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THE COLLECTOR (KAROL LANCKOROŃSKI), THE SCHOLAR (MARIAN SOKOŁOWSKI) AND THE ARTIST (JACEK MALCZEWSKI) THREE GAZES UPON ASIA MINOR

INTRODUCTION: LENSES IN TERMS OF ORIENTALISM

I would like to begin with an explanation of the title of the present article. In the original version it read: 'The Collector (Karol Lanckoroński), the Scholar (Marian Sokołowski) and the Artist (Jacek Malczewski). Three Views of Asia Minor in the Context of the Beginnings of Interest in Non-European Art'. However, this title was shortened before a first presentation of the research because of the conclusions drawn from reading the texts of Lanckoroński and Sokołowski and viewing the works of Jacek Malczewski. The context of research into non-European art, although present in Lanckoroński's interests, is overwhelmed in the case of the expedition under consideration here by the prevailing views in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the role of archaeological research in constructing the history of post-Greco-Roman civilisation. And the research, as will be demonstrated, bears the hallmarks of hegemonic discourse.

It should also be noted that the article is not intended as another presentation of the journey, but as a bunch of reflections derived from research into the history of art history and its entanglements with archaeology and local political and institutional circumstances.

The historical account of the dominant gaze, associated with power in Michel Foucault's sense¹, is one of the central motifs of humanities based on paradigms developed since the 1970s. The gaze as active while making the observed an object [Fig. 1], has been subjected to critiques of

¹ Foucault's publication of *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (1975) opened up the field and fast became a paradigmatic study for the analysis of vision, knowledge and power.

intertwined feminist and post-colonial narratives, and the literature on 'imperial gaze' occupies a considerable shelf in the library.² For a long time, however, it has not been used for critical analysis of Polish art historiography.

Hence, this paper uses this notion to draw attention to the perspectives/lenses of the participants of the 1884 expedition to Asia Minor. This particular case study focuses, as if through a lens, on the orientalist tendencies present in the Habsburg Empire at the time, based on the tension between the construction of the 'near' and 'far Orient', used – as described by Johann Heiss and Johannes Feichtinger – in the political strategy of incorporating 'near' Bosnia and Herzegovina, and antagonising the Ottoman Empire.³

² Starting with the psychoanalytical study of Lacan, who positions the body as an object of the gaze, *via* the classic book of Franz Fanon (F. FANON, *Black Skin, White Masks*, London 1986, first edition 1952). See E. Ann Kaplan (E.A. KAPLAN, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film and the Imperial Gaze*, New York–London 1997; esp. Chapter 1: 'Travel, Travelling Identities and the Look'), where Kaplan analyses the process of the heightening of self-identity with travels. The particular case of it is travels to Asia Minor which are analysed in the article. As Kaplan writes: 'As noted, looking relations are never innocent. They are always determined by the cultural systems people travelling bring with them' (p. 6). The most moving example of making the local people the object of study, documented in Malczewski's drawing, is the scene of the anthropologist Felix Luschan measuring heads, reproduced here as fig. 1.

³ J. HEISS, J. FEICHTINGER, 'Distant Neighbours. Uses of Orientalism in the Late Nineteenth-Century Austro-Hungarian Empire', in: *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History. From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, Rochester, NY 2013, pp. 148–165. The authors based their differentiation on two questions posed



1. Jacek Malczewski, Antalya (?) *Dr Luschan taking measures of heads*, drawing, Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Phot.: Magdalena Trybulska, Wawel Castle State Art Collection

while also referring to the Ottoman Empire and the Turks, who were both kept at a distance in consequence of their defeat at the gates of Vienna in 1683. This politically advantageous strategy was propagated widely, mainly in circles associated with Catholic theology. Sermons and articles reinforced the binary division of civilisation, while using specific language – as will be seen also in Sokołowski's texts. *Nota bene* – the creation of the Near Orient in the form of 'Rus' is also present in his writings, as I analysed some time ago. Both Lanckoroński, who belonged to the

aristocratic elite of Vienna, and Sokołowski, who was heavily involved in distinguishing between the boundaries of Eastern and Western civilisations, undoubtedly had direct – or press mediated – access to these ideas.

Another problem worthy of analysis is the question of the relevance of the research undertaken in Asia Minor in turn for both scientific endeavours in art history and archaeology, and their cultural role. In terms of the institutional history, the topic of an institutional rivalry between the Habsburg Empire and Germany must also be taken into consideration.

The position I take from the start is based on the use of the broad concept of *orientalism*, a concept which has

by E. W. SAID in his 'Always on the Top', *London Review of Books*, 25, 2003, no. 6.

shimmered with many facets since Edward Said's 1978 publication,⁴ not to mention that Said himself subsequently developed his theory further. But even if we do not apply Said's specific conclusions from 1978, defining orientalism as a 'systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post Enlightenment period as binary oppositions'⁵ is a comprehensive starting point. The major contribution made by this discipline was the term *Orient*, which was created by the structures of power and historically employed to exert domination over the Other. The tropes of knowledge here, Said explains, 'dominate awareness into philological texts ideas creates "Oriental splendour;": when in the same time "Orient" was created – or, rather [...] "Orientalized"'⁶

In this way, we are dealing – clearly – with an imagined space, and works of the travelogue type – as Mary Pratt notes – ground the imperial eyes. Pratt writes, and E. Ann Kaplan repeats:

The systematizing of nature in the second half of the century was to assert even more powerfully the authority of print, and thus of the class which controlled it. It seems to crystallize global imaginings of a sort rather different from the older navigational ones. The (lettered, male, European) eye that held the system could familiarize ('naturalize') sites/sights immediately upon contact.⁷

Moreover, both scholars emphasise the links between the imperial gaze and the culture of science that had been taking shape since the 1860s, which is at the heart of the modernist approach.

