures 34-36). [322]

> Concave forms are another means of giving the appearance of simultaneity. Primitive and classic periods use positive forms, whereas baroque art phases are interested in negative forms, in concave figures and dark gaping intervals. Hence the copious use of rows of niches and of īwāns in the courtyards of mosques, madrasas, and caravansaries as well as the dematerialization of the walls by niches in polygonal pavilions such as Hasht Bihisht at Isfahan, Qadam Gah near Nishapūr, Khogja Rabi' near Mashhad, and many others. Instead of the positive classic pilaster the negative niche also was used as the unit for the rhythmic organization of the façades.

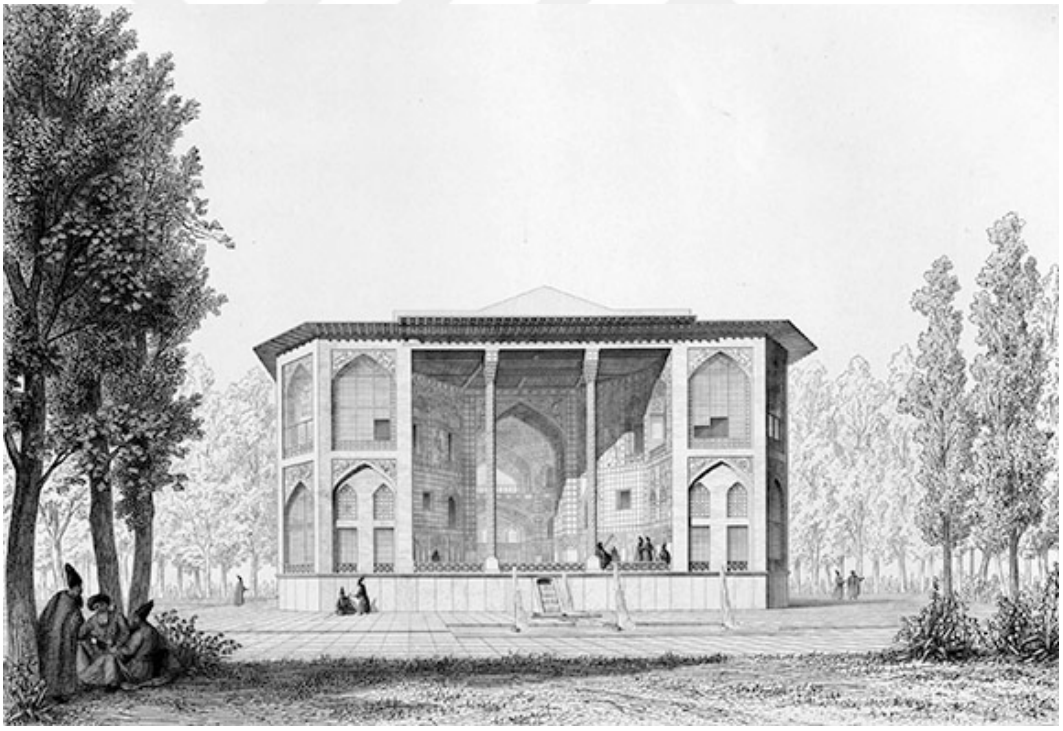

Figure 34. Hasht Bihisht (Hasht Behesht, Pavilion of Eight Paradise) at Isfahan, Outside perspective, drawing by Pascal Coste, 1840, in *Monuments modernes de la Perse mesurés, dessinés et décrits*, éd. Morel, 1867

[322] Diez 1937, 186-187.



Figure 35. Qadamgah Mosque, About 800 km out of Nishapur along the road to Mashad, Qadamgah, Khorasan Province, photo by Robert Byron, Copyright Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library

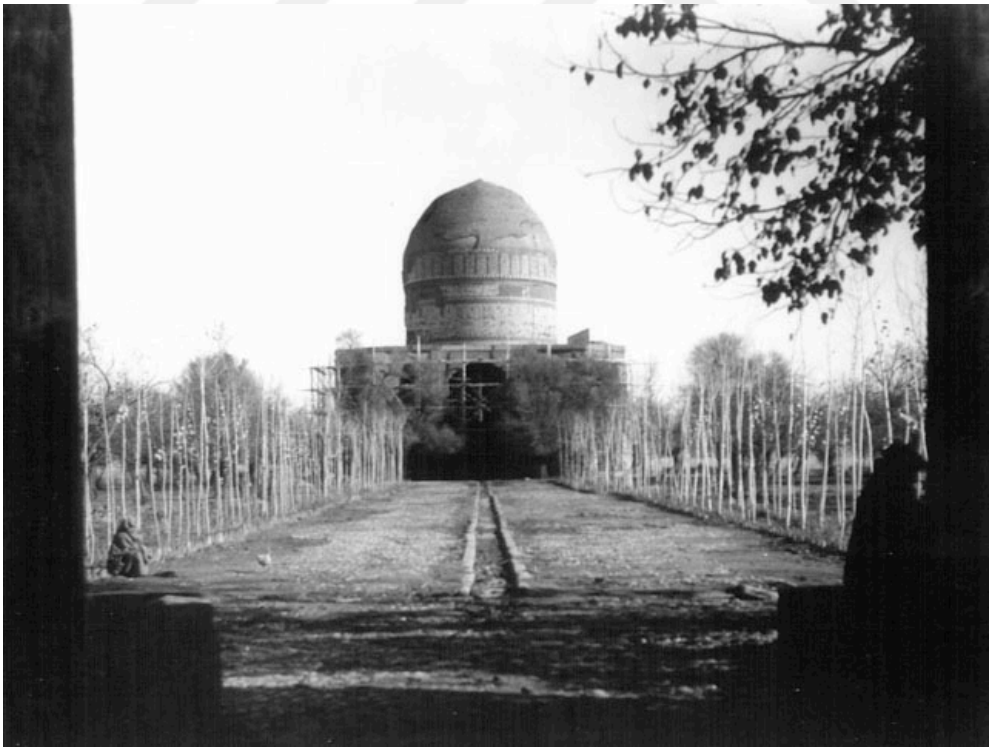

Figure 36. Khogja Rabi' (Imamzada Khvajah Rabi' Mausoleum) near Mashhad, built by Shah Abbas in 1621, photo by Robert Byron, Copyright Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library

Diez discusses that the surface decoration of niches with geometric patterns accentuates the simultaneous impression through their chatoyant effect.[323]

> The main theme of the rhythmic surface organization provided by concave forms, such as niches, in most cases was enriched by manifold devices and techniques of wall decoration executed in bricks, stucco, tile incrustation, and painting. By setting the surface layer of bricks in geometric patterns, enhanced by secondary and tertiary designs by means of small deep-shaded intervals and by insertion of glazed-brick bands, rich aspects of simultaneity were provided. Combined with the undulation of the walls by wedge- and pipe-shaped fluting the dematerialization resulted in a chatoyant effect.

He names the mausoleum of "Uldjaitii Khodabende" (The Mausoleum of Öljaitü) as a culmination of simultaneous surface treatment, and refers to the tile designs of "Madrasa Mader-i-Shah at lsfahan" (Sultani or Chahar Bagh Madrasa or the Madrasa Madar-i Shah, the Caravanserai and Bazaar of Shah Husain I) also through simultaneity (Figures 37-39).

[323] Diez 1937, 187.



Figure 37. "Uldjaitii Khodabende" (The Mausoleum of Öljaitü, Gunbad-i Uljaytu) in Sultaniya, Iran, early 14th century, photograph by Robert Byron, Copyright Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library, archnet



Figure 38. "Uldjaitii Khodabende" (The Mausoleum of Öljaitü, Gunbad-i Uljaytu), View from the exterior galleries showing vault with brick decoration, Baroness Ullens de Schooten: Iran, Iraq & Egypt, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library, archnet



Figure 39. Madrasa Mader-i-Shah at lsfahan", Baroness Ullens de Schooten: Iran, Iraq & Egypt, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library, archnet

In a section on the ornament, Diez discusses that Islamic art adopted the "oriental-Mediterranean ornament system" from late Antiquity, yet it was Islamic art that took the step towards simultaneity of combining different forms with the Arabesque.[324]

> The vegetative ornament, as adopted from late Roman art, was transformed into the simultaneous "arabesque" by the assimilation of stalk and leaf to one tendril. The stalk widens into the leaf, and the leaf again thins into the stalk, a development by which both these organic elements of a plant lose their natural character and are transformed into "cubistic" ornament.

Diez discusses simultaneity also in miniature painting through the examples of plates in Laurence Binyon's *The Poems of Nizami*, published in 1928 in London. He refers to the hybrid use of landscape elements, human figures and architecture as well as the inverse uses of color within the concept (Figure 40). [325]

> The juxtaposition, intersection, and interpenetration of perfect work with ruin, of geometric forms with naturalistic ones, of life and decay, provide both subjects and formulas of simultaneity.
> […]
> Other means aiming at the same effect include the insertion of inscribed tablets to separate or divide landscape elements; the combination or juxtaposition of two trees of different varieties, such as a. cypress and a blossoming peach tree, or of trees and colonettes, to one intertwining feature; the vertical towering of geometric and natural formulas; and the slight divergency of soaring poles and trees (Pls. V and VI). The intersecting of a group of men by the straining ropes of the tents (Pls. VIII and XII), or by architectural frames (PI. IX), is another example of baroque simultaneity. The inversion of natural hues by washing rocks with light blue and light green tints and the sky with dark ocher dazzles the eye of the beholder and provides an example of color simultaneity (Pls. XIII and XV).

[324] Diez 1937, 188. Diez refers to Alois Riegl to have initially discusses the evolution of Islamic ornament in his *Stilfragen* (1893).
[325] Diez 1937, 188.

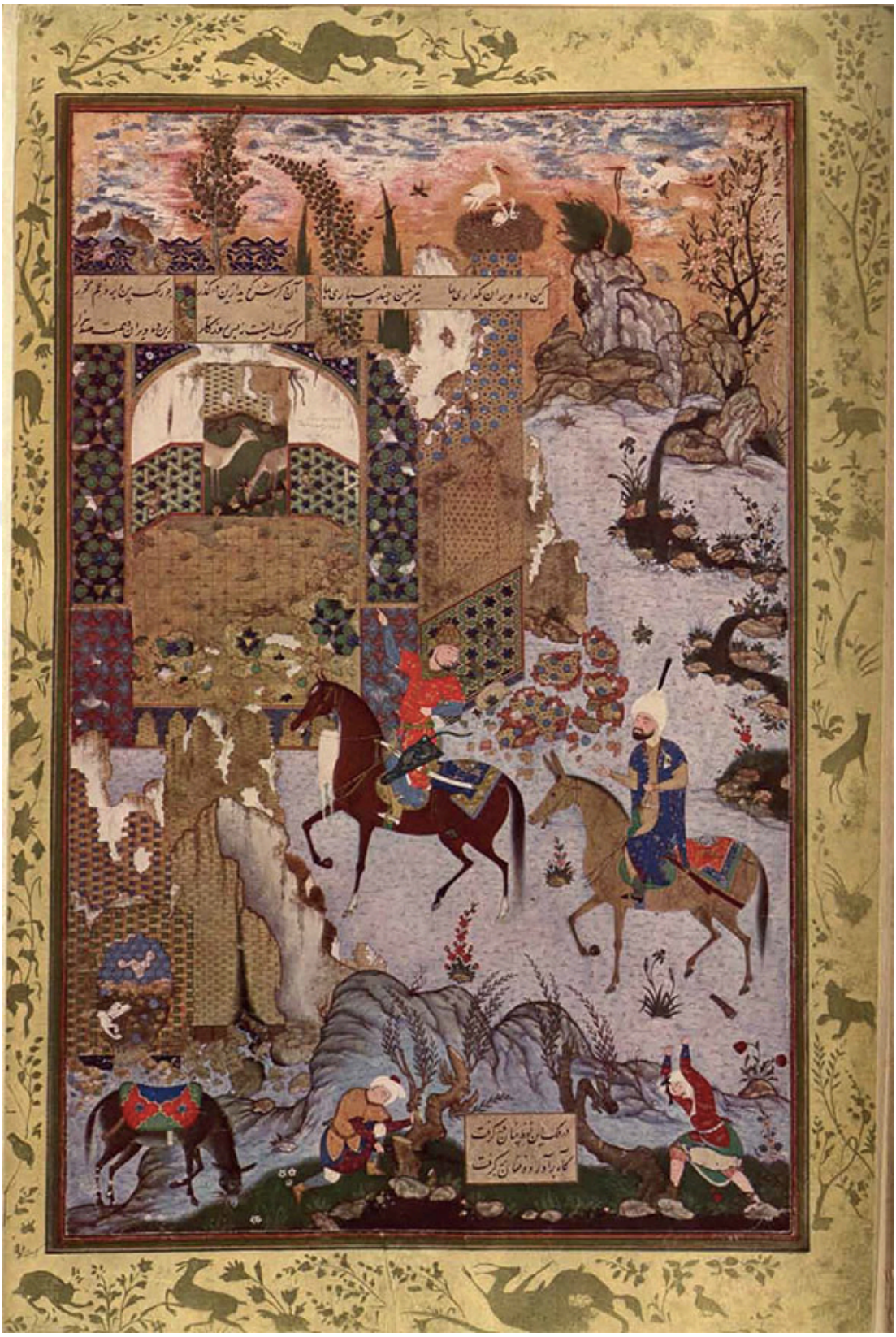

Figure 40. Diez's discussion of simultaneity from a miniature in Laurence Binyon's *Poems of Nizami*, 1928, Plate III, "Nushirwan Listening to the Owls on the Ruined Palace", by Mirak

Diez ultimately links Islamic art to Modernism through the language of Expressionism. He employs Lehel's stylistic analysis to draw parallels between the spiral forms of Islamic architecture and modern architecture. To this purpose, he refers to a model of a house by a Cf. Terry, which he saw in the 1936 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York on Dadaism titled *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* (Figure 41).[326]

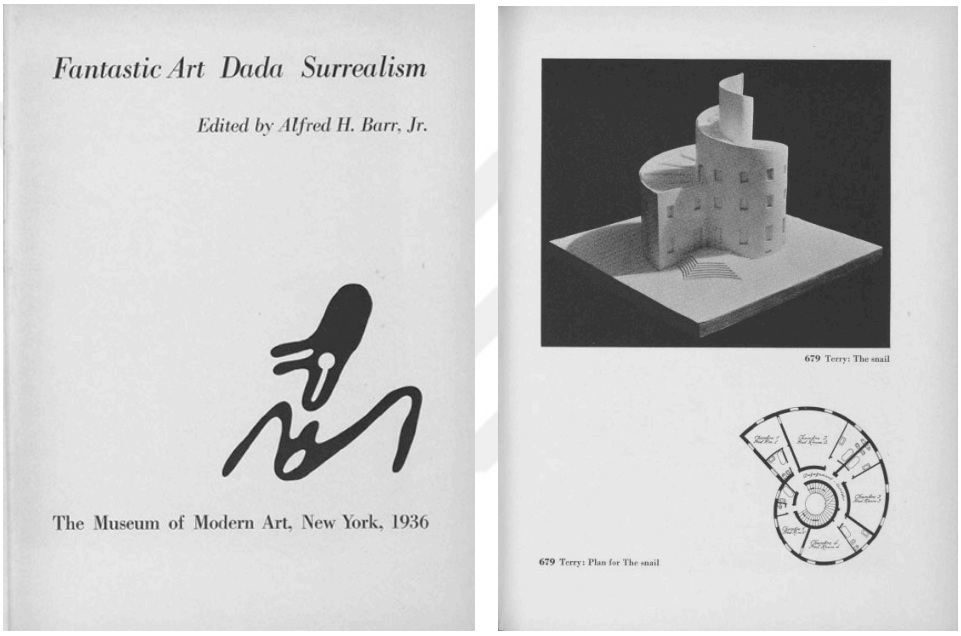

Figure 41. "The Snail", Diez's comparison with Islamic architecture from the catalogue of 1936 exhibition *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*

Diez draws parallelisms between Islamic art and "Modern Cubism" also through a common neglect from the mainstream "organizistic tradition" and thus involves Islamic art history in the revisionist language of Expressionism. [327]

[326] Diez 1937, 186. https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2008/dadaatmoma/, reached on February 2, 2017. (ed. by A. H. Barr, New York, 1936). *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* was the Museum of Modern Art's first exhibition to focus on Dada and took place between December 7, 1936 and January 17, 1937.
[327] Diez 1936, 208.

> Until the present time cubism has not been recognized in its full importance or as a spatial stylistic law, because of the greater prestige of the organizistic tradition in art. Its artistic periods were looked down upon as undeveloped or primitive. Modern cubism too is misunderstood by the general public and looked down upon, although it expresses adequately our increasingly mechanistic age.

Diez already in his first book *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker* views Islamic art through the Modernist lens, as an inspiration for Modernism. He portrays Persian architecture as fulfilment of modern architectural aspirations, and credits Islamic art with an international character.[328]

> A Persian tower, however, with its clear, strict form, speaks to us, and many Persian buildings are simply the fulfilment of modern architectural endeavours. If this volume can scarcely exceed the level of an honest attempt, it can fulfil its purpose if it is interested in these further circles by the international character of the Islamic world.

He considers the facade of Sultan Hasan Mosque in Cairo as a precursory for modern architecture, comparing it to the modern factory facades of Hermann Muthesius (1861-1927) and Peter Behrens (1868-1940) (Figure 42).[329]

> In the general history of façade building, which is, indeed, a principal chapter of the entire architectural history and a major problem of architecture, this Cairene monumental façade is the continuation of the ancient oriental wall formations, the counterpart to the horizontally arranged Renaissance façade and because it anticipates the ultimate wisdom of our Modern architects. For the modern factory facades of Muthesius and Behrens are built according to the same principle.

[328] Diez 1915, VI. Ein persischer Turm aber mit seiner klaren strengen Form spricht zu uns, und viele persische Bauten sind schlechthin die Erfüllung moderner Baukunstbestrebungen. Wird sich dieser Band auch noch kaum über das Niveau eines ehrlich gemeinten Versuches hinausheben können, so kann er doch seinen Zweck erfüllen, wenn er durch den völkerumspannenden Charakter der islamischen Weltkunst für diese weitere Kreise interessiert.
[329] Diez 1915, 147.

