From Strzygowski's 'Orient oder Rom' to Hans Sedlmayr's 'Closest Orient'

Zehra Tonbul

The history of oriental art historical studies at the University of Vienna provides insights into the academic history of the first half of the twentieth century. It reveals parallelisms with turn-of-the-century modernisms, and it narrates the influence of political and intellectual transformations brought about by nationalism. The field of oriental art historical studies at the University of Vienna does not have a place in the writings on the 'Vienna School of Art History'. 1 Nevertheless, the history of the University's Institute of Art History was marked by a pronounced division between 1909 and 1933, which led to the formation of two departments, each of which adopted a topical approach to art historiographies, with the Orient on one side and Roman Europe on the other. The Vienna School legacy is perceived to have continued with the latter; the other department, under the direction of Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941), is either omitted or appears as an anomaly. The divide between the two departments finds voice in Strzygowski's 1901 book, Orient oder Rom, where he contested Rome-centred historiographies and declared his position against the Viennese scholarship, calling it a 'Wickhoff monstrosity of the Roman imperial art' (Wickhoffsche Monstrum der römischen Reichskunst).2 Yet, while Strzygowski appears as a single controversial figure in this divide, the workings of the department that he took over in 1909 present a broader narrative of oriental art historical scholarship and its transformations through its other scholars and the scope of its courses.

The present paper takes the standpoint of one of these scholars, Ernst Diez (1878–1961). As assistant of Strzygowski and later professor in *Denkmalkunde des*

¹ The term 'Vienna School of Art History' was initially used in 1909 by Vincenc Kramář in his obituary of Franz Wickhoff. Vincenc Kramář, 'Franz Wickhoff,' Volné směry, 13, 1909, 211-214. Translated and edited by Marta Filipová, Journal of Art Historiography, Number 8, June 2013, 1-7. Later in 1934, Julius von Schlosser wrote an article on the School entitled 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte. Rückblick auf ein Sakulum deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Osterreich', Mitteilungen des Osterreichisches Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungs-Band XIII, no. 2, 1934, 141-228. Translated and edited by Karl Johns, Journal of Art Historiography, Number 1, December 2009. Schlosser's history frames a lineage from Rudolf Eitelberger (1817-1885), Mauritz Thausing (1838-1884) to Franz Wickhoff (1853-1909) and Alois Riegl (1858-1905) that he claims to continue with Max Dvořák (1874–1921) and himself. Michael Victor Schwarz pointed out the omission in his forward to the Wiener Schule. Erinnerung und Perspektiven (Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 53/2004) edited by Michael Viktor Schwarz, Wien: Bohlau Wien. Matthew Rampley's history of the Vienna School ends in 1918, with the end of the First World War. Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna* School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013.

² Josef Strzygowski. *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und Frühchristlichen Kunst*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901, 7.

Orients (Cultural Heritage Studies of the Orient), his standpoint offers a fresh account of the Strzygowski department. Also, his leave of absence to teach in the United States in 1926 and his return to the University of Vienna in 1939 presents a trajectory of shifting viewpoints on the history of the oriental art historical studies at the University.

The paper takes the starting point of this history as a 1937 letter to Diez from Hans Sedlmayr (1896–1984), then-director of the Vienna Institute of Art History. Diez had written to Sedlmayr, indicating his wish to return to the University of Vienna, but Sedlmayr, in his reply, declined Diez's request, citing changes in Europe, a scarcity of funds and teaching materials (books, photographs); and characterized an academic position for oriental art as utopia.³ He explained that his priority was instead the studies on Austrian art and what he called 'universal European art history' (universale europäische Kunstgeschichte). He stated that the study of Byzantine and Balkan art was his second priority, characterizing it as 'the part of the Orient closest to us' (das uns am nächsten liegende gebiet des Orients).⁴ Sedlmayr's response to Diez provides insights into the history of the Institute from the point of view of oriental studies and further suggests a transformation of its geographies. Indeed, an investigation of the history of the Institute not only reads a divide between the historiographies of Rome and the Orient; it also illustrates how the two geographies were constantly remapped.

The divide in the art historical teaching at the University of Vienna started with the appointment of Strzygowski in 1909 to Franz Wickhoff's (1853–1909) chair after the latter's death. His appointment was shaped by a demand from scholars from other departments who wished to encourage the study of oriental art history at the University. Höflechner and Brugger's archival work shows that it was Rudolf Wegscheider (1859–1935), a physical chemist, and Leopold von Schroeder (1851–1920), an Indologist, who supported the appointment of Strzygowski instead of Max Dvořák (1874–1921). They debated against Emil von Ottenthal (1855–1931) of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research (*Österreichisches Institut für Geschichtsforschung*), Professor Emil Reisch (1863–1933) of the Faculty of Archaeology, and Professor Laurenz Müllner (1848–1911) at the Catholic-Theological Faculty, who were against Strzygowski's appointment. ⁵ Wegscheider objected to the dominant role of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research

³ Hans Sedlmayr to Ernst Diez, 22 September 1937, University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives, Sedlmayr Folders, Vienna. "Seit Sie Europa verlassen haben, haben sich die Verhältnisse sehr verändert. Der Gedanke, ein bezahltes Extraordinariat für orientalische Kunst durchzusetzen, wäre heute aus mehr ist einem Grunde eine Utopie."

⁴ Hans Sedlmayr to Ernst Diez, 22 September 1937, University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives, Sedlmayr Folders, Vienna.

⁵ See Walter Höflechner, Christian Brugger, 'Zur Etablierung der Kunstgeschichte an den Universitäten in Wien, Prag und Innsbruck. Samt einem Ausblick auf ihre Geschichte bis 1938', In Höflechner, Pochat (eds.), 100 Jahre Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Graz, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1992, 6-71. Suzanne Marchand sees it a possibility that Archduke Franz Ferdinand had a hand in promoting Strzygowski's candidacy. Suzanne Marchand, 'The rhetoric of artefacts and the decline of classical humanism', History and Theory, 33: 4, 1994, 120.

