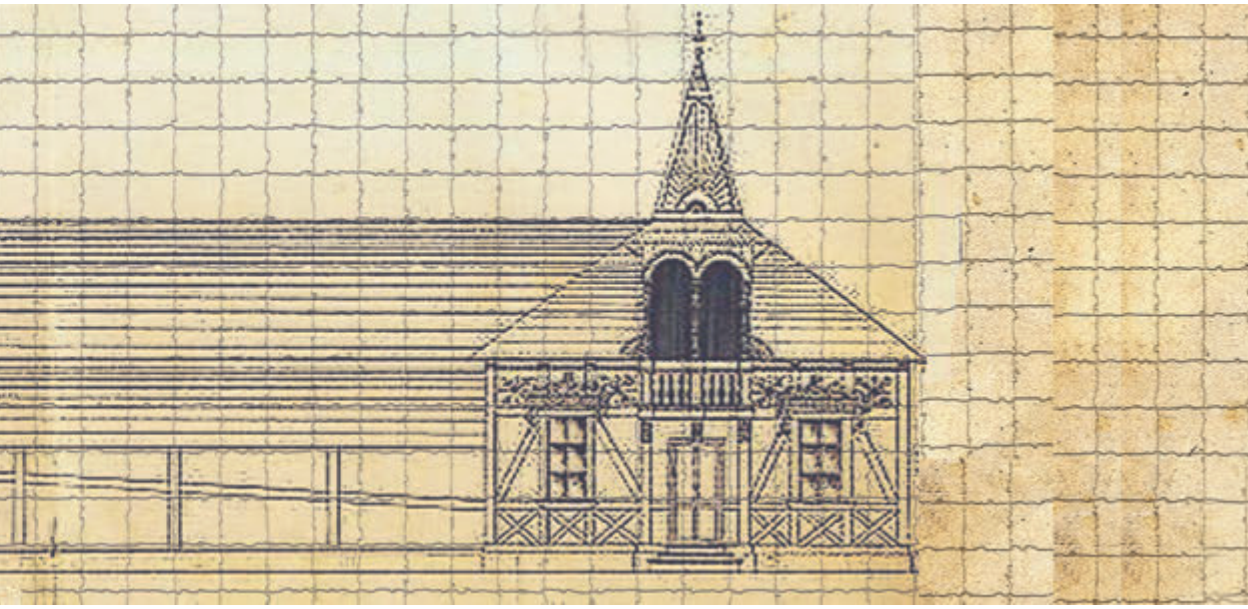
ARCHITECTS AND THEIR SOCIETIES

Cultural Study on the Habsburg-Slavic Area (1861–1938)



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WYDAWNICTWA UNIWERSYTETU WARSZAWSKIEGO
WUW

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Cover design
Zbigniew Karaszewski

Illustration on the cover
Cover illustration based on the sketch of Blažej Bulla: Návrh na kolkáreň v Martine. Literary Archive of the Slovak National Library, sign. LM 4025

Layout and typesetting
Dariusz Górski

Published with financial support of the Faculty of Polish Studies, University of Warsaw

The editors wish to acknowledge Dr Felix Ackermann for his review of the first version of this book.

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ISBN 978-83-235-4983-3 (print)
ISBN 978-83-235-4999-4 (e-pub)
ISBN 978-83-235-4991-8 (pdf online)
ISBN 978-83-235-5000-6 (mobi)

Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego
00-838 Warsaw, 69 Prosta St.
e-mail: wuw@uw.edu.pl
Online bookstore: www.wuw.pl

1st Edition, Warsaw 2021

Print and binding POZKAL

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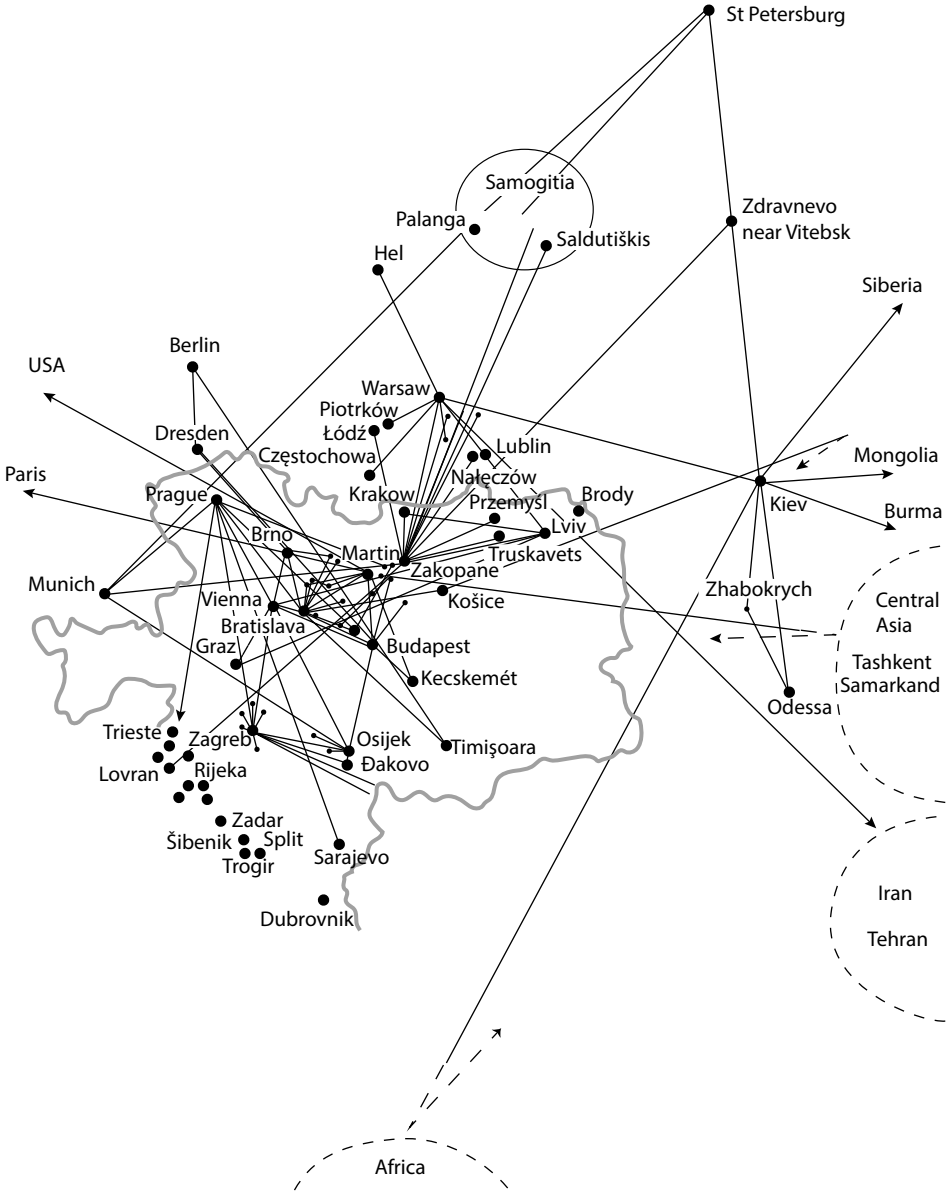
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Seismographs of culture. Prolegomena

Architecture combines the ability to design with the art of building, fusing imagination with practical knowledge conditioned by experience. As Walter Benjamin notes, it is probably the most enduring and never-ending form of art; it permeates the life of every person and teaches them to perceive in a state of distraction. Trained by the experience of architecture, involuntary perceptions turn out to be crucial at turning points in history and also protect cultural values from being pushed into the background.[1] In architecture, the public sphere is manifested in a unique way; it is understood as what is common and what is visible, revealed to its users. In this sense, it can be said that architecture is a social art in which, above all, is reflected what is supraindividual, resulting from the need to put the world in order and to organize it. Architecture is a denial of chaos and randomness.

Our research interest in architects stems from the conviction that their social role and cultural significance far exceed the material traces of their professional activity. By executing public and private commissions, architects have been shaping the material and symbolic world in which social and political life takes place since the dawn of time. They are endowed with a valuable competence that stems from their profession and is also of far-reaching social importance, especially in periods of rapid and profound change. The visualization of their ideas and concepts must be accompanied by concern for the possibility of maintaining the structure in its planned form and in usable condition. This "technical sense", pragmatism understood in a specific way, compelling one to take into account the technical and material possibilities of implementing the project, as well as the user's habitus, makes watchful guardians of form even of visionaries and fantasts, often bravely seeking new and better solutions but

[1] See Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in: idem, *Illuminations*, translated by Harry Zohn, edited by Hannah Arendt (New York, 1968), 239–240.

observing and respecting current practices of construction and urban planning. We think that when looking at architects, their biographies, i.e. their origin, educational paths, professional contacts, as well as the entire professional environment, one can better recognize the causes and course of profound social, political or even civilizational changes. At the same time, this approach reveals the actual directions of the impact of impulses and pattern-forming tendencies, which lead to the appearance of specific buildings in specific locations and affect their form.[2] Above all, however, we are attracted to the idea that it were architects who found ways to create a space that would respond to changing ideas and expectations, both individual and collective, by tangibly contributing to the creation of social space. They have always been a kind of seismographs.

Comparing architects to a seismographic device is anchored in the postmodern imaginarium[3] and has been introduced into the architectural discourse by Hans Hollein through the theme of the main exhibition he prepared for the 6th Architecture Biennale in Venice, entitled *Sensing the Future. The Architect as Seismograph*.[4] Such a comparison seems to us not only inspiring but also pertinent to the description of the role they played in the last few decades of the Habsburg Empire. The eminent Austrian architect, who in 1996 drew the public's attention to the exceptional sensitivity of contemporary architects to all socio-cultural movements, emphasized their ability to "sense" the future. In Hollein's point of view, we can see the fascination with microscopic sociological observation, which Georg Simmel practised under the banner of the

[2] Although Wade Graham is concerned with architects whose vision shaped cities in the 20th century on a global scale, he also believes that it is important to note that individual urban visions and objects involve specific people and real socio-cultural contexts. Individual architectural ideas arose from the need to respond to specific civilizational problems. See Wade Graham, *Dream Cities. Seven Urban Ideas that Shape the World* (New York, 2016), in particular Introduction.

[3] The reflection on the modern and postmodern shape of the world was accompanied by a profound change in the language of the description of human experiences and cultural phenomena. It manifests itself, among other things, in the use of terms present so far mainly in the natural and exact sciences. Geological inspirations, including the metaphor of seismic shock, occupy an important place in the deliberations and philosophical imagination of Michel Foucault, and it was his name that became strongly associated with the spatial turn that took place in the humanities (although the very concept of "spatial turn" was coined by American geographer Edward Soja). Of the works in which the metaphor of seismic shock appears in relation to the Central European area and is part of a complex semiotic junction, we would like to draw attention to Jacques Derrida's article *L'autre cap. Mémoires, réponses et responsabilités*, first published in 1990 in *Liber. Revue européenne des livres*, a newspaper published simultaneously in four languages and distributed as a supplement to other European newspapers. The density of the narratives (philosophical or artistic) using this metaphor in the 1990s is not accidental but seems to be closely linked to the reflection prompted by historical events leading to profound political and cultural changes in Europe. See Jacques Derrida, *L'autre cap* (Paris, 1991), 11–102.

[4] See http://hollein.com/index.php/eng/Exhibitions/Sensing-the-Future (accessed on 4.11.2019).

sociology of the senses.[5] We also see in it a symptom of a deeper change in the awareness of how architecture affects the individual and society as a whole – in the same year as Hollein's exhibition, 1996, an essay by Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa *The Eyes of the Skin. Architecture and the Senses*[6] was published. The sensitivity allowing to record delicate movements, announcing significant changes in the Earth's crust (here: culture), in the profession of an architect is connected with the ability to adapt the designed buildings to these "movements". In fact, it means the possibility of influencing social reality. And both in the way of its design, understood here as an attempt to embody a certain ideal, and in the spirit of the strategy of thwarting, *preemption*, action to prevent possible, though not yet crystallized threats through the skilful management of affects.[7] Combining conceptual and sensual imagination with the need to express humanistic values in the technical language of the designed structures, which characterizes the professional practice of architects, predestines this professional group to play a special social role, although usually invisible at first glance, and therefore not always appreciated.

While buildings, individual architectural projects or unique designs (because sometimes architectural plans mean more than their implementation) fall within the scope of national or cultural heritage, often becoming icons of culture or sites of memory, their designers are much less frequently, actually only in very exceptional cases, present in the collective memory, becoming thus recognizable figures of cultural imagery.[8] The truth of this claim is revealed especially in relation to the more distant past, before the 20th-century "visual turn" drew the attention of the public also to artists using the medium of the broadly understood image, although even today, few architects function as cultural icons. That is also why the purpose of this book is to bring to light the biographies of architects as a key that opens the door to a fuller understanding of their sociocultural position during the profound changes experienced by the modernizing Habsburg Monarchy and the active role they played in this change. Architects from different regions of the monarchy practised their profession within an

[5] Georg Simmel, 'Soziologie der Sinne', in: idem, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1901–1908*, vol. 2, edited by Alessandro Cavalli, Volkhard Krech (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 276–292.

[6] In this work, now considered canonical, Pallasmaa overturns the monopoly of the sense of sight in the reception of an architectural work and draws attention to the activity of all the senses in experiencing architecture. Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin. Architecture and the Senses* (London, 2007).

[7] Cf. Brian Massumi, *Ontopower. War, Powers, and the State of Perception* (Durham–London, 2015).

[8] See Géraldine Molina, 'Starchitects: Walking the Line between Individuality and Conformity', translated by Oliver Waine, *Metropolitics*, 19 February 2015. Available online: http://www.metropolitiques.eu/Starchitects-walking-the-line.html (accessed on 5.10.2019).

imperial state, the administrative apparatus and legal system of which had to be constantly adapted to the dynamic and extremely diverse socio-cultural reality. It was made up of many ethne, denominations, languages and even geophysical factors (always influencing the living conditions of specific communities). We believe that their biographies are – in themselves – an important carrier of meanings and knowledge about the conditions of everyday life and the mentality of people living at that time. What is more, non-transparent and non-obvious meanings have not always been revealed by the research conducted so far, which has focused either on tracking national threads, colonization and assimilation strategies, or on aesthetic issues.[9]

Therefore, the most important question we pose in this book, around which all further questions and problematic themes are organized, is: Who were the people who, as architects, created the cultural landscape of cities and villages in the Habsburg Monarchy? This question is linked to the criterion of the Slavic character, which is necessary to analyse how deeply the architects' professional careers and the reception of their legacy were entangled in the complex reality of a multinational state; this complexity is also manifested by the different identification strategies that could be adopted.[10] Multiethnicity became apparent especially in the urban space of the state ruled by the Habsburgs. Groups with a differently shaped and often changeable sense of identity co-existed but also competed with each other. In the Habsburg Monarchy, cities, especially the larger ones, were mostly places where Slavic character mixed with the non-Slavic one, ceasing to be the decisive distinguishing category. The observation point located in the architects' activities confirms that the urbanization of Central and Eastern Europe proceeded at different rates. Contemporary researchers write about "emerging cities"[11] in this region as a specific process to which Western European measures should not be applied. Rapidly growing centres of countries and provinces, such as Budapest, Lviv or Zagreb, in the second half of the 19th century were exceptions in a space where small cities with a local radius of impact were typical, such as Pressburg (today Bratislava), Osijek or Brno. The modernization climate of those times, reinforced by the political ambitions of groups that had hitherto been deprived of their own urban cultural and political centre, in which new institutions representing the interests of those groups

[9] Cf. Alicja Rokuszewska-Pawełek, 'Miejsce biografii w socjologii interpretatywnej. Program socjologii biografistycznej Fritza Schutzego', *Ask: Research and Methods*, 1 (3) (1996), 37–52.

[10] Cf. Ivan Halász, 'Súťaž identít a koncepcií politických spoločenstiev v dlhom 19. storočí', in: idem, *Uhorsko a podoby slovenskej identity v dlhom 19. storočí* (Bratislava, 2011), 13–38.

[11] Eszter Gantner, Heidi Hein-Kircher, Oliver Hochadel, 'Backward and Peripheral? Emerging Cities in Eastern Europe', *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung/Journal of East Central European Studies*, 4 (67) (2018), 475–484.

could be located, favoured, in turn, the accelerated urbanization of the smallest urban centres, such as, for example, Turčiansky Svätý Martin. On the other hand, large centres attracted the diverse population of the provinces and became the main place of concentrated and diverse symbolic investments, including architectural and urban projects with high semiotic potential.[12]

Using the Slavic character as an observational filter was initially treated as a tool to create a specific configuration of cases that would visualize some "biographical models" thanks to their parallel juxtaposition (i.e. a tool providing planes for this comparison). However, this approach has one more justification. After the disintegration of the monarchy, space was quickly nationalized and inscribed almost entirely into monocentric narratives – Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Romanian, German or Hungarian. From today's perspective, it is harder to see complex processes and difficult decisions of particular people (also concerning their national self-identification or identification with a supranational community) that stood behind the implementation of both individual buildings and entire space development projects. In cities such as Prague, Brno, Bratislava, Martin, Zagreb and Novi Sad, there are obvious traces of architectural fashions which arrived from Vienna and Budapest but also Rome and Paris, for example. The role of such centres as Vienna and Munich in the training of architects and builders operating in the Slavic area was undeniable. Architects often changed their place of activity, thus building networks of relations throughout the Habsburg state, which were based on intellectual and professional affinity, with much less attention being paid to national affiliations. Architects also often crossed the borders of Austria-Hungary in search of inspiration, heading for the West but also for imperial Russia, where they gained experience of working on large urbanization and architectural projects related, for example, to the development of railway infrastructure. In addition, at that time, they usually belonged to the upper class of the new bourgeoisie, which set the tone of social and political life on the local level. Attempts are usually made to ascribe these representatives of the new elite, especially those who stand out thanks to their original or symbolic works of architecture accumulating symbolic meanings, to a particular national group, sometimes with the intention of ideological appropriation of their legacy. However, they are rarely model representatives of the so-called national elites.[13]

[12] Cf. Markian Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Public Space, and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772–1914* (West Lafayette, 2009).

[13] Pieter Judson has emphasized that the experience of empire and nationalism was not mutually exclusive but created the interrelated political, cultural and social reality of the Habsburg Monarchy. The conviction about the primitive and exclusive nature of national affiliation was a certain project which, thanks to the convergence of many factors, was successful

The category of the Slavic character introduces another important perspective. Namely, the Slavic peoples in the Habsburg Empire were in a subordinated position (though to a various degree), and after 1861, their representatives began to fight for equal influence on political, economic and cultural processes.[14] It is true that the position of Slavic ethnic communities in different crown lands was not the same: Poles in Galicia were the dominant class within the framework of Galician autonomy; Croats could act within the framework of limited autonomy under the agreement with Hungary of 1868; while Slovaks fought for the right to have basic institutions of national life and political subjectivity in the situation when Hungarians dominated in the political sphere. However, architects were often in an ambivalent and, from today's perspective, unclear social position. On the one hand, they belonged to an elite, often engaging in cultural and political activities of the ethnic group with which they identified or supporting the regional community. On the other hand, due to the specificity of their education and professional practice, they were part of complex networks spanning the whole monarchy, most often undergoing professional and intellectual formation in centres such as Vienna, Prague or Munich. Thus, their personal development occurred in an area where nationality was not the most important factor in categorization.

All of this means that the inquiry about architects is an important question about the cultural processes that took place in parallel with the formation of contemporary national cultures in Central Europe. In our observational perspective, we also ask about the possibility of the existence of an alternative order in the face of explicit ethno-national divisions. Buildings or other architectural designs adapted to the specific geophysical and social space, although dependent on economic or cultural influences, are always primarily of a local character. This elementary fact helps to keep vigilant against appropriating trends in ethno- or state-centric narratives. By choosing this subject, we want to emphasize our interest in microhistorical processes and socio-cultural experiences, their stratification and synchronous temporality, manifested as an overlap of heterogeneous interactions at a certain point in the space-time continuum.[15] When observing the attitudes and choices of architects (as social actors) and recognizing

in the public space, while the conviction about the existence of a deep borderline between national cultures was nurtured by nationalist-oriented elites. Cf. Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA, 2016), in particular Chapter 5: 'Culture Wars and Wars for Culture'.

[14] See, among others, Nancy M. Wingfield (ed.), *Creating the Other. Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, Austrian History, Culture, and Society, vol. 5 (New York–Oxford, 2003); Tibor Pichler, 'Národ, národnosti, štát. O politike etnického entuziazmu', *Historický časopis*, 4 (54) (2006), 569–590.

[15] Cf. Reinhart Koselleck, *Zeitschichten. Studien zur Historik* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000).

their work environment (revealing the backstage of the public sphere), we are interested in the perspective of the microscale, looking from below, which often requires a research strategy that involves tracking individual cases.[16] However, we try to present individual biographies of architects operating mainly in the Slavic Habsburg area in a wider frame, which involves introducing "non-Slavic" mirrors or "Slavic" counterpoints. The application of such a research perspective leads us, among other things, to the category of imperial biography and the creation of the concept of local density.

The idea of looking at the architects operating within the cultural framework of the Habsburg Empire, embedded in this book, stems from our previous research. It has its roots in the research on Slavic peripheral narratives, conducted by the Research Group on the Slavic Cultures in the Habsburg Monarchy, which has operated since 2011 at the Institute of Western and Southern Slavic Studies of the University of Warsaw. We studied the issue of peripheral attitudes towards both national narratives, created after 1861 by the Slovak, Czech and Croatian elites, and the imperial project imposed by Vienna and Budapest. Faithful to the microlevel approach, we looked at figures, spaces and social phenomena that do not fit into the stereotypical view of national historiography. We were particularly interested in phenomena that crossed the borders of national communities and cultures, borders that are obvious from today's perspective, and at the same time did not lose their concrete, spatial dimension.[17] This led us to the figures of architects whose activities, in our opinion, fit the above premises in a model way. Moreover, such studies, enriched with a cultural context, are not often conducted in relation to architects and urban planners of the Habsburg Slavic region.

The studies that make up this monograph, with the exception of the last text symbolically extending the observational perspective to include an example of the fate of an architect within another empire, the Russian one, were arranged to expose the timeline. Its conventional beginning and end points, 1861 and 1938 respectively, may seem surprising, but in our opinion, this is the best period for observing the social role of architects and reconstructing the conditions created for their work as a result of the Habsburg Empire's modernization

[16] Its master for us is invariably Carlo Ginzburg. See idem, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, translated by John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, 2013). For microhistory and scientific convergence issues, see Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory. Two or Three Things that I Know about It', in: idem, *Threads and Traces. True False Fictive*, translated by Anne C. and John Tedeschi (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 2012), 193–214.

[17] The results of the project have been presented in two monographs: Anna Kobylińska, Maciej Falski, Marcin Filipowicz, *Obcy czy obywatele? Słowianie a przemiany konstytucyjne w monarchii habsburskiej w latach 1860–1861* (Kraków, 2015); Anna Kobylińska, Maciej Falski, Marcin Filipowicz, *Peryferyjność. Habsbursko-słowiańska historia nieoczywista* (Kraków, 2016).

paths.[18] Naturally, it is impossible to propose a precise chronological key for a book designed as a case study collage. Nevertheless, through the structure of this volume, we attempted to place the issues raised in individual texts on the timeline in order to expose the new ideological challenges that the architects faced over time, as well as the sense of responsibility for the quality of the public space they co-created, which grew within the architects' community itself and manifested, for example, by means of a professional press. The book also includes maps, which are its integral part. They show the area of activity of the architects we describe, focusing on the extent of their network of contacts, professional mobility and points of biographical attachments. We sum up this information by opening the book with a map-palimpsest. In its essence, it is apolitical, although it documents parallel shifts that are also observed in the political sphere. The map thus created is an attempt to capture phenomena in a different research framework than the one presented so far; it aims not so much to verify the conclusions emerging from different observation planes but to "refresh" and broaden the scientific perspective. It can be read in the spirit of the geo-architectonic-climatic cloud theory, laid out by the Slovakian architect Imrich Vaško.[19] Basically, however, this map visualizes the "densities of space" that we believe occurred in the last half-century of the Habsburg Empire when new local centres began to grow in the shadow of two rival centres of Austria-Hungary, Vienna and Budapest,[20] and accumulated symbolic power also thanks to the work of architects.

The last text on Władysław Horodecki has a special status in the book and serves as a kind of counterpoint to the figures and microhistories anchored within the Habsburg Monarchy. In this way, we want to draw attention to the category of imperial biography that emerged as a useful description tool when comparing the cases of the architects we had studied. It facilitates the description of a certain model of functioning of professional elites in complex political and social structures, such as the Russian Empire or Austria-Hungary. In such

[18] In our opinion, the scope of differences in the historical development of individual regions of Central and Eastern Europe, a large part of which for many centuries was under the authority of the Habsburgs (including the differences that condition the course of modernization processes), is well depicted in the book edited by Maciej Janowski: *Drogi odrębne, drogi wspólne. Problem specyfiki rozwoju historycznego Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w XIX–XX wieku* (Warszawa, 2014). Many of the studies contained in it, although not directly related to our field of observation, endorsed our scientific findings and confirmed our belief in the validity of researching the work of architects.

[19] Imrich Vaško, 'Paralelné posuny. Teória geo-architektonicko-klimatického oblaku SK', *Architektúra & Urbanizmus*, 1–2 (2010), 2–21.

[20] See Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop. Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, 1998).

structures, participation in professional life, as well as in political and cultural life, breaks out of expectations created by ideas focused on the nation, which accept the national state as a kind of natural framework for social practices. The category of imperial biography combines different levels of functioning: local, national and state. Important elements of such a biography are the mobility and networking within the empire, treated not as a foreign space but an extension of one's homeland. Moreover, a feature of the habitus of the imperial elites is multilingualism, understood not only as the knowledge of several languages used in different parts of the state but also as the ability to recognize the cultural code of different communities. An important issue related to imperial experience is, therefore, a kind of cultural intimacy, in the sense ascribed to this concept by Michael Herzfeld.[21] Studying the formation of relationships in which cultural intimacy is also visible on an imperial scale, however, requires looking at the experience of locality, the existence of man-to-place ties, the location of man, in the sense given to it by Aleksandra Kunce.[22]

The protagonists of the texts included in this monograph could feel at home in various local centres because thanks to the imperial formation, the experience of mobility and the assimilation of professional habitus, they were able to join the network of local relations. These centres, in turn, had different "forces of attraction" influenced by visible or predictable factors, such as communication accessibility, the presence of natural resources, the quality of cultivated land, ethnic and religious configuration, distance from urban agglomerations or the presence of "old" elites. The strength and dynamics of local systems were also determined to a large extent by circumstances and random series of intertwining events. For example, an earthquake or appearance of a person with an extraordinary charisma in some place disturbed the local *status quo* and initiated processes which could lead to the rapid transformation of the locality itself, understood here as a spatial experience and identification category, which in turn radiated to the entire country. It so happened that even a small occasional exhibition or series of articles provided stimuli leading to changes that became visible only after some time, not necessarily in the place where they occurred. The observation of architects' activities in this respect led us to the conclusion that the imperial framework created a specific, if not ambiguous, environment that functioned in the network of local interactions. They could both stimulate and inhibit the development of locality. The dialecticism of this relationship in the cases we observed was manifested in various

[21] Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy. Social Poetics in the Nation-State* (New York–London, 2004).

[22] See Aleksandra Kunce, *Człowiek lokalny. Rozważania umiejscowione* (Katowice, 2016).

ways. Consequently, we perceived that locality is a gradual phenomenon; we can speak of strong or weak locality; we can also look for its peculiarly understood densities and recognize them as significant for the dynamics of social phenomena with a much wider range, for example, on the scale of the whole empire. These observations, seemingly obvious, were for us an important leap forward in our deliberations on this category, especially in the context of its unifying applications.

The conclusion contained in the previous monograph written by the members of the Research Group on the Slavic Cultures in the Habsburg Monarchy stated the importance of the localities and communities for which the Habsburg state was a common framework as the most important *modus operandi* at the level of everyday practice. The activity of architects, thanks to the local dimension inherent in their projects, allowed us to define the category of imperial biography and clarify the language of the description of the category of locality. The observation of the ways of experiencing locality by architects of imperial "mould" drew our attention to factors that strengthen or weaken local bonds. As a result, this monograph presents the stage of research on the functioning of complex transnational socio-political structures, such as the Habsburg Monarchy.[23] The mechanisms of social co-existence and practices in the public sphere that were developed at that time were eliminated by the 20th-century model of the national state, especially in its totalitarian versions. However, thanks to the opening of borders and the community policies introduced by the European Union, this issue is once again gaining in importance, stimulating a revision or the deconstruction of the ideas about the functioning of the Habsburg power ossified in historiography.

*

The epistemological potential of the observational system designed by us in this book is revealed not only in the timeline suggested by the order of individual case studies. Nevertheless, we have decided that this timeline offers the most

[23] In recent years, researchers have become increasingly interested in the studies on supranational political forms described from a different perspective than that developed in the 19th- and 20th-century national historiographies. Generally speaking, these forms are perceived not as aberrations but as specific socio-political structures, creating a space of general and local dialectics, where various forms of participation and belonging are located. Special examples of such structures are the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. Cf. Xavier Bougarel, *Survivre aux empires. Islam, identité nationale et allégeances politiques en Bosnie-Herzégovine* (Paris, 2015), esp. Introduction, 11–22; Laurence Cole, Daniel Unowsky (eds.), *The Limits of Loyalty. Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy* (New York, 2007).

favourable perspective for observing the changes in the socio-cultural position and role of architects in the modernizing Habsburg Empire. Organizing the presentation according to a spatial key, although it would highlight three cultural areas on which the authors of the texts included in this book focus – the Croatian area, the Slovak borderlands and the Galician-Russian East – would not be satisfactory in this respect. By copying the most frequently used model of spatializing the description of this type of issues, it would unnoticeably tie it to national optics, which obscures the geophysical or even ethnographic map with a network of contemporary political actors. And we tried to distance ourselves from such an interpretation by observing the architects and their professional activities under imperial-local conditions. The chronological axis we have introduced is meant, first and foremost, to present the problem ranges of individual texts in such a logical arrangement that would facilitate their layered and intertextual reading and also fill in the gaps within the entire (post) Habsburg area. The turning points we have chosen, which allow us to observe the processes taking place in the Habsburg Monarchy also in the two decades after its disappearance, can therefore be seen as a vector through which we can perceive not only the power of inertia of socio-cultural processes (their historicity and location) but also the methodological motivation that guided the order of presentation we have adopted. We were more interested in starting the epistemological "machine" by pointing out the issues that attract our attention today than in supervising its work by striving for synthesis or seeking full representation.

The complex, palimpsest and cyclical structure of social and historical memory – one could say, this very strange, twisted and wavy timeline – is imprinted (although sometimes *à rebours*) in architectural objects. Nothing reveals the truism of this statement more than the formal eclecticism of many buildings constructed at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in Austria-Hungary. It is enough to look at the building of the State Theatre in Košice commissioned in 1899 or the National Theatre of Pécs built a little earlier, in 1895, both designed by Adolf Láng (1848–1913), a Hungarian-German architect born in Prague. *Hic et nunc* centuries of architectural fashions meet on their façades. However, nothing reminds us more of this truism than a glance at an old drawing depicting the city fortress in today's Slovakian Leopoldov and a contemporary satellite map showing its intact star shape. The Habsburg military bastion, built to stop the Turks' march northwards between 1665 and 1669 according to the most sublime Renaissance designs, has housed a prison since the 1855 decree of Alexander Bach. Even those buildings without an unambiguous stylistic or temporal distinction are a kind of time machine that allows us to reconstruct the social space in its constant transformation. After Giacomo Pala, one could say that they are also

a margin on which the result of negotiations between the real and the projected world is recorded.[24] This is no less true of houses or flats[25] in which private life goes on than of buildings which have a sacral or public function. The temporality of architecture, understood here as a special relationship between architecture and the so-called spirit of the times, can be ambiguous and difficult to grasp. However, it manifests itself in the intensification of certain construction solutions or practices – as a *momentum* or period measurable by the lifespan of a given generation or two – in situations where architecture is harnessed to find or even invent tradition, revitalize tradition[26] (also through the restoration of material heritage) or manifest a break with tradition. And above all, it is visible in the biographies of architects implementing these "excesses" or simply necessary renovations and modernizations. In this respect, the modernizing Habsburg-managed empire and the landscape after its disintegration provide noteworthy examples with a wide range of practised solutions.

The spirit of the power built in the middle of Europe did not have such an expressive architectural distinction as Napoleonic France, manifesting its cultural grandeur in the style of the Empire. In the Habsburg state, the development of imperial bourgeois forms of representation in the Biedermeier style, which clearly preceded the architectural attempts to create national styles, was accompanied by the flourishing of historical styles. This interesting phenomenon of styles competing with each other in the field of representation, described by the "neo-" prefix, for which classicism became a springboard, can be explained, on the one hand, by modernization processes accelerating in the 19th century throughout Europe (requiring not so much taming as pacifying with a corset of already known forms), and on the other hand, by a search in the architectural archive for inspiration for new or simply currently fashionable ideas. Probably the prosaic necessity to keep aged objects in working order, which generated scientific, craft and cognitive interest in their construction, had an influence on shaping such a tendency. Competing for representativeness, often harnessed in inventing traditions (in Eric Hobsbawm's understanding), new interpretations of historical styles seemed to inhibit the need to formulate a special style that would consistently carry the Habsburgs' signature, although at the end of the "long century" this function began to be fulfilled by their eclectic (today we would say: composite and camp-like) combination that overburdened buildings'

[24] Cf. Giacomo Pala, 'Architecture as a Margin within the Negotiation between Reality and Utopia', *Studies in History & Theory of Architecture*, 4 (2016), 216–224.

[25] Cf. Witold Rybczyński, *Home. A Short History of an Idea* (New York, 1987). The author focuses on the history of domestic comfort.

[26] Cf. Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in: Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 2012), 1–14.

façades with ornaments and was emphasized by the fancy, multifaceted and multiform roof structure. As a side note, in such an accumulation of details and hybrid body, especially of public buildings housing offices or cultural institutions, a perverse symbol of a culturally fragmented monarchy with a multitude of national roots can be seen.

Almost until the end of the Habsburg state's existence, the architectural manifestation of its position in public space referred to the monumentalized past, and not by turning to what could have been a new signature of a technicizing era or had remained underestimated. The exception in this respect, although not at all consistent, is industrial architecture, which had become increasingly visible with the development of the railways and the modernization of industrial production in the monarchy since the 1860s. They introduced new connections to the urban landscape but also new dividing lines. It was the industrial aura of the last decades of the 19th century that made Budapest the second (paradoxically, more modern) centre of the empire, competing with Vienna.[27] In general, however, even at the end of the 19th century, modern constructions of reinforced concrete such as newly-built churches (and, after all, also the Hungarian Parliament) were mostly hidden under a neo-Gothic façade, or architects sought another "cover" for them in the repertoire of already tamed forms, very rarely exposing their own technological composite structure.

The signalled tendency to historicize architecture, which goes hand in hand with including current cultural fashions and ideological needs in it, is revealed in the article by Dragan Damjanović on its administrative and political backstage. It presents a tangle of premises which determined that the Croats, always fighting for a high symbolic position in the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen and enjoying a relative political autonomy since the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, restored their monuments and built new facilities for community advancement (churches, schools, theatres), namely they modernized their culture, referring to the Gothic style. Damjanović argues that the Croats' romantic and pragmatic turn to the old and the new Gothic style was stimulated not only by the local needs related to their own cultural heritage but also by the consistent – although in this case, gentle – Vienna's policy where art was an important influencing factor. Acting through new institutions established on the wave of modernization of the state apparatus, connected by a network of interpersonal contacts with local elites, such as the Central Commission for the Investigation and Conservation of Architectural Monuments (K.k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale), the empire's administrators influenced the taste and approach to the protection of monuments

[27] See Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop*.

of a particular generation of elites living in the Croatian territory. The trace of this influence, which, of course, had been felt most strongly during the Bach regime, remained in Croatian culture for decades to come, not as a politically/bureaucratically conditioned dictate but as a specific fashion and cultural need, with its local/native propagators and ideologists.

Reconstructing the network of personal influences and movements, i.e. direct contacts between architects and builders, local elites, including senior clergy and representatives of old families, people of science, art enthusiasts and Viennese officials, Damjanović reveals the significant nuances of the strategy of cultural communication. They explain the time-limited effectiveness of the consolidating administration of the Habsburg Empire that could not foresee all the consequences of its Enlightenment mission. At the same time, the Croatian researcher tracks cultural flows, which are hardly visible from a different perspective than the biographical-personal one, and unveils the "architectural" connection between the Czechs and Croats embedded in neo-Gothic. It was generated, one might say, by a Viennese official and his brother, Leo and Franz Thun-Hohenstein, as a result of their family and professional connections. (It is worth remembering that groups of interest are almost always guided by financial considerations).

The example of the implementation of neo-Gothic in Croatia shows that the harmonious management of the Habsburg Empire depended on addressing local needs to take care of medieval buildings in the area considered to be the bulwark of Rome that were falling into disrepair or becoming stylistically "contaminated" with palimpsest-like additions, exposing the ideological aspect of common values (the *locus* of Christianity) and promoting the "updated" style through nationally neutral ambassadors, i.e. specialists from the Czech lands who were at the time the best experts on neo-Gothic in the whole monarchy. Neo-Gothic offered both the Croatians and the Habsburgs a sublime sense of cultural continuity at a time of overt and hidden changes in identification models throughout post-Enlightenment, industrializing Europe. The style turned out to be a common element deeply rooted in European culture, which allowed for subtle expressions of cultural differences, usually in the form of ornamentation or other nuances. Damjanović deconstructs this process by showing how the neo-Gothic style in Croatia was, in the first place, cleaned of German accretions and then nationalized by introducing local patterns and materials. This modification was legitimized by a political need, since it served to maintain social order, but also by an aesthetic one.

One is struck by the excess of significance attributed to the Gothic style by the society living in the western part of the Balkans, which was secularizing very slowly (and even covertly). Thus, the specific permeation of the Croatian 19th-century material and ideological sphere with neo-Gothic can be read as

a manifestation of the cultural difference between this land and what lay to the southeast of Zagreb. At the same time, it found a seemingly surprising and paradoxical cultural parallel in the heritage "guarded" by neo-Gothic in the British Isles. This difference, emphasized in the decades when Catholic Vienna managed the tendency to use neo-Gothic, gained a different aspect in the mature phase of dualism, which politicized the relations between Croats, Bosnians and Hungarians in the changed balance of power. Using the example of the renovation of the Greek Catholic Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Križevci, supervised in the 1890s by the mentor of neo-Gothic in continental Croatia, Hermann Bollé, Damjanović unveils the deeper history and more valuable local memory of the mutual sympathy between *Slavia Latina* and *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The "rediscovery" and appreciation of the past in the already changed climate of this north-eastern religious and cultural borderland was exemplified by the removal of Baroque additions and the restoration of the church's Byzantine elements, which emphasized the different cultural influence. The chrono-topical study of the function of neo-Gothic in Croatian culture thus draws attention not only to the entanglement of architects in time, history, politics, sociology, social psychology or fashion but also to the truthfulness of the work of architecture, in which, as in any work of art – as Martin Heidegger reminds us – reality, existence and history converge.[28]

Architects' biographies have rarely been confined to ethno-national communities, but neither can they be described as supranational. Architects usually maintained contacts through various networks of relations, and as a rule, their activity for the benefit of the ethnic group closest to them did not preclude their involvement in the matters of the province or local communities, which was particularly evident in cities. Their choices, seen and evaluated from a later perspective, usually appropriated by national-centric narratives, could often seem ambivalent. A good key to understanding the functioning of the elites, which included representatives of this profession, may be the perspective of locality, as Anna Kobylińska argues. Born only eight years apart in the northern mountainous regions of today's Slovakia, Ján Nepomuk Bobula and Blažej Bulla nevertheless belonged to different generations, which was important in the dynamically changing socio-political reality of the monarchy. They also functioned in various environments, although their professional paths symbolically intersected when both designed public buildings in Turčiansky Svätý Martin. In their case, locality is important as a dimension in which networks of cultural links modify and differentiate themselves, generating transformational

[28] Martin Heidegger, 'On the Origin of the Work of Art', in: idem, *Basic Writings*, edited by David F. Krell (New York, 2002), 143–212.

phenomena of local and supralocal importance. Such "densities of locality", as Kobylińska writes, use the potential of a given place, thus creating new cultural configurations. As the author shows, Turčiansky Svätý Martin, by being the seat of the Slovak Matica and a town where the activity of the then Slovak elite concentrated, became a place of centralization of national culture through its provincialization, i.e. moving away from the centres in Budapest and Vienna in search of a "pure", natural and neutral Slovak space. This "wandering of the elites" was essential for the important phase in the formation of the sphere of national imaginations. The professional activity of both architects, although carried out simultaneously in diametrically different centres, was influenced by the local conditions of these places which had a similarly modifying habitus. What is important, however, is that Bobula remained professionally active in the centre of the Hungarian kingdom and gained recognition there, while Bulla, inspired by the folk art of the surrounding area, created elements of a decorative style in the provinces, which – through the accentuation of details and the choice of local builders – became a vehicle for manifesting the Slovak character. According to Kobylińska, instead of demonstrating the parallels between the professional activities of both architects, it is more important to constantly emphasize the primacy of local interactions and local tangles of relations. After all, architecture, just like applied art, needs to be concretized, located in a specific space, which it co-creates and to the conditions of which it surrenders.

The hand-carved wooden detail of Slovak architectural designs, up till then having only a decorative (*de facto* cultic) function, was shown at the end of the 19th century in a new light. Bulla, the provincial architect, ascribed to it a representative and ethnographic function, which influenced the new/modern generation of architects who were thirsty for innovation and originality. As Kobylińska reveals, the concept fascinated young Dušan Jurkovič, who carried it further into the world two decades later when he began institutionalizing national architecture in the new Slovak centre, Bratislava. However, he had already gained a high reputation on a supraregional scale thanks to his very artistic use of wooden ornaments in architecture. The use of wood had always been a signature of the Slovak lands and had been sacralized in the Middle Ages in the form of Gothic altars famous in the whole of Central Europe, which were placed in mostly stone cathedrals in this area. For centuries, wood appeared as a structural ornament on country cottages, gave village churches their warmth, light and smell and was used as a material for gate-towers, church bell towers, furniture, shutters, visible roof trusses or other types of decoration of various buildings. It turned out to satisfy the Slovak need for the expression of strictly defined cultural content in the same way that the hyper-important use of neo-Gothic cleared of German additions did in the case of the Croats. The meanings

contained in these wooden ornaments express a sense of connection with a particular territory, a "smaller" community, its individual, yet universal history, in a word – its locality. This locality can be seen as a dimension of the world learned through personal experience; as a shelter from the turmoil of history caused by the acceleration of the world as a result of technical revolutions and scientific discoveries and changing power structures within it; as a modality of modernism;[29] or simply as an aspect of the world that had suddenly appeared to ordinary people as great, diverse, vast and strange. Their horizons widened because they had started moving more often and more quickly within the empires and between them thanks to the railways and steamboats (even reading newspapers carefully was enough).

The emergence of a sense of togetherness requires deep, emotionally and intellectually engaged communication, which concerns both current, everyday matters, the practical sphere of life, as well as spiritual experiences. In fact, this communication, and thus the community, is shaped by architects who embody it in the buildings they design. By tracing the architectural "echo" of a local traumatic event, namely the Zagreb earthquake of November 1880, Dominika Kaniecka shows the complexity (extensive and palimpsest-like) of the urban layout of the city and its architectural landscape. The unprecedented scale of material damage unexpectedly opened the way for rapid modernization. No longer limited by the previous layout of buildings, the urban space of Zagreb could be regulated according to more modern and more functional Enlightenment patterns. These changes introduced light, air, greenery, water and sewage systems into the city, made its streets wider and cleaner, enlarged the public space, separated the functions of the districts, recommended beautifying and building new temples of science and art. Kaniecka shows how, as a result of the demolition of one-third of the city by the forces of nature, Zagreb, which in the mid-19th century was still on the side-lines of the main communication routes in the monarchy, made an urban (and a symbolic) leap, catching up not only with Vienna but also north-western Europe, where the ideology of garden cities as a counterbalance to industrial suburbs was quickly gaining traction.

Describing the city's reaction to the ten-second earth tremor of a magnitude of 6.3 on the Richter scale, Kaniecka shows probably the first modern scientific attempts, made by Josip Torbar, to acknowledge the point of view of the inhabitants. This is a very interesting subject because, on the one hand, it focuses on the new spirit of the epoch (an attempt to investigate, catalogue

[29] Cf. Andrzej Szczerski, *Wzorce tożsamości. Recepcja sztuki brytyjskiej w Europie Środkowej około roku 1900* (Kraków, 2002).

and preserve the memory of the event and to use information about individual feelings and experiences of the affected people for the benefit of the general public), and on the other hand, it reveals a social immaturity of individuals who were unable to internalize the experience in a way that required commitment and feedback. Torbar's undertaking was basically a failure; people preferred to remember the event by reading about it in the newspapers and looking at photographs rather than by filling in questionnaires, through which they could have, in turn, influenced the changes in the urban layout. The psychosocial limitations of the period did not encourage such a level of reflection and co-responsibility for creating a new and modern urban fabric.

By showing the dynamics of Zagreb's development in the 19th century and signalling the degree of preparation of the inhabitants to cope with the experience to which they were subjected by the forces of nature and the city's planners, Kaniecka captures a significant point associated with the social role of the architect. Namely, the scope of his individual and social responsibility for rebuilding a sense of security and creating a sense of comfort, i.e. the scope of his responsibility for rebuilding a home.[30] In this context, it is extremely difficult to judge the activity of Hermann Bollé, a "foreign" newcomer, as the main architect of the "new" Zagreb built after 1880. Kaniecka emphasizes the ambivalence of critical assessments of his impressive and irrevocable contribution to the architecture of Zagreb (he was accused of being insensitive to the localness) by highlighting the circumstances of his arrival in the city and the actions he later undertook to internalize its local modus and join the local elite. For the German architect who had been educated in Vienna and who had practised in Italy, Zagreb became a springboard for professional success and social advancement on a unique scale. However, Bollé was anointed, in a way, as the creator and restorer of the city by local prominent persons who had commissioned him to renovate the Zagreb Cathedral even before the earthquake. Thus, it was due to an exceptional coincidence and the great demand for architects, renovators and builders in the aftermath of the disaster that his life and professional career became permanently linked to the Croatian territory. It should be noted that Bollé was able to make great use of this situation and draw personal and professional profits from it. His conversion from the Lutheran to the Catholic faith and the close contacts that he maintained with the dignitaries of the Orthodox Church and the representatives of the Greek Catholic Church can

[30] Witold Rybczyński points out how the creation of space that gives users a sense of comfort is and always has been extremely important and challenging for architecture. His study of the idea of home shows in a masterful way to how great an extent architecture is a reflection of the whole social reality in its constant transformation. See Rybczyński, *Home. A Short History of an Idea*.

be seen as symptoms of his adaptation to the local cultural and environmental conditions. However, Kaniecka points out that it may not have been a purely opportunistic move.

Relatively small but old urban centres, not very visible from the centre(s) of the empire but important from a regional and local perspective, gave the architects the greatest conceptual freedom. For them, these places became an experimental field and, at the same time, an arena where they gained professional reputation and social recognition. Meanwhile, a symbolic struggle was taking place at the backstage of the empire, which operated through networks of interpersonal relations and the education system. In medium-sized cities, well-connected on a regional scale but also with links to the main centres, which had their own institutions and local clerical staff that could not be easily replaced as a result of political decisions, the rules of harmonious co-existence were established on an ongoing basis and constantly verified. It encompassed both the co-existence of culturally diverse entities in a limited area, as well as the co-operation of various layers and social groups whose previous hierarchical structure was changing more and more dynamically. Maciej Falski analyses the *modus vivendi* of the provinces on the example of one such city, Osijek in Slavonia. It lay in the Croatian-Hungarian-Serbian ethnic borderland, marked by the architectural memory of the military past in the form of fortifications but also by the social memory of the amicable attitude towards "others". As the author shows, cultural reflection on the non-spectacular architecture of the provinces reveals it to be a field of social practice which does not easily succumb to ideological appropriation or political change. The year 1918 did not imprint itself significantly in Osijek's socio-architectural memory; it was only after World War II that the reality started changing. Provincial peripherality as a type of locality is, therefore, a longer-term structure.

Osijek was a city with a discontinuous history, marked by the erasure of the Ottoman invader from architectural memory, and for a long time, its sense of security was maintained thanks to fortifications. As the inhabitants' spatial needs increased, however, the fortress and defence walls hampered communication and integration of the city. Hence, the case of Osijek allows us to trace on a microscale the urban and infrastructural challenges faced by agglomerations of the 19th century. Falski reveals the backstage of projects aimed at improving the city's communication system in the broadest sense and describes the origins, educational paths and references of the architects involved in making the city more attractive. As a result, he shows how patiently and consistently Osijek was trying to keep up with the exemplary centres in improving the quality of life of its inhabitants and how insignificant was its motivation for national manifestations. When choosing the architects who were to be involved in the project,

the city authorities were guided by their reputation, not their origin or ethnicity, as the supraregional visibility of Osijek was at stake. Falski points out how strongly this cultural policy was influenced by the same narrow circle of people who set architectural and cultural trends in the capital of the Triune Kingdom, Zagreb. A key role was played by Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, patron, mentor and protector of Croatian architects working in the area.

In his text, Falski mentions a certain undertaking of Strossmayer's. In 1852, together with a few carefully selected companions, he took a trip to the northwest of Europe to learn about the new trends in European culture. He visited Prague, Munich, Cologne and Berlin, among others. The studies by Damjanović, Kaniecka and Falski, read as a trialogue, make this journey one of the key events in 19th-century Croatian culture, with an enormous impact on the social project that has left an imprint on the repertoire of forms and functions of architecture. Supplemented by Kobylińska's text, the Croatian-centric trialogue shows us that Strossmayer's journey was a significant event, similar in its topological structure hidden in the history of local architecture to the trip of a young student of architecture, Dušan Jurkovič, who visited in 1897 the local ethnographic exhibition in Turčiansky Svätý Martin, which had been promoted on a regional scale by the wooden gate-tower designed by Bulla (and by women's handiwork showcased there). The seemingly impossible comparison of these "events" becomes valid when we juxtapose their cultural significance. This, in turn, makes us see their analogies in the course of cultural transmission and the directions of changes in symbolic capital. At the same time, the temporal distance between these two journeys determines an important observational framework. The path which Strossmayer had chosen for Croatian culture (bringing it closer to the centre of Europe by introducing patterns that were fashionable there) led it towards moving the centre to the provinces (architectural co-operation between Zagreb and Osijek supervised personally by Strossmayer). The same path was followed by the Slovak elite, who in the 1860s left Budapest to create a new centre in the Turiec region on the Slovak-Czech-Polish border. This periphery of the Habsburg Monarchy bloomed at the end of the 19th century as the soon-to-be new architectural model with local, Slovak features spread all over the world, carried by the fashion for ethnography and regionalism.

An attractive vantage point, offering insight into the complexity of relationships developed under the umbrella of a shared statehood but above all shared economic interests, was chosen by Jasenka Kranjčević. In her article, she recreates the network of professional contacts of Czech architects with local entrepreneurs and investors, looking at investments in the tourist industry flourishing on the Adriatic coast. The Croatian expert shows how the improvement of transportation efficiency stimulated the development of mainly recreational

tourism, and to a lesser degree, the cognitive one. Thus, the traveller exploring new, unknown areas was transformed into a pleasure-driven tourist who looked for cognitive comfort and so was content with unchallenging and repetitive activities. The fluctuations of people, money or lifestyle patterns, including entertainment and rest, which occur along trails that are rooted in culture because of their relative accessibility, have their own "architecture". They are determined by the climate, geography and natural resources and less often stimulated by the promise of an exotic adventure. It manifests itself also in the similar designs of buildings or objects. That is why bathhouses in Budapest, on the Adriatic coast and in the Tatra Valley, where sources of healing waters can be found, look very much alike.

Kranjčević's focus on the Dalmatian-Czech tourist connection reveals the unique impact of Czech architects and entrepreneurs on the expert and capitalist development of both the peripheries of the monarchy and its administrative centres. She draws attention to the role they played as official emissaries of Vienna in the Hungarian part of the monarchy in the period preceding the establishment of dualism. Often, as in the case of Leo Thun-Hohenstein, recalled by Damjanović, their territorial and national genealogy, which reveals Czechized Germanness, is noteworthy. Actually, until the end of the empire's existence, a special disposition of the Czechs manifested itself in various spheres, often at the crossroads of economy and culture. They had bigger financial and skills capital than the other inhabitants of the Habsburg state and wanted to invest it east, south and north of the historical Czech lands. This is an interesting issue, and by studying it, we discover not only the uneven distribution of financial and symbolic capital in different parts of the empire but also less formal power structures.

The metaphor of architects as seismographs of culture resonates particularly well in the article by Michał Burdziński. He juxtaposes two architects, Stanisław Witkiewicz and Dušan Jurkovič, who were visionaries and creators of the concept of future national architecture – Polish and Slovak, respectively. Above all, however, their sensitivity to the expectations of the era is evident, as is the need to create a national style that would break the universality of historicism which had dominated for over a century. For the communities that were already influenced by the imperative of national separateness, it was a call to create or manifest differences in order to more clearly assert their right to exist. The work of architects once again turns out to be a key activity in real space, because the architectural object is a relatively permanent interference in both the material and social landscape; it is a certain proposal for the organization of the world on both these levels. This is accompanied by ethno-pedagogical activity, as the author calls it, expressed in journalistic writing. Local conditions also shaped

the differences in the influence of both visionary architects. Burdziński sees Witkiewicz as a fundamentally conservative artist who created a closed ideological vision adapted to the manifestation of Polishness. Meanwhile, the special context in which Slovak culture developed and, above all, the paths followed by Slovak artists led Jurkovič through Moravia and Prague, thanks to his openness to the influences of modernism, to the "new capital city" on the map of Central Europe, Bratislava, where his ideas found recognition in changed political and social circumstances. It turns out that depending on the weave of local conditions, similar premises may result in a different orientation of the vision of the creator-architect.

Aleksander Łupienko focuses on presenting a comprehensive picture of the professional group of Polish architects in Galicia. In the author's view, the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was the perfect time for the professionalization of architects and the birth of urban planning in this region. Despite the shortage of vocational schools, the relatively meagre group started to consolidate, based on the environment of the Lviv Technical University and professional press; moreover, architects became less dependent on the whims of the investors or fashion, aspiring to the rank of creators of social and spatial order. The shaping of space was to become a parallel to the formation of a new society. A similar aspiration resounds in most of the cases discussed in this volume. In the Galician context reconstructed by Łupienko, it is significant that the first visions of systemic reconstruction of cities in the spirit of modernity were born among hygienists. So again, it transpires that architecture is compatible with other areas of the social sphere, and architectural and urban planning concepts resonate with current ideas about the society of the future. The author outlines the fundamental problems that the Polish environment had to face, such as the attitude to the past and heritage protection, decisions whether to demolish old buildings or not, the right to seek a new style, the tension between tradition and the demands of modernization.

We decided to extend our interest in architects' biographies to the year 1938. Despite the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918, cultural patterns that had been shaped for decades, as well as cultural notions, survived and influenced the formation of identity narratives in succession states. Friedrich Weinwurm, the protagonist of Magdalena Bystrzak's article, was born in 1885 in Záhorie, in the region of the blurred cultural border between Bohemia and Slovakia, in a small village near Senica on the road connecting Trnava and Brno. He had studied "abroad", i.e. in Berlin and Dresden, and did not manage to develop a professional activity before the collapse of the monarchy. However, he had to face the conservative vision of Slovak culture, manifested in the need to emphasize individuality and the fear of outside influence.

Studies in Germany and the proximity to Brno, the mature urban fabric of which had successfully absorbed manifestations of the spirit of "white modernism",[31] left a clear footprint in Weinwurm's biography. During his career, he collaborated with architects connected with Brno, and he also knew the pioneer of functionalism and the enemy of ornamentation in architecture, Adolf Loos from Vienna. To outline the architectural climate of the era, it should be noted here that at the time when Weinwurm was developing his professional activities in partnership with Bratislava-based architect Ignác Vécsei, leaving the "white" mark of their architectural atelier on the image of Bratislava, Mies van der Rohe, a German architect now considered a renowned classic of modernism, designed the famous Tugendhat family's villa. It was built between 1928 and 1930 on a hill in Brno and, as Karl Schlögel comments, was like a strike of a meteor.[32] It should be noted that the changes in architectural patterns radiating from the axis formed in the 1920s by such centres as Brno, Dresden, Berlin and Bratislava were reflected on the other side of the Atlantic, and many of the architects active in the region could boast about a journey to America in their dossiers.

Young Weinwurm became involved with the leftist community that advocated a transformational vision of culture and the need to build a new society based on social sensitivity. It is hard to resist the impression that his philosophy of architecture, open to new functionalism, drawing strength from the ostentatious break with tradition, was also influenced by his own genealogy. His Jewish origins and professional contacts with architects with such roots to some extent protected his architectural imagination from being appropriated by national manifestations and strengthened his social sensitivity towards neutral and comfortable living in a common space. His programmatic texts stress that architecture and ethical urban planning should be based on the values of utility, social justice and a new order. It is significant that Weinwurm operated in Bratislava, which in the interwar period was still a multinational city. And although it became quickly nationalized at that time, the experience of multiculturalism still defined the architectural and social memory of the city, perceived today as a kind of filter in Central European and especially Slovak cultural flows.[33] It seems that such an environment, provincial but more open than in other Slovak centres, was conducive to the implementation of modernist

[31] See Karl Schlögel, 'Podróż do Brna. Archeologia międzywojennego modernizmu', translated by Tomasz Ososiński, in: idem, *Odkrywanie nowoczesnej Europy – próba archeologii* (Gdańsk, 2017), 85–108.

[32] Ibidem, 90.

[33] Cf. Ľubomír Lipták, 'Nehlavne hlavne mesto', in: idem, *Nepre(tr)žité dejiny* (Bratislava, 2008), 119.

social projects in the late 1920s and early 1930s, such as the Unitas and Nová doba housing estates.

The transition between imperial architecture with its pathos of historicizing and modernist architecture is shown by the eccentricity of the Kiev House with Chimaeras built at the very beginning of the 20th century, in 1901–1902. Danuta Sosnowska interprets its construction in one of the centres of the Russian Empire as an example of the unlimited possibilities offered to extraordinary individuals by the superpowers, which were ruled by their own logic in tolerating various stylistic aberrations and enabling the "intellectual elites" to advance socially. The private tenement house was designed by Władysław Horodecki, an architect born in Podolia whose Polish origins seemed to be of no importance to the profession he practised in various parts of the world. His private and professional life and the reception of his work are not fully recognized, but the house in question continues to draw attention to its designer. It is characterized by peculiar yet pragmatic solutions, unclear sources of inspiration and incredible architectural vision. With its unconventional, fanciful and modernist-biomorphic form, the House with Chimaeras brings to mind the Art Nouveau designs by a decade older Catalan, Antonio Gaudí (1852–1926). This connection raises an interesting question. If Horodecki had had the chance to develop his architectural potential not in the vast Eurasian empire that barely tolerated him but in a place that encouraged every talent, would the reception of his work have been less problematic and his biography less mysterious? This abstract speculation points to the fact that imperial politics were driven by cultural differences, which had to be tamed by the administrative apparatus of a vast state; moreover, it indicates that locality derived its strength from the topological principle of cultural unity or similarity.

Communities united by the Habsburgs in a bipartite state organism experienced the dialectic of imperial power in a different spatial reality than those living in the boundless territories of Russia or in the overseas parts of the British Empire. This spatial difference between empires, clearly visible on the combined geophysical and political map of the world on the eve of the Great War, must have influenced their communication circuits and rituals,[34] as well as the scale of tensions generated by the diversity of cultures occurring in a given space, determined by geography and the particular political entity governing it. The biographies of the architects we observe practising their profession in the

[34] The importance of communication rituals for the maintenance of the structures of power and the ruler's charismatic aura has been vividly demonstrated by the juxtaposition of three examples – Elizabethan England, Hayam Wuruk's Java and Mulay Hasan's Morocco, cf. Clifford Geertz, 'Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in: idem, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983), 121–146.