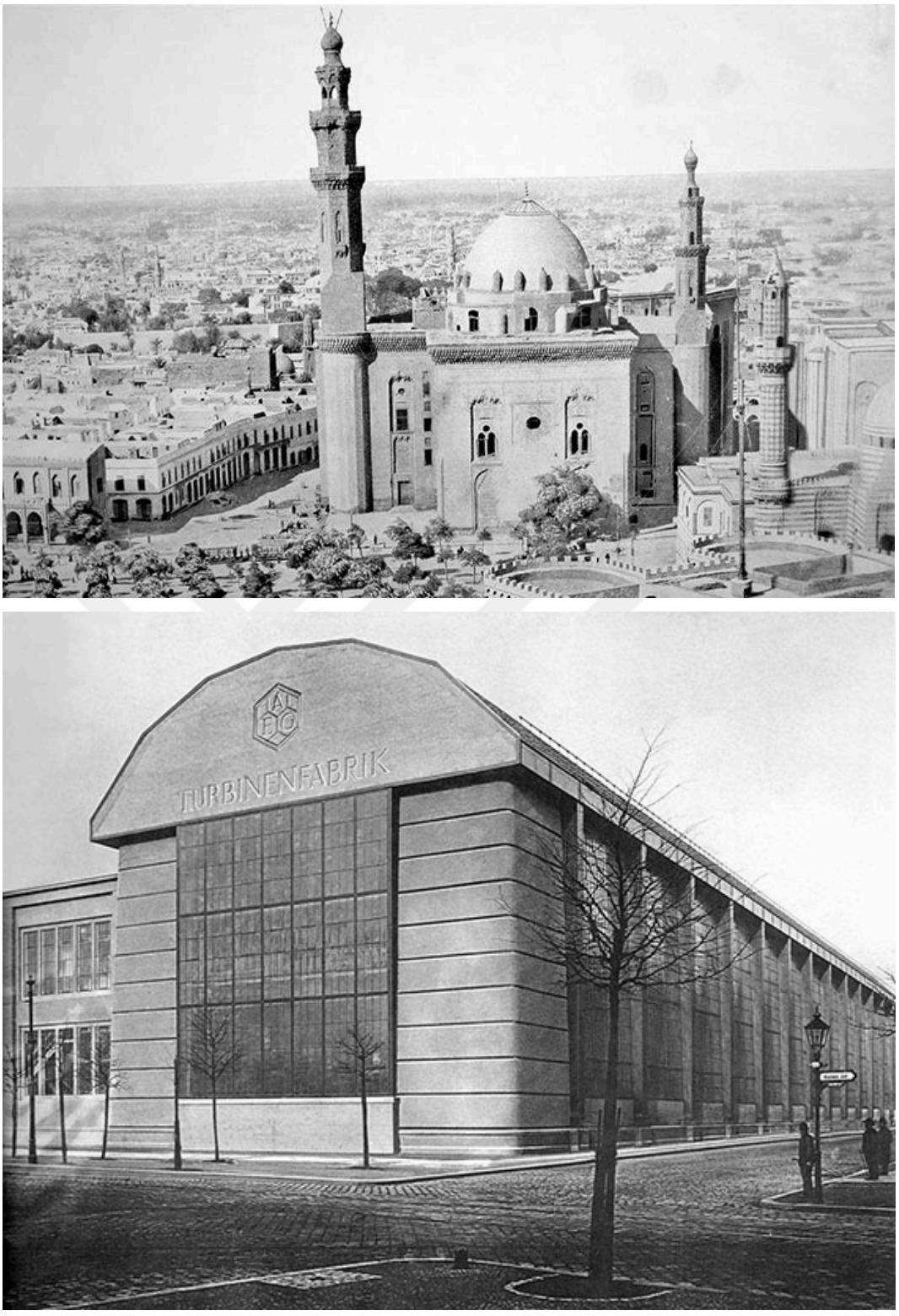

Figure 42. Diez compares the façade of Sultan Hasan Mosque in Cairo (above) with modern factory facades of Behrens and Muthesius (below AEG Factory, 1909-1910)

4.4 The odyssey of Expressionism

The Expressionism of Diez's art historiography reveals itself in the framework of the later critique of Expressionism by György Lukács (1885-1971) in the 1934 article *Grösse und Verfall der Expressionismus* (Expressionism: its significance and decline).[330] Lukács underlines the demand for *Geistesgeschichte* as a character of Expressionism, which he describes as a quest for "history that would embrace philosophy, art, religion and law as forms of appearance and expression of the 'spirit' or 'life style'".[331] Lukács underlines the notion of *Weltanschauung* as a main feature of Expressionism. He characterizes it with an "objective idealism" and as a legacy of Kant, Goethe and Nietzsche. Lukács names Bergson, Dilthey and Simmel within his discussion of "mystically exaggerated philosophy of intuition" of Expressionism.[332] He refers to Worringer's quest into abstraction as a flight from reality and points out to "simultaneism" as an "empty and formal external means".[333] He deems the notion of style as an "abstract impoverishment" and refers to it as Expressionism's "central and unresolvable problem".[334]

> This abstract impoverishment in content not only marks the developmental tendency of expressionism, and hence its ultimate fate, it is right from the start its central and unresolvable problem of style […]

Lukács's main criticism of Expressionism is what he views to be its "sham activism" against Imperialism, and its "pseudo-critical, abstractly distorting and mythologizing

[330] Published in the Moscow based periodical *Internationale Literatur*. Lukács 1934 trans. 1981.
[331] Lukács 1934 trans. 1981, 78.
[332] Lukács 1934 trans. 1981, 80-83. Freud gave a lecture in 1932, where he pointed out to the danger of *Weltanschauung*. Freud (1932, trans. 1933), 216. "'Weltanschauung' is, I am afraid, a specifically German notion, which it would be difficult to translate into a foreign language. If I attempt to give you a definition of the word, it can hardly fail to strike you as inept. By Weltanschauung, then, I mean an intellectual construction which gives a unified solution of all the problems of our existence in virtue of a comprehensive hypothesis, a construction, therefore, in which no question is left open and in which everything in which we are interested finds a place".
[333] Lukács 1934 trans. 1981, 109.
[334] Lukács 1934 trans. 1981, 108.

variety of imperialist sham oppositions".[335] He subsequently makes a discussion of its formative role for National Socialism, as he points out that it served the same class structure.[336]

> A sham movement towards content and objectivity, struggling against the preceding clearly subjective idealistic and agnostic tendencies, overcoming them only apparently, in a formal manner, both ideologically and artistically; a sham movement, which in actual fact strengthens the subjectivist tendencies, empties out content, and which objectively, therefore, is and can only be a linear continuation and intensification of the pre-imperialist bourgeois tendencies, since its class basis, despite the changed conditions, remains the same.

Ernst Bloch among others reacted to Lukács in what has been called the *Expressionismusdebatte* (Expressionism Debate) of 1937-1938.[337] He argued that Lukács dismissed the genre categorically, through a limited and atypical selection of Expressionist works. Bloch underlined the value of the "imaginative works" and the unprecedented fields of study, which "Expressionists" opened up.[338]

> But what if Lukács's reality – a coherent, infinitely mediated totality – is not so objective after all? […] he resolutely rejects any attempt on the part of artists to shatter any image of the world, even that of capitalism.
> […]
> Even if they had done nothing else, even if the Expressionists had no other message to proclaim during the Great War than peace and the end of tyranny, this would not entitle Lukács to dismiss their struggles as shadow-boxing or to describe them as no more than "a pseudo-critical misleading abstract, mythicizing form of imperialist pseudo-opposition".

The legacy of Expressionism has been a dilemma. 1930s witnessed the exploitation of Expressionist ideas by the National Socialist regime. Diez himself became a member of the Nationalist Socialist Party after Austria's annexation to Germany in

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[335] Lukács 1934 trans. 1981, 87." Fascism, as the general ideology of the most reactionary bourgeoisie in the post-war era, inherits all the tendencies of the imperialist epoch in as much as these express decadent and parasitic features; and this also includes all those that are sham-revolutionary or sham-oppositional. Naturally, this inheritance involves a transformation and reconstruction; what in earlier imperialist ideologies was still vacillating or just confused, is now transformed into something openly reactionary. But anyone who gives the devil of imperialist parasitism even his little finger –and this is done by all those who adhere to the pseudo-critical, abstractly distorting and mythologizing variety of imperialist sham oppositions – ends up by giving his whole hand."
[336] Lukács 1934 trans. 1981,81, 112.
[337] Bloch 1938 trans. 1980, 18.
[338] Refers particularly to the *Blau Reiter*. Bloch 1938 trans. 1980, 24.

1937.[339] He was able to return to his position in Vienna in 1939 from the United States, through his correspondence with the new dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Victor Christian (1885-1963), who was initially expelled from the University for his pro-Nazi activities, and later became a member of the NSDAP and SS – *Hauptsturmführer.*[340] Diez's membership as well as his academic relation to Strzygowski, who was a progenitor of Nordic Aryan ideas appears to have haunted him in academia. At the same time, the 1937 National Socialist exhibition of "Degenerate Art" (*Die Ausstellung "Entartete Kunst"*) aimed at Expressionist art and included works of the Munich 1910 visitors; Matisse, Kandinsky and Cézanne, as well as Diez's Viennese contemporaries Gustav Klimt, Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele.

One recalls Thomas Mann's 1947 novel *Doktor Faustus*. Donahue underlines that its fictional composer Adrian Leverkühn was "a composite portrait in retrospect of the Expressionist artist, based on various composers (Mahler, Webern, Schönberg, Berg), but primarily on Nietzsche"; lending to the Expressionist legacy "sublime grandiosity and doom-filled pathos". [341]

> In retrospect, Thomas Mann's erudite and intricate novel takes stock of the Expressionist generation through its profile of the fictive composer, lending to the Expressionist legacy both sublime grandiosity and doom-filled pathos, and remaining profoundly ambivalent about its manifestations in art and politics[…]The allegorical figure of Leverkühn, while evincing a pathos of

[339] Ellinger 2006, 38.
[340] Diez was previously rejected by Hans Sedlmayr. On Victor Christan, see Wokoeck 2009, 195. Enigl& Zöchling 2013. The Viennese philologist became dean in 1938 and head of the SS Research Centre "Ancestral Heritage" in 1939. On March 11th 1939, we find Diez writing to Professor Dr Viktor Christian, asking for a paid job at the university. The dean answers back positively and asks Diez to apply officially, which Diez does on 25th of April. The Dean writes to the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* (Minister for Science, Education, and Culture) in Berlin for Diez' employment. The letter is accompanied by ancestral documents and a questionnaire, which supports the racial background of Diez. In a letter dating to 20 August 1939, and signed by Sr. A. Marchet from *Dbdf.- Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, *Geuleitung Wien* (National Socialist German Workers Party, District Government Vienna) accepts Diez' title as *tit.a.o. Professors Dr. Ernst Diez zum Dozenten neuer Ordnung mit Diäten und außerplanmäßigen Professor* (Professor Dr. Ernst Diez for Faculty New Order with Diets and Associate Professor). It is on 15 April 1940 that the Ministry in Berlin appoints him. See Chapter 1 and Chapter 3.
[341] Donahue 2005, 7-8.

> transcendence in his person and in his music, descends, like Nietzsche himself, into madness.

Likewise, the many ironies and façades of Diez's journey from being one of the first scholars of Islamic art to his dismissal from Islamic art historiographical language finds an ominously expressive moment in his dismissal from Turkey in 1949. The odyssey of Diez in many ways parallel the odyssey of Expressionism- from the Universal aspirations of the turn of the century, to its use and critique by later nationalisms and to its final demise in mid-twentieth century.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION:

ORIENTAL REFUGEE

In a letter to Ernst Kühnel dating to February 19, 1939, Diez refers to a group of scholars including himself as "oriental refugees", as he points out to Arthur Upham Pope's book "Survey" and also Institute of Persian Art to have aided them.[342]

> The Survey is great in terms of pictorial equipment and will remain a treasure trove for researchers for a long time. He also provides for all oriental "Refugees" and feeds half a dozen person and more of them at his institute where he uses them in his courses.

Diez's use of the word "refugee" situated Orient as refuge and hinted to the conditions of both fleeing and journeying. Diez's use of the term in the 1930's suggests insights into the circumstances in Austria and Germany and the shift of the scholarship to the United States in the same years. It also implies travelling as basis of the scholarship. The thesis considers these many facades of journeying from expeditions to expatriations as part of Diez's academic odyssey.

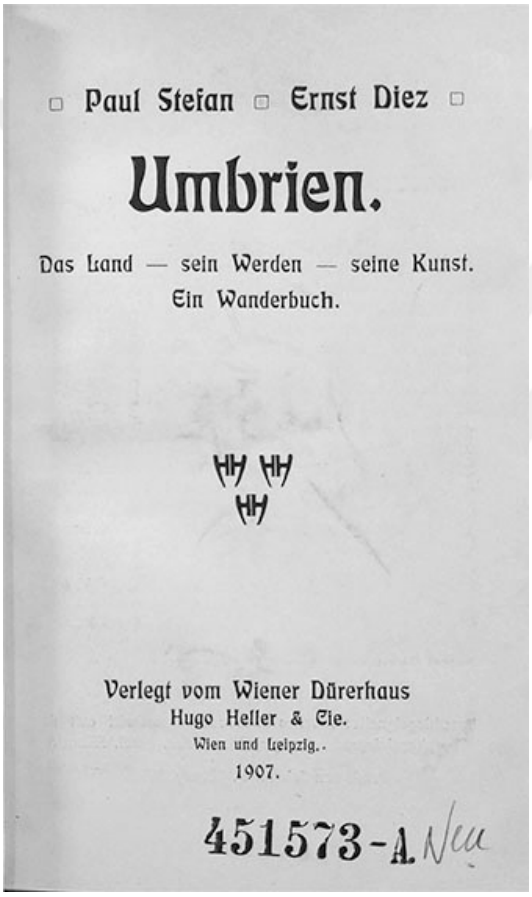
Diez's first book of 1907 titled *Umbrien, das Land-sein Werden- seine Kunst* is subtitled *Ein Wanderbuch*, which can be literally translated as "a wander book" and is a guidebook on the Italian Umbria (Figure 43).[343] In 1944, Diez is interned in Turkey after the Second World War among with other German citizens, at the Central Anatolian town of Kırşehir. He writes in his diary his feeling of exile, after reading Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*. In another diary entry, Diez

[342] Ernst Diez to Ernst Kühnel, 19 February 1939, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Orient Abteilung Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin. "Das Survey ist was bildnerische Ausstattung anlangt großartig und wird für lange Zeit eine Fundgrube für Forscher bleiben. Außerdem sorgt er für alle orientalischen „Refugees" und ernährt ein halbes Dutzend und mehr von ihnen irgend wie an seinem Institut in dem er sie in seinen Kursen verwendet etc."

[343] It appears as a traveller's book to Umbria which he might have taken on his way to Rome upon a scholarship from the Austrian Institute for Historical Research (*Österreichische Institut für Geschichtsforschung*) in the spring of 1906. He shares the authorship with a Dr. Paul Stefan, who writes on the cities and the people, while Diez writes on the art. They declare the book to be the first in German language on the area.

reflects the circumstances surrounding this generation. Diez refers to his writing of the book on Turkish Art under conditions of internment to be in a fateful parallel to his writing of the 1915 book *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker* and the 1918 book *Churasanischen Baudenkmaler* during the First World War. [344]

> Tu Ernest Libero [in Italian, meaning freely] write! This, regarding my fate, I cannot complain -fine with me! During the First World War, I wrote my 'Art of the Islamic peoples' and the 'Khorasan monuments' and this time (autumn) the previous books since 1939, and the 'Turkish art'.


Paul Stefan ▫ Ernst Diez ▫

Umbrien.

Das Land — sein Werden — seine Kunst.
Ein Wanderbuch.

Verlegt vom Wiener Dürerhaus
Hugo Heller & Cie.
Wien und Leipzig.
1907.

451573-A Neu

Figure 43. Ernst Diez's first book in 1907

Diez's odyssey is symptomatic of the academic history of the first half of the twentieth century. Diez belonged to a generation of artists and scholars, who were

[344] Ernst Diez, 23 April 1945, Diary Entry, Ernst Diez Papers, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. "Tu Ernest Liberos schrieb! Dies bezüglich meines das Schicksal über das ich mich auch sonst nicht beklagen darf-gut mit mir! Während des I. Weltkrieges schrieb ich meine ‚Kunst den islamischer Völker' und die ‚Churanischen Baudenkmäler' und diesmal (Herbst) den seit 1939 vorausgegangenen Büchern die ‚Türkische Kunst'."

born in the last quarter of nineteenth century in Austria and Germany, and witnessed two world wars, the end of Imperialism and the rise of National Socialism. Ernst Diez (1878- 1961) shared the same intellectual space with Wilhelm Worringer (1881-1965), Ernst Herzfeld (1879-1948), Eric Auerbach (1892-1957), Erwin Hanslik (1880-1940), Anton Webern (1883-1945) and Robert Musil (1880-1942).[345] The discussion of the attacks on Ernst Diez's book of Turkish Art in 1946 has served to characterize this academic odyssey as a history of the encounter of the turn of the century Universalism with the language of Second World War nationalisms.

An inquiry into the points of criticisms, that of Byzantine and Armenian precedents and Islamic associations to Turkish art traced back the emergence of Oriental Studies at the Strzygowski Institute of the University of Vienna. The discussion opened up perspectives into the revisionist role of the Oriental studies, in which Byzantine, Armenian, Islamic and Turkish studies were equally parts of Strzygowski's inquiry into non-Roman sources to European culture. Strzygowski worked against previous art historiographies that took its stimulus from Roman imperial connections and instead inquired into Oriental routes. His main declaration was the 1901 book *Orient oder Rom*.

Diez's references to scholars from different disciplines provide insights into a milieu of parallel universal inquiries. Primarily, Diez's reference to the cultural historian Karl Lamprecht's "theory of Endosmosis" opens a discussion into the bio-geographical basis of a Universalist history, in which the world is perceived as an organism, where cultures as well as art forms migrate, merge and get adapted. The view into the influence of biogeographical thought on turn of the century art historiography aids to understand Diez's discussions of cross-cultural influences in

[345] Ernst Diez, 18 September 1945, Diary Entry, Ernst Diez Papers, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. „Diese erstaunliche schöpferische Fantasie packt einen und viele der darin erhaltenen Verse finden in meiner verbannten Seele begreiflichen Wiederhall."

the book *Türk Sanatı* and situates Strzygowski's scholarship in a wider intellectual context.

