

# Endosmosis: bio-geographical sources of a World Art History

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The establishment of non-European art historical scholarship at the University of Vienna is reflective of the academic exchanges between natural sciences and the humanities in early twentieth-century Austro-German scholarship. A reading of the works of its scholars, Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941), Ernst Diez (1878-1961), and Heinrich Glück (1889-1930) on Islamic, Byzantine, Iranian, Armenian, and Turkish art histories reveals a connection with concurrent biological and geographical research particularly at the University of Leipzig. Their scholarship is marked by a focus on tracing 'art flows' across the world's geography, which enabled the exploration of previously uncharted geographies of art history, particularly in the Near and Far East. In his 1915 book on Islamic art, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Diez depicted Islamic art as a fusion of 'art flows' originating in the East and intertwining with Near Eastern artistic traditions.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Strzygowski contested cultural-historical approaches to Islamic art in his article 'Vergleichende Kunstforschung auf geographischer Grundlage' – 'Comparative Art Research on a Geographical Basis', published in the Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Vienna.<sup>2</sup>

The scholarship of these academics was centred at the First Art Historical Institute, *Kunsthistorisches Institut I*, which was founded and directed by Josef Strzygowski between 1909 and 1933. In 1910, Ernst Diez became its first assistant, and Heinrich Glück became its second assistant in 1915. Diez received his Habilitation in *Kunstgeschichte des Orients* (Art History of the Orient) in 1919 and later held the position of professor of *Denkmalkunde des Orients* (Cultural Heritage Studies of the Orient) starting in 1924. Glück, on the other hand, received his Habilitation in 1920 and was promoted to *Professor Extraordinarius* in 1923. Diez

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<sup>1</sup> Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, 1915, Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft, with Brinckmann, Albert E., and Burger, Fritz, Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Akad. Verlag and Ges. Athenaion; Wildpark-Potsdam: Akad. Verlag-Ges. Athenaion, 1915. Second edition 1920, third re-worked edition 1926. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Josef Strzygowski, 'Vergleichende Kunstforschung auf geographischer Grundlage', *Mitteilungen der k. k. Geographischen Gesellschaft Wien*, Brunn Rudolf M. Rohrer, 61, 1-2, and 4, 20-48, 20-48, 153-158. He wrote the article as a response to Carl Becker's 1918 talk, later published as Carl Heinrich Becker, 'Der Islam im Rahmen einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 76, 18–35. For an extended discussion of the controversy, see Zehra Tonbul, 'Geography, Geist, Culture: Historiographical Controversies over the Positioning of Islamic art in the First Decades of the Twentieth Century,' *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie, Jahrbuch der Ernst Herzfeld-Gesellschaft*, 9 (July 2023), 117-126.

subsequently left for the United States in 1926 to teach at Bryn Mawr College, where he remained until 1939. Glück passed away in 1930, three years before the Institute's closure. Diez later resumed teaching at the University of Vienna, before accepting a position at Istanbul University's Art Historical Institute in 1943.

The biological and geographical connections to the art historiography of the *Kunshistorische Institut I* are revealed through an article written by Diez in 1947, originally titled *Endosmosen* in German.<sup>3</sup> Diez wrote the article in response to nationalist criticisms directed at his discussions linking Turkish art to Armenian, Byzantine, Georgian, and Iranian artistic traditions in his 1946 textbook on Turkish art.<sup>4</sup> In the article, Diez referred to Karl Lamprecht's (1856-1915) 'law of Endosmosis', which he defined as cultural penetration — *kulturelle durchdringung*. He explained that according to this law, every culture establishes connections with its neighbouring cultures and embodies the stylistic characteristics of its era [*Zeitstil*].<sup>5</sup> It was based on this rationale that Diez defended his position against nationalist criticisms, thereby legitimizing the natural cultural connections between Anatolian Seljuk art and its Armenian and Georgian neighbours.<sup>6</sup>

Characterizing Seljuk architecture in Anatolia as a culturally isolated phenomenon, detached from its neighbouring regions and contemporary stylistic influences, would be a naïve perspective. Despite its undeniable uniqueness, which remains uncontested, it was inherently susceptible to the principle of 'endosmosis' — the process of cultural assimilation — much like every other artistic domain. This concept of cultural penetration was notably

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<sup>3</sup> Ernst Diez, 'Endosmosen'(Endosmos'lar), *Felsefe Arkivi*, 1, 1947, 221-29, 230-238.