"age of empire"[35] are marked by imperialness but, at the same time, locality is the most important frame of their professional practices, which is perhaps most evident in the reflection of Horodecki's chimaeras (and his life of a wanderer) in the mirror of Gaudí's biomorphic architecture (and his located[36] biography). Thus, a conclusion may be drawn that the specific feature of the Habsburg Empire, which distinguished it from the other powers of the era, was to cultivate locality and to mitigate differences through the practice of cultural proximity, which was fostered, despite the fact that the area was divided by a network of rivers and mountain ranges, by geographical and geopolitical conditions and the medley of languages.

Translated by Katarzyna Wieleńska

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[35] Eric Hobsbawm defined it as the period between 1875 and 1914. Cf. idem, *The Age of Empire (1875–1914)* (London, 1987).

[36] Cf. Kunce, *Człowiek lokalny*, in particular chapter: 'Metropolis, lokalność i brak metafizyczny'.

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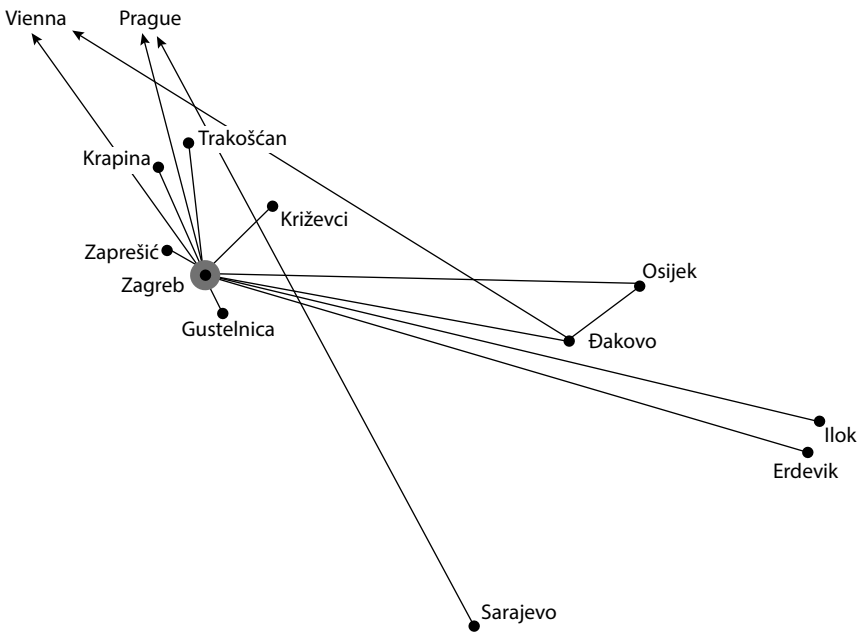
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Gothic Revival at the borders of Catholic Christianity: State politics, patrons and architects in 19th-century Croatian architecture

Introduction

The intention of this text is to give a brief insight into the history of neo-Gothic in Croatian 19th- and early 20th-century architecture.[1] This style emerged in Croatian architecture rather late in comparison to Great Britain and the majority of countries in mainland Europe. Crucial in spreading the use of the style were the influences from the areas of present-day Germany, Austria, the Czech lands and Hungary.

The history of Croatian neo-Gothic can be divided into three phases. The first, Romantic, phase lasted from the beginning of the 19th century to the end of the 1860s and was marked by a naïve approach to the Gothic style. The second phase of the so-called high neo-Gothic, in the 1870s and 1880s, showed a considerably greater tendency for achieving stylistic purity and drawing inspiration from High Gothic buildings. From the early 1890s, neo-Gothic entered its third phase characterized by frequent imitations of late Gothic, propensity for extravagance and occasional combination with other styles, mostly the Viennese Secession.

Early neo-Gothic style in Croatia (1800–1870)

The news of the death in 1852 of the most famous architect of the 19th-century English Gothic Revival, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, was communicated to the Croatian public in just one short report published in the Zagreb *Katolički list* (Catholic Newspaper), which merely stated that Pugin had converted from

[1] This work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation as part of the project "Art and the State in Croatia from the Enlightenment to the Present" (IP-2018-01-9364). A partially modified version of this article was published in Croatian: Dragan Damjanović, 'Neogotika u hrvatskoj arhitekturi 19. i ranog 20. stoljeća', in: *Imago, imaginatio, imaginabile. Zbornik u čast Zvonka Makovića* (Zagreb, 2018), 149–177.

Protestantism to Catholicism and that he had built a great number of churches in England.[2] There was no mention of the stylistic characteristics of his architecture, primarily because neo-Gothic had still not made a significant appearance in Croatian architecture. Situated in the very south of the Habsburg Monarchy, on the border with the Ottoman Empire, Croatia was in the first half and in the mid-19th century a very poor area which was politically, culturally and economically completely dependent on Vienna. It is, therefore, not surprising that the architectural influences coming from Western Europe were rather delayed.[3]

The first half of the 19th century witnessed the predominance of Biedermeier classicism not only in Croatian architecture but also in most parts of the Habsburg Monarchy (with the exception of the Czech lands where the use of the neo-Gothic style spread to a great extent even before the mid-19th century). The majority of churches built during the reign of Joseph II (1780–1790) and his successors (until the 1840s) were simply articulated with Neoclassical architectural elements, and almost all of them had nearly identical spatial disposition – they were single-aisled churches, usually of small size, with a bell tower on the front façade.[4]

Neo-Gothic began to be used in Croatian architecture in the 1810s, but mostly for chapels and small-scale restoration works on medieval buildings, which included new, stylistically corresponding neo-Gothic church furniture. The most significant restoration work was carried out on the biggest Gothic church in Croatia, the Zagreb Cathedral, which received in 1835 a new neo-Gothic organ choir. At the end of the 1840s, during the term in office of bishop (later archbishop) Juraj Haulik (1837–1869), the chancel was restored and fitted with new stained glass windows, as well as high altar and consoles with statues of saints which had been made in Munich, the city which in the first half of the 19th century became an artistic centre of Central Europe, largely owing to the artistic enthusiasm of king Ludwig I of Bavaria.[5]

The revolution of 1848–1849 ended Haulik's first restoration projects in the Zagreb Cathedral. Following the period of turmoil, and especially after the Zagreb diocese had been made an archdiocese (1852), Haulik continued acquiring new

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[2] 'Iz Englezke', *Katolički list*, 49 (4 December 1852), 392.

[3] For more about 19th-century Croatian history, see Josip Šidak et al., *Povijest hrvatskog naroda g. 1860.–1914.* (Zagreb, 1968).

[4] Renate Wagner-Rieger, 'Vom Klassizismus bis zur Secession. Geschichte der Architektur in Wien. Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Wien', in: *Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, Neue Reihe, vol. 7/3 (Vienna, 1973), 83–262.

[5] Anđela Horvat, 'Neogotički kolos kipovi u Zagrebu 1847. i razmatranja o pojavi historicizma u Zagrebu', *Iz starog i novog Zagreba*, 2 (1960), 225–238.

Figure 1. Karl Rösner, chandelier in the aisle of the Zagreb Cathedral, 1857. Source: author's photo

neo-Gothic church furniture for his cathedral – a new organ from Ludwigsburg in Germany (1855) and chandeliers (Fig. 1) designed by one of the most important architects of Viennese Romanticism, Karl Rösner (1857).[6]

During the 1850s, neo-Gothic elements appeared in Croatia for the first time in large parish churches, and these first occurrences of the style, finally replacing Neoclassicism, happened primarily due to the efforts of the Viennese central administrative bodies. The crucial role in spreading the use of neo-Gothic was played by the Viennese Ministry of Religion and Education (Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht) and the Public Works Office of the State Ministry (Staatsministerium) which was in charge of project development. The strong influence of Viennese ministries resulted from an exceptionally centralistic regime, the so-called Bach's absolutism, introduced in the aftermath of the 1848–1849 revolution. In such a strictly run monarchy, churches had to be either designed or approved for construction by Viennese experts, which helped neo-Gothic (and also *Rundbogenstil*) spread directly from the centre into the most

[6] Ibidem.

remote rural areas of the Habsburg Empire. Viennese institutions not only sent their designs to these areas but also prevented uniformity of church architecture by ordering that only one church could be built according to one design, as opposed to the first half of the 19th century when a single design could be used for several churches.

This ordinance was also carried out in Croatia, which witnessed and felt the influence of undoubtedly the most significant reformers of art and architecture in the 1850s in the monarchy, the Czech noblemen of German origin, counts Leo and Franz Thun-Hohenstein. Serving as Minister of Religion and Education since 1849, Leo Thun played a key role in the process.[7]

The Thun brothers invited to Vienna numerous architects from Prague, the city where Romanticism had found a safe home in architecture before the revolution.[8] Among these architects, important for the spread of the neo-Gothic influence throughout the Habsburg Monarchy, were Josef Kranner, who spent years working under Heinrich Ferstel on the construction of the Votive Church in Vienna (1856–1879); Hermann Bergmann, who built one of the first neo-Gothic churches in Vienna – St Elisabeth's (1859); and Carl Rziwnatz (Karel Řivnáč),[9] who was entrusted in 1859 with the building of one of the largest and most interesting neo-Gothic Romantic churches in Croatia, in the village of Veleševec near Zagreb (1869–1871).

Although designed as a spacious three-aisled building with one tower, in the end, due to the shortage of funds, the church in Veleševec (Fig. 2) had only one aisle and was much smaller than the original design, though nevertheless larger than most of the church buildings erected in the first half of the 19th century in Croatia. Several other neo-Gothic churches were built in the villages around Zagreb at the same time as the Veleševec church, e.g. in Bukevje, Voloder and Luka.[10] They are all single-aisled churches with simple architectural articulation and one tower attached to the façade. Their importance lies primarily in the fact that they demonstrate how fast neo-Gothic was adopted in church architecture in the south of the monarchy.

The appearance of the neo-Gothic buildings in Croatia in the 1850s was the result not only of the initiative of the state administration but partly also of the Croatian aristocracy, who adopted this style for the restoration of their castles.

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[7] Elisabeth Springer, *Geschichte und Kulturleben der Wiener Ringstrasse* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 40–41.

[8] Pavel Zatloukal, 'Kirchenbau und Denkmalpflege', in: *Böhmen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Prag, 1995), 136–138.

[9] Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1970), 164.

[10] Dragan Damjanović, 'Župna crkva svetog Petra u Veleševcu – Gesamtkunstwerk rane neogotike u hrvatskoj arhitekturi', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 33 (2009), 191–206.

Figure 2. Interior of the parish church in Veleševec, built in 1869–1871. Source: author's photo

This move was probably spurred by the desire to match the Czech nobility,[11] who frequently chose the neo-Gothic style for this purpose already in the first half of the 19th century.[12] The first monumental building to be restored in the neo-Gothic style was Trakošćan Castle owned by the Draškovićs, a Croatian aristocratic family.[13] This medieval fortification recorded in 14th-century documents

[11] Although the influences from Austria and Hungary cannot be ignored.

[12] Zatloukal, 'Kirchenbau und Denkmalpflege', 136–137.

[13] Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, 'Bericht über einige Baudenkmale Croatiens', *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, I. Jahrgang,

and thoroughly renovated in the 16th and 17th centuries, was restored in the 1850s according to the designs of an unknown architect most probably from Graz in Styria.[14] Although there were claims that Trakošćan was brought back to the "original style",[15] it was in fact renovated with new neo-Gothic decoration on the façade, new, redesigned windows and new crenellations on top of almost all parts of the castle (Fig. 3). The interior was also completely transformed and equipped with new furniture, which has been preserved to this day. A Romantic approach to the architectural design of Gothic elements, treated exclusively as decoration, can be discerned on the façades and in the interior. Stoves, wooden door frames, chairs and vaults show features of late Gothic architecture, which was very characteristic of the early Romantic phase of neo-Gothic in the entire Habsburg Empire (and throughout Europe as well).[16]

At almost the same time as Trakošćan Castle, a small and simple Novi Dvori manor house in Zaprešić near Zagreb was also restored in the neo-Gothic style in 1852–1859 (Fig. 4). The manor house belonged to the Croatian *ban* (viceroy) Josip Jelačić, which proves that the style was soon accepted by the highest officials in the Croatian government. Jelačić played a key role in suppressing the 1848–1849 revolution in the Habsburg Monarchy and was considered a saviour of the dynasty and a hero in the war against Hungary. Unlike Trakošćan, Novi Dvori manor house was a Baroque building before the restoration, which means that the construction works were not restorative but rather transformative, attempting to adapt the building's appearance to the current Gothic "fashion". The elements added to the previous structure included a neo-Gothic crow-stepped gable, reshaped windows on the first floor and lavish furnishings in the interior. Jelačić also commissioned the construction of a small neo-Gothic chapel next to the manor house, where he was buried.[17]

In addition to the influences from the Czech lands and Vienna, influences from Hungary were also important for the advent of neo-Gothic in Croatia, especially its eastern region, Slavonia. During the 1860s, several neo-Gothic buildings were built in Osijek, the capital of Slavonia, according to the designs of the local architect Karl Klaussner. Especially prominent among his accomplishments in Osijek are a theatre (1865–1866) and a public school (1868). While

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11 (1856), 232–237; Gjuro Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Ivanec', *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 14 (1) (1919), 65–68; Vilim Leskovšek, 'Trakošćan', *Naši krajevi – Kaj*, 3 (1978), 71–87; Zdenka Munk, 'Obnova Trakošćana', *Historijski zbornik*, 6 (1953), 120–121; Ivan Srša, 'Dvor Trakošćan u 19. stoljeću', *Kaj*, 4–5 (2003), 85–97.

[14] Mladen Obad Šćitaroci, *Dvorci i perivoji Hrvatskog Zagorja* (Zagreb, 1991), 262; Srša, 'Dvor Trakošćan u 19. stoljeću', 85–97.

[15] Kukuljević Sakcinski, 'Bericht über einige Baudenkmale Croatiens', 236.

[16] Obad Šćitaroci, *Dvorci i perivoji Hrvatskog Zagorja*, 262.

[17] Ibidem, 190–195.

Figure 3. Trakošćan Castle after the 1850s neo-Gothic restoration. Source: author's photo

Figure 4. Josip Jelačić's Novi Dvori manor house in Zaprešić, restored in 1852–1859. Source: author's photo

the school lost its neo-Gothic decoration in later renovations, the theatre has survived to this day in its original state and represents the most significant example of neo-Gothic public building in 19th-century Croatian architecture. Moorish, neo-Byzantine and Gothic elements on the main façade of the theatre attest to Klaussner's Romantic approach to architecture.[18]

In addition to the Ministry of Religion and Education and the State Ministry, another new Viennese institution played an important role in the early phase of neo-Gothic in Croatia – the Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Investigation and Conservation of Architectural Monuments (K.k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale). In the course of several years after its foundation in 1850,[19] the Commission appointed conservators in all provinces of the monarchy. In Croatia, this position was taken up in 1855 by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski.[20] Soon after his appointment, Kukuljević Sakcinski started creating an inventory of important architectural monuments in Croatia and publishing texts on the most significant Croatian medieval monuments. In 1856 he published a small monograph on the Zagreb Cathedral, which caught the attention of Viennese researcher Karl Weiss, who decided to visit Croatia and write a more comprehensive monograph about the building.[21] Backed by the Central Commission, Kukuljević Sakcinski saved two major Gothic monuments in Croatia from devastation – the chapel in Donja Vrijeska and the church in Glogovnica – and created an opportunity for their restoration in the neo-Gothic style.[22]

Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, Friedrich von Schmidt and the adoption of neo-Gothic in Croatia in the 1870s

The Romantic treatment of neo-Gothic, in which Gothic architectural elements were used primarily for decorative purposes and without awareness of the style's structural particularities, often in combination with decorative elements of other styles, was present in Croatia until the end of the 1860s.

[18] Grgur Marko Ivanković, 'Historicistička arhitektura u Slavoniji', in: *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 2000), 188.

[19] Walter Frodl, 'Die Einführung der staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich', in: *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs. Von der Revolution zur Gründerzeit*, vol. 1 (Wien, 1984), 395–400.

[20] Draginja Jurman-Karaman, 'Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski prvi konzervator za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju. Prilog historiji konzervatorstva u NR Hrvatskoj', *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture*, 4–5 (1955), 149.

[21] Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka: opisana s gledišta povjestnice, umjetnosti i starinah* (Zagreb, 1856); Karl Weiss, *Der Dom zu Agram* (Wien, 1860).

[22] Dragan Damjanović, 'Historicističke obnove crkve Svete Ane u Donjoj Vrijeski', *Scrinia Slavonica*, 9 (2009), 125–160.

The change came in the 1870s, mostly owing to the activity of bishop of Đakovo, Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815–1905), and the first Croatian art historian, Iso Kršnjavi (1845–1927).

Although for his new cathedral in Đakovo Strossmayer had chosen neo-Romanesque, which he considered a style closer to Byzantine architecture and therefore more suitable for the expression of his political views and his attempts to create a bridge to Eastern Christianity, he promoted Gothic as the most appropriate style for rural and urban parish churches.[23] However, Gothic was not so easily accepted in Croatia, mostly because of the concerns about the expensive construction of neo-Gothic churches. Strossmayer's way of dispelling such fears was to point out that other nationalities in a similarly difficult financial situation succeeded in building neo-Gothic churches despite aggravating circumstances. The bishop singled out the Irish Catholics, whom he considered an exemplary nation:

> The Irish are the most unfortunate people on earth; they are genuine martyrs. Everything was taken from them, both their land and churches; foreigners remained in their homeland, and high taxes paid by the Irish are given to foreign clergymen who do not even live among the people; nevertheless, this glorious and impoverished martyr [nation has been building] small churches and chapels [for the previous] 30 to 40 years and [doing it] beautifully in the Gothic style …[24]

Achieving a similar thing in Croatia required the education of the clergy and the introduction of the "science of art" as a course in seminaries. According to Strossmayer, the most suitable person for teaching the course was Kršnjavi, a former student of the first art history professor in Vienna, Rudolf Eitelberger.[25] Having received education in Vienna and Munich at the end of the 1860s and the beginning of the 1870s, Kršnjavi upheld architectural views which were characteristic of the Central European cultural context and the so-called high historicism. After moving to Croatia in the mid-1870s, he joined Strossmayer in his efforts to "revive" Croatian art.

Their main problem were poorly educated engineers, employed in the Croatian state institutions, who preferred to use in their church designs *Rundbogenstil* and simple forms of Neo-Renaissance. They began to dominate

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[23] An example of that is the construction of the parish church in Osijek. Josip Juraj Strossmayer, 'Osvrt na moj putni izlet u Njemačku i Češku, IX', *Vienac*, 13 (7) (27 March 1875), 205–210.

[24] Josip Juraj Strossmayer, 'Slike u stolnoj crkvi đakovačkoj', in: Tadija Smičiklas, *Nacrt života i djela biskupa Josipa Jurja Strossmayera* (Zagreb, 1906), 251–252.

[25] For more on the relationship between Strossmayer and Kršnjavi, see Dragan Damjanović, 'Bishop Juraj Strossmayer, Izidor Kršnjavi and the Foundation of the Chairs in Art History and Ancient Classical Archaeology at Zagreb University', *Centropa*, 9 (3) (2009), 176–184.

in Croatian church architecture after the compromises of 1867 and 1868, which made Croatia an autonomous constitutive unit within the eastern, Hungarian, part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and which ended the influence of Viennese ministries. In such circumstances, Strossmayer and Kršnjavi resorted to searching for experts outside Croatia. They employed the most significant neo-Gothic architect in Central Europe, Friedrich von Schmidt (1825–1891), an authoritative figure in the field of restoration (he worked on the completion of the Cologne Cathedral and the restoration of St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna and was also a longstanding professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna). By employing Schmidt, Strossmayer and Kršnjavi wanted to take Croatian architecture to a higher level and show Croatian architects the "right way" to practice architecture. Schmidt first began working in 1870 on Strossmayer's cathedral in Đakovo, and then on the restoration of St Mark's Church in 1875 and the Zagreb Cathedral in 1878.[26]

The first restoration project carried out in Croatia according to Schmidt's designs, which also marked the beginning of a new period in the history of neo-Gothic in the country, was the restoration of the parish church of St Mark in Zagreb (1875–1882). Strossmayer initiated its restoration after protesting strongly against its demolition. Located in the central square of the old part of Zagreb, the so-called Upper Town, and surrounded by the buildings of the Croatian parliament, government and the viceroy, the church was seen by some of the city councillors as blocking too much daylight to the neighbouring buildings and taking up too much space of the square. The bishop succeeded in proving its historical value and convincing the Zagreb city authorities to invest in its restoration instead of destroying it.

Contrary to the previous smaller and partial renovations of medieval monuments in Croatia, Schmidt's restoration of St Mark's Church was more complex and comprehensive (Figs. 5–6). Baroque extensions were removed not only from the façades (only the bell tower was not renovated due to the shortage of funds) but also from the interior, in order to achieve unity and purity of style – the characteristic features of high historicism, which had been introduced to Croatian neo-Gothic architecture by Schmidt and was still used by his students for several decades afterwards.[27]

[26] Strossmayer, 'Slike u stolnoj crkvi đakovačkoj', 253.

[27] For more on the restoration of St Mark's Church, see Dragan Damjanović, 'Polychrome Roof Tiles and National Style in Nineteenth-century Croatia', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 70 (4) (2011), 466–491; idem, 'Schmidt-Bolléova obnova crkve u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća', in: *Crkva sv. Marka u Zagrebu: arhitektura, povijest, obnova* (Zagreb, 2013), 63–96.

Figure 5. St Mark's Church in Zagreb before restoration. Source: Zagreb City Museum, inv. no. 3106

Figure 6. St Mark's Church in Zagreb after restoration. Source: *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Croatien und Slavonien*, Wien 1902, 255

Restoration of the Zagreb Cathedral

At the time when Schmidt started working on his first restoration projects in Zagreb, there was effectively no institution in Croatia that supervised the protection and restoration of monuments. The Central Commission in Vienna lost the jurisdiction over the monuments in the Hungarian part of the monarchy, which also included Croatia, after the 1867 Compromise. Although the Department of Religion and Education of the Croatian government (a sort of Ministry of Culture) was nominally in charge of monument protection, the specially-formed heritage protection commission did not start performing its official duties until 1910. The fate of Croatian monuments depended, therefore, on individual efforts.[28] The restoration projects conducted by Schmidt and later by his students Hermann Bollé and Josip Vancaš were encouraged and partly supervised by two individuals – bishop Strossmayer in the 1870s and Kršnjavi, backed by the Art Society, from the 1880s onwards. Private and political connections, and the financial capability of the ecclesiastic bodies, were frequently an advantage when it came to deciding which buildings were to be restored, and it often happened that the historic or artistic value of the monuments came second.

In spite of the difficult financial situation which limited programmes and activities of the Croatian government, the second half of the 19th century saw the construction of a new cathedral in Đakovo and the full restoration of six other cathedrals (two Roman Catholic in Zagreb and Senj, one Greek Catholic in Križevci and three Orthodox in Pakrac, Plaški and Srijemski Karlovci). Five of them were restored according to the designs of Schmidt and his students, while those in Zagreb and Križevci were restored in the neo-Gothic style.

The restoration of the Zagreb Cathedral was entrusted to Schmidt primarily because of his previous work on St Mark's Church, which had been recognized by the Zagreb citizens as a success. Bishop Strossmayer again played a key role in the preparations, driven by a desire to make the largest surviving Gothic church in Croatia and the main church of the Croatian capital much more lavishly decorated. The west façade of this three-aisled church was built in the period from the second half of the 13th century to the end of the 15th century, and as was often the case with cathedrals in Europe, the façade remained unfinished until the end of the 19th century (Fig. 7). The north bell tower had not been constructed, while the south one, architecturally very simple, was erected in the 17th century after a great fire when the church also received a new main

[28] Jurman-Karaman, 'Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski', 155–156; Dragan Damjanović, 'Između Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga i Gjure Szabe – zaštita spomenika u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj od početka 1860-ih do 1910. godine', in: *Gjuro Szabo 1875.–1943. Zbornik radova znanstveno-stručnog skupa. Hrvatski povjesničari umjetnosti* (Zagreb, 2018), 11–37.

Figure 7. Enrico Nordio and Friedrich von Schmidt, Zagreb Cathedral, west façade before restoration, 1877–1878. Source: Zagreb City Museum

portal, a rib vault in the chancel and new Baroque furniture. Numerous new altars, pews, confessionals and other furniture items installed in the 17th and 18th century largely obscured the Gothic columns and walls. Having travelled in southern Germany in the 1850s and having seen there cathedrals (Regensburg, Bamberg, Speyer), the purist restoration of which was initiated by Ludwig I of Bavaria, Strossmayer wanted to restore the Zagreb Cathedral in a similar way – by "finishing" the west façade and removing the Baroque furniture.[29]

[29] Josip Juraj Strossmayer, 'Nekoliko rieči o stolnoj crkvi zagrebačkoj', *Katolički list* (3 September 1874), 1–8.

In 1878 Schmidt started restoration works on the cathedral. The medieval designs for the west façade did not exist, so the new façade was mainly a product of his imagination. According to his design, the cathedral was to have two neo-Gothic bell towers, a new main façade (only the old portal was kept) and more elaborate architectural sculpture on the lateral façades.

Such a radical restoration of the cathedral would have probably never happened if it had not been for the earthquake which hit Zagreb on 9 November 1880. The ecclesiastic centre of Zagreb, the area called Kaptol, was the most severely damaged part of the city and the cathedral the most damaged church. The 17th-century vault was completely destroyed, and one pier of the nave bent so much that the entire structure almost collapsed. Cracks appeared in the upper part of the bell tower and in almost every wall of the church. The state of the cathedral necessitated much more radical renovation than had been planned so new designs had to be made.

The new restoration designs were executed by Schmidt's long-standing associate, Hermann Bollé (1845–1926), who worked at Schmidt's private office and who later became the main neo-Gothic architect in Croatia. Bollé was born in Cologne where he finished the Crafts School. The completion of the Cologne Cathedral exerted a powerful influence on young Bollé for whom Gothic became one of the most cherished styles he used. After having worked at the end of the 1860s and in the early 1870s at the atelier of Heinrich Wiethase, the architect who specialized in church construction and restoration, primarily in the neo-Gothic style,[30] Bollé moved to Vienna in 1872. He worked for Schmidt on various new projects, such as the churches in Weißgerber, Fünfhaus and Brigittenau in Vienna, and the restoration of the medieval post office building in Basel. In the second half of the 1870s, he began working exclusively on Schmidt's Croatian projects and in 1879, as soon as the restoration of the Zagreb Cathedral began, he moved to Zagreb where he lived and worked for the rest of his life.[31]

Bollé changed many elements of Schmidt's cathedral designs. He removed the 17th-century extensions – the chancel vault and the main portal (an interesting example of "Gothic survival" in Croatia). He changed somewhat Schmidt's designs of the central part of the main façade and the entire appearance of the upper parts of the bell towers (Figs. 8–9). Instead of Schmidt's closed tops, he designed richly decorated caps which could frequently be found on restored

[30] Walter Marquass, *Heinrich Johann Wiethase (1833–1893). Privatbaumeister in Köln*, dissertation, RWTH Aachen (Achen, 1980).

[31] Olga Maruševski, 'Herman Bollé – arhitekt restaurator i obrtnik', in: *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 2000), 53–61; Dragan Damjanović, 'Neogotička arhitektura u opusu Hermana Bolléa', *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 17 (2/38) (2009), 244–267; idem, *Arhitekt Herman Bollé* (Zagreb, 2013).

Figure 8. Zagreb Cathedral after restoration by Friedrich von Schmidt and Hermann Bollé, 1879–1902. Source: National and University Library, Zagreb

Figure 9. North tower of the Zagreb Cathedral, present condition. Source: author's photo

Figure 10. Interior of the Zagreb Cathedral, designed by Hermann Bollé in the 1880s and 1890s. Source: author's photo

medieval German cathedrals (in Cologne, Regensburg, Ulm, Soest and elsewhere). Gargoyles on the bell towers, as well as the entire sculptural decoration, were executed according to Bollé's designs.

The interior was also completely transformed (Fig. 10). Bollé removed not only the Baroque furniture but also some of the late Gothic architectural elements, which he considered aesthetically unpleasing (consoles with baldachins on columns and the choir screen).[32]

Of the 29 altars, many of which were masterpieces of Baroque art, Bollé kept only two, along with some other pieces of the old furniture, like the pulpit. New altars, made partly of wood and partly of stone, pews, a bishop's throne,

[32] On the restoration of the cathedral see Olga Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj* (Zagreb, 1986), 145–162; eadem, 'Katedrala u vremenu i prostoru', *Život umjetnosti*, 41–42 (1987), 97–127; Ana Deanović, Željka Čorak, *Zagrebačka katedrala* (Zagreb, 1988); Tomislav Premerl, 'Zagrebačka prvostolnica; Restauracija kao metoda građenja', in: *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 2000), 63–71.

a new choir rail, chandeliers, candle stands and a wrought iron door were all made according to his designs by the Zagreb Cathedral Workshop, which he had established on medieval principles.

The main workers in the workshop became teachers in the Arts and Crafts School in Zagreb (Obrtnička škola),[33] founded in 1882 by Kršnjavi and Bollé.[34] The school educated the young generation of craftsmen, who in the next few decades created furniture for churches throughout Croatia, leading to a considerable decrease in the import of church equipment from the workshop in Tyrol, which was exactly what the founders of the school hoped to achieve. The only piece of equipment used in the Zagreb Cathedral and other new or restored churches which was never made in Zagreb but was, instead, purchased from Austrian workshops in Innsbruck and Vienna were stained glass windows.

Due to the radical adherence to the principles that required stylistic purity and unity, the restoration of the Zagreb Cathedral was severely criticized by Croatian art and architectural historians in the 20th century.[35] Bollé's approach to monument restoration relied to a large extent on Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's and Schmidt's concepts but resembled the most the radical procedures of Schmidt's Hungarian students.

Neo-Gothic dominance in Croatian architecture of the 1880s

During the 1880s, primarily owing to Kršnjavi, the neo-Gothic style reached the height of its popularity in Croatian architecture.

Kršnjavi's views on Gothic were expressed in several texts published in the 1880 and 1881 in *Vienac* (The Wreath), the leading and most influential Croatian cultural magazine, as well as in his book of travels through Slavonia published in 1882. Kršnjavi adopted ideas on Gothic from the writings of various European art historians and architects, including the already-mentioned English Gothic Revival architect Pugin. For example, Kršnjavi considered Gothic a style which most closely observed the principles of the truthful use of construction material and the interconnection between structural and decorative elements. He believed that Gothic demonstrated one of "the most important tenets of practical aesthetics, which is to make all decoration constructive. In other words,

[33] For more on the Arts and Crafts School, see Željka Čorak et al., *Počeci obrtne škole i vizualni identitet Zagreba, 15. zagrebački salon, Umjetnički paviljon* (Zagreb, 1980).

[34] Irena Kraševac, *Neostilska sakralna skulptura i oltarna arhitektura u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj*, doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb (Zagreb, 2005).

[35] Especially by Gjuro Szabo. Idem, 'Obnova i dogradnja gradjevnih spomenika', *Narodna starina*, 13 (33) (1934), 1–14.

decoration on a building should be tied as closely as possible to its structure. Having this quality, the Gothic style is more complete than any other and is therefore perfect". For him, façades should clearly show the material from which a building is constructed: "Another important feature of the Gothic style is the strict adherence to the principle: do not hide the material you use, but emphasize it, and create buildings by following the language of the material".[36]

Kršnjavi also appropriated Pugin's aversion to ancient Roman and Renaissance architecture and the styles that succeeded them, i.e. Neo-Renaissance and Neoclassicism. In his opinion, the architect who adopts the Gothic style "has far more freedom in designing details than in classical art, which is more typical and later becomes even entirely formulaic".[37]

The idea of Gothic as the only true Christian/Catholic style also sat comfortably with Kršnjavi, and he clearly advocated it in his texts. "Many consider Gothic to be a Christian style, and they are right since that style was born and developed only in the Christian culture, because it is permeated with the Christian spirit, because all its forms were born of Christian thoughts and feelings".[38] The Catholic Church, therefore, should turn to Gothic in all its architectural undertakings. Kršnjavi drew the priesthood's attention to the fact that "encouragement for solidity and truthfulness of construction, healthy and reasonable artistic direction has always been coming from the Church and religious corporations …".[39] Since the Renaissance style had drawn on the architecture of pagan times, he claimed that "all bishops' palaces, Charter[40] buildings, churches and rectories should be built in the Gothic style". Naturally, according to him, all Catholics, not only ecclesiastic bodies, should use the Gothic style for their buildings, either public or private: "all those who do not deny the Christian thought and feeling, Christian education, and their fathers' faith should build Gothic buildings".[41]

Kršnjavi's criticism of the picturesque Gothic of the first half and the mid-19th century again corresponds to Pugin's views.[42] He even repeated the latter's opinion on the inappropriately low roofs in the northern and central parts of Europe,[43] which suggests that he had read the original versions (or the German

[36] Iso Kršnjavi, 'Kuće gotskog sloga u Zagrebu', *Vienac*, 13 (33) (13 August 1881), 526–527; Augustus W. N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, 1841), 1.

[37] Kršnjavi, 'Kuće gotskog sloga u Zagrebu', 527.

[38] Ibidem, 526. He made similar statements in: Izidor Kršnjavi, 'Nürnberg i njegovi muzeji', *Vienac*, 20 (12) (15 May 1880), 319.

[39] Kršnjavi, 'Kuće gotskog sloga u Zagrebu', 528.

[40] Prvostolni Kaptol; it was an institution of the Catholic Archbishopric of Zagreb.

[41] Kršnjavi, 'Nürnberg i njegovi muzeji', 319.

[42] Izidor Kršnjavi, 'Nürnberg i njegovi muzeji [2]', *Vienac*, 21 (12) (22 May 1880), 334.

[43] Kršnjavi, 'Kuće gotskog sloga u Zagrebu', 528; Pugin, *The True Principles*, 10–11.

translations) of the books *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* and *Contrasts*. Of course, he may have adopted Pugin's views through German literature (e.g. works by August Reichensperger, who incorporated Pugin's concepts in his own books).[44] It is possible, however, that Kršnjavi was familiar with Pugin's work because he considered him to be one of the most significant neo-Gothic architects of the 19th century.

Later on, Kršnjavi abandoned his belief in Gothic as the best and universal style, suitable for buildings of various purposes. The reason for this might have lain largely in the fact that not a single Croatian architect, not even Bollé, made exclusively neo-Gothic designs. Kršnjavi's praises of Gothic, however, exerted a powerful influence on Croatian architecture at the time when his texts were published and when the first monumental neo-Gothic projects were realized, such as Bollé's chapel of the seminary, houses for canons and prebendaries and the Evangelical church and rectory in Zagreb.

The seminary building, located north of the Zagreb Cathedral, was so damaged by the 1880 earthquake that its eastern section had to be entirely rebuilt. In 1882–1883 Bollé designed a two-storey chapel which was constructed in the courtyard of the newly-built wing of the building. The nave of the first floor (the main space) of the chapel was not vaulted but covered with an open wooden roof, resting on Gothic arches, and painted with stylized neo-Gothic decoration. Bollé copied this type of nave roofing from Schmidt's church of St Brigitte in Viennese Brigittenau, where he himself had worked during his Vienna period. Schmidt had probably borrowed this element from the English Victorian Gothic.[45]

A shortage of funds prevented Bollé from fully applying the principle of truthful use of material on the front façades of both the seminary building and the accompanying chapel, as well as on the earlier-built St Mary Magdalene's monastery and chapel in Zagreb (1879). Only parts of the façades (corbels, window frames, parts of the buttresses) were made of facing brick, while the rest was plastered. There are only several buildings which illustrate a total application of this principle, most of them in Zagreb. They include two houses for prebendaries in Nova Ves, two houses for canons in Kaptol[46] and the Evangelical church and rectory in the Lower Town.

The new houses for prebendaries and canons were built in the first half of the 1880s on the site of former Baroque buildings (Fig. 11). Their neo-Gothic

[44] Karen David-Sirocko, *Georg Gottlob Ungewitter und die malerische Neugotik in Hessen, Hamburg, Hannover und Leipzig* (Petersberg, 1997), 17–177.

[45] Damjanović, 'Neogotička arhitektura u opusu Hermana Bolléa', 249–250.

[46] Kaptol and Nova Ves are two quarters in the old part of Zagreb.

Figure 11. Canon's house, 6 Kaptol Street, Zagreb, built according to Hermann Bollé's designs, 1881–1882. Source: author's photo

style, brick façades and roofs covered with polychrome glazed tiles were introduced by Bollé and the main initiator of their construction, Kršnjavi, as a way to encourage a complete renovation of the entire area of Kaptol in the neo-Gothic style. However, the project failed because the people in Zagreb did not care for this type of façade. The tradition of plastered façades was too deeply rooted in this city, and the price of facing brick too high for its widespread use in Croatian architecture. Bollé, therefore, could not be as "true" or "honest" in his use of construction material as he wished.

Almost at the same time as he was working on the canons' houses, Bollé was presented with an opportunity to design an Evangelical church and rectory (1881–1884) for the small Protestant community in Zagreb (Fig. 12). The façades of this single-aisled church with one bell tower and a Greek-cross plan were modelled on the aforementioned Church of St Brigitte in Viennese Brigittenau.[47] Similarities are especially apparent in the framing of the windows, the form of the corbel with rows of bricks forming a stepped pattern, in the form of the bell tower, etc. This Viennese church was designed under a strong influence of the

[47] Maruševski, 'Herman Bollé – arhitekt restaurator i obrtnik', 55; 'Die evangelische Kirche zu Agram', *Illustrirte Zeitung*, 2053 (1882), 396, 399.

Figure 12. Evangelical church and rectory in Zagreb, built according to Hermann Bollé's designs, 1881–1884. Source: author's collection of postcards

Gothic style used in Hanseatic cities[48] but probably also of the style adopted by Pugin for St Chad's Cathedral in Birmingham.

After the completion of the houses in Kaptol and Nova Ves, and the Evangelical rectory, Bollé had hardly any opportunity to design a residential building in the neo-Gothic style. Neo-Gothic was not a universal style used in all types of buildings in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as was the case in Victorian Britain. Its use in Croatia was, therefore, also rare. Apart from churches, Bollé managed to get only a few commissions for neo-Gothic buildings, which included cemetery chapels and monuments, and one public building owned by the Brod Estate Management Office in Vinkovci (1909–1910).[49]

[48] Monika Keplinger, 'Zum Kirchenbau Friedrich Schmidts', in: *Friedrich von Schmidt (1825–1891): Ein gotischer Rationalist* (Wien, 1991), 22–23.

[49] Dragan Damjanović, 'Kompleks zgrada Brodske imovne općine u Vinkovcima, nepoznato djelo arhitekta Hermana Bolléa', *Scrinia Slavonica*, 11 (2011), 182–205.

The Evangelical church in Zagreb was one of the few ecclesiastic buildings that Bollé built with a *Rohbau* façade. Numerous elements of this façade were repeated in his later neo-Gothic buildings, erected in the 1880s and at the beginning of the 1890s. The form of the bell towers, windows and other architectural decorative elements of the Catholic parish churches in Granešina (1886–1887), Franjindol (1887–1888) and Erdevik (1889–1890) bear many resemblances to the above-mentioned church in Zagreb.[50] In addition to being the largest of the three, the three-aisled church with two towers in Franjindol near Zemun had brick façades, whereas the façades of the other two churches were mostly plastered.[51] They were all richly decorated with wall paintings and equipped with altars, pews and other furniture items which had been made by teachers and students of the Arts and Crafts School in Zagreb. All the interiors designed by Bollé were characterized by rich colours (of wall paintings and furniture), great attention to detail and handicrafts. Bollé's designs of church equipment drawn in Indian ink and watercolour show his virtuoso drawing style and can be considered artworks in their own right.

In the subsequent decades, Bollé was entrusted with designing almost every new and considerably large church in the Zagreb archdiocese. He earned the position of an archdiocesan architect partly thanks to his conversion to Catholicism in 1884. The change of religion was, or at least so it seems, motivated more by opportunism than true belief.

The majority of the new Catholic churches which he built from the early 1890s to the beginning of World War I were very picturesque (Tounj, 1897; Dugo Selo, 1899–1901), and in some of them, Bollé introduced a central plan (unexecuted design of the church in Rude, 1896). Almost all of them were designed in the neo-Gothic style, primarily because the purpose of this architecture was to highlight the function of the buildings – their difference from neo-Byzantine Orthodox churches, neo-Moorish Jewish synagogues or neo-Renaissance residential and public buildings. In the country where 70–75% of the population were Catholic, and the rest consisted of Orthodox, Jewish and Evangelical religious minorities, the Gothic style bore the stamp of Western Christianity and was recognized as the main style of the Catholic architecture in the last decades of the 19th century. Since Catholicism was an important element of Croatian national identity, it is not surprising that attempts at forming a national Croatian architectural style used some (neo-)Gothic elements as their basis.

[50] Damjanović, 'Neogotička arhitektura u opusu Hermana Bolléa', 256–258.

[51] Franjindol (German: Franztal) was at that time the biggest village in Srijem populated by Germans. When they fled or were expelled from the area following World War II, the church was demolished (in the 1950s). Ivan Krašnjak, 'Herman Bollé u Srijemu', *Osječki zbornik*, 27 (2004), 181–201.

Neo-Gothic and the attempt at forming a national Croatian style

In addition to being the major inspiration for the restoration of other important medieval monuments in Croatia, St Mark's Church was also the first building used to turn neo-Gothic into a sort of Croatian national style. As was the case with other peoples in Western and Central Europe (and especially in a multi-ethnic state such as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy where the formation of national style was considered critical for the protection of national identity),[52] Croatian artists and architecture theoreticians thought that either Gothic or a combination of elements from Gothic and traditional Croatian art could be a basis for the formation of a Croatian national architectural style.[53]

Since Gothic had long been considered a sort of German national style, the restoration of St Mark's Church was clearly announced as a project in which Schmidt, in spite of his German background, would use a "non-German Gothic" style.[54] His designs thus contained elements derived from the vernacular Croatian textiles, as attested by the polychrome glazed roof and its decorative patterning.[55] Large coats-of-arms of Croatia and Zagreb in the centre of the southern part of the church roof served as a sort of symbol of national defiance against the Hungarians. It made them popular among the people, especially after the Hungarian press published critical remarks that the coats-of-arms lacked the Hungarian crowns.[56]

Kršnjavi started promoting Gothic as the basis of the Croatian national architectural style even before the completion of the restoration works on St Mark's Church. In the text where he also emphasized Pugin's principles of Gothic, he expressed his belief that Gothic was the only style which could "lead to a national Croatian style in architecture".[57]

The first person to incorporate Kršnjavi's ideas and beliefs into architectural projects was once again Bollé. Encouraged by the former, he started introducing motifs from the traditional rural architecture of Srijem and Slavonia (the eastern parts of Croatia) into his neo-Gothic designs. Wooden organ lofts (such as

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[52] For more on the situation in Central Europe, see Barry Bergdoll, 'The Ideal of the Gothic Cathedral in 1852', in: *A. W. N. Pugin. Master of Gothic Revival* (New Haven–London, 1995), 130–131.

[53] Dragan Damjanović, 'Herman Bollé and Croatian Pavilions at the Exhibitions in Trieste (1882) and Budapest (1885 and 1896)', *Centropa*, 10 (3) (2010), 231–243.

[54] 'Nove umjetničke gradnje u Zagrebu', *Vienac*, 17 (7) (24 April 1875), 280.

[55] 'Popravak crkve Sv. Marka', *Vienac*, 46 (8) (11 November 1876), 755; Damjanović, 'Polychrome Roof Tiles', 466–491.

[56] Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti [Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts], XV46A1/Krš. 5, Mrazović estate, Iso Kršnjavi's letter to Lacko Mrazović, Weidling bei Klosterneuburg, 17 July 1879.

[57] Kršnjavi, 'Kuće gotskog sloga u Zagrebu', 526.

Figure 13. Hermann Bollé, chapel in Gustelnica, 1887–1888. Source: author's photo

those in the seminary chapel in Zagreb and the parish church in Erdevik) were designed to resemble porches of houses in rural areas of Croatia. Bollé designed several buildings which combined elements of traditional Croatian architecture and neo-Gothic. The most important of them was the wooden church in the village of Gustelnica near Zagreb, built in 1887–1888 (Fig. 13). It is located in the area of Turopolje, where wooden churches are a typical feature, which is probably why Bollé chose this material. Most of the motifs used in the church in Gustelnica were derived from traditional Croatian architecture. However, the wooden rib vault above the chancel, the doors and the tower featured Gothic elements.[58] The combination of Croatian vernacular and Gothic elements was applied by Bollé also in the designs of the Croatian pavilions at the 1885 and 1896 exhibitions in Budapest, as well as in the designs of certain villas (such as Villa Weiss in Zagreb, 1890).[59]

[58] Janko Barlé, *Povijest turopoljskih župa* (Zagreb, 1911), 125–395; Ljiljana Nikolajević, 'Herman Bollé u Turopolju', *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora Hrvatske*, 29 (4) (1980), 36–43.

[59] For more about the pavilions, see Damjanović, 'Herman Bollé and Croatian Pavilions', 231–243.

A similar combination of styles was also used by August Posilović, a Croatian artist, primarily a painter, who practised architecture as a layman. He took motifs from traditional decorative painting (on painted gourds or wooden objects) and introduced them into the Gothic church wall paintings. The best-preserved example of his style can be found in the church in Veleševec, which was decorated in 1885 (see Fig. 2).

The idea of Gothic as the basis of the Croatian national style was abandoned at the beginning of the 20th century when Croatian architects turned to the pre-Romanesque heritage of Dalmatia in their search for a more appropriate national style.

Schmidt's students and neo-Gothic restorations in Croatia

Although only several medieval monuments belonging to certain esteemed noblemen, none of whom had been Croatian rulers, could be found in 19th-century Croatia, Gothic and medieval churches were perceived as important national monuments and as witnesses of the history of Croatian regions, cities and villages. Apart from the wish to make them more attractive, the historical value of these monuments was the main driving force behind their restoration projects. The medieval churches in Croatia had not been destroyed during a revolution, as in France, or as a result of Protestant iconoclasm, as had been the case in England. Still, they had been significantly altered by Baroque renovation under the influence of the Counter-Reformation and damaged during battles fought in the areas controlled by the Ottomans from the 16th to the 18th century.

Almost all important neo-Gothic restoration projects executed in Croatia at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century were designed by Croatian architects who had studied under Schmidt at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, mainly Bollé and Vancaš.[60] It is therefore understandable why the majority of the restoration projects resembled the restoration of St Mark's Church and the Zagreb Cathedral. Gothic churches were restored to their presumed original state either by redesigning Baroque architectural elements or by removing them, together with Baroque furniture. Architectural elements used in the restoration were most frequently borrowed from High Gothic. Expensive materials (such as stone) were rarely used because of financial reasons, and the lack of sophisticated architectural articulation of the church interior was compensated by the rich polychromy of the walls and lavish, mostly wooden, equipment (high-quality oak).

[60] The situation was similar in the rest of Central Europe: József Sisa, 'Neo-Gothic Architecture and Restoration of Historic Buildings in Central Europe: Friedrich Schmidt and his School', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 61 (2) (2002), 170–187.

The majority of the neo-Gothic restoration projects carried out at the end of the 19th century were conducted by Bollé. The earliest projects, those realized in the 1880s, were mostly restorations of Gothic churches in Zagreb and its surroundings after the 1880 earthquake, while the reasons behind the later restoration projects were primarily of an aesthetic nature.

Bollé's first neo-Gothic restoration after the earthquake was carried out in 1881–1882 in the church in Remete near Zagreb. Originally built in the 14th century, and later renovated in the Baroque style, this church had been heavily damaged by the earthquake. The kind of restoration as the one undertaken in the Zagreb Cathedral was impossible because of financial reasons. The Baroque elements were partially removed, some of the old Gothic windows were restored, and the nave was covered with an open wooden roof, similar to that in the seminary chapel in Zagreb. However, Bollé retained the old Baroque marble altar in the Gothic apse, the lavishly-painted organ loft and the Baroque main façade.[61]

While working on this church, Bollé started preparing the project for the restoration of the Franciscan church in Zagreb, situated in Kaptol in the vicinity of the cathedral. This medieval structure, which had been thoroughly renovated and extended in the 17th century, suffered serious damage during the earthquake: fissures appeared in the walls of the western, Baroque, part of the building, the main façade and all four walls of the bell tower, the two top storeys of which had to be torn down due to numerous cracks. The shortage of funds delayed the restoration of the church; work started five years after the earthquake and lasted almost two decades. In 1902, when the restored church was consecrated, little remained of its appearance from the period before the earthquake. Bollé added two new storeys and a new tower top, restored the chancel, replaced the previous vault in the nave with a neo-Gothic one and built new neo-Gothic windows, the organ loft and the main façade. Decorative wall paintings in the interior, together with the entire church furnishings, were made according to Bollé's designs.[62]

At the end of his career, between 1907 and 1923, Bollé also restored in a very similar manner the Franciscan church in a small town of Ilok in Slavonia (Fig. 14). Almost all traces of Baroque were removed from the church: portals, vaults, furniture and façade plaster. The height of the windows was increased,

[61] Janko Barlé, *Remete. Povijesni podaci o samostanu, crkvi i župi* (Zagreb, 1914); Dragan Damjanović, 'Herman Bollé i restauracija župne (ranije pavlinske) crkve u Remetama nakon potresa 1880. godine', *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 35 (68) (2011), 69–85.

[62] Mladen Barbarić, *Kratka povijest crkve i samostana franjevačkog u Zagrebu* (Zagreb, 1906), 20; Vatroslav Frkin, 'Herman Bollé i obnova franjevačkih sakralnih objekata', *Život umjetnosti*, 29–30 (1980), 182; Paškal Cvekan, *Kaptolski Franjevci, kulturno-povijesni prikaz djelovanja Franjevaca kroz 770 godina na Kaptolu u Zagrebu* (Virovitica, 1990), 104.

Figure 14. Interior of the Franciscan church in Ilok, restored by Hermann Bollé in 1907–1923. Source: author's photo

the entire nave covered with Gothic vaults and the surviving Gothic consoles and keystones replaced by replicas. The interior received new furniture and wall paintings similar to those in Zagreb's Franciscan church, modelled on the paintings in St Francis' Church in Assisi.

Since the financial backing of the restoration project in Ilok was better than in Zagreb, Bollé succeeded in returning to some of his original principles. He removed plaster from the façade, restored the brick on it and created a *Rohbau* façade.[63]

During the 1890s, Bollé conducted his probably most successful restoration project, the Greek Catholic Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Križevci (Fig. 15),

[63] Olga Maruševski, 'Franjevačke crkve u obzorju devetnaestoga stoljeća', in: *Mir i dobro. Umjetničko i kulturno naslijeđe Hrvatske franjevačke provincije sv. Ćirila i Metoda o proslavi stote obljetnice utemeljenja* (Zagreb, 2000), 269. More on the restoration in: Frkin, 'Herman Bollé i obnova franjevačkih sakralnih objekata', 184–185; Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Iloku* (Ilok, 1986), 116–133.

which represents, alongside the Zagreb Cathedral, the most important achievement of neo-Gothic in Croatia. What was originally a Gothic Augustinian and then Franciscan church renovated in the Baroque style became a Greek Catholic cathedral at the end of the 18th century. In restoration designs for other Greek Catholic churches, Bollé used his own version of the Byzantine style in order to emphasize the eastern liturgy of this Church. However, in the case of the church in Križevci, he chose neo-Gothic out of respect for the original style of the building. Nevertheless, he used certain Byzantine elements (such as a mosaic on the main façade and some elements of the iconostasis) to underline the "uniatism" of the Križevci Cathedral and its role as the main church of Croatian Greek Catholicism which united the religious traditions of both West and East.

Bollé removed almost all traces of Baroque or Neoclassicism from the façade and the bell tower of the cathedral, and the main façade was entirely rebuilt – a Gothic porch covered with a gable roof with a mosaic decoration on it was added to the portal on the first floor. The nave was topped with high rib vaults. All walls and vaults were decorated with painted motifs, and the interior was furnished with equipment created by the teachers and students of the Arts and Crafts School in Zagreb.

A large gilded iconostasis was placed between the chancel and the nave (Fig. 16). It consisted mainly of Gothic elements so that it resembled more the choir screens of English (neo-)Gothic churches than the typical iconostasis made for Greek Catholic or Orthodox churches at the time.

Bollé's designs for this church owed their unrivalled success and significance to considerable financial resources, far exceeding those in any other restoration project, except the Zagreb Cathedral. The restoration was funded mostly by the Croatian government.[64] Bollé completed the restoration designs in 1894, and the church was restored between 1895 and 1897.[65]

The unusual combination of neo-Gothic and neo-Byzantine elements makes this cathedral exceptional not only in Bollé's oeuvre but in the history of Croatian, and even Central European, historicism. The church furnishing has been preserved in its entirety so this building rightly represents one of the most important examples of *Gesamtkunstwerk* in Croatian historicism.

The second important architect who took part in the restoration of monuments in Croatia at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was Josip Vancaš (1859–1932). He also received education in Vienna, first at the Technical College (where he was influenced by Ferstel) and then at the Academy

[64] 'Posveta stolne crkve u Križevcih', *Narodne novine*, 144 (1897), 2–3.

[65] Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj*, 135; eadem, 'Grkokatolička katedrala svetog Trojstva i biskupski dvor u Križevcima', *Tkalčić. Godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije*, 4 (2000), 369–387.

Figure 15. Herman Bollé, design for the restoration of the main façade of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Križevci, 1893. Source: Archdiocesan Archives, Zagreb, sign. II-78

Figure 16. Iconostasis in the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Križevci, built according to Hermann Bollé's designs, 1895–1897. Source: author's photo

of Fine Arts where he studied under Schmidt. He showed potential already during his student days, which led to him being recommended by Schmidt to the Austro-Hungarian authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the architect who would design the new Catholic cathedral in Sarajevo, the capital of the province. The construction of the cathedral was to be a sign of the new position of the Catholic Church in Bosnia after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of this country. It was built in 1884–1889 in the transitional Romanesque-Gothic style, with a predominance of Gothic elements, and became the largest and most monumental Catholic church in the province. The reputation earned by Vancaš due to the architectural quality of the church helped him obtain the post of the main architect of the archbishop of Sarajevo, Josip Stadler. In the following three decades, Vancaš designed and built the bishop's residence in Sarajevo and numerous Roman Catholic parish churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition, he was in charge of either creating new or restoring almost all of the existing Franciscan monasteries and churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[66]

Although Vancaš spent most of his career in Bosnia, he also worked in Croatia, seeing as he was of Croatian origin. At the turn of the 20th century, he restored two significant parish churches in Croatia – in Desinić (1900–1902) and Oštarije (1901–1903) – and built almost a completely new parish church in Krapina (1899–1902).

The restoration of the church in Desinić was his most important neo-Gothic restoration project in Croatia (Fig. 17). The façades were renovated in the neo-Gothic style, the interior walls were painted with new frescos, and the church was equipped with new furniture, which has survived to this day. The rich polychromy of the church makes it very similar to the ones designed by Bollé and Schmidt.[67] In Oštarije in the Lika region, Vancaš rebuilt what was left of the three-aisled Gothic church after the war against the Ottomans – he based his restoration design on the chancel and added a new, simple neo-Gothic bell tower.[68] In Krapina, he retained only the old bell tower, which he renovated completely in the neo-Gothic style with a top resembling the one on the Franciscan church in Zagreb (Fig. 18). Instead of the original Gothic single-aisled building

[66] Josip Vancaš, 'Kako sam kao arhitekt došao u Bosnu', *Večernja Pošta*, 2724 (12 July 1930), 9; Jela Božić, *Arhitekt Josip pl. Vancaš. Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva*, doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo (Sarajevo, 1989); Ibrahim Krzović, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878–1918* (Sarajevo, 1987); Dragan Damjanović, 'Neogotička arhitektura Josipa Vancaša u Bosni i Hercegovini', *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 22 (1/47) (2014), 96–109.

[67] M. S., 'Obnova rimokatoličke župne crkve u Desiniću', *Vijesti Hrvatskog društva inženjera i arhitekata*, 4 (1903), 49–55.

[68] 'Rekonstrukcija rimokatoličke župne crkve u Oštarijama kraj Ogulina', *Vijesti Hrvatskog društva inženjera i arhitekata*, 8 (1901), 119–124.

Figure 17. Josip Vancaš, parish church in Desinić, restored in 1900–1902. Source: author's photo

Figure 18. Josip Vancaš, design for the parish church in Krapina, 1902–1903. Source: *Viesti Družtva inžinira i arhiteka u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, 1, 15 February 1904, 4

with a lateral chapel, Vancaš built a three-aisled church with the nave somewhat higher than the aisles and with rich neo-Gothic decoration. The interior was never painted, and because of that, it seems rather cold and too simple.[69]

All the restoration projects, carried out either by Vancaš or Bollé, were funded mostly by the Croatian government, and both architects were equally driven by the desire to remove all Baroque elements from the Gothic buildings and to make them more prominent.

Neo-Gothic in public and church architecture in Croatia in the late 19th and early 20th century

Even though Bollé and Vancaš played a key role in spreading the neo-Gothic style in Croatia, they were not responsible for all the major neo-Gothic buildings in the country. The parish church in Osijek (Fig. 19), the largest Catholic neo-Gothic church in Croatia, was built in 1893–1900 according to the designs of the rather unknown German architect Franz Langenberg from Bonn, who won the competition for the design of this church. The decision to use neo-Gothic was again influenced by bishop Strossmayer. Since Osijek was his hometown and the biggest town in his diocese, he wanted to be in control of the construction. Recent research has shown that Langenberg's winning design was almost identical to the work of his contemporaries, German architects Julius Flügge and Carl Nordmann, and their earlier design of St Maximilian's Church in Munich, which was published in 1889 in an esteemed German journal *Deutsche Bauzeitung*.[70] The three-aisled Gothic basilica with one bell tower, a transept and a polygonal chancel surrounded by an ambulatory was equipped with furniture made partly in the Viennese workshop of Eduard Hauser and stained glass windows made by the Tiroler Glasmalerei company in Innsbruck.

At the turn of the 20th century, neo-Gothic appeared sporadically in public architecture. Among the last and most significant examples of this style was the building of the Post and Telegraph Administration Office in Zagreb, built in 1902–1903 according to the designs of Hungarian architects Ernő Foerk and Gyula Sándy (Fig. 20).[71] They were given this commission mostly because

[69] Martin Pilar, 'Nova župna crkva u Krapini', *Vijesti Hrvatskog društva inženjera i arhitekata*, 1 (1904), 5–9. More on Vancaš's neo-Gothic works in Croatia in: Dragan Damjanović, 'Neogotička arhitektura u opusu Josipa Vancaša, Radovi u Italiji, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji', *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 22 (2/48) (2014), 252–267.

[70] Dragan Damjanović, 'Projekti za osječku župnu crkvu svetih Petra i Pavla i njihov autor Franz Langenberg', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 28 (2004), 296–307.

[71] Boris Dundović, 'The Palace of the Post and Telegraph Administration Office in Jurišićeva Street, Zagreb; Architectural and Stylistic Features', *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 24 (1/51) (2016), 14–31.

Figure 19. Franz Langenberg, parish church of St Peter and Paul in Osijek, 1893–1900. Source: *Viesti Družtva inžinira i arhitekta u Zagrebu*, 1, 1 January 1895, 4

Figure 20. Ernő Foerk and Gyula Sándy, building of the Post and Telegraph Administration Office in Zagreb, 1902–1903. Source: Collection of Postcards of the National and University Library, Zagreb

postal affairs were controlled by Budapest and were not a part of the Croatian autonomous public services. The building shows elements of Hungarian Art Nouveau and Gothic with a stone-and-brick main façade and a high painted roof.[72] Before its modernist renovation in the 1920s, it was one of the most peculiar creations in the 20th-century Zagreb architecture. It represented a gradual turn to modernism and at the same time, a distancing from the ideas of stylistic purity and integrity which were characteristic of the late neo-Gothic period in Central Europe.