Diez's writings connect the revisionisms of Strzygowski's *Orientalischeflüte* (oriental flows), *Weltverkehr* (world routes), and Lamprecht's Universal history with the inquiries of Expressionism. The thesis identifies Expressionism as an intellectual milieu of Nietzschean anti-Enlightenment Universalism and seeks to define its reflection to art historiography. Diez's art historiography illustrates the influence of Wilhelm Dilthey's philosophy of history as *Geistesgeschichte*, where the art historian traces art forms as expressions of diverse worldviews (*Weltanschauung*) of periods and cultures. Diez's art historiography provides insights into the corresponding uses of Alois Riegl's (1858-1905) notion of *Kunstwollen*, Oswald Spengler's notion *Weltgefühl* (world-feeling) and the neo-Kantian concept of *Weltbegriff* (world-concept). Diez's writings further depict an inquiry into the cultural expressivity of the art form through modern notions of space, time and form that ultimately serve to free art history from its previous historiographical and visual codes. Diez's references for his analysis of Islamic art are the cubist notions of form and his main references in this respect are Ludwig Coellen (1875-1945) and Franz Lehel (also Ferenc Lehel, Francis Lehel; 1885-1975. For these historians, cubist traits of geometry, colour and rhythm were expressive of the different periods and cultures; and Diez singularly applied them to Islamic art and architecture; ultimately paralleling it to Modern Cubism.

The course of Diez's biography bears witness to the transformations from the Universalism of the turn of century. The change corresponds to the declining role of studies on the Orient in Austro-German scholarship, and also the quests of Expressionism. In 1914, when the First World War began, Diez had to cease his

expedition to Eastern Persia, after which he started writing the book *Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker*. In Leipzig, Lamprecht was directing the cultural history section of the first "International Exhibition of Printing Arts and Graphics" BUGRA (*Internationale Ausstellung für Buchgewerbe und Graphik*) that started few months before the war begun in May 1914. Lamprecht was the head of the "House of Culture" (*Halle der Kultur*) that became known as *Lamprechtianum*, where books from sixteen different cultures were in exhibit. [346] The title of its catalogue reflected the universal aspects of its milieu - "Essence and Course (of) Universal-Historic Development Forms" (*Wesen und Verlauf (der) universalgeschictlichen Entwicklungsformen*). [347] The fate of this exhibition by the outbreak of the war by August 1914 corresponded to the collapse of the Universalist endeavours. Lamprecht would pass away a year later in 1915.[348]

Diez's journey to the United States in 1926 as professor at Bryn Mawr College paralleled the shift of German scholarship outside Germany and particularly to the United States. Back at Vienna, Strzygowski Institute closed down in 1933 ending an era of scholarship on the Orient and a year later, Julius Schlosser's "History of the Vienna School" neglected Strzygowski and his students. Schlosser's history also aimed at Riegl's Expressionism and instead privileged Wickhoff's "positivist, anti-philosophical empiricism".[349]

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[346] Kuhbandner, *Unternehmer zwischen Markt und Moderne, deutschsprachige Literatur an der Scwelle zum 20. Jahrhundert*, 15. It is characterized as a "Betonkuppelbau" in the Naumburger Tageblatt. www. Naumburger-tageblatt.de. New York Times of 5 March 2014 wrote "sixteen nations unite to tell the story of books." Roger Chickering informs that the exhibition documented the parallel development of all the world's cultures through a common series of historical epochs, which corresponded to stages in the economic development of each". Chickering, ibid, 431.
[347] Hubinger, "Kultur und Wissenschaft im Eugen Diederichs Verlag", 25.
[348] Iggers, ibid, 91. The aspirations of the exhibition that took place between 6 May and 18 October 1914 form an irony with the start of the First World War in August 1914, after which the pavilions of Russia, England, France, Belgium and Japan were closed.
[349] Schlosser, ibid, 29. Michael Viktor Schwarz recently referred to Schlosser's history as an "invented tradition", which excluded Strzygowski and his students. Michael Viktor Schwarz, "Vorwort", *Wiener Schule. Erinnerung und Perspektiven* (Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 53/2004), Wien u.a. 2005(Böhlau Verlag), pp. 7-10.

Expressionism would also be the aim of Marxist political critique in these same years. Most famously, Georg Lukács (1885-1971) in his 1934 essay "Grösse und Verfall des Expressionismus" (Greatness and Decline of Expressionism) accused Expressionism's idealistic abstractions to have led to fascism and characterized it as an "an ideology of escape" (*Fluchtideologie*).[350] Three years later the National Socialist party would also aim at the Expressionists in the Munich Exhibition of Degenerate Art.

Diez himself appears to have been caught in the ambiguity of this transposition. Most significantly, he became a member of the National Socialist Party NSDAP in 1938 after the annexation of Austria to Germany in 1937.[351] Two chapters from his 1940 book *Entschleiertes Asien* (Asia Unveiled) was republished as a reading for the German Army in 1943 with the title *Am Hofe der Sassaniden* (At the Court of the Sassanids) (Figure 44). When he was interned in Turkey due to his German citizenship after the Second World War, he wrote in his diary that the Nationalist Socialist regime in Germany was the biggest state enemy. [352]

[350] Lukács found it to typify the declining bourgeoisie. Donahue, ibid, 25.
[351] Ellinger, *Deutsche Orientalistik zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus 1933–1945*, 38.
[352] Ernst Diez, 18 April 1945, Diary Entry, Ernst Diez Papers, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. "Diese Fortsetzung meines Maschinenbogen Tagebuch möge beginnen mit unserer in diesen Tagen vollzogenen Absetzung vom größten Staatsfeind den Deutschland und Oestreich je gehabt haben der national sozialistischen Regierung. Wie durch ein Kinder obgleich sehr gescheit vorbereit ist als gelungen der verlogener Hydra den Kopf abzuschlagen und uns zu befreien."



Figure 44. The 1942 edition of Diez's *Entschleiertes Asien* (Asia Unveiled) for the German army

The thesis ultimately proposes that the criticisms against the 1946 book *Türk Sanatı* are also confrontations of the turn of the century legacy of Diez's scholarship with the nationalism of 1940's. His consequent dismissal from his professorial position in Turkey in 1949 thenceforth appears as the dismissal of his legacy not only from Turkey but also from mainstream art historical scholarship. Remarkably, Diez's legacy remained in Turkey through his controversial book *Türk Sanatı*, yet through later adaptations and partly lost in translation.

As such, tracing the legacies of the book *Türk Sanatı* presents a case whereby Turkish, Byzantine, Persian, Armenian and Islamic art historiographies take part in the revisionist inquiries of the first decades of the century. In this now foreign landscape and prose, these art historieswere part of Modernism and its scholars were "Oriental Refugees".

EPILOGUE:

PARALLEL ODYSSEYS OF ERNST HERZFELD AND ERNST DIEZ

The conditions around Ernst Herzfeld's (1879-1948) departure from Iran in 1934 and Ernst Diez's (1878-1961) departure from Turkey in 1949 present parallel instances in which the know-how of the turn of the century Austrian-German art historical scholarship on topics of the Orient confronted the later nationalisms of their subject countries. A parallel reading of manifold controversies in Austria and Germany, Iran and Turkey, as well as in the United States consequently depict parallel odysseys of both biographical and academic nature, from expeditions to expatriations and to exiles, from Vienna and Berlin, to the United States, Iran and Turkey.

The biographical journeys of Diez and Herzfeld crossed initially at the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, where both were volunteers between 1908 and 1910. Diez was mainly assisting Friedrich Sarre, the director of the Islamic Section of the Museum for the first exhibition on Islamic art that would take place in Munich in 1910 with the title *Meisterwerke Mohammedanischer Kunst* (Masterworks of Mohammedan Art). Their biographical journeys appear to have intersected thereafter in the United States in mid-1930s, where Diez had been teaching at the Bryn Mawr College from 1926 (and continued until 1939), and Herzfeld became a professor at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, School of Humanistic Studies in 1936. The final crossroads appears to have taken place in 1946 this time in Istanbul, where Diez was a professor at Istanbul University and Herzfeld was on a trip after his retirement from the United States. It was fatefully in the same year that Diez confronted reactions to his book on Turkish Art, in a context of contested nationalisms comparable to 1934 Iran, from which Herzfeld had to depart.

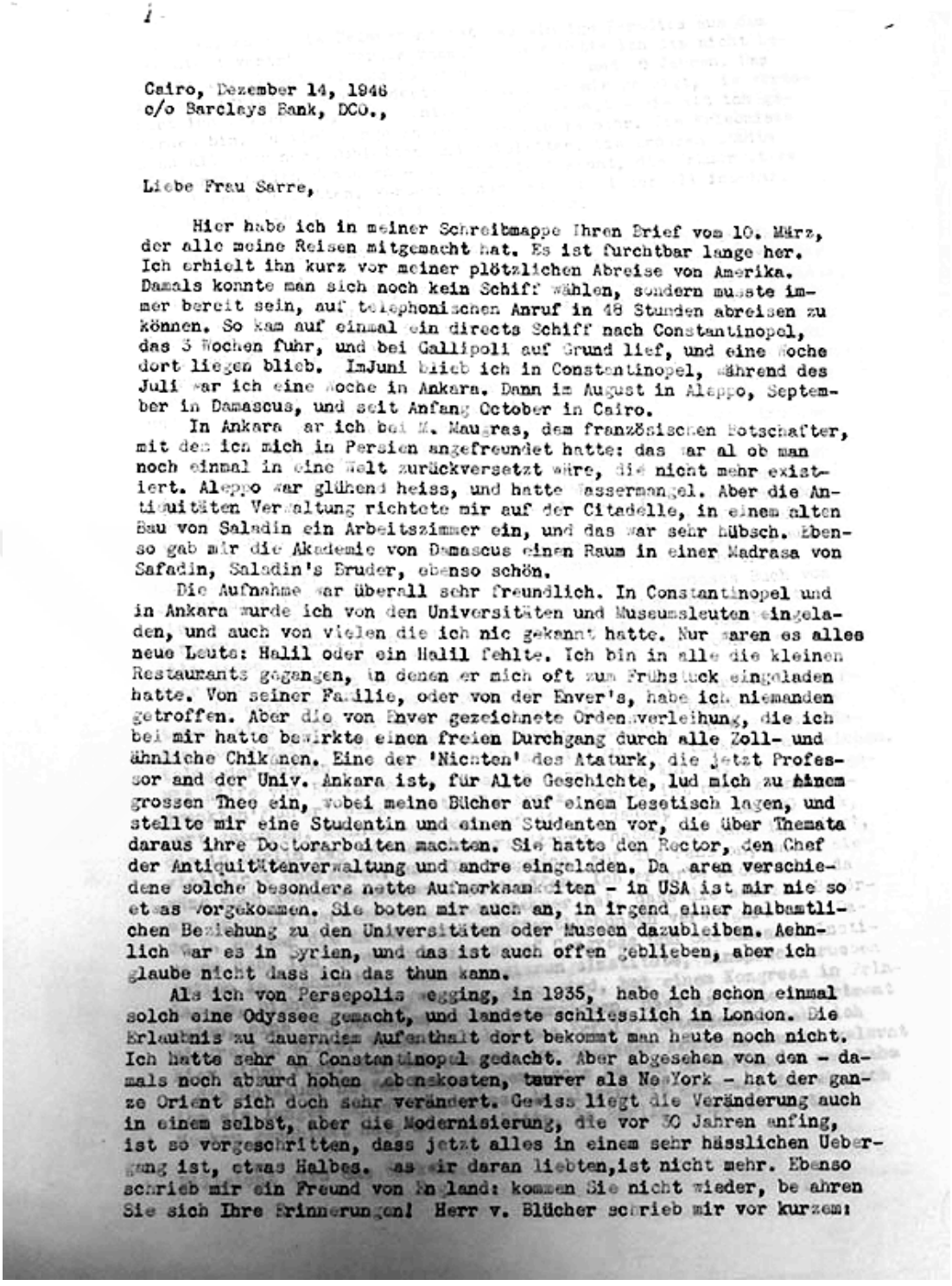
In a letter from Cairo to Marie Sarre dating to 14 December 1946, Herzfeld recalls and refers to his departure from Iran to London in 1935 as an odyssey: "When I left Persepolis, in 1935, I have already made such an odyssey, and finally landed in London" (Figure 45).[353] Herzfeld refers to this particular odyssey of 1935, in consequence of the hardships of his way out of Iran, his library and belongings under scrutiny out of the country, on a path that does not end at his hometown of Berlin, nor anywhere else he knows of.[354] London is a stop on the way, where he is initially invited for a lecture. It turns out to be a year of peregrinations and unrest, as he tells in a letter to Myron Bement Smith dated 25 June 1935 (Figure 46). [355]

> I must tell you my peregrinations: somehow in March I left New York for Algiers, could not stand it more than a week, tried Naples only 2 hours [and] went to Berlin, with a fortnight of influenza, then about 12 days in London, and from […] to Moscow, including Leningrad, […] It was cold & I resolved to go to Istanbul, via Kiev. But Istanbul was not restful, so I left via Venice, Paris 2 days […] supreme enormous heat wave & since yesterday London. It is the only place where I can stay & while without work; for that is the reason for all this unrest.

[353] Ernst Herzfeld to Marie Sarre, 14 December 1946, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Ernst Herzfeld Folder, Washington D.C. „Als ich von Persepolis wegging, in 1935, habe ich schon einmal solch eine Odyssee gemacht, und landete schließlich in London."

[354] Myron Bement Smith to Ernst Herzfeld, 17 August 1935, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Ernst Herzfeld Folder, Washington D.C. Smith refers sarcastically to "odd objects" from the library of Herzfeld to have been sent to Tehran for examination.

[355] Ernst Herzfeld to Myron-Bement Smith, 25 June 1935, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Myron-Bement Smith Papers, Washington D.C. Gunter and Hauser mention that Herzfeld traveled to London after an invitation as a Schweich Lecturer at the British Academy and that it was in London, Herzfeld probably decided not to return to Persepolis for the following season, after visits to States in December 1934 and January 1935, to meet with James H. Breasted and others at the Oriental Institute, and to lecture in Chicago and New York. Gunter and Hauser 2005, 28.



Cairo, Dezember 14, 1946
c/o Barclays Bank, DCO.,

Liebe Frau Sarre,

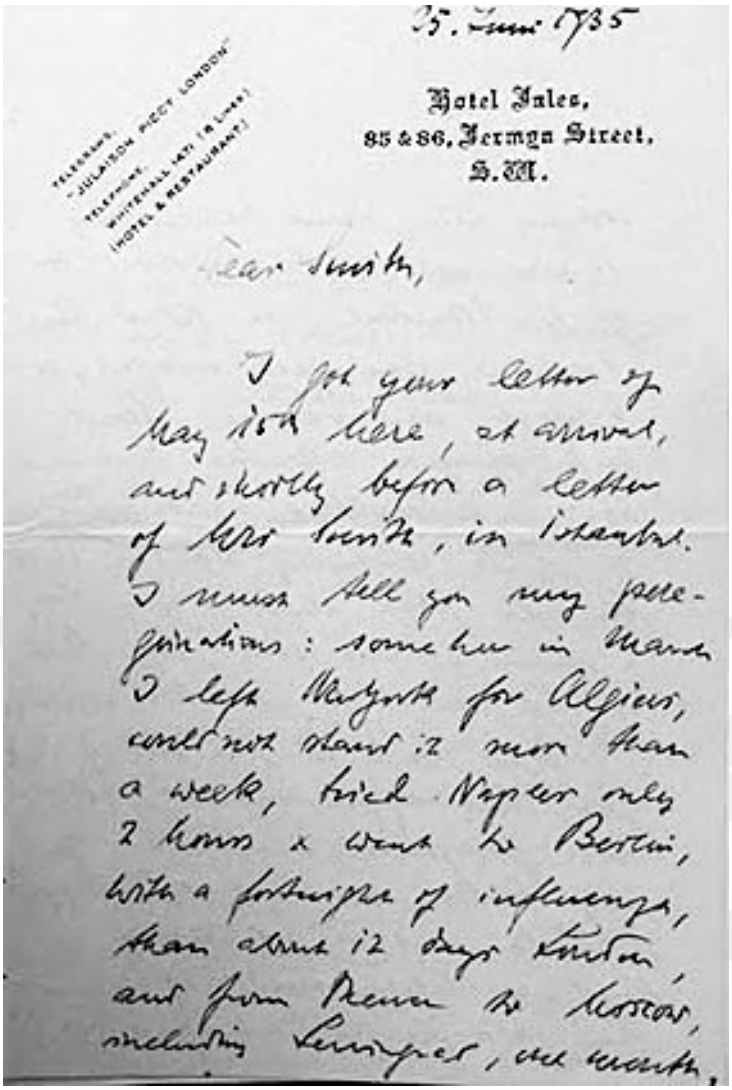
Hier habe ich in meiner Schreibmappe Ihren Brief vom 10. März, der alle meine Reisen mitgemacht hat. Es ist furchtbar lange her. Ich erhielt ihn kurz vor meiner plötzlichen Abreise von Amerika. Damals konnte man sich noch kein Schiff wählen, sondern musste immer bereit sein, auf telephonischen Anruf in 48 Stunden abreisen zu können. So kam auf einmal ein directs Schiff nach Constantinopel, das 3 Wochen fuhr, und bei Gallipoli auf Grund lief, und eine Woche dort liegen blieb. ImJuni blieb ich in Constantinopel, während des Juli war ich eine Woche in Ankara. Dann im August in Aleppo, September in Damascus, und seit Anfang October in Cairo.

In Ankara war ich bei M. Maugras, dem französischen Botschafter, mit dem ich mich in Persien angefreundet hatte: das war al ob man noch einmal in eine Welt zurückversetzt wäre, die nicht mehr existiert. Aleppo war glühend heiss, und hatte Wassermangel. Aber die Antiquitäten Verwaltung richtete mir auf der Citadelle, in einem alten Bau von Saladin ein Arbeitszimmer ein, und das war sehr hübsch. Ebenso gab mir die Akademie von Damascus einen Raum in einer Madrasa von Safadin, Saladin's Bruder, ebenso schön.

