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German Cultural Imperialism and the Culture of Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire[*]

Niles Stefan Illich

ÖZET Arkeoloji, Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Ortadoğusunda Batı'nın emperyal ve sömürgeci projelerinin en önemli rollerinden birisini oynamıştır. Arkeolojik materyalin emperyal bir ilgi üzerinden kavramsallaştırılması, Batı'nın tarihsel paradigmasıyla ilişkili bütüncül bir tarihsel isteğe bağlıdır. Bu bağlamda, arkeoloji, bütün Batılı emperyal güçler tarafından kullanılmış ve müzeler, imparatorluk ve toprakları arasındaki etki ve yeniden bölgeselleştirmeye dayanan emperyal hayali mekânlar olarak tasarlanmıştır. Her ne kadar Osmanlı coğrafyası Almanya'nın resmen kolonisi olmasa da, bu makalede Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Alman kültürel emperyalizmi Theodor Mommsen'in bir kavramı olan *Großwissenschaf* ve Edward Said ile Eric J. Hobsbawn'un kuramsal tartışmaları üzerinden araştırılmıştır. Bu çalışma, aynı zamanda, politika ile kültür etrafında dönen tartışmaları ve diğer Avrupalı emperyal güçlere karşı Alman İmparatorluğu'nun keskin ve güçlü imajı için yaratılan kurumları göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

ANAHTAR KELİMELER arkeoloji, kültürel emperyalizm, Alman İmparatorluğu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Pergamon Müzesi

ABSTRACT Archaeology played one of the main roles to construct the structures of Western imperial and colonial projects on the Middle East in the Nineteenth Century. The re-construction of archeological material through imperialist patronage was adapted to holistic historical demands related with Western historical paradigms. In this context, archaeology was used by all Western imperial powers, and museums were modularly designed as imperial imagined spaces based on imperial re-territorialization and interaction between empire and her territories. In this article, German cultural imperialism in the Ottoman Empire—although she was not a formal colony of the German Empire—is investigated both through *Großwissenschaft*—a term borrowed from Theodor Mommsen—and theoretical discussions of Edward Said and Eric J. Hobsbawn. At the same time, this article aims to address various debates around the relation of politics to culture, and to institutions created by the German Empire for its trenchant and powerful images against other European imperial powers.

KEYWORDS archaeology, cultural imperialism, German Empire, Ottoman Empire, Pergamon Museum

Scholarly attention on the activities of German archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire has focused, principally, on Max von Oppenheim and Heinrich Schliemann. Ironically, however, these two iconic symbols of German archaeological interests in the Ottoman Empire were already anachronisms in the early 1880's. The period in which archaeological activities could be carried out by a single individual had ebbed—although Bismarck

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certainly tried to extend its life[1]— and been replaced by what the most important historian of German archaeology in the Ottoman Empire has called *Großwissenschaft*—or, 'big scholarship,' a term borrowed from Theodor Mommsen.[2] This large scale archaeology became one of the most important methods employed by the Germans in explaining their imperial relationship with the Ottoman Empire to the citizens of both Germany and the world. Although the Germans could not formally claim large sections of the Ottoman Empire as "their" territory, through the appropriation and display of archaeological artifacts, the Germans illustrated their imperial presence in the Ottoman Empire. The most significant element in this effort was the Pergamon Altar, for which a special museum was built in 1899 on Berlin's *Museumsinsel*. The construction of the Pergamon Museum (hereafter, the Pergamon) on *Museumsinsel* provided a political context in which to understand the importance of the artifacts displayed there. However, to appreciate the imperial significance of the Pergamon Altar it is necessary to go beyond the political context of construction of the Pergamon on *Museumsinsel* and to consider the specific manner in which the Germans elected to display the 'Pergamon Altar' within the Pergamon Museum itself.[3]

The German appropriation and display of archaeological artifacts conformed to the imperial model established by the British and the French—famous examples included the Elgin Marbles, the Code of Hammurabi, etc. The appropriations of artifacts from the Ottoman Empire, by the British and French—displayed most famously in the Louvre and the British Museum, but also in a myriad of other smaller museums in these countries, especially the *Musée d'Egypt* in Paris—became well known and the museums housing these artifacts developed into some of the most popular destinations for visitors to London and Paris. However, to construct such a museum, the Germans had to have an obviously magnificent artifact that would justify the museum's development. Although the Germans had secured artifacts from Egypt, by the time German influence in the Ottoman Empire became recognizable, it was impossible for the Germans to claim to have influence in Egypt, as it was already under British control. Further, Germany's early colonial efforts in Africa and the South Pacific had not produced a major imperial treasure that could be displayed in Berlin as a corollary to the imperial treasures displayed in London and Paris. The appropriation of the Pergamon Altar eventually satisfied the requirement of a mag-

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1. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p.86.
2. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, p.75.
3. As discussed below, it is not precisely clear that the artifact in the Pergamon Museum has much coloration to the original historical structure. Instead, it is possible to view the construction of the Pergamon Altar in Berlin as a statement of German imperial strength in the Ottoman Empire.
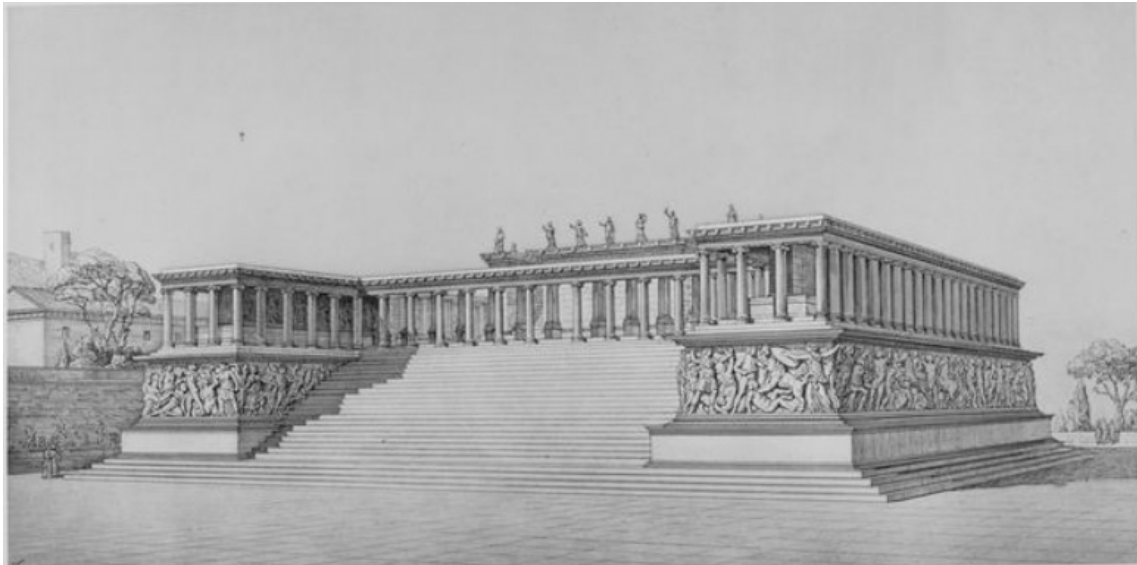
Reconstruction of the Pergamon Altar (Source: *Altertümer von Pergamon*, 3/1 – Plates: Jakob Schrammen, *Der Grosse Altar – Der Obere Markt* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1906), Plate XIX)

nificent imperial artifact around which a museum could be built, and its museum quickly became a national museum that resembled those of France and Britain.

