

# Phantom Rome and wooden Atlantis: the Vienna School and the research on timber architecture in Central and Eastern Europe between the World Wars

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On 15th March 1924, Josef Strzygowski, invited by the Slavic seminar, lectured at Charles University in Prague on the origins of early medieval art in Bohemia. Significantly, local art historians boycotted his speech while representatives of Ukrainian and Russian émigré circles were present.<sup>1</sup> Vojtěch Birnbaum, a disciple of Riegl and Wickhoff and a professor at the University of Prague, ignored the meeting but could not ignore the theses of the Viennese professor, who derived forms of monumental architecture from indigenous wooden structures. The Czech scholar accused Strzygowski of a 'sentimental worship of barbarians', questioned his method of deducing about early architecture based on much later wooden churches, and, most importantly, regarded folk art as a backward rustication of European art forms, thus denying it the status of primordality and nativeness.<sup>2</sup> It does not mean that Birnbaum did not see Czech art as expressing the nation's original personality. He did, however, situate it not in a pluralised world of coexisting, parallel essences but, in keeping with the tradition of thought of his Viennese masters, within the universal evolution of *ars una*.<sup>3</sup> In line with such a defined strategy, the source of prestige became not the rejection of the centre's values but the ability to adapt them creatively.

In the dispute between the two scholars, different models for perceiving centre-periphery relations in art history – both developed in the Viennese milieu – came to the fore. How was wooden architecture used in constructing these

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<sup>1</sup> KRISTINA GLACOVÁ, 'Florian Zapletal historik umění?' in *Florian Zapletal: život a dílo. Sborník příspěvků z konference Muzea Komenského v Přerově, p.o. 18.–19. října 2005*, Přerov: Muzeum Komenského 2006, (157–161) 158.

<sup>2</sup> PETRA HEČKOVA, 'Czech Art Historian Vojtěch (Adalbert) Birnbaum – an Ideological Opponent of Josef Strzygowski' in PIOTR O. SCHOLZ and MAGDALENA A. DŁUGOSZ, eds, *Von Biala nach Wien. Josef Strzygowski und die Kunswissenschaften*, Wien: European University Press 2015, (188–205) 201–202.

<sup>3</sup> MARIA FILIPOVÁ, 'The Construction of a National Identity in Czech Art History', *Centropa*, 8: 3, September 2008, 265; JAN BAKOŠ, 'From Universalism to Nationalism. Transformations of Vienna School Ideas in Central Europe' in ROBERT BORN, ALENA JANATKOVÁ and ADAM S. LABUDA, eds, *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs*, Berlin: Mann, (79–101) 87.

relations? What centre-periphery dependencies determined art history's narratives on timber construction? What centre-periphery relations affect the contemporary reflection on the study of wooden architecture? While addressing these questions, an essential point of reference will be the thesis of Jan Bakoš, who links how Viennese art historians perceived the artistic geography of Europe with their views on the territorial distribution of power – support for monarchical centralism in the case of Wickhoff, Riegl and Dvořák, for bourgeois, centrifugal particularism in the case of Strzygowski.<sup>4</sup>

However, not everything started in Prague a century ago. In 1837, texts appeared in different parts of Europe, reflecting a new interest in vernacular architecture. In London, under the pseudonym Kata Phusin, John Ruskin began to publish in the 'Architectural Magazine' a series of articles in which he presented country houses as an expression of the nation's spirit, inscribed in the landscape and constituting part of nature.<sup>5</sup> In Dresden, the Norwegian painter Johan Christian Dahl, a professor at the local Academy of Fine Arts, issued a book discussing several medieval wooden churches of his northern homeland.<sup>6</sup> His activities gave a decisive impetus to studying wooden churches in the Hohenzollern and Habsburg monarchies. The Norwegian author showed wooden churches as objects worthy of scientific interest. The place and time of his book's appearance favoured their inclusion into the syntheses of universal art history written by Franz Kugler and Carl Schnaase.<sup>7</sup> Over time, scholars of various specialities in Prussia and the German Empire elaborated two main narratives about wooden architecture. The first, which can be described as conservative, stemming from romantic worship of the sources, appropriated timber constructions, including Scandinavian ones, for the use of *Germanenideologie*, developed as the foundation of German national identity, defined in ethnic and even racial terms.<sup>8</sup>

