Historical Thinking Culture and Education

Volume 3, Number 1
DOI 10.12685/htce.1602

Decolonizing art history in Austria

Postcolonial perspectives on exoticism and the representation of the "Other"

Julia Allerstorfer-Hertel*

University of Salzburg, Salzburg

Abstract

The numerous images of cultural difference in art history have formed part of the legitimization process of colonial ideologies. They play an important role within current debates on researching, teaching, and learning against the backdrop of colonialism. In the wake of decolonial endeavors within German-speaking academia, it is of interest to take a closer look at the discipline in Austria. Referring to Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff and her thesis of the "colonial unconscious" in German art history, this paper transfers the discussion to the Austrian context. Particular attention is paid to the concept of exoticism and its manifestations in the visual arts. Using case studies from the late 19th century, this paper examines the various ways non-European people were represented at the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The entanglements of artistic practices with European colonialism emphasize the necessity of postcolonial re-readings of images in Austria's historical culture and art history.

Keywords

Art history, Austria, exoticism, decolonization, postcolonial studies

1 Colonial entanglements and legacies in art history: The postcolonial turn and the demand for decolonization

The manifold entanglements of art history and visual culture with colonial discourses have been an increasingly important topic of research for the discipline of art history since the 1980s at the latest. To the present day, the discipline and its canon formation are linked to Eurocentric classification methods, evaluation systems, as well as modes of representation (Karentzos, 2012, p. 249). In their introduction to the anthology *The Routledge companion to decolonizing art history*, the editors Flores, San Martín, and Black get to the heart of these problematic interconnections:

> Art history as a discipline and its corollary institutions—the museum, the art market—are not only products of colonial legacies, but active agents in the consolidation of empire, the construction of the West, the naturalization of Eurocentrism, and the reproduction of white supremacy, all the while giving the false impression that their authority is somehow neutral. (Flores et al., 2024, p. 8)

* **Contact:** Julia Allerstorfer-Hertel ✉ julia.allerstorfer-hertel@plus.ac.at
University of Salzburg, Department of art history, Salzburg, Austria

This seeming neutrality and objectivity of white hegemony is one of the major focuses of postcolonial art history. Some of the key questions are how cultural differences and hierarchies have been (re)produced and negotiated, and how colonial fantasies and ideologies become apparent in art works and in art historiography. As Susanne Leeb (2012, p. 13) has pointed out, the entanglement in global histories through trade, discovery, colonial, and imperial histories, as well as through the economic processes of globalization and migration suggests that the postcolonial condition entails changing the discipline's criteria, narratives, and concepts of value. She concludes that one of the main challenges is to overcome methodological Eurocentrism and Occidentalism. In short, postcolonial interventions in the field of art history begin with a reflection on and revision of foundations, principles, and histories. This involves, for example, a critical examination of the construction of metanarratives of national identity and the forms of devaluation and marginalization of the other cultures. In the same way, these interventions must address the exclusions within the art historical canon, the dominant figure of the white, male artist, as well as the ethnic and gender coding of artists outside the Euro-American sphere or artists in migration (Karentzos, 2012, pp. 253–254). Postcolonial art history, as Christian Kravagna puts it, is on the one hand concerned with the revaluation of previously marginalized art by non-European and Black artists and on the other with the analysis of the canon of Western modernism in relation to the manifestation of colonialist, racist, and exoticist ideas in the works of European art (Kravagna, 2016, p. 78). Other important subjects of investigation include the analysis of the appropriation of non-European motifs and art over the centuries, the deconstruction of the claim to authenticity and originality of Western modernism, the development of alternative perspectives and counter-narratives to the colonial/imperial discourse, the investigation of transnational artistic contacts and collaborations at the time of modernity (Kravagna, 2017 and 2022), and transcultural exchange and transfer processes in the sense of entanglements as entangled art histories (Weiß & Wiegert, 2022).

Having mentioned the problematic involvements of art history with the colonial project, one would expect that in 2025, postcolonial perspectives on the art and visual culture of the past and present rank among the analytical and methodological foundations of art history. After all, the postcolonial turn (Bachmann-Medick, 2006, pp. 184–237) and the critical revisions of colonial history, decolonization, and neocolonialism had already begun to take place in the field of literary studies as early as the 1980s. As a result, postcolonial theories were adapted by other academic disciplines at different times and to varying degrees and, in the best case, made fruitful for the respective subject-specific foundations and discourses (Reuter & Karentzos, 2012, pp. 189–364). The origins of postcolonial art history go back to anticolonial artistic practices in the early 20th century. In 1977, just one year before Edward W. Said published his groundbreaking study *Orientalism* (Said, 1978), the Indian art historian Partha Mitter released his book entitled *Much maligned monsters*, in which he traced European reactions to Indian art and raised the topic of exoticism and cultural representation (Mitter, 1977). Inspired by writings of anticolonial thinkers such as Frantz Fanon, or by seminal publications of postcolonial theorists like Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, or Gayatri Spivak, several other scholars contributed considerably to the further development of the postcolonial critique within the discipline (e.g., Araeen et al., 2002; Mercer, 1994; Nochlin, 1989, pp. 33–59). While in the international context postcolonial themes and problems were being critically addressed by artists, art critics, or even in exhibitions of contemporary art, institutionalized art history was relatively late in taking up these issues. As recently as 2021, the authors Kelly and Özpınar noted the belated impact of postcolonial theories: "Over 30 years since the rise of postcolonial art history, we are only now starting to witness the slow-paced integration of these ideas into undergraduate survey teaching in the history of art" (Kelly & Özpınar, 2021).

This remark is interesting in so far as Kelly and Özpınar, who are working at Irish and British universities, criticize the anglophone academic context of the study of art history. Against the backdrop of Great Britain's colonial history and the fact that postcolonial studies initially spread mainly through English-language publications, one would assume that this research focus would have found its way into the curricula of English-speaking universities slightly earlier. This thus highlights the difficulty in implementing this transdisciplinary and methodologically heterogeneous research area in the various fields of study. This problem is also mentioned by Reuter and Karentzos (2012, pp. 9–10) in relation to the German-speaking world.

Despite these belated and rather slow receptions at universities, the desire to decolonize art history is omnipresent at recent conferences or in current publications. According to the authors Flores et al. (2024, p. 5), the initial demand for a decolonial turn was made during a conference at the University of California by the organizer Nelson Maldonado-Torres, who argued that this

concept is “a way of articulating the massive theoretical and epistemological breakthroughs in the works of Third World” (Maldonado-Torres, 2011, p. 5) theorists. Subsequently, and in a global context, the call for decolonization has been reflected in many areas of critical practices of art and art history. One striking example of this is the publication Decolonizing art history by Grant and Price (2020), in which the authors interviewed various people involved in the field of art on the question of decolonization, thus providing a multi-perspective view of this central and red-hot topic.