Although the Pergamon Altar clearly represented Germany's imperial position in the Ottoman Empire, it will also be argued that a principal reason for the German enthusiasm for the Pergamon Altar was a desire to overcome the established stigma of the Germans as "artistic barbarians."[4] Many Germans believed that to defeat this perception they required an obviously magnificent piece of art; the first effort to meet this requirement was the Cologne Cathedral, the second was the Pergamon Altar. Based on the bogus claim that the Germans invented Gothic architecture, the Germans completed in the late Nineteenth Century, the Cologne Cathedral, which many hoped would become a unifying symbol for the newly formed German state (during the *Kaiserreich*, the Germans fiercely debated issues of national identity).[5] However, the long-term political consequences of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* (1871-1878) prohibited a Catholic church from becoming an important national symbol. The failure of the Cologne Cathedral to serve as a tool of artistic unification encouraged the Germans to display the Pergamon Altar as a 'national' treasure. As an answer to this perceived artistic inadequacy, the display of the Pergamon Altar permitted

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4. Hans Belting, *The Germans and their Art: A Troublesome Relationship* [translated by Scott Kleager] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p.41.
5. Hans Belting, *The Germans and their Art*, p.46, and p.50.

"Berlin … to boast that it had won this masterpiece of the antique equal only to the Parthenon frieze in London."[6] Consequently, the desire to appropriate and display imperial artifacts (and specifically the Pergamon Altar) pandered not to a warmongering German public or government seeking to exhibit its 'place in the sun.' Rather, this appealed to a German sense of artistic inadequacy as well as temperate German imperial ambitions, which remained well within the established model of imperialism for the Ottoman Empire.

The complicated and often antagonistic relationship between the German government under Wilhelm II and art meant that any public display of art between 1871 and 1914 constituted a political statement.[7] Thus, the importance accorded to the Pergamon Altar by the German government requires that the political ramifications of this monument be considered. Further, the display of imperial objects from the Ottoman Empire (particularly the Pergamon Altar) also occurred within a European political context that provided a framework within which the Germans could announce their imperial presence in the Ottoman Empire, while remaining within the established model for imperialism in the Ottoman Empire. Although the display of artifacts in Berlin occurred in the context of Nineteenth-Century imperialism, as well as German unification, and an attempt to overcome the stigma of being an "artistic barbarian," the most accomplished historian (of only two or three such historians) of German archaeological efforts in the Ottoman Empire, has concluded that these efforts were only "quasi-imperialist."[8] This article intends to show that the German archaeological efforts in the Ottoman Empire were more than "quasi-imperialist," and, rather, were a recognized component of the established model of imperialism for the Ottoman Empire.

An important reason that the German display of the Pergamon Altar may be understood in an imperial context is the familiar relationship between imperialism and archaeology in the Nineteenth Century.[9] In Germany, this relationship became increasingly evident after the founding of the German Reich in 1871. Evidence of this relationship developed as university trained and government supported scholars replaced independent

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6. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," in Gwendolyn Wright (ed.), *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996), p.68.

7. Imperial Germany had a sustained debate about what constituted art and the German government consistently tried to block the introduction of modern art from France, especially impressionism. Importantly, as noted below, sculpture was seen as one of the few art forms in the late Nineteenth Century not adulterated by in the influence of modernism.

8. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 93. Marchand eventually refers to German imperialism in the Ottoman Empire as "informal imperialism" (Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, p.200).

archaeologists. Employing the methods of *Großwissenschaft*, the Germans, with the active support of the German government, excavated some of the most important archaeological sites in the Ottoman Empire. These new excavations led to the discovery, appropriation, and display of artifacts such as the Pergamon Altar, the Ishtar Gate—excavated between 1903 and 1914, but it was not displayed immediately, and thus is not considered here—as well as artifacts from Olympus and other important ancient sites. Writing about the excavations at Olympus (the first site to be excavated in this manner) a contemporary scholar explained the importance of *Großwissenschaft* compared with the earlier excavations led by single archaeologists: "The excavations at Olympia can be called the academically most highly accomplished in the entire history of archaeology; they established new standards of discipline. The achievement was possible only on the basis of state support."[10] However, what made the discoveries under this new policy of government support for archaeological research in the Ottoman Empire significant for a study of imperialism was that the accomplishments made by the team of archaeologists became German accomplishments instead of individual accomplishments.[11]

What differentiated these larger excavations from those of 'archaeologists' like Schliemann was that these later excavations occurred with the German government's approbation, funding, and, *most importantly*, diplomatic support. Indeed, in 1871, with the founding of a unified Germany, the Prussian *Institut für archäologische Korrespondenz* became a *Reichsinstitut* and was simultaneously renamed *Der Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Institut* (DAI)—although the former was a governmental institute under the Prussians, the Prussians resisted making it such and its status increased dramatically under the new Germany).[12] Moreover, its Secretary General, Alexander Conze, became

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9. A. José Farrujia de la Rosa, *Imperialist Archaeology in the Canary Islands: French and German Studies on Prehistorical Colonization at the End of the 19th Century* (London: Archaeopress, 2005).

10. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," pp.70-71. It should not be assumed that this policy met with universal approval in Germany. Many times Bismarck and the Reichstag tried to curb German support of the archaeological digs. Wilhelm II often circumvented this by providing money from his own reserves.

11. It would be valuable to know where else the German government supported archaeological excavations, and possibly where they elected not to support such work.

12. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, p.94. Conventionally, historians (only a very few have written about this institute, and Marchand was the first and the most effective) refer to this as the German Archaeological Institute or the *Deutschen Archäologischen Institut*; however, I believe it is important to emphasize the fact that its formal name begins with *Kaiserlich* (imperial, referring to Imperial Germany not German imperialism). This emphasis is important to stress the relationship between the DAI and the German government. See, Alexander Conze and Paul Schazmann, *Mamurt-Kaleh: Ein Tempel der Göttmutter Unweit Pergamon* [Publication of the *Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* vol. 9] (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1911).
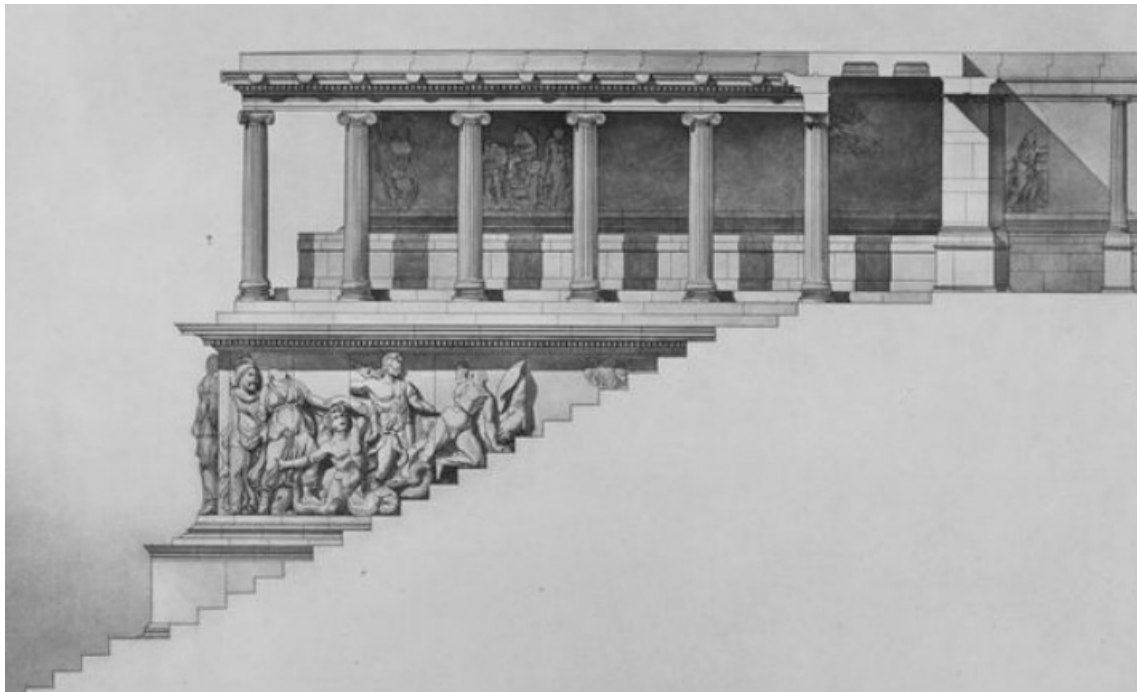
Reconstructed Crosssection through the Steps of the Altar (Source: *Altertümer von Pergamon*, 3/1 – Plates: Jakob Schrammen, *Der Grosse Altar – Der Obere Markt* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1906), Plate IX)

