Maximilian Hartmuth, Richard Kurdiovsky,
Julia Rüdiger, Georg Vasold (eds.)

THE GOVERNANCE OF STYLE

Public Buildings in Central Europe, 1780–1920

FAÇADENVARIANTE.

böhlau

böhlau

Maximilian Hartmuth, Richard Kurdiovsky,
Julia Rüdiger, Georg Vasold (eds.)

THE GOVERNANCE OF STYLE

Public buildings in Central Europe, 1780–1920

BÖHLAU

This publication was subject to peer review (anonymous/international/single-blind).

Table of Contents

Introduction

What do 'public buildings' have in common? Our understanding that a highly diverse set of buildings – ranging from town halls and schools to courthouses – may be addressed under one and the same category of buildings is evidently not owed to their formal similarity. In most cases, it is their intended beneficiary (the public) that associates them meaningfully. They are commissioned by actors and institutions charged with organizing the social coexistence of humans. The construction of a public building is therefore not exclusive to a specific form of government. It may be embarked upon by democratically accountable public figures and institutions just as well as an absolutist ruler. In all cases, the adequacy of its appearance is determined by the relevant decision-maker(s).

The twenty contributions to this volume address the problem of defining and locating 'public' buildings as architectural expressions in a protracted period of transition between feudal and modern constitutional social orders. It does so as a concerted effort of two parties: European Research Council (ERC) project #758099, hosted at the University of Vienna's Department of Art History, and the Austrian Academy of Sciences' Art History Department of the Institute of Habsburg and Balkan Studies.[1] Most of the contributions to this volume were presented and discussed at two conferences organized in Vienna in 2019 and 2020.[2]

A primary question that this volume focuses on is the extent to which traditional focuses on either the period before, or after, the revolutionary events of 1848/49 in Central Europe may have limited our understanding of the importance of institutional discontinuities. Has scholarship glossed over the fundamental political and institutional ruptures that impacted substantially what was going on inside these buildings? Of course, disruptions (and continuities!) are easily overlooked when study periods are defined as timespans between incisive changes rather than encompassing them.

As several of the contributions show, there were often lengthy periods of transition between different administrative systems, with dynamic interactions leading to an eventual consolidation of affairs. These intermediate periods remain insufficiently understood, a problem that is especially valid for the period between the 'March Revolution' of 1848 and the proclamation of the 'December Constitution' of 1867; but a 'period of transition' may

---

1 The concept was developed by members of both institutions: Maximilian Hartmuth and Julia Rüdiger of the University of Vienna (project ERC#758099 – "Islamic architecture and Orientalizing style in Habsburg Bosnia, 1878–1918") and Richard Kurdiovsky and Werner Telesko of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

2 *The aesthetics of public service: Administrative buildings, schools, courthouses, and savings banks in Central Europe, ca. 1780–1918* (Feb 13/14, 2020) and, earlier, *Staat und Stil: Öffentliche Gebäude im Vormärz vom Klassizismus bis zu frühen Formen des Historismus* (Nov 28–30, 2019).

also be claimed to extend far into the 18th century.[3] Needless to say, the bearing this has on the interpretation of this period's architecture is immense.

Another blind spot in discourses on 'public buildings' is the different levels of government those discourses represent – in recognition of these levels' frequent pursuit of different agendas. A second aim of this volume is to advance a more nuanced usage of the term 'public building'. In addition to the possibly competing visions of different levels of government, just what qualifies buildings as 'public' is, as we have found, variously identified as either [1.] their general ('public') accessibility, [2.] the beneficiary of their service (i. e., the public), or [3.] the 'public' (i. e., tax-based) origins of their funding.[4]

Who is speaking?

'Public building' is not an aesthetic category. The architecture of some public buildings exhibits a commitment to economic restraint and a willing subordination to an international aesthetic of dutifulness. Other public buildings exhibit a heightened sensitivity to place – to topography, architectural setting, and select cultural inheritances – often when they visualize specific groups' political ascendency.

The difference between public buildings that reflect site-specific agendas and sentiments and those that refute them often appear to correspond to a given political system's different levels of administration (usually: state/national, provincial/regional, and local/municipal). If town halls are thus more likely than other types of public buildings to claim, by way of their architecture, a prominent place in the urban environment and in the 'emotion-scapes' of its inhabitants,[5] this is likely due to the involvement of local representatives in councils and juries during the planning process.

However, even infrastructures of public service that in modern times are generally under the authority of more institutions than just local governmental bodies, such as courts of justice, occasionally adopted romanticizing architectural forms at the expense of a more conventional classicizing austerity.

---

3 The year 1867, of course, also saw the reinvention of the Austrian empire as a 'dualist' state, following the so-called Compromise with Hungary.

4 Cuff argued that, typically, "three criteria qualify a thing as public: use, access, and identity. The democratic dimension of public space, embodied by its use and accessibility, is intrinsic to its definition [...] The question of identity is more complex, bearing directly on architecture and the thingness embedded in the res publica." Dana Cuff, "Collective form: the status of public architecture," *Thresholds* 40 (2012), pp. 55–66

5 On the question of sentiments, and of "who was considered important enough to be taken into account when designing the built environment of power," see Philipp Nielsen, "Architecture, space, and emotions: Forging connections between government and public," *Staging authority: Presentation and power in nineteenth-century Europe: A handbook*, eds. Eva Giloi, Martin Kohlrausch, Heikki Lempa, Heidi Mehrkens, Philipp Nielsen and Kevin Rogan (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2022), pp. 191–224.

The decision-making processes that led up to the implementation of many such projects appear to be insufficiently appreciated. To some degree, this is owed to the imprecise generalizing inherent in the term 'public building': it conceals the fact that not all 'public' buildings were open to the general public at all times, and instead served specific groups among the general public. Moreover, the term 'public building' conceals which of the (occasionally discordant) levels of government was 'speaking' in that specific case.

Whose is public?

The general use of the term 'public buildings' – also in this volume – belies the fact that there is no universal consensus about the types of buildings it includes. For instance, on a city map of Vienna, published by the state-owned *Kartographisches Institut* in 1930,[6] all kinds of non-private buildings are lumped together under the category of 'public buildings', which is represented by a darker shade. This cartographic practice was applied to administrative buildings, schools, and courthouses, just as it applied to churches and synagogues, theatres, army barracks, hospitals, railway stations, market halls, and electricity plants.

By contrast, the well-known map titled *London A–Z* differentiates to a much greater extent:[7] "public buildings" (in blue) are differentiated from "educational establishments" (in yellow) and "hospital and healthcare buildings" (in green), while within the category of "places of interest" there is a further distinction made between "public access" (pink) and "no public access" (purple). Thus, users of *London A–Z* can quickly and easily find the different categories of buildings they need in their current situation, be it leisure, work or health-related. There is, of course, not only a great temporal distance between these two maps, but probably also a cultural one, since in the latter case a different conception of public buildings seems evident.

The characteristic of general access is often understood as central to the understanding of buildings as 'public'. In that sense, a privately-run recreational center could be considered 'public' much in the same way as a state-owned building. Yet, few state-owned buildings are truly generally accessible. An embassy, for instance, represents a type of building maintained with tax money exclusively, while access to it is heavily guarded; entry is a privilege rather than a right. Much the same could be said about prisons, which are 'public buildings' not because they are generally accessible. To the contrary, prisons severely limit the movement of individuals identified by the justice system as a threat to the public.

In that sense, a public building could also be identified as a building that, at least in theory, is everyone's business. It is funded through taxes collected from the public at large, and is thereby 'publicly owned'. The distinction from privately-owned buildings that serve an indi-

---

6   See https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/448843-plan-von-wien (accessed December 6, 2022).
7   See https://www.navigationmaster.com/support/a2z-maps-legends (accessed December 6, 2022).

vidual's benefit or a specific group was already made in early modern architectural theory.[8] In diagrams by the likes of Nicolaus Goldmann and Leonhard Christoph Sturm, the basic (i. e., first) distinction was between private and public buildings. Then, within the latter category, religious and secular buildings were differentiated, and within the secular category differentiation along the lines of economy, education, administration, etc. was made.[9]

Which buildings may be considered public, and which not, may also be related to differing notions of statehood. In societies in which capitalist economic models focused on property and ownership predominate, the state tends to be perceived as an entity that limits individual freedoms. By contrast, societies in the tradition of paternalistic-monarchic understandings of statehood have often adopted an understanding of public welfare (i. e., not just poor relief) as a principal duty of the state.

Finally, there is a historical dimension to the identification of buildings as public. Take the example of town halls – a type nowadays understood as representing the interests of an urban community. In the context of absolutist rule, however, a town hall could be – without this being necessarily a paradox – a public building representing the monarchical central power. Rather than their autonomy, it would express the loyalty of the subjects. In 18th-century France, for instance, so-called *Places Royales* were erected with a statue of the king in the centre. They contained representative new buildings, including town halls. Yet, their towers (as, for example, at Rennes) did not embody civic autonomy. On the contrary, the communes had to finance the construction of ensembles designed in the offices of, and reflecting the aesthetic choices of the royal administration.

All this should not deter us from discussing 'public buildings' under the same category. In fact, it should focus our attention on what these buildings have in common irrespective of their also belonging to a specific functional type, such as town hall or library.

Major minor works?

The state of research on public buildings in the context of art history is not easily addressed because public buildings are rarely addressed under a common banner.[10] More commonly, sub-categories – such as town halls, hospitals, or employment offices – are analyzed as part of specific typologies, with their own semantics.[11] Subsequently, and not surprisingly, in studies

---

8 Hermann Hipp, "Public buildings in the early modern period," *Public buildings in early modern Europe*, eds. Konrad Ottenheym, Monique Chatenet, and Krista de Jonge (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 3–12.

9 Jeroen Goudeau, "A typology for the well-ordered society: Nicolaus Goldmann on public buildings," ibid., pp. 13–26.

10 A rare example is *Public buildings in early modern Europe,* op. cit.

11 E.g. *Rathäuser als multifunktionale Räume der Repräsentation, der Parteiungen und des Geheimnisses*, eds. Susanne Pils, Martin Scheutz, Christoph Sonnlechner, and Stefan Spevak (Innsbruck/Vienna: Studien Verlag, 2012); Christiane Mattiesson, *Die Rationalisierung des Menschen: Architektur und Kultur der deutschen Arbeits-*

pursuing a typological perspective, public buildings are oftentimes featured more prominently.

Foundational in this respect was certainly Nicolaus Pevsner's *History of building types*, which saw five editions between 1976 and 1997.[12] For the first time, the history of certain building categories, including several types of public buildings, was studied and presented systematically.

Yet, as a recent special issue of the journal of London's *Twentieth century society* lamented, scholars may have had a certain bias toward particularly monumental types of public buildings. Other types, in which aesthetic concerns were unapologetically subordinated to functional ones, received significantly less attention. In the view of the special issue's editors, utilitarian examples of 'public architecture' also merited safeguarding.[13]

To such buildings Ákos Moravánszky conceded a significant role in the production of a shared regional aesthetic, maintaining that,

> It is not the singular outstanding achievement but the typical 'everyday architecture' that makes a former *kaiserlich und königlich* garrison town in western Ukraine appear familiar to a visitor from Lower Austria. The railway station with its restaurant, the plane tree-lined main street to the market square with its town hall, saving bank, post office, and theater can be easily recognized, even if some of them changed functions several times. The place of these buildings in the hierarchy of the city [...] contribute[s] more to the identity of the region than the masterworks of the famous architects.[14]

Of course, this recognizability owed not only to the fact that these buildings could be associated on typological grounds, forming part of what Moravánszky describes as a characteristic repertoire. Their style, or styles, co-produced this sensation of associatedness.

ämter 1890–1945, Berlin: Reimer, 2007; *L'hôpital en France du Moyen Age à nos jours: Histoire & architecture*, eds. Pierre-Louis Laget, Claude Laroche, and Isabelle Durhau (Lyon: Éditions Lieux Dits, 2016).

12 Nicolaus Pevsner, *A history of building types* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

13 *Twentieth Century Architecture* 13 (2018) [= *The architecture of public service*, eds. Elain Harwood and Alan Powers]. The focus is on libraries, fire stations, health centres, town halls, and police stations erected in Britain since 1914.

14 Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing visions: Aesthetic invention and social imagination in Central European architecture, 1867–1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), pp. X–XI. Others have emphasized the heterogeneity of architectural expressions between Sarajevo and Prague, suggesting them to be seen as a mirror of the empire's multilingual constitution. Anthony Alofsin, *When buildings speak: architecture as language in the Habsburg Empire and its aftermath, 1867–1933,* (Chicago, Ill.: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2006). On 'collective form', see also Cuff, "Collective form," op. cit. Cuff argues that local communities have tended to reject expressions of collective identity through architecture.

Who owns style?

The fact that this volume's title includes the occasionally shunned term 'style' may not warrant a justification, but an explanation may be beneficial. In this context Sigfried Giedion's harsh verdict that "[t]he moment we fence architecture within a notion of 'style,' we open the door to a formalistic approach" should be recalled.[15] In a similar vein, Willibald Sauerländer warned that discussions focused on style would detach,

> buildings, statues and images [from] what may have been their original message and function and above all their inherent conflicts, the stamp of superstition and cruelty, the token of suffering or the signs of revolt, reducing them to patterns, samples [...] 'Style' in this sense cannot be forged without respecting and obeying rules and norms. Style asks for discipline, control and polish. And *stilus* is not only a normative, it is also a value-charged and even an elitist concept.[16]

Probably for this exact reason, i.e., the intimate association between style and power, the term is used in this volume more than 200 times by various contributors. They ask: Who ordained 'style' at which point, where, and why? How was it received and appropriated? When was it used to enforce and reinforce hegemonies? Which stylistic forms were recognized as partaking in a system of governance? Which role did local structures of administration play in this respect? Who owns style?

In this context, Meyer Schapiro's 1953 definition of style comes to mind. After recognizing its constitution as "a system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist and the broad outlook of a group are visible," Schapiro also defined style as,

> a vehicle of expression within the group, communicating and fixing certain values of religious, social, and moral life through the emotional suggestiveness of forms. It is, besides, a common ground against which innovations and the individuality of particular works may be measured. By considering the succession of works in time and space and by matching the variations of style with historical events and with the varying features of other fields of cultures, the historian of art attempts [...] to account the changes of style or specific traits.[17]

---

15 Sigfried Giedion, *Space, time and architecture: The growth of a new tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002 [fourteenth printing]) p. XXXIII. Other historians of architecture chimed in. See e.g. Robert Suckale, "Die Unbrauchbarkeit der gängigen Stilbegriffe und Entwicklungsvorstellungen. Am Beispiel der französischen gotischen Architektur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," *Stil und Epoche: Periodisierungsfragen,* ed. Friedrich Möbius and Helga Sciurie (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1989), pp. 231–250.

16 Willibald Sauerländer, "From stilus to style: Reflections on the fate of a notion," *Art History* 6 (1983), pp. 253–270, here p. 254.

17 Meyer Schapiro, "Style," *Anthropology today: An encyclopedic inventory,* ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 287–312, here p. 287.

It is in this sense, that is, as a vehicle for communication within a society or other community, that this volume foregrounds style. It is used not to downplay the aspects Sauerländer identified, but, on the contrary, to foreground them.

The contributions

The twenty case studies are presented here following a largely chronological order, beginning with Anna Mader-Kratky. She discusses how the Enlightenment state's administration sought to systematically approach increasing public construction challenges through a standardization of forms and methods, and a professionalization of the practices in public construction. Between the poles of an enlightened absolutist centralism and local particularities, the state system's utilitarian view of architecture and its pragmatic attitude towards individual and artistic expression becomes evident.

Addressing the transformation – even before the French Revolution – of secularized monastery churches into theatres and other cultural complexes on the Habsburg Monarchy's territories, Raluca Mureşan devotes her study to the long-neglected phenomenon and practice of reuse. These transformations not only significantly impacted the surrounding city; they also met contemporary architectural theory's demands for *charactère* and *économie* by producing artistic innovation through the reduction of forms and expenses.

By looking at public building projects in Congress Poland, Marcus van der Meulen's essay illustrates how far Enlightenment positions (including its utilitarian attitude towards architecture) extended into the 19th century. Through the variety of building tasks the young state had to cope with, the choices of style, and the creation of pedagogical infrastructure for the education of capable professionals, he shows architecture's decisive role as a visible expression of state power in modernization processes.

In her contribution on Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Elke Katharina Wittich illustrates the unique way in which Enlightenment ideas were pursued by Prussia's building authorities. The Berlin *Bauakademie* was, at the same time, the state's principal institution for training architects and the principal authority for the execution of state buildings. Wittich shows how offices and tasks were concentrated in the so-called 'Schinkel system'. Exemplary (in reality, obligatory) design solutions were disseminated using printed media.

After a critique of the 'civil servant architecture' narrative, which still influences research approaches, Richard Kurdiovsky uses selected examples of pre-March (or 'pre-revolutionary') era Viennese buildings to address open questions related to 'state architecture': the authorship of designs, the influence that various authorities and their differing institutional practices might have had on the appearance of a building, and the positioning of state architecture in civil architecture's general stylistic development.

Andrea Mayr then presents one of those Viennese buildings, Paul Sprenger's *Hauptmünzamt* (Main Mint Office), as an example of how an economic and utilitarian approach also shaped official architecture's formal appearance.

Jindřich Vybíral's contribution uses the projected extension of Prague's old town hall as an example of a historic public building's identificatory value in the conflict between 'national' (provincial) and imperial governance. In this case from the mid-19th century, identificatory value owed to the historical building fabric on the one hand, and stylistic choices on the other. While Prague's citizens pleaded for respectful treatment of the material heritage, the architectural advisor to the imperial court, Pietro (Peter) Nobile, favoured a monumentalizing, liberal intervention. The 'multicultural' compromise eventually served neither side as a medium of identification.

Disputes about 'the right style' are also the starting point for Harald Stühlinger's inquiry. The dismissal of Paul Sprenger's 'bureaucratic style' *(Statthaltereistil)* was a prelude to the events of 1848. Replacing the perceived aesthetic censorship of the pre-March era with a competitive system was the declared goal of influential networker Rudolf Eitelberger. Without doubt, stylistic variants were politically coded. In question was their suitability for important monuments 'to the state'.

Departing from a classification of Italian town halls as representative buildings of city administrations, Guido Zucconi proceeds to discuss the related building task of the communal savings bank. During the 19th century, these institutions successively emancipated themselves from city administrations and moved out of city halls into their own buildings. Emerging from the municipalities, communal bank headquarters architecture became a suitable symbol for local identification. With Italy's unification, a 'new Italian style' with façades dominated by red bricks became popular but was later replaced – especially in Milan – by more monumental rusticated stone façades.

The public building task of the Invalids' House arose from a representative necessity within absolutist monarchies. By providing homes for war invalids, the sovereign broadcast his care for those who risked their lives safeguarding his rule. By doing so, he also minimized the potential for rebellion. Frank Rochow uses the example of Lviv's Invalids' House to illustrate how the young Theophil Hansen responded to this task. Highly functional, comfortable, and stylistically remarkable, the outcome satisfied both the needs of the public and of neo-absolutist representation.

School buildings figure as a distinct category within the public buildings genre. In the Habsburg empire, they were advanced particularly in the second half of the 19th century. The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education developed typological and stylistic templates for school construction. Dragan Damjanović's article compares how the stylistic orientation in present-day Croatia diverged in accordance with political-administrative divisions at different times. Depending on who was in charge in which territory at which time, works by architects in (or from) Vienna, Budapest, or other places were commissioned.

The same templates also influenced the work of architects and engineers who transformed the formerly Ottoman provincial centre of Banja Luka after the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Miroslav Malinović surveys the diversity of architectural styles used for seven school buildings from this period, ranging from Neo-Renaissance to Orientalizing and Secessionist forms.

In their shared contribution, Ajla Bajramović and Caroline Jäger-Klein trace how the administration of the Bosnian city Travnik transitioned from Ottoman to Habsburg rule. After the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the *konak* (Ottoman viziers' administrative-residential complex) was initially reinterpreted and then developed as an administrative centre mixing old and new.

Yet, analyzing architecture in Habsburg-occupied Bosnia only with regard to the possible origins of forms in Vienna is put into question by the contribution of Mattia Guidetti. On the example of the City Hall *(Vijećnica)* of Sarajevo (1892–95), Guidetti argues that Vienna's Armoury Museum may have served as a model to some extent; elements originating in the Cairene architecture of the Mamluk and Fatimid periods were much more central, however. That said, the *Vijećnica* indeed corresponded to the late 19th-century European practice of fragmenting and reassembling parts of monumental works of Islamic architecture.

Julia Rüdiger examines the Islamic Law School *(Scheriatsrichterschule)* in Sarajevo, emphasizing that public buildings such as schools may have had, in addition to their educational function, a representative and political function. As an institution designed to train and ideologically shape a local Muslim elite for service in the Habsburg administration, the *Scheriatsrichterschule* occupied an isolated case in the history of Bosnian educational buildings. Analyzing the building in detail, Rüdiger demonstrates to what extent the architect Karel Pařík took local traditions and peculiarities into account, while connecting the overall project to the period's international trends in school construction. The goal was to erect a public building that epitomized the occupying power's educational policy. This goal was also aided by the high visibility provided by the building's topographical location.

Maximilian Hartmuth briefly returns to the fundamental question of what makes a building public, before turning to the iconography of administrative-representative buildings. He traces selected features in a number of 19th-century projects in a core area (Lower Austria) of the empire and one on the margins (Bosnia-Herzegovina). Relating those features to these buildings' initial functions, Hartmuth demonstrates a remarkable consistence of exterior (form) and interior (function).

By tracing the curious case of mongooses imported from India in 1910 to combat a plague of snakes on a Dalmatian island, Wolfgang Göderle revisits in spatial terms the monarchy's administrational landscape. He pursues its hierarchical structure from the central Vienna ministries of the Cisleithanian/Austrian half of the empire to the prefectures *(Statthaltereien)* in the provincial capitals, district governorships *(Bezirkshauptmannschaften)* in regional centres, municipal institutions at the local level, and other overarching authorities such as the *k. k.* maritime authority in Trieste or the forestry administration in Gorizia. He analyses these authorities' headquarters as material manifestations, visualizing the structure of this administration.

Andrea Baotić-Rustanbegović's article deals with the unrealized project for a parliament building in Sarajevo in the last years of Habsburg rule there. She focuses on the ultimately unsuccessful attempt to erect a representative building in Sarajevo that was to function as the intellectual and administrative center of Bosnia and Herzegovina after its

annexation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Drawing upon a multitude of primary sources, Baotić-Rustanbegović focuses on the difficult choices of location and style.

The complexity of the structure that produced public buildings in the last years of the Habsburg Monarchy is illustrated by RICHARD KURDIOVSKY. Focusing on the case of the archaeological museum that was to be built in Split, he shows that not only were no less than three ministries involved; numerous local actors and interest groups also complicated the matter by pursuing different goals. As a result, the museum's construction took two decades; it was inaugurated only when the Habsburg monarchy no longer existed.

Finally, MATTHEW RAMPLEY turns to the little-studied building task of the crematorium. Using selected examples from Central Europe between 1873 to 1932, he argues that crematoria were paradigmatic for architectural modernism as they addressed aspects of hygiene in the process of a progressive secularization. Moreover, Rampley shows how crematoria were deeply intertwined in the politics of post-Habsburg identity formation, serving purposes of national self-definition.

In sum, these contributions will certainly serve to dynamize the architectural historical discourse on public buildings. They illustrate the value of taking a much closer look at seemingly well-known material in order to outline the general structure of a broader problematic.

Anna Mader-Kratky (Vienna)

Bureaucratic architecture: Josephist attempts to reform the public works administration in the Habsburg Monarchy in the 1780s

The construction administration for all imperial buildings in and around Vienna was at the Court Board of Works *(Hofbauamt)*, the beginnings of which reach back to Emperor Maximilian I.[1] The Court Board of Works was responsible for the buildings' construction as well as for their maintenance and the care of attached garden facilities. Besides the Imperial Palace – the Vienna Hofburg[2] – and all secondary residences near Vienna, such as the palaces of Kaiserebersdorf, Schönbrunn, Laxenburg, and the so-called *Favorita*, it also took care of stables, administrative buildings, and utility installations. The burdens of an increasing debt and an inefficient structure led to several attempts to reorganise the Court Board of Works during the 18th century.[3]

This court office was subordinate to Maria Theresa as sovereign until her death in 1780, when it passed into her son's, Emperor Joseph II's, sphere of influence.[4] He confirmed the Court Board of Works' staff as it was, but wanted to be informed immediately of any outstanding building work. Moreover, he demanded that all work begun under his mother be completed quickly and at a low cost.[5] In the future, he decreed, "only the most indispensable expenses are to be devoted to the conservation of the [Imperial] buildings and gardens in general".[6]

---

1 Markus Jeitler, "Das Hofbauwesen in Wien bis zum Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit: Hof und Dynastie, Kaiser und Reich, Zentralverwaltung, Kriegswesen und landesfürstliches Finanzwesen,* I/1, ed. Michael Hochedlinger, Petr Maťa, and Thomas Winkelbauer (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2019), pp. 184–186.

2 For a brief overview of the architectural and functional history of the Vienna Hofburg see *The Vienna Hofburg: Six centuries as a European centre of power,* ed. Renate Leggatt-Hofer and Reinhold Sahl (Vienna: Burghauptmannschaft Österreich and Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 2018). This publication offers an English summary of the five-volume series *Veröffentlichungen zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Wiener Hofburg*, ed. Artur Rosenauer (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012–2018).

3 Manuel Weinberger, "Konsolidierung des Hofbauamtes unter Karl VI.," *Die Wiener Hofburg 1705–1835: Die kaiserliche Residenz vom Barock bis zum Klassizismus,* ed. Hellmut Lorenz and Anna Mader-Kratky (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016) [=*Veröffentlichungen zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Wiener Hofburg* III, ed. Artur Rosenauer] pp. 248–251; Anna Mader-Kratky, "Das mariatheresianische Hofbauamt," *Die Wiener Hofburg 1705–1835*, pp. 252–257.

4 Anna Mader-Kratky, "Neustrukturierung des Hofbauwesens durch Joseph II.," *Die Wiener Hofburg 1705–1835*, pp. 258–259.

5 Vienna, Austrian State Archives, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), HA, HBA 46, Dec. 1780, fol. 454, 500r; for the answer of the Director of the Court Board of Works see ibid., fol. 448r.

6 See ibid., Dec. 1780, No. 29 ("[...] alle weitern Arbeit aber eingestellet werden, auf die Conservation deren

The Court Chamber's President had to submit all the minutes and accounts of the Court Board of Works to the Emperor, who examined them personally.[7] In addition, Joseph II visited important building sites and intervened in even the smallest details of a project's execution. Whereas Maria Theresa and her husband, Emperor Francis I Stephen, foregrounded dynastic needs and invested in their residences' expansion, their son Joseph focused on public benefit. Besides administrative and educational buildings, the Emperor founded welfare and health institutions, for which he assumed personal responsibility. Furthermore, urban planning ideas increasingly became the focal point because various cities such as the capital Vienna needed to respond to the needs of a growing population.

The founding the *Oberhofbaudirektion* in 1783

Immediately after the death of his mother, the Emperor initiated a striking reform process that included diverse areas of life.[8] Part of his administrative reforms[9] was the idea to henceforth control directly from Vienna all public building projects in the *Erblande* (Habsburg Hereditary Lands). This reorganization of provincial building administration was part of a modernization and fundamental restructuring of the Habsburg administration, which Joseph II sought to realize through strict centralism. The Emperor's will to reform adhered to three principles: reducing costs, creating synergies, and increasing efficiency.

As a result of his direct involvement, Joseph II was well-acquainted with the administration of public works, whereby he repeatedly criticised the lengthy course of proceedings.[10] Besides this, the construction administration in the provinces was organised in different ways, which meant that approval procedures could take a very long time. For this reason, the Emperor had been considering the idea of installing a superior *Ingenieur-Directeur* in Vienna, who would be responsible for both structural and hydraulic engineering (regulation of rivers, bridge construction, etc.) in all provinces. He was to evaluate all construction projects, and all civil and hydraulic engineers in the provinces were to be subordinate to him. The request for a suitable candidate for this office, which the Court Chamber's President sent to the Hungarian-Transylvanian Chancellery on behalf of Joseph II, remained without result.[11] The latter Chancellery stressed that the structural and hydraulic engineering projects in the Hungarian Hereditary Lands were far too diverse to be overseen by a single person. Especially

---

Gebauden, und Gärten überhaupt sind mit aller Würtschaft nur die unentbehrlichsten Ausgaben zumachen […]").

7 Vienna, Austrian State Archives, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (FHKA), NHK, Kaale Ö, Akten 1610, fol. 1.

8 See e.g. Derek Beales, *Joseph II: Against the world, 1780–1790* (Cambridge: University Press, 2009), pp. 68–103.

9 Ibid., pp. 335–337.

10 Vienna, FHKA, NHK, Kaale Ö, Akten 1612, fol. 549r–550r. For a brief overview of the Austrian monarchy's bureaucracy, see Waltraud Heindl, "Bureaucracy, officials, and the state in the Austrian monarchy: Stages of change since the eighteenth century," *Austrian History Yearbook* 37 (2006), pp. 35–57, here pp. 35–44.

11 Vienna, FHKA, NHK, Kaale Ö, Akten 1612, fol. 546–548 (May 23, 1783).

in hydraulic engineering, there were countless challenges that the *Ingenieur-Directeur* must be able to meet: clearing and making swampy rivers navigable, stabilisation of banks and construction of bridges, maintenance of the canals and locks, and drying out the morasses. The hydraulic engineering tasks also included underground structures such as the numerous Hungarian mines and the diverse machinery used there. No suitable candidate could be named for this post with far-reaching authority, as the Hungarian-Transylvanian Chancellery declared. Concentrating responsibility with a single expert was not seen as speeding up the process, but on the contrary, as slowing it down considerably.

Joseph II reacted with incomprehension to the refusal of the Hungarian-Transylvanian Chancellery and held the Court Board of Works to account.[12] By founding the *Oberhofbaudirektion* (Superior Building Directorate) in October 1783, the Emperor saw an opportunity to control centrally from Vienna all state funded construction matters in the Hereditary Lands, such as structural and hydraulic engineering as well as road construction.[13] The new office was headed by the former Director of the Court Board of Works Ernst Christoph Count Kaunitz-Rietberg, son of the influential State Chancellor Wenzel Anton Prince Kaunitz-Rietberg. Kaunitz-Rietberg was to be supported by the Director of Hydraulic Engineering Jean-Baptiste Brequin and court architect Franz Anton Hillebrandt. Vinzenz Baron Struppi, who had worked in Trieste, was also added to the leading team.[14] The Court Board of Works thus transformed from a court authority to an institution serving the state, and the Director of the Court Board of Works changed from princely servant *(Fürstendiener)* to a civil servant.[15] "In this way, things will be evaluated more quickly and thoroughly", the emperor was convinced.[16]

Despite the expanded scope of the Viennese administration's building duties, the *Oberhofbaudirektion*'s establishment in 1783 did not lead to any remarkable increase in staff numbers. In case of increased demand, architectural draughtsmen from the academies and chancery staff from the Bohemian-Austrian Chancellery were to be requested "pro tempore".[17] Joseph II wanted to keep the administration as simple as possible.[18] All provincial building

---

12 See ibid., fol. 549–553.

13 Christian Benedik, "Organisierung und Regulierung der k. k. Generalbaudirektion und deren Landstellen," *Das 18. Jahrhundert und Österreich – Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts* 11 (1996), pp. 13–28; Elisabeth Springer, "Die Josephinische Musterkirche," ibid., pp. 67–97; Anna Mader-Kratky, "Die Gründung der Oberhofbaudirektion und die Etablierung länderübergreifender Baunormen im habsburgischen Bauwesen (1783–1784)," *Schöne Wissenschaften: Sammeln, Ordnen und Präsentieren im josephinischen Wien*, ed. Nora Fischer and Anna Mader-Kratky (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2021), pp. 155–167.

14 Vienna, FHKA, NHK, Kaale Ö, Akten 1612, fol. 606.

15 Waltraud Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen: Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich*, I (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, second edition, 2013), pp. 28, 64–65.

16 Vienna, FHKA, NHK, Kaale Ö, Akten 1612, fol. 552r ("Auf diese Art werden die Sachen geschwinder, und gründlicher beurtheilet, und zum Schluß vorgeleget werden können").

17 Ibid., fol. 550v.

18 Vienna, HHStA, HA, HBA 58, fol. 326v–327v, Nr. 61 (November 1783). For an overview of manpower in court authorities see Irene Kubiska-Scharl and Michael Pölzl, *Das Ringen um Reformen: Der Wiener Hof und*

personnel were now under the authority of the *Oberhofbaudirektion* in Vienna, and all subsequent appointments were determined from there without exception. Maintenance work was carried out independently by the provincial offices, which reported to Vienna on a quarterly basis. On the other hand, the drafts and cost estimates for planned new buildings that were paid for from the *Aerarium*, the public purse, had to be submitted without exception to the *Oberhofbaudirektion* in Vienna for evaluation. The emperor called upon the Viennese officials to make a thorough, cautious, but rapid assessment of all provincial building projects.[19]

Establishing standards

In order to simplify and accelerate upcoming building projects, the *Oberhofbaudirektion* provided templates for various building tasks such as parish churches and parish houses. These templates were based on parameters such as the number of inhabitants; for example, for the size of parish churches, about one square *Klafter* per four inhabitants was the benchmark. As a part of Joseph's church policies, the *Oberhofbaudirektion* participated in erecting required parish churches by, amongst other things, producing prototypes for sacred buildings of different sizes (fig. 1/2).[20] These parish churches "show vividly how Josephist piety differed from Baroque: their interiors are simple, plainly furnished and lacking in colour and ornaments."[21] *Oberhofbaudirektion architects* prepared these templates in large numbers and engraved some of them in copper to make them quickly available in the provinces.

According to this initiative, architectural drawings had to be standardised by installing the *Ingenieurs-Directiva* in 1784.[22] In this decree, the *Oberhofbaudirektion* laid down a uniform canon of colours and signs intended to ensure that architectural drawings were read

---

sein Personal im Wandel (1766–1792) (Innsbruck/Wien: Studien Verlag, 2018) [= *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, LX], pp. 491–505.

19 Vienna, HHStA, HA, HBA, K. 58, fol. 155r–157v.

20 Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Plansammlung I, Mappen 632–635; see Springer, "Die Josephinische Musterkirche," pp. 78–82.

21 Beales, *Joseph II: Against the world*, p. 293. See also Anna Mader-Kratky, "Asketische Kirchenräume: Zur Ausgestaltung josephinischer Sakralbauten am Beispiel Niederösterreichs," *Pfarrkirchen: Katholische und lutherische Sakralräume und ihre barocke Ausstattung*, ed. Herbert Karner and Martin Mádl (Prague: Artefactum, 2021), pp. 189–211.

22 Vienna, FHKA, NHK, Kaale Ö Akten 1613, fol. 459–476 (February 6, 1784) reads: "Ingenieurs Vorträge und Entwürfe Welche dem Allgemeinen Ober Hofbau=Directions=Praesidio zur Systematischen Disposition für das vereinbarte Kail: Königl: Hofbau Amt dann Brücken- und Wasser=Bau=Amt als auch gesamte provincial= und alle Landesfürstliche Bau=Aemter von den Ersten Assessor referirt werden," See also Christian Benedik, "Die Normierung der Idee – Der Verlust der graphischen Individualität im habsburgisch-staatlichen Bauwesen des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Josephinismus – eine Bilanz*, ed. Wolfgang Schmale and Renate Zedinger, [= *Das 18. Jahrhundert und Österreich – Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts*, XXII] (Bochum: Verlag Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2008), pp. 183–184; Mader-Kratky, "Die Gründung der Oberhofbaudirektion," pp. 161–162.
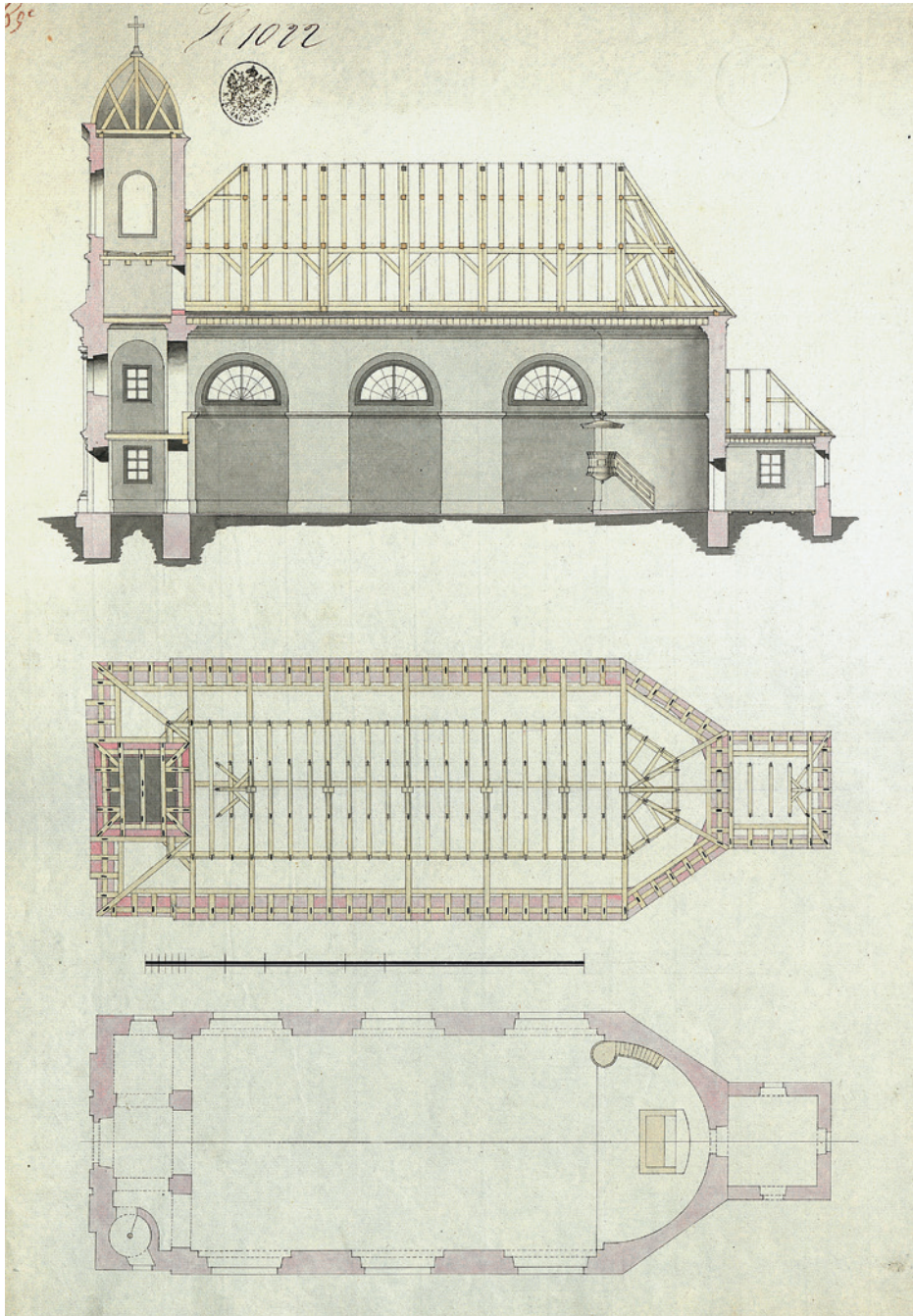
Fig. 1. Josephist pattern drawing for a church, ca. 1783.
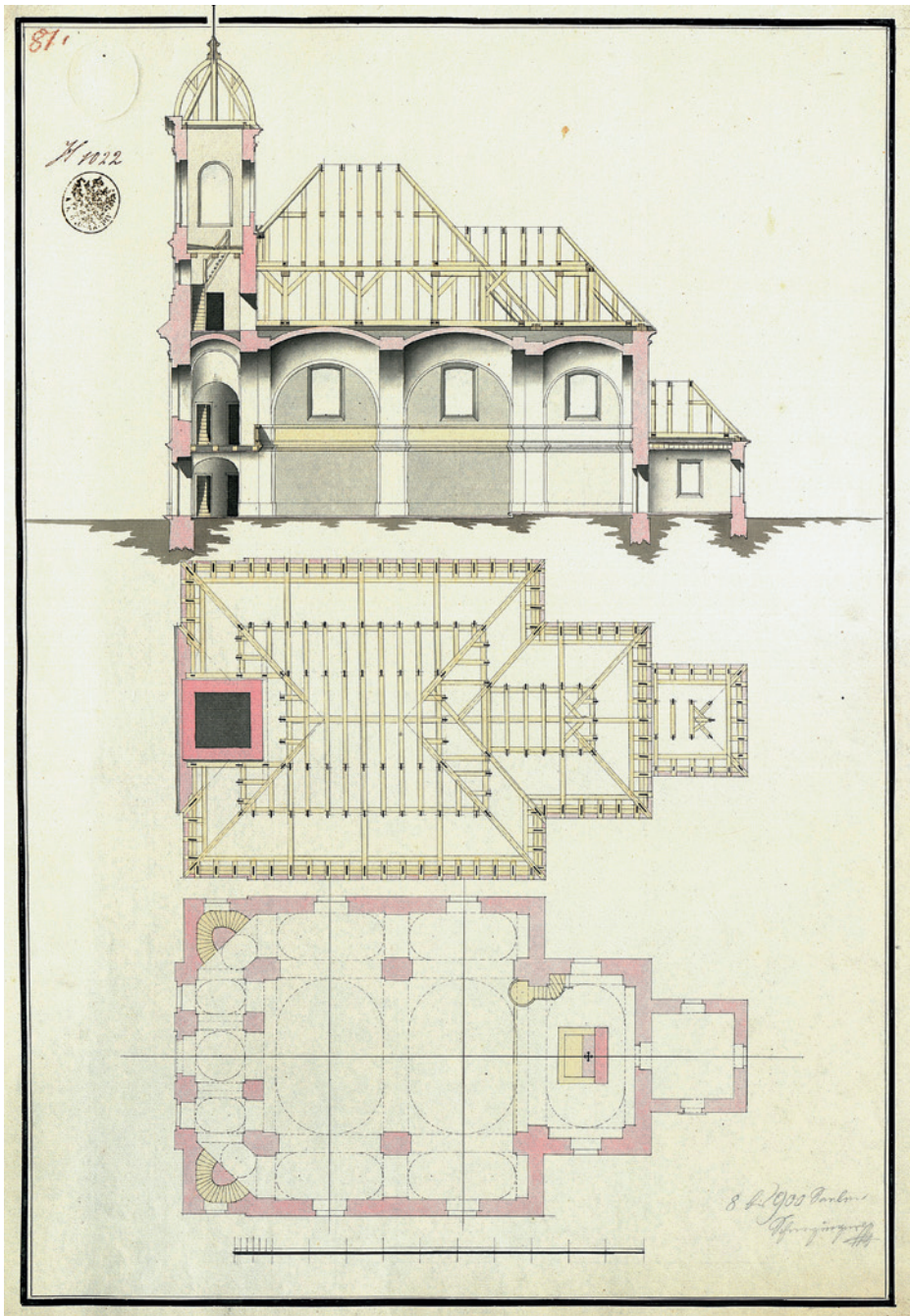Vienna, AVA, Plansammlung I, Mappen 632–635, Inv.-Nr. I d.

Fig. 2. Josephist pattern drawing for a church, ca. 1783.
Vienna, AVA, Plansammlung I, Mappen 632–635, Inv.-Nr. IV a 2.

correctly throughout the empire. The colour codes and signs were mainly taken from cartography, and from now on, the *Wiener Linie* (about 2.2 mm) was the universally valid unit of measurement across all provinces.[23] Beside this, the *Ingenieurs-Directiva* included guidelines for classifying all construction offices' responsibilities in the Hereditary Lands. They had to look after "roofed buildings" (various royal sites, administrative and estate buildings, churches and monasteries), infrastructural facilities (roads, bridges, levellings, pavings, and canals) and hydraulic engineering (harbours, quays, piers, dams, locks, etc.), insofar as these were state-funded. The *Oberhofbaudirektion*'s responsibilities for these buildings could be divided into four classes:

(I)   Ongoing care and maintenance of the buildings;
(II)   Unscheduled repairs and restorations;
(III)   Construction of new buildings;
(IV)   Repair of unforeseen damage caused by natural events such as fire, storms, floods, or earthquakes.[24]

The *Ingenieurs-Directiva* also included a checklist of the documents required for a detailed construction report, and templates for standardized forms for building costs accounting.[25] The careful handling of plans and maps also required detailed explanation. For instance, they were not allowed to be folded under any circumstance. Instead, they had to be transported rolled in tin cans or wrapped in linen on wooden rollers. The initiative for this codification of Habsburg architecture came from Baron Struppi, who had been specially summoned from Trieste to Vienna on the occasion of the *Oberhofbaudirektion*'s founding.

Steps toward professionalisation

Establishing norms and standardising architectural signs were important steps towards the building industry's professionalisation. This can be observed all over Europe at this time and led to construction workers' increasing differentiation and specialization.[26] This 'scientification' of the building industry, also reflected in the relevant literature, was in constant confrontation with the architectural design's artistic aspects, which threatened to fall behind strict standardisation.

---

23 Vienna, FHKA, NHK, Kaale Ö Akten 1613, fol. 463r–467v. See also Richard Bösel, "Architektur und Zeichnung," *Exempla & Exemplaria, 1. Teil: Architekturzeichnungen der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina* (Vienna: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1996), pp. 11–29, here p. 23.

24 Vienna, FHKA, NHK, Kaale Ö Akten 1613, fol. 461.

25 Ibid., fol. 462.

26 Klaus Jan Philipp, "Der professionelle Architekt im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert in Deutschland," *Der Architekt: Geschichte und Gegenwart eines Berufsstandes*, ed. Winfried Nerdinger (Munich/London/New York: Prestel, 2012), I, pp. 121–135, here pp. 121–122.

Fig. 3. Installation of scaffolding, in: [Matthias Fortunat Koller] *Ein hundert und vierzig Kupfertafeln zum praktischen Baubeamten der zweyten verbesserten Auflage vom Jahre 1800* (Vienna: Ignaz Albertis Witwe, 1800), tab. 57.

Fig. 4. Examples of the roof truss of a church tower, in: [Matthias Fortunat Koller] *Ein hundert und vierzig Kupfertafeln zum praktischen Baubeamten der zweyten verbesserten Auflage vom Jahre 1800* (Vienna: Ignaz Albertis Witwe, 1800), tab. 73.

However, the need for binding guidelines and practice-oriented illustrative material remained pressing, as Matthias Fortunat Koller also formulated in the preface to his *Der practische Baubeamte* (1800).[27] In this manual, Koller did not intend to regard architecture as a branch of the fine arts, but rather to present civil architecture in its entirety – including the construction of mills, waterways, bridges, and roads. His focus was on practical considerations in order to provide professionals, builders, and economic officials with a guide to the design, calculation, and assessment of building projects, taking into account all applicable ordinances in the Hereditary Lands.[28] He foregrounded his handbook's practical aspects, which included pattern drawings for various building tasks from church construction to water pipes, as well as instructions for attic construction or scaffolding installation (fig. 3/4). The implementation of bureaucratic rules was one of the Josephist administrative reforms' essential measures and affected the entire Habsburg civil service.