Of course, I do not uphold the thesis of an imperial Polish stance – but elements of the binary world, the entrenchment of hegemonic discourses, are undoubtedly present. We can easily discern a fascination with the repeated, perhaps too frequent, notes on 'charms of bazaars', horse travel, camels, and 'eastern women' both in Sokołowski's and Lanckoroński's writings and in Malczewski's drawings. These drawings, moreover, are in keeping with artistic conventions (one has to agree, by the way, with Mieczysław Paszkiewicz⁸ – they are not very good in terms of artistic quality), including those derived from the artist's education, and are themselves a document depicting the accounts of European travellers and of the areas and people they explored.⁹

⁴ E. W. SAID, *Orientalism*, New York 1978.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 3.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 13.

⁷ M. L. PRATT, *Imperial Eye. Travel writing and transculturation*, New York 1992, pp. 30–31.

⁸ *Jacek Malczewski w Azji Mniejszej i w Rozdole*, ed. and catalogue, M. PASZKIEWICZ, London 1972.

⁹ M. L. PRATT coined the term 'travelee' to describe the imbalanced relations between traveller and people who are visited as object

I would also like to point out here that Malczewski's drawings, 64 in number and stored in the Wawel collection (since 1994), will serve us as illustrations (meticulously researched by Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska¹⁰), and a certain group will serve to indicate characteristic, orientalisating traces.

I. KAROL LANCKOROŃSKI: LENSES OF AUSTRIAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND NORMATIVE AESTHETICS

Let me begin with a further explanation of the paper's title. I have chosen the word 'collector' even though it is only one of the tenets of Lanckoroński's 'gaze' towards Asia Minor. The Count himself, on his 80th birthday, defined himself as follows:

Who am I to the world? I was neither a minister, nor an artist, nor a professor. Or perhaps I was a bit of each? But who was I in essence? A dilettante, a collector, nothing more... Maybe just some rich man of high social standing who loved ancient poets and lived among works of art. Is that something special?¹¹

His journeys (including one around the world) were the realisation of the model of education and knowledge instilled in the Count by a later member of the 1884 expedition, Wilhelm von Hartel: 'Keep your eyes wide open for everything; travel is the source of your experience.'¹² Lanckoroński had his eyes wide open, but – as visual culture theorists would agree – this gaze imposed its own lenses, including the aesthetic one. It should be noted that the surviving *Diaries* are written rather in the spirit of short notes, listing individual localities and duties, analysing in detail the problems of the journey, but they are not free of remarks conveying stereotypical visions of

(M. L. PRATT, *Imperial Eye*, as in note 7). The term was employed also by Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius in her study on Eastern and Central Europe (K. MURAWSKA-MUTHESIUS, *Imaging and Mapping Eastern Europe. Sarmatia Europea to Post-Communist Bloc*, New York and Oxon 2021, p. 63).

¹⁰ J. WINIEWICZ-WOLSKA, *Jacka Malczewskiego kronika podróży po Anatolii*, Krakow 2009; also eadem, *Karol Lanckoroński i jego wie-deńskie zbiory*, t. 1, Krakow 2010, esp. pp. 238 ff.

¹¹ A. ERNST, 'Beim Grafen Lanckoroński', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 195, 1933, p. 2 after J. WINIEWICZ-WOLSKA, 'Karol Lanckoroński – "ostatni humanista wśród europejskiej arystokracji"', https://vienna.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=559:karol-lanckoroński-ostatni-humanista&catid=224&lang=pl&limitstart=2&Itemid=742 [access: 13.02.2024].

¹² W. von Hartel to Karol Lanckoroński, Jägerndorf (today: Krnov), 21.07. 1864; after H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Hrabia Karol Lanckoroński i jego zasługi w badaniach archeologicznych w Azji Mniejszej', in K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Dzienniki podróży do Azji Mniejszej (1882–1883 i 1884)*, ed. A. SZYMANOWICZ-HREN, A. ZIEMLEWSKA, Wiedeń 2015, p. 19.

'beautiful women of the East', 'the true Orient', 'the splendour of the Orient', etc.¹³

As the role of Karol Lanckoroński in the beginnings of archaeology in Asia Minor, and thus in the history of archaeology, has been written about exhaustively (Janusz Ostrowski travelled in Lanckoroński's footsteps,¹⁴ and Hubert Szemethy devoted several publications to this particular issue¹⁵), and Lanckoroński himself found a permanent place among scholars with the publication of his work *Cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia* in 1890,¹⁶ two issues are worth noting in the context of the history of art history and its institutions.