<sup>4</sup> Ernst Diez, *Türk sanatı, başlangıcından günümüze kadar* (trans. Oktay Aslanapa), Istanbul: Universite Matbaası, 1946. The critics would praise Strzygowski, for having put Turks on a world art historical stage in his 1917 book *Altai-Iran and Völkerwanderung* (Altai-Iran and the Great Migration); nevertheless, they would miss his work on Armenian art *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (Architecture of Armenia and Europe), that he wrote a year later in 1918. For an in-depth discussion of the criticisms, see my article Zehra Tonbul, 'Parallel Odysseys of Ernst Herzfeld and Ernst Diez,' *The Reshaping of Persian Art: Art Histories of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*, Iván Szántó and Yuka Kadoi (eds.), Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies 2019 Series: Acta et Studia XV, 2019, 235-259.

<sup>5</sup> Lamprecht was a professor of Medieval and Modern History at the University of Leipzig between 1891 and 1914 and founded the Institute of Cultural and Universal History (*Institut für Kultur-und Universalgeschichte*) in 1911 before he passed away in 1915. He took his doctoral degree in 1878 from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Leipzig. He wrote his habilitation at the University of Bonn in 1880 and became Professor *Extraordinarius* in 1888, and initially took a position at the University of Marburg in 1890. See Roger Chickering, *Karl Lamprecht: a German academic life (1856-1915)*, Leiden: Brill, 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Diez, 'Endosmosen,' 221. "Es wäre ein höchst dilettantisches Unternehmen, wollte man die seldschukische Baukunst in Anatolien als eine von den Nachbarländern und vom Zeitstil unabhängige Kulturerscheinung proklamieren. Trotz ihrer von Niemand bestrittenen Eigenart war sie dem vom großen Leipziger Kulturhistoriker Karl Lamprecht betonten Gesetz der «Endosmose», der kulturellen Durchdringung, ebenso unterworfen, wie alle anderen Kunstprovinzen."

emphasized by the renowned cultural historian from Leipzig, Karl Lamprecht.

The 1947 article was not the first time that Diez referred to Lamprecht. In his 1915 book on Islamic Art, entitled *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Diez emphasised the necessity of writing a universal history of Islamic art 'in the manner of Lamprecht'. He portrayed this history as a 'chain of receptions', referring to the term 'endosmosis' to characterize the lasting influence of these receptions.<sup>7</sup>

An examination of Lamprecht's works shows that he incorporated the terminology related to osmotic phenomena — the process of the transudation of fluids with varying densities through animal or vegetable membranes — into his lectures on universal history. In these lectures, he drew parallels between cross-border cultural interactions and the physiological processes occurring within cells. He used the terminology initially in an 1897 article entitled 'Was ist Kulturgeschichte? Beitrag zu einer empirischen Historik' (What is cultural history? Contribution to an Empirical History), to characterize what he called 'world-historical connections' (*weltgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge*) between nations.<sup>8</sup> He emphasized that these connections did not pose a threat to national integrity; on the contrary, they provided support and revitalization. Lamprecht revisited the term in his 1904 lecture 'Problems of Universal History' at Columbia University. In this lecture, he introduced additional terminology related to osmotic processes, namely 'diosmosis' and 'exosmosis,' to illustrate the various directions of cross-border exchanges.<sup>9</sup> He wrote, 'no nation is isolated; [...] all communities of men, great and small, are, partly in a hostile, partly in a friendly way, closely associated with their neighbours.'<sup>10</sup>

Lamprecht's approach to universal history was grounded in transdisciplinary research that bridged the humanities and natural sciences at the University of Leipzig. He took his doctoral degree in 1878 from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Leipzig, where he returned as a professor of Medieval and Modern History between 1891 and 1914. In 1911, Lamprecht founded

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<sup>7</sup> Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, 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.'