Die Aufnahme war überall sehr freundlich. In Constantinopel und in Ankara wurde ich von den Universitäten und Museumsleuten eingeladen, und auch von vielen die ich nie gekannt hatte. Nur waren es alles neue Leute: Halil oder ein Halil fehlte. Ich bin in alle die kleinen Restaurants gegangen, in denen er mich oft zum Frühstück eingeladen hatte. Von seiner Familie, oder von der Enver's, habe ich niemanden getroffen. Aber die von Enver gezeichnete Ordenverleihung, die ich bei mir hatte bewirkte einen freien Durchgang durch alle Zoll- und ähnliche Chikanen. Eine der 'Nichten' des Ataturk, die jetzt Professor and der Univ. Ankara ist, für Alte Geschichte, lud mich zu einem grossen Thee ein, wobei meine Bücher auf einem Lesetisch lagen, und stellte mir eine Studentin und einen Studenten vor, die über Themata daraus ihre Doctorarbeiten machten. Sie hatte den Rector, den Chef der Antiquitätenverwaltung und andre eingeladen. Da waren verschiedene solche besonders nette Aufmerksamkeiten - in USA ist mir nie so etwas vorgekommen. Sie boten mir auch an, in irgend einer halbamtlichen Beziehung zu den Universitäten oder Museen dazubleiben. Aehnlich war es in Syrien, und das ist auch offen geblieben, aber ich glaube nicht dass ich das thun kann.

Als ich von Persepolis wegging, in 1935, habe ich schon einmal solch eine Odyssee gemacht, und landete schliesslich in London. Die Erlaubnis zu dauerndem Aufenthalt dort bekommt man heute noch nicht. Ich hatte sehr an Constantinopel gedacht. Aber abgesehen von den - damals noch absurd hohen Lebenskosten, taurer als NewYork - hat der ganze Orient sich doch sehr verändert. Gewiss liegt die Veränderung auch in einem selbst, aber die Modernisierung, die vor 30 Jahren anfing, ist so vorgeschritten, dass jetzt alles in einem sehr hässlichen Uebergang ist, etwas Halbes. Was wir daran liebten,ist nicht mehr. Ebenso schrieb mir ein Freund von Rußland: kommen Sie nicht wieder, bewahren Sie sich Ihre Erinnerungen! Herr v. Blücher schrieb mir vor kurzem:

Figure 45. Herzfeld tells of his odyssey to Marie Sarre in a letter dating to 14 December 1946, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Herzfeld Folder


25. Juni 1935

Hotel Jules,
85 & 86, Jermyn Street,
S.W.

Dear Smith,

I got your letter of May 16th here, at arrival, and shortly before a letter of Mrs Smith, in Istanbul. I must tell you my peregrinations: somehow in March I left Mukyetik for Algiers, could not stand it more than a week, tried Naples only 2 hours a week to Berlin, with a fortnight of influenza, then about 12 days London, and from Rome to Moscow, including Leningrad, one month,

Figure 46. Ernst Herzfeld tells of his peregrinations of the year 1935 in a letter to Myron Bement Smith, 25 June 1935, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Myron-Bement Smith Papers

Herzfeld's obligatory journey out of Iran in December 1934 has been the subject of articles by Kröger, Gunter and Hauser and Mousavi in the book *Ernst Herzfeld and Near Eastern Studies, 1900-1950*.[356] Mousavi discusses how Herzfeld had to depart Iran after a reaction to his handling of the excavation artefacts.[357] He depicts Herzfeld presenting two sculptures from the Persepolis excavation to Gustaf Adolf, the crown prince of Sweden, who was on a trip to the site on November 1934, to

[356] Gunter and Hauser 2005.
[357] Mousavi 2005, 454.

have provided a case for the Iranian reaction. Gunter and Hauser refer to internal expedition troubles with the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute that was funding the excavation, as well as problems with the Iranian government over the division of finds with the Oriental Institute in explaining the dismissal.[358] Against accusations of his personal handling of some of the artefacts, Kröger argues that Herzfeld "had neither the money nor the necessary connections to an international network of art dealers."[359] Herzfeld himself explains in a letter to Myron-Bement Smith, dating to 23 August 1935, that his deportation was an aftermath of "both personal and political denunciations from the Ministry of Public Institutions [of Iran]."[360]

> Denunciations of a political and personal nature at the ministry of Publ.Inst. [Public Institutions] The only consequence, so far, has been that my diplomatic passport has been claimed back by the direction of the Party. But my friends advise me better not to come back […] J.H.Br. [J.H. Breastead] writes me that the Orinst [Orient Institute] –on account of financial difficulties- will not be able to extend our present agreement over December 31.

Herzfeld had been in Iran from after the First World War by the funds provided by the *Gesellschaft zur Förderung von Ausgrabungen* (Society for the Promotion of Excavations) and through the mediation of Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945), the director of the Berlin Museum's Islamic department.[361] Afterwards, he was invited to give a series of lectures to the members of the "The National Monuments Council of Iran" in Tehran in 1927. In the same year, Herzfeld became the archaeological adviser of

[358] Gunter and Hauser 2005, 28.
[359] Kröger 2005, 73.
[360] Ernst Herzfeld to Myron Bement Smith, 23 August 1935, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Myron Bement Smith Papers, Washington D.C.
[361] Kröger 2005, 61.

the Iranian government under Reza Shah, with the title "Specialist in Oriental Studies".[362]

Herzfeld received the right to excavate at Persepolis, which proved to be central for Iranian nationalism. The site was a symbol of pre-Islamic Iran.[363] Herzfeld's work on Zarathustra during 1929 and 1930 became the main reference for later books on the history of ancient Iran, which came to be used as a textbook in Iran's new system of public schools.[364]

Nonetheless, it was from Persepolis that Herzfeld had to depart in December 1934. [365] In 1935, he was also forced into early retirement at the age of fifty-five from the University of Berlin after National Socialist administration dismissed the Jews from public service.[366] We know from a letter from Diez to Myron Bement Smith that Diez met Herzfeld in April of 1935 in New York, in which he wrote that he found him *iranmüde* (tired of Iran).[367]

> I met Herzfeld a few weeks ago in New York. After all, he has the right to be rather tired of staying in the East ("iranmüde"). But he had no plans settled yet for his future.

This instance corresponded to Herzfeld's strained journey out of Iran, and precedes his forced retirement in September from Berlin, caught at a limbo between London and the United States. Herzfeld told in a letter to Myron-Bement Smith that he is

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[362] Mousavi 2005, 454.
[363] Abdi discusses Reza Shah's emphasis on Iran's pre-Islamic past, especially the Achaemenid and Sasanian empires, and "glorification of Zoroastrianism as the original religion of Iranians". Abdi 2001, 63. James Goode points out to the significance of Persepolis for the new nationalism, because he argues that it was largely untouched by mainly French excavations that had already found its place in the Louvre. Goode 2007, 142.
[364] Jenkins 2011, 12. She considers that the influence was in due course of Herzfeld's presentation of the Zoroastrianism of the Achaemenian Kings as the "spiritual principle of Iranian character".
[365] Gunter and Hauser 2005, 25.
[366] Johannes Renger accounts for the dismissal as an aftermath of the racial legislation of the Nazi regime—*Rassegesetze* enacted 4 April 1933. Regger tells that "in a letter to the chancellor of the university dated 23 October 1935, Herzfeld declared under oath, as demanded by the university administration, that his grandparents on both sides were Jewish." Regger 2005, 576.
[367] Ernst Diez to Myron-Bement Smith, 5 April 1935, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Myron-Bement Smith Papers, Washington D.C.

content not to return to Berlin, but he is also not wishing to stay in the United States.[368]

> Quite personally I want to tell you that I should be content not to go back to Berlin. But, on the other hand, I should prefer, not to be compelled to live for instance near New York for good.

Herzfeld ended up at Princeton University's Institute of Advanced Studies with a fellowship from the "Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars".[369] Ominously, the feeling of displacement seems to have emerged at the instant of his leave of Iran in 1935 and to have never left him in the United States. In a letter to Smith in 1935, Herzfeld tells of his agitation over what he describes as "intrigues and fighting."[370] In another letter dating to April 7, 1946, he tells of his "phases of disillusions", in recall of his work with the Oriental Institute of Chicago in 1930 (The Persepolis excavation) and the Institute of Advanced Studies in 1936. Gunter and Hauser also point out "although revered at Princeton and in New York, Herzfeld harboured a genuine dislike of life in the United States".[371]

In a letter dating to 2 January 1946, Herzfeld refers to the inspiring talks with Halil Bey of Istanbul, Nuri Pasha of Baghdad (1888-1958), Firuz Mirza (1889-1937) of Tehran, which he finds evoked in his talk to Albert Einstein (1879-1955) and Henri Seyrig (1895-1973). [372]

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[368] Ernst Herzfeld to Myron-Bement Smith, 25 June 1935, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Myron-Bement Smith Papers, Washington D.C.
[369] Gunter and Hauser 2005, 32.
[370] Ernst Herzfeld to Myron Bement Smith, 12 November 1935, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Myron-Bement Smith Papers, Washington D.C.
[371] Gunter, Hauser 2005, 37.
[372] Herzfeld to Ettinghausen, January 2, 1946, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Ernst Herzfeld Papers, Washington D.C. Einstein was also at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study from 1933 onwards.Nuri Pasha al-Said was an Iraqi politician during the British Mandate of Iraq and the Kingdom of Iraq. He held various key cabinet positions and served fourteen terms as Prime Minister of Iraq. Prince Firouz Mirza was Minister of Foreign Affairs under Ahmad Shah Qajar, then a supporter of Reza Khan for his accession to the throne, and later minister of finance under Reza Shah. He was arrested in June 1929 and was later executed as a dangerous rival in January 1938. Mahdi Bamdad, Sharh-e hàl-e rejàl-e Iran (Tehran, 1347/1968), 239–43; Ghani, Iran and the Rise of Reza Shah, 32. Mousavi 2005, p. 458. Henri Arnold Seyrig (1895 –1973) was a French archaeologist and

> […] In spite of the totally different background, it was quite enough to start a sentence to be understood immediately, and the subjects were high science, high politics and religion. So it was always, when for instance, talking to Halil Bey [in Constantinople], or to old Nuri Pasha from Baghdad, or to Firuz Mirza in Teheran. When having a talk with [Henri] Seyrig, it is the same, a hint, an intonation is enough to agree and to be understood. There is nothing more tedious and irritating than being forced continuously to explain the values one connects with words and notions and to produce only the answer: 'I never looked at it that way!'

Herzfeld's trip to Turkey, Syria and Egypt in 1946 was therefore a homecoming, a *nostos* after years of feeling of displacement. Herzfeld appears to have looked forward to this trip and considered re-settling, having sold his library, his collection of artefacts, carpets and household furnishings back in the United States.[373]

Elizabeth Ettinghausen writes that he went to Syria—Aleppo and Damascus—and then moved via Beirut to Cairo.[374] We know from a letter from Herzfeld to Marie Sarre dating to 14 December 1946 that he also went to Istanbul and Ankara. Yet his intention for settling turned contrariwise and his impressions of this trip depict a feeling of estrangement and melancholy.[375]

> Yet the general impression is very melancholic: All the beautiful things have either disappeared or are restored not to be recognized.

Herzfeld's visit closely followed the end of Diez's internment in Kırşehir in December 1945, and preceded the campaign against the book *Türk Sanatı* in December 1946. In a letter to Marie Sarre in 14 December 1946, Herzfeld wrote that he thought of staying at *Constantinople*, but he was disillusioned with what he called

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general director of antiquities of Syria and Lebanon from 1929 and the Institute of Archaeology of Beirut.

[373] Gunter and Hauser 2005, 37.

[374] E. Ettinghausen 2005, 587.

[375] Ernst Herzfeld to Richard Ettinghausen, 28 August 1946, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Ernst Herzfeld Papers, Washington D.C.

the "ugly transformation" and "modernization". He declared in a nostalgic longing that the change had left everything half of what it was.[376]

> I had thought very much of Constantinople. But apart from the still absurdly high life costs, more expensive than New York, the whole Orient has changed very much there. Certainly, the change is also in itself, but the modernization, which began 30 years ago, is so advanced that everything is now in a very ugly transition, something half.

He appears to have sought for the intellectual traces of his turn of the century colleague in Istanbul, Halil Edhem (1861-1938).[377]

> In Constantinople and in Ankara, I was invited by the universities and museum people, and by many of whom I had not known. Only it was all new people: Halil or a Halil was missing.

It was again in the same year in 1946 that Herzfeld wrote an obituary for Friedrich Sarre, which is a lament for the loss of a generation of scholars including Melchior de Vogüé (1829 - 1916), Wilhelm Bode (1845-1929), Max van Berchem (1863-1921), Leone Caetani (1869-1935) and Halil Edhem.[378]

> The generation of scholars to whom Sarre belonged, and who were his friends, such as Melchior de Vogüé, Wilhelm Bode, Max van Berchem, Halil Edhem, and Leone Caetani, is gone. They were privileged, a thing unpopular today. Not that they had usurped privileges, they owned them as gift of forces far beyond men and felt them as deep obligation. One cannot even regret or complain. Van Berchem wrote me, shortly after World War I, "Why should one wish to live in a world that wants to revert to barbarism?" and died. Caetani died in self-imposed exile. Sarre, too, saw the doom coming, but had to drink the bitter cup to the dregs. The only thing spared to him was to see the looting of his house.

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[376] Ernst Herzfeld to Marie Sarre, 14 December 1946, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Ernst Herzfeld Folder, Washington D.C. „Als ich von Persepolis wegging, in 1935, habe ich schon einmal solch eine Odyssee gemacht, und landete schließlich in London. Die Erlaubnis zu dauerndem Aufenthalt dort bekommt man heute noch nicht. Ich hatte sehr an Constantinopel gedacht. Aber abgesehen von den- damals noch absurd hohen Lebenskosten, teurer als New York- hat der ganze Orient sich dort sehr verändert. Gewiss liegt die Veränderung auch in einem selbst, aber die Modernisierung, die vor 30 Jahren anfing, ist so vorgeschritten, dass jetzt alles in einem sehr hässlichen Übergang ist, etwas Halbes."

[377] Ernst Herzfeld to Marie Sarre, 14 December 1946, Smithsonian Institute Archives, Ernst Herzfeld Folder, Washington D.C. „In Constantinopel und in Ankara wurde ich von de Universitäten und Museumsleuten eingeladen, und auch von vielen die ich nicht gekannt hatte. Nur waren es alles neue Leute: Halil oder ein Halil fehlte." Halil Edhem (Eldem) was director of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul from 1910 to 1931.

[378] Herzfeld 1946.

The obituary is also a mourning of German art historical scholarship on the Orient in the aftermath of the Second World War. Herzfeld views Sarre's library as a symbol of the scholarship, which he portrays as " a living tradition of three hundred years". Nonetheless, in this ultimate encounter, he considers it dead; and the loot of Sarre's library by the Russians and the hit of the "Facade of Mshatta" during the bombardment of Berlin are for him the signifiers.

> The famous "Facade of Mshatta" in the Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, from Transjordania, one of the earliest and most important monuments of Muhammadan antiquity, which was Sarre's pride, received a direct bomb hit. The most important of the antique carpets, collected with infinite pains in long years, were burned in the cellars in which they had been put for safekeeping. Sarre's private collection, though some pieces were saved before the war, exists no longer. His house, too, was looted, when, the morning after his burial, June 4, 1945, his family was ordered to leave the house at an hour's notice. After that hour, works of art, an irreplaceable library, studies, notes, photographs, letters, the whole scientific heritage was destroyed and burned, and thus has gone with him. Individuals may survive, but a living tradition of three hundred years, which started before there was a Saint Petersburg-Leningrad and even a New Amsterdam-New York, is dead.

Richard Ettinghausen's obituary of Herzfeld depicts Herzfeld's connection to "the traditions of Germany before the First World War".[379]

> Having been brought up and steeped in the traditions of the Germany before the First World War, he was a firm believer in the aristocratic principle, and it was not easy for him to adjust himself to different conditions. Without committing a cheap compromise, however, he tried to understand the new age and later on, his new country, but his last years in a rapidly changing world were not too happy.

Biographical journeys of both Diez and Herzfeld end on an allegorical note of their scholarship. Herzfeld falls ill during his trip to Cairo, Damascus and Constantinople in 1946-1947 and later passes away in Basel in 1948. Diez passes away after a cerebral haemorrhage in 1961, imagining to be in preparation of a research trip to

[379] R. Ettinghausen 1951, 265. Correspondingly, Kröger discusses how Herzfeld sought to connect his work in Iran with German institutions, as he points out that in Iran, Herzfeld had become "a kind of semiofficial German archaeological institute" and led discussions around the establishment of a German Archaeological Institute. Kröger 2005, 69.

Asia in his last days.[380] Both of these final journeys –imaginary or real- are in reminiscence of the scholarships of both Herzfeld and Diez, to whom the "Orient" appears to have become both refuge and exodus.

[380] Haldun Taner informs from a letter from Diez' daughter in his article in *Vatan*, 4 August 1961. **"**Avrupa Bilim Dünyasına Türk sanat tarihini ilk tanıtanlardan biri olan Profesör Ernst Diez Dünyamızdan ayrıldı" (Prof. Ernst Diez, one of the first people to introduce Turkish art history to European Scientific World has left us).

APPENDIX A

REFERENCES IN DIEZ'S BOOK *TÜRK SANATI*

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APPENDIX B

A RECONSTRUCTION OF DIEZ'S READING

First Diary (19.10.1899-7.4.1907)

1. Karl Florenz, "Endlose Liebe", from *Dichtergrüsse aus dem Osten*, Japanische Dichtungen, Leipzig: C.F. Amelang, 1894.

2. Jacques Joseph Champollion-Figeac, *Fourier e Napoléon*, L Egypte Et Les Cent Jours, Mémoires Et Documents Inédits, 1844.

3. Georges Camuset, *Les sonnets du docteur*, Paris, 1893.

4. Hans Adler, *Drei Sonette.*

5. Hans Köller*, Schlafender Mann*.

6. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882)**,** Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in *Parnassus: An Anthology of Poetry*, 1880.

7. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), *Lebensführung,* Hendel, 1860/ Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Leipzig, 1903/ *The Conduct of Life*, Heinrich Conrad (trans.), E. Diederichs, 1905.

8. Stendhal

9. Shakespeare

10. Alfred Louis Charles de Musset *Pathay (1810 –1857)*

11. Bernini

12. Karl Gustav Vollmüller, *Die frühen Gärten*, 1903.

13. August Strindberg, *Ein Traumspiel*, 1902.

14. Schiller, *Tonkunst*

15. *Schillers Briefwechsel mit Körner* (edited by Karl Goedeke, Leipzig, 1874; by Ludwig Geiger, Stuttgart, 1895–96)

16. Friedrich Hebbel (1813 - 1863), *Wie viel Lichter Verdanken es bloß ihrem Leuchter*

17. Cäsar Flaischlen (1864-1920)

18. Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), *Walden,* 1854.