an employee of the *Auswärtiges Amt—i.e.,* the German Foreign Office—as Oppenheim would be some years later.[13] The close relationship between the German government and archaeology eventually permitted the British to accuse the Germans of using archaeological expeditions as covers for espionage (most specifically espionage in the Ottoman Empire); Oppenheim was only the most famous of many such examples.[14] Thus, using the methods of *Großwissenschaft*, the DAI (whose director was an employee of the German foreign office) became the chief mechanism through which the Germans discovered and appropriated thousands of pieces of Ottoman, Byzantine, and other ancient history while asserting their influence in the Ottoman territories.[15]

Originally founded in April 1829 as the *Institut für archäologische Korrespondenz*, the DAI included both Leopold von Ranke and Karl Friedrich Schinkel as members, and

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13. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, pp.101-102.

14. Peter Hopkirk, *Like Hidden Fire: The Plot to Bring Down the British Empire* (New York: Kodansha International Ltd., 1994), pp.18-19.

15. Although much credit must go to the DAI, there were other methods for appropriating artifacts. For example, the construction of railways led to the discovery and appropriation of many artifacts. See, Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p.133.

its stated goal was to "gather and make known all archaeologically significant facts and finds."[16] Although the DAI eventually became the most important state mechanism for the discovery and appropriation of artifacts from Ottoman territories, initially, the organization limited its interests to Greece and Rome.[17] Only after 1871 did the Ottoman Empire became an important focus of this organization.[18] However, the DAI's early finds, even those made in Greece, including the finds in Olympia, "failed to find much in the category most prized by state bureaucrats, the *Gymnasium*-educated public, and even the archaeologists themselves: monumental sculpture of the high classical era."[19] This 'failure' in Greece was eventually compensated for by discoveries in the Asiatic territories of the Ottoman Empire, especially the three digs at Pergamum (1881-1886, 1901-1915, and 1933-1934)[20] which resulted in the appropriation of the Pergamon Altar, whose 'magnificence'[21] received international attention.[22]

The Germans began receiving artifacts from the Pergamon digs with Carl Humann's discoveries (Humann was in the Ottoman Empire to plan and construct railways) in 1872, but it was not until Humann convinced the DAI and Alexander Conze (Secretary General of the DAI) to assist him that German activity in Pergamum became regu-

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16. Quoted in Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, p.55.
17. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, p.56. There were other organizations, such as the *Deutsche-Orient Gesellschaft* (DOG), which although a private organization received support from the German diplomatic corps. It is worth noting that Georg von Siemens, the director of Deutsche Bank was on the board of DOG (S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum: Displacement, Reconstruction, and Reproduction of the Monuments of Antiquity in Berlin's Pergamon Museum (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2003), p.86. Other private and semiprivate groups (like the DAI) existed, but the DAI was the largest and most important.
18. Even when the artifacts from the Ottoman Empire became the most important artifacts exhumed by the DAI, the most 'important' artifacts were perceived to be those from ancient Greece and Rome.
19. S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum, p.87. Instead of 'monumental sculpture' they found 1,328 sculptures, 7,464 bronzes, 2,094 terra-cottas, 696 inscriptions, and 3,035 coins.
20. The Germans had archaeological interests beyond Pergamon, but because the latter became so important to German imperial interests in the Ottoman Empire it is the focus of this article. It is worth noting that they also dug in Mesopotamia.
21. As will be explained below, this is somewhat controversial. The German reconstruction of the Pergamon Altar (although it is not well known, either in scholarship or in the popular mind) adhered to Nineteenth Century German interests more than historical reality.
22. Lucy M. Mitchell, "Sculptures of the Great Pergamon Altar," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, *25/1* (November 1882), pp.87-100; Charles Brassler, "The Pergamon Marbles in the Pergamon Museum of Berlin," *Scientific American*, No.93 (September 2, 1905), pp.442-444; L. R. Farnell, "The Works of Pergamon and their Influence," *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, *7* (1886), pp.251-274. Farnell's publication was part of a series of three articles he wrote for this journal, but outside of the series he published other articles on the discoveries at Pergamon (in this same journal, and likely published elsewhere as well); and, Arthur Milchhöfer, *Die befreiung des Prometheus: Ein fund aus Pergamon* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1882). As discussed below, what constituted the Pergamon Altar was a German vision of the Pergamon Altar more than a historical reality.

Reconstructed Northern Side Wall of the Altar (Source: *Altertümer von Pergamon*, 3/1 – Plates: Jakob Schrammen, *Der Grosse Altar – Der Obere Markt* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1906), Plate XIII)

larized.[23] Although regularized, the Germans intentionally concealed their discovery from the Ottoman officials, and, thus, secured for themselves a greater proportion of the artifacts.[24] While the formal digs, under the supervision of state archaeologists, did not begin until 1881, "by 1880, two large fragments of the *Gigantomachia* [an important frieze] were on view in the Royal Museums."[25] Although a 'permanent'[26] museum for the Pergamon artifacts did not exist until 1899, the Germans found many opportunities to use Pergamon to exhibit their imperial presence in the Ottoman Empire. One such example occurred at the Berlin Fine Arts Exhibition (1886), an international exhibition intended to celebrate the centennial of the Berlin Academy of Arts, where the German presentation of Pergamon overwhelmed the exhibition. Displayed in the imperial context of a simulated Egyptian temple in the British section, the Germans exhibited "the hugest [*sic*.] picture in all the exhibition—namely, a panoramic view of Pergamon as it is judged by artists and archaeologists to have looked … In front of the [painting of the] Olympian Temple [Pergamon Altar] stands a tall obelisk, looking like a Cleopatra's Needle, inscribed with the words … to 'Kaiser Wilhelm the Victorious.'"[27] Consequently, although the Germans could not display the artifacts from Pergamon in a permanent exhibit until 1899, paintings and other substitutes were presented frequently in an unmistakably imperial context.[28]

A significant reason that the German discoveries in the Ottoman Empire (among them the Pergamon Altar) received such approbation and attention was the manner in which the Germans eventually displayed them, both before and after the construction of the Pergamon. Understanding the display of German artifacts from the Ottoman Empire necessitates an appreciation of the context in which the Germans built the Pergamon. In the post-revolutionary period (1815-1914), state-sponsored museums became increasingly popular throughout Europe. Indeed, these museums were created to "represent and

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23. Indeed the earliest segments of the Pergamon Altar did not receive attention in Berlin and were not even displayed. See, Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," p.68.
24. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, p.94. Ottoman law divided such findings in the following way: one-third of the artifacts went to each of the following, the state, the group or individual who discovered them, and the land owner. The Germans (including the German government) purchased the land to acquire two-thirds of the artifacts, without telling the Ottomans what the land contained. However, it may not have been necessary for the Germans to do this as they acquired almost all the artifacts they wished with only limited interference from the Ottoman government.
25. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, p.95. Humann had already sent to Berlin 462 crates weighing 250 tons.
26. As discussed below, the first permanent museum for the Pergamon Altar was later designated as 'interim' and the construction of the new museum began before the start of World War I.
27. "The Berlin Arts Exhibition," The *Times,* 29 May 1886, p.6.
28. As discussed below, the symbolic presentation of artifacts, especially the Pergamon Altar was important.