A small scale test

All these Habsburg building industry reforms brought about by the establishment of the *Oberhofbaudirektion* in 1783, had already been tested on a smaller scale twenty years before.[29] After the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the Court Chamber and the Imperial War Council took numerous measures for the Banat's repopulation, including the city of Timişoara by settling mainly German artisans, farmers, and former soldiers to reinforce the low population density and to redevelop the land.[30] Within a short period of time, housing

---

27 Matthias Fortunat Koller, *Der practische Baubeamte*, I-III (Vienna: Ignaz Albertis Witwe, 1800). The second revised edition was published with a fourth volume containing 140 copper en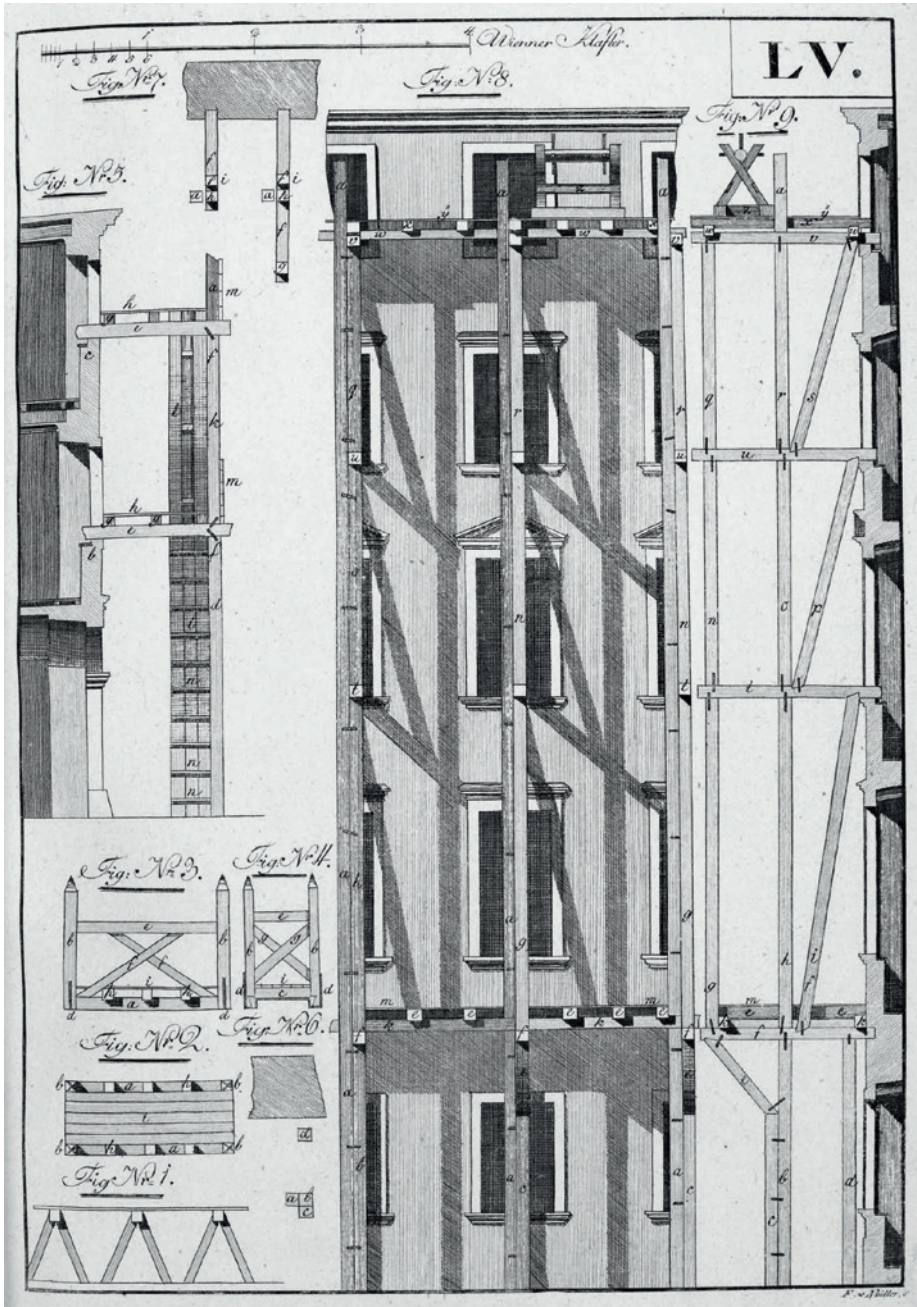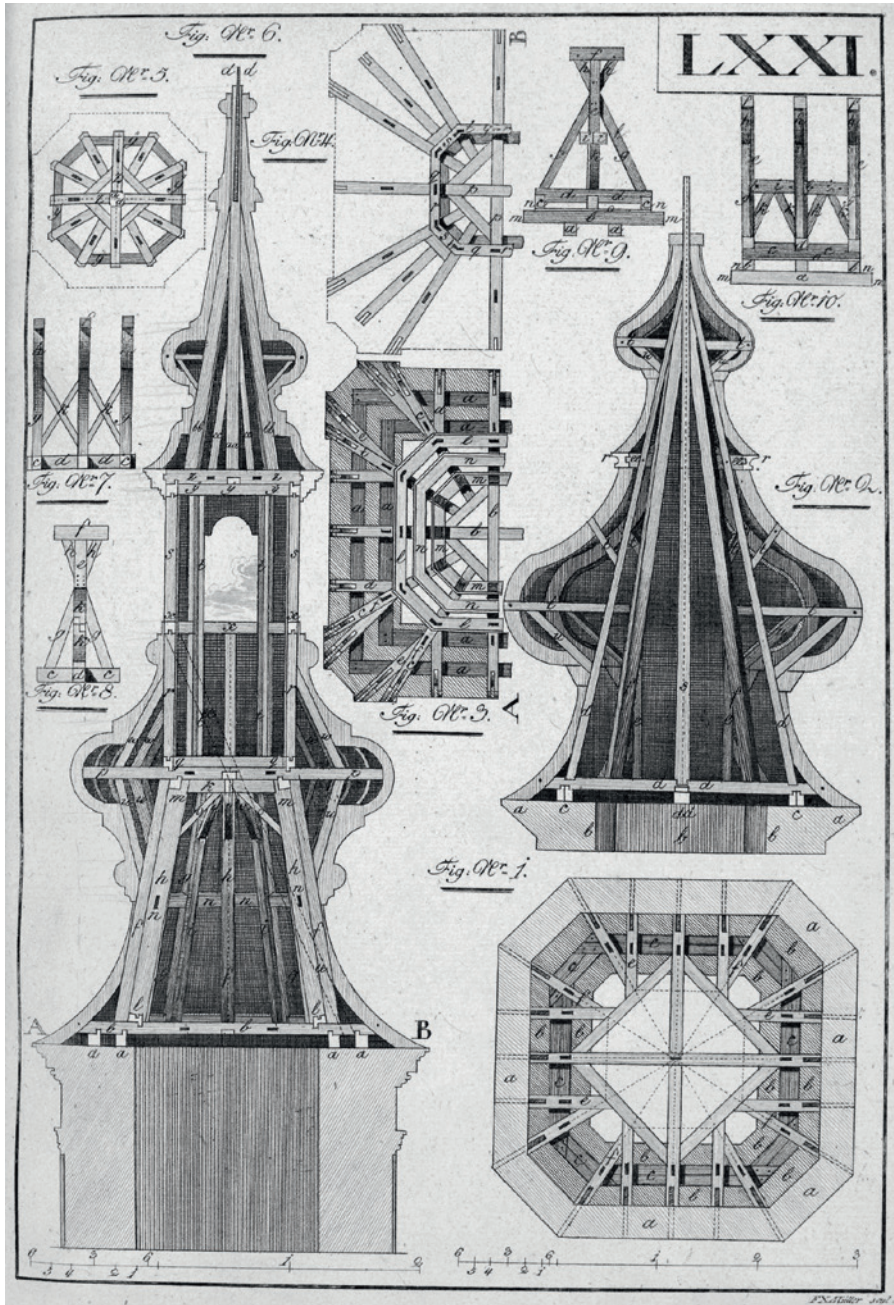gravings: [Matthias Fortunat Koller,] *Ein hundert und vierzig Kupfertafeln zum praktischen Baubeamten der zweyten verbesserten Auflage vom Jahre 1800* (Vienna: Ignaz Albertis Witwe, 1800).

28 Ibid., I–II.: "Bey der Verfassung des gegenwärtigen Buches hatte ich keineswegs die Absicht ein Werk über die Baukunst, als schöne Kunst betrachtet, zu schreiben [...]; sondern mein Bestreben ging allein dahin, [...] ein Ganzes über die bürgerliche Baukunst, den Mühlen= Wasser= Brücken= und Straßenbau mit eingeschlossen, zu liefern, welches wegen seiner Vollständigkeit und practischen Bewährtheit, und der Anführung aller in den kaiserl. königl. Erbstaaten in Bausachen bestehenden Verordnungen dazu dienen soll, dem Professionisten sowohl, als auch den Bauunternehmern, Wirthschaftsbeamten, und allen jenen, deren Amt eine mehr oder weniger entfernte Aufsicht über Bauführungen mit sich bringt, [...] jede Art von bürgerlichen Bauführungen, nebst allen übrigen Gattungen von Planen und voraus erforderlichen Aufnahmen der Gegenstände untadelhaft zu entwerfen, zu berechnen, zu beurtheilen und auszuführen."

29 Christian Benedik, "Die Bedeutung der Banater Cameral-Domäne für die Reformierung des habsburgischen Bauwesens in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Kuppeln – Korn – Kanonen: Unerkannte und unbekannte Spuren in Südosteuropa von der Aufklärung bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Ulrike Tischler-Hofer and Renate Zedinger (Innsbruck/Vienna/Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2010), pp. 187–213.

30 Ernst Schimscha, *Technik und Methoden der theresianischen Besiedlung des Banats* [= *Veröffentlichungen des Wiener Hofkammerarchivs*, IV] (Baden bei Wien: Verlag Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1939); Gottfried Mraz, "Das Banat von Temesvár in der theresianischen Zeit," *Maria Theresia als Königin von Ungarn*, exhib.- cat. Schloss Halbturn (Eisenstadt: Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, 1980), pp. 139–145.
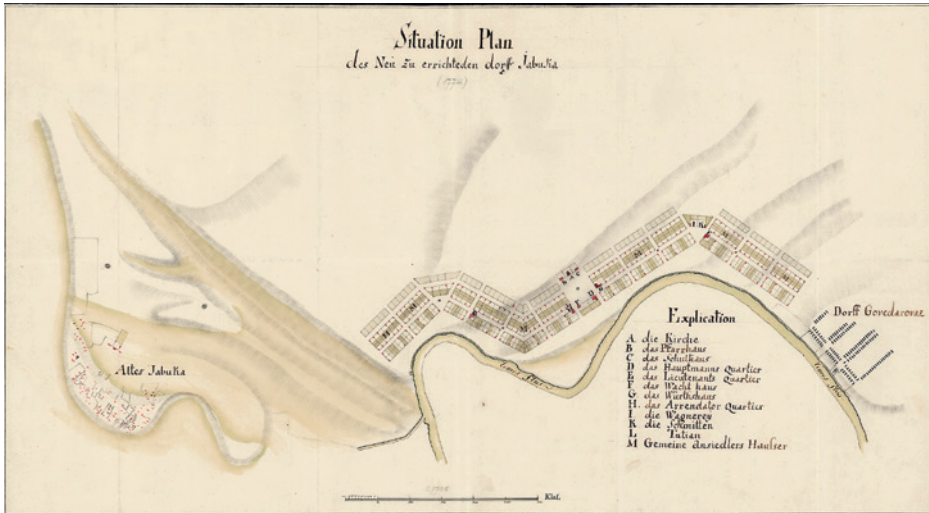
Fig. 5. Urban planning of Jabuka (nowadays Serbia) by the Imperial War Council, 1774.
Vienna, KA, Karten- und Plansammlung, Inv.-Nr. KS G I h, 3.

for a large number of settlers was necessary, with two strategies opposing each other: One side advocated a slower approach and relied on the expansion of existing settlements, while the policy of founding and building new villages quickly prevailed. This was also advocated by Maria Theresa in order to avoid long distances between settlements. However, the lack of regional maps soon proved to be a major problem. The allocation of land was initially dependent on resident officials' local knowledge, as surveying and mapping took place only from 1769 onwards – toward the end of this repopulation period.[31]

To speed up the village formation process, the Court Chamber and the Imperial War Council decided in favour of settlement grid plans in which streets run at right angles and all properties have the same size; this type of streetmap also provided a better overview and thus control of the settlements. The church was always in the village centre, and the location for the vicarage, the school, an inn, and craft workshops, as well as for military quarters, were also determined in the planning phase. Each settler family was to have the same area of arable land, meadows, and building land at its disposal, in order to guarantee the social equality of all. In contrast to the previously prevailing cattle breeding and the use of the available land as pasture, the new settlements were thus based on the land's division into fields.[32]

---

31 Schimscha, *Technik und Methoden,* pp. 65–68, and Benedik, "Die Bedeutung der Banater Cameral-Domäne," p. 192.
32 Schimscha, *Technik und Methoden,* pp. 69–73, and Erik Roth, "Die planmäßig angelegten Siedlungen im südwestlichen Banat 1765–1821," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 41/2 (1987), pp. 8–18, here pp. 9–14.
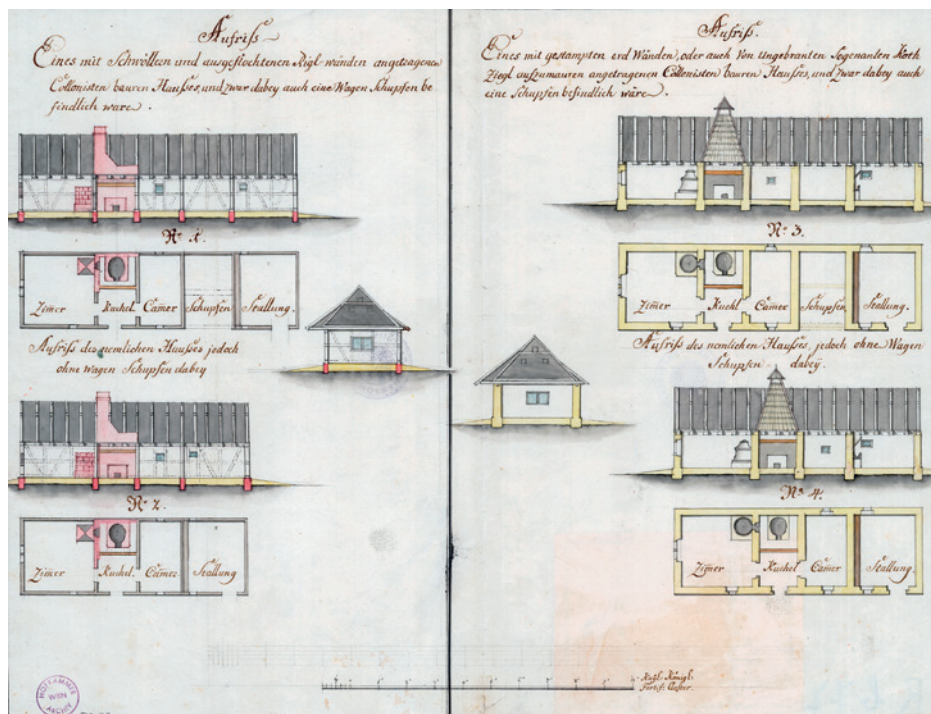
Fig. 6. Design for two types of colonists' houses with (above) and without wagon sheds (below) in the Banat, 1770.
Vienna, FHKA, Sammlungen und Selekte, Kartensammlung, Inv.-Nr. Rb-077.

A characteristic example of a newly emerging village is Jabuka (now Serbia) on the Timiş River in southern Banat, the present layout of which is based on the 1774 replanning (fig. 5): The left edge of the map shows the old scattered settlement, while the new village was laid out in regular blocks along the course of the river to ensure all inhabitants a water supply. A large square was projected in the centre, surrounded on one side by the church (A), the vicarage (B) and the school (C), and on the other by the military facilities (D–F) and the inn (G).[33]

The strict building regulations were to be echoed in the architecture's simple geometric forms. Consequently, the required buildings, most of all the colonists' houses (over 5000 were built in the period 1762–72),[34] but also the vicarages, the schoolhouses, and the inns, were based on templates, which not only guaranteed rapid implementation but also contributed to an intended architectural uniformity.[35] Following simple local building traditions,

---

33 Ibid., p. 13.

34 Schimscha, *Technik und Methoden,* pp. 180–181.

35 Benedik, "Die Bedeutung der Banater Cameral-Domäne," pp. 202–203, and Springer, "Die Josephinische Musterkirche," pp. 76–77.

individual lifestyles were not considered, and the settlers had no voice in the planning process. For the colonists' houses, made of rammed earth walls and wood, a basic floor plan was chosen consisting of one room, kitchen, chamber, and stable; in some cases, a wagon shed was also added (fig. 6). This construction method's advantage was that the settlers could build their houses, even the roofs, by themselves without any construction knowledge.[36] The templates, prepared according to a uniform scheme, made economic feasibility the supreme doctrine – a standard that was applied equally to all types of buildings, from colonists' houses to parish churches ("not too splendid and heaped with useless ornamentation").[37]

The building trade in the Banat's northern, larger part was centrally organised and directly subordinate to the Court Chamber in Vienna. All plans by the responsible provincial engineers had to be submitted for approval and were examined by the then Hungarian Court Chamber architect Franz Anton Hillebrandt (who later became the Court Architect in the *Oberhofbaudirektion*). This examination pertained not to aesthetic, but to constructional and economic aspects, whereby building technology and building calculations gained the upper hand over 'building beauty'. This approach, conceived purely from an economic point of view, was a model for Habsburg architecture's further development and the *Oberhofbaudirektion*'s establishment twenty years later.[38]

An ongoing need for reform

The obligation to send all building projects from the Hereditary Lands to the *Oberhofbaudirektion* in Vienna for approval had its consequences. Court Architect Franz Anton Hillebrandt and his staff's responsibilities shifted from being planning architects to acting as inspecting supervisors, who could no longer see their way out of the vast number of building plans submitted. The minutes of the *Oberhofbaudirektion*'s weekly meetings reveal the problems caused by evaluating all plans in Vienna, as demanded by the emperor. Not familiar with the specific construction sites, the Court Commission stated its criticism based only on the documents submitted, and without detailed knowledge of the building site or the community's specific requirements. The commission repeatedly requested general plans of locations, which illustrated the planned construction work in relation to the surrounding buildings and streets.[39] On the other hand, the provincial offices often faced infrastructure

---

36 Schimscha, *Technik und Methoden,* pp. 79–95.

37 Springer, "Die Josephinische Musterkirche," p. 77.

38 Joseph II showed great interest in the repopulation of Banat and traveled there in 1768; see Derek Beales, *Joseph II: In the shadow of Maria Theresa 1741–1780* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), 246–251.

39 See, as one of many similar examples, the report of the *Oberhofbaudirektion* to the enlargement of the parish church in Großjedlerdorf (Lower Austria), April 29, 1785: "Es zeigt sich daher abermal wie notwendig es sey, jeder Bauführung den schon zu wiederholtermahlen anverlangten Situations Plan anzuschliessen, weil man in Ermanglung dessen niemal im Stande ist, nach Beschaffenheit der Localitaet zu arbeiten, woraus alsdan entstehet, daß so viele Zeit fruchtlos versplittert wird," Vienna, AVA, Kultus, AK Katholisch, K. 283, Jedlersdorf.

problems. In many regions, the infrastructure for larger construction projects first had to be created by expanding road networks in order to simply transport the building materials, which resulted in unplanned delays.[40]

The ongoing need for the Habsburg building industry's reform and reorganisation in the 1780s shows that the 1783 establishment of the *Oberhofbaudirektion* was ultimately no success. In 1786, Joseph II commissioned Court Architect Franz Anton Hillebrandt to reorganize the building authorities in the Hereditary Lands. Hillebrandt's study focused on dividing the streamlined course of authority again into various provincial sub-sections in order to facilitate and speed up decision-making in the *Oberhofbaudirektion* in Vienna.[41] By order of Joseph II, these proposals for a reform of the Habsburg public buildings construction administration were sent to the Court Chancelleries for their opinion. The latter expressed the wish to again give local building departments even more decision-making autonomy and to decide on smaller, less costly projects themselves.[42] The Hungarian Chancellery in particular argued that it was not the amount of the construction costs but the building type that should determine whether the plans had to be submitted to Vienna.[43] Joseph II, however, rejected this proposal outright.[44]

In addition to a clear allocation of responsibility, the aim of the 1786 reform was to create a personnel structure that had to be transferred to all provincial offices. This resulted, among other things, in the establishment of the *Hofkommission in Bausachen* (Court Commission on Building Matters) as an advisory board in autumn 1787; that commission was essentially formed of those persons who had hitherto assisted the Director of *Oberhofbaudirektion* as experts.[45] In October 1787, the new *Hofkommission in Bausachen* met for the first time and its minutes primarily concerned construction work outside Vienna.[46] But the problems remained the same. The *Hofkommission in Bausachen* could usually find little fault with the plans submitted, but assessing a building project without detailed knowledge of the building site and local requirements was difficult. Even Joseph II's great interest in various building sites did not make the situation easier, but instead led to conflicts with building experts when the Emperor made corrective contributions to plans. This included Viennese building sites, which he regularly visited in person, as well as provincial building projects, the plans for which he also had submitted to him.[47] In all cases, Joseph II urged a prompt implementation of his ideas and always pressed for swiftness.

---

40 Benedik, "Organisierung und Regulierung," p. 25.

41 Ibid., pp. 22–26.

42 Vienna, FHKA, NHK, Kaale Ö, Akten 1614, fol. 190, 199–201 (September 6, 1786).

43 Ibid., fol. 199.

44 Ibid., fol. 200v.

45 Mader-Kratky, "Neustrukturierung des Hofbauwesens," p. 259.

46 Minutes of the first meeting in October 1787: Vienna, HHStA, HBA 91, Nr. 1591.

47 One example is a planned theatre and the governor's office in Lemberg, about which Joseph II informed the Director of *Oberhofbaudirektion* in October 1786: "Ich überschicke Ihnen hier einen Plan desjenigen Terrains worauf in Lemberg ein Theater, und eine Wohnung für den Gouverneur zu erbauen der Antrag ist: Sie

Only one year later, further restructuring took place when the Habsburg construction administration for public buildings again passed into the custody of the Court Chamber as the supreme financial administration, as had already been the situation during Maria Theresa's reign. In 1789, the Director of the *Oberhofbaudirektion*, Ernst Christoph Count Kaunitz-Rietberg, resigned from his post after seventeen years, and Court Architect Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg took over as interim head of the *Oberhofbaudirektion*.[48] This provisional arrangement as well as these months' incomplete archive material already indicate that the *Oberhofbaudirektion*, installed in 1783, would be in liquidation only a few years later. The death of Joseph II in March 1790 prevented a quick decision to end this workaround. In 1791, his brother and successor to the throne, Leopold II, again assigned regional building agendas to the provincial offices.[49]

Conclusion

Economics, or economic utility, was an issue that dominated the discourse of rulers and administrators during this period of transition to a capitalist economy, and it can also be seen as guiding the actions of the Josephist reforms. Economically based motives corresponding to an enlightened absolutism that accorded with Joseph II's ideas (centralism, state intervention, cost reduction, and public welfare) are also clearly reflected in the reform of the Habsburg Monarchy's construction administration for public buildings. With the establishment of the *Oberhofbaudirektion* in Vienna, the Emperor created a central controlling office managing all construction matters (public buildings, hydraulic engineering, roads) financed from public funds. At the same time, this office had to ensure uniform procedures and processes in building authorities that had previously operated independently. The first priority was to find solutions for the immediate increase in demand for state buildings in the Hereditary lands, which was to be dealt with by administrative measures. The intention was to increase efficiency and rationalise administrative processes in construction engineering, in order to simplify and speed up the various building projects. With this in mind, the *Ingenieurs-Directiva* (1784) were issued by the *Oberhofbaudirektion* as a guide to action, which, in addition to regulations on cost accounting, provisions on responsibilities, and guidelines on personnel acquisition, also provided for a standardised presentation of all architectural designs. The *Ingenieurs-Directiva* implied a strictly utilitarian orientation of building tasks and the renunciation of any individual and artistic pretension in building designs, as well as

---

werden also entweder durch Hillebrand oder Höchenberg einen ganz einfachen Plan einer solchen Präsidenten Wohnung und ihrer Eintheilung entwerfen lassen, und dem hierzu erforderlichen Aufwand beyläufig berechnen, und falls Ihnen hiezu einige Auskünfte abgängig wären, solche von dem Lemberger Gubernio erheben und mir sodann das Ganze vorlegen," Vienna, HHStA, KA, KK, Protokolle und Indizes 40, Nr. 766 (October 15, 1786).

48 Anna Mader-Kratky, *Der Wiener Hofarchitekt Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg (1733–1816)* (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2017), p. 159.

49 Vienna, HHStA, HA, HBA 107, Nr. 427 (May 7, 1791).

a mechanical conception of architecture based on nominalist principles. Subsequently, the accent clearly shifts from beauty to science when architecture is subjected to the primacy of economics.

Raluca Mureşan (Paris)

Transforming churches into theaters in the Habsburg Monarchy: *Economy* versus Character in Josephist architectural policy

This study draws attention to an unexplored, yet significant phenomenon among the Early Modern period's urban architectural practices: the reuse of a building, the act of transforming one architectural program into another. The precise type of reuse examined here – the conversion of churches into public theatres – is particularly intriguing for two reasons. First, reusing former monasteries already proved to be a central issue in the Habsburg Monarchy in the aftermath of the Jesuit orders' dissolution in 1773, and after all contemplative orders' abolishment in 1782. Second, this type of reconstruction implies the mixture of two architectural programs featuring different visual markers that express the character of each.

Character and economic efficiency are two concepts central to European architectural theory in the second half of the 18th and the early 19th century. The terms "character" and "appropriateness"[1] refer to the suitability of all of a building's visual aspects for representing its function and the social status of its owner. Developed mainly in the French treatise of the former Jesuit monk Marc-Antoine Laugier, then by Jacques-François Blondel and Le Camus de Mézières,[2] the theory of character played a relevant role in some of the treatises published in the Holy Roman Empire and in the eastern Habsburg lands.[3] It is also found in the writings of Christian Rieger, a leading figure among the Habsburg Monarchy's building specialists. In 1747–60, he was mathematics teacher at the Viennese *Theresianum*, the most

---

1   French *caractère*; German *Charakter*. French *convenance, bienséance*; German *Angemessenheit*. The two concepts are used with this common meaning by Jacques-François Blondel (1771), while Marc-Antoine Laugier uses mainly the term *bienséance* and Germain Boffrand (1745), Le Camus de Mézières (1780) and Quatremère de Quincy (1788) prefer the term *caractère*. I am therefore using them here as mere synonyms, even if slight variations of meaning differentiated these two concepts' significance in 17th and 18th century architectural theory. For a general presentation of these concepts see Werner Szambien, *Symétrie, goût, caractère: théorie et terminologie de l'architecture à l'âge classique 1550–1800* (Paris: Picard, 1986), pp. 167–199.

2   Aside from Marc-Antoine Laugier (*Essai sur l'architecture*, Paris, 1754), other architects also used the concept, especially Jacques-François Blondel (*Cours d'architecture*, II, Paris, 1771), Germain Boffrand (*Livre d'architecture*, Paris, 1745), and Le Camus de Mézières (*Le Génie de l'architecture ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*, 1780). See Werner Szambien, *Symétrie, goût, caractère*, pp. 174–179.

3   For the Holy Roman Empire, see the analysis of the anonymous *Untersuchungen über den Charakter der Gebäude* (1785). According to Jörg Biesler, the sensualist interpretation of the notion of character promoted by Boffrand and by Le Camus de Mézières had the largest echo in German architectural theory in the 18th century. Jörg Biesler, *BauKunstKritik: Deutsche Architekturtheorie im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Reimer, 2005), pp. 193–224.

prestigious noble academy in the Habsburg lands devoted to high bureaucrats' education.[4] As for economic efficiency, it is a concept often linked to French Empire architecture.[5] Here efficiency is, nonetheless, to be studied in the narrower sense of the reduction of those expenses accepted by the Holy Roman Empire's cameralist tradition.[6] Such an interest in finance had undergone an early and notable development in the Habsburg Monarchy since the establishment of the Court Board of Works *(Hofbauamt)* under the authority of the Court Chamber in 1772. Then, in 1780, Joseph II explicitly asked the new Superior Building Directorate *(k. k. Oberhofbaudirektion)* to cease new ambitious building projects, in order to "focus rather on preserving existing buildings and gardens […] as economically as possible, by making only the most indispensable expenses".[7]

All relatively important construction works of the time had to observe the requirements of economy as well as of character or appropriateness. As a consequence of the quest for fiscal responsibility urged by Joseph II since 1780, transforming existing buildings appeared to be an appropriate option. But to what extent did such a reuse practice fit the character of the church buildings' newly transformed function? Moreover, the public theatre was an emerging architectural task in the Habsburg Monarchy's towns, and its formal characteristics were still the object of intense debates. According to the theory of character, theatre halls needed good acoustics and visibility, while their façade and inner decoration had to be joyful, open towards the city, and possess lavishly adorned rooms for the public. If reusing a former church is in itself an expression of the quest for thrift, does that mean that issues regarding character were necessarily neglected? In other words, is there a contradiction between the interest in character and economic considerations?

I will answer these questions through an analysis of the specific economic, functional, and aesthetic debates occurring during the churches' transformation into theatres. To what extent were former convents architecturally transformed in order to suit their new function? Were such adaptations necessarily seen as second-hand buildings? I will explore three complementary directions: First, I will survey the historiography of reuse. Second, I will explain the scale of this reuse practice, by analysing the profiles of the actors involved in the decision-making process, as well as those that managed the diffusion of the information on such

---

4   Laugier had an important impact on the Habsburg Monarchy, as evidenced in the treatise of Christian Rieger. See Christian Rieger, *Universae architecturae civilis elementa* (Vienna: Johann Thomas Trattner 1756). See also Adam Németh, "A városépítészet mint a kormányzati tudás eleme a 18. századi Bécsben: a Lipótváros Schilson-féle tervének intézményi összefüggései," *Urbs* 12 (2018), pp. 229–256, here pp. 235–238.

5   Georges Teyssot, "Types, programmes et régularités: La diffusion des principes architecturaux au sein du Conseil des bâtiments civils sous le Consulat et l'Empire," *Villes et territoire pendant la période napoléonienne (France et Italie): Actes du colloque de Rome (3–4 mai 1984)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987), pp. 231–245, here pp. 238–239. Werner, Szambien, *Symétrie, goût, caractère*, p. 158.

6   On cameralist thinking's reception in German architectural theory, see Biesler, *BauKunstKritik*, pp. 79–83.

7   See also Mader-Kratky's contribution to this volume, as well as Anna Mader-Kratky, "Karrieremodelle im Wiener Hofbauamt des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Präzedenz, Netzwerke und Transfers: Kommunikationsstrukturen von Herrscherhöfen und Adelsresidenzen in der Frühen Neuzeit,* ed. Gerhard Ammerer, Ingonda Hannesschläger, Milan Hlavačka, and Martin Holý (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2016), pp. 149–168.

theatres installed in former churches. Finally, I will review the different formal solutions utilized in order to transform a church into a theatre, as well as the disputes that emerged during the rebuilding process.

Transforming former convents into public spaces: a historiographical gap

After 1782, when Joseph II abolished contemplative orders, a huge number of unused buildings became available. Thus, during the 1780s and 1790s many former monasteries hosted public and military offices, schools, hospitals, and various commercial spaces. More than half of the former convent-churches became local parishes or were used by other monastic orders, yet many others were adapted for secular activities.[8] Entire urban districts received a new shape and a new institutional character thanks to the former convents' transformation into buildings used for other purposes.

Yet, architectural scholarship has previously mistreated such practices of reuse, suggesting that they were mere improvisations, and thus held a lesser quality by architectural standards. For instance, in Renate Wagner-Rieger's eyes, secularised convents' architectural transformation did not present any "importance from an artistic point of view" even if she acknowledged that they may be interesting from a cultural and historical point of view.[9] Architectural historians have focused mainly on original constructions conceived by well-known architects. Reuse is, however, not only extremely common in the field of urban development, but it can also be the object of complex aesthetical and technical considerations. In Central Europe, this phenomenon was explored in more detail only in the Kingdom of Hungary. In particular, István Nagy and György Kelényi have emphasized that the transformation of Buda's old cityscape into an administrative capital city was achieved thanks to the readaptation of former convents.[10] More recently, Márta Velladics has provided a more comprehensive study of the fate of property and movable assets belonging to the Kingdom of Hungary's abolished contemplative orders. Realized thanks to a thorough study of the *Religionsfonds* archives, Velladics's research presents a statistical analysis that reveals the ratio of each kind of reassignment of Hungary's former convents. However, this research does not deal with the ways in which readaptations worked, or were conducted and evaluated, from an architectural

---

8 Márta Velladics presents a precise statistical analysis revealing the ratio of each kind of reassignment in the Kingdom of Hungary, see Márta Velladics, *A II. Józsefbeli szerzetesrendi abolíció művészettörténeti vonatkozásai* (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2001), p. 107.

9 Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970), p. 54.

10 Nagy István, "II József reformjai Budán," *Tanulmányok Budapest Multjából* 15 (1963), pp. 363–402. According to Nagy, esthetical considerations seldom came up during the rebuilding processes. In Buda, the architect Franz Anton Hillebrandt had been assigned to pay attention only to the creation of a new aesthetic for the parliament's façade (*Land-Haus*). György Kelényi, *A klasszicizalo késöbarokk épitészete Magyarorszagon* (Dr. Hab. Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005), pp. 213–222.

point of view. In other countries of the former Habsburg Monarchy, this perspective has been largely neglected.[11]

On a European scale, the phenomenon of assigning former convents to new purposes has been seen above all as a consequence of the French Revolution.[12] However, French historiography still lacks a thorough study of secularised convents' architectural adaptation during the French First Empire. Recently, Pierre Pinon has addressed this issue in a short article, in which he also emphasizes the ambiguous link between the quest for "character" and the requirements for economy and efficiency imposed by the *Conseil des Bâtiments Civils* founded in 1796.[13] Only rare research, focussing on a few case studies or dealing with the economical building policies promoted by the *Conseil des Bâtiments Civils*, briefly mentions the architectural stakes of the reuse phenomenon.[14] The massive and large-scale consequences of the architectural reforms implemented under Joseph II are still largely neglected outside of Central Europe.

In the Austrian Duchies and in Galicia, several theatre-historians have briefly mentioned the frequent development of theatrical spaces installed in former churches from the 1780s up to the beginning of the 19th century.[15] Controversies concerning this specific kind of reuse

---

11 Only recently, Anna Mader-Kratky has pointed to some of the adaptations of former convents in her work on Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg. See Anna Mader-Kratky, *Der Wiener Hofarchitekt Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg (1733–1816)* (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2017), pp. 152–154.

12 For instance, Giulianna Ricci, in her book on Italian theatre architecture, states that transformation of churches into theatres may have been the result of French influences, see Giuliana Ricci, *I teatri d'Italia: dalla Magna Grecia all'Ottocento* (Milan: Bramante Editrice, 1971), pp. 194–195. Ursula Quecke also sees the replacement of the churches by theatres as an influence of French Enlightenment, see Ursula Quecke, "Aspekte des Oberitalienischen Theaterbaus vom 16.-19. Jahrhundert," *Teatro: Eine Reise zu den oberitalienischen Theatern des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts*, exhib. cat. Österreichisches Theatermuseum, eds. Siegried Albrecht, Ulrike Dembski, Susane Grötz, Erwin Herzberger, and Ursula Quecke (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2001), pp. 14–27, here p. 26. These authors present the examples of the theatres in Argenta (1802), Adria (1803), Ancona (1810), Vigevano (1800), the *Filodramatico* theatre in Milan (1798), as well as those built in place of demolished churches in Radegonda and Carcano Lentasi, or the la *Scala* in Milan.

13 Pierre Pinon stresses the fact that even if reappropriation of former convents was theoretically possible as early as 1792, it is only during the Napoleonic period that such architectural projects were drawn. Pierre Pinon, "La grande mutation des couvents sous l'Empire," *L'Architecture de l'Empire entre France et Italie*, eds. Letizia Tedeschi, Daniel Rabreau (Mendrisio: Mendrisio Academy Press/ Silvana Editoriale, 2012), pp. 83–94, here pp. 83–84.

14 Lauren M. O'Connel, "Redefining the past: Revolutionary architecture and the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils," *The Art Bulletin* 77/2 (June 1995), pp. 207–224, here pp. 209–210; Georges Teyssot, "Type, program and regularity: The diffusion of architectural principles in the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils at the beginning of the nineteenth century in France," *Princeton Journal of Architecture* 3 (1989), pp. 119–137; D. Hermant, "Destructions et vandalisme pendant la Révolution française," *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations* 33/4 (1978), pp. 703–719; Tatiana Bailleul, "Les enjeux de la reconversion des couvents nationalisés sous la Révolution française: le cas du Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris (fin XVIIIᵉ–début XIXᵉ siècle)," *Actes des congrès nationaux des sociétés historiques et scientifiques* 137/5 (2014), pp. 117–129.

15 Kazimierz Nowacki, *Dzieje teatru w Krakowie: Architektura krakowskich teatrów* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1982), pp. 32–40. Jerzy Got, *Das österreichische Theater in Krakau im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), p. 22. Jerzy Got, *Das österreichische Theater in Lemberg im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: aus dem Theaterleben der Vielvölkermonarchie,* I (Vienna: Österreichische Akade-

were also mainly conducted from the perspective of Enlightenment studies in which theatre and church are outlined as rival institutions.[16] Even though these studies stress the reuse phenomenon's widescale character, as well as its importance for urban development, they rarely discuss its impact on the architectural level.

For all these reasons, the present research is also relevant from a historiographical point of view, as it draws attention to the large scale, complexity, and early character of such architectural transformations in the Habsburg Monarchy. Furthermore, it deepens our understanding of the ways in which concepts of architectural quality, as discussed in theoretical writings and in administrative reforms of building matters, were practically applied in ordinary building projects.

Making a theatre out of a church: frequency, actors, reasons, and judgements

In his report from Vienna written on November 1, 1780, Jakob Friedrich von Stockmayer described "a century when churches are often transformed into theatres and ballrooms for the public".[17] This image has become a *topos* widely disseminated in Enlightenment studies. But what was the actual frequency of the transformations and what were the circumstances surrounding the practice in the Habsburg Monarchy?

Out of a total of approximately fifty theatre construction projects designed between 1770 and 1815, no less than fourteen concerned adaptations of former churches (table). Ten were actually executed, yet only three survive to this day: one in Steyr (Upper Austria – fig. 8), one in Wiener Neustadt, and another in Buda (Hungary – fig. 1). Along with ballroom halls, administrative buildings, and dwellings, churches were among the constructions frequently transformed into theatres.[18] Such theatres were often the first durable buildings entirely des-

---

mie der Wissenschaften, 1997), p. 45. Franz Pfeffer, "150 Jahre Steyrer Stadttheater: Zur Theatergeschichte der Stadt Steyr," *Veröffentlichungen des Kulturamtes der Stadt Steyr* 19 (1959), pp. 37–42; Juliana Neuhuber, *Das alte Steyrer Stadttheater: Ein Abriss der Steyrer Kulturgeschichte* (master thesis, University of Vienna, 2004), p. 16.

16 Beside the already mentioned studies of Jerzy Got, see also Adam Németh, "The church of Saint James and Saint Philip in Nyitraszerdahely and the stakes of church building during the Josephine reforms." Paper presented at the Vienna conference *Baroque parish churches and their decoration: A new field of research*. The research group for Baroque Ceiling Painting in Central Europe (BCPCE), October 23 – October 25, 2017. Hans Lange, *Vom Tribunal zum Tempel*: *Zur Architektur und Geschichte deutscher Hoftheater zwischen Vormärz und Restauration* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, n.d. [1985]), p. 28.

17 I owe this quotation to Gernot Mayer. Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A 10, 2, Berichte von Stockmayer aus Wien 1780: "Le Prince d'Auersperg a dessein, dit-on, de convertir en chapelle le théâtre de [Franz Jakob] Scherzer. Cet éxample seroit bien étonnant dans un siècle accoûtumé à voir changer les Eglises en Salles aux Spectacles, ou à [?] danser pour la comodité du Public."

18 According to the statistical analysis made by Marta Velladics, based on a study of the *Religionsfond* of the Kingdom of Hungary, reassignments of former churches for theatrical purposes seem an isolated phenomenon. In her study, only 14.81 % of the monastic buildings were repurposed for cultural or social activities. In contrast,

Fig. 1. Main façade of the former theatre and casino, installed in the former Carmelite Convent in, Buda. Photograph by the author, 2010.

ignated for theatrical performances in their towns. Previous stages were usually erected either in wooden huts, or in halls belonging to a diverse range of buildings.

Buda and Ľviv were two administrative metropolises that had such theatres installed in a former church, in 1786 and 1789 respectively. In both cases, the decision to transform the church was made by the central administration leaders of each land – that is count Kristóf Niczky, president of the Hungarian Lieutenancy Council in Buda, and Galicia's governor, Count Joseph Brigido, in Ľviv. The theatrical impresario Franz Heinrich Bulla also played an important role in both the Hungarian and Galician capitals. He proposed to temporarily reuse the Buda church as early as 1785, and, after moving to Ľviv in 1789, he became the patron of its new theatre.[19] Reconstruction works were conducted by provincial public building

---

the survey from my PhD dissertation, based on the archives of several offices of public works, points to several other examples and suggests the frequent nature of functional conversions for theatrical purposes. Raluca Muresan, *Bâtir un temple des muses: une histoire sociale, culturelle et politique de l'architecture des théâtres publics dans la partie orientale de la Monarchie des Habsbourg (vers 1770–1812)* (PhD diss., Sorbonne-Université, 2020), pp. 388–390. See also Velladics, *A II. Józsefbeli szerzetesrendi*, p. 79.

19 Even if Franz Heinrich Bulla is sometimes described as the patron of both theatres, it is important to note that his demand submitted to the Buda Lieutenancy Council was refused, and the church was transformed according to the plans drawn up by Wolfgang von Kempelen in response to the order given by Joseph II to count Kristóf Niczky. Alice Reininger, *Wolfgang von Kempelen: Eine Biographie* (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2009), p. 222. In Ľviv, even if the impresario was the patron, the governor already intended to install a theatre near the former

authorities *(Landesbaudirektionen)*, and in Buda they were paid through a loan provided by the Royal Chamber, while the theatre became the municipality's property.[20] In Ľviv, Franz Heinrich Bulla paid the construction expenses, while the Chamber provided a financial support of 4,000 florins. Notably, none of the engineers working for the two *Landesbaudirektionen* seemed to have been involved in the theatres' construction, even if their influence had grown since the reforms implemented in 1788.[21] All plans and reports were instead signed by chief architects or chief directors. In Hungary, the *Landesbaudirektion* was presided over by the famous inventor Wolfgang von Kempelen, whereas in Galicia the Cameral Building Direction of the *Gubernium* was led by Gottfried Mörz.

In smaller towns, such as Steyr (1796) and Wiener Neustadt (1792–94), projects for former churches' reuse were mainly presented as an opportunity for the municipality to possess its own theatre, and to reject projects from private investors.[22] In this regard, reusing practices served to promote the viability of a city-owned public theatre. According to a conception widely diffused at the end of the 18th century, a publicly-owned theatre was supposed to better serve the urban community's global progress, unlike one owned by a private investor.[23]

In Maribor, local citizens founded a theatrical committee in 1785. They acquired the *Freihaus* structure, belonging to a former Cistercian convent, and redesigned it in order to organize amateur performances as well as host itinerant theatrical troops.[24] As this first theatrical space was not considered suitable enough, the same committee of local citizens in 1806 requested permission to reuse the former Celestin church, and in 1810, the Holy Spirit Church next to the municipal hospital.[25] The first two theatrical halls converted from former churches had only a brief existence, but the latter was in use until 1851. Also in Chrudim, several local citizens financed a theatre following the initiative of the regional *Haupt-*

---

church before the arrival of Franz Heinrich Bulla. See a plan of the former Franciscan convent's quarter dating from 1787, in which a location for a theatre is already provided next to the church. CSHAUL [Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Ľviv], F 726, Opis n° 1/ Sprava 1359, fol. 3. I thank Ulyana Uska for helping me during my research stay in Ľviv.

20 Muresan, *Bâtir un temple des muses*, pp. 673–674.

21 In the aftermath of the unification of the water and civil works offices, the former hydraulic offices' *(Wasserbaudirektion)* chief engineers were designated chiefs of the newly created *Landesbaudirectionen*. It was the case of engineer Stanislas Heppe in Buda since 1788, and also of engineer Liesganiq in Ľviv in 1792. Liesganiq thus became the chief of Gottfried Mörz. OeStA, NHK, OeKaale, Fasz 11, N° 689/928 ex mars 1792 (Liesganiq's appointment as the head of the office); László Bendefy, "A magyar kamarai mérnöki intézmény kialakulása, 1650–1850," *Levéltári Szemle*, 20/3 (1970), pp. 548–571, here pp. 562–564.

22 Neuhuber, *Steyrer Stadttheater*, pp. 20–22; Peter Zumpf, *Chronik eines Theaters: Wiener Neustadt 1794–1994* (Wiener Neustadt: Merbod, 1994), p. 18.

23 For the debate concerning the utility of a public theatre, see Elisabeth Großegger, *Das Burgtheater und sein Publikum*, II/1: *Pächter und Publikum* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989), pp. 70–73.

24 Bruno Hartman, "Das deutsche und das slowenische Theater in Maribor," *Kulturelle Wechselseitigkeit in Mitteleuropa: Deutsche und slowenische Kultur im slowenischen Raum vom Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Feliks J. Bister and Peter Vodopivec (Ljubljana: Oddelek za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 1995), p. 208.

25 Hartmann, *Theater,* p. 209.

mann Markvart Josef Koc, who bought the former chapel of St John the Baptist for that purpose.[26] Finally, the impresario Franz Weilhammer in Zagreb (1788) and Ludwig Wothe from Krakow (1797) also applied for the right to reuse a former church, just as the theatrical impresario Franz Heinrich Bulla had done in Buda and Ľviv.