19. Aus den Fragen des König Menandros.

20. Ovid

21. Franz Seraphicus Grillparzer (1791 –1872), *Systematik*

22. Lessing (1729 –1781)

23. Gottfried Semper (1803 –1879). *Der Stil in Den Technischen Und Tektonischen Künste, 1860*, p. 267.

24. Johannes Secundus (1511 -1536), *Basia: Die Küss*

25. Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nova*, 1295.

26. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), *Die Abendstunde eines Einsiedlers/ The Evening Hour of a Hermit*, J.P. Scheuenstuhl, 1845

27. John Richard Jefferies (1848–1887*), The Open Air*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1885, p. 13

28. Franz Seraphicus Grillparzer (1791 –1872), *Reiz Der Genauen Naturnachahmung*, 1819.

29. Hegel, *Heidelberger Einleitung zur Geschichte der Philosophie*, 1816.

30. Bible, *Lukas 9, 62*

31. Stendhal (1783-1842), *Promenades dans Rome*, Paris, 1829.

Second Diary (18.4.1945-15.10.1960)

1. Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843)

2. Schopenhauer, *Parerga and Paralipomena,* 1851.

3. Goethe (1749-1832), *Egmont V,* 1788.

4. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), *Frederick the Great*, six volumes, 1858-1865.

5. James Joyce (1882-1941), *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,* New York, 1916.

6. Kurt Aram (1864-1934), *Die Kusine aus Amerika*, Berlin, Wien: Ullstein & Company, 1914.

7. Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927), *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century)*, 1899.

8. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften und Briefe, (Band 1: Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums, Band 2: Ausgewählte Briefe)*, Leipzig, 1925.

9. Gustav Freytag (1816-1895), *Bilder aus der Deutscher Vergangenheit* (five volumes), 1859-1867.

10. Karl Immermann (1796-1840), *Die Epigonen (*Roman), 1836.

11. Alexander Lernet-Holenia (1897-1976), *Die Standarte* (novel), 1934.

12. Eric Robert Russell Linklater (1899-1974)*, Juan in America*, 1931.

13. Wilhelm Von Humboldt (1767-1835), *Briefe an Eine Freundin*

14. William Makepeace Thackeray, Die Geschichte des Henry Esmond von ihm selbst erzählt (historical novel), 1852.

15. Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), Wie bist du meine Königin (by Schlüssuns)

16. Claude Farrère (1876-1957), *L'homme qui assassina* (novel), 1907.

17. Max Brod (1884-1968), *Tycho Brahes Weg zu Gott*, 1915.

18. Johannes Tralow (1182-1968)*, Roxelane: Roman einer Kaiserin,* Zürich: Scientia, 1944.

19. Johann Peter Eckermann (1792-1854), *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens. Brockhaus*, Leipzig 1836–1848.

20. The Travels of Marco Polo

21. Herbert Nette, *Die großen deutschen in Italien*, 1938.

22. Jean Stafford (1915-1979), *Boston Adventure*(novel), Harcourt, Brace & World Inc. , 1944

23. A.J. Cronin, *The Green Years*, 1944.

24. Hölderlin (1770-1843), *Menons Klage um Diotima* / *Menon's Lament for Diotima*

25. James Harpole, *Leaves from a Surgeon's Case-Book*, 1938

26. Karl Kannenberg, *Kleinasiens Naturschätze,* Gebrüder Borntraeger, 1897.

27. Engelbert Kaempfler (1651-1716), *Am Hofe des persischen Groß Königs,* (Eingeleitet und deutsch herausgegeben von W. Minz. K.F. Koehler Verlag 1940.

28. Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes*, 1721.

29. Ernst Wiechert (1887-1950), *Von biblischer Epik und Klassischer Schönheit der Sprache.*

30. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship-German: Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahr,* 1795–96.

31. Von der Goltz (1843-1916), *Anatolische Ausflüge*, 1896.

32. André Maurois (1885-1967), *Benjamin Disraeli-Lord Beaconsfield*, 1928(in German).

33. Charles Morgan (1894-1958), *The Fountain*, 1932.

34. Mme de Stäël (1766-1817), *De l'Allemeagne*, 1810-13.

35. Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890), *Selbstbiographie,* Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1939.

36. Carl Ludwig Schleich (1859-1922), *Die Wunder der Seele. Mit einem Geleitwort von C. G. Jung,* S. Fischer Verlag, Berlin 1934

37. G. Freytag, *Verlorene Handschrift*, 1864.

38. Freya Stark (1893-1993), *Baghdad Sketches*, *1932. The Times Press Ltd, Baghdad (first London edition 1937)*

39. M.B. Kennicott (1881-1940), *Das Herz ist wach Briefe einer Liebe,*Tübingen, 1935.

40. Arnold Heim, August Gansser, *Thron der Götter- Erlebnisse der ersten Schweizerischen Himalaya Expedition,* Zürich, 1938.

41. Hans Löscher (1881-1946), *Alles Getrennte findet sich wieder. Ein Buch vom wahren Leben*, 1937

42. Harold Wilson (1916-1995), *The war on world poverty: An appeal to the conscience of mankind*, 1953.

43. Georg Neumark, *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten*, 1657

44. Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus*, 1930.

45. Artemis-Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche Goethes, Hrsg. von Ernst Beutler. 24 Bde. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag 1948-54.

46. C. G. Jung

47. Anton v. Webern

48. Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophie der neuen Musik*, 1947.

49. R.M. Rilke, Das Karussel, 1906.

50. Hegel Anekdote.

51. Titus Burckhardt (1908-1984), *Vom wesen heiliger kunst in den weltreligionen*, Origo-Verlag, 1955.

52. Atharva Veda.

53. Leopold Ziegler (1881-1958), *Mignon und das Vaterunser,* 1951

54. Kassner (1873-1959), *Buch Der Erinnerung,* Leipzig, 1938.

Manuscripts

1. Das Leben Buddhas.

2. *Predigt Von Benares*, The Buddha's "First Sermon".

3. *Die Heilslehre Des Buddha*.

Notebook

1. Florence Wheelock Ayscough (1878-1942), with drawings of Lucille Douglass*, A Chinese Mirror: Being Reflections Of The Reality Behind Appearance*, Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1925.

2. Jan Jakob Maria de Groot (1854-1921), *Universismus: Die Grundlage der Religion und Ethik- des Staatswesens und der Wissenschaften Chinas,* Berlin: G. Reimer, 1918.

APPENDIX C

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

Curriculum Vitae, Ernst Diez to the Professors Collegiate of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna. Source: [University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder]

Wien am 9. Dezember 1918 Dr Ernst Diez

Curriculum Vitae

Ich bin 1878 geboren zu Lölling in Kärnten als Sohn des Hütter Verwalters Friedrich Diez. Nach Absolvierung meiner Gymnasialstudien in Klagenfurt und Graz bezog ich 1896 die Universität Graz und studierte Jus und Kunstgeschichte. Das juridische Studium gab ich nach Ablegung der rechtshistorischen Staatsprüfung in Wien auf und setzte das Studium der Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie bei der Professoren Strzygowski und Gurlitt in Graz fort. Im Jahre 1902, erlangte ich auf Grund einer Dissertation über die Miniaturen de Wiener Dioskürides „ den philosophischen Doktorgrad an der Grazer Universität. Ich reiste sodann mit einem Ministerialstipendium nach Konstantinopel zum Studium der byzantinischen Denkmäler. Nach Absolvierung des Einjährig Freiwilligenjahres beim Feldartillerie Rgt in Klagenfurt 1902-03 arbeitete ich noch ein Jahr am Kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität Graz unter Hofrat Strzygowski. Im Sommer 1904 machte ich im Auftrag der K K Zentralkommission in Verein mit Hans Tietze eine Probe Katalogisierung der Denkmaler des politischen Bezirkes Krems. Sodann setzte ich mein Fachstudium am Kunsthistorischen Institut der Wiener Universtat fort und beschäftigte mich mit der manieristischen Malerei der Niederländer in 16. Und 17. Jh. Mit Hinblick auf eine biografische Bearbeitung des Hofmalers Kaiser Rudolf II Bartholomäus Spranger. 1905-06 diente ich als Volontär an K K Oster. Museen für Kunst und Industrie. Im Frühjahr 1906 ging ich als Stipendiat des Österreichische Institut für Geschichtsforschung nach Rom zwecks Forschungen für die Biografie des Bartholomäus Spranger. Im Jahre 1908 würde ich als Volontär bei den Königlichen Museen in Berlin aufgenommen und zunächst in Kupferstichkabinett unter Direktor Max Friedlander dann in der Gemälde Galerie unter Wilhelm Bode beschäftigt. In dieser Zeit vollendete ich meine Arbeit über Spranger für das Jahrbuch des Kaiserhauses und schrieb von einem in Wiener Privatbesitz befindlichen Karton ausgehend einen Beitrag zur Geschichte der Raffael Schule für das Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preuss Kunstsammlungen (vgl. das Schriftenverzeichnis). Anfang 1910 würd ich zum wissenschaftlichen Hilfsarbeiter an der islamischen Abteilung des Kaiser Friedrich Museum unter Friedrich Sarre erkühnt und wandte mich nunmehr dem Studium der islamischen Kunst zu , indem ich gleichzeitig an der Universität mit dem Studium der arabischen Sprache begann (bei Prof. Mittwoch). Im Sommer dieses Jahres würde ich der Bearbeitung des Katalogs der Münchner Orientalischen Ausstellung zugezogen und bearbeitete die islamischen Elfenbeinwerke aus dieser Anregung entstand meine Arbeit über bemalte islamische Elfenbein Katschen und Pyxiden für das Kgl. Preuss. Jahrbuch. Im Frühjahr 1911 folgte ich einer Einladung Hofrat Strzygowskis ihn übersiedelte nach Wien um als Assistent an seinem Kunsthistorischen Institut einzutreten. Meine wissenschaftliche

Arbeit bleib weiterhin ausschließlich der spätantiken islamischen und mittelalterlich europäischen Kunst gewidmet zunächst mit dem auf Abfassung eines von Strzygowski geplanten umfassenden Handbücher der islamischen Kunstgerichtteten Ziel. Zu diesem Zwecke, unternahm ich im Winter 1911/12 ein Studienreise nach Kairo. Das Studium der arabische Sprache setzte ich mit D'Adolf Grohmann fort, wahrend ich die persische Sprache in der Schule für orientalische Sprachen in der Hegelgasse betrieb. Dortselbst legte ich 1915 die Staatsprüfung über Persisch ab. Im Herbst 1912 unternahm ich in Auftrag des Kunsthistorischen Institutes (Lehr Kanzel Strzygowski) unterstützt von Unterrichts und Handelsministerium eine Forschungsreise nach Ostpersien von der ich Sommer 1914 vor Ausbruch des Krieges heimkehrte. Würden den in Persien gepflogenen Forschungen und Aufnahmen, über die das Werk Churasanische Baudenkmaler „ dessen ersten Band ich als Habilitationsschrift überreiche, Rechenschaft gibt, nahm ich auf der Hinweise die Gelegenheit Wahl, die islamischen Baudenkmaler in siraz/Samarra, Bagdad/auf Bahrein, in Indien, Ägypten, Kleinasien (Konia) und Konstantinopel zu studieren. In Indien besichtigte ich auch einige der wichtigsten Statten altindischen Kunst wie Elephante, Karli, Achshanta und die Museen in Kalkutta und Madras, endlich Amirathapire auf Ceylon. Seit Sommer 1914 arbeitete ich in Wien und den Churasanischen Baudenkmalern und auf Einladung des Verlages des Handbuchs der Kunstwissenschaft in Babelsberg an einem Handbuch der islamischen Kunst, das 1916 Güter dem Titel „Die Kunst der islamischen Völker" erschienen ist. In Frühjahr 1916 würde ich als Leutnant d. Reserve zur Kriegsdienstleistung einberufen und dadurch von meinen wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten stark abgezogen. Trotzdem gelang es mir den ersten Band der „Churasanischen Baudenkmaler" November l. J. herauszubringen. Wahrend meiner Assistentenzeit hielt ich an den Volkstümlichen Universitätskursen folgende Kurse ab: 1911 Rembrandt; 1914 Persien Kultur und Kunst; 1916/17 der Einfluss des Ostens auf die Kunst der Mittelmeerländer; 1917/18 Geschichte der orientalischen Kunst: 1) Islam 2/Indien 3)China.

Wien am 9 Dezember 1918
Ernst Diez

Ancestral Documents, Ernst Diez to the Ministry of Science, Education, and Culture in Berlin, 11 August 1939. Source: [Paul Sacher Stiftung, Ernst Diez Archives]

Väterlicher Großvater
Ernst Friedr. Franz. Diez
9.VIII.1786 Coburg
evang. Luther.

Väterlicher Großmutter
Wilhelmina Försche
12.IV.1809 Triest
S: Antonio in Triest
Röm. Katholik

Mütterliche Großvater
Anton Gustav von Webern
17.V.1817 Marburg
röm. Katolik

Mütterliche Großmutter
Maria Isop
29.I. 1813 Bleiburg
röm. Katolik

Vater
Diez Friedrich Karl Maria
22. Nov. 1845
evang. St. Martin Villachs

Mutter
Von Webern Maria Alosia
29. Sept. 1854
Liescha
Röm. Kath.

Diez Ernst
27. Juli. 1878 Lölling Kämten
röm. Katholik
beheiratet
Nina Beryl Ryder (irländischen. Adelnde ist) sein arisch
27 Juni 1907
Wien evang. Kirsche

Report on Ernst Diez's application for the position of Professor Extraordinarius. Source: [Ernst Diez Folder. University of Vienna Archives, Vienna]

8.III. 1924

Bericht

Der Kommission über den Antrag dem Pd. Dr. Ernst Diez den Titel eines außerordentlichen Professors zu verleihen.

Die erste Sitzung fand am 19. Februar statt. Da der Dekan durch Krankheit verhindert war, übernahm den Vorsitz Prof. Grobben. Anwesend waren die Herren Überberger, Reisch, Patsch, Kraelitz, Menghin und Prof. Schlosser, der aber wegen seiner Vorlesung die Sitzung verlassen musste, nachdem er sich für die Titelverleihung ausgesprochen hatte. Entschuldigt waren die Herren Junker und Geyer. Die Kommission sprach sich einstimmig für die Titel Verleihung eines Extraordinarius aus.

Seit am 5.I. 1919 der Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Pd. Dr. Diez zum Zwecke seiner Habilitation für die Kunstgeschichte des Orients abgestattet wurde, hat Dr. Diez eine Reihe von Arbeiten veröffentlich die zeigen, dass er nicht nur seine damals der Vollendung nahen Arbeiten über islamische Kunst tatsachlich zu Ende geführt und erweitert hat, sondern von allem, dass er seiner Venia entsprechend sich auf das Gesamtgebiet der Kunst des alten Orients, die ausdrücklich für weitere Habilitationen frei gehalten wurde, einleitungsweise behandelt.

Zunächst wurde die Arbeit über die Reise das I. Kunsthistorischen Instituts nach Churasan in einem zweiten Bande bearbeitet, der wegen Mangel der nötigen Mittel nicht vom Institut selbst herausgegeben werden konnte, sondern sich unter dem Titel „Persien, islamische Baukunst in Churasan" in den Rahmen der Schriften –Reihe „Kulturen der Erde" des Folkwang Verlages in Hagen einfügen musste. Nachdem Diez im ersten Bande die denkmalkundliche Grundlegung geschaffen hatte, behandelt er im vorliegenden Bande die wesensfragen, geht ausführlich auf Rohstoff und Werk, Herkunft, Bedeutung und Zweck der Bautypen ein. Er versucht auch entwicklungsgeschichtliche Fragen zu lösen u.zw. an der Hand der einzelnen Baugestalten und der Ornamentik. Auch Über Form und Inhalt bietet er einige Bemerkungen. Im Anhange werden die Aufnahmen der afghanischen Expedition des Majors Niedermayer behandelt. Das Buch kann wie Diez's Buch über die Kunst der islamischen Völker als der erste Versuch gelten, die Kunst des Islam streng nach Ort und Zeit historisch vorzuführen, so als der erste Versuch gelten, die islamische Kunst systematisch zu behandeln. Wenn auch für die Zukunft durchgreifender Bearbeitungen zu erwarten sind, so muss doch anerkannt werden, dass Diez die Forderung des Institutsvorstandes nach einer solchen Wesensbetrachtung mit allem sachlichen Ernst durchgeführt hat.

Da Gebiet der persischen Kunst hat dann Diez noch in mehreren Aufsätzen behandelt. So „Die Element der persischen Landschaftsmalerei und ihre Gestaltung" im 2 Bande der Institutsbeitrage zur vergleichenden Kunstforschung „Kunde, Wesen, Entwicklung." Diez sucht darin zu zeigen, dass die eigenartige Landschaft, die von

Iran ausstrahlt und noch in der persischen Miniaturen Malerei der Spätzeit herrschend ist, bodenständig sein müsse. Im ersten Bande des Asiatischen Jahrbuchs führt er „Fragmente eines älteren persischen Teppichs“ vor, die er auf unserer Expedition in Teheran erworben hat und die manches von den Gedankengängen Karabaceks in seinem Sudanschird zu klaren vermögen. In einem Festschrift Aufsätze „Orientalische Gotik“ weist Diez darauf hin dass der gesamte islamische Spitzbogenstil aus dem gleichen Geiste geboren sei wie die französische Gotik, daher Gotik genannt werden müsse, wenn er auch wesentlich andere Baugestalten gezeitigt habe. Grünwedel und Havel bestimmen dabei sein Denken. Schon hier also spielen indische Denkmaler eine entscheidende Rolle.