<sup>8</sup> Karl Lamprecht, 'Was ist Kulturgeschichte? Beitrag zu einer empirischen Historik', *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1896/97 (1897): 75-150, 101. 'Und lässt es sich überall begründen, dass ein gesundes und kräftiges Volk nur dann weltgeschichtliche Einflüsse aufnimmt, wenn seine eigene Entwicklung in den Anfang eines Reifestadiums eingetreten ist, das der Kulturhöhe der aufzunehmenden Einflüsse entspricht, so ist damit erwiesen, dass diese Einflüsse die nationale Entwicklung nicht umstossen, sondern unter nur leichter Ablenkung nur deren natürlichen Gang allenfalls zu beschleunigen, jedenfalls aber zu bereichern im stande sind.'

<sup>9</sup> Karl Lamprecht, 'Problems of Universal History', *What is history? Five lectures on the modern science of history*, trans. E.A. Andrews, New York, London: Macmillan & Co, 1905, 181-227, 192.

<sup>10</sup> Lamprecht, 'Problems of Universal History', 197.

the Institute of Cultural and Universal History (*Institut für Kultur-und Universalgeschichte*) in 1911 before he passed away in 1915.<sup>11</sup>

The first in-depth investigation of the osmotic process was undertaken at the University in 1877 by a plant physiologist Wilhelm Pfeffer (1845-1920). His book *Osmotische Untersuchungen, Studien zur Zellmechanik* (Osmotic Research Studies on Cell Mechanics) was published when Lamprecht was a student there.<sup>12</sup> Lamprecht was not the only scholar to adopt the term; another Leipzig scholar, the zoologist William Henry Rolph (1847-1883) also used the term in 1882 to describe the principal mechanism governing growth in both the organic and inorganic domains.<sup>13</sup>

The use of the osmotic process as a model for cultural exchange and growth was indicative of how Darwinian evolutionism was adapted in German academia, as an exploration of the spatial dimensions of evolution. Moritz Wagner (1813-1887) from the University of Munich played a pivotal role in the development of this approach with his 'Theory of Migration', which he proposed as a mechanism for development and change within organisms, as outlined in his 1868 book *Die Darwin'sche theorie und das migrationsgesetz der organismen* (Darwin's Theory and the Migration Law of Organisms).<sup>14</sup> According to Wagner's theory, all species naturally migrated across the Earth's surface as a fundamental consequence of life. His student Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) and a 'close intellectual connection' of Lamprecht at the University Leipzig would employ the theory in his two-volume

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<sup>11</sup> Lamprecht's transdisciplinary and particularly psychological approach to history was the basis of a dispute, a *Methodikstreit* with other scholars of German universities, who worked with Rankean approaches of state-based chronologies between 1893 and 1899. Christa Spreizer 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. Christa Spreizer, 'The Old Guard and the Avant-Garde: Karl Lamprecht Kurt Pinthus and Literary Expressionism', *German Studies Review*, 2001, 283-301, 285. Kathryn Brush 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. Kathryn Brush, 'Aby Warburg and the Cultural Historian Karl Lamprecht', Richard Woodfield (ed.), *Art History as Cultural History: Warburg's Projects*, Amsterdam: G + B Arts International, 2001, 144.

<sup>12</sup> Wilhelm Pfeffer, *Osmotische Untersuchungen, Studien zur Zellmechanik*, Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1877. Andrew Reynolds ranks the role of cell research in the humanities next to Darwin's theory of evolution. Andrew Reynolds, 'The cell's journey: from metaphorical to literal factory', *Endeavour* 31, no. 2, 2007, 65-70, 65. For further discussions, see Gregory Moore, *Nietzsche, Biology and Metaphor*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002; Paul Weindling, 'Theories of the cell state in Imperial Germany', *Biology, Medicine and Society 1840 - 1940*, ed. Charles Webster, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 99-155.

<sup>13</sup> Wilhelm Henry Rolph, *Biologische Probleme Zugleich Als Versuch Einer Rationellen Ethik*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1882. See Moore, *Nietzsche, Biology and Metaphor*, 47-76.