(*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*) in the workings of the department and stated, 'most decidedly, we are convinced that the art history professorship at the University of Vienna cannot and should not be evaluated by the relatively narrow aspects of the special interests of the Institute for Austrian Historical Research'.⁶ Wegscheider proposed that the unoccupied professorship of Alois Riegl (1858–1905), who had passed away in 1905, offered an opportunity to consider a second chair in oriental art history. Ultimately, it was the chair of Wickhoff that was granted to Strzygowski and oriental art history, and the chair of Alois Riegl was assigned to Max Dvořák.

The controversy resulted in the topical, spatial and institutional split of the School into two departments. In documents in the University archives, the two sections are both referred to as the Department of Art History (*Kunsthistorische Apparat*) until the 1913 summer term. Strzygowski's section later came to be known as *Kunsthistorische Seminar I*, while the section under Dvořák retained its previous designation, *Kunsthistorische Apparat*.⁷

Strzygowski's appointment paralleled the intellectual and artistic emphasis on non-European themes at the turn of the century. Other departments of the University of Vienna— mainly the 'Department of Comparative Language Research and Oriental Philology' (Vergleichende Sprachforschung und orientalische Philologie) and the Department of Geography, Ethnology and Pre-historical Archaeology (Geographie, Ethnographie und prähistorische Archäologie)—already offered a rich array of courses on Asian and Near Eastern topics. In 1909, Wilhelm Worringer's (1881-1965) book Abstraktion und Einfühlung (Abstraction and Empathy) was published; in it, Worringer expressed his preference for the abstraction in oriental art over the naturalism of Greek art.8 The Islamic department of the Imperial Museum of Berlin (Königliche Museen zu Berlin) was founded in 1907, and its director, Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945), undertook the planning of an exhibition in Munich in 1910, 'Masterworks of Mohammedan Art' (Meisterwerke Mohammedanischer Kunst). The exhibition attracted prominent artists and architects, including Le Corbusier (1887– 1965), August Macke (1887-1914), Henri Matisse (1869-1954), Edvard Munch (1863-1944), and Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944). Strzygowski's art historiographical

⁶ Wegscheider quoted in Höflechner, Brugger, 'Zur Etablierung der Kunstgeschichte an den Universitäten in Wien, Prag und Innsbruck. Samt einem Ausblick auf ihre Geschichte bis 1938', 38.

⁷ Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der K.K. Universität zu Wien, University of Vienna Archives.

⁸ Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction und Einfühlung*. München: R. Piper, 1909. Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction and empathy: A contribution to the psychology of style*. London; Routledge & K. Paul, 1910.

⁹ See Annette Hagedorn, 'Der Einfluss der Ausstellung "Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst" auf die zeitgenössische Kunst', In Andrea Lermer & Avinoam Shalem (eds.). One Hundred Years After the 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 285-315. On the Munich exhibition, see Eva Troelenberg, Eine Ausstellung Wird Besichtigt: Die Muenchner Ausstellung Von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst 1910 in Kultur- Und Wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Perspektive, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010; Eva Troelenberg, 'Regarding the exhibition: the Munich exhibition Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art (1910) and its scholarly position', Journal of Art Historiography, 6, 2012.

inquiry into oriental geographies corresponded to the approach of Paul Gaugin, who declared, 'Have before you always the Persians, the Cambodians, and a little of the Egyptian. The great error is the Greek, however beautiful it may be'.¹⁰

For Strzygowski the Orient designated a revisionist art historiographical topography, whose geography underwent changes during the course of his scholarship. His research initially concentrated on Byzantine art, in which he sought anti-Roman sources to European art. He planned a trip to Greece, Asia Minor, and Russia between 1888 and 1890, after which he intended to write a book on Byzantine Art. Instead, he began editing a journal entitled *Byzantinische Denkmäler* (Byzantine Monuments) in 1891 that drew out an art historical geography from Ravenna to Syria, Egypt and Armenia at the time of the Byzantine Empire. Strzygowski revealed the pro-Orient, anti-Rome agenda of his Byzantine research in the introduction to the third issue, where he characterized Constantinople with 'orient-infiltrated Hellenism'. For Strzygowski, in Byzantine Art, the 'Hellenistic South' crossed the routes of the 'East Asian Orient', creating an 'un-Roman' (*unrömischen*) and 'Hellenistic-Oriental' (*hellenistisch-orientalisch*) art.

Diez contributed to the 1903 issue of *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, with his doctoral thesis on the Byzantine manuscript of *De Materia Medica*, which he had written under the supervision of Strzygowski at the University of Graz.¹⁴ He situated the miniatures in the manuscript within an Asia Minor-Syrian school, thus contributing to Strzygowski's thesis of a 'Hellenistic-Oriental' art. In the same issue,

¹⁰ From a letter from Gaugin, who then was in Tahiti to Georges-Daniel de Montfried,
October 1897. Quoted in Udo Kultermann, *History of art history*. Norwalk, CT: Abaris,1993,
189. The book was originally published in German in 1966. Udo Kultermann, *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte: Der Weg einer Wissenschaft*. Wien & Dusseldorf: Econ-Verlag, 1966.
¹¹ Ernst E. Herzfeld, W. R. W. Koehler, C. R. Morey, 'Josef Strzygowski', *Speculum*, 17: 3, 1942, 455.

¹² Strzygowski's *Byzantinische Denkmäler* preceded the pioneering Byzantinische Zeitschrift, which started publication a year later in 1892, by Karl Krumbacher (1856-1909) from the University of Munich. The first volume included Strzygowski's own article on the Armenian manuscript, known as 'Etchmiadzin Gospels'. Josef Strzygowski, 'Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar. Beiträge zur Geschichte der armenischen, ravennatischen und syro-ägyptischen Kunst' (The Etchmiadzin Gospels. Contributions to the History of the Armenian, Ravenna and Syro-Egyptian Art), *Byzantinische Denkmaeler*, 1, Wien: Verlag der Mechitharisten-Congregation, 1891. The second volume, dated 1893, included an article by Philipp Forchheimer (1852-1933) on the cisterns of Constantinople. Philipp Forchheimer, 'Die byzantinischen Wasserbehalter von Konstantinopel', *Byzantinische Denkmaler*, 2. Wien: Verlag der Mechitharisten-Congregation, 1893.