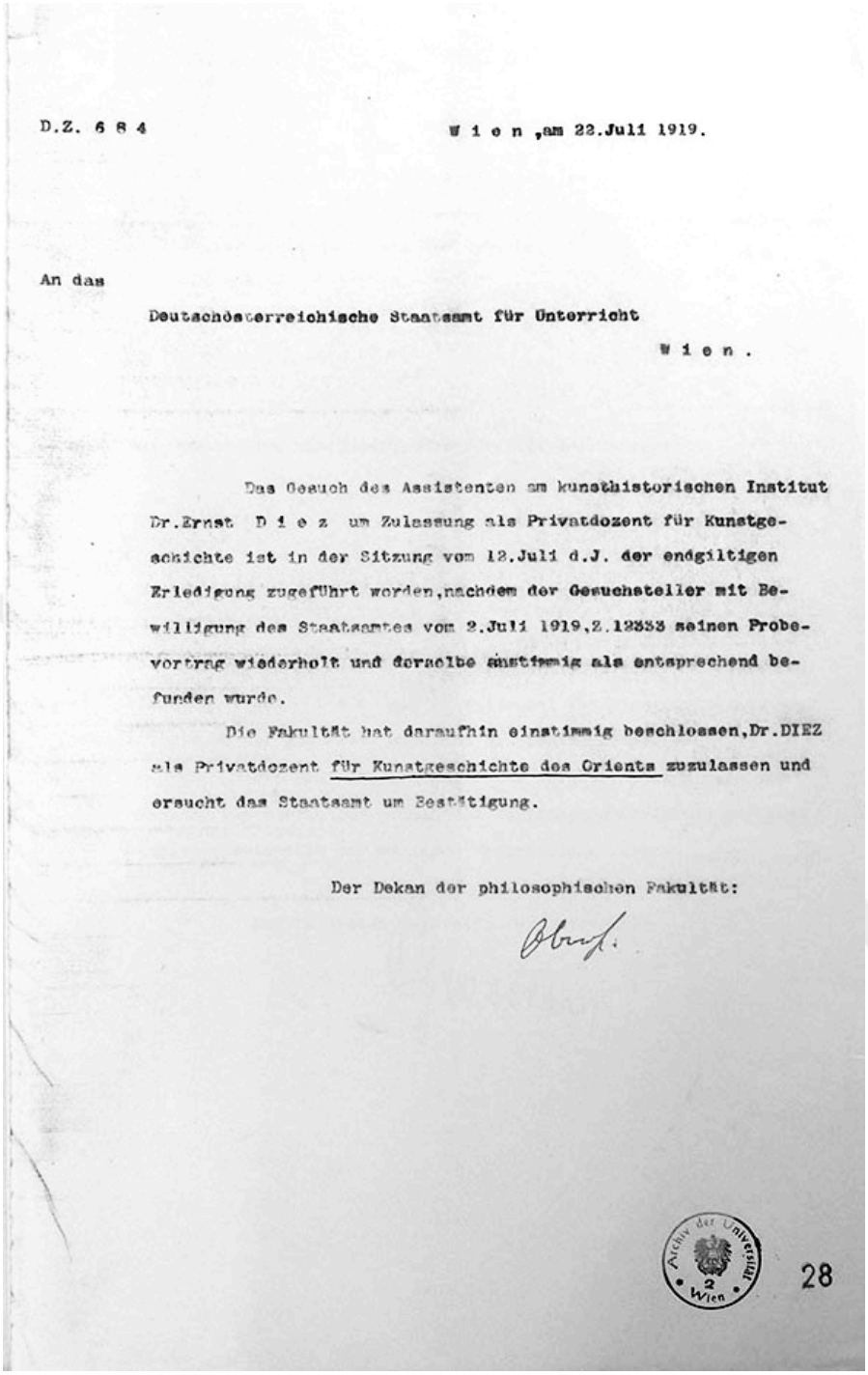
Tatsache ist, dass Diez inzwischen mit der ostasiatischen Kunst nicht nur in Vorlesung Fühlung genommen hat. In dem Reise werke von Niedermayer bearbeitet er jetzt neben den islamischen auch die buddhistischen Denkmaler Afghanistans und versucht in einem eigenen Buche „Einführung in die Kunst des Ostens“ eine Vorstellung vom Wesen der Kunst in China und Japan zu geben. Diez trägt dort mit Anerkennenswertem Eifer vor Schriftquellen und Denkmalern alles zudämmen, was man wissen muss, um Einblick in den heutigen Stand der Forschung zu gewinnen. Er hat auch hier im Anschluss an die vor etwa zehn Jahren beginnende Arbeit des Instituts Klärens einzugreifen versucht. Diez beobachte zugleich der Wiener Kunsthandel auf ostasiatischem Gebiete. Ein Aufsatz über „Buddhistische Bronzeköpfe aus Siam“ in Cicerone 1923 mal als beleg dafür gelten.

In der Kommissionssitzung vom 19.II wurde auch der Antrag gesteht, Dr. Diez einen Lehrauftrag zu erwirken. Der Antrag wurde damals mit den Stimmen der Anwesenden gegen eine Stimmenenthaltung angenommen. Darüber wurde dann am 7. Marz eine zweite Sitzung abgehalten, an der auch die bei der ersten Sitzung abwesenden Herren Schlosser und Junker teilnehmen. Nach reiflicher Erwägung wurde mit allen gegen die selbe Stimmenenthaltung beschlossen, der Fakultät vorzuschlagen, sie möge für dem Pd. Dr. Diez auf Grund der Privatdozenten Ordnung18 einen dreistündigen Lehrauftrage für die „Denkmalkunde des Orients“ beantragen.

Nach amtlichen dem Ausweise der Quästur waren die Vorlesungen des Pd Diez über die Kunstgeschichte des Orients von 12 und 51, über indische Kunst von 56, über buddhistische Kunst von 60 und 40, über ostasiatische Malerei von 76, üver Vergleichende Kunstgeschichte von 72 und über ostasiatische Baukunst von 43 Hörern besucht, der Besuch der Übungen schwankt zwischen 5 und 24 Hörern.

Die Kommission schlagt also, um zusammenfassen, vor dem Privatdozenten Dr Ernst Diez den Titel eines außerordentlichen Professors und nach .18 der Privatdozenten Ordnung einen dreistündigen Lehrauftrag für die Denkmalkunde des Orients zukommen zu lassen.

Josef Strzygowski als Berichterstatte



D.Z. 6 8 4 W i e n ,am 22.Juli 1919.

An das

Deutschösterreichische Staatsamt für Unterricht

W i e n .

Das Gesuch des Assistenten am kunsthistorischen Institut Dr.Ernst D i e z um Zulassung als Privatdozent für Kunstgeschichte ist in der Sitzung vom 12.Juli d.J. der endgiltigen Erledigung zugeführt worden,nachdem der Gesuchsteller mit Bewilligung des Staatsamtes vom 2.Juli 1919,Z.12333 seinen Probevortrag wiederholt und derselbe einstimmig als entsprechend befunden wurde.

Die Fakultät hat daraufhin einstimmig beschlossen,Dr.DIEZ als Privatdozent für Kunstgeschichte des Orients zuzulassen und ersucht das Staatsamt um Bestätigung.

Der Dekan der philosophischen Fakultät:

Obrist.

Archiv der Universität Wien

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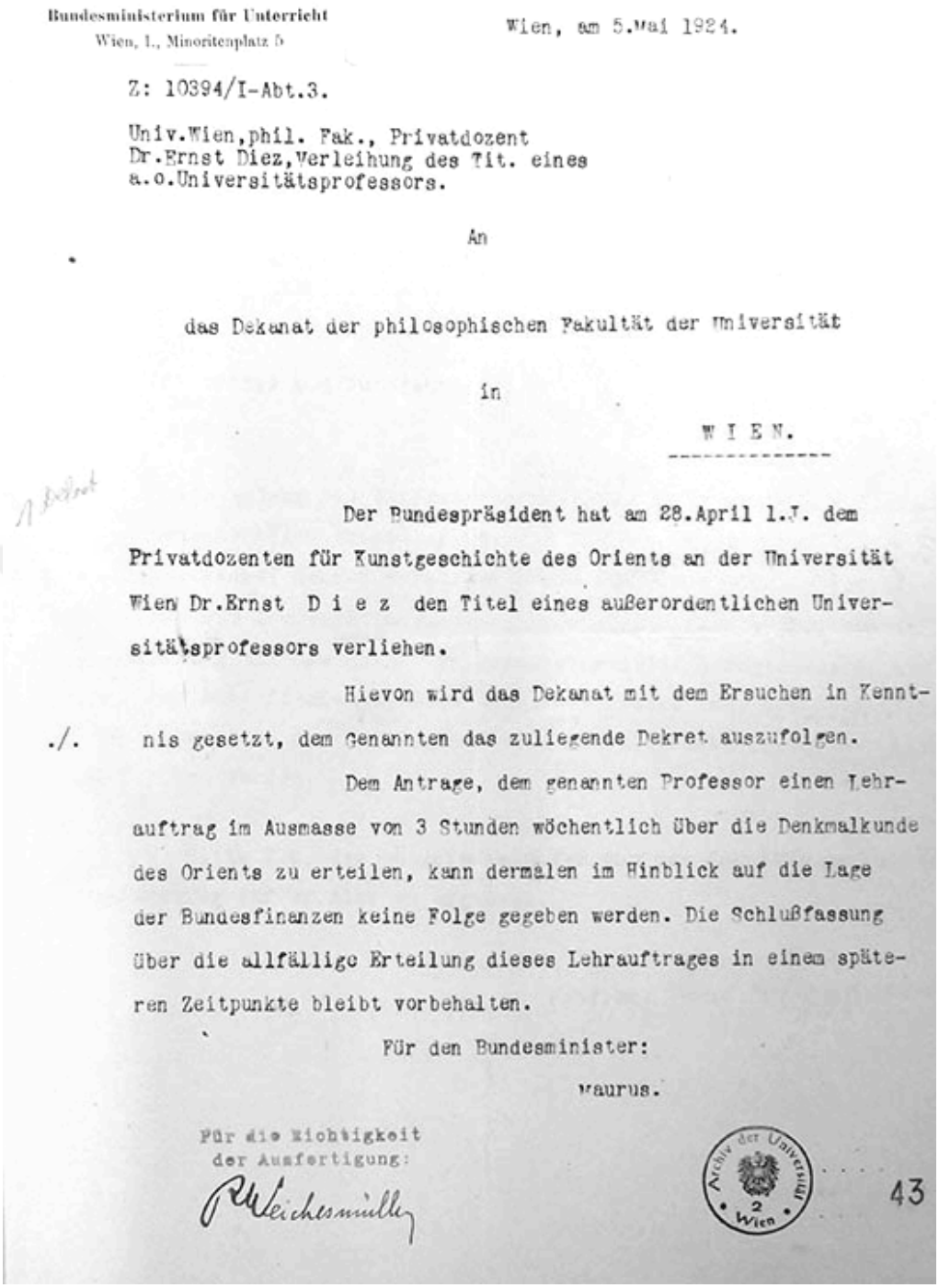
Figure C1. Official letter for Diez's position as *Privatdozent* for *Kunstgeschichte Des Orients*, 22 July 1919. Source: [Ernst Diez Folder. University of Vienna Archives, Vienna]



Bundesministerium für Unterricht
Wien, I., Minoritenplatz 5

Wien, am 5.Mai 1924.

Z: 10394/I-Abt.3.

Univ.Wien,phil. Fak., Privatdozent
Dr.Ernst Diez,Verleihung des Tit. eines
a.o.Universitätsprofessors.

An

das Dekanat der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität

in

W I E N.

Der Bundespräsident hat am 28.April l.J. dem Privatdozenten für Kunstgeschichte des Orients an der Universität Wien Dr.Ernst D i e z den Titel eines außerordentlichen Universitätsprofessors verliehen.

Hievon wird das Dekanat mit dem Ersuchen in Kenntnis gesetzt, dem Genannten das zuliegende Dekret auszufolgen.

./.

Dem Antrage, dem genannten Professor einen Lehrauftrag im Ausmasse von 3 Stunden wöchentlich Über die Denkmalkunde des Orients zu erteilen, kann dermalen im Hinblick auf die Lage der Bundesfinanzen keine Folge gegeben werden. Die Schlußfassung über die allfällige Erteilung dieses Lehrauftrages in einem späteren Zeitpunkte bleibt vorbehalten.

Für den Bundesminister:

Maurus.

Für die Richtigkeit
der Ausfertigung:

Archiv der Universität Wien

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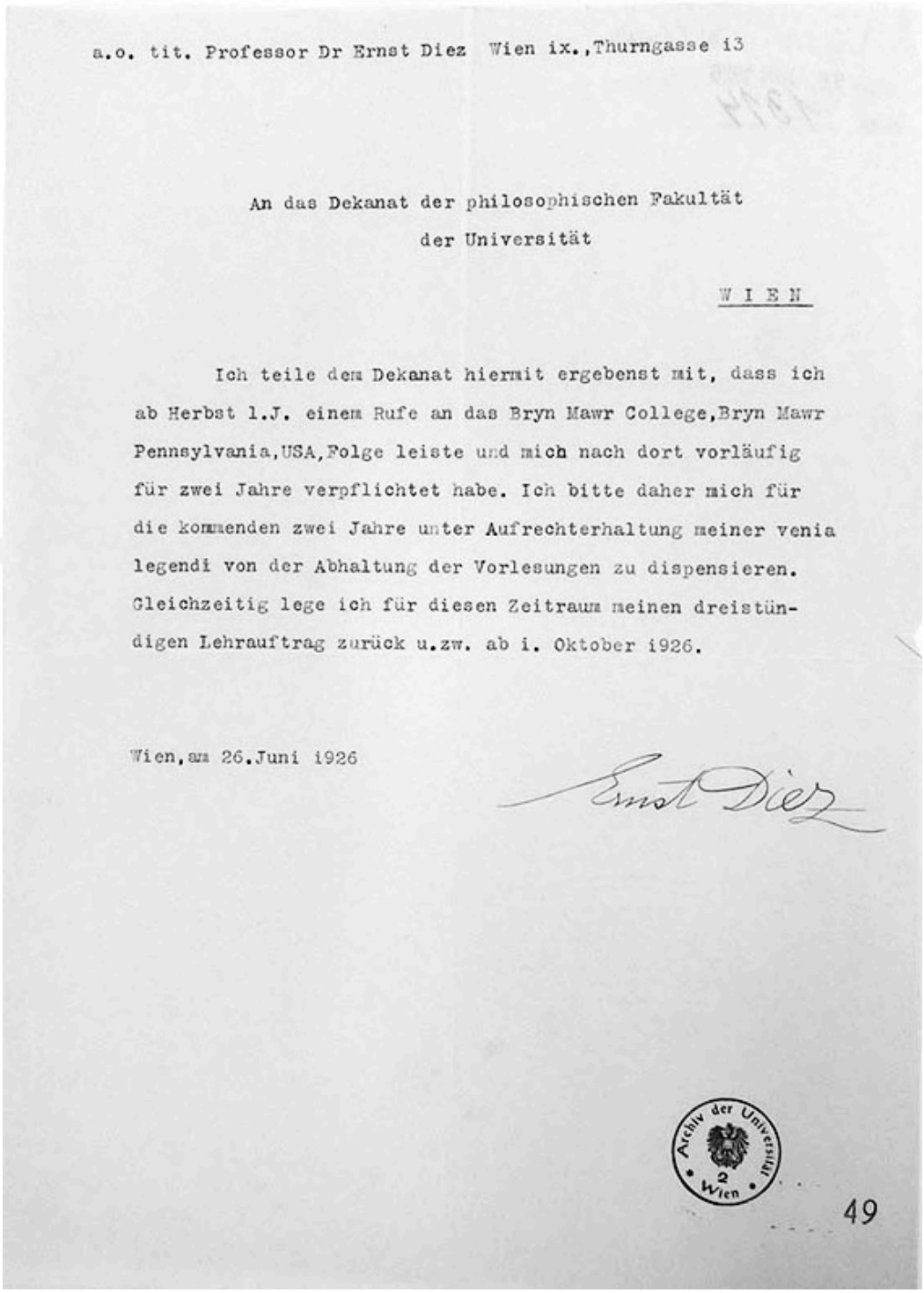
Figure C2. Official letter for Diez's position as professor extraordinarius in *Denkmalkunde Des Orients*, 5 May 1924. Source: [Ernst Diez Folder. University of Vienna Archives, Vienna]



a.o. tit. Professor Dr Ernst Diez Wien ix.,Thurngasse 13

An das Dekanat der philosophischen Fakultät
der Universität

W I E N

Ich teile dem Dekanat hiermit ergebenst mit, dass ich ab Herbst l.J. einem Rufe an das Bryn Mawr College,Bryn Mawr Pennsylvania,USA,Folge leiste und mich nach dort vorläufig für zwei Jahre verpflichtet habe. Ich bitte daher mich für die kommenden zwei Jahre unter Aufrechterhaltung meiner venia legendi von der Abhaltung der Vorlesungen zu dispensieren. Gleichzeitig lege ich für diesen Zeitraum meinen dreistündigen Lehrauftrag zurück u.zw. ab 1. Oktober 1926.

Wien,am 26.Juni 1926

Ernst Diez

Archiv der Universität Wien

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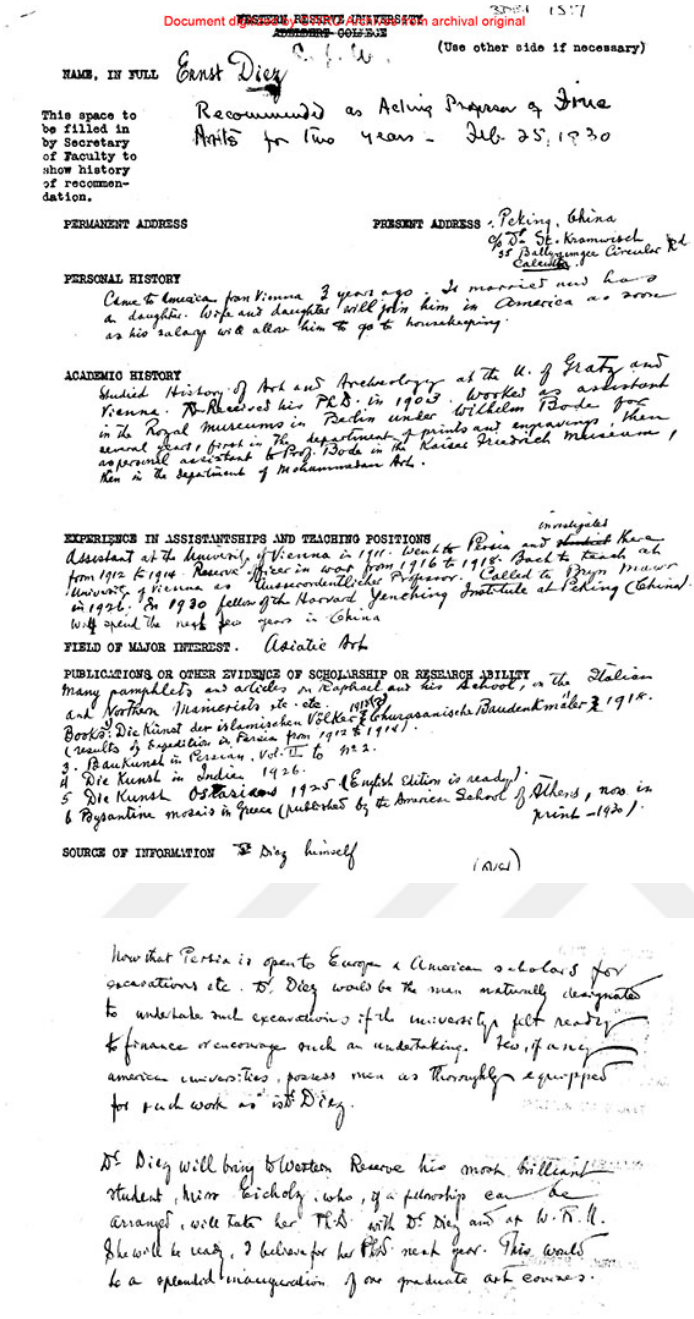
Figure C3. Letter from Diez to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, 26 June 1926. Source: [Ernst Diez Folder. University Of Vienna Archives, Vienna]



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WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
~~FLORENCE~~ COLLEGE

(Use other side if necessary)

NAME, IN FULL Ernst Diez

This space to be filled in by Secretary of Faculty to show history of recommendation.