2 The colonial unconscious in the discipline of art history in Austria

This brings us to the question of what the situation looks like in academic art history in the German-speaking world. In an article published in 2002 entitled Kunst und kulturelle Differenz oder: Warum hat die kritische Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland den postcolonial turn ausgelassen? [Art and cultural difference or: Why has critical art history in Germany skipped the postcolonial turn?], Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff (2002, pp. 7–16) criticized German art history’s conspicuous ignorance of postcolonial theories. According to her, this lack of interest refers to an unconscious, national everyday knowledge based on the conviction that the problems of postcolonialism would not affect Germany because there was no great colonial history in comparison to other European powers and that the examination and reappraisal of National Socialism is task enough (Schmidt-Linsenhoff. 2002, p. 10). Therefore, she introduced the term “colonial unconscious” to describe the discipline’s rigid defensive stance against postcolonial theories and stated that the postcolonial turn happened more in exhibitions of contemporary art in the 1990s and less in institutionally established art history (Schmidt-Linsenhoff, 2005, pp. 19–44). This criticism is in line with subsequent observations in other sciences. In 2005, the political scientists Castro Varela and Dhawan (2005, p. 8) also noted a delay in the reception of postcolonial theories in German-speaking countries. Ten years later, the authors still pointed out that the decolonization of universities and academic discourses is a major challenge because of a noticeable resistance to the institutionalization of postcolonial criticism (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015, p. 9). In 2012, Karentzos and Reuter also stated that in recent years, few efforts have been made to address the potential of postcolonial perspectives along and across disciplinary boundaries (Karentzos & Reuter, 2012, p. 9).

The state of a colonial amnesia and a certain unease towards postcolonial studies not only applies to the German academic world, to which Schmidt-Linsenhoff explicitly referred in her article, but also to that of Austria. With the line of argument that in contrast to the former colonial powers Austria had not claimed any territorial possessions overseas and therefore had no colonial history, the thesis of a colonial “unencumberedness” was put forward after 1945 (Sauer, 2017, p. 420). Walter Sauer, who examined the role of Austria-Hungary in the context of European overseas expansion, notes that the Habsburg Empire is hardly mentioned in the literature on colonialism in the 19th and 20th centuries:

> The silence regarding Austria in academic debate corresponds with the attitude in national—academic as well as popular—discourse. Far from entering into analysis of whether or not imperialist or colonialist tendencies are to be found in the country’s history, and if so, why, the discussion is largely based on the assumption that Austria was not a colonial power, and hence the consequences of its overseas activities need not be examined. Sometimes this alleged abstention from colonial intervention is constructed as an important element of present day political identity (Sauer, 2012, p. 5–6).

By mentioning several individuals, for example, missionaries, medical doctors, colonial officers, travelers, explorers or scientists, Sauer reveals the Austrian or Austro-Hungarian involvement in imperialism and overseas expansion (Sauer, 2012, pp. 7–12). Nevertheless, and in comparison to other European great powers, the Habsburg monarchy was unable to claim any major and permanent territorial possessions overseas. For this reason, the term colonial power is somehow controversial for Austria. In view of the history of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, there were several colonial activities, albeit not successful in the long term. Nevertheless, Austria-Hungary pursued imperial interests in a global context: In economic terms, the monarchy benefited above all from the East India Trading Companies founded in 1722 and 1775 and was involved in

several land seizures, smaller projects, and military interventions alongside colonial powers (Sauer, 2017, pp. 418–420; Sauer, 2007, pp. 17–78). In addition, numerous expeditions and voyages of exploration were undertaken with colonial intentions (Basch-Ritter, 2008; Klemun & Mattes, 2022, pp. 197–273; Mückler, 2012;). In 1894, the Austro-Hungarian Colonial Society was founded, whose colonial propaganda and pro-colonial activities are documented by the publication of its own colonial newspaper (Loidl, 2017). In the same way, Austria-Hungary actively pursued intra-continental colonization measures (Bachinger, Dornik & Lehnstaedt, 2020; Feichtinger, 2003, pp. 13–31; Ruthner & Scheer, 2018), which is why the politics of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are regarded as "a certain form of European 'inner colonialism'" (Bobinac, 2015, p. 240). According to Walter Sauer, the relationship between the Habsburg Empire and colonialism was assessed very differently in the 20th century: While in the 1930s and early 1940s the Austro-Hungarian colonial activity was considered as an important precursor of German imperialism, both political and academic discourse, even after 1945, supported the aforementioned thesis of a colonial innocence. This insistence on Austria's colonial innocence was intended on the one hand to distance the country from National Socialism and on the other hand to reinforce the position of the neutral republic towards the colonies that had become independent. It was only after the turn of the millennium that a de-ideologized investigation of Austria-Hungary's and Austria's colonial history began (Sauer, 2017, p. 420). More recent research is now refuting the long-held conviction that Austria was unencumbered by colonial history, pointing to Austria's multiple cultural, political, economic, and ideological entanglements with colonial history. One early example of the research on the (post-)colonial debate on the Austro-Hungarian monarchy within the field of literary and cultural studies was the working group Habsburg revisited, which was founded in 2001 (kakanien revisited) and has published several anthologies, the latest one in 2024 (Bobinac, Müller-Funk & Ruthner).

Although Austria's seeming colonial innocence has meanwhile been disproved by historical, cultural, literary, and sociological studies, there still seems to be a lack of (historical) awareness of colonial and postcolonial issues in various areas. As argued elsewhere (Allerstorfer, 2024, pp. 67–85), this attitude can in turn be traced back to the "unconscious, national everyday knowledge" criticized by Schmidt-Linsenhoff, which appears to be even more pronounced in Austria than in Germany due to the absence of colonies on other continents: Since Austria does not belong to the classic colonial powers, there could be no major contact with (post-)colonialism. However, Austria, or rather the Austrian Empire and later the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, were also involved in European colonialism in a variety of ways, and the multiple entanglements with colonial history have left clear traces in its visual culture, museum collections, and urban space. Some striking examples thereof are colonial and neo-colonial product advertisements and company logos, such as the historical signet of the coffee merchant Julius Meinl, several art works and artefacts in the collection of the Weltmuseum in Vienna, or street names. Also, science, and specifically disciplines such as medicine, geography, linguistics, archeology, or anthropology, have significantly contributed to the legitimization of European colonialism. The development of race theories in anthropology, ethnology, sociology, or biology in the 19th century had a major influence on other sciences (MacMaster, 2001). Anti-Semitic and racial ideologies were also widespread in Austria, successfully popularizing ethnic alterity constructions based on pseudoscientific criteria such as physiognomic specifics or skin colors (Fuchs, 2003, pp. 137–151 and pp. 176–185).