As shown above, the actual patrons' and promoters' profile was relatively diverse. One may, thus, only rarely draw a direct link between the patron's profile and the choice for a specific type of reuse. The former churches' location was also an important criterion when it came to their desirability and their patrons' status. While centrally based churches, such as those in Buda and Ľviv, attracted several important promoters, those located toward the periphery of urban areas could remain empty for several years, as in Zagreb.[27]

The economic factor was without any doubt the main reason for the former churches' reuse in all cases. This is evidenced by the fact that several of these transformations followed the rejection of more ambitious theatre building projects in which a new construction or a complete reconstruction was required. In Buda, Franz Anton Hillebrandt had drawn up a project estimated in 1786 to 105,000 Florins. The plans are now lost, but we know that the design was supposed to follow the model of the theatre erected in 1774–76 in Bratislava.[28] In Ľviv, the printer Thomas Johann von Trattner intended in 1783–84 to construct an ambitious building, at his own expense, in return for a long list of privileges guaranteed by the central authorities. As a consequence of his list of privileges, his project was declared financially untenable for the city.[29]

Varying from around 1,014 florins 80 ½ kreuzer, as in Steyr,[30] up to cca. 40,000 florins,[31] as in Ľviv, the complete transformation of a church for theatrical purposes was indeed around two times cheaper than an entirely new theatre building. This is not only because the structures were reused, but also because building materials were extracted from partially demol-

---

26 Jan Puckert, "Chrudim Theatre", online Database *Theatre Architecture in Central Europe* grounded by the Arts and Theatre Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, https://www.theatre-architecture.eu/en/db/? filter %5Bcity %5D=Chrudim&theatreId=1337 (accessed April 8, 2021).

27 The Minorite Church in Ľviv was initially meant to serve as a library for the *Normalschule* installed in the former convent (see CSHAUL, F742, Opis 1, Sprava 1,514). In Steyr, the Ursulines attempted to create a school in the convent in 1782 (see Neuhuber, *Steyrer Stadttheater*, p. 17). The convent in Buda was initially meant to be entirely transformed into lodgings for statesmen (see Reininger, *Wolfgang von Kempelen*, pp. 220–221; MNL-OL, A39, 1786, n° 3,850, fol. 9–20). In exchange, the convent in Zagreb, located next to the city walls, was left empty for several years (see MNL-OL, E 44, book 2 (1784), microfilm X 20,981, doc. n° 2/12).

28 MNL-OL, C51, 1785/6, Fasc. 15/14, n° 10,871, fol. 3.

29 The plans for the theatre project of Johann Thomas von Trattner were published by Hristina Kovaľčuk, and the entrepreneurial particularities were analysed by Jerzy Got. CSHAUL, F.146, Opis 88, Sprava 1,333, fol. 20–21 (doc. October 31, 1783); Got, *Theater in Lemberg*, p. 25; Hristina Kovaľčuk, *Osoblyvosti architektury Ľvova XVIII–peršoyi polovyny XIX st.*, (Ľviv: Liha Press, 2005), table 2.9.

30 Neuhuber, *Steyrer Stadttheater*, p. 24–25.

31 Estimation of all building expenses from 1792, when a brand-new wing for a redoute *(Redoutenhaus)* was added to the initial theatre built in 1789. The building process's first phase, dating from 1789, was estimated at 12,113 florins and 39 kreuzer. Another 13,116 florins were engaged for further works during the next two years. Finally, the redoubte's construction costs were ca. 40,000 florins in 1792–94. Got, *Theater in Lemberg*, pp. 47–69.

ished structures. For instance, in Buda, where the expenses reached 28,362 florins 45 kreuzer, bricks from the church's former entrance were reused for the theatre façade's decoration. Stones were reused for the walls of the three garden g*loriettes*, as well as for the *casino* terrace's lateral walls. Even the theatre stage's weights were made of recovered stones. Fragments from the old roof were also reused for the newly created one.[32]

In order to better understand how the interest for the reuse of former churches increased relatively suddenly and on a large scale within a space of only twenty years, one should, above all, take a closer look at the actors involved in these architectural projects' evaluation. An overview of the administrative procedures concerning a former church's reassignment to another purpose shows that central authorities had an important role to play in the entire process. The reason is that former convents' property belonged to the so-called *Religionsfond*, a fund under the Imperial Court Chancellery's legislation. Such projects were usually discussed in the assemblies of each country's central administrations, and three were even recorded in the minutes of the Courtly State Council *(k. k. Staatsrat)* in Vienna.[33] Therefore, news about theatres installed in former churches may have been spread via the administration thanks to the relatively broad echo given to such practices amongst bureaucrats. Statesmen belonging to central administrations supported all of the initiatives that this study addresses: besides the already mentioned Counts Niczky and Brigido, it was also the case of the Ban of Croatia, count Ferenc Balassa, and of the Prince Johann Nepomuk Friedrich Lamberg in Steyr.[34]

Moreover, news about a transformation from a church to a theatre was also diffused in the press, and thus became familiar to theatrical impresarios and all sorts of theatre lovers. The theatre in L'viv is described only in the *Neuer Kurier aus Ungarn von Kriegs- und Staatssachen* and in the *Annalen des Theaters* in Berlin in 1789.[35] News of the theatre installed in Buda's former Carmelite church received the most widespread transmission, with no less than five descriptions circulating all over the Habsburg Monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire. The first description appeared in 1788 in a local publication. The same year, a long description of the theatre built in the Hungarian capital appeared in the section designated "Artworks – New Theatres" in Gotha's *Theater-Kalender*. An abstract of that article was published the same year in Hannover's *Dramaturgische Blätter*, another description appeared in 1789 in Buda's *Ungarische Staats- und Gelehrte Nachrichten*, and a final article was in Frankfurt's *Allgemeine Theater-Journal* in 1792.[36] In the aftermath of the theatre's inauguration, the parish priest

---

32 FVL, IV, 1002 [Buda] hh [Acta Theatralia], fol. 455–457. Quittance n° 137 on the repartition of the construction materials for the theatre and casino. For the building expenses estimate, see MNL-OL, A 39, 1786, n° 12,220.

33 OeStA, HHStA, SRP, RP, 1786: n° n° 3,142, n° 3,351; 1787 : n° 1,152; 1788 : 3,873 (on the theatre in Buda); 1789: n° 2,628; 1792 : 2,765, 3,154 (on the theatre in L'viv); 1797 : 3,409 (about the theatre in Krakow).

34 Neuhuber, *Steyrer Stadttheater*, p. 24.

35 *Der Neue Kurier aus Ungarn von Kriegs- und Staatssachen* 69 (1789), ed. Christian Hieronymus Moll, pp. 567–568; *Annalen des Theaters* (Berlin) (1790), ed. Christian August Bertram, p. 102.

36 *Etwas zum neuen Jahr den hohen Gönnern und Freunden beider königl. Städtischen Theater von Ofen und Pest gewidmet im Jahr 1788* (Pest: Mathias Trattner, 1788), p. 4. *Theater Kalender auf das Jahr 1788,* ed. Heinrich Au-

János Dianovszki and the canon József Erdély dealt with the topic of converting churches into theatres in two published sermons. If Dianovszki called for comprehension towards the adaptation of "redundant churches [...] to other uses, even if that means that they become taverns or playhouses", the second insisted on the sacrality and inviolability of church buildings.[37]

Overall, at least four churches that were transformed into theatres were described in the press during the last two decades of the 18th century.[38] One could rightly suppose that the wide distribution of the news about the Buda theatre encouraged other theatre lovers to apply for the reuse of secularized churches. It is, nonetheless, impossible to measure to what extent these theatres' descriptions inspired the transformation of other churches for theatrical purposes, as the newly inaugurated theatres' building processes were rarely described in the theatrical press. The fact remains that several theatrical impresarios defended similar projects in the years following the opening of the Hungarian capital's well-known theatre. The Buda theatre was also highly praised in contemporary press articles. In the description published in the Gotha's famous journal *Theater Kalender*, the reassignment process is depicted as follows: "The formless machine of the former church was transformed into one of the nicest theatres thanks to the best redistribution of its clump-like parts."[39] Similar terms are employed in the descriptions of other theatres. For instance, the L'viv building is described as "regular [and] spacious", while the one in Maribor is characterized as "the first pretty theatre" of the town.[40] Thus, the large and positive response given to some of these theatres suggests that the reuse of churches was not perceived as a low-quality work, even if it was obviously a second choice motivated by the lack of funds for a brand-new building.

Due to their dimensions, which were usually quite large, and because of their advantageous location, theatres installed in former churches were quite ambitious projects and interest in these transformed buildings' character was often explicit. The emperor Joseph II himself studied the project in Buda, the Hungarian capital, and insisted that the former church had to "lose the aspect of a church, inside as well as outside, in order to become a theatre".[41] In a letter from

---

gust Ottokar Reichard (Gotha: Ettinger, 1788), p. 82–88. Adolph Franz Friedrich Ludwig von Knigge, *Dramaturgie Blätter* (Hannover) 1 (1788), p. 15. Heinrich Gottlieb Schmieder, *Allgemeines Theaterjournal* (Frankfurt am Main) 2 (1792), pp. 117–118.

37 János Dianovszki, *Prédikátzió, mellyet mondott* [...] (Bratislava: Landerer, 1787), p. 7–11. József Erdélyi, *Tanúság a templomok tiszteletérűl, mellyet a nyitra zerdahelyi új templomban [...]* (Vácz: Ambró Ny., 1788). Quoted after Németh, "The church of Saint James" (Paper presented at the Vienna conference *Baroque parish churches and their decoration: A new field of research* by Research Group BCPCE, October 23–25, 2017).

38 Besides the theatres analysed here, one should also mention the description of the theatre in Elbląg published in 1794 in *Rheinische Musen* (Mannheim), 2 (1794), pp. 88–89.

39 *Theater Kalender auf das Jahr 1788*, ed. Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard, p. 82: "[D]ie ganz unförmliche Maschine jener ehemaligen Kirche durch die genaueste Eintheilung ihrer klumpenartigen-Theile zu einem der niedlichsten Theater umgestaltet wurde."

40 *Annalen des Theaters* (Berlin) (1790), ed. Christian August Bertram, p. 102 ("ein ordentliches, geräumiges Gebäude"). Rudolf Gustav Puff, *Marburg in Steiermark, seine Umgebung, Bewohner und Geschichte* (Gratz: Andr. Leykam'sche Erben, 1847), I, p. 37 ("[das] erste hübsche Theater").

41 MNL-OL, A 39, 1786, n° 10,107, fol. 4v ("die Kirche, welche sowohl von äußeren, als von inwendig die Gestalt

the Galician *Gubernium* based in Ľviv, we read that one of Gottfried Mörz's major qualities was his capacity to "transform the exterior of the church" into a theatre building.[42]

Formal solutions and technical achievements

Did former churches have special formal features that made their reuse as a theatre more appropriate than for other purposes? According to Marta Velladics' survey for Hungary, only half of the churches belonging to abolished convents were actually secularized, while the others were transformed into parish churches or adopted by other monastic orders.[43] This may lead us to conclude that these churches' architecture was difficult to transform for other purposes. One may also expect these churches to possess certain acoustical qualities. However, what do actual practices of reuse tell us about such assumptions? An analysis of several previously unpublished visual and written archival sources will exhibit these theatres' formal and technical achievements.

Distribution

The auditorium was always located in the church's former nave, as this area was high enough to accommodate three or even four rows of boxes. These rows were always entirely overlapping, even in the case of later theatres. The stage replaced either the apse as in Buda (fig. 2), Ľviv (fig. 3–4), and Steyr (fig. 6–7), or the narthex, such as in Zagreb (fig. 9) and Chrudim, or the presbytery as in Maribor.[44] The roof-space and sometimes the crypt were used for stage-machines. The former narthex often served as an entrance hall or staircase. In Maribor the bell-tower was preserved and its first floor assigned to the ticket office.[45] New and broader staircases were always created, and thus a large narthex was ideal, as it allowed for larger staircases.

Churches with one single and broad nave were obviously more suitable for theatres such as the Clarisses' church in Zagreb (fig. 9), the church in Wiener Neustadt, and in Steyr

---

einer Kirche verlieren muß, zu einem Theater [...] zuzurichten, und auszunutzen" – Letter sent by the Courtly Chancellery to the Hungarian Lieutenancy Council).

42 CSHAUL, F. 146, Opis 77, Sprava 16, fol. 31 ("Und weil sich von der Wirksamkeit des Baudirektors Mörz alles erwarten läßt, so ist auch nicht zu zweifeln daß Er [...] dieses Redouten Hauß nebst Veränderung der äußerlichen Kirchen Gestalt, in welche gegenwärtig das Theater eingehüllet ist, [...] vollkommen zu Stande bringen [...] [wird]. " – report of the *k.k. Cameral und Provinzial Buchhalterey* addressed to the *Gubernium*, February 6, 1792, n° 21, 856).

43 Velladics, *A II. Józsefbeli szerzetesrendi*, p. 107.

44 In Maribor, the entrance was located in the former apse. Igor Sapač, "The Slovene National Theatre Maribor," online Database *Theatre architecture in Central Europe* grounded by the Arts and Theatre Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, https://www.theatre-architecture.eu/db/?theatreId=248&detail=history &page=2 (accessed June 20, 2021). The plan of the Buda theatre was published in Anna Józsa, "The beginnings of public theatre architecture in Hungary in the age of enlightenment," *Pollack Periodica*, 8/1 (2013), pp. 109–122.
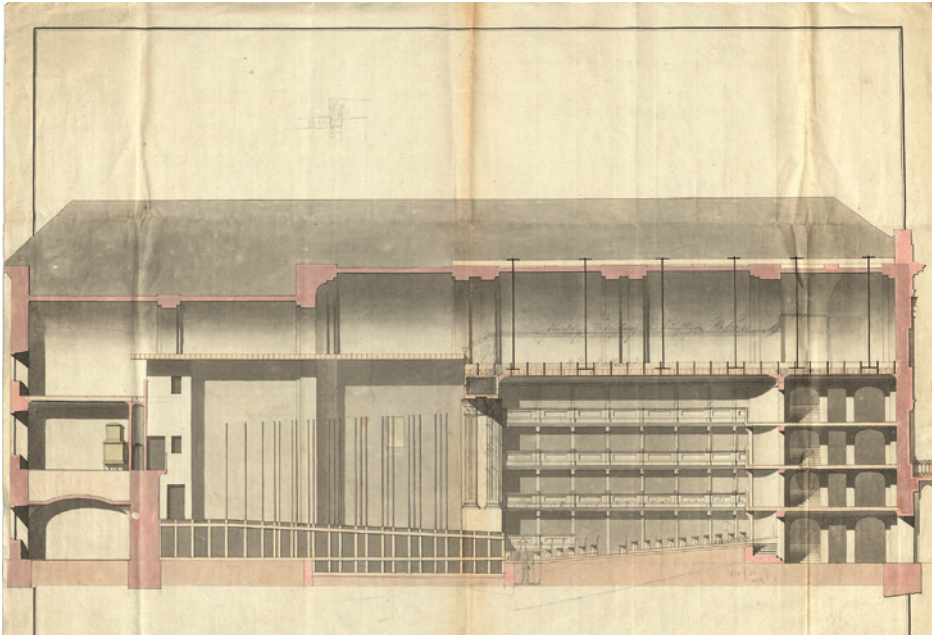
45 Puff, *Marburg*, p. 87.

Fig. 2. Longitudinal section of the theatre, Buda, 1787. National Archives of Hungary, MNL-OL, T73, n° 44/1–4, 1853. The year 1787 is inscribed on the rear of the plan. We see here the initial state of the theatre. Alterations of the height and of the inclination of the auditorium were added by pencil in 1853.
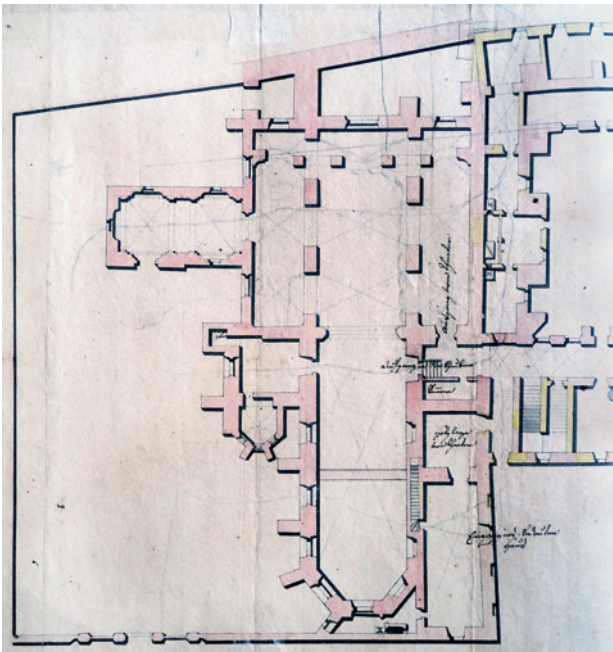

Fig. 3. Plan of the Franciscan convent made for its adaption in a school, detail, L'viv, 1787. CSHAUL (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in L'viv), F742, n° 1541. The plan shows the structure of the old church. The main lines of the theatre-auditorium's shape, as well as some indications for the exits, were sketched on the surface of the main nave with pencil.
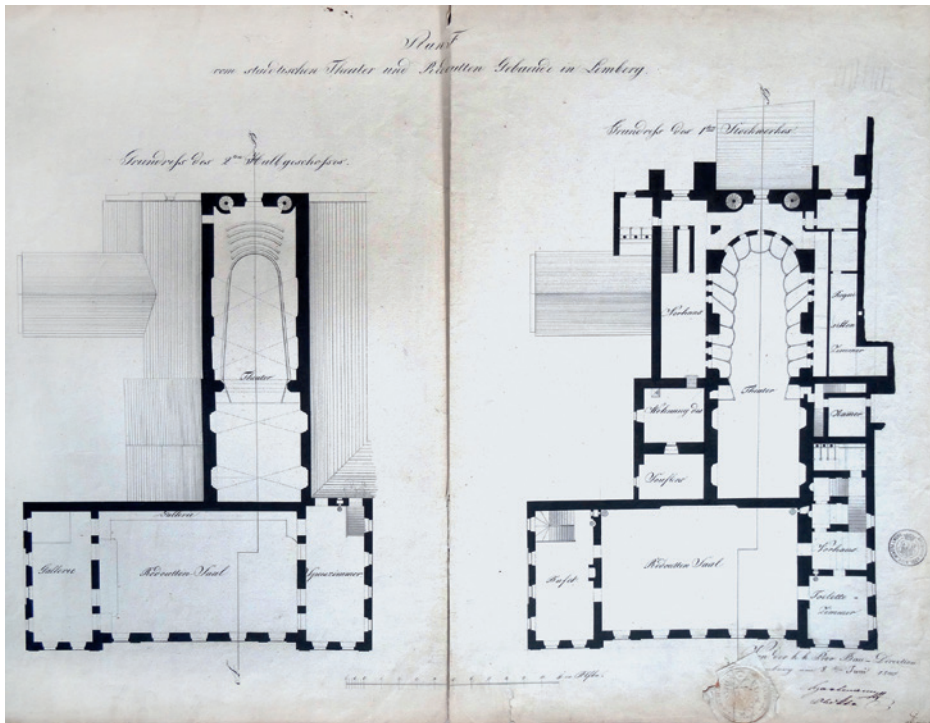
Fig. 4. Plan of the theatre and redoute, L'viv, first and second floors, 1840, CSHAUL, F742, n° 1473. The plan shows an auditorium identical in terms of proportions with the one sketched on the plan of the church from 1787. One may also recognize the proportions of the former side naves of the church transformed into a "Vorhaus" and a "Requisiten Zimmer", as well as the ones of former two chapels adapted into an apartment for the souffleur. The apse of the church was demolished. A new building for the redoute, perpendicular to the length of the church, recovers the surface of the former choir and the one of the courtyard.

(fig. 6). The Carmelite Church in Buda had a similar configuration, with a nave bordered by side chapels. Unlike polygonal apses, these three churches' square-shaped choirs also provided more stage space and was suitable for storage purposes. On the other hand, the former Franciscan Basilica in L'viv was more complicated to adapt, because of the main and side naves' unequal height (fig. 3). The theatre's auditorium and stage were installed in the central nave and in the first bay of the choir, while offices, wardrobes, and stores were installed in the side naves. The choir was left unused until 1792, when it was demolished in order to build the redoute. Halls for socialising were usually quite narrow when they were inserted in the church's former structure. A wider range of socialising rooms could be achieved only when adjacent rooms of the convent were assigned to the theatre – as in Buda or in Steyr – or when a new wing was built for a redoute *(Redouten-Haus)* – as in L'viv (fig. 4).

In the majority of these theatres, the auditorium formed either a conservative U shape or a rectangle, just like the major part of the Central European theatre buildings erected from

Fig. 5. Façade of the redoute, Ľviv, fragment of a poster for the reo-pening of the redoute on October 6, 1796. Got, *Das Österreichische Theater in Lemberg* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), p. 86. One may identify on this drawing the main façade of the redoute by comparing the number of windows and the proportions of its side avant-corps with the ones visible on the plan from 1840.
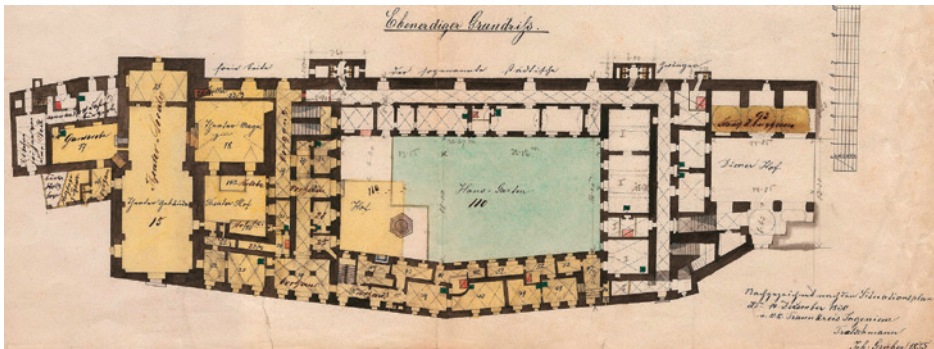

Fig. 6. Plan of the former theatre and redoute installed in the former Celestin convent in Steyr, 1855, Abteilung für Altstadterhaltung und Denkmalpflege der Stadt Steyr.

the beginning of the 18th century onwards. The Ľviv theatre's deep and narrow auditorium suggests that its builder was more interested in the auditorium's large capacity than in visibility or acoustics. Nonetheless, one alternative plan for the theatre would be to use the church's consistent size, repurposing some of its bays to create a more central auditorium, which would have had in turn enabled greater visibility and better acoustics. Such a solution was not adopted, as a longer auditorium was preferred in order to create an increased number of boxes, ensuring the enterprise's higher profitability. The architect Gottfried Mörz tried to solve the visibility problem by introducing a series of curves, similar to the stepped boxes in several Italian theatres.[46] The multiple links between Ľviv and northern Italy promoted by the governor Joseph Brigido may explain this resemblance.

Similarly, Wolfgang von Kempelen, the Hungarian Building Authorities Director, de-clared that he had studied the theatres in Vienna when he drew up the plans for the Buda auditorium. This assertion is confirmed by the similarities between the theatre-hall in Buda

---

46 Michael Forsyth, *Buildings for music: The architect, the musician, and the listener from the seventeenth century to the present day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 83.
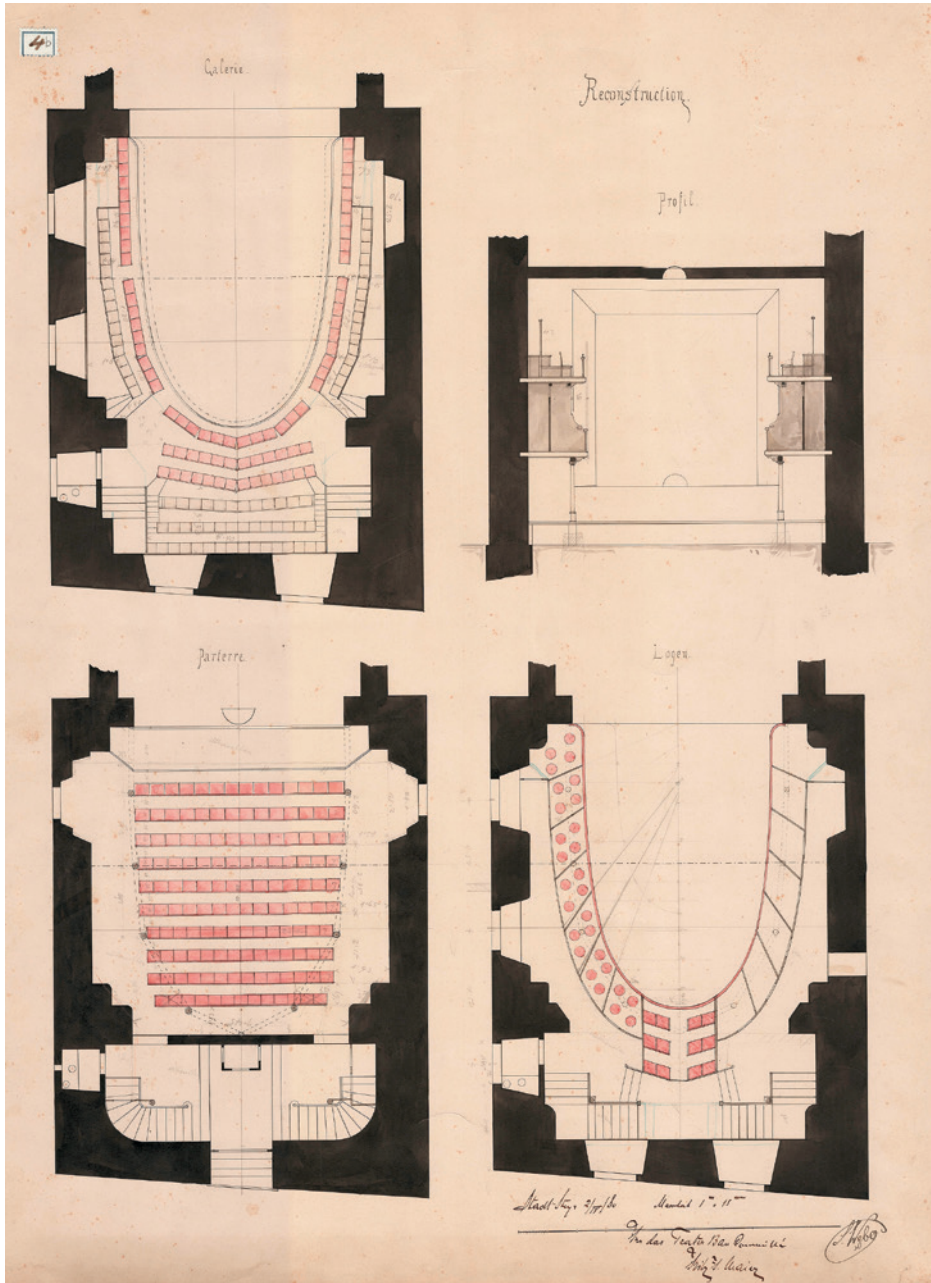
Fig. 7. Plan of the theatre auditorium in Steyr, 1855, Abteilung für Altstadterhaltung und Denkmalpflege der Stadt Steyr. The auditorium was installed in the former nave . Staircases were installed in the first span. The former triumphal arch was converted into a proscenium.

and the *Kärntnertortheater* designed in 1763 by Nikolaus Pacassi. For the stage, Kempelen claimed to have taken the *Leopoldstadttheater* as model.[47] Thus, the former church's geometrical structure was attentively transformed by taking inspiration from contemporary theatre buildings in the capital. Viennese architects were also involved in the Buda plan's conception. Gottlieb Nigelli claimed to have created a plan for this theatre.[48] These joint efforts in the Carmelite church's transformation into a theatre seem to have achieved their goal, and several newspapers praised the theatre's acoustic qualities.[49]

Still, there is no proof that the structures of former churches had much to do with theatres' visual and acoustic qualities, even if in some cases, such as in Buda, special attention was paid to these qualities. For instance, the vaults – a central element of church acoustics – were generally concealed behind wooden ceilings (fig. 2). Transmission of a clear voice necessitated a shorter reverberation time. Thus, a theatre required a different kind of structure made out of materials different from those used in churches.[50] As early as 1769, Francesco Algarotti insisted on the benefits of plane surfaces and invited theatre architects to choose plain decorations and ceilings rather than vaults.[51] Wood was considered more appropriate for clear sound transmission. Therefore, it seems that former churches were considered easy to adapt into theatres not because of their supposed acoustical qualities, but due to their large dimensions, oblong shape, significant height beneath the vaults, and their location, often close to the city centre. Convent churches possessed, moreover, a garden, which could easily be transformed into a public garden accessed from the theatre and the ball rooms. In Buda, the convent garden, which opened onto the former *Zwinger*, was redesigned for the public attending the theatre.[52]

Façades

The exterior appearance of theatre buildings installed in former churches, their main façade, was a controversial issue because the façade had a primary representational function. Financial considerations above all suggested reducing expenditure on purely aesthetical interven-

---

47 FVL, IV, 1002 [Buda] hh [Acta Theatralia / Szinhazüggyi iratok], fol. 301–302: "26. [December] 1786/ In Wien den Theaterleuten, die mir zur verschiedenen malen beyde Theater zeigten in mir solche ausmessen halfen, Discretion gegeben. / Den 26 Febr. [1787] in das Leopoldstädter=Theater gefahren, um dessen Bau und Decoration zu besehen" (Quotation signed by Wolfgang von Kempelen, Buda, 13 October 1788).

48 UAAbKW, VA, Karton 6, Fasz. 1786/2, Fol. 240–3, Nigelli, Wien 6.11.1786 fol. 241. I am thankful to Gernot Mayer for sharing this document.

49 *Etwas zum neuen Jahr*, p. 4. *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1788*, p. 83: "Diese Methamorphose ist für die hiesige Gegend um so merkwürdiger, als sie bisher in den Kayserlich-Königlichen Staate ihrer Art die einzige ist."

50 On optimal reverberation times for speech and music, see Forsyth, *Buildings for music*, p. 178.

51 Jochen Meyer, *Theaterbautheorien zwischen Kunst und Wissenschaft: Die Diskussion über Theaterbau im deutschsprachigen Raum in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich/Berlin: GTA/Gebr. Mann, 1998), pp. 151–153. Patrizio Barbieri and Lamberto Tronchin, "L'Acustica teatrale nel neoclassicismo italiano: con una ricostruzione virtuale del 'teatro ideale' di Francesco Milizia (1773)," *Giordano Riccati, Illuminista Veneto ed Europeo*, ed. Davide Bonsi (Florence: L. S. olschi, 2012), pp. 133–163, here pp.140–141.

52 Reininger, *Wolfgang von Kempelen*, p. 223.

tions. Yet, the façades are a key element of the theory of character, as they represent the theatre building's face to the city. Information regarding the transformation of former churches' façades is, however, in most cases incomplete. In Steyr, no important transformations seem to have been realized: the two large bayes are inherited from the former church (fig. 8). According to the archival sources, by contrast, brand new façades were built in front of the former church façades in Buda (1787)[53] (fig. 1) and Wiener Neustadt (1793),[54] as well as in Maribor in 1810–11, where a portico and a wooden entrance adorned the composition.[55] The rows of rectangular and arched windows one above the other, characteristic of civil architecture, serve as further proof of those reconstruction works. One can also assume that the façade in Chrudim was transformed, as the frontispiece was turned down.[56] In Ľviv, it was only during the redoute's construction, in 1792, that the building got an entirely new façade (fig. 5).

When present, architectural ornaments were quite similar on all of this period's theatre façades: pilaster strips, as in Maribor, or giant pilasters as in Buda, Ľviv and Steyr,[57] topped by an attic, sometimes adorned with vases as in Ľviv, or surmounted by a coat of arms as in Buda. Detailed descriptions are rare and, therefore, it is not easy to retrieve the contemporary viewers' opinions. Because the façade from Ľviv raised the biggest controversy among all projects related to churches transformed into theatres, the arguments used in this context deserve to be analyzed in detail.

Among all building projects, the drawings of 1791–92 for the façades of the Ľviv theatre were judged too expensive by the Court Chamber in Vienna and the *Oberhofbaudirektion* (Superior Building Directorate). Therefore, a commission formed by Franz Anton Hillebrandt, Mathias Lechner, Wenzel Lechner, and Winzenz Edler von Platzer rejected the project drawn up by Gottfried Mörz and proposed, among other limitations, a new façade for the rear.[58] The drawing is described as "simple and appropriate for its object, while the one which was submitted would have been too expensive and would not have had a good effect".[59] The first project is lost, but we know that the Galician *Gubernium* appreciated it and praised Gottfried Mörz for creating not only "a solid and resistant" building, but also a "lavish and decorated" one, in line with "the most recent trends". It was said to belong "not to the common way of

---

53 FVL, IV, 1002 [Buda] hh [Acta Theatralia / Szinhazüggyi iratok], fol. 455. Quittance n° 137 on the repartition of the theatre and casino's construction materials. A quotation from 1788 indicates that the decoration elements, such as the pilasters and the capitals, were created at that time.

54 Zumpf, *Chronik eines Theaters*, p. 18.

55 Sapač, "The Slovene National Theatre Maribor."

56 See images published by Puckert, "Chrudim Theatre," fig. 1–7.

57 The architectural order varies from one theatre to another: Composite in Buda, Ionic in Ľviv, Doric in Steyr.

58 OeStA, FHKA, KP, Rb 593. Drawing published in Got, *Theater in Lemberg*, plate 4. It is the only façade drawing still preserved, and was misinterpreted as a project for the main façade.

59 OeStA, FHKA, NHK, OeKaale, Fasz. 25, n° 1671/1576 ex Mai 1792, without page number: "Die Aufriß der Hauptansicht hingegen habe sie, Hofbaubuchh[alterey] ganz neu, jedoch einfach und dem Gegenstande entsprechend entworfen, weil die eingeschickte Hauptansicht viel gekostet, in der Natur aber keine gute Wirkung gemacht haben würde." See also Got, *Theater in Lemberg*, p. 62.

Fig. 8. Rear facade of the theatre in Steyr (former main façade of the theatre and of the church). Photograph by the author, 2019.

building, but [was] architecturally created with expensive ornaments".[60] Mörz's project was without doubt unorthodox in relation to the Josephist reforms implemented since 1783.

Controversies concerning the reduction of ornamentation were still common at the beginning of Francis II/I's reign. In order to understand the weight of these statements, one should consider that in 1794 the newly appointed Hungarian chief *Baudirektor*, the engineer Stanislas Heppe, criticized the double-sided, tent-like roofs, as well as the vases and the balustrade drawn by Franz Anton Hillebrandt in a façade-project for a new theatre in Pest.[61] These components were judged by the chief engineer as causes for the high construction fees and for future expensive repair and maintenance costs. The preference was for simple buildings of one block rather than multiple pavilion structures. Nevertheless, it is significant that the *Gubernium* in L'viv and other agencies, including the Cameral *Landesbaudirection* in Galicia, were not following this economically conservative tendency. Even in the case of a church transformed into a theatre, they praised ornamentation and lavishness, insisting on the importance of the building's character. Admittedly, the final principal façade of the L'viv

---

60 CSHAUL, Fond 146, Opis 77, Sprava 16, fol. 272 (1798).

61 MNL-OL, A39, 1795, n° 86434 (*copia* 1046), fol. 4–5: "die angetragene 2. PavillonsDächer an der äusseren Fronte sammt den Waaßen und Palustraden, wie auch die [...] zweyte Altane [...], als Theil die nur, zu Vermehrung der itzigen Bau Auslagen, und zu Vergrößerung der künftigen Reparations Kosten, dienen [...]". Former head of the Hungarian *Directio in hydraulicis*, Stanislas Heppe, replaced Wolfgang von Kempelen at the head of the newly unified Direction for Civil and Hydraulic Constructions. László Bendefy, "A magyar kamarai mérnöki intézmény kialakulása, 1650–1850," *Levéltári Szemle* 20/3 (1970), pp. 548–571, here p. 560–564.
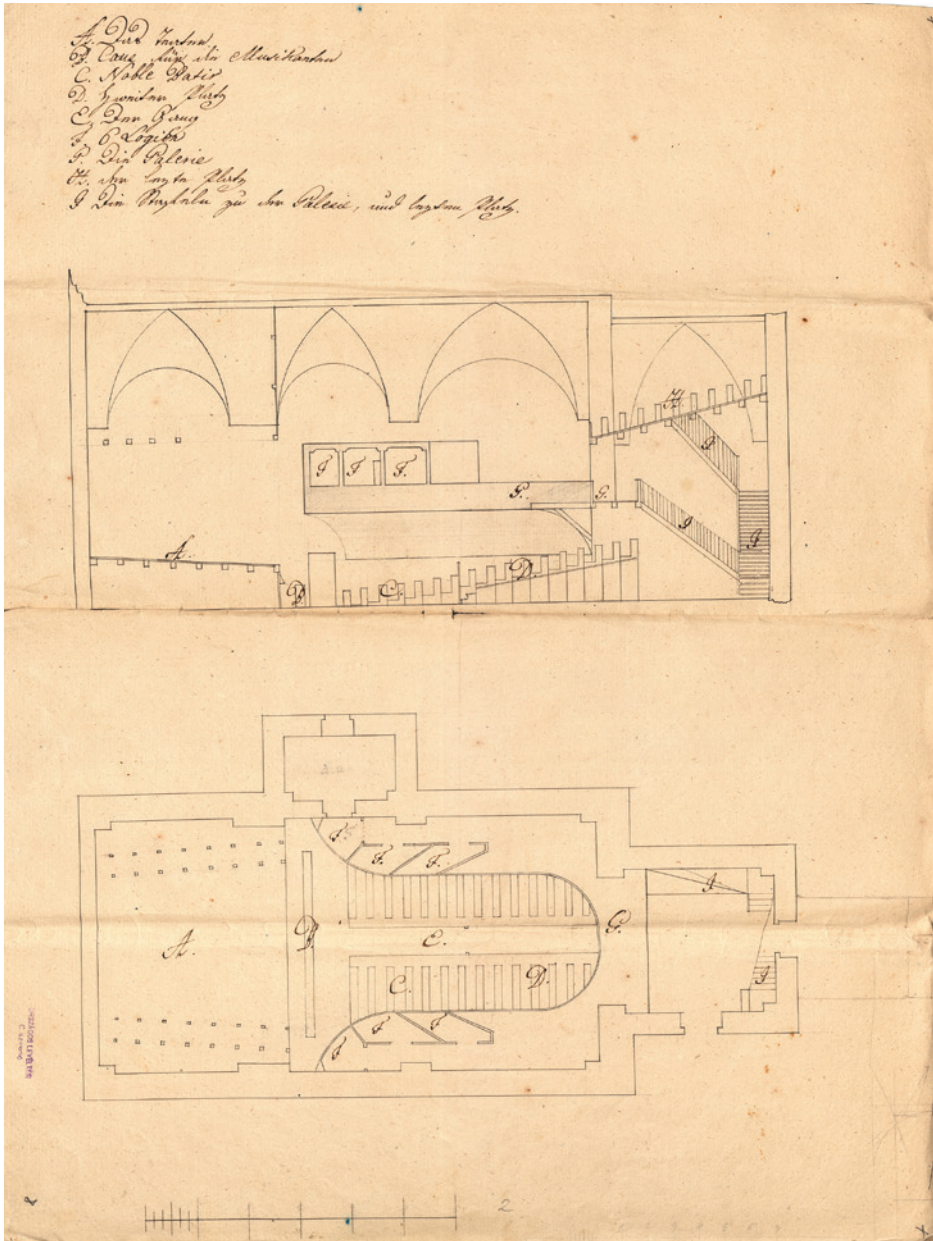
Fig. 9. Plan and section for a theatre to be installed in the former Clarisses' convent in Zagreb, 1788. National Archives of Hungary, MNL-OL, C49, n°246. The entrance, staircase, as well as an upper gallery were installed in the former choir, whilst the auditorium occupies two spans of the former nave and the stage occupies the last span of the nave.

theatre was made from only one block, yet it still had a significant portal, flanked by two Ionic columns, and crowned by a pediment and an attic with vases.

Although in itself an economical solution, the remodeling of former churches, as shown above, was not automatically judged to be entirely satisfactory in terms of cost reduction. In some cases, the responsible local authorities' architectural ideas also did not match Vienna's ideas.

Conclusion

The elaborate theatre projects studied here testify that the transformation of former churches grew into a widely diffused and appreciated practice among Habsburg public building authorities during the 1780s and 1790s. Some of the monarchy's first public theatres, which found accommodation in various types of buildings until the 1760s and 1770s, had a simple architecture; during the following decades, however, the practices of reuse reached a high degree of complexity. As proof of the complex nature of this kind of reuse, one may recall, for instance, the refusal of the original project created for the Zagreb theatre (fig. 9), which was motivated by the fact that it did "not fit the norms of the art".[62] Reuse became, hence, compatible with an artwork's creation, as certified by the building authorities' representatives, as well as by the press. After all, the description of the Buda theatre was published in the "Artworks" section of the Gotha *Theater-Kalender*.

Projects which convert churches into theatres show that interest in an architectural program's character, including its lavishness, can coexist with a general demand for economy. Moreover, as Hillebrandt's critique of Mörz's drawing for the theatre in L'viv shows, economy appears here not only as a compromise but as an actual part of the qualities expected from a building. Thus, financial considerations were implemented in relation to issues of character, creating a new kind of appropriateness *(bienséance)* that met the need for economic efficiency. Indeed, one could argue, as Ulrich Schütte did three decades ago, that ornamentation is always a question of character.[63] In the case of these theatres, the ornamentation's absence becomes a matter of character, just like the adaptation of one architectural program to another.

---

62 MNL-OL, C49, 1788, F246, n° 5, fol. 18. Report signed by the engineers Stanislas Heppe and Ignaz Pongracz. The wide use of wooden structures and the limited number of stairs in this project was no longer acceptable.

63 Ulrich Schütte, "Die Lehre von den Gebäudetypen," *Architekt und Ingenieur: Baumeister in Krieg und Frieden*, ed. Ulrich Schütte (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1984), p. 160.

Table: Overview of projects to install theatres in former churches.

Project's date	Town	Religious congregation / church dedication	Patrons and sponsors			Execution status	Costs
			Central administration	Private investor	Local elites		
1784	Schärding (Upper Austria)	St Sebastian's Church	?	?	?	Executed	?
1785	Maribor (Styria)	Cistercians	-	U. Hartnagel, shoemaker	Committee made up of local citizens	Executed	?
1786/7	Buda (Hungary)	Carmelites	Lieutenancy Council	F.-H. Bulla, impresario		Executed	33 962 fl.
1788	Rattenberg (Tyrol)	?	?	?	?	?	?
1788	Zagreb (Croatia)	Clarisses	Governor Balaasa	J. Weil-hammer, impresario		Not executed	1500 fl.
1789/ 1792	Ľviv (Galicia-Lodomeria)	Franciscans (Minorites)		F.-H.Bulla, impresario		Executed	Theatre 13,116 fl. Ball-Hall 40,000 fl.
1790	Ried (Tyrol)	?	?	?	?	?	?
1792/ 1794	Wiener Neustadt (Lower Austria)	Order of St. Paul's Church			Municipality	Executed	?
1796	Steyr (Upper Austria)	Celestines		Prince J. N. F. Lamberg	Municipality	Executed	1,014 fl. 80 ½ kr.
1797	Krakow (Galicia-Lodomeria)	?		Impresario L. Wothe		Not executed	?
1801	Chrudim (Bohemia)	St. John the Baptist's Church	Governor Markvart Josef Koc of Dobrš			Executed	?
1806	Maribor (Styria)	Celestines			Group of local citizens	Executed	?
1810/ 1811	Maribor (Styria)	Holy Spirit Church, adjacent to the hospital			Group of local citizens	Executed	?
1815	Pécs (Hungary)	Order of St. Paul's Church	?	?	?	Not executed	?

Marcus van der Meulen (Aachen)

The appearance of public building(s) in Constitutional Congress Poland, 1815–31

In 1815 a Kingdom of Poland under Romanov suzerainty was established as an autonomous polity with a liberal constitution. Colloquially known as 'Congress Poland', the autonomy of the kingdom was retracted by Imperial Russia after the failed 1830–31 uprising. The years 1815–31 are regarded as a grand period in the history of administration in Poland. A new type of patronage emerged: the state, which sponsored the creation of public buildings in district and regional capitals and in the capital Warsaw. The drive to modernize the nation resulted in an impressive amount of new public buildings, reshaping the appearance of the state. These ranged from new financial institutions and ministries in Warsaw to post offices and tollhouses across the country. Above all, the arrival of a new type of municipal hall is significant. The reforms in the administration were noticeable throughout the country due to a remarkable amount of new public buildings constructed within a short timeframe. This could be achieved through a driven policy of rationalizing the design and construction process.

Introduction

In 1815, the Kingdom of Poland was established as a new state at the Congress of Vienna, from which the colloquial name 'Congress Poland' derives. This quasi-sovereign state was short-lived. Already in 1831, after a failed liberal uprising, the state lost much of its sovereignty and its territory was gradually integrated into the Russian Empire. Although only brief, the era of sovereignity the Kingdom of Poland's (from here on called 'Constitutional Congress Poland' to differentiate it from the later period) sovereignty is considered a significant period in the nation's history and in Polish art history.[1] It can be argued that that period's public buildings are of particular importance as they form the sovereign state's tangible heritage. A new government, consisting primarily of members of the Polish nobility, envisioned a state reform, in which the nobility nonetheless continued to dominate.[2] However, a reform of what was inherited from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was anticipated. By transforming the predominantly agrarian economy of a rural and feudal country, the gov-

---

1   Stanisław Lorentz and Andrzej Rottermund, *Neoclassicism in Poland* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1984), p. 9.

2   Mikołaj Getka-Kenig, "The genesis of the aristocracy in Congress Poland," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 100 (2009), pp. 79–112.

erning elite envisioned a modern society based on industry and capitalism,[3] similar to what had happened in Great Britain. The anticipated reforms altered the role and the appearance of towns and cities accordingly. New administration centres were established with district and regional capitals.[4] With these envisioned reforms a new type of patronage emerged in Poland: it was now the government that sponsored the construction of buildings for public service.[5] These new buildings were to accommodate the institutions the government needed for their ambitious transformation.

This paper discusses buildings constructed to house public services during the short-lived Constitutional Congress Poland from its creation in 1815 until the Russian military crushed the November Uprising in 1831. It will first look at the transformation of the capital, followed by a brief sample of public buildings in a regional capital, and conclude with a district capital's municipal hall. The impressive number of this type of buildings requires a closer look for greater insight into the building process. The term municipal halls is used here to distinguish these new buildings from the old town halls, which in many cases were replaced by the new municipal halls.

Building and planning

In 1817 a General Building Council *(Rada Ogolna Budownictwa)* was created by the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police *(Komisji Rządowej Spraw Wewnętrznych i Policji)*.[6] The council consisted of members of various capacities. It included the Viceroy, Prince Józef Zajączek, and the Minister of Internal Affairs and Police, Count Tadeusz Mostowski.[7] The architects Chrystian Piotr Aigner and Franciszek Reinstein were also members of the council, which was chaired by Stanisław Staszic.[8] The young architect Antonio Corazzi replaced Aigner when the latter left the council in 1825. The General Building Council issued a comprehensive building code in 1820, and accordingly had significant influence on public buildings' appearance. New buildings such as municipal halls, post offices, and tollhouses were planned across the state. Law courts and large buildings for the regional admin-

---

3   R. F. Leslie, "Politics and economics in Congress Poland 1815–1864," *Past & Present 8* (1955), pp. 43–63.

4   Ibid.

5   Lorentz and Rottermund, *Neoclassicism*, p. 44.

6   *Rada Ogolna Budownictwa* or General Building Council was an advisory body at the Department of Industry, Trade, and Craftmanship of the Government Commission of Internal Affairs and Police that existed from 1817 until 1867. See encyklopedia PWN, accessed August 4, 2021, https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Rada-Ogolna-Budownicza;3965297.html.