Recommended as Acting Professor of Fine Arts for two years - Feb. 25, 1930

PERMANENT ADDRESS

PRESENT ADDRESS Peking, China
c/o Dr. St. Kramrisch
35 Ballygunge Circular Rd
Calcutta

PERSONAL HISTORY

Came to America from Vienna 3 years ago. Is married and has a daughter. Wife and daughter will join him in America as soon as his salary will allow him to go to housekeeping.

ACADEMIC HISTORY

Studied History of Art and Archeology at the U. of Graty and Vienna. Received his Ph.D. in 1903. Worked as assistant in the Royal Museums in Berlin under Wilhelm Bode for several years, first in the department of prints and engravings, then as personal assistant to Prof. Bode in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, then in the department of Mohammedan Art.

EXPERIENCE IN ASSISTANTSHIPS AND TEACHING POSITIONS Assistant at the University of Vienna in 1911. Went to Persia and investigated there from 1912 to 1914. Reserve officer in war from 1916 to 1918. Back to teach at University of Vienna as ~~Unaccordentlicher~~ Professor. Called to Bryn Mawr in 1926. In 1930 fellow of the Harvard Yenching Institute at Peking (China). Will spend the next few years in China

FIELD OF MAJOR INTEREST. Asiatic Art

PUBLICATIONS OR OTHER EVIDENCE OF SCHOLARSHIP OR RESEARCH ABILITY Many pamphlets and articles in Raphael and his School, in the Italian and Northern Manuscripts etc. etc. 1913-18.
Books: 1 Die Kunst der islamischen Völker. 2 Churasanische Baudenkmäler. 3 1918.
(results of Expedition in Persia from 1912 to 1914).
3. Baukunst in Persien, Vol. I to No 2.
4 Die Kunst in Indien 1926.
5 Die Kunst Ostasiens 1925 (English Edition is ready).
6 Byzantine mosaics in Greece (published by the American School of Athens, now in print - 1930).

SOURCE OF INFORMATION Dr Diez himself (ALS)

Now that Persia is open to European & American scholars for excavations etc. Dr. Diez would be the man naturally designated to undertake such excavations if the university felt ready & finances encourage such an undertaking. Few, if any, american universities possess men as thoroughly equipped for such work as Dr. Diez.

Dr. Diez will bring to Western Reserve his most brilliant student, Miss Eichaly, who, if a fellowship can be arranged, will take her Ph.D. with Dr. Diez and at W.R.U. She will be ready, I believe, for her Ph.D. next year. This would be a splendid inauguration of our graduate art courses.

Figure C4. The employment form for Ernst Diez at Case Western Reserve University. Source: [Case Western Reserve University Archives]

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HOWELL MERRIMAN HAYDN, A.M., B.D., 1832 Rosemont Road

Harkness Professor of Biblical Literature.

A.B., Adelbert College, 1896; Auburn Theological Seminary, 1896-99; Diploma, 1899; B.D., Union Theological Seminary, 1909; A.M., Columbia University, 1909; Instructor in Biblical Literature, Flora Stone Mather College, 1899-1903; Associate Professor of Biblical Literature, 1903-10; Professor of Biblical Literature, 1910—

HARRY WILLIAM MOUNTCASTLE, PH.D., Park Lane Villa

Perkins Professor of Physics and Astronomy, and Director of the Physical Laboratory.

B.S., Case School of Applied Science, 1897; M.S., 1900; A.M., Western Reserve University, 1901; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1904; Instructor in Physics, Case School of Applied Science, 1897-1902; Graduate Student, Johns Hopkins University, 1902-04; Associate Professor of Physics, Bryn Mawr College, 1904-06; Assistant Professor of Physics, Adelbert College and Flora Stone Mather College, 1907-11, Associate Professor of Physics, 1911-14; Professor of Physics and Astronomy, 1914; and Director of Physical Laboratory, 1918—

CHARLES CRISWELL ARBUTHNOT, PH.D., LL.D., 2263 Demington Drive

Professor of Economics.

B.S., Geneva College, 1899; LL.D., 1916; Assistant in History, 1899-1900; Fellow in Political Economy, University of Chicago, 1901-03; Ph.D., 1903; Instructor in Political Economy, University of Nebraska, 1903-04; Adjunct Professor, 1904; Instructor in Economics, Adelbert College and Flora Stone Mather College, 1904-06; Associate Professor of Economics, 1906-08; Professor of Economics, 1908—

JAMES ELBERT CUTLER, PH.D., 2040 Stearns Road

Selah Chamberlain Professor of Sociology.

A.B., University of Colorado, 1900; Yale University, 1900-04; Henry C. Robinson Fellow, 1902-03; Ph.D., 1903; Instructor in Political Economy, 1903-04; Instructor in Economics, Wellesley College, 1904-06; Assistant Professor of Political Economy, University of Michigan, 1906-07; Associate Professor of Sociology, Adelbert College, 1907-10; Professor of Sociology, Adelbert College, 1910—; and Flora Stone Mather College, 1918—

SARAH FIELD BARROW, PH.D., 11501 Mayfield Road

Professor of English.

Ph.B., University of Chicago, 1900; Graduate Student, 1900-03; Ph.M., 1902; Reader, 1902-03; Instructor in English, Wolcott School, Denver, Colo., 1903-13; Graduate Student, Columbia University, 1913-15; 1917; Ph.D., 1919; Instructor in English, Flora Stone Mather College, 1915-20; Assistant Professor of English, 1920-25; Associate Professor of English, 1925-28; Professor of English, 1928—

ERNST DIEZ, PH.D., 2281 Murray Hill Road

Acting Professor of Fine Arts.

Vienna, Austria; Ph.D., University of Graz, Styria, 1902; Assistant in the Department of Mohammedan Art, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, 1908-11; Assistant in the Department of History of Art, Vienna University, 1911-18; Privatdozent, 1919, and Associate Professor, 1924-28; Associate Professor of the History of Art, Bryn Mawr College, 1928-30; Acting Professor of Fine Arts, Flora Stone Mather College, 1930—

JESSE EARL HYDE, A.M., On leave

Professor of Geology.

A.B., Ohio State University, 1906; Columbia University, 1906-08; A.M., 1907; Assistant in Physiography, Harvard University, 1908-09; Assistant in Paleontology, Columbia University, 1909-11; Assistant Professor of Geology, School of Mining, Kingston, Ont., 1911-15; Associate Professor of Geology, Adelbert College and Flora Stone Mather College, 1915-21; Professor of Geology, 1921—; Curator of Geology, Cleveland Museum of Natural History, 1922—

JOHN ROGERS MUSSELMAN, PH.D., 2768 Lancashire Road

Professor of Mathematics.

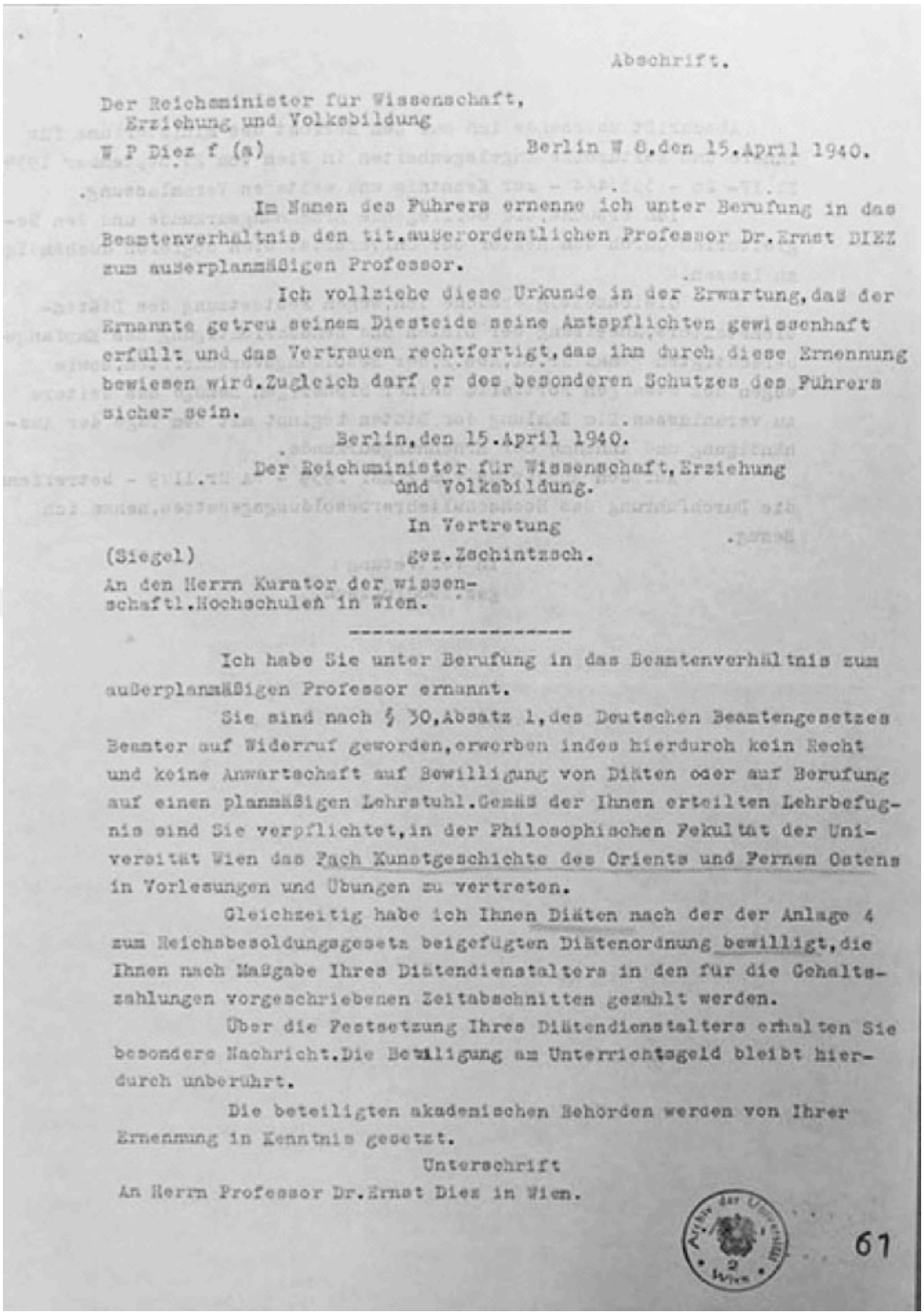
A.B., Gettysburg College, 1910; A.M., 1913; University Scholar, Johns Hopkins University, 1913-14; University Fellow, 1914-15; Fellow by Courtesy, 1915-16; Ph.D., 1916; Instructor in Mathematics, University of Illinois, 1916-18; Statistics Branch, General Staff, U. S. A., 1918-19; Instructor in Mathematics, Washington University, 1919-20; Associate in Mathematics, Johns Hopkins University, 1920-25; Associate Professor, 1925-28; Acting Professor of Mathematics, Flora Stone Mather College, 1928-30; Professor of Mathematics, 1930—

JOHN PAUL VISSCHER, PH.D., 1203 Castleton Road

Professor of Biology.

A.B., Hope College, Michigan, 1917; Graduate Student, Johns Hopkins University, 1917-20; Biologist, Chemical Warfare Service, U. S. A., 1918; M.A., Johns Hopkins University, 1920; Instructor in Zoology, Washington University, 1920-22; Instructor in Zoology, The Marine Biological Laboratory, 1920-23; Fellow by Courtesy, Johns Hopkins University, 1922-23; Bruce Fellow in Zoology, 1923-24; Ph.D., 1924; Temporary Assistant, U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 1922-24, and Special Investigator, 1924-26; Assistant Professor of Biology, Adelbert College and Flora Stone Mather College, 1924-26; Associate Professor of Biology, 1926-31; Professor of Biology, 1931—

Figure C5. Ernst Diez as acting professor of fine arts at Western Reserve University Bulletin. Source: [Case Western Reserve University Archives]



Abschrift.

Der Reichsminister für Wissenschaft,
Erziehung und Volksbildung
W P Diez f (a) Berlin W 8, den 15. April 1940.

Im Namen des Führers ernenne ich unter Berufung in das Beamtenverhältnis den tit. ausserordentlichen Professor Dr. Ernst DIEZ zum ausserplanmässigen Professor.

Ich vollziehe diese Urkunde in der Erwartung, dass der Ernannte getreu seinem Diensteide seine Amtspflichten gewissenhaft erfüllt und das Vertrauen rechtfertigt, das ihm durch diese Ernennung bewiesen wird. Zugleich darf er des besonderen Schutzes des Führers sicher sein.

Berlin, den 15. April 1940.

Der Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung.

In Vertretung

(Siegel) gez. Zschintzsch.

An den Herrn Kurator der wissenschaftl. Hochschulen in Wien.

Ich habe Sie unter Berufung in das Beamtenverhältnis zum ausserplanmässigen Professor ernannt.

Sie sind nach § 30, Absatz 1, des Deutschen Beamtengesetzes Beamter auf Widerruf geworden, erwerben indes hierdurch kein Recht und keine Anwartschaft auf Bewilligung von Diäten oder auf Berufung auf einen planmässigen Lehrstuhl. Gemäss der Ihnen erteilten Lehrbefugnis sind Sie verpflichtet, in der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien das Fach Kunstgeschichte des Orients und Fernen Ostens in Vorlesungen und Übungen zu vertreten.

Gleichzeitig habe ich Ihnen Diäten nach der der Anlage 4 zum Reichsbesoldungsgesetz beigefügten Diätenordnung bewilligt, die Ihnen nach Maßgabe Ihres Diätendienstalters in den für die Gehaltszahlungen vorgeschriebenen Zeitabschnitten gezahlt werden.

Über die Festsetzung Ihres Diätendienstalters erhalten Sie besondere Nachricht. Die Bewilligung am Unterrichtsgeld bleibt hierdurch unberührt.

Die beteiligten akademischen Behörden werden von Ihrer Ernennung in Kenntnis gesetzt.

Unterschrift

An Herrn Professor Dr. Ernst Diez in Wien.

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Figure C6. Letter from the Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, Berlin on Diez's position at the University of Vienna, 15 April 1940. Source: [Ernst Diez Folder, University Of Vienna Archives, Vienna]

Letter from Ernst Kühnel to Ernst Diez, 19 August 1942, Source: [German Archaeology Institute, Orient Department Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin]

Herrn
Prof. Dr. Ernst Diez
Wien
Universität

Lieber Diez!

Sie erinnern sich, dass vor einigen Jahren die Rede davon war, in Ankara einen Lehrstuhl für islamische Kunstgeschichte einzurichten und dass ich nach Rücksprache mit Ihnen Sie dafür in Vorschlag gebracht hatte. Daraus wurde dann aber nichts. Nun ist man vor einigen Monaten von türkischer sowohl wie von deutscher Seite an mich herangetreten zwecks Benennung einer geeigneten Persönlichkeit für eine solche Professur, die an der Universität in Istanbul geschaffen werden soll. Ich stehe auf dem Standpunkt, dass Sie mit Ihrer grossen Erfahrung in jahrzehntelanger Lehrtätigkeit auf diesem Gebiete die einzig geeignete Persönlichkeit für einen solchen Posten sind und hatte da um auch nur Sie wärmstens empfohlen. Soviel ich höre, ist man auch an Sie bereits herangetreten, hat Sie aber abgeneigt gefunden, den Posten anzunehmen. Es handelt sich darum, ein Gegengewicht gegen Runciman zu schaffen, dem die Türken eine Professur für Byzantinistik gegeben haben, und von türkischer Seite wird Wert darauf gelegt, für die islamische Professur einen deutschen Dozenten zu gewinnen, der bereits Lehrerfolge aufzuweisen hat.

Ich weiss, dass von türkischer Seite immer nur Verträge auf ein Jahr abgeschlossen werden und ich kann mir vorstellen, dass Sie keine grosse Neigung haben, Ihre Tätigkeit in Wien zu unterbrechen, aber vielleicht machen Ihnen die Türken für Ihren besonderen Fall besonders günstige Bedingungen, sodass Sie sich doch entschliessen können, im Hinblick auf die kulturpolitische Wichtigkeit dieses Postens, das Angebot anzunehmen.

Ich habe jedenfalls bei erneuter Rückfrage geraten, die Verhandlungen mit Ihnen nicht abzubrechen. Ließe es sich nicht etwa so einrichten, dass Sie immer abwechselnd ein Semester in Wien und in Istanbul lesen? Ich bin über die Einzelheiten nicht genauer orientiert, würde mich aber sehr freuen, wenn es doch noch gelänge, Sie für Istanbul zu gewinnen.

Mit herzlichen Grüssen und
Heil Hitler!
Ihr

Letter from Ernst Diez to Ernst Kühnel, 2 September 1942. Source: [German Archaeology Institute, Orient Department Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin]

Wien IX/71 Günthergasse 1

Herrn Professor
Dr. Ernst Kühnel
Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Islamische Abteilung

Lieber Freund Kühnel!