It gained popularity in volkist circles. The other, widespread among the liberal *Bildungsbürgertum*, used the same resources of the past as a black screen for the achievements of the Hohenzollern monarchy bringing progress to the backward Slavs.<sup>9</sup> In Russia, including Russian Ukraine, the traditions of wooden architecture

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<sup>4</sup> BAKOŠ, 'From Universalism to Nationalism', 85.

<sup>5</sup> JOHN RUSKIN [KATA PHUSIN], 'The Poetry of Architecture; or the Architecture of the Nations of Europe Considered in its Association with Natural Scenery and National Character', *Architectural Magazine*, November 1837, 505–508; December 1837, 555–560; JOSEPH RYKWERT, *On Adam's House in Paradise. The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, New York: The MIT Press, 1972, 33.

<sup>6</sup> JOHANN CHRISTIAN DAHL, *Denkmale einer sehr ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst aus den frühesten Jahrhunderten in den innern Landschaften Norwegens*, Dresden: J.C. Dahl, 1837.

<sup>7</sup> FRANZ KUGLER, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1842, 351; CARL SCHNAASE, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, vol. 4 .2, *Das eigentliche Mittelalter*, Düsseldorf: Julius Buddeus. 1854, 447.

<sup>8</sup> For the *Germanenideologie*, see KLAUS VON SEE, *Barbar, Germane, Arier. Die Suche nach der Identität der Deutschen*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994.

<sup>9</sup> This view was represented by German authors from Upper Silesia writing on local log churches. One of them explained the popularity of this kind of structure in the region as follows: 'Let us be frank: the cultural state of those areas, which had lagged for centuries, the

served as the primary material in constructing an image of continuous and autonomous national art.<sup>10</sup> In the Habsburg monarchy, texts about timber churches began to appear in the 'Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale' shortly after the middle of the 19th century.<sup>11</sup> However, the monuments were not attributed as significant meanings as in Prussia and the German Empire. As Matthew Rampley noted, Eitelberger and Riegl questioned the linking of folk art, which usually included wooden buildings, with national identity. They tried to embed it in the development of international art but lost interest in it over time.<sup>12</sup>

While Riegl treated folk art as a product of a socio-economic situation definitively overcome by progress, bidding it farewell with 'imperial nostalgia',<sup>13</sup> for Strzygowski, it was a 'mean of expression for continuing creation from within the self'.<sup>14</sup> From the 1914–1918 war onwards, the scholar increasingly focused his attention on timber buildings, combining the ideas derived from their earlier interpretations into a new system of beliefs, which in the 1920s evolved into the theory of civilisation.<sup>15</sup> Strzygowski remodelled the ancient climatic theory, known, among others, from Aristotle's writings.<sup>16</sup> He located the oldest of the three cultural

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sporadic Germanisation, the former poverty of the country in the face of the imposing abundance of wood, these are the true causes of this striking phenomenon. And since these conditions have only begun to give way to the light of Prussian administrative spirit in the last hundred years or so, this peculiarity has survived until today, and even in this century, the wooden churches have been newly erected' (HERMANN LUCHS, 'Die oberschlesischen Holzkirchen und Verwandtes', *Schlesische Provinzial-Blätter*, 10: 3, 1871, 109–121).