The first is the aestheticised treatment of the Asia Minor area by use of the dominant category – that of Italian art – and the beloved Italian landscape. The phrase 'I had been even more [compared to the wide range of accessible post-Roman monuments, M.K.] enchanted by the wonderful area that no other surpasses and only Roman Campania matches',¹⁷ quoted dozens of times, is one example of how the gaze is conditioned by a prior aesthetic choice and how helpless it is in the face of an alien landscape (a similar limitation is evinced by Sokołowski when he writes of 'a lake like one of the Lombards'). The use of Italy (and the Italian Renaissance in particular) as a measure of perfection and progress can be seen in the statement:

For those who may be interested in frequent comparisons, especially with works of Art in Italy, I would like to

reply that Italy is a frequent point of reference and perhaps not the worst and that I didn't make it so.¹⁸

The discourse of Italy and the Renaissance as a normative category, through the lens of critical art history, appears only as epistemic violence, present in art history at its very beginnings.¹⁹

The second moment, which should be investigated collectively with art historical scholars in Turkey, is the institutional-political backdrop to the opening of the way for Austrian researchers to research (and easily export) artifacts from Asia Minor. As Dinç Saraç writes in the context of heritage preservation research, the moment of the Otto Benndorf's expedition (in which Lanckoroński took part) and the expeditions of the Count himself were a part of a specific model of the Ottoman Empire's relations to archaeological sites:

The extensive fieldwork that began in Turkey during the last quarter of the 18th century, with the financial support of the Society of the Dilettantes under the aim of investigating the remains of Greek and Roman civilizations continued with widespread archaeological projects all over Turkey in the 19th century [...]. These archaeological expeditions were launched to satisfy the European lust for antiquities and led to the appearance of archaeology as a scientific discipline in Turkey as an imported concept linked with western ideology. Özdogan accentuates that during this process of emergence, the Ottomans neither considered the need for scientific archaeological practices, or of adopting archaeology to local needs, as the westerners were only interested in the Near Eastern, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine cultures.²⁰

¹³ For example Lanckoroński starts his notes with the explanation that travellers were not... kidnapped by robbers and warns a lot about camel merchants (K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Dzienniki podróży do Azji Mniejszej*, as in note 12).

¹⁴ J. A. OSTROWSKI, 'Śladami Hrabiego Karola Lanckorońskiego po Pamfilii i Pizydii', *Alma Mater*, 2008, no. 99, pp. 148-155; idem, 'Archeologiczna wyprawa Karola Lanckorońskiego do Pamfilii i Pizydii', *Folia Historiae Artium* s.n., 4, 1998, pp. 63-73; idem, 'Karol Lanckoroński (1848-1933). Archäologe, Kunsthistoriker und Sammler', in *Zur Geschichte der klassischen Archäologie Jena-Kraków. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena*, Jena 1985, pp. 100-120. On photographic traces of the expedition see: A. KORCZYŃSKI, 'Ślady ekspedycji archeologicznej do Azji Mniejszej w świetle Fototeki Lanckorońskich PAU', *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*, 16, 2010, pp. 101-111.

¹⁵ Inter alia H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Hrabia Karol Lanckoroński' (as in note 12).

¹⁶ Volumes published in German: K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens. Unter Mitwirkung von George Niemann und Eugen Adolf Hermann Petersen*, vol. 1-2, Vienna 1890-1892, in French as *Les Villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie*, Paris 1890-1893 and Polish in 1890 and 1896: K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Miasta Pamfilii i Pizydii*, vol. 1: *Pamfilia*, Kraków 1890, vol. 2: *Pizydia*, Krakow 1896.

¹⁷ Idem, *Miasta Pamfilii i Pizydii*, vol. 1, p. 14 (as in note 16).

¹⁸ Idem, *Rund um die Erde 1888-1889. Geschautes und Gedachtes*, Stuttgart 1891, p. VIII.

¹⁹ The seminal work on epistemic violence from the feminist perspective was G. SPIVAK, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds N. CARRY, L. GROSSBERG, Urbana-Champaign, IL 1988, pp. 271-313. After this the category was theoreticised in many fields exploring post-colonial consciousness which was summarised by C. BRUNNER, 'Conceptualizing Epistemic Violence: an Interdisciplinary Assemblage for IR', *International Politics Review*, 9, 2021, pp. 193-212. On the normative Renaissance see C. S. WOOD, 'Art History's Normative Renaissance', in *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century: Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, 1999*, eds A. J. GRIECO, M. ROCKE, F. G. SUPERBI, Florence 2002, pp. 65-99. Another interesting point for the 19th century Kunstgeschichte programme and its involvement in this Renaissance is the position of Dan KARLHOLM in his *Art of Illusion: The Representation of Art History in Nineteenth-Century Germany and Beyond*, Bern 2006 [=Kunstgeschichten der Gegenwart].

²⁰ D. SARAÇ, *History of Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Management in Turkey And Europe: A Look From the Past to the Present. MA thesis, The Department of Archaeology And History Of Art Bilkent University*, Ankara 2003, <https://repository.bilkent>.