celebrate the nation."[29] These museums maintained a close relationship to the European monarchs and, in some cases, the new museums "helped fill the spaces" left by the power that had been removed from the royal prerogative during the revolutionary periods.[30] In Germany, and more specifically Berlin, these museums populated Spree Island, which eventually received the designation *Museumsinsel*. Germany's *Museumsinsel* ultimately contained five museums: *Die Altes Museum*—originally called the Royal Prussian Museum[31]—*Die Neues Museum, Die Nationalgalerie*, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, and the Pergamon Museum (which was the last one built, started in 1907 and completed in 1930; however, as previously noted, an 'interim' Pergamon Museum was completed in 1899[32]). The island also hosts the Berliner Dom, constructed between 1894 and 1905, which was the official church of the Hohenzollern family and contained, and does so to this day, the royal family's crypt.[33] Although the Germans began construction of these museums in 1832, three of the five were completed after Germany unified in 1871. This acceleration of building, between 1871 and 1918, attests to the relationship between these museums and the new German state, which attempted to use them to bring further unity to the German people and to define 'German culture.' Recent scholarship has emphasized Wilhelm II's use of architecture and large building projects, and concluded that the Kaiser "sought to consolidate his authority through building projects."[34] Although this scholarship does not

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29. Gwendolyn Wright, "Introduction," in Gwendolyn Wright (ed.), *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*, p.9.

30. James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (London: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.101. Thus although monarchs frequently lost political power they often retained authority over cultural and artistic matters. A reason for this was that it was difficult, in many cases, to determine if the art belonged to the royal family or to the state.

31. S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum, p.21.

32. S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum, p.51. The Germans built the interim building (intended to be permanent) between 1897 and 1899 and opened it to the public in 1901 (S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum, p.136). Structural integrity was the reason given for destroying the 'interim building' and raising a new museum; however the genuine motivation remains unclear, especially since the problems with the museum's integrity resulted from its location. Recent scholarship speculates that the original museum (the so-called 'interim building') inadequately presented the Pergamon artifacts and thus failed to "represent the glory of the German Reich" (S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum, p.139).

33. A church had been on this location for centuries, but staring in 1894 it became a central focus of the state. The Berliner Dom, was so large that its height exceeds one hundred meters.

34. Douglas Mark Klahr, The Kaiser Builds in Berlin: Expressing National and Dynastic Identity in the Early Building Projects of Wilhelm II (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 2002), p.1 and p.13. Also see, Uta Lehnert, *Der Kaiser und die Siegesalle: Réclame Royale* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1998). Lehnert claims that the *Siegesalle* was "an advertisement for the dynasty." See, Douglas Mark Klahr, The Kaiser Builds in Berlin, p.14. This contention fits with the Kaiser's efforts—and those of others— to make Sedan Day a national holiday.

adequately address the construction of museums, the latter's construction, between 1871 and 1918, accords with the author's argument.

The construction of the Pergamon Museum on *Museumsinsel* is best understood in the context of the existing four museums on the island. The construction of each of the four earlier museums had a political significance and was constructed to meet specific political ends; the Pergamon was no different. The first museum constructed on the island was the *Altes Museum*, designed by the famous Prussian architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel. The Germans created the museum specifically to resemble the *Musée Napoléon* in Paris, which housed imperial artifacts and treasures from the lands conquered and looted by Napoleon.[35] The popularity of the Parisian museum led to the construction of museums throughout Europe that glorified the specific state through the display of 'war booty' and other such imperial treasures.[36] Indeed, the architecture of Schinkel's museum intentionally mirrored that of the other great European museums, employing "a long frontal colonnade" and Classical columns.[37] The second museum erected on the island arose from the debate about the relationship between art and the state. Specifically, Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1795-1861, ruled 1840-1861) commissioned it to "attest to the fact that the state did not want to relinquish control over the arts."[38] Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who participated in the development of the museum, intended for the museum to be didactic and to emphasize "education [for what a Prussian or even a 'German' should aspire to be] by historic example."[39] The third museum constructed on *Museumsinsel*, *Die Nationalgalerie*, overtly emphasized its political function in its famous inscription: "*Der deutschen Kunst* MDCCCLXXI" (to German art), which hung above the figure *Germania* and an equestrian statue of Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Historian James J. Sheehan contends that the inscription was intended to "proclaim its [the museum's] dedication to German art and the link between national art and political unification," which had been an issue in Ger-

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35. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," p.55; and, Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.198. Both authors emphasize the popularity of the new French museums. This popularity, as Gaehtgens contends, encouraged monarchs outside of France to being constructing museums with international artifacts and treasures in them. Also see, Todd Burke Porterfield, Art in the Service of French Imperialism in the Near East, 1798-1848: Four Case Studies (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1990, pp.3-12.

36. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," p.56. Gaehtgens contends that the Prussian king "Friedrich Wilhelm III finally agreed to Schinkel's plans [for the museum] in 1832 for political reasons." Indeed, he continues and points out that the thematically similar Alte Pinakothek in Munich was constructed around the same time (Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin,"p.56).

37. Gwendolyn Wright, "Introduction," p.9.

38. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," p.56.

39. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," p.58.

Berlin – The 'Interim' Pergamon Museum designed by architect Fritz Wolff, built between 1897 and 1899, and opened to the public in 1901 (Source: [Hans von Looschen], *Album von Berlin, Charlottenburg und Potsdam* (Berlin: Globus Verlag, [1905]))

many since the 1848 Revolution.[40] Moreover, rather than establishing the museum (*Die Nationalgalerie*) as an independent (or even autonomous) entity, its director Max Jordan (1874-1895) reported to the *Kultusministerium*, and the Prussian dominated *Landeskunst-kommission* directed purchases.[41] Construction on the National Gallery began in 1866—the year of Prussia's victory over Austria in the first war of German unification—and concluded in 1875. Consequently, appreciating the expectation that the museum would contribute to Germany's artistic unification, as political unification had just been completed, is uncomplicated;[42] this expectation existed throughout the Second Reich. The most

40. James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World*, p.113. Also see, Françoise Forster-Hahn, "Museum moderner Kunst oder Symbol einer neuen Nation? Zur Gründungsgeschichte der Berliner Nationalgalerie," in Claudia Rückert and Sven Kuhrau (eds.), *Der deutschen Kunst: Nationalgalerie und Nationale Identität, 1876-1998* (Amsterdam: Verlag der Kunst, [1998]), pp.30-43.

41. James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World*, p.113.

42. The 'problem' of German particularism is well known and treated thoroughly by Mack Walker. See, Mack Walker, *German Home Towns, Community, State, and General Estate, 1648-1871* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971). For a discussion of the questions relating to the artistic unification of Germany, see, Hans Belting, *The Germans and Their Art*.

famous illustration of the expectation that the museum should contribute to Germany's artistic unification occurred when the museum's second director, Hugo von Tschudi (1851-1911, administered the museum 1896-1909), attempted to introduce modern French impressionist art to the museum's collection; Wilhelm II forced him to resign.[43] Karl Scheffler, in 1921, wrote "The *Nationalgalerie* served dynastic interests quite intentionally,"[44] by presenting "an oppressive mass of bombastic battle scenes," which glorified German military victories and history.[45] Consequently, the construction of museums on *Museumsinsel* occurred within a political context, and the Pergamon Museum[46] was not an exception.

Although the development of *Museumsinsel* began during the period between the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars and the unification of Germany, it accelerated after 1871; indeed (as previously mentioned), it began its most intense period of construction after 1871, with three of its five museums being completed following German political unification. Although the pace of development increased, the relationship between the museums and the government remained the same, museums (especially those on *Museumsinsel*) were political tools. Under the Kaiserreich, the museums were to "reflect the status of the empire, [and] to testify to the empire's global and imperial claims;"[47] the Pergamon fit within this requirement—indeed it did so better than any of the other museums. The German government could have constructed a museum of antiquities, ethnography (which

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43. Mack Walker, *German Home Towns, Community, State, and General Estate, 1648-1871*. There are other reasons for the infamous 'Tschudi Affair,' and a solid scholarship exists on it. The role of modernism in German art and politics, which contributed to this, is discussed below. For more on Tschudi, see, Peter Paret, "The Tschudi Affair," *The Journal of Modern History, 53/4* (December 1981), pp.589-618.