<sup>10</sup> This came to the fore in the monumental synthesis of the Russian art, edited by IGOR GRABAR (*Istorija russkogo iskusstva*, vol. 1–6, Moskva: Knebel', 1909–1914), and in the book on Ukrainian architecture by HRYHORIJ PAVLUCK'YJ (*Drevnosti Ukrainy*, vol. 1, *Derevjannye i kamennye chramy*, Kiev: Imperatorskoe Moskovskoe Archeologičeskoe Obščestvo. 1905).

<sup>11</sup> BERNHARD GRUEBER, 'Charakteristik der Baudenkmale Böhmens', *Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 1: 12, December 1856, 241–248; ADOLF L. RITTER VON WOLFSKRON, 'Über einige Holzkirchen in Mähren, Schlesien und Galizien', *Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 3: 4, April 1858, 85–92; MICHAEL HAAS, 'Die Holzkirchen im Bisthume Szathmár', *Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 11, 1866, 1–7.

<sup>12</sup> MATTHEW RAMPLEY, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship 1847–1918*, University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013, 123, 134.

<sup>13</sup> STEFAN MUTHESIUS, 'Alois Riegl: Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie' in Richard Woodfield, ed, *Framing Formalism, Riegl's Work; Essays*, Amsterdam: G + B Arts International, 2001, (135–170) 137–139.

<sup>14</sup> JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI, *Aufgang des Nordens. Lebenskampf eines Kunstforschers um ein deutsches Weltbild*, Leipzig: Schwarzhäupter-Verlag, 1936, 38.

<sup>15</sup> JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI, 'Natur und Unnatur in der bildenden Kunst', *Mannus Zeitschrift für Deutsche Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, 20: 1–2, 1928, 1–24.

<sup>16</sup> 'Those who live in a cold climate and in Europe are full of spirit, but wanting in intelligence and skill, and therefore they retain comparative freedom, but have no political organisation, and are incapable of ruling over others. Whereas the natives of Asia are intelligent and inventive, but they are wanting in spirit, and therefore they are always in a

circles he distinguished in the hot-air belt near the equator. Its inhabitant – ‘*Naturmensch*’ – did not need clothes or a permanent home. Early migrations to the cold North, an area from the Alps and the mountains of Asia to the pole, including North America, would form a new cultural circle. The harsh climate forced the building of houses and producing clothes and fostered an appreciation of the internal. As a result, a new type of man emerged – the simple ‘*Seelenmensch*’, the creator of wooden buildings and art that avoided anthropomorphic motifs. It was only due to these two circles’ collision that the middle belt emerged, and with it, the ‘*Machtmensch*’, striving to subjugate people and nature, erecting buildings of stone blocks and using the human image as the central motif in art.<sup>17</sup> Strzygowski draws a picture of a great architectural tradition whose testimonies disappeared due to the fragility of the material and were condemned to oblivion by the ‘humanists’ who regarded Rome and Constantinople as the only significant centres of artistic innovation diffusion in late antiquity.<sup>18</sup> This ‘wooden Atlantis’, which he links to the Indo-Aryans, situating their cradle in the Scandinavian North, was to be flooded by waves of ‘*Machtkunst*’ coming with institutionalised Christianity, supported by secular authority.<sup>19</sup> The real *Volkskunst* did not disappear without a trace, however. *Fachwerk*, specific to the West Germanic people, echoes in the rhythm of the spans of Romanesque buildings, North Germanic stave churches inspired Gothic cathedrals, and Slavic log construction gave rise to the dome on the square.<sup>20</sup> The wooden architecture was thus interpreted as an Indo-Aryan substrate, determining the expression of medieval art in both Western and Eastern Europe.

Strzygowski’s concept weaves together several heterogeneous strands: the myth of the North stemming from German Romantic nationalism using ‘anti-Roman’ interpretations of Tacitus’ ‘*Germania*’,<sup>21</sup> the conviction that there was a common Aryan tradition of wooden architecture based on the same principles on the slopes of the Himalayas, in Russia, Norway and Tyrol, as expressed by Viollet-

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state of subjection and slavery. But the Hellenic race, situated between them, is likewise intermediary in character, being high-spirited and intelligent’ (ARISTOTLE, *The Politics*, translated by THOMAS ALAN SINCLAIR, Harmondsworth-New York: Penguin Books, 1981, 409).

<sup>17</sup> STRZYGOWSKI, *Aufgang des Nordens*, 35–43.

<sup>18</sup> ‘There existed a North European art about which we are ignorant, since the monuments were chiefly of wood, and have consequently not survived. (...) The position is always the same: we are chained by our humanistic education to the South; Rome, and, for the East, Byzantium, are the centres from which the barbarian North received its entire culture’ (JOSEPH STRZYGOWSKI, *Early Church Art in Northern Europe. With Special Reference to Timber Construction and Decoration*, London: Hacker Art Books, 1928, 6).

<sup>19</sup> On the northern origin of Indo-Aryans or Indo-Germanic peoples: JOSEPH STRZYGOWSKI, *Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens in der bildenden Kunst*, Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1936, 301–302.

<sup>20</sup> STRZYGOWSKI, *Early Church Art*, 73, 114, 158.

<sup>21</sup> On how Tacitus’ work was interpreted in German lands, see KLAUS VON SEE, ‘Der Germane als Barbar’ in SEE, *Barbar*, 31–60. Strzygowski referred to ‘*Germania*’ explicitly as he wrote: ‘The northern peoples may have been barbarians in the external sense, but they were superior to the late Romans in terms of internal culture. Tacitus already recognised this’ (*Die altslawische Kunst*, Augsburg: Filser, 1929, 224).

le-Duc,<sup>22</sup> the perception of timber architecture as a native substrate formed in pre-Christian times, influencing monumental structures, characteristic of Russian art history.<sup>23</sup> Two scholars, in particular, seem to have played an inspiring role: Friedrich Seesselberg, founder of the volkist 'Werdandi Bund',<sup>24</sup> and the Russian historian Slavophile Ivan Zabelin.<sup>25</sup> The former – in keeping with the tradition of using Scandinavia as an armoury of German nationalism – interpreted the Norwegian stave churches as an expression of the Germanic *Volksseele*, a testimony to resisting the South's influence and the technical proficiency of the shipbuilders.<sup>26</sup> He thus rejected views about their Byzantine or Romanesque origins.<sup>27</sup> Ivan Zabelin, an archaeologist, historian, and director of the historical museum in Moscow, whom Strzygowski probably met there in 1890 during his first big journey, which Susan Marchand called 'suspiciously slavophone',<sup>28</sup> identified the cradle of indigenous architecture in Northern Russia, associating its development with the four-sided log structure perceived as the original form of the peasant hut. From the latter, out of the foreign influence's reach, the Orthodox churches' basic types were to develop, serving as models for monumental architecture after the Tatar yoke had been thrown off.<sup>29</sup> Zabelin constructed an image of continuous and independent development, finding its sources in the lower social strata. He cited the history of the church in Velikij Ustjug, recorded in an old chronicle, as an example of the conflict between native folk tradition and foreign, imposed patterns. The Church authorities built a new structure on a Byzantine cross plan after the old one had

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<sup>22</sup> EUGÈNE-EMMANUEL VIOLLET-LE-DUC, *L'art russe: ses origines, ses éléments constitutifs, son apogée, son avenir*, Paris: Morel, 1877, 73.

<sup>23</sup> ALEXANDER O. SLUDNYAKOV, 'Evoljucionizm i diffuzionizm. Razvitie predstavlenij ob evoljucii tradicionnoj architektury v otečestvennoj nauke', *Vestnik SPBGU*, 15: 2, 2014, 143–149.

<sup>24</sup> KAI DETLEV SIEVERS, *Friedrich Seesselberg und die völkische Bewegung*, Kiel: Universitätsverlag, 2021.

<sup>25</sup> MARINA V. KATAGOŠČINA and NATALJA GOLOVINA, 'Mastera russoj istoriografii: Ivan Egorovič Zabelin (1820–1908)', *Istoričeskij archiv*, 5, 2006, 45–60.

<sup>26</sup> FRIEDRICH SEESSELBERG, *Die früh-mittelalterliche Kunst der germanischen Völker: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der skandinavischen Baukunst in ethnologisch-anthropologischer Begründung*, Berlin: Wasmuth, 1897.

<sup>27</sup> The forms of stave churches were derived from Byzantine architecture by DAHL (*Denkmale*, 1) and KUGLER (*Handbuch*, 479) and from Romanesque architecture by SCHNAASE (*Geschichte*, 446) and DIETRICHSON in his influential book, where he aims to prove their Anglo-Saxon origin (LORENTZ DIETRICHSON and HENRIK MUNTHE, *Die Holzbaukunst Norwegens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Berlin: Schuster & Bufleb, 1893, 4–5, 28–38).

<sup>28</sup> SUZANNE MARCHAND, 'Appreciating the Art of Others – Josef Strzygowski and the Austrian Origins of Non-Western Art History' in SCHOLZ and DŁUGOSZ, *Von Biala nach Wien*, (257–285) 266. Zabelin was one of the speakers at the Russian archeological congress that Strzygowski attended. It took place in Moscow, not in St. Petersburg, as Marchand wrote. Zabelin's paper was published in the conference book (IVAN ZABELIN, 'Izyskanie o drevnějšech pervonačalnom poselenij Moskvj' in PRASKOVYA UVAROVA, ed, *Trudy vosmavo archeologičeskavo sěžda v Moskvě*, vol. 3, Moskva: Tovariščestvo Tipografii A. I. Mamontova, 1897, 1–12).

<sup>29</sup> IVAN ZABELIN, *Russkoe iskusstvo. Čerty samobytnosti v drevne-ruskom zodčestve*, Moskva: Grosman & Knebel', 1900.

burnt down. Resistance from the faithful forced them to demolish and reconstruct the church on an original polygonal outline.<sup>30</sup> Strzygowski quoted this account, ideally suited to juxtapose *Volkskunst* and *Machtkunst* – one can suppose that it was the catalyst for crystallising this fundamental concept in his theory.<sup>31</sup>

The Viennese scholar, referring to the two authors and, like them, rejecting the image of centre-periphery interdependence prevalent in Western scholarship, decontextualised the indicated threads of their reflections, giving them a new geographical frame. The homeland of the true *Volkskunst* – authentic, spiritualised, sincere and therefore corresponding to the idealised *Barbaricum* of the romantic interpretations of Tacitus' 'Germania' – was to encompass all of northern Eurasia. Strzygowski granted full citizenship of this 'wooden Atlantis' to Germanic and Slavic peoples. It clearly distinguished him from both Russian pan-Slavists, who believed wooden churches to embody Slavic pure spirit as opposed to the calculating Romance-Germanic West,<sup>32</sup> and volkists, who saw in timber buildings throughout Central Europe, and partly also in Eastern Europe, reminiscences of Old Germanic mead halls and denied the independence of Slavic art.<sup>33</sup> Characteristically, Strzygowski referred with a great reticence to the activity of the East Germanic tribes, who, according to Mielke, Phleps or Schier, played a crucial role in diffusing Germanic innovations into the area.<sup>34</sup> Attributing the authorship of Attila's palace, known from descriptions, to the Slavs must have sounded like blasphemy in the ears of the German authors who regarded it as a monument to the carpentry genius of the Goths, as did the thesis of the inventiveness of Old Croatian art and its influence on the Germanic Longobards.<sup>35</sup>

Strzygowski's concept, at least if we relate it to vertical, territorial divisions, hung in a political vacuum – it had no potential to buttress any real identity. His bourgeois centrifugal particularism was not particularist enough. The Viennese scholar was, therefore, only a tactical ally of that part of the peripheral elites which,

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<sup>30</sup> ZABELIN, *Russkoe iskusstvo*, 101–102.

<sup>31</sup> STRZYGOWSKI, *Die altslawische Kunst*, 56.

<sup>32</sup> Zabelin consistently stresses parallels between Russian and Asian architecture and the distance between the former and the Western one (ZABELIN, *Russkoe iskusstvo*, 135–136).

<sup>33</sup> This opinion was shared among others by a prominent researcher of the so-called 'German house' RUDOLF HENNING (*Das Deutsche Haus in seiner historischen Entwicklung*, Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1882, 96–97) and a co-founder of *Bund für Heimatschutz*, ethnographer ROBERT MIELKE, who claimed that all 'national Polish art' arose from Germanic foundations (*Unsere Dorfkirche*, Wittenberg: A. Ziemsen, 1913, 33, 75).

<sup>34</sup> ROBERT MIELKE, 'Die oberschlesische Dorfkirche - ein Denkmal altgermanischer Baukunst', *Der Oberschlesier*, 11: 5, 1929, 295–299; BRUNO SCHIER, *Hauslandschaften und Kulturbewegungen im östlichen Mitteleuropa*, Reichenberg: Sudetendeutscher Verlag Franz Kraus, 1932, 10, 120; HERMANN PHELEPS, *Ost- und westgermanische Baukultur unter besonderer Würdigung der ländlichen Baukunst Siebenbürgens*, Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1934, 13–30.

<sup>35</sup> STRZYGOWSKI, *Die altslawische Kunst*, 138–145, 213. One of the first scholars to advocate the East Germanic origin of Attila's palace was KARL STEPHANI (*Der älteste deutsche Wohnbau und seine Einrichtung. Baugeschichtliche Studien auf Grund der Erdkunde, Artefakte, Baureste, Münzbilder, Miniaturen und Schriftquellen*, vol. 1, *Der deutsche Wohnbau und seine Entwicklung von der Urzeit bis zum Ende der Merovingerherrschaft*, Leipzig: Baumgärtner's Buchhandlung, 1902, 173–186).

in challenging the dominance of the variously defined centre, mobilised cultural capital against economic or political ones. Interpreting wooden architecture as a testimony to an indigenous tradition predating Christianisation, which inevitably meant the centre's influence, seemed effective ammunition in this dispute – sometimes used to justify conflicting views, as in the case of the 'Ukrainian style', seen as an ideal on a par with Western art styles both by Danylo Ščerbakivs'kyj, who regarded it as proof of Ukrainian distinctiveness, and by Fedor Šmit, for whom it embodied the 'fear of logic' and irrational spirit that was supposed to unite the Great and Little Russians.<sup>36</sup>

As Birnbaum's example shows, a confrontational attitude towards the centre was not the only possible strategy of the peripheral elites. The works of Mencil, a Birnbaum disciple, and Zaloziecki, a Ukrainian from Bukovina and a pupil of Dvořák, can be seen as an intentionally demystifying response to Strzygowski's offensive: the former, in his work on Czech wooden churches, denied them the status of folk art, seeing them as a backward reflection of monumental architecture;<sup>37</sup> the latter, in a similar vein, commented on Carpathian Orthodox churches, stating: 'They lack the original creative'.<sup>38</sup> In doing so, he challenged not only the opinions of Strzygowski and supporters of the 'Ukrainian style' idea but also the concept of Dmytro Antonovyč, co-founder of the Free Ukrainian University in Vienna, then in Prague, who, although he included timber architecture in the evolution of *ars una*, saw in wooden churches the presence of a native substrate, enabling creative adaptation of Western styles.<sup>39</sup>

The positions articulated in the dispute over the origins of wooden architecture had a complex genesis – the idea of a 'Ukrainian style' or Zabelin's concepts appeared before Strzygowski had focused on this type of art. It is significant, however, that Birnbaum, responding to the criticism of the pan-Slavist Florian Zapletal, a populariser of Carpathian Orthodox churches, accused him of links with the 'pro-Eastern' part of the Viennese school, evidently having Strzygowski in mind,<sup>40</sup> although Zapletal, who was in Russia during the Great War,

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<sup>36</sup> DANYLO ŠČERBAKIVS'KYJ, 'Ukraïns'ki derev'jani cerkvy. Korotkyj ogljad rozrobky pytannja', *Zbirnyk sekciï mystectv Ukraïns'kovo naukovoogo tovaristva*, 1, 1921, (80–102) 85–100; FEDOR ŠMIT, *Iskusstvo – evo psihologija, evo stilistika, evo evoljucija*, Char'kov: Sojuz, 1919, 220–221.

<sup>37</sup> VACLÁV MENCL, *Dřevěné kostelní stavby v zemích českých*, Praha: Jan Štenc, 1927, 107.

<sup>38</sup> 'Das Ursprünglich-schöpferische fehlt ihr' (WLADIMIR ZALOZIECKY, *Gothische und barocke Holzkirchen in den Karpathenländern*, Wien: Krystall-Verlag, 1926, 9).

<sup>39</sup> DMYTRO ANTONOVYČ, *Ukraïns'ke mystetstvo. Konspektyvnyj istoryčnyj narys*, Praga–Berlin: Nova Ukraïna, 1923, 108–125. Antonovyč assumes there was a vivid interplay of wooden and monumental architecture. He emphasises the former's role primarily in creatively adapting Baroque patterns.

<sup>40</sup> FILIPOVÁ, 'The Construction of a National Identity', 265. For the dispute between Zapletal and Birnbaum, see IVO HLOBIL, 'Polemika Floriana Zapletala s Vojtěchem Birnbaumem o směřování českých dějin umění po vzniku Československé republiky' in *Florian Zapletal: život a dílo*, 151–155.

befriended the art historian of Ruthenian origin Igor Grabar,<sup>41</sup> who echoed Zabelin's views in his synthesis of Russian art.<sup>42</sup> For the Prague scholar, Vienna was the Rome to which all roads of art history led. Even today, in analyses of Strzygowski's concepts, the idea that he may have drawn significant inspiration from the achievements of Russian scholarship is rarely admitted.

The attitude of many art historians in the countries that emerged from the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy toward the concept of autonomous Slavic art, ennobled by its affiliation with the mythologised North, indicates the diversity of strategies for constructing imagined pasts. Although the Viennese metropolis squandered its political capital with the empire's fall, it maintained intellectual control over the periphery through a different type of social capital. This capital resulted from the influence of Wickhoff's, Riegl's, or Dvořák's views and the sense that the scholars they had shaped belonged to a common school. They often played the role of intermediaries, representing the centre's values – related to the idea of universal development – to the periphery and the values of the periphery – related to their autonomous participation in this evolution – to the centre. In this exchange, wooden architecture was not an attractive currency. Strzygowski, who challenged the centre, failed to gather 'barbarian' allies in his timber anti-Rome. The peripheral rebels sought in wooden buildings their national identity, not the 'Atlantis' that the Viennese professor found in the churches of his *Heimat*.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> MIKULAŠ MUŠINKA, 'Florian Zapletal – český badatel sakrální architektury Zakarpatí' in *Zapletal, Florian, Dřevěné kostelíky Zakarpatí*. Užhorod: Vydavnyctvo Oleksandry Harkuši, 2015, (12–19) 12.

<sup>42</sup> IGOR GRABAR, *Istorija russkogo iskusstva*, vol. 1, *Do-petrovskaja epocha*, Moskva: Knebel, 1909, 331–334.

<sup>43</sup> JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Holzkirchen in der Umgebung von Bielitz-Biala*, Posen: Verlag der Historischen Gesellschaft für Posen, 1927.