¹³ This was also the third and last volume. Josef Strzygowski, 'Einleitung', *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, *Ursprung und Sieg der altbyzantinischen Kunst*, ix-xxviii, 1903.

¹⁴ Diez's doctoral dissertation was an interpretation of the miniatures of an early sixth-century illuminated manuscript of De Materia Medica by Dioscorides in Greek, discovered in Istanbul in the 1560s by the Flemish diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq and brought to Emperor Ferdinand the First; that later came to be known as the 'Vienna Dioscurides'.

Josef Quitt discussed Byzantine elements in the mosaics of San Vitale of Ravenna. ¹⁵ Together, the two articles depicted an art historical geography from Jerusalem to Rome, throughout which Constantinople dominated over Rome.

In the first decade of the century, Strzygowski published two books on similar art historiographical geographies: *Hellas in des Orients Umarmung* (Hellas in the Embrace of the Orient) in 1902, and *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* (Asia Minor, A New Land for Art History) in 1903. Meanwhile, the art historical department of the University of Vienna subscribed to European topics and Roman art historiographical lineages. In the 1901–1902 academic year, Wickhoff taught a course entitled 'The Emergence of Christian Art from Antiquity' (*Der Herausbildung der christlichen Kunst aus der Antiken*), and in 1903–1904, Julius Schlosser lectured on 'Antiquity in the Middle Ages' (*Die Antike im Mittelalter*). ¹⁶

During the 1910s, the geography of Strzygowski's Orient expanded and centred on Northern Mesopotamia. At the time of his appointment to the University of Vienna, Strzygowski was co-authoring a book with epigraphist and historian Max van Berchem (1863–1921) on the city of Amida (today's Diyarbakir, in Southeast Turkey). In a chapter entitled 'Art History of the Middle Ages of Northern Mesopotamian Hellas and the West' (*Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien Hellas und dem Abendlande*), Strzygowski emphasised the geographical and historiographical situation of Amida in Northern Mesopotamia as a step forward from Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.

Allow a review of my work since 1885. I once went to the south to investigate the origins of Italian art. Years of study convinced me that the key had to be in the East, in Byzantium, at the time. So I came to Constantinople. And again, after a few years, I realized that the real germ of Christian art was not to be found there, either. So I went to Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria and have now landed in Mesopotamia. I have also been close to Islamic art for twenty years, so the path will continue to Persia, the Far East and South. 18

¹⁵ Ernst Diez, 'Die Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurides', *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, 3, 1903, 1-69. Josef Quitt, 'Der Mosaiken-Zyklus von S. Vitale in Ravenna', *Byzantinisiche Denkmäler*, 3, 1903, 71-101.

¹⁶ Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der K.K. Universität zu Wien, University of Vienna Archives.

¹⁷ Max van Berchem, Josef Strzygowski, and Gertrude Lowthian Bell. *Amida: Matériaux pour l'épigraphie et l'histoire musulmanes du Diyar-bekr*, Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1910.

¹⁸ Strzygowski, 'Kunstgeschichte Des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien Hellas und Dem Abendlande', *Amida*, 133. 'Man gestatte einen Rückblick auf meine seit 1885 getane Arbeit. Ich ging einst nach dem Süden, um dem Ursprünge der italienischen Kunst nachzuforschen. Jahrelange Studien überzeugten mich, daß der Schlüssel im Osten liegen müsse, nach damaliger Auffassung in Byzanz. So kam ich nach Konstantinopel. Und wieder nach einigen Jahren erkannte ich, daß auch dort nicht der eigentliche Keim boden der christlichen Kunst zu suchen sei. So ging ich nach Agypten, Kleinasien, Syrien und bin nun in Mesopotamien gelandet. Nebenbei trat ich seit zwanzig Jahren auch der islamischen Kunst näher. Der Weg wird also weiter gehen nach Persien und dem fernen Osten und Süden'.

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The geographical location of Amida allowed Strzygowski to trace the Persian influences on Byzantine art. He viewed the tri-city area of Edessa-Nisibis-Amida (Today's Urfa, Nusaybin, and Diyarbakir) along with Armenia as the locus of cross-border influences.¹⁹ He declared, 'The central lands from where the advance of the East against Byzantium and the Occident started were Central Asia, Persia and Mesopotamia'.20

In the years that followed, Strzygowski's art historiographical geography of the Orient extended to North-eastern Persia, where he sought the origins of Islamic art. To this purpose, he appointed Ernst Diez as his first assistant at the University of Vienna in 1911, aiming for him to produce a handbook on Islamic art.²¹ This followed the controversy over the dating of the Mshatta Palace with Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948), who dated it to the early Islamic period, whereafter the façade became the centrepiece of the Islamic section of the Berlin Imperial Museum.²² Diez had been Strzygowski's doctoral student at the University of Graz and had then worked from 1908 to 1910 as a volunteer at the Imperial Museum of Berlin, where he assisted Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) in the 1910 exhibition on Islamic art. Diez's appointment in Berlin may have contributed to his employment as assistant to Josef Strzygowski at the University of Vienna in the spring of 1911.

- ¹⁹ Strzygowski, 'Kunstgeschichte Des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien Hellas und Dem Abendlande', Amida, 132. 'Der Südstrom ging über Persien, im engeren Sinne gerade über das Grenzgebiet, in dessen Zentrum Amida liegt, Armenien und das Städtedreieck Edessa-Nisibis – Amida. Von dort aus wird ein guter Teil der Schicksale der byzantinischen Kunst bestimmt'.
- ²⁰ Strzygowski, 'Kunstgeschichte Des Mittelalters von Nordmesopotamien Hellas und Dem Abendlande', Amida, 144.'...das zentrale Gebiet, von dem aus der Vorstoß des Orients gegen Byzans und das Abendland erfolgte, waren Zentralasien, Persien und Mesopotamien'. ²¹ Diez points this out in his application for a lectureship (*Habilitation*) at the University of

Vienna. Ernst Diez to the Dean of Faculty of Philosophy, 9 December 1918, Ernst Diez

Folder, University of Vienna Archives, Vienna.