44. Quoted in Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," pp.60-61.

45. Françoise Forster-Hahn, "Shrine of Art of Signature of a New Nation? The National Gallery(ies) in Berlin, 1848-1968," in Gwendolyn Wright (ed.), *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996), p.93.

46. The history of the building is interesting as an interim building was constructed and then replaced by a permanent structure, and it took until 1930 to complete the process, but 'a' Pergamon Museum existed no later than 1899 (Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," p.65; and, Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 288). The fourth museum opened on *Museumsinsel*, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (1904) opened with a special collection of Oriental art given to the Kaiser by the Sultan. Wilhelm II hoped that this museum would encourage young German artists to look to the past (especially the classical period) for inspiration and training ("Opening of the Emperor Frederick Museum: The Kaiser on Modern German Art," *The Times*, 19 October 1904, p.3. The issues of German modern art are discussed (briefly) below.

47. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," p.64. Indeed the politics of art and display became so important that the museums situated on *Museumsinsel* bickered with each other regarding construction and display. This became known as the 'Museums War' (Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, pp.288-289).

Reconstruction of the Pergamon Altar in the 'Interim' Pergamon Museum, before 1908
(Source: Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer (ed.), *Der Pergamonaltar: Die neue Präsentation nach Restaurierung
des Telephosfrieses* (Berlin and Tübingen: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and Verlag Wasmuth, 1997))

was constructed in Berlin, but importantly *not* on *Museumsinsel*), or even of Egyptian arti-
facts, which were held in the *Neues Museum*; however, it decided, in 1897, the year
before the Kaiser made his first trip to the Ottoman Empire, to build a museum dedicated
to the Pergamon Altar[48] and the recently established Department of Islamic Art—also
referred to as the Museum für Islamische Kunst (Museum of Islamic Art), although it has
been housed within the Bode Museum and the Pergamon and it never stood alone.[49] The
decision to emphasize the German involvement in the Ottoman Empire went beyond a
German belief in the magnificence of the Pergamon Altar—although that was a contri-

48. As mentioned earlier, the Pergamon Museum was not one building but rather a succession of buildings
    beginning with what is presently referred to as the 'interim building' and concluding in 1907 with the
    present museum (Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," p.65; and, Suzanne L.
    Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, pp.289-290).
49. Volkmar Enderlein *et al*., *Museum of Islamic Art* [translated by R. Hughes Barnes] (Mainz: Philipp
    von Zabern, 2003), p.1. On its web site Staatliche Museen zu Berlin gives the following information

buting factor. Rather, the decision to construct a museum around the Pergamon Altar represented a public statement of German imperialism in the Ottoman territories as well as German artistic achievement (through the altar's acquisition and display). However, it also contributed to the internal unification of Germany by providing a symbol (or tradition) that the Germans could see as a visible manifestation of 'German' artistic accomplishment.[50]

The relationship between the Pergamon Altar and German involvement in the Ottoman Empire is illuminated not only by the particular space on *Museumsinsel* that Pergamon Museum, in its varied forms, occupied, but also by the physical structure of the Pergamon Altar itself. The reconstruction and display of the "Pergamon Altar" is one of the most significant elements that permits an imperial message to be discerned from the language of display. A significant reason that the specific display of the Pergamon Altar conveys imperialism is that the Germans did not uncover the Pergamon Altar as a whole, nor could they have. Rather the Germans "reconstructed" the altar, from ruins that had been manipulated (eleven centuries earlier) into a new structure, to fit Nineteenth Century German imperial ambitions. Originally, the last Attalid king (who died in 133 B.C.) commissioned the altar,[51] but it eventually fell into ruin, and by the Eighth Century A.D. its

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on the Museum's history: "In 1904 Wilhelm von Bode, who was then a director at the Royal Museums, founded a department of Islamic art at the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (today's Bode Museum). The core of the collection consisted of the façade from Mshatta which was a gift from the Sultan of Turkey to the German Kaiser, and Bode's donation of his own collection of carpets. The number of objects later increased with the addition of items from the collection of Islamic minor arts belonging to Friedrich Sarre, the first director, as well as objects loaned by the Museum of Applied Art. In 1932 the department moved into its own rooms at the newly built Pergamon Museum. The exhibition had to be closed at the beginning of the war in 1939. Although objects were protected or removed for safekeeping, numerous valuable carpets were burnt and the left-hand gate-tower from Mshatta was destroyed. The Islamic Museum re-opened in the Pergamon Museum in 1954, after the restoration of this precious early Islamic monument. At the same time the items which had been stored in the west of Germany went on show in the Dahlem Museum (until 1967). Works which had been taken to the Soviet Union in 1945/46 were returned in 1958. This, together with the restoration of the Aleppo Room and two prayer niches, led to the full use of the collection's rooms in the Pergamon Museum. The collection in the west of the city, also named the Museum of Islamic Art, moved to Charlottenburg Palace (1968-1970) and then to its permanent home in the new museum complex in Dahlem. When the two collections were officially reunited in 1992 each remained temporarily in its own building. When the section in Dahlem closed on 3 May 1998 the task of uniting of the whole collection in the Pergamon Museum on Museum Island began (http://www.smb.museum/smb/sammlungen/details.php?lang=en&objID=12&n=0&r=0&p=1).

50. The completion of the Cologne Cathedral failed in this purpose because of the *Kulturkampf*. Clearly, a Catholic church, regardless of its magnificence could not become a unifying symbol during this period of persecution (Hans Belting, *The Germans and their Art*, pp.46-47).

51. Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph (eds.), *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), p.13.

ruins had been incorporated into a Byzantine wall,[52] where they remained for eleven centuries. Thus, when the Germans discovered the 'Pergamon Altar,' it was not as a unified whole or even an unadulterated ruin; rather they 'discovered' the 'Pergamon Altar' in the form of a Byzantine wall. Consequently, the location of the ruins discovered by the German archaeologists did not provide guidance for the altar's reconstruction. Further, in reconstructing the altar, the Germans had almost no direction from ancient literature, which provides modern scholars with only one certain reference; it reads: "At Pergamon is a great marble altar, forty feet in height with colossal sculpture. It also contains the battle of the gods and the Giants."[53] Moreover, although the Pergamon Altar is conventionally presented as an altar dedicated to Zeus,[54] scholars cannot even be certain that the altar was used for the worship of gods (much less any specific god).[55] Consequently, a recent scholar concluded that based on the condition of the ruins when the Germans discovered them, and the limited secondary knowledge available to scholars, that even an assessment of "its [the Pergamon Altar] date, program, and [principal] function (or functions) [is] … deeply problematic."[56] Thus, beyond the fact that the ruins excavated from a Byzantine wall originated from an altar and a consensus on the general dimensions of the structure, modern scholars cannot, with certainty, support any other claims. In spite of this uncertainty (which is rarely addressed by scholars, even the most careful and precise scholars), newspapers, journals, books, and other publications make emphatic claims about the function and appearance of the altar (among other things, like the idea that the present altar resembles the ancient one and that the alter was indeed dedicated to Zeus).[57]

An important reason for the broadly accepted belief that the structure presented in the *Pergamonsaal*—'Pergamon Hall,' the actual room in which the altar is displayed—was an atlar dedicated to Zeus, and that it resembles the original structure, is that the there

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52. S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum, p.119.
53. Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph (eds.). *Pergamon*, p.11. This quote comes from a Roman citizen, Lucius Ampelius, who described the altar in his book *Liber Memorialis*.
54. "Museum Festival in Berlin: Altar of Zeus on View," *The Times*, 6 October 1930, p.8. There are many such examples.
55. Stewart points out that the Latin word *ara* does not necessarily mean religious altar, it could also be for hero-worship (Andrew Stewart, "Pergamo Ara Marmorea Magna: On the Date, Reconstruction, and Functions of the Great Altar of Pergamon," in Nancy T. de Grummond and Brunilde S. Ridgway (eds.), *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p.32.
56. Andrew Stewart, "Pergamo Ara Marmorea Magna," in p.32.
57. "Museum Festival in Berlin: Altar of Zeus on View," *The Times*, 6 October 1930, p.8; and, Antonio Paolucci, *Great Museums of Europe: The Dream of the Universal Museum* (Milan: Skira/New York: Rizzoli International, 2002), p.178.

Reconstruction of the Pergamon Altar in the 'Interim' Pergamon Museum, before 1908
(Source: Max Kunze, *Der Pergamonaltar: Seine Geschichte, Entdeckung und Rekonstruktion*
(Mainz and Berlin: Verlag Philipp von Zabern and Staatliche Museum Berlin, 1995))

has never been any broad public indication to the contrary. This intentional deception is accentuated by the central presentation of Zeus and Athena on the modern version of the Pergamon Altar, which attentive scholars concur, is inaccurate.[58] Although the German architects who constructed the Pergamon Altar in Berlin placed these depictions (Zeus and Athena) in the most prominent location on the 'monument,' they were most likely originally on the monument's eastern façade (the present representation of the Pergamon Altar has 'only' one façade).[59] Furthermore, while the presentation of the altar gives (and gave, when speaking of its earlier exhibition) the viewer the perception that the display includes the whole altar, the Pergamon Museum contains no more than a representation of a third of the original structure. Moreover, the structure that is displayed as the 'Pergamon Altar' (which visitors are encouraged to touch and climb on) is an amalgamation of original pieces and elements added (without distinction from the originals) by Nineteenth Century German architects. Among the many elements added by the Germans is the staircase that comprises a large proportion of the center of the 'altar.'[60] Thus, it cannot be claimed that the Nineteenth Century elements in the 'altar' are peripheral; rather, they provide the altar with its essential shape and structure. Not only did the Germans (as opposed to the original or even Byzantine artists) determine the location of specific statues and friezes without considering their original placement (such as those of Zeus and Athena), but they also constructed the entire present form of the Pergamon Alter to fit their Nineteenth-Century imperial ambitions, desires, perceptions, and goals.[61] That the whole architecture of the 'monument' came from Nineteenth Century German architects and museum curators (and German imperial desires) is evident by recognizing that 'radically different' models were proposed as a basis for the Nineteenth Century 'reconstruction' of the 'altar.'[62]

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58. Very few scholars have considered this. The statement 'attentive scholars' should not indicate that a large number of scholars have made this claim. Rather most scholars accept the Pergamon Altar, as it is presently presented, as a reasonably accurate representation of the original, both in appearance and function.

59. S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum, p.114 and p.127.

60. S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum, p.108. There are other examples; indeed, it seems most of the 'Altar's' principal structure was built in the Nineteenth Century.

61. The difficult question that has not been answered is to what degree did the Germans understand this or care. It must have been well understood by those who discovered and "reconstructed" the monument that there was no way to determine its original appearance, but how widely know that fact was is very uncertain.

62. S. M. Can Bilsel, Architecture in the Museum, pp.129-130, and p.132. For an example of the German perception of Pergamon, see 'Pergamon: Pläne der Unterstadt und des Stadtberges,' in *Altertümer von Pergamon*, 9: Erich Boehringer and Friedrich Krauss*, Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult: Prinzessinnen Palais* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1914). This is a map of Pergamon, and it is less important than the series of maps that it is a part of.

The German motivation for the reconstruction and display of the Pergamon Altar, was not historical fidelity, rather, the principal German intention in the decision to display the Pergamon Altar as they did was imperialism. The 'reconstruction' of the 'altar' in the most grandiose manner (both in its principal structure and the central depiction of gods like Zeus and Athena) was done to emphasize the magnificence of this monument and, thus, the German accomplishment in recovering it. Further, by appropriating such an important structure from the Ottoman Empire, the Germans illustrated their imperial position. This display of imperialism fit within both the established model for imperialism in the Ottoman Empire and the broader German policy of *Kulturpolitik* towards the Ottoman Empire. The appropriation of the ruins that composed the Pergamon Altar did not conflict with the policy of *Kulturpolitik*, because the Germans received "official" permission to excavate the site where they discovered the altar and they generally complied with the Ottoman laws on antiquities.[63] However, German influence in the Ottoman government permitted the Germans to "accept not only sculpture and … jewelry," but to appropriate the entire altar without considering Ottoman objections.[64]

In spite of its obvious imperial appeal, the Pergamon Altar was more than an effort to illustrate German imperialism to the German people and the world. It was also a symbol of German accomplishment that contributed to the unification of the newly formed country. Historian Eric J. Hobsbawm has explained the importance of such "invented traditions" to the development of a modern state, and the Pergamon Altar conforms to his model.[65] Importantly, the Germans were not the only Power to use Ottoman artifacts in such a manner. The placement of the Luxor Obelisk at "the center of Paris's most important urban axis, the Place de la Concorde"[66] in 1836 (appropriated in 1831) provides an

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63. Although the Germans received permission, they did not (as previously noted) disclose the significance of their discovery to the Ottoman government, nor did they adhere to Ottoman law regarding the appropriation of antiquities. Further, German influence in the Empire (including the visit of the Kaiser) permitted them to appropriate the treasures without significant interference from the government.

64. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," pp.71-72. According to the established Ottoman law on the recovery of antiquities, some of the artifacts would have to remain in the Ottoman Empire, especially if the artifacts were of particular importance. The Germans successfully sought to appropriate the whole of the altar.

65. Michael R. Orwicz, "Nationalism and Representation, in Theory," in June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam (eds.), *Nationalism and French Visual Culture, 1870-1914* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art/New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p.21.

66. Todd B. Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire: Art in the Service of French Imperialism, 1798-1836* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p.13, and p.104. Recall that the French (and the Russians), until the signing of the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Convention (1836) were the strongest imperial powers in the Ottoman Empire.

Reconstruction of the Pergamon Altar in the 'Interim' Pergamon Museum, before 1908
(Source: Max Kunze, *Der grosse Marmoraltar von Pergamon: Seine Wiederentdeckung, Geschichte,
und Rekonstruktion* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1988))

example of how other imperial Powers used Ottoman artifacts didactically, and, eventually, created tradition while asserting their imperial presence in Ottoman territories. Recent historical literature has emphasized this point by contending that the placement of the Luxor Obelisk "[at] the center of Paris's most important urban axis" was to "substitute France's 'revolutionary passion' with a 'national passion' founded on imperial expansion in the East."[67] Thus, the German display of the Pergamon Altar conformed to the established

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67. Todd B. Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire*, p.15.

model for imperialism in the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, the specific display of the Pergamon Altar emphasized German imperialism and national accomplishment (all the more so because of the specific manner in which the Germans constructed it), without upsetting the European balance of power.

However, in spite of the imperial nature of German activity in the Ottoman Empire, Edward Said famously asserted that Germany did not have a "protracted, sustained *national* interest in the Orient, and thus [had] no Orientalism of a politically motivated sort" (emphasis original).[68] Said's principal contention was that a tradition of Oriental scholarship (be it literature, scholarly books, paintings, or some combination there of), established a basis for the assertion of imperialism and then colonialism in the foreign territory. He argued that while "the main battle in imperialism is over land, of course … when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back and who now plans its future—these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided" in Oriental scholarship.[69] Said eventually conceded a German intellectual and scholarly interest in the Ottoman Empire, but maintained his contention that the Germans failed to connect this to an imperial policy. My dissertation has exposed a national German interest in expanding into the Ottoman Empire, which permitted the Germans (as well as other European Powers) to assert themselves into the Ottoman territories without challenging the established balance of power.[70] This assertion of German national interests in the Ottoman Empire answers the question that scholars have asked about Said and German orientalism (and the point that Said never conceded). "Can this [German] tradition of scholarship be assessed in a way that productively connects it to histories of [German] imperialism and the exercise of power?"[71] Thus, the task here is not to show the German national interest in the Ottoman Empire, but rather to provide a minimal context in which to appreciate (the already well recognized) German scholarly and artistic interest in the Ottoman Empire.[72]

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68. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vantage Books, 1994), p.19. Said limited his consideration, almost exclusively, to the period of the Nineteenth Century before Germany existed, while that limitation explains Said's contention, it does not excuse later scholars from recognizing German interests in the Ottoman Empire.

69. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), pp.xxii-xiii; Said is principally discussing literature, but his argument could be—and has been—applied to paintings or other forms of expression.

70. Niles Stefan Illich, German Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Study (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas A&M University, 2007).

71. Jennifer Jenkins, "German Orientalism: Introduction," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, *24/2* (2004), p.97.

72. The German artistic interest in the Ottoman Empire is reasonably well documented and certainly the least contentious part of Said's assessment of German orientalism. Nevertheless, it is worth introducing some aspect of the German artistic and intellectual interest in the Ottoman Empire.

The use of visual art to explain the German imperial position in the Ottoman Empire was particularly effective due to the contemporary conflicts that existed between the German government and the art world (especially under Wilhelm II).[73] Wilhelm attached a special significance to the use of classical art (such as the Pergamon Altar) because he considered it a model for the type of art the Germans should be producing. For example, in 1901, Wilhelm II "made a sweeping claim of the supremacy and authority … of classical forms of art."[74] In this speech, Wilhelm exhibited his preference for classical art and, particularly for sculpture, which he considered one of the last unpolluted forms of artistic expression. Contemporaries contended artistic expression had been polluted by modernism, and impressionism, which he and others considered particularly 'un-German.'[75] Thus, the display of the Pergamon Altar in Germany had multiple functions. It explained the imperial relationship between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, which became the model that the Kaiser hoped future German artists would adopt, and it facilitated the unification of the German state through "the invention of tradition." However, it accomplished all of this without upsetting the European balance of power, because the Germans conformed to the model of imperialism established for the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, Imperial Germany's developing *Kunstpolitik* emphasized the German connection to classical art—most notably the Pergamon Altar—and rejected influences from modern art.

Although Germany never established a formal colonial relationship with the Ottoman Empire, German artists and writers illustrated the imperial relationship between the two countries for the German people. This mirrored the use of art in other European countries to explain—and even prepare the country for—an imperial relationship with the Ottoman Empire before the country formally became involved in imperialism there.[76] The visual representations of the Ottoman Empire in Germany consisted of both paintings and photographs.[77] Among the most notable painters to embrace themes from the Ottoman Em-

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73. For a discussion of the trends and events influencing German art in the Wilhelmine period, see Peter Paret, *German Encounters with Modernism, 1840-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.65-91.

74. "The Kaiser's Speech on Art," *The Times,* 24 December 1901, p.3. Wilhelm continued to claim that there were other important examples of art, which included "the sublime Germanic genius of Rembrandt."

75. Hans Belting, *The Germans and their Art*, pp.61-68. Also see, Peter Paret, *German Encounters with Modernism.* Most of Paret's book is germane, but his discussion of the increasingly strong influence of modernism and foreign art in the post-1888 period is especially informative (Peter Paret, *German Encounters with Modernism,* pp.65-66).

76. Todd B. Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire*, p.4. Although this quote was written about France the same is true of Germany and of Britain.

77. For more information, see, Annetta Alexandridis and Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, *Archäologie der Photographie*: *Bilder aus der Photothek der Antikensammlung* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2004).

pire were August Macke (1887-1914, killed in the First World War) and Paul Klee (1879-1940), who traveled together in Tunisia before the start of the First World War (Klee also spent time in Egypt and other Ottoman territories before the war). These artists were part of the German artistic movement *der Blaue Reiter*, one of the principal proponents of German Expressionism (*die Brücke* is the other). However, depictions of the Ottoman Empire were not the private reserve of modernist artists. Wilhelm Gentz, as early as 1876, painted a conventional portrait of Crown Prince Friedrich's 1869 visit to Jerusalem (a visit made during his trip to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal); importantly, Gentz received support for his work from the new German state.[78] Thus, through the works of German Expressionist painters, as well as court portraits, the German population began to acquire the familiarity with the Ottoman Empire that Said considered essential to the eventual establishment of imperialism.

Although the works completed by these artists (especially Klee and Macke, Gentz might be an exception) cannot be specifically connected to an overt assertion for German imperialism in the Ottoman Empire, these works contributed to an increased awareness of German influence in the Ottoman Empire (which Said considered essential). This art, both in Germany and in other European countries, created an increased awareness that permitted European artists to "provide [a] rational for the imperial project" before their specific government established a formal imperial or colonial presence.[79] Thus, although specific domestic incidents—such as the protection of the Suez Canal, and the 'overland route'—provoked European governments to establish a formal imperial or colonial presence,[80] artists and their works "created the sense that it [imperialism in the Ottoman Empire] was a national endeavor."[81] Although Macke spent only a short time in the Ottoman territories, his paintings, including *Turkish Garden* and *Turkish Garden Two*, as well as the thirty-seven watercolors that he produced, contributed to the idea that Germany had an imperial or colonial presence in the Ottoman Empire.

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78. Françoise Forster-Hahn, "Shrine of Art of Signature of a New Nation? The National Gallery(ies) in Berlin, 1848-1968,"pp.91-92.
79. Todd B. Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire*, p.4.
80. A point that supports Robinson and Gallagher's 'free trade of imperialism' (John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *The Economic History Review*, Second Series, *6/1* (1953), pp.1-15).
81. Todd B. Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire*, pp.4-5. Porterfield contends that the development of Weberian nationalism in Europe received a critical contribution from intellectuals and in particular artists. This nationalism encouraged by intellectuals permitted isolated events to move towards formal imperialism or colonialism because the country had possessed an inclination towards imperialism because of the work of artists.
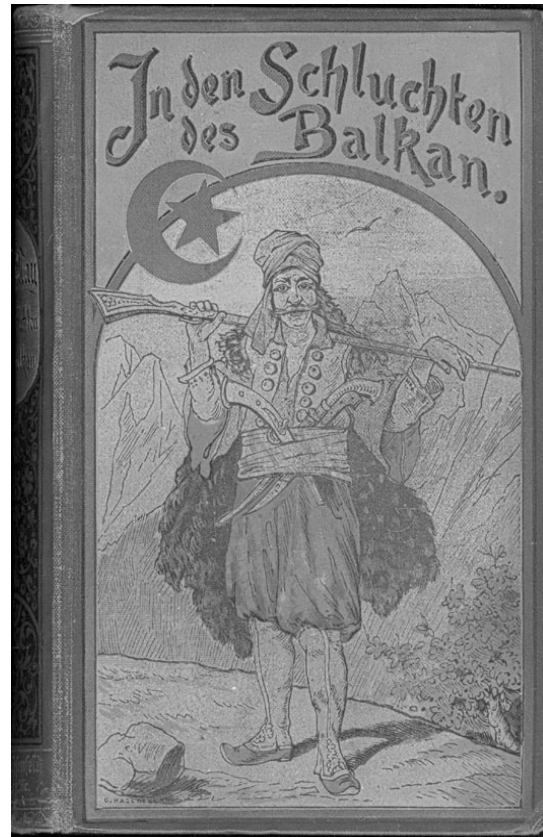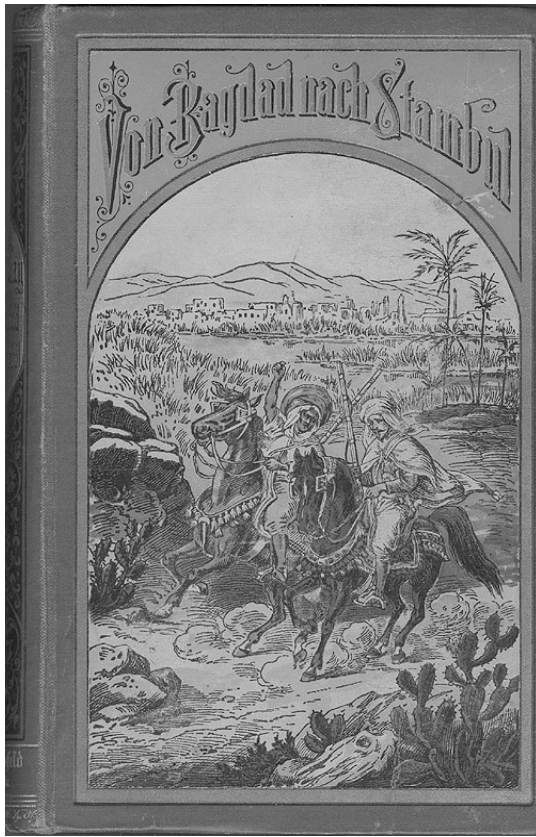
Karl May's *Vom Bagdad nach Stambul* and *In den Schluchten des Balkan*—
both published in the *Orientzyklus* by Verlag Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld in 1892.