In the field of art and art history, colonial ideologies are evident in works of art and the use of Eurocentric and racializing terms and concepts in historiography and canon formation in various periods over the last two centuries. As in Germany, postcolonial studies reached Austria relatively late. While disciplines such as history, cultural studies, literature, political, and social science extensively examined the imperial ambitions of Austria-Hungary from the turn of the last century onwards, drawing on postcolonial studies (Feichtinger, Prutsch, & Csáky, 2003; kakanien revisited, 2001; Müller-Funk & Wagner, 2005; Ruthner, 2018), art history showed comparatively little interest in the critical research on postcolonialism. For instance, there are not many surveys on the colonial entanglements of Austria-Hungary and later Austria in the field of art history. In the 1990s, there were only a few professionals such as artists, curators, and art historians who explicitly addressed postcolonial issues in their exhibitions or art criticism (Weibel & Žižek, 1997). Among the limited number of art-historical studies focused on (post-)colonial issues are several articles and curatorial projects by Christian Kravagna (2008 and 2010) or, in the field of art historiography, history of science, museum collections, and architecture by Matthew Rampley (2013 and 2020), Pia Schölnberger (2021), and Michael Falser (2022). In 2006, the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna placed important educational and political emphasis on postcolonialism by

establishing Austria's first professorship for postcolonial studies at the Institute for Art Theory and Cultural Studies, which has been held by Kravagna since this date. Even if the situation is currently changing due to the engagement of individual researchers or various universities and non-university initiatives, there are a lot of blind spots, especially regarding the past. These are related to the aforementioned colonial amnesia and a certain kind of repression, in which postcolonial studies are either regarded as irrelevant or incompatible with the German-speaking world or degraded as anachronistic and as an outdated relict from the 1980s. Within traditional art history, this kind of unease is understandable, as the usual approach entails adhering to national art historiography as well as the associated identity constructions and established discourses, plus the fact that postcolonial rereading and interventions would shake and deconstruct several convictions and foundations.

What this means is that there is a range of art-historical topics that require differentiated postcolonial analysis. The central issues here include the exoticism and primitivism inherent in many important movements in art history in the 19th and 20th centuries that have been discussed to little or no extent in the light of postcolonial criticism. While there have been isolated studies and exhibition catalogues on Orientalism (Morton, 2019, pp. 291–310) or Japonism (Benesch, 2018; Panzer, 1990), the forms of appropriation of cultural foreign elements in avant-garde movements, such as Expressionism or Cubism, have not yet been examined in the context of critical debates on primitivism in modern art. The colonial discourses interwoven with modern art movements were also largely ignored in post-war artistic movements until the turn of the millennium. Some specific examples of research topics include the 1873 Vienna World's Fair as an epochal major project, which not only inspired trade relations and the founding of museums, but also different varieties of exoticism (Kos & Gleis, 2014). While topics such as the West's fascination with the Orient and its architecture have already been addressed (Niemand, 2019), more detailed studies on the visual construction of cultural differences and stereotypes in recording works of other media origins would be of further interest. The situation is similar regarding the Austrian version of Orientalism and Orientalist tendencies in 19th and 20th century art. Although several research papers and academic projects already exist in this heterogeneous field (Hartmuth, 2024; Hartmuth & Jäger-Klein, 2023; Morton, 2019, pp. 291–310; Morton, 2021, pp. 107–147), there are also topics in need of research such as a critical analysis of the modes of representation of the "Orient" and "Orientals" in the different art movements, which have hitherto received little attention. A further subject is an examination of the visual discourses related to the human zoos or anthropological displays that took place in the Viennese Prater between 1870 and 1910 (Schwarz, 2001). Some examples of these are several gouaches by the German-Austrian artist Wilhelm Gause (1853–1916), which he created on the occasion of the anthropological exhibition of an "Ashanti village" in 1897, or the lost and retrieved portrait of William Nii Nortey Dowuona from a royal family in Ghana (Allerstorfer, forthcoming in 2026). The image archives and collections of non-European art of missionary orders are a particularly interesting research area, but at the same time still a niche topic in Austria. Around 2,000 historical glass slides have been found in the mission house Maria Sorg in Salzburg, which the order's founder Maria Theresia Ledóchowska (1863–1922) used in her slide shows in the early 20th century to raise funds for the Catholic mission in Africa. In addition to cultural-historical and ethnographic images, the collection includes numerous photographs of African mission stations. These photographs are important sources for analyzing the complex relationship between colonial rule and missionary work, as well as the perception of Africa in Europe in the first decades of the 20th century (Allerstorfer, 2024, pp. 118–137). Another topic within postcolonial Austrian art history would be the aforementioned entanglements of several movements of modernist art with primitivism. Whereas a focus on the art of archaic and non-European cultures as well as folk art is considered a decisive feature of the Fauves, *Die Brücke*, or *Der Blaue Reiter*, Austrian avant-garde movements such as Expressionism are rarely discussed within the context of primitivism. An analysis of the different forms of appropriation and strategies for utilization of culturally "foreign" and "own" elements in the context of the respective life stories, personal motives, as well as socio-political and colonial cultural discourses could provide new insights into the complex correlations of exoticism, primitivism, and coloniality (Allerstorfer, 2023, pp. 24–39). The list of research topics could be expanded to include the neo-primitivist and exoticist tendencies in post-war art or various exhibitions up to the present day.