From the beginning of the 20th century, the use of neo-Gothic in Croatian architecture became increasingly rare. Apart from Bollé, only a few older Croatian architects remained attached to historic styles. Croatian architecture was slowly being overcome by the influence of Secession from Vienna and other major cities in the monarchy (Prague, Budapest).

The turning point in the history of Croatian neo-Gothic came in the years 1906–1907 with the demolition of the walls and the tower in front of the Zagreb Cathedral. It was initiated by Kršnjavi and Bollé with the intent of creating an open space and therefore a clear view of the restored main façade of the cathedral. Discussions related to this act showed that modernist architectural trends had prevailed and that the history of Croatian neo-Gothic was coming to an end.

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[72] Ákos Moravánszky, *Die Architektur der Donaumonarchie* (Berlin, 1988), 139–148.

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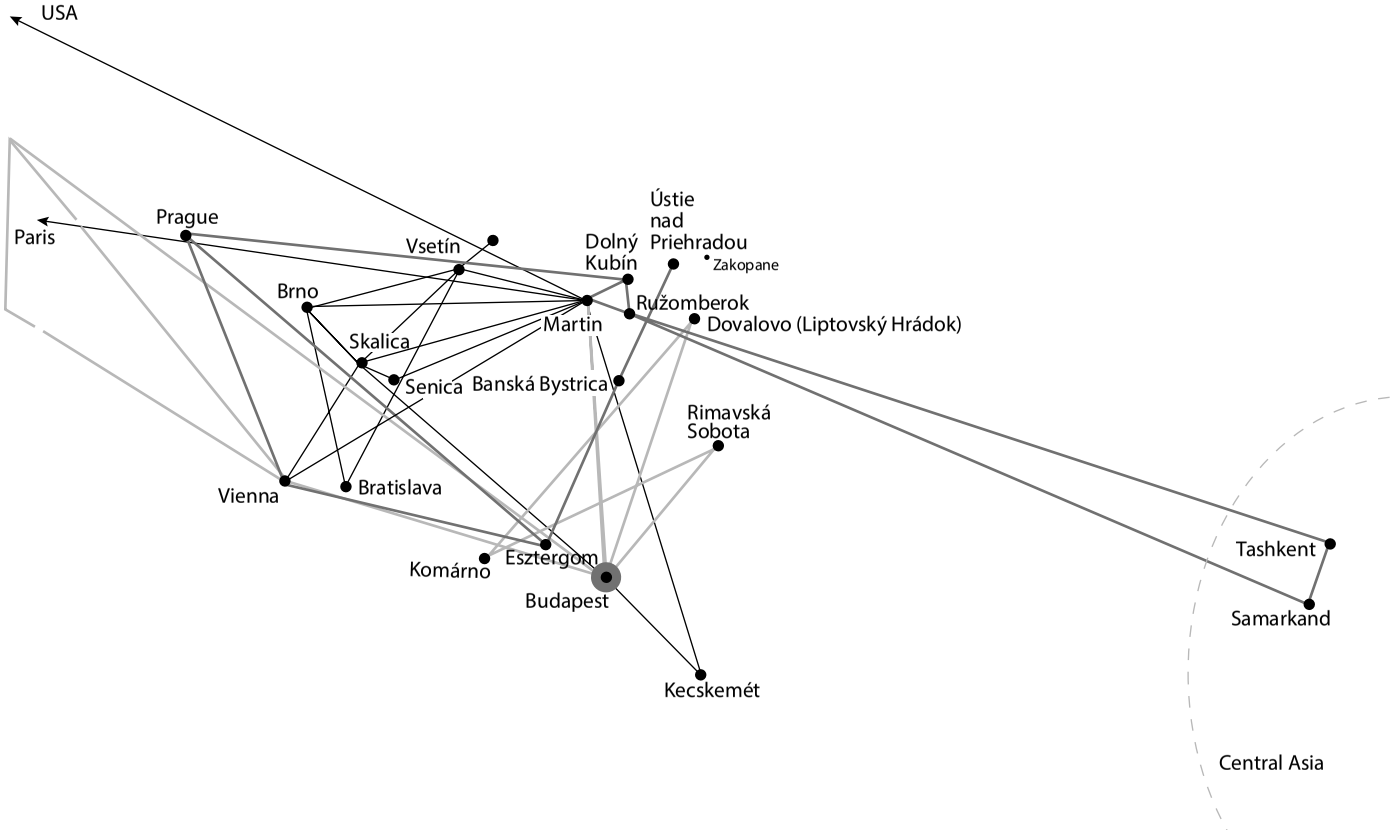
USA
Paris
Prague
Vsetín
Dolný Kubín
Ústie nad Priehradou
Zakopane
Brno
Ružomberok
Martin
Dovalovo (Liptovský Hrádok)
Skalica
Senica
Banská Bystrica
Rimavská Sobota
Vienna
Bratislava
Komárno
Esztergom
Budapest
Kecskemét
Tashkent
Samarkand
Central Asia

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Architects from the periphery: Ján Nepomuk Bobula and Blažej Félix Bulla. Genealogy of localness

The two Slovak architects figuring in the title are rather poorly recognized – apart from a narrow circle of Slovak art historians – although they both contributed to the creation of probably the two most important buildings symbolizing the institutionalization of the Slovak national movement in the second half of the 19th century. The 1860s marked the beginning of a more mature phase of emancipation, which attached greater importance to visual representations and manifestations located in urban public space. Ján Nepomuk Bobula (1844–1903) designed the first seat of the Slovak Matica (Matica slovenská, 1864; the unfinished building was opened in 1865 or 1869[1]), and Blažej Félix Bulla (1852–1919) – a multifunctional building of the (National) House (Národný dom, 1888), both in Turčiansky Svätý Martin. In line with the trends of the time, they were constructed in the historicizing Neo-Renaissance style.

At the time, emerging national groups used modernizing forms to spatially mark their presence. However, the Slovaks were essentially deprived of the opportunity to, for example, give Slovak names to streets or build monuments as manifestations of national identity.[2] For that reason, these two buildings occupy a special place in the cultural memory of the Slovaks as new symbols of the Slovak space (Fig. 1), even despite the lack of typically Slovak elements in their architectural style.

[1] The sources differ as to the date of the partial commissioning of the building. Existing photographs confirm that initially, only one full wing was built. It is also known that the money collected to finance the construction was not enough to implement Bobula's entire design, and the Neo-Renaissance elements which were meant to decorate the façade were never executed. The construction was only completed at the turn of the century when also the renovation of the previously built part took place; as a result, the building acquired a much more eclectic form.

[2] See Ľubomír Lipták, 'Kolektívne identity a verejné priestory', in: Moritz Csáky, Elena Mannová (eds.), *Kolektívne identity v strednej Európe v období moderny* (Bratislava, 1999), 117–131.

Figure 1. Postcard from Turčiansky Svätý Martin depicting the buildings of the (National) House and the Slovak Matica. Source: http://www.extraplus.sk/clanok/den-matice-slovenskej (accessed on 31.07.2018)

Their symbolic power was strengthened by the fact that they were located close to each other and dominated the mostly rural architecture of the then provincial city of Turčiansky Svätý Martin. They clearly contributed to the change of its symbolic position on the map of Upper Hungary (Slovakia) at that time, even though its exemplary advancement lasted only a few decades, until the breakup of Austria-Hungary. Although Martin's urban development is rarely described and assessed from this perspective, it is worth noting that this growth happened in the last decades of the Habsburg Monarchy. During the First Czechoslovak Republic and finally the modern Slovak Republic the city fell into decline.[3]

The architectural studio of Bulla, which had been located in Martin since 1883, contributed significantly to its development, especially by the exemplary way in which it visualized local Slovak identity. Bobula's influence was also significant, though not as noticeable in retrospect, because the traces he had left in the space considered to be Slovak were less visually striking. Although as an architect he was mainly active in Budapest, he also presented and promoted

[3] Cf. Ivan Kučma, 'Mýtus stredu. Martin ako centrum slovenskosti', in: Eduard Krekovič, Elena Mannová, Eva Krekovičová (eds.), *Mýty naše slovenské* (Bratislava, 2005), 150–162.

construction issues in the Slovak press, e.g. in the first professional Slovak economic magazine *Obzor* (The Horizon), published in Skalica by Daniel Lichard (1812–1882), who was the grey eminence of the Slovak national movement. In the context of Bobula's less obvious influence on Martin, it is worth mentioning that it was in his Budapest studio, in the early 1890s, that another Slovak architect, Michal Harminc (1869–1964), was employed for some time (before he founded his own studio in Budapest). Harminc is known, among others, for designing two buildings symbolizing Martin's institutional and symbolic growth: the building of the Slovak National Museum (Slovenské národné múzeum, 1906–1908) and the headquarters of Tatra Bank (1910–1914). Both, deemed to be a breakthrough in his career, were designed in the same conformist style, devoid of regional character, as the Slovak Matica or the (National) House, reproducing Viennese and Budapestian solutions for this type of buildings. Nevertheless, it is Harminc who is considered the doyen of Slovak architecture and the master of historical styles.[4]

I see a great paradox in the fact that the names of these architects do not widely feature in the cultural memory of the Slovaks or are controversial, as in the case of Bobula who is better known in the Slovak historiography as the founder of the political party called New Slovak School (Nová škola slovenská), which pressed for political cooperation with Hungarian liberals. Moreover, in this paradox, I see the logic of the relationship between the centre and the periphery, the essence of which was captured by Slovak art historian, Ján Bakoš, who defined it as the art of hegemony.[5] I will attempt to expose the multidimensionality of this paradox, not so much by outlining the intricacies of the professional lives of Bobula and Bulla, or by pointing out the diversity of their architectural designs and construction projects, but by showing their position in the network of cultural relationships, in which they became important links. They were both successful, enjoying recognition in their local, though different, environments, and they shared a similar posthumous fate, which was largely the consequence of their peripheral location. One could say that they both became hostages of a social/national structure that tended to close itself off, shutting them in a "peripheral cage".[6] Although they were innovators in many fields and

[4] Cf. Elena Lukáčová, Jana Pohaničová, *Rozmanité 19. storočie. Architektúra na Slovensku od Hefeleho po Jurkoviča* (Bratislava, 2008), 128; Henrieta Moravčíková (ed.), *Architektúra na Slovensku. Stručné dejiny* (Bratislava, 2005), 123.

[5] See Ján Bakoš, *Periféria a symbolický skok. Úvahy o teórii dejín umenia a kultúrnej histórii* (Bratislava, 2000), esp. 206–209.

[6] I borrow this term from the already-mentioned Bakoš. See ibidem, 10. Bakoš also revolves around this metaphor in his sociological analysis of the status of the Slovak artist. *Umelec v klietke* (Artist in a Cage) was published in 1999, but it includes studies conducted from the second half of the 1960s until the 1990s.

found themselves in the epicentres of turbulent changes, introducing – due to their profession – new ways of creating a common public space (on the local, national and supranational level) and inspiring next generations of architects, their cultural legacy – also understood as an effort to incorporate Slovak culture into the mainstream of cultural change and the circulation of ideas and patterns – has not been fully recognized and still, I believe, not properly evaluated.[7]

Their works absorbed and assimilated larger-scale narrative subjects (e.g. national-centric movements and their icons), which derived their strength from the accumulation of threads rather than their intricate weaving. Bulla's architectural inventions, stemming from his fascination with Orava folklore and the visual experience of his childhood, were overshadowed by the works of his disciple, Dušan Jurkovič (1868–1947). This Slovak architect is much better recognized internationally, and his projects, such as the Society House (Spolkový dom) in Skalica, are considered iconic examples of the so-called Slovak national style. Bobula, on the other hand, as a designer and builder of palaces, tenement houses and public buildings in Budapest, was almost eliminated from the Slovak cultural memory as an architect. His image was overshadowed by accusations of lack of national spirit[8] and even his pioneering approach to construction and building law in the entire Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy was forgotten. And yet on a Slovak scale, his practical advice is unique since architecture was on the margins of social interest.[9] As early as the 1860s, he started publishing a series of articles under the common title *Z odboru nášho staviteľstva* (The Field of Our Building Activity) in the permanent column of the *Obzor* magazine.[10] These texts, adapted to local, Slovak conditions, reached a wide audience, including in the countryside, which was an integral part of the author's bigger

[7] One could even say that historians have been stuck in stereotypical interpretations. Cf. e.g. Lukáčová, Pohaničová, *Rozmanité 19. storočie*, 123.

[8] Jozef Hlavaj in the architectural magazine *Slovenský stavitel* (Slovak Builder) expressed in 1934 the following opinion about Bobula (contrary to the facts, since the 1860s were the time of Bobula's most intense involvement in the Slovak national movement): "While we are reluctant to recall the activities of the dissenter Slovak, the builder of Pest, Ján Bobula, working in the service of the Hungarian authorities between 1860 and 1870, we are more likely to recall the other Slovak, Blažej Bulla" (all quotes from Slovak included in this article were translated by the author). Jozef Hlavaj, 'Rozpomienka na staviteľa Blažeja Bullu', *Slovenský staviteľ*, IV, 10 (1934), 289. There are many examples of such negative opinions about Bobula's attitude towards the national movement, although of course there are also more balanced judgements. I am quoting this example because it is the only text known to me in which the extremely negative stigmatization of Bobula appears as a background for the positive assessment of Bulla's construction and architectural activity. This is, in fact, one of the few instances in which these two figures appear in a mutual context.

[9] Cf. Elena Lukáčová, 'Vývin architektúry na Slovensku v rokoch 1848–1890', *ARS*, 1–6 (1972–1974), 99.

[10] See ibidem, 141.

plan to educate people in this area. After all, he wrote: "Knowing well that in our nice 'Territory' [*Okolie*, an administrative unit, the separation of which was postulated in the Memorandum of the Slovak Nation – A.K.] no palaces are built, and rarely even one-storey houses, I intend to begin my remarks at the village, later moving on to the city".[11]

I believe that the analysis of Bobula's and Bulla's positions in the network of cultural links and the recognition of the paths leading to them allows us to capture the ambiguity and ambivalence of how the Slovak (and not only Slovak) national community was formed at both local and central level in the wider intercultural space. Looking from a non-national/supranational perspective, centred around the biographies of the two architects (although they are not the purpose of the presentation itself), one can see the mechanisms of the formation and functioning of local communities and the flow of patterns used by them. Let us call it the logic of locality. A part of it, or a manifestation of it, are the processes of creating specific densities of locality. They lead to the strengthening of regional dependencies and result in the formation of stronger, more visible local structures and impacts, one measure of which is the degree of their organization (including, for example, urban centres). Strong locality can generate patterns on a regional or even supraregional scale, which can spread to the surroundings and compete with the dictate of fashion imposed by "consecrated" centres, even if the locality turns out to be an island, a point or a dispersed one. These densities rarely form on their own, as a kind of *genius loci*. More often, they originate as a result of complex circumstances overlapping simultaneously, which consist of direct and indirect interactions (flows of people, patterns, ideas). Through the "creative" meeting in space and time of various factors, the potential of a particular place stemming from its specificity and the potential of the "participants" of the meeting themselves are unlocked. However, these processes are not always obvious or easy to reconstruct in hindsight, when a lot of time has passed since their initiation. In my opinion, the architects that I have chosen reveal these relationships well and help bring attention not only to the manifestations of locality but also its genealogy.

Roads leading to and from centres

Bobula and Bulla came from families where Slovak was spoken.[12] They were born and spent their childhood in small villages in the north of today's Slovakia:

[11] Ján Nepomuk Bobula, 'Z odboru nášho staviteľstva', *Obzor. Noviny pre hospodárstvo, remeslo a domáci život*, I, 8 (15 December 1863), 3–4.

[12] There are mentions in the literature that both men had ancestors connected with Poland. Bobula's forebears arrived in the Liptov region in the 17th century.

Bobula in a relatively ethnically homogenous region of Liptov (the Dovalovo village, today part of Liptovský Hrádok), Bulla in the Orava borderland between Slovakia and Poland (in the village of Ústie nad Oravou, which does not exist today because it was flooded in 1954 by the waters of the Orava Reservoir after the construction of a dam). The age difference between them was eight years. It may not seem very important from the present-day perspective, but it should nevertheless be noted that they were both born in the mid-19th century. The significance of this fact becomes apparent when we consider their educational paths – they studied architecture and construction, Bobula at the end of the 1860s in Pest[13] and Bulla in the 1870s at the Technical University in Prague,[14] at the time when this leading technical university in the whole of Austria was divided into the Czech and German parts. This period was marked by the political and legal changes in the Habsburg Monarchy of the 1860s, which had a serious impact on the Slovak national movement, contributing to its revitalization, better institutional legitimacy and greater ideological diversity. The second half of the 19th century also brought the acceleration of modernization processes in these areas in terms of technology and communication (e.g. railway, telegraph, more modern building technologies). Bobula, as the elder of the two, became a pioneer of these changes in many areas of social life (far beyond the construction of buildings and their embedding in space), setting their future course. Younger by less than a decade, Bulla was, in a way, one of their first beneficiaries.

The biography of Bobula fits the scenario of a fulfilled "American dream". His father was a shoemaker, occasionally a carpenter, but he also kept cultivating his own piece of land to improve the financial situation of the family. However, he was perceived by the other inhabitants of the village of Dovalovo as being better off.[15] Bobula's parents took care of their son's chances for social advancement; having noticed his talent for drawing, they sent him to school in Komárno to learn Hungarian. This decision to provide their children with wider opportunities for professional development was quite typical of Slovak-speaking parents at the time. Thus, the trajectory of young Bobula's life led him to the south, to those areas of today's Slovakia where Hungarian settlement had been dominant for centuries. Bobula's father saw a future for him in the profession of a builder, and it should be added that in the region of Liptov seasonal emigration related to this industry was a frequent phenomenon.[16] However, Bobula obtained his high school diploma, as well as the diploma of a builder,

[13] In 1867–1871.

[14] In 1872–1877.

[15] See László Petro, *Ján Nepomuk Bobula (1844–1903). Život a dielo / Élete és munkássága* (Budapest, 2009), 7.

[16] Cf. Miroslav A. Huska, *Liptovskí murári* (Liptovský Mikuláš, 1968).

only in Pest, where he ended up in the early 1860s, after an apprenticeship with a renowned bricklayer from Rimavská Sobota (his father's friend). Young Bobula was greatly influenced by the numerous Slovak intelligentsia living in Pest at the time, and it was this environment that contributed in a way to his social advancement. A kind of patron and mentor of Bobula, his father-in-law, Jozef Pozdech, belonged to this group; he was a prosperous Slovak entrepreneur and inventor, who gained a worldwide reputation in the field of blacksmithing, and he also supported the Slovak national movement.[17] But it was not only with the Slovak Pestian elite that Bobula maintained close relationships, both private and professional. For example, Croatian archbishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer was the godfather of his first son.[18] Bobula also established close professional contacts with influential Hungarians, seeking among them support for his various undertakings (publishing, co-founding of professional and cultural associations, economic or building activities). This group included Ferenc Deák and Count Gyula Andrássy, major-league Hungarian politicians, as well as shareholders of the Minerva publishing and printing house he founded.[19] However, before Bobula fully spread his wings as a construction entrepreneur[20] (Fig. 2) and came to be considered as the first certified Slovak architect and builder, he went on a trip to the West, to Germany and France, to gain more experience.

All this professional preparation bore fruit in many ways. Bobula not only designed and built palaces on the Andrássy Avenue – a new communication axis and a representative street of Budapest modelled on the Parisian Champs-Élysées – numerous schools, hospitals and other public buildings, community houses,[21] and even a monument to Count István Széchenyi,[22] but he also became a pioneer of professional scientific reflection in the field of construction in the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as a pioneer in the field of construction law.[23]

The last decades of the 19th century saw Budapest transform from a provincial city into a modern metropolis competing with Vienna. Newcomers from the West compared it to the ascending American cities in terms of the dynamics

[17] See Ľuboš Kačírek, *Národný život Slovákov v Pešťbudíne v rokoch 1850–1875* (Budapest, 2016), 41–42.

[18] See ibidem, 41.

[19] See Petro, *Ján Nepomuk Bobula*, 11.

[20] The professional chapters of architects and builders have only just started forming at the time.

[21] The most complete presentation of Bobula's achievements is included in the monograph by László (Ladislav) Petro. See Petro, *Ján Nepomuk Bobula*.

[22] The monument, designed by sculptor József Engel, was erected in 1865–1880.

[23] See Petro, *Ján Nepomuk Bobula*, 16. He also promoted these issues – in 1892 he started editing and publishing the magazine *Építészeti szemle* (The Architectural Review) in Budapest.

Oznamy.

Mám česť ct. obecenstvu oznámiť, že aj do prajnejších okolností svojich, otvoril som v Pešti **staviteľsko-inžiniersku kancellariu.**

Pozývam tedy všetkých vlct. pp. aby s prácami svojimi z oboru staviteľsko-inžinierskeho s dôverou láskave ku mne obrátiť sa ráčili. Ja z mojej strany budem sa usilovať všetkým požiadavkám zadosť učiniť v najkratšom čase a za najprimeranejšiu cenu.

Pri stavbách menších vyhotujem plány v požiadanom slýle, výmery (Vorausmaasz) a rozpočty (Ueberschlag) v slovenskej, maďarskej, alebo nemeckej reči; pri väčších ale stavbách, pri ktorých sa cestovné útraty vyplatia, chcem zadosť učiniť nie len týmto požiadavkám, ale prevezmem i samu robotu, alebo architektickú časť stavánia. Inžinierske práce ale väčšieho rozmeru, jako meranie kommassovanie, vyhotovanie plánov atď. prijímam tiež za obstojatelnú cenu.

Na rozličné dotazy frankovaných listov rýchle sa odpovedá.

1867 v marci.

(2) 3—3. **Ján Nep. J. Bobula**
dipl. staviteľ- arch. a meračík
v Pešti, fabriková ulica č. 7.

Translation:

I am pleased to announce that I have successfully opened **a construction and engineering firm** in Pest.

Therefore, I invite all the honourable clients to kindly entrust me with their works in the field of construction and engineering. For my part, I will try to meet all expectations in the shortest time and at the best price.

For smaller buildings, I prepare plans in the desired style, calculations (Vorausmaasz) and cost estimates (Ueberschlag) in Slovak, Hungarian or German; for larger investments, where the costs of the investment have to be borne, I am ready not only to meet the above expectations but also to carry out all the work or the architectural part of the construction. Larger-scale engineering work, such as measuring, consolidation, preparation of plans, etc., is also accepted at an agreed price.

I quickly answer numerous questions sent in registered letters.

March 1867.

Ján Nep. J. Bobula
certified builder-architect
and measuring expert
Pest, 7 Fabriková Street

Figure 2. Advertisement of Bobula's construction company which appeared in 1867 in *Pešťbudínske vedomosti* (Pest-Buda News), a Slovak newspaper published in Buda. Source: *Pešťbudínske vedomosti*, VII, 26 (29 March 1867)

of development.[24] In such circumstances, Bobula provided thousands of his compatriots from Liptov with a regular or seasonal source of income, employing them in his construction firm which formed a part of his extensive business ventures. Unlike some conservative Slovak national activists, these people did not mind that from a young liberal, founder of the magazine *Slovenské noviny* (Slovak News), which was a mouthpiece of the New Slovak School, Bobula grew to become a technocrat.[25] Although his professional life was associated with the multiethnic capital city of that time, which was experiencing an extraordinary construction boom, Bobula never renounced his Slovakness.

The above outline of Bobula's professional life should be concluded with a piece of information which may not seem the most important against the background of the very extensive and versatile activity of this Slovak entrepreneur, mostly connected with Budapest. Nevertheless, this fact is highly symbolic in

[24] Cf. John Lukacs, *Budapest 1900. A Historical Portrait of a City and Its Culture* (New York, 1988), 53.

[25] See Ivan Halász, 'Ján Nepomuk Bobula', in: idem, *Uhorsko a podoby slovenskej identity v dlhom 19. storočí* (Bratislava, 2011), 147.

the context of his profession and its "common points" with the sphere of the *polis* – in the last years of his life, Bobula, whose name had already appeared in the first Hungarian monograph on the modernization of the Kingdom of Hungary,[26] supervised the construction of the Parliament.

In the context of his whole professional career, the time spent by Bobula in Martin was, therefore, very short but still significant. At the turn of 1864 and 1865, he was building, according to his own design, the seat of the most important cultural institution in Slovakia, the Slovak Matica. Its activities were to profoundly affect the centralization of national life of the Slovak province, located at a safe distance from the areas inhabited by the Hungarians.[27]

When the 20-year-old Bobula was supervising his first major construction project in Martin, Bulla, then 13 years old, was a student of a Catholic secondary school in Banská Bystrica. It became known for introducing teaching in Slovak at the beginning of the 1850s, as a result of the efforts of Bishop Štefan Moyzes (1797–1869), who later served as the first chairman of the Slovak Matica. The school was located in a quite modern building, which had been specially designed for educational purposes in the Romantic Classicism style and opened in 1858.[28] Before his "architectural meeting" with Bobula in the space of the small bourgeois Martin, created specifically for this institutional heart of Slovakia, Bulla completed two more stages of education, a high school in the Hungarian city of Esztergom and architectural studies in Prague. He obtained his degree in civil engineering under the supervision of Professor Josef Zítek (1832–1909),[29] educated in Vienna and regarded as the most significant Czech architect of the 19th century, with an excellent command of historical, especially Neo-Renaissance, styles. Dana Bořutová, who has followed Bulla's architectural development in the most thorough way, suggests that his acquaintance with the Czech architect and ethnographer Jan Koula (1855–1919) also dates back to the Prague period.[30] This relationship developed further in the 1880s during

[26] The book, entitled *A magyar ipar úttörői* (Pioneers of Hungarian Industry), was published in 1887 by Mór Gelléri. He mentioned Bobula next to Miklós Ybl, a famous architect who built, *inter alia*, the Budapest Opera House, university buildings and aristocratic palaces, and was the author of the project to rebuild the Royal Castle in Budapest.

[27] The institution was closed down by the Hungarian authorities in 1875, and its building was transformed into a post office.

[28] See Lukáčová, 'Vývin architektúry na Slovensku', 105.

[29] Peter Huba, the author of the first album monograph which presents Bulla's biography and architectural achievements in more detail, reports that in October 1874, Bulla also enrolled in a course taught by Professor Emanuel von Ringhoffer, as evidenced by the receipt of the matriculation fee payment which had been kept in his documents. See Peter Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov. Blažej Félix Bulla* (Martin, 2017), 11.

[30] See Dana Bořutová, 'Hľadanie pevného bodu: K problematike uplatnenia historických vzorov v architektonickom koncepte Blažeja Bullu', *ARS*, 2 (38) (2005), 204.

Koula's numerous visits to Slovakia (including Martin) when he was studying local vernacular and Gothic architecture. During his time in Prague, Bulla not only studied architecture and completed his first apprenticeship in his chosen profession but was also involved in the activities of the Detvan society founded by Slovakian students. From there, he did not go straight to Martin. For several years, until 1883, he ran his architectural studio in the not too distant Dolný Kubín,[31] located in his native Orava. These two towns formed an axis around which Bulla's architectural activity revolved. He designed numerous buildings, both public and private ones: churches, hospitals, schools, hotels, banks, breweries, fire brigade stations, houses and even farm buildings.[32]

While almost all of Bobula's architectural and construction activity was connected with Budapest, Bulla can be said to have marked three historical counties (*županijas*) with his studio's sign (Fig. 3): Orava, Liptov and Turiec. This encompasses almost the whole area of north-western Slovakia, where the borders of three countries, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Poland, meet today.

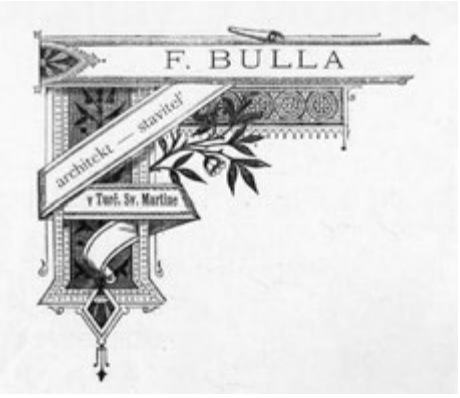

Figure 3. Logotype of Bulla's architectural studio in Martin. Source: Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov*, 88

[31] Most studies, including an extensive one published by Dana Bořutova in 2005, indicate that he opened a studio in Ružomberok, located in the region of Liptov in the north-west of Orava and Turiec. However, the author of the most recent one, Peter Huba, after consulting with Bulla's living relatives, claims that it must have been Dolný Kubín, where his uncle (Juraj Zvestoň Bulla) and his brother (Anton Pavel Bulla), who died prematurely of cholera, lived and worked as lawyers. According to Huba, Bulla returned there from Prague and in 1878, opened a construction and design office. See Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov*, 15.

[32] It should be noted that Bulla was a descendant of an old Orava family, from which hailed generations of village administrators. Thus, it represented the local elites of the small town in the Polish-Slovakian borderland where the Wallachian population mixed with the Slovak and Polish ones. Bulla's father, in turn, was a blacksmith famous for his dexterity.

The majority of his projects were of a smaller, less costly nature, since the large ones, funded by the central authorities, were usually commissioned to Budapest-based architects. At the beginning of his career as an architect, Bulla made efforts to get such commissions and submitted his designs (their drawings have been preserved) in official competitions but without success, as can be inferred from his further professional path which developed in the northern regions of the then Upper Hungary.[33]

Despite his studies in Prague, which at the time was under a very strong architectural influence from Vienna, and the Western trends shaping Bulla's work, indicated by Bořutová, one should not lose sight of its Hungarian context.[34] The author of the study *Hľadanie pevného bodu: K problematike uplatnenia historických vzorov v architektonickom koncepte Blažeja Bullu* (Searching for a Fixed Point: Implementation of Historic Patterns in the Architectural Work of Blažej Bulla) describes how the reflection on the Hungarian (*uhorský*) style in construction has developed in the Hungarian part of the monarchy since the publication in 1830 of the essay *Pesti por és sár* (The Dust and Mud of Pest) by Count István Széchenyi, who was inspired by the English style of rural dwellings. The style achieved its full aesthetic (and ideological) form, already as a purely national manifestation (the *maďarský* style), at the end of the 19th century in the work of Ödön Lechner, who directed his architectural gaze to Hungarian folklore and the East, to Asia (Persian and Indian designs). József Huszka, a drawing teacher with links to Transylvania, played an important role in this process, bringing folk art into the spotlight; since 1881, he collected folk ornaments and published catalogues of them. These collections, presenting the richness of folk embroidery, costumes, ceramics, sculpture and other manifestations of folk craftsmanship, aroused increasing interest.[35] This phenomenon was not limited to the area of Central Europe but occurred on the whole continent, having its origins, as most art historians stress, in the early Anglo-Saxon critique of industrialization and mass society, developed under the patronage of John Ruskin, the Pre-Raphaelite movement and finally the Arts and Crafts movement, established in the British Isles in 1888, which sought to revive traditional craftsmanship.

In light of these tendencies, Bulla's drawings, made at the very beginning of the 1880s, seem very current, i.e. they correspond to the architectural "spirit of the times", and their author can even be considered – certainly on a regional scale – as a pioneer in his thinking about architecture. They prove he was inspired

[33] See Bořutová, 'Hľadanie pevného bodu', 208.
[34] See ibidem.
[35] Ibidem, 215.

by his native folklore and attempted to introduce architectural solutions known from woodworking when using other building materials. It is impossible to view these drawings as secondary to the Western or the Hungarian aesthetic search, since not only were they created at the very beginning of the clear formation of national trends in architecture (even contributing to its inception) but also, in a way, sprang naturally from Bulla's visual environment. After all, he grew up in areas where handicraft traditions and folk patterns were not the subject of a nostalgic revitalization of harmony between nature and culture degenerated by industrialization; instead, they constituted a reservoir of still vibrant patterns of art and construction craft used by the inhabitants of mountain valleys. For practitioners such as Bulla (familiar with modern technologies and metropolitan solutions but working in a cultural environment which hindered their application and development), these patterns were readily available without catalogues or artistic manifestos. In Bulla's case, his peripheral location meant he found himself at the very source of what was soon to appear in the avant-garde of architecture: the desire to purge it of the stylistic palimpsest of historicism, the eclectic variant of which reached the limits of aesthetic capacity.

Unlike the Hungarian approach to the national style, Bulla's works do not show clear aesthetic influences (although the few drawings of his orientalizing projects testify to his search for inspiration in Eastern patterns as well). As an entrepreneur, at the end of the 19th century, he tried to do business abroad, in Central Asia, where he went – according to Huba – together with his wife, whose family came from there.[36] He stayed, among others, in Tashkent and Samarkand, an ancient city located at the crossroads of cultures, which could be reached at that time by the Trans-Caspian railway. Although he was not particularly successful there as an architect, he founded a choir and gathered numerous local folk songs. After a few years, he brought this collection back with him to Martin, where he again engaged in the cultural and social life of the city, less as an active architect and more as a lover of folklore, music and amateur theatre.

Bulla's deep fascination with folk art and his natural understanding of folklore were therefore apparent in almost all fields of his activity, namely as one of the aesthetic currents in his professional work as an architect, in the hobby he developed throughout his life, i.e. his involvement in the initiatives of the Slovak Choir (Slovenský spevokol), which officially operated in Martin since 1872,[37]

[36] Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov*, 133.

[37] The idea of establishing this type of society, cultivating the traditions of male singing, was born as early as 1864, according to Pavol Mudroň, who served as its chairman for over 40 years (after the first two months when Žigmund Melfelber occupied that post). In 1871, a statute was drafted, and after obtaining permission from the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior, the

or in the creation of his collection of folk music not limited to the Slovak area. At the end of his life, after returning from Russia, he moved away from construction and architecture and became more involved in artistic activities. However, he still served as an expert or advisor on various construction committees and in architectural competitions.[38] In this phase of his (post)professional activity, he designed the tombstone of Andrej Kmeť (1841–1908) – a unique figure in the history of Slovak culture and science in many respects. It is worth mentioning, in the context of the indirect Martin connections between Bulla and Bobula, that it was with this Slovak national activist that Bobula (this alleged dissenter or *zhavranelý Slovák*[39]) remained in touch for the rest of his life, which is confirmed by their correspondence.

Density of locality (in the centres and on the peripheries)

One of the aspects of the paradox I mentioned at the beginning is the fact that the "architectural meeting" between Bulla and Bobula, separated by more than 20 years, took place in a city that was growing and was thus determined by Martin's Neo-Renaissance style. Built in 1888 according to Bulla's design, the House, as it is usually referred to since it could not be called the National House at the time, perpetuated a universal pattern devoid of national characteristics, blurring the differences between Martin and, for example, Budapest or Vienna with its Ringstrasse;[40] also blurring the time frame, of course. Thus, the passing of almost a quarter of a century did not significantly influence the decision of the Slovak elites about the image they wanted to create for a city rising – literally – from the level of windows of rural buildings (Fig. 4) and aspiring to be a national centre but losing its Slovak individuality in the process.

The architectural decisions concerning the appearance of new public buildings, which were to be the seats of various institutions being founded in the city, clearly followed the fashion prevailing in agglomerations at that time, which

society commenced its activity on 22 February 1872. At first, meetings of the Slovak Choir and theatre performances organized by its members took place in the Slovak Matica's building, and after this institution was closed down – in one of the city inns, Ivankovská dvorane. Bulla became a member of the society almost immediately after moving to Martin, already in 1883, and was actively involved in its many projects. For more information on the subject, see esp. Anna Štricová, 'Architekt – staviteľ Blažej Bulla', *Kmetianum*, 3 (1974), 295–313.

[38] See Hlavaj, 'Rozpomienka na staviteľa Blažeja Bullu', 291.

[39] See ibidem, 289.

[40] Štefan Holčík notes that Bulla's first architectural works, partly due to their function, were created in the spirit of fashionable academism and pseudo-Renaissance. In the architectural style of the (National) House, he recognizes patterns known from the Vienna Ringstrasse. See Štefan P. Holčík, 'Neznámy Bullov nábytok', *Vlastivedný časopis*, XXIV, 4, (1975), 172.

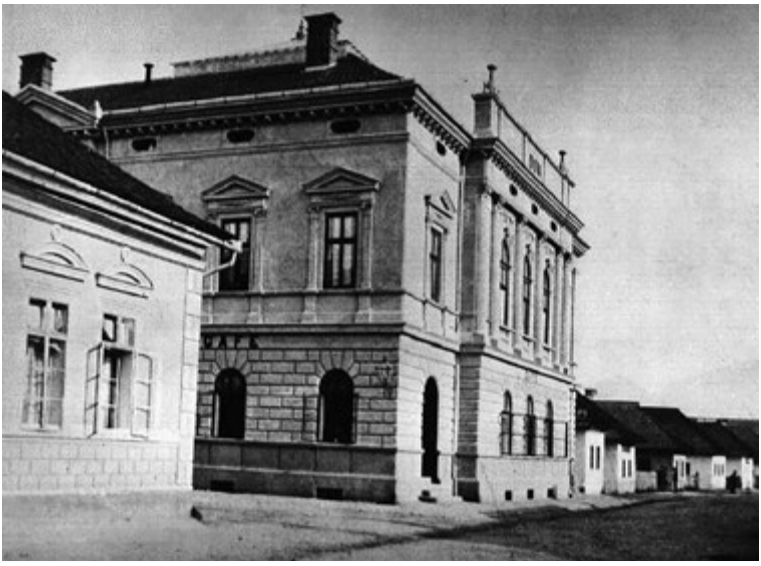

Figure 4. (National) House in Martin, photograph from the era (SNM Martin, sign. NG-075127). Source: Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov*, 84

was dictated by historicizing styles and their eclectic variants. However, it was penetrating into the Slovakian province at a time when the metropolises were slowly beginning to discard it in favour of Secession.

Nevertheless, there was an alternative to Bulla's conformist designs, which harmonized with the quarter-century older works of Bobula, as evidenced by the drawings preserved in Bulla's sketchbooks. Already in the early 1880s, he was clearly looking for ways to transfer solutions known from traditional wooden architecture to other building materials and harmoniously combine historical styles with folk architecture. And it should be added that he was able to fuse successfully unusual elements and, for example, use modern solutions based on cast-iron constructions in neo-Gothic churches.[41] In the collection of his drawings, we find, among others, a design of the elevation of the Municipal House with a Theatre (Mestský dom s divadlom) in the Slovak style (Fig. 5), dated 1875–1880 (so signed), or – also clearly inspired by folk art – a design of a bowling alley,[42] which was to form a part of the multifunctional building of the House[43] (Fig. 6). There are also numerous drawings of villas in the Slovak style (Figs. 7 and 8).

[41] The best-known example of the use of iron structures by Bulla is the Evangelical church in Dolný Kubín built in 1894. In this context, it is worth adding that ¾ of iron production in the Hungarian part of the monarchy was located in the Slovakian territory.

[42] Bořutová dates this project to 1880, but the drawing is signed with the year 1890.

[43] It is unclear which House Bulla had in mind.

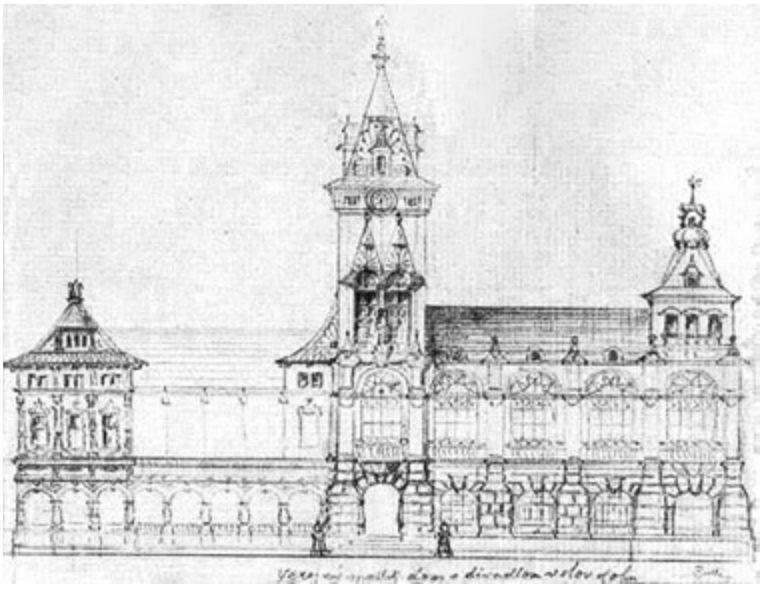

Figure 5. B. Bulla, *Municipal House with a Theatre*, drawing, dated 1875–1880 (LM SNK Martin, sign. EX 222). Source: Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov*, 69

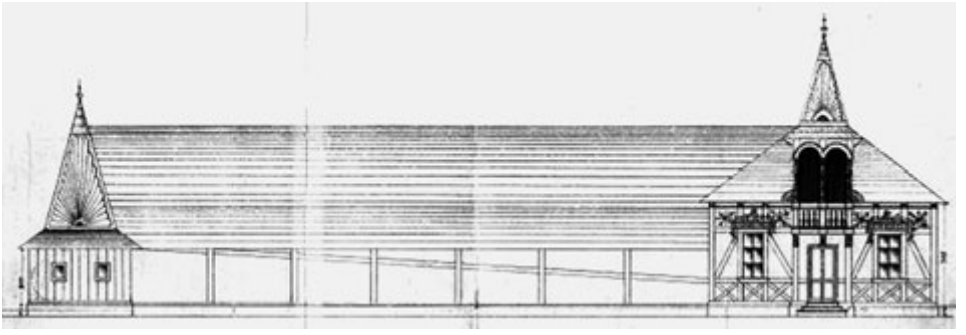

Figure 6. B. Bulla, *Design of a bowling alley in Martin*, drawing, dated 1890 (LA SNK Martin, sign. 4025). Source: Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov*, 118–119

Even before the completion of the (National) House in 1887, Bulla's inspiration with the traditional wooden architecture of the area where he grew up became apparent in the form of a building which, due to its function, played a special symbolic role. That year, a wooden extension to the Martin house of the late Viliam Pauliny-Tóth (1826–1877) was built according to Bulla's design. It served as the entrance to an exhibition of Slovak embroidery and lace held in special pavilions, also designed by Bulla, adjacent to the house of the Pauliny-Tóth family (the extension of the exhibition space was necessary due to the unexpectedly large number of exhibits). The exhibition, organized by the

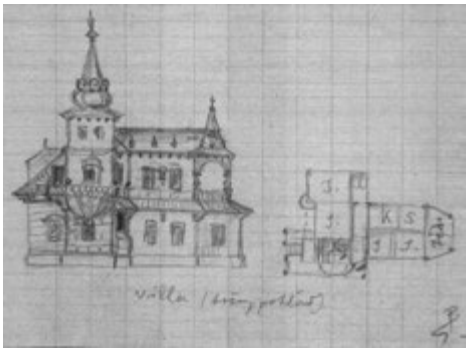

Figure 7. B. Bulla, *Design of a villa*, drawing, dated 1880–1890 (LM SNK Martin, sign. EX 89). Source: Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov*, 74

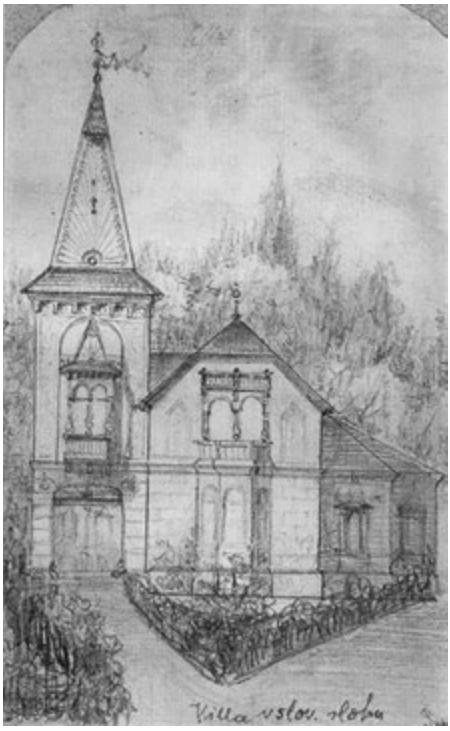

Figure 8. B. Bulla, *Villa in the Slovakian style*, drawing, dated 1880–1910 (LM SNK Martin, sign. EX 216). Source: Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov*, 68

women's association Živena, proved to be a great success. It was remembered by Martin's inhabitants as an important local event, attracting the attention of many people interested in folk art also from outside Slovakia. The visitors were particularly impressed by the 20-metre-high wooden entrance gate designed by Bulla in the shape of a bell tower, with typical Orava ornamental elements, and built by Orava carpenters. So much so that it became an integral part of the exhibition – its architectural drawings were published in 1887 in the magazine *Slovenské pohľady* (Slovak Views) and during the event, pictures of it were sold as a kind of souvenir (Fig. 9).[44]

This gate-tower should, I believe, be considered a revolutionary work in the history of Slovak architecture, although the traces of its impact are to be found mainly in the biographies and directions of artistic development of the people fascinated by its appearance in the half private, half public space of the house and garden of Pauliny-Tóth. This Slovak[45] writer, publicist, publisher and politician

[44] See Svetozár Hurban Vajanský, 'Budova výstavky slovenských výšiviek v Turč. Sv. Martine', *Slovenské pohľady*, 7, 6 (1887), 129, 143–144. Also see Dana Bořutová, *Architekt Dušan Samuel Jurkovič* (Bratislava, 2009), 349 (footnote 31).

[45] Tóth was the surname of his Hungarian wife, whom he met in Kecskemét. He added it to his name in 1855.

Figure 9. Drawing of the exhibition space sold during the exhibition. Source: Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov*, 78

(a member of the Hungarian Parliament in 1869–1872), since 1866 had served as the Vice-Chairman of the Slovak Matica. Before settling down in Martin in the second half of the 1860s, he had lived in Buda and Skalica, among others. It was he who endeavoured to unite the Slovaks politically, and in 1871, he agreed in Pest with Bobula on the conditions of cooperation between the Slovak National Party (of which Pauliny-Tóth was the founder) and the progressive New Slovak School. This "pact" was intended to benefit Slovak institutions and was guaranteed by a written document and Pauliny-Tóth's word of honour. His son and four daughters all married, as time showed, important and distinguished Slovak cultural activists.

There are three reasons for this somewhat unusual portrayal of the owner of the house at the entrance to which stood the gate-tower. Firstly, I want to emphasize the contrast between what was manifested in the public space of the city of Martin in the second half of the 1880s through the construction of the (National) House in the Neo-Renaissance style and what appeared as a temporary installation[46] in an essentially private space,[47] which was, however, made public through the exhibition of works of Slovak folk art handcrafted mostly by women. The gate in the shape of a bell tower – designed by an architect who was

[46] The gate-tower was demolished shortly after the exhibition due to zoning regulations.

[47] Although it was not just any private space as it was linked to the founder of the Slovak National Party and one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Slovak Matica, which by then had been closed down by the Hungarian authorities.

a lover of folklore and carved by strong male hands – symbolically completes the message and transforms the whole initiative into a powerful symbol of Slovak vitality. This event can be seen as a reaction of the Slovaks to the fashion of organizing ethnographic exhibitions, which was at that time developing in the whole of Europe in line with the consolidation of the achievements of modernity. I emphasize once again that both buildings were created by the same architect.

Secondly, I would like to point out that the art of design goes far beyond its traditionally understood visualizations, and I would not hesitate to include Viliam Pauliny-Tóth among Slovak architects. I mean not only his public activities but also his family connections and, above all, the way in which his private life and public activities merged into an integral whole, directing our attention to what went on behind the scenes, so to speak. After all, the influence of his milieu and family connections cannot be reduced to one-way flows or "squeezed" into a national corset. An eye-catching architectural accent added to the house where he lived with his ethnically-mixed family, which owed its social advancement mainly to his Hungarian wife (and her rich uncle), can be seen as a kind of manifestation. Thus, Bobula's and Bulla's extensive interests and diverse public activities make them architects not only in a literal but also metaphorical sense, i.e. constructors of social life, of which identity is a part.

Thirdly – and most importantly – I wish to point out the specific density of locality which had thus occurred. Patterns coming from the centre(s), which seeped in naturally or were introduced as a result of ambitions to imitate what was in the centre, combined with the local, familiar patterns that permeated everyday life. The interweaving of these patterns – understood literally and metaphorically – is discernible on many levels: in the architecture and urban plan of the city of Martin, in the Martin home of the Pauliny-Tóth family, in Pauliny-Tóth's biography, in Bobula's life path and also in the person of Bulla, whose exhibition of Slovak craftsmanship led to the evocation and manifestation of "architectural" images of his childhood, spent in the Orava village that in the past centuries had specialized in linen trade. In the decades when Europe searched for national styles or regional inspirations, these childhood images turned out to be an emanation of the "spirit of the times" or, to use other terminology, the "cultural climate". However, it was by no means the result of Western fashion for folklore. This type of densities of locality occurs either in the centres or on the peripheries; in metropolises (Bobula's case) and provincial areas (Bulla's case). These densities lead to the creation of new nodal "points" that turn into radiating centres of stronger or weaker influence, even if their central status is not widely recognized, permanent or even evident.

As I have already mentioned in the introduction, the biographical key is extremely helpful in identifying the structure of these densities. And this one

is revealed, I believe, quite clearly when we recall the little known fact that in 1887, during the construction of the wooden gate-tower, 19-year-old Dušan Jurkovič, who went on to become the most famous Slovak architect, was on holiday at his relatives' house in Martin.[48] The admiration for Bulla's project and the evidence of the influence it had on Jurkovič's further architectural path can be found not only in his letters or other writings but, above all, in his designs. Years later, he would reminisce:

> One more event from my student days left an indelible mark on me: the holiday of 1887. I spent it at my family's place in Martin. An exhibition of Slovak embroidery was held there then, and in front of the house, where the exhibits were gathered, carpenters erected the so-called Slovak Gate. I watched the foreman work with interest. I admired their dexterity, their taste and sense of beauty. It was the wood that enchanted me then. I began to perceive it as the greatest building material.[49]
> … the exhibition of embroideries … got me drunk, and it determined my fate because I saw in our embroideries the source of pure folk elements; there was also a wooden tower built in the Slovakian style, which Blažko Bulla had commissioned to be erected by ordinary village carpenters, and it awakened my feelings, pointed out the benefits of the native sources of folk culture and inspired me to reflect, giving me a concrete life orientation.[50]

A year later, while Bulla was building the (National) House, it was his studio in Martin that Jurkovič chose to complete his first apprenticeship after graduating from his studies in Vienna. It should be remembered that although Martin was still semi-rural at that time, its intellectual elites led a very active social life shaped by the dual space of a town surrounded by mountains and valleys. For young Jurkovič, a stay in such a place meant having contact with Bulla in all aspects of his personality. Not only with Bulla, the architect, but also with Bulla, the folklorist and member of the theatre group. It also allowed him to familiarize himself with those patterns of traditional wooden architecture from which he later derived his idea of the Slovak national style. Imbued with them, himself born on the Slovak-Moravian border, Jurkovič later moved to Vsetín, which lay not very far from Martin but belonged to another region – Moravian Wallachia, in the Austrian part of the monarchy. There he worked in the architectural studio of Michal Urbánek (1849–1923), an architect whose

[48] His sisters even submitted their works for the embroidery exhibition.

[49] Quoted after Bořutová, *Architekt Dušan Samuel Jurkovič*, 17. It is a fragment of the recording used in Štefan Dubček's radio broadcast *Básnik dreva a kameňa* (The Poet of Wood and Stone), which aired on 23 August 1988.

[50] Dušan Jurkovič, *Architekt Dušan Jurkovič*, in: Janko Alexy, *Osudy slovenských výtvarníkov* (Bratislava, 1948), 293–294.

professional career was similar in many respects to Bulla's.[51] Under these circumstances, it is understandable that in 1934, at the height of Jurkovič's fame, Jozef Hlavaj, who had personal contact with Bulla and Jurkovič in his professional practice, emphasized this very timeless dimension of Bulla's architectural legacy sown in the younger generation of Slovak architects, represented by Jurkovič: "It should be noted that the architect Blažej Bulla introduced Dušan Jurkovič to the arcana of the beauty of Slovak folk art."[52] He also gave his own testimony on that occasion: "We who knew him and worked with him when he was an elderly gentleman remember that, along with other things, he always pulled a lot of cards out of his pocket, with sketches of Slovak folk patterns, or papers with a folk song noted down."[53]

Bořutová also points out that Bulla's designs in the so-called Slovak style, including those that had not been implemented and were only preserved on paper, undoubtedly had to have an impact on the Prague professor of architecture, the already-mentioned Koula. He visited Martin during the exhibition of women's handicrafts and a few years later, presented the so-called Czech Cottage at the famous Jubilee Exhibition in Prague in 1891. Bulla's conceptualizations were also about a decade ahead of Stanisław Witkiewicz's Zakopane designs from the 1890s. It is thus possible to put forward a hypothesis that Bulla's work in the Polish-Slovakian-Moravian border region belonged to the first manifestations of the so-called Slovak national style not only in the private space (in the form of furniture he designed) but also the public one. Bulla was also the author of the first integral architectural conceptualizations created in this style. However, consistently with the logic of the dissemination of novelties, he was overshadowed as an innovator – even on the scale of the whole Subcarpathian region – by the prominent first implementers and popularisers of the so-called national style, Jurkovič and Witkiewicz. Their mature building and furniture designs, realized slightly later than Bulla's, met with more public enthusiasm because the already marked influence of folklore and regionalism on architecture and applied design intertwined with political demonstrations, which soon encompassed almost the whole of Europe.

Thus, Martin and northern Slovakia turned out to be one of the ethnographic cradles of trends that spread to other regions of Central Europe with the movements of peoples. As such, the town appears to be primarily a place for passers-by, a local transport junction, which owed its regional importance to a cluster of elites that gathered there in the last decades of the 19th century.

[51] Cf. Bořutová, *Architekt Dušan Samuel Jurkovič*, 20–21.
[52] Hlavaj, 'Rozpomienka na staviteľa Blažeja Bullu', 290.
[53] Ibidem.

Moreover, the natural qualities of the place attracted seasonally new arrivals. By finding employment in the newly-established institutions, it was the elite, thanks especially to its non-Slovakian contacts, who contributed to the exemplary influence of the city and its symbolic advancement. This symbolic leap was captured very aptly, perhaps because he intended to ridicule it, by Béla Grünwald, a hardened opponent of the Slovak national emancipation. In his journalistic-political study of 1878 entitled *Felvidék* (Upper Province), he wrote:

> The Pan-Slavic club was offered to have its seat not in a big city, not even in a small provincial town, but in Turčiansky Sv. Martin, a Slovakian village … Among low cottages with two windows, there is the impressive building of the *županija* and a communal inn. The cottages are homes to peaceful farmers and craftsmen, who walk every day in the streets full of mud and dust. The streets come to life and fill up only when there is an assembly of the *županija*.
>
> Suddenly, the Pan-Slavic club pushes in, and a great change occurs. In these small two-window cottages, the leaders of the club, editors, their collaborators, printers, later teachers, etc., settle and live. Soon, the Matica was built, and next to it, as the third giant, appears the modest but no less important building of a printing house founded by shareholders, dedicated to the reproduction of prints that are the fruit of the spirit of budding Slovak talents.
>
> This small town has become the stage for such great things, and its inhabitants, having gradually gained self-awareness, have become convinced that Turčiansky Svätý Martin can compete with any big European city in terms of importance, even if not in size.[54]

It should be noted that nearby Moravia and Brno became an important and natural direction of the flow of patterns and ideas. In the following decades, Martin artefacts and concepts were brought via them to Bratislava, already as imports from the Czech Republic. This can be seen as yet another manifestation of the paradoxical relationship between the centre and the peripheries and the singularity of the logic of locality. The conclusion that peripheral Orava, represented via Martin, played an important role in the journey of Slovak architecture towards emancipation[55] is almost self-evident. Even if its significance was later obscured by Czech or Moravian filters.

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[54] Béla Grünwald, 'Horný vidiek. Politická štúdia', translated by Karol Wlachovský, in: Karol Chmel (ed.), *Horný vidiek – Felvidék. Polemika Bélu Grünwalda a Michala Mudroňa o slovenskej identite* (Bratislava, 2014), 104–105.

[55] I borrowed this phrase from the title of an article by Bořutová, in which, however, neither the region nor Bulla's name are mentioned, perhaps because the author focuses on the situation after 1918. Cf. Dana Bořutová, 'Architektura słowacka w drodze do emancypacji', *Herito* 4 (9) (2012), 94–111.

Hidden locality (in details, ornaments, homes)

The Memorandum of the Slovak Nation, adopted in June 1861, was important in many respects for the process of shaping the Slovak *polis*, but the circumstances of its inception did not reflect it. The Slovak National Assembly which drafted it had to be held on the meadows of Martin since the town was still semi-rural and there was no proper place where the document could be signed. Martin was chosen as the site of the famous meeting on the spur of the moment but not randomly. As József Demmel shows, it was the result of the conscious policy of the local authorities, who saw the initiative as an opportunity for the development of the city.[56] The ceremonial signing of the document took place in a private house made available by the agricultural and craft-oriented family of Šimkovci-Klanicovci, one of the most respected old Martin families of the second half of the 19th century.[57]

Several years later, still before 1890, the same family ordered "Slovak"-style dining room furniture from Bulla. According to Štefan Holčík, it was the result of the impression made by the wooden tower designed by Bulla for the exhibition of women's handicrafts in 1887, as well as other furniture and house designs which he had executed for leading representatives of the national movement.[58] One should not forget, of course, about the prestige that came with having furniture designed by the architect of the (National) House in Martin, which had just been finished and added splendour to the town. The set of furniture included an impressive sideboard, mirrors, a bench and shelves, all decorated with a characteristic element almost identical to the gable on the exhibition gate-tower, reproducing the pattern of wooden laths typical of Orava.[59] It was made in Martin's Tool Workshop (Dielňa na náradie), which had been established under the influence of foreign companies of this type as a shareholders' company to support Slovak crafts and industry. The carpenter's workshop was run by Konštantin Hurban (brother of Svetozár Hurban Vajanský and son of Jozef Miloslav Hurban, both very influential Slovak national activists) and his wife Ružena née Šimková.[60] I mention this because it seems especially important when observing specific densities of locality related to the activities of particular people, who strengthened local patterns mainly in the practical sphere.

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[56] See József Demmel, *Panslávi v kaštieli. Zabudnutý príbeh slovenského národného hnutia* (Bratislava, 2017), 137–140.

[57] See Holčík, 'Neznámy Bullov nábytok', 172.

[58] Ibidem.

[59] Pediments in the shape of characteristic gables with a rainbow-shaped pattern of slats are a recurring motif in Bulla's designs of buildings and furniture.

[60] See Holčík, 'Neznámy Bullov nábytok', 172.

This sphere was conditioned by the existing (or created) mechanisms of the implementation of these patterns, also through family connections.