<sup>14</sup> Moritz Wagner, *Die Darwin'sche theorie und das migrationsgesetz der organismen*, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1868. For a discussion of Wagner's approach, see Ulrike Jureit, 'Mastering space: laws of movement and the grip on the soil', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 61 (2018): 81-85.

book *Anthrogeography* of 1882 and 1891.<sup>15</sup> Ratzel dedicated his book to Wagner and underlined in the introduction the critical role of Wagner's theory in shaping the concept of history as a 'great sum of movements'. Ratzel envisioned a human geography (Anthropogeography) grounded in the principles of movement and cultural interactions. He also introduced the concept of 'universal biogeography' (*allgemeine Biogeographie*) as the doctrine of the spread of life on earth.<sup>16</sup>

Lamprecht's universal cultural history drew on Ratzel's 'universal biogeography'. He conceived of history as a 'stream' made up of ethereal qualities encompassing 'higher intellectual activities, moral and religious principles, art, poetry, and science'.<sup>17</sup>

...the unity of history, is not to be looked for so much in the apparently important historical events in these occurrences...but in the liquid, as it were, ethereal elements which are destined to influence universal history through long periods of time. These are the products of the higher intellectual activity, moral and religious principles, art, poetry, and science; these are the influences which become the chief constituents in the great stream of world history.

Lamprecht's ethereal conception of history is thus connected to his theory of endosmosis. The influence is akin to Ratzel's influence on the Diffusionist School of Anthropology, which focused on tracing the transmission of cultural artefacts across geographies and cultures.<sup>18</sup>

The art historians of *Kunshistorische Institut I* at the University of Vienna similarly grounded their research in a parallel ethereal and diffusionist perspective. In a posthumously published article, Diez characterized Strzygowski's art historiography as an exploration of the oriental stream (*orientalische Flut*).<sup>19</sup> Indeed, as early as his 1903 book on Byzantine art, *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*

<sup>15</sup> Roger Chickering, Lamprecht's biographer, highlights the close intellectual connection between these two scholars during their time at the University of Leipzig. Chickering, Karl Lamprecht, 294-295. Friedrich Ratzel was initially a lecturer in geography at the Technical High School in Munich in 1875. He was promoted to assistant professor in 1876 and later became a full professor in 1880. In 1886, he accepted an appointment at the University of Leipzig.

<sup>16</sup> Friedrich Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie Oder Grundzüge Der Anwendung Der Erkunde Auf Die Geschichte*, Stuttgart: Engelhorn, 1882. Gerhard H. Müller, "Das Konzept der 'Allgemeinen Biogeographie' von Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904). Eine Übersicht." *Geographische Zeitschrift* 74, 1986, 3-14, 7. See also Maan Barua, 'Ratzel's biogeography: a more-than-human encounter', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 61, 2018, 102-108; Woodruff D. Smith, 'Friedrich Ratzel and the origins of Lebensraum', *German Studies Review*, 3, no.1, 1980, 51-68.

<sup>17</sup> Lamprecht, *What is History*, 208.

<sup>18</sup> The school includes the works of mainly Leo Frobenius (1873-1938), Bernhard Ankerman (1859-1943), Fritz Graebner (1877-1938), and Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954). For Ratzel and diffusionism, see Suzanne Marchand, 'Leo Frobenius and the Revolt against the West', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 32 (2), 1997, 153-170, 158. Julia Verne, 'The neglected "gift" of Ratzel for/from the Indian Ocean: Thoughts on mobilities, materialities and relational spaces', *Geographica Helvetica*, 72 (1), 2017, 85-92, 88.

<sup>19</sup> Ernst Diez, 'Zur Kritik Strzygowskis', *Kunst des Orients*, 4, May 1963, 98-109, 99.

(Asia Minor as a New Area in the History of Art), Strzygowski mentioned 'artistic flows' (*Kunstströme*) originating from what he termed Hellenistic metropolises, Indian and East Asian markets, all converging towards Byzantium.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, he characterized Islamic art as a *Südstrom* (South Stream) flowing from the East through Persia to Mesopotamia.<sup>21</sup> Diez himself portrayed Islamic art as a product of migratory flows along trans-Asiatic and Indo-Arabian world routes. In his 1915 book, he mentioned a North Eurasian figural current (*Nordeurasische Figurenstrom*) representing a Turko-Islamic ornament style in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup> In his article 'Endosmosen', he discussed a 'flow' (*Abfluss*) of forms originating in the East and moving westward, starting from Northern Mesopotamia and the South Caucasus, eventually reaching France during the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>23</sup> In this flow of forms, Diez characterized Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem as transit stations (*Durchgangsstationen*), with Cairo as the final station.<sup>24</sup>