7   Aleksander Łupienko, "Architecture and urban planning in service of politics: Neoclassicism and the restructuring of cities in the Kingdom of Poland," *Art and politics in the modern period*, ed. Dragan Damjanović, Lovorka Magaš Bilandžić, Željka Miklošević, and Jeremy F. Walton (Zagreb: FF-press, 2019), pp. 313–324.

8   Tomasz Demidowicz, "Rada Ogólna Budownictwa, Miernictwa, Dróg i Spławów najwyższe kolegium techniczne Królestwa Polskiego 1817–67," *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 37/2 (1992), pp. 83–122.
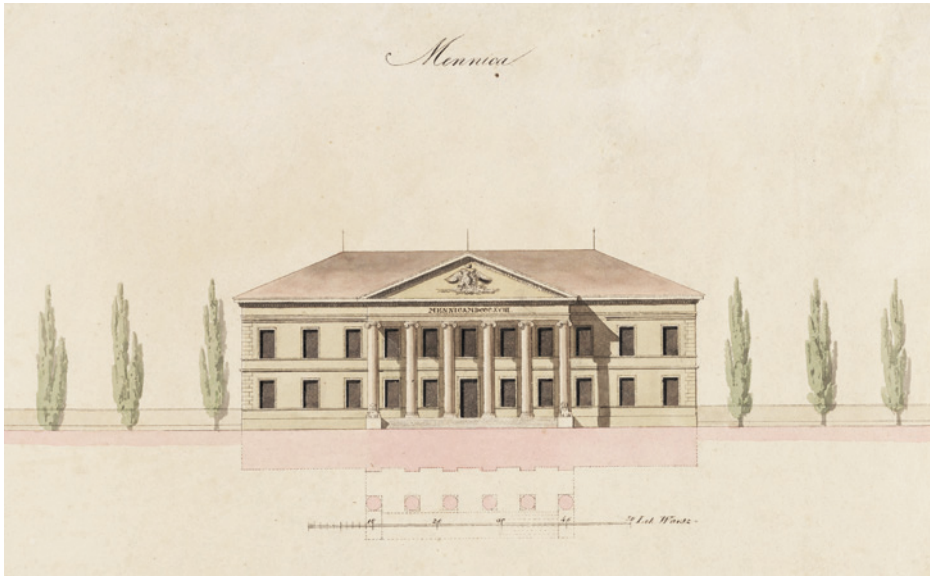
Fig. 1. The Mint (*Mennica*) designed by Chrystian Piotr Aigner. Lithography and water colour by Leonard Schmidtner, 1823. Muzeum Warszawy Kolekcje, MHW 16449.

istration were planned in the regional capitals. In the capital Warsaw, new public buildings appeared, such as a mint (fig. 1), a national bank, and state ministries. All these buildings served public functions with the aim of modernizing the nation, thus transforming the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's feudal heritage into a modern state.

An architectural language for public building developed, influenced by ideas from France. Already during the Enlightenment, the Polish elite had been influenced by French architectural theorists.[9] During a lecture at the Society of Friends of Science in Warsaw in 1808, the architect Aigner had introduced the concept of modern architectural practice and the architectural principles of Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand to a Polish audience.[10] Active between 1800 and 1832, the Society counted among its members many from the elite and later the government, including Count Mostowski and Staszic, who became members of the above-mentioned Building Council.

The modernization of the state came with the construction of new building types for new purposes. One can distinguish three levels: the state capital Warsaw, regional capitals, and district capitals. The most common building type was the municipal hall, which could be found in towns across the country. A second building type was the post office, which was used both for postal and national bank services. In the regional capitals there was a court of

---

9 Lorentz and Rottermund, *Neoclassicism*, pp. 10–14.

10 Mikołaj Getka-Kenig, "Architektura w kregu zainteresowan Towarzystwa Warszawskiego Przyjaciol Nauk, 1800–1831," *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 64/1 (2019), pp. 9–37.

law and a building to accommodate the regional administration, the Commission Palace. In the state capital, apart from the mint and national bank mentioned above, a stock exchange was created as well as representative palaces for the key administration figures. These included the Palace for the Viceroy (fig. 2), Prince Józef Zajączek, the Palace of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Count Tadeusz Mostowski, and the Palace of the Minister of Revenue and Treasury, Duke Franciszek Ksawery Drucki-Lubecki.

As a consequence of these ambitious reforms the need for construction professionals was very high in the first years of Constitutional Congress Poland. The development of many public service buildings created an unprecedented demand. This contributed to the recognition that there were no architecture courses in the state. Thus, the School of Construction and Surveying was established at the University of Warsaw in 1817. This first national institution to offer education in architecture was officially approved by the monarch, Alexander I Romanov, on November 19, 1816. It was operational until 1831, when, like other institutions in Constitutional Congress Poland, it was liquidated as part of the post-November Uprising repressions.[11] Aigner, who had introduced modern architectural practice in Poland, became the Chair of the School of Construction and Surveying.[12] As at other institutions across Europe, the Durand's principles were part of the curriculum at the School of Construction and Surveying of the University of Warsaw. In principle the educational program was in line with the general European trends of the time.[13] Staszic, a member of the Building Council, criticized the program as being too theoretical, and this resulted in the establishment of the Polytechnical Institute in 1825.[14] Publications by Durand, but also by Karl Friedrich Schinkel and the Parisian duo Charles Percier and Pierre François-Léonard Fontaine, were included in the academic book collection as recorded in 1826.[15] However, Andrzej Rottermund has presented considerable historical material which suggests that especially the theories of Durand, whose writings were quickly translated into Polish and Russian, had a significant influence on 19th-century Poland.[16]

Durand, a pupil of Étienne-Louis Boullée, had developed a rationalized method for designing buildings, using a grid and an architectural vocabulary reduced to the essentials. The challenge was to design buildings that expressed authority with limited resources. Durand wrote down his ideas about normative and efficient building types in his *Précis des leçons*

11 Jerzy Miziolek, *Uniwersytet Warszawski: Dzieje i tradycja* (Warszawa: Wydawn. Uniw. Warszawskiego, 2005), p. 7.

12 Maria Wawrykowa, "Uniwersytet Warszawski w latach 1816–1831," *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1807–1915*, ed. Stefan Kieniewicz (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981), p. 70.

13 Iwona Szustakiewicz, "Podstawy warsztatu architekta warszawskiego w XIX wieku," *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, LVI/2 (2011), pp. 63–74.

14 Aleksander Jan Rodkiewicz, *Pierwsza politechnika* (Cracow/Warsaw: W. L. Anczyca i Spółki, 1904), pp. 7–11.

15 Józef Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski*, T. 1 (Warszawa: skład główny Gebethner i Wolff, 1907), pp. 593–596.

16 Werner Szambien and Simona Talenti, "Duran, Quaet-Faslem et Dartein ou l'influence européenne de Durand," *Bulletin de la Sabix* 16 (1996), pp. 1–11.
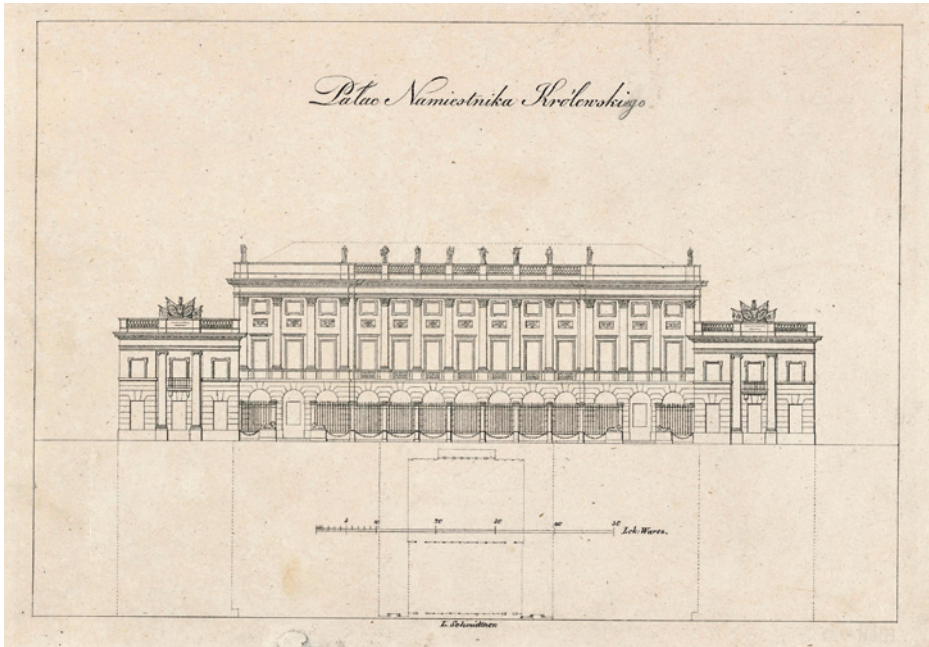
Fig. 2. The Palace of the Viceroy *(Pałac Namiestnika Królewskiego)*. Lithography by Leonard Schmidtner, 1824. Muzeum Warszawy Kolekcje, MHW 15617.

d'architecture, issued in 1809.[17] Rottermund has argued that Durand's writings were widely known in Poland,[18] and some 46 copies can still be found in public libraries across Poland today.[19] In his *Leçons* Durand introduces a toolbox for designing buildings according to program and typology. A building's program can be described as the purposes a specific building has to fulfil. Typology, or building type, is a way of grouping buildings based on similarity in purpose, which allows standardization. The design methodology is based on systemization and makes use of a grid. What Durand proposed in his *Leçons* was very useful to achieve Constitutional Congress Poland's construction ambitions.

In Constitutional Congress Poland there was a building type standardization according to purpose, directed by the Commission of Internal Affairs. Examples are the post offices and municipal halls, buildings with a prescribed program based on economy and function. Arguably, one can speak of archetypes that were promoted by the Commission, judging from some typical building designs known from the Commission of Internal Affairs' archives.[20]

---

17 Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole Polytechnique* (Paris: Bernard, 1802–09).

18 Andrzej Rottermund, *Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand a polska architektura 1 polowy XIX wieku* (Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1990).

19 Ibid.

20 Lorentz and Rottermund, *Neoclassicism*, p. 275.

Particular attention was paid to new construction of new municipal halls, observing a strict program emphasizing economy and functionality.[21] The result was a new municipal hall standardization in line with Durand's ideas.

Warsaw's transformation

The capital of Congress Poland was transformed from the nobility's residence into a modern seat of government by creating new institutions residing in public buildings. The capital's transformation ranged from tollhouse construction on the major roads to the remodelling of abandoned aristocratic residences for the new state's administrative purposes. Remodelling the existing fabric, both in terms of buildings and urban spaces, played an important part in shaping the modern capital. Vacant buildings were reused for new purposes, similar to what had happened in Paris a few decades earlier.[22] The conviction that monumental public buildings and urban spaces could be beneficial to public life is one of enlightened architectural thought's most lasting legacies,[23] reified in the remodelling of the capital and in creating new public spaces. An interesting example is the intersection of Krakow Suburb Street *(Krakowskie Przedmieście)* and New World Street *(Nowy Świat)*: There, the Staszic Palace by Corazzi and the Copernicus Monument by Bertel Thorvaldsen created a new public space as a stage for public life.

Several architects were involved in constructing new public buildings. While Jakub Kubicki and the already mentioned Aigner were experienced architects, who had previously served the aristocracy, Antonio Corazzi was a newcomer from Tuscany. Kubicki designed the tollhouses that were erected around Warsaw. Aigner remodelled an aristocratic palace on Krakow Suburb Street into the Governor's Palace (1818–19) and built the Polish Mint (1817–21, not extant) in Bielanska Street (fig. 1).[24] The period's most significant architect was Corazzi, an Italian architect whom Staszic summoned from Florence to Warsaw in 1818.[25] As mentioned above the young architect became a Building Council member in 1825 and was awarded the title of General Builder *(Generalny budowniczy)* a few years later.[26] Corazzi, born in Livorno, had been trained at the Academy in Florence where Staszic may have met him earlier during his visit to Tuscany. It is certain, however, that Staszic asked the

---

21 Ibid., p. 274.

22 Barry Bergdoll, *European architecture 1750–1890* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

23 Ibid., p. 43.

24 Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, *Chrystian Piotr Aigner, architekt warszawskiego klasycyzmu* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970).

25 Lorentz and Rottermund, *Neoclassicism*, p. 45.

26 Guia Baratelli, "Antonio Corazzi: Architetto Internazionale tra metodo e stile: Dal neoclassicismo al revival cinquecentesco," *Architettura e Arte del Principato Mediceo (1512–1737). Michelangelo e la Fortuna della Firenze del Cinquecento*, ed. Ferruccio Canali (Florence: Emmebi Edizione Firenze, 2014), pp. 121–135.

Grand Duke of Tuscany to send Corazzi to Poland.[27] Thus, the young architect followed in the footsteps of others, such as Tylman van Gameren, called Gamerski, from the Netherlands, Józef Fontana from Tessin, or Domenico Merlini from northern Italy. They had all come to Warsaw during the years of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and had left their mark on the city's appearance. After Corazzi, Enrico (or Henryk) Marconi followed suit and left his mark on Warsaw's architectural landscape. Poland's lack of experts in the field of architecture was a reason for attracting qualified architects from abroad. With the establishment of the School of Construction and Surveying, the new government intended to alleviate this problem.

Corazzi's most eloquent project in Warsaw's transformation is Bank Square *(Plac Bankowy)*. The Bank Square projects are at the heart of all reforms of Constitutional Congress Poland and consequently deserve closer attention. Corazzi created a new square within the existing urban landscape. Two abandoned aristocratic residences located on the newly formed square were reused as the Ministry of Revenue and Treasury and the official seat of the Minister. A third building, the National Polish Bank and Stock Exchange, was the new construction from which the square's name derives. These three buildings were designed as part of a scheme for a new rectangular square within the existing city fabric.[28] The former Oginski Palace's outbuildings were demolished, but the gardens of the former Mniszech Palace, today the Belgian embassy, were never adapted into the public square and were later built on, thus creating a triangular square. This triangular square was destroyed during the Second World War and, unlike the three Corazzi buildings, not reconstructed. Instead, one of the major thoroughfares was widened, which changed Bank Square's original early 19th-century concept, with the buildings for public services on one side as a remaining expression.

The creation of Bank Squares cannot be separated from Duke Drucki-Lubecki's important reforms. In 1821, the Duke had become president of the Government Commission on Revenues and Treasury *(Komisji Rządowej Przychodów i Skarbu)* and as such held a key influence over Constitutional Congress Poland's reforms.[29] Drucki-Lubecki was one of the driving forces behind Poland's transformation from an agricultural to an industrial, capitalist nation, taking Great Britain as an example. He managed to reform and consolidate the tax system and sponsored investments aimed at self-reliance.[30] His policies eliminated budget deficits and created a surplus that could be invested in new public building construction.[31] To help finance this transition, Drucki-Lubecki established new financial institutions such as the Zemstvo Credit Society in 1825, providing modernization loans to landowners, and

---

27 Francesco Pera, *Ricordi livornesi: Appendice ai ricordi e alle biografie livornesi* (Livorno: Paolo Vannini e figlio, 1877), p. 85.

28 Baratelli, "Corazzi," pp. 121–135.

29 Lorentz and Rottermund, *Neoclassicism*, p. 44.

30 Stanislaw Smolka, *Polityka Lubeckiego przed Powstaniem Listopadowym* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1984).
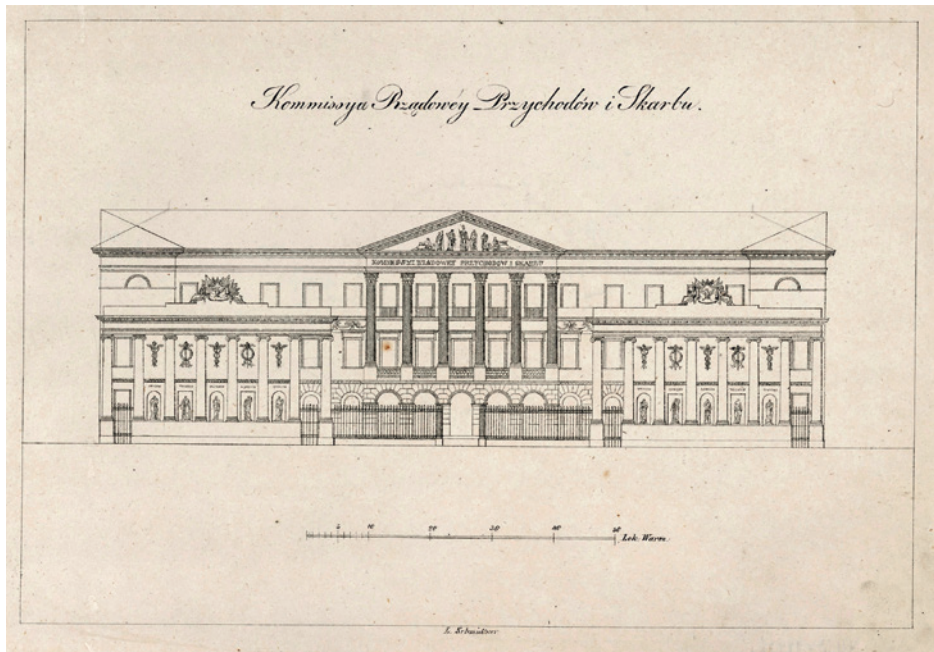
31 Ibid.

Fig. 3. Building of the Government Revenue and Treasury Commission (*Budynek Rządowej Komisji Rządowej Przychodów i Skarbu*). Lithography by Leonard Schmidtner, 1824. Muzeum Warszawy Kolekcje, MHW 15622.

the state-owned National Bank in 1827.[32] This National Bank was empowered to issue the Polish currency as well as to control credit rates. The Bank building was therefore one of the new state's most representative buildings. A new National Polish Mint was also built, another key function in a sovereign state's creation. The no longer extant building was designed by Aigner and located between Bank and Theatre Square, the latter of which was soon to be developed.[33] In the provinces, the Polish National Bank operated with the help of Treasury offices in municipal halls or postal offices. Thus, post offices became a central tool in the state's modernization.

The appearance of Bank Square was one of the masterpieces of Warsaw's transformation during the years of Constitutional Congress Poland. Corazzi opted for three buildings, each following a clearly recognizable typology, a differentiation to accommodate different functions in different buildings instead of the grand gesture of a single palace. For the Polish Bank and Stock Exchange building Corazzi erected a new edifice on the corner of two streets, Senatorska and Elektoralna Ulica. The exterior is reduced to a simple arcading on two sto-

---

32 Maciej Janowski, *Polish liberal thought before 1918* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004). Plans to establish a National Bank for Poland had already been raised during the 18th century, but were never realized.
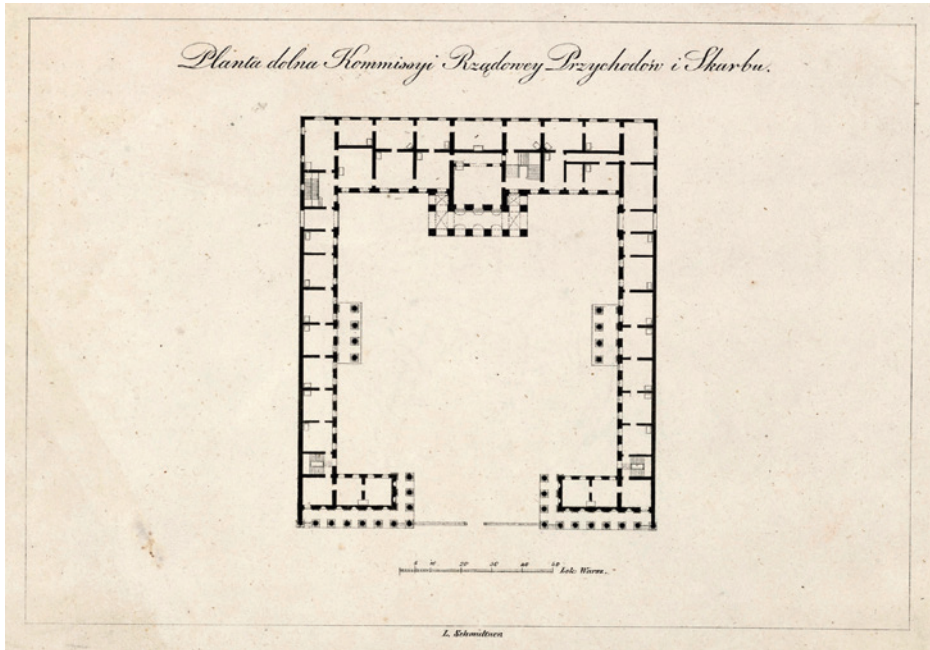
33 Jaroszewski, *Aigner*.

Fig. 4. Ground plan of the Government Revenue and Treasury Commission (*Planta dolna Komisji Rządowej Przychodów i Skarbu*). Lithography by Leonard Schmidtner, 1824. Muzeum Warsawy Kolekcje, MHW 15621.

reys, with a circular transaction hall located at the building's heart. This central space rises above the building and is covered by a flattened dome. The design's austerity is the result of a cost-effective construction fit for its purpose. The building exudes authority without unnecessary decorations or empty elements.

The Government Commission on Revenue and Treasury (fig. 3/4) was created in the aristocratic Leszczyński Family's former residence, which was remodelled between 1823 and 1825.[34] The nobility had withdrawn from Warsaw to the country in the late 18th century, especially after the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, abandoning many of their urban residences. These abandoned palaces could be remodelled for a new public use.[35] For the Commission Building Corazzi drew upon a monumental palace typology. It is a ceremonial building with colonnades and a demanding portico with pediment, a design component that was also used for the buildings accommodating the regional administrations. The third building by Corazzi on Bank Square was the seat of the Minister of the Treasury, Drucki-Lubecki, for which Corazzi remodelled the Oginski Family's former residence.[36] The

---

34 Lorentz and Rottermund, *Neoclassicism*, p. 273.

35 Bergdoll, *European architecture*, pp. 105–118.

36 Lorentz and Rottermund, *Neoclassicism*, p. 273.

Fig. 5. Bank Square *(Plac Bankowy)* with (from left to right) the Polish National Bank, the seat of the Minister of the Treasury, and the building of the Government Commission on Revenue and Treasury. Painting by Wincenty Kasprzycki, 1833. Muzeum Warsawy Kolekcje, MHW 17899.

purpose of this building was of a more private nature and Corazzi designed a less ceremonial building without demanding porticos or colonnades, and without a formal pediment. The Minister's Palace was begun after the adjacent Government Commission building's completion, and could be completed five years later in 1830. These buildings for public service changed the appearance of Warsaw from the residence of the aristocracy to a modern capital (fig. 5).

Transformation of regional capitals

The state reforms resulted in the creation of regional capitals where buildings were erected for the regional administration and for the regional Law Courts. An example of such a regional capital was Kalisz (fig. 6). In 1818 the *Namiestnik* (Viceroy) of the Kingdom of Poland issued a decree to support the remodeling of Kalisz as a regional capital.[37] This

---

37 Iwona Baranska, *Architektura Kalisza w dobie Królestwa Kongresowego* (Kalisz: Kaliskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2002), pp. 55–64.

included the demolition of old gates, which were replaced by tollhouses, and the construction of a post office, a Law Court, and a regional administration building, the Commission Palace of the Kalisz Voivodship *(Pałac Komisji Województwa Kaliskiego)* for which an existing building was adapted. The former Jesuit Monastery, abandoned some decades earlier, was designated to become the seat of the regional administration. The aforementioned Franciszek Reinstein was given the task of remodeling the monastery for its new purpose.[38] It is an example of how redundant buildings were reused in Constitutional Congress Poland, a cost-effective way of developing suitable buildings for public service. The remodelling was carried out in 1823/24. Some authors like to draw a parallel with the Commission Palace at Radom designed by Corazzi and built under Stefan Balinski's direction in 1825–27.[39] In Kalisz, however, an existing monastic building was converted to a public building. The principle façade was repositioned from the urban square on the building's north-western side to the north-east, looking towards a newly created park (fig. 7). Baroque detailing was replaced by neoclassical elements. The addition of a demanding portico with columns and pediment to the simple wall with windows and without remarkable details expresses its new purpose as seat of the regional administration. This addition has transformed an insignificant façade into a representative building, which in its typology establishes a relationship with other similar buildings such as the Commission Palace in Radom and the Palace of the Government Commission on Bank Square in Warsaw. The result of the remodeling of Kalisz was a cost-effective way to create a suitable building to accommodate the regional authorities.

The Law Court, locally known as the Tribunal Palace *(Pałac Trybunalski w Kaliszu)*, is a new construction located just outside the historic urban fabric, across a river which reminds of Durand's recommendations about the preferred tranquillity for this type of building.[40] The new building was designed by a local architect, Sylwester Szpilowski; works were begun in 1819 and completed in 1821.[41] In 1876, two wings were added and part of the interior was remodelled, but, the river front is still mostly Szpilowski's work.

Transformation of district capitals

Many towns in Constitutional Congress Poland experienced transformations similar to that of the capital Warsaw.[42] New post offices and municipal halls were built. The town of Łowicz forms an interesting case because both buildings are still present there, and because of the

---

38 Ibid., p. 149.

39 Wojciech Kalinowski, *Urbanistyka i architektura Radomia* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1979), pp. 140–141.

40 Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Précis of the lectures on architecture with graphic portion of the lectures on architecture* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2000), p. 157.

41 Baranska, *Architektura*, pp. 79–81.

42 Jan Zachwatowicz, *L'Architecture Polonaise* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1967), p. 317.

Fig. 6. View of Kalisz *(Vue de la Ville de Kalisz)*. Lithograph by Antoni Fietta, 1835. The images include the Commission Palace, the Tribunal Palace, the Corps-de-Garde and Tollhouses. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, G.10871/III.

Fig. 7. View of the Governate in Kalisz *(Rzad Gubernialny)*, remodeled by Franciszek Reinstein (1823/24). Lithography by Edward Stawecki, 1858. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, A.962/G. XIX/II-4.

municipal hall's interesting construction process. The Łowicz post office is a typical example of this new state sponsored building type.[43] Construction began in 1828 and was completed in 1829; regrettably, the architect remains unknown. The architecture is unadorned and the decoration modest. A grid may well have been used for designing this building. As mentioned above, the usage of a grid for designing buildings was part of Durand's rationalized method, and is typical for the period's utilitarian and low-cost public buildings. These post offices' construction was an important measure to carry out the state's intended reforms, and not only for efficient delivery of mail or news. The post office's functions included that of money transfer and thus functioned as offices of the National Bank. As such, the post office was at the core of Constitutional Congress Poland's state reforms. This particular building's design is archetypal as it was prepared by the Government Commission of Internal Affairs through standardized designs.[44]

The construction of municipal halls received particular attention. There was a strict program for this type of buildings, both in terms of budgeting and functionality.[45] In Constitutional Congress Poland, new municipal halls were constructed or reconstructed in many towns.[46] The building process of Łowicz's new municipal hall(fig. 8) provides insight into the construction of one such new building. Łowicz had had several subsequent town halls, and at the beginning of the 19th century the town hall was an early 16th-century building situated in the middle of New Market Square *(Nowy Rynek)*. A report dated 1824 informed the deputies in Warsaw about the old town hall's dilapidated condition, warning of a possible collapse, and arguing for the construction of a new municipal administration seat.[47] The new building was planned for Old Market Square *(Stary Rynek)*, a rectangular square behind the Collegiate church and at the beginning of a road connecting the town with Warsaw. A property owned by the Łowicz College of Canons was found. The sale contract of the property, consisting of two adjacent brick houses, a wooden stable, a fence, and a garden, was signed on May 9, 1825 between the seller, the Canons chapter of Łowicz, and the purchaser, the new district of Łowicz's president.[48] This illustrates that the state was actively purchasing properties, in this case from the clergy, to erect public buildings in the most appropriate location. The act of purchase was approved in August 1825 by the Administrative Council and authenticated by the Viceroy. The design of the new municipal hall was provided by the young architect Bonifacy Witkowski.[49] A week after the land purchase was official, these designs

---

43 *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce,* II, woj. Lódzkie, no. 5, pow. Lowicki, ed. Stefan Kozakiewicz and Jerzy A. Milobedzki (Warsaw: Wydawnisctwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1953), p. 46.

44 Ibid., p. 46.

45 Ibid., p. 45.

46 Zachwatowicz, *L'Architecture polonaise*, p. 317.

47 Roman Pawlak, *Polska-Zabytkowe ratusze* (Warsaw: MUZA SA, 2003), p. 115.

48 Marek Wojtylak, *Z dziejów łowickiego ratusza*, accessed July 18, 2022, http://www.lowiczturystyczny.eu/Ratusz-Miejski,17,430.

49 *Katalog,* ed. Kozakiewicz and Milobedzki, p. 45.

Fig. 8. Municipal hall *(magistrat)* of Łowicz (designed by Bonifacy Witkowski, executed by Jan Trautsolt and Stanisław Perkowski, 1826–31). Early 20th-century photograph in author's collection.

were submitted to the Government Commission in Warsaw for approval.[50] Construction costs were estimated at 50,137 złoty.

Bonifacy Witkowski, who enrolled in 1818 at the School of Construction and Surveying, was among the first students to graduate from this newly established institution. In this way he became one of the first products of the government's envisaged strategy, a new generation of home-grown architects, trained to erect buildings with the new state's mind-set. As mentioned above, this school, a department of the University of Warsaw, was led by Aigner and was influenced by Durand's teachings about modern building practice and the rationalization of the design and construction process. The young architect and his work for the state are the successful results of a state strategy to train architects in their own schools. Witkowski was a Government building intendant since 1822 and an associate building instructor of the Masovian Voivodeship Commission *(Komisja Województwa Mazowieckiego)* since 1823. In 1827, he became an official or state architect of Constitutional Congress Poland. As such he designed numerous municipal halls including those in Łódź, Kutno, Rawa Mazowiecka, Góra Kalwaria, and Skierniewice, and possibly many more. For the municipal building project in Łowicz a public procurement was organised in the spring of 1826.[51] From many bids a contractor from Płock, Jan Trautsolt, was chosen with whom a contract was signed on June 2, 1826 by the deputy president on behalf of the Łowicz Economic Fund *(Kasa Ekonomicznej Łowicza)*. The deadline for completing the project, which included the building's plastering, was set for the last day of July 1827.[52] This means that roughly a year was allowed for construction.

However, at the very beginning difficulties arose concerning the project's construction due to insufficient space.[53] In short, the purchased plot was too small for the realization

---

50 Wojtylak*, Z dziejów łowickiego ratusza.*

51 *Katalog,* ed. Kozakiewicz and Milobedzki, p. 45.

52 Ibid., p. 45.

53 Wojtylak, *Z dziejów łowickiego ratusza.*

of Witkowski's design. It seems almost certain he was not in possession of reliable measurements for the building site, which would suggest that Witkowski did not visit the site himself. Instead of making new designs for the actual site, additional land purchase was considered. It was decided, after a visit to the site in July 1826, to acquire an existing path and arrange the passage to the river through the courtyard of the planned new building. This led to protests from the local canons, who were the path's owners, including the right of easement, since 1618. The matter of compensation for the path's confiscation dragged on for many years and was finally settled in 1836.[54] The new administration for the envisioned new state encountered ancient privileges, and state modernization meant diminishing those privileges.

The problems did not end there. The building contractor Trautsolt first became ill and, in the autumn of 1826, left Łowicz. He took up a job as a builder in Lipno, where he possibly constructed the municipal hall, a neoclassical building completed in 1831.[55] In Łowicz a new building contractor had to be appointed. A certain Stanisław Perkowski took over the construction with the obligation to complete the construction in accordance with the existing plans.[56] The new municipal hall on Old Market Square was finally completed in August 1828. The building contained the Municipal Department seat, with a municipal office, a tax chamber, and accommodation for a police officer with a detention room on the ground floor. On the first floor, apart from the main office and additional office rooms, there was a private apartment for the Łowicz District's president. The building is a symmetrical, two-storey edifice with a modest central tower over the main entrance on the axis, not unlike the examples Durand presented in his book, such as the *Hôtel-de-Ville* (town hall) in Oudenaarde. The front façade's main element is a raised projection of the monumental portico with two Ionic columns. Above the arcades there is a frieze with garlands and stylized griffins in stucco. What is interesting about these records is that a young architect, trained at a newly established Polish institution, was employed by the state and became specialised in designing state municipal halls. A public bid for the construction was organized and the most cost-effective contractor was chosen. In the course of this process, existing privileges dating to the *Ancien Régime*, for example those of the clergy, were diminished.

Comparing and reviewing public building in Congress Poland, 1815–31.

How does this compare to public building in other parts of the former Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth during the first decades after the Congress of Vienna? The territories annexed by Prussia did not see any public building activities in the 19th century's early decades. Jan Zachwatowicz even speaks of a *mauvaise volonté*.[57] In the territories annexed by Austria,

---

54 Ibid.

55 Pawlak, *Polska-Zabytkowe ratusze*, pp. 70–71.

56 Ibid., p.115.

57 Zachwatowicz, *L'Architecture Polonaise*, p. 317.

the economic situation did not encourage construction.[58] Krakow only saw limited renovation of domestic buildings. In Ľviv (German *Lemberg*), however, the collapse of the town hall's tower did result in a rebuilding project. A new tower was constructed in 1827 and the damaged town hall renovated in 1830–35. However, this building was significantly damaged during Ľviv's bombardment by Austrian forces in 1848 and consequently required extensive reconstruction, which was conducted by Johann Salzmann and Wilhelm Schmidt.[59] The building's style has been described as typical for the period's Austrian administration buildings.[60] It cannot be compared stylistically with municipal halls in Congress Poland. Most importantly, however, the cause for rebuilding Ľviv's town hall was different from the motives in Congress Poland in the 1820s. The construction of the new municipal halls was a tool for state modernization and part of wider administrative reforms in Constitutional Congress Poland. This is illustrated by the comparative lack of development in the Prussian and Habsburg territories of the former Commonwealth.

The public buildings of Congress Poland display a singular architectural appearance, a certain monumentality, encompassing simple silhouettes, and moderately decorated with columns and Roman inspired reliefs. The large production of monumental public buildings in Congress Poland in a brief period of time and in economically challenging circumstances is noteworthy. This was the result of ambitious reforms by a government determined to transform a largely feudal and agricultural country into a modern state. The restructuring of the polity was accompanied by establishing new public institutions and reforming existing administrations. An unprecedented range of public buildings made their appearance, ranging from post offices to tollhouses and from a national bank to a new type of municipal hall. For these buildings, programs were formulated and typologies developed. The influence of Durand and modern building practice is noticeable in both the Building Council and the School of Construction and Surveying. A rationalization of the design and construction process was required to achieve the government's ambitions within the limited resources. Redundant buildings could be transformed for new use. Aristocratic residences and former monasteries were remodelled to house the administration. A rationalized building process allowed the development and construction of many public buildings in a relatively short period of time.

Conclusion

The period of public building by a sovereign Polish state came to an end during the reign of Nicholas I, who was crowned King of Poland in 1829. The November Uprising that had

---

58 Ibid.

59 Franciszek Jaworski, *Ratusz lwowski* (Ľviv: Nakładem Towarzystwa Miłośników Przeszłości Lwowa, 1907), pp. 90–93.

60 Ibid.

begun in 1830 was crushed *manu militari* in the following year. Subsequently, the Kingdom of Poland was progressively incorporated into the Russian Empire, democratic institutions were eradicated, and a centralized government was established. The School of Construction and Surveying was closed. In the years that followed, Poland's era of academic Neo-Classicism came to an end, while Romanticism and revivalist styles gained popularity. Classicism, including Neo-Classicism, had been alien to Polish territories and was always considered an imported architectural language. The aristocracy's identification with antiquity had rather been a way to elevate themselves above the rest of Polish society.[61] This makes it challenging to interpret Neo-Classicism as the intentional architectural language for the Polish state's modernization. Public architecture in Constitutional Congress Poland is rather the product of economic building requirements and the period's architectural theory. Its unity in appearance is the result of combining the rationalized design system with an architectural language and syntaxis defined by purpose: it is utilitarian. The public architecture of Constitutional Congress Poland was academic and functionalist.

---

61 Ryszard Przybylski, *Klasycyzm, czlyli prawdiwy koniec Królestwa Polskiego* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1983), p. 353; Anna Lewicka-Morawska, *Miedzy klasycznością a tradycjonalizmem: Narodziny nowoczesnej kultury artystycznej a malarstwo polskie konca XVIII i poczatkow XIX wieku* (Warsaw: Akademia Sztuk Pięknych w Warszawie, 2005), p. 205.

Elke Katharina Wittich (Hannover)

Schinkel's model solutions for the Prussian state's building program

When given the choice between writing an essay on either Karl Friedrich Schinkel's ambitious designs or the Prussian state's early 19th century building program, most would probably decide in favour of the former. According to the sources, however, it can hardly be overlooked that this very architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, one of the first trained at the Berlin *Bauakademie*,[1] was for a long time the head and also the figurehead of the Prussian building administration, the so-called *Oberbaudeputation*.[2] Thus, the catchwords "Schinkel" and "model solutions for the Prussian state" should amount to analogous facts in many cases. This paper's aim is to show how much success in mastering the Prussian state's building tasks during the course of industrialisation depended on the interaction between the *Bauakademie* as an educational institution and the *Oberbaudeputation* as a state authority; publications by this building administration – with sample designs as well as assessment procedures for state building projects – guaranteed the nationwide recognisability and quality of Prussia's state buildings. Well-trained architects such as Schinkel and, in the following generation, Friedrich August Stüler and Friedrich Adler, among many others, were trained at the *Bauakademie* and were taken into the Prussian civil service, where they participated in publications as well as appraisals, a system that was maintained throughout the 19th century.

Schinkel worked for the Prussian building administration for more than 30 years of his life as *Oberbauassessor*, *Geheimer Oberbaurat*, *Geheimer Oberbaudirektor* and *Leiter der Oberbaudeputation*, and finally as *Oberlandesbaudirektor*, i. e., he passed through all of the Prussian civil service's levels.[3] In addition to commissions from the court, he also designed and realized many buildings on behalf of the Prussian state – educational buildings such as

---

1   Elke Katharina Wittich, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel zum Beispiel: Kenntnisse und Methoden im Architekturdiskurs des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Diss., Humboldt Universität, 2012), accessed May, 11, 2021, http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/dissertationen/wittich-elke-katharina-2008-05-07/PDF/wittich.pdf; on architectural training at the Bauakademie see Christiane Salge, *Baukunst und Wissenschaft: Architektenausbildung an der Berliner Bauakademie um 1800* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2021), pp. 137–252.

2   *Mathematisches Calcul und Sinn für Ästhetik: Die preußische Bauverwaltung 1770–1848*, exhib. cat. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz and Kunstbibliothek der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, ed. Reinhart Strecke (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000); Reinhart Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation der preußischen Bauverwaltung: Von David Gilly zu Karl Friedrich Schinkel*, second edition (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002).

3   Paul Ortwin Rave, "Schinkel als Beamter: Ein Abschnitt preußischer Bauverwaltung," *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Architektur, Malerei, Kunstgewerbe*, exhib. cat. Nationalgalerie Berlin, ed. Helmut Börsch-Supan and Lucius Grisebach (Berlin: Nationalgalerie, 1981), pp. 75–94, and Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, pp. 167–200.

museums and theatres as well as school buildings and libraries, administrative buildings such as city halls, industrial buildings such as the *Packhof*, and also monuments and churches. The latter were executed on behalf of the reigning king as summus episcopus, i. e., as head of his state's Protestant church.[4] In addition, Schinkel was responsible for the Prussian monument registers and restorations of the historic building stock, such as the Marienburg in East Prussia or the Cathedral of Magdeburg.[5] In the *Oberbaudeputation* he assessed state building projects that exceeded certain costs (500 Prussian Taler), which meant all state building projects of this category.[6]

Schinkel was celebrated, however, not because of his appraisals and often differentiated improvements of colleagues' building designs in all Prussian provinces, but as a master builder and artist.[7] The fact that Schinkel also left behind paintings and was a friend of Romantic writers supported his reception as an artist and – in the categories of his time – as a *genius*; contemporary art history even attributed to him a spiritual closeness and friendship with Raphael.[8] In the 20th century, propagandistic borrowings from classical building forms and corresponding value judgements in architectural history during the National Socialist tyranny,[9] as well as, after World War II, the bequest divided between the two German states,[10]

---

4 Paul Ortwin Rave, *Berlin I: Bauten für Kunst, Kirchen, Denkmalpflege* [=*Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Lebenswerk*, III, ed. Gottfried Riemann and Helmut Börsch-Supan, supplemented reprint of the edition 1941 (Munich/Berlin: Dt. Kunstverlag, 1981); *Schinkels Vorstadtkirchen: Kirchenbau und Gemeindegründung unter Friedrich Wilhelm III. in Berlin,* ed. Helga Nora Franz-Duhme and Ursula Röper-Vogt (Berlin: Wichern-Verlag, 1991). See also Rolf Bothe, *Kirche, Kunst und Kanzel: Luther und die Folgen der Reformation* (Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2017), pp. 189–194.

5 Janet Kempf, "Die Mitteldeutsche Klosterlandschaft und der Beginn der institutionalisierten Denkmalpflege unter Karl Friedrich Schinkel," *Wissen und Macht*, ed. Gabriele Köster and Andrea Knopik (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2018), pp. 248–261; Detlef Karg, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel und Ferdinand von Quast: Die Anfänge der staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Brandenburg-Preußen," *ZeitSchichten*, ed. Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz (Berlin: Dt. Kunstverlag, 2005); Maciej Kilarski, "Schinkel und Marienburg (Malbork): Schinkels Erbe im Wandel der denkmalpflegerischen Anschauungen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 35/1 (1981), pp. 95–120.

6 Rave, "Schinkel als Beamter," pp. 79–80. The 'normed churches', which Schinkel designed from the mid-1820s onwards on behalf of Friedrich Wilhelm III as small and very low-cost buildings for the rural regions, cost around 4,000 Taler in simple execution; from this it can be concluded that the *Oberbaudeputation* also controlled very small building projects. See Peter Schmidt, "Eine Kirche für alle Provinzen – Schinkels Normalkirche im 'Bogenstyl'," *Die Mark Brandenburg* 42 (2001), pp. 20–27.

7 Gustav Friedrich Waagen, "Karl Friedrich Schinkel als Mensch und als Künstler," *Kleine Schriften* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1875), pp. 297–381. See *Karl Friedrich Schinkel und Clemens Brentano: Wettstreit der Künstlerfreunde*, ed. Birgit Verwiebe, exhib. cat. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin: Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2008); Andreas Haus, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel als Künstler: Annäherung und Kommentar* (Munich/Berlin: Dt. Kunstverlag, 2001), pp. 13–20; Wittich, *Schinkel zum Beispiel*, pp. 162–175.

8 Ibid., Waagen, "Schinkel."

9 *Schinkel-Gedenkfeier am 13. März 1941*, ed. Architekten- und Ingenieur-Verein zu Berlin in der deutschen Gaufachgruppe Berlin der Fachgruppe Bauwesen des NS Bundes Deutscher Technik (Berlin: Ernst, 1941).

10 This division of Schinkel's bequest led to two exhibitions in 1981 to mark the 200th anniversary of his birth, one in the Neue Nationalgalerie in West-Berlin and one in the Altes Museum in East-Berlin, see *Karl Friedrich*

made a non-political reception which concentrated on purely artistic issues seem advisable. Interventions to the contrary from knowledgeable quarters were often ignored.[11]

And yet it cannot be denied that the architect of the *Schauspielhaus* on Gendarmenmarkt and the Berlin *Bauakademie*,[12] as the Prussian building administration's leading civil servant, was responsible not only for an exemplary training system for architecture, civil engineering, and the building trades in the *Bauakademie*, which is still exemplary today. He was also responsible for the centralisation and extremely tight organisation of the building process according to model buildings for the state administration. This 'Schinkel system' had its origins in his teachers' generation, who were also building officials at the *Oberbaudeputation* (above all David Gilly and Johann Albert Eytelwein).[13] This system, however, only came to full fruition after Schinkel's death in 1841 with the large-scale management of a state's building tasks during industrialisation (e.g. housing construction and urban development in the Berlin suburbs and other larger cities in the Prussian provinces, urban infrastructure such as large hospitals, industrial facilities such as railway stations or the Borsig mechanical engineering factory opened in 1837, and other industrial building financed and implemented by bourgeois entrepreneurs).[14] Although the Borsig factory and other factories were not Prussian state building projects in the narrowest sense, the Schinkel school was already firmly established at this time, its graduates well trained in this subject and also active in private architecture.[15] After all, the architects who took on private-sector commissions in Berlin were also largely trained at the Berlin *Bauakademie*. Furthermore, the founder of the Borsig factory, August Borsig, was himself one of the first graduates of the *Gewerbeinstitut*, a manufacturing industry technical institute founded by the Prussian state.[16]

Schinkel, ed. Börsch-Supan and Grisebach, and *Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781–1841*, exhib. cat. Altes Museum Berlin (Leipzig: Jütte, 1981).

11   Goerd Peschken, *Baugeschichte politisch: Schinkel, Stadt Berlin, Preussische Schlösser: Zehn Aufsätze mit Selbst-kommentaren* (Braunschweig/Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1993). See also: Christian Welzbacher, *Schinkel als Mythos: Kanonisierung und Rezeption eines Klassikers – 1841 bis heute* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012).

12   Paul Ortwin Rave, *Berlin I* and *Berlin III: Bauten für Wissenschaft, Verwaltung, Heer, Wohnbau und Denkmäler*, III and XI of *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Lebenswerk*; Adalbert Behr, *Das Schauspielhaus in Berlin* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1985); *Mythos Bauakademie: Die Schinkelsche Bauakademie und ihre Bedeutung für die Mitte Berlins*, ed. Doris Fouquet-Plümacher, exhib. cat. Förderverein Bauakademie (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998).

13   Wittich, *Schinkel zum Beispiel*, pp. 90–161.

14   Eva Börsch-Supan, *Berliner Baumeister nach Schinkel 1840–1880* (Munich: Prestel, 1977).

15   Elke Katharina Wittich, "Backstein und Bücher – Die Berliner Schulen der Architektur in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Architekturschulen – Programm, Pragmatik, Propaganda*, ed. Klaus Jan Philipp and Kerstin Renz (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2012), pp. 129–144.

16   Elke Katharina Wittich, "Deutschsprachige Lehr- und Anleitungswerke institutionalisierter Ausbildungen für die 'Kunstindustrie' 1820–1850," *seriell – individuell: Handwerkliches im Design*, ed. Gerda Breuer and Christopher Oestereich (Weimar: VDG Weimar, 2014), pp. 29–42, here 31.