The furniture made for the Šimkovci-Klanicovci family did not stay in Martin very long. In the 1880s, one of Ružena Šimková's relatives, Ľudovít Šimko, took the set with him to furnish his new home in Senica in Záhorie (the westernmost region of Slovakia, today neighbouring the Czech Republic and Austria) where he settled as a district physician. The origins of the idea and the circumstances in which the set was ordered, as well as its subsequent fate as the interior decoration of a doctor's house "open" to professional and social contacts, give a behind-the-scenes look at how the local elites, interconnected in various ways, formed and functioned. The aforementioned Holčík, who participated as an employee in the acquisition of this collection by the Slovak National Museum in the mid-1970s, draws attention to the theatrical aura of this furniture; he also links it to Bulla's theatrical and set designing experiences. And although Holčík emphasizes the practicality and rationality of the designer's solutions in combining his favourite motifs of folk provenance with the German and Austrian furniture trends of the time, one gets the impression that appearance was more important than the convenience of use. It is possible that due to this set design aspect, this furniture – together with a Neo-Renaissance tiled stove – stood in the dining room used by the descendants of Ľudovít Šimko for 80 years. The walls of the room were covered with stencils and the ceiling with illusionary ornamental painting. At the turn of the 19th and 20th century, it was often visited by Svetozár Hurban Vajanský and other representatives of Slovak culture.[61] To this day, the collection is considered to be the oldest known example of the so-called Slovak room, which reached the height of its popularity among the Slovak bourgeoisie in the interwar period. Bulla's furniture, just like the exhibition tower, turned out to be such a strong influence that it also penetrated into Moravia and Brno. Jurkovič soon filled the Vesna Girls' Pension in Brno and the mountain chalet on Radhošť, as well as numerous Brno apartments, with furniture that replicated or developed Bulla's ideas.[62]

The fact that in the 1880s, Bulla and the Šimkovci-Klanicovci family (as well as other representatives of the Slovak intellectual and economic elite) had similar aesthetic tastes which proved to be influential models is neither a coincidence nor a mere reflection of the European fashion for regionalism and folklore. This convergence can be explained by the same origin and a common value system of these people, even if their educational paths and professional

[61] See ibidem, 174.

[62] See Marta Janovíčková, 'Z nábytkovej tvorby Blažeja Bullu a Dušana Jurkoviča', *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 1 (1991), 21.

careers exposed them to different experiences and modified their aesthetic dispositions.[63] Living in a shared cultural and geographic space had a unifying effect; it erased many of the differences, yet allowed others to flourish. In the context of Martin, for example, it is worth noting that in the last decades of the 19th century, the urban elites consisted mostly of people born in different parts of the country, who brought with them ideas and experiences gained when studying or travelling in distant lands, thus creating a dynamic local environment. The example of the representational dining room furniture "hidden" inside the house, but nevertheless displayed in certain circumstances to the eyes of visitors, proves how important the domestic aspect is for local communities and how it serves as an internal communication channel. Seemingly kept private (but known to the habitués and the circle of acquaintances), it constitutes the background or – more explicitly – the deliberately chosen scenery of everyday life. Susceptible to external influences due to the requirements of the manifestation of status but at the same time strongly shaped by what is near or inherited from the family, the tastes of local elites determine the way in which patterns dictated by model centres are modified. Their "domestication" consists not only of assimilating these external patterns but also opposing or transforming them. The latter involves referring to a local, "interiorized" archive, which often results in stylistic (or technical) innovations.

Examining the relations between cultures that are inspired by each other – and looking for signs of distinctiveness of neighbouring or co-occurring cultures in the same area – through the lens of the work of architects leads one to a conclusion about the primacy of local interactions. It is precisely in the field of local impact that the border between the centre and the peripheries is most often blurred by the reversing of roles. Regardless of whether this locality is determined by a big city or a village, the real change in the direction of impacts takes place under local conditions. It is supported by a strong locality or at least a locality that is gaining strength. The process of accumulation of this force can also happen when the locality is dispersed.

Dispersed locality

I have already indicated that a peculiar non-architectural "meeting point" of Bobula and Bulla is the figure of Andrej Kmeť, a Catholic priest who spent most of his life (except for the time of his studies and travels) in the multiethnic region of Hont, inhabited by Slovaks, Hungarians, Germans, Jews and

[63] Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA, 1984).

Roma. Only at the end did he move to Martin, the main town of the Turiec region, where he lived for less than two years until his death. The tombstone of this lifelong intellectual friend of Bobula, designed by Bulla, was unveiled at the Martin necropolis in 1908. It consists of a massive black cross with short arms, with an open book at its base in which Kmeťs name is inscribed in large font. The cross stands on a large mound of roughly-hewn stones. The mound of stones and the book are the most powerful symbols used to commemorate a man whose pioneering work in many branches of Slovak science cannot be summarized in a few words. Kmeť was an archaeologist, geologist, palaeontologist, botanist, historian and ethnographer. He also initiated the establishment of the Slovak Scientific Society (Slovenská učená spoločnosť) based in Martin and the opening of its branches in all major cities of Upper Hungary. He is considered the doyen of Slovak museology. However, one should mention – using it as confirmation that the logic of locality also operated in dispersed conditions – his rich ethnographic collection of embroidery and lace, which he presented for the first time at the World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873. In 1887, it was Kmeť who co-organized the exhibition of embroidery in Martin. Shortly afterwards, in 1891, he presented Slovak lace at the Jubilee Exhibition in Prague, in 1893 at the World Exhibition of Women's Products in Paris, and in 1895 at the Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague. In 1904, he submitted his collection to the Slovak exhibition in the United States. At a time when exhibitions played an outstanding media role and were an important means of social and cultural communication, the presence of products from regions inhabited by the Slovaks should be considered as a form of manifestation of what was local and perceived by them as their own. For many architects, including Jurkovič, exhibitions were a springboard to professional success.

Kmeť can be thus seen as a representative of the dispersed locality. The way in which his ethnographic collection of women's handicrafts, originated in the Hont region, was "distributed" around the world should be compared with Húszka's contribution to the development of the Hungarian national style. In her analysis of the phenomenon of collecting in relation to the experience of locality, in which worldliness is reflected, Aleksandra Kunce draws attention to the manifestation of the domestic imagination.[64] Things need to be based in everyday life and connected to it. As such, they turn out to be a ladder of knowledge about *locus* but also a sign of a consciousness that changes under the influence of the existential loss of the idea of home (and thus of a growing sense of alienation). Again and again, this feeling of loss results in attempts at the domestication

[64] See Aleksandra Kunce, *Człowiek lokalny. Rozważania umiejscowione* (Katowice, 2016), 199–207.

of space. Bobula and Bulla, as architects creating works received in a state of distracted attention,[65] who at the same time showcased the intertwining of the many social and artistic tendencies of the epoch of the upcoming modernity, appear to have made an effort to prevent distraction. They built houses. One can see in this another manifestation of the paradoxical essence of architectural art.

Translated by Katarzyna Wieleńska

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[65] According to Walter Benjamin, architecture has always been a prototype of a work of art received in a state of distraction. He distinguishes between tactile and optical perception (reception through use and reception through perception) and emphasizes the role of habit in dealing with architecture. According to him, the architecturally developed form of reception, which is involuntary perception, turns out to be crucial for the human perception apparatus at the turning points in history. See 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in: idem, *Illuminations*, translated by Harry Zohn, edited by Hannah Arendt (New York, 1968), 240.

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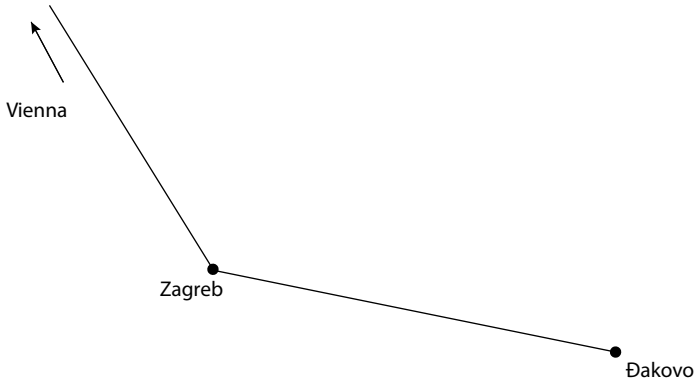
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Zagreb after the 1880 earthquake – The revived city and its architect

I

The development of Habsburg cities inhabited by the Slavs is an extremely important component of the formation of individual national cultures in the monarchy. I agree with the premise of the editors of this volume that architects, i.e. social actors whose choices and creative output influenced the shape of the urban space and, consequently, the symbolic dimension of the material world in the national cultural imaginations, played a significant but still underestimated role in this process. In the period we are interested in, i.e. from 1861 to 1938, the spaces of these cities underwent radical changes, some of which were the result of direct actions taken by a group of architects who were alumni of Friedrich von Schmidt. Hermann Bollé, Janko Holjac, Martin Pilar, Vinko Rauscher, Josip Vancaš and Janko Josip Grahor – these are the names that Dragan Damjanović associates with Zagreb.[1] This article will examine the specific relationship between the city and the first of these architects. I am interested in Bollé as a "foreign" architect whose entire output was confined to Croatia's borders (most of it in Zagreb[2]) and who naturally influenced the formation of the national heritage as a teacher of successive generations shaping Croatian urban space. I also look at him as a man who, in very specific circumstances, marked his presence in the city and significantly influenced its appearance. This paper will therefore refer to Zagreb, to the power that destroyed it and to the architect whose work was particularly integral to the reconstruction of the city, or rather to the process of creating it from scratch.

[1] According to Damjanović, these six architects, whose projects were carried out from the 1870s to the end of World War I, fundamentally changed the shape of Croatian architecture. Their activities mark, among others, the beginning of the dominance of historicism. See Dragan Damjanović, *Bečka Akademija likovnih umjetnosti i hrvatska arhitektura historicizma. Hrvatski učenici Friedricha von Schmidta* (Zagreb, 2011), 7–8.

[2] Ibidem, 8.

II

Zagreb entered the 19th century as one of the provincial cities of the Habsburg Monarchy, located far from important traffic routes, lacking developed industry but showing a tentative national potential. This became more evident, although not immediately apparent in the urban fabric, at the beginning of the 1840s, when the initiatives undertaken by the Croatian Renaissance movement were becoming more and more actively implemented. Changes seemed inevitable, as all European cities felt the effects of the Industrial Revolution and the new social order associated with it. Until the middle of the century,[3] craftsmanship and manufacturing dominated in Zagreb; although changes were noticeable, there was no immediate radical transformation of the urban space. According to the city's historian, Franjo Buntak, the growing potential and the circumstances conducive to the development of the city in 1830–1850 were evidenced primarily by the number of houses built in this period and the condition of the home gardens.[4]

By the mid-19th century, Zagreb had only 15,000 inhabitants, and all the institutions that were significant for its development had their seats in the oldest part of the city, on the Grič Hill.[5] The administrative merger of the previously independent parts of the city into one relatively coherent organism and the official confirmation of the toponym "Zagreb" for the whole area did not take place until 1850.[6] This was a significant point on the timeline of events important for the city's development. The 1850s briefly turned the direction of change away from the declared needs and dreams of a strong national centre; Bach's absolutism[7] blocked the development of "Croatian" Zagreb but brought a number of significant modifications of the urban space. Their dynamics were determined by ventures introducing capital to the city. In 1852, the first Croatian chambers of commerce and business appeared in Zagreb. It should be noted, however, that the local capital was modest, and the few domestic entrepreneurs were dependent on the decisions of Vienna and Pest; moreover, from the per-

[3] Katarina Spehnjak, 'Zagreb na putu modernizacije', in: Fedja Vukić (ed.), *Zagreb: modernost i grad* (Zagreb, 2003), 50–51.

[4] Franjo Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba* (Zagreb, 1996), 750.

[5] The very term Grič/"town on the Grič Hill" appeared only in the 19th century as a derivative of the word Gradec. Previously, the names Grech, Grec or Greč were used for the free royal town. See Ivo Perić, *Zagreb. Od 1850 do suvremenog velegrada* (Zagreb, 2006), 16.

[6] "Slobodan kraljevski grad Zagreb" became the officially confirmed name of the entire urban area by virtue of an imperial patent, which united administratively Gradec/Grič, Kaptol and adjacent areas. Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 751.

[7] The period between 1851–1859, named after the then interior minister Alexander Bach. For Croatia, it meant the loss of civil liberties and hopes for autonomy, as well as numerous threats to the national language and the intellectual elites fighting for the freedom of the nation. See Dragutin Pavličević, *Povijest Hrvatske* (Zagreb, 2000), 265–266.

spective of these centres, the whole of Croatia was primarily a supplier of raw material.[8] The progressing industrialization of the city favoured its modernization. The changes did not happen at a dizzying pace, but it is worth noting that they occurred in a very orderly manner, which was a consequence of the provisions of Franz Joseph's 1850 patent. The administrative merger and unification of the communes comprising Zagreb compelled the authorities to create a detailed description of the urban space. In 1853, the necessary measurements were carried out, which led to the creation of the land and building register and the first city plan dated 1853/1854 (printed in German, in Vienna).[9]

The modernization and expansion of the city began with deliberate urban planning. The methodical nature of the activities is confirmed by the first important document which regulated this matter: *Građevinski red*, issued in 1857.[10] The 1850s were a period of planning, not expansion since only two public buildings were constructed in Zagreb at that time.[11] The next decade brought the second important document, the plan regulating the development of urban space (*Prva regulatorna osnova*, 1865), which, apart from providing general guidelines for further work, set forth specific tasks. *Prva regulatorna osnova* established a new city centre in the flat area between the former centre and the newly-built railway line, situated on the southern outskirts of the city, i.e. in today's Lower Town (Donji grad). The plan set out in detail the development of the area in question, adopted modern municipal solutions and introduced to the urban fabric a new unit of measurement to evaluate the development network of the newly-designed centre.[12] It should be noted that a modest railway infrastructure already existed in Zagreb at that time;[13] a railway station in the western part of the city – today's West Station (Zapadni kolodvor) – was opened in 1862. The railway network expanded; in 1870, the railway connection with Pest started to operate, which had an impact on the dynamics of change and development of the city. In 1863, there was already a gasworks in the city, thanks to which it was possible to light the streets with gas lanterns,[14] and in 1876–1878, the construction

[8] Spehnjak, 'Zagreb na putu modernizacije', 50.

[9] Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 754.

[10] Darja Radović Mahečić, 'Arhitektura i modernizacija grada', in: Fedja Vukić (ed.), *Zagreb: modernost i grad* (Zagreb, 2003), 63.

[11] These were the building of the present-day rectorate of the University of Zagreb, erected in 1856, and an extension added to the old hospital in Vlaška Street. See Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 754.

[12] I am citing here a detailed description of the plan given by Darja Radović Mahečić. See eadem, 'Arhitektura i modernizacija grada', 64.

[13] In 1862 a railway connection was opened between Vienna and Zagreb (via Maribor and Zidani Most), which ran further on to Sisak. Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 755.

[14] The demand for gas street lamps may also indicate the pace of change. In the first years of using such lighting, the number of lamps in the city increased from 350 to 1050. Ibidem, 765.

of the municipal water supply system was completed.[15] The changes were slow, but their scope was widened to include issues related to urban greenery[16] and the development of the sites of old, mostly church cemeteries.[17]

In the context of the development of "Croatian" Zagreb, it was more important that in the 1860s and 1870s, the urban space gradually filled up with cultural and scientific institutions as well as public places. These included the National Institute of Music (Narodni zemaljski glazbeni zavod), which was opened in 1862, and the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti), which moved into the National Home (Narodni dom) building in 1867.[18] The choice of their location symbolically sealed the decision to move the centre of national life from the Upper Town to the slowly growing quarters of the Lower Town.

At the same time, artists started recording the changes taking place in the city. In 1864, the first album with photographs of Zagreb by Ludvig Schweisser[19] was published (previously, most of the *vedute* of the city were reproduced by means of lithography), while in literature, August Šenoa introduced the idea of a thriving national centre as a competition for the real city.[20]

III

Hermann Bollé arrived in Zagreb as a consequence of Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer's collaboration with Friedrich von Schmidt.[21] As we learn from Damjanović's insightful study,[22] Schmidt came to Zagreb in 1866 to complete

[15] A document concerning the unrealized project of the water supply system from 1773 has been preserved. Ibidem, 772.

[16] One of the first planned changes in this respect dates back to the end of the 18th century when, on the initiative of Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac, the Maksimir City Park was opened. Urban space researchers compare its role and importance to that of Englischer Garten in Munich and Hyde Park in London. See Radović Mahečić, 'Arhitektura i modernizacija grada', 63.

[17] The closing of old cemeteries in the city centre was connected with the opening of the Mirogoj Cemetery, planned for 1876. Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 772.

[18] New printing houses and bookstores opened as well, and in the following years, numerous societies and associations were founded, including those for archaeologists (1879), engineers and architects (1878), foresters (1877), lawyers (1873), doctors (1874), etc. Zagreb was also the seat of the Croatian Sokol organization (Hrvatski Sokol), established in 1874. On this topic, see, among others, Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 770–771; Mirjana Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske* (Zagreb, 1985), 555–562.

[19] The album was published on the occasion of the great economic exhibition in 1864. During this period, Ivan Standl, regarded later as the author of the best contemporary photographs of Zagreb, opened his photo studio. Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 762 et seq.

[20] For more on this topic, see Dominika Kaniecka, *Opowiedzieć naród. Chorwackość według Augusta Šenoi* (Kraków, 2014), 145–170 et seq.

[21] Damjanović, *Bečka Akademija likovnih umjetnosti*, 10–11.

[22] Ibidem, 12.

the construction of the cathedral in Đakovo (after the death of its first architect, Karl Rösner). Three years later, Strossmayer, satisfied with the progress of the work, commissioned Schmidt to carry out further tasks. These included the design and construction of the new seat of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU). The JAZU palace was planned as a Neo-Renaissance building, so Schmidt sent one of his students to Italy to prepare there for the project. That student was Bollé. He arrived in Zagreb in the spring of 1876 and immediately made use of his teacher's connections. From the beginning, he worked closely with Schmidt, who entrusted him with the completion of the project in Đakovo. Bollé was later commissioned to supervise all Croatian projects authored by Schmidt, thanks in part to the fact that he had met Strossmayer during his stay in Italy. For many years, the bishop had been trying to begin restoration works in the Zagreb Cathedral and St Mark's Church.[23] The young Viennese architect was recommended to him by Isidor Kršnjavi, who had studied at art schools in Vienna and knew the milieu well.[24] Due to the efforts of Strossmayer and Kršnjavi, who needed a trusted architect for their projects for the revival of Croatian culture, Bollé moved to Croatia permanently.[25] To keep him in the country, Strossmayer and Kršnjavi searched for more jobs for him.[26]

IV

The earthquake of 9 November 1880 was one of the strongest that had ever been recorded in Croatia. According to the available data, it was the sixth recorded catastrophe of this type (two happened in the 16th century, two in the 17th century and one in the 18th century);[27] it had an intensity of 8 degrees on the Mercalli scale (6.3 degrees on the Richter scale).[28] It surprised the city's

[23] See also Željka Čorak, 'Zagrebačka katedrala i XIX. stoljeće', in: Ana Deanović, Željka Čorak, Nenad Gattin, *Zagrebačka katedrala* (Zagreb, 1988), 257–304.

[24] Damjanović, *Bečka Akademija likovnih umjetnosti*, 10. Kršnjavi himself, also brought to Zagreb by Strossmayer, remained very much involved in the reconstruction and expansion of the city, despite his later conflict with the bishop. More on this topic: Olga Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj – izgradnja i obnova obrazovnih, kulturnih i umjetničkih objekata u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 1986).

[25] Damjanović, *Bečka Akademija likovnih umjetnosti*, 12.

[26] There were plans to rebuild the church in Marija Bistrica and design a high school in Osijek. Ibidem, 13.

[27] A description of the previous catastrophes, unusually detailed for its time, is provided by Mijo Kišpatić, *Zagrebački potresi, Godišnje izvješće Kr. velike realke* (Zagreb, 1879) and idem, *Potresi u Hrvatskoj*, Radovi Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, vols. 107, 109, 122 (Zagreb, 1891–1895).

[28] It is worth noting that the magnitude was determined later on the basis of available data because in 1880, there was no seismograph in Zagreb. See Veselin Simović, 'Potresi na

inhabitants around half-past seven in the morning. As a result of the earthquake, which lasted only ten seconds, two people died (according to available sources, a lithographer and a bank clerk), and several thousand lost a roof over their heads. Some reports stated that as many as 6,000 inhabitants left Zagreb shortly after the first tremors.[29] One-third of the city was destroyed (more meticulous calculations put the number at exactly 1758 buildings).[30]

The most comprehensive and detailed description of the earthquake is included in a report prepared by Josip Torbar, published less than two years after the event.[31] The care taken to document the disaster as faithfully as possible deserves attention. The Department of Mathematics and Natural Sciences of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, which Torbar chaired, appealed to "patriots and friends of science" to provide detailed answers to eight questions about the course of events during the earthquake, the destruction caused by it and exact losses, and to send them urgently to the Academy or a meteorological station. In the first part of his report, Torbar described the survey in detail, not hiding his disappointment with the weak response from the Zagrebians and the general lack of understanding of the idea of the project[32] – the few respondents had based their answers mainly on data published in the press after the event.[33] Torbar presented the strongest earthquake in Croatian history against the background of seismic movements in Zagreb and its wider surroundings, also referring to instances of such events throughout the Habsburg Monarchy.

We know from Torbar's description that the temperature on that day was 9.4 degrees Celsius, the autumn fog was rising above the city, and it was raining slightly. The first tremor was accompanied by an underground rumble resembling the sound of a loaded freight train. The author of the report provided a detailed calculation of the tremors that occurred after the main one (a total of 199) and a detailed catalogue of losses: ruined and damaged buildings and streets. The issue of the residents' reaction and the steps taken by the

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zagrebačkom području', *Građevinar*, 11 (52) (2000), 639; also see Dragutin Cvijanović, 'Podaci koji upozoravaju', *Priroda*, 2 (1985), 177–179.

[29] After Vanda Ladović, Nada Premerl, *Potres 1880. i izgradnja Zagreba* (Zagreb, 1981), 4.

[30] During this period, there were 3830 buildings in Zagreb, 2483 of which were residential buildings. The city had 29,218 inhabitants. Data according to Tomislav Timet, *Stambena izgradnja Zagreba do 1954. Godine*, Građa za gospodarsku povijest Hrvatske, vol. 10 (Zagreb, 1961), 103.

[31] For the mentioned report, see Josip Torbar, *Izvješće o zagrebačkom potresu 9. studenog 1880.* (Zagreb, 1882).

[32] Ibidem, 12–13.

[33] *Obzor* (The Horizon), *Narodne novine* (The National News) and *Agramer Zeitung* published news of the earthquake, losses, clean-up work and planned reconstruction on successive days from 9 October 1880 to early December.

city authorities was discussed separately. Torbar also presented extensively his views on the epicentre of the earthquake.[34]

This event had a wide impact on the whole Habsburg Monarchy and beyond its borders. Expressions of sympathy and various forms of help flowed to Zagreb from other Croatian cities, but also Vienna, Prague, Krakow, Lviv, Sofia, Pest and Warsaw. Both institutions and individuals reacted. The curators of the exhibition organized in the Museum of the City of Zagreb on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the catastrophe carefully linked the surprisingly large (considering the size and position of the city) response with numerous discrepancies in the descriptions of the earthquake. In both the foreign and Croatian press, the accounts were often written in a sensational tone, some even saying that the city was razed to the ground and the disaster killed hundreds of people.[35]

Many important voices contributed to the memory of the consequences of the tragic events of 9 November 1880, and many people made their mark on it. Matija Mrazović, the then mayor, managed to bring order to the ruined city. August Šenoa, as a city councillor, together with a special committee, estimated the losses and proposed the most urgent actions,[36] and as a writer, he enriched the literature about the city with very touching passages. Ivan Standl made a full photographic documentation of the losses, but he also took the most important artistic photographs capturing those moments.[37] Ivan Zajc wrote a cantata entitled *Zemljotres* (Earthquake), which was publicly performed by the Choral Society "Kolo" (pjevačko društvo „Kolo") as early as 1881.[38]

The need to organize knowledge about this dramatic event arose also outside Zagreb, in the more important centres of the Habsburg Monarchy. The Vienna and Pest Academies of Sciences sent researchers to the site, whose work resulted in two monographs.[39] Gjuro Pilar, a professor at the University of Zagreb, contributed to the dissemination of scientific reflection on the subject by publishing a significant dissertation in German.[40]

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[34] In his article on the Zagreb earthquakes, Veselin Simović stresses that Torbar's assumptions made in the late 19th century were confirmed by later research. See Simović, 'Potresi na zagrebačkom području', 645.

[35] Ladović, Premerl, *Potres 1880*, 3.

[36] The following people also participated in the work of this committee: Josip Schebenschein, Kamilo Bedeković, Rupert Melkus, Milan Lenuci. See ibidem, 4.

[37] Standl was "on duty" as a photographer at the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts. Apart from him, Hermann Fickert, Hinko Krapek, Otto Dasch and Gjuro Varga also photographed the ruined city. Ibidem, 4; Simović, 'Potresi na zagrebačkom području', 645.

[38] Ladović, Premerl, *Potres 1880*, 3.

[39] Max Hantken von Prudnik, *Das Erdbeben von Agram im Jahre 1880*. (Budapest, 1882); Franz Wähner, *Das Erdbeben von Agram am 9. November 1880*. (Wien, 1883). See Simović, 'Potresi na zagrebačkom području', 639.

[40] Gjuro Pilar, *Grundzüge der Abyssodynamik, zugleich ein Beitrag zu der durch das Agramer Erdbeben von 9. November 1880. neu angeregten Erdbebenfrage* (Zagreb, 1881).

V

The year 1880 brought to Zagreb destruction of unimaginable size: a large number of residential buildings were completely ruined, valuable remains of medieval buildings of the Upper Town (including the Stone Gate and the Lotrščak Tower) suffered serious damage, as did sacral buildings (starting with the cathedral). There is no doubt, however, that the earthquake that struck Zagreb became both a turning point in the city's development and an opportunity for change that had previously been impossible.

Already on the first anniversary of the disaster, enthusiastic comments appeared in the press. They presented the city as nicer than it had been, ready for major investments, with more and more efficient transportation and no fewer inhabitants than before the earthquake.[41] Šenoa wrote about the "reborn Zagreb"; in the speed and amount of work done during the year, he saw a guarantee of even greater prosperity and progress in the future.[42] Nothing indicated stagnation, and the reconstruction was full of momentum, surprising dynamics, attention to aesthetic values and the systematic introduction of national elements into the urban space.[43] Years later, Gjuro Szabo will note that Zagreb develops most rapidly when it is at its worst.[44]

During the first ten years since the earthquake, as many as 700 new buildings were built in the city.[45] In the new circumstances, amendments to the existing regulations could not be implemented at the planned pace, and the extent of necessary actions went beyond all that had been envisaged before 1880. Zagreb needed new urban regulations that would be adequate to the conditions. In 1887, the second land development plan (*Druga regulatorna osnova*) was prepared, which introduced a very clear topographical division of the city. The industrial quarters were separated from the residential ones, the hilly northern part became a villa district, and military barracks were located in the western part where factories dominated the landscape.[46] In principle, the previous plan to create a network of parks was upheld, but in the new conditions and as a consequence of the new regulations, the earlier designs took the shape

[41] Such is the message of the texts published in the newspaper *Narodne novine* on 9 November 1881. Ladović, Premerl, *Potres 1880*, 4.

[42] A note by Šenoa entitled *Zagreb preporođen* (Zagreb Reborn) was published in the magazine *Vijenac* (The Wreath; XIII, 32, 1881). See August Šenoa, 'Zagreb preporođen', in: idem, *Sabrana djela*, edited by Slavko Ježić, vol. 11 (Zagreb, 1881), 377.

[43] In the above-mentioned note, Šenoa announced the plan to decorate Zrinjevac Park with busts of prominent Croatians sculpted by Ivan Rendić. Ibidem.

[44] Gjuro Szabo, *Stari Zagreb* (Zagreb, 1940), 231.

[45] Nada Premerl, Vanda Ladović, 'Izgradnja Zagreba nakon potresa 1880.', *Čovjek i prostor*, 24 (334) (1981), 23.

[46] Radović Mahečić, 'Arhitektura i modernizacija grada', 67.

of a monumental frame for the Lower Town under construction. This U-shaped part of the city system, later dubbed the Green Horseshoe, is described by Daria Radović Mahečić as "a refined scene for temples of culture, science and art".[47] The next years of expansion filled it with such edifices as the palace of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts designed by Friedrich von Schmidt, the Art Pavilion by Flóris Korb and Kálmán Giergl (moved from Budapest), the Croatian National Theatre by Hermann Helmer and Ferdinand Fellner, the railway station building by Hungarian architect Ferenc Pfaff, the Museum of Arts and Crafts by Hermann Bollé or (the latest of them) the University Library by Rudolf Lubynski. The whole thing was closed by a botanical garden, designed as a park in the English style. Due to the changes in the area, Ban Jelačić Square also took on a completely different character. Nada Premerl and Vanda Ladović emphasize that thanks to significant measures taken at the time, the square could become a shopping and communication centre similar to those in other European cities.[48] This intervention was necessary because the buildings on the north side of the square, affected by the earthquake, had to be demolished. This enabled the implementation of the project, prepared in 1878, by the city engineer Rupert Melkus.[49]

Until the end of the 19th century, the number of inhabitants in Zagreb was constantly increasing.[50] In addition to the above-mentioned public and residential buildings, in the 1890s, many schools were also built, both in the centre of the city and on its outskirts. The wave of expansion activities also included the planning of necessary public places, new squares or promenades. The rapid urbanization caused numerous transportation problems but undoubtedly contributed to the acceleration of economic development. It strongly influenced the appearance of the city. After the earthquake, Zagreb's growth was no longer conditioned by the most urgent local needs. Given the large scale of the projects carried out at that time, it became possible to introduce European models, which would not have "fitted" Zagreb before the disaster. Most of the architects responsible for the changes had been educated in Vienna, and so Vienna's urban layout was an important point of reference for the projects on the Sava River. Although the modernized Zagreb became similar to other cities of the Habsburg Monarchy, the presence of important cultural institutions made it possible to gradually fill the city with elements of national identity.

[47] Ibidem.

[48] Premerl, Ladović, 'Izgradnja Zagreba nakon potresa 1880.', 23.

[49] Ibidem.

[50] From 29,218 in 1880, through 38,742 in 1890, to 57,000 in 1900 (the numbers including the army stationed in the city are as follows –30,830 in 1880, 41,481 in 1890, 61,692 in 1900). Szabo, *Stari Zagreb*, 195 and 241.

VI

The earthquake was a turning point in the development of the city and the career of the key "builder" of modernized Zagreb.

Even before this tragic event, by the decision of the authorities of the Catholic Church in Croatia, Bollé began to perform an important function in the area of supervision of religious buildings.[51] After the earthquake, he became the official architect of the Archdiocese, responsible for the renovation and reconstruction of the buildings destroyed during the disaster.[52] It is said that his rapprochement with the Catholic community was not only of a professional nature, although there is still much room for doubt. Bollé, a Lutheran of the Augsburg denomination, who, after moving to Zagreb, had contact with the community of the Zagreb Evangelical Church, converted to Catholicism in May 1884.[53] He did it in the presence of a canon who, according to sources, later lived in a house designed by the architect. When Bollé was received among the faithful of the Catholic Church, an emphasis was placed on the role he had played in the restoration of the Zagreb Cathedral and numerous religious buildings after the earthquake.[54] The rapprochement with the Catholic milieu in order to obtain further commissions[55] also helped him in his dealings with high representatives of other religious communities living in Zagreb at the time. Bollé had more than good relations with the dignitaries of the Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church in the city.[56]

As has already been mentioned, Strossmayer and Kršnjavi strived to obtain for Bollé the stable position of an architect and to keep him permanently in Croatia from the moment he arrived in Zagreb. In the 1880s, Kršnjavi joined the political elite centred around Ban Dragutin Khuen-Héderváry, to whom also Bollé drew close. This resulted in the worsening of their relationship with Strossmayer, but it could not undermine Bollé's position as the unofficial chief architect of the country.[57]

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[51] On 1 January 1880, he was appointed by the dignitaries of the Archdiocese of Zagreb to the post described as "pregledatelj nacertah and troškovnikah za cerkve" (reviewer of plans and cost estimates for churches). Dragan Damjanović, 'Herman Bollé i obnova građevina zagrebačkog Stolnog kaptola nakon potresa 1880. godine', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 34 (2010), 131.

[52] Damjanović points out that this occurred as early as on the sixth day after the earthquake, as reported by the press and as seems to be confirmed by Bollé's schedule. Ibidem.

[53] Ibidem, 132.

[54] Damjanović refers to the correspondence of the then archbishop with a Roman cardinal but also recalls the opinion of Strossmayer, who no longer approved of the German architect and pointed out that his conversion did not adhere to the rules (apparently, there had been no confession and no communion). Ibidem.

[55] Ibidem, 133.

[56] Dragan Damjanović, *Herman Bollé – graditelj hrvatske metropole* (Zagreb, 2015), 9.

[57] There were certain benefits of such a balance of power. Damjanović points out that the authorities were in favour of increasing funds for the reconstruction or extension of religious

Regardless of how Bollé achieved that status and the discussions on the subject, he would not have been able to influence the urban space of modernizing Zagreb on such a scale if it had not been for the earlier intervention of natural forces. The magnitude of the damage caused by the earthquake completely changed the dynamics of the work which had been planned earlier and opened up an almost unlimited area of activity for the architect who was valued in the city.

Bollé's works are permanently connected with Zagreb, especially those concerning dozens of sacral buildings and their surroundings. The greatest effort had to be undertaken in the severely-affected Kaptol (the seat of the Archdiocese, towering over the city, where the cathedral, two smaller churches, the episcopal palace and numerous seats of canons sitting on the chapter were located); here, the architect focused most of his first activities after 1880. Bollé also participated in the reconstruction of the churches of the Upper and Lower Towns (for example, St Mark's Church, which was renovated according to Schmidt's design). Then he worked on the reconstruction and renovation of buildings belonging to the Franciscans, was responsible for the renovation of the Orthodox temples in the city, successfully carried out conservation works in the Greek Catholic Church of St Cyril and Methodius, while his activities in the complex belonging to the Evangelical Church contributed to the development of neo-Gothic in Croatian architecture.[58] Numerous studies claim that the 1880 earthquake provided the German architect with several projects that ensured his livelihood for the rest of his life. Such opinions are hardly surprising when we take into account the entire scope of his activities. In the expanding Zagreb, Bollé also erected public buildings and important facilities of scientific institutions (some of which he designed entirely, like the chemical laboratory; in other cases, he supervised the construction or designed the interiors, e.g. in the JAZU palace). His "legacy" also includes numerous examples of small architecture (fences, fountains, a meteorological column in the Zrinjevac Park) and several residential buildings (palaces in the Lower Town district and villas on the slopes of Medvednica).

The two most spectacular undertakings which undoubtedly provoked the biggest discussion about Bollé's contribution to or interference with the urban space were the reconstruction work on the cathedral and the construction of the Mirogoj municipal cemetery. Let us recall that the renovation of the medieval Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was planned by Strossmayer

buildings at that time, and Bollé received numerous awards and distinctions, to the dissatisfaction of the local architects, partly thanks to his correct political attitude. Ibidem.

[58] A detailed list and description of Zagreb's buildings that were rebuilt or built according to Bollé's designs (or under his supervision) is included in Damjanović's publication. See ibidem.

even before the earthquake, and its design was prepared by Schmidt. Originally, Bollé was only supposed to supervise the work planned by his teacher.[59] After the earthquake, he modified the design and eventually deviated so far from what Schmidt had in mind that the reconstruction of the cathedral in the neo-Gothic style is associated primarily with his name. The changes, including the decision to demolish the walls around the cathedral, caused a wave of criticism. Among Croatian historians and art historians, Bollé's activity was marked for a long time by the stigma of disrespect for the Croatian people's national past. Such a viewpoint was shared, among others, by Gjuro Szabo,[60] a researcher of the old Zagreb. The implementation of Bollé's restoration projects actually meant stripping the historical monuments of the features typical of 17th and 18th-century buildings in Zagreb. It is worth remembering, however, that renovation at that time was understood primarily as improving, "rejuvenating" edifices or removing "scars" that had appeared with time.[61] Indeed, an architect influenced by such thinking was obliged to make radical changes, and the circumstances which arose after the catastrophe favoured such an approach.

It is worth noting at this point that Bollé's close cooperation with Kršnjavi concerned various aspects of applied art. Apart from designing the building of the Museum of Arts and Crafts (Muzej za umjetnost i obrt), which was completed in 1880, he participated in the founding of the School of Craftsmanship (Kraljevska zemaljska obrtna škola, 1882), which was associated with the museum.[62] As a result, for more than 30 years, he educated successive generations of architects, builders and representatives of crafts and arts who contributed to the creation of the new face of the city.

[59] A significant interference was envisaged already in Schmidt's design, namely a radical change of the form of the building, a concept that was fashionable across Europe at the time. This included, among other things, the construction of two soaring towers instead of the existing massive bell tower. Strossmayer himself supposedly accepted these changes. For details of the entire cathedral reconstruction process, see Dragan Damjanović, 'Neogotički tornjevi zagrebačke katedrale; stil i kontekst', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 29 (2005), 259–276.

[60] One of the articles describing the situation in Zagreb after the earthquake states: "But, unfortunately, the work was done by those people who had the least sensitivity to art and had neither the respect for valuable monuments nor, as foreigners, the least understanding of our past. That is why they managed everything in such a heartless manner, something they would have never dared to do in their homeland". See Gjuro Szabo, 'Lice grada Zagreba u devetnaestom vijeku', *Hrvatsko kolo*, 8 (1927), 201.

[61] This is how Bollé himself explained his task in publications. Source: Damjanović, *Herman Bollé*, 27.

[62] Ibidem, 46–47.

VII

The reconstruction of the cathedral, which in its changed form became the showcase and symbol of the city, and the design of the Mirogoj Cemetery,[63] criticized for its excessive scale, are key achievements of Bollé's professional career and important points of reference for the changes taking place in the urban space. However, the whole process of the permanent imposing of the style of the newcomer from the Viennese school of Schmidt upon the urban fabric is interesting. It is impossible to say whether Bollé would have tied his life to Zagreb and Croatia if it had not been for the disaster and the radical change of context caused by it. Strossmayer's efforts alone would not have allowed him to implement so many original projects, and it would not have been possible to carry out Kršnjavi's brave vision so vigorously, even taking into account his strong position in the Hungarian ban's power structures, if it had not been for the new dynamics of the city's development. Bollé's decision to stay in Croatia in the new circumstances resulted in his privileged position, almost a monopoly for the restoration of religious buildings. Strengthening contacts with Kršnjavi meant conscious participation in the transformation of provincial Zagreb into a European city, especially through education. Bollé's activity gained him the status of the most important representative of historicism in Croatian architecture. His style permeated the city in the form of buildings but also interesting interiors of public edifices and private residences. Although he was accused of being insensitive to what was local, he and Kršnjavi spent years searching for adequate means of expression for the Croatian national style in architecture and applied arts.

Translated by Katarzyna Wieleńska

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[63] Mirogoj is an example of one of Bollé's first original projects in Croatia (he started working on it as early as 1878), but at the same time, it was the last one to be implemented (the construction continued after his death, while the arcades were not finished until the 1930s). See ibidem, 59.

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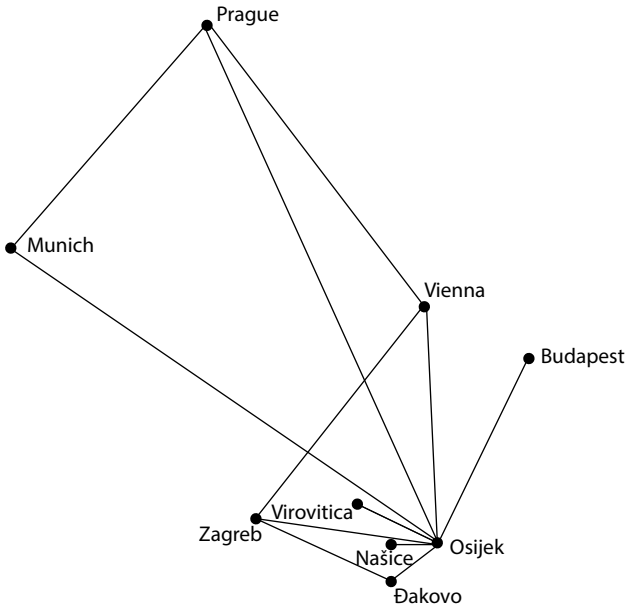
Prague
Munich
Vienna
Budapest
Virovitica
Zagreb
Osijek
Našice
Đakovo

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Architects of a provincial town

Capitals of states, cities historically inscribed in the order of power, are more popular among architecture researchers than provincial centres. From the perspective of the history of architecture and urban planning, this is easy to understand: smaller cities usually cannot offer spectacular material for analysis, outstanding projects or historical complexes are rarely located there, nor have such towns become sites of significant symbolic investments. There are, of course, exceptional cases, such as Versailles, Zlin or Carcassonne, included for different reasons in the history of shaping urban space as important examples of directions or cultural phenomena characteristic for a given epoch or socio-cultural type. However, less is usually known about the unimpressive architecture of the provinces. Meanwhile, by adopting a cultural perspective, we are opening an interpretative space for this lesser-known architecture and situate it in a wider field of social practices. In other words, urban reflection becomes a tool to study attitudes, values, ideas that are current at a given time in a particular community. Let us add that we perceive the city as a social and geophysical space where both these dimensions influence and co-shape each other. In this sense, architecture and urban planning create an additional social factor, and their analysis is not limited to the field of art history or urban forms.

Osijek is such a Habsburg provincial city. It could be regarded as an example of a typical medium-sized centre that served as a local hub but did not have enough potential to compete with the capital city (the capital of the crown land) or with important industrial centres of other countries of the monarchy. Osijek was called the capital of Slavonia, a large historical region in Croatia, although formally it did not perform such a function; moreover, it was only in 1842 that the seat of the *županija*, a higher-level administrative unit, was moved there. Such a label was given to Osijek because it was the largest urban centre

in Slavonia, until the middle of the 19th century equivalent in terms of population and economic potential to the country's capital, Zagreb.

In this text, I will examine the issue of the reconstruction of Osijek's urban space from the second half of the 19th century to 1938. Using the example of this Slavonian city, I will try to prove that for the Habsburg area, the year 1918 did not mark a profound cultural change, the date of which should rather be pushed forward to 1945 due to the drastic political and demographic changes that occurred after World War II. I would also like to reflect on how to adequately describe the specificity of a provincial town, which is less of a space for political investment than the capital city but is equally inscribed in the network of exchanges and contacts within the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy. Finally, I will consider what social phenomena are revealed by the architecture and urban projects created in Osijek since the 1860s.

Architecture is one of the most important areas of social practice, its aim (this is something obvious which, nevertheless, needs to be repeated) is not only to create a living or functional space but also to create meanings and, finally, to co-create the cultural environment. It is especially true of representative buildings and representative space, created in Osijek since the 1860s deliberately and to the extent that the local budget allowed. Urban awareness grew as more and more constraints on urban development related to the feudal and pre-industrial era were abolished. The modern city was a space of the triumph of the bourgeoisie but also of rivalry between different social groups, as well as local and central authorities. To my mind, analysing urban space from this perspective will allow for a more accurate description of the character of the Habsburg locality.

The history of Osijek is characterized by a lack of continuity. The modern city was born only after 1699 when, under the treaty of Karlowitz, the area of Slavonia returned to the rule of the Habsburgs. The former Ottoman city was razed to the ground, and the new administrators planned to build a fortress here to defend the Pannonian Lowlands against a potential invasion from the south. Initially, it was to be the main fortress of the defence chain, but in 1783, the seat of the borderland's headquarters was moved to Petrovaradin near Novi Sad. Three years later, three local town centres, the Fortress (Tvrđa), the Lower Town and the Upper Town, were merged into one administrative unit, and in 1809, Osijek was granted a royal privilege and became a free town, which greatly contributed to its further development and allowed it to outpace other cities in the region, such as Vinkovci, Vukovar and Virovitica. In 1842, the seat of the local government, or *županija*, was moved here, which raised the status of the city. Thanks to these factors, as well as Osijek's favourable location at the junction of land routes and the Drava-Danube waterway, the city

developed well in terms of economy, and although Zagreb outdistanced it from the 1860s as the capital of the country, it remained the second-largest city in the Triune Kingdom.[1]

Figure 1 illustrates the most important urban problem of Osijek, which had long failed to be solved.[2] The city grew, as I wrote, from three centres. The most important of them was the fortress, described on the plan from the late 18th century with the urbanonym Essegg. Downstream the Drava River was the settlement of the Lower Town (Donji Grad, Unter Varos) and upstream, the Upper Town (Gornji Grad, Ober Varos). The fortress was erected as a military facility and remained under army management, although the most important institutions, such as the seminary, secondary school, town hall, etc., were also located within its bounds. Due to the requirements of the fortress's foundations, it was separated from other settlements by a strip of empty land (*glacis*); no buildings could be erected near the walls in order to maintain its full defensive qualities. The spatial layout was characterized by poor traffic between the two external settlements and the area within the city walls, lack of building continuity, as well as functional and symbolic subordination to the fortress. The buildings of the most important, representative and conceptually-coherent part of the city surrounded by the city walls were subject to military considerations and regulations regarding fortress architecture. The landscape was dominated by one-storey

Figure 1. Osijek's plan from the end of the 18th century. Source: http://mapire.eu/en/ (accessed on 12.12.2017)

[1] The Triune Kingdom (Trojedna Kraljevina), i.e. the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, was the official name of the autonomous Croatian state within the Habsburg Monarchy after 1868.

[2] The map was drawn during the first mapping of the state for military purposes in the Habsburg Monarchy, carried out between 1763 and 1787; see http://mapire.eu/en/ (accessed on 12.12.2017).

or two-storey edifices; the taller buildings of the seminary and the town hall stood only around the central square. In the middle of the 19th century, the *intra muros* area could not meet the growing demand for building plots. It also did not meet the expectations of the new middle class climbing the social hierarchy; a great many of the buildings were neglected, and so they did not offer the expected comfort of living. The Lower Town gained popularity among the richer class, while the less affluent part of the population, but also those of Orthodox faith (Serbs and Aromanians), concentrated in the Lower Town.[3]

Figure 2, in turn, shows Osijek's plan from 1912, i.e. from the period after a regulatory plan was adopted. The streets are straight, laid out rationally; in the new part, two large squares have been planned, a new one (Mažuranić Square) and the existing marketplace in the Upper Town (today called Starčević Square). The city walls remained standing, despite widespread defortification throughout Europe, while the area around the fortress was to be transformed into a park with places of entertainment and recreation for the inhabitants. An interesting factor influencing the urbanization trends in Osijek was also the railway. The 1912 plan clearly shows the dividing line marked by the tracks and the station: on one side were the Fortress and the Upper Town, on the other, the Lower Town and the New Town. The latter was laid out as an industrial and workers' district, developing since the end of the 19th century as a result of industrialization. Geographically, the central space was still determined by the Fortress located between the Lower, Upper and New Towns. However, as the map shows, its integrative function could not be fully exploited. For the reasons already mentioned above, as well as due to the impossibility of concentrating the activity of the inhabitants near the former fortifications, the area of which had been turned into parks, the discontinuity was still emphasized. The empty area posed a risk of space disintegration as Osijek had no potential for a large centre surrounded by green areas and, further away, by residential districts. In this situation, the Upper Town with the main square and the parish church (marked white in Fig. 2) gradually took over the functions of a representative, economic and social centre. In relation to the old centre and the geographical centre, the Upper Town lay out of the way but offered undeveloped plots of land, the possibility of marking out wider, passable streets and erecting buildings larger than those within the fortress walls. For the growing population, and above all for the richer social class, it had become an area for settlement and

[3] This article forms part of my broader research on Osijek. Information about the history of the city and relevant events is presented in the book *Peryferyjność. Habsbursko-słowiańska historia nieoczywista* by Anna Kobylińska, Maciej Falski and Marcin Filipowicz (Kraków, 2016) along with a bibliography; here, I am only providing general information needed to introduce the topic.

Figure 2. Osijek's plan from 1912. Source: http://www.europeana.eu/portal/record/2026118/_MSO_n_001.html (accessed on 20.08.2015)

investment. Finally, the town council decided to build representative buildings there, such as the Municipal House (Varoška kuća), the new parish church and the city theatre. At the beginning of the 20th century, the district already functioned as a representative centre, overshadowing the Fortress.

Professional networks

I focus in this text on the builders and designers of Osijek. I assume that a "behind-the-scenes" look at public buildings will reveal more of the exchange practices in the Habsburg Monarchy than would the analysis of the edifices themselves and the ornamental and technological solutions used. Who was commissioned to carry out the projects, and what were the life paths of the master architects associated with the city? The answer to these questions will at least partially describe the flow of people, especially the elite, their connections and professional careers, and thus, as I have posited at the beginning, it will be possible to capture the world of supralocal connections, showing the Slavonian city in a broader framework. The fundamental question is: How was this framework shaped, and what does it say about the culture of the region?

In Croatian sources, architects and builders were sometimes classified in terms of their relationship with Osijek. The "domaći" (own, local) or "osječki" (from Osijek) category includes those most closely connected with the city on the Drava River; among them are people who were born in Osijek and settled there after years of learning and practising outside Croatia, such as Viktor Axmann or Max Zucker, as well as those who hailed from the vicinity (the region of Slavonia) and were professionally connected with the metropolis, for example, Franjo Dlouhy or Ivan Domes. Interestingly, architects from other parts of the monarchy – Czech-born Ante Slaviček and Vienna-born Wilhelm

Carl Hofbauer – also belong in this category. Both of them, having studied and practised in the main cities of the monarchy, settled permanently in Osijek. They were largely responsible for transforming the architectural space of the centre of the city and giving it its current look.

The second category comprises of architects and builders "from other cities", "from outside Osijek" ("inogradski"). Their careers were linked to other cities in Croatia, especially Zagreb, and the projects in Osijek represented only a small part of their output. One of them was Hermann Bollé, a famous architect associated mainly with the capital, although as a court architect of the Croatian Archdiocese, he had almost a monopoly on the projects of reconstruction and erection of religious buildings in the Triune Kingdom at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Other important figures include Adolf Ehrlich, also active mainly in Zagreb, and Vladimir Nikolić, a Serbian architect associated with the Serbian Archbishopric in Karlovci.

Finally, a third category can be distinguished: "Viennese architects". It encompasses such figures as Friedrich von Schmidt, Albert Esch and August Kirstein. They were eminent architects who were highly regarded in the whole monarchy and settled down in Vienna. The first one educated several generations of Habsburg architects in his Viennese studio and thus influenced the stylistic choices of the entire Central European area; the other two belonged to the elite of their profession, and their fame spread well beyond the borders of the capital of the monarchy. Not all of them lived to see the implementation of projects in Osijek: Schmidt, responsible for the construction of St Peter's Cathedral in Đakovo,[4] was a kind of reference figure for the public, but he was also a member of the competition committee analysing one of the public contracts in Osijek. Although Kirstein had come second in the competition for the construction of the parish church in the Upper Town, his project was discussed in the press, thanks to which it also found its way into the public eye.[5] Lastly, Esch, one of the most important landscape architects, influenced the transformation of the "post-fortress" areas into the city centre. However, it seems that a completely separate category should be created for Gerhard Franz Langenberg, the author of the new building of the parish church in the Upper Town.

[4] Osijek lay within the territory of the Slavonian Bishopric; the seat of the bishop and the diocesan administration was located in Đakovo, a small town south of the Slavonian capital. Although Osijek was the largest town, in terms of church organization, it was subordinate to a smaller centre, so the most important Roman Catholic church had the status of just a parish church.

[5] See Dragan Damjanović, 'Natječajni projekt bečkog arhitekta Augusta Kirsteina za župnu crkvu svetih Petra i Pavla u Osijeku', *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 15 (2/34) (2007), 194–203. Available online: https://hrcak.srce.hr/18526 (accessed on 9.01.2018).

He was (and is) referred to as a "German" architect; by the time the competition was held, he was already famous as one of the most important architects in the field of the reconstruction and construction of religious buildings in the German area, mainly in the Rhineland, and was known for his preference for the neo-Gothic style.[6]

This look at the categorical anchoring of the main participants in Osijek's reconstruction already reveals an outline of a mental map, a way of perceiving Osijek's place in the cultural and social space of the contemporary world. The "local" category included not only artists and engineers from the city but also settled immigrant professionals active in the same political space within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Ethnic categorization did not seem to play any role, which, after all, in conventional understanding, encyclopaedic classification, but also historical sciences, often prompts one to assign a given character to a certain tradition or, more correctly, an interpretative framework. Slaviček was a Czech and while staying in the city on the Drava River, he did not renounce his Czechness; he was a co-founder of the Czecho-Slovak association (Čechoslovačka beseda, 1921), which he chaired for many years.[7] Hofbauer was born and raised in Vienna in a German family; he came to Croatia as a pupil and collaborator of Schmidt while the latter worked on the cathedral in Đakovo, and then settled in Osijek.[8] Zucker came from a local Jewish family and spoke mainly German, as did Axmann, who in 1921 took a more Slavic sounding name Vladoje Aksmanović.[9] Dlouhy was born into a family of Czech immigrants; his grandfather had come from Bohemia and settled in Daruvar, while his father moved to Slavonian Našice; he graduated from a construction school in Zagreb, and after 1920, he moved to Osijek and made a career in this city.[10]

Thus, the category "Croatian (architect or engineer)" appears to be not very clearly defined. The place of practice, whether it was the local community or an important professional centre such as Zagreb, Vienna or Budapest, seems to have had the most significance. Similarly, the "Austrian" designation was not considered

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[6] See Julius Langenberg, *Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Die Steinmetz- und Baumeisterfamilie Langenberg* (Bonn, 2009), 54–79.

[7] Cf. Stjepan Sršan, *Povijest osječkih udruga i klubova* (Osijek, 1994), 63; for basic information about Slaviček see Viktor Ambruš, 'Osijek na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće', *Peristil*, 31 (1988), 80–81.

[8] See Ambruš, 'Osijek na prijelazu', 78–79.

[9] See ibidem, 81.

[10] *Životopis arhitekta Franje Dlouhy-a*. Available online: http://arhiva.croatia.ch/zanimljivosti/141205_2.php (accessed on 12.03.2017); Dragan Damjanović, 'Stambena arhitektura dvadesetih godina 20. stoljeća u Osijeku', in: Julijo Martinčić, Dubravka Hackenberger (eds.), *Osječka arhitektura 1918.-1945.* (Zagreb–Osijek, 2006), 27.

useful and was not used in principle; it could refer either to the political dimension (at the time, the issue of including in it the "Hungarian" category became the subject of discussion, yet Croatia-Slavonia was still politically part of the Hungarian Monarchy) or to the ethnic dimension, meaning Austrian Germans. The ambivalence of this category becomes even more evident when we consider Vienna's separate position. Vienna was perceived as a supranational centre of the monarchy, or at least as an "independent" city due to its distinctiveness, since it was difficult to attribute to it any national character despite the dominance of the German language and the German-speaking population. In the Austrian part of the country, the capital also had an ambivalent status and was perceived as significantly different from the rather conservative and increasingly nationalized provinces.

The above statements form the core of my analysis. After all, its aim is also to problematize the seemingly-obvious categorization of the world and better understand the functioning of local communities in a politically and ethnically complex state. Behind the use of a category stands a certain vision of the world and a way to organize the knowledge relating to it.

Categorization is, of course, only one dimension of the description of cultural practices. An important aspect seems to be the issue of professional networks and professional biography. Of course, there is no need to explain the role of education and the educational system in the socialization of the individual and the formation of their cultural capital. In the case of a professional network, other factors are also important. A novice student of the profession of architect and civil engineer had to complete an apprenticeship under the supervision of an experienced master. In addition, the experience gained in workshops or offices of renowned architects, such as Friedrich von Schmidt, strengthened the professional standing of the pupil and, thanks to the master's authority and sometimes simply his support, gave him access to lucrative commissions.[11] Bollé practised in Schmidt's atelier, and thanks to these references, he managed, despite his young age, to gain the trust of Josip Juraj Strossmayer, which opened the door to his career in Croatia. Langenberg, in turn, studied and practised in a family workshop, and the authority and experience of the family business were certainly important for his early start in the career of a church builder. After graduating from the Viennese academy, Kirstein also worked in Schmidt's atelier and owed his first commissions in the Kingdom of Hungary to him. Besides, there existed a specialization in the field of construction. The construction of sacral buildings ranked high because religious organizations, especially the Roman Catholic Church but also others, were the biggest commissioners apart from the state.

[11] Bollé and Hofbauer as well as Kirstein had all been Schmidt's students.

Secondly, and equally important, sacral buildings were usually representative and served as focal points of social practices in a non-secularized society, allowing their creators to gain recognition and prestige.

The prerequisite for achieving professional success were studies in the major centres of the Central European area and practice in a recognized atelier. The figure placed at the beginning of this chapter shows a schematic representation of the links between architects and engineers based in Osijek and other centres of the monarchy.

The lines reflect relationships of different intensity. Prague and Budapest appear in biographies of architects and builders related to Osijek sporadically. It is interesting to note that the influence of the Hungarian capital was not very significant, although Slavonia had quite strong ties with the Hungarian state (after 1868, it became the area of Magyar-Croatian economic rivalry, and at the end of the 19th century, an area of Hungarian settlement).[12] Prague, on the other hand, did not attract as many Croatian engineers as the nearer centres; thus, its significance was less profound than in the case of literature or social sciences.

Two of the most important places where the trainees gained experience and made useful contacts were Vienna and Munich. Graz was of secondary importance, while most of the architects and builders operating in the Triune Kingdom had a longer or shorter relationship with the capital, Zagreb. The position in the professional hierarchy was crucial. The highest status was achieved by qualified architects who passed the required exam after graduation. Contacts and connections were, of course, of great importance, as was the experience gained, but completing all levels of education gave an advantage. The schooling received solely within the Croatian-Slavonian borders not only could not guarantee a career in the whole monarchy but did not even allow one to serve in higher offices and perform functions related to construction management and supervision. An example is provided by the biography of Dlouhy, who only graduated from a construction school (equivalent to a technical school) in Zagreb and opened a construction company in Osijek at an advanced age. Despite his experience and skills, he was not able to hold higher offices or take part in competitions for large public contracts where superior vocational training was required. Hofbauer, too, did not make a supralocal career; he specialized in executing the projects of others, ran a construction company, and served as a chief city engineer for many years. Slaviček, after graduating from the Prague Technical School and studying in Munich, as well as completing an apprenticeship

[12] So far, only two significant Hungarian architects' designs referring to Budapest patterns have been recognized in Osijek: the main post office building and the Korsky house (Kuća Korsky); see Grgur M. Ivanković, 'Kuća Kästenbaum (Korsky) u Osijeku, primjer Mađarske Secesije', *Peristil*, 39 (1997), 135–144. Available online: https://hrcak.srce.hr/138684 (accessed on 4.02.2021).

in studios in Vienna and Budapest, worked as an independent specialist and basically operated only in Osijek.

Thus, Osijek emerges as a peripheral centre, offering opportunities for making a local career and hungry for outside "experts", matured in the capitals. This is obviously not a singular feature of the place. What really draws attention is the free circulation of the professional elite within the Habsburg Monarchy, regardless of its dualistic nature. Slaviček was born near Prague and came to Slavonia as an adult; Hofbauer hailed from Vienna; Dlouhy arrived in the city on the Drava River after living in Zagreb and a war experience in Galicia. A native inhabitant of Osijek, Axmann studied in Vienna and brought back with him to Slavonia a preference for the "young style". Nikolić, who built only one representative building in Osijek, also had studied in Munich and Vienna; he transplanted to Vojvodina the sense of decorum shared by the whole group of architects and the idea of constructing representative buildings in the spirit of historicism, sometimes differentiated by elements pointing to the local tradition.[13]

It must be acknowledged that for apprentices from the Triune Kingdom, studies outside the country (in the narrow sense) were a necessity. Although a university was founded in Zagreb in 1874 on the basis of the former Jesuit academy, taken over by the state after the dissolution of the order (1776), it only had four "non-engineering" departments (philosophical, theological, medical, legal). To become an architect, builder or engineer, one had to journey to institutions operating outside Croatia and Slavonia. In 1880, after the great earthquake in Zagreb, the shortage of skilled foremen and designers became evident. In 1882, the Art Society (Društvo umjetnika), in which Isidor Kršnjavi played a dominating role, passed a resolution to establish a school of crafts and technical education. By decision of the royal land government, the School of Crafts (Obrtnička škola) was founded in 1882, but the building course was not opened until nine years later.[14] In order to get full architect's qualifications, which required passing the diploma exams, it was still necessary to study in Vienna, Munich or Prague.