Ich bekam die erste Anfrage wegen der Istanbuler Universität im Februar d.J. vonseiten des Ministeriums (Oberregierungsrat Scurla) und machte mich erbötig zunächst für ein Semester dorthin zu gehen. Nun kam vor etwa vier Wochen eine zweite Anfrage aus Berlin mit dem Bescheid, dass man mich hinberufen möchte, falls ich mich mich für ein Jahr entschliessen könnte. Das habe ich nunmehr dem Ministerium zugesagt. Auch mit einer intermittierenden Semestertätigkeit wäre ich später, nach Ablauf des ersten Jahres einverstanden und hielte es dann für genügend. Nur wollte ich mein hiesiges Institut und meine Schüler, die mit mir rechnen, nicht ganz preisgeben.

Da nun meine Hauptschüler ohnedies an der Front stehen und noch ein Student aus Istanbul hier ist, um bei mir den Doktor zu machen, dieser aber mit mir nach Istanbul gehen würde, wo er mir bei der Einrichtung einer Abteilung von grossem Nutzen wäre, so würde ich grosses Gewicht darauf legen für dieses Wintersemester schon engagiert zu werden. (Sonra üstü çizilmiş ve bakanlık nüshasında olmayan cümle: Auch der sonstigen Verhältnisse wegen wäre eine derartige Erholung von allerlei Knappheiten nur wünschenswert)

Leider scheint der Amtsweg seine langen Wege zu gehen. Wenn Sie darauf Einfluss nehmen und die betreffenden entscheidenden Behörden in Istanbul oder Ankara zu einer raschen Entscheidung drängen könnten, wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar.

Mit herzlichem Dank für Ihre freundlichen Empfehlungen und Ihre Interessenahme begrüsse ich Sie herzlich.

Ihr

Letter From Ernst Kühnel to Ministry Of Science, Education and Culture, Berlin, 5 September 1942. Source: [German Archaeology Institute, Orient Department Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin]

5.9. 1942
Herrn
Oberregierungsrat Dr. Scurla
Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung

Sehr geehrter Herr Oberregierungsrat!

Von Istanbul aus war ich im März dieses Jahres gebeten worden, eine geeignete Persönlichkeit für den am der dortigen Universität zu errichtenden Lehrstuhl für Islamische Kunst vorzuschlagen und zwar im besonderen Hinblick darauf, dass damit ein Gegengewicht gegen die dem Engländer Prof. Runciman übertragene Professur geschaffen werden sollte. Unter solchen Umständen schien mir, da für mich selbst ein Weggang von Berlin nicht in Frage kommt, mein Kollege Prof. Ernst Diez in Wien für diesen Posten der geeignetste Mann, da er erstens als Forscher auf dem fraglichen Gebiet allgemein bekannt und zweitens durch eine jahrzehntelange Lehrtätigkeit in Wien sowohl wie in Amerika für ein solches Amt besonders reiche Erfahrung besitzt. Ich habe dementsprechend gebeten, zuerst an ihn heranzutreten.

Bei einer späteren, gelegentlichen Anfrage durch einen Herrn des Amtes Rosenberg habe ich denselben Vorschlag wiederholt.

Nun befasste mich kürzlich Prof. Dr. Scheel erneut mit der Angelegenheit und bat mich um die Nennung anderer geeigneter Kandidaten, da Diez offenbar nicht Neigung habe, nach Istanbul zu gehen. Ich habe ihm geraten, zunächst doch noch auf Diez zu bestehen, da meines Erachtens nur er imstande ist, da meines Erachtens nur er imstande ist, den Posten in vollem Maasse auszufüllen und habe an ihn selbst in der Sache geschrieben mit der Anregung, zunächst einmal auf ein Jahr nach Istanbul zu gehen und später vielleicht, wenn angängig, abwechselnd dort und in Wien zu lesen. Ich erhalte nun von ihm die beiliegende Antwort, aus der hervorgeht, dass er nicht nur geneigt ist, sich für Istanbul zu verpflichten, sondern sogar Wert darauf legen würde, schon im kommenden Wintersemester dort seine Tätigkeit aufzunehmen. Ich stelle Ihnen eine Abschrift seines Schreibens zu, um nach Möglichkeit eine Entscheidung zu beschleunigen.

Mit ergebenster Empfehlung!
Heil Hitler!
(Prof. Dr. E. Kühnel)

Letter from Dr. Scurla To Ernst Kühnel, 16 September 1942. Source: [German Archeology Institute, Orient Department Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin]

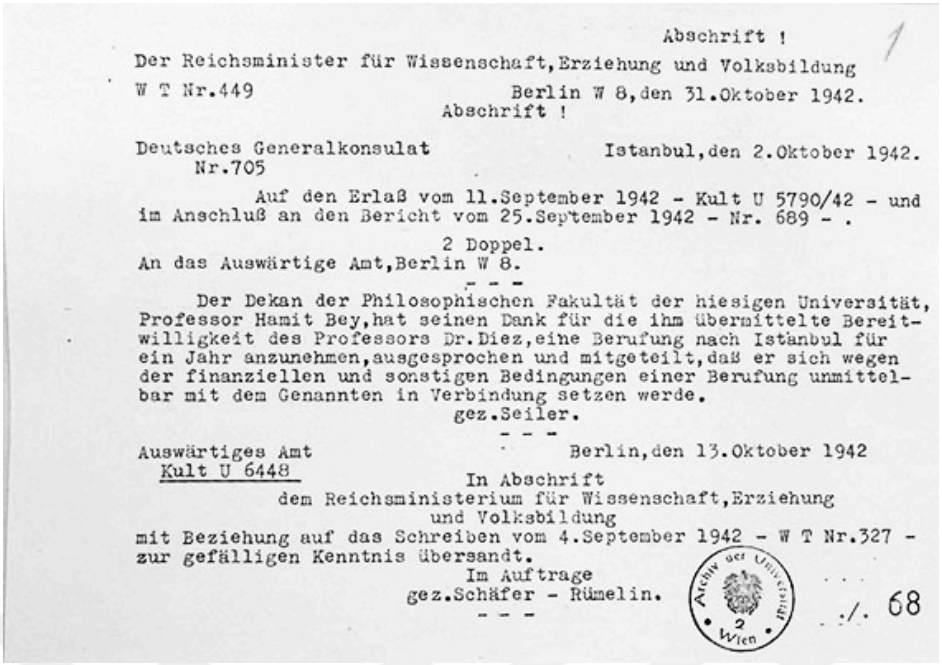
Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung
Oberregierungsrat Dr. Scurla
To Ernst Kühnel
16. September. 1942

Ministry of the Reich for Science, Education and Popular Education
Chief Governor Dr. Scurla

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Auf Ihr Schreiben vom 5. September 1942, betreffend Lehrstuhl für islamische Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Istanbul, darf ich Ihnen mitteilen, daβ mein Ministerium unmittelbar nach Eingang der Zusage von Herrn Professor Dr. Diez das Auswärtige Amt entsprechend unterrichtet hat. Eine Einwirkung auf die türkischen Behörden im Sinne einer Beschleunigung der Angelegenheit ist z.Zt. nicht möglich, da ein diplomatischer Schritt der Türkischen Regierung hinsichtlich der Berufung eines deutschen Hochschullehrers auf den genannten Lehrstuhl noch nicht erfolgt ist.

Heil Hitler!



Abschrift !

Der Reichsminister für Wissenschaft,Erziehung und Volksbildung

W T Nr.449 Berlin W 8,den 31.Oktober 1942.

Abschrift !

Deutsches Generalkonsulat Istanbul,den 2.Oktober 1942.
Nr.705

Auf den Erlaß vom 11.September 1942 - Kult U 5790/42 - und im Anschluß an den Bericht vom 25.September 1942 - Nr. 689 - .

2 Doppel.

An das Auswärtige Amt,Berlin W 8.

- - -

Der Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät der hiesigen Universität, Professor Hamit Bey,hat seinen Dank für die ihm übermittelte Bereitwilligkeit des Professors Dr.Diez,eine Berufung nach Istanbul für ein Jahr anzunehmen,ausgesprochen und mitgeteilt,daß er sich wegen der finanziellen und sonstigen Bedingungen einer Berufung unmittelbar mit dem Genannten in Verbindung setzen werde.

gez.Seiler.

- - -

Auswärtiges Amt Berlin,den 13.Oktober 1942

Kult U 6448

In Abschrift
dem Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft,Erziehung
und Volksbildung
mit Beziehung auf das Schreiben vom 4.September 1942 - W T Nr.327 - zur gefälligen Kenntnis übersandt.

Im Auftrage
gez.Schäfer - Rümelin.

- - -

Archiv der Universität Wien

./. 68

Figure C7. Letter from Hamit Bey to the Ministry Of Science, Education And Culture, Berlin, 2 October 1942. [Source: Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna]

Letter from Ernst Diez to Victor Christian, 11 March 1939. Source: [Ernst Diez Folder. University of Vienna Archives, Vienna]

Sehr verehrter Professor Christian:

Aus einem mir von meinem Bruder aus Wien zugesandten Zeitungsausschnitt erfuhr ich, dass mit Wirkung vom 1. Oktober 1938 die Dozenten in den Beamtenstand eingestellt wurden. Die Nachricht ist auch für mich sehr erfreulich, da ich nun, wenn ich im kommenden Herbst meine Tätigkeit an der Wiener Universität wieder aufnehme, wenigstens mit dem Dozentengehalt rechnen kann, falls ich noch nicht als vollbezahlter Extraordinarius eingestellt werden kann. Ich brauche Sie wohl kaum mehr zu bitten mich dementsprechend in das Budget einstellen zu lassen, da dies wahrscheinlich schon geschehen ist. Ob die Anzahl der von mir auf den Formularen für das S.S. angekündigten Vorlesungen für das nächste W.S. in der Anzahl von 4 Wochenstunden (eine 2st Vorlesung und ein 2sts. Seminar) genügen, weiß ich nicht. Sollte das nicht der fall sein, bitte ich um diesbezügliche Vorschreibung an die ich mich halten kann.
Heil Hitler!
Ihr sehr ergebener
Ernst Diez

Letter from Victor Christian to the Ministry Of Science, Education And Culture, Berlin, 11 August 1939. Source: [Ernst Diez Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna]

Wien, am 11 August 1939
Betreff: Pd. Tit. A.o. Professor Dr. Ernst DIEZ, Ernennung zum Dozenten neuer Ordnung mit Diäten und zum außerplanmäßigen Professor

An den
Herrn Reichsminister für Wissenschaft,
Erziehung und Volksbildung
in Berlin

In Verfolg des Erlasses vom 17. Februar 1939 WA 2920/38,..wird in der Anlage der Antrag des Privatdozenten tit. A.o. Professors Dr. Ernst Diez auf Ernennung zum Dozenten neuer Ordnung mit Diäten und zum außerplanmäßigen Professor mit folgendem Bemerken vorgelegt:

Ernst Diez wurde am 27.VII. 1878 in Lölling in Kärnten geboren und ist deutscher Reichsbürger. Nach Absolvierung des Gymnasiums in Klagenfurt und Graz studierte er an der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität in Graz Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie und wurde im Jahre 1902 zum Dr. phil. Promoviert. Diez war von 1911 bis 1925 Assistent am I. Kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität in Wien; im Herbst 1926 erhielt er eine Berufung an das Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. wo er bis Juni d.J. als Professor tätig war.

Am 28.VIII. 1919 wurde Diez mit Erlass des Unterstaatssekretars für Unterricht, z. 15965, Abt. 8 als Privatdozent für Kunstgeschichte des Orients an der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität in Wien zugelassen und mit Entschließung des österreichischen Bundespräsidenten vom 28.IV.1924 wurde ihn der Titel eines a.o. Universität-Professors verliehen (Erlass des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht vom 5.V. 1924, ...

Diez's wissenschaftliche Arbeiten umfassen die spätantike, islamische und mittelalterlich europasche Kunst, doch liegt der Schwerpunkt seiner Forschungen auf dem Orient den er aus eigener Anschauung kennt. Diez hat im Jahre 1912-1914 Ostpersien bereist, aber auch islamische Baudenkmaler in Irak, Indien, Ägypten, Kleinasien und Konstantinopel studiert. Als Privatdozent hat Diez eine ersprießliche Lehrtätigkeit entfaltet. Ich befürworte daher seinen Antrag auf Ernennung zum Dozenten neuer Ordnung und zum außerplanmäßigen Professor auf das wärmste. Gleichzeitig bitte ich den Genannten für das Fach Kunstgeschichte des Orients und fernen Ostens zum Dozenten mit Diäten zu ernennen und begründe diesen Antrag wie folgt: Wien hatte auf dem Gebiete der Erforschung der Kunst des Orients unter dem nunmehr im Ruhestand befindlichen o.Prof. Strzygowski eine führende Stellung inne. Mit dem Rücktritt des Genannten vom Lehramt riss diese auch aus politischen Gründen wichtige Beschäftigung mit dem Osten ab, da von den Schülern Strzygowski's, die sich diesem Fache gewidmet hatten, der eine Glück, gestorben, der andere, Diez, nach U.S.A. gegangen war. Es erscheint mit zur Fortführung der für Wien überaus wichtigen kunstgeschichtlichen Orientforschung daher dringend notwendig, Diez durch eine Honorierung zur Ausübung einer geregelten Lehrtätigkeit aus dem Gebiet seiner Lehrbefugnis zu verpflichten.
Als Beilagen folgen mit:

Der Antrag auf Ernennung zum Dozenten neuer Ordnung mit Diäten und zum außerplanmäßigen Professor.
Fragebogen 2 und 3.
11 gerichtlich beglaubigte Abschriften der Ahnendokumente.
Logen Erklärung.
Vermögenserklärung
Amtsärztliches Zeugnis.
Der Dekan

APPENDIX D

ERNST DIEZ BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX E

BOOKS OF THE STRZYGOWSKI INSTITUTE BETWEEN 1914 AND 1919

1. Max Eisler, *Die Geschichte eines holländischen Stadtbildes (Kultur und Kunst)*. Haag, M. Nijhoff, 1914. (Volume 1, Max Eisler The History of a Dutch Townscape-Culture and Art)
2. Band II: Luise Potpeschnigg, *Einführung in die Betrachtung von Werken der bildenden Kunst*. Wien, k. k. Schulbücherverlag, 1915.(Volume 2, Luise Potpeschnigg, Introduction to the Examination of Fine Art Works)
3. Band III: Artur Wachsberger, *Stilkritische Studien zur Wandmalerei Chinesisch- Turkestans*. (Zweite Sonderveröffentlichung der Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift.) Berlin, Oesterheld & Co., 1916. (Volume 3, Critical Studies on Chinese Turkestan Mural Styles- Second Special Publication of the German Asia-Pacific magazine).
4. Band IV: Richard Kurt Donin, *Romanische Portale in Niederösterreich* (Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Institutes der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege.) Wien, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1915.(Volume 4, Romanesque Portals in Lower Austria. Malpflege (Yearbook of the Kunsthistorisches Institut of kk Central Commission on Monuments and Sites)
5. Band V: Josef Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung. Ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens. Anknüpfend an einen Schatzfund in Albanien*. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1917.(Volume 5, Altai-Iran and the Great Migration. Historical Studies on the Ornamentation on the Entry of migrating northern peoples in the spiritual realm of green- houses. Following a treasure find in Albania)
6. Band VI: Heinrich Glück, *Der Breit- und Langhausbau in Syrien auf kultur-geographischer Grundlage*, (Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur, Beiheft XIII.) Heidelberg, C.Winter, 1916.(Volume 6, The Wide and Long House Constructions in Syria on Cultural Geographical Basis. (Journal for the History of Architecture, Supplement XIII.)
7. Band VII:Ernst Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler. Ergebnisse einer 1912-1914 vom kunsthistorischen Institute der Wiener Universität (Lehrkanzel Strzygowski) zur Erforschung der Geschichte islamischer Kunst in Iran unternommenen Forschungsreise*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer, 1918. (Volume 7, Churasan Monuments- Results from a trip of art historical institutes of the Vienna University (Professor Strzygowski) for research into the history of Islamic art in Iran taken in 1912-1914)
8. Band VIII: Max Eisler, *Der Raum bei Jan Vermeer*, (Jahrbuch der Sammlungen des Allerh. Kaiserhauses Bd. XXXIII [1916], Heft 4.) Wien, F. Tempsky. (Volume 8, The Space at Jan Vermeer. (Yearbook of the collections of Allerh. Imperial House)
9. Band IX/X: Josef Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*. (Volume 9/10, The Architecture of Armenians and Europe)
10. Band XI: Karl With, *Buddhistische Plastik in Japan bis zum Beginne des 8.Jahrhunderts. Ergebnisse einer 1913—1914 vom kunsthistorischen Institute der Wiener Universität (Lehrkanzel Strzygowski) nach Ostasien unternommenen Forschungsreise*. Wien, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co,

1919. (Volume 11, Buddhist Sculpture in Japan Until the Beginning of the 8th Century. Results from a 1913-1914 Research Trip to East Asia undertaken by the Art Historical Institute of the Vienna University (Professor Strzygowski)

11. Band XII: Heinrich Glück, *Die Bäder von Konstantinopel und ihre Stellung in der Bauentwicklung des Morgen- und Abendlandes*. In Fertigstellung.(Volume 12, The Baths of Constantinopel and Their Place in the Architectural Development of East and West. In completion.)
12. Band XIII: Max Eisler, *Rembrandt als Landschafter*. München, F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1918. (Volume 13, Rembrandt as a Landscapist)
13. Band XIV: M. Dimand, *Die Verzierung der koptischen Wollwirkereien. Strömungen des Weltverkehres im Kreise der Mittelmeerkunst*. Druckfertig.(Volume 14, The Ornamentation of Coptic Woolen tapestry. Currents in the Worldroutes in the Circle of Mediterranean Art. Press Ready.)
14. Band XV: Josef Strzygowski, *Ursprung der christlichen Kirchenkunst. Acht Vorträge der Olaus Petri-Stiftung*, Upsala 1919 (erscheint zuerst schwedisch).(Volume 15, Origin of Christian Church Art. Eight Lectures at the Olaus Petri Foundation, Upsala 1919 -appears first Swedish).
15. Band XVI: *Historischer Atlas der Stadt Wien* (Volume 16, Historical Atlas of Vienna)

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