3 Exoticism revisited: Representations of the foreign and Other. Case studies from the late 19th century

The third part of this paper will discuss the concept of exoticism and its manifestations in the visual arts. Case studies from the late 19th century will be used to examine several versions of the representation of non-European people at the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy from a postcolonial perspective. Exoticism describes different attitudes towards foreign cultures. Nicola Gess (2017, p. 145) argues that as with primitivism, exoticism is characterized by an ambivalent fascination with the (non-European) foreign people, objects, or places, fluctuating between positive and negative stereotyping and between self-criticism and racism, and can be located in colonial or post-colonial contexts. As an ambivalent term, it combines contradictory views that encompass objective attention, fascination, ethnographic interest, escapism, and criticism of civilization, as well as negative stereotyping, racism, and sexism (von Beyme, 2008, p. 7; Olbrich, 2004, p. 403). Due to its close interconnection with colonial history and its ideological program, it is a Eurocentric perspective that is often accepted relatively uncritically. In art history, the term functions as a kind of hypernym for different movements in Western art history, such as Chinoiseries, Orientalism, or Japonism, where foreign cultural elements have been absorbed and adapted to the European taste (Hackenschmidt, 2011, p. 359; Rincón, 2001, p. 338). Within the context of colonialism, and especially during the heyday of imperialism in the 19th century, exoticism "increasingly gained, throughout the empire, the connotations of a stimulating or exciting difference, something with which the domestic could be (safely) spiced" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 87). The "exotic" objects imported from abroad included not only minerals, plants, and artefacts, but also animals and people of other cultures, who had been brought back as "souvenirs" or displayed in private or public zoos as part of anthropological exhibitions. Since Austria-Hungary's visual culture is interwoven with European colonialism in many respects, exoticism also emerges in different facets and versions in the art of the 19th and 20th century. The following section focuses on the representation of non-European persons as supposed "Orientals" or Black people who were often depicted as the foreign "Others" in paintings or sculptures in a racializing way. Based on strategies of othering, some of the characteristics of these works of art are the production and reproduction of cultural stereotypes, the clear distinction between the European identity and the non-European alterity, and thus the further establishment of constructions of otherness and the consolidation of hierarchies. In this context, important postcolonial concepts such as othering or stereotyping are discussed, which are particularly relevant for the visual arts. The aforementioned 1873 Vienna World's Fair was an important project with universalist tendencies, which promoted exoticism. The desire to showcase foreign civilizations through characteristic buildings, interiors, and human representatives went hand in hand with the construction of cultural stereotypes and differences. This can be seen very clearly in an illustration of the different types of men at the World's Fair by the artist Franz Kollarz, in which a Black male figure, next to the words Amerik. Bar, is depicted on the left with an exaggerated physiognomy and in the traditionally submissive role of a waiter in a serving position (fig. 1). There are also representatives of China, Japan and Russia, as well as several depictions of men of Islamic cultures, dressed in wide robes and with turbans on their heads. Despite the dynamic nature of the picture due to the large number of figures and although the individual illustrations are labeled as Arab, Moroccan, Palestinian, Egyptian (Khedive), or Turkish, most of the images are very similar and thus interchangeable.

Figure 1: Franz Kollarz (Kolář) (Illustrator) *Vienna World's Fair.* Types of men from the World's Fair (newspaper clip with illustration)

Similar stereotypes can also be found in the "Austrian" version of Orientalism in 19th century art. A preferred travel destination for artists at this time was North Africa, and Egypt in particular (Grabner, 2010, p. 138). In terms of visual representations of Black or "Oriental" people, depictions of Nubians or Arabs are of particular interest here. Several portraits and figure studies can be found in the oeuvre of Leopold Carl Müller (1834–1892), an important Austrian painter of Orientalism, whose works created in Egypt are often regarded as objective and realistic in a pan-European comparison (Grabner, 2010, p. 149; Oehring, 2012, p. 38). One example that maybe deviates from this general opinion is the figure of a veiled Arab woman carrying a vessel on her head, which is a common motif of traditional Western imaginations of the exotic and mystic Orient (fig. 2). She has almost completely turned her back to the viewer, and her profile and body are concealed by the veil and the long dress. By turning away and covering her face and body, the female figure doubly dispossesses herself, which makes her appear even more "mysterious". Although several of Müller's pictures convey a certain authenticity due to his skills of observation and specific attention to detail, the subject represented must also be seen as an object of study and thus within the context of ethnography, racial discourses, and Orientalism in Vienna during the Habsburg monarchy (Morton, 2021, pp. 107–147). For these reasons, it can be argued that this painting is more of an aestheticizing product based on the artist's subjective views on the supposed Orient and its representatives.

Figure 2: Leopold Carl Müller (Artist) Figure study of an Arab woman carrying a vessel

In view of the relatively small number of images of Black people in Austria's art history, it is important to keep some historical facts in mind. During the Scramble for Africa, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, unlike other European powers, was unable to claim any colonies. Probably for this reason, migration movements from Africa, and thus the African population in Austria, in the 19th century were relatively small, which is why direct encounters between Africans and Austrians were not a regular part of the everyday social situation of the majority of Austrian people (Sulzbacher, 2007, p. 124). With regard to the 19th century, the main roles for members of the African diaspora were limited to domestic services for aristocratic or upper middle classes, who regarded them as "living souvenirs" resulting from scientific expeditions or as "products" of the Catholic mission, or exploitation in the entertainment industry in the circus or anthropological expositions (Sulzbacher, 2007, pp. 99–128). Despite the small African diaspora and the few direct contacts, racialized ideas and anti-African stereotypes became established, which is why Sander Gilman's concept of "blackness without blacks" (Gilman, 1982) is also relevant to Austria. If one takes a critical look at the visual representations of people from sub-Saharan Africa or African motifs in Austrian art history, there are a number of conventions that were based less on reality and more on clichés in the age of colonialism and imperialism, despite the increasing intercontinental traffic and travelling (Sauer, 2011, pp. 105–131).

In the visual realm, these processes of devaluation of Africa and Africans became manifest in depictions of the stereotypical "Moor", the heathen in need of help, the noble savage, or the de-individualized and racialized figure of the "Negro" (Sauer, 2011, p. 131). Sauer's observations

regarding Austrian art correspond to the discourses on Africa in the colonial cultural contexts in Europe. In the foreword to the comprehensive anthology The image of the Black in Western art, Bindman and Gates (2012, p. xv) note that the numerous images of Black people before and after the 18th century only very rarely referred to real humans. The racial theories and racisms of the 19th century contributed significantly to the stereotyping of the appearance and behavior of Black people:

"The effects of this dichotomy between 'civilized' and 'savage' can be seen in art in a concern with the distinctiveness of black physiognomy and a growing emphasis on the 'primitive' nature of Africans, expressed often in a prurient concern with black sexuality, even in the avant-garde art of the early twentieth century [...]" (Bindman & Gates, 2012, p. xix).

Striking examples of a common racist topos of the Black African man and woman are two ceramic sculptures produced by the Friedrich Goldscheider manufactory of Vienna in the last decade of the 19th century, which are in the collection of Wien Museum (fig. 3–4). Both sculptures are listed in the catalogue raisonné under the numbers 895 and 767, but there are no detailed descriptions of the art works (Dechant, 2007, p. 305 and p. 300). Following the "Oriental fashion" of this period, the globally successful company started to create stereotypical figures of non-European persons, especially from North Africa, in the 1880s. With a focus on Arabs and Black people, these ceramic figures of men, women, and children convey Eurocentric, exoticized, racist, and sexualized perceptions and projections. Most of the pieces of Goldscheider's extensive group of North Africans were created by anonymous sculptors. Due to their popularity, these sculptures remained in the company's product range until around 1905 (Orosz & Stuiber, 2023; Wien Museum online collection, accession no. 219114). Eva-Maria Orosz remarks that the fact that these figures had a permanent decorative presence in the living rooms of Europeans reinforced the discriminating discourses against people of color (Orosz & Stuiber, 2023). There is also a short passage on this problematic group of works in Goldscheider's comprehensive catalogue raisonné. Filipp Goldscheider describes the fascination with the foreign and the popularity of these figures in Central Europe against the backdrop of the relatively late onset of colonization policies in this region. The exotic served as a symbol of the "wild" and "primitive" as well as a platform for a liberated and unconstrained life: "Enlightened Europe, with all the modesty and prudery propagated in the 19th century, found in part an outlet for erotic fantasizing in representing what was exotically uncivilized and naked" (Goldscheider, 2007, p. 34).

Figure 3: Stereotype depiction of an Arab man as a servant

Figure 4: Stereotype depiciton of a young African woman with bare breasts and neck jewelry

The first example of this group of works I would like to discuss is the half-figure of a young Black man with a bare torso carrying a large shell that resembles a tray, dated around 1897 (fig. 3). His head is tilted slightly to the left, and his gaze seems focused on his surroundings, while his muscular physique conveys strength. In the online collection of Wien Museum, this ceramic is entitled Stereotype Darstellung eines Arabers als Diener [Stereotypical depiction of an Arab as a servant]. The original designation Mohr mit Muschel [Moor with shell] goes back to Goldscheider's product catalogue from 1901 and reflects the discriminatory language used at the time to describe people with a dark skin color (Wien Museum online collection, accession no. 219114). One of the problematic aspects of this figure is the obvious reference to the clichéd role model of the Black servant or tribute-bearer. The motif of the Black servant, which vividly reflects colonial ideologies of cultural and racial superiority, can be found in many works of Euro-American art history. This topos can also be found in colonial product advertisements, such as in the prominent brand logo of the Austrian grocer and coffee trader Julius Meinl, which shows a Black boy with a fez on his head. Just like the servant role, the erotic connotation rendered by the figure's nudity and his well-trained and muscular upper body is also characteristic of the colonial zeitgeist. In the course of further research, it will be interesting to see whether this ceramic can be linked to the anthropological exhibition Große ethnographische Ausstellung: Die afrikanische Goldküste (Major ethnographic exhibition: The African Gold Coast) that took place in Vienna's Prater in 1897, with 120 persons from Ghana. If this is true, the attribution as "Arab" should be revised.

Another sculpture by the Goldscheider manufactory in the collection of Wien Museum is the ceramic entitled Stereotype Darstellung einer jungen Afrikanerin mit entblößten Brüsten und Halsschmuck [Stereotypical depiction of a young African woman with bare breasts and neck jewelry] (Wien Museum online collection, accession no. 219131) (fig. 4). In many respects, the sculpture resembles the Arab as a servant (fig. 3), such as their formal design and stylistic execution, which is why the proposed date of 1893 could be questioned. In the catalogue raisonné, the ceramic is attributed to the Belgian artist Auguste Maurice Lévèque (Dechant, 2007, p. 300), although this reference cannot be investigated further here. The young woman's naked torso is playfully covered by a drapery, with both arms only being hinted at under the fabric. One of the striking details is the bare right breast, which is a classic and widespread iconographic motif not only in Western art but was also adapted for numerous eroticizing depictions of "foreign" women in Orientalist paintings. In this sense, Goldscheider's sculpture can be regarded as a projection

surface for exotic fantasies and unfulfilled sexual desires, created for the male, white voyeur. It is interesting that the half-figure of the young Black woman, unlike the Arab as a servant (fig. 3), is referred to as an African. As with the previously discussed ceramic, an examination of the neck ornament is still missing here as well. Perhaps the three medallions and the symbolic content of the signs will reveal something about the identity about her identity and the affiliation to a specific ethnic group.

Finally, I would like to briefly analyze the case studies in the context of some central concepts of postcolonial theory. The term "othering," coined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1985, pp. 128–151), describes the processes of demarcation by which the identity of the other, or the colonized subject, is produced in colonial discourse in contrast to that of the self, or rather the colonizing subject, although the difference from the other is always fundamental to the construction of the self. In terms of stereotyping, othering involves attributing negative characteristics to other or foreign people or groups. The postcolonial examination of stereotypes can be traced back to the seminal essay by Homi K. Bhabha in his book The location of culture, published in 1994 (Bhabha, 2008, pp. 94–120). Stereotyping denotes a typecasting of subjects with overdetermined and asymmetrical differentiation schemes that entail valorization and devaluation. In visual discourses, physical characteristics, in particular, have been instrumentalized for the representation of ethnic difference (Reckwitz, 2008, pp. 100–103). In discussing the case studies from the 19th century, it turned out that colonial ideologies and exoticist tendencies became manifest in a considerable number of art works created in Austria-Hungary. These are just a few examples that demonstrate the far-reaching influence of colonialism on Austrian art in the 19th century. With regard to exoticism, primitivism, and forms of cultural appropriation in modern avant-garde art movements, this influence persisted well into the 20th century.

Franz Kollarz's illustration of male foreigners during the 1873 Vienna World's Fair shows how people from different countries of origin were typified and simultaneously subjected to processes of othering (fig. 1). The painting of the veiled and mystified Arabian woman by Leopold Carl Müller (fig. 2) reproduces Orientalist clichés and stereotypes by staging and over-accentuating the symbolism of the Islamic veil, thereby de-individualizing the depicted woman and assigning her the role of the "Oriental other". Othering and stereotyping as colonial practices in the visual sphere can also be found in the two ceramic sculptures by the Viennese Goldscheider manufactory (fig. 3–4). The representations of the Black man and woman as tilting figures demonstrate the ambivalence within the encounters and engagement with non-European people by assigning different attributes to those depicted: The beauty and apparent immaculacy of their bodies, the nudity, physical stimuli, and the roles as the Black servant or the exposed and seemingly available Black woman form part of the processes of colonial stereotyping.

The aim of this paper was to draw attention to some topics in need of research based on a discussion of case studies from Austrian art history in the 19th century. At the same time, it is about the urgent need for critical analyses from a postcolonial perspective that have hitherto been lacking in this field. In this regard, a differentiated examination of exoticized representations of the supposedly foreign, and artistic views that have received little attention to date are an important step towards developing a postcolonial art history in Austria. This is particularly important in light of the current debate on a decolonial teaching of art history at universities in Austria. Finally, I would like to briefly address the educational aspects related to a decolonial teaching of art history at universities in Austria. Some of the essential foundations for implementing this are the commitment to postcolonial perspectives of the respective departments, a heterogenous and culturally diverse teaching staff with specific skills, and the restructuring of traditional curricula to install global, decolonial, and postcolonial perspectives. After several art history departments in Vienna, Linz, Salzburg, Graz, and Innsbruck decided to follow this path at different times, students now have the opportunity to attend courses in the field of non-European, postcolonial, and transcultural art history (Leisch-Kiesl & Allerstorfer, 2017, pp. 47–62). Nevertheless, the entanglements of Austrian art history with colonialism are rarely discussed. In the course of my work as an assistant professor at the Katholische Privat-Universität Linz, I have sought to raise awareness of this neglected topic in seminars and lectures. By providing historical context, examining colonial discourses and their impact on art, culture, and science, as well as analyzing case studies from art history, these courses have promoted critical thinking, diverse perspectives, and alternative approaches that focus on the colonial unconscious in our past and present culture. The quest to decolonize Austrian art history involves revealing blind spots, reframing and decentering Eurocentric art historical narratives and canon formation, and promoting transnational contacts and exchanges.

To cite this article

Allerstorfer-Hertel J. (2026) Decolonizing art history in Austria: Postcolonial perspectives on exoticism and the representation of the "Other". *Historical Thinking, Culture, and Education, 3*(1), 64–79. https://doi.org/10.12685/htce.1602

Peer review

This article has been peer reviewed through the journal's standard double-blind peer review, where both the reviewers and authors are anonymized during review.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Ethical statement

Ethical approval for this study was waived by the Ethics Committee of the University of Salzburg because it fulfilled criteria for exempt research.

ORCID iD

Julia Allerstorfer-Hertel https://orcid.org/0009-0000-0655-7780

Figures

Figure 1: Kollarz (Kolář), F. (1873). *Wiener Weltausstellung. Männertypen aus der Weltausstellung* [Vienna World's Fair. Types of men from the World's Fair] [Newspaper illustration]. Wien Museum, Vienna, Austria. https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/350159/

Figure 2: Müller, L. C. (ca. 1880). *Figurenstudie einer gefäßtragenden Araberin* [Figure study of an Arab woman carrying a vessel] [Drawing]. Wien Museum, Vienna, Austria. https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/200671/

Figure 3: Wiener Manufaktur Friedrich Goldscheider. (ca. 1897). *Stereotype Darstellung eines Arabers als Diener* [Stereotype depiction of an Arab man as a servant] [Sculpture]. Wien Museum, Vienna, Austria. https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/8051/

Figure 4: Wiener Manufaktur Friedrich Goldscheider. (ca. 1893). *Stereotype Darstellung einer jungen Afrikanerin mit entblößten Brüsten und Halsschmuck* [Stereotype depiction of a young African woman with bare breasts and neck jewelry] [Bust]. Wien Museum, Vienna, Austria. https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/8118/

References

Allerstorfer, J. (2023). Primitivismus und österreichischer Expressionismus. *Expressionismus, 17*, 24–39.

Allerstorfer, J. (2024). Österreich post/kolonial? Oder: Wie geht Österreich mit seinem kolonialen Erbe um?: Von aktuellen Restitutionsdebatten bis zu einer kolonialkritischen Betrachtung der Kunstgeschichte. In B. Kleine-Benne (Ed.), *Eine Kunstgeschichte ist keine Kunstgeschichte. Kunstwissenschaftliche Perspektivierungen in Text und Bild* (pp. 67–85). Logos.

Allerstorfer, J. (2024). Maria Theresia Ledóchowskas "Missions-Serie für die Jugend": Fotografien zwischen Afrika und Europa im Kontext von Missionierung und Kolonialismus. In S. Veits-Falk, & J. Hofinger (Eds.), *Maria Theresa Ledóchowska. Salzburg und Afrika im Leben der Ordensgründerin* (pp. 118–137). Verlag Anton Pustet.

Allerstorfer, J. (2026, forthcoming). Gustav Klimts Bildnis des William Nii Nortey Dowuona: Bilddiskurse rund um die anthropologische Schaustellung "Die afrikanische Goldküste" zwischen Exotismus, Kolonialrassismus und einer "Ästhetik der Differenz". In D. Bitouh, N. Nenno & C. Ruthner (Eds.), *Die afrikanische Diaspora in Österreichs Literatur und Kultur. A Black Austrian Studies Reader.* Peter Lang.

Araeen, R., Cubitt, S., & Sardar, Z. (Eds.). (2002). *The third text reader on art, culture and theory.* Continuum.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (Eds.). (2007). *Post-colonial studies: The key concepts.* Routledge.

Bachinger, B., Dornik, W., & S. Lehnstaedt (Eds.). (2020). *Österreich-Ungarns imperiale Herausforderungen: Nationalismen und Rivalitäten im Habsburgerreich um 1900.* V&R unipress.

Bachmann-Medick, D. (2006). *Cultural Turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften.* Rowohlt.

Basch-Ritter, R. (2008). *Die Weltumsegelung der Novara 1857–1859: Österreich auf allen Meeren.* Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.

Benesch, E. (Ed.). (2018). *Faszination Japan. Monet, Van Gogh, Klimt.* Kehrer.

Bhabha, H. K. (2008). The Other question: Stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism. In H. K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (pp. 94–120). Routledge.

Bindman, D., & Gates, H. L., Jr. (2012). Preface to The Image of the Black in Western Art. in D. Bindman & H. L. Gates, Jr. (Eds.), *The image of the Black in Western art. IV. From the American Revolution to World War I. Part 2: Black models and White myths* (pp. vii–xix). Belknap Press of Harvard UP.

Bobinac, M., Müller-Funk, W., & Ruthner, C. (Eds.). (2024). *Kakanien revisited–Rückblick und Ausblick: 2000–2024.* Narr Francke Attempto.

Bobinac, M. (2015). The Habsburg Legacy from a Postcolonial and Postimperial Perspective. *Umjetnost Riječi, 59*(3–4), 239–260. https://hrcak.srce.hr/en/161829

Castro Varela, M., & Dhawan, N. (2005). *Postkoloniale Theorie: Eine kritische Einführung.* transcript.

Castro Varela, M., & Dhawan, N. (2015). *Postkoloniale Theorie: Eine kritische Einführung.* 2nd and revised edition. transcript.

Dechant, R. E. (2007). Viennese manufactory Friedrich Goldscheider. In R. E. Dechant, & F. Goldscheider (Eds.), *Goldscheider: History of the company and catalogue of works. Historicism, art nouveau, Art Déco, the fifties* (pp. 228–516). Arnoldsche Art Publ.

Falser, M. (2022). *Habsburgs going global: The Austro-Hungarian concession in Tientsin/Tianjin in China (1901–1917).* With an introduction by Lehner, G. Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.

Feichtinger, J. (2003). Habsburg (post)-colonial. Anmerkungen zur Inneren Kolonisierung in Zentraleuropa. In J. Feichtinger, U. Prutsch, & M. Csáky (Eds.), *Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis* (pp. 13–31). StudienVerlag.

Feichtinger, J., Ursula Prutsch, U., & Csáky, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis.* StudienVerlag.

Flores, T., San Martín, F., & Black, C. V. (2024). Introduction. In T. Flores, F. San Martín, & C. V. Black (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to decolonizing art history* (pp. 3–46). Routledge.

Fuchs, B. (2003). *"Rasse", "Volk", Geschlecht: Anthropologische Diskurse in Österreich 1850–1960.* Campus.

Gess, N. (2017). Exotismus/Primitivismus. In D. Göttsche, A. Dunker, & G. Dürbeck, Gabriele (Eds.), *Handbuch Postkolonialismus und Literatur* (pp. 145–149). J.B. Metzler.

Gilman, S. (1982). *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the image of the Black in Germany.* G. K. Hall.
Goldscheider, F. (2007). Friedrich Goldscheider and the creation of an international manufactory in the period of historicism in Vienna (1878–1897). In R. E. Dechant, & F. Goldscheider (Eds.), *Goldscheider: History of the company and catalogue of works. Historicism, art nouveau, Art Déco, the fifties* (pp. 22–45). Arnoldsche Art.
Grabner, S. (2010). Vom exotischen Motiv zur Orientmode. Die Rezeption des Fremden in der österreichischen Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts. In W. Sauer (Ed.), *Vom Paradies zum Krisenkontinent. Afrika, Österreich und Europa in der Neuzeit* (pp. 132–155). Braumüller.
Grant, C., & Price, D. (2020). Decolonizing art history. *Art History 43*(1), 4–230. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8365.12490
Hackenschmidt, S. (2011). Primitivismus. In U. Pfisterer (Ed.), *Metzler Lexikon der Kunstwissenschaft. Ideen, Methoden, Begriffe* (pp. 357–360). J. B. Metzler.
Hartmuth, M., & Jäger-Klein, C. (2023). *Eine Kreisstadt zwischen Welten: Orientalisierende Architektur der Habsburgerzeit (1878–1918) in Travnik und Mittelbosnien.* Leykam Universitätsverlag.
Hartmuth, M. (2024). *The Kaiser's mosques: Islamic architecture and Orientalizing style in Habsburg Bosnia: 1878–1918.* Peter Lang.
Kakanien Revisited. (since 2001). https://www.kakanien-revisited.at
Karentzos, A. (2012). Postkoloniale Kunstgeschichte. Revisionen von Musealisierungen, Kanonisierungen, Repräsentationen. In: J. Reuter & A. Karentzos (Eds.), *Schlüsselwerke der Postcolonial Studies* (pp. 249–266). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
Kelly, M., & Özpınar, C. (2021, June 10). How can art history be decolonised? *The British Academy.* https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/blog/how-can-art-history-be-decolonised/
Klemun, M., & Mattes, J. (2022). Expeditionen und Forschungsreisen (1847–1918). Die kaiserliche Akademie als Förderer und Veranstalter. In J. Feichtinger, & B. Mazohl (Eds.), *Die Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1847–2022. Eine neue Akademiegeschichte* (pp. 197–273). Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Kos, W., & Gleis, R. (Eds.). (2014). *Experiment Metropole. 1873: Wien und die Weltausstellung.* Czernin.
Kravagna, C. (2008). Exotische Fantasien in der österreichischen Malerei der Nachkriegszeit / Exotic fantasies in post-war Austrian painting. In H. Saxenhuber (Ed.), *Kunst + Politik. Aus der Sammlung der Stadt Wien / Art + Politics: From the Collection of the City of Vienna* (pp. 202–218). Springer.
Kravagna, C. (2010). Adolf Loos and the colonial imaginary. In T. Avermaete, S. Karakayali, & M. von Osten (Eds.), *Colonial modern: Aesthetics of the past–Rebellions for the future* (pp. 245–261). Black Dog.
Kravagna, C. (2016). Postcolonial studies. In E. Gaugele, & J. Kastner (Eds.), *Critical Studies. Kultur- und Sozialtheorie im Kunstfeld* (pp. 65–83). Springer VS.
Kravagna, C. (2017). *Transmoderne: Eine Kunstgeschichte des Kontakts.* b_books.
Kravagna, C. (2022). *Transmodern: An art history of contact: 1920–60.* Manchester University Press.
Leeb, S. (2012). Weltkunstgeschichte und Universalismusbegriffe: 1900/2010. *Kritische Berichte 40*(2), 13–25. https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/kb/article/view/40176/33842
Leisch-Kiesl, M., & Allerstorfer, J. (2017). Kunstwissenschaft perspektivisch / Universitäre Forschungslandschaft Österreich. In M. Leisch-Kiesl, & J. Allerstorfer (Eds.), *"Global Art History". Transkulturelle Verortungen von Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft* (pp. 47–62). transcript.
Loidl, S. (2017). *"Europa ist zu enge geworden". Kolonialpropaganda in Österreich-Ungarn 1885 bis 1918.* Promedia.
MacMaster, N. (2001). *Racism in Europe, 1870–2000.* Palgrave.
Maldonado-Torres, N. (2011). Thinking through the decolonial turn: Post-continental interventions in theory, philosophy, and critique—An introduction. *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World 1*(2), 1–15. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/59w8j02x
Mercer, K. (1994). *Welcome to the jungle: New positions in Black cultural studies.* Routledge.
Mitter, P. (1977). *Much maligned monsters: history of European reactions to Indian art.* Clarendon Press.
Morton, M. (2019). Rudolf von Eitelberger and Leopold Carl Müller. Constructing a genre of Viennese Orientalism. In E. Kernbauer et al. (Eds.). *Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg. Netzwerker der Kunstwelt* (pp. 291–310). Böhlau.

Morton, M. (2021). Leopold Carl Müller's scenes from Egyptian life. Ethnography, race, and Orientalism in Habsburg Vienna. In M. Morton, & B. Larson (Eds.), *Constructing race on the borders of Europe. Ethnography, anthropology, and visual culture, 1850–1930* (pp. 107–147). Bloomsbury Visual Arts.
Mückler, H. (Ed). (2012). *Österreicher in der Südsee. Forscher, Reisende, Auswanderer.* LIT.
Müller-Funk, W., & Wagner, B. (Eds.). (2005). *Eigene und andere Fremde. "Postkoloniale" Konflikte im europäischen Kontext.* Turia + Kant.
Niemand, F. (2019). *"Orientalische" Architektur und fotografische Dokumentation der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873.* [Master Thesis, University of Vienna].
Nochlin, L. (1989). The Imaginary Orient. In L. Nochlin, *The politics of vision. Essays on nineteenth-century art and society* (pp. 33–59). Routledge.
Oehring, E. (2012). Der Orient als Bildmotiv. Leopold Carl Müller und die österreichische Orientmalerei nach 1870. In A. Husslein-Arco, & S. Grabner (Eds.), *Orient & Okzident. Österreichische Maler des 19. Jahrhunderts auf Reisen* (pp. 29–49). Hirmer.
Olbrich, H. (Ed.). (2004). Lexikon der Kunst. Bd. II: Cin–Gree. (pp. 403–404). E. A. Seemann.
Panzer, P. (Ed.). (1990). *Verborgene Impressionen. Japonismus in Wien, 1870–1930.* Ed. Seitenberg.
Orosz, E.-M., & Stuiber, P. (2023, January 9). Keramik der Marke Goldscheider: Modisches, Schönes, Problematisches. *Wien Museum Magazin.* https://magazin.wienmuseum.at/keramik-der-marke-goldscheider
Rampley, M. (2013). *The Vienna school of art history: Empire and the politics of scholarship, 1847–1918.* Pennsylvania Univ. Press.
Rampley, M., Prokopovych, M., & and Veszprémi, N. (Eds.). (2020). *The museum age in Austria-Hungary: Art and empire in the long nineteenth century.* Pennsylvania Univ. Press.
Reuter, J., & Karentzos, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Schlüsselwerke der Postcolonial Studies.* VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
Reuter, J., & Karentzos, A. (2012). Einleitung. In J. Reuter & A. Karentzos (Eds.), *Schlüsselwerke der Postcolonial Studies* (pp. 9–13). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
Reckwitz, A. (2008). *Subjekt.* transcript.
Rincón, C. (2001). Exotisch/Exotismus. In K. Barck (Ed.), *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe.* Bd. 2 (pp. 338–366). Metzler.
Ruthner, C. (2018). *Habsburgs "Dark Continent": Postkoloniale Lektüren der österreichischen Literatur und Kultur im langen 19. Jahrhundert.* Kultur–Herrschaft–Differenz, Bd. 23. Narr Francke Attempto.
Ruthner, C., & Scheer, T. (Eds.). (2018). *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn 1878–1918. Annäherungen an eine Kolonie.* Narr Francke Attempto.
Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.
Sauer, W. (2007). Schwarz-Gelb in Afrika. Habsburgermonarchie und koloniale Frage. In W. Sauer (Ed.), *k.u.k. kolonial. Habsburgermonarchie und europäische Herrschaft in Afrika* (pp. 17–78). Böhlau.
Sauer, W. (2010). Afrikaklischees in der österreichischen Kunst im Zeitalter des Imperialismus. In W. Sauer (Ed.), *Vom Paradies zum Krisenkontinent. Afrika, Österreich und Europa in der Neuzeit* (pp. 105–131). Braumüller.
Sauer, W. (2012). Habsburg colonial: Austria-Hungary's role in European overseas expansion. *Austrian Studies, 20,* 5–23. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5699/austrianstudies.20.2012.0005
Sauer, W. (2017). Österreich. In D. Göttsche, A. Dunker, & G. Dürbeck (Eds.), *Handbuch Postkolonialismus und Literatur* (pp. 418–420). J. B. Metzler.
Schmidt-Linsenhoff, V. (2005). Das kolonial Unbewusste in der Kunstgeschichte. In I. Below, & B. von Bismarck (Eds.), *Globalisierung/Hierarchisierung. Kulturelle Dominanzen in Kunst und Kunstgeschichte* (pp. 19–44). Jonas.
Schmidt-Linsenhoff, V. (2002). Kunst und kulturelle Differenz oder: Warum hat die kritische Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland den postcolonial turn ausgelassen? *Kunst und Politik, Jahrbuch der Guernica-Gesellschaft, 4,* 7–16.
Schölnberger, P. (Ed.). (2021). *Das Museum im kolonialen Kontext: Annäherungen aus Österreich.* Czernin.
Schwarz, W.M. (2001). *Anthropologische Spektakel. Zur Schaustellung "exotischer" Menschen, Wien 1870–1910.* Turia + Kant.
Spivak, G. C. (1985). The Rani of Sirmur: An essay in reading the archives. In F. Barker (Ed.), *Europe and Its Others* (pp. 128–151). Univ. of Essex.

Sulzbacher, C. (2007). Beten––dienen––unterhalten. Zur Funktionalisierung von Afrikanern und Afrikanerinnen im 19. Jahrhundert in Österreich. In W. Sauer (Ed.), *Von Soliman zu Omofuma. Afrikanische Diaspora in Österreich 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert* (pp. 99–128). StudienVerlag.

von Beyme, K. (2008). D*ie Faszination des Exotischen: Exotismus, Rassismus und Sexismus in der Kunst*. Wilhelm Fink.

Weibel, P., & Žižek, S. (Eds.). (1997). *Inklusion: Exklusion. Versuch einer neuen Kartografie der Kunst im Zeitalter von Postkolonialismus und globaler Migration.* Passagen.

Weiß, M., & Wiegert, E. (2022). Entangled Art Histories. Objekte–Narrative–Diskurse. *Universität Salzburg.* https://www.biblhertz.it/3293582/ringvorlesung-entangled-art-histories-objekte-narrative-diskurse

Wien Museum online collection. Stereotype Darstellung eines Arabers als Diener. *Accession no. 219114.* https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/en/object/8051-stereotype-darstellung-eines-arabers-als-diener/

Wien Museum online collection. Stereotype Darstellung einer jungen Afrikanerin mit entblößten Brüsten und Halsschmuck. *Accession no. 219131.* https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/8118-bueste-stereotype-darstellung-einer-jungen-afrikanerin-mit-entbloessten-bruesten-und-halsschmuck/