The School of Crafts' building was designed and erected by Bollé. He wanted the school to prepare future engineering staff and, at the same time, form new elites and shape new taste for the residents of Croatia. It is worth bearing in mind that the Art Society and its activities, as well as the opening of the School of Crafts (like the modern university before it), were part of the efforts

[13] For Nikolić and his only architectural implementation in Osijek, see Dragan Damjanović, 'Historicistička palača dr. Milana Maksimovića u Osijeku', *Peristil*, 48 (1) (2005), 155–173. Available online: https://hrcak.srce.hr/148737 (accessed on 4.02.2021).

[14] For the history of the school, see Graditeljska tehnička škola, *Povijest škole*. Available online: http://ss-graditeljska-zg.skole.hr/skola/povijest (accessed on 9.01.2018).

of Strossmayer and his close associates, such as Franjo Račkі and Kršnjavi, to raise the country's civilization level and educate society, familiarize its members with the latest developments and shape modern taste. Strossmayer's slogan "through education to freedom" (*prosvjetom k slobodi*) translated into propaganda disseminated not only through literary texts, press or elementary schools but also through the training of technical staff, erecting buildings in a "modern" style and supporting institutions such as museums or art galleries that had not functioned before. Architecture and urban planning were also supposed to be part of the trend of forming a modern, enlightened nation.[15]

Public procurement

It is therefore not surprising that the competitions announced for the construction of public or representative buildings were dominated by architects from monarchy centres, mainly from Vienna. However, let me remind you of the previous reflections on categorization – Bollé cannot be considered a "stranger" since he settled in Zagreb in 1878 and worked intensively not only in the capital but throughout Croatia. He had undoubtedly become a "Croatian", although supporters of the genetic or biological theory of the nation might not agree. When he entered the competition in Osijek, about which I will write further on, he was perceived as a fellow countryman, merely from "another town", a young architect most probably bathing in the fame of his teacher and master. Viennese architects were invited to participate in these competitions because their authority could give prestige to the newly-constructed buildings. Due to the supraethnic and supranational nature of professional networks, the participation of designers from outside Croatia was not an issue. It can be assumed that the field of architecture was seen more through the lens of the polarization between the (prestigious) centre and the periphery (copying patterns) rather than according to the concepts of ethnic purity and fidelity; at least, such a conclusion can be drawn from the studied material from the area of Croatia-Slavonia. Strossmayer's policy on art is particularly interesting. The patron bishop represented a pro-Slavic orientation in Croatian politics, including cultural policy; he strove to

[15] Bishop Strossmayer expressed the desire for Croatia "to become what Tuscany is for beautiful Italy, to become a kind of Athenaeum, that is, the focus and centre of flourishing of all our moral and spiritual desires and goals" (speech delivered at the opening of the gallery of paintings on 9 November 1884, reprinted as 'Otvorenje galerije slika', in: Josip Juraj Strossmayer, Franjo Račkі, *Politički spisi*, edited by Vladimir Koščak [Zagreb, 1971], 227). Strossmayer's general concern for the level of civilization and the beauty of his homeland was not the only reason for his interest in Osijek. Firstly, it was the largest town in the Slavonian Diocese; secondly, Strossmayer was born in Osijek and spent his first years of education there, so his efforts to add splendour to the town were partly due to personal motives.

strengthen contacts primarily among the southern Slavs but, secondly, with the Slavs from the north: the Czechs, Russians, Poles. Meanwhile, in the field of art, he tried to popularize the achievements of European culture among the Croats, expand their knowledge and, as I emphasized earlier, shape new tastes by breaking free from local preferences or even parochialism. This was also – or perhaps, most strikingly – evident in the case of architecture. At the opening of the Academy Palace (Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb) in 1884, one of the largest buildings in the capital at that time, erected in representative Neo-Renaissance style according to the design of Schmidt executed by Bollé, Strossmayer expressed his hope that "when more buildings similar to that of our academy appear, then they will transform our capital city, if God allows, to the extent appropriate, into a beautiful and exemplary Florence".[16] The whole speech was focused on the need to care for spiritual values and to cultivate higher ideas. Strossmayer fervently defended himself against accusations of neglecting the "real" material needs of the Croatian people to collect works of art or to invest in the building of galleries or academies. In his opinion, a developed culture of the spirit was the best defence and guarantee of survival and development for the nation, and it was much stronger than tangible goods.[17]

Strossmayer deserves more attention because his opinion was sometimes decisive when it came to choosing a designer. Above all, however, we must do him justice: the Slavonian bishop was persistent in his work for the development of culture and art in the Triune Kingdom, and thanks to his efforts, such institutions as the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb or the schools for girls in Đakovo and Osijek were established. After long negotiations with the town council of Osijek, he also gave up the plot in the town centre, in the main square of the Fortress, so that a new seat for the royal secondary school could be built there. He did it under several conditions, one of which was that "the building of the secondary school be nice and in good taste, because it beautifies the city and at the same time has an appropriate influence on the aesthetic and moral feelings of the youth".[18] The bishop stressed the importance of the aesthetic dimension of the planned building several times, suggesting possible designers: Schmidt or another well-known Viennese architect, Emil von Förster. The city decided to open a competition in December 1879. Twenty-one designs from the entire monarchy were submitted. However, Dragan Damjanović, who

[16] Strossmayer, 'Otvorenje galerije slika', 227.

[17] Ibidem, 238–245.

[18] Strossmayer's correspondence, quoted after Dragan Damjanović, 'Biskup Strossmayer, Iso Kršnjavi, Herman Bollé i izgradnja zgrade kraljevske velike gimnazije u Osijeku', *Peristil*, 49 (2006), 132. Available online: https://hrcak.srce.hr/167844 (accessed on 4.02.2021).

recreated the whole sequence of events, discovered that behind the scenes, Strossmayer forced the members of the jury to award the first prize, which meant accepting the project for realization, to Bollé.[19] The pressure exerted by the bishop triggered protests from the local press and met with resistance from some councillors. On the one hand, Strossmayer and Kršnjavi tried to keep Bollé in Croatia, providing him with lucrative commissions, but on the other, they also wanted to guarantee a high artistic level of the designs that were part of the above-mentioned programme of "beautifying" the public space of the main cities of the kingdom. Meanwhile, the backstage dealings during the competition revealed tensions between some participants concerning "their candidates" (i.e. from Croatia or Slavonia) and strangers, as well as "their candidates" (from Osijek) and those from Zagreb. Eventually, the conflict was resolved and the second prize winner, the chief city engineer, Max Zucker, was put in charge of the construction work.[20]

Strossmayer wanted the designers to be selected according to such a key so that local investments would gain a supraregional dimension thanks to their reflection of the latest trends and association with a prestigious name. This was demonstrated, for example, by the election of Karl Rösner as the designer of the new cathedral in Đakovo. In 1853, Strossmayer and a group of his advisers travelled around the major cities of Central Europe (including Munich, Cologne, Berlin, Prague) to get an idea of the latest trends in religious architecture and to develop a concept for reconstructing the cathedral building. Rösner had at that time already gained the fame of one of the greatest architects of the new generation, moving away from the outdated forms of classicism and drawing upon historical solutions.[21] After Rösner's unexpected death in 1869, the bishop faced the challenge of finding a continuator. The choice was not purely pragmatic. Initially, Strossmayer intended to offer the assignment to some Czech, because "a Slavic man would certainly be more eager to take on this task than an Austrian German",[22] but having failed to find a suitable candidate, he turned his eyes back to Vienna. The task was eventually entrusted to Schmidt. It is clear that from the beginning of his patronage and the actual implementation of his cultural policy, Strossmayer drew on the authority of Viennese architects

[19] Ibidem, 136–138.

[20] I provide information after the above-mentioned article by Damjanović, which is richly documented with sources.

[21] See Dragan Damjanović, 'Prvi projekt Karla Rösnera za katedralu u Đakovu iz 1854. godine', *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 15 (1/33) (2007), 2–25. Available online: http://hrcak.srce.hr/14909 (accessed on 5.01.2018).

[22] Strossmayer in a letter to Rački dated 20 July 1869. Quoted after Dragan Damjanović, 'Friedrich Schmidt i arhitektura Đakovačke katedrale', *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 32 (2008), 252. Available online: http://hrcak.srce.hr/65617 (accessed on 5.01.2018).

or, as in the case of Bollé, closely associated with Vienna when it came to the design and construction of representative buildings. Offering Bollé the contract in Osijek was to add prestige to the Slavonian capital and take it beyond the parochial provincialism, characterized by the modest Baroque architecture of the Habsburg borderlands.[23]

In the first public building competition announced in Osijek in 1872 – for the design of the Municipal House (Varoška kuća) in the Upper Town – three architects took part: from Vienna, Kalocsa and a "local" one from Osijek. The jury chose the design of the last of them, Vjekoslav (Alois) Flambach, which referred to the then fashionable historicism. The Municipal House was built in the Italian Neo-Renaissance style, considered to be the most suitable for representative public buildings. The investment was primarily aimed at raising the prestige of the district and giving the central square a metropolitan character.[24] In turn, the competition for the construction of a new parish church in the Upper Town, announced 20 years later, indicates a much greater potential of the city on the Drava River, greater self-awareness of the councillors, as well as Strossmayer's unwavering determination to impose his concepts. In addition to representatives of the city council, the jury also included Kršnjavi, A. Knobloch (an engineer from Osijek) and three architects from Vienna, among them Julius Hermann, the then supervisor of the restoration of St Stephen's Cathedral; all three had been students of Schmidt.[25] The design submitted by Bonn architect Gerhard Franz Langenberg won. It referred to the neo-Gothic style dominant in the Central European region, which was widespread in sacral architecture, especially in the sphere of influence of German culture. I think there is no need to explain the role of Schmidt. However, it is worth remembering both the aspirations of Strossmayer himself, discussed above, and the desire of the councillors of Osijek to beautify the city. Of course, the make-up of the jury was meant to raise the prestige of the competition, and this goal was achieved since more than 30 works had been submitted and the results were discussed in the Viennese professional press. The assignment was also highly ranked because Kršnjavi was then a member of the Zagreb Land Authority.

[23] Croatian cities were dominated by Baroque, especially in the area of Slavonia, where new centres were established from scratch after 1699. This dominance was challenged by the visual changes introduced in the 19th century in the urban spaces of the main centres, especially Zagreb and Osijek; see Bruno Milić, 'Urbani razvoj gradova na tlu Hrvatske – 19. stoljeće', *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 14 (2/32) (2006), 196–217, esp. 199. Available online: https://hrcak.srce.hr/10703 (accessed on 4.02.2021).

[24] See Dragan Damjanović, '„Varoška kuća" na glavnom gornjogradskom trgu, rani primjer visokog historicizma u Osijeku', *Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku*, 25 (2009), 47–70. Available online: http://hrcak.srce.hr/49343 (accessed on 30.03.2017).

[25] See Damjanović, 'Natječajni projekt bečkog arhitekta Augusta Kirsteina', 196.

The last major competition in the discussed period concerned the development of the land after the demolition of the fortress. Osijek's city walls were not dismantled until after World War I, much later than in most of the big cities in Europe. The city council opened the competition in 1925. This time the jury was composed of urban planners and landscape architects, except for Mayor Vjekoslav Hengel.[26] The verdict does not seem to have been influenced by any outside factors. Three renowned Viennese landscape architects were invited to submit their designs: Albert Esch, Fritz Kratochwil and Wilhelm Debor. All three ran their own garden design companies and had also co-designed smaller urban areas. Esch's proposal was chosen. The author planned not only to develop the green spaces in the "post-fortress" area but also to create a new central district south of the west-east transportation axis, connecting the Upper and Lower Towns. Thus, the downtown space would be more densely built and populated, which would solve the current problem of discontinuity and polycentricity of Osijek.

It is interesting that the city council again turned its eyes to Vienna, looking there for a designer of the city centre. It would seem that in the changed political situation after World War I, the directions of professional relations in the new state would be reoriented. Osijek, together with almost all of Croatia, found itself in a new political entity, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, with its capital in Belgrade. The year 1918 is considered an important turning point in the history of the region, partly because it brought a complete reconstruction of the political scene and sphere of practice. Meanwhile, even a brief look at the sphere of social activities makes it clear that despite the political transformation, some patterns of behaviour developed over decades persisted. Undoubtedly, Vienna, Prague and Munich remained the inspiration for the region in the field of architecture and urban planning. In Osijek, there were designers and engineers who had been formed by the professional dependence networks described above and who cultivated the common habitus, such as Slaviček, Dlouhy or Axmann (aka Aksmanović). For this circle, Vienna was the central nodal point of this network, even when one had no contact with this city in his own professional career, as in the case of Dlouhy. An important role was played by this distinctive habitus, a set of dispositions resulting from a similar formation within a common framework of the Habsburg Monarchy. It is clear that in the 1920s, it was still viable and continued to exist despite political reorientation.

This stability of preferences and behaviour can be assessed differently. Damjanović writes about a kind of conservatism, which manifested itself, for

[26] The information about the competition and submitted projects is given after the article: Tihomir Jukić, Srečko Pegan, 'Urbanističko rješenje središta Osijeka u radu Alberta Escha iz 1925. godine', *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 10 (1/23) (2003), 21–30. Available online: http://hrcak.srce.hr/11058 (accessed on 6.01.2018).

example, in the resistance to the introduction of architectural novelties and the attachment to the decorative style characteristic of the end of the Habsburg era in Osijek. According to the Croatian historian, "Osijek in the 1920s was still a very closed environment when it came to commissioning residential building designs from designers from outside the city. Like for the past half a century, only in the case of larger public and sacral buildings, well-known architects from other centres were sought after, mainly from larger centres such as Zagreb or Vienna".[27] Thus, wealthier residents used the services of well-known and proven architects and engineers, such as Slaviček, Aksmanović, Dlouhy, Hofbauer, gradually allowing the younger generation to speak; however, when it came to prominent investments, they tried to give them prestige by hiring high-profile names.

Provincial city

Osijek had been a city with ambitions since the 1860s. The bourgeois class, growing in strength, wanted to create a space that would adequately reflect its aspirations. The city was becoming more and more beautiful, gradually acquiring the most important attributes of a well-managed space: a clear layout of streets and public squares in the centre and representative buildings, which are the architectural showcase and landmarks of the city. However, throughout the period in question, the local specificity of a provincial town was evident, despite Osijek's considerable economic potential and aspirations manifested from time to time.

Without attempting to evaluate the space referred to as provincial, I think that one can perceive the provincial or peripheral locality as a certain cultural and social type. In Osijek, the lack or almost complete absence of symbolic investments flowing from the centre and related to a certain ideological narrative is particularly noticeable. Public procurement, examples of which have been discussed above, addressed the actual needs of the city (a new parish church or secondary school). There were no ideological construction projects of monuments or other monumental complexes, which are usually controversial and a sign of a symbolic investment in the name of the nation, emperor or God. There was no dispute, for example, as in the case of the Union of Lublin Mound in Lviv,[28] there was no object of national importance like, say, the Parliament in Budapest,[29] and finally, there was no desire for the new, rebuilt

[27] Damjanović, 'Stambena arhitektura', 16.

[28] See Markian Prokopovych, *Kopiec Unii Lubelskiej: Imperial Politics and National Celebration in Habsburg Lemberg* (Lviv, 2008).

[29] See Maciej Janowski, 'Naród wyobrażony w przestrzeni miejskiej: przypadek Budapesztu', in: Aleksander Łupienko, Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos (eds.), *Architektura w mieście, architektura*

space to become a symbol of national potential, as in the case of Zagreb after 1881.[30] Moreover, these investments, signalling bourgeois self-awareness, were in line with the safe stylistic mainstream. It is true that Osijek's authorities – and other significant people involved, like Strossmayer – chose well-known designers, but they did not take their nationality into account. Therefore, one cannot speak of either a conscious Croatian policy or the inclusion of Osijek in some imperial (German or any other) project. For a long time, Osijek remained a city functioning beyond such disputes, a peripheral city immune to ideological policies emitted by the centres, a provincial city due to its much smaller budget than in the case of the capitals.

Provinciality in this sense does not mean backwardness. We saw that architects active in Osijek were formed within common networks, shared a common habitus and moved in the professional sphere between different centres in the Habsburg Monarchy. The question of ethnicity was also of little importance here; usually, the local colour was expressed, at most, through architectural detail. It is worth remembering that those who circulated in the network were mainly highly-educated people, the most outstanding specialists. Damjanović showed that representatives of occupations ranking lower in the professional hierarchy, such as building foremen, builders or bricklayers who served the local market, did not follow this path.

The last conclusion which can be drawn from the analysed material is that the date of the civilizational change should be moved forward to the end of World War II. A hypothesis may be offered that the value of a provincial space, a peripheral community, was the ethnicity, felt as an everyday, non-determinative experience, and the possibility of circulation and exchange in a supralocal area. It was not until World War II that ethnic cleansing was carried out in the region: first the annihilation of the Jewish community, then the expulsion of the Germans, and finally, the establishment of very rigid, impassable state borders. For the first time in many years, the former Habsburg Monarchy was divided up so that exchanges stopped. For Osijek, this meant directing activity to a completely different area and building a new cultural type. Today, the Habsburg past is an object of increasing interest, nostalgia but also a tourist investment. That is also why provincial peripherality as a certain cultural and social type should be made the subject of more extensive research.

Translated by Katarzyna Wieleńska

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dla miasta. Przestrzeń publiczna w miastach ziem polskich w „długim" dziewiętnastym wieku (Warszawa, 2019), 47–68.

[30] See Dominika Kaniecka's article in this volume.

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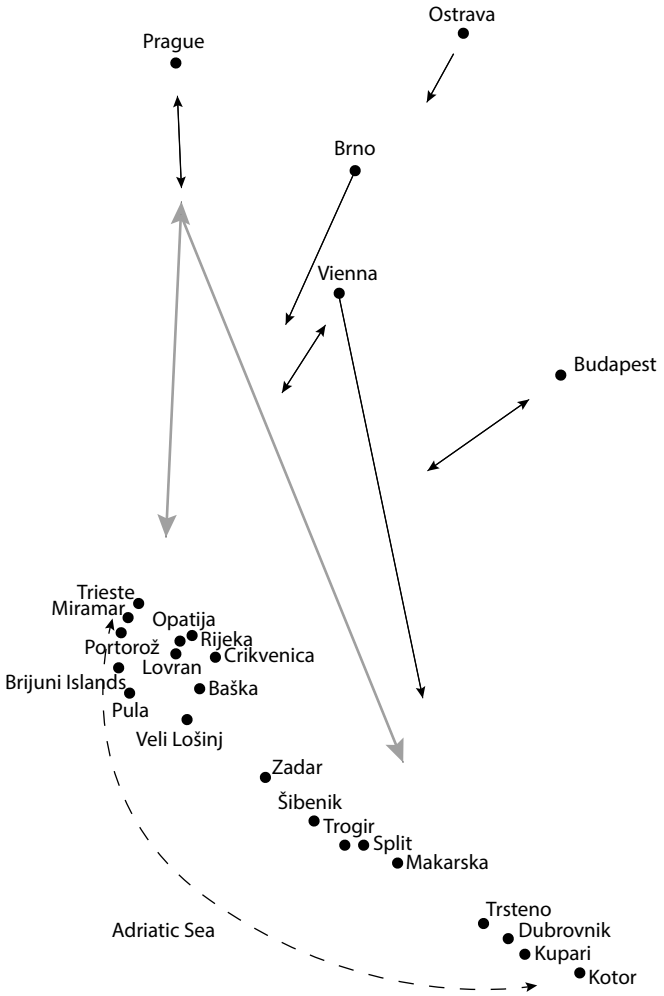
Ostrava
Prague
Brno
Vienna
Budapest
Trieste
Miramar
Opatija
Portorož
Rijeka
Crikvenica
Lovran
Brijuni Islands
Baška
Pula
Veli Lošinj
Zadar
Šibenik
Trogir
Split
Makarska
Adriatic Sea
Trsteno
Dubrovnik
Kupari
Kotor

Jasenka Kranjčević
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Tourism architecture by Czech architects on the Croatian Adriatic coast during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

Expansion of tourism and spa resorts in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, tourism, as a new social phenomenon, was increasingly becoming the benchmark of a country's social and economic progress. With the development of technology, medicine and transportation and because of the surplus of free time, nothing could stop the idea of tourism from spreading from Central Europe towards its marginal regions. Once the military, security and socio-political situation in South-Eastern Europe was stabilized, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy set out to capitalize on its Riviera just like France and Italy capitalized on theirs. Statistics show that the tourism turnover, as well as the number of designated spa towns (German: *Kurorte*), in the entire Austro-Hungarian Monarchy increased steadily (see Table 1).[1]

Table 1. Number of spas and spa visitors in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy from 1890 to 1905

	1890	**1895**	**1900**	**1905**
Number of spas	224	242	255	263
Number of spa visitors	217,939	300,669	346,378	427,338

Source: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie*, vol. 31, part 4 (Wien, 1892); vol. 37, part 2 (Wien, 1893); vol. 82, part 1 (Wien, 1908).

Spa towns were designated based on specific climate characteristics and the fulfilment of strict conditions. The growing number of such places, not only in the Habsburg state but throughout Europe, called for a register to be

[1] Given that the operation of spa towns was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, strict requirements were imposed on them. Those that did not fulfil them lost their status. Therefore, the number of spas in the monarchy decreased in some years.

created.[2] Apart from providing basic data about each spa town (a short description of its location, number of inhabitants, how to get there, etc.) and its medical characteristics, the inventory helped doctors and patients to choose a suitable spa. It was also of use to large and small investors who were looking for a place to invest in.

Tourism development of the Croatian Adriatic coast

When the Austrian Lloyd Steamship Company established a regular steamship line along the eastern Adriatic coast from Trieste to Kotor (1838) and the South Railways Company built the Vienna–Trieste (1857) and Budapest–Rijeka (1873) railways, the Croatian Adriatic coast became connected with the monarchy's capitals (Vienna and Budapest), and thus also with the rest of Europe. This enabled the transport not only of passengers but also goods and capital.

Investors in the well-known spa towns in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were large corporations, such as the above-mentioned Austrian Lloyd Steamship Company, South Railways Company and others. They put their capital into land, infrastructure, roads and tourism architecture. Their investments were so big that they also created a recognizable corporative tourism identity.[3] Apart from large corporations, various joint-stock companies, e.g. Adria Company, Riviera Company, etc., also invested in tourism architecture. Moreover, various associations, such as the Red Cross and the White Cross but also the city of Vienna and others, executed construction projects for their own needs. Finally, individuals also contributed to the development of such architecture, building holiday or rental villas.[4]

The eastern Adriatic coast, although economically underdeveloped, was attracting more and more interest towards the end of the 19th century due to its natural beauty and cultural wealth, encouraging people to come for a visit as well as invest in tourism. To facilitate the latter, Czech count Jan Nepomuk Harrach founded in 1894 in Vienna the Society for the Economic Advancement of Dalmatia (Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wirtschaftsinteressen in Dalmatien). The Society strived to develop industry, agriculture and tourism. Of these three goals, investments in tourism were the most successful. Although the Society engaged in various activities (financed trips with the purpose of writing tourist guides, brought together investors and designers, published its own magazine

[2] Hermann Reimer, *Handbuch der speciellen Klimatotherapie und Balneotherapie mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Mittel-Europa zum Gebrauch für Aerzte* (Berlin, 1889).

[3] Désirée Vasko-Juhász, *Die Südbahn: Ihre Kurorte und Hotels* (Wien–Köln–Weimar, 2006).

[4] Christian Rapp, Nadia Rapp-Wimberger (eds.), *Österreichische Riviera – Wien entdeckt das Meer* (Wien, 2013).

and so on), a particularly interesting one was the hiring of several architects to produce conceptual designs for hotels in Trogir, Split, Makarska, Trsteno and Dubrovnik.[5]

The importance of tourism architecture for the tourism development of this area was recognized at the highest levels of the state. On the occasion of the celebration of Franz Joseph's reign, *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung* published in 1897 a call for architects to design projects for the construction of hotels at several locations on the Croatian Adriatic coast: Borik in Zadar, Šibenik, the seven towns of Kaštela, as well as the islands of Hvar, Vis, Šipan and Koločep.[6] The potential of this region for tourism development is reflected by the wording used in travelogues and tourist guides from that period. They called Dalmatia "a land of history and future travels",[7] "a tourist land *par excellence* in Austria"[8] and "the land of the sea and sun".[9]

Places on the Croatian Adriatic coast that were awarded the status of a spa town included Hvar (1868), Opatija (1889), Veli and Mali Lošinj (1892), Lovran (1905) and Crikvenica (1906). Having been designated as spa towns, they attracted spa visitors and saw the construction of tourism architecture. Tourism turnover on the Croatian Adriatic coast grew unstoppably, as clearly shown by the cases of Opatija and Lovran. In Opatija, it increased 114 times between 1887 and 1904, while in Lovran, 47 times between 1897 and 1913.

Investors were always searching for new, quality and cheap locations on the Croatian Adriatic coast. This led to building land speculation but also resulted in a need for a well-organized private and public space, landscaped green areas, the construction of buildings for entertainment (theatres, reading rooms, sports venues and so on). All of this testifies to the impact of the skyrocketing rise of tourism on urban space. The needs of the tourism industry called for the construction of necessary infrastructure: roads, ports, villas, hotels, casinos, bathing places, tennis courts, post offices, etc. Seaside promenades and private and public parks, among others, were constructed or reconstructed. All of these new types of buildings caused major spatial transformations of the spa towns.

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[5] Stanko Piplović, 'Rad na gospodarskom unapređenju Dalmacije na prijelazu 19. u 20. stoljeće', *DG Jahrbuch*, 18 (2011), 199–228.

[6] 'Hotelbauten in Dalmatien', *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung*, 14 (30) (1897), 344.

[7] Maude M. Holbach, *Dalmatia, the Land where East Meets West* (London–New York, 1908).

[8] *Illustrierter Führer durch Dalmatien* (Wien–Leipzig, 1912).

[9] Moriz Band, *Dalmatien. Das Land der Sonne. Eine Wanderfahrt an der Adria* (Wien–Leipzig, 1910).

Tourism architecture and spatial identity of spa towns

Tourism and tourism architecture undeniably transform a space – they change its surface, the number and forms of buildings, amenities, organization of the public space, etc. Existing places assume a new spatial identity. A new spirit of place (Lat. *genius loci*) is formed. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, tourism architecture was supposed to meet the needs for accommodation, food, rest, hygiene and attractive design.[10] Thus, the construction of such a specific type of buildings (hotels, villas and bathing places) required specialized know-how, from the selection of locations to the knowledge of functions, construction, technology and design. Due to the constant development of the tourism industry and the growing demand for tourism architecture, increasingly bigger and more elaborate buildings were needed. Hotels were certainly the most complex of this type of public buildings, expected to fulfil various functions. In terms of amenities, they had to provide accommodation, rest, food and hygiene, while in terms of design and equipment, they needed to be appealing enough to attract tourists but, at the same time, blend into the existing environment. Unlike traditional residential architecture, tourism architecture was oriented towards the sun and the sea, especially on the Adriatic. Given that winter was the main tourist season at the seaside, the benefits of mild winters were exploited.

Important elements of the "tourist propaganda" of spa towns, besides health benefits and local attractions, were the spatial recognizability, spatial planning and spatial harmonization stemming from the new urban and architectural features combined with the traditional spatial identity. To gain recognition among potential visitors, spa towns put emphasis not only on their specific influence on health but also on the spatial identity of a particular place.[11] For example, some Hungarian spas (e.g. Eger, Budapest), among other things, emphasized that their spa tradition dated back to Turkish or Roman times. Other spas boasted about their contemporary buildings designed under the influence of, for example, the Italian Renaissance (Karlovy Vary,[12] Bad Ischl), Neoclassicism or the French Renaissance.[13] These examples show the rising significance of spatial diversity as a factor in the spa town's recognizability; it was up to the investor and/or the health resort management to ensure it. Consequently, the spatial

[10] Josef August Lux, 'Das Hotel, ein Bauproblem', *Der Architekt*, 15 (1909), 17–20.

[11] Jill Steward, 'The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture: 1860–1914', in: Peter Borsay, Gunther Hirschfelder, Ruth-E. Mohrmann (eds.), *New Directions in Urban History. Aspects of European Art, Health, Tourism and Leisure since the Enlightenment* (Münster, 2000), 87–125.

[12] Architect Josef Zítek designed the colonnade in Karlovy Vary, which became this spa town's distinguishing feature.

[13] Steward, 'The Spa Towns'.

planning of spa towns became increasingly important as it allowed the purpose and vision of the space to be harmonized (traffic, infrastructure, squares, spatial arrangement, location and type of tourism architecture, green areas, sports and recreational areas, shops, etc.).

Czech influence on the tourism architecture on the Croatian Adriatic coast

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was the time of the awakening of national consciousness within the Habsburg Monarchy, and its Slavic peoples saw an opportunity for cooperation through culture, education, sport and economy, thus also tourism.

However, the work and influence of Slavic architects on architectural trends in general and on tourism architecture in the territory of Croatia during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, more specifically on the Croatian Adriatic coast, have been relatively poorly researched and assessed.

The Czechs, representing one of the most developed crown lands, were keen to promote the travel of Czech tourists to the Adriatic Sea. Tourism in Bohemia was well developed, and spa towns such as Karlovy Vary or Mariánské Lázně were among the best-known in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. An indicator of the popularity of tourism, as well as of the existence of seasoned tourists in Bohemia, was the founding of the Czech Tourist Club (Klub českých turistů) in Prague in 1888. In 1897, the club organized a two-week trip around Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.[14] Later, in 1900, its members published tourist guides in the Czech language called *Od Tater k Adrii* (From the Tatras to Adria) about travelling to the Croatian coast and on the Croatian coast itself.[15]

An important channel of Czech influence on Croatian tourism architecture was education. Bohemia, as one of the most developed crown lands of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, had established a large number of colleges which attracted students from all over the Habsburg state. Hence, it was not unusual that a significant number of students from Croatia (especially Dalmatia) went to study in Bohemia. Among them were Fabjan Kaliterna, Danilo Žagar, Helen Baldasar, Pavao Jušić, Lovro Perković, Budimir Pervan, Niko Armanda, Marko Vidaković and Milovan Kovačević.[16] Czech architects who taught at the

[14] Gordana Tudor, *Parobrodarstvo i turizam u Dalmaciji* (Split, 2007).

[15] Julius Laurenčič, *Od Tater k Adrii. Fotografické pohledy na krajiny, města a památnosti zemí: Bosna, Bukovina, Dalmacie, Halič, Hercegovina, Istrie, Korutany, Krajina, Přímoří, Rakousy Dolní, Rakousy Horní, Solnohrady, Štýrsko, Tyroly, Uhry, Voralberg* (Praha, 1901).

[16] Robert Plejić, *Utjecaj praške škole na arhitekturu moderne u Splitu*, doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb (Zagreb, 2003); Stanko Piplović, 'Graditelji braća Žagar', *Kulturna baština*, 32 (2005), 325–354.

Polytechnic Faculties (Technische Hochschule) in Prague, Brno and Vienna,[17] such as August Prokop, Josef Schulz, Jan Kotěra, Adolf Loos, Josef Hoffmann and others, stimulated their students to rethink and design tourism architecture.[18] Without a doubt, due to the industrial development and investment in education of their country, Czech experts introduced progressive ideas in the fields of engineering and architecture. Loos and Kotěra, for example, were major proponents of the new approach to architecture – modernistic design.[19]

Finally, the Czech crown land was keen to invest its surplus capital on the Croatian seaside. Many Czech factories were directly or indirectly involved in the tourism development of this region, e.g. Vítkovice steel mill in Ostrava, Škoda, František Křižik's tram factory in Prague. The former manager of the Vítkovice steel mill, Paul Kupelwieser, bought the Brijuni Islands near Pula in 1893 and transformed them into an exclusive tourist destination.

Czech architects working on the Croatian Adriatic coast

Despite the huge demand for tourism architecture on the Croatian Adriatic coast, there were almost no local experts who could design such buildings. Thus, commissions were given to architects hailing from other territories of the monarchy. Among them were a significant number of Czech architects, who were hired by Czech investors. Although some original architectural designs had been lost, the attribution of certain projects was possible based on written records (see Table 2).

Some of these architects ran their own architectural studios in the Czech lands, e.g. Emil Králiček, Adolf Tichy, Matěj Blecha, Karel Kotas, Alois Zima, Jiří Stibral. The latter two were hired by a joint-stock company for the construction of a hotel complex in Kupari. Stibral, as a skilled sketch artist, drew a series of postcards that further promoted the Croatian Adriatic coast (Fig. 1). Tichy, in addition to designing tourism architecture in Opatija, also designed residential buildings. Blecha and Králíček were commissioned by Emil Geistlich to build a hotel and bathing place in Baška on the island of Krk (Fig. 2).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Society for the Economic Advancement of Dalmatia hired architect Wilhelm Jelinek to design a hotel in

[17] At that time, professors were mobile and taught at various colleges in the monarchy.

[18] Jasenka Kranjčević, 'Studenti arhitekture u Beču i vizije turizma na hrvatskom Jadranu', *DG Jahrbuch, Godišnjak njemačke zajednice*, 24 (2017), 87–102.

[19] The cooperation between Czech and Croatian engineers and architects continued even after World War I, not just through investments into the economy (building edifices or developing new building technologies) but also various activities of professional associations (exhibitions, lectures, etc.).

Table 2. Tourism architecture projects on the Croatian Adriatic coast attributed to Czech architects

Place	Year	Building	Architect	Built?
Baška, Krk Island	1910	wooden pavilion	Matěj Blecha	yes
Baška, Krk Island	1911	bathing place	Matěj Blecha	yes
Baška, Krk Island	1914	Baška Hotel	Matěj Blecha, Emil Králíček	yes
Brijuni Islands	1905	reconstruction of an ancient villa in the Verige Bay	Fritz Keller	no
Brijuni Islands	1909	metal belvedere	unknown designer – manufactured at the Vítkovice steel mill in Ostrava	yes
Crikvenica	1923	the first Croatian reading room	Lev Kalda	yes
Dalmatia	–	part of hotel design	Karel Pařík	no
Dubrovnik	1911–1912	expansion of the Imperial Hotel	Jan Kotěra	yes
Dubrovnik/Brašina	1913	hotel in Brašina	Matěj Blecha	–
Dubrovnik/Kupari	1919–1920	hotel complex	Jiří Stibral, Alois Zima	yes
Dubrovnik/Lapad	1920	bathing place	Karel Kotas	no
Lovran	1894–1905	Villa Frappart	Karl Seidl	yes
Lovran	1895	Villa Santa Maria	Karl Seidl	yes
Lovran	1904–1906	Villa Magnolia	Karl Seidl	yes
Makarska	1910–1912	hotel	Wilhelm Jelinek	no
Omišalj	1910	bathing place	Josef Schulz	no
Opatija	1891	Villa Aida	Josef Prokop	yes
Opatija	1893	Villa Ransonnet	Karl Seidl	yes
Opatija	1897	German reading room	Adolf Tichy	yes
Opatija	1897	Villa Neptun	Adolf Tichy	yes
Opatija	1898	Villa Frieda	Karl Seidl	yes
Opatija	1908	Villa al Mare	Karl Seidl	yes
Opatija	1908	Villa Souvenir	Karl Seidl	yes
Opatija	1909–1910	Pepina Hotel	Jan Kotěra	no

Place	Year	Building	Architect	Built?
Opatija	1912–1913	church	Karl Lehrmann	no
Opatija	1914	nautical centre building	August Johann Belohlavek	no
Opatija	1914	villa with an atelier	Rudolf Nahodil	yes
Opatija/Učka	1909	hotel – spa	Rudolf Melichar	no
Plitvice	1894–1896	hotel	Josef Dryák	yes
Rab Island	1913–1914	hotel complex	Karl Lehrmann	no
Vis Island	1914	church	Rudolf Krausz	no
Other contributions				
Josef Hoffmann: proposal for an Adriatic villa, upholstery for hotel furniture, trophy for a car race in Opatija (1895–1902)				
Karl Holey: research on built heritage (in particular in Split), participation in several juries of architectural competitions (in Opatija, Split, Rab)				

Source: Jasenka Kranjčević, 'Čeští arhitekti a turistika', in: *Čeští arhitekti a počátky turistiky na chorvatském Jadranu / Czech Architects and the Beginnings of Tourism on the Croatian Adriatic Coast / Češki arhitekti i počeci turizma na hrvatskom Jadranu* (Zagreb, 2016), 13–87.

Makarska (which was never built because of the lack of infrastructure). Other commissions were given to Josef Prokop, Karel Pařík (Karlo Paržik), Rudolf Krausz and Karl Holey. The latter stayed in Croatia on several occasions because he was researching built heritage (in particular in Split) and was a member of several juries of architectural competitions (in Opatija, Split, Rab). Fritz Keller worked in the Brijuni Islands, which were transforming into a well-known tourist destination at that time. His interest in the built heritage of the area dated back to his college years.[20]

College professors also contributed to the development of tourism architecture in the region. Adolf Loos[21] and Jan Kotěra,[22] the above-mentioned Czech pioneers of modernism in architecture, stayed only briefly in Croatia

[20] Fritz Keller, 'Studie der Laurentinischen Villa des Plinius nach seiner Beschreibung', *Der Architekt*, 9, (1903), Tafel 61. The built heritage of the Brijuni Islands was the topic of Keller's doctoral dissertation, defended in Vienna in 1905.

[21] Born in Brno on 10 December 1870, died in Vienna on 23 August 1933, Czech by birth, a pioneer of modern trends in architecture; in 1908, he criticized ornament in art.

[22] Born in Brno on 18 December 1871, died in Prague on 17 April 1923. In 1897, he returned to Prague, after studying in Vienna under Otto Wagner, to contribute to the dynamic movement of Czech nationalist artists and architects centred around the Mánes Union of Fine Artists (Spolek výtvarných umělců Mánes).

Figure 1. Postcard with Jiří Stibral's drawing of the Kupari tourist complex near Dubrovnik, constructed between 1919 and 1931 according to the designs of Stibral and Alois Zima. Source: private archive

Figure 2. Postcard from Baška on the island of Krk showing the bathing house designed by Matěj Blecha. Visible in the background is the Baška Hotel (project by Blecha and Emil Králiček). Source: private archive

but designed some tourism architecture projects in the most prestigious destinations, Opatija and Dubrovnik, i.e. where the biggest capital was. August Prokop,[23] professor and dean of the Polytechnic Faculty in Prague and then in Vienna, published towards the end of the 19th century a book on Alpine hotels,[24] covering also the northern Adriatic area – Crikvenica. He also wrote an article about improving the quality of a space that is being transformed under the influence of tourism.[25] Josef Hoffmann's[26] links with tourism were very diverse, too. As a young architect, he travelled on the Croatian coast[27] and suggested that designs of villas should incorporate architectural details characteristic of the Adriatic. After gaining recognition, he designed upholstery for hotel furniture in Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Grado, Miramar and Portorose (Portorož),[28] and he also designed a trophy for a car race in Opatija.[29]

Some of these architects worked in Croatia temporarily, while others settled there permanently, e.g. Josip (Josef) Dryák and Lav (Lev) Kalda. Karl Seidl spent a large part of his working life in Opatija, while Karel Pařík lived and worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The legacy of Czech architects on the Croatian Adriatic coast – in lieu of a conclusion

Past research has shown that there were many Czechs among the Slavic architects who designed tourism architecture on the Croatian Adriatic coast in the late 19th and early 20th century, that is, during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. They contributed to the shaping of public space by following current trends and

[23] Born in Jihlava on 15 August 1838, died in Bolzano on 18 August 1915.

[24] August Prokop, *Über osterreichische Alpen-Hotels mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Tirol's* (Wien, 1897).

[25] August Prokop, 'Zur Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs in den österreichischen Alpenländern und an der Österreichischen Riviera', *Wiener Bauindustrie Zeitung*, 17 (14) (1990), 97–101.

[26] Born in Britnice on 15 December 1870, died in Vienna on 7 May 1956. He met architect Joseph Maria Olbrich in Wagner's office in 1897, and the two of them, together with artists Gustav Klimt and Koloman Moser, founded the Vienna Secession. See Marco Pozzeto, *Wagnerova škola, 1894–1912: ideje, projekti, natječaji, nagrade*, translated by Maslina Katušić, Malina Zuccon (Zagreb, 1981).

[27] Josef Hoffmann, 'Architektonisches aus der österreichischen Riviera', *Der Architekt*, 1 (1) (1895), 37–38.

[28] Rapp, Rapp-Wimberger (eds.), *Österreichische Riviera*; Jasenka Kranjčević, 'Neizvedeni hotelski projekti na hrvatskom priobalju do 1918. / Unrealised Architectural Hotel Designs and Ideas on the Adriatic Coast in the Period until 1918', in: Mirjana Kos, Jasenka Kranjčević, *Fragmenti prekinutog vremena – Neizvedeni projekti turističke arhitekture / Fragments of Interrupted Time – Unrealised Projects of Tourist Architecture* (Opatija, 2016), 10–51.

[29] Johannes Sachslehner, *Abbazia: K.u.k. Sehnsuchtsort an der Adria* (Wien–Graz–Klagenfurt, 2011).

implementing them in their projects. Designers of many tourism architecture buildings from that period remain unknown,[30] and there is a long way ahead in terms of researching Slavic architects' contribution to the development of tourism architecture in the Habsburg state, including on the Croatian Adriatic coast.

This research should be expanded to include the contribution of Czech architects, as well as other specialists, to the development of continental Croatia, and not just in terms of designing tourism architecture but also economic, transport, educational and other infrastructure. The output of Czech architects and engineers can also be examined through the lens of their participation in the scientific community, as well as the exchange of scientific and expert knowledge and ideas (in the form of exhibitions, lectures, etc.).

Czech architects were commissioned to design tourism architecture on the Croatian Adriatic coast by Czech investors. One of such big projects was the construction of the Kupari tourist complex near Dubrovnik. Moreover, Czech architects active in the academic community in Prague and Brno transformed young architects into quality experts by stimulating them to rethink architecture and by introducing them to new trends in the field. Some of the Czech architects who came to Croatia on professional business settled there permanently (Dryák, Kalda, etc.), while others stayed there only during the execution of their projects. Many Czech architects, aided by investments in tourism, have undoubtedly made significant contributions to tourism architecture on the Croatian Adriatic coast, both by introducing innovations in the fields of construction and technology as well as by designing buildings and creating the tourist landscape.

Although he was not a Czech, Paul Kupelwieser's influence on Croatian tourism should not be forgotten. He bought the marshy Brijuni Islands in 1893 and turned them into an exclusive tourist destination. While he was the manager of a steel mill in Vítkovice, various metal products manufactured in this Czech industrial plant were used in the construction of many buildings on the Croatian Adriatic coast.

A significant number of buildings that still exist and are in use today testify to the usability of these projects, as well as to how urban space was viewed at the time. With the passage of years, it has become obvious that tourism architecture designed by Czech architects had a special significance for the tourism development of the area, not only in urban-architectural terms but also as a contribution to culture. Projects executed by Czech architects on the Croatian Adriatic coast, such as Baška on the island of Krk or hotels in Opatija, Pula

[30] Due to the frequent relocation of archives, many designs of tourism architecture have been lost.

and Kupari, have undoubtedly made a mark on its spatial identity and have become its landmarks.

The connection with the Czech lands was also evident in the names of hotels and restaurants on the Croatian Adriatic coast, several of which were called Praha (Prague), e.g. in Malinska and Baška on the island of Krk, in Crikvenica, on the island of Rab and in Kraljevica.[31] There is no doubt that Czech investors who invested in tourism architecture in the region promoted travelling to the Croatian Adriatic coast among their countrymen. The number of tourists from the Czech lands increased every year, and numerous tourist guides were printed in the Czech language. The collaboration between Czech and Croatian architects continued very actively after World War I, as evidenced by numerous exhibitions and lectures. The work of Czech architects testifies to Slavic contacts and great mobility within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as well as to the exchange of architectural knowledge and ideas.

Apart from Czech architects, tourism architecture on the Croatian Adriatic coast was also designed by Poles,[32] Austrians, Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Slovenes and Croats. Such a large number of architects of different nationalities shows that tourism architecture design knew no boundaries and was based on the exchange of knowledge and experience. All of these people contributed to the development of tourism architecture and its concept. They also co-created the physical and symbolic world of tourism architecture, as well as the tourist landscape of the places where they worked.

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[31] Although no hotels in the now-independent Croatia are named Praha, the connection with the Czech Republic (as it is called today) still exists, as evidenced by the fact that a hotel in the centre of Ostrava is called Brioni (another name of the Brijuni Islands).

[32] For example, architect Eduard Kramer, who designed almost all of the buildings on the Brijuni Islands until 1918, had been born in Poland.

Jasenka Kranjčević, *Fragmenti prekinutog vremena – Neizvedeni projekti turističke arhitekture / Fragments of Interrupted Time – Unrealised Projects of Tourist Architecture* (Opatija, 2016), 10–51.

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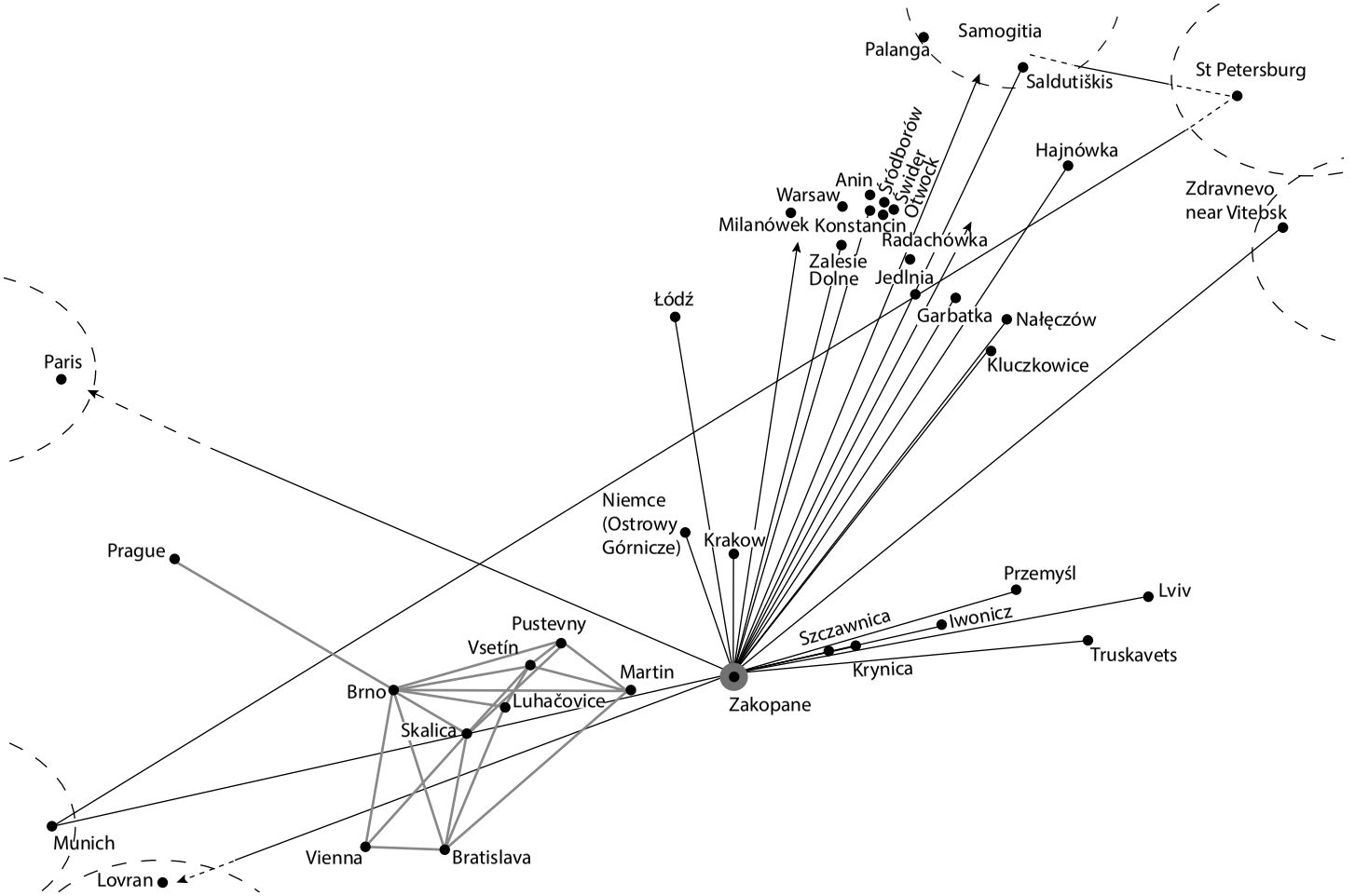
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Garbatka
Nałęczów
Kluczkowice
Paris
Niemce
(Ostrowy
Górnicze)
Krakow
Prague
Przemyśl
Lviv
Szczawnica
Iwonicz
Truskavets
Krynica
Pustevny
Vsetín
Martin
Brno
Luhačovice
Skalica
Zakopane
Munich
Vienna
Bratislava
Lovran

Michał Burdziński
Mazovian Museum in Płock
Silesian Museum in Katowice

Poets who moved the air: Stanisław Witkiewicz – Dušan Samuel Jurkovič

Verse and timber framing

The quite grandiloquent expression contained in the title of this study may probably be understood in various ways. Nevertheless, it seems an appropriate opening to the comparative reflection on the creative output of two eminent Central European personalities of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries: Stanisław Witkiewicz (1851–1915) and Dušan Samuel Jurkovič (1868–1947). The title, which combines the modes of creativity and modalities of interpretation of diverse fields of art (poetry and architecture), is based, therefore, on two lexical pillars. The first is the Greek word ποιητής, *poiētēs*, derived from the less sophisticated ποιεῖν, i.e. "to make", which was used by ancient philosophers to describe those whose work was reproductive, as in the case of painters, sculptors or architects, and who thus did not deserve to be called μουσικός, *mousikós*, a bard.[1] Both meanings were eventually conflated to refer to inspired people, chosen by heaven or hell, capable of composing magnificent works that excite and captivate, stimulate and enlighten, arouse anxiety or give hope, thus fulfilling the "requirements" of *exegi monumentum*. The second pillar is the paraphrase of the last verse from a famous poem by Zbigniew Herbert,[2] which widens the perspective by putting the mentioned keyword in the context of the contemporary self-identification processes of individuals and communities of the macro-region situated between the West and the East and, in the aesthetical sphere, the outlining of norms or ideals of *l'art pour l'art* and *l'art pour la vie*.

In the discussed case of the two Slavic poet-architects – a Pole and a 17 years younger Slovak who never met and did not communicate with each

[1] More on this subject: Władysław Tatarkiewicz, *A History of Six Ideas* (The Hague–Warsaw, 1980).

[2] Zbigniew Herbert, *Napis* (from the volume *Struna światła*, Warszawa, 1956), after: idem, *Wiersze wybrane*, edited by Ryszard Krynicki (Kraków, 2005), 10.

other[3] – "moving the air" means they went beyond the creative act, which comes to fruition in the textual or pictorial space, and engaged in much more substantial activities – in the very real world. They have thus made a permanent impact both on the given landscapes (individual villages and towns rather than cities or whole regions) and generally on the social sphere, by consolidating or reinvigorating the "national spirit" against the "cosmopolitan sauce",[4] and thus the healthy pride in one's own cultural wealth.[5] In any case, it is not the first time that the concept of the poeticizing of architecture or poetic architecture has been used in reference to them. Jurkovič was dubbed the "poet of wood" (*básník dřeva*) very early in his career; the term was first used in October 1899 by the writer and publicist Josef Merhaut, who published a column in the daily newspaper *Moravská orlice* (The Moravian Eagle) about the fairy-tale mountain huts in Pustevny on the ridge of Radhošť, where Old Slavic (god Radegast) and Christian (Saints Cyril and Methodius) traditions met. This opinion has not changed through the years,[6] and Jurkovič has even been called an architect with

[3] According to Jurkovič's notes preserved in archives, he was to visit Zakopane during a tour around the Tatras, most probably in 1900 (i.e. after the completion of his flagship project of the "Maměnka" and "Libušín" chalets in Pustevny in 1899, for the nation-oriented tourist club Pohorská jednota Radhošť (founded in 1884) and after the execution of the interior design for the women's educational association Vesna [Spring] in Brno). He wanted to familiarize himself with the local architecture and the collections of the local museum; nevertheless, it seems highly unlikely that he studied Witkiewicz's works; Dana Bořutová, 'Listening to the Pulse of Time. Architect Dušan Jurkovič', in: Jacek Purchla (ed.), *Vernacular Art in Central Europe. International Conference 1–5 October 1997* (Krakow, 2001), 255. The situation must have been similar the other way round, although already in 1902, the editors of the Krakow-based magazine *Architekt* (Architect) published three photographs showing Jurkovič's villa built in 1901 for the industrialist Robert Bartelmus in Rezek near Nové Město nad Metují. They accompanied a text about the Zakopane style and its examples; *Architekt* 8 (1902), 95–96 and plate 45, and 9 (1902), 103–104.

[4] Grażyna Juszczyk, *Drewno i architektura. Dzieje budownictwa drewnianego w Polsce* (Warszawa, 2007), 263.

[5] The famous Moravian writer Alois Mrštík wrote in his column in the *Moravská orlice* newspaper in 1903: "At last we will have our own great resort! … What was Zakopane a few years ago, without the healing springs? And now it is a meeting point of all Polish intelligentsia and foreigners"; František Žákavec, *Dilo Dušana Jurkoviče. Kus dějin československe architektury* (Praha, 1929), 122.

[6] Referring to the villa in Rezek, Merhaut wrote: "This architect is like an ancient, romantic bard who arranges songs himself and sings them himself, playing on the enchanting strings of a lute". In the "melodious" "Maměnka" chalet, Karel Elgart Sokol saw "the soul of a girl dancing on a beautiful day", while an anonymous columnist of the newspaper *Moravská orlice* thought that Jurkovič's own villa in Brno brought "the charm of Slavic poetry" into its surroundings which were full of foreign, German objects. František Žákavec stated that Jurkovič gave "a feeling of intimate poetry"; idem, *Dilo Dušana Jurkoviče*, 44 et seq., 47, 70, 75. See Dana Bořutová et al. (eds.), *Dušan Jurkovič. Súborná výstava architektonického diela*, exhibition catalogue (Bratislava, 1993); Teresa Leśniak, Barbara Drwota (eds.), *Poezja architektury. Wczesna twórczość Dušana Jurkoviča*, exhibition leaflet (Kraków, 1995); Radek Hasalík, *Pustevny* (Rožnov pod Radhoštěm, 2009); Martina Lehmannová (ed.), *Dušan Jurkovič. The Architect and His House* (Brno, 2010).

a "poetic soul".[7] Witkiewicz, in turn, a painter, critic and writer, was posthumously called "the great builder of life", and his works are to be associated with the "moral and poetic factor".[8] Thus, on the ground of *ut poësis architectura*,[9] an emblematic conjunction of the independent and very distant areas of poetic art and the art of building was born. Those areas have crisscrossed like logs in the corners of a peasant's cottage walls and gained at least two characteristics: that building with wood and stone resembles creating a verse that is usually full of emotion and atmosphere; and that a verse, understood metaphorically and literally, taking into account the persuasive comments of the architects themselves and their followers, may accompany the emerging buildings as an ontological clarification of their existence and as a leaven of their further cultural radiation.

The point of the whole comparison rests on determining the "tribal" and personal affiliations of Jurkovič and Witkiewicz and their intensity during their lifetime, as well as in connection to their legacies. It concerns two outstanding individuals, capable of reaching, each in his own way, the heights of supralocal success; two mentors whose ultimate goal was to spread, as if in defiance of the decadence and nihilism of the *fin de siècle*, the constructive thought tied to the artistic potency which was "drawn from the depths of the ennobled soul" of the people,[10] rooted in this way from the heart of their homelands. At the same time, it concerns two citizens of the extensive and multinational Habsburg Monarchy, marked by internal entanglements, and, simultaneously, two autogenic narratives developing in the spirit of the general European predilection for drawing inspiration from the imaginarium of folksiness – narratives that seem so similar, even though they have originated on the opposite sides of the Czech-Slovak-Polish Carpathian massif.[11]

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[7] From the letter by Růžena Jeništová, his sister-in-law, to Božena Jurkovičová about the villa in Rezek; Dana Bořutová, *Architekt Dušan Samuel Jurkovič* (Bratislava, 2009), 54.

[8] Judgements by the writers Władysław Orkan, from 1915, and Zbigniew Florczak, from 1976, respectively; Zdzisław Piasecki, 'Dzieje pośmiertnej „sławy" Stanisława Witkiewicza', in: Zbigniew Moździerz (ed.), *Stanisław Witkiewicz – człowiek, artysta, myśliciel. Materiały z sesji zorganizowanej w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę śmierci artysty, Zakopane, 20–22 października 1995* (Zakopane, 1997), 414 and 442.

[9] For more about *ut poësis architectura* and *ut architectura poësis*, see Per Palme, 'Ut Architectura Poesis', in: Åke Bengtsson (ed.), *Idea and Form. Studies in the History of Art* (Uppsala–Stockholm, 1959), 95–107; Alina A. Payne, 'Ut poesis architectura. Tectonics and Poetics in Architectural Criticism', in: Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner, Rebekah Smick (eds.), *Antiquity and Its Interpreters* (Cambridge, 2000), 143–158; Roy Eriksen, *The Building in the Text. Alberti to Shakespeare and Milton*, Philadelphia 2001.

[10] Dušan Jurkovič, *Práce lidu našeho – Slowakische Volksarbeiten – Les ouvrages populaires des Slovaques* (Vídeň, 1905), [3].

[11] A similar perspective is adopted by Antoni Kroh, see idem, 'Dušan Jurkovič a Stanisław Witkiewicz', in: Jerzy M. Roszkowski (ed.), *Regionalizm – regiony – Podhale. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Zakopane, 4–6 grudnia 1993* (Zakopane, 1995), 53–62. General reflections on this

Breath of mythical air and reality

Common elements in the biographies of Witkiewicz and Jurkovič can be distinguished already in their childhood, which determined the continuous trajectory of their later views and practices. These were the patriotic upbringing and national liberation traditions in both families (in the case of the Slovak architect, it was the memory of 1848, i.e. the Spring of Nations, and the story of his grandfathers: Ján, who died fighting, and Samuel, as well as of his uncle – the writer and politician Jozef Miloslav Hurban,[12] and in the case of the Polish artist, the memory of 1863, i.e. the January Uprising, in which the whole family, including the then still small Staś, participated directly or indirectly).[13] However, while the Slovak received a solid education at the state industrial school (Staatsgewerbeschule) in Vienna in 1884–1888, taught by Camillo Sitte, among others, the Pole became a self-taught architect, educated in St Petersburg and Munich under the guidance of painting academists, who soon followed in the footsteps of the realists and naturalists and who, without technical training or professional competence, finally arrived at a stylistic concept of a rather quasi-philosophical, rhetorical and literary provenance.[14] The creative pursuits of both artists were somewhat parallel, influenced by an identical impulse determining their imagination and choices, namely, the encounter with the extraordinary nature of folk art. The Pole experienced it for the first time during his winter stay in the Tatras

issue, often presented as recapitulations without reconstructing the affective depths of the cases, are included in: David Crowley, *National Style and Nation-State. Design in Poland from the Vernacular Revival to the International Style* (Manchester–New York, 1992); Nicola Gordon Bowe (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn of the Century Design* (Dublin, 1993); Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing Visions. Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918* (Cambridge–London, 1998); Piotr Krakowski, Jacek Purchla (eds.), *Art around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces* (Kraków, 1999); Anthony Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak. Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867–1933* (Chicago–London, 2006); Anita Aigner (ed.), *Vernakulare Moderne. Grenzüberschreitungen in der Architektur um 1900. Das Bauernhaus und seine Aneignung* (Bielefeld, 2010).

[12] Bořutová, *Architekt Dušan Samuel Jurkovič*, 12–13.