A successfully implemented system of managing the construction process: Independent agencies and the role of publications and professional and popular education

The successes of the Prussian building policy, which was directed by the state through a variety of measures, can be seen not least in the publication *Bauausführungen des preußischen Staats* (Building Executions of the Prussian State), a folder with design lithographs, which the Königliche *Oberbaudeputation* edited from 1830 until 1848 and which included several of Schinkel's designs for a town hall, a school building, a penitentiary, and others. In total, it dealt with bridges, military buildings, lighthouses, locks, and other harbour buildings as well as provincial public administration buildings with precise details of the respective locations.[17] With this publication, the *Oberbaudeputation* not only gave an account of its successes, but its dissemination also indicates one of Prussia's building policy measures. It is not without reason that its subtitle reads: "Für den Dienstgebrauch" ("for official use"). The author of the "Vorwort" ("Foreword"), the Privy Councillor for Taxes in the Ministry of Finance, Christian Peter Wilhelm Beuth, supplemented this purpose with the telling remark that "sheets intended for official use do not come into the book trade" ("diese für den Dienstgebrauch bestimmten Blätter kommen nicht in den Buchhandel"), they are rather intended for "practicing [...] master builders".[18] The aim is thus standardisation and rationalisation as well as technical and aesthetic quality as requirements for state architecture.[19]

Against this background, Schinkel's role as chief building official and assessor of Prussian state building projects must not be seen as subordinate, but as central. This needs to be strongly emphasised because Schinkel's activity is often not mentioned in the literature, or only in passing, and (despite extensive research) has not been systematically reviewed to date. In the following, Schinkel's achievements will be appreciated against the background of a German state's political and economic development in the pre-March period, more pointedly against the background of the tasks of a large territorial state's building authority at a

---

17 *Bauausführungen des Preußischen Staats: Für den Dienstgebrauch*, ed. Ministerium der Finanzen und des Handels, I–IV (Berlin: Petsch, 1830–48). See Hans-Dieter Nägelke, *Neben Schinkel: Die 'Bauausführungen des Preussischen Staates' 1830–48* (Berlin: Universitätsbibliothek Technische Universität Berlin, 2010).

18 *Bauausführungen*, foreword, pp. 3–4. For them it is "desirable [...] to obtain knowledge of building projects that do not belong to the usual ones and have received the approval of the highest building authority. This knowledge will not only contribute to his education, but will also serve as a guide for him to design and submit projects according to proven and sanctioned methods; or it will serve as a stimulus, awaken ideas and give him cause to examine their applicability" ("Es muss für den ausführenden Baumeister wünschenswerth seyn, Kenntniß von Bauausführungen zu erhalten, welche nicht zu den gewöhnlichen gehören und die Genehmigung der obersten Baubehörde erhielten. Diese Kenntniß wird nicht bloß zu seiner Ausbildung beitragen, sondern ihm auch in vorkommenden Fällen zur Anleitung dienen, Projekte nach bewährten und sanktionierten Methoden zu entwerfen und vorzulegen; oder sie wird ihm zur Anregung dienen, Ideen erwecken und Veranlassung geben, ihre Anwendbarkeit zu prüfen").

19 Strecke (ed.), *Mathematisches Calcul*; Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, pp. 25–36; Nägelke, *Neben Schinkel*, pp. 3–6.

time of economic upswing triggered by industrialisation. In doing so, the 'Schinkel system''s efficiency can be highlighted, but above all it will be shown how an outstanding architect of his time was able to produce particularly lasting effects in the context of such an efficiently working administrative apparatus. Although the Prussian King Frederick William III and the Crown Prince Frederick William IV, who was enthusiastic about the arts, had an influence on court and church building commissions,[20] Prussian reforms of the time around 1800 had established other regulations and decision-making processes. As a result, the building administration could act much more independently of the court than in earlier times. Simultaneously, the compulsory submission of designs to the *Oberbaudeputation* shows how much effort was made to control all processes; they affected both the education system and the state administration[21] and were clearly different from the late Baroque exercise of power in building matters, as was the case with Frederick the Great's buildings in Potsdam.[22]

This 'Schinkel system' means more than the Schinkel school's achievements in the field of architecture. It rather stands for a state-directed interaction of education and building administration over a long period of time, as well as for the provision of systematically prepared templates for essential fields of activity, which were disseminated throughout Prussia and considered the standard. This resulted in the fact that a middle-class public, certainly also with Schinkel's and Beuth's participation, developed suitable forms of organisation and publication, as can be seen in the *Architektenverein zu Berlin*'s founding in 1824,[23] an association dedicated to "scientific promotion" ("gegenseitige wissenschaftliche Förderung als Hauptzweck"),[24] which organised monthly competitions and published the *Notizblatt des Architektenvereins* from 1833. Civic forms of knowledge generation and knowledge utilisation as well as communication were thus used in a complementary way to make construction management principles known and recognised.

The association, later renamed the *Architekten- und Ingenieurverein zu Berlin*, reportedly enjoyed "the special favour of Schinkel and Eytelwein", i.e., of the current head of the *Oberbaudeputation* and of his teacher and predecessor, on the occasion of its 75th anniversary in 1899; subsequently, the approval and support of the *Oberbaudeputation* is assumed.[25] In 1830, the association had celebrated Schinkel's birthday, which, from 1845 onwards, turned

---

20 Eva Börsch-Supan, *Arbeiten für König Friedrich Wilhelm III. von Preußen und Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm (IV.)* (= *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Lebenswerk*, XXI, ed. Helmut Börsch-Supan [Berlin: Dt. Kunstverlag, 2011]), pp. 24–35.

21 Among other things, the reforms led to a separation of the business of the court and the state. Reinhart Koselleck, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale Bewegung von 1791–1848* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1967).

22 Hans-Joachim Giersberg, *Friedrich als Bauherr: Studien zur Architektur des 18. Jahrhunderts in Berlin und Potsdam* (Berlin: Siedler, 1986), pp. 15 and 18–49. See also Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*, pp. 6–27; Salge, *Baukunst und Wissenschaft*, 49–63.

23 Kathrin Chod, Herbert Schwenk, and Hainer Weisspflug, "Architektenverein zu Berlin," *Berliner Bezirkslexikon: Mitte,* ed. Hans-Jürgen Mende and Kurt Wernicke, I (Berlin: Edition Luisenstadt, 2003).

24 "Zum 75 jährigen Bestehen des Architektenvereins zu Berlin," *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 19 (1899), p. 263.

25 Ibid. ("Der Verein, der sich der besonderen Gunst Schinkels und Eytelweins erfreute").

into the so-called *Schinkelfeste*, which in its name already hints at the era's very popular festivals in honour of great Renaissance artists.[26] In 1830, a marble bust of Schinkel was set up in the staircase to mark the opening of his Royal Museum at the *Lustgarten*.[27] Like the prize money donated by Frederick William IV much later, in 1855, for the *Schinkel Wettbewerbe* (Schinkel competitions) that are still held today, this also forms part of the 'Schinkel system'. It is essentially composed of state administration and promotion of building education, publication and building activity, civic discursive publicity, and royal patronage for artists and the arts, for which works of art, art historical publications as well as publicised dedications or inaugurations and purchases at the annual arts and crafts exhibitions were used by the royal couple and other members of the court alike.[28]

It remains remarkable that, despite the overly clear visibility of the interaction of these instances, all actors regularly emphasise the *genius*, i.e., the special role of the one architect Schinkel. They all reliably highlight his architectural solutions, freed from all restraints as it were, as forward-looking models from the average of everyday task accomplishment. This also happened around 1900, when Schinkel's works could be received as the forerunners of a technically constructive building method classified as 'modern'.[29]

Defining architecture's order principles

At the end of the 19th century, the publication of the large-scale series of the *Manual of Architecture (Handbuch der Architektur)*, first by university professors of the technical colleges in Karlsruhe, Berlin, Darmstadt, and Vienna, and later with the participation of more than 100 architects and civil engineers, not only compiled all the knowledge about construction that was considered relevant. Even the volumes' structure set standards for classification according to historical development and understanding of form. As an internal arrangement the "structural engineering constructions" ("III. Theil: Die Hochbau-Constructionen") were edited.[30] In the last quarter of the 19th century, an architect working in the Prussian state's building departments could now look up concrete examples according to this classification:

---

26 *Künstlerfeste: In Zünften, Akademien, Vereinen und informellen Kreisen,* ed. Andreas Tacke et al. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2019).

27 Schinkel's bust by Christian Friedrich Tieck. Rave, *Berlin I*, p. 72.

28 Elke Katharina Wittich, "Prunktische und Steintische", "Das Schloss Charlottenhof in Potsdam" and "Das Palais Prinz Albrecht in Berlin," *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Möbel und Interieur*, ed. Bärbel Hedinger and Julia Berger, exhib. cat. Jenisch-Haus Hamburg (Berlin: Dt. Kunstverlag, 2002), pp. 99–116, pp. 131–152 and pp. 177–190.

29 Manfred Luchterhand, "Schinkels Entwurf zum Hamburger Theater (1825/26) und die Debatte um den idealen Stil," *Gilly, Weinbrenner, Schinkel: Baukunst auf Papier zwischen Gotik und Klassizismus*, ed. Marion Hilliges and Christian Scholl (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2016), pp. 51–65.

30 Roland Jaeger, "Das 'Handbuch der Architektur' (1880–1943): Verlagsgeschichte und Bibliographie," *Aus dem Antiquariat* NF 4/5 (2006), pp. 343–364.

hospitals such as the first public hospital in Berlin-Friedrichshain,[31] barracks such as the Garde-Dragoner barracks on today's *Mehringdamm*, railway stations such as the *Anhalter Bahnhof*[32] near *Potsdamer Platz*, or department stores such as the *Kaisergalerie* on *Friedrich-strasse*. He also could trace the effects of the building activity in the Prussian capital on the provinces by using the examples as models. The private factories, although not subject to the state building administration, would not be lost sight of either, for the founding of the Borsig factory's branches in Dortmund in 1854 and in Breslau in 1862 can also tell us something about industrialisation in Germany and about the development of building activity; by this time, more than 500 locomotives had already been manufactured at Borsig.[33] Berlin's population had increased from 283,722 to 547,571 in the period between the founding of Borsig's Berlin headquarters in 1837 and the branch in Breslau in 1862, thus doubling.[34] Because Albert Borsig was a graduate of the *Gewerbeinstitut* founded by Beuth and Schinkel, this example shows how strongly the activities of Prussian civil servants also manifested themselves in the private-sector.[35]

However, if we talk about Schinkel's period of activity up to his death in 1841, a time when Prussia was only in industrialisation's early stages, it quickly becomes apparent that the historistically rationalised outline scheme from the *Handbuch der Architektur* cannot be comparably meaningful for the pre-March period. Thinking in large scales and considering the division of building tasks according to infrastructural aspects fits very well for European architecture of the second half of the 19th century with its remarkable growth. For the preceding decades following the Napoleonic Wars, however, different standards applied. The textbooks from Schinkel's time of training were not primarily structured according to building types, but to the distinction between war and civil architecture.[36] Within civil architecture, building materials were dealt with first, followed by the reasons for building, then the building itself and the basics of planning, in accordance with Vitruvius' model. The column orders even came before building types, which then encompassed city gates and fortifica-

31 Martin Gropius and Heino Schmieden, "Das Städtische Allgemeine Krankenhaus in Berlin im Friedrichshain," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 25 (1875), column 131–144 and 453–482, pl. 24–32, 42–47 and 66–68; *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 26 (1876), column 5–36, 153–180, pl. 10–13 and 27–30.

32 Franz Schwechten, "Das neue Empfangs-Gebäude der Berlin-Anhaltischen Eisenbahn in Berlin," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 13 (1879), pp. 11–14, 23–25 and 41–42.

33 See Borsig Unternehmenschronik, http://www.borsig.de/uploads/tx_bcpageflip/BORSIG_Geschichte.pdf #page=2 (accessed May 15, 2021); Helmut Reihlen, "Christian Peter Beuth: Eine geschichtliche Betrachtung," *100 Jahre Technische Universität Berlin 1879–1979*, exhib. cat. Berlin Technische Universität (Berlin: Technische Universität, 1979), pp. 81–103, on Borsig pp. 100–101.

34 Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Dieterici, *Statistische Übersicht der wichtigsten Gegenstände des Verkehrs und Verbrauchs* (Berlin: Mittler, 1838–1857); Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Dieterici, *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Bureau's in Berlin* (Berlin: Mittler, 1848–1861).

35 Wittich, "Backstein und Bücher."

36 Wittich, *Schinkel zum Beispiel*, pp. 9–25; see also Klaus Jan Philipp, *Um 1800: Architekturtheorie und Architekturkritik in Deutschland zwischen 1790 und 1810* (Stuttgart: Ed. Axel Menges, 1997).

tions, town halls and representative buildings, residential buildings of more or less wealthy owners, school buildings and hospitals as well as other public and private buildings.

These woodcut-like enumerations make it clear how much has changed in the course of a century in terms of fundamental views on architecture. This alone should give reason to evaluate Schinkel according to the state of knowledge of his time and not of a later one. The tasks of those responsible for building must have been correspondingly challenging at the time; geodesy remains an important part of polytechnical school education, as does the study of building ground and materials. Overall, the conception of architecture shifted in favour of the engineering sciences, which can also be seen in the increasing focus on construction in Schinkel's theoretical writings. [37]

The scale of buildings and thus their construction systems had to withstand the demands of industrial production and distribution. In the course of industrialisation, the newly emerging suburbs had to be adequately supplied with food as well as with education, religion, and transport facilities; national rivalries and even wars had to be fought. The facilitation of mobility can certainly be considered a decisive factor of industrialisation and a meaningful example of state tasks, which in Central Europe was far from being able to keep pace with developments in Great Britain. Nevertheless, there is not the slightest doubt that the Prussian *Oberbaudeputation* was aware of these issues' relevance. As early as around 1800, Prussian building administration representatives, such as David Gilly, had disseminated current issues of building practice throughout Prussia with the publication of the *Sammlung nützlicher Aufsätze und Nachrichten, die Baukunst betreffend* (Collection of Useful Essays and News Concerning the Art of Building); this publication included reports on special buildings as well as on the use of materials and new types of construction, for example hoists and iron bridge construction.[38] Gilly had distinguished himself with publications on land surveying as the basis of cartography and thus of geographic spatial development.[39] According to the Berlin *Bauakademie*'s training plan, the land surveyor examination was the first of several levels of training for the following decades and thus an entrance to the Prussian civil service.[40]

---

37 Ulrich Pfammatter, *Die Erfindung des modernen Architekten: Ursprung und Entwicklung seiner wissenschaftlich-industriellen Ausbildung* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1997); Goerd Peschken, *Das Architektonische Lehrbuch* [=*Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Lebenswerk*, XIV, ed. Gottfried Riemann and Helmut Börsch-Supan] (Munich/Berlin: Dt. Kunstverlag, 1979); Elke Katharina Wittich, "'Architecture is construction': Term and definition in German architectural writing ot the early 19th century," *5ICCH Proceedings (5th International Congrece of Construction History* (Chicago: Construction History Society of America: 2015), pp. 613–620.

38 *Sammlung nützlicher Aufsätze und Nachrichten, die Baukunst betreffend: Für angehende Baumeister und Freunde der Architektur*, ed. Mitglieder des Königl. Preuß. Ober-Bau-Departements (Berlin: Maurer, 1797–1806), see Philipp, *Um 1800*, pp. 46–59.

39 David Gilly, *Karte des Königlichen Preussischen Herzogthums Vor- und Hinter-Pommern, nach speciellen Vermessungen* (Berlin, ca. 1789); David Gilly, *Special-Karte von Südpreussen mit allerhöchster Erlaubnis aus der königlichen topographischen Vermessungs-Karte* (Berlin: Schropp, 1802–1803).

40 Anna Teut-Nedeljkov, "Die Königliche Bauakademie: Zwischen Revolution und Reform," *100 Jahre Technische Universität Berlin*, pp. 58–80; Salge, *Baukunst und Wissenschaft*, pp. 240–252.

The 'Schinkel system': Designing and disseminating models through practice and publicizing

The question of such connections leads us to cite a publication by Karl Friedrich Schinkel as the first one that has presumably not yet received such an honour in literature on the architect: the *Anweisung zum Bau und zur Unterhaltung der Kunststraßen* (Instructions on the Construction and Maintenance of Interurban Roads) of 1834.[41] At the time of publication, Schinkel was already in high Prussian office and responsible for such matters of transport connections. In the tradition of the *Sammlung nützlicher Aufsätze* and the Berlin *Bauakademie* textbooks like the numerous practical publications by David Gilly and Johann Albert Eytelwein,[42] road construction is treated strictly systematically and under the premise of explaining and making comprehensible decisive facts for those more or less familiar with the subject.[43] On about 30 pages of text, basic and advanced facts of the construction of interurban roads, i. e., paid chaussees or trunk roads, are conveyed and supplemented by "help tables". Indeed, these are helpful in calculating the earthworks involved as well as in planning materials delivery, and correspond to the skills in dealing with all building practice areas that were already present around 1800, as listed, for example, in the five volumes of Christian Ludwig Stieglitz's *Encyklopädie der bürgerlichen Baukunst* (Encyclopaedia of Civil Architecture) published from 1792 to 1798.[44]

Architects like Schinkel were able to draw on such knowledge and skills with the difference that in their generation the knowledge and skills could be applied particularly well and at the most up-to-date level in states where systematic further development of skills and methods was pursued for educational purposes. This was the case, for example, in the 1830s in Berlin at the *Bauakademie* or in Karlsruhe in Baden at the *Polytechnische Schule* founded in 1825, both teaching institutions modelled on the *École Polytechnique* in Paris.[45] During the 1820s to 1840s, the high number of German states that founded such polytechnic schools with architecture and mechanical engineering as central subjects, makes clear how important these subjects were considered in the pre-March period.[46] The Berlin *Bauakademie*, however, had already been founded in 1799, and in 1801 it was assigned as a department of the *Oberbaudepartement*, the later *Oberbaudeputation*. This unusual measure of operating an educational institution in a state administration department once again makes clear the state's unconditional intention to control the building industry at that time. Thus, the educational

---

41 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Anweisung zum Bau und zur Unterhaltung der Kunststraßen* (Berlin: Petsch, 1834).

42 Wittich, *Schinkel zum Beispiel*, pp. 325–339.

43 Ibid., pp. 114–159 and 277–285.

44 Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, *Encyklopädie der bürgerlichen Baukunst*, I-V (Leipzig: Fritsch, 1792–1798), see Philipp, *Um 1800*, pp. 79–105.

45 Pfammatter, *Erfindung des modernen Architekten*, pp. 17–102 and 222–238. For the industrialisation in Prussia see Eric Dorn Brose, "The aesthetic view from Pegasus," *The politics of technological change in Prussia: Out of the shadow of antiquity, 1809–1848* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

46 Pfammatter, *Erfindung des modernen Architekten*, pp. 209–264.

Fig. 1. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Anweisung zum Bau und zur Unterhaltung der Kunststraßen*, 1834, cover page. Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin, Sig. B 917 Str 33.

institution became part of the public building administration. Consequently, as a result of Stein-Hardenberg's reforms at the beginning of the pre-March era,[47] the crucial question was how building administrations had used the 19th century's first three decades to adequately prepare for the challenges of industrialisation and the development towards a bourgeois state.[48]

In Schinkel's *Anweisung zum Bau und zur Unterhaltung der Kunststraßen* of 1834, the text and the so called help tables (*Hilfstafeln*) are followed by ten plates, one of which shows profiles of "Chausseestraßen" (interurban roads),[49] eight other plates show ground plans and elevations as well as sections of so-called *Chausseehäuser* (toll stations), and the tenth plate shows a compilation of milestones in "burnt earth" ("Gebrannte Erde" – i. e., ceramics) or in "cast iron" in front and side view. From shape to decoration and typography of the inscriptions, these milestones can be read as a canonisation of a classicist repertoire of forms.

The entire publication corresponds in style and content to the Berlin *Bauakademie*'s textbooks, as they had already been published in large numbers by the founders around 1800.[50]

---

47 A Prussian reform movement initiated by Karl Baron von Stein and Karl August Prince Hardenberg.

48 Teut-Nedeljkov, "Die Königliche Bauakademie"; Strecke (ed.), *Mathematisches Calcul*; Strecke, *Anfänge und Innovation*; Salge, *Baukunst und Wissenschaft*, pp. 253–296.

49 At that time, the term "Kunststraßen" was understood to mean interurban roads, which were also called "Chausseestraßen".

50 Wittich, *Schinkel zum Beispiel*, pp. 327–339, sources written by the *Bauakademie*'s teaching staff or by the Prussian *Oberbaudeputation*'s officials have been marked by *, the number of these sources is in the three-digit range.

This publication policy, which excluded the book trade, was consistently pursued in Prussia for decades and provided an extremely well-founded basis for training and building practice in Berlin and the Prussian provinces. The subtitle "for official use" ("für den Dienstgebrauch") makes it clear that the needs of the building administration, the building industry, and the architectural training were conceived of together and coordinated accordingly. In fact, even far away from Berlin in Pomerania, Silesia, or the Rhineland, it was possible to build and maintain roads with the help of these instructions. It was even possible to demonstrate with the *Chausseehäuser* shown on the title pages how much one saw oneself integrated into Prussian standardisation by applying exemplary solutions.

Schinkel had such a *Chausseehaus* depicted on the title page's left-hand side and a second one under the title line on the title page itself (fig. 1a/b). These are rural building types that could also be found in David Gilly's *Handbuch der Land-Bau-Kunst* of 1709–1811.[51] The surviving *Chausseehaus* in Bad Freienwalde-Schiffmühle nearby the river Oder (c. 1832) corresponds to the first of the two model buildings (fig. 2).[52] The rectangular one-storey building is intersected in the middle by a pedimented two-storey block. Striking features are the continuous cornice at the level of the imposts of the round-arched windows and doors, as well as two groups of three round-arched windows separated by pilasters and set into a shallowly recessed field. These motifs make the difference between Gilly's rural buildings and those of Schinkel, for they considerably enhance the façades of simple buildings. They are motifs that Schinkel also used for the so-called *Normalkirchen* (normed churches), inexpensive church buildings based on model designs, for example on the towers of the churches in Liebenwalde, Petzow, Tarmow, and Wuthenow in Brandenburg and in several other

---

51 David Gilly, *Handbuch der Land-Bau-Kunst vorzüglich in Rücksicht auf die Construction der Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäude*, I-III (Berlin: Vieweg, 1797–1798; Halle: Renger, 1811). See Wittich, *Schinkel zum Beispiel*, pp. 277–285.

52 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Chausseehaus Bad Freienwalde*, 1832.
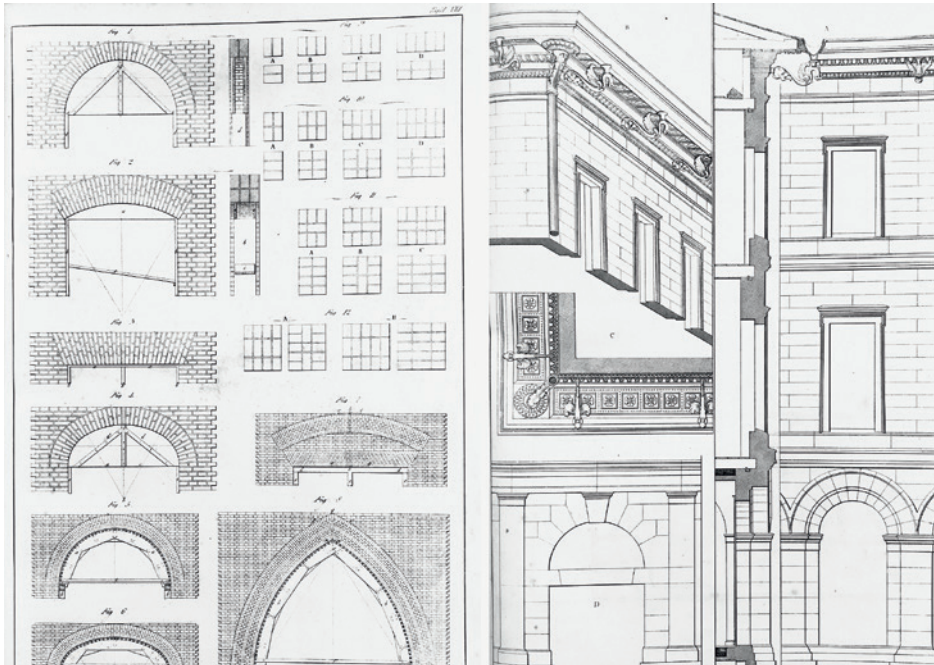
Figs. 3/4. *Grundlage der praktischen Baukunst: Vorlegeblätter für Maurer*, ed. Technische Deputation für Gewerbe, 1834, pl. VIII (left) and pl. XXXIII (right). Author's collection.

places throughout the Prussian provinces.[53] The variation of the motif can also be observed in a somewhat larger church building, the St. Nicolai Church in Magdeburg in the Prussian province of Saxony from 1824. While on the towers, as on the *Chausseehaus*, three round-arched windows are integrated as arcades in a rectangular recessed field, the colossal windows show round-arched terminations and architraves at impost height, which are always used when this becomes statically necessary.[54] The cornice which structures the façade at the impost level of the round-arched windows and doors is also a ubiquitous motif in Schinkel's buildings. At that time, one therefore spoke of a round arch style.[55]

The same round-arched windows or round-arched arcades motif then also appears in urban residential building samples in the first volume of the *Grundlage der praktischen Baukunst: Vorlegeblätter für Maurer* (Basis of Practical Construction: Sample Sheets for Masons), published by the *Technische Deputation für Gewerbe* of the Ministry of Trade and

---

53 Schmidt, "Eine Kirche für alle Provinzen."

54 Hans Junecke, *Provinz Sachsen* [=*Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Lebenswerk*, XXII, ed. Helmut Börsch-Supan] (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2014), pp. 201–217.

55 On the state of knowledge about historical architectural styles, see Wittich, *Schinkel zum Beispiel*, pp. 32–99.
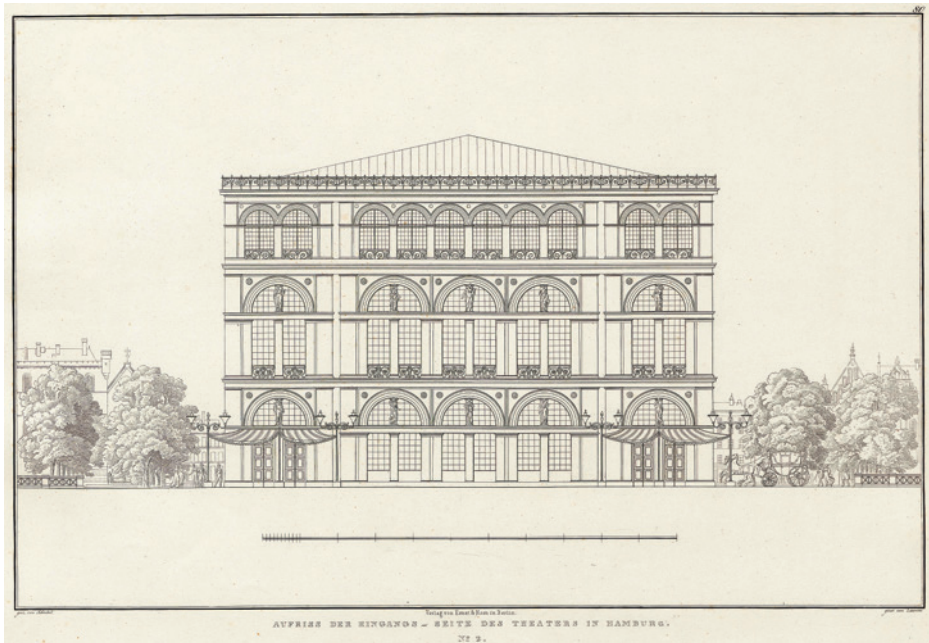
Fig. 5. Design for a theatre in Hamburg, in: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, vol. 2 (1858), pl. 80, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

Commerce in 1834.[56] It is significant for this publication that round-arched openings are presented once on plate VIII with the masonry techniques as part of the technical construction behind the plaster (fig. 3), and once on plate XXXIII (fig. 4) with a sample design for an urban residential building's façade, i. e., for the artistic layout. In contrast to the works of his apprenticeship, Schinkel combines technical principles (which formed the content of Gilly's *Land-Bau-Kunst*) with model designs (as Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand presented them in his publications, for example).[57] Their practical penetration can already be seen in the visualisation style which shows both overall views and enlarged detailed solutions, and combines design and practical implementation.

In the right-hand column, Schinkel shows the elevation of a multi-storey residential building and allows it to be understood through a section that adjoins it on the left-hand side. In the left-hand column, a perspective view of the entablature is presented at the top, and below it, the bottom view of the same entablature's corner solution; at the very bottom, the elevation of a gateway framed by pilasters on high pedestals can be seen. The rectan-

---

56 *Grundlage der praktischen Baukunst: Vorlegeblätter für Maurer*, ed. Technische Deputation für Gewerbe (Berlin: Schenk & Gerstäcker, 1834).

57 Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Précis des lecon d'architecture données à l'Ecole Royale Polytechnique* (Paris: L'Auteur, 1817–21). See Pfammatter, *Erfindung des modernen Architekten*, pp. 53–67.
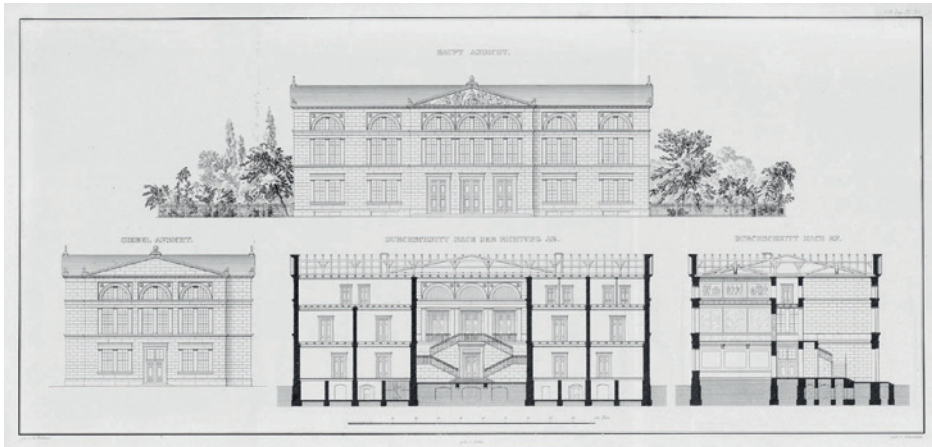
Fig. 6. *Bauausführungen des preußischen Staats*: Design for a school in Szczecin, 1830–48, vol. I, pl. 30, Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität Berlin.

gular doorway and the semi-circular arch above it, with a striking keystone that takes up the pilasters' profile, are separated by a transverse structural element. This motif, like the recessed rectangle around three round-arched windows on the *Chausseehaus* in Bad Freienwalde (fig. 2), also appears in the materials for the architectural textbook; there they belong to a group of preparatory works dealing with openings and the division of façades by round arches.[58] Schinkel's designs for a theatre in Hamburg (fig. 5) and a church in the suburb of Oranienburg as well as a design for a school in Szczecin (fig. 6) in the *Bauausführungen des preußischen Staats* vary the grouping and use the motif as a significant structuring element of the façades.[59] Accordingly, small and large buildings, buildings in the capital as well as in towns and villages in the provinces, and different types of buildings were equipped with this motif. Architraves and rosettes can then be added if this is necessary for structural reasons or if the antique ornamentation is intended to indicate educational content, as in the case of the school and the theatre.

On the basis of these observations, conclusions can be drawn about the exemplary nature of Schinkel's work (and its presentation in print) and also about the 'Schinkel system'. In Schinkel's work, model solutions for constructional or design issues can be found both in the simplest buildings in the countryside and in representative buildings in the capital. In the publications issued by the *Oberbaudeputation* or the *Technische Deputation für Gewerbe* such as "Für den Dienstgebrauch", both simple and more complex building solutions are included

---

58 Peschken, *Lehrbuch*, fig. 41.

59 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe* (Berlin: Wittich, 1819–1831, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1833–1835, and Berlin: George Gropius/Paris: Veith & Mauser/London: John Weale, 1836–1840, here Berlin, Ernst & Korn, 1858, digital edition university library Heidelberg, II, pl. 80, see Luchterhand, "Schinkels Entwurf." *Bauausführungen*, I, pl. 30, see Nägelke, *Neben Schinkel*.

and disseminated as models. Furthermore, Schinkel also published his *Sammlung architekto-nischer Entwürfe* (Collection of Architectural Designs) as a private architect independent of his office and thus served as an architect in the public discourse on contemporary building.[60] It is noteworthy that the booklets on outstanding building projects (such as the *Schauspiel-haus* on *Gendarmenmarkt* or the Royal Museum at the *Lustgarten* or even the *Bauakademie*) were published while they were still under construction.[61] Berlin's citizens were thus able to follow and discuss the current practical construction work. Not least for this purpose, Schinkel chose perspective drawings that showed the city buildings as they would actually be experienced in the urban space. What is also striking and characteristic of Schinkel is the de-gree of intellectual penetration of constructive questions and their representation in model works. Moreover, constructive and design solutions are not limited to individual building types, but can be traced through the entire building œuvre. In this context, building practice and theory are understood as mutually dependent.

Self-referential buildings: Teaching through teaching buildings

In order to bring all the observations on a building to the point, we should finally refer to the Berlin *Bauakademie*, built in 1832–36 (fig. 7), a model building with a teaching character, in every respect.[62] This building housed the teaching rooms and the sample collection of the *Bauakademie*, the offices of the *Oberbaudeputation*, and the flat of Schinkel and his family.[63] There was teaching and administration in this building, which required an outstanding ar-chitect for its design. A look at the façade details, however, makes it clear that well-trained builders were also indispensable: who could have built with such accuracy if Prussian text-books from the late 18th century onwards had not taught the masonry technique and the calculation of joint heights, without which the proportional system of such a façade could not be realized?[64] The 'Schinkel system' could not function without teaching and textbooks.

---

60 Schinkel, *Sammlung*.

61 Schinkel, *Sammlung*, issue 2 (Berlin: Wittich, 1821), issue 6 (Berlin: Wittich, 1825) and issue 20 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1833).

62 Schinkel, *Sammlung*, III, 1858, pl. 22. See Manfred Klinkott, *Die Backsteinbaukunst der Berliner Schule: Von K. F. Schinkel bis zum Ausgang des Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1988) pp. 52–62; Jonas Geist, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Die Bauakademie: Eine Vergegenwärtigung* (Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1993); Harald Bodenschatz, '*Der rote Kasten': Zu Bedeutung, Wirkung und Zukunft von Schinkels Bauakademie* (Berlin: Transit, 1996); *Mythos Bauakademie*; Haus, *Schinkel*, pp. 283–296.

63 Schinkel, *Sammlung*, issue 20 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1833).

64 Klinkott, *Backsteinbaukunst*, pp. 52–62; Christine Wolf, "Schinkel und die Folgen: Backsteinbau und Terrakot-tabau," *Daidalos* 43 (1992), pp. 90–101; Ernst Badstübner: "'[...] Architektur, die aus den Construktionen des Backsteins hervorgeht'. Retrospektive und Antizipation im Architektursystem von Schinkels Bauakademie," *Mythos Bauakademie*, pp. 40–46; Martina Abri, "Schinkels Backsteinbauten am Beispiel der Friedrichswerd-erschen Kirche und der Bauakademie," *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Aspects of his work = Aspekte seines Werkes*, ed. Susan Peik (Stuttgart/London: Ed. Axel Menges, 2001) pp. 50–56.

Fig. 7. Design for the Berlin Bauakademie, in: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, edition of 1858, vol. III, pl. 117, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

Model buildings such as the *Bauakademie* or the *Chausseehäuser* were immediately incorporated into such publications and were thus disseminated. Therefore, other architects in other places such as Halle an der Saale and Greifswald were able to use the Berlin *Bauakademie* as a model for their library buildings.[65] However, the effect of such a building policy as the 'Schinkel system' only becomes comprehensible in its entirety when the patterns are also spread throughout Prussia by smaller buildings such as the *Chausseehäuser*. It is not only Schinkel's very famous buildings that make up this system. Much attention will have to be paid to architectural solutions that became a hallmark of Prussian state buildings in both small and large buildings, and in simple or more complex forms. Exposed brick, window shapes, and wall openings as well as superordinated and rationalised forms of their combination in Schinkel and his successors' work leave little doubt about this.

---

65 Titus Mehlig, "Die Revolution im Preußischen Bibliotheksbau um 1880 – Neue Technologien für die Bauten der Universitätsbibliotheken Halle, Greifswald und Kiel," *Berliner Handreichungen zur Bibliotheks- und Informationswissenschaft* (Berlin: Institut für Bibliotheks- und Informationswissenschaft der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2007).

Richard Kurdiovsky (Vienna)

The state's public buildings in pre-revolutionary Vienna

The connection between state and style: On the role of architectural history research in critiquing Neo-Classicism and "civil servants' architecture"

The twin volumes of *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*[1] (Vienna at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century), edited by the Austrian Society of Engineers and Architects *(Österreichischer Ingenieur- und Architekten-Verein)* and the Viennese City Architect *(Stadtbaumeister)* Paul Kortz, were intended as a reference work to present the current state of the capital's architecture with all the important buildings (including the historical ones) of both technical and structural engineering as the classical domain of architects. This performance show in book format was very influential both for contemporaries and for the scholarly reception of Viennese architecture of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Thus, Martin Paul only needed to supplement the structure and content for his *Technischer Führer durch Wien* (Technical Guide to Vienna) of 1910 with those buildings that had been built in the meantime.[2] For architectural history research, Renate Wagner-Rieger referred quite significantly to Kortz as a basis for accessing the large number of objects she mentioned in her studies on 19th-century Viennese architecture of the early 1970s and for providing basic information on the buildings, their designers, manufacturers, and clients.[3]

The second volume of Kortz's work on structural engineering opens with an introduction by Joseph Bayer, who had been appointed professor of Aesthetics and Architecture at the Vienna Polytechnic *(Polytechnisches Institut in Wien)* in 1871, which was soon transformed into the Technical Highschool.[4] As far as illustrations are concerned, the book does not begin with the years around 1850, as the title of Bayer's text suggests, but almost a whole generation earlier. The volume's first illustration, numbered 1 and placed even before the

---

1 *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts: Ein Führer in technischer und künstlerischer Richtung*, ed. Paul Kortz /Österreichischer Ingenieur- und Architekten-Verein (Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1905–06).

2 *Technischer Führer durch Wien*, ed. Martin Paul/Österreichischer Ingenieur- und Architekten-Verein (Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1910).

3 Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970); Renate Wagner-Rieger, "Vom Klassizismus bis zur Secession," *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Wien: Geschichte der Architektur in Wien* (Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Neue Reihe, Band VII/3), ed. Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien (Vienna: self-published, 1973), pp. 81–244.

4 Josef Bayer, "Die Entwicklung der Architektur Wiens in den letzten fünfzig Jahren," *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, II, pp. 3–24.

Abb. 1. Das Burgtor (Architekt Peter von Nobile) vom Heldenplatz gesehen.

DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER ARCHITEKTUR WIENS IN DEN LETZTEN FÜNFZIG JAHREN.

I.

Der neue Aufschwung der Architektur in Österreich, zunächst an der Zentralstelle in Wien, fällt so ziemlich mit den politischen Weckrufen des Jahres 1848, wenn auch bei anderen Tendenzen, zusammen. Die neue Kunstbewegung — die „Monumentalperiode" der deutschen Kunst — war jenseits unserer Grenzen bereits in vollem Gange, als bei uns die verwandte Entwicklung einsetzte. Hier wurde es allerdings ein Prozeß mit beschleunigten Pulsen. Man wollte nicht bloß nachkommen und einholen, sondern in kürzester Zeit selbständig konkurrieren und auf eigenen Wegen fortschreiten, was denn bald genug auf überraschende Weise gelang.

Der vorangegangene Zustand, auf den wir nur der Einleitung wegen zurückblicken, war wohl nahezu trostlos. Unter allen Künsten läßt sich die Baukunst am ehesten staatlich einschränken und disziplinieren, und dies geschah in der „vormärzlichen" Zeit nach allen Graden. Es gab damals bei uns eine bauliche Zensur, ebenso drückend gehandhabt wie die literarische. „Vor dem Jahre 1848 erschöpfte sich" — wie einmal Rudolf von Eitelberger sagte — „die Architektur Österreichs einerseits in dem Geschäftsleben des Bauhandwerkes, andererseits in dem Bureauleben der Baubeamten. Die Architektur als Kunst ging leer aus." Paul Sprenger (geb. 1798, gest. 1854), zuletzt Hofbaurat, dozierte an der Akademie der bildenden Künste seit 1828 „géometrie descriptive" als neuen Lehrgegenstand, dann auch die „schöne Baukunst" — doch diese ganz nach den Regierungsmaximen, gleichsam als bauliche Rezeptierkunde. Ihm gegenüber vertrat wohl schon früher Peter von Nobile (aus Campestre im Kanton Tessin, geb. 1774, gest. 1854) die offiziell zugestandene künstlerische Auffassung — zunächst mit seinem dorischen Burgtor (siehe Abb. 1) und seinem Theseustempel im Volksgarten (1822—1824). Er war Dogmatiker in Sachen der Kunst; er sah in der Antike nur die Regel und schätzte neben Vitruv wohl auch Vignola und Palladio, insofern sie gleichfalls Regeln aufstellten. Nobile war um sieben Jahre älter als sein großer Zeitgenosse, der Wiedererwecker der Baukunst in Deutschland, Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781—1841), und überlebte diesen um dreizehn Jahre, um aber während dieser langen Lebensdauer lediglich über den akademischen Stillstand der Architektur in Österreich zu wachen. Er kehrte zur Antike zurück und blieb bei ihr stehen, indes Schinkel mit genialem Blick von ihr ausging, um dieselbe einer lebensvollen Erneuerung entgegenzuführen. Bei den wenigen Bauten, die in jener Zeit einen gewissen Anspruch auf Bedeutung machten, mußte eine lokalisierte Abart des Empirestils neben Nobiles Schulantike herhalten. Ein für die damaligen Verhältnisse noch immer beachtenswerter Bau war das Polytechnische Institut auf der Wieden, vom Hofbaurat Direktor Schemerl von Leytenbach im Jahre 1816 erbaut, von Prof. Stummer 1839 wesentlich erweitert. In der Herrengasse, wohin sich besonders die staatliche Bautätigkeit hinzog, nahm man sich eigens zusammen. So tat es der sonst nüchterne Sprenger, der im Statthaltereigebäude (1845) sogar dekorativ wurde, und früher schon Moreau mit der Fassade der Nationalbank und ihrem schulgerecht antikisierenden Portal,

1*

Fig. 1. Paul Kortz (ed.), *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Gerlach & Wieding, 1905/06), p. 3 of the second volume with Joseph Bayer's introductive essay on the development of architecture in Vienna in the second half of the 19th century.

title of Bayer's text (fig. 1), shows a view of the *Äußeres Burgtor* by Pietro (Peter) Nobile, a former city gate opposite the imperial Hofburg. Was this building, completed in 1824 as a major work of Viennese Neo-Classicism, to be regarded as a prelude, a foundation, as the initial building of the 'new' Viennese architecture, as demanded by contemporary architectural reform with its reference to the time 'around 1800'?[5] Or was it rather a provocatively placed counter-image? In any case, the following text suggests such an assessment:

> The [...] state [of architecture before 1848] was almost bleak. Of all the arts, architecture is the one most likely to be restricted and disciplined by the state [...]. There was a censorship of architecture in our country at that time, just as oppressive as the literary one. 'Before 1848,' as Rudolf von Eitelberger[6] once said, 'architecture in Austria was exhausted on the one hand in the business life of the building trade, and on the other in the bureau life of the building officials. Architecture as art was left empty-handed.'[7]

According to this text, there had been a state-directed, dirigiste building culture without any artistic value during the pre-March era, both in terms of organisation (through state censorship, for example) and aesthetic form (the lack of art). Bayer thus exemplified the connection between state and style, a topic of utmost importance for the present volume, and which in his eyes was an apparently fatal connection. He recognised the deficit in both teaching and formal appearance:

> Paul Sprenger [...] lectured 'fine architecture' at the Academy of Fine Arts – but this entirely according to the government maxims [...]. Opposite him, [...] Peter von Nobile [...] represented the officially conceded artistic view – first with his Doric Burgtor and his Temple of Theseus in the Volksgarten.[8]

---

5   See for example: Joseph August Lux, "Biedermeier als Erzieher," *Hohe Warte* 1 (1904/05), pp. 145–155; Paul Mebes, *Um 1800: Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1908). On tradition in Viennese architecture around 1900 and in the interwar period: Ruth Hanisch, *Moderne vor Ort: Wiener Architektur 1889–1938* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2018).

6   Rudolf Eitelberger was not only the University of Vienna's first professor of art history and founder of the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, today's MAK (Museum für angewandte Kunst) , but also a polemicizing, journalistically highly active cultural politician who significantly coined the catchword of pre-March "civil servants' architecture".

7   Bayer, "Entwicklung," p. 3 ("Der [...] Zustand [...] war nahezu trostlos. Unter allen Künsten läßt sich die Baukunst am ehesten staatlich einschränken und disziplinieren [...]. Es gab bei uns eine bauliche Zensur, ebenso drückend gehandhabt wie die literarische. 'Vor dem Jahre 1848 erschöpfte sich' – wie einmal Rudolf von Eitelberger sagte – 'die Architektur Österreichs einerseits in dem Geschäftsleben des Bauhandwerks, anderseits in dem Bureauleben der Baubeamten. Die Architektur als Kunst ging leer aus.'"). Eitelberger's quote from: Rudolf Eitelberger, "Eduard van der Nüll und August von Siccardsburg [sic]," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 4 (1869), pp. 177–187, 214–218, 244–249, here p. 179.

8   Bayer, "Entwicklung," p. 3 ("Paul Sprenger [...] dozierte an der Akademie der bildenden Künste 'schöne Baukunst' – doch diese ganz nach den Regierungsmaximen [...]. Ihm gegenüber vertrat [...] Peter von Nobile [...]

This gives particular faces to architecture's "bleak" situation in the pre-March period. On the one hand, there was Sprenger, who had studied at the Vienna Polytechnic and the Academy from 1818, had worked as an assistant at the Polytechnic from 1825 and had held a professorship at the Academy from 1827. As the leading civil servant architect, he was regarded as the epitome of an enemy for the free Viennese architects. And secondly, there was Sprenger's superior Nobile, who had been director of the Academy's School of Architecture since 1817/18 and at the same time a member of the *Hofbaurat* (State Building Council), a body that had to assess and approve all public building designs. He stood right next to the hostile Sprenger in the negative assessment. Bayer's criticism of Nobile is at the same time a criticism of the formal appearance, for, according to Bayer, Nobile was a dogmatist who saw the architecture's rules only in antiquity and held Vitruvius, Vignola, and Palladio in such high esteem because they, too, had established rules, i. e., they had developed and followed norms. Nobile "returned to antiquity and stayed with it" and thus watched over "the academic stagnation of architecture".[9] Although Bayer did not use the term 'Neo-Classicism', he obviously had that style's buildings in mind as bad examples of state architecture. 1848 finally brought the "liberation of architectural creation from the pressure of the building bureaucracy"[10] and thus from Classicism as embodied by Nobile. This cleared the way for the coming architecture of the *Ringstrasse* – as the art historian and influential critic of contemporary architecture Eitelberger also saw it.

Bayer thus described and discussed an architecture that had been examined and directed by the state and looked as the state saw fit. It is about a manifestation of architecture that is characterised and perceived as state-related, both organisationally and structurally as well as aesthetically, for which the term "civil servants' architecture" *(Beamtenarchitektur)*[11] soon arose. This architecture illustrates a state authority's ideas and thus appears to be representative of the state.