The situation as defined by Edel Eldem can be described as follows:

As to Western sources, generally speaking, their lack of interest for the local dimension of archaeology is equalled only by their implicit disdain for any form of Ottoman archaeological endeavour, sometimes to the point of justifying the mirror image of paranoid Turkish narratives.²¹

Interestingly, Lanckoroński's *Cities*, published in Turkey in 2005 (*nota bene* referring to him as an Austrian in the blurb), itself bolsters the orientalist moment by using the author's statement regarding the beginning of his research with pride in the context of Turkey heritage:

Both the voyage and the urban landscape I saw when we arrived there were well beyond my expectations. As a result of a series of excursions to ancient cities in the Pamphylian plains within a few hours' ride from Adalia, I was astonished to find out that there existed numerous ancient monuments, mostly dating to the Late Imperial period, either on which nothing has been written and researched or which have not received the attention they deserve, extending over a few miles. Nevertheless, its landscape, more beautiful than all the places I have known, had captured me the most.²²

Thus is seen the transition from complete *désintéressement* with Greco-Roman monuments to their inclusion in the 'paranoid' narrative on their origins, having its place in the politics of the country nowadays.

II. LENSES OF MARIAN SOKOŁOWSKI: ART HISTORY AND A HISTORY OF WESTERN CIVILISATION

Both of these lenses, i.e. a deep attachment to a classical ideal and a scientific goal defined by the interest of the community of nations, can also be found in the work of Marian Sokołowski, who additionally very strongly emphasises the moment of the struggle between Western civilisation and Eastern barbarism. It is worth noting that although, as Sokołowski points out, the expedition 'brought him a lot of material for a desk work',²³ in fact his insights in this direction were limited to:

edu.tr/items/9d70b61b-3be2-4f5e-8944-40feb92b6607 [access 13.02.2024].

²¹ E. ELDEM, 'Early Ottoman Archaeology: Rediscovering the Finds of Ascalon (Ashkelon), 1847', *Bulletin of the American Society of Overseas Research*, 378, 2017, p. 25.

²² As: *Pamphylia ve Pisidia kentleri*, vol. 1: *Pamphylia*, Istanbul 2005; *Pamphylia ve Pisidia kentleri*, vol. 2: *Pisidia*, Istanbul 2015; the quote of Lanckoroński was also used as an advertisement of the publication.

²³ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z Azji Mniejszej', *Czas*, 1884, no. 286, p. 1.

- A report on Benndorf's research anticipating the 1884 expedition: *Austryackie odkrycia archeologiczne w Azji Mniejszej*. Otto Benndorf, *Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei österreichische archäologische Expeditionen nach Klein-Asien*. Wien, Gerold 1883 which is in fact a summary of Benndorf's publication.²⁴
- a report in the spirit of a travelogue account titled *From a journey to the east. Adriatic, Archipelago and the Island of Rhodos*²⁵ and some shorten letters published in Cracow's *Czas*.

What is striking about the texts themselves is the attitude, so characteristic of the researcher, which oscillates between factual descriptions of monuments and – surprisingly – general conclusions about the history of civilisation. Another separate part is made up of passages with descriptions of human types, genre scenes and descriptions of bazaars, reminiscent of typical traveller images, but at the same time interspersed with discussions of human types (cf. the description of Jews on Rhodes²⁶).

II A. SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVE OF THE EXPEDITION – EUROCENTRICITY OF ATTITUDES

Continuing with the metaphor of the gaze used, let us confront the two gazes of the wanderer on the ship. Johann Joachim Winckelmann wrote in the conclusion to the second part of his landmark *History of the Art of Antiquity*:

I have in this history of art already gone beyond its set bounds, and although contemplating the collapse of art has driven me nearly to despair, still, like someone who, in writing the history of his native land, must touch upon the destruction that he himself has witnessed, I could not keep myself from gazing after the face of works of art as far as my eye could see. Just as a beloved stands on the seashore and follows with tearful eyes her departing sweetheart with no hope of seeing him again, and believes she can glimpse even in the distant sail the image of her lover – so we, like the lover, have as it were only a shadowy outline of the subject of our desires remaining.²⁷

²⁴ Idem, *Austryackie odkrycia archeologiczne w Azji Mniejszej*. Otto Benndorf, *Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei österreichische archäologische Expeditionen nach Klein-Asien*. Wien, Gerold 1883, Kraków 1883, printed also in idem, *Studia i szkice z dziejów sztuki i cywilizacji*, vol. 1, Kraków 1899, pp. 3–33 as 'Austryackie poszukiwania archeologiczne w Azji Mniejszej' (all pagination here from this edition).

²⁵ Idem, 'Z podróży na Wschód, Adryatyk, Archipelag i wyspa Rhodos (1884 r.)', in idem, *Studia i szkice*, pp. 34–140 (as in note 24).

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

²⁷ J. J. WINCKELMANN, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, transl. H. F. MALLGRAVE, Los Angeles 2006, p. 351.

Over a hundred years later, Marian Sokołowski, while he had comforted himself on his journey by the 'solace of Piraeus'²⁸, saw Smyrna (Izmir) on the horizon:

these Ionian lands and mountains seemed to me, in spite of their great memories, somewhat heavy in contours, not so delicate and subtle and painted, so to speak, with less ideal and transparent hues on the sky. One could feel behind them **the great, boundless Asian world, stretching out into empty and deafening infinity.**²⁹

I conflate these insights for a reason: the citation of Winckelmann is linked to Sokołowski's assumed destination, sanctioned by the symbolic gesture of visiting his grave in Trieste:

To climb this mountain, to visit this basilica, to bow one's forehead before this tomb, as a prelude to a journey such as ours, is the same as realising our relationship to its aims.³⁰

In turn, the aim is to broaden the scope of knowledge of the Greco-Roman legacy:

Who ventures back East to Greece or even further to Asia Minor, especially if he or she wishes, as we do, to search for the memories and monuments that classical antiquity's ways have left behind.³¹

Characteristic traits described above were typical for the Viennese politics of archaeology, with a great example in the form of the account of Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg and Otto Benndorf, following the former's travel to Transylvania (Siebenbürgen). Tasks for the archaeologist were clearly set out, when Benndorf declares:

I will undertake the widest possible museum review of Roman sculpture and antiquities, especially in public and private collections. At the same time, I want to constantly draw attention to ancient Roman architecture and, where necessary, occasionally to the more important works of later art eras.³²

²⁸ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 56 (as in note 25).

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 57 (emphasis - M. K.).

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 36.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 34.

³² O. BENNDORF, a letter to R. Eitelberger, 08.07.1873 (WBR, H.I.N. 20.227) quoted after: H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Rudolf von Eitelberger und der Archäologe Otto Benndorf im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenzen', in *Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg. Netzwerker der Kunstwelt*, eds E. KERNBAUER, K. POKORNY-NAGEL, R. ROSENBERG, Vienna 2019. I would like to thank Robert Born for his insightful remarks on Benndorf's Balkan trip. It is also worth noting that it was Benndorf who encouraged the display of single antique objects or larger collections, such as the collection of Count Karol Lanckoroński, which he brought to Vienna from Pamphylia, the centrepiece of which was an erotic sarcophagus later exhibited at the Lanckoroński Palace (H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Rudolf von Eitelberger', p. 28).

Similarly – the 1884 expedition aims to consolidate the classical-Christian monolith and to resurrect Winckelmann's lamented Greece (a motif repeated in both texts), while:

All nations compacting culture, theirs and civilisation into a classical legacy have directed their endeavours to, like the children of a single mother, lifting antiquity from its grave, to looking into the pale face of the Resurrected-one and being entitled to its common motherhood.³³

And all this is possible to achieve thanks to the expansion of research:

Since the end of the last century, since the time of Winckelmann, the founder of classical archaeology and art history, at the same time, the scope of our knowledge and notions of the civilised world has expanded considerably. The starting point and point of arrival of Hellenism, stands, in general outlines at least, clearly before our eyes.³⁴

And the study of local influences has (again) particular implications for Austrian Greek-Roman archaeology, while the local context is relegated to the category of ethnographic curiosity:

If, in time, the scope of research expands further, we will come to know more closely the peoples we currently known only by name; a resurrected Greece will awaken them to historical life. The science of history will find in the results of archaeological research unexpected gains for itself.³⁵

To conclude this part of argumentation for the presence of a hegemonic discourse in research of extra-European territory, Sokołowski situates himself in the tradition of researching monuments from the Ottoman Empire from the point of view of extending European heritage.

The second moment, however, that we can glean from Sokołowski's attitude towards the Asian coast is his axiological attitude towards the Asian element, which – to make matters worse – is sometimes masked beneath the formal analyses of the monuments.

Sokołowski, prejudiced against Asia, makes polemical use of the travel report at times when he writes, as in these examples,

- about the endless wilderness of Asia (as above);
- about the Hittite goddess Athis and the Amazons in the following words:

From the struggles of the Aeolian and Ionian colonists against these priestesses arose the deafening tale of heroines. The ideal shone on succeeding generations and it gained immortal shapes. These struggles alone, for the

³³ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, *Austryackie poszukiwania archeologiczne*, p. 4 (as in note 24).

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 3.

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 31.



2. Heroon from Gölbaşı-Trysa, entrance from the inside, photo published by M. Sokołowski. Phot. after: M. Sokołowski, *Studia i szkice z dziejów sztuki i cywilizacji*, 1, Kraków 1899

Greek world, became a symbol of the triumphs of **Europe over Asia and of civilisation over barbarism**.³⁶

Or, finally, in the persuasive and even aggressive description of the ports of Rhodes treated appropriately as the end of the civilised world:

You would say at a glance that, situated on the eastern shores of the island, these rocky banks turn back towards the western side, as if to prove that they serve as a harbour connecting the two parts of the world and as a bulwark **defending one of them against the other**.³⁷

Examples of the Civilisation – Barbarism/Wilderness, West – East binary can be found in Sokolowski's writing in abundance. These are distinctive, and of particular note is the use of the concept of the foreground. This fits in with the narrative of a hostile, savage, Islamic far-Orient read and described by Heiss and Feichtinger on the ground of Catholic sermons and other public statements. Both scholars wrote explicitly about the presence of oriental strategies and the creative role of language:

Language was used to create distance and ethno-cultural distinctions between groupings deemed 'valuable' to the empire and barbarous peoples beyond the pale. Language proved to be a tool of cultural devaluation. In many cases, Europe was related to 'Civilisation,' 'Gesit-tung,' and 'christliche Cultur,' whereas Asia, the East, and the Turks were designated as 'Barbaren,' 'barbarisch,' or 'Barbarei,' 'Tyrrannen,' and 'cultur- und bildungsfeindlich,' – and Islam was labeled 'fanatisch.' Single protagonists on the European side are described as 'edel,' 'rit-terlich,' 'kühn,' 'todesmuthig,' 'umsichtig' the other side is

characterized as 'roh,' 'barbarisch' and 'herrschsüchtig'. A process of cultural mirroring can be discerned here: the devaluing of the oriental other provides evidence of how Europeans themselves would have like to be seen vis-à-vis their Eastern Others.³⁸

In turn, let the words of Joseph von Helfert, a Catholic theologian, testify to the attitude of Catholic theologians towards the East:

The history of our part of the world, in all the great phases of its course, points to the sunrise, and in the influences coming from there a threefold different character is manifested: settlement from the east, refreshment from the east, danger from the east.³⁹

Accepting these theses about the character and mentality of the East, Sokołowski translates them, unfortunately, into studies of the form. Writing in 1883 about the Heroon of Trysa he observes: the lack of the Attic style purity in the frieze visible in changes to the formula of the human figure, while 'Asia has always had, as she has today, a revulsion to nudity and some religious and moral fear of it'.⁴⁰

The second argument for it is carrying out the composition of a double frieze. At the very beginning he describes figures flanking the entrances in terms of Asiatic taste: 'and to the right of the entrance having such a shape

³⁶ J. HEISS, J. FEICHTINGER, 'Distant neighbours', p. 153 (as in note 3).

³⁹ J. VON HELFERT, *Weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Wiener Sieges von 1683: Vortrag, gehalten am 2. September 1883 in der Festversammlung des katholisch-politischen Casinos der inneren Stadt*, Vienna 1883, p. 4. After: J. HEISS, J. FEICHTINGER, 'Distant neighbours', p. 154 (as in note 3).

⁴⁰ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 31 (as in note 25).

³⁶ Idem, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 60 (emphasis - M. K.) (as in note 25).

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 79.

and such ornaments, and much of a fantastic and Asian character' [Fig. 2].⁴¹

He attributes all deviations from the Attic norm to local influences (which is a rather typical strategy and was analysed *inter alia* by Aleksandra Lipińska by way of the example of Boims' Chapel in Lviv⁴²) and identifies the ruler who had the heroon built as only an uncivilised robber:

We have no idea of the extent of his state or the momentousness of his power. He was probably a mountain bandit living by robbery, but using the gains of modern civilisation to enhance his importance and brilliance.⁴³

II B. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

In addition to reviving knowledge of the classical tradition, the aim is also to raise the level of one's own era (a constant theme), hence we can read:

That they [it is Austrian exploration and discoveries in Asia Minor – M. K], with the entire body of research connected with them, may have unequally greater, practical and more vivid consequences for our civilisational future. It is not in vain that the world has devoted so much attention and effort to them, it is not in vain that it has followed them and their progress with so much attention; who knows whether in them lies the key to the turn that our materialistic age of drink, culture and art should take. With the over-realistic instincts of our time with an observation turned exclusively to the individual and accidental features of the world around us with a mind preoccupied with attractive, ideal notions by the grey lines in the spectrum around us, we can find a more invigorating spark of rebirth elsewhere than in contact with that noble antiquity which, no less than our time in nature, sought the source and starting point of its creativity. To be able to squeeze from its living womb the laws of the ideal.⁴⁴

Last but not least, both Sokołowski and Lanckoroński remain in the circle of the Habsburg competition with Germany, hence raising the role of Benndorf's discoveries:

Thanks to this expedition and the results, Vienna can no longer envy Berlin the Pergamonian sculptures, as it possesses works of Greek art that are significant for science.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Idem, *Austryackie poszukiwania*, p. 31 (as in note 24).

⁴² A. LIPIŃSKA, *Die Boim-Kapelle in Lwiw. Eine Herausforderung des Hybriden*, a lecture at Humboldt University, Berlin, 01.02.2023.

⁴³ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, *Austryackie poszukiwania*, p. 32 (as in note 24).

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 33.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 25. The specific 'arms struggle' between the centres is perfectly clear in the context of the presentation of the Heroon from Trysa precisely, for which Eitelberger had high hopes. In the end, the Heroon did not play such an important role and did not gain the popularity of the Pergamon Altar (see for example:

The thesis of the specific role of the region in the European perspective and zone of interests also did not escape the descriptions of the bazaar in Smyrna:

The bazaar, with its high wooden-beam supported and outward opening frames on the shores, shaded by the boughs of the Platanus trees rustling in the wind, where we noticed the balanced and varied mass of goods against the dark depths, looks mysterious and has an intermediate character **between East and West, between Asia and Europe**.⁴⁶

Although in many places Sokołowski uses impressionistic, even painterly language, and does not shy away from anecdotal tales (such as one on camels with tiny bells), the sheer difference in language use is striking, and Sokołowski's gaze is infected with Orientalist superstitions, while he proposes only the painterly gaze (of 'French painters of the romantic era'⁴⁷) to encounter the local context. This remark is a good starting point for the final perspective – that of the artist.

III. LENSES OF JACEK MALCZEWSKI

Finally, a few remarks about Jacek Malczewski's gaze toward Asia Minor. His drawings have so far accompanied us as anecdotal illustrations, but it is worth noting that – despite Winiewicz-Wolska's⁴⁸ full analysis – orientalist accents are present here as well. It should be remembered that Malczewski had the status of a 'friend' in the expedition's line-up, and not that of a drawer-documentalist, which is perfectly evident in the comparison of the two views of Hadrian's Gate in Antalya: one by Malczewski and the second published in Lanckoroński's book. Animated by the artist, probably drawn on the spot, in an anecdotal snapshot, the scene bears traces of genre painting [fig. 3]. Malczewski gets himself into trouble, peeping in and chronicling the expedition at many moments, but the question remains to what extent he himself succumbs to conventional forms and Orientalist thinking and composing.⁴⁹

H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Die österreichischen Trysa-Expeditionen im Bewußtsein der Öffentlichkeit des 19. Jhs.', in *Akten des 9. Österreichischen Archäologentages am Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Paris Lodron-Universität Salzburg*, 6.–8. Dezember 2001, eds B. ASAMER, W. WOHLMAYR, Vienna 2003, pp. 195–199.

⁴⁶ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 48 (emphasis - M.K.) (as in note 25).

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 98.

⁴⁸ J. WINIEWICZ-WOLSKA, both works cited in note 10.

⁴⁹ A seminal work of Linda Nochlin brought the orientalism theory into the field of visual studies, while she analyses the 'picturesque' visions of the East in French painting. The crucial terms are these of domination hidden behind 'realism' and the specific time measuring in this kind of painting. See L. NOCHLIN, 'Imaginary Orient', in eadem, *The Politics of Vision*, New York 1983, p. 33–59.



3. Jacek Malczewski, *Hadrian's Gate in Antalya*, Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Phot.: Tomasz Śliwiński Wawel Castle State Art Collection



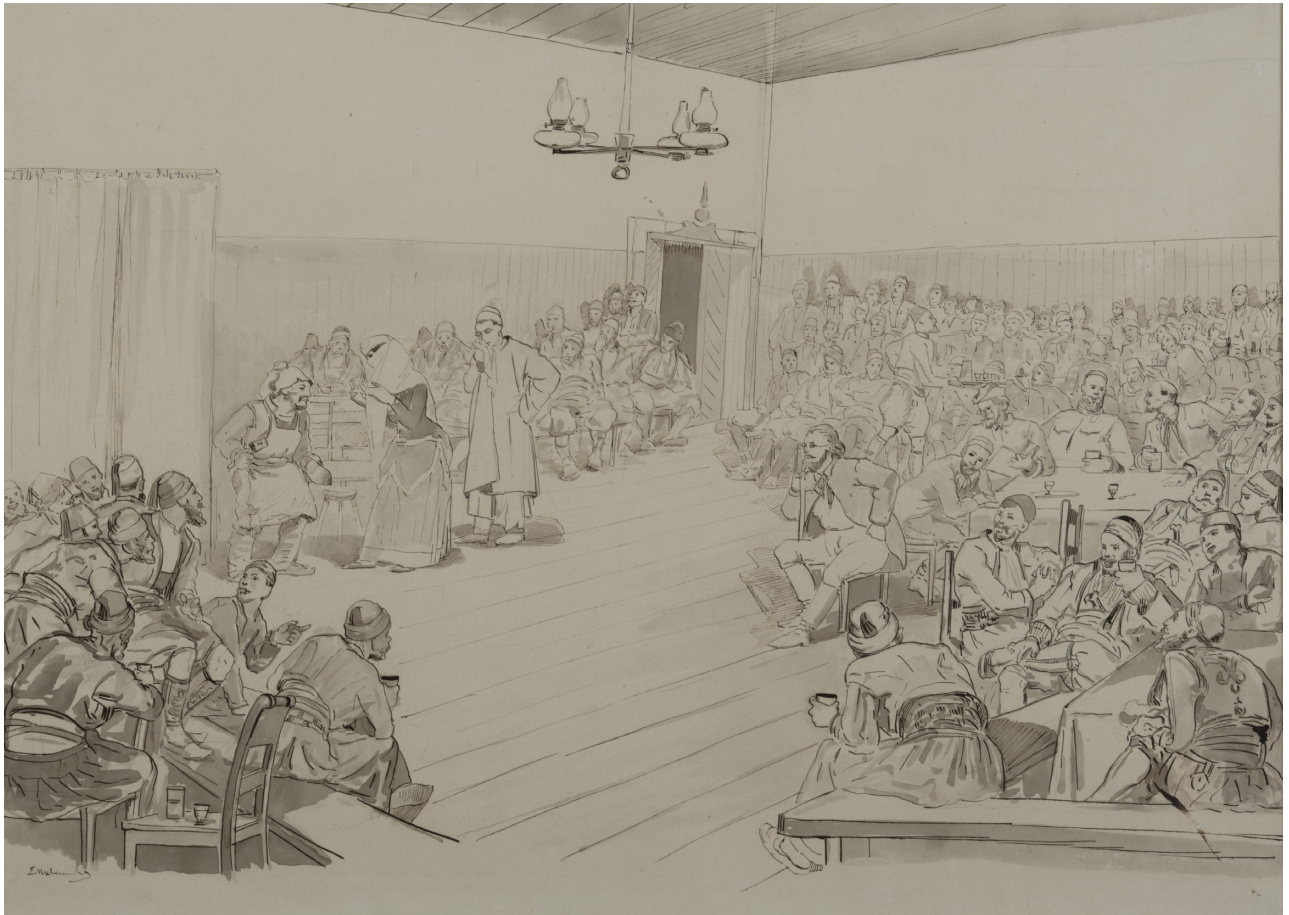
4. Jacek Malczewski, *Ruins of the Kiliç Arslan Palace in Konya*; Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Phot.: Magdalena Trybulska Wawel Castle State Art Collection