[13] For more on this subject, see Zdzisław Piasecki, *Stanisław Witkiewicz. Młodość i wczesny dorobek artysty* (Warszawa–Wrocław, 1983), 22–89; Barbara Wachowicz, '„Na łasce wichru i na woli burzy". Gawęda o gnieździe rodzinnym, dzieciństwie i młodości wczesnej Stanisława Witkiewicza', in: Zbigniew Moździerz (ed.), *Stanisław Witkiewicz – człowiek, artysta, myśliciel. Materiały z sesji zorganizowanej w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę śmierci artysty, Zakopane, 20–22 października 1995* (Zakopane, 1997), 61–132.

[14] "The writer and painter created the myth of the Tatras to which he gave the rank of a patriotic deed. The Zakopane style was a material, tangible part of it… The meanings of myths are not clear and obvious because that is their nature. Witkiewicz used metaphors, parables, descriptions; he used methods appropriate for literary work; he did not create aesthetic treatises." Barbara Tondos, *Styl zakopiański i zakopiańszczyzna* (Wrocław, 2004), 5 and 6. See also David Crowley, 'Pragmatism and Fantasy in the Making of the Zakopane Style', *Centropa*, 2 (3) (2002), 182–196.

in 1886, and Jurkovič in the summer of 1887 in Martin, where he had admired a 20-metre-high wooden gate leading to a colourful ethnographic exhibition of various charming embroideries prepared by the women's association Živena.[15] The gate was designed, based on the handicrafts of Orava carpenters and woodcarvers, by Blažej Félix Bulla, a local precursor of architecture and artistic and functional design inspired by familiarity, whose exceptional talent could not be fully realized in the era of strong Magyarization.[16]

It is significant that Witkiewicz saw *post factum* the harbinger of his aspirations and tasks in the pioneering views of John Ruskin and William Morris and the experiences of the members of the Arts and Crafts Movement.[17] He was also influenced by the native, though rudimentary, pattern of zealous and mundane organic work, above all in Cyprian Kamil Norwid's revelations, in *Promethidion*, i.e. in the not-so-distant poetic regions, already linked in the positivistic conviction with the need to harmonize reason and feeling, natural exaltation and honest, systematic work, also *pro publico bono*. But just like the origins of Witkiewicz's whole mental structure, the seeds of his ideas were to be found in Johann Gottfried Herder's *Heimat*, in Leo Tolstoy's socialism and in Polish polyphonic Romanticism.[18] His undertakings in Zakopane were undoubtedly influenced by Norwid, although Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Słowacki were mentioned many times in the writings of the author of *Sztuka i krytyka u nas* (Art and Criticism Among Us), as was "the Polish citizen of the world", Fryderyk Chopin. His oeuvre was interpreted in psychoanalytical and purely Symbolist terms by the younger contemporaries of Witkiewicz – Stanisław Przybyszewski and others that stayed under his influence; for him, in turn, Chopin demonstrated "how the motif of folk art becomes not only the wealth of a given society but also one of the most precious jewels of European civilization."[19] Witkiewicz, who grew up in the Samogitian countryside and is

[15] Peter Huba, *Architekt svitajúcich časov: Blažej Félix Bulla* (Martin, 2017), 81.

[16] See the paper by Anna Kobylińska in this volume. I would like hereby to thank her for patiently motivating me to bring these considerations to light.

[17] For more about this subject on the Central European scale, see Andrzej Szczerski, *Wzorce tożsamości. Recepcja sztuki brytyjskiej w Europie Środkowej około roku 1900* (Kraków, 2002); idem, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement, Internationalism and Vernacular Revival in Central Europe c. 1900', in: Grace Brockington (ed.), *Internationalism and the Arts in Britain and Europe at the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford, 2009), 107–131.

[18] For more on this subject, see Wanda Nowakowska, *Stanisław Witkiewicz. Teoretyk sztuki* (Wrocław, 1970), chapter: 'Romantyk i pozytywista', esp. 131–134; Michał Burdziński, '„Na łodzi zamyślenia". O romantycznym światoodczuciu modernistów', in: Łukasz Książyk, Magda Nabiałek (eds.), *Krzyżanowski. Spojrzenie po latach* (Warszawa, 2013), 151–193.

[19] Stanisław Witkiewicz, 'Styl zakopiański', *Kurier Warszawski* (1891), then in the book *Sztuka i krytyka u nas* (Lwów, 1899); quoted after idem, *Pisma zebrane*, edited by Jan Z. Jakubowski, Maria Olszaniecka, vol. 1: *Sztuka i krytyka u nas* (Kraków, 1971), 684–685.

said to have become acquainted with the Russian style and the beginnings of *Heimatstil* during his studies,[20] could also have consciously created the neo-Romantic nimbus of the Podhale region, influenced by the work of such remarkable ethnographers and non-ethnographers as Władysław Matlakowski, Maria Dembowska and Bronisław Dembowski, and indirectly by the opinions of far-sighted critics such as Franciszek Ksawery Martynowski. Prompted by the early 19th-century folklorism and attempts at cultural revival under a foreign yoke, in 1881, Martynowski stated that "Schiller and Mickiewicz, for example, were in touch with the literature of the people and in this brotherhood created true and great works of art", and then he asked: "Why should the world that has revived poetry not be refreshing and redemptive for architecture?"[21] Such a world was known to Jurkovič already since his youth, mainly thanks to his enlightened mother, and he soon began referencing one of the greatest thinkers and poets of the Slovak Classic-Romantic era, Ján Kollár, who was as much in love with the people as the above-mentioned representatives of the Slavic land of Lechia.

The Pole and the Slovak were linked not only by a Romantic attitude to life, stemming from programmatic ethnophilia, but also by the meticulous fulfilment of the educational and popularizing mission of working at the grassroots level. Both knew that in order to preserve and enhance the community's distinctiveness, it was not enough to erect individual buildings and move only within a narrow milieu. Therefore, they attached considerable importance to publishing activities, both summarizing their para-technological sketches and demonstrating obvious patriotism, fully devoting themselves to the cause and making sure it resonated widely in the media of the time. In fact, Witkiewicz would constantly spread, irrespective of the genre of the text, the assertion about the signs of pre-Polishness visible in the architecture and physiognomy of the highlanders from the Rocky Podhale, while at the same time pondering on its former universal reach in "our" native lands. He treated it as an excellent opportunity to manifest the Polish nationality in a nascent style that could be explained by the expression, referring to the victorious stage of the battle in the field of art, that "average souls [less conscious, less cultivated – M.B.] must be raised to the heights of

[20] Zbigniew Moździerz, *Dom „Pod Jedlami" Pawlikowskich* (Zakopane, 2003), 40. The short summary of the author's arguments in subchapter *Geneza stylu zakopiańskiego* (The Origins of the Zakopane Style) made me realize how much Witkiewicz's aesthetic and cognitive perspective differed from that of Jurkovič. The latter, while maturing as an artist in Vienna, experienced all that was best in architecture and participated – as a student and observer – in the birth of the endless stream of architectural and applied art projects of the highest modern level.

[21] Franciszek Ksawery Martynowski, 'Zapoznane drogi w sztuce polskiej', *Przegląd Bibliograficzno-Archeologiczny* (1881), quoted after: Teresa Jabłońska, 'Wstęp', in: Teresa Jabłońska, Zbigniew Moździerz, *„Koliba", pierwszy dom w stylu zakopiańskim* (Zakopane, 1994), 9.

genius".[22] To propagate this manifesto, Witkiewicz also used his literary *chef-d'oeuvre*: the reportage novel *Na przełęczy* (On the Mountain Pass), published in book version in Warsaw in 1891, and the later short prose forms *Tatry w śniegu* (The Snow-clad Tatras) and *Po latach* (Years Later), which reflected the undiminished ideological enthusiasm of the doyen of the style. Jurkovič published his thoughts on a similar scale – although more concisely, in a more "mundane" style and in several languages – on the southern side of the Tatras, and even in the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy. Before World War I, his works were published in magazines such as the Czech-language *Styl* and the German-language *Der Architekt* and *Das Interieur*, and he prepared a separate book about the tourist chalet "Maměnka" and the neighbouring Libušín inn (1899) in Pustevny, which he had designed. He supervised their construction, executed under the direction of Michal Urbánek, very closely, just like Witkiewicz, who oversaw the building of the "Koliba" villa (1892) owned by Zygmunt Gnatowski and the "Pod Jedlami" house (1897) of the Pawlikowski family. I consider two of their works to be purposeful and comparable. Both were serial publications (not intended to be completed) of illustrative and somewhat instructive character: Witkiewicz's fascicules entitled *Styl zakopiański* (*Pokój jadalny* and *Ciesielstwo*) (The Zakopane Style [Dining Room and Carpentry]), published in Lviv in 1904 and 1911,[23] and fourteen Jurkovič's fascicules entitled *Práce lidu našeho – Slowakische Volksarbeiten – Les ouvrages populaires des Slovaques*, published in Vienna in 1905–1914.[24] The latter architect's crowning achievement on the international scene was the publication of his chapter on Slovak

[22] Stanisław Witkiewicz, *Dziwny człowiek* (Lwów, 1903) (written in Zakopane in 1902); quoted after: idem, *Pisma zebrane*, edited by Jan Z. Jakubowski, Maria Olszaniecka, vol. 2: *Monografie artystyczne* (Kraków, 1974), 108.

[23] They were preceded, aside from many articles and lectures, by a book written by Witkiewicz's friend Stanisław Eljasz-Radzikowski, a doctor and painter: idem, *Styl zakopiański* (Kraków–Lwów, 1901).

[24] A closer look at the juxtaposed publications reveals, though, that while the Pole sowed the seeds of specific stylistics, which was somewhat regulated by the drawings of designed objects, the Slovak was more partial to the endeavours of ethnographers, such as Oskar Kolberg, Zygmunt Gloger or the already-mentioned Matlakowski, to document, catalogue and promote the folk element. Thanks to selected photographs and colourful drawings of objects, this element was supposed to stimulate artists to spread their own vision. Ultimately, Jurkovič's approach is more reminiscent, in the Ugro-Slavic perspective, of the explorations of Jan Kotěra, Stanisław Wyspiański, Károly Kós and Jan Koszczyc-Witkiewicz, or Štefan Leonard Kostelničák who showcased dozens of collected "recipes for decoration" (as well as his own) in his book *Slovenská ornamentika* (more about him: Anna Kostelničáková, *Čaro ornamentu. Štefan Leonard Kostelničák* [Martin, 2013]). Similar conclusions – in reference to Kós – have been drawn by Dana Bořutová, 'Listening to the Pulse of Time', 255, and Christopher Long, '"The Works of Our People:" Dušan Jurkovič and the Slovak Folk Art Revival', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 12 (1) (2004–2005), 17–18.

popular art in the book *Racial Problems in Hungary*, published in London in 1908 by the British advocate of oppressed Slavs, Robert William Seton-Watson, pseudonym Scotus Viator. The article was also reprinted in the catalogue of the Exhibition of Slovak Art and Melodies held at the Doré Gallery in the capital of Great Britain in the spring of 1911.[25]

Both artists knew perfectly well that in order to promote their ideas, they had to introduce them into the "arena" of exhibitions, so they took advantage of every opportunity to participate in such events. In 1891, Jurkovič joined in the preparations for the Jubilee Exhibition in Prague and a year later presented his works at the next ethnographic exhibition in Vsetín. Visitors to the prestigious Czechoslavic Exhibition in Prague in 1895 saw, for example, a farm modelled on the unique houses of Čičmany, a small village in the Rajecká Valley in the Malá Fatra mountain range, located far from the so-called industrializing civilization, whose inhabitants protected the heritage of their ancestors. In addition, Jurkovič brought some peasants from Slovakia so that the city people could experience their everyday life.[26] Moreover, in 1906, an Exhibition of Architecture and Artistic Industry was held in his villa in Brno as part of the activities of the local Friends of Art Club (Klub přátel umění). Jurkovič was even said to have designed the poster for this event, possibly with the help of the gifted Moravian graphic artist, Bohumír Jaroněk.[27] The exhibition was visited by more than 400 guests, which encouraged Jurkovič to give a special lecture on folk architecture two years later.

Unfortunately, while the Slovak was gaining recognition and respect of the general public and finally had quite a lot of money and property, fate was less kind to Witkiewicz, who suffered from progressive lung disease, had to rely on his wife's income from running a guest house and giving music lessons, sold his works for half the price, considering it his mission and duty, and was burdened by conflicts and misunderstandings about the Zakopane style and his life in the Tatras.[28] Although he was pleased with the display of Zakopane-style equipment at the Exhibition of Stylish Furniture in Warsaw in 1896, his dream event, the World Exhibition in Paris in 1900, ended in a complete fiasco. Specially for that

[25] Long, '"The Works of Our People:"', 23.

[26] Bořutová, *Architekt Dušan Samuel Jurkovič*, 23–26. For more, see Marta Filipová, 'Peasants on Display. The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895', *Journal of Design History*, 24 (1) (2011), 15–36.

[27] Marta Sylvestrová, 'Ohlasy Vídně v plakátové tvorbě v Čechách a na Moravě', in: Miroslav Ambroz (ed.), *Vídeňská secese a moderna 1900–1925. Užité umění a fotografie v českých zemích* (Brno, 2005), 225.

[28] See Michał Jagiełło (ed.), *Listy o stylu zakopiańskim 1891–1912: wokół Stanisława Witkiewicza* (Kraków, 1979); Józef Tarnowski, *Wielki przełom. Studium z estetyki Stanisława Witkiewicza* (Gdańsk, 2014); Maciej Pinkwart, *Prasa zakopiańska w latach 1891–1939* (Nowy Targ, 2016).

occasion, the highlanders made a scaled-down model of the "Pod Jedlami" house, which, in Witkiewicz's opinion, was the culmination of the development of the idea of Polish national style. However, in the metropolis on the Seine, it was exhibited only for a moment and in a wrong setting, and not much attention was paid to it. Witkiewicz felt insulted and blamed Julian Fałat, the rector of the Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow and the commissioner of the Galician pavilion at the exhibition.[29] The pavilion showcased another Zakopane style (the so-called Zakopane way), created by Edgar Kováts, a Polonized Hungarian from Chernivtsi, an architect and a graduate of the Technical Universities of Lviv, Vienna and Zurich and in 1895–1900, the director of the Vocational School of Wood Industry (Szkoła Zawodowa Przemysłu Drzewnego) in Zakopane, succeeding the Polonized Czech František Neužil.[30] The exhibition of Kováts and his disciples, awarded a silver medal by the jury, was certainly a painful experience for Witkiewicz, despite the fact that many of his supporters perceived the "Zakopane way" as controversial and criticized it for unwarrantedly and even blatantly combining the "whim" of its creators with traditional folk forms and ornaments from extraneous ethnic regions. It was only at two of the domestic exhibitions of the Polish Applied Arts Society (Towarzystwo Polska Sztuka Stosowana), organized in 1902 in the National Museum in Krakow (Austro-Hungarian Empire) and on the premises of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw (Russian Empire), that the model of the "Pod Jedlami" house and its photographs were exhibited properly, accompanied by other folk and professionally-executed objects, such as a unique tea and coffee set designed by Witkiewicz and produced by the porcelain manufacturing plant in Sèvres.[31] They, finally, attracted the attention of visitors.

The self and forms of externalization

In the Habsburg state structures – even in Cisleithania, where the incorporated nations had relative freedom of national expression – the issues of identity were by no means a simple matter. On the contrary, they were underpinned by both inter-community factors, such as the three partitions of Poland or the breakdown of organizational and social relations between individuals and groups

[29] For more on the participation of Poles in this event, see Eleonora Jedlińska, *Powszechna Wystawa Światowa w Paryżu w 1900 roku. Splendory Trzeciej Republiki* (Łódź, 2015), 187 et seq.

[30] Tomasz Szybisty, 'Sposób zakopiański i jego twórca Edgar Kováts (1849–1912)', *Rocznik Podhalański*, 10 (2007), 55–104.

[31] *Katalog I wystawy Polska Sztuka Stosowana* (Kraków, 1902); *Каталог 11-ой выставки краковскаго Общества Промышленнаго Искусства. Katalog II-ej wystawy krakowskiego Towarzystwa Sztuki Stosowanej* (Варшава, 1902).

forming a society, as well as inter-collective factors, especially the va banque play of the Hungarians in terms of the Magyarization of the Slovaks, without heeding the consequences. In light of the historical facts, it is obvious why all of Jurkovič's pre-war designs (except the community centre in Skalica) were created in Moravia and why the response of his Slovak compatriots – like Gustáv Mallý from the small Group of Hungarian-Slovakian Painters (Grupa uhorsko-slovenských maliarov), exhibiting his works in 1903–1907, starting in Žilina, or Martin Benka who was at the time associated with the artists' colony in nearby Hodonín or the representatives of intelligentsia dispersed in Martin, Skalica, Dolný Kubín etc. – was not the same as the one received by Witkiewicz during the heated debate on the Zakopane style, even after he had left the Tatras forever in 1908 to try and regain his health on the Adriatic coast in Lovran.

Jurkovič's early views, although not always clear, turn out to be interesting in terms of the confirmation of his own national identity. He stated that there were no divisions among the inhabitants of Slovakia and Moravia, that they were one family and that he felt as good in Moravian Wallachia (Valašsko) as in his family home. After all, he drew his inspiration from both lands and looked at them both through his ethnographic and artistic magnifying glass. No wonder that the architect used the terms "Slovak", "Czech-Slovak" and "Slavic" interchangeably, wrote in both Slovak and Czech, and in the letters to his sister, used the *záhorština* dialect he had spoken since childhood.[32] (This peculiar "dual Slavism" proves that the concept of the Czechoslovak nation introduced by the Hodonín-born Tomáš Masaryk did not mature in a vacuum.) On the other hand, after Czechoslovakia became independent, Jurkovič returned to his homeland, erected a new family villa in Bratislava and for the rest of his life, was committed to the development of the new Slovak capital in compliance with the new architectural currents devoid of any elements of folklore. Among other things, he commemorated the Slovak national heroes, such as Milan Rastislav Štefánik and Pavol Országh Hviezdoslav, referring in his designs of pantheons, mausoleums and tombstones to antique traditions.

Witkiewicz's road to Polishness was slightly different. Researchers agree that this herald and moving spirit (*spiritus movens*) of the unforgettable "stylistic declaration" was wholly committed to the national cause. This had far-reaching consequences, both positive and negative, but the Pole's energy weakened with the loss of health, the necessity of changing his environment, and finally, his death while he waited for information about the victories of Polish Legions in World War I. Witkiewicz had passed away before his motherland regained its independence, and so he did not experience the challenges facing artists in the field

[32] Bořutová, *Architekt Dušan Samuel Jurkovič*, 22 and 64.

of official, sacral and residential architecture during the Second Polish Republic.

The comparative approach highlights the significant convergences as well as divergences between the temperaments of those two architects and the actions they have taken (some studies even show parallels between them that are almost mirror images).[33] It is true that both artists strongly rejected Swiss, Tyrolean, Bavarian or any unwelcome, detrimental tendencies, i.e. "pseudo-culture"[34] or "cosmopolitan rubbish"[35] which threatened native products and had already more or less flooded the cities in the form of goods manufactured by the Viennese studio Fellner & Helmer and similar propagators of (sometimes appropriate) construction mania. At the same time, it has become clear that they drew their inspiration also from more distant sources: English, Scottish, Norwegian or Finnish, possibly also American, which gave a vernacular boost to the imagination of the Slavic artists.[36] Due to his organic affiliation with the capital of the Dual Monarchy, Jurkovič also drew extensively from Viennese sources, i.e. from the refined Art Nouveau by Otto Wagner, Joseph Maria Olbrich, Koloman Moser or Josef Hoffmann, from reductionism and geometrization, and likely from the latter's patterns of purified decorativeness, originating from the fascination with wares made by the South Moravian people. Witkiewicz and Jurkovič placed the same emphasis on *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the totality of the work of art, the synergy of the garden, the building and its interiors, always furnished with paintings and sculptures as well as specially designed equipment (furniture, chandeliers, textiles) and sometimes also with folk objects (wall plates, jugs, statuettes of saints, embroidery). Moreover, the idioms of the Pole and the Slovak would overlap due to the same ideational motivation and similar picturesqueness of their works, which stemmed from the use of natural materials and the successful reproduction of native motifs, such as open and glazed porches, tall,

[33] Antoni Kroh, 'Krakowskie bractwo artystyczno-grobownicze', *Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, 3–4 (1986), 141; idem, 'Dušan Jurkovič a Stanisław Witkiewicz', 56, 60; Marta Leśniakowska, 'Jan Koszczyc Witkiewicz (1881–1958) i styl zakopiański', in: Zbigniew Moździerz (ed.), *Stanisław Witkiewicz – człowiek, artysta, myśliciel. Materiały z sesji zorganizowanej w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę śmierci artysty, Zakopane, 20–22 października 1995* (Zakopane, 1997), 345–346.

[34] Dušan Jurkovič, 'Slovak Popular Art', in: Scotus Viator, *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London, 1908), 360.

[35] Tadeusz Korniłowicz, *O Stanisławie Witkiewiczu. Pierwiastek walki w twórczości i działalności Witkiewicza: jego stosunek do sztuki i życia, ocena wartości etycznych, pogląd na zagadnienia życia narodowego w Polsce, na urzeczywistnienie idei żołnierstwa polskiego* (Kraków, 1916), 35.

[36] The "Vlastimila" villa, built in 1903 for František Pospíšil in Luhačovice, which was seen as a model of a modern Czech and Slovak house, reflects the influence of such architects as Mackay Hugh Baillie Scott, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Norman Shaw, Eliel Saarinen and Armas Lindgren. See Blanka Petráková, Ladislava Horňáková, *Příběhy domů a vil. O stavbách, jejich architektech, stavitelích, obyvatelích a návštěvnících v Luhačovicích* (Luhačovice, 2012), 76. In his recollections, Jurkovič mentioned also Edgar Wood; Žákavec, *Dílo Dušana Jurkoviče*, XIV.

ornamental chimneys, *pazdurs*[37] and motifs of a rising sun[38] (which were, in fact, typical of the whole Carpathian region[39]).

Therefore, the symptomatic approach to *techne* in both cases would place the Pole and the Slovak at the intersection of national architecture and lyrical architecture. However, only as long as Witkiewicz legitimized the embodiment of the formulas developed or verified by himself, because only those were based on the conceptual and aesthetic purity of the style, which was rooted in its folk origins and subject to appropriate modifications. The author of *Na przełęczy* probably wanted to set up a distinctive canon of forms and strictly observe it by maintaining the correct proportions of the building's structure, introducing high stone underpinnings, attic rooms, studded door and window frames, then emphasizing crossbeams inside and using floral motifs of lily, carline, bellflower, as well as the highlanders' traditional heart-shaped pattern, *parzenica*. As if in contrast to the praises of individualism present in his critical writing of the time, he created a style with a limited number of components and saw in such a half-formed paradigm the possibility of design by others, his kin and successors. Jurkovič, on the contrary, allowed his style to be driven by the instincts and principles of good architecture, so he gave fluid and unique qualities to his folklorism, which could have easily faded, evident for example in the decorated strips of the palmette motif and in the vividness of colours of cottages and folk costumes. He opted for moderate experimenting with folk traditions, restrained inventiveness and even sophisticated syncretism since he introduced a broad, two-storey central hall in his own house and bay windows in another project. Moreover, on the façades of some buildings, he put wall paintings by Mikoláš Aleš, having a specific national character and at the same time reminiscent of the Renaissance, as well as designs by Adolf Kašpar, which resembled fairy-tale naïve art. To sum up, Witkiewicz insistently promoted the truly Polish style, whereas Jurkovič ensured the unification of Slovakian Slavicness with sensible modernity.

On the one hand, thanks to this "creative strategy", Jurkovič gained a place in the history of the discipline next to the other prominent figures of early modernism in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia: Jan Kotěra, Pavel Janák, Josef Gočár, Milan Michal Harminc, Bohuslav Fuchs or Emil Belluš whose works often reflected the trends in Cubism or Bauhaus, or Antonín Blažek and Vladimír Fischer, who represented the so-called Moravian style in architecture,[40] similarly

[37] Wooden pointed ornament placed on a roof ridge.

[38] Formed by narrow laths laid concentrically.

[39] Bořutová, *Architekt Dušan Samuel Jurkovič*, 22–23.

[40] For more on this subject, see Ladislava Horňáková, 'Architektura', in: *Folklorismy v českém výtvarném umění XX. století*, exhibition catalogue (Praha, 2004), 91–117; Pavel Šopák, *Koliba* (Opava, 2004), esp. 229–327.

as their countrymen, Jože Úprka and Alois Kalvoda, did in painting.[41] On the other hand, this unique idiolect prevented the creation of a group of professionals from the same or next generation who would build upon this legacy.[42] Naturally, the course of events is shaped by many factors: the number of artists and their talent, the resourcefulness of patrons, the ambience and current circumstances. Nevertheless, the more pragmatic and progressive Slovak, satisfied with expressing the truths of the native faith mainly in the Moravian intellectual circles, who in propria persona was rather less of a prolific bard but who formally used poetic licence more innovatively than Witkiewicz, would have little in common with the paradoxically conservative and thoroughly Romantic attitude of the Pole who, after all, gathered many followers and was called the Evangelist of the Tatras, the "Dusk-and-Dawn", John the Baptist of Young Poland. Painter Kazimierz Sichulski even made a caricature of Witkiewicz as a demiurge, supposedly in a divine or "sectarian"[43] frenzy of creating utopian architecture[44] in the embrace of idealistic Slavophilia.[45]

Emanation

When considering the above characteristics and giving an overview of these phenomena, one should accentuate the validity of great endeavours which had permanently enriched the meaning of the Zakopane style and could have contributed to the constitution of the integral formation of its advocates: Stanisław Barabasz, Zygmunt Dobrowolski, Franciszek Mączyński (whose project of the "Rejane" house won the first prize in the competition organized by the Paris-based

[41] On the Hungarians whose projects shaped the architectural landscape of the territory that became later independent Slovakia within Czechoslovakia, including the regions of Spiš and Orava (where Jurkovič's unfulfilled national dream might have resonated), see, inter alia, Elena Lukáčová, Jana Pohaničová, *Rozmanité 19. storočie. Architektúra na Slovensku od Hefeleho po Jurkoviča* (Bratislava, 2008); Maroš Semančík, *Architekt Guido Hoepfner 1868–1945*, exhibition catalogue (Matiašovce, 2009); Matúš Dulla (ed.), *Slávne kúpele Slovenska* (Bratislava–Praha, 2014); Maroš Semančík, *Architektúra Vysokých Tatier 1871–1918* (Praha, 2020).

[42] The only clear example of Jurkovič's influence is the Bellevue villa in Luhačovice, designed and built in 1902 by Josef Schaniak and Julius Knopp. In my opinion, judging by what historical sources tell us, it was an exception. See Petráková, Horňáková, *Příběhy domů a vil*, 16–17.

[43] Michał Jagiełło, 'Wstęp', in: Jagiełło (ed.), *Listy o stylu zakopiańskim*, 21.

[44] Teresa Jabłońska, 'Romantyczna utopia – Stanisława Witkiewicza styl polski', in: Teresa Jabłońska (ed.), *Stanisław Witkiewicz 1851–1915*, exhibition catalogue (Zakopane, 1996), 22–26. For more, see eadem, *Styl zakopiański Stanisława Witkiewicza / The Zakopane Style of Stanisław Witkiewicz* (Olszanica, 2008).

[45] More about it in, inter alia, Zofia Klarnerówna, *Słowianofilstwo w literaturze polskiej lat 1800 do 1848* (Warszawa, 1926); Justyna Kurczak, *Historiozofia nadziei. Romantyczne słowianofilstwo polskie* (Łódź, 2000); Maciej Michalski, *Dawni Słowianie w tradycji polskiej pierwszej połowy XIX wieku. W poszukiwaniu tożsamości wspólnotowej* (Poznań, 2013).

magazine *Moniteur des Architects* in 1900 and who worked on designing a whole town in this style), Kazimierz Kreczmer, Tadeusz Prauss, Tadeusz Stryjeński, as well as the highlanders themselves – Wojciech Brzega, Jan Obrochta and Wojciech Roj, whose presence in this group fulfilled the wish to abolish class divisions and unite the whole social organism.[46] North of the Tatras, the concept that Witkiewicz guarded against undesirable manipulations was reflected, although after being carefully transformed and adapted to function, especially in the buildings of the Stamary Hotel (1905) in Zakopane, designed by Eugeniusz Wesołowski, or the tenement house (1906) in Chmielna Street in the centre of Warsaw, designed by Jarosław Wojciechowski (nota bene built of brick and stone and plastered), as well as the original projects of Jan Koszczyc-Witkiewicz, rooted in the ideas of his uncle Stanisław.[47]

It remains intriguing that it was not the finesse or spectacularity but the ideological power of the Zakopane style that led to the incredible spread of its potential in regions inhabited by the Poles for a long time – Mazovia, the Lublin province, Lithuania or Greater Poland, but even across the ocean, in Brasilia (due to the Polish emmigrants' sentiments and aspirations). At the same time, this potential dwindled spontaneously, far from its *genius loci*, to the most modest variants of the Podhale forms, appearing in the lowlands and uplands as a fleeting *curiosité*. An incomplete list of the preserved and unpreserved creations from the above-mentioned areas explains a lot: in most cases, the original principles of the style set down by its creator had been simplified, and although projects were metaphysically inclined towards his ethos, due to their bulk or the inconsistent way in which they were storeyed, they lacked the fairy-tale aura and magnetism of a timeless work. Although most of such edifices did not fit in with the surrounding landscape, the few consistent implementations of the style included the railway station (1899) in Saldutiškis and the Kiejstut spa house in Palanga[48] – both designed by Witkiewicz himself, although the latter was not built and only drawings of it, from 1902, exist – and, to a lesser extent, interiors of the library of the Kleniewski Palace in Kluczkowice near Opole Lubelskie, another of his projects. They must have exuded the essence of the poetic space

[46] "Formation" is perhaps not the best word; in any case, the influence of Witkiewicz's ideas can be clearly seen even in the aesthetic maturity of most of the chalets on the Polish side of the Tatras. It is, of course, absent on the Hungarian-Slovakian side, i.e. in the area of Jurkovič's activity. For more on this subject, see Marzena Kulig, *Architektura tatrzańskich schronisk górskich Polskiego Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym* (Warszawa, 2003); Janusz Konieczniak, *Encyklopedia schronisk tatrzańskich* (Kraków, 2015).

[47] For more, see Marta Leśniakowska, *Architekt Jan Koszczyc Witkiewicz (1881–1958) i budowanie w jego czasach* (Warszawa, 1998).

[48] Małgorzata Omilanowska, *Nadbałtyckie Zakopane. Połąga w czasach Tyszkiewiczów* (Warszawa–Sopot, 2011), 106–117.

of the Tatras, the symbol of spiritual and national freedom,[49] a little unreal due to the distance that separated them but nevertheless recorded affectively and semantically in the collective consciousness of the local people. These representations were meant to implement and expand the programmed aesthetic and identity dimension.[50] They were supposed to "strengthen the hearts" and bond people living between the heterogeneous legacy of the past and the paucity of style in the landscape consisting of long and wide fields, the paucity which frequently resulted from the actual poverty of everyday life. Of course, some people still find the single tenement houses or churches in Warsaw and Łódź and houses in Lviv,[51] Mikuliczyn, Przemyśl, Milanówek, Konstancin and Garbatka charming and even more so, the solitary "Zakopane-style" wooden church in Jedlnia[52] and the chapel in Radachówka which imitates the "Podhale style",[53] or an extreme example – the cottage at the narrow-gauge railway stop in Zalesie Dolne. There are, too, distant echoes of the highlanders' and Witkiewicz's region in the originally, i.e. before alterations, beautiful and impressive housing estate for officials and workers of the Warsaw Society of Coal Mines and Metallurgical Plants (Warszawskie Towarzystwo Kopalń Węgla i Zakładów Hutniczych) in Niemce (or Ostrowy Górnicze) near Sosnowiec, i.e. in Zagłębie Dąbrowskie, which was another region infiltrated by the Zakopane style.[54]

[49] For more on this subject, see Jacek Kolbuszewski, *Tatry w literaturze polskiej 1805–1939* (Kraków, 1982); Jan Majda, *Młodopolskie Tatry literackie* (Kraków, 1999); Jacek Kolbuszewski, 'Romantyczna poetyka przestrzeni', in: idem, *Na południe od Tatr. Studia o literaturze słowackiej* (Wrocław, 2003), 221–228; Jana Dzuriaková (ed.), *Tatry v slovenskej poézii 19. storočia. Antológia* (Martin–Žilina, 2009).

[50] It is significant that in the process of rejecting the political and cultural supremacy of the Germans, before and after World War I, the borderland mountain areas of Silesia became the arena of contact, even competition, of the poetics represented by the milieus of Witkiewicz and Jurkovič. Here, on the summit of Ropiczka, a Polish chalet designed by the Lviv architect Stanisław Filasiewicz was opened in 1913, resembling a refined, stylized cottage from the Tatras. In 1922, another one was built on the summit of Stożek, according to the plans of Stanisław Chorubski, characterized by "the typical highland style using elements characteristic of Zakopane and local Silesian architecture". In the 1930s, its main hall was furnished with chairs "in the Istebna style", designed by the sculptor Ludwik Konarzewski from Istebna; Ryszard Bogdziewicz, *Schroniska górskie od Beskidu Śląskiego do Czarnohory w latach 1874–1945* (Lublin, 2012), 115, 134. In turn, the Czechoslovakian Tourist Club (founded in Prague in 1888 as Klub českých turistů) built on the summit of Velký Polom a wooden shelter "in the Wallachian-Moravian style", as Bogdziewicz called it (idem, *Schroniska górskie*, 137). It was designed by Ostrava architects Frantisek Kolář and Jan Rubý; Antonín Barcuch et al., *Beskydy turistickými stezkami* (Třinec, 2015), 120.

[51] For more, see Jakub Lewicki, *Między tradycją a nowoczesnością. Architektura Lwowa lat 1893–1918* (Warszawa, 2005), 207 et seq.; Jurij Biriulow (ed.), *Lwów. Ilustrowany przewodnik* (Lwów, 2006), 87, 196.

[52] Artur Kubasik (ed.), *Drewniane obiekty sakralne Mazowsza* (Warszawa, 2017), 39.

[53] Lechosław Herz, *Mazowsze* (Warszawa, 2000), 137, 138.

[54] The building was erected in 1902–1904 according to the design of Franciszek Lilpop and Karol Jankowski from Warsaw; Dariusz Kmiotek, *Sosnowiec. Spacerownik historyczny* (Dąbrowa Górnicza, 2011), 323–326.

It could not have been any other way. The "Zakopane fever", which had gripped the Polish intelligentsia for the last two decades of the Austro-Hungarian domination, was coming to an end in the face of war turmoil, and when Poland regained its independence, it finally gave way under the pressure of new visions and tasks set before the national architecture. From the very beginning, the scenery of the Tatras, which had had such an impact on the development of the Zakopane style, also proved to be the biggest obstacle in its expansion to other regions, its panterritorialization. It could not become a universal style for the whole country because it was embedded in the Tatra landscape, the local materials, even the species of trees and flowers. Such arguments were put forward in the national press in all the partitions, effectively stopping the wider dissemination of the style. In rural areas, it would have collided with existing regionalisms of the Łowicz, Kurpie or Lemko regions. Also in the cities, before and after World War I, Witkiewicz's idea and efforts inevitably met with resistance from both external and internal forces. The former included the tendency to follow the example of Western European cities and the Habsburg capital, Vienna – splendid bourgeois centres that were spatially growing in the framework of historicism, eclecticism and Art Nouveau.[55] The latter forces were manifested in the form of the Vistula-Baltic style, promoted especially by Józef Pius Dziekoński, the author of numerous neo-Gothic churches in Central Poland,[56] and in its neo-Gothic version championed by Jan Sas Zubrzycki in southern Poland.[57] They were accompanied by other expressions of nationality: rustic manor, Masurian-Kuyavian, Hutsul; historicizing – Romanesque, Renaissance, Baroque; homegrown Art Nouveau; and finally modernist – Stripped Classicism, Functionalism, Art Deco and Streamline.[58]

[55] This tendency was often imposed by the ascendant neighbouring powers but was sometimes also a voluntary choice of the local inhabitants.

[56] See Andrzej Majdowski, *Studia z historii architektury sakralnej w Królestwie Polskim* (Warszawa 1993); Jan Nowicki, 'Gotyk polski? Architektura jako narzędzie budowania granic rzeczywistych i wyobrażonych w II połowie XIX wieku', *Politeja*, 1 (2019), 341–359. Dziekoński designed the first building of the Tatra Museum, which existed between 1892 and 1920; it was, however, considered a failure, in spite of certain stylistic ploys which he had used in reference to the Podhale region. This case highlights the necessity for an almost anthropological insight into a given cultural space – from this perspective, Witkiewicz should be assessed favourably.

[57] See J.[an] S.[as] Zubrzycki, *Styl nadwiślański jako odcień sztuki średniowiecznej w Polsce* (Kraków, 1910); Jerzy Wowczak, *Jan Sas-Zubrzycki. Architekt, historyk i teoretyk architektury* (Kraków, 2017). This architect spoke ambivalently about Witkiewicz's "Zakopane way" (sic) in 1906, in the first four issues of the Krakow-based *Architekt*.

[58] For more, see Andrzej K. Olszewski, *Nowa forma w architekturze polskiej 1900–1925. Teoria i praktyka* (Wrocław, 1967); Martin Kusý, *Architektúra na Slovensku 1848–1918* (Bratislava, 1995); Dariusz Konstantynów et al. (eds.), *Nacjonalizm w sztuce i historii sztuki 1789–1950* (Warszawa, 1998); Matúš Dulla, Henrieta Moravčíková, *Architektúra Slovenska v 20. storočí* (Bratislava, 2002); Krzysztof Stefański, *Polska architektura sakralna w poszukiwaniu stylu narodowego* (Łódź,

It should be underlined that the development and rivalry of architectural trends were witnessed not only by metropolises but also spa and health resorts.[59] There were also regional rivals of Zakopane, such as the summer sanatoria for tuberculosis patients near Warsaw: Świder, Otwock, Śródborów. Although in nearby Anin, a very nice Zakopane-style villa was designed by Antoni Szalla in 1910,[60] the so-called Świder style prevailed there and had virtually no competition. At the end of the 19th century, it had been formed and promoted by another patriot, a participant in the January Uprising, Michał Elwiro Andriolli, a painter and graphic artist educated in St Petersburg and Rome, an illustrator of Adam Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*. Świdermajer, as Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński said in the interwar period, was a peculiar amalgam of the Russian and Alpine styles, and allegedly of the Mazovian tradition,[61] more modest and yet more subtle in sensation than the governor's manor house in the tsar's palace and forest complex in Hajnówka or Ilya Repin's house in Zdravnevo near Vitebsk. These practices were not guided by either a consistent nationalistic thought or a top-down, homogenous recipe. They were governed by the assimilation and compilation of construction and decorative patterns (also the German ones, published in special catalogues), which indeed harmonized with the sandy, sometimes undulating area covered with pines and birches, cut by the winding, shallow Świder River. Asking why this style did not prevail in Nałęczów, Oblęgorek, and, in a way, Spała or Ciechocinek over the one formed in Zakopane and the Podhale region, which was also present there to a certain degree, would be like asking why the latter did not conquer big cities and more renowned resorts: Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary), Franzensbad (Františkovy Lázně)

2002); Henrieta Moravčíková (ed.), *Architektúra na Slovensku. Stručné dejiny* (Bratislava, 2005); Jacek Purchla (ed.), *Nation, Style, Modernism* (Krakow–Munich, 2006); Matúš Dulla, *Slovenská architektúra od Jurkoviča po dnešok* (Bratislava, 2007); Andrzej Szczerski, *Modernizacje. Sztuka i architektura w nowych państwach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej 1918–1939* (Łódź, 2010); idem (ed.), *Modernizmy. Architektura nowoczesności w II Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 1: *Kraków i województwo krakowskie* (Kraków, 2013) and vol. 2: *Katowice i województwo śląskie* (Kraków, 2014); Łukasz Galusek (ed.), *Architektura niepodległości w Europie Środkowej*, exhibition catalogue (Kraków, 2018).

[59] "Despite their peripheral location in the Austrian monarchy, health resorts have become a kind of centre of modernity, a witness to the transformation of civilization, quite significant in context of their provinciality. They are places for testing new solutions, scientific and medical experiments", as well as architectural ones. Ewelina Lesisz, 'Kurorty galicyjskie końca XIX w. Higiena a postęp – o wyznacznikach nowoczesności', in: Ewa Paczoska et al. (ed.), *Problemy literatury i kultury modernizmu w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej (1867–1918),* vol. 1: *Teksty doświadczenia* (Warszawa, 2017), 103.

[60] Zbigniew Moździerz, *Gmach Muzeum Tatrzańskiego* (Zakopane, 2005), 79–80.

[61] For more on this subject, see Robert Lewandowski, *Kronenberg, Andriolli i wilegiatura, czyli podwarszawskie letniska linii otwockiej* (Józefów, 2012); idem, *Twórcy stylu „świdermajer"*, (Józefów, 2011); Paweł Ajdacki, *Spacerownik otwocki. Przewodnik historyczno-sentymentalny* (Otwock, 2014).

or Marienbad (Mariánské Lázně).[62] The world was ruled not only by chance but also by a certain regularity, which resulted in the concentration of the variants of Slavicness propagated by Jurkovič and Witkiewicz in mountainous or hilly corners of Galicia and Moravia, i.e. where their initiatives arose and where they survived. Moreover, in the interwar period, but also earlier, in the heyday of the movement for the renewal of arts and crafts, projects made of stone and wood were slowly being replaced – for purely pragmatic reasons – by the ambitious, economical modernism *sensu stricto*, which was convinced of the superiority of concrete and iron or steel over laborious, not very durable and limiting construction.[63] These transformations were being noticed by patients of the many Central European health resorts, including those in Moravia, Lesser Poland and Silesia: Szczawnica, Krynica, Żegiestów, Iwonicz, Truskavets,[64] Morshyn, Vorokhta and Wisła,[65] Jurkovič's Luhačovice[66] and Witkiewicz's Zakopane.[67]

Question

In the present day, characterized by great commercial and consumerist movements, in a macro-region participating inevitably in globalization, among the increasingly frequent skyscrapers and blobitecture projects in the shining metropolises of the future, as in the sci-fi films created by Marvel Studios, the designs of Jurkovič and Witkiewicz dating from before 1918 tend to lose the particular traits of "mild picturesqueness" or "strict lyricism", emanating even more from

[62] For more on this subject, see Antonín Somol, *Pohlednice z Mariánských Lázní* (Mariánské Lázně, 2010).

[63] Very significant in this respect is the history of the estate and manor house in Dłużew (1901–1902), designed eventually by Jan Heurich the younger, for which he received an award at the exhibition "Dwór Polski" (Polish Manor House) in 1904: "Initially, the owner intended to build a wooden house in the *Zakopane style* [author's emphasis], which was very fashionable at the time. He commissioned a design from the creator of this style, architect Stanisław Witkiewicz. Unfortunately, the wood gathered for the construction burned down, and the discouraged owner, frightened at the thought that the same fate could befall his house, ordered a new design of a brick manor house from another architect. Perhaps it was for the best, because a building in the *Zakopane style*, which would have undoubtedly become an attraction for architecture lovers, might have clashed with the lowland landscape of Mazovia due to its distinctiveness". Herz, *Mazowsze*, 139. It is not surprising that even in Zakopane, "masonry" houses, especially public buildings, began to be erected. With time, Jurkovič – the author of wooden military cemeteries in Galicia from the years of World War I – stopped using wood almost completely, too.

[64] See Христина Харчук, *Архітектура курортної забудови Трускавця XIX – першої половини XX ст.* (Львів, 2008).

[65] See Dominik Konarzewski, Michał Kawulok, *Od wsi do uzdrowiska. Dziedzictwo architektoniczne Wisły* (Wisła, 2009).

[66] See Lubomír Zeman, Pavel Zatloukal, *Slavné lázně Čech, Moravy a Slezska* (Praha, 2014).

[67] See Zbigniew Moździerz, *Architektura i rozwój przestrzenny Zakopanego* (Zakopane, 2013).

their ethereal veiling than their physical being. Thus, especially at the historiosophical level, and not taking the *Zeitgeist* into account, their epochal resonance is vanishing, probably felt only by admirers of architecture and experts on the subject. Nevertheless, the fairy-tale works of the Slovak and the Pole are today under the care of museums, which ensure their comprehensive conservation and appropriate conditions for visiting (for example, as part of wooden architecture routes).[68]

But, as in fairy tales, there are dangers. What seems most striking is the lack of causative specialist reflection on the transformation and rational modernization of local forms in the native architectural landscape to adapt them to the needs of today, and then a consensual, blunt levitation – under the pressure of business appetite – amid the uncontrolled, visually barren solutions. The atmosphere of the pre-war health resort, marked also by graceful interferences of Functionalism and tangential buildings from the previous regime, hidden among the greenery, has been preserved in Luhačovice, the "town of dreams and visions",[69] several times smaller and less vulnerable to urban and aesthetic chaos than Zakopane. Moreover, due to a different national mentality and distinctiveness of the artists' output (Jurkovič's works are scattered over a vast territory,[70] while those designed by Witkiewicz are grouped in a confined basin), black clouds gather over the Rocky Podhale. The matter of any style, not to mention the responsibility for a new response to the Zakopane style, has been stuck there in the suspension, as if subdued by the amusement-park desires. The evocations of the past are overshadowed by huge advertisements and quadrangle apartment blocks.[71]

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[68] The superb examples of it are two houses in Zakopane: "Oksza" (formerly "Korwinówka"), designed by Witkiewicz, built in 1896 for Bronisława and Wincenty Korwin-Kossakowski and opened to the public after renovation in 2011 as the branch of the Tatra Museum; "Czerwony Dwór", designed by Wojciech Roj, built in 1902 for Oktawia Lewandowska and opened in 2018 as the Centre for Native Culture. See Grażyna Juszczyk, *Architektura drewniana w Polsce* (Warszawa, 2009); Bartłomiej Cisowski et al., *Szlak Architektury Drewnianej – Małopolska* (Kraków, 2010); Zbigniew Moździerz, *Szlak stylu zakopiańskiego. Przewodnik* (Zakopane, 2014); Blanka Petráková, *Příběhy města. Luhačovice s mapkou kulturních památek a pamětihodností* (Luhačovice, 2017).

[69] Jurkovič's predilection for holism and fidelity to his "race" also manifested themselves in the excellent project of the large Slovakian Hotel (1905–1906) that was to be another "tone" in his "Luhačovice hymn" (Žákavec, *Dílo Dušana Jurkoviče*, 138). However, as it happens now and then due to financial reasons, it has remained only on paper and in the memory of the readers of several publications; Ladislava Horňáková, Blanka Petráková, *Jurkovičovy Luhačovice (sny a skutečnost)* (Luhačovice, 2013), 22–23.

[70] In Moravia, on the Karlův Hill in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm, a remarkable 31-m-high observation tower was opened in 2012, built according to a design by Antonín Závada based on a drawing by Jurkovič from 1896, when the concept of erecting it in Brňov near Valašské Meziříčí was first thought of; Barcuch et al., *Beskydy turistickými stezkami*, 276–277.

[71] Urszula Myga-Piątek, 'Architektura wernakularna Podhala jako czynnik kształtowania krajobrazu i atrakcyjności turystycznej', *Acta Geographica Silesiana*, 5 (2009), 34; cf. Zbigniew

The "Zakopane hymn" has been lost in the current disarray, in the "pathetic uniformity of mediocrity",[72] so it has ultimately not been saved by the wreath of Witkiewicz's words and deeds.[73] This could be reinforced by the synoptic observations of the Austrian mountaineer Eugen Guido Lammer, expressed already in the 1920s, about the "hustle and bustle of a fair which shattered the silence" of the mountains:

> It looks as if an arrogant human dwarf of our time stuck his tongue out in front of a giant, facing the might of a storm … With a tankard in hand, people go out to see the evening aurora: *Cheers, little sun, but hurry up a little with this sunset, or my schnitzel will get cold!* … Whoever destroys this disgusting shoddiness will rebuild the highest and most honoured values.[74]

Thus, in the winter and summer capital of Poland, the charm of old houses and the nobility of wood, once common there and ascribed to it by two traditions, that of the highlanders and the intelligentsia from the memorable decades, fade away perhaps irrevocably. This would mean that the *status quo* shifts the deliberations on new, alternative movements that continue shaping Slavdom in the fumes of ethnophilia to the limits of a dreamed success. *Panta rhei*, *tempora mutantur*. Are only culturologists and a few others, including practitioners holding on to the erstwhile romanticizing,[75] thinking with sensitivity and attentiveness about building in an indigenous manner?

Translated by Katarzyna Wieleńska

Radziewanowski, *O niektórych problemach regionalizmu i ekologii w architekturze i urbanistyce. Pomoc dydaktyczna* (Kraków, 2005).

[72] Jacek Woźniakowski, 'Dylematy życia i twórczości Stanisława Witkiewicza', in: Teresa Jabłońska (ed.), *Stanisław Witkiewicz 1851–1915*, exhibition catalogue (Zakopane, 1996), 12.

[73] The city authorities point to the active prevention of cultural degradation: Krzysztof Zieliński, 'Walka o krajobraz miasta', interview with Natalia Skiepko, municipal conservator of monuments in Zakopane, *Karpacki Przegląd Społeczno-Kulturalny*, 4 (2018), 4–7.

[74] Quoted after Michał Pawlikowski, *Góry i człowiek (rozdział z historyi kultury)* (Warszawa, 1939), 73.

[75] On the rare examples of slow architecture in the discussed field see, inter alia, Tadeusz Przemysław Szafer, *Teka architektury współczesnej ziem górskich*, vols. 1–2 (Kraków, 1993 and 1996); Horňáková, 'Architektura', 112–114; Teresa Bardzińska-Bonenberg, Agata Bonenberg, 'Nurt wernakularny we współczesnych realizacjach polskich architektów', *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura*, 15 (2010), 7–13; Jan Kruml (ed.), *Tvář venkova. Venkovské stavby 2011* (Bělotín, 2011) and editions of this publication from later years.

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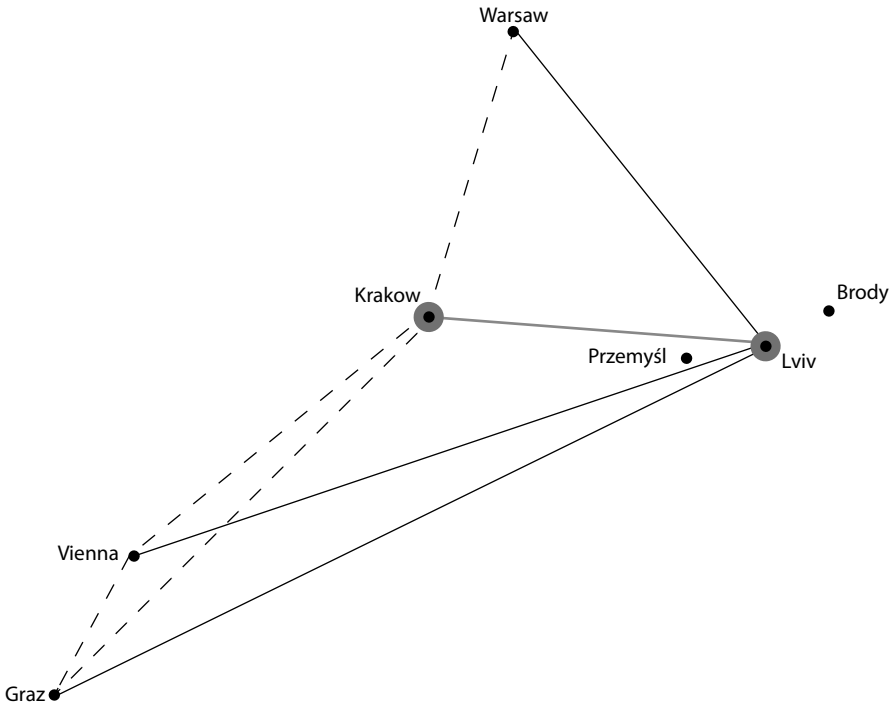
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Architects in Galicia and the city. The question of history and modernity before World War I

The 19th century was a period of key changes in cities, not only in Central Europe and Galicia. The end of the 18th century marked the beginning of the "sanifying" of Galician cities, among others by reasonably planned activities supervised from Vienna (Larry Wolff[1] wrote about the role of Austria's civilizing mission), but it took a long time to see the results of those efforts. Demographic development, and thus spatial development, was limited at that time by socio-economic relations, including mainly the subordination of the rural population to the landlords and its attachment to the land. The beginning of the 20th century saw, in turn, the creation of modern metropolises, as shown by the cases of several major centres, mainly Lviv and Krakow. Galicia's development had been interrupted by the partitions of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the establishment of the state border in the upper reaches of the Vistula. Thus, it was a borderland, and its role within the Habsburg Empire consisted mainly of being a granary and an outlet for goods from Austria and Bohemia. For (geo)political reasons, there was no large industry except oil production. Therefore, only the administrative or scientific centres could flourish there, while the rest of the Galician cities most often stagnated. Even "top-down" attempts to turn Brody into a trade centre (by granting it the status of a free imperial town) did not improve the town's urban space in the long run: at the end of the second decade of the 19th century, Brody still did not stand out from among other underdeveloped towns in terms of order and cleanliness.[2] Other, smaller urban centres resembled throughout the 19th century large

[1] Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia. History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford, 2010), 23.

[2] Cf. *Juljana Ursyna Niemcewicza podróże historyczne po ziemiach polskich: od 1811 do 1828 roku* (Paris–Petersburg, 1858), 454–455. On Galician cities, cf. Krzysztof Broński, *Rozwój gospodarczy większych miast galicyjskich w okresie autonomii* (Kraków, 2003), Chapter 1.

villages rather than cities, and the paving of their streets did not really start until the early 20th century.[3]

The problems of Galician cities were first addressed by hygienists (as was also the case in the Kingdom of Poland, where despite the existence of large industrial districts, the situation of smaller centres was not much different).[4] In the Kingdom of Poland, a special role was played by *Zdrowie* (The Health) magazine (founded in 1885 by Józef Polak), which published, among others, articles on the sanitary state of cities, containing proposals for the construction and development of their sanitary infrastructure. According to its reports, the condition of the smaller urban centres at the beginning of the 20th century, also in the Kingdom of Poland, was very bad.[5] Sanitary engineers and later others (for example, traffic specialists) came to the rescue by proposing new solutions. However, these mainly concerned larger cities. In this context, it becomes understandable why architects (the profession of an urban planner did not yet exist at the time) began to get involved in discussions on the pressing problems generated by the growing urban fabric. Architects, however, faithful to the principle that their profession was one of the fine arts, had other concerns than specialists in sanitary or traffic solutions because with the growth of large cities and the emergence of new branches of science, the role of the architect also changed. This, in turn, coincided with the crisis of architecture itself, which until then had been understood as building "beautifully" (i.e., usually according to a given historic style).

One of the reasons for the problems and dilemmas of architects in Galicia at that time was the shortage of professional schools, conceived of as centres of architectural thought, from which outstanding artists would operate in the whole region and where works in a specific style would be created (as was the case in Berlin during the days of Karl Friedrich Schinkel and in the first decades after his death when his "school" was still active). In the second half of the 19th century, there were no strong architectural centres in the territories of the defunct Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Apart from the traditions of the University of Warsaw, closed in 1831, the School of Fine Arts in Warsaw, closed in 1864, and the teaching and research on fine arts conducted at the Jagiellonian University and the Academy of Learning (Akademia Umiejętności) in Krakow, there was only one faculty of architecture – at the Lviv Technical

[3] Cf. Jadwiga Hoff, *Mieszkańcy małych miast Galicji Wschodniej w okresie autonomicznym* (Rzeszów, 2005), 90.

[4] See Aleksander Łupienko, 'Some Remarks on the Birth of Modern City Planning in the Polish Territories (1850–1914): The Impact of the Hygienic Movement', *Mesto a Dejiny*, 2 (2016), 18–34.

[5] Cf. Szymon Klarner, 'W sprawie najpilniejszych potrzeb mniejszych miast pod względem sanitarnym', *Zdrowie*, 6/7 (1903), 524.

University, established in 1874. It was a school focused on teaching practical and engineering subjects, and it had considerable achievements in this field.[6] Associated with it was, among others, an outstanding engineer and construction specialist, rector of the university, Prof. Maksymilian Thullie. It was there that pioneer reinforced concrete testing was conducted in Poland and the first faculty of the history of city construction was established. Due to the fact that Polish urban planning as a science had not developed until around 1916, it appeared immediately in a mature form, combining several different disciplines which chose the question of building and functioning of the city as their subject. On the other hand, this institutional weakness led to the need for students of the architectural profession to continue their studies at foreign universities, mainly in Vienna and Graz.

Below, I will present the most important problems and dilemmas that Galician architects faced in the late 19th and early 20th century. I base my analyses and observations on their writings (books, brochures) and articles published in the contemporary professional press (in *Czasopismo Techniczne* [Technical Transactions], a journal of the Lviv Technical University, and the *Architekt* [Architect] magazine published in Krakow). In order to better illustrate these issues, I will not limit myself to Galician sources and will enrich my presentation with a few selected voices of architects from the Kingdom of Poland. This approach seems justified because specialists from both partitions maintained close contacts, for instance, by reading the above-mentioned magazines or participating in conventions of technicians and architects that took place in Galicia at that time.[7]

In the writings of architects and press articles from the end of the 19th century, the topic of the need for a rebirth of Polish architecture is clearly dominant. Various reasons were given for this. An important Lviv-based architect, Julian Zachariewicz, spoke in his 1877 lecture about the unpopularity of architecture and the public's lack of knowledge about it (also due to the weakness of the architects themselves in the Galician province).[8] In turn, the architect from the Kingdom of Poland Antoni Jasieńczyk Jabłoński wrote about the dissonance between the architect and society, resulting from the lack of understanding of architecture as an art, which in his opinion was due to the common association

[6] For the issue of innovations spreading from this school, see Aleksander Łupienko, 'Transnational Modernization on the Periphery? The Role of Engineers in the Rise of Modern Lviv (1870–1914)', *Yearbook of Transnational History*, 3 (2020), 55–74.

[7] Cf. Aleksander Łupienko, 'Urban Knowledge Transfer between the Cities of Warsaw, Krakow, Lviv and Poznan at the Turn of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung/Journal of East Central European Studies*, 67 (4) (2018), 578–600.

[8] Julian Zachariewicz, *Odczyt o architekturze. Wygłoszony 19 marca 1877* (Lwów, 1877), 3.

of construction art with building for profit, especially in connection with speculation.[9] The remedy for this situation was to be aware that the logic of architecture was not related to the practical purposes and properties of building materials but only to the creativity of the architect. Kazimierz Kleczkowski, an architect active in Warsaw and Lviv, also attempted to clear up the misunderstanding that resulted from the tendency to overestimate the role of the architectural decoration of the façades; here, a kind of "countermeasure" was his popular book explaining the language of architectural forms.[10] The lack of a mature architectural school was emphasized by the well-known and prolific Krakow architect Jan Sas Zubrzycki in his *Filozofia architektury* (The Philosophy of Architecture).[11] Allusions to this state of affairs can be found in many articles, for example, the ones regarding the construction of a new theatre in Krakow.[12] Another Krakow architect, Władysław Ekielski, when explaining the weakness of Polish architecture in Galicia in an article from 1888, published in *Czasopismo Techniczne*, pointed out – apart from the lack of recognition of architecture in Poland – the fact that many young people were studying at foreign universities (which today we might consider rather an advantage of those times). He also noted the lack of good examples of architecture from different eras in Galician cities. He wrote explicitly about Lviv, a city destroyed in early modern times, as a city devoid of its former tradition of building, and he called Krakow a city full of Gothic relics; he also complained about the lack of "living and uniform tradition" and the lack of connectivity between epochs,[13] as architecture was imported there in stages, without changing into the "living tradition of the nation". Ekielski admitted that discovering the past of the city's monuments could have a creative influence on the architect, but it could not, in his opinion, replace this living tradition. I will refer to this "archaeology" later on.