Bayer thus presents us with an idea of the relationship between style and state in the case of Vienna. He unapologetically gives us his point of reference, namely the argumentation of Eitelberger, whose view of history Bayer adopted. At the same time, Kortz's publication (with Bayer's introduction) provided an essential basis for Wagner-Rieger's research, which still forms the basis for academic study of 19th-century Viennese architecture. It is therefore not surprising that the narrative of "civil servants' architecture" constructed by Eitelberger has been adopted in architectural research on Vienna to this day. There is hardly any reflection on how things actually were in the state architecture business in the pre-March period,

---

die offiziell zugestandene künstlerische Auffassung – zunächst mit seinem dorischen Burgtor und seinem Theseustempel im Volksgarten").

9 Ibid., p. 3 ("kehrte zur Antike zurück und blieb bei ihr stehen [...] über den akademischen Stillstand der Architektur").

10 Ibid., p. 4 ("Befreiung des architektonischen Schaffens von dem Drucke der Baubureaukratie").

11 Susanne Kronbichler-Skacha, "Die Wiener 'Beamtenarchitektur' und das Werk des Architekten Hermann Bergmann (1816–1886)," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1986), pp. 163–203.

especially concerning the notorious *Hofbaurat*.[12] According to the state handbooks, the *Hofbaurat* was an accounting subdivision of the General Accounting Directorate *(General-Rechnungsdirektorium)*, a forerunner of today's Austrian Court of Audit *(österreichischer Rechnungshof)*, i.e., an authority for financial control – per se without political, let alone artistic, intentions. Accordingly, the *Hofbaurat* employed mainly accounting staff, and one wonders where the architects were in a state institution that is said to have had such a decisive influence on pre-March architecture's creation.

In addition, there was another 'authority' that was directly responsible for all artistic matters in the entire Empire of Austria, the Academy of Fine Arts under the direction of its superintendant or "curator" *(Kurator)* State Chancellor Prince Clemens Wenzel Lothar Metternich.[13] It carried out at least as extensive an expert activity as the *Hofbaurat*, whose appraisals the Academy itself appraised. Another important point is the state's notorious frugality with regard to building sector expenditures, which is manifested not least in the fact that the *Hofbaurat* was one of those state institutions that was supposed to check the accuracy of invoices. We must not overlook the effects that this organisational allocation might have on the state's view of what state-funded architecture was supposed to look like. Simple, unelaborate, and bland architecture could at the same time demonstrate how economical the state was with the funds it drew from taxes. A good example of this is the Veterinary School on the *Wiener Neustädter Canal* (fig. 4), the simple cubes of which, with their smooth surfaces and sparse architectural structure, have always been highlighted by art historians as typical of this state architectural style. But would our perception of this building not radically change if the sculptural decoration, which was probably not realised for reasons of economy, had been executed as discussed in the course of the planning process? We must therefore ask how this architecture was actually conceived and intended in order to be able to classify and evaluate it correctly.

Vienna's architecture and building sites

First of all, we need to take a look at the Vienna building sites that were available and chosen, as they possessed different qualities to contribute to the formal appearance (fig. 2). These places had hitherto illustrated the nobility's dominance of the Habsburg court as the highest social class vis-à-vis its bourgeois neighbours and had not yet been occupied primarily by

---

12 Most recently: Richard Kurdiovsky, "Architect for the Austrian Empire," *Pietro Nobile 1776–1854: Neoclassicism between technique and beauty*, ed. Taťána Petrasová (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), pp. 129–155, especially pp. 135–138.

13 Walter Wagner, *Die Geschichte der Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Wien* (Vienna: Rosenbaum, 1967); on the international situation of art academies as state institutions and authorities: *L'architettura nelle Accademie reformate: Insegnamento, dibattito culturale, interventi pubblici*, ed. Giuliana Ricci (Milan: Edizione Angelo Guerini e Associati, 1992); Holger Hoock, *The King's artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the politics of British culture 1760–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003).

'state' authorities. We are talking about the outer edge of the *Glacis*, the area in front of the city walls and moats that was kept free of any buildings for military reasons and that kept Vienna's suburbs at a clear distance from the actual city centre. On the suburbs' edge, several Baroque palaces with highly representative façades and large gardens had been built since the early 18ᵗʰ century, followed by court buildings such as the Court Stables or by military buildings such as the palatial Invalids' House on *Landstraße*[14] and the numerous, voluminous structures of various military barracks.

What all these buildings had in common (including this zone's only sacral focal point, the imperial *Karlskirche*) was their façades' orientation towards the inner city. However, the round of these façades did not only look towards the centre as a reciprocal relationship developed, especially from the time when the city walls were opened as a public promenade for the population. The *Glacis* offered these façades an unobstructed view at a great distance, which gained in effect especially from the height of the city walls and helped to consolidate the image of the 'ring of suburbs', which was supposedly one of Vienna's greatest adornments. When, in the pre-March period, state buildings were built on this very edge, the topography of which made it so prestigious, each choice of site had its own individual starting point. Thus, for the construction of the Provincial Court *(Landesgericht)*, which, among other things, was to house the City of Vienna's prison, the area of the civil shooting range *(Bürgerliche Schießstätte)* was chosen, which the municipality contributed to the Province of Lower Austria's building project in the city's interest. The property on which the Polytechnic was built was a Baroque garden palace owned by the noble family Losy von Losymthal. Its later owner Georg Simon Sina sold the property to the state at the purchase price in order to promote the state institution of the newly founded Polytechnic in his turn.[15]

Another focal point developed along the *Wiener Neustädter Canal*,[16] an innovative transport infrastructure planned around 1800 to eventually connect the capital Vienna and the Adriatic Sea by a waterway. Between 1797 and 1803, it could only be built as far as Wiener Neustadt and was never completed. The central harbour basin was located near the confluence of the Vienna River with the Danube Canal and was thus closely connected to Danube shipping, which is why the Main Customs Office was built here, where imported goods awaited their proper customs clearance. The building of the responsible financial authority, the Lower Austrian Financial Directorate *(niederösterreichische Finanzlandesdirektion)*, in the immediate vicinity was soon to follow. The wording on the choice of the Central Mint *(Hauptmünzamt)* building site is revealing: according to the highest resolution of November 7, 1834, it was to be built "on the proposed site on the left bank of the *Neustädter Canal*"[17].

---

14   On Invalids' Houses, see also Rochow's contribution to this volume.

15   Richard H. Kastner, "Die Technische Hochschule in Wien: Ihre Gründung, Entwicklung und ihr bauliches Werden," *150 Jahre Technische Hochschule in Wien 1815–1965, II: Bauten und Institute, Lehrer und Studenten,* ed. Heinrich Sequenz (Vienna: self publishing, 1965), pp. 5–112, especially p. 32.

16   Johannes Hradecky and Werner Chmelar, *Wiener Neustädter Kanal: Vom Transportweg zum Industriedenkmal* (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien – Stadtarchäologie, 2014).

17   Universitätsarchiv Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien (UAABKW), Verwaltungsakten (VA) ex 1834/1835,
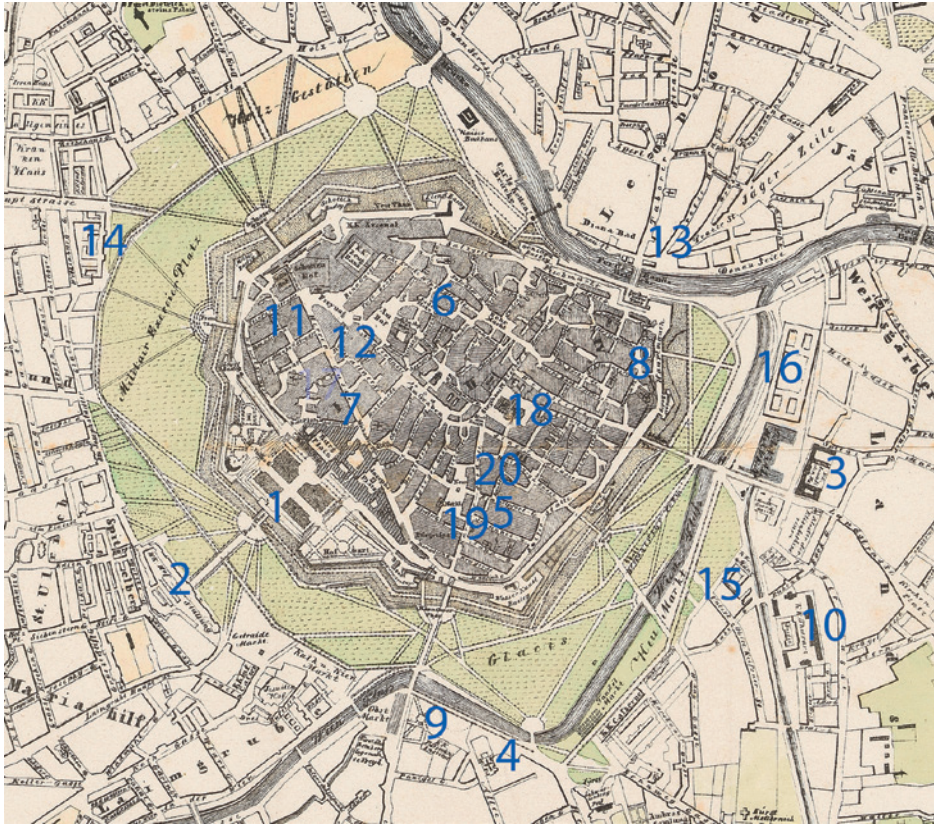
Fig. 2 Map of Vienna by Franz Würbel (published by Singer & Goering, 1841/43), detail with major publics of the pre-March era identified. Wien Museum Online collection, https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/83181-plan-von-wien-mit-vorstaedten-sowie-der-kk-ferdinands-nordbahn-und-der-wien-raaber-eisenbahn-mit-randveduten-und-wegweiser (accessed May 4, 2023).

1) Outer *Burgtor*; 2) Court Stables; 3) Invalids' house on *Landstraße;* 4) *Karlskirche*; 5) Winter palace (city palace) of Prince Eugene of Savoy; Court Directorate for Coinage and Minting; Ministry of Finance; 6) Bohemian Court Chancellery; *Directorium in publicis et cameralibus*; Ministry of the Interior; 7) Modena-D'Este palace; police and censorship authority; 8) University library; 9) Vienna Polytechnic; 10) Veterinary School; 11) National Bank; 12) Lower Austrian Estates' Building; 13) *Goldenes Lamm* hotel; 14) Provincial Court Building; 15) Main Mint Office; 16) Provincial Financial Directorate; 17) Lower Austrian Governor's Office; 18) *Domherrenhof*; 19) *Johanniterhof*; 20) *Mozarthof.*

Thus, the reference is not to the *Glacis*'s edge, where a façade could be (and ultimately was) so effectively staged, but to a highly modern traffic axis that obviously lent the building site equal attractiveness and, above all, significance. Functionality and representation are therefore different categories, which are not separated from, but rather complement each other. New buildings were erected on deliberately selected, publicly effective building sites, for which functional questions were at least as important as those of (aesthetic) effectiveness in public space.

In addition, there were also inner-city sites for state buildings. To a certain extent, this old building stock, consisting above all of High Baroque palaces, was available for state use. Prince Eugene of Savoy's former city palace in *Himmelpfortgasse* was purchased in 1752 as the seat of the Court Mint and Mining Directorate *(Hofkammer im Münz- und Bergwesen)*; it housed the Ministry of Finance from 1848.[18] From 1749, the former Bohemian Court Chancellery in *Wipplingerstrasse* was the seat of the *Directorium in Publicis et Cameralibus*, which, since its merger with the Austrian Court Chancellery, acted in today's sense as a Ministry of the Interior.[19] The Modena-d'Este palace in *Herrengasse* was a Baroque palace bought by Archduchess Maria Beatrix d'Este in 1811, rebuilt in Neo-Classicist style by Giacomo Quarenghi and Luigi Pichl before 1814, and sold to the state in 1842 to serve as the police and censorship authority's official seat.[20] A stylistically uniform state corporate architectural design could therefore not emerge, but through the purchase of aristocratic palaces, which in turn had favoured certain areas of the city, a state power centre emerged. Alternatively, state presence could manifest itself selectively in other areas of the city centre, as in the case of the university library in *Postgasse*.[21]

In the following, different aspects and facets of the state's building activities are examined in more detail on an individual case study basis. This includes questions of authorship, the influence of decision-making processes and aesthetic ideas on the buildings' appearance, and the place of individual institutions in these processes.

Zl. 112: High Curatorship Decree of January 15 and 16, 1835 ("auf dem angetragenen Platze am linken Ufer des Neustädter Kanals"). On the Central Mint, see also Mayr's contribution to this volume.

18 Richard Kurdiovsky, "'its name is known all over Europe and is reckoned among the loveliest of buildings': The Winter Palace: The history of its construction, decoration and its use", *Prince Eugene's Winter Palace*, ed. Agnes Husslein-Arco (Vienna: Belvedere Vienna, 2013), pp. 9–23. See also Mayr's contribution to this volume.

19 Thomas Olechowski, *Der österreichische Verwaltungsgerichtshof: Geschichte der Verwaltungsgerichtsbarkeit in Österreich – das Palais der ehemaligen Böhmisch-Österreichischen Hofkanzlei* (Vienna: Verlag Österreich, 2001), especially 79–115.

20 Richard Perger and Wilhelm G. Rizzi, *Das Palais Modena in der Herrengasse zu Wien: Sitz des Bundesministeriums für Inneres* (Vienna: Deuticke, 1997).

21 Nina Knieling, "The University Library as a repository of memory for study, research and teaching: A brief history of the University of Vienna Library sites after 1777," *Sites of knowledge: The University of Vienna and its buildings: A history 1365–2015*, ed. Julia Rüdiger and Dieter Schweizer (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2015), pp. 193–213, especially 196–200.

The Vienna Polytechnic (1815–19): The question of possible artistic design authors for state buildings

The Polytechnic's planning and construction process probably proceeded so quickly and smoothly because this first monumental state building of the pre-March era in Vienna was regarded as an initial and prestigious project and accordingly a great deal of energy and efficiency was devoted to its construction (fig. 3).[22] The building's design is entirely in the Baroque tradition – both in terms of the building site and the orientation, as well as in relation to the building structure's palatial appearance (avant corps, roofscape, etc.) and the architectural motifs (columned portico, colossal pilasters, bull's eye windows, etc.). However, the sculptural decoration, a group of figures by Joseph Klieber on the attic,[23] and the inscription make it clear that this is not a private palace, but an educational institution for the people's benefit (and ultimately the state). In the centre is the Genius of Austria, accompanied by Minerva as the goddess of wisdom, on whose sides two women present domestic industry products, while the reclining sea god Neptune refers to the trade and seafaring. On the other side a father presents his sons, who are to receive the new institution's blessings, flanked by the personification of history and a number of teaching objects. The inscription[24] specifies the message: the building serves the cultivation, expansion, and ennoblement of bourgeois trade and commerce, and names the person responsible, Emperor Francis II/I.

It was thanks to the influence of the *Hofbaurat*, headed by Joseph Schemerl von Leythenbach at the time, that the building was given such a representative shape. At first, planning and execution were extremely rapid. In 1815, Andreas Fischer, architecture teacher at the Academy since 1786 and chief architect of the Lower Austrian Civil Construction Directorate *(niederösterreichische Zivilbaudirektion)*, which was responsible for Vienna since 1797, produced a first draft. It was very simple and, as far as the spatial layout was concerned, the building was definitely no masterstroke. After examining the plans, the *Hofbaurat* immediately submitted a counter-proposal with an improved spatial solution and façade, which was enriched by a portico and figural decoration. Imperial approval was granted as early as 1816; construction began and was largely completed in 1818 with the erection of Klieber's sculptures. In 1819, the young director of the Academy's School of Architecture, Nobile, created a first draft for the Aula's interior design, of which, however, just a test axis was executed in 1826. Ten years later, the decoration was executed in a painted version only.[25]

It remains uncertain who the artistic author of the *Hofbaurat*'s design was. The preserved plans are unsigned. Schemerl is probably out of the question because his signature can only be found on written expert opinions and he was primarily concerned with road and water construction.

---

22 Mario Schwarz, "Die Baugeschichte des Festsaales der Technischen Hochschule in Wien," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 27 (1973), pp. 29–40.

23 Simona Durovic, *Josef Klieber: Das ikonografische Programm des 'k. k. polytechnischen Institutes' (1815–1842)*, (master thesis, Technische Universität Wien, 2020).

24 "Der Pflege, Erweiterung, Veredelung des Gewerbefleißes, der Bürgerkünste, des Handels. Franz der Erste."

25 Kurdiovsky, "Architect for the Austrian Empire," pp. 138–140.
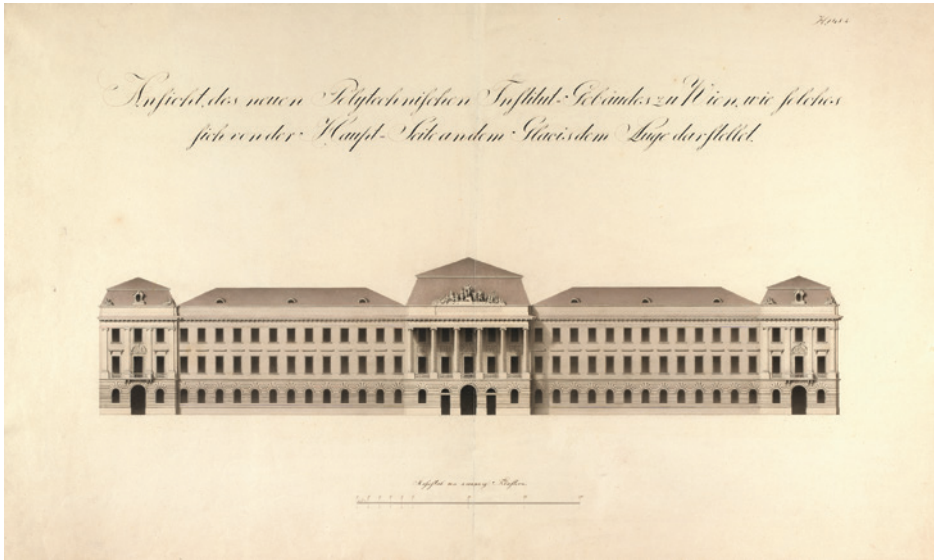
Fig. 3. Anonymous, elevation of the main façade of the Vienna Polytechnic, version submitted by the *Hofbaurat,* ca. 1815/16. Albertina Vienna, Az. 7597.

According to the state schematism of 1816,[26] what personnel were available at the *Hofbaurat*? As already mentioned, its superior office was one of the main state accounting offices, the General Accounting Directorate, so the former Court Construction Accounting Office had formed part of the *Hofbaurat* since 1811 at the latest.[27] Because its task was the technical-economic review of state building projects, it had at its disposal accounting councillors, registrars who were responsible for the administration of the files, expeditors who registered the correspondence and delivered the files to the outside, so-called ingrossists who administered the file inflows, and accounting officers. According to the staffing level, it was therefore purely an accounting authority, which opens up the question of who we can expect to create architectural designs in this agency. There were of course staff members who had been trained in architecture or civil construction at the *Ingenieurs-Akademie* (Engineering Academy), but through all ranks of office, from the *Hofbauräte*[28]

---

26 *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthums* (Vienna: kaiserlich königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1816), second section: pp. 304–305.

27 Elisabeth Springer, *Die Baubehörden der österreichischen Zentralverwaltung in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (typoscript of *Hausarbeit* at the Institute of Austrian Historical Research of the University of Vienna, 1971), p. 5.

28 In 1797 on the occasion of his wedding to Josepha Soliman, the *Hofbaurat* Baron Ernst Feuchtersleben, the father of the medical doctor and writer of the same name, was described as "Kreisingenieur in Galizien" (district engineer in Galicia; Marriage register of the parish *Unsere Liebe Frau zu den Schotten*, Vienna, 2/39 [1796–1801], fol. 82 [https://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/wien/01-unsere-liebe-frau-zu-den-schotten/02-39/?pg=84 accessed: July 8, 2021]). As such he was responsible for technical-architectural work: in 1798, Feuchtersleben drew up plans for the Inn bridge below the mouth of the Salzach (Austrian State Archives

to the *Rechnungsräte*[29] and *Ingrossisten*[30], these people probably worked primarily as engineers and less as architects.

A look at the *Hofbaurat*'s staff therefore puts into perspective the decisive influence on pre-March era building activity that this body had because apparently only technicians and accountants were employed. On the other hand, Andreas Fischer, whose first design for the Polytechnic had failed so badly in the assessment, had also worked for the *Hofbaurat*, as his superior in the Academy's School of Architecture, Nobile, recorded in 1819.[31] From 1818/19, Nobile was available himself and the *Hofbaurat* sent him to Salzburg to reconstruct the burnt-down Mirabell Palace.[32] In 1834, the graduate and winner of the Academy's Rome

---

[OeStA], Kriegsarchiv [KA]. Karten- und Plansammlung [KPS], Landesbeschreibung [LB] K II c, 51 F ex 1798), around 1800 as a lieutenant colonel he created plans for the road between Windorf and Stampfing in the Bavarian Forest (OeStA/KA KPS LB K II c, 8 F), and in 1814 he invented a marble mortar called Marmorillo (OeStA, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv [HHStA], Kabinettsarchiv [KA], Kaiser-Finanz-Akten [KFA] 165-9 ex 1814). He was thus undoubtedly active in the construction field, but apparently more as an engineer than as an architect.

Another *Hofbaurat* employee was Philipp Frast, possibly identical with Philipp Jacob Frast, born in 1743, who attended the Engineering Academy (*Ingenieurs-Academie*) in Vienna in 1761 (Friedrich Gatti, *Geschichte der k. k. Ingenieur- und k. k. Genie-Akademie 1717–1869* [Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1901], p. 220). At his wedding in 1783, he was described as "k. k. Banco-Raittrath," that is an accounting control officer (Marriage register of the parish St. Leopold, Vienna, 2/12 [1776-1806], fol. 317 [https://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/wien/02-st-leopold/02-12/?pg=162, accessed: July 8, 2021]). Although a plan of the Danube meadows originates from a certain Philipp Frast (OeStA/HHStA, Sonderbestände [SB] Kartensammlung S, C-II-10 and C-II-11 Ke3-4/17 ex 1761), its date of origin in 1761 rather suggests that it may have been produced by the father of the person in question.

29 In this category of civil servants, there is a better chance of identifying a designing architect: namely a certain Joseph Hillebrandt. He possibly was a son of the successor of the chief court architect Nikolaus Pacassi, Franz Anton Hillebrandt, who received imperial court education allowances for a son of this very name (Julius Fleischer, *Das kunstgeschichtliche Material der geheimen Kammerzahlamtsbücher in den staatlichen Archiven Wiens von 1705 bis 1790* [Vienna: Krystall-Verlag, 1932], no. 608 and 1106). If this *Rechnungsrath* Joseph Hillebrandt is identical with the one who worked as a draughtsman in the Court Board of Works (*Hofbauamt*) in the 1770s and 1780s (Andrea Sommer-Mathis and Manuel Weinberger, "Das Alte Burgtheater, 1741–1792," *Die Wiener Hofburg 1705–1835: Die kaiserliche Residenz vom Barock bis zum Klassizismus*, ed. Hellmut Lorenz and Anna Mader-Kratky [Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016], pp. 134–140, especially p. 139), then we would have a person who was possibly competent in architectural design, but who would already have been very old in 1816.

30 Among the ingrossists, we can identify a person with close ties to architecture, but here, too, the preoccupation with technical engineering tasks seems to have been stronger than that with artistic architecture. Edler Ferdinand Mitis had received his training from 1805 to 1809 at the Engineering Academy where civil construction was also taught. From 1813 onwards, he worked in the field of hydraulic engineering, mainly on bridge construction, such as the *Carlsbrücke* over the Danube Canal in Vienna (1828, together with his brother Ignaz Mitis, the inventor of Schweinfurt Green), and from 1842 to 1845, he supervised the new type of iron chain construction in the Lower Austrian Estates' building *(Niederösterreichisches Landhaus)* [Architektenlexikon Wien 1770–1945: http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/1183.htm (accessed July 9, 2021)].

31 UAABKW, VA ex 1819, fol. 517a: Nobile to the Presidium of the Academy of Fine Arts, August 5, 1819.

32 Kurdiovsky, "Architect for the Austrian Empire," pp. 140–143.

Prize, Joseph Haslinger, whom Nobile particularly supported, worked as a *Hofbaurat* trainee, as did Gottfried Hawelek, who in 1832 drew an alternative design for the Lower Austrian Estates' building, or Carl Rziwnatz, who in 1843 gained experience there as an intern.[33] At least from 1819 onwards, we can therefore reckon that architecturally trained students from Nobile's School of Architecture worked for the *Hofbaurat*, either as diurnal workers, i. e., paid by the day, or as interns, usually employed for a year, who were not recorded in state handbooks because they did not receive a salary. Unfortunately, the question of who could have created the Polytechnic's design cannot be answered in this way. However, it is at least clear that Nobile must have played a very decisive role in the designing architects' selection.

The Veterinary School (1821–23): Importance of thrift and review processes

In contrast to the Polytechnic, the Veterinary School (fig. 4) is a building particularly related to the idea of economy. It led to the building complex's downsizing, which Johann Aman had originally designed to be much more extensive.[34] It is telling that in the year of the building's completion a lengthy process concerning decisions about its sculptural decoration began. First, Joseph Klieber designed a pediment decoration, which was submitted to the Lower Austrian Civil Construction Directorate, which then asked the *Hofbaurat* for an expert opinion, whereupon Klieber produced three new designs. The Veterinary School's Directorate, together with the Civil Construction Directorate, selected one of them, whereupon the Lower Austrian provincial government approached the Academy of Fine Arts on July 11, 1823 to prepare an expert opinion or to make alternative proposals.[35] A quick solution was requested as the building was already nearing completion. Less than fourteen days later, Johann Schaller's expert opinion was available. He found that Klieber had treated the task "dramatically", whereas an allegorical representation would suit better:

> Since the main purpose of this Veterinary Institute is to provide healing for domestic animals of all kinds, it is believed that a simple allegorical representation of the god of medicine as the central and main figure, to whom from left and right people from various classes, e.g. warriors, peasants, hunters, shepherds lead their sick domestic animals (which, however, must not look disfigured) in order to obtain healing, would clearly indicate this purpose, and the simpler (without passionate action) this representation would be, the greater and more beautiful would also be its effect.[36]

---

33 Ibid., pp. 136–137.

34 Géza Hajós, "Linke Bahngasse Nr. 11 (EZ 65), Tierärztliche Hochschule," *Die Kunstdenkmäler Wiens: Die Profanbauten des III., IV., und V. Bezirks* (= Österreichische Kunsttopographie 44), ed. Institut für österreichische Kunstforschung des Bundesdenkmalamtes (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co, 1980), pp. 83–84.

35 UAABKW, VA ex 1822/1823, Zl. 368: Deputy President of the Lower Austrian Government Werner to President Czernin, July 11, 1823.

36 UAABKW, VA ex 1822/1823, Zl. 379: expert opinion by Johann Schallers, 25. Juli 1823 ("Da der Haupt-

Fig. 4. Johann Aman, Veterinary School, 1821–23, photo: August Stauda, 1908. Austrian National Library, picture archive, St 2806F.

The pediment decoration was thus intended to be as clearly legible as that of the Polytechnic and to express the building's purpose. Since it was ultimately not executed, the building could not convey its message visually. In August 1823, Klieber submitted another new design to the provincial government[37] – but without any consequences, because the following November, the government sent out tickets for the ceremonial opening[38], and the pediment remained empty.

The dry Neo-Classicism of this building that art historians have diagnosed was thus less a result of a lack of artistic imagination than of a cumbersome state administration review process, in which artistic institutions were significantly involved. The Academy of Fine Arts,

---

zweck dieser Tier-Arzney-Anstalt darin besteht, Hausthiere[n] jeder Art Heilung zu verschaffen, so glaubt man, daß durch eine einfache sinnbildliche Vorstellung des Gottes der Arzneykunde als Mittel- und Hauptfigur, zu welcher links und rechts Menschen aus verschiedenen Ständen z. B. Krieger, Landleute, Jager [sic], Hirten, ihre kranken Hausthiere, welche jedoch nicht entstellt aus[s]ehen müßen [sic], führen, um Heilung zu erlangen, jenen Zweck deutlich bezeichnen würde, und je einfacher (ohne leidenschaftliche Handlung) diese Vorstellung wäre, desto größer und schöner auch ihre Wirkung seyn würde.").

37 UAABKW, VA ex 1822/1823, Zl. 395: Presidium of the Academy to the Provincial Government of Lower Austria, August 11, 1823.

38 UAABKW, VA ex 1823/1824, Zl. 27: Lower Austrian Governor (*niederösterreichischer Statthalter*) Reichmann to President Czernin, November 14, 1823.

the "nation's art authority" ("Kunstbehörde der Nation")[39], proved to be just as influential an institution as the *Hofbaurat*, even putting into perspective the latter's expert opinions through its own. The bureaucratic channels took a long time and drained creative potential: how many more designs should Klieber have produced? To date, there must have been at least five. In the end, the original design concept could not be executed, which considerably reduced the building's legibility. What remained was a reduced Neo-Classicist formal apparatus that only made the building distinguishable from private residential houses by its size and the unobstructed view of the free-standing building from several sides.

National Bank (1819–21) and Lower Austrian estates' building (1831–48): State buildings' noble dignity and monumentality

It is remarkable, and gives some indication of the importance accorded to the building, that since the construction of the National Bank in *Herrengasse* (fig. 5),[40] its designer's name has not been forgotten. The architect was Charles Moreau,[41] certainly one of Viennese architecture's most outstanding personalities during the pre-March period. His training in Paris was followed by a successful career in Vienna[42] where he kept regular contact with his homeland (also by travelling) and carried out prestigious commissions for the Habsburg high aristocracy as well as buildings for the state. Working primarily for Hungarian noble families such as Esterházy or Pálffy, for whom he designed city palaces and chateaus including garden buildings, he must not be considered a government architect. His artistic competence was acknowledged when he was appointed Academy member in 1812.[43] In 1813, he was elected into the Academy's Council, whose members were consulted, *inter alia*, for the preparation of expert opinions. This is the more revealing of his position in the Viennese architectural scene, since the director of the Court Board of Works *(Hofbauamt)* Louis Remy, who was later even to take over the Academy's operational management, was not appointed to this position but three years later. Moreau actually participated consistently in the state's artistic life, as he was present at almost every Academic Council meeting. In contrast, his fellow architect Joseph Kornhäusel had been appointed an art member as early as 1808, but received no official government commissions except for his designs for the new Lower Austrian Estates' building.

39 UAABKW, VA ex 1834/1835, Zl. 134½: Description of the celebration of Metternich's 25th anniversary of curatorship over the Academy of Fine Arts on December 29, 1835, fol. 37.

40 Sebastian Ubbiali, "Privilegierte oesterreichische National-Bank," *Wiener Wall Street: Ein Architekturführer durch das historische Bankenviertel*, ed. Ingrid Holzschuh and Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber (Innsbruck/Vienna: Studien Verlag, 2022), pp. 46–51.

41 Richard H. Kastner, "Der Architekt Karl (Charles) Moreau," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 69 (2014), pp. 277–304.

42 Stefan Kalamár, "Daten zu Leben und Werk des Pariser Architekten Charles Moreau zwischen 1760 und 1803," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 55 (2001), pp. 459–485.

43 Wagner, *Akademie*, 420 and 424.

Fig. 5. Charles Moreau, National Bank in *Herrengasse*, 1819–21, drawing by Jakob Alt, ca. 1822. Wien Museum Online collection, https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/180235-i-herrengasse (accessed April 19, 2023).
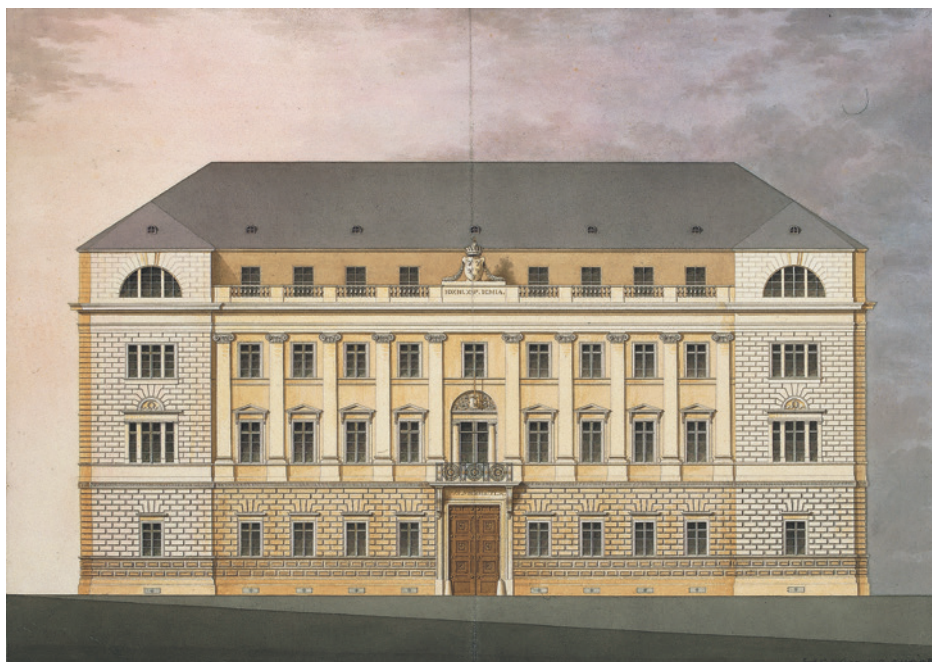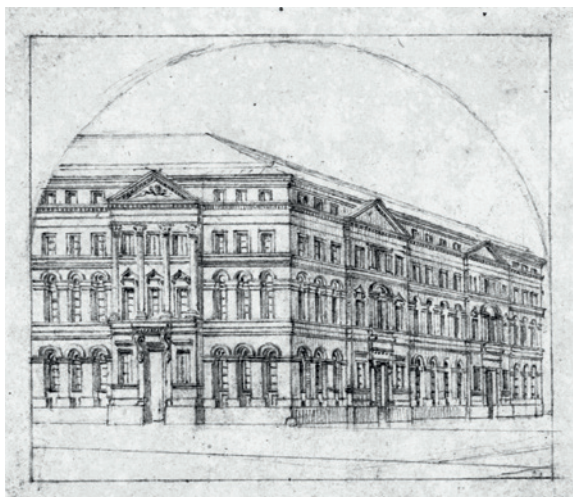
Fig. 6. Joseph Kornhäusel, first design for the Lower Austrian Estates' building in *Herrengasse*, elevation of the main façade, 1831. Lower Austrian Regional Library St. Pölten, topographical collection, no. 22.610.
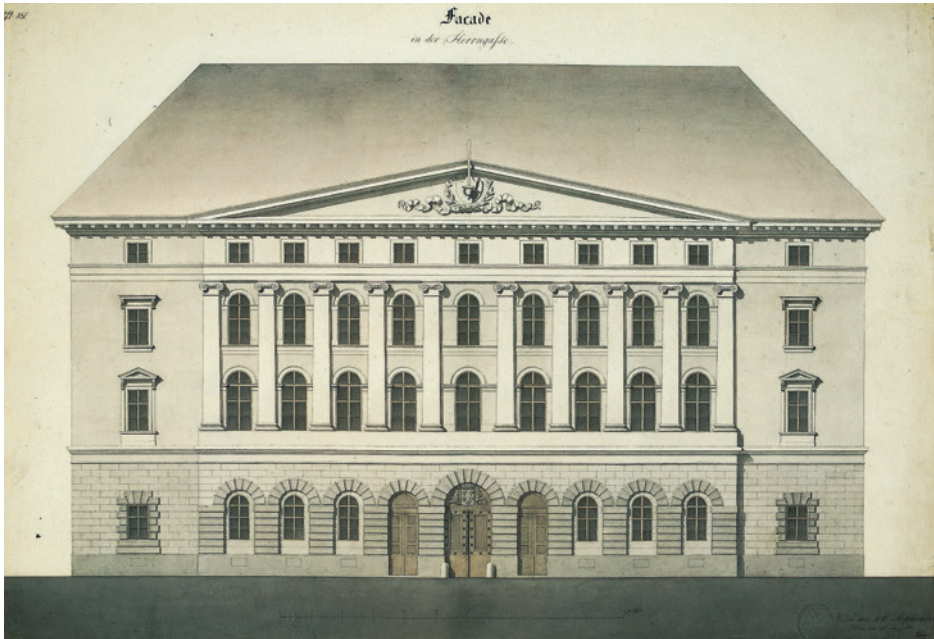
Fig. 7. Gottfried Hawelek, design by the Hofbaurat for the Lower Austrian Estates' building, elevation of the main façade, 1832. Lower Austrian Regional Library, St. Pölten, topographical collection, no. 22.615.

Since the National Bank was the first new state building in the traditionally aristocratic *Herrengasse* quarter, it was necessary to react to the neighbouring Baroque palaces in order not to lag behind and at the same time to express its special purpose. This was achieved by the building's compact shape, the massiveness of which can be read to indicate its function as a bank, and by a reduced formal apparatus that recurred to classical Renaissance designs.[44] Only in a few places, specific accents were set (e.g. by means of Serlianas), otherwise the motif of repetition dominates (particularly evident in the similar, superimposed sequences of blind arches), thus underlining the grandeur of the overall form, which was significantly described as being in the pure Greek style.[45] The façade towards *Herrengasse* is enhanced by a temple front, the (now lost) pediment of which was originally decorated with Joseph Klieber's sculptures of two winged Famae carrying the bank's attributes, just as the capitals sculpted by a certain La Vigne were decorated with appropriate attributes. Sculptural decoration was thus an integral part of pre-March architecture in Vienna – at least where it was actually executed.

---

44 Mario Schwarz, "Die Bedeutung des Gebäudes der Nationalbank für die Architektur des Wiener Klassizismus," *Bericht über die Revitalisierung des Bankgebäudes in der Herrengasse,* ed. ÖRAG-Österreichische Realitäten-Aktienges. (Vienna: self-published, 1992), pp. 9–28.

45 Also for the following: F. H. Böckh, "Das Gebäude der privil. Österreichischen National-Bank in Wien," *Aurora. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1825*, ed. Franz Gräffer (Vienna: Joseph Riedl, 1825), pp. 252–254.
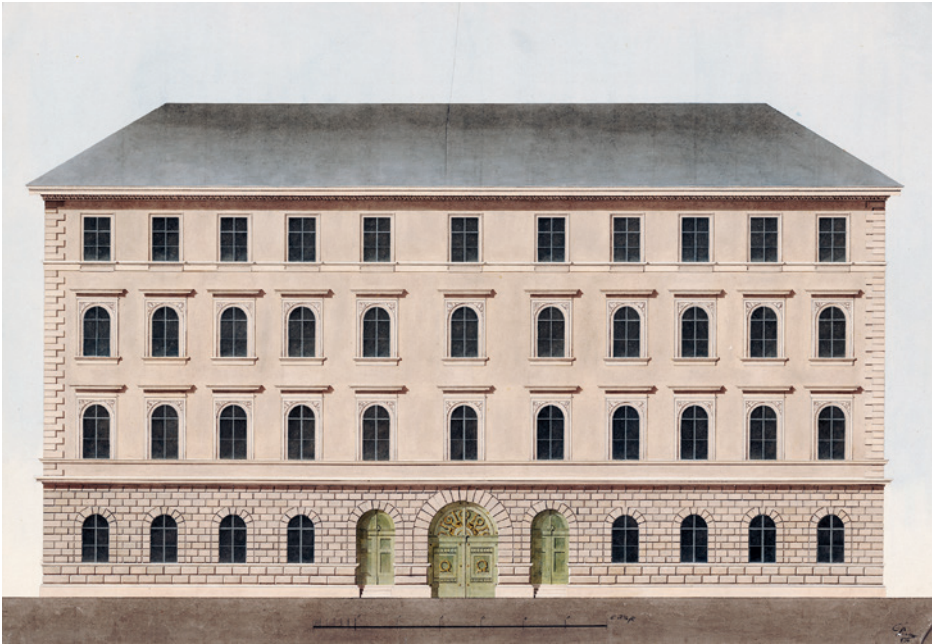
Fig. 8. Matthäus Prem, design for a building (probably another alternative for the Lower Austrian Estates' building), elevation of the main façade, 1836 or 1838. Albertina Vienna, Az. 5475.

The prime example of the *Hofbaurat*'s influence and its ideas on how representative state architecture should look is the Estates' building in *Herrengasse*, adjacent to the National Bank.[46] In 1827, the building's dilapidated state made the *Landtag* decide to erect a new building and to create more space by adding a new wing facing *Herrengasse*. A design was commissioned from Joseph Kornhäusel, which the Estates approved in 1831. The official process began, and the following year the *Hofbaurat* produced a counter-draft drawn by Gottfried Hawelek, a student of Nobile in the early 1820s and winner of the Academy of Fine Arts' Gundel Prize in 1822. Kornhäusel then created a new design in his turn, until finally, after lengthy disputes between the parties involved, a public competition was announced in which the court theatre architect Anton Ortner and Luigi Pichl, among others, took part. Between 1833 and 1837, Pichl, who was now largely able to take over the potential commission, produced three designs, which were regularly criticised by the *Hofbaurat* until the Lower Austrian Estates demanded a final decision. In 1837, construction could begin, and with the colossal order running over three storeys, probably the most monumental façade of Vienna's pre-March period was created. Due to repeated overspending, Pichl

---

46 Wilhelm G. Rizzi, "Die Architektur des Niederösterreichischen Landhauses," *Altes Landhaus: Vom Sitz der niederösterreichischen Stände zum Veranstaltungszentrum*, ed. Anton Eggendorfer, Wolfgang Krug and Gottfried Stangler (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 2006), pp. 87–119, especially pp. 99–116.

lost the supervision of his project, and from 1841 only the master builder Leopold Mayr was responsible for its execution.

The ideas state authorities had for such a building project become clear when comparing Kornhäusel's first design (fig. 6) with those of the *Hofbaurat* (fig. 7). A state building should be characterised by a compact volume and not, for example, have terraces like Kornhäusel's design, which automatically caused a jump in the façade line. The building should have a single, but all the more powerful central avant corps, which also contributed to the façade structure's concentration. The formal apparatus was to be as unified as possible and should not have different window shapes in order to create the greatest possible uniformity. Certain elements refer to Nobile's work, such as the rusticated arches, which were similar to those on his Casa Fontana in Trieste from 1826/27. However, a comparison with designs by Matthäus Prem,[47] for example, which could be another counter-design for the Lower Austrian Estates' building because of its similar proportions (fig. 8), makes clear how much such a design diminished a public building's uniqueness and rather caused it to disappear in the general mass of new buildings. With an almost identical design and structure of the building, even the colossal order with the temple pediment is lost, so that such a building is no longer distinguishable from a private residence or a hotel building such as the *Goldenes Lamm* (Golden Lamb) in the Viennese suburb of Leopoldstadt. While the designs by the *Hofbaurat* or the circle of Nobile's school would have reduced state architecture's representative potential to a minimum, Pichl succeeded in surpassing the surrounding palaces with his monumental design.

The Provincial Court building (*Landesgerichtsgebäude*), 1827/31–39: The Academy's efforts to influence and aesthetic conservativism

The Provincial Court building (fig. 9) on the edge of the *Glacis* is one of the most telling Viennese examples of 'architecture parlante'.[48] It is composed of large blocks, the corners are raised like towers, the ground storey forms a mighty, sloping base, the rustication is strong and angular, and the gate resembles the entrance to a fortress. All these elements significantly contribute to making the building's function as a court and prison legible. This fulfilled the demands of the doctrine of character as put forward, for example, by Francesco Milizia in his *Principi di architettura civile*,[49] which for Nobile in particular formed one of the most important foundations for his idea of good architecture. Milizia demanded a terrible appearance for prison designs: "Melancholy will show itself in the civil prisons, and horror will

---

47 Albertina Vienna, Az. 5475.

48 Heinrich Geißler, *Die Geschichte des 'Grauen Hauses' 1833–1933: Als Einführung zu dem Katalog über die Sammlungen im Gefangenhaus-Museum des Landesgerichtes für Strafsachen Wien I* (Vienna: self publishing, 1933), pp. 26–34; most recently: Richard Kurdiovsky, "Pietro Nobile e la situazione dell'architettura durante il *Vormärz* viennese, tra classicismo e primo storicismo," *Pietro Nobile architetto dell'impero asburgico*, ed. Rossella Fabiani and Letizia Tedeschi (Milan: Officina Libraria di Milano, in preparation for print).

49 Francesco Milizia, *Principi di architettura civile* (Bassano: A spese Remondini di Venezia, 1785²).
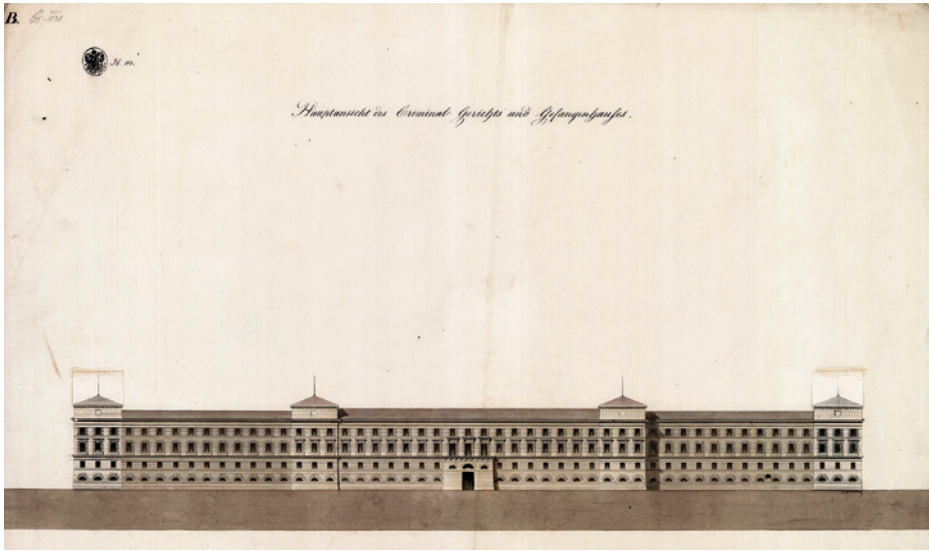
Fig. 9. Johann Fischer, elevation of the main façade of the Provincial Court building, August 15, 1829. Austrian State Archives, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, collections of plans and photographs, plan collection I. 330.

reveal itself in the most criminal prisons."[50] This impression could be achieved with the help of "[...] narrow and misshapen openings, high and double walls, mighty limbs casting the strongest shadows, repellent, cavernous entrances and even decorations with sculptures and frightening inscriptions."[51] Even if Nobile was only involved in the design process in connection with an architectural competition or in his function as director of the Academy of Fine Arts' architectural school, the Provincial Court's executed building shows his far-reaching influence on Vienna's architectural design up to the 1830s.