5. Jacek Malczewski, *Carpet seller*, drawing, Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Phot.: Stanisław Michta Wawel Castle State Art Collection



6. Osman Hamdi Bey, *Persian Carpet Dealer on the Street*, 1888, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. Photo: Public Domain



7. Jacek Malczewski, *A visit in kafana*, drawing, Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Photo: Stanisław Michta Wawel Castle State Art Collection

Undoubtedly the artist's first lens was an interest in the human figure and genre scenes (sometimes very crowded, which was unusual for Malczewski's later *oeuvre*); the second (scenes with prayers, watercolours) – was orientalist painting convention. Interestingly, it is Sokółowski who makes the distinction between painterly and scientific vision, suggesting the painter's preoccupation with scenes of everyday life:

In fact, this whole part of the city has a charm for the artist and painter. Through the wide doors of the houses, always open wide, the passer-by looks inside. The entire domestic life shifts before his eyes.⁵⁰

As the exhibition organised at the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009 by the National Museum in Warsaw showed, the presence of oriental tendencies and motifs has also had a long history in Polish painting. Their presence was driven by fascination, and – as Tadeusz Majda writes in the catalogue – the expeditions undertaken from the early 19th century onwards 'were usually aimed at visiting places associated with Greek and Roman culture, but during these journeys one also learned about Turkish art, customs and everyday life, and discovered contemporary

Turkey'.⁵¹ An example of this process is, of course, also the 1884 expedition analysed here. It seems that this 'getting to know' by the way of 'serious' research is evident in the two groups identified among Malczewski's drawings.

Of particular interest in the context of the present article are works depicting the expedition's participants at work or participating in the 'customs' and life of the East. In the first group, the first thing that strikes one's eye is the virtually mediated relationship between the Europeans and the objects studied: Malczewski hides himself behind an easel (several times, for example Fig. 3), while also under an umbrella, Lanckoroński takes notes in a sketchbook [Fig. 3], etc. This compositional solution distances the content and constitutes the leitmotif of the Orientalist gaze. A very specific work here is the scene of the purchase of carpets [Fig. 5], emphasising in the main axis of the composition (seller in fez – buyer) the dissimilarity of the groups of Europeans and Turks. In a similar but perhaps even stronger way, Oskar Hamdi Bey contrasted 'travellers' and 'travelees', in an analogous scene of the purchase of carpets [Fig. 6], while separating a European

⁵⁰ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 95 (as in note 25).

⁵¹ T. MAJDA, 'Orientalizm w Polsce', in *Orientalizm w malarstwie, rysunku i grafice w Polsce w XIX i 1. połowie XX wieku*, exh. cat. National Museum in Warsaw, Warszawa 2008, p. 19.

family, dressed in European fashion, from the Persian seller, by the distinguished presence of a colourful vase at the axis of the composition.

In the second group of drawings (including *A Meeting with Mevlevi in Konya*, *A visit in kafana* [Fig. 7], *A visit at a shadow theatre*), participants of the expedition are distinguished by their typical European dress which – of course – is a natural state of things but one that deepens the divide and, confronted with juicy descriptions of ‘Eastern types’. Unequivocally deepens the binary reading of the world, rooted in a fascination in terms of the ‘uncanny’.

CONCLUSION

Without aiming for a positivist reconstruction of the history of the expedition, which, as I have mentioned, has already been done, and starting from the position of the postcolonial trend, this incomplete and sketchy ‘glance’ at the written and artistic accounts only points to Asia Minor as an important feature of an art historiography in Poland which was immersed in the cultural, political, theological and artistic milieu of Vienna and its art historical and archaeological institutions, far from being neutral in its goals.

SUMMARY

Magdalena Kunińska

THE COLLECTOR (KAROL LANCKOROŃSKI),
THE SCHOLAR (MARIAN SOKOŁOWSKI)
AND THE ARTIST (JACEK MALCZEWSKI).
THREE GAZES UPON ASIA MINOR

The article is structured around the eponymous ‘three gazes’ of the participants of the expedition to Asia Minor organised and paid for by Karol Lanckoroński in 1884. Without aiming at a positivist reconstruction of the history of the expedition, it takes the notion of the traveller’s gaze analysed from the position of postcolonial studies and power relations as a starting point for critical analysis. In the following sections, the specific, axiologically characterised ‘lenses’ through which the participants look through are identified: an orientalist view of the Ottoman Empire, the construction of a West – East difference, and an aesthetic evaluation bearing the hallmarks of epistemological violence.

At the same time, the surviving written and artistic accounts point to research in Asia Minor as an important feature of art historiography in Poland, which was immersed in the cultural, political, theological and artistic milieu of Vienna and its historical and archaeological institutions, far from neutral in their aims.