The uncertainty surrounding the architectural assessment of cities stemmed from the fact that, as we know today, looking from the perspective of more than a century, the period in question was a turning point for architecture. In the articles and monographs written by and for architects, one can clearly see a tension between the love for old forms and architectural achievements of past centuries and the need to find a new style corresponding to the development of building techniques and materials. As Edgar Kováts, the newly-appointed

[9] Antoni Jasieńczyk Jabłoński, *Co jest logiką w architekturze? Studyum* (Warszawa, 1899), 2–3.

[10] Kazimierz Kleczkowski, *Analiza kształtów architektury* (Warszawa, 1885).

[11] Jan Sas Zubrzycki, *Filozofia architektury. Jej teorja i estetyka* (Kraków, 1894), 19.

[12] 'Budowa nowego teatru w Krakowie', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 4 (1886), 50–52 and 7 (1886), 111–112.

[13] Władysław Ekielski, 'Uwagi nad współczesną architekturą z powodu wystawy sztuki polskiej w Sukiennicach', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 7 (1888), 52–56 and 11 (1888), 87–88.

professor of architecture at the Lviv Technical University, said in his inaugural lecture: "… we will go our own way, full of respect for the artistic past, we will derive the freedom of ideas from the spirit of our age and our nation".[14] The problem of the crisis of style is a broader issue related to the creative search of the end of the century, which "produced", on the one hand, a new style (Art Nouveau), and on the other hand, various types of national styles invented in different countries.[15] I will reiterate the issue of style later on as well.

The architects' other problem was their unclear position in disputes about ancient architecture. In the 19th century, the situation of architects in this respect became complicated because next to the builder and archaeologist (more a collector of old souvenirs than their researcher), the scientific "profession" of an art historian appeared. Its formal beginnings can be traced to 1873 when the Art History Commission (Komisja Historii Sztuki)[16] was established at the Krakow Academy of Learning; among its first alumni (not necessarily with professional education) were Józef Łepkowski, Władysław Muczkowski and Marian Sokołowski. Their authority grew, and their voice was heard more and more clearly in the discussions. However, until the mid-19th century, it was mainly architects who raised the subject of protecting the remains of historical buildings from destruction. This was in answer to the trend of demolishing old city walls, towers and gates in order to free up space in the cities, which had developed in the first decades of Galicia's existence.[17] When the idea of dismantling the remains of the walls in Krakow, i.e. the Florianska Gate, appeared in 1816, it was effectively opposed by architect Feliks Radwański senior. In the middle of the century, the Krakow architect Karol Kremer, in turn, enjoyed great authority in the field of the renovation of monuments.[18]

Further controversial demolition projects from the end of the century, such as the case of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, which was meant to be demolished to make space for the New Theatre, or the Pod Krzysztofory Palace, had a wider

[14] Edgar Kováts, 'O zasadach architektury nowoczesnej', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 23 (1901), 305.

[15] About the search for a new style and the artistic atmosphere prevailing at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, cf. Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing Visions. Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918* (Cambridge, MA, 1998); cf. also Marta Leśniakowska, *Architekt Jan Koszczyc-Witkiewicz (1881–1958) i budowanie w jego czasach* (Warszawa, 1998), chapter 'Styl zakopiański oraz narodowy historyzm'.

[16] Jerzy Frycz, *Restauracja i konserwacja zabytków architektury w Polsce w latach 1795–1918* (Warszawa, 1975), 135.

[17] As a result, elegant and green promenades could be created, such as Wały Hetmańskie and Wały Gubernatorskie in Lviv, Planty in Krakow or Wały in Stanisławów.

[18] For a comprehensive overview stressing Kremer's pioneering role as a conservationist, see Urszula Bęczkowska, *Karol Kremer i krakowski urząd budownictwa w latach 1837–1860* (Kraków, 2010).

social impact. Not only art historians dealing with monuments ("restorers") but also non-professionals spoke on this subject, thanks to the successful efforts to popularize knowledge about monuments as the material heritage of the nation (in keeping with the idea that creating a conscious nation would contribute to the revival of statehood). Art historians in Galicia, having at their disposal institutions such as the Society of Conservators (Grono Konserwatorów), put pressure on architects to adopt their point of view. Their voice was important because representatives of the elite, such as aristocrat Karol Lanckoroński and politician Leon Piniński, spoke in a similar spirit. As early as in 1869, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz wrote:

> … if today, it can be said that … Greek monuments are well-known and perfectly understood, if the medieval world faces the perfection of cathedrals and secular buildings, it can easily be that by initiating the spirit of the creative past, we will acquire it ourselves. In any case, it will be a glory for the age that, although it did not build itself originally, it was able to respect the masterpieces of its predecessors and held them in proper reverence.[19]

This denying of the right to creativity caused a reaction of the builders. More advanced architects, mentioned above, who in the last decades of the 19th century criticized the primacy of historical architectural detail and excessive decoration of buildings, promoting a more essential understanding of historical styles (their spirit, the strength of the influence of proportions and harmony in a building, not just their scientific reconstruction), gained a new forum, namely the Krakow magazine *Architekt*. In its pages, they defended the right to create a new style or, in other words, another way of building and thinking about architecture.[20] Sas Zubrzycki, one of the most important architects who also specialized in the theory and practice of monument restoration, wrote explicitly in 1909 that the creativity of architects was limited by amateurs without any architectural education.[21]

There was a kind of battle over the meaning of style. Architects representing academic views employed the classicist concept of beauty, which made buildings timeless. Architecture was readily compared to music as a more idealistic form of art than painting and sculpture: Sas Zubrzycki described architecture

[19] Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, *O znaczeniu w dzisiejszych czasach budownictwa średniowiecznego* (Kraków, 1869), 200.

[20] Cf. 'In Arte Salus', *Architekt*, 1 (1907), 3–14; similar ideas were expressed in the Warsaw press, cf. Bronisław Rogóyski, 'Kilka słów o nowych kierunkach w architekturze dzisiejszej', *Przegląd Techniczny*, 5 (1897), 73–77.

[21] Jan Zubrzycki, 'Opieka konserwatorska w dziedzinie architektury', *Przegląd Techniczny*, 13 (1909), 168.

after Schlegel as frozen music and music as liquid architecture.[22] Architectural style was defined as a certain way of building, which made the building not only beautiful but also homogeneous. By imitating styles created in antiquity, the architects of Neoclassicism could get closer to perfect beauty. In the second half of the 19th century, with the introduction of architectural styles of other epochs into the canon (first the Gothic style), the idea emerged, following Hegel's theory, that style was an expression of a certain epoch and its dominant spirit, so ideal beauty was achievable not only through copying the ancient "way of building". The 19th century was the time of the development of the national idea, hence the styles began to be associated with individual nations. This was how Zachariewicz[23] and the well-known Krakow architect Teodor Talowski put it.[24] Gradually, a consensus emerged that style was a "way of building" that expressed a certain spiritual idea, understandable without the need for further explanation;[25] it was not clear, however, whether the style was determined more by the realities of the era or the character of the nation. Thus, attempts were made to combine the two approaches. Yet, in the wake of the mentioned debates on the role of creativity, the question arose whether the activity of architects (that is, only individuals, not the nation as a whole) could lead to a new style. "Progressive" architects and many "restorers" agreed that new needs and technical possibilities could result in the formation of a new style. Others, including some "restorers", excluded this possibility.[26] The development of the national idea worked in favour of the creativity of architects, leading many theorists to accept the need to create (or "discover") the Polish national style. This is not the place to relate the accompanying discussions, but it should be stressed that the efforts to elaborate a national style allowed the enthusiasts of old architectural styles to gain impetus, in a way delaying the development of the idea of a "modern" style. The matter was so complicated that the discussions took place simultaneously with a fierce polemic about the way in which monuments should be renovated, fuelled by the questions of whether to restore them in accordance with the historical styles in which they were created or only to protect them from destruction, as well as whether to remove the additions from "intermediate" eras. Along with the victory of the idea of rejecting imagination in conservation practice, creativity in contemporary architecture also became

[22] Sas Zubrzycki, *Filozofia architektury*, 72.

[23] Zachariewicz, *Odczyt o architekturze*, 7.

[24] Teodor Talowski, 'Style u narodów czynnych', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 21 (1902), 278.

[25] Kleczkowski, *Analiza kształtów architektury*, 84.

[26] Alfred Lauterbach, 'Architektura i indywidualizm', *Architekt*, 10 (1911), 143–146. A well-known Austrian architect, whose articles were published in *Architekt*, was of a similar opinion: Heinrich Ferstel, 'Styl i moda', *Architekt*, 10 (1903), 99, 113, 123.

the target of public criticism, especially in its most manifest application – the construction of apartment houses. In addition, this delayed the process of developing new "ways of building" appropriate for modern times.

But let me focus on the debates about the contemporary situation and the future of cities. The current state of affairs was judged severely. As was stated in the *Architekt*:

> just take a look at the direction in which our Galician cities and towns are developing. Cold, empty, soulless houses, reminiscent of prisons rather than homes of free citizens of the country; even worse is the ugliness caused by overloading them with hideous and inappropriate ornaments; the thoughtless cutting-down of trees, the neglected gardens and many other details add up to create this miserable picture.[27]

The progressive disfiguration of cities was due to the spreading influence of the development model of Western cities. It is not difficult to find echoes of similar concepts in the activities of the creators of the German native landscape protection movement, including Paul Schultze-Naumburg. Generally, they were inspired by the anti-urban movement, developing since the beginning of the 20th century. The destruction of historical monuments, removal of old walls and towers, as well as stylistic changes of architecture and the commercialization of the city space were subjected to severe criticism: "These giant images of toiletries or medicinal products, idiotic and trivial signs, or images in dazzling colours that claw their way up the walls and roofs and glow brightly at night, all this destroys the visual beauty and harmony of a lively city"[28] – as Piniński wrote in *Piękno miast i zabytki przeszłości* (The Beauty of Cities and Monuments of the Past). Ewa Łuskina, in her book *W obronie piękności kraju* (In Defence of the Beauty of the Country) from 1910, attacked the completely new trend in city planning, which was characterized by marking out straight, wide streets that made all the cities in Europe look the same. Significantly, like many other authors, she considered regulatory work of this kind to be a manifestation of the adoption of German models in urban planning, something which was "frightening" before World War I. The engineering trend in city planning, represented by Reinhard Baumeister and Joseph Stübben, was perceived as a bad example. Coming back to Łuskina: she praised irregularity, winding, picturesque streets, monuments blending into the old fabric of cities, which she called "living

[27] 'Przeciw zabrzydzaniu kraju', *Architekt*, 5 (1909), 83. Similar diagnoses were made in Warsaw and Łódź at the same time; for an overview of the press discourse relating to the 'urban question', see Kamil Śmiechowski, *Kwestie miejskie. Dyskusja o problemach i przyszłości miast w Królestwie Polskim 1905–1915* (Łódź, 2020).

[28] Leon Piniński, *Piękno miast i zabytki przeszłości* (Lwów, 1912), 15.

stones". It is not difficult to find the source of inspiration for such arguments – they were drawn in handfuls from the writings of Camillo Sitte, whose famous book about artistic principles in city planning had been published two decades earlier. In these polemics, one can feel the still dominant spirit of the past, the love for old times and distant history. This rather archetypal way of thinking was constantly present among people who watched the Galician cities leap into modernity; it does not have to be a paradox but can be considered a reaction to the advance of modernity.[29]

The other pole of the aforementioned tension was the affirmation of modernity. It was accompanied by the awareness that the end of the 19th century was a unique, transitional period in terms of architecture. Lviv was the city that developed the fastest in Galicia. At the beginning of the 20th century, it reached the number of more than 200,000 inhabitants and began to be perceived as a motor of modernity. Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, in his 1913 lecture *Zadania polskiej architektury nowoczesnej* (The Tasks of Polish Modern Architecture),[30] criticized the historicizing architecture from a modernist position. There were many indications in the press that modernity was being accepted with strong conviction. Let us take one of many examples. An article from 1890, published in *Czasopismo Techniczne*, described tram construction projects.[31] At the beginning, it discussed the development of urban transportation in Great Britain and the United States, then in Western Europe, and Lviv was presented as a forerunner in the Monarchy, not far behind Vienna. The author of the article considered the horse tram to be a relic of the past and saw the future in the steam tram. The system of such vehicles was to be organized in the city centre, complementing the national steam rail network, while at the same time connecting the centre with the surrounding villages, making them mutually accessible to their inhabitants. It anticipated the idea of Ebenezer Howard's garden city. Importantly, the network understood in this way was to be a whole, and laying tracks on the streets of the old part of the city was considered as a sign of progress and not a threat. What is more, according to the author, such a tram did not emit harmful fumes and did not destroy cobblestones like a horse tram, which was also responsible for the real problem at the time, i.e. faeces littering

[29] Such thinking was also driving German architects dealing with historic urban centres; see Melchior Fischli, *Die Restaurierung der Stadt. Stadtmorphologische Denkfiguren in der deutschen Altstadtdebatte um 1900*, in: Carmen M. Enns, Gerhard Vinken (eds.), *Produkt Altstadt. Historische Stadtzentren in Städtebau und Denkmalpflege* (Bielefeld, 2016), 43–57.

[30] Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, 'Zadania polskiej architektury nowoczesnej', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 2 (1913), 14–18.

[31] Jan Szczepaniak, 'Tramwaj parowy we Lwowie', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 16 (1890), 129–133 and 17 (1890), 137–139.

the streets. Two years later, another article was published, also accompanied by numerous tables and calculations, authored by Edwin Hauswald.[32] In his view, Lviv was a metropolis that was on the best path to development; it was a leading centre in Galicia and could serve as a model for the expansion of other cities in the coming decades. For optimists, the large city was not a threat but an opportunity. In this spirit, a brochure was written in 1907 in Warsaw, probably the biggest paean in honour of the modern metropolis.[33] It reversed the argument that city life led to degeneration and that the village was the true mother of mankind: it was the village that could benefit from the development of mankind that took place in the cities.

The proponents of development came from a different place than defenders of historical monuments, mainly referring to hygienic standards, the issue of sunshine and width of streets. As befitted a strictly technical magazine, such as the *Czasopismo Techniczne*, the question of the road surface, i.e. cobblestones, was addressed. The advocates of the modern approach pointed out that wide, sunny streets would be disinfected by the sun rays' salutary effect, which had already been scientifically proven at the time. It was also argued that on wide streets, there would be more oxygen for passers-by.[34] Calculations were made to determine how much of the city should be left without buildings, and the lay-out of the former fortified city, crammed in a "corset" of walls, was criticized. This problem was particularly acute in Galicia, where in closely-built and small towns, pedestrian and horse traffic developed very quickly;[35] Krakow and Przemyśl additionally became city-fortresses. The issue of the best road surface was discussed in terms of water permeability, ease of cleaning, slipperiness in winter and practicality for pedestrian and horse traffic. Arguments that were put forward referred to biology, chemistry and medicine, the sciences which were developing at that time, and modernity was accepted with open arms as an opportunity to solve sanitary problems of the rapidly-developing cities.

Urban optimists did not ignore the role of architects in this development. "The future depends not so much on architects as on the general level of education, taste and needs of society, but on the other hand, outstanding individuals can direct things more or less successfully,"[36] wrote Ekielski. The beginning

[32] Edwin Hauswald, 'O systemach kolei miejskich', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 17 (1893), 133–137 and 18 (1893), 141–143.

[33] Edward Chwalewik, *Wielkie miasta, ich rozwój, wzrost i przyszłość* (Warszawa, 1907).

[34] Józef Lipczyński, 'O regulacji ulic jako też innych obszarów w miastach', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 17 (1894), 131–137.

[35] J. Łampicki, 'Sprawa brukowania naszych miast', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 2 (1898), 24.

[36] Władysław Ekielski, 'Uwagi nad współczesną architekturą z powodu wystawy sztuki polskiej w Sukiennicach', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 9 (1888), 68.

of the 20th century marked the return of the architect as a great artist and engineer of souls. The possibilities of the new creative genius were described, among others, by supporters of modern construction, not necessarily understood as modernism. Likewise, the proponents of the idea of art for art's sake demanded the freedom of architecture: in *Architekt*, it was written that "it must be based on freedom of action, on freedom of feeling and on an unlimited variety of shapes".[37] The word "nation" has already been brought up many times. An often reappearing topic was the role of the architect in creating favourable conditions for the development of the nation. Lewiński, in a lecture given as the head of the department of utilitarian architecture, said that buildings "are the crystals of a nation's culture and civilization in terms of construction, provided that their creators come from the same nation".[38] And Zachariewicz emphasized that political disasters (he probably meant the partitions of Poland) did not have to significantly affect the development of the nation's spirit, and that this spirit, together with the progress in human knowledge, formed the basis for the creation of new art that would, in turn, support the national development.[39] The role of architects was therefore important, and the students of the art of construction stood in line with the previous national "coryphees": poets and writers.

The issues presented above are only selected elements of the great debate on the city and its architecture that took place in the community of architects. I also wanted to draw attention to some of the basic problems that troubled this professional group. On the one hand, it was the conflict between tradition and modernity and the difficulty of combining these two tendencies in a rational and logical way. The architect may not have felt important during the 19th century when his works began to be gradually perceived not so much as art but as a source of income for the investor and the formal concept of the building bore traces of intellectual climate still resembling that of the beginning of the century, influenced by the Romantic ideas of historicism and contemplation of past ages. The beginning of the 20th century brought fresh currents, the promoters of which saw in the architect the builder of a new order, not a social one, as would happen later, but rather a spatial one (related to the concept of a sanitized city). This order, associated with new technologies and with the sincerity of artistic expression, was born under the influence of a new total work of art, *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Architects began to show their ambition to improve

[37] 'In Arte Salus', 6.

[38] Jan Lewiński, 'O budownictwie utylitarnem', *Czasopismo Techniczne*, 3 (1902), 38–39 and 4 (1902), 54.

[39] Zachariewicz, *Odczyt o architekturze*, 27–29.

the conditions of human life and create an environment conducive to development, striving, for example, for social integration beyond class divisions. In this way, they became servants of the nation along with representatives of other professions (such as artists and writers, literary critics, historians, geographers and even entrepreneurs). In fact, serving the cause of the development of the nation was also the task of restorers and art historians, who were often architects themselves. Important aspects of architects' activities included the search for "national familiarity" and their own national "way of building", as well as the efforts to free themselves from the real or imaginary influence of foreign architecture incompatible with the local spirit (in Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland, German architecture was invariably such a negative point of reference at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries). On the other hand, the architects adopted, adapted and implemented various technical and civilization advancements, which was evident in the space of, for example, Lviv, even despite the backwardness of urban culture in Galicia.

Translated by Katarzyna Wieleńska

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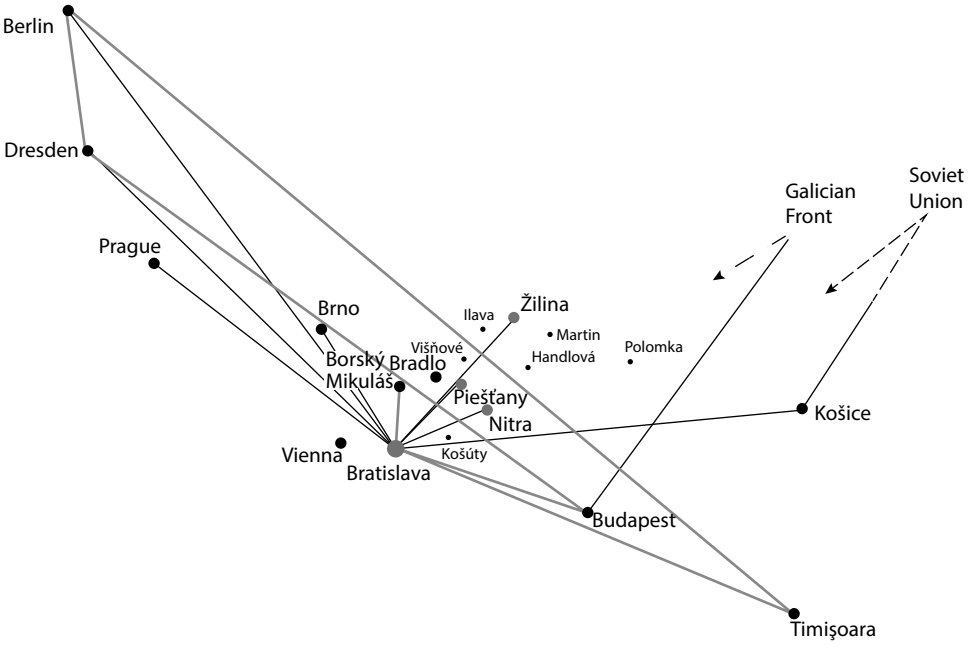
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Languages of interwar progressivism: Friedrich Weinwurm in Bratislava[1]

The Slovak interwar progressivists strived to achieve their goals in various ways. The framework of their involvement was shaped by social criticism and re-evaluation of the past. They postulated a break with tradition and formed a new critical language, which – also because of their mainly leftist sympathies – did not always meet with widespread approval in the conservative to a large degree Slovak environment. Their initiatives constituted one of the answers to the imperative of modernization, which dictated changes in Slovak culture and art of the interwar period. They co-created one of the ideological threads that became part of the Slovak social and cultural fabric.

The most important platform of the Slovak left, the *DAV* magazine, was published with intervals from 1924 to 1937. From the very beginning, it postulated a radical break with tradition, primarily in the form propagated by the traditionalist and nationalist camp.[2] The Bratislava School of Arts and Crafts (Škola umeleckých remesiel, founded in 1928) modernized industrial design and applied arts, which had traditionally supported the national identity of Slovakia.[3] Irena Blühová – "the Gertrude Stein of Bratislava", founder of the Sociofoto photographic association, a student of Bauhaus between 1931 and 1933 – developed her socially engaged photography, thematizing everyday life and at the same time stripping it of a romantic and idealistic costume.[4] Young Alexander Matuška, a member of the ephemeral R-10 group in the first half of the 1930s,

[1] This research was made possible thanks to the financial support of the Slovak Scientific Grant Agency VEGA (Project: Anti-traditionalists. Disputes over the Cultural Model in the 1930s; VEGA 2/0050/18; project leader: Dr Magdalena Bystrzak; duration: 1.01.2018–31.12.2020). The author would like to thank the Jan Hus Educational Foundation for the support.

[2] Michal Habaj, 'Ľavá vpred. Prvý ročník revue DAV (1924–1925)', *Slovenská literatúra*, 4 (64) (2017), 269–283.

[3] Iva Mojžišová, *Škola moderného videnia. Bratislavská ŠUR 1928–1939* (Bratislava, 2013).

[4] Dana Lacková, 'Fotografka všedných dní Irena Blühová', *Knižnica*, 4 (5) (2004), 206–207.

uncompromisingly attacked conservative cultural patterns. Photography, journalism, applied arts, literary criticism, as well as cultural journalism touched upon similar issues; they strived to call things by their proper names and set the rhythm of conflicts between the traditionalist and the progressive camps.

Naturally, the interwar architecture did not escape the imperative of progress. In the second decade of Czechoslovakia's existence, modern functionalism took over the role of the national style.[5] Numerous functionalist buildings were constructed not only in such centres as Prague, Bratislava or Brno but also in other, smaller cities in Czechoslovakia. The negation of the existing order and the advocacy of social change were stressed by many leftist architectural theorists (in the Czech context, a special role was played by Karel Teige, who, after the breakup of Devětsil, established in 1929 an association of Czech left intellectuals called the Left Front [Levá fronta]). Some of them – as active professionals – had the opportunity to implement their solutions in practice. The Slovak architect who came closest to this stance, as an important figure of the avant-garde leftist intelligentsia, was Friedrich Weinwurm (1885–1942). He co-operated with the Bratislava School of Arts and Crafts, co-founded the journal *Nová Bratislava* (New Bratislava, 1931–1932), published theoretical texts and, above all, designed socially engaged architecture in Bratislava. Since the early 1930s, Weinwurm's work was permeated with a clear vision of an architect's duties and tasks, commitment to social issues and the leftist ethos.

However, due to the disintegration of the First Czechoslovak Republic and the interference of the Slovak State regime, the left progressive cultural activities withered at the beginning of World War II. The School of Arts and Crafts was closed in 1939, while the activity of the structuralist Association for Scientific Synthesis (Spolok pre vedeckú syntézu) – which actively co-operated with the Slovak literary avant-garde – was banned since 1940.[6] At the end of the 1930s, the *DAV* magazine disappeared as well.

The relationships between progressivists in Slovakia were varied. For example, painter and graphic designer Mikuláš Galanda – using the pseudonym La Ganda – published his illustrations in *DAV* in the mid-1920s and a few years later became associated with the Bratislava School of Arts and Crafts. The above-mentioned Weinwurm – together with art theorist Antonín Hořejš, typographer and former

[5] Vladimir Czumalo, 'Biała kostka w obłej słowiańskiej duszy', *Autoportret*, 3 (50) (2015), 58–69; Henrieta Moravčíková, 'Od stylu narodowego do modernistycznej architektury. Budowanie tożsamości Republiki Czechosłowackiej', in: *Architektura niepodległości w Europie Środkowej* (Kraków, 2018), 228–245.

[6] Peter Zajac, 'Štrukturalizmus v slovenskej literárnej vede', in: Fedor Matejov, Peter Zajac (eds.), *Od iniciatívy k tradícii: štrukturalizmus v slovenskej literárnej vede od 30. rokov po súčasnosť* (Brno, 2005), 7–21.

student of Bauhaus Zdeněk Rossmann and literary critic and co-founder of *DAV* Daniel Okáli – had been publishing the *Nová Bratislava* magazine since 1931, and it is still considered as one of the most avant-garde Slovak magazines of that period. The paths of Blühová and Weinwurm crossed not only in the School of Arts and Crafts but also in the communist society called Workshop (Dielňa). Matuška, literary critic and pamphleteer published in *DAV* several key texts attacking the clerical-national camp. Generally speaking, they were linked by a similar ideological and ethical mindset – the anti-fascist stance, the focus on the current problems of society and culture, the break with the past and the support for modern Slovakia.

"A human does not live in order to have a house, yet has a house in order to live"[7]

In February 1931, a reportage from the funeral of a nine-month-old boy in the West Slovak town of Višňové was published in *DAV*:

> The village Višňové near Nové Mesto nad Váhom lies at the foot of the Čachtice Castle. When a middle-class writer or journalist looks from a distance at Višňové, they see a quiet village in which our "pious, godly Slovak people with proverbial dove-like hearts live" … It could not be more romantic. The only thing missing for the picture to be complete would be the poet-tramp Janko Kráľ and the character from his ballad, the enchanted maiden in the Váh River. And so, first of all, romanticism, and only later – poverty and gastritis.[8]

Czech Josef Rybák, whose texts published in *DAV* usually covered various topics, including architecture, wrote in a similarly revealing vein about Slovak housing: "The housing culture – which is, nota bene, extremely important – means large, spacious interiors, huge windows, access to electricity and gas. However, it also means rotten floors and a family of eight nesting in one room which simultaneously serves as a kitchen, bedroom, studio, laundry room and more".[9] The moment of social solidarity often featured anti-romantic notions, while the romantic idealization of reality was subjected to deconstruction.

The architects faced the housing problems of the huge population of Slovakia predominantly in the 1930s when the country was hit by the effects of the Great Depression.

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[7] The author of the statement (in Slovak: "človek nemá žiť, aby býval, ale bývať, aby mohol žiť") is architecture historian, Ladislav Foltyn.

[8] T. Stoklas, D. Šišolák, 'Rudý hrobeček pod čachtickým hradem', *DAV*, 2 (4) (1931), 6.

[9] Josef Rybák, 'Inkognito bytovou kultúrou', *DAV*, 1 (4) (1931), 7.

> In the whole republic – write the authors of the publication *Moderná Bratislava* (Modern Bratislava) – the so-called valleys of hunger emerged. While in 1923, there were 441,000 unemployed people, in 1933, the number increased to 920,000. This situation, naturally, prompted the rise of leftist criticism (also from architects), which emphasized the difference between the living conditions of the richest and the socially weakest, vulnerable layers of society.[10]

The issues which became widely discussed in the second decade of the existence of Czechoslovakia included the so-called minimum housing standard as well as problems of hygiene concerning society in general (encompassing, among other aspects, proper daylight, ventilation of apartments, access to clean water, electricity and gas, having separate kitchens and bedrooms, etc.).

Within the architectural thought, a significant turn had taken place – for the first time in the history of architecture, its forms corresponded with the needs and expectations not of the highest but the lowest social groups.[11] However, in the 1930s, the whole of Slovakia was shaken by strikes (in Handlová, Košúty, Polomka and others), which were often bloodily suppressed. Representatives of the Slovak intellectual and creative circles reacted to the events in various ways. Leftist writers organized support for the strikers and reported on the situation in the press. More nationally-oriented intellectuals looked for the roots of the social problems in the fragmentation of the Slovak elite and the lack of a common front. Indeed, they often interpreted the social problem as a national problem, presenting the Slovaks as marginalized citizens, once oppressed by the Hungarians and now by the Czechs. The slogan "Dajme sa dokopy" (Let's come together), which became popular at the time, was created by Tido J. Gašpar – a representative of the Bratislava literary bohemia partial to Poland and later the director of the Propaganda Office in the Slovak State. In 1932, he wrote: "autonomy, regionalism, cultural independence or communism, yes, this Slovak communism – they are all details".[12] In this way, he argued that the category of a nation had a unifying quality and that its elites should come together in a joint effort in the name of the national cause, regardless of their ideological worldview.

The architectural milieu reacted to the economic crisis and the marginalization of the lowest social classes in various ways but mostly by discussing the problems of poor housing culture and poor living conditions. Worth mentioning is the functionalist response to dilemmas related to housing estates – the colony of family houses in Brno, the model functionalist estate called Nový dům.

[10] Peter Szalay et al., *Moderná Bratislava (1918–1939)* (Bratislava, 2014), 107.
[11] Ibidem, 146.
[12] Tido J. Gašpar, 'Triedenie duchov', *Slovenské pohľady*, 7–8 (48) (1932), 499.

Its design was presented in 1928 at the exhibition in Brno (Výstava soudobé kultury v Československu) which showcased the contemporary culture of Czechoslovakia (supporting the project of creating a unifying Czechoslovak identity). The well-known architect Dušan Jurkovič (who was, by the way, a major figure in the field of Czechoslovak places of memory – he designed the General Milan Rastislav Štefánik Memorial built in 1928 on the Bradlo Hill) also expressed a strong interest in the problem of housing culture as well as in its social aspect. In 1932, he designed models of wooden houses for socially weaker families and discussed their usefulness in the press.[13] Moreover, in the interwar period, he was involved in designing school buildings and cheap rental apartments. The issue of "house for everyone" – especially since the lack of housing, which had been a dire problem two years after the war, became even more dramatic during the Great Depression – captivated various representatives of the Slovak architectural scene, regardless of their ideological orientation.[14] The interwar leftists – and primarily Friedrich Weinwurm in Bratislava – responded to the "call of the age" in a systematic and programmatic manner.

Fragmentary sources, few testimonies

The lack of historical sources was a challenge faced by the authors of two important monographs which have recently recalled the history of Slovak modernization in the interwar period: Iva Mojžišová in her *Škola moderného videnia. Bratislavská ŠUR 1928–1939* (The School of Modern Vision. The ŠUR of Bratislava in 1928–1939) and Henrieta Moravčíková in her extensive Slovak-English study entitled *Friedrich Weinwurm. Architekt / Architect*. They collected fragments of stories that had been preserved in the archives of various institutions as well as private collections.

Mojžišová, commenting on her attempts to reconstruct the history of the Bratislava School of Arts and Crafts, wrote explicitly: "The results are disappointing. Documents have been gradually lost, with many of them destroyed or dispersed somewhere. There was also the worst thing of all – the loss of works".[15] The interest in the avant-garde in the 'golden' 1960s was short, although some tangible results were achieved (several volumes on the *DAV* group were published after its rehabilitation, Tomáš Štrauss wrote about the Košice modernism, and in 1968, the Institute of Theory and Art History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences [Ústav teórie a dejín umenia Slovenskej akadémie vied] organized the "Výtvarné avantgardy a dnešok" [Avant-garde Art and the Present-day]

[13] Dana Bořutová, *Architekt Dušan Samuel Jurkovič* (Bratislava, 2009), 242–243.
[14] Ladislav Foltyn, *Slovenská architektúra a česká avantgarda 1918–1939* (Bratislava, 1993), 104.
[15] Mojžišová, *Škola moderného videnia*, 17.

conference in the Smolenice Castle, etc.). After 1989, the interest of researchers and the wider public in the Slovak heritage grew. It is worth underlining, however, that the lack of protection resulted in irreversible losses. According to Dana Lacková, during World War II, numerous valuable negatives of photographs taken by Blühová were destroyed.[16]

Due to the incompleteness of the archives, also the story of Weinwurm – the key representative of the aesthetics of the New Objectivity (German: *Neue Sachlichkeit*) and the main architect of Bratislava avant-garde – has not been fully reconstructed. Scattered remarks about him were included in the 1971 monograph by Martin Kusý, *Architektúra na Slovensku 1918–1945* (Architecture in Slovakia between 1918 and 1945). Special attention to Weinwurm's architectural implementations was given by Ladislav Foltyn, a Slovak Bauhaus graduate and author of a comprehensive monograph, *Slovenská architektúra a česká avantgarda 1918–1939* (Slovak Architecture and the Czech Avant-garde from 1918 to 1939), published in the 1990s in Dresden and two years later in Bratislava. Although the manuscript had been ready for publication in 1972, it was stopped then by censors. In 1993, Štefan Šlachta authored the first monograph on the architect's output, *Friedrich Weinwurm – architekt Novej doby* (Friedrich Weinwurm – The Architect of Nová doba). Moravčíková – the author of the most comprehensive studies so far – focused not only on his projects and realizations but also on the obscure parts of Weinwurm's biography and his contacts with the German milieu, as well as his ideological choices, essential for the interpretation of his overall achievements. She drew attention to the progressive and modern period in his thinking, which not only manifested itself in an innovative architectural programme but also shaped both socio-critical and innovative aspects of his work. Further, in 2017, the Slovak National Gallery organized a very popular exhibition, "Architect Friedrich Weinwurm: Nová cesta" (Architect Friedrich Weinwurm: New Path), which was co-curated by Moravčíková and Denis Haberland. Therefore, Moravčíková has literally reintroduced Weinwurm's work to a broader audience in recent years.

Unclear biography

Weinwurm was born in 1885 in Borský Mikuláš, a small town in north-western Slovakia. After a year spent in high school in Bratislava, he moved to a distant Timişoara, which was then part of Austria-Hungary. He went to Berlin to study architecture but – according to Moravčíková – The Royal Technical Academy of Berlin (Die Königliche Technische Hochschule zu Berlin) was too conservative

[16] Lacková, 'Fotografka všedných dní'.

in spirit and did not meet his expectations.[17] Therefore, he went to Dresden, where he realized one of the most progressive architectural designs of the time – the Garden City of Hellerau. Even though he left Germany after graduating, contemporary discussions about functional and practical social housing set the direction of his future work. After leaving Dresden, he worked for some time in Budapest, with which he had family ties.

In portrait photographs, he usually appears with a headband on his forehead, reminiscent of the injury he had suffered during World War I while fighting against Russia on the Galician front. He belonged to the generation which, having experienced war, turned towards the future and rejected the past – the generation which had transformed experiences from the front lines into the progressive formula of the avant-garde. However, he managed to implement avant-garde projects only in Bratislava, as part of the activity of architectural studio Weinwurm and Vécsei.

Before he was given the opportunity to build the Unitas and Nová doba housing estates (which I will describe in more detail later), Weinwurm, for practical and financial reasons, implemented projects for a small community of Jewish elites. Most of them – especially luxurious residential houses – were commissioned by private investors (Jakob Sonnenfeld, the Steiner family, Móric Reisner, Sigmund Engel, Max Löw-Beer and others). The aesthetics of the New Objectivity corresponded with the needs of the progressive faction of the Slovak Jews, as functionality and lack of ornamentation were synonymous with modern architecture. For the Jewish community in Bratislava, Weinwurm also designed the "Chevra Kadisha" Jewish hospital (1934), the orphanage (1928) and the ceremonial hall of the Jewish cemetery (1930). Furthermore, he was responsible for the modern symbols of interwar Bratislava – the Uránia cinema (1931), the Astória cafe (1926), the exhibition hall at the Danube Trade Fair (1930) and the Schön department store and apartments (1934). Weinwurm imparted a metropolitan character mostly on interwar Bratislava, although he did implement some of his projects in smaller towns of Slovakia – among others in Nitra, Piešťany and Žilina.

The architect's name does not appear on the list of Holocaust victims. The date most often reported as the year of his death (1942) is considered the most probable. Perhaps at the beginning of the 1940s, Weinwurm emigrated to the Soviet Union, crossed the Slovakian-Hungarian border, hid in Košice (which had been part of Hungary since 1938) or in the Slovak Tatras, and possibly changed his identity. The temporary detention in the Ilava prison in 1940 was a punishment for his left-wing activity, judged as subversive.[18] Further, it

[17] Henrieta Moravčíková, *Friedrich Weinwurm. Architekt / Architect* (Bratislava, 2014), 12.

[18] Among other things, Weinwurm was a chairman of the above-mentioned communist Workshop (Dielňa) society, to which Blühová also belonged.

is not easy to track Weinwurm's last days because he used three variants of his name (Friedrich, Bedrich and Alfred József) and signed the German texts and manifestos of the new architecture movement with a fourth, abbreviated version – Fritz. It is likely that he was shot – probably somewhere between Bratislava and Budapest.

Bratislava in the new times

The small city on the Danube, where Weinwurm arrived during World War I, had never experienced such abrupt changes as in the interwar years. It was built anew – not only in the literal but also symbolic sense – as the "Slovak capital", the so-called *hlavné mesto Slovenska*. In the 1930s, when Weinwurm executed the most important projects of two co-operative housing estates (Unitas and Nová doba), Bratislava was not the sole core of Slovak cultural life, but it was indeed the administrative, political and economic centre of the Slovak part of Czechoslovakia. As a largely German city, it experienced two waves of nationalization; the first, Hungarian, took place at the end of the 19th century, and the second – Czechoslovak – began after 1918.[19] The Slovakization of the city – a complex and deep process – ended de facto only in the 1950s. The city had to adapt to its new functions quickly, which at the same time stimulated urban development and created various work opportunities for architects. Perhaps for this reason, Weinwurm, always a practical thinker, decided not to return to Budapest but to settle permanently in the former Pressburg instead.

The architectural momentum of interwar Bratislava was exceptional at that time. According to the authors of *Moderná Bratislava*: "Modernity has been introduced to Bratislava incredibly fast, for the first time without a major delay in comparison to the rest of the global centres".[20] The choice of Bratislava as the Slovak capital was actually strategic and pragmatic – it had never been a spiritual centre of the Slovaks, but it met the basic requirements of a city that had to immediately assume many administrative functions. During the first decade of the existence of Czechoslovakia, several large buildings in the so-called national decorative style appeared in Bratislava. At that time, it played the role of the Czechoslovak national style (being promoted in Czechoslovakia mainly by two Czech architects – Pavel Janák and Josef Gočár). Like in other cities in Czechoslovakia, the classicizing style was important in Bratislava as well (a good example is the Agricultural Museum [Poľnohospodárske múzeum],

[19] Iris Engemann, 'Slovakizácia Bratislavy v rokoch 1918–1948. Úvahy na príklade mestskej rímskokatolíckej obce', in: Matej Medvecký (ed.), *Fenomén Bratislava* (Bratislava, 2011), 11–28.

[20] Szalay et al., *Moderná Bratislava*, 17.

today a part of the Slovak National Museum [Slovenské národné múzeum], designed by Milan Michal Harminc and constructed in 1924–1928). A sort of breakthrough that radically changed the city's urban space was the construction of the so-called Umelka (the seat of the Slovak Art Forum [Umelecká beseda slovenská] and the first large exhibition venue in the city, built in 1924–1926), which exemplified the key elements of functionalist thinking. Moreover, the authors of the implemented project, Alois Balán and Jiří Grossmann, designed the building of the School of Arts and Crafts on Vazovova Street (1928–1929).

As the city of cafés, cinemas and department stores, Bratislava fulfilled the basic criteria of a small metropolis in Central Europe. Its urban tissue was cut by numerous shopping arcades, new squares, streets and even new districts. Architecture has thus become a symbol of modernity. Functionalist buildings of the Municipal Savings Bank (Mestská sporiteľňa, designed by Juraj Tvarožek, 1931), co-operative houses (so-called Družstevné domy, designed by Emil Belluš, 1934–1939) and finally the "Bratislava skyscraper" called Manderlák, with Café Grand on the first floor (designed by Christian Ludwig, Emerich Spitzer and Augustín Danielis, 1935–1936), significantly changed the appearance of the then Republic Square in Bratislava (today the Slovak National Uprising Square).

A lot of attention was paid in Bratislava to the housing architecture. Various residential buildings (e.g. the houses on today's 29th August Street designed by Balán and Grossmann, 1921–1924; the houses designed by Klement Šilinger in the early 1920s, located a little further from the city centre; the apartment block Kriser on Hlboká Street designed by Weinwurm and Vécsei, 1934) were constructed for the state officials (mainly from Bohemia and Moravia) who arrived *en masse* in the new city. One of the present-day symbols of modernist Bratislava, the residential complex Avion (designed by Josef Marek, 1932), offered exclusive apartments for the upper middle class. Many technical innovations were adopted there (a swimming pool, an elevator opened with a key, a special heating system).[21] In the 1920s, numerous housing estates were built (especially around Vajnorská Street); at the same time, a housing estate for the weaker social class, the so-called Masarykova kolónia, came into existence in the urban district of Trnávka. In 1930, the problem of social housing caught the attention of Emil Belluš (the houses he designed still stand on Miletičova Street and Trenčianska Street within today's Ružinov district). Therefore, the Weinwurm and Vécsei architectural studio, prestigious in the 1930s, faced considerable competition. However, it was their initiative to address the great challenges of the period. Moreover, it was Weinwurm who showed that one could build cheaply, quickly and functionally, even in times of economic crisis.

[21] Ibidem, 133.

The socially engaged architect

Before focusing on the two projects in which Weinwurm used his potential to the fullest and applied the ideals of a left-oriented architect in practice – i.e. the Unitas and Nová doba co-operative housing estates – let us elaborate on the manifestos which fully reflect his concepts. Three programme articles written originally in German are worth considering: *Zeitgemäße Baukunst* (A Building Art to Match Its Age), published in 1924 in the German journal *Moderne Welt. Illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Mode*; *Das heutige Schaffen* (Creation Today), published in 1931 in *Sborník modernej tvorby úžitkovej*; and *Wohin führt der neue Weg* (Where Does the New Path Lead), published in 1931 in the journal *Nová Bratislava*.[22]

The validity of the architectural form, rationalization of the project and its implementation guided Weinwurm's work already in the 1920s. The architect appealed for the authenticity of architecture, which he understood as the removal of unnecessary decorativism that did not fulfil any practical functions. The modern flat was adapted to the needs of the inhabitants; the interior of an apartment and the exterior façade of a building formed an organic whole. For this reason, Weinwurm's realizations in the aesthetics of the New Objectivity still give the impression of austerity. As he wrote:

> If my clients climbed up the façade and found in it an unusual pleasure, then I might have decided to decorate the façade; however, if my clients and their families continue to spend time in the house's interior, in the living areas, on the terraces, in the rooftop gardens, then I believe it is necessary to create an exterior that matches the internal arrangement of the spaces.[23]

An integral part of the rationalization of the architectural form was also a revolt against kitsch, hence the care for the highest level of housing aesthetics. The architectural form was supposed to correspond with the character of the times: "Every form has its own formal language and seeks to depict the era's ideas in its own way".[24]

The formal language of the new times, however, was not just about rejecting decorativism. According to Weinwurm, the main goal was to create functional and aesthetic housing for everyone as an expression of social justice and a new order. A special role in the process of change was played by the young generation, who was unprejudiced and eliminated from the social sphere

[22] Henrieta Moravčíková, *Architekt Friedrich Weinwurm: nová cesta* (Bratislava, 2017).
[23] Ibidem, 35.
[24] Ibidem, 42.

"everything that [was] false and unconstructive".[25] However, when facing the challenge of "building a new world", the young generation did not have the opportunity to use any traditional architectural forms or to rely on the past authority figures in this field. In this sense, Weinwurm's texts contain numerous elements of avant-garde and at the same time utopian thinking: the architect appeals for the equality of life opportunities, freedom, peace and happiness for everyone while proclaiming the idea of a new beginning. To understand the meaning of Weinwurm's words, we must return to his experience from the front lines, from the time of chaos, disorder and aggression, which left a lasting impression on the way his generation interpreted reality. Therefore, Weinwurm's revolution was not only aesthetic; it also contained many ethical elements. It presented a clear vision of a society without divisions, while its attitude towards "profit-seeking groups", as the architect called them, was simply negative.[26]

So, where had the seeds of the new path been sown, and what was the nature of change? Weinwurm's programme was clearly oriented towards the future, also reflecting the current condition of the society as a whole. A specific solution to the problems of the "new times" was, as Weinwurm said, "[the] correct organization, planning and truth".[27] His intellectual ethos consisted of seeking the truth, revealing the inauthenticity (also by negating decorativism, paying attention to internal rather than external elements of social life, rejecting the bourgeoisie understood as an individualistic, false aspiration to belong to the higher social classes). Weinwurm clearly divided the world into old and new – the old one (patriarchal) was characterized not only by a lack of mobility but also by a poorly organized division of labour. The problem of contemporary architecture did not lie in the technical barriers that the architect had to confront (and overcoming them was not automatically a sign of modernity); it stemmed from the poor housing culture and unequal access to social goods. Finally, Weinwurm did not consider work, especially manual work, as the supreme value in human life: "Here, it is necessary to take a stand against the truth-twisters and hypocrites who insist that humanity cannot exist without manual work. Working hard is no call of nature".[28] In this sense, the new (modern) path was determined by a proper social organization, collective thinking, working for the good of society and finally, the widest possible elimination of social inequalities. Rational architecture became a remedy and one of the opportunities to implement change. In this sense, along with other spheres

[25] Ibidem, 42.
[26] Ibidem, 43.
[27] Ibidem, 49.
[28] Moravčíková, *Architekt Friedrich Weinwurm*, 51.

of human activity, it became a tool of modernization and corresponded with the postulated imperative of progress.

Let us now return to the two above-mentioned projects of workers' housing complexes, which in Czechoslovak conditions had the character of a social experiment. Their construction was based on the premise of unification, in accordance with the idea of the equality of all inhabitants and equal access to space for everyone (among others, to a shared library, launderette and drying rooms). Such buildings were not built, however, in the capital city of Prague, although similar architectural solutions were used at the time in Vienna or Berlin.[29]

It is not surprising that the summary of the work on the Unitas housing estate, which Weinwurm published in the journal *Nová Bratislava* in 1931 shortly after the completion of the project, was unusual: "Costs of ca. 25,000,000 Czechoslovak crowns, daily work of 500–600 labourers, wages around 8,000,000 crowns and 7,5 months of working time".[30] During the construction of the estate, which was commissioned by the Building Cooperative Unitas because of Weinwurm's leftist activity, the speed and low cost of implementation were emphasized, as well as the fact that it created several hundred jobs. This was in line with the current architectural discussion, in which the topics of the minimum housing standard and collective housing were primarily brought up by the architectural leftist avant-garde. Weinwurm essentially put into practice the theoretical remarks of his own environment, such as Teige's and Rossmann's notions about the possibilities and benefits of collective housing.[31] On the Bratislava architectural scene, Weinwurm was a precursor.

In his monograph on the interwar Slovak architecture, Foltyn drew attention to the three most important lines of argument that fuelled the discussion about the issue of a minimum flat size (not exceeding 80 m^2). The idea of collective housing competed with the concept of small apartments in tenement houses, as well as housing estates where only some of the places were intended for common use (laundries, nurseries, etc.).[32] For the residential blocks of the Unitas housing co-operative, Weinwurm finally chose the second solution – two-room flats with a separate kitchen were built as well. In the end, seven six-storey blocks were constructed, placed perpendicularly to Šancová Street, which was an important part of the city with a great potential. According to Moravčíková, "[t]he Unitas complex was conceived as an almost symmetrical structure of parallel rows, in which each other row formed a semi-enclosed U-shaped courtyard in the

[29] Moravčíková, *Friedrich Weinwurm*, 92.
[30] Ibidem, 89.
[31] Foltyn, *Slovenská architektúra*, 109.
[32] Ibidem, 108.

direction of the center of the plot"[33] (Fig. 1). The estate was created as a result of the standardization of housing conditions for socially weaker classes, and it also offered various services for residents (there was a branch of the local library in one of the blocks). Therefore, the project and its implementation generated intense interest in architectural circles. Interestingly, the unification was also supposed to apply to the interior design: "In the original plans, the flats were to have been furnished with identical built-in furnishings and even freestanding furniture from steel piping, which in the end (most likely for reasons of cost) never came about".[34]

A similar interest from the "media" accompanied the implementation of the Nová doba housing estate on Vajnorská Street (the project was eventually completed in 1942). As Foltyn wrote: "Some comments (and photographs) show that the labourers working on the construction site were aware of the social meaning and value of the work they co-created".[35] Weinwurm was commissioned to design the estate by the co-operative of private employees and workers (also called Nová doba) after the local success of the Unitas project, when his name was inevitably associated with socially engaged architecture. The housing estate consisted of 162 apartments, usually not exceeding 60 m^2, grouped into three blocks (Fig. 2).[36] Numerous technical innovations were implemented. A special novelty was the use of steel construction in the first of the three blocks (they were built gradually in 1932, 1936 and 1942). The designers drew attention to optimal housing conditions, so local services were located on the ground floors. The paradox of the history of Nová doba – which nota bene reveals the paradox of the artist's fate itself – lies in the fact that the construction of the last block was carried out during World War II with the consent and support of the Slovak State regime. The designers and implementers of the project, Vécsei and Weinwurm, did not see the completion of their work.

Both Nová doba and Unitas are unique examples of interwar co-operative residential housing estates, and not only on the map of Bratislava. According to Moravčíková: "The definite socialist programme, along with the unique structural and layout plans, of the Unitas and Nová doba residential complexes can be ranked among the most complete and complex answers to the issue of a minimum housing standard – not only in interwar Czechoslovakia but even in the whole of Europe".[37] Another paradox can be found in the fact that these projects did not gain wider international publicity, nor were they used to represent

[33] Moravčíková, *Friedrich Weinwurm*, 99.
[34] Ibidem, 304.
[35] Foltyn, *Slovenská architektúra*, 120.
[36] Szalay et al., *Moderná Bratislava*, 159.
[37] Moravčíková, *Architekt Friedrich Weinwurm*, 9.

Figure 1. The Unitas housing estate in 2019. Source: author's photo

Figure 2. The Nová doba housing estate in 2019. Source: author's photo

Czechoslovakia either at national or international exhibitions. In fact, they got bogged down in the local context of a city that was then challenging its secondary status in relation to Prague.

Final remarks

In the late 1960s, the metaphor of Slovakia as an "island" became the thematic axis around which the Slovak historian Ľubomír Lipták built his interpretation of the local cultural specificity: "Slovakia seems to rather resemble an island that lies in the way of powerful historical trends. Sometimes they wash it away, sometimes it is flooded, and only the unevenness of the surface of the water reminds one of its existence".[38] The awareness of Slovakia' peripherality, which Lipták thus presented, shaped the imagination of local critics in various ways. By force of their arguments, they wanted, on the one hand, to influence the pace of the Slovak modernization processes, and on the other, to describe their current state. Ján Bakoš wrote about the "symbolic leap", i.e. an attempt to accelerate the implementation of new ideas;[39] he referred as well to the concept of "crossroads of cultures" as the essence of the Slovak historical experience.[40] Rudolf Chmel described the assortment of mental patterns and provincial prejudices, shaped in the 19th century and still present in the following centuries, as "the Slovak complex".[41] Voices advocating the "catching up with Europe" which continued to penetrate the public debate, especially after 1989, were just another in the line of dilemmas faced by Slovak intellectuals since the end of the 19th century.

The story of Friedrich Weinwurm is an example of crossing borders – the limits of profession, language and culture. One factor "co-responsible" for this situation is the multicultural atmosphere of Bratislava (despite its intense Czechoslovakization and the rise of Slovak nationalistic moods). The left-wing tone of socially engaged architecture, boldly expressed in Weinwurm's approach, seems to be one of the local examples of interwar, progressive communication "without any kind of traditional formal language"[42] and the unique reaction to the interwar "age of change".

[38] Ľubomír Lipták, *Storočie dlhšie ako sto rokov: o dejinách a historiografii* (Bratislava, 2011), 34.

[39] Ján Bakoš, 'Strukturalizmus na Slovensku ako symbolický skok alebo o „logike situácie" intelektuála na periférii', in: Fedor Matejov, Peter Zajac (eds.), *Od iniciatívy k tradícii: štrukturalizmus v slovenskej literárnej vede od 30. rokov po súčasnosť* (Brno, 2005), 286–297.

[40] Ján Bakoš, *Periféria a symbolický skok* (Bratislava, 2002).

[41] Rudolf Chmel, *Slovenský komplex* (Bratislava, 2010).

[42] Moravčíková, *Architekt Friedrich Weinwurm*, 43.

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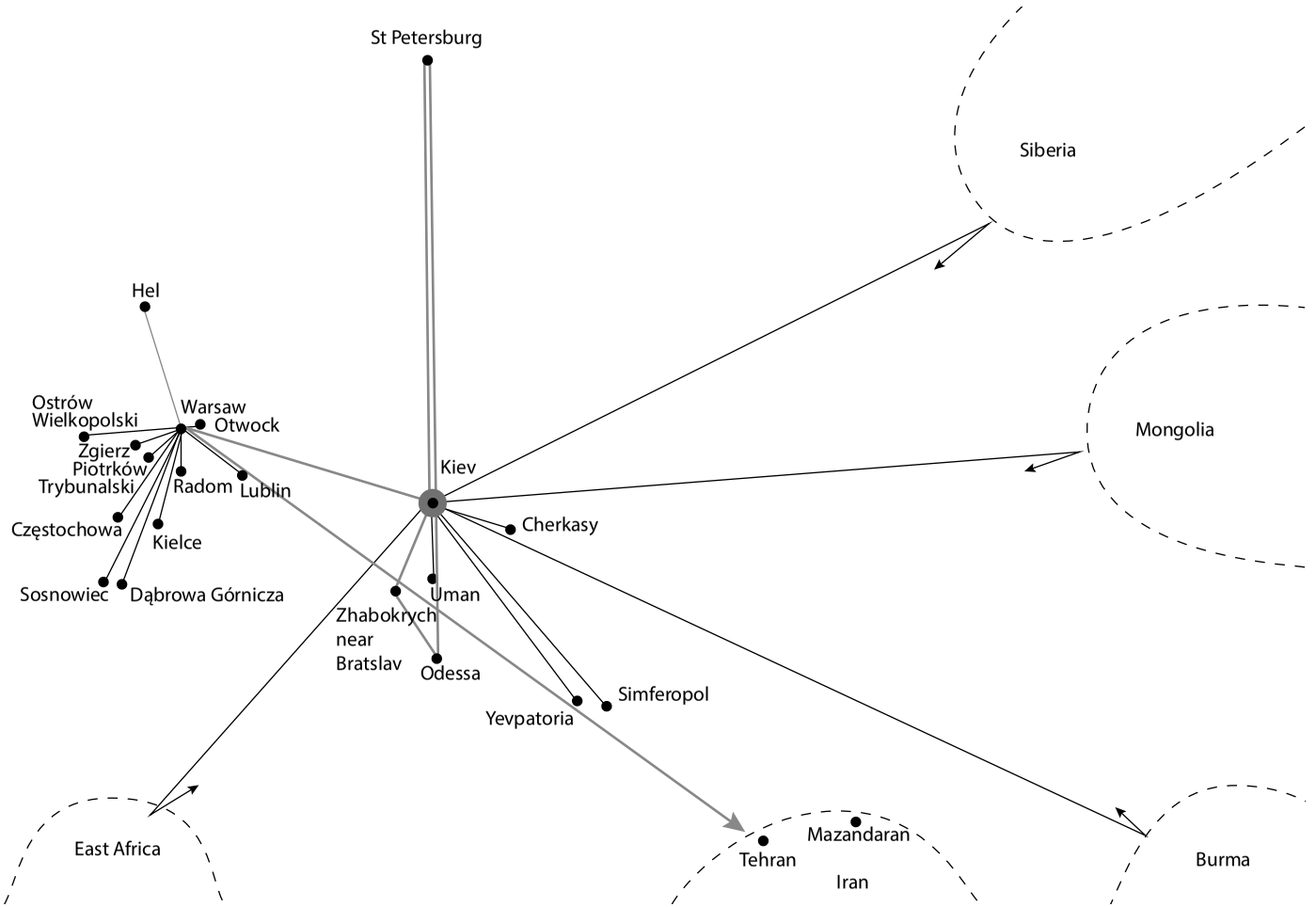
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Dąbrowa Górnicza
Uman
Zhabokrych
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Bratslav
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Beyond the limits – eccentric H.

Questions and diagnoses

Let us start with the title of this article, which requires explanation: What limits will we exceed? And also, why is the hero of my narrative hiding – like a Kafkaesque protagonist – under the symbolic initial H.? First of all, let us look at the mentioned limits. One of them is a national limit understood as assigning a single and unambiguous nationality to the hero. Since the term "national limit" sounds awkward, from now on, I will use the term "national limes"; here, limes is the borderline that determines who you are and who you are not. In the case of the architect I am interested in, because the eccentric H. was an architect – by profession, by vocation, also by passion – the delineation of identity is not obvious. In the Polish works (which are few and which repeat what Ukrainian sources say on the subject of H.'s biography), he is presented as a Pole or, more cautiously, as a Kiev architect. Ukrainian works mostly consider him to have been a Kiev architect (without indicating his nationality), often a Ukrainian architect, and sometimes even "a Pole and a Catholic",[1] but one whose most outstanding works were created in Kiev. His biography, especially the version of it presented in popular newspapers or tourist guides, is created and includes some "legendary" elements. Publications about H.'s life also repeat unverified and partly misleading information about the buildings he erected, mainly in the last period of his life when he worked in Iran. So who was H. – a creator passed over in silence for a long time and even erased from memory, recently discovered but still "waiting to be discovered", labelled as

[1] This term is often used in a monograph by Ukrainian author Dmitro Malakov. The publication was financed by the Polish Institute in Kiev, thus maybe it was a courtesy gesture of the author towards his sponsors. See Дмитро Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький. Архівні розвідки* (Київ, 1999). The second extended edition of the book was published in 2013.

a mysterious person? Many texts on H. conclude that his life and achievements require further study. In this context, I want to consider the question of who H. was: a Pole, a Ukrainian (maybe even a Russian)? Or maybe this question has not been asked properly?

Following H.'s biography, we will also cross the limes of space – H. was born in Podolia; he studied in important, legendary Russian cities; he created his main works in Kiev (at that time belonging to the Russian Empire); for a few years, he was active in a reborn Poland and then travelled to Iran. Spatiality, inscribed in the biography of H. and encompassing the places of his birth and childhood, education, professional work, private passion, makes it necessary to take into account not only a few countries but even continents: Europe, Asia, Africa. The path of his education stretches between empire cities as distant as Odessa and St Petersburg. The social circles H. belonged to throughout his life included Russians, Germans, the Swiss, Poles, Jews, Karaites, Americans, Iranians (and possibly many others). Thus, we are dealing with a biography marked by multinationalism (in a sense of origin but, above all, relationships and contacts), multiculturalism, multidenominationalism, resulting from places and environments forming the tissue of H.'s professional and social relationships.