In 1827, the United Court Chancellery *(Vereinigte Hofkanzlei)*, the later Ministry of the Interior's forerunner, and the Lower Austrian provincial government, which was responsible for Vienna as a city in that province, announced a competition for the Provincial Court building. Designs were made by Nobile, by the Lower Austrian Civil Construction Directorate, and by the provincial government's responsible building department, in the person of the adjunct Johann Fischer, who had been employed there since 1795. This provincial department was ultimately entrusted with the execution. However, it is illuminating for the planning process that the executed design, which so strongly reflects Nobile's stylistic attitude, must have been influenced by another competition: that for the Academy's Court Prize *(Hofpreis)*. For this,

---

50 Ibid., part 2: p. 161 ("La malinconia si mostrerà nelle prigioni civili, e l'orrore si paleserà tutto nelle più criminali").

51 Ibid., part 2: p. 161 ("[...] aperture anguste e informi, muraglie alte e doppie, membri fieri, che gettino ombre le più forti, ingressi ributtanti, cavernosi, e fino anche decorazioni di sculture e d'iscrizioni spaventose").

Nobile had submitted three thematic proposals to the Academy's Council in May 1829: the design of a princely palace, a hospital for 600 people, and a "tribunal building in connection with prisons for prisoners on remand and convicts", which was followed by the blatant remark that "such a building is in proposal in Vienna for production."[52] The Academy Council decided in favour of the latter proposal,[53] at a time when the Provincial Court building's plans were not yet completed. If we assume that the Academy's prize competitions were also intended to obtain alternative designs for current building projects, this shows that this state (art) authority also wanted to exert its influence on ongoing building processes.[54]

Thus, several institutions were significantly involved in a building project such as the Provincial Court: the Viennese Magistrate in the role of the client, who provided the building plot as a service, the Lower Austrian Civil Construction Directorate, which acted as the implementing authority and drew up the execution design through its civil servant architect, and finally the Academy of Fine Arts, which contributed planning variants within its own tenders' framework, and which could not be avoided in the execution design. The Provincial Court's executed building and the series of plans for the execution design as well as the alternatives[55] show such a striking stylistic resemblance to designs preserved in Nobile's bequest in Trieste,[56] that there can be no doubt of his influence on the building design ultimately chosen.

If we look at the planning and construction's duration, which began in 1827 with the commissioning of designs, continued four years later in 1831 with the execution design's approval and in 1832 with the start of construction, and only reached its final conclusion in 1839, we have to state that more than ten years passed from the first designs to completion. Then, the design concept could no longer have been modern in the sense of corresponding to the very latest stylistic trends. This automatically results (at least until the 1830s) in state architecture's conservative aesthetic appearance, which corresponds to Nobile's approach of finding ideal solutions as the only possible solutions to a task. His design drawings are characterised by the repetitive exploration of countless variants within a narrow formal corset.

---

52 UAABKW, VA ex 1828/29, Zl. 121, List of Court Prize tasks for 1829 by Nobile, May 18, 1829 ("Tribunal-Gebäude in Verbindung mit Gefängnissen für Inquisiten und Sträflinge"; "Ein solches Gebäude ist in Wien zur Herstellung in Vorschlag").

53 UAABKW, Sitzungsprotokolle (SProt.) ex 1829: May 23 and 25 (item 5).

54 In March 1830, the court prizes were awarded (UAABKW, SProt. ex 1830: March 4 and 6). Joseph Haslinger, a student particularly encouraged by Nobile, who was later to work in the Provincial Building Directorate of Styria and who was to apply to succeed Sprenger as professor of mathematics and perspective at the Vienna Academy in 1842/43, was awarded first place, followed by Giuseppe Sforzi from Trieste, with whom Nobile collaborated on S. Antonio Nuovo's construction and who was also to make a career in a provincial building office, namely that in Trieste.

55 Execution project "I." of the Lower Austrian Civil Construction Directorate: OeStA, AVA, PKF, PS I, 330 and Albertina Vienna, Az. 4918, 9606; alternative project "H." of the Lower Austrian Civil Construction Directorate: OeStA, AVA, PKF, PS I, 330; alternative project "B.", probably by Pietro Nobile: OeStA, AVA, PKF, PS I, 330 and Albertina Vienna, Az. 4914–4916.

56 Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali architettonici, archeologici, artistici e storici del Friuli Venezia Giulia, Fondo Nobile, Trieste, III, no. 81–82.

While the grand form remains largely the same, changes only occur in the smallest units, such as in the juxtaposition of rectangular and round-arched windows. This resulted in an architectural design that would eventually be regarded as monotonous and uninspired. And indeed, this aesthetic constant in state architecture's appearance was soon to be changed.

Central Mint (1833–38), Lower Austrian Provincial Financial Directorate (1840–47) and Lower Austrian Governor's Office (1842/1846–48): Sprenger's state buildings on the way to early historicism

When the Provincial Court's construction was underway, the new Central Mint designed by Paul Sprenger (fig. 10) was erected at the other end of the *Glacis*.[57] Its block-like, cubic appearance can be seen as a constant in the state's building activity, as can this public building's differentiation from its surrounding private residences by means of greater storey heights, a mighty attic, and the use of sculpture and free columns. Stylistically, however, the building shows a development. Sprenger's design is clearly graphic in its façade decoration and does not use sculptural elements conceived as volumes, but thinks in terms of surfaces. Sprenger gives the colossal pilasters a striking width, surrounds their pane with fine mouldings so that they appear much more as framed surfaces than as two-dimensional projections of statically supporting elements. The piano nobile's window frames are similarly graphic; as round-arched windows with horizontal roofing, they are strikingly reminiscent of the solutions of Italian Renaissance architecture such as the Cancelleria in Rome. A historical model's implementation in the sense of a quote is no longer far away.

In his subsequent works, Sprenger used more and more expansive forms and also took up historical models from far-flung regions. At his Lower Austrian Provincial Financial Directorate (fig. 11), originally built as the head office building of the nearby Main Customs Office (a still block-like, free-standing cube, the size of which, including the paratactic axes' monotony, underlines the building's authority as a state office), he allows the rustication to appear more dominantly and he places free-standing columns in front of the main entrance, which tectonically have no other function than to support sculptures, a motif that was to remain current well into the 1860s, as evidenced by Theophil Hansen's Protestant School on *Karlsplatz*. Above all, Sprenger was the first to use entirely non-antique ornamentation. He decorated the parapet panels with Moorish-inspired shapes based on Jules Goury's and Owen Jones' contemporary studies on the Alhambra in Granada, which appeared from 1842 onwards.[58] Sprenger thus reacted directly to current new knowledge, and we must therefore reckon with a significantly expanded horizon of perception on the part of the designers.

---

57 On the Central Mint, see also Mayr's contribution to this volume.

58 Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Plans, elevations, sections, and details of the Alhambra [etc.])* I–II (London: Owen Jones, 1842/45).

Fig. 10. Paul Sprenger, Central Mint building, 1833/1834–38, anonymous photograph ca. 1940. Municipal and provincial Archives of Vienna, 3.3.13.FB2.4500/556.

At the next building, the Lower Austrian Governor's Office *(Statthalterei)* in the aforementioned *Herrengasse* quarter (fig. 12), Sprenger arranged the windows in a grid-like manner without using a colossal order to structure the façades as he had already done at the Lower Austrian Provincial Financial Directorate. Contemporary residential buildings show quite similar characteristics, for example the Domherren- or Johanniter-buildings, which were designed by Nobile's pupil Franz Xaver Lössl[59] and executed by another of his pupils, the master builder Leopold Mayr. However, Sprenger set his state building apart from the simple residential building by providing it with a columned portal motif with figure niches on the sides. In decoration and construction, Sprenger again kept pace with current architectural and technical trends. In terms of innovative technologies, he used small-structured decorative elements made of prefabricated terracotta and architectural members such as cast zinc capitals.[60] The architectural motifs increasingly referred to concrete historical models. He

---

59 UAABKW Ratssitzungen ex 1842, minutes of the Academic Council meeting on November 10, 1842.

60 Richard Kurdiovsky, "Zinc – The technical 19th century and its innovations," *The Coburg palace: Artistic and cultural history of a Viennese noble palace from the renaissance fortification to the Ringstrassen era*, ed. Klaus-Peter Högel and Richard Kurdiovsky (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 2005; first edition in German: Vienna: Brandstätter, 2003), pp. 192–193; Richard Kurdiovsky and Taťána Petrasová, "Individual architect for individual customers," *Pietro Nobile 1776–1854*, pp. 137–185, especially pp. 168–173.

Fig. 11. Paul Sprenger, Lower Austrian Financial Directorate building, 1840–1847. ÖStA, AVA, PKF, PS II A-II-c, 70 ad No. 1021, 224.

used segmental-arched window roofing with straight extensions based on the early Baroque model of Prague's Waldstein Palace,[61] as well as the Atlantes herms motif, although not yet as muscular male figures as in High Baroque, which are supposed to illustrate the lifting of enormous weight, but in modest dimensions and as graceful putti. Nevertheless, this already is a clear recourse to a historical formal vocabulary that no longer borrows solely from Antiquity and the Renaissance. These new forms of rich, figurative façade decoration began to take hold in other buildings in Vienna's inner city, above all in private residences, most notably in Antonio Marinetti's Mozarthof of 1847/48 (fig. 13),[62] certainly one of the most sensational buildings built shortly before the 1848 revolution.[63] In his state administration building Sprenger thus reacted to new private sector desires. However, he did so reservedly, even cautiously, by not applying the Atlantes herms motif to the outer façades, but only to the inner courtyard walls. This meant that Sprenger's potential for innovation, his ability to take up modern motifs (even if they might have been perceived primarily as fashionable), was of course far less ostentatious than was possible in private residential buildings of the time.

In public building design, solutions that already represented a step towards early Historicism began to emerge more and more strongly from the 1830s onwards. This indicates that

---

61 Wagner-Rieger, "Klassizismus," p. 168.

62 Richard Prilisauer, "Pietro di L. A. Galvagni: Geschäftsmann und Mäzen in Wien," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 31 (1976), pp. 181–208, especially pp. 201–208.

63 The Mozart-Hof's owner, the banker and real estate dealer Pietro Galvagni, who was highly concerned with his social advancement, must have had the greatest interest in attracting public attention by realising the first monument to Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, which had been discussed in Vienna for years, in this representative residential building, which replaced a Mozart residence that had previously existed on the site.

Fig. 12. Paul Sprenger, Lower Austrian Provinvial Government building, 1842/1846–48, anonymous photo in: Paul Kortz (ed.), *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Gerlach & Wieding, 1905/06) p. 156.

Fig. 13. Antonio Marinetti, Mozarthof in *Rauhensteingasse*, 1847/48. *Illustrirte Zeitung*, January 5, 1850, p. 5.

in the course of that decade, Nobile's largely unchallenged position and the predominance of Neo-Classicist ideas in state building began to change, probably in parallel with his staff's reshuffling at the Academy's School of Architecture.[64]

---

64 Richard Kurdiovsky, "Teacher at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna," *Pietro Nobile 1776–1854*, pp. 105–127, especially pp. 115–123.

Conclusion

The state's public building activity in Vienna during the pre-March era was characterised by few opportunities to erect entirely new buildings. Urgent building tasks such as the construction of a sufficiently large stock exchange building could not (yet) be fulfilled. The reasons were certainly the long decision-making processes of the state's cumbersome building organisation and the large number of institutions involved, among which even an art academy acted as an authority.

On the other hand, state building activities also followed the general development of style, which increasingly took various historical styles into account to serve as models in the repertoire of motifs. While state architecture appeared relatively homogeneous in the 1820s, namely Neo-Classicist in character, it began to formally differentiate more and more clearly as early as the 1830s, with a remarkable closeness to designs from the building industry's private sector.

In the case of building personnel, our knowledge of who worked for state building offices, in which capacity, and with which radius of action, is still far too limited for clear attributions to specific hands. Unfortunately, our knowledge is still characterised by an uncritical handling of graphic sources such as construction plans, which according to the regulations were not signed by an architecture's designers, but by the executing master builders who were legally responsible for the building's execution.[65] Unfortunately, in many cases the artistic authors can only be found by searching source collections on completely different subjects, such as the files of an institution like the Academy of Fine Arts, where especially CVs written for applications for Academy posts may contain listings of a candidate's previous projects.

Likewise, when assessing pre-March state architecture in terms of style, we must take those designs into account, which were projected but not realised for reasons of time and cost, as the Veterinary School example showed. In contrast, we find surprisingly few explicit examples of one of late 18th and early 19th century architectural theory's central demands: that of a building's character. Although the Provincial Court building can be analysed as clearly meeting this requirement, in the multitude of objects presented, the character is limited to a general expression of statehood in the sense of an agency whose authority over the built environment is represented by size, proportions, or certain architectural motifs such as columns. A building's concrete function can usually only be expressed by attached elements (if they were executed) such as figural decoration with an iconography that is as legible as possible, by coats of arms or inscriptions.

State architecture of the pre-March period wanted to (and was able to) appear representative, not least due to the prominent, widely visible position, either on the edge of the *Glacis* or through a concentration in the city's predominantly aristocratic quarters. The buildings could be perceived as clearly legible signs for the institutions accommodated in them

---

65 Georg W. Rizzi and Roland L. Schachel, "Die Zinshäuser im Spätwerk Josef Kornhäusels," *Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte* 4 (1979), pp. 1–64, especially pp. 39–41, were the first to point this out.

through their individual design. However, these representative buildings lost their previous expressiveness and power in the face of the new buildings of the century's second half along the *Ringstrasse*, which were stylistically much more specifically encodable (the *Votivkirche* modelled on French 'cathedral Gothic' as an ideal expression of sacrality, the neo-Gothic of the *Neues Rathaus* as an allusion to the time of the greatest civic power in the Middle Ages, the parliament in ancient Roman and Greek forms with its reference to antiquity's cradle of democracy, the university in neo-Renaissance forms as the age of humanism and education, etc.). The state's public building from the pre-March era disappeared from public view and attention in the course of the *Ringstrasse*'s urban development because they were not only proverbially but quite literally pushed into the second row.

Andrea Mayr (Vienna)

REI MONETARIAE – Paul Sprenger's Imperial-Royal Central Mint in Vienna as a representative example of pre-March era public buildings

Their particularly small format, relatively fast production, and concise form of text and image have made coins and medals a valuable news carrier since ancient times. As ideal objects of imperial representation and bearers of political communication for an exclusive recipients circle as well as sought-after collector's items, they experienced a boom in the 18th century. This was the glorious epoch of the Austrian Baroque medal and when it became a favoured social medium.[1] On the occasion of the Russian heir to the throne, the later Tsar Alexander II's, stay in Vienna in the spring of 1839, he was also to visit the new mint building on *Heumarkt*, which had just been completed by the architect Paul Sprenger.[2] In commemoration of this event, State Chancellor Clemens Wenzel Metternich ordered medals in gold, silver, and non-ferrous metal (bronze) referring to the laying of the new mint building's foundation stone to be presented as a gift from the Austrian emperor – as had been the traditional practice during diplomatic visits.[3] In fact, today we know of a medal that refers to the new mint building: on the obverse, it features the staggered double portrait of Emperor Francis II/I and his son Ferdinand I to the right, both crowned with laurel wreaths together with a Latin inscription (fig. 1a). The reverse shows the new building's main façade, also with a Latin legend (fig. 1b).[4] In total, one gold medal, ten silver medals, and twenty bronze medals were to be issued to the Russian crown prince. All of the medals, with a total value

---

1 The research for this chapter was carried out in 2019 as part of the author's doctoral thesis on the topic *Emperor Ferdinand I. (1793–1875) and the medal: Medal production between 1835 and 1848 in an art historical and historical context* at the Institute of Art History at the University of Vienna, finished in December 2020, with the financial support of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and during my time at the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna's coin collection from 2016 to 2019.

2 Austrian State Archives (OeStA), Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (FHKA), Münz- und Bergwesen (MBW), MP 1839, no. 282 and OeStA FHKA HMA 1839, no. 319.

3 OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1839, no. 282, OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1839, no. 296 and OeStA FHKA HMA 1839, no. 319. The presentation of medals as gifts on the occasion of a visit by foreign princes to mints or on the occasion of a visit by the emperor himself was traditionally common and had already been practiced in the 18th century under Maria Theresa and Francis I Stephan. See Anna Fabiankowitsch, "Geprägt für die Ewigkeit: Medaillen Maria Theresias als Denkmäler der Herrscherrepräsentation," *Zuhanden Ihrer Majestät: Medaillen Maria Theresias,* ed. Sabine Haag (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2017), pp. 53–67, here pp. 59–61.

4 OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1839, no. 282. As can be seen from the relevant files, this medal's dies, which were made by the chamber medalist Joseph Daniel Böhm and the engraver Franz Zeichner, had already existed since 1837, but no minting had taken place with them until then.

Fig. 1a/1b. Medal commemorating the construction of the new Mint at the *Heumarkt* in Vienna 1834–37, silver, Av.: Joseph Daniel Böhm (Boehm), Rv.: Franz Zeichner, Dm. 46.8 mm, 1839, Vienna Mint, Coin Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, KHM MK 24519/1914B.

of 130 florins, were to be kept and presented side by side in a beautifully decorated case.[5] In addition to official coronation and homage medals, which also played an integral role during a courtly ceremonial, medals such as the mentioned ones functioned as counter-gifts to foreign princes or envoys and thus served to secure diplomatic relations.[6] And what would be more appropriate than to present a medal with reference to the place where the heart of the entire Habsburg Empire's coin and medal minting was recently located?

Based on the sources on medal production in Vienna, not only can the conditions of creation and specific function of the pieces be reconstructed, but also the work processes within the new Vienna Imperial-Royal Central Mint. The following study is therefore devoted to the new mint office building, its construction and functional history, and the architect responsible for it, Paul Sprenger. As a State Building Council *(Hofbaurat)* member, Sprenger was essentially responsible for the administrative buildings erected in Vienna during the pre-March period.[7] Aspects of the mint's architectural structure and furnishings, as well as the question of what distinguishes the new building from other already existing administrative buildings as a representative example of pre-March 'civil servants architecture' *(Beamtenarchitektur)*, will be illuminated.

---

5   130 gulden C. M. in 1839 roughly correspond to today's purchasing power of 2,858.29 Euros. See https://www.eurologisch.at/docroot/waehrungsrechner/#/, accessed July 19, 2021.

6   See Fabiankowitsch, "Geprägt für die Ewigkeit," p. 61.

7   On the building of the Central Mint and Paul Sprenger, see also Kurdiovsky's contribution to this volume.

Brief outline of the Viennese mint's history

Generally, the beginning of minting in Vienna is dated to the time of Duke Leopold V, when Vienna became the Babenbergs' residence city.[8] The Vienna mint's origins thus date back almost 825 years to the year 1194.[9] Closely tied to the ruler's seat, the first complex's construction in the 13th century also brought coin minting into the immediate vicinity of the residence on today's square *Am Hof*. In the course of time, the so-called *Münzhof* moved to *Wollzeile* (in today's first district) and remained there until about the 1730s.

When Emperor Joseph I (r. 1705–11) appointed the Swedish-German scholar Carl Gustav Heraeus as "kaiserlicher Antiquitäten-Inspektor" in 1709 to look after the Emperor's coin and medal collection, the Viennese court became increasingly interested in antiquities and numismatics in the course of the 18th century.[10] Under Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–40) not only fundamental coinage system reforms took place, but also the centralization of coin and medal minting in one place.[11] The Viennese mint moved to *Himmelpfortgasse* in the immediate vicinity of Prince Eugene's Winter Palace, the financial administration's seat and today the representative seat of the Ministry of Finance.[12] The resulting establishment of a central Vienna minting office in 1733, which was to take over the entire production process's administration and the artistic-technical training of the engravers by means of an engravers' school, represented the starting point for the further consolidation of the minting of Austrian coins and the production of medals.[13] In addition to the financial administration, all minting departments and workshops were housed in an adjacent complex of buildings in the first district's *Johannesgasse*.

However, economic development and progressive modernization in the course of the 18th century, as well as the increasingly larger and louder production machines – in the 19th century, already operated with steam power – had the consequence that individual workshops for which there was no more room in *Himmelpfortgasse* had to be accommodated in the *Stadt-*

---

8 Rudolph of Habsburg conferred minting privileges to the Viennese household in 1277. See Bernhard Koch, "Das Österreichische Hauptmünzamt," *Die Wiener Münze: Eine Geschichte der Münzstätte Wien,* ed. Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft (Vienna: self-published, 1989), pp. 11–112, here p. 38.

9 According to other sources, the origins date back to 1203, when the first Viennese pfennigs were found in the Passau bishop Wolfger von Erla's travel accounts. See Koch, "Das Österreichische Hauptmünzamt," p. 12.

10 See Karl Schulz, "Die Medaille in Österreich," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 100 (1989), pp. 173–207, here p. 183. See also Franz Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI: Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des "Kaiserstils"* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1981), pp. 43–45.

11 See August Loehr and Fritz Dworschak, *Die Medaille in Österreich* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, s.d. [ca. 1923]) p. 7. See Koch, "Das Österreichische Hauptmünzamt," p. 38.

12 After the Prince Eugene's death, the palace stood empty for a few years until 1752, when the state under Maria Theresa purchased the palace and the various offices of the financial authorities were set up here, including the Mint and Mining Directorate *(Hofkammer im Münz- und Bergwesen)*. See Koch, "Das Österreichische Hauptmünzamt," p. 38.; Johann Kräftner, "Paläste des Geldes: Österreichische Bankbauten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Geld: 800 Jahre Münzstätte Wien*, ed. Wolfgang Häusler (Vienna: Bank Austria Kunstforum, 1994), pp. 249–279.

13 See Koch, "Das Österreichische Hauptmünzamt," p. 38.

graben, the so-called *Münzgraben* near the *Wiener Neustädter Canal*.[14] From a logistical and practical point of view, the General Court Chamber *(Allgemeine Hofkammer)* pushed for a consolidation of all production facilities under one roof. At the end of the 18th century, the state administration reforms pushed forward by Joseph II increased the need for administrative, educational, and utility buildings, but the court's austerity policy restricted spending on larger building projects and, not least, the state treasury stood almost empty.[15] It was not until the mid-1820s that the project for a new Imperial-Royal Central Mint building was taken up, which was to be located near the *Münzgraben* – on *Heumarkt* – and at the same time outside the city walls. In the new building, the state minting of coins and medals was united in one place, where it is still located today. At the end of the 1980s, the private Austrian Mint *(Münze Österreich AG)* was founded as a subsidiary of the Austrian National Bank (OeNB), which is still in charge of minting coins and medals today, including the Austrian Euro coins.

Construction and functional history of the new building at *Heumarkt* – Paul Sprenger as architect

Due to financial stringency and the resulting limited possibilities, the new central mint's concrete planning and construction phase did not finally take place until the early 1830s. The new building was to unite both the administration and the mint's scattered production and workshops, and eliminate the increasingly pressing need for space in *Himmelpfortgasse*.[16] The building was entrusted to Paul Sprenger (fig. 2), an architect already established as professor at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts and very well connected at the Viennese court and the state administration, and whose biography is not only well documented in sources but also already well researched. For example, the author Elisabeth Schmalhofer, whose dissertation dealt with Sprenger and his work in detail, wrote:

> When Paul Sprenger received his first public commission [the construction of the new mint] at the beginning of the 1830s, the bureaucratization of state building, which was expected to result in considerable savings, had long since been completed. The official style of art, supported by the Academy as the state's highest art authority, was characterized by conservative attitudes.[17]

Although Sprenger had already built several public buildings before his appointment as Imperial-Royal State Building Councillor *(k.k. Hofbaurat)* in 1842, his name is regarded as the

---

14 See Walter Cerny, *Paul Sprenger* (dissertation, University of Vienna, 1968), p. 11.

15 See Elisabeth Schmalhofer, "Paul Sprenger, 1798–1854," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 53/2–3 (2002), pp. 16–23, here p. 19.

16 See Bernhard Koch, "Die Geschichte der Münzstätte," *Geld: 800 Jahre Münzstätte Wien*, pp. 195–214, here pp. 205–206.

17 See Schmalhofer, "Paul Sprenger," p. 19 (transl. AM).

Fig. 2. Franz Eybl, portrait of Paul Sprenger (1798–1854), 1846. *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 2 (1855), p. 221.

Fig. 3. Paul Sprenger, Vienna Central Mint, situation plan of 1833, OeStA AVA PKF PS II A-II-c/88.

Metternich era's building bureaucracy epitome.[18] Corresponding criticism of the awarding of contracts and of the system behind it grew louder from the mid-1840s onwards and ultimately led to a change in thinking, which was expressed above all in the public invitation to tender for the major architectural competitions during the *Ringstrasse* expansion in the second half of the 19th century.

In November 1834, Emperor Francis II/I decided in favour of the mint's new building. Due to the Emperor's death, the foundation stone's laying took place only the following year under his successor Ferdinand I:

> His Majesty, by the Most Highest Resolution of November 7 of this year, has graciously granted the construction of a new mint, then a stretching, grinding, amalgamation and hammering building on the site of the gold and silver wire train buildings and on the coal site on the main road adjoining it and belonging to the canal.[19]

With the resolution, the building site and basic orientation were determined, as can be seen from a projected floor plan that is now in the Austrian State Archives' plan archives (fig. 3). Sprenger followed the demands of classicist architectural theory and planned a regular rectangular building enclosing a central courtyard. The main building covers a length of about 79 m and a width of about 68 m. Due to the building site's location in proximity to the Vienna River, the Danube, and the *Wiener Neustädter Canal*, it required an appropriate solid foundation, which Sprenger demanded not only as an architect but also as a civil engineer.[20]

As early as 1832, Sprenger submitted initial plans for a new minting office building, which were viewed quite positively by the General Court Chamber.[21] A watercolour drawing by Paul Sprenger, signed and dated 1833, shows the planned building's view from the *Wiener Neustädter Canal* (fig. 4). The depiction shows not only the building site, but also the building's monumental orientation, which is further emphasized by the partially unde-

---

18 See the entry on Paul Sprenger in: *Architektenlexikon Wien 1770–1945* (http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/1285.htm, accessed March 13, 2021); Schmalhofer, "Paul Sprenger," p. 16–17; Elisabeth Schmalhofer, *Paul Sprenger 1798–1854: Architekt im Dienste des Staates* (dissertation, University of Vienna, 2000).

19 OeStA FHKA HMA 1835, no. 36 ("Seine Majestät haben mit Allerhöchster Entschließung vom 7. November d.J. die Erbauung eines neuen Münzhauses dann eines Streck:Schlemm:Amalgamir: und Hammergebäudes auf dem Platze der Gold: und Silberdrahtzugsgebäude und auf dem daraufstossenden zu dem Canal gehörigen Steinkohleplatze auf der Landstrasse, allergnädigst zu bewilligen geruht"). Emperor Francis II/I died on the day the new building's foundation stone was laid, March 2, 1835, so Emperor Ferdinand I undertook it. From 1838, all departments were moved from *Himmelpfortgasse* to the address *Am Heumarkt* in the building designed by Sprenger. Full operations began there in 1839. Today, the building houses the Austrian Mint. See Koch, "Das Österreichische Hauptmünzamt," pp. 11–12, and Kräftner, "Paläste des Geldes", pp. 249–279.

20 See Schmalhofer, "Paul Sprenger," p. 19.

21 Sprenger made changes to the main staircase, which was approved by the Court Chamber, see Schmalhofer, ibid. These were presented to Emperor Francis II/I by the General Court Chamber on March 31, 1833. OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1834, no. 12.

Fig. 4. Vienna Central Mint, corner view with still visible *Wiener Neustädter* canal, design by Paul Sprenger, watercolour drawing, signed and dated 1833. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Picture Archive Pk 269, 1.

veloped area. With the imperial resolution of early November 1834, a further twelve plans were to be prepared by Sprenger as well as two inked façade designs by court architect Pietro (Peter) Nobile, all of which were submitted to court chamber president Francis Count Klebelsberg.[22] In January 1835, Sprenger addressed the Presidium of the Mint and Mining Directorate (*Präsidium der Hofkammer im Münz- und Bergwesen*, in short: *Montanpräsidium*) and reported on the preparations for the new mint building's construction.[23]

The preserved files include detailed requests for construction licensing, stonemasonry work, lime stone deliveries, etc. Even though the new building was still in its development phase at this time, the *Montanpräsidium* already ordered the relocation of the departments and workshops from *Himmelpfortgasse*.[24] In addition, at the beginning of April 1835, Sprenger requested the approval of four draftsmen for the duration of the mint office building's work in order to graphically record the construction progress.[25] In May 1835, he applied to the *Montanpräsidium* for the allocation of 50,000 gulden in "construction funds" ("Baugelder") for the mint, which were to be paid from 1825's state debt fund reserves. In

---

22 OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1834, no. 12.

23 OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1835, no. 68.

24 OeStA FHKA FHKA HMA 1835, no. 36.

25 OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1835, no. 242.

November 1835, Sprenger submitted proposals to the *Montanpräsidium* on how Vienna's first steam engine could be accommodated in the new building.[26]

Architectural design and furnishings

After discussing the history of the new mint's planning and function, I will now turn to the building's architectural structure, as well as to the individual rooms' furnishings and function, starting with the main façade, which faces the present-day *Stadtpark* and thus the *Innere Stadt*. The façade is divided into an avant-corps with five axes crowned by an attic and incorporates the representative main entrance (fig. 5). In front of the three portals with semi-circular arches, a portico of double columns is placed, which support a balcony at the first floor's height. The portals' framing is formed by Doric columns with simple profiled entablature. The two upper floors appear visually unified by pilasters with blind panels. The attic wall above the avant-corps is formed by small pillars with relief figures of Mercury, Apollo, Diana, and Venus. In between, inserted framed fields lend the necessary structure. The four ancient deities symbolize the four metals (mercury, copper, silver and gold), the Latin inscription refers to the building's meaning and purpose: REI MONETARIAE, which means "monetary matters".[27]

Sprenger is said to have made a total of three façade designs in 1832/33, which, however, have not survived.[28] Sprenger's 1833 watercolour, by contrast, provides information about the façade design's changes (see fig. 4): while a total of six free-standing fully sculptural statues were originally intended as the crowning, this was changed to the relief figures just mentioned. They were produced by the sculptor Joseph Klieber.[29] In the early 1810s, Klieber had made decorative sculptures for Prince Johann of Liechtenstein and had also worked on the sculptural decoration and more reliefs of the Vienna Polytechnic's *(k. k. Polytechnisches Institut)* central avant-corps (1816–18). From 1814 (until 1845), he was director of the Engravers' and Ore-Cutters' School *(Graveur- und Erzverschneiderschule)* at the Academy of Fine Arts, where his colleague Sprenger taught mathematics and perspective from 1827 onwards, and was appointed a member of this institution as *Ordentlicher Rat* in 1835.[30] In

---

26 OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1835, no. 337. OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1835, no. 785. In 1838, this very first steam engine (a Woolf's Balancier steam engine) was installed in the annex, the engine house, of the new Imperial-Royal Central Mint Building. This high-pressure compound steam engine, invented by the British engineer Arthur Woolf, was built for the Vienna mint and was only taken out of service in 1892 in the course of Austria's introduction of crowns, or rather the increased energy requirements for minting a large quantity of crowns associated with it. Thanks to Franz Artmüller (Austrian Mint, Vienna) for the information. On Arthur Woolf, see Thomas Robert Harris, *Arthur Woolf: The Cornish engineer 1766–1837* (Barton: Truro, 1966).

27 See Schmalhofer, *Sprenger*, p. 35.

28 See Schmalhofer, "Paul Sprenger", pp. 16–18.

29 On July 21, 1836, Paul Sprenger reported that the attic's sculpture work and the figures placed on it would be done by Joseph Klieber. See OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1836, no. 596.

30 See the entry on Josef Klieber in: *ÖBL – Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon (1815–1950)*, III (Graz/Köln: Böhlau, 1965), p. 402.

Fig. 5. Austrian Mint (today: *Münze Österreich AG*), view of the main façade towards the *Stadtpark*, Vienna 2019. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 6. Sculpture group by Joseph Klieber, 1836–38. Photograph by the author.

addition, Klieber created sculptural representations on fountains, portrait busts, and monument figures, as well as of saints for church furnishings. The group of figures he designed for the mint consists of two seated female personifications: *Justitia* and *Fortuna*.[31] Between the two figures is the Austrian Empire's coat of arms held by two griffins with their claws, with the year 1837 below (fig. 6).

---

31 Entry on the *Hauptmünzamt*, in: *Die Kunstdenkmäler Wien: Die Profanbauten des III., IV. und V. Bezirkes*, ed. Géza Hajós et al. (Vienna: Berger, 1980), p. 48.

Fig. 7. Hôtel de la Monnaie de Paris by Jacques-Denis Antoine, built 1765–75, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FOL-VE-53 (G).

Viennese public buildings between 1810 and 1830

The mint building's architectural orientation and especially the main façade's articulation reveal its model: the *Hôtel de la Monnaie*, the Paris mint by the French architect Jacques-Denis Antoine, built from 1765 to 1775 (fig. 7).[32] Sprenger was familiar with Antoine's plans from his teaching activities at the Vienna Polytechnic, but whether he had already been to Paris at this time cannot yet be proven. However, Sprenger did not simply copy the French architecture, but adapted it to Viennese conditions in a modified form. Thus, the Viennese building shows a strongly reduced formal arrangement and design, especially on the façade, even though initially, a takeover of the free-standing figures might have been considered (see fig. 4 and fig. 5).[33]

---

32 Monique Mosser, "Jacques-Denis Antoine: Architecte créateur," *L'Institut et la Monnaie: Deux palais sur un quai*, ed. Délégation à l'action artistique de la Ville de Paris (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la Ville de Paris/Hachette, 1990), pp. 161–175, see Susanne Kronbichler-Skacha, "Architektur des Klassizismus in Wien: Aspekte einer 'Zwischenzeit,'" *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 33 (1979), pp. 27–40.

33 See Cerny, *Sprenger*, p. 18, and Schmalhofer, *Sprenger*, p. 35.

For the new mint's realization, though, Sprenger did not only follow the French model in Paris, but also already existing monumental public buildings in Vienna, notably the Polytechnic on *Karlsplatz* (today the Vienna University of Technology's main building) built in 1815–18, the façade of which strongly reminds of Antoine's *Monnaie de Paris*; the Veterinary Institute (by Johann Aman, today's University of Music and Performing Arts) built in 1821–23; or the first representative building of the National Bank in *Herrengasse* (by Charles von Moreau, used as an office building today), built between 1819 and 1823.[34]

What they all have in common is their monumental, strictly reduced design, the articulation of the main façade and a representative design in different forms, either by applying columned porticos or pediments with figures or relief decoration.

The Imperial-Royal Central Mint's *(k.k. Hauptmünzamt)* interiors

As an administrative building, the new mint's furnishings included rooms for administration as well as for production, thus the workshops for minting coins and medals. The building comprised a basement and three floors, hierarchically divided according to the area of responsibility. The basement mainly contained cellar rooms and the magazine, the locksmith's workshops, and storage areas for wood and coal, while the second floor was used for administration and senior officials' apartments.[35]

On the basis of detailed floor plans preserved in the Austrian State Archives, it is possible to reconstruct the main building's original spatial and functional layout, for example on the basis of the ground floor's plan (fig. 8).[36] Through the monumental main portal one entered the representatively designed vestibule, which is divided by a three-aisled passage hall with elevated side aisles.[37] Four columns of Doric order and a mighty pillar each set the three naves apart from each other and support the segmental-arched coffered ceiling above the central nave and the flat coffered ceiling above the side naves. On the ground floor, apart from the porter's lodge, there are mainly rooms for gold stocks, precious metal weighing and testing, the smelting kitchen *(Schmelzküche)* and boiling room *(Siederei)*, and offices. In the respective central axes, the inner courtyard was reached through the above mentioned passages, which the room sequence on all floors takes into account. In the rear wing, staircases were built in the corners to the left and right, from which, in addition to the front wing's main staircase, the first floor could also be reached. However, these were much simpler in design than the main staircase, which opens on the right side at the end of the main entrance's passageway.[38] The representative staircase led to the first floor, where the front wing

---

34 For images of these buildings, see Kurdiovsky's contribution to this volume.

35 See entry on the *Hauptmünzamt*, in: *Die Kunstdenkmäler Wiens*, pp. 47–49.

36 See OeStA/AVA PKF PS II A-II-c/88. This folder of plans is undated; the plans are numbered IV through VII. Plan VI shows the 1st floor.

37 Entry on *Hauptmünzamt*, in: *Die Kunstdenkmäler Wiens,* p. 48.

38 Ibid.
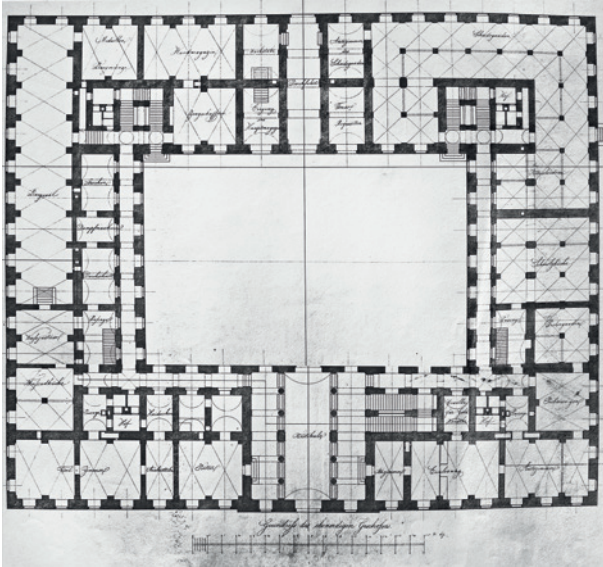
Fig. 8. Vienna Central Mint, ground plan of the ground floor, 1844, OeStA AVA PKF PS II A-II-c/88.
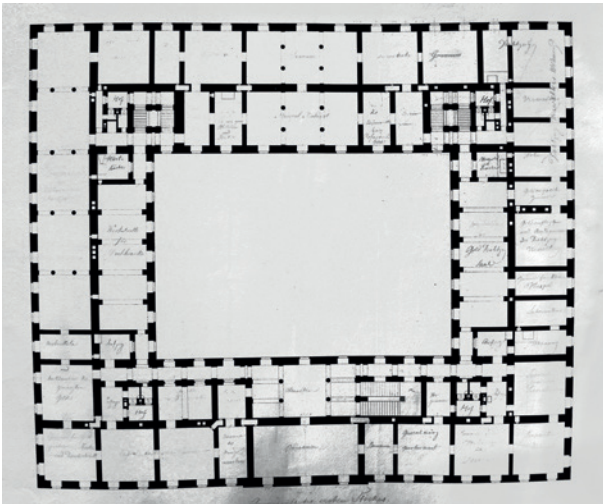
Fig. 9. Vienna Central Mint, ground plan of the first floor, 1844, OeStA AVA PKF PS II A-II-c/88.

housed the directorate's offices, the General Coin Probation Office *(General-Münz-Probier-amt)*, and the Master of the Mint *(Münz-Meister)*. In the center of the rear wing's first floor were the medalists' rooms, including those of the first engravers and the court medalists, as well as the engraving room, which was adjoined by the Cabinet of Dies (fig. 9). This room extended over three window axes and was divided by two pairs of columns. It was flanked by the engraver's room *(Graveurie)*, which consisted of an identical hall.

Excursion: Cabinet of Dies and Sculpture Collection

As mentioned at the beginning, the relatively fast production of medals made this medium an ideal imperial representation object. To sustain this high class product, it required ideal conditions for the engravers working at the mint and efficient production processes, from small sketches to clay models and producing the medals in certain metal. In addition to the official medal dies, hallmarks, and stamps, which remained in state possession from the beginning, from the 18th century onwards, minting tools were also acquired in part from the medalists' estates and kept in the mint.[39] This historical minting tool collection, known as the *k.k. Hofmedaillen-Prägestempel-Sammlung*, was closely linked to the establishment of the Academy of Engraving at the Imperial-Royal Central Mint. Its eventful administrative history as the training centre for all engravers working in other imperial mints ranges between the Academy of Fine Arts, the Imperial-Royal Central Mint, and the function of the chamber medalist *(Kammermedailleur)*, who often held its directorship, can only be briefly referred to here.[40] The academy was responsible for theoretical training, the mint for technical training, and the medalist for teaching the engravers working at the mint.

For the engravers' technical and artistic development, the establishment of a central embossing die cabinet was to play an essential role. In 1825, Lord Chamberlain *(Oberstkämmerer)* Johann Rudolf Count Czernin, an important collector and patron of the arts, was concerned in detail with raising the engraving trade's artistic level and also pushed for the die cabinet's establishment.[41] The presentation of the heavy historical dies, mostly made of cast iron steel, which had been envisaged since the end of the 18th century and was intended to serve the engravers for the "open and instructive display of this collection of dies, which is as interesting from a historical as it is from an artistic point of view,"[42] could not be properly accommodated and set up in the old mint building for reasons of space. It was not until the new *Heumarkt* building that the collection was placed in wooden boxes with glass fronts,

---

39 See Anna Fabiankowitsch, "Imageproduzenten: Medailleure im Dienste der Repräsentation Maria Theresias," *Zuhanden Ihrer Majestät,* pp. 77–83.

40 These mints' creation is closely linked to Carl Gustav Heraeus's appointment at the beginning of the 18th century. His task was not only to organize the existing imperial coin and medal collection, but he also proposed new medal production to advance the communication of the emperor's political program through medals. In this context, courtly commissions were to give Vienna's medal trade the necessary boost and artistically gifted die cutters were to be trained for their execution, which was finally implemented in the course of Emperor Charles VI's reforms. Always closely tied to its director, the engravers' academy at the mint formed the central training ground for all engravers working in the other mints of the empire until the end of the 19th century. See Schulz, "Die Medaille in Österreich," p. 183; Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee*, pp. 43–45, Elisabeth Hassmann and Heinz Winter, *Numophylacium Imperatoris: Das Wiener Münzkabinett im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), p. 99; Fabiankowitsch, "Imageproduzenten," pp. 78–83.

41 OeStA FHKA MBW FM Einrichtung PrägstempKabin., Kamerale Österr. 1825, no. 1955.

42 OeStA FHKA HMA 1844, no. 831.

where it had remained until recently.[43] Especially the die, as the main piece of a medal's minting, is interesting for art historical analysis and stylistic development, even if during the 19th century a strongly mechanical-technical implementation in the minting technique prevailed.

Another collection of art historical interest includes the Engravers' Academy's sculptural collection, which consisted of bronzed plaster and wax sculptures partly from the bequest of the Baroque medalist and sculptor Matthäus Donner and the medalist Joseph Tautenhayn the Elder, who later worked here. The 1993 monograph on Georg Raphael Donner includes some of the works.[44] Even in the art topography of 1980, a total of more than twenty reliefs and sculptures are listed, some of which are now in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum's inventory.[45] Among them, for example, is the plaster copy of *Apollo and Daphne,* modelled on Gian Lorenzo Bernini, or *Samson Fights with the Lion* (1732), both now on display in the Coin Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum.[46] The plaster reliefs and wax models, like the Academy of Fine Arts's study collection, served as rich illustrative material for drawing training. Closely tied to academic training, the engravers' first priority was drawing from three-dimensional objects and two-dimensional (graphic) model works.[47] In sum, the mission of these two facilities in close proximity to the engraving ateliers, was to serve the engravers as inspiration and guidance for the creation of new work.

Returning from a short view on the Cabinet of Dies and the Sculpture Collection to the new Mint's floor plan: To the engraving room's *(Graveurie)* right one reached the rooms of the first engravers, to the left of it another engraving room, as well as the Chief Mint Engraver's *(Ober-Münz-Graveur)* room and a room designated as the Separate Stamping Room *(Abgesondertes Prägzimmer).* From the Cabinet of Dies, one passed a room and an antechamber on the left corner staircase to the second floor's largest room, the embossing room for Uhlhorn's machines *(Prägsaal für Uhlhorn'sche Maschinen).* It consisted of an elongated hall divided by four pairs of columns, where the embossing machines were located. The hardening kitchen, workshop, and lathe shop *(Härt-Küche*, *Werkstätte* and *Dreherei)* adjoined the courtyard's inner side. From the minting room, one reached various rooms for gold adjustment, followed by the *Casse-Amtierungs-Zimmer* (the cashier's office of the Impe-

---

43 Today, a large part of it is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna's depot and is being examined by Andrea Spinka of the Viennese Coin Collection's team as part of a current digital research project.

44 *Georg Raphael Donner, 1693–1741,* exhib. cat. Österreichische Galerie Belvedere Wien, ed. Sabine Grabner (Vienna: Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, 1993), pp. 392–414.

45 See the appendix to the entry on the *Hauptmünzamt* in: *Die Kunstdenkmäler Wiens,* pp. 190–193.

46 Ibid. According to the information here, *Apollo and Daphne* (height 88 cm) is a black lacquered plaster cast after a 17th-century bronze copy. *Samson* (here referred to as *Hercules*) *with the Lion* (height 52 cm) is a bronze-painted terracotta figure by Matthäus Donner from 1732 and thus the artist's first prize-winning work. He received the Academy of Fine Arts's golden prize medal for it in 1732. See Fabiankowitsch, "Imageproduzenten," p. 78 and p. 87, fig. 6.

47 See Bettina Hagen, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Antike an der Wiener Akademie um 1800: Eine Untersuchung zum Klassizismus in Österreich* (dissertation, University of Vienna, 2000), pp. 20–27.

rial-Royal Central Mint, where, among other things, medals could be purchased) and back again to the Mint Master's office and the aforementioned rooms of the Directorate.

The representative staircase led to the second floor and to the offices and living quarters of the officials employed at the Imperial-Royal Central Mint, including the Mintmaster *(Münzmeister)*, the Warden of the Mint *(Münzwardein)*, the Counter Tester *(Gegenprobierer),* the Controller and the Head Gold Separator *(Obergoldscheider)*. Thus, the new building included not only the production but also the living quarters of the officials working there. Against the alley front are the halls with the Mint and Mining Directorate's mineralogical-geognostic collections and teaching rooms for lectures on those, which were attended by prospective montanist officials. They moved out at the end of the 19th century, allowing the *Graveurie* to move to the second floor.

Thus, a separation of storage, processing, production, and administration was also intended within the building and the different hierarchically structured floors.[48] The office rooms could therefore have served not only to ensure and guarantee smooth processes but also the necessary security. Interestingly, in the preserved floor plans, except for the ground floor porter to the entrance portal's left, no corresponding security measures such as rooms for guards or barriers are recorded here. However, it is documented for 1893 that there were a total of four superintendents *(Oberaufseher)* and eleven guards *(Aufseher)* in the office who provided work security.[49] In the course of the 1848 revolutionary uprisings, the Mint requested guards from National Guard units to secure coin production.[50] The transport routes within the building from the basement to the second floor were via smaller staircases in the corners and passages. In addition, there were freight elevators that could be used to bring in heavy material like wood and coal.

In addition to structural separation, there were rules of mint staff conduct in the form of various instructions that precisely define the framework and duties of individual officials working there. As early as the 16th century, it was forbidden for people from outside the mint to stay there. Therefore, visits to the mint were considered exceptional and were rarely possible for the general public.[51] Corresponding warnings were repeatedly sent by the administration to the mint's staff and workers. Theft of materials or other misdemeanours were rigorously punished with loss of employment. The oath of service at the beginning of a position at the mint was supposed to guarantee the proper handling of precious metals. As part of the public service and in return, mint staff officials received state benefits in case of work accidents or as a pension. Numerous widow and orphan benefits are also documented in the sources.

The relocation from *Himmelpfortgasse* took place step by step and involved the directors of all different departments.[52] In April 1842, Sprenger reported to the *Montanpräsidium* that

---

48 See Susanne Jany, "Operative Räume: Prozessarchitekturen im späten 19. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Medienwissenschaft* 7/1 (2015), pp. 33–43, here p. 35.

49 See Koch, "Das Österreichische Hauptmünzamt," p. 84.

50 See OeStA FHKA HMA 1848 (index 30).

51 See Koch, "Das Österreichische Hauptmünzamt," p. 60.

52 The furnishing of the individual rooms began in 1838. While the construction work was still in progress, quar-

Fig. 10. Vienna Central Mint Office Building, View from the *Stadtpark*, 19th century, Archive of *Münze Österreich AG*, Vienna.

the individual rooms' furnishing was determined in detail according to the respective managers' needs.[53] As of August 12, 1839, all official business took place in the Imperial-Royal Central Mint's new building (fig. 10). The building's total cost, compiled in 1843, amounted to 955,797 guilders for construction costs and furnishings.[54] Regarding the term "public service", as an architectural building the Mint was not only responsible for the Habsburg Empire's entire coin production, but also as an institution that had a social responsibility towards its staff. Countless requests for financial assistance from the Court Chamber were processed through the Central Mint Office: gracious gifts, remunerations, requests for support, pension payments, and so on were in some cases approved. As can be seen from the sources of 1843, even a contribution to funeral expenses was granted.[55]

---

terly progress reports were received by the *Montanpräsidium*. For example, the report from June 27 to July 6, 1838, OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1838, no. 634.

53 OeStA FHKA MBW MP 1842, no. 261.

54 The costs compiled in 1843 were, for construction 658,755 gulden 15 1/4 kreuzers and for furnishings 297,041 gulden 44 3/4 kreuzers, making a total of: 955,797 gulden. See the stored plate in the Austrian Mint's archive. The sum is equivalent to 22,173,592 Euros in today's currency. Source: https://www.eurologisch.at/docroot/waehrungsrechner/#/, accessed July 14, 2021.

55 See OeStA FHKA HMA 1843, no. 1799.

Reactions to and criticism of Sprenger's construction

In principle, the new Central Mint building was received quite positively, for example in the *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* of December 21, 1835, where it was stated:

> Through the paternal care of His Majesty the Emperor, Vienna will shortly receive a new ornament in the form of the large, imposing Mint Building [...]. Not only that this building will be one of the most magnificent ornaments of the residence city, not only that the interior furnishings will surpass anything that has ever been seen of this kind; that expediency, completeness and arrangement will receive general admiration [...].[56]

Barely ten years later, however, it was already stated:

> The Imperial-Royal Mint presents itself quite pleasing from the outside. Inside it, however, the economy of the workforce is not taken care of in the least. The metals have to be transported from the first floor to the second floor and back down again. The heavy, shattering work of stamping is done upstairs [this probably refers to the embossing room on the first floor, editor's note]. Costly machinery acts by means of an air pump on the countless wheels and little wheels above.[57]

The quotation comes from Franz Tuvora's *Letters from Vienna* published in Hamburg in 1844 where a fictious native complains that in the new building efficient functionality was less considered than complacency. In fact, power was indeed transported and transmitted from the steam engine in the engine house via a king shaft through numerous belts and threads to the main building' interior and here to the embossing machines in the second floor's embossing room. All the material (wood, coal, gold, and silver) had to be transported up from the lower basement area, but this had not been unusual either.

From the mid-1840s, however, criticism was not so much directed at the architectural style of Sprenger's buildings as at his person and the pre-March era building bureaucracy he represented.[58] In the absolutist state, strict adherence to the complex procedures within the

---

56 *Wiener Theater-Zeitung (Bäuerles Theaterzeitung)*, 21 Dec 1835, p. 1010 ("Durch die väterliche Fürsorge Sr. Majestät des Kaisers erhält Wien in Kurzem einen neuen Schmuck durch das große, imposante Münzgebäude [...] Nicht nur, daß durch dieses Gebäude eine der herrlichsten Zierden der Residenz entsteht, nicht nur, daß die innere Einrichtung Alles übertreffen wird, was in dieser Art je gesehen wurde; daß Zweckmäßigkeit, Vollständigkeit und Anordnung allgemeine Bewunderung erhalten").

57 Franz Tuvora, *Briefe aus Wien: Von einem Eingebornen*, I (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1844), p. 181 ("Das k.k. Münzamt präsentirt sich zwar von außen recht gefällig; allein im Innern desselben ist für die Oekonomie der Arbeitskräfte nicht im Geringsten gesorgt. Die Metalle müssen vom Parterre in den ersten Stock und wieder herunter transportirt werden. Die schwere erschütternde Arbeit des Prägens wird oben verrichtet. Eine kostspielige Maschinerie wirkt mittelst Luftpumpe auf die oben befindlichen unzähligen Räder und Räderchen").

58 See Othmar Birkner, "Eine Analyse des Historismus: Renate Wagner-Rieger: Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert," *Das Werk: Architektur und Kunst/L'oeuvre: Architecture et art*, 58/12 (1971), pp. 837–838

state authorities meant less control over individual cases, authorities involved, officials, etc., and took a correspondingly long time.[59] It was only with the 1848 revolution that there was a structural change in the building industry, as already mentioned before.

Since Sprenger's Imperial-Royal Central Mint construction was his first public commission, but not his only state project of this time, his other buildings will be mentioned in the following section:

In the 1840s, Sprenger was responsible for further administrative buildings, including the Imperial-Royal Customs Office (*Hauptzollamt*, 1840–44, demolished after World War II) and the Financial Directorate (*Finanzlandesdirektion*, 1841–47), which essentially show parallels to the reduced formal language of the Imperial-Royal Central Mint on the façade. The *Hauptzollamt* was realized by the city master builders Adolph Korompay and Leopold Mayr and united with the Financial Directorate in one building complex.[60] Sprenger planned the main Financial Directorate's building over a strictly regular ground plan within the framework of the simple variant of classicist architecture characteristic for him. Above the portal zone there are four allegorical statues by Josef Klieber representing traffic, industry, trade, and commerce.

Among Sprenger's other public buildings were the conversion and extension of the Court Chamber Archives building (*Hofkammerarchiv* in *Johannesgasse*, 1843–44) and the Lower Austrian Governor's Office (*Niederösterreichische Statthalterei* in *Herrengasse*, 1846–47).[61] However, Sprenger is not only considered an architect of Viennese administrative buildings. As a civil engineer he was essentially responsible for the construction of Emperor Ferdinand's Water Pipeline (*Kaiser-Ferdinands-Wasserleitung*) in Vienna, the construction of which started in 1837. As an architect he completed the pipeline's machine house in 1840/41 and was appointed "wirklicher k.k. Hofbaurat" in 1842.[62] In this position, he was responsible for assessing all submitted building plans according to a precise technical and economic examination, and for providing an expert opinion on all state building projects. Thus, Sprenger had to resign his Academy professorship and remained only a member of the *Hofbaurat*.

Sprenger also planned the provisional exhibition buildings for the third Austrian industrial and trade exhibition in Vienna in 1845. Sprenger was also a Lower Austrian Trade Association *(Niederösterreichischer Gewerbeverein)* founding member, which had initiated the three large Vienna exhibitions. Because, in 1845, the number of participants had already risen to over 1,860 and media coverage had strongly increased, this third exhibition represented the high point of such exhibitions in pre-March Austria.[63] It was also considered a true "temple of civic diligence" *(Tempel des Bürgerfleißes)* by the theatre writer Friedrich

---

59 See Waltraud Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen: Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich*, I: 1780–1848, 2nd ed. (Vienna/Cologne/Graz: Böhlau, 2013), p. 84.

60 See https://baudenkmaeler.wordpress.com/2012/08/10/finanzlandesdirektion-wien-iii/, accessed March 28, 2022.

61 See the entry on Paul Sprenger at http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/1285.htm, accessed October 16, 2019.

62 See Schmalhofer, *Sprenger*, p. 7.

63 Starting with 594 exhibitors in 1835, the number increased to 732 in 1839 and to 1868 in 1845. See Tomáš

Kaiser.[64] The building's architectural orientation appears similar to a temple as the medal by Johann Baptist Roth (1845) and a watercolour by the painter Leander Russ show. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that Sprenger also created the medal's design. As a civil engineer, Sprenger was commissioned to restore the dilapidated spire of St. Stephen's Cathedral from 1839–43, which he replaced with an iron framework. Here, too, Sprenger was responsible for the corresponding medal's design.

Conclusion

The Russian heir to the throne's diplomatic visit to the newly built office for the Imperial-Royal Central Mint testifies to the Viennese court's self-conception in its public buildings and their representative function. During the reign of Emperor Ferdinand I, a conservative attitude was cultivated, especially in domestic politics, and artistic innovations were generally seen with scepticism.[65]

Nevertheless, a great number of new building tasks had to be mastered, resulting on the one hand from the growing Viennese population and the administration's centralization efforts since Joseph II, and on the other hand from the advancing technical development and industry. The new mint building at *Heumarkt*, as the Habsburg monarchy's central place for minting coins and producing medals, also fits in with existing construction projects for administrative buildings of the 1820s in its architectural orientation. Sprenger was well connected as an established architect and civil engineer, and was able to convince the Viennese administration with his reduced construction method, not only in terms of cost, but also stylistically. Referring to classicist architecture, the art historian Renate Wagner-Rieger wrote of an "aesthetic recognition of the massiveness and unity of the building block" and uses the term "cubic style", which in principle emphasized a wall or building's mass.[66] Particularly in the case of state buildings, the premise was to incur as few costs as possible, which brought with it the reduction as far as possible of ornamental architectural details that is observed in Sprenger's buildings.[67] Particularly in his first public administration buildings, especially including the Viennese mint, Sprenger is regarded as the main master of this pre-March era cubic architecture, while in his later buildings characteristic traits of Romantic Historicism are increasingly found. Then, for instance, he used early Italian Renaissance stylistic elements, such as round-arched windows with rich decorative framing. Following the example

---

Kleisner, *Medaile císaře Ferdinanda Dobrotivého (1793–1875): Kritická edice sbírky Národního muzea / Medals of the Emperor Ferdinand the Good, 1793–1875* (Prague: National Museum, 2013), p. 126.

64 See Elke Wikidal, *Gewerbe- und Industrieausstellungen im österreichischen Vormärz: Ihre Entstehung und Bedeutung im Kontext der industriellen Entwicklung der Zeit* (diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 1994), p. 2.

65 Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970), p. 13.

66 Ibid., p. 79.

67 Ibid., p. 83.

of the *Hôtel de la Monnaie* in Paris, Sprenger succeeded in his attempt at the Imperial-Royal Central Mint in Vienna "to achieve monumentality with economical means and to unite this with a logically thought-out functionalism."[68] The building is thus considered a characteristic example of the pre-March period's so-called "Beamtenarchitektur"[69] and ties in with Vienna's existing administrative buildings.

---

68 Quoted from the entry on the *Hauptmünzamt*, in: *Die Kunstdenkmäler Wiens*, pp. 47–48.
69 Ibid.

Jindřich Vybíral (Prague)

Prague's old city hall renewal of the 1830s: Count Thun's battle against "that donkey of a building"

In an article he wrote in 1877, the famous art historian Rudolf Eitelberger offered remarkable testimony about what was happening culturally and socially in 1840s Prague. In his words, the Czech kingdom's capital was experiencing "a grand era in modern artistic life", an era in which artistic production was a realm of freedom or even a sphere of resistance against the Metternich regime.[1] "Prague between 1840 and 1850 was the only place where the bureaucratic paternalistic system ran up against successful resistance", wrote Eitelberger.[2] The work of the Society of Patriotic Friends of the Arts (*Společnost vlasteneckých přátel umění / Privatgesellschaft patriotischer Kunstfreunde*), headed by Count Erwein Nostitz-Rieneck and Count Franz Anton Thun-Hohenstein, was closely tied up with the estates' opposition movement. However, this subversive activity, which Eitelberger saw as contrasting greatly with the passivity observed in Vienna's artistic circles, assumed exclusively "loyal forms".[3] He noted the Academy of Fine Arts reform that was carried out by Christian Ruben, and the exhibitions organised, the awards handed out, and the fund set up to pay for sculptural monuments dedicated to the Emperors Charles IV and Francis II/I. The commemorative culture that the Society of Patriotic Friends of the Arts began to cultivate through these sites was, in Eitelberger's view, an element "that was permanently rejected by the police system in Vienna".[4]

Today's historians have a more accurate idea of the Bohemian nobility's opposition stance, which was much more complex and differentiated and was not manifested solely through resistance to reactionary Neo-Classicism. The aristocratic opposition demanded that the government restore its 'historic rights'. It claimed the right to advise the throne on the drafting of laws, and, above all, insisted on the diets' right to approve taxation. It also questioned the central authorities' claim to control the diets' financial management and the highest provincial officials' appointment. This article will question to what extent the Gothic Revival, too, could be regarded as an expression of oppositional stances.[5]

---

1   Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg, "Die Plastik Wiens in diesem Jahrhundert," in: *Kunst und Künstler Wiens der neueren Zeit*: *Gesammelte kunsthistorische Schriften,* I (Vienna: Braumüller 1879), pp. 104–157, here p. 118. ("die Glanzperiode des modernen Kunstlebens")

2   Ibid., p. 118 ("Der einzige Ort, wo das bureaukratische Bevormundungs-System einen erfolgreichen Widerstand fand, war zwischen 1840 bis 1850 Prag").

3   Ibid., p. 118 ("in loyalen Formen").

4   Ibid., p. 119 ("welche das Wiener Polizeisystem permanent perhorrescirte").

5   See the chapter "Revival of medieval styles (identity)," *Síla i budoucnost jest národu národnost: Architektura a*

Fig. 1. Friedrich Bernhard Werner, City Hall of Prague's Old Town, around 1730. Josef Teige and Karel Herain, *Staroměstský rynek v Praze* (Prague: Společnost přátel starožitností českých, 1908), p. 22.

The old town hall as a symbol of identity

Eitelberger's article was devoted to Austrian sculpture, which is perhaps why he fails to mention one particular event that would have made his description of the Prague movement's resistance more compelling. This event, or what could perhaps be more aptly described as a story with multiple twists and turns, was the battle waged by the public and by institutions in Prague to preserve the historical character of the city's old town Hall (fig. 1). The conglomerate of parts comprising the town hall, the most ancient of which date to the 14th century's first half, had retained an authentic medieval look up until the time of Emperor Joseph II, when the first modifications to modernise the structure were introduced. Plans to expand the town hall had existed since 1828. Because the municipality of Prague and the Bohemian Governor's Office's building authorities were in a dispute over who was responsible for the project's development, designs by rival engineers were sent to be refereed by the authorities in Vienna. A central role was taken up by the imperial court's architectural advisor, Pietro (Peter) Nobile, who, as director of the school for architecture at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, was this field's chief authority.[6] He found mistakes in the plans and structural designs of both the project created

---

česká politika v 19. století/The strength and future of the nation is national identity: Architecture and Czech politics in the 19th century, ed. Jindřich Vybíral (Praha: Umprum, 2021), pp. 139–185. The town hall's reconstruction is discussed here in the broader cultural and political context.

6   On Nobile, see also Kurdiovsky's contribution to this volume.

Fig. 2. Joseph Esch, Design for the completion of the City Hall of Prague's Old Town, 1834. Josef Teige and Karel Herain, *Staroměstský rynek v Praze* (Prague: Společnost přátel starožitností českých, 1908), p. 60.

by the engineer endorsed by the governor's office, Josef Esch (fig. 2), and the project created by the engineer backed by the municipality, Josef Schöbl. As was to be expected from his hegemonistic attitudes, in 1836 Nobile drew up his own project for the town hall's reconstruction, and in November 1837, it was this project that received the nod from the highest level (fig. 3/4).[7]

Nobile rebuked the Prague engineers for their lack of stylistic precision façade. In his effort to give the building symmetry, clarity, and a Classical order, he applied a highly subjective hand to the Gothic morphology. On top of that, he wanted to do away with 'disruptive' historical elements such as the medieval chapel, the astronomical clock, the por-

---

7   Josef Teige and Karel Herain, *Staroměstský rynek v Praze* (Praha: Společnost přátel starožitností českých, 1908), pp. 56–66.
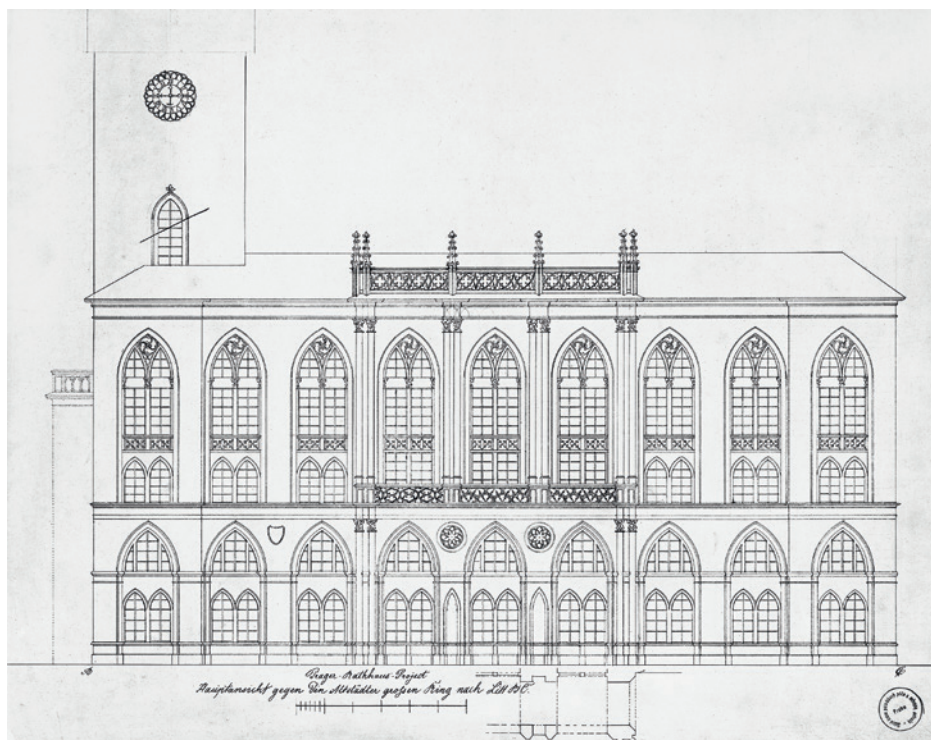
Fig. 3. Peter (Pietro) Nobile, Design for the completion of the City Hall of Prague's Old Town, 1836, eastern elevation. National Heritage Institute (Národní památkový ústav), sign. PPOP-996-5-171.

tal, and the large hall with its panelled ceiling. These plans sparked a wave of indignation in Prague, where the town hall was regarded as one of the city's most important historical and artistic monuments. A respect for the building's ancient character was shared both by the aristocracy, headed by the Supreme Burgrave Count Karel Chotek, and by the Prague burghers, represented by Burgomaster Peter Sporschil – even though these two figures were among the main proponents advocating for the city's modernisation. The burghers produced a memorandum addressed to the emperor with a request for the town hall's artistic integrity to be protected. The emperor agreed to the request and in a hand-written document dated February 24, 1838, he promised to preserve the building's historical elements. The municipal building authority drew up new plans (fig. 5), but to the public's great disappointment the emperor again assigned Nobile the task of designing the town hall's façade. Based on the revised project, the building's renovation and expansion began in the summer of 1839 with the demolition of the town hall's eastern wing.[8]

Nobile bestowed an 'altdeutsch' (in that period's understanding: Gothic) style on the façade, the persuasive reasoning for this being that this would "bring the new structure into

---

8   Teige and Herain, *Staroměstský rynek,* pp. 62–70.
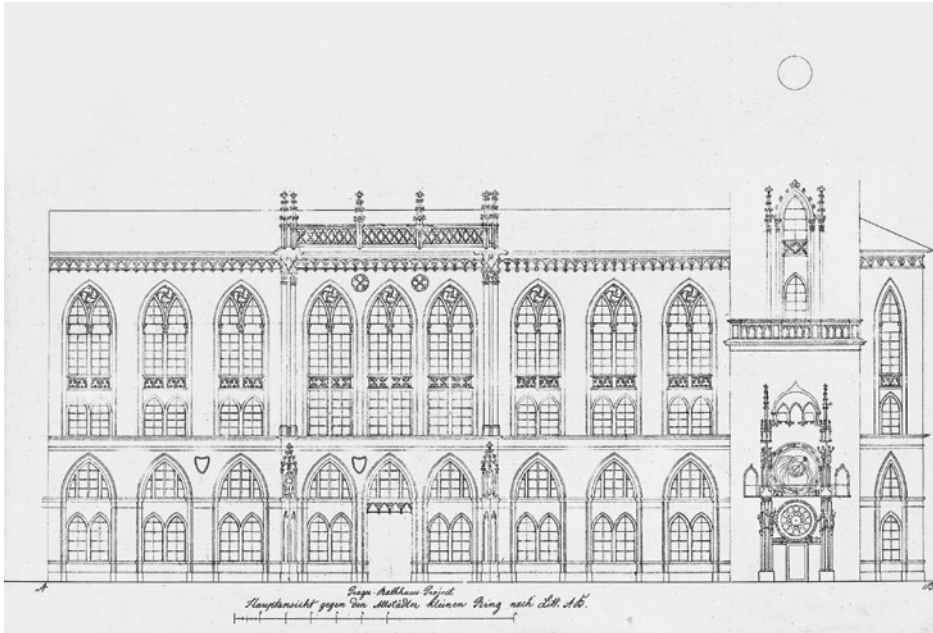
Fig. 4. Peter (Pietro) Nobile, Design for the completion of the city hall of Prague's Old Town, 1836, south elevation.: National Heritage Institute (Národní památkový ústav), sign. PPOP-996-5-172.

Fig. 5. Joseph Schöbel, Design for the completion of the City Hall of Prague's Old Town, 1839. Josef Teige and Karel Herain, *Staroměstský rynek v Praze* (Prague: Společnost přátel starožitností českých, 1908), p. 70.

harmony with those parts of the old building that were meant to be preserved – partly for the marvellous old methods of construction used in them and partly for the historical memories attached to them".[9] At the same time, however, his intention was to build a modern administrative building that would be "functional and in keeping with the dignified status of a capital city" and whose shell with large window surfaces would certainly have thrilled 20th-century avant-garde members (fig. 6).[10] Another innovative creative act was his effort to use prefabricated cast-iron ornaments in the construction.[11] Nobile's ambitious modernisation project also had numerous Prague supporters at that time who admired "the majestic nature of this structure" or welcomed "the transformation for the better of a genuinely ugly side of the Old Town Square".[12] However, the old Gothic staircase's demolition, which was supposed to be followed by further drastic interventions into the historic substance of the town hall's southern part, and even the renovation's very style aroused misgivings and consternation amongst the intellectual elites and, soon after, even the general public's resistance. The German architect and art historian Franz Mertens commented on Nobile's approach in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*'s pages as follows:

> The proportions of the old section of the town hall do not permit arches this large and window figures of the kind used in the new part. No bizarre or even purely picturesque charm would be visible in this, only something silly and awkward.[13]

A disparaging rhyme about the imperial architect soon spread through the streets of Prague: "Look, wayfarer, look / at that stupid donkey of a building / it was built by a huge brute / the court counselor von Nobili".[14] According to the contemporaries' recollections, however, even Chotek, the supreme burgrave, did not dare to come out in open opposition to the re-

---

9 "Das neue Rathhaus Prag's," *Bohemia, ein Unterhaltungsblatt,* February 2, 1841, p. 4 ("Um den neuen Bau mit jenen Theilen des alten Gebäudes, welche man theils ihrer alten herrlichen Bauart, theils auch der an sie sich knüpfenden historischen Erinnerungen wegen beibehalten wollte, in Einklang zu bringen").

10 "Prag," *Der Adler*, May 8, 1839, p. 1 ("zweckmäßigen und der Würde dieser Hauptstadt angemessenen Umbaue").

11 Teige and Herain, *Staroměstský rynek,* p. 78; Taťána Petrasová, *Neoklasicismus mezi technikou a krásou: Pietro Nobile v Čechách* (Prague: Artefactum, 2019), p. 32.

12 "Prag," *Der Adler*, August 17, 1839, p. 1 ("Großartigkeit dieses Baues"); "Das neue Rathhaus Prag´s," *Bohemia, ein Unterhaltungsblatt*, February 5, 1841, p. 4 ("wahrhaft häßliche Seite des altstädter Ringes sich nun zur schönsten umstaltet").

13 F[ranz] M[ertens], "Prag und seine Baukunst," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 10 (1845), pp. 15–38, here p. 27 ("Die Verhältnisse des alten Theils des Rathhauses erlauben keine so großen Arkaden und Fensterfiguren, wie man sie hier im neuen angewendet hat. Es würde hier nicht einmal der Reiz des Bizarren oder rein Malerischen zum Vorschein kommen, sondern nur das Blöde, Ungeschickte").

14 "Zur Geschichte des Altstädter Rathauses," *Politik*, April 12, 1903, pp. 8–9; Teige and Herain, *Staroměstský rynek,* p. 78 ("Schau, Wanderer, schau/ Diesen dummen Eselbau,/ ihn hat erbaut ein großes Vieh,/ der Hofbaurath von Nobili"). See Karel Vladislav Zap, "Přehled staveb a jiných oprav r. 1846 v Praze vykonaných," *Poutník* 2 (1847), pp. 26–28, here p. 27.

OBRAZ XXVII.

STAROMĚSTSKÁ RADNICE·
VÝCHODNÍ STRANA·
NAVRHL C·K·STAV·RADA PETR NOBILE R·1839·

Fig. 6. Peter (Pietro) Nobile, Design for the completion of the City Hall of Prague's Old Town, 1839, eastern elevation. Josef Teige and Karel Herain, *Staroměstský rynek v Praze* (Prague: Společnost přátel starožitností českých, 1908), p. 70.

construction project, "because the plan had emerged out of Vienna".[15] Around that time the Society of Patriotic Friends of the Arts and the Bohemian Museum turned to Count Kaspar Sternberg and, through him, approached State Minister Count Franz Anton Kolowrat with a request to preserve at least the tower and the town hall chapel, which was an "adornment

---

15 Joseph Burgerstein, *Franz Anton von Thun-Hohenstein: Biographische Skizze* (Vienna: Karl Czermak, 1871), p. 9 ("weil der Plan von Wien sei"); see Emanuel Max, *Zweiundachtzig Lebensjahre* (Prague: Selbstverlag, 1893), p. 33.
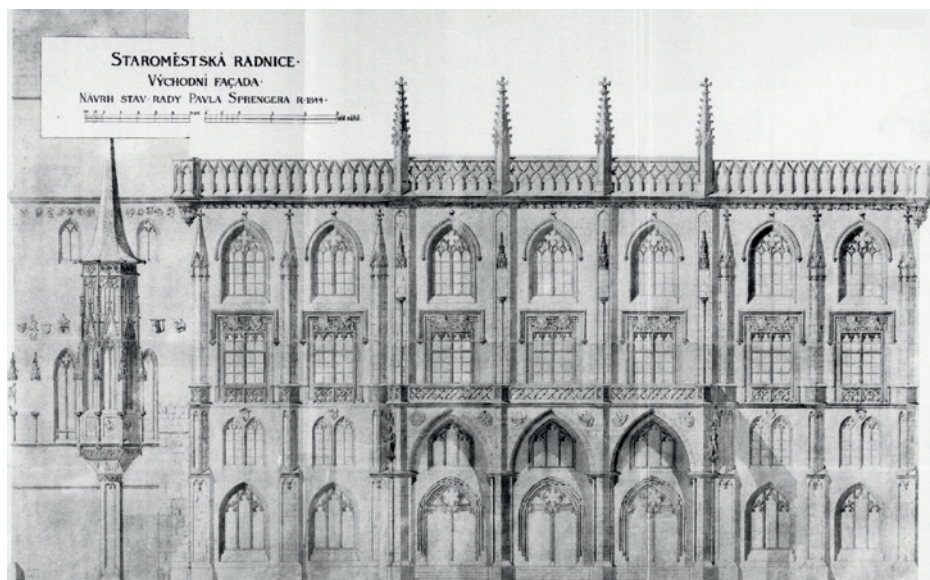
Fig. 7. Paul Sprenger, Design for the completion of the city hall of Prague's Old Town, 1844, eastern elevation. Josef Teige and Karel Herain, *Staroměstský rynek v Praze* (Prague: Společnost přátel starožitností českých, 1908), p. 84.

of the Gothic architecture, and nothing better could work well in its place".[16] The new memorandum described the eastern wing under construction as an architectural freak "whose contradictory form of both hypocritical theatricality and drab characterlessness does not give the impression of a building of even middling artistic value".[17] The minister and allegedly even the Emperor Ferdinand I himself heard these pleas, and with a cabinet office rescript issued on March 20, 1841, the construction work was halted.[18] The Society of Patriotic Friends of the Arts' request to have the work already undertaken completely removed was rejected on financial grounds, but the new structure's façade was to be given a "less objectionable form".[19] A new design was created first by Ludwig Förster, but he, too, failed to match the expectations of the Prague townspeople, so in 1844, another pupil of Nobile, Paul Sprenger, was hired for the job. The construction's management and the resolution of details was entrusted to an established Gothic style expert – Hermann Bergmann, a Prague native. The town hall's function as a patriotic monument was underscored by the presence of Czech rulers' sculpted figures – Prince Přemysl, Spytihněv I, Ottokar II, Charles IV, Ferdinand III,

---

16 Max, *Zweiundachtzig Lebensjahre*, p. 33 ("immer eine Zierde der gothischen Architektur bleibe, da gewiß nichts Besseres an seine Stelle gelangen würde").

17 Teige and Herain, *Staroměstský rynek*, p. 75.

18 Ibid., p. 72.

19 "Verhandlungen der Centralkommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale," *Wiener Zeitung*, November 5, 1854, pp. 1–3, here p. 2 ("nach minder anstößigen Formen").

Fig. 8. Peter (Pietro) Nobile and Paul Sprenger, completion of the city hall of Prague's Old Town, 1839–58, historical photograph. National Heritage Institute (Národní památkový ústav), sign. F005930.

Francis II/I, and Ferdinand I (Ferdinand V as Bohemian king) – created by the sculptor Josef Max, alongside symbols of the Bohemian Kingdom's historical lands (fig. 7).[20]

This, however, did not mark the end of the battle to preserve the historical town hall as an identifying symbol of the kingdom's capital. In August 1854, the town council, which showed little understanding for the patriots' preservationist efforts, made the decision to pursue further modifications to the town hall's historical section. In the interest of rationalising its operations, the main entrance was to be moved and next to it a 'blind' portal was to be added for the purpose of fulfilling the aesthetic demand for symmetry. The interior height levels of the old and new sections were to be aligned, which required lowering the floor levels in the historical section and increasing the windows' size on the southern façade. These plans were ultimately blocked by the Central Heritage Commission's *(k. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale)* intervention, which deemed the municipal building authority utterly incompetent and turned to the governor's office with a request to halt the construction work once more. This, however, came too late to prevent irreversible damage from becoming a reality. In the place of the old Gothic staircase, new stone steps were built, "demonstrating a decided lack of taste and a stunted knowledge of the Gothic

---

20 "Prag," *Wiener Zeitung*, May 28, 1846, p. 3; "Aus Prag," *Österreichisches Morgenblatt: Zeitschrift für Vaterland, Natur und Leben*, April 26, 1847, p. 198.

style". Similarly, the old roof frame was substituted by "a wholly inappropriate, flat, so-called 'Gothic' roof'".[21] The reconstruction work's result, completed in 1858, thus yielded great disappointment (fig. 8). Paul Aloys Klar, publisher of the periodical *Libussa*, wrote:

> The building's main section, new but done in medieval artistic mode, casts the tiny remainder of the old town hall in heavy shadow, and makes it altogether impossible to imagine the manner in which the original or earlier town halls were executed.[22]

A liberal-conservative patriot's aesthetic opinions and political views

At a Heritage Commission meeting the head of the Academy Christian Ruben and the archaeologist Jan Erazim Vocel both expressed energetic support for preserving the old town hall's historical character. However, the primary agent in initiating its conservation was Count Franz Anton Thun-Hohenstein (fig. 9). He was the person most aware of the medieval monuments' identificatory function, which he showed by warning against the risk that Prague could "gradually be stripped of its unique charm".[23] Thun-Hohenstein, a member of one of the Czech lands' most influential aristocratic families, was a key figure in Prague's artistic world from the 1830s. He organised a famous artistic salon in his palace and as a representative of the Fine Arts Association (*Krasoumná jednota / Kunstverein für Böhmen*, from 1839) and the Society of Patriotic Friends of the Arts (from 1847), and as a member of the Patriotic Museum Society's (*Společnost vlasteneckého muzea / Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen*, from 1842) board, he played a central role in organising exhibitions and building art collections in the Czech capital. He was also the primary person responsible for bringing about the restoration of the Czech lands' most important medieval heritage architecture and for the spreading interest in the Gothic style. The historian August Wilhelm Ambros wrote of Thun: "The restored Prague cathedral will remain a monument to him."[24] Thun was one of the founders of the Association for the Completion of the Construction of St. Vitus' Cathedral *(Jednota pro dostavbu chrámu svatého Víta / Prager Dombau-Verein)*, which he set about founding in 1842, and remained head of the association until his 1870 death. Similarly, he was also brought about Karlštejn Castle's restoration. He was the in-

---

21 "Verhandlungen," p. 2 ("entschiedenen Mangel an Geschmack und geringe Kenntniß des gothischen Styls erweisende neue steinerne Treppe ... ganz stylwidrige, flache, das neue sogenannte "gothische" Dach ...").

22 Paul Aloys Klar, "Das Rathhaus in der Altstadt Prag," *Libussa: Jahrbuch für 1857* (Prague: J. G. Calve, 1856), pp. 354–366, p. 354 ("die neuen, wenn auch in mittelalterlichen Kunstweise ausgeführten, Hauptbestandtheile des Gebäudes den geringen Ueberrest des alten Rathhauses tief in Schatten stellen, und bereits jede Vorstellung, wie das ursprüngliche oder frühere Rathhaus einst geartet gewesen, unmöglich machen").

23 "Verhandlungen," p. 1 ("eigenthümlichen Reizes allmählig werde entkleidet werden").

24 August Wilhelm Ambros, "Franz Anton Graf Thun-Hohenstein," *Dioskuren: Deutsche Kunst-Zeitung* 15 (1870), pp. 347–349, and 355–356, here p. 347 ("Der wiederborne prager Dom wird [...] sein Ehrendenkmal bleiben").

Fig. 9. Portrait of Franz Anton Count Thun-Hohenstein (1809–70). Joseph Burgerstein, *Franz Anton von Thun-Hohenstein, Biographische Skizze* (Vienna: Karl Czermak, 1871).

strument in obtaining the two above-mentioned Neo-Gothic monuments of Emperor Charles IV and Francis II/I.[25] When from 1850 to 1861, he acted as the artistic affairs officer in the Austrian Education and Religious Affairs Ministry of, which was headed by his younger brother Leo, he significantly contributed to the development of the Habsburg Empire's institutional heritage conservation.

Franz Thun's name does not figure among the participants of the 1844 Prague Congress of German Architects, during which the Prussian architect Carl Albert Rosenthal recommended adapting the Gothic style to contemporary needs.[26] However, he was obviously familiar with the topics of the time's stylistic debates and took a decisive position in the dispute between classicism and medievalism. Unlike many contemporaries, however, his interest in the Gothic was not motivated nationally and spiritually, but rather rationally. We can deduce the qualities Thun appreciated in Gothic architecture from a personal letter he

---

25 Burgerstein, *Thun-Hohenstein*, pp. 9–10.

26 "Verzeichniss der Theilnehmer an der dritten Versammlung der deutschen Architekten und Ingenieure zu Prag," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 9 (1844), pp. 248–250; [Carl Albert] Rosenthal, "Was will die Baukunst eigentlich," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 9 (1844), pp. 268–274. See Mitchell Schwarzer, *German architectural theory and the search for modern identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 57–58.

wrote to his brother in July 1853. In it he rejected the copying of Palladian column orders, which in his view was "the cause of architecture's decline into its current miserable state and constitutes what is probably an idea most remote from the true principles of architecture at that time".[27]

We can get a more exact idea from Thun's proposal for reforming public construction services in 1860. In this proposal the count reveals himself as an unromantically-minded 'structural realism' champion calling for honesty of materials and rejecting the practice of concealing construction beneath added ornamentation or even beneath plaster. In his view, a building's architectural expression should emerge out of the interplay between the materials used and the construction technologies, climate, and local and regional customs, as well as religious, political, and social factors. One of his recommendations was:

> When designing and executing the buildings needed in the individual provinces architects should to the extent that is possible tie in with older traditions, the customary styles of a land, and building methods, where they still exist as such.[28]

Thun's aim was to promote rational and democratic mechanisms in state contracts commissioning and it was not about finding specific designing strategies. The brochure therefore does not contain any explicit recommendations about reviving one or another historical style. However, his aesthetic preferences become apparent in his criticism of the construction field's bureaucracy in the so-called pre-March Period: He was incensed about "the interdiction against oriel windows, protruding gates and roofs, the interdiction against roof gables facing the street",[29] as he pleaded for picturesqueness, diversity, and distinctiveness. These thoughts can be interpreted as a modest appeal to attentiveness to medieval architecture's legacy.

Thun's efforts to preserve traditional values were remarkably paralleled in his political activity. In the period before 1848, the young count was among the most active representatives of the estates' opposition in the Bohemian lands, within the ranks of which he took a stand against the state bureaucratic government and in favour of maintaining patrimonial administration. He displayed this attitude in the Bohemian Diet's negotiations over the

---

27 State Regional Archives Litoměřice, family archive of the Thun-Hohensteins, estate of Leopold Thun, letter from F. Thun to his brother Leo from July 21, 1853 ("was gerade der Grund des Verfalls der Architektur bis zu ihrem jetzigen elenden Standpunkte ist und hat von den einzig wahren Prinzipien der Baukunst wohl die fernste Idee").

28 Franz Graf Thun, *Vorschläge zur Reorganisirung des öffentlichen Baudienstes in Oesterreich* (Prague: André, 1861), p. 41 ("Bei der Conception und Ausführung der für die einzelnen Provinzen erforderlichen Bauten haben sich die Architecten den Traditionen der alten landesüblichen Style und Bauweisen, wo solche noch vorhanden sind, thunlichst anzuschliessen").

29 Thun, *Vorschläge*, p. 36 ("Verbot von Erkern, vorspringenden Thoren und Dächern, das Verbot die Giebelseite der Dächer nach der Strasse zu richten").

imperial rescript in July 1847.[30] In the revolutionary year of 1848, he became a National Committee *(Národní výbor, Nationalausschuss)* member and also served as a major in the National Guard's 4th battalion. His attitude can be characterised as 'liberal-conservative' in nature. Like many other Bohemian aristocrats, he enthusiastically welcomed the constitution's declaration, but he held to maintaining continuity with the old estates system and came out against any erosion of the established legal order.[31] In applying the principles of "unity and order founded in civic freedoms", he did not fully identify with either the Czech or the German national community, and thus became a target of attacks from both of the two opposing sides.[32]

To better understand Thun's position in relation to political identities we can get some help from texts written by his younger brother, which are to a large extent representative of the both siblings' opinions. Leo Thun, who was familiar with Johann Gottfried von Herder and Alexis de Tocqueville's writings, regarded the emergence of modern nations as an inevitable process and national awareness as a legitimate emotion. However, he rejected animosity between nations and the efforts to create autonomous nation states as an excess of the age of revolution and stood firmly behind a non-political definition of a nation.[33] He was reconciled with the fact that the Habsburg Empire's population was multi-ethnic and multicultural. He expressed support for different ethnic groups' equality and criticised the Pre-March government's Germanification efforts. He wrote:

> Such was the fate of the Slavs within the Austrian empire. Everywhere they were neglected by the government compared to other ethnicities, and they were to a greater degree denied activities recognised as lawful that the government granted to others.[34]

In his view, the Viennese government should guarantee the safety and free development of all the empire's ethnicities. "We believe that the Austrian Monarchy is called on before the eyes of Europe to practise this liberal approach".[35] He expressed understanding for the Slav peoples' efforts to achieve social and cultural emancipation, but he warned against excessive militancy amongst national representatives that could lead to political instability.

---

30 *Ständische Verhandlungen in Österreich, I; Der böhmische Landtag im Jahre 1847* (Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1848), pp. 220–222.

31 Ralph Melville, *Adel und Revolution in Böhmen: Strukturwandel von Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Österreich um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1998), pp. 148–161 and 213–216.

32 "An meine Mitbürger," *Bohemia*, May 2, 1848, Beilage, p. 1 ("Eintracht und Ordnung nach der Basis der bürgerlichen Freiheit").

33 Leo Thun, *Úwahy o nynějších poměrech hledíc zwláště k Čechám,* (Prague: J. B. Kalwowského kněhkupectwí, 1849, pp. 23–24.

34 Thun, *Úwahy*, p. 27.

35 Leo Thun, *Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der böhmischen Literatur und ihre Bedeutung* (Prague: Kronberger und Řiwnač, 1842), p. 82 ("Ja wir glauben, dass die österreichische Monarchie recht eigentlich dazu berufen ist, dieses wahrhaft liberale Princip vor den Augen Europas zu verwirklichen").

In opposition to the forces within the Empire that wanted to deny the Slavs their rights as political nations, he raised arguments about the merits of nationally specific attributes. Leo Thun profiled himself as a supporter of liberal multiculturalism, which sees cultural diversity as a path to improving cooperation within the community but seeks to balance it with political unity. Modern society's universal development was supposed to arise through a division of labour between nations. "Throughout history every nation has been given a role that no other could fulfil', he wrote in 1847. "The particularity of a given people, that which constitutes its particular character, will be its particular contribution to mankind."[36]

Surprisingly, however, Leo Thun did not inquire about the Czech nation's specific attributes. Instead, he thought about which historical task the nation's members would fulfil in the future. Yet, he made no secret of his belief about the Slavs' economic and cultural backwardness, though he explained this as resulting from an interplay of inauspicious circumstances or even historical injustices. The way he saw it, Czech national society should gradually cultivate itself, and that would necessarily lead to its politics acquiring greater strength with a united Austria:

> Life will then possess a Slavic flavour, industry will be enriched by Slavic innovations, science by Slavic inventions, civil society by the constitutions – Slavic constitutions – of such a type that they could not have been predicted because they will be new.[37]

Slavic art would be novel and unpredictable, too.

Conclusion

An analysis of the aesthetic opinions and political views of Count Franz Thun, or that of his brother Leo, shows that it is impossible to interpret the struggle to preserve the historical character of Prague's old town hall as simply a dispute between tradition's proponents and modernisation's advocates. It would be more precise to say that the advocates of common identity who insisted on uniqueness and singular distinctiveness came into conflict with the unitary system that promoted imperial governance's cultural dimensions. Moreover, Franz Thun did not represent land patriotism's well-known standpoint, but rather that of liberal multiculturalism, espousing the values of tradition and continuity, but also those of economic prosperity and political reforms. During the 19th century, this attitude increasingly diverged from the policy of ethnic loyalty promoted in Czech national society. However, there was a consensus among them on the question of worshiping the Kingdom of Bohemia's great

---

36 Ibid., pp. 58 and 59 ("Im Gesammtverlaufe der Geschichte ist aber jedem Volke eine Aufgabe gesetzt, die kein anderes zu erfüllen im Stande wäre. [...] Was an einem Volke Eigenthümliches ist, was seinen eigenthümlichem Charakter ausmacht, das ist auch bestimmt, der Menschheit einen eigenthümlichen Dienst zu leisten").

37 Thun, *Úwahy*, p. 60 ("Žiwot pak bude míti barwu slowanskou, slowanskými wynálezy zbohatne průmysl, slowanskými wýmysly wěda, slowanskými ústawami společnost občanská – a to takowými, kteréž se nedají předwídat, neboť budou nowé").

past, as well as on historical and artistic monuments' care. The nascent historical consciousness, which gradually went beyond Baroque Historicism, became an important component of both regional and national patriotism.[38] However, the old town hall, rebuilt by Viennese architects, lost its identifying function for both factions of patriots, and competitions for further reconstruction announced at the century's end tried in vain to make up for this loss.[39]

---

38 Miroslav Hroch, *Na prahu národní existence: Touha a skutečnost* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1999), p. 141.
39 Jindřich Vybíral, "The Bohemian town hall around 1900", in: *Mayors and city halls: Local government and the cultural space in the late Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. Jacek Purchla (Kraków: International Cultural Centre, 1998), pp. 179–182.

Harald R. Stühlinger (Basel)

Art as a public matter: Architectural competitions in the aftermath of the 1848 revolution

Building for the Empire

The political upheaval of the year 1848 as a result of the first revolution in March triggered the release of the bourgeoisie's energy. The realm of architectural creativity was also characterized by major changes during this period. It was precisely during this short phase that a development came into being that led to a significant change in architectural activity. Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg described it in the following way:

> In the period from the year 1844 to 1848, Vienna's architectural life remained within modest limits; it was peaceful and cosy. However, in the years 1848 and 1849, there was movement in the field of architecture that was at once highly varied and progressive.[1]

In the pre-March period (*Vormärz*, i.e., the period between the Vienna Congress of 1815 and the March Revolution in 1848), the *k. k. Hofbaurat* acted as the supreme building authority.[2] The *Hofbaurat*'s fundamental duties consisted of producing construction plans that could be carried out. In these cases, "the plans were either drawn up by the subordinate building authorities and submitted to the *Hofbaurat,* or the state commissioned artists to make the plans"[3]. In addition to these two procedures, competitions by invitation were also held at which only selected architects, or those patronized in other ways, could participate. There were no regulations on how the submitted plans were to be treated and this was solely left up to the *Hofbaurat*'s bureaucratic arbitrariness. Once project plans had been submitted, they were not publicly exhibited or publicized in any other way, let alone was the originator informed of whether a plan had been approved or not. The lesser evil was that the plans were usually not returned to their creator; the much greater one was that no legal claim could be made against the artistic property rights abuse.

---

1   Rudolf Eitelberger, *Gesammelte Kunsthistorische Schriften*, I (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879), p. 230 ("In der Zeit vom Jahre 1844 bis 1848 bewegte sich das Architekturleben Wiens in sehr bescheidenen Grenzen, still, gemüthlich; vom Jahre 1848 und 1849 an war die Bewegung auf dem Gebiete der Architektur wechselvoll und rasch vorschreitend").

2   On the *Hofbaurat*, see also Kurdiovsky's and Mayr's contributions to this volume.

3   *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 117, April 27, 1848, p. 559 ("von den untergeordneten Bau-Behörden die Pläne gemacht und dem Hofbaurathe eingeschickt, oder es wurden vom Staate Künstler beauftragt, Pläne zu machen").

Paul Sprenger and the *Hofbaurat*

The term *Hofbaurat* was not only used to describe the institution, but also its members. In the last years of its existence, these were Pietro (Peter) Nobile, Georg von Frast, Paul Sprenger[4], Ