

Friedrich Sarre and the discovery of Seljuk Anatolia

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The German art historian Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945) is well known for his role in the excavations of the Abbasid palaces of Samarra (Iraq) from 1911-13, which he directed together with Ernst Herzfeld (1879-1948), and as the director of the Islamic collection in the Berlin Museums from 1921 until 1931. Less well studied is Sarre's work on Seljuk art and architecture, which presents some of the earliest studies of the subject during a period in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Islamic art history was a nascent academic field. Sarre's work on medieval Anatolia has been analysed neither in the context of early studies on Seljuk architecture, nor in the general account of the emergence of Islamic art history as a field of scholarship. In a recent article, Oya Pancaroğlu has focused on Sarre's first book on Anatolia, *Reise in Kleinasien (Journey in Anatolia)*.¹ This travel account is based on Sarre's exploration of the area in 1895, which led to his wider interest in Islamic architecture. Sarre's later work, however, much of which also includes work on the Seljuk monuments of Konya and on Seljuk art more broadly, has not yet been investigated in the context of the early art historical literature on Seljuk Anatolia. Sarre's work remains rooted in the earlier vein of scholarship on Islamic art, particularly valuing Persianate objects and buildings.

Thus, this article argues that, unlike many scholars who worked on the arts of Anatolia in the 1920s and 1930, after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, Sarre didn't focus on the region as the cradle of a nation, nor did he study Seljuk art as an expression of Turkish culture. Hence, his viewpoint provides a corrective to the narrative of Seljuk architecture as it emerges within the context of Turkish nation building in the 1920s and 1930s. To a large extent, Sarre's work stood at the tail end of a long tradition of German scholarly work within the Ottoman Empire based on the good diplomatic relations between the two governments.

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¹ Oya Pancaroğlu, 'A Fin-de-Siècle Reconnaissance of Seljuk Architecture in Anatolia: Friedrich Sarre and his *Reise in Kleinasien*', in: Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem, eds, *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, Istanbul: SALT, 2011, 399-416.

Historiographical studies of early scholarship on medieval Anatolia have emerged in recent years, some focusing on the period before the 1914-18 war and the end of the Ottoman Empire, while others discuss the changes to art historical discourse after the Republic of Turkey was established in 1923.²

Sarre's publications share the fate of being understudied with other early studies on Islamic architecture in Anatolia, such as those of Max van Berchem (1864-1921), the Swiss epigrapher who is better known for his work on Arabic inscriptions elsewhere in the Islamic world, and of the French Jesuit Guillaume de Jerphanion (1877-1948) who documented Byzantine and Islamic monuments in Anatolia in the first decade of the twentieth century.³ However, these early twentieth-century scholars' studies are invaluable for their photographic documentation and descriptions of the state of buildings that have often greatly deteriorated over the course of the twentieth century. In a survey of studies on Turkish architecture published up to 1971, Howard Crane pointed out the shortcomings of these early publications in that they lack socio-cultural context in their analyses, while acknowledging their systematic nature.⁴ While such context is indeed in part lacking, the contribution of these early scholars in recording Seljuk art and architecture, and presenting it as a subject of study to art historians and archaeologists outside the Ottoman Empire (and later Turkey) is nevertheless considerable.

Sarre's publications span across the end of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, even though, as will be shown below, they are better placed in the context of Ottoman-German relations before the 1914-18 war. A closer look at Sarre's work is also justified by his early interventions in the study of Islamic art in Germany and the importance of his collection for the Berlin Museums. Sarre's work on the Seljuk monuments of Konya is to be considered

² Oya Pancaroğlu, 'Formalism and the Academic Foundation of Turkish Art in the early Twentieth Century', *Muqarnas*, 24, 2007, 67-78; Scott Redford, ' "What have you done for Anatolia today?": Islamic Archaeology in the early years of the Turkish Republic', *Muqarnas*, 24, 2007, 243-252; Korkut Eder, ed, *Albert Gabriel (1883-1972): mimar, arkeolog, ressam, gezgin*, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006.

³ Max van Berchem and Halil Edhem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Troisième Partie: Asie Mineure*, Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1917; Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne: monuments préhelléniques, gréco-romains, byzantins et musulmans de Pont, de Cappadoce et de Galatie*, Beirut: Université de Saint-Joseph, 1928. Several historiographical studies of Jerphanion exist: Philippe Luisier, ed, *La Turquie de Guillaume de Jerphanion, S.J.: actes du colloque de Rome (9-10 mai 1997)*, *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Moyen Age*, 110, 1998, 773-970; Vincenzo Ruggieri, *Guillaume de Jerphanion et la Turquie de jadis*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1997; Vincenzo Ruggieri, 'Guillaume de Jerphanion (1877-1948) as Jesuit and Scholar in Turkey', in Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, eds, *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, Leuven and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010, 101-126.

⁴ Howard Crane, 'Recent Literature on the History of Turkish Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 31:4, December 1972, 309.

within the context of its time, when the German Empire and the Ottoman Empire were in close contact over the construction of the Baghdad railway, and negotiations over cultural artefacts often ended favourably for German museums. The study of Sarre's life must rely on fragmentary biographies and obituaries because the scholar's entire library and large parts of his personal papers were destroyed when the family mansion was cleared out in preparation for the Potsdam conference at the end of the 1939-45 war.⁵ Sarre, who had died only a few days before, did not live to see the loss of his life's work.⁶

From Konya to Berlin: The Baghdad railway and Islamic architecture

The rising interest in Islamic art at German universities and museums in the late nineteenth century is part of the wider trend for the development of collections and scholarship with a focus on Islamic art in the same period. Moreover, the German development is connected to the close diplomatic ties between the German *Kaiserreich* and the Ottoman Empire. Even if the German advances to the Ottoman Empire did not have direct colonial aims, they were intended to increase political and economic influence in the Middle East, and provide access to resources for German companies. These political and economic policies heightened interest in Anatolia, particularly once the construction of the Baghdad railway during the reign of the German emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918) and the Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) facilitated access to the region from Istanbul, along with other projects intended to develop German presence in the region.⁷

In studies of the historiography of art, the discussion of these contacts has focused the transfer of historical objects from various regions of the Ottoman Empire to Germany.⁸ The antiquities laws established in the Ottoman Empire under the guidance of director of antiquities (and painter) Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) play an important role in these transactions because over time, they applied to an

⁵ Jens Kröger, 'Die Sammlung des Orientalisten, Archäologen und Kunsthistorikers Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945)', in *Privates und öffentliches Sammeln in Potsdam – 100 Jahre »Kunst ohne König«*, Berlin: Lukas-Verlag, 2009, 120-121. Some letters are preserved in the archives of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin: Jens Kröger, 'The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst": Its Protagonists and its Consequences for the Display of Islamic Art in Berlin', in: Andrea Lerner and Avinoam Shalem, eds, *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition 'Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst' Reconsidered*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 67, n. 5.

⁶ Ernst Herzfeld, 'Friedrich Sarre', *Ars Islamica* 11, 1946, 210-212; Ernst Kühnel, 'Friedrich Sarre', *Der Islam*, 29, 1950, 291-295.

⁷ Malte Fuhrmann, *Der Traum vom deutschen Orient: Zwei deutsche Kolonien im Osmanischen Reich, 1851-1918*, Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2006; Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power*, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press for Harvard University Press, 2010.

⁸ Wendy M.K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the late Ottoman Empire*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003, 131-136.

increasing number of object categories. The friendly relations between the two empires enabled German scholars to work and travel within the Ottoman territories, and to receive excavation permits. Carl Humann's (1839-1896) work in Pergamon (today Bergama, Turkey)⁹ and Herzfeld's and Sarre's project in Samarra (Iraq), are only two of many examples of archaeological investigation enabled by these diplomatic contacts.¹⁰

The context of the development of Islamic art as an independent field of study, and the political milieu of the period, form the backdrop for the scholarly endeavours of Sarre and his contemporaries before the 1914-18 war.¹¹ A diplomatic appointment directly led to an interest in medieval Anatolia in the case of Julius Löytved (1874-1917), German consul in Konya from 1904 to 1907, who published a book on the medieval Islamic inscriptions of this city.¹² Löytved's study contains photographs of the monuments and readings of the inscriptions with renderings in Arabic script and in German translation.¹³ Access to central Anatolia was still difficult at that time, explaining in part why Islamic architecture in this region was much less studied during the nineteenth century than monuments in major urban centres such as Cairo or Damascus.

Access to central Anatolia improved gradually with the construction of the Baghdad railway. While travelling in Anatolia for the first time in 1895, Friedrich Sarre observed the construction of the railway line near Afyon Karahisar and pointed out the dominant role of German engineering and materials employed in the construction.¹⁴ By 1904, the railway line reached Karaman, a city southwest of

⁹ Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympos: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, 92-103; Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*, Washington, DC: German Historical Institute and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 143; Fuhrmann, *Der Traum vom deutschen Orient*, chapter 2.

¹⁰ Thomas Leisten, *Excavation of Samarra*, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2003, 5-6; Wolfgang Radt, 'Carl Humann und Osman Hamdi Bey – zwei Gründerväter der Archäologie in der Türkei', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 53, 2003, 491-507.

¹¹ Klaus Brisch, 'Wilhelm von Bode und sein Verhältnis zur islamischen und ostasiatischen Kunst', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen, Beiheft: 'Kennerschaft' - Kolloquium zum 150sten Geburtstag von Wilhelm von Bode*, 38, 1996, 33-48 and n. 14; Volkmar Enderlein, 'Sarre, Friedrich', in Eric M. Meyers, ed, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, vol. 4, 491; Herzfeld, 'Friedrich Sarre'; Kühnel, 'Friedrich Sarre'.

¹² Maria Keipert and Peter Grupp, *Biographisches Handbuch des deutschen Auswärtigen Dienstes, 1871-1945*, Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 2000, vol. 3, 117-118; Aysin Yoltar-Yıldırım, 'Seljuk Carpets and Julius Harry Löytved-Hardegg: A German Consul in Konya in the early 20th century', in Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gerelyes, eds, *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art: Proceedings*, Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009, 747-757.

¹³ Julius Hardegg Löytved, *Konia - Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten*, Berlin: Julius Springer, 1907.

¹⁴ Friedrich Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien, Sommer 1895: Forschungen zur seldjukischen Kunst und Geographie des Landes*, Berlin: D. Reimer, 1896, 17-18.

Konya. It facilitated access for art dealers or their associates among other travellers, resulting in a marked increase in objects from Anatolia that reached the art market. One of the most well-known examples of the effects of these increased contacts in art trade is the case of the *mihṛāb* of the late thirteenth-century Bey Hekim Mosque in Konya.¹⁵ Composed of tile mosaic, the *mihṛāb* appeared on the art market, dismantled into several pieces, in 1908 and 1909. Most of the fragments were bought by the Islamic collection of the Berlin Museums, where the *mihṛāb* had to be reassembled from the pieces and was not shown on display until 1965.¹⁶ Löytved was involved in the acquisition of several carpets and wooden doors from Konya by the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin at the behest of its director Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929).¹⁷ Within this same context, Sarre began his travels in the Ottoman Empire.

Friedrich Sarre as collector and curator

In the 1890s, Sarre was one of the first western art historians to undertake travels in Anatolia. At the outset, he was by no means an expert in Islamic history, culture or the relevant languages. Rather, Sarre had earned his doctorate in art history from the university in Leipzig in 1890 with a dissertation on the architecture of the sixteenth-century ducal court of Wismar in Germany.¹⁸ Before venturing into Anatolia, Sarre had travelled widely in the Islamic world, an activity permitted by the personal fortune that his aunt had left him.¹⁹ Sarre's experience with museum work explains his dedication to detailed, contextualizing study of monuments and objects in the publications that resulted from these travels. When Sarre went on his first of many journeys to the Middle East, he had completed his studies in art history, and worked in several Berlin museums for three years.²⁰

Sarre's publication on Seljuk architecture in Anatolia opened up a new field within the study of Islamic art, and connected this previously barely studied period to the broader narrative of the field as it emerged in the late nineteenth and early

¹⁵ On the building: Michael Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1979, vol. 2, 326-336.

¹⁶ Volkmar Enderlein, 'Der Mihrāb der Bey Hakim Moschee in Konya: Ein Denkmal und seine Geschichte', *Forschungen und Berichte: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 17, 1976, 33-40 and plates 1-3; Jens Kröger, 'Vom Sammeln islamischer Kunst zum Museum für Islamische Kunst', in Jens Kröger with Désirée Heiden, eds, *Islamische Kunst in Berliner Sammlungen – 100 Jahre Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin*, Berlin: Parthas Verlag, 2004, caption to fig. 32.

¹⁷ Yoltar-Yıldırım, 'Seljuk Carpets and Julius Harry Löytved-Hardegge', 751-752.

¹⁸ Friedrich Sarre, *Der Fürstenhof zu Wismar und die norddeutsche Terrakotta-Architektur im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1890; Kröger, 'Vom Sammeln', 33.

¹⁹ Jens Kröger, 'Ernst Herzfeld and Friedrich Sarre', in Ann C. Gunter and Stefan R. Hauser, eds, *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1900-1950*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005, 49; Pancaroğlu, 'A Fin-de-Siècle Reconnaissance', 399.

²⁰ Kröger, 'Vom Sammeln', 36.

twentieth centuries.²¹ This intervention is crucial in that Sarre was among the early supporters of the study of Islamic art in Germany, and began to establish his private collection at the same time. The Islamic department of the Berlin Museums that Sarre and von Bode founded in 1904 would later benefit from this activity.²² Sarre's studies on Seljuk architecture in Anatolia, just as his better-known work at the Abbasid palace city of Samarra in Iraq, are thus central within the development of scholarship on, and collections of, Islamic art in Germany within the broader context of German-Ottoman relations.

The collection of the Berlin Museums also acquired objects directly through the diplomatic contacts between Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Thus, in 1903, the façade of the eighth-century Umayyad palace of Mshatta' (today in Jordan), which the Ottoman sultan, Abdülhamid II, had offered to the German Kaiser Wilhelm II, finally arrived in Berlin. Osman Hamdi Bey's resistance to exporting the important monument against the stipulations of Ottoman antiquities laws had failed. Overruled by the Ottoman sultan's intervention, Osman Hamdi Bey had to relent and grant permission to export the Mshatta' façade under exceptional conditions.²³ In fact, as Volkmar Enderlein has shown, only the personal connection between Wilhelm II and Abdülhamid II allowed for the exceptional decision to permit the exportation of the façade.²⁴ The façade arrived in Berlin during the last stages of construction of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum and was not part of the initial plan for the building; hence, it had to be installed at the last minute, delaying the opening of the museum.²⁵ As soon as the Mshatta' facade was placed on view in 1904, a heated controversy over its origin began, which involved prominent art historians and archaeologists, including Herzfeld and Josef Strzygowski.²⁶

A few years after the transfer of the Mshatta' façade, Ottoman antiquities law was revised to place the same restrictions on the exportation of Islamic objects which had been in place for classical antiquities since 1884.²⁷ The text of the law,

²¹ Friedrich Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst: geschichtliche Untersuchung und Aufnahme muhammedanischer Backsteinbauten in Vorderasien und Persien*, Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1901-10, chapter IV; Friedrich Sarre, *Konia: Seldschukische Baudenkmäler: Denkmäler persischer Baukunst Teil I*, Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1921; Friedrich Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1936.

²² Kröger, 'Vom Sammeln', 32-33; Brisch, 'Wilhelm von Bode'.

²³ Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 203-206; Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 398, 404; Kröger, 'Vom Sammeln', 39.

²⁴ Volkmar Enderlein, 'Die Erwerbung der Fassade von Mshatta', *Forschungen und Berichte: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 26, 1987, 87-88.

²⁵ Brisch, 'Wilhelm von Bode', 38; Enderlein, 'Erwerbung der Fassade', 89.

²⁶ Thomas Leisten, 'Mshatta, Samarra and al-Hira: Ernst Herzfeld's Theories concerning the Development of the Hira-Style Revisited', in Ann C. Gunter and Stefan R. Hauser, eds, *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1900-1950*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005, 371-376.

²⁷ Wendy Shaw, 'Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923', *Ars Orientalis*, 30, 2000, 63.

issued in 1906, gives a detailed explanation as to what types of objects were banned from exportation to prevent loopholes. Nevertheless, the law remained largely ineffective due to frequent complaints through diplomatic channels, and large finds such as the market gate of Miletus, today in the Pergamonmuseum in Berlin, were exported as late as 1908.²⁸

An avid collector of Islamic art, Sarre contributed to the creation of the Islamic collection together with Bode. The latter donated his collection of carpets to the museum to be integrated into the newly founded Islamic department that had yet to acquire a representative selection of objects from different regions of the Islamic world.²⁹ Sarre and von Bode also helped the Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum of Applied Arts) acquire objects of Islamic art, in part due to connections that Sarre had maintained since an internship in 1894.³⁰

Sarre was also involved in organizing the Munich exhibition of Islamic art in 1910, one of the first museum presentations entirely devoted to the arts of the Islamic world.³¹ The strong emphasis on Persian art in the exhibition reflected how Islamic art was classified along ethnic categories, valuing 'Persian' and 'Indo-Persian' more than 'Turkish' or 'Arab' art.³² This framework may have had an impact on Sarre's later argument—particularly strong in his earliest publications on Anatolia—that Seljuk art in the region was fundamentally Persian, as will be discussed below. In 1910, it could not be foreseen that the events of the 1914-18 war would bring about the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of a Turkish nation state, events that would profoundly change the study of Seljuk art. Sarre organized the Munich exhibition together with the Swedish collector and scholar Fredrik Robert Martin (1868-1933) and Ernst Kühnel (1882-1964) who was to succeed Sarre as the director of the Islamic collection of the Berlin Museums in 1931.³³ Even

²⁸ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 126-130.

²⁹ Herzfeld, 'Friedrich Sarre', 211-212; Gisela Helmecke, 'Historisches zu Sammlern und Vermittlern islamischer Kunst in Berlin', in Jens Kröger with Désirée Heiden, eds, *Islamische Kunst in Berliner Sammlungen – 100 Jahre Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin*, Berlin: Parthas Verlag, 2004, 18.

³⁰ Gisela Helmecke, 'Das Kunstgewerbemuseum und der Orient', in Jens Kröger with Désirée Heiden, eds, *Islamische Kunst in Berliner Sammlungen – 100 Jahre Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin*, Berlin: Parthas Verlag, 2004, 209.

³¹ Historiographical assessment in: Andrea Lerner and Avinoam Shalem, eds, *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition 'Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst' Reconsidered*, Leiden: Brill, 2010; Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 140-145.

³² Gülru Necipoğlu, 'The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited Discourses and New Approaches', first published in *Islamic Art and the Museum*, Benoît Junod et al., eds, London: Saqi Books, 2012, reprinted in *Journal of Art Historiography* 6, 2012, 4-6, <http://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/necipogludoc.pdf>, accessed 1 March 2013.

³³ Kröger, 'The 1910 Exhibition', 65-72; Friedrich Sarre and F.R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München, 1910*, 3 vols, Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1912, reprint, London: Alexandria Press, 1985.

though the exhibition was not as successful with the public as they had hoped, the three scholars persisted in their commitment to the study of Islamic art. Sarre's, Martin's and Kühnel's commitment to the field was to persist beyond the 1914-18 war that profoundly changed the opportunities for German scholars to conduct fieldwork in the Middle East (particularly once the Ottoman Empire no longer existed).

Sarre collected a wide range of objects from the Islamic world, contributing to the material record for a growing field. In the first volume of a planned catalogue of his collection, Sarre pointed out that many of the 203 objects had been acquired during extensive travels in Anatolia, Central Asia, and Iran.³⁴ Objects came from Cairo, Tehran, and Istanbul, and even from a church in Lake Ereğli near Akşehir in Turkey, while others were purchased on the European art market.³⁵ Since Sarre later turned away from the idea of publishing a full catalogue of his collection, a better impression of its contents can be gained from the exhibition of 425 selected objects at the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main in 1932. The collection included ancient Iranian, Egyptian, Byzantine and Sasanian in addition to Islamic objects (and paintings of the Italian Renaissance).³⁶ Large parts of the collection were on loan to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum since 1904. In 1922, one year after he became the director of the Islamic department, Sarre gave 683 Islamic, Sasanian and Parthian objects to the museum.³⁷ It has been suggested that Sarre took the post of director when he was obliged to ask for a salary, having lost his fortune due to the monetary inflation after the 1914-18 war, and donated his collection to the museum in return.³⁸ For Sarre's sixtieth birthday in 1925, colleagues and collectors made a large donation that further contributed to the expansion of the Islamic collection at the Berlin Museums.³⁹ Parts of the collection were destroyed when Sarre's house was cleared out a few days after his death, and his widow sold many other objects after the 1939-45 war.⁴⁰ Sarre died on 31 May⁴¹ or 1 June⁴² 1945 after a long career in

³⁴ Friedrich Sarre, *Erzeugnisse islamischer Kunst. Band I – Metall*, Berlin: Kommissionsverlag von K. W. Hiersemann in Leipzig, 1906, vi.

³⁵ Sarre, *Erzeugnisse islamischer Kunst. Band I*, cat. 146-151; Pancaroğlu, 'A Fin-de-Siècle Reconnaissance', 405-407.

³⁶ *Sammlung F. u. M. Sarre – Katalog der Ausstellung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut*, Frankfurt a. M.: Städelsches Kunstinstitut, 1932.

³⁷ Jens Kröger, 'Museum of Islamic Art, State Museums of Berlin – Prussian Heritage', in Joachim Gierlich and Annette Hagedorn, eds, *Islamic Art in Germany*, Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2004, 50.

³⁸ Brisch, 'Wilhelm von Bode', 43; Kröger, 'Ernst Herzfeld and Friedrich Sarre', 59; Pancaroğlu, 'A Fin-de-Siècle Reconnaissance', 401.

³⁹ Helmecke, 'Historisches', 19-21; Kröger, 'Vom Sammeln', 41.

⁴⁰ Kröger, 'Die Sammlung', 120-121; Joachim Gierlich 'Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945): The reconstruction of his collection of Islamic art', paper presented at the Historians of Islamic Art Association's Second Biennial Symposium in Washington, DC, 21 to 23 October 2010.

⁴¹ Kühnel, 'Friedrich Sarre', 191.

⁴² Herzfeld, 'Friedrich Sarre', 210.

museum and fieldwork that is recorded in publications ranging from a study of the ceramics of Samarra to his travel accounts of Iran and Anatolia.

Friedrich Sarre in Anatolia and Mesopotamia (1895-1918)

Sarre's first journey through Anatolia in 1895 led to the publication of *Reise in Kleinasien* in 1896. In this work, Pancaroğlu suggests, Sarre intended to understand defining characteristics that would help shaping Seljuk art as a distinct category within the field of Islamic art, then only in its initial stages as an academic discipline.⁴³ The book presents an account of the geography of the region and of the Seljuk monuments that Sarre recorded while travelling from Istanbul to Konya and Akşehir. In addition to the descriptions of Seljuk caravanserais and mosques encountered on the way that are strewn throughout the text, two chapters of the book are entirely devoted to Seljuk art and architecture. In chapter four, Sarre describes selected monuments in Konya, including the kiosk that was to become the subject of an independent publication in 1936, towards the end of Sarre's career.⁴⁴

In the fifth chapter of the book, titled 'Seldjukische Kunst' (Seljuk Art), Sarre ventured into an analysis of this, at that point, little known period of Islamic art based on the monuments that were described in the previous chapter, relying on a thorough discussion of the building techniques employed in their construction. Sarre proposes that Seljuk art and architecture are essentially a combination of the Hellenistic and Byzantine heritage of Anatolia with Persian art imported by the Seljuk conquerors from Iran in the eleventh century.⁴⁵ Here, Sarre created a stylistic unity for the study of Seljuk art and architecture, with characteristics that he firmly attributed to either Byzantine or Persian influence. Ornament, in particular, according to Sarre, stood in line with the heritage of the late antique Mediterranean, as postulated by the Austrian art historian, Alois Riegl (1858-1905).⁴⁶

Sarre's archaeological interest is clear in the drawings, photographs and careful descriptions of monuments. In a detailed description of the Karatay Medrese (dated 1251-52) in Konya, for instance, Sarre points out the intricacies of the vegetal carving on the portal columns, the careful execution of the varied borders delineating fields of ornament, and especially the extent to which some of the carving attains a 'filigree' effect on parts of the façade.⁴⁷ The plates are carefully photographed and enable the reader to appreciate a great deal of the detail described in the text.

⁴³ Pancaroğlu, 'A Fin-de-Siècle Reconnaissance', 399.

⁴⁴ Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 43-46.

⁴⁵ Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 68-70.

⁴⁶ Pancaroğlu, 'A Fin-de-Siècle Reconnaissance', 404.

⁴⁷ 'Originell sind drei durchbrochene, wie aus Filigran gearbeitete Knöpfe, welche halbkugelförmig aus dem oberen Theile hervorragen'. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 49.

Initially, Sarre travelled to Anatolia in order to identify an Islamic site for archaeological excavation.⁴⁸ This explains much of Sarre's documentary work to record architectural remains. Since the first journey to Anatolia did not result in an excavation project for Sarre, further travels soon followed. In 1897-98 and 1899-1900, Sarre travelled to Iran and Central Asia. The research conducted during these journeys, on topics ranging from Sasanian rock reliefs to Safavid architecture, was included in several of Sarre's later publications. In 1899, Sarre exhibited parts of the material collected during his travels, including photographs, drawings made by the architect Bruno Schulz in Iran, and objects from his collection of Islamic art, in the Martin-Gropius Bau in Berlin, at that time the location of the Museum of Applied Arts.⁴⁹ The Islamic material that Sarre collected in these years was the basis for the multi-volume set *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst (Monuments of Persian Architecture)*. Initially published in seven consignments of fascicules between 1901 and 1910, the work contained numerous plates and detailed texts (the latter were issued last). In one volume of text and two volumes of large-format plates, Persian Islamic architecture in the broadest sense (and in the understanding of the early twentieth century) is presented.

Within the three volumes, the Seljuk monuments of Konya are discussed together with several sites located in Iran. The latter include the Safavid ancestral shrine in Ardabīl (begun in the fourteenth century), the mausoleum of Bayezid al-Bisṭāmī in Bisṭām (twelfth to fourteenth centuries), and the Islamic monuments of Isfahan, dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth century.⁵⁰ Throughout his career, Sarre placed the Seljuk monuments of Konya (he never wrote on other Anatolian cities) within the framework of Persian art that he established here. The issue of Turkish national and ethnic identity, so important in the 1920s and 1930s, had not yet emerged in the context of art history at the time Sarre prepared the first edition of *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst* in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Here, as in the Munich exhibition of Islamic art in 1910, the focus on Persian art and culture remains central and integrates Seljuk art into a framework that, according to the narrative of the time, put it at the top of the hierarchy of Islamic art in the eyes of Western scholars and collectors. Sarre's extensive activity as a collector of Islamic art, museum work, and acquaintance with scholars in the field suggest that he was at the very least aware of the development of this narrative.⁵¹ As noted

⁴⁸ Kröger, 'Vom Sammeln', 36.

⁴⁹ Kröger, 'Vom Sammeln', 37 and figs. 17-9.

⁵⁰ Kröger, 'Vom Sammeln', 36. Two sections of the publication were later reprinted as individual volumes: Sarre, *Konia: Seldschukische Baudenkmäler* in 1921 and Friedrich Sarre, *Ardabil: Grabmoschee des Schech Safi: Denkmäler persischer Baukunst Teil II*, Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1924.

⁵¹ For the sake of space, the creation of this narrative cannot be fully explored here, yet the central role of Arthur Upham Pope in introducing Persian art to a western audience and promoting this narrative must be mentioned. For an overview, see: Yuka Kadoi, 'Arthur Upham Pope and his "research methods in Muhammadan art": Persian carpets', *Journal of*

before, early scholars of Islamic art and architecture proceeded closely along the lines of ethnic and national categories that shaped the field as it emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The long-lasting impact Orientalist scholarship on the study of Islamic art has been demonstrated at various levels, most importantly (in the present context) with regard to racial considerations that converged with ethnic and national categories.⁵² Within the hierarchy of Islamic cultures created for the purpose of classification, Persian art was the most highly valued, and even Ottoman art, coveted by collectors and museums, was re-labelled as 'Persian' or 'Turco-Persian' to elevate it to the more prestigious category.⁵³ These categories were already in the process of consolidation while Sarre conducted his research, and his inclusion of Seljuk architecture within the framework of a study of Persian monuments reflects similar tendencies.

In the years after Sarre's trip to Iran, further travels were to follow. Eventually, Sarre got his excavation, although not in Anatolia as he had initially intended. In 1907-08, Sarre and Herzfeld travelled to Mesopotamia (northern Syria and Iraq) to find an Islamic site suitable for excavation. Starting out from Istanbul, they travelled to Ereğli via Konya and Karaman by train, exploiting this new means of transportation to facilitate their journey considerably compared to Sarre's first venture into Anatolia in 1895. From Karaman, the two travellers continued to Mesopotamia, where they visited many sites including Bālis, Raqqa, and Mosul. Finally, the choice fell on Samarra near Baghdad, a site that became famous for the Abbasid palace city that Herzfeld partially excavated between 1911 and 1913. The permit for the excavation, given by the Ottoman authorities, was one of the results (just as the acquisition of the Mshatta' façade) of the friendly ties between the German and Ottoman Empires.⁵⁴

Soon, world historical events interrupted the excavation and further research. During the 1914-18 war, Sarre was one of many German experts of the Middle East who were posted to the region. He arrived in Istanbul in February 1915 and spent most of the war in the border region between Iran and Iraq in order to survey German intelligence. Later, Sarre described this appointment with the words:

Nearly for the entire duration of the war, from February 1915 until spring 1918, I was posted for military purposes in Mesopotamia and Persia, in

Art Historiography 6, June, 2012,

<http://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/kadoi.pdf>, accessed 4 June 2012.

⁵² Necipoğlu, 'The Concept of Islamic Art', 4.

⁵³ Stephen Vernoit, 'Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c. 1850 – c. 1950', in Stephen Vernoit, ed, *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000, 6–7 and 19; Necipoğlu, 'The Concept of Islamic Art', 6.

⁵⁴ Herzfeld, 'Friedrich Sarre', 210-211; Kröger, 'Ernst Herzfeld and Friedrich Sarre', 52-55; Kröger, 'Erforschung der Dschazira'; Leisten, *Excavation of Samarra*, 9.

various positions such as liaison officer for the expeditions advancing eastwards on the Turkish-Persian border, as commander in the rear echelon and consul in Kermanshah in Persia, as major in the staff of field marshal Baron von der Goltz in Baghdad, as military attaché for Kermanshah and finally in the staff of the army group of General Falkenhayn in Aleppo. This diverse military activity, travel for official business, and two home leaves gave me the opportunity to repeatedly visit archaeological sites and older and newer monuments in this area which I knew already, and to observe possible changes that the war caused in them.⁵⁵

Thanks to these military appointments, Sarre had the opportunity to visit Samarra in 1916 and control the storage of finds that Herzfeld had left behind in 1913.⁵⁶ After the war, however, Sarre was added to a blacklist that prevented him from travelling to Iran for ten years. The ban was lifted in 1921, enabling Sarre to engage in new projects in the region, often in collaboration with Herzfeld.⁵⁷ While for several years, Sarre did not expand on his work on Seljuk art and architecture he was to return to it later in his career, with new publications based on his earlier research. Perhaps because he did not form connections with Turkish academia after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, Sarre's work was not affected by the ideological struggles in that country during the 1920s and 1930s. At this time, the shaping of a new national identity focused on the central place of Anatolia in the national territory. Thus, Anatolian unity and culture became essential elements in defining the new Turkish nation state. Sarre's work, with its focus on Persianate culture as a basis for Seljuk art reaching beyond Anatolia, moved to the fringes of the historiography. While

⁵⁵ 'Fast während der gesamten Kriegsdauer, vom Februar 1915 bis zum Frühjahr 1918, wurde ich militärisch in Mesopotamien und Persien verwendet, und zwar in verschiedenen Stellungen, als Verbindungsoffizier für die ostwärts vorgeschobenen Expeditionen an der türkisch-persischen Grenze, als Etappenkommandant und Konsul in Kermanshah in Persien, als Major im Stabe des Feldmarschalls Frhrn. von der Goltz in Bagdad, als Militär-Attaché für Persien in Kermanshah und endlich im Stabe der Heeresgruppe des Generals von Falkenhayn in Aleppo. Diese mannigfaltige militärische Tätigkeit, dienstliche Reisen und ein zweimaliger Urlaub in die Heimat gaben mir Gelegenheit, in diesen mir schon bekannten Gebieten Ausgrabungsstätten und Denkmäler älterer und jüngerer Zeit wiederholt zu besuchen und durch den Krieg bei ihnen evtl. hervorgerufene Veränderung zu beobachten'. Friedrich Sarre, 'Kunstwissenschaftliche Arbeit während des Weltkrieges in Mesopotamien, Ost-Anatolien, Persien und Afghanistan', in Paul Clemen, ed, *Kunstschutz im Kriege – Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Maßnahmen zur ihrer Erhaltung, Rettung, Erforschung*, Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1919, vol. 2, 191.

⁵⁶ Leisten, *Excavation of Samarra*, 27 and n. 151; Ulrich Gehrke, *Persien in der deutschen Orientpolitik während der ersten Weltkriege – Anmerkungen und Dokumente*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, n.d., vol. 2, n. 411; Kröger, 'Ernst Herzfeld and Friedrich Sarre', 57; Sarre, 'Kunstwissenschaftliche Arbeit', 193-194.

⁵⁷ Kröger, 'Ernst Herzfeld and Friedrich Sarre', 60-61; Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 449.

Sarre's work had little bearing on the narrative that was established in the early years of the Republic of Turkey, another German speaking scholar, Josef Strzygowski, had a significant impact with some of his work that was translated into Turkish.⁵⁸

The kiosk of Konya

The last publication that Sarre wrote on Seljuk architecture was at the same time the only one to be translated into Turkish, although not until the 1960s.⁵⁹ In 1936, Sarre published a short monograph on a Seljuk kiosk in Konya, based on research conducted decades earlier, and a last visit to the badly damaged monument in 1930.⁶⁰ The book, for the most part, referred back to Sarre's first visit to Konya in 1895 when he had seen the monument in a much more completed state.⁶¹

The building was more widely considered in the early twentieth century. Löytved published inscriptions and photographs in his account of Seljuk epigraphy in Konya.⁶² Strzygowski wrote a short article on the monument in 1907, without actually having seen it, as he admits.⁶³ He worked with photographs taken between the last attempt to save the structure in 1905 and its collapse on 5 April 1907.⁶⁴ Four years later concern for the lack of interest in preserving the kiosk and the citadel mound of Konya as a historical site in general is expressed in an article that the architect Kemalettin wrote on the monuments of the site.⁶⁵ To date, Sarre's work based on direct observation before the monument's collapse, photographs and a study of tile and stucco fragments from the kiosk in the Berlin collection, is the most detailed account on the building.

As Sarre noted in the introduction to *Der Kiosk von Konia*, the building was already damaged at the time of his first visit in 1895. The roof was missing and long cracks had appeared on the façade. Over the following decades, the remaining brick structure further eroded due to climatic influences, so that today only a mound of bricks, protected by a concrete roof, remains. Thus, Sarre's publication is a major testimony of the state of the building at the end of the nineteenth century. Based on the photographs of the building, Sarre tried to reconstruct the location of fragments

⁵⁸ Pancaroğlu, 'Formalism'.

⁵⁹ Friedrich Sarre, *Konya Köşkü*, trans. Şahabeddin Uzluk, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1967.

⁶⁰ Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, 10.

⁶¹ Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 43-46.

⁶² Löytved, *Konia*, 56-57.

⁶³ Josef Strzygowski, 'Der Kiosk von Konia', *Zeitschrift fuer Geschichte der Architektur*, 1, 1907-08, 3-9.

⁶⁴ Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, 10; Yoltar-Yıldırım, 'Seljuk Carpets', 752-753.

⁶⁵ Mimâr Kemâlettîn, 'Bir Türk Akropolü', *Türk Yurdu*, 1: 11, 1327/ 1911, 333-335, reprinted in İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, eds, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, Ankara: Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı Yayınları, 1997, 93-97.

of decoration that were recovered from the ruins. Numerous fragments of stucco decoration showing vegetal motifs, princely pastimes such as hunting and listening to music, and various animals; tiles; and the stone sculpture of a lion are preserved in museum collections in Konya, Istanbul, and Berlin. Sarre illustrated the book with photographs of many of these fragments, supplemented with drawings reconstructing the possible arrangement of the tiles inside the building.⁶⁶

In his discussion of the decoration, Sarre was interested in the architectural context of the fragments rather than in their decorative or ornamental effect. Even though he presented examples of ornament as isolated drawings, the monographic study of the buildings prevented Sarre from producing entirely ornamental plates. Thus, Sarre's aim was distinct from that of collections of plates such as those in Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* or Jules Bourgoïn's *Les éléments de l'art arabe*.⁶⁷ While these works represented ornament devoid of its architectural context, intended for the study and reproduction of these forms by artisans and artists, Sarre's purpose is art historical and archaeological. Sarre emphasized the wide variety, in Seljuk art, of decorative motifs (including figural representations rooted in the classical heritage of Anatolia): 'This appreciation for antique art, and sculpture in particular was combined in the Seljuks in an unique phenomenon in Islam, that is a sculptural practice which in relief carving did not refrain from the representation of the human figure'.⁶⁸

A similar documentary interest can be traced in Sarre's catalogue of Seljuk objects ranging from stone to stucco, woodwork, and carpets chosen from museum collections in Istanbul, Konya and Berlin. Published in 1909, the catalogue emphasizes the need Sarre felt to increase the number of available publication on Seljuk objects, in particular, to add to existing work on the architecture of this period.⁶⁹ Interested in the local and historical context of Seljuk Anatolia, he attempted to understand how an artistic vocabulary employing such a wide range of motifs and techniques emerged. This involves a formalist discussion of many of the motifs that appear in the decoration, and a quest for comparative material that might be of interest in explaining the origin of a certain element of decoration. Thus, the representations in stucco of animals on a scroll background of which several examples have been recovered from the kiosk, prompted Sarre to compare them to a panel from a site in today's Armenia, showing a similar arrangement:

⁶⁶ Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, pl. 6, 7 and fig. 16.

⁶⁷ Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, London: B. Quaritch, 1868; Jules Bourgoïn, *Les éléments de l'art arabe - le trait des entrelacs*, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1879.

⁶⁸ 'Mit dieser Wertschätzung der antiken Kunst und im besonderen der Skulptur vereinigte sich bei den Seldschuken eine im Islam wiederum einzigartige Erscheinung, eine eigene bildhauerische Betätigung, die in der Reliefplastik auch vor der Wiedergabe der menschlichen Figur nicht zurückschreckte'. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, 7.

⁶⁹ Sarre, *Erzeugnisse islamischer Kunst: Band II - Seldschukische Kleinkunst*, v-vi.

Some examples may point to the purely formal parallels that appear in Konia and on roughly contemporary Armenian monuments. Thus, the motif of animal figures on a scroll background that appears on the stucco decoration of the cornice of the kiosk frequently can be observed on the filler of the squinches of a three-lobed niche or an arched opening on Armenian monuments. A fragment, probably made of stucco, in the museum of Etschmiadsin (fig. 34), that material and provenance of which are not mentioned in its publication, corresponds formally and stylistically, in the scroll background and in the drawing of the heraldically placed sirens, to the composition of the niche frieze in Konya (see plates 12, 13).⁷⁰

In this passage, the methodology and line of thought hark back to a study that Strzygowski devoted to Armenian architecture, evoking that region's architectural tradition as major influence on medieval, especially Romanesque, architecture in Europe. Strzygowski evoked the Middle East, particularly Iran but also Anatolia, as the region through which forms were transmitted.⁷¹ Sarre, in his discussion of the Seljuk kiosk in Konya, did not create the same grand narrative of transmission and the emergence of cultures that characterizes Strzygowski's work.⁷² Nevertheless, Sarre shared an interest in Iranian, or Persian, art as the source of the artistic and architectural development of Anatolia. Thus, Sarre suggested that the basis of Seljuk architecture was Persian, yet that in Anatolia other influences transformed the underlying tradition. Sarre especially pointed out the importance of Armenian influences, but also acknowledged the impact that the presence of late

⁷⁰ 'Ein paar Beispiele mögen auf rein formale Übereinstimmungen hinweisen, die sich in Konia und zugleich an ungefähr gleichzeitigen armenischen Kunstdenkmälern bemerkbar machen. So finden wir das am Kiosk in der Stuckdekoration des Nischenfrieses klar zutage tretende Motiv von auf Rankenhintergrund gestellten Tierfiguren als Füllung der Zwickel einer Kleeblatt-nische oder einer Bogenöffnung besonders häufig in der Dekoration armenischer Baudenkmäler. Ein wohl aus Stuck gefertigtes Fragment im Museum von Etschmiadzin (Abb. 34), dessen Material und Herkunft bei seiner Veröffentlichung nicht angegeben sind, stimmt gegenständlich und stilistisch, im Rankenwerk des Hintergrundes und in der Zeichnung der wappenmäßig gestellten Sirenen, auffallend mit der Bildung des Nischenfrieses vom Kiosk überein (vgl. Tafel 12, 13)'. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, 33-34.

⁷¹ 'Man sieht, Teile dieser für die islamische Kunst üblichen Form, in dem sie beginnt, eigene Stützen herzustellen (d.h. sie nicht wie im weiteren Mittelmeere aus Kirchen zu rauben), weisen die gleichen Züge auf wie die armenischen Gestalten. Zwischen den beiden Kunstkreisen aber vermittelt ein dritter: weder die armenischen noch die islamischen sind selbständige Schöpfungen, beide gehen vielmehr zurück auf den iranischen Kreis, wie sich in diesem Falle mit Sicherheit nachweisen lässt'. Josef Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienna: Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co. GmbH, 1918, vol. 2, 439.

⁷² The historiographical context of Strzygowski's work on Armenian architecture is discussed extensively in: Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation*, Leuven and Sterling, VA: Peeters, 2001.

antique and Byzantine architecture must have had on the builders of Islamic architecture in the region.⁷³

Praising Persian architecture: *Die Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*

In several of Sarre's works, the notion of a superior place of Persian culture within the context of Islamic art is apparent, and clearly rooted in the early twentieth-century narrative of Islamic art history, discussed above. Even more strongly than in *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Sarre evoked the notion in an earlier publication, his multi-volume work *Die Denkmäler persischer Baukunst (Monuments of Persian Architecture)*. Seljuk monuments appear within the framework of Persianate Islamic architecture, dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth century presented in a geographically arranged survey, spanning parts of Central Asia, Iran, Iraq, and Anatolia.

In the introduction to the text volume, published in 1910, Sarre justifies the geographical rather than chronological arrangement with the large number of extant monuments that made a complete survey impossible. According to Sarre, the purpose of the publication is to document the monuments before they decay further, rather than to suggest an evolutionary narrative of Persian architecture.⁷⁴ In 1921, Sarre republished the section on Konya as an independent book, *Konia: Seldschukische Baudenkmäler*. He justified his choice with the statement that although the Persian elements in the city's Seljuk monuments were strong, this architecture formed a closed ensemble strongly influenced by local traditions.⁷⁵ In the main text, however, reprinted from the first edition, the Persian aspect of Seljuk architecture was given precedence and despite the shift in emphasis in the introduction, the overall narrative remains the same in the second edition of the book.⁷⁶

In the last section of the text on Konya, the art historian Max Deri (1878-1938) discussed the question of Seljuk ornament.⁷⁷ Deri was trained as a historian of western art, and this was his only publication related to the study of Islamic art. Deri's dissertation on ornament in sixteenth and seventeenth century German art, defended in Halle in 1905, may have triggered his interest in the subject, and have informed the essay on ornament in Seljuk architecture that he wrote for Sarre's book.⁷⁸ Deri's main interest lay on attributing the Seljuk decoration of Anatolia to

⁷³ Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, 36.

⁷⁴ Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, vol. 3, new introduction, 4-5. The pagination can be rather confusing since the text volume also contains the original introduction published with the first consignment of plates in 1901, and the brief descriptions that accompanied each further consignment.

⁷⁵ Sarre, *Konia: Seldschukische Baudenkmäler*, 1.

⁷⁶ Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, vol. 3, 120.

⁷⁷ Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, vol. 3, 139-143. Sarre, *Konia: Seldschukische Baudenkmäler*, 27-30.

⁷⁸ Ulrike Wendland, *Biographisches Handbuch deutschsprachiger Kunsthistoriker im Exil: Leben und Werk der unter dem Nationalsozialismus verfolgten und vertriebenen Wissenschaftler*, Munich:

Persian rather than to local culture, and creative contribution by the Seljuks was outright dismissed.⁷⁹ Deri regarded the Seljuks as a Turkic nomadic tribe without an independent architectural tradition prior to the move from Central Asia to Iran in the eleventh century, in line with the disregard for nomadic traditions that characterized the narrative of Islamic art history at the time. Hence, Deri suggested that Seljuk influence might have been responsible for cruder, less refined elements of decoration:

[...] even if it might be somewhat daring to attribute anything rough in the ornament of the first half of the thirteenth century to Seljuk influence, it should be pointed out that this has always been noted in the description of the monuments. And if, on the other hand, after the thirteenth century evocations of such rough and clumsy patterns continue to persist, it may be permitted for now, unclear as the lines of development of Persian architecture still are, to see in these forms continuous impact of Seljuk blood and thus a more crude and coarse sentiment on the substance of old and high Iranian art.⁸⁰

This line of thought, attributing the development of art and architecture to ethnic characteristics reflects the influence of applying ethnic judgments to the study of Islamic art, that have been noted before. In a short book on Seljuk architecture in Anatolia, published in 1923, Heinrich Glück (1889-1930), a student and later assistant of Strzygowski's, went in a similar direction. This aspect of Glück's work on Turkish art, and its position in relation to that of his teacher Strzygowski ties in with the considerable influence that the formalism of the Vienna School had on the development of art history and archaeologies in Turkish universities in the 1920s and 1930.⁸¹ In the essay, titled *Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien (The Art of the Seljuks in Asia Minor and Armenia)*, Glück's

Saur, 1999, vol. 1, 121-123; Max Deri, *Das Rollwerk in der deutschen Ornamentik des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, PhD dissertation, Friedrichs-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1905.

⁷⁹ Sarre, *Konia: Seldschukische Baudenkmäler*, 28.

⁸⁰ '[...] und wenn es auch vielleicht etwas gewagt ist, derart rückschließend alles Gröbere in dem Ornamentenschatz auch der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts als seldschukischen Einschlag zu bezeichnen, so sei doch hervorgehoben, daß bei der Beschreibung der Bauwerke stets darauf hingewiesen worden ist. Und wenn sich dann andererseits nach dem 13. Jahrhundert noch ab und zu Anklänge an derart grobe und ungeschlachte Muster gezeigt haben, so mag es, so wenig gesichert auch noch die Entwicklungslinien der persischen Baukunst sein mögen, vorläufig doch erlaubt sein, bei diesen Formen an ein Fortwirken des Einschlages seldschukischen Blutes und damit gröberen und derberen Fühlens in dem Bestande alter und hoher iranischer Kunst zu denken'. Sarre, *Konia: Seldschukische Baudenkmäler*, 30.