Being part of multinational environments was also due to H.'s main passion, alongside architecture, i.e. hunting. And hunting was not an activity that could be done in the area and with modest means. It required going to distant places on expensive expeditions and was an exclusive hobby, available to the international elite associated in Kiev in the Imperial Society for Proper Hunting (Императорское Общество размножения охотничьих и промысловых животных и правильной охоты). Joining this circle of the richest people who were high in the social hierarchy was for H. a means of social advancement and a way to make useful contacts. As a nature lover, H. was involved in promoting the idea of hunting according to the rules. His vision of hunting had a scientific aspect: from his expeditions, H. brought back rich photographic documentation and, being a skilled draughtsman, countless illustrations of exotic flora and fauna,[2] as well as details of local life that might have been of interest to anthropologists.

[2] He also brought with him valuable hunting trophies which he donated to the Imperial Society for Proper Hunting. It was an exclusive association. In line with the Russian concept of the table of ranks, the Society was hierarchically divided into "honorary members", "permanent members" and the most numerous group (91 people) called "important members" – contrary to the name, it was lower in the hierarchy than the former two (this group included H.'s father-in-law and son-in-law, born Russians). The lowest-ranking group were the "amateur members". From 1903, H. belonged to the elite group of 15 "honorary members", which included representatives of the ruling family, princes, generals and senators.

After returning to Kiev from Africa, he published a book in Russian about this most exotic journey (*В джунглях Африки. Дневник охотника* [In the Jungles of Africa. The Hunter's Diary]).[3] H. called his stay in Africa "the happiest days of his life", comparable only to his childhood.[4] There is no sense of strangeness in his descriptions of Africa, in contrast to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*,[5] which has been accused by postcolonial criticism of providing Western culture with comfortable myths confirming European civilizational and spiritual superiority. H. would have never called Africa "the accursed inheritance". For him, it was a world of miracles, a refuge of nature not yet destroyed by civilization. At the time of the triumph of progress and modernization, as well as the utilitarian approach to natural resources (the expedition to Africa took place between 1911 and 1912), this was an uncommon point of view. Also towards the local inhabitants, H. did not express the feeling of superiority of a white, wealthy European. In his depiction, they retain the dignity denied them by the author of the *Heart of Darkness*. Perhaps this insightfulness stemmed from H.'s own status: a man from the peripheries of the empire, a "barbarian" from a conquered nation, whose path of advancement led him to Kiev, one of the most important cities in Russia at the time.

H. hunted in Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet and Burma, the Caucasus and the Transcaucasia, East Africa and other British colonies on that continent, and finally in Iran. He married the daughter of a wealthy Russian, and one of his daughters also married a Russian (we know nothing about the fate of the other). In 1920, he travelled from Bolshevik Russia to Warsaw (in Ukrainian publications, his journey is called emigration, while in Russian texts, the Polish "episode" is often omitted, and it is written that H. left for Iran in 1920). He stayed in Poland for eight years. In 1928, he went to Persia, where he died shortly afterwards. The daughter whose fate we know (at least in outline) obtained the right to return to Poland in 1945 but quickly went from there to Switzerland, where the family found their home. H. died in Tehran in 1930, at the age of 67, soon after returning from his last hunt in Mazandaran on the Caspian Sea. The cause of death was a heart attack. He was buried at the Catholic cemetery in Tehran. A simple, grey stone block, resembling concrete, which had been the hallmark of his architectural work, bears an inscription in Polish – a significant choice from the point of view of his identity.

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[3] Владислав Городецкий, *В джунглях Африки. Дневник охотника* (Киев, 1914). The book, illustrated with the author's drawings and photographs, has been reissued many times and is still popular today; it is also available on Russian websites.

[4] Quoted after Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький*, 189.

[5] Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (London, 1902).

THE LATE
WŁADYSŁAW LESZEK HORODECKI
PROFESSOR OF ARCHITECTURE
B. 23 MAY 1863, D. 3 JANUARY 1930
MAY HE REST IN PEACE IN FOREIGN SOIL

The deceased is identified by his profession ("professor of architecture"; this is an exaggeration because Horodecki – his name is finally revealed – was not an academician, although he was certainly an outstanding architect). His Polishness is indicated by the language of the tombstone inscription. Poles buried in "foreign soil" usually emphasized their nationality more strongly. However, the obituary published by the family in *Kurjer Warszawski* (The Warsaw Courier) omitted the issue of nationality: only one word was written under the name, "architect", along with the information that he had been born in Podolia and had died in Tehran.[6] A day later, the same newspaper printed a more extensive recollection of H., this time calling him "a well-known Polish architect."[7] Warm words were published in *Łowiec Polski* (The Polish Hunter), praising Horodecki as an outstanding hunter and expert on nature, who contributed to the development of Polish cynology. Overall, he was considered by Polish publicists to be an exceptional Polish talent. His grave was located at the Tehran cemetery in 1993 at the request of the Kiev History Museum. The Ukrainian Embassy in Tehran restored it on the occasion of Horodecki's 130th birthday anniversary.[8] The Polish side also participated in restoring the memory about Horodecki: a monographic sketch on the architect, by Dmitro Malakov, one of the few larger works based on archival materials, was financed by the Polish Institute in Kiev.

Horodecki's complex vicissitudes and complicated narratives about his national identity raise another question: Were the regularities observed in the biographies of architects operating in the Habsburg Monarchy not also characteristic of the Russian Empire, despite the numerous differences between the two countries? Did the superpowers, ruling subordinate nations, not create a similar mechanism of social advancement, career, self-fulfilment, which had an impact on the national identification of those concerned? If we accept this hypothesis as probable, we have to widen our perspective from the "Habsburg biography" to a kind of "imperial biography", but in a different sense than the one used in postcolonial studies.

The freedom of movement in space, of crossing borders between countries and continents, characteristic for people seeking higher social status, is

[6] *Kurjer Warszawski*, 7 January 1930.
[7] *Kurjer Warszawski*, 8 January 1930, 5.
[8] Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький*, 215–216.

confirmed by the mobility of our hero. Horodecki continued his professional wanderings even after the Second Polish Republic was established when he could have settled down on Polish soil. In my opinion, mobility is an important aspect of his biography. National identity, viewed in this context, turns out to be a private and not necessarily manifested element of identification, sometimes of a fluid nature.

Biographies that avoid giving a clear answer to the question of nationality are not very popular even today. In his 1995 work, *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy*, Christopher Lasch wrote about the destructive effects of the creation of the "aristocracy of talent", namely wanderers who look for the best employment conditions. According to the author, globally, this process leads to the weakening and disappearance of national states. The "twilight of nationality" is directly linked to the cohorts of professionals moving under the dictates of contract and professional ambitions.[9] However, perceiving national identity as an important cultural, political and even moral phenomenon was popular among Poles in 1861–1938, the timeframe adopted for this publication. In Polish, and not only Polish, literature which depicted people who did not have their own state, although the community from which they hailed had a national consciousness, it was important to show them as people working "for strangers" but preserving and manifesting their identity.

Building a biography on the basis of national identification is also a challenge for authors of scientific papers who describe stories of people from dependent nations functioning within the empire as specialists (I also include in this group writers and other intellectuals). In order to remain in the profession, they often had to make difficult decisions: in what language to write, where to publish, how to model their views depending on the place of publication and the nature of the audience, how to cast off the status of a local intellectual and become an important voice in discussions not limited to the national circle. In a word, how to reconcile national identity with the role of an intellectual (specialist).

The narratives of communities whose national self-awareness was developing in the 19th century are dominated by the image of a patriotic life, cultivated at the expense of the professional life of an intellectual, the challenges of which are overshadowed. The image of professional life and pressures to which the specialists were subjected are most often written about in postcolonial terms. Such accounts stress the obstacles and keep silent about the professional opportunities created by a foreign power. They judge who was a patriot and remained faithful to the national ideals and who suppressed these feelings and did not

[9] Christopher Lasch, *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy* (London, 1995).

even care about his or her homeland anymore. It is rare for such narratives to inquire about the situation of a patriot who wanted to practise his profession but had no family resources to depend on. The national interpretation of the history of literature and art soars over the economics, and this way of writing "fits" into the universal horizon of expectations, excluding a question that cannot be asked within that horizon.

The architects from the subordinate countries lived under even greater pressure, being dependent on government commissions and a wealthy elite that could afford to erect expensive buildings. I have hidden Władysław Horodecki under the initial H. to emphasize the pattern visible in the biography of this representative of the "aristocracy of talent" despite his individualism. Did Horodecki really feel worse in Kiev, where he spent 30 years – in a city bustling with life, rapidly expanding, with huge capital – than in Warsaw? The latter was, by comparison, a provincial city, poor, struggling, like the entire reborn country, with economic problems and the logistics of creating a unified state on the ruins of three partitions. Was the forced departure from Kiev an exile for Horodecki, as Ukrainian sources claim? Or a return to the homeland for the freedom of which his relatives and ancestors had fought? I will come back to these questions later on.

"Pigeonholing" Horodecki is difficult. Even if he was perceived as an architect of one city, or "Kiev architect", what did it mean? Was he a Ukrainian architect? A Russian one? Or a "decent Pole", as one of the obituaries put it? If Polishness was the most obvious element of his identification (which I doubt),[10] it was certainly not of a kind represented by the poem of young Polish patriots: "Who are you? A little Pole. What is your sign? The white eagle …" Horodecki's architectural signature are elephants and vipers writhing on cornices and rhinos and frogs holding their distended bellies that decorate his most famous work, the House with Chimaeras. It stands in front of the building that was once the seat of the Communist Party of Ukraine and now houses the Ukrainian Parliament. Respectability meets mockery here.

[10] Jakub Lewicki does not have such doubts and writes in his 2010 publication: "One [of the architects – D.S.] who aroused the greatest interest was a Pole, the author of many buildings in Kiev, architect Władysław Horodecki, and at the same time one of the most famous Polish artists in Ukraine". Jakub Lewicki, 'Polskie i ukraińskie badania nad historią architektury i sztuki. Metodologia i perspektywy badawcze – próba porównania', in: Wojciech Walczak, Karol Łopatecki (eds.), *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 1 (Białystok, 2010), 391. In the bibliography on Horodecki, the author lists only the publication by Malakov.

Present. Absent

In the introduction to a small brochure about Horodecki, Janusz Fuksa writes: "The Kiev people know the name of the architect Horodecki very well. The interest in his buildings is growing instead of declining. I do not think there is an inhabitant of Kiev who would not show one how to get from Khreshchatyk Street to the "house with chimaeras", which was built by the architect."[11] In fact, the building became famous even before its construction because it seemed that Horodecki had attempted the impossible. He acquired, at a bargain price, a plot of land which was extremely difficult to develop. Because of its small area and the steep sloping of the surrounding terrain, the architect's intention became an object of ridicule and apparently even resulted in a bet between Horodecki and his competitor in Kiev, the architect and builder, Alexander Kobelev. The latter, having heard of Horodecki's plans, supposedly said: "You, good sir, are a fool, and only a fool could have gotten such an idea."[12] I stress the word "supposedly" because we learn about the bet from "hear-say" accounts (i.e. Y said that Z told him). However, there is no doubt about the protests of the military staff whose building was adjacent to the construction planned by Horodecki. A huge trench dug for the foundations alarmed the military, who were afraid that the slope would slide. Interestingly, their attempts to stop the architect's work were not successful (this certainly serves to verify the stereotypical image of relations in the empire). Horodecki constructed the building on concrete piles that strengthened the slope; in general, concrete, which at the time was an innovative solution, predominated in the unusual building. It had three floors on one side and six on the other, which shows how steep the terrain was. Despite obstacles, e.g. delay in obtaining a loan, Horodecki erected the tenement house within one year and completed it within the next two years. The finished building became a sensation first in Kiev, then in Ukraine, and its fame later crossed the borders of the Russian Empire. Sergey Kilesso writes:

> The building was erected at a remarkable pace. In February 1901, the architect bought a cheap piece of land on which none of Kiev's architects had attempted to build anything, and in August 1902, seven apartments were already waiting for tenants.[13] The building literally cuts into a steep slope. A special feature of its layout is that the windows of all the living rooms of the individual apartments look out onto an extremely beautiful four-run staircase, enclosed in a rectangular space and illuminated by a huge,

[11] Janusz Fuksa, *Wspomnienia z Kijowa, XI. Architekt Horodecki* (Wrocław, 2005), 2.

[12] Quoted after Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький*, 110.

[13] As is often the case with Horodecki's activities, there are some time-related inaccuracies here. I think Kilesso was referring to the raw state when he wrote about "finished apartments".

> vertical stained-glass window, and all the auxiliary rooms are directed towards the rear stairs placed in a space with an elliptical plan. The building took into account the minute needs of a wealthy man's life (the ground floor was occupied by Horodecki and his family). The architect's mastery revealed itself in exploiting all possibilities of a non-standard urban situation. The impression that the circular form of the building left on a visitor had been thought out in detail. Here we are dealing with images that are changing and presented in a reversed order; the architect guides us as if in a spiral through specially provided and arranged vantage points, all marked on an architectural axis.[14]

The building still surprises viewers, including visitors from Poland.[15]

The unusual building allowed Horodecki to shake off the odium of an eclectic, a man who only reworked other people's ideas (because there had been such accusations). When entertaining friends in the newly-constructed building, the architect raised a glass and said: "The house may be bizarre, but there is not a single man in Kiev who would pass it without stopping."[16] Yuliia Ivashko, the author of the book *Модерн Европы и Киева* (Art Nouveau in Europe and Kiev), writes that the words turned out to be prophetic, but despite her admiration for Horodecki's design, she admits that "[n]ot everyone would feel good in this stone menagerie."[17] This is hardly surprising since the house became legendary because the phantasmagorical decor (it was written, for example, that the ceilings resembled the bottom of the sea) was supposed to drive people mad. It is, however, surprising that Ivashko recalls the words of the Russian writer Konstantin Paustovsky as proof of the building's disturbing eccentricity:

> On the walls of this gray house, which was built like a castle, were sculptured representations of rhinoceroses, giraffes, lions, crocodiles, antelope, and other animals native to Africa. Elephant trunks made of concrete hung out over the pavement, replacing the gutters. Water flowed out of the rhinoceroses' jaws. Gray stone boa constrictors raised their heads out of dark recesses in the building. The owner of the house, the engineer [Horodecki], was a passionate hunter. He went to hunt in Africa. It was in memory of these expeditions that he decorated his house with the stone figures of wild beasts. Grownups said that [Horodecki] was eccentric, but we little boys loved his curious house. He helped to shape our dreams of Africa.[18]

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[14] Siergiej Kilesso, 'Władysław Horodecki. Przyczynek do twórczości w okresie kijowskim', translated by Elżbieta Morawska, *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 36 (2) (1991), 149.

[15] Cf. Krzysztof Wojciechowski, *Mistrz betonu*, 12 February 2011. Available online: https://kresy.pl/publicystyka/kijowskie-spotkania-z-horodeckim/ (accessed on 12.02.2011).

[16] Юлия Ивашко, *Модерн Европы и Киева* (Киев, 2007), 57.

[17] Ibidem.

[18] Konstantin Paustovsky, *The Story of a Life*, translated by Joseph Barnes (New York, 1964), 39.

The quotation shows a boyish fascination, not the fear of seeing a "hunter's castle". Anyway, the building was interesting not only to boys. Malakov, in a brochure entitled *13 київських зустрічей із Городецьким* (13 Kiev Encounters with Horodecki), writes that during the "building fever" that broke out in Kiev at the end of the 19th century and lasted for the first years of the next century, it was difficult to surprise anyone with anything. Façades suffused with elements of historical styles became common, but the "zoo" that Horodecki had artistically composed on the walls of his building attracted the attention of everyone, including those who did not understand "decadent allegories".[19] The more so because the interior of the house was also unusual. Let me give just one example: on a huge plafond in the vestibule, a giant octopus of a realistic or even exaggerated pink colour wriggles, and sea crustaceans and plants are entangled in its arms. At first glance, however, it seems that bodies of huge, macabre earthworms hang above our heads. This is one of the many surprises and wonders that the interior of the building evokes.

The Kiev audience was also electrified by the news about the extravagance of the building:

> The original house of dreams, a kind of a hunter's castle, turned out to be a challenge to the imagination and well-established views of an average citizen of Kiev. After all, everything in this building excited imagination: exotic, not always comprehensible "decadent" allegories and stucco decorations, real and fairy-tale images of flora and fauna, luxurious apartments with paintings and unique fireplaces and kitchen stoves made according to sculptor Ewa Kulikowska's sketches by the Kiev Ceramics Factory of Josafat Andreiyovsky. Moreover, there were iceboxes hidden in deep cellars under the retaining wall (there were no fridges yet), wood-fired ovens (firewood was used for heating and cooking as there was no gas yet), rooms for hay supply, stables for horses, rooms for equipment, rooms for carters, and even cowsheds (children were given fresh milk).[20]

And all this, remember, on a small plot of land where it seemed impossible to build a house!

In *13 київських зустрічей із Городецьким*, Malakov refused to repeat the sensational rumours concerning the house. But from my point of view, they are important. They show that in the eyes of the public opinion, which could not unequivocally label the architect, he had marked himself and the lives of his loved ones with the stigma of uniqueness and tragic fate. Rumour had it that

[19] Дмитро Малаков, *13 київських зустрічей із Городецьким* (Київ, 2011), 6.

[20] Дмитро Малаков, 'Городецький Владислав. Архітектор з химерами', reprinted on the pages of the Kiev City Library after the newspaper *День*: http://msmb.org.ua/ (accessed on 21.10.2019).

one of Horodecki's daughters committed suicide by jumping into the Dnieper because of heartbreak, while the other was said to have drowned while travelling in the Mediterranean. Both rumours agreed that the House with Chimaeras was a kind of monument erected by a desperate father, and the sculptures on the façade and roof of the building symbolized the world of sea and river monsters which had claimed his unfortunate children. It was said that the other buildings erected by the architect were also burdened with this curse. It was rumoured that during the construction of a neo-Gothic church for Polish Catholics in Kiev, Horodecki's wife, known for her beauty, the daughter of a rich Russian merchant, died in unexplained circumstances (in a different version, of consumption), and her grieving husband threw himself into work.[21] The Kiev eccentric apparently would not fit into the common identification framework, so his life was turned into a tacky melodrama.

The architect himself liked to fuel his reputation with odd behaviour. I think it would be an exaggeration to attribute to him the snobbish motives that allegedly made him buy one of the first cars in Kiev.[22] Horodecki was fascinated by technological progress. He was interested in the pioneering attempts of aviators and went flying; he was also a friend of Igor Sikorsky,[23] a Kiev-born Russian designer and co-creator of the Tsarist Air Force, who in 1919 (a year before Horodecki) emigrated to America and became the father of modern helicopters there. The architect's interest in technical "novelties" (airplanes, cars) confirms Horodecki's fascination with the new possibilities offered by technical progress and new building materials, which was revealed in the buildings he designed (the architect boldly used cement and prestressed concrete). He probably realized that this progress would soon radically change the world. If we were to look for the co-creators and propagators of the modernist breakthrough not

[21] Encyklopedia Piotrkowa – epiotrkow.pl: https://www.epiotrkow.pl › encyclopaedia [Entry:] *Horodecki* (accessed on 21.10.2019). The rumours were made out of whole cloth. His wife, as well as his daughters (at least the one whose fate we know), outlived Horodecki for many years. Interestingly, the family did not travel with Horodecki to Poland in 1920; they felt bound to their land and probably also hoped that the Bolshevik rule would not last long.

[22] It is true, however, that the architect liked to attract attention. Horodecki's car was an exclusive limousine with a removable roof, shining silver details and wooden elements covered in red lacquer. Horodecki, fashionably dressed, wearing an aviator hat and glasses, with his favourite monkey (macaque) on his shoulder, undoubtedly caused a sensation. Perhaps the reputation of an eccentric allowed him to function outside the traditional limes determined by accepted identity patterns and recognized social roles.

[23] Sikorsky had Polish roots: his family belonged to the landed gentry in Volhynia. Its history is an example of the weakening position of the Polish landed nobility described by Daniel Beauvois (see footnote 40). However, Sikorsky's biography also illustrates the opportunities for professional advancement offered by the Russian Empire. In 1913, he had constructed the world's first four-engine bomber, which was baptized by fire during World War I.

in the circle of writers but among the representatives of technical professions, Horodecki could certainly be considered as a representative of the "breakthrough mentality". His professional experience and travels taught him that a one-sided view of reality – from a national, European, traditional or patriarchal perspective – did not correspond to the changing world.

Was this one of the reasons why he managed to stay only eight years in the Second Polish Republic? The reborn state did not deal well with social problems. It reactivated an anachronistic social structure, limiting the possibility of advancement not only for the peasants (the lack of agrarian reform was one of the most pressing problems) but also for the "aristocracy of talent". In Tsarist Russia, Horodecki was admitted to the elite, highest caste of the hunting association, but he was not invited to hunt with Polish aristocrats. Could his homeland seem to him parochial, poorly adapted to the changes that the modernist breakthrough caused, among others, in the social sphere? The issue is open to conjecture, but this might have been the case. The Second Polish Republic, struggling with acute problems of minorities (Ukrainians, Jews and also Lithuanians), did not appeal to the man who had seen in Kiev that one's professional career did not have to be limited by one's national origin and that people were not prisoners of national prejudice.[24] Of course, this did not mean the freedom to manifest one's nationality – Tsarist Russia was far from being a liberal country – but it gave the opportunity to cultivate one's own traditions at home. In the bedroom of the House with Chimaeras, a Catholic cross hung above the head of the marriage bed, and on the façade of the house, where Horodecki could have placed his coat of arms, there was a Latin letter H. – the architect's initial. Horodecki's family estate was in Zhabokrych in Podolia – frogs on the façade and roof of the House with Chimaeras are an obvious reference to it (the name of the village means 'frog croak'). Note, however, that these are comical frogs that hold their distended bellies as if they were laughing. Did Horodecki thus mock what his family, its history and property (in this case, lost to bankruptcy) symbolized and what was remembered with gratitude as the "better" times? We have no evidence whether Horodecki manifested in this way his sentiment to the past glory of his family or mocked the snobbery of the nobility.

[24] One of Horodecki's close friends who could have been but was not prejudiced against Ukrainians was the Jewish banker Vsevolod A. Rubinstein. Relations between Ukrainians (Russians) and Jews had a particularly tragic history, but Rubinstein was a Ukrainian philosopher, and he belonged to the society of Ukrainian intelligentsia, the Hromada of Kiev, which he supported with donations. Among the members of this association were Mykhailo Drahomanov, Ukrainian social activist, historian, literary scholar; Volodymyr Antonovych, Ukrainian historian, archaeologist, ethnographer, social activist, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian national awakening in the Russian Empire; and Tadei Rylsky, ethnographer and social activist, father of the outstanding Ukrainian poet Maksym Rylsky.

Let us not forget about Odessa, where the personality of the future architect was formed, as well as the experience gained by him in St Petersburg. Horodecki received his secondary education in the Realschule of the St Paul's Lutheran church at a time when Odessa was becoming a famous, flourishing city, living in a hectic rhythm. The wealth and capital inflow had no nationality. A variety of languages were spoken in the streets of Odessa. Polish aristocrats also had their palaces there: the Potocki, Lubomirski, Czartoryski, Sobański families. Among the magnificent buildings of the city, which was experiencing a prosperous period, Horodecki developed his architectural interests; he received the highest marks for drawing and descriptive geometry. The logical step was to study at the Academy of Arts in St Petersburg, but students were not accepted there after the age of 20, and Horodecki was already 22 years old. Contrary to popular beliefs about the rigidity of the Russian administration, the system destroyed the unruly but protected the useful: the Academy made exceptions for promising students, and this was done for Horodecki (despite his Polish origin and his uncles' participation in the uprisings). Young Horodecki did not like St Petersburg; he complained mainly about its climate, but it is possible that compared to Odessa, the capital seemed too homogeneous, too "nationalized", too Russian. It did not offer what multicultural Odessa, and later Kiev, did. Citing health problems, Horodecki asked for the possibility of obtaining a silver medal to graduate from the Academy or being awarded the title of a third-degree artist in the field of architecture (which would allow him to practise his chosen profession). He got the latter. The glowing review from engineer-lieutenant colonel Nikolai Ivanovich Chekmaryov, with whom he had been apprenticed for two years in Uman, working with constructions that would prove his professional skills, probably influenced the decision. In 1890, Horodecki could celebrate obtaining a diploma from the Imperial Academy of Arts, signed by Grand Duke Vladimir and the rector of the Academy.

I recall this story not only because it is an important part of the architect's biography but also because it confirms that Horodecki developed with the conviction that in imperial Russia, nationality did not affect educational or career opportunities. In order to understand the biographies of specialists, it is necessary to take into account this aspect of the functioning of superpowers, especially in the case of Russia. The Tsarist Empire had a lot to offer people with high qualifications: engineers, doctors, scientists, lawyers and specialists in many other professions. Even those who had been exiled to Siberia because of their involvement in conspiracies or uprisings took advantage of career opportunities. Stefan Kieniewicz wrote: "A Pole from the Prussian partition emigrating to Germany could only become a miner or an agricultural worker. A Pole from Galicia emigrating to Vienna sometimes became a minister. But a Pole from the

Russian partition could become a millionaire, manager, scientist, social activist in Russia."[25] It is worth remembering this when trying to understand how Horodecki felt when he found himself in the Second Polish Republic that was engulfed, like almost the whole of Europe, by nationalist sentiments.

This subchapter is titled *Present. Absent.* Until now, I have been focusing on Horodecki's presence in Kiev. Now let us look at what happened during his absence, especially in the period of communist rule. The House with Chimaeras could not be overlooked – it stood, as I have mentioned, in front of the building of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Ukraine. It was used for government purposes.[26] In the encyclopaedic reference book about the city of Kiev (*Енциклопедичний довідник "Київ"*), which is considered an innovative publication and has had many reissues (first edition in 1981), there is an entry entitled "Horodecki's building". It also includes some information about the architect.[27] However, it disappeared from the second (supposedly extended) edition published in 1985.[28] Was it included in the third edition from 1986? I do not know. There is no information about Horodecki in the Polish tourist guide published in 1986, which is filled with communist ideology. Its co-author was the well-known historian Władysław Serczyk. In this guide, there is a photograph of the House with Chimaeras, but the caption reads: "House in Ordzhonikidze Street". There is no mention of the architect's name, the building's proper name ("House with Chimaeras"), or even the fact that it is located at the former 10 Bankova Street. The traces of Horodecki's presence have been erased.[29] Why did the architect turn out to be a *persona non grata* in the communist history of the city? Was it due to his Polish roots and the reluctance of the authors to acknowledge the Polish contribution to the history and prosperity of Kiev? Were the "bourgeois" origins and eccentric life of the architect an obstacle? Ukrainian researchers claim that the first mentions about Horodecki appeared only in the 1990s, just before Ukraine gained independence in 1991.[30]

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[25] Stefan Kieniewicz, 'Wpływ zaboru rosyjskiego na świadomość zaboru rosyjskiego', in: Janusz Osica (ed.), *Dziedzictwo zaborów* (Warszawa, 1983), 165.

[26] Under Soviet rule, it housed the offices of the Kiev War District; after 1943, when the CC building had been erected opposite, the CC Polyclinic was organized there. Today, after the renovation completed in 2003, the most honoured guests are received in the House with Chimaeras. The President of Ukraine works nearby, i.e. in the former CC building.

[27] Анатолій Вікторович Кудрицький (ed.), *Київ (енциклопедичний довідник)* (Київ, 1981).

[28] I was unable to ascertain whether the entry about Horodecki was included in the Russian translation published in 1982.

[29] Władysław Serczyk, Lech Kmietowicz, *Kijów* (Kraków, 1986). The book was clearly considered "embarrassing" by the author (and rightly so), as it is not listed in Professor Serczyk's bibliography, and it is not easy to find any traces of it.

[30] However, Kilesso lists works which have been published already in the 1970s and early 1980s. Kilesso, 'Władysław Horodecki', 139 (footnotes 1 and 2).

One would be wrong to think that the resurge of interest in our hero and his creative output simplified the matter. He is still being "pigeonholed" in various ways. I will give two examples taken from guides since such publications create the popular image of a person. In 2009, a guide to Kiev was published as the 18th volume of the *Miasta Marzeń* (Dream Cities) series.[31] A whole page devoted to Horodecki was entitled *Architektor Horodećkyj*, giving the "Ukrainian Latin" version of his name and profession. But several lines below, he is described as a "Polish architect Władysław Horodecki". Was that a clever trick to signal that the "master of concrete" was also "theirs", i.e. partly Ukrainian? The average reader will not realize the significance of this; they will remain convinced that the creator of the House with Chimaeras was Polish.

Even more surprising is the photo album *Kijów Top 10*, published in 2009. The blurb says that the text was written by Wiktor Kyrkiewicz, the author of city descriptions known to the inhabitants of Kiev, and translated by Tatiana Hajder.[32] However, it does not indicate the original language. In the same year, the publishing house released three versions of this small, 70-page booklet: Polish, French and English, the last two of which did not mention translators' names at all. It would not seem worthy of attention, except that Horodecki's surname is persistently given as Gorodecki (on pages 33 and 34), there is no mention of his Polish roots, and he is presented as "the famous Kiev architect". It could have been an accident, the result of the translator's lack of knowledge or the author's conscious decision. The national origins of the architect, which he had manifested by placing the capital letter H on the building's façade, were ignored. The "H" symbolized the Polish version of his name, not the Russian or the Ukrainian one. Kilesso, himself a Russian author, writes: "The great Kiev architect, a Pole by origin, is considered by the Ukrainians to be their compatriot, although it should be stressed that Horodecki himself felt Polish and put his name in Polish on all his works, regardless of whether it was a monumental building, a small drawing or a vignette in the book he was working on."[33] Unfortunately, Kilesso does not cite any sources that would confirm this statement.

Let us look more closely at Horodecki's Polish identity. We will start from the Kiev period and go backwards in time. The first "stop" will be the creation of the neo-Gothic Roman Catholic Church of St Nicholas, considered to be one of

[31] Adam Dylewski, *Miasta marzeń: Kijów* (Warszawa, 2009).

[32] Wiktor Kyrkiewicz, *Kijów. Top 10*, translated by Tatiana Hajder (Kiev, 2009).

[33] Kilesso, 'Władysław Horodecki', 139. It is worth adding that the illustrations provided in Malakov's monograph do not confirm this assertion. On Horodecki's stamp (from the beginning of his activity when he carried out a commission from the government), both the name and autograph are written in Cyrillic. The initial letter is blurred: it may be an H, but it may be a G as well. See Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький*, 49, 188.

the most important works of the architect and a building that stands out in the Kiev landscape. The church was erected as a result of the efforts of the Polish community in Kiev, because the old temple was too small and did not meet the needs of the faithful. After the authorities' consent and partial funds for the construction had been obtained, a competition was announced but, significantly, Horodecki did not enter it. The first prize was awarded to a young architect, a Pole and a Catholic, Stanisław Wołowski, who at the time of this success was only 23 years old and had not yet received his diploma. Due to his inexperience, the construction was entrusted to Horodecki, who had a reputation as a great specialist in Kiev. The architect brilliantly modified the design in terms of aesthetics, and when implementing it, used modern technologies, e.g. reinforced concrete,[34] which was necessary due to the difficult construction conditions (the terrain was waterlogged and sloping towards the nearby river). Aesthetic changes included the addition of a huge rosette window in the main façade, which made the Polish church resemble the *Votivkirche* in Vienna.[35] The similarity was striking and not accidental, as it is known that Horodecki was fascinated by the Viennese temple (he made numerous sketches of it).

By not entering the competition, the architect rejected the chance to create a building symbolic for the Polish community, a building not only of religious but also national significance. He could not have predicted that he would eventually participate in its creation. It is also significant that when introducing changes to the design, Horodecki did not attempt to make it resemble one of the Polish religious buildings. Instead, he built in Kiev a temple reminiscent of the *Votivkirche.* We do not know whether his decision was based on aesthetic preferences or a desire to emphasize the European character of the city.[36]

It is now worth asking about Horodecki's relationship with the Polish community in Kiev. In light of the available documents, it seems that those links were weak. Mariusz Korzeniowski in the book entitled *Za Złotą Bramą. Działalność społeczno-kulturalna Polaków w Kijowie w latach 1905–1920* (Behind the Golden

[34] Reinforced concrete was invented (allegedly by accident) in 1867, but the scientific advantages and possible applications of the material were not presented until 1892. Horodecki started drawing technical plans right after the winner of the competition had been announced, i.e. in 1899. The importance of the construction of the church, also for the Poles living in the central lands, is evidenced by the fact that the Warsaw press regularly reported on the progress of works. This promoted Horodecki's name.

[35] The church, located in the Viennese Ring, was built in 1856 in gratitude for saving the life of Emperor Franz Joseph, who had survived an assassination attempt.

[36] As Kilesso writes, practically no real Gothic architecture had been preserved in Kiev. When designing the church, Horodecki journeyed to Western Europe: he visited Paris, Reims, Milan, Vienna (Kilesso, 'Władysław Horodecki', 146). It can be assumed that the architect's design expressed the idea of introducing Kiev into the circle of Western European culture.

Gate. Socio-Cultural Activity of the Poles in Kiev in the Years 1905–1920) shows that the time of Horodecki's stay in the city was also a time when the Polish community there was very active. Charitable and educational institutions, Polish press, social and cultural activities, and finally youth organizations – the Poles' engagement in these fields was vigorous. We have no evidence that Horodecki was involved in this movement. Korzeniowski mentions him only once, recalling the extraordinary house designed by the architect.[37] It may be that Horodecki supported the activities of the Polish community financially, but if he did, it was done discreetly. Research in the archives may bring new materials to light, but at the moment, it seems that he was not a member of any Polish organization, did not participate in the life of the Polish community and did not supply the Polish press with reports from his exotic journeys. Was it due to the caution of a man convinced that he could not reconcile his professional career with patriotic manifestations? Or was the reason much more mundane, i.e. a lack of time?

Horodecki worked intensively: he was absorbed not only in professional tasks and hunting but also a wide range of other activities. He was a talented draughtsman and painter, and there was nothing amateurish about his use of a brush: the plafond at the Solovtsov Theatre[38] is his work. The jewellery he created, made of gold and precious stones, with precise engraving (he was also an engraver), was admirable. He was asked to design shoes, hats, unconventional dresses – today, we would say he was an exclusive fashion designer. According to Horodecki's sketches, he designed costumes and decorations for many productions of the above-mentioned Solovtsov Theatre. He was also known for being an excellent shot and winning gold medals and prizes at international competitions. In addition, he was considered to be an outstanding cynologist, an expert in hunting dogs.

Could he have the energy and time to participate in the life of the Polish community? It does not seem likely. It also appears that he treated Polishness as a private, personal matter. However, the restraint in manifesting his national identity did not mean he forgot about his origins. It was a differently constructed biography, with the emphasis placed on other areas.

Now let us focus on the language. The grades from school reports indicate that initially, Horodecki did not know Russian very well, yet he improved quickly.[39]

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[37] Mariusz Korzeniowski, *Za Złotą Bramą. Działalność społeczno-kulturalna Polaków w Kijowie w latach 1905–1920* (Lublin, 2009), 54.

[38] A Russian drama theatre in Kiev, founded in 1891 as one of the first permanent theatres in the city with a permanent ensemble. Its founder was a well-known Russian actor, playwright and director, Nikolai Solovtsov. The theatre operated for 33 years. In Soviet times, it was nationalized and renamed the Second Lenin Theatre of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

[39] Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький*, 35–36.

He understood that his studies and professional career required fluency in the language of the empire. He does not seem to have tried to "enforce" Polish at home: his wife was Russian, and his daughter married a Russian. I did not find any evidence that Horodecki wanted to pass on to his children his mother tongue and family traditions, including those of patriotic uprisings.

In our search for the Polishness of the architect, we will now take the last step into the past. Those biographies that emphasize Horodecki's nationality stress the patriotic traditions of his family. Since 1780, it had owned the village of Zhabokrych near Bratslav. Horodecki was descended from the Crimean Tatars who settled in the village of Horodec in 1625 and took their family name from it. One of Horodecki's ancestors, still as a Muslim, was a Bar confederate. Then the Horodecki family converted to Roman Catholicism. The architect's great-grandfather, Jan Ignacy, had three children: the daughter married a Russian officer (who later became a general), and the two sons, Aleksander and Justynian, fought in the November Uprising. After its defeat, the elder, Aleksander, "repented" and gained the forgiveness of the tsar, and the younger was exiled to Siberia and his share of the family property was confiscated by the Russian state. Disputes between the relatives over the estate led to prolonged court cases, which also had sensational aspects. This was accompanied by, ultimately unsuccessful, efforts to prevent the authorities from taking over the best part of the property. Of Aleksander's three sons, the eldest, Władysław, the architect's father, served in the Russian army and took part in the Crimean War (1853–1856), among others. He ended his military career in 1858 due to health reasons, getting one silver rouble as a reward. He returned to the estate, once again depleted as a result of the disputes between the three brothers, got married, and in June 1863, his first son, Leszek Dezydery Władysław Horodecki, the future architect, was born in Szołudki. Let us not forget, however, that in January 1863, an uprising had broken out and spread also to Podolia. Władysław's brothers, i.e. the uncles of the future architect, were accused of supporting the Polish insurgency. History repeated itself – they had to face exile in Siberia and confiscations again.[40] The family resumed the fight to keep the remnants of the estate, including the part to which Justynian returned from Siberia. The desperate attempts to "stay afloat", even with the help of relatives, could not save the architect's father. In 1873, as a 10-year-old boy, Władysław Horodecki witnessed the bankruptcy of his parents and the confiscation of their property.

[40] Excellent analyses of the downgrading of the Polish nobility and the takeover of their property can be found in the works of Daniel Beauvois. See idem, *Le noble, le serf et le révizor: la noblesse polonaise entre le tsarisme et les masses ukrainiennes, 1831–1863* (Paris, 1985); idem, *La bataille de la terre en Ukraine, 1863–1914: les Polonais et les conflits socio-ethniques* (Lille, 1993).

The most valuable movable possession turned out to be the piano, a witness of better times, valued at 100 roubles.

We associate the famous phrase "Poles' night talks" with the Polish insurgent tradition. However, I wonder what those night talks could have been like in the family of the architect's father, which had paid such a high price in two Polish uprisings and had been ruthlessly "crushed" by the imperial mechanisms aimed at destroying the Polish nobility. What did young Horodecki take from his family home: the cult of Polish patriotism or perhaps the awareness that its price was disproportionate to the profits for the nation? We do not know. But we know that as a descendant of an impoverished and degraded family, he realized that the way back up led through education, ability and a professional career. As we can see, Władysław Horodecki remains a mysterious man in many ways.

In 1996, at the request of the President of the Union of Poles in Ukraine, Kiev's Karl Marx Street (formerly Nikolaevskaya Street) was renamed Wladyslaw Horodecki Street. On 29 May 2004, on Kiev City Day, a monument was unveiled in the passage near Khreshchatyk, where Mr Władysław, sitting at a table, invites passers-by to join him.

Known/unknown work

It seems that the legacy of an outstanding architect – not only a visionary but also a precursor of modern construction techniques – should have been established long ago. But that is not the case. Kilesso, whom I have already quoted many times, writes: "It is probably not an exaggeration to say that architect Władysław Horodecki remains the most significant builder of Kiev to this day: almost all the buildings erected according to his designs were taken under state protection as architectural monuments."[41] However, this does not mean that there is any clarity about the real achievements of the architect; there is no lack of unverified or even false data. Let us look at Horodecki's creative output from the beginning of his Kiev career.

Horodecki, as an architect, had to promote his name. One of his first works in Kiev was a commission, received thanks to a recommendation, to design a tomb for Baron Rudolf Shteyngel, a railroad builder in southern Russia. Horodecki's further activity indicates that he quickly understood the needs of the modernizing city. He accepted all orders, also for "mundane" work, because they allowed him to make a name for himself. It was thanks to the experience gained during the realization of the government project of Kiev's municipal sewage system that he could open his own business offering domestic sewage systems. He gave

[41] Kilesso, 'Władysław Horodecki', 139.

up his difficult and "non-Russian" name Leszek and became Władysław. We also have information about his later work: he designed a pavilion for the Imperial Society for Proper Hunting (for free but in the hopes of promoting himself). As a result, he gained new acquaintances and new commissions.

His first major project was the design of the production halls of the South Russian Machine-Building Plant (Південноросійський машинобудівний завод),[42] executed in 1896. The halls were not original in terms of architectural style, but the high technical quality of the design and workmanship drew attention to their creator. The buildings have survived to this day. However, Horodecki first shot to fame when he designed two pavilions for the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition in 1897, commissioned by Józef and Konstanty Potocki. Both projects aroused admiration, and the young architect was even acknowledged by His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Peter Nikolaevich Romanov, grandson of Tsar Nicholas I. These buildings were called "pavilions of a beautiful life".[43] The reputation of a good architect allowed Horodecki to become actively involved in the urbanization of Kiev. He participated in the urban development of the vicinity of Khreshchatyk – today, it is the heart of the city.[44] The scale of transformation was huge: the whole appearance of the streets changed, and the downtown district of the future metropolis was created. Kiev lived in a "building euphoria". Plots of land in the city centre were bought, and old houses standing there were demolished. The "new generation"[45] tenement houses were erected in their place and considered an excellent investment. From 1898 to 1901, almost 1,000 new buildings were constructed in the city. The building fever was associated with the American dream, and it was written that the new tenement houses grew "with American speed".[46] The highest six-storey house built in 1898 on Vasilkovskaya Street was designed by Horodecki. Kiev was growing upwards.

The Kiev House Building Society (Київське домобудівне товариство) contributed to the city's prosperity and the planned expansion of its downtown district, which still strikes one with its architectural flair. It was established in 1895 and had a huge capital for those times, amounting to nearly 2 million roubles. For almost half of this sum, the Society bought a ten-hectare estate between Khreshchatyk, Institutskaya, Bankova and Lyuteranska streets from the heirs

[42] The factory was to construct railway carriages.

[43] Kilesso, 'Władysław Horodecki', 144. The researcher notes that the pavilion for Józef Potocki was built in the Russian style. He writes: "Where and when did the architect manage to explore the character of Russian folk architecture so thoroughly to be able to apply its principles so brilliantly in such an original building? It remains a mystery".

[44] He designed, among others, the department store on Nikolaevskaya Street, one of the most prestigious arteries of the city.

[45] Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький*, 62.

[46] Ibidem, 63.

of Kiev university professor Friedrich Mering. Anyone who has been to Kiev or looked at its map will know that this is the very centre of the city and its most representative area today. Mering himself was an example of a specialist who had made a great career, probably only possible in Russia. This German physician earned a huge fortune in the empire and enjoyed widespread respect, even reverence, due to his pro-social attitude towards the poorest inhabitants of the city. When he died in 1887, thousands of people walked in the funeral procession, and in addition to a Lutheran pastor, an Orthodox priest and a Jewish rabbi, representing his fellow believers, participated in the burial ceremony. This event shows that the multicultural and multireligious Kiev was at that time a truly open city. Horodecki lived and worked in this atmosphere.

By purchasing the plot of land on which Mering's estate was located, the Society acquired a large area for development, and a network of new, representative streets was marked out there. Horodecki was part of the team carrying out the urban planning projects. There are indications that he had designed the department store, although no sketches have been found to confirm this. No other investments in the area can be attributed to Horodecki with absolute certainty.

In 1896, the authorities of the flourishing city made an important and novel decision to construct the municipal Museum of Antiquities and Arts (Музей старожитностей та мистецтв). The competition for a design had to be repeated several times, and the final winner was a well-known Moscow architect, Peter Boycov. After his withdrawal from the project due to the cutting of funds, the work was entrusted to Horodecki, who reworked the concept and changed the plans of his predecessor. In publications on architecture, this museum is indicated as one of Horodecki's most important undertakings, but his name is not mentioned on the plaque embedded in the wall of the building. While working on this prestigious project, Horodecki created a team of excellent specialists. Among them was the Kiev engineer, the inventor of logs used for strengthening the foundations, Anton Strauss.[47] This technique proved extremely useful during the construction of the church of St Nicholas; it was then propagated in other European cities. The team also included the head of the sculpture studio, Italian Elio Salia, later responsible for decorating the façade of the House with Chimaeras.

I have already written about St Nicholas Church, thanks to which Horodecki's name became known also in the central Polish lands. Let us then take a look at another religious building that was erected by the architect in Kiev. In 1900, he designed a kenesa, a temple intended to serve a small but prosperous community of Kiev Karaites (currently, it is the House of Actor). The community

[47] Kilesso, 'Władysław Horodecki', 145.

consisted of barely 200 people, but it included tobacco tycoons who covered most of the construction costs. In 1902, the temple was consecrated by a hakham – a Karaite spiritual leader who came especially for this purpose from Yevpatoria in the Crimea. The spectacular ceremony showed the liberal and open nature of contemporary Kiev. To this day, the building is distinguished by a different style (the so-called Moorish style) and is a testimony to the cultural wealth of old Kiev. Specialists draw attention to the mastery of the façade made of concrete.[48] It seemed that the building came to Kiev directly from the exotic East. If we were to draw far-reaching conclusions from these two buildings, the kenesa and St Nicholas Church, so architecturally different, then we might risk saying that the architect wanted the rays of different cultures and styles of the East and the West to converge in Kiev, and ultimately in the House with Chimaeras which embodied Horodecki's unrestrained imagination. When he was finally free from limitations, he proved that he was not an eclectic nor a "fixer" of someone else's plans.

In 2009, the final top five books in a competition organized by the Ukrainian section of the BBC radio station included *Місто з химерами* (The City with Chimaeras) by Oles Ilchenko.[49] The book did not receive any award (although it later won the title of "the best Ukrainian book of 2010") but is considered to be an excellent monograph about Horodecki, to whom Kiev owed its appearance at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In fact, it is not so much a monograph of the architect as a portrait of the city from the turn of the centuries. It is, admittedly, a fictionalized portrait, but the architect plays an important role in it – both as a colourful personality and as a specialist whose works have become embedded in the architecture of Kiev and are now one of its distinguishing elements. I do not discuss the book in this article because it is a separate thread in looking at Horodecki's legacy (and also due to limited space). However, it is worth noting that the success of the book and its many reissues indicate that the image of the city, which was co-created by the architect, is close to the hearts of Kiev residents. It was an unusual city, full of magic, a "city of chimaeras".

Let us return to Horodecki's achievements. The crisis of the first years of the 20th century forced him to take private orders again. He designed mausoleums and tombs but also sugar factories, rural hospitals, wine bars and stables, palaces and churches. According to Kilesso, he built a carbonic acid and artificial ice factory in Simferopol in the Crimea, a villa on the boulevard in Yevpatoria, as well as a sugar factory and the manager's house, the palace of the Dobrowolski family and the Potocki mausoleum (all in Podolia). In Uman, while he was

[48] Ibidem, 148.

[49] Ukrainian writer, poet and city guide born in 1957.

still a student, he erected a grammar school and a village school. He was very active in Cherkasy, where he built slaughterhouses, market halls, an Orthodox church, a grammar school and a monument to Tsar Alexander II. In addition, as a valued specialist, he sat on various committees that dealt with construction in Kiev, including technical supervision committees.

In 1920, Horodecki returned to Poland. I dare say, however, that he would not have made this decision if it had not been for the Bolshevik Revolution. Upon his arrival, he took the position of an architect in the Ministry of Public Works and held it until 1923. It did not seem bad in theory. In practice, the commissions were scarce. Krzysztof Stefański suggests that as a man new to Warsaw, Horodecki had difficulties in obtaining prestigious orders.[50] One of the major works from the period of his stay in Poland was the project of the bathing beach in Hel.[51] But was the small number of orders really due to the fact that Horodecki was poorly known in Poland? Or maybe his "biography of a specialist" did not fit the national and even nationalistic moods growing in the country and throughout Europe? Horodecki was commissioned to restore the palace complex of the Wiśniowiecki family, which had been destroyed during World War I, but it was still minor work, unworthy of his skills and achievements. In 1923, Horodecki decided to leave his job at the ministry, and for two years he did not receive any orders.[52] Again, it was the "foreign factor" that gave him a chance to work in the profession. In 1924, the American company "Ulen" offered the Polish government an investment loan of 10 million dollars for the modernization of Polish cities. According to the signed agreement, sanitary and living conditions were to be improved in four cities: Lublin (water and sewage system, municipal slaughterhouses, electrification), Piotrków Trybunalski (water and sewage system and market halls), Radom and Częstochowa (water and sewage systems and municipal slaughterhouses). Horodecki had gained experience in

[50] Krzysztof Stefański, 'Twórczość Władysława Leszka Horodeckiego w niepodległej Polsce (1920–1928)', *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 36 (2) (1991), 159.

[51] The webpage dedicated to the history of Hel reads: "… in 1925, [there was built – D.S.] a magnificent wooden bathing building, popularly known as the 'bathrooms'. In its central, dominant part, there was a seasonal restaurant, which consisted of four separate dining rooms and a small room with the checkout counter, as well as a storehouse for bathing suits. In addition, there were three hairdressing salons. It was probably assumed that summer holidaymakers in Hel desired this service above all others. On the entrance (southern) side, wooden recreational porches were erected, also serving as a restaurant garden. On both sides of the main building, there were beach changing rooms – for ladies on the one side and for gentlemen on the other – as many as 60 cabins in total. It is an unimaginable number for present-day holidaymakers. The designer of the new Hel bathing facility was Władysław Leszek Horodecki, then chief architect of the Ministry of Public Works. He was already a very well-known and successful architect …", http://przyjacielehelu.pl/helska_bliza/hb_229/art01.htm (accessed on 27.02.2020).

[52] Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький*, 202.

such work during his stay in Russia. He started working for the American company and quickly became the head of the design office. A water tower in the Neo-Renaissance style and a Neoclassical market hall were built in Piotrków. In Radom, on the other hand, a Renaissance-Baroque water tower and municipal slaughterhouses consisting of twenty-five halls were built. In Lublin, on 26 hectares, a meat factory complex and a municipal power plant were erected. Częstochowa gained a water tower and slaughterhouses. The designs of these buildings were signed by Władysław Horodecki. The second American loan was used in 1926 by Kielce, Sosnowiec and Dąbrowa Górnicza, where water and sewage systems were constructed. A power plant was built in Ostrów, a casino in Otwock and municipal baths in Zgierz. These last two Classic-Baroque buildings are considered to be the most interesting creations of the architect in Poland.

The modernization of the infrastructure of Polish cities was obviously an important task, but Horodecki was not offered to participate in any major project (e.g. the construction of the seaport in Gdynia and the expansion of the city that accompanied it). Maybe he was perceived as a builder from another era? The buildings he designed in Poland referred to various forms of historicism. Meanwhile, modernism, which prevailed in European architecture in the 1920s and 1930s, i.e. at the time when Gdynia was founded, was characterized by simplicity and functionalism.

Horodecki did not feel good in Poland, and this had an impact on his work. Kilesso writes:

> Horodecki's work during the short Polish period is a far cry from what the architect had created in Ukraine. His works lack this unbridled fantasy and daring improvisation. When decorating façades and interiors, he used Renaissance elements; the ornamentation became more plain and fragmented; the powerful, drawn details, so typical of his earlier projects, disappeared.[53]

No wonder that when Horodecki received in 1928 an offer from the "Ulen" company to become the head of railroad construction in Iran, he immediately agreed. This period of his activity is the least recognized. Kilesso writes:

> Thanks to many years of research on the architect's work, on the one hand, the authorship of many of Horodecki's works can be established with documentary accuracy, and on the other hand, the authorship of others, also attributed to him, can be definitely rejected. To tell the truth, it must be said that Horodecki never attributed to himself the authorship of those buildings that were built by his construction company, even

[53] Kilesso, 'Władysław Horodecki', 155.

> though his contribution to both the improvement of the plans and the decisions concerning construction solutions was always significant.[54]

We seem to know everything, but is that really true? In reference to the last period of Horodecki's life and work, Kilesso repeats what is said in other texts about the architect. He states that in the same year that he arrived in Iran, Horodecki designed a theatre, a palace and a sophisticated hotel in Tehran. Malakov writes about the construction of a monumental railway station in the Iranian capital[55] and also mentions the expansion of Iranian cities. We know that Horodecki was able to work very quickly, but could he have done so much in two years, especially since he also spent some time on another exotic hunting expedition? Kilesso, when summing up the architect's achievements, writes: "Horodecki's work in Iran is almost completely unknown to us, and it is impossible to address it from a professional point of view. The only thing we know is that the architect was also recognized there."[56] So what is the truth?

The editors of *Україна молода* (Young Ukraine) decided to verify the reports circulating about Horodecki's work in Iran. The article written by Katerina Krikonyuk starts with a provocative title, "The palace he did not build".[57] It refers to the work of Malakov, who wrote that the palace built by Horodecki for Shah "seemed almost like an illustration to the fairy tales of Scheherazade".[58] The photograph included in Malakov's book, captioned "Tehran. The Shah's Palace", depicts, in fact, the Eram palace in the town of Shiraz, which is part of a beautiful and fairy-tale palace and garden complex, but which was built in the middle of the 19th century (according to other sources, in the 18th century). Perhaps Horodecki was the author of one of the palaces in the Sa'dabad complex in Tehran built on the orders of Shah Reza Pahlavi. Krikonyuk claims that it could have been the Shams-ol-Emareh palace, but her description does not match the appearance of this building.[59] One of the buildings in the Sa'dabad

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[54] Ibidem, 142.

[55] He describes the classicist construction of the building but adds that it was mainly influenced by constructivism (Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький*, 209).

[56] Kilesso, 'Władysław Horodecki', 155.

[57] https://www.umoloda.kiev.ua/number/2094/ (accessed on 29.10.2019). Issue dated 21.06.2012.

[58] Малаков, *Архітектор Городецький*, 210.

[59] "The palace's light grey building is characterized by Neo-Renaissance architectural forms. The deviation from the canons of this style is the asymmetrical plan with a cylindrical extension at the end of the left elevation. Here we see decorative arches, separated by elegant columns with capitals of the Doric and Corinthian order, elements of rusticism on the foundation, rounded prongs of the hollows under the roof and pilasters on both sides of the main façade windows, which protrude from the wall, as well as decorative slats". https://www.umoloda.kiev.ua/number/2094/ (accessed on 29.10.2019).

complex does correspond to this characterization, but I could not find out its name. To make matters worse, the determination of Horodecki's authorship is hindered by the disputed dates of the construction of buildings commissioned by the Shah since their documentation is inaccessible or lost. It is even more difficult to determine who designed the Gachsar Hotel; here, the clue pointing to Horodecki's authorship is the constructivist structure of the building and the dark red colour of its façade, rarely used in Iran but sometimes present in Horodecki's works. It is pretty weak evidence, but who knows? Krikonyuk also rejects Malakov's attribution of the authorship of the Tehran Railway Station to Horodecki. Referring to a book co-authored by Victor Daniel,[60] she writes that it has been proved conclusively that the creator of the Tehran station was Karim Taherzadeh Behzad.[61] She adds that Daniel advised her to trace Horodecki's footsteps in the archives of the "Ulen" company. Maybe he was the author of another station in southern Iran? Thus, as we can see, there are still significant gaps in the description of the architect's creative output. His biography and identity also provoke questions.

Translated by Katarzyna Wieleńska

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[60] Bijan Shafei, Sohrab Soroushian, Victor Daniel, *Karim Taherzadeh Behzad Architecture* (Tehran, 2005).

[61] Other sources are not that unequivocal, granting Horodecki the co-authorship of the station. It should be noted that Horodecki is called an engineer in many sources and is also considered a "Ukrainian engineer". Krikonyuk treats him as a Ukrainian architect as well; she does not even mention his Polish roots, calls his journey to Poland "emigration" and does not refer to the Polish inscription on his grave. On the website of an independent Iranian newspaper, the part of Tehran where the railway station is located is described thus: "Almost all historical sites situated along the avenue have been registered on the National Heritage List, and Tehran Railroad Station is the first registered historical site. The station was built under the supervision of Karim Taherzadeh Behzad, the brother of renowned Iranian miniaturist, Hussein Behzad, and a Ukrainian engineer named Veladislav Veladislavic Garaditski, who was buried in the Armenian graveyard of Tehran", http://www.iranreview.org/content/Documents/Valiasr-Tehran-s-Longest-Avenue.htm (accessed on 27.02.2020).

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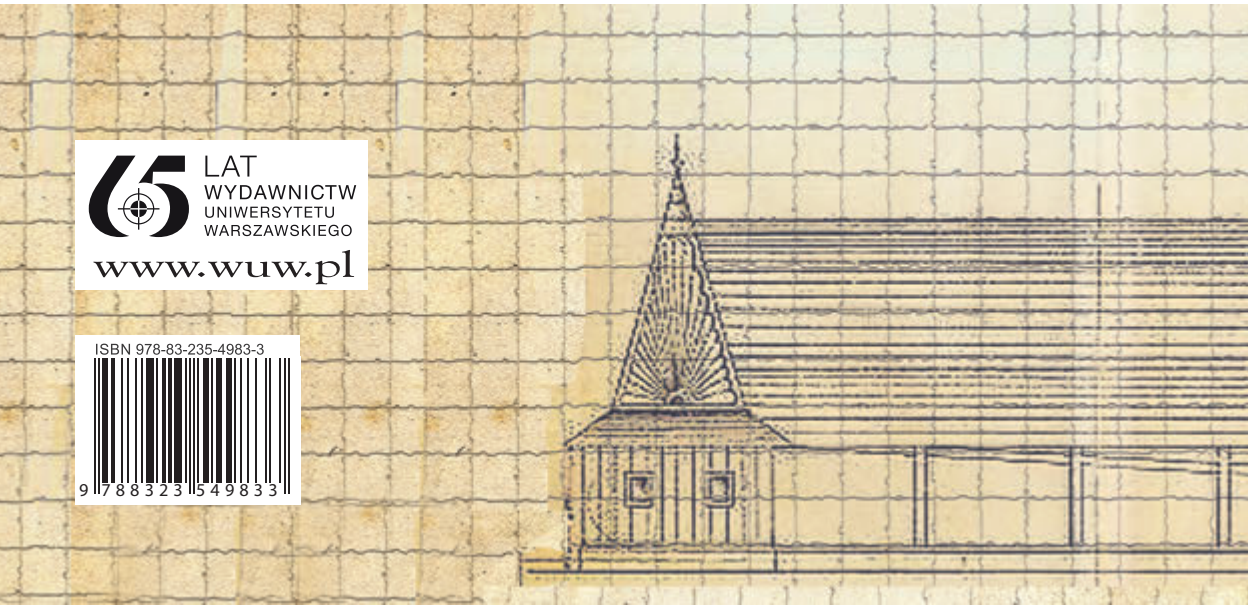
Index of people

Index of places

Names of streets and city quarters

The value of the book is in shedding light on quite many underrated or allegedly well-known persons, places, and buildings within a clear and persuasive theoretical framework. Original in its comparative perspective, as well as in its chronology (trespassing the demise of the Empire usually seen as a clear-cut caesura), the volume offers well-grounded hints in the interpretation of architecture. Written by specialists who convincingly provide synthetic information, it can be recommended to a wider audience interested in cultural phenomena. Going beyond disciplinary boundaries, the chapters sharpen the eyes of the reader and provide guidance in reading the specificity of places. Well-known monuments seem more complex and appealing. Provincial towns appear not as belated environments but receptacles of forgotten layers of modernity.

Prof. Daniel Baric, Sorbonne Université, Paris



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The idea of looking at the architects operating within the cultural framework of the Habsburg Empire, embedded in this book, stems from our previous research. It has its roots in the research on Slavic peripheral narratives, conducted by the Research Group on the Slavic Cultures in the Habsburg Monarchy (http://uwhabsburgstudies.uw.edu.pl/), which has operated since 2011 at the Institute of Western and Southern Slavic Studies of the University of Warsaw. We studied the issue of peripheral attitudes towards both national narratives, created after 1861 by the Slovak, Czech and Croatian elites, and the imperial project imposed by Vienna and Budapest. Faithful to the microlevel approach, we looked at figures, spaces and social phenomena that do not fit into the stereotypical view of national historiography.

Anna Kobylińska, Maciej Falski