²² Strzygowski had aimed to place it in the Early Christian section of the Berlin Museum and to that purpose included it in a list that Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), director of the Imperial Museum in Berlin, had asked him to prepare for German Kaiser Wilhelm during his visit to Constantinople in 1898. Strzygowski's work on Islamic art appears to have started in 1894-95, during his journey to Egypt to collect artefacts for the Early Christian section of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. Yet his work proved to benefit the Islamic section of the Museum, and out of the 1600 objects Strzygowski acquired in Egypt, about 300 objects were given to the Islamic section. For Strzygowski's work for the Berlin Museum, see Gabriele Mietke, 'Josef Strzygowski und seine Tatigkeit für die Berliner Museen', In Mietke, G., Ehler, E., Fluck, C. & Helmecke, G. (eds.). Josef Strzygowski und die Berliner Museen, Berlin: Reichert Verlag, 2012, 4-10. On the controversy over Mshatta, see Josef Strzygowski, 'Mschatta', Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, IV, 1904, 27–63. Ernst Herzfeld, 'Die Genesis der islamischen Kunst und das Mshatta-Problem', Der Islam, 1, 1910, 27-63, 105-144. For a recent discussion of the controversy, see Eva Troelenberg, Mschatta in Berlin -Grundsteine Islamischer Kunst: Connecting Art Histories in the Museum, Dortmund: Verlag Kettler, 2014. Strzygowski explains the incident in his autobiographical work Ausgang des Nordens, 13.

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Strzygowski arranged for Diez to undertake an expedition to Northeast Persia in the autumn of 1912.²³ On his return, Diez wrote the planned handbook on Islamic art, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker (The Art of the Islamic People).²⁴ Strzygowski's review of Diez's book in an article entitled 'Vergleichende Kunstforschung auf geographischer Grundlage' (Comparative Art Research on Geographical Basis) reiterated his geographical approaches. In the article, Strzygowski situated the geographical position of Khorasan as the historiographical centre of Islamic art, in a counter-position to the Hellenistic influence in southern Persia. He subsequently characterized Islamic art as the inheritor of the 'Northern and Central Eurasian world', versus Greek art, which he claimed to 'embody the Mediterranean'.25 He maintained that Islamic art had 'transferred the art of nomads and northern peoples to the south'.26 In the years that followed, Diez wrote his habilitation thesis on the region of Khorasan, which consisted of two volumes: Churasanische Baudenkmäler (Monuments of Khorasan), published in 1918, and Persien, Islamische Baukunst in Churasan (Persia, Islamic Architecture in Khorasan), published in 1923.

The geography of Northeast Persia was also the basis of two other art histories for Strzygowski in the 1910s. In his books *Altai- Iran und Völkerwanderung* (Altai-Iran and the Migration of Peoples) and *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (The Architecture of Armenia and Europe), he proposed that the migration of the Turks from Central Asia to the Near East was the agent of artistic routes westward and that Armenian art had formed at the crossroads of these routes with Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran.²⁷ These books appeared at a time when

²³ Diez's expedition to Persia was made possible by the expedition of the Bavarian lieutenant and also geographer Oskar Niedermayer, who was sponsored by the Ministry of War. Although both Strzygowski and Niedermayer described the purpose of the expedition as geological, geographical and ethnographical, the sponsorship and Niedermayer's second trip to Afghanistan during 1915-1916 revealed the military role and inquiry behind the expedition. The expeditions had academic outcomes for both Niedermayer and Diez. Niedermayer wrote his doctoral dissertation for the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich 'The Inner Basins of the Iranian Plateau' (*Die Binnenbecken des iranischen Hochlandes*) based on the findings of the expedition.

²⁴ Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Volker*, Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion m.b.H., 1915.

²⁵ Josef Strzygowski, 'Vergleichende Kunstforschung auf geographischer Grundlage', *Mitteilungen der geographischer Gesellschaft in Wien*, 61, 1918, 20-48, 31.

²⁶ Strzygowski, 'Vergleichende Kunstforschung auf geographischer Grundlage',31. ,Die islamische Kunst ist die Kunst der Nomaden und Nordvölker in den Suden versetzt, ein Wunderwesen also, das wir kaum zu begreifen vermögen. Die islamische Kunst ist die Kunst der Nomaden und Nordvölker in den Suden versetzt, ein Wunderwesen also, das wir kaum zu begreifen vermögen'. Strzygowski, 'Vergleichende Kunstforschung auf geographischer Grundlage'.

²⁷ Josef Strzygowski, Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung: ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens, anknüpfend an einen Schatzfund in Albanien. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1917. Josef Strzygowski, with Toros Thoramanian, Heinrich Glück, Leon Lissitzian, Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa,

political players were starting to invest aggressively in national identities on the remains of Empires.

Christina Maranci views Strzygowski's book of 1918 as the culmination of his inquiries in the Orient, ²⁸ yet in the 1920s, the teachings of the *Kunsthistorische Seminar I* began to expand its work on the Orient beyond its European frontier into India and the Far East. Furthermore, Strzygowski managed to establish two professorships in oriental art studies in these years, to which he appointed Ernst Diez and Heinrich Glück (1889–1930).

On the occasion of the East Asia Exhibition at the Austrian Museum in 1922, Strzygowski underlined the geographical span as the reflection of Vienna's position between East and West and a revitalization of the aims of the 1873 Vienna World's Fair. ²⁹ Strzygowski's seminar on comparative art history at the Institute covered a similar geographical span and included the art of Austria, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Western Asia and East Asia. In the 1920s, his fame extended beyond Vienna to the previously marginal geographies of art historical academia. He travelled to the United States in 1921 at the invitation of the Howell Institute and the Archaeological Institute of America; ³⁰ he taught at the Åbo Academy of University in Turku in Finland between 1921 and 1925; ³¹ and he received invitations from several other universities, including Santiniketan in 1920, Warsaw in 1922, Tartu (Dorpat) in 1923. ³² His students would also undertake engagements at different academic geographies. Stella Kramrisch (1899–1993) went to India in 1922 on the invitation of Rabindranath Tagore; Maurice Sven Dimand (1892–1986) became a

Ergebnisse einer vom Kunsthistorischen Institute der Universität Wien 1913 durchgeführten Forschungsreise. Vienna: A. Schroll & Co., G.m.b.H, 1918.

²⁸ Christina Maranci, 'The historiography of Armenian architecture: Josef Strzygowski, Austria, and Armenia', *Revue des Etudes Armeniennes*, 28, 2001-2002, 287-308: 305.

 $^{^{29}}$ Josef Strzygowski, 'Zur ostasiatischen Ausstellung', *Neue Freie Presse*, 21.5.1922. He mentioned the expedition of his student Karl With (1891–1980) to Japan in 1913, referring to it as the beginning of studies on Japan, China and India.

³⁰ He gave lectures at United States and Canadian universities, mainly on the topic of the origin of Christian church art. Christopher Wood discusses Strzygowski's reception in the United States. Christopher. S. Wood, 'Strzygowski und Riegl in den Vereinigten Staaten', In (M.Theisen, Ed.). Wiener Schule. Erinnerungen und Perspektiven, Wien: Böhlau, 217–233. The lectures were published as a book in three languages—German, Swedish and English. Strzygowski 1920, Strzygowski 1923. Available in English translation in this journal, No. 17, 2017: Christopher S. Wood (New York University), 'Strzygowski and Riegl in America' 17/CSW1. This is the English text that served as the basis for 'Strzygowski und Riegl in den Vereinigten Staaten', which appeared in Wiener Schule: Erinnerung und Perspektiven, ed. Michael Viktor Schwarz (= Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 53, 2004), 217-34.

³¹ See Lars Berggren's lecture on 'Josef Strzygowski in Finland', in *Josef Strzygowski und die Kunstwissenschaften | Josef Strzygowski and the Sciences of Art*, 29 – 31 March 2012, Bielsko-Biala.

³² Höflechner& Brugger, 'Zur Etablierung der Kunstgeschichte an den Universitäten in Wien, 49-56.

curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1923; and Ernst Diez joined Bryn Mawr College as professor of art history in 1926.³³

Glück was Strzygowski's assistant from 1915 onwards. He received his Habilitation in 1920 and was promoted to Professor Extraordinarius in 1923. Diez received his Habilitation in 1919 and was awarded the title of Professor Extraordinarius in 1924. Diez also received a secondary appointment to lecture on the ancient Orient in view of his work on Buddhist art, which was published in 1922 as *Einführung in die Kunst des Ostens* (Introduction to the Art of the East). The tension between the two art historical departments of the University of Vienna continued nevertheless, and for the appointment of Diez, Strzygowski resisted opposition from Schlosser, who took over the direction of the Second Art Historical Institute after the death of Max Dvořák in 1921 and demanded a new teaching position in Austrian art instead.³⁴

In the 1920s, Diez extended his research geography from Persia to India and East Asia. His courses included 'Buddhist art in East Asia', 'Islamic Monuments in Persia and India', 'Introduction to the Art of the Orient and the Far East', 'Islamic art of Persia' and 'Art History of the Orient'. ³⁵ Glück's courses extended back to the geography of Strzygowski's initial pursuit of Byzantine art history, and he adopted a comparative perspective that spanned western and oriental arts. His courses included 'The West, Orient and the Renaissance', 'Constantinople and the Sphere of Byzantine Art', 'The Art of the Mediterranean at the Accession of Islam", 'Exercises on the Problem of Early Christian and Islamic Art Research in New Literature', 'Turkish Art' and 'Exercises on the Early Christian, Byzantine and Early Medieval Art'. Diez and Glück also collaborated on two books— one on Constantinople and another on Islamic art history. ³⁶ In 1926, after Diez left the University to join the faculty of Bryn Mawr College, Glück introduced a series of courses under the title of *Denkmalkunde des Orients*, whose topics included Islamic, Indian and East Asian arts as well as pre-Islamic art of the Near East. ³⁷

³³ Stella Kramrisch initially taught at the Visva-Bharati University in Santiniketan and in 1924, she was appointed professor of Indian art at the University of Calcutta.

³⁴ At a meeting on 7 May 1924, Schlosser opposed Diez's position on the grounds that Heinrich Glück was already teaching the 'Art of the Orient' (*Kunst des Orients*). University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder, Vienna.

³⁵ 'Islamic art of Persia' (Die Islamische Kunst in Persien) (1919-1920), 'Art History of the Orient' (Einführung in die Kunstgeschichte des Orients) (1919-1920), 'Buddhist art in East Asia' (Buddhistische Kunst in Ostasien) (1921-1922) 'Islamic Monuments in Persia and India' (Die islamische Baudenkmäler in Persien und Indien) (1924-25), Introduction to the Art of the Orient and the Far East - Egypt, the Middle East, India, East Asia (Einführung in die Kunst des Orients und Fernen Ostens -Ägypten, Vorderasien, Indien, Ostasien) (1925-1926). Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Wien, University of Vienna Archives.

³⁶ Ernst Diez, Heinrich Glück, *Alt-Konstantinopel*, München, Passing: Roland Verlag, 1920. Ernst Diez, Heinrich Glück, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 1925. In the latter, Diez wrote the sections on the architecture of Persia and India and Islamic Applied arts, while Glück wrote on the architecture of 'Arabic and Turkish lands' and on 'Book Illuminations and Miniature painting'.

³⁷ Glück's courses included 'The West, Orient and the Renaissance' (Abendland, Orient und Renaissance) (1921-1922), 'Constantinople and the Sphere of Byzantine Art' (Konstantinopel

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While the geographies of the Orient expanded with Diez and Glück's courses in the 1920s, Strzygowski began to transfer the anti-imperialist basis of his Orient to the ideology of Nordic superiority. He wrote on this transition in his 1936 autobiographical work, *Aufgang des Nordens* (The Rise of the North), where he indicated that the discovery of the far North was the ultimate goal of his research.³⁸

At first, it was only Iran and the contrast of its art to that of the Mediterranean circle, but to a certain extent also to that of migrating and East Asian peoples, which attracted my attention. But then gradually the view began to widen beyond the mainland to the northern seas around the pole.

Strzygowski's writings in the 1920s criticizing the management of the Berlin Museum's Islamic Department illustrate how his research on the Orient began to connect to his Nordic ideology. Suzanne Marchand discusses his accusations against Herzfeld and Carl Becker (1873–1945), whom he blamed for obscuring 'the relationship of northern and oriental art in order to glorify the Mediterranean world'.³⁹ In an article where he responded to Becker's discussion of the common roots of Islamic and European arts in antiquity, Strzygowski characterized Islamic art as a Northern art that contrasted with the power art of the South.⁴⁰

At the University, Strzygowski's courses emphasised the geographic and artistic North. They included 'Giotto and Nordic Art', 'The Meaning of North in Fine Arts', 'The revival of the Nordic spirit from the Rococo to the present', 'Significance of the Visual Arts of the North', 'History of Italian art from the point of view of the North', 'History of French art from the point of view of the North'.

und der byzantinischer Kunstkreis) (1922-1923), 'The Art of the Mediterranean at the Accession of Islam' (1923-1924), 'Exercises on the Problem of Early Christian and Islamic Art Research in New Literature' (1923-1924), 'Turkish Art' (1924-1925) and 'Exercises on the Early Christian, Byzantine and Early Medieval Art' (1928-1929). Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Wien, University of Vienna Archives.

³⁸ Josef Strzygowski, *Aufgang des Nordens: Lebenskampf eines Kunstforschers um ein deutsches Weltbild*, Leipzig: Schwarzhäupter. 1936, 44. 'Zuerst war es nur Iran gewesen und der Gegensatz seiner Kunst zu der des Mittelmeerkreises, aber bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch zu der der Wander und ostasiatischen Nordvölker, die mich hatten beobachtend aufblicken lassen. Dann aber begann sich allmählich der Blick forschen über das Festland hinaus nach den nordischen Meeren um den Pol weiten'.

³⁹ Suzanne Marchand, 'The rhetoric of artefacts and the decline of classical humanism', 126-127. Becker was under-secretary at the Prussian Cultural Ministry at the time and had founded the periodical *Der Islam*.

⁴⁰ Josef Strzygowski, 'Die Stellung des Islam zum geistigen Aufbau Europas', *Acta Academiae. Aboensis Humaniora*, Abo: Abo Akademi, 1922, 3-32. Carl Becker, 'Der Islam im Rahmen einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 76:1, 1922, 18-35.

⁴¹ Giotto and Nordic Art (1923-24), 'The Meaning of North in Fine Arts' (Die Bedeutung des Nordens in der bildenden Kunst) (1923-1924),' The revival of the Nordic spirit from the Rococo to the present' (Das Neuaufleben des nordischen Geistes vom Rokoko bis zur Gegenwart) (1926), 'Significance of the Visual Arts of the North' (Bedeutungsstellungen der Bildenden Kunst des Nordens) (1931-1932), 'History of Italian art from the point of view of

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Nevertheless, three years into the 1930s, the *Kunsthistorische Seminar I* closed down when Strzygowski retired.⁴² The Institute was also left without its main inheritors: Diez was teaching in the United States and Glück had passed away in 1930.⁴³ Victor Christian (1885–1963), who became Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy after the annexation of Austria to Germany in 1938, described the closing of the Institute as a political decision.⁴⁴

It was in 1934, a year after the *Kunsthistorische Seminar I* closed, that Julius Schlosser wrote a history of the Vienna School that omitted Strzygowski, his students and thus the research on oriental art histories. Schlosser himself left the University in 1936, and the two Institutes were reunited under the direction of his student Hans Sedlmayr. ⁴⁵ Schlosser passed away two years later in 1938, and an era of the Vienna School, caught between the Orient and Rome, came to an end.

Yet the repercussions of the Orient- Rome controversy continued into the 1940s with Sedlmayr and Diez, especially after Diez returned to teaching in 1939. After the unification of the two institutes, Sedlmayr announced that he intended to merge what he called Strzygowski's 'contradictory legacy' (*gegensätzlichen Erbe Strzygowskis*) with the legacy of Wickhoff, Riegl, Dvořák and Schlosser. He declared that his aim was to balance the 'factual tension' (*Sachliche Spannung*) between these teachings.⁴⁶

Sedlmayr's letter to Diez and his subsequent work show that his middle ground was the topic of Balkan art, which occupied a unique position in the art historiographical legacies of both departments. Marchand, in her analysis of Croatian art historiography, points out the contrasting approaches to Balkan art historiography in the works of Rudolf Eitelberger (1817–1885), who preceded

the North' (Geschichte der italienischen Kunst vom Nordstandpunkt) (1932-1933), 'History of French art from the point of view of the North' (Geschichte der französischen Kunst vom Nordstandpunkt) (1933). Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Wien, University of Vienna Archives.

- ⁴² Höflechner and Brugger point out how the Institute had grown through the course of its life and that, in 1931, it had 85 employees and a rich library that housed 4,000 books, 52,000 photographs and images, and 20,000 slides. Höflechner, Brugger, 'Zur Etablierung der Kunstgeschichte an den Universitäten in Wien, Prag und Innsbruck', 53.
- ⁴³ Strzygowski stated in his obituary for Glück that he had thought of Glück as his successor. Josef Strzygowski, 'Heinrich Glück', *Artibus Asiae*, 4:2-3, 1930, 165-167. Strzygowski then established the Institute of Comparative Art Research (*Institute für Vergleichende Kunstforschung*) in 1934, where he worked until his death in 1941.
- ⁴⁴ Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Vienna to Ministry for Science, Education, and Culture in Berlin, 11 August 1939, Do. No. 6671, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder, Vienna.
- ⁴⁵ Hans Sedlmayr held the chair at the University of Vienna from 1936 until 1945 and then at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich from 1951 until 1964. In 1964, he was appointed visiting professor at the University of Salzburg, where he established the art history programme.
- ⁴⁶ Sedlmayr Papers, University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives.

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Wickhoff and Riegl at the Vienna School, and Strzygowski. ⁴⁷ Eitelberger's documentation of Balkan classical and medieval monuments was a legitimization of Habsburg imperial identity, while Strzygowski inquired into an indigenous Croatian art, which he characterized as 'a memory that had been destroyed by centuries of imperialist rule and Roman Catholic propaganda'. ⁴⁸

The Balkans were part of Strzygowski's art historiographical geography of the Orient. In his 1906 article on Serbian miniatures, he explored their Oriental Syrian sources. ⁴⁹ In his 1929 book *Altslavische Kunst*, he referred to Eastern Europe as the 'hinterland of true Asia' that connected Nordic, Iranian and Slavic arts. ⁵⁰ In a 1924 article entitled 'Die Stellung des Balkans in der Kunstforschung' (The Place of the Balkans in Art Research), Strzygowski called for further research on the identity of Balkan art. ⁵¹

It was Sedlmayr who later took on the topic. The Sedlmayr archives at the University of Vienna include a detailed account of a 'Southeast Work' (Südost *Arbeit*), which was a four-year projection of research in Balkan art. Sedlmayr identified the work geographically and politically, as 'research on the workings of German art in the area between the Empire and the Black Sea' (Erforschung des Wirkend der deutschen Kunst im Bereich zwischen Reich und schwarzen Meer). 52 The plan for the 'Southeast Work' included a library, a journal, a conference, and lectures on Slavic, Bulgarian, Serbian, Byzantine, and Hungarian art. Sedlmayr also aimed to attract students from Balkan countries to Vienna. In a letter dated 19 April 1938, Sedlmayr demanded that two academic positions be established: one for 'Medieval and Modern History of German Art with special consideration of the Southeast' and the other would have a singular focus on 'the South-East'. Sedlmayr thus identified his work on Balkan art history by means of a geographical designation that framed a cultural political agenda, similar to both Eitelberger and Strzygowski. He himself suggested parallels with work on the Near East, as he considered both as a 'natural task' with 'great cultural significance' for the University of Vienna.

Diez started teaching at the University of Vienna in 1939 as 'Professor of Art History of the Orient and Far East' (*Professor für Kunstgeschichte des Orients und Fernen Ostens*), and the academic dichotomy on art historical geographies of Orient and Rome was revisited once again. Diez's courses appeared in the university booklet under a separate designation—*Asiatische Abteilung der Kunsthistorische*

⁴⁷ See Suzanne Marchand, 'The View from the Land: Austrian Art Historians and the Interpretation of Croatian Art,' in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, Ed. Alina Payne, Leiden: Brill, 2014, 19-58.

⁴⁸ Suzanne Marchand, 'The View from the Land: Austrian Art Historians and the Interpretation of Croatian Art,' 61-62.

⁴⁹ Josef Strzygowski, and Vatroslav Jagić, *Die miniaturen des serbischen Psalters der Königl. Hof*und Staatsbibliothek in München. Nach einer Belgrader Kopie erganzt und im Zusammenhange mit der syrischen Bilderredaktion des Psalters untersucht, Wien: A. Hölder, 1906.

⁵⁰ Josef Strzygowski, *Die altslavische Kunst, ein Versuch ihres Nachweises*, Augsburg: B. Filser, 1929, xii.

⁵¹ Josef Strzygowski, 'Die Stellung des Balkans in der Kunstforschung', *Strena Buliciana*, Zagreb, 1924, 507-514.

⁵² Sedlmayr Papers, University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives.

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Institut (Asian Section of the Institute of Art History)—which included a broad span of art historical geographies extending from Iran to Japan.⁵³ Diez appears to have circumvented Sedlmayr's decision with the changing administration of the University after Austria's annexation to Germany in 1938. A series of correspondence exists between Diez and the new dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Victor Christian (1885–1963), who was himself an orientalist.⁵⁴ Christian supported Diez's appointment in a letter to the Ministry of Science, Education and Culture in Berlin, pointing out the importance of reviving oriental studies in Vienna, citing the legacies of both Strzygowski and Glück.⁵⁵

This reinstatement of oriental art historical studies was short-lived, however, in the case of both Orients: Sedlmayr's closer Balkan Orient and Diez's Islamic and Far Eastern Orient, due to political circumstances. Sedlmayr's main appointee for Byzantine and Balkan art history, Otto Demus (1902–1990) left for England in 1939 after Germany occupied Austria in 1938. Sedlmayr himself quit teaching in the

⁵³ In the winter term of 1939-40, Diez gave a course on Chinese art and a seminar on 'Iranian art of the Sassanid and Islamic periods'. In the academic year 1940-1941, his work covered 'Exercise course on Islamic art', and a course with the name of his 1915 book, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker 'The Art of the Islamic People', Chinese Painting, Buddhist Art in India and East Asia and Exercises on Buddhist Art. In 1941, his topics extended to Japan. In the winter term of 1941-42, Diez gave a course on 'Asian Art Circle' (Die Kunstkreise Asiens) and an exercise course on 'Bronze Art of Asia'. In the winter term of 1942-43, and in the following summer semester, he lectured again on the Islamic theme. His final course before he went to Turkey in 1943 was on Chinese art, in the winter term of 1943-44. Öffentlichen Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Wien, University of Vienna Archives. Between 1939 and 1943, he also wrote five books for wider audiences on similar geographies and topics. These were Entschleiertes Asien (Asia Unveiled) in 1940, Glaube und Welt des Islam (Creed and World of Islam) in 1941, So sahen sie Asien, Reiseberichte von Herodot bis Moltke (How They Saw Asia: Traveller Accounts From Herodot to Moltke) in 1942 and 1944; Shan Shui, Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei (Shan Shui, Chinese Landscape Painting) in 1943 and Iranische Kunst (Iranian Art) of 1944.

⁵⁴ Ekkehard Ellinger writes that Diez became a member of the Nationalist Socialist Party in 1937. Ekkehard Ellinger, *Deutsche Orientalistik zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* 1933-45. Edingen-Neckarhausen: Deux mondes, 38.

⁵⁵ Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Vienna to the Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, 11 August 1939, University of Vienna Archives, Ernst Diez Folder, Vienna

⁵⁶ Otto Demus went to London, where he became a librarian at the Warburg Institute and taught as a lecturer at the Courtauld Institute of Art. He returned to Austria after the war in 1946 as president of *Bundesdenkmalamt* (Federal Monuments Office). In 1963, Demus was appointed professor of art history back at the University of Vienna.

summer semester of 1942.⁵⁷ In 1943, Diez left to teach in Turkey at Istanbul University.⁵⁸

Diez's years in Istanbul represent the ultimate dismissal of the art historiographical geographies of the *Kunsthistorische Seminar I*. His course book on Turkish art history, published in 1946, met with nationalist criticism because of its having made art historical connections between Turkish, Armenian, Byzantine and Persian arts.⁵⁹ The critics took offense at Diez's depiction of the influence of Hagia Sophia on Ottoman mosques, yet at the centre of criticisms stood the designation, legacy and influence of Armenian art on Seljuk art and architecture.⁶⁰

The critics borrowed the language of the *Turkish History Thesis* of 1930, which posited pre-Islamic Central Asian roots to Turkish culture and ironically took inspiration from Strzygowski's 1917 work *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*. In his search for oriental routes, Strzygowski had situated the Turks in a key position in a universal historical narrative as agents of westward artistic routes, which later aided Turkish Republican quest for a distinguished position vis-à-vis the West. The critics nevertheless omitted Strzygowski's work on Armenian art that he published a year later in 1918 (*Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*) and challenged Diez to define Armenian art.

The criticisms in Turkey were not unique; they emanated from the same nationalist milieu that led to Strzygowski's emphasis on Nordic ideas and Sedlmayr's work on a Germanic Balkan art historical geography.⁶¹ The art historical areas opened up by the oriental scholarship of the *Kunsthistorische Seminar I* served

- ⁵⁷ Sedlmayr initially left due to the loss of his parents and his wife, and in search of his brother. University of Vienna Department of Art History Archives, Sedlmayr Folder. Wladimir Zaloziecky (1896–1959) joined the faculty in 1941 for Byzantine and Balkan art history, and an external lecturer (Julius) Fleischer gave courses on Hungarian art. Sedlmayr's assistant, Karl Oettinger (1906–1979), took over the directorship of the Institute.
- ⁵⁸ He was proposed the position through the Ministry in Berlin and on the mediation of Ernst Kühnel (1882–1964), who was then the director of the Islamic department of the Berlin Museum. Ernst Kühnel to Ministry of Science, Education and Culture (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung Oberregierungsrat Dr. Scurla), 5 September 1942, German Archaeology Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*), Orient Department (*Orient Abteilung*) Archives, Ernst Kühnel Papers, Berlin.
- ⁵⁹ Ernst Diez, *Turk sanatı, başlangıcından günümüze kadar* (trans. Oktay Aslanapa), Istanbul: Universite Matbaası, 1946. He wrote the book during the political internment of German nationals between September 1944 and December 1945, after Turkey signed treatise on the side of the Allies. Diez was at the central Anatolian town of Kırsehir.
- ⁶⁰ For an in-depth discussion of the criticisms, see my article 'Parallel Odysseys of Ernst Herzfeld and Ernst Diez,' In *The Reshaping of Persian Art: Art Histories of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*, Iván Szántó and Yuka Kadoi (eds.) Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies 2019 Series: Acta et Studia XV, 2019, 235-259.
- ⁶¹ Strzygowski himself would consolidate the Turkish national thesis in a 1935 article that he wrote for the journal of the Turcology Institute of Istanbul University, *Turkiyat Mecmuası*. The article, entitled 'Turkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi' (Turks and the Question of Central Asian Art), depicted a Turkish cultural (and artistic) character, geographically based in Upper Asia, on the South Siberian plains, whose 'true nature' was not changed by Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Anatolia or Byzantium.

the cultural agendas of nationalist politics of the 1930s and 1940s. Following the criticisms of his book, Diez was dismissed from his position in Turkey in 1949. The incident became an Odyssey's scar, revealing within the criticisms the transformation of oriental art historical studies.

The history of the *Kunsthistorische Seminar I* of the University of Vienna is thus not limited to the works of its director Josef Strzygowski, and extends into a broader academic landscape through a next generation of scholars at the Institute. The academic biography of one of these scholars, Strzygowski's first assistant at the University, Ernst Diez, narrates a history of the transformation of oriental art historical scholarship that parallels the changing cultural political scape not only in Vienna, but also in the world. The history reads a change in the subject geographies of Orient; it recounts its expansion from Constantinople to Persia and to Far East in the framework of the inquiry into a non-Roman art history; and traces its later transference to nationalist historiographies under the influence of changing political contexts. The history underlines the role of geographical approaches of oriental art historical studies at the University of Vienna both in its initial revisionist framework and in its later use within nationalisms. It also provides perspectives into the dissociation of oriental art historiographical geographies from European historiographies in the post-Second World War maps.

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