Diez distinguished between two types of forms: one he referred to as 'ornamental form' — *Ornamentform*, and the other, he termed 'architectural form' — *Bauform*.<sup>25</sup> The latter included architectural elements, such as columns, domes, and plans, as well as spatial concepts. In the book on Turkish Art, Diez discussed the transmission of the 'tendril' motif (*Wellenranke*) through Hellenistic influences into Central Asia, as well as the migration of 'Turkish figural motifs' into Northern Europe. Similarly, in his 1915 book, Diez discussed squinches and domes as indicators of cultural exchanges between Hellenism and Persian art during the pre-Islamic period. He discerned the lineage of Seljuk squinch domes to Iranian forms, and pendentive domes to Mediterranean origins. In the case of pointed arches, he posited Central Asian origins.<sup>26</sup>

Strzygowski, Diez and Glück also adapted the Diffusionist concept of *Kulturkreise*, 'cultural circles', into *Kunstkreise*, art circles. A precursor to the Diffusionist School, Fritz Graebner, defined the concept of *Kulturkreis* in his 1911 book 'The Method of Ethnology' as areas of influence connected not by

<sup>20</sup> Josef Strzygowski, *Kleinasiens, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 1903, xiv.

<sup>21</sup> Josef Strzygowski, 'Kunstgeschichte Des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien Hellas und Dem Abendlande', in Max van Berchem, Josef Strzygowski, and Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Amida: Matériaux pour l'épigraphie et l'histoire musulmanes du Diyar-bekr*, Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1910, 144.

<sup>22</sup> Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, 125.

<sup>23</sup> Diez, 'Endosmosen', 222, 234. 'Alle diese dekorativen und ornamentalen Formen fanden nach den Gesetzen der Endosmose der Kulturen und des Zeitstils ihren Abfluss von Ost nach West. Sie blieben nicht in Anatolien stehen, sondern setzten ihren Weg über die europäischen Länder bis Frankreich fort. Sie dienten in Transkaukasien der christlichen in Anatolien der islamischen und in Europa wiederum der christlichen Baukunst als Schmuck und representieren den eurasischen Zeitstil des Mittelalters.'

<sup>24</sup> Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, 140-141. 'Kairo war also stets ein aufnehmendes Becken fremder ostlicher und nordöstlicher Kulturabflüsse.'

<sup>25</sup> Diez, *Endosmosen*, 222. 'Kein Kunsthistoriker wird die hohe Eigenart der seldschukischen Bauornamentik bestreiten, doch ist es besonders seine Aufgabe, den Ursprüngen und der Herkunft der einzelnen Bauformen und Ornamentformen zu ergründen.'

<sup>26</sup> Diez, *Türk Sanatı*, 275. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen völker*, XVI, XVII.

topographical proximity but by movements and relations. For Graebner, 'cultural circles' were characterized by boundaries that were 'fuzzy' and 'cloudy'.<sup>27</sup>

Culture circles are conceived without any clear boundaries, more cloudy, and fuzzy at the edges. [...] They can never be entirely homogenous; they are made of both diversity and unity. [...] They are characterized by movements, marked by relations that do not seem to follow any rules or order. [...] They do not have to cover a topographical entity, they can be islands, connected by bridges or totally dispersed, and still they overlap. [...] To discern them one needs extensive and very detailed empirical studies.

Strzygowski mentioned Hellenistic, Armenian, Syrian, and Egyptian art circles in his 1910 book *Amida*, which served as an early exploration of the art geography of today's Diyarbakir. In 1911, he opened a course on Syrian Art titled *Das Syrische Kunstkreis*, The Syrian Art Circle. During the winter semester of 1922-23, Glück offered a course on *Konstantinopel und der byzantinischer Kunstkreis* – 'Constantinople and the Circle of Byzantine Art'. Diez continued to employ the terminology well into the mid-twentieth century, with his 1941 course *Die Kunstkreise Asiens*, 'Asian Art Circle', a name that unequivocally conveyed a geographical approach.

Glück also incorporated another concept from Diffusionism, known as *Kulturschichten*, which translates to 'cultural layers', and reconfigured it into *Kunstschichte*, 'art layers'. In 1905, Fritz Graebner in his article *Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien* – 'Cultural Circles and Cultural Layers in Oceania' and Bernhard Ankermann in the article *Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Afrika* – 'Cultural Circles and Cultural Layers in Afrika' envisioned geographical terrain as the basis for the stratification and intermingling of diverse cultures.<sup>28</sup> In a similar manner, in a 1921 article, Glück mapped out European geography through the delineation of four different *Kunstschichten* – art layers.<sup>29</sup> The first layer represented the extent of the influence of Gothic art, which he geographically situated in Western and Northern Europe, encompassing Northern and Central France, Germany, and England. The second layer was associated with Islamic art, characterized by oasis-like centres that were isolated from each other. The third layer featured Russian art, extending its influence into Slavic lands and Scandinavia.

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<sup>27</sup> Translated by Julia Verne from Graeber's 1911 book *Die Methode der Ethnologie*, 1911, 131–133. Julia Verne, 'The neglected "gift" of Ratzel for/from the Indian Ocean: Thoughts on mobilities, materialities and relational spaces'. *Geographica Helvetica*, 72, 1, 2017, 85-92, 89.

<sup>28</sup> Bernhard Ankermann, 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Afrika', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 37, 1905, 54-84; Fritz Graebner, 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 37, 1905, 28-53. Woodruff Smith refers to the articles as the culmination of Ratzel's approaches and the completion of the 'diffusionist revolution'. Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the sciences of culture in Germany, 1840-1920*, New York: Oxford University Press, 155.

<sup>29</sup> Heinrich Glück, 'Das kunstgeographische Bild Europas am Ende des Mittelalters und die Grundlagen der Renaissance', *Monatshefte Für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1921, 161-173.

The fourth layer depicted Byzantine art's presence around the Eastern Mediterranean.

Glück's primary aim was to illustrate how art flourished through interactions among these different layers. To achieve this, he mapped out regions where these layers intersected. Consequently, he identified Spain and Sicily as areas of convergence between Gothic and Islamic art circles. In the Balkans, he noted the coexistence of Byzantine and Islamic influences. Glück observed that Italy served as a melting pot where diverse influences converged to give rise to the new art forms of the Renaissance.

The approach reflected the broader influence of Darwinian evolutionism on Austro-German scholarship.<sup>30</sup> In response to nationalist criticisms in Turkey, Diez wrote, 'In history, nothing exists without precedence, history forms rather of development, continuity and progress. Every great art makes use of the preceding one. This is not copying. This is adoption, appropriation, melding in one's *Dasein* [being], rebirth and recreation.'<sup>31</sup>

### A World Art Historical Geography

The works of Strzygowski, Diez and Glück connected to Lamprecht's universal cultural history and Ratzel's biogeographical approach, including its diffusionist expansions, emphasising the merging, layering and ethereal movement of art across eras, cultures and geographies. Their approach thus characterized a world art history rooted in the world's historical geography.

In this manner, in his 1915 book, Diez characterized Islamic art as a world art, resulting from the merging of what he called the 'flow' of 'ornament systems'.<sup>32</sup>

How did this mixture of the Hellenistic, Babylonian, Indo-Aryan, Chinese and Nordic-Nomadic elements take place in Islamic art? Shouldn't one expect a style-less *mixtum compositum* as the outcome of merging seemingly heterogeneous elements? The opposite is the case. No matter how diverse the formal elements and ornamental systems that flow together in this world

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<sup>30</sup> On the influence of Darwinian evolutionism on art history, see Matthew Rampley, *The seductions of Darwin: art, evolution, neuroscience*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017.

<sup>31</sup> Ernst Diez, 'Ernst Diez Cevap Veriyor,' *Cumhuriyet* (27.12.1946): 2. '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 varlığı içinde eritme, yeniden doğma ve yaratmadır.'

<sup>32</sup> Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, 207. 'Wie vollzog sich nun diese Mischung des Hellenistischen, Babylonischen, Indoarischen, Chinesischen und Nordisch-Nomadischen in der Kunst des Islam? Sollte man von der Verschmelzung solcher scheinbar heterogener Elemente nicht ein stillloses Mixtum compositum als Frucht erwarten? Das Gegenteil ist der Fall. So mannigfach die formalen Elemente, die ornamentalen Systeme sind, die in dieser Weltkunst aus Osten, Westen und Norden zusammenströmen, sie werden alle von den gleichen Stilgesetzen zu einem Ganzen verarbeitet, das als etwas Eigenartiges und Neues erscheint.'



art from the East, West and North, they are all processed into a unified whole by the same stylistic principles, resulting in something unique and novel.

As such, the works of Strzygowski, Glück and Diez offer new perspectives in the historiography of world art histories, which have primarily focused on the ethnological role of the ornament. In her discussion of world art histories, Birgit Mersmann underlines the role of ornament at Lamprecht's 'Institute for Cultural and Universal History' at the University of Leipzig, mentioning a dissertation on ancient Chinese ornament as an initial application of Lamprecht's methodology.<sup>33</sup> She consequently highlights Oskar Beyer's 1923 book, *Welt-Kunst: von der Umwertung der Kunstgeschichte* (World Art: The Revaluation of Art History), as a continuation of Lamprecht's approaches. In his article on the history of world art history, entitled 'Origins and principles of world art history: 1900 (and 2000)', Ulrich Pfiffner emphasizes the role of ornament, connecting its role to anthropological, ethnological and archaeological sciences. He considers Johannes Ranke's 1879 lecture, *Anfänge der Kunstanthropologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ornaments* (Beginnings of Art: Anthropological Contributions to the History of Ornament) as the foundational work on the role of ornament.<sup>34</sup> Pfiffner traces the development of the approach to the works of Alois Riegl (1858-1905) at the University of Vienna, noting Riegl's exploration of the evolution of acanthus leaf ornament from ancient Egyptian art into Greek, Roman and Islamic arts in his 1893 book *Stilfragen* (Problems of Style).

On one hand, Diez's reference to Lamprecht's theory of Endosmosis expands the discussion on Lamprecht's influence on world art histories. On the other hand, the works of Strzygowski, Glück and Diez build on Riegl's approaches to world art histories within the Vienna School, incorporating a geographical perspective and a broader understanding of form.<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, Diez's reference to Lamprecht highlights the role of transdisciplinary approaches in early twentieth-century art historical scholarship. In his intellectual biography of Aby Warburg (1866-1929), Ernst Gombrich discusses Lamprecht's influence on art historiography, particularly in the context of psychological approaches.<sup>36</sup> The works of Diez, Strzygowski, and Glück contribute to an expanded discourse on the influence of natural sciences. As such, their

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<sup>33</sup> Birgit Mersmann, 'Embracing world art: art history's universal history and the making of image studies', Rens Bod, Jaap Maat and Thijs Weststeijn (eds.), *The Modern Humanities 3*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014, 329-343.

<sup>34</sup> Ulrich Pfisterer, 'Origins and principles of world art history: 1900 (and 2000)', *World Art Studies*, ed. by: Kitty Zijlmans, Wilfried Van Damme, 2008, 69-89.

<sup>35</sup> In a posthumously published article, Diez mentions the role of Riegl's work on his own approaches. Ernst Diez, 'Zur Kritik Strzygowskis', *Kunst des Orients 4*, 1963, 98-109.

<sup>36</sup> Ernst H. Gombrich, and Fritz Saxl. *Aby Warburg: an intellectual biography*. London: University of London, Warburg Institute, 1970, 37. Kathryn Brush continued this discussion by exploring its implications for other students of Lamprecht, including Wilhelm Vöge and Paul Clemen, and extended this influence to Vöge's student Erwin Panofsky. Kathryn Brush, 'The Cultural Historian Karl Lamprecht: Practitioner and Progenitor of Art History', 65-92.

approach serves as a reminder of critical perspectives on the object-based premise of non-European art historical scholarship and the prevailing cultural historical paradigms that continue to dominate the field.

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