One way in which Macke presented a claim for German imperialism in the Ottoman Empire was through the use of the depiction of 'paradise,' in which "the traditional iconography of Adam and Eve in Eden was transformed to an exotic Arab setting and to a modern urban paradise."[82] The connection between imperialism and the idea of the imperial territory being a 'paradise' originated in the earliest of European colonial and imperial endeavors and should require no further explanation, except to emphasize the conventionality of German imperialism. Consequently, while the art of Klee, Macke, and the other German expressionists does not make an overt statement for German imperial expansion into the Ottoman Empire, it contributed to the intellectual context that Said considered essential to the establishment of formal imperialism.

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82. Janice Mary McCullagh, August Macke and the Vision of Paradise: An Iconographic Analysis (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1980), p.vi.

Much as the paintings and photographs of the Ottoman Empire contributed to the familiarity with the imperial territory that eventually facilitated the establishment of imperialism and colonialism,[83] Nineteenth Century German literature (especially between 1870 and 1908) also introduced the Ottoman Empire to the German people. Scholars have 'only rarely' considered German orientalist texts in the context of German imperialism in the Ottoman Empire.[84] Indeed, the whole field of German orientalist literature has just begun to develop. A particularly promising genre, the *Professorenromane* (or more specifically, *archäologischer Professorenromane*, archaeological scholarly novel, which often used copious footnotes in spite of the fact that the novel's plot was fictional), may provide this field with an important perspective on German intentions in the Ottoman Empire.[85] Indeed, German interest in the Ottoman Empire existed in both scholarly and literary spheres. The Nineteenth Century German Oriental scholars "surpassed all other European Orientalists [through] their valuable contributions to Arabic and Islamic Studies.[86]

Without attempting to review the entirety of German orientalist literature, my dissertation briefly considers the work of one author, Karl May,[87] and contends that May's work accords with the model for imperialism established by the British and explained by Said. Although the dissertation treats only Karl May, his enormous popularity and the attention devoted to his works makes him one of the most important conduits of information about the Ottoman Empire.

Karl May wrote no less than five novels (some of which are six volumes long) situated in the Ottoman Empire, these include: *Durch das wilde Kurdistan, Von Baghdad nach Stam-*

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83. Although the Germans never established a formal imperial or colonial presence in the Ottoman Empire, this was due to the international circumstances. It is argued that had the Germans won the First World War, they would have acted much as the French and British and established a stronger position in the former Ottoman territories. However, this failure to establish formal colonialism and imperialism does not (as previously argued) diminish the importance of the German artists in the Ottoman Empire, and the formers' contribution to any eventual imperial or colonial activity.

84. Nina Berman, "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism: Karl May's *Orientzyklus*," in Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox and Susanne Zantop (eds.), *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and its Legacy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), p.51.

85. Kathrin Maurer, Representing History: Literary Realism and Historicist Prose in Nineteenth-Century Germany (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2002), p.113. This genre has not considered these books in relation to the Ottoman Empire yet.

86. Serajul Haque, "German Contribution to Arabic and Islamic Studies," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 19* (1974), p.35. These contributions included things like translations of the Koran but also the development of departments and professorships in Oriental Studies. Further, scholars began to learn and teach Arabic, Persian, and other such languages. Haque's article provides a succinct list of the major German Orientalists in the Nineteenth Century.

87. Karl May was one of Germany's most widely read authors. See, Colleen Cook, "Germany's Wild West Author: A Researcher's Guide to Karl May," *German Studies Review*, 5/1 (February 1982), pp.67-82. Other authors could be considered here including Wilhelm Freytag and Gustav Flügel. See, Serajul Haque, "German Contribution to Arabic and Islamic Studies," pp.33-47.

bul, In den Schluchten des Balkans, Durch das Land der Skiperaten and *Orientzyklus*—which he originally published, significantly, in serial form in the Catholic weekly newspaper *Deutscher Hausschatz in Wort und Bild*, between 1881 and 1888.[88] Although a specific study of May's books is beyond the scope of this article, it is important to note some of the themes he addressed in his works. Among the ideas addressed by May was the role of German arms and military instruction in the Ottoman Empire; specifically, he wrote of the superiority of German weapons (meaning the Krupp weapons) and the sloppiness of Ottoman soldiers, whose lines were not straight.[89] His novels also addressed the reality of the Turks as the 'Sick man of Europe,' and sometimes proposed that Germany (in some unspecified way) would provide the Ottoman Empire with its salvation.[90] Lastly, recent scholars have used post-colonial theories to contend that May "transferred [the heterosexual model of domination and submission] onto the relationship between Europe and the Middle East: Kara Ben Nemsi [the German protagonist in May's *Orientzyklus*] as the representative of Europe and Halef [an Arab] as the representative of the Middle East personify[ing] the colonial paradigm."[91] Thus, through even this brief consideration of one of Nineteenth Century Germany's most popular authors, it is possible to appreciate the presence and significance of the Ottoman Empire to German literature.

Consequently, through the use of visual arts and literature, the German artistic community contributed to the imperial relationship between Germany and the Ottoman Empire. These examples of the artistic depiction of the Ottoman Empire, including the Pergamon Altar, Expressionist art, and the work of Karl May placed the Ottoman Empire within many of the periods most significant and popular artistic movements. Although Said has acknowledged the German cultural interest in the Ottoman Empire, it is worth emphasizing its breadth. Further, this contribution accorded with the model of imperialism developed by the British, which permitted the Germans to expand into the Ottoman Empire without upsetting the European balance of power.

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88. Nina Berman, "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism: Karl May's *Orientzyklus*," p.55; and Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu, "The Image of the Turk in Karl May's Novel *Von Baghdad nach Stambul*," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies, 5/2* (1995), p.241.
89. Nina Berman, "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism: Karl May's *Orientzyklus*," p.62, and p.64.
90. Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu, "The Image of the Turk in Karl May's Novel *Von Baghdad nach Stambul*," p.243.
91. Nina Berman, "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism: Karl May's *Orientzyklus*," p.59.