⁸¹ Pancaroğlu, 'Formalism', 74-75. For Glück's biography, see: Oktay Aslanapa, *Türkiye'de Avusturyalı Sanat Tarihçileri ve Sanatkârları – Österreichische Kunsthistoriker und Künstler in der Türkei*, Istanbul: Eren, 1993, 86-87.

argument differs from the earlier emphasis on ethnic characteristics in that it recognizes an original character in the art of Seljuk Anatolia and appreciates the synthesis of different styles and traditions that it is composed of.⁸² An important factor in Glück's argument is that geographical location and encounter with local populations can change the development of an artistic tradition without, however, transforming its innate character.⁸³ Oya Pancaroğlu has noted the impact of Glück's work in Turkey, especially through a later article on 'The status of Turkish Art in the World'.⁸⁴ In this piece, Glück focused on 'Turkish' elements much rather than on the diverse influences present in Seljuk architecture.⁸⁵ While the earlier publication was still inspired by Sarre's discussion of the multiple influence exerted, in Anatolia, on a largely Persianate art and architecture, the later article showed different ideas.

Glück's work moved towards a new direction in the study of Seljuk art and architecture, increasingly apparent after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, to emphasize territory, as well as ethnicity. Thus, now that the Ottoman Empire had been dissolved, Anatolia as the territorial basis and geographical unit that formed most of the new nation state, the region itself was more and more emphasized. This change, together with a somewhat later tendency to focus on the Turkish and Islamic character of the Seljuks, brought about the end of the inclusion of Anatolian Seljuk art and architecture into the broader context of Persianate art.

A new narrative: art history in Turkey after 1923

In a historiographical study, Sarre's work is most coherently placed in the context of German-Ottoman collaborations before the 1914-18 war, when the German scholar was active in the field. Thus, Sarre's story was really an Ottoman one, closely connected to the relationship between the Ottoman and German empires, neither of which survived the 1914-18 war. Sarre only travelled to Turkey once after the foundation of the new nation state (perhaps due to his advanced age), and was not in close contact with scholars in that country. Hence, Sarre's work is not easily linked to the changing narratives of art history and archaeology in the nascent Turkish nation state, which recent work has poignantly discussed.⁸⁶ The exception is perhaps Sarre's detailed study of the kiosk of Konya that was translated into

⁸² Heinrich Glück, *Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien*, Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1923.

⁸³ 'Und so zeigt diese Kunst der Türken in Zentralasien, wo sie auf den Buddhismus stießen, im islamischen Persien, Syrien und Ägypten und schließlich im christlichen Kleinasien und Armenien und auf dem Boden des alten Byzanz wohl immer wieder ein anderes Bild, doch immer wieder denselben, aus gleichem Volkstum entsprungenen Geist'. Glück, *Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien*, 3-4.

⁸⁴ Heinrich Glück, 'Türk San'atının Dünyadaki Mevkii', *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 3, 1926-33, 119-128.

⁸⁵ Pancaroğlu, 'Formalism', 68-73.

⁸⁶ Pancaroğlu, 'Formalism'; Redford, ' "What have you done for Anatolia Today?" '.

Turkish in the 1960s, although it does not appear to have a large impact on Turkish academia, beyond its evident documentary value given the deplorable state of the monument.⁸⁷

The transition from the nineteenth-century studies of Seljuk art and architecture to those that emerged in the context of Turkey is far from straightforward. The new studies did not necessarily always rely on earlier work, and their political context was fundamentally different from that of the late Ottoman Empire. Turkey was at first, from 1923 and into the early 1940s, defined in terms of its territory: Anatolia became the homeland of the new nation state, since it took up the largest part of its surface, and the national narrative had to be shaped to fit these new territorial conditions. The shift in paradigms due to the transition from a narrative based on the exploration of a multi-cultural Islamic empire, to the internal self-definition of a Turkish nation-state, becomes evident. To some extent, this shift in priorities may explain why Sarre's work was relevant outside, but less so within Turkey. The cross-regional Persianate context with Byzantine and Armenian influences, suggested in much of Sarre's work, did not fit into a narrative that focused on Anatolia as a contained region, and began to emphasize the role of the Seljuks as a Turkic dynasty (although this latter line of thinking did not prevail at first).

Following the 1914-18 war, beyond the context of Turkey, the narrative of Islamic art history shifted from one based on notions of race and ethnicity, privileging objects ascribed to Persian culture, to one that included national narratives. Particularly following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, Anatolian Seljuk art became more and more firmly connected with Anatolia as a closed geography. Ultimately, Seljuk Anatolia was divorced from the narrative of Persian art, now also conceived of in national terms as Arthur Upham Pope continued to work in Iran under Pahlavi rule.

If a trans-regional art historical narrative involving the Anatolian Seljuks appeared at all in the 1930s, it was one that focused on Turkish art, as in Strzygowski's article that made a connection to Central Asia and pan-Turkism.⁸⁸ Over the course of the 1940s, this narrative became more firmly established with books such as *Türk Sanatı*.⁸⁹ A first edition of the book, written primarily by the Austrian art historian Ernst Diez who taught at Istanbul University in the 1940s, was criticized for its emphasis on Byzantine and Armenian influence.⁹⁰ Only a second

⁸⁷ Sarre, *Konya Köşkü*, tr. Uzluk.

⁸⁸ Josef Strzygowski, 'Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi', *Türkiyât Mecmuası*, 3, 1926–33, 1–80, extensively discussed in Pancaroğlu, 'Formalism'.

⁸⁹ Ernst Diez and Oktay Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı*, second edition, Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1955.

⁹⁰ Burcu Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität: deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer in der Türkei nach 1927*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2008, 334–340. On Diez's work in Turkey, see: Patricia Blessing, 'Recording the Transformation of Urban Landscapes

edition edited by Diez's former assistant Oktay Aslanapa, with these passages removed, became a widely used textbook in Turkish universities. The context here is very different from that of Sarre's work, and reflects the transformations that resulted from the end of the Ottoman Empire, the foundation of nation states, and the complex political dynamics that emerged in the first decades of the Turkish republic.

In the historiography of Islamic art, the debate was centered on the correlation between nationalist ideology, historical scholarship, and the effect of these two tendencies on the study of the art history and archaeology of Anatolia within Turkish academia.⁹¹ From the point of view of art history, a rather clear break appears between the pre- and post-1923 scholarship. Sarre, belonging to the first group, did not find a central place in the new narrative that came to emphasize first the Anatolian, and later the Turkish character of Seljuk art in a complex historiographical trajectory extending into the 1970s, which deserves to be studied separately.

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in Turkey: The Diaries of Kurt Erdmann and Ernst Diez', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 16: 4, 2012, 415-418.

⁹¹ Redford, ' "What have you done for Anatolia Today?" '; Pancaroğlu, 'Formalism'; see also: Scott Redford and Nina Ergin (eds.) *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, Leuven and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010. The editors address conceptual similarities with the 'Lands of Rūm' conference, with proceedings published in *Muqarnas* 24, 2007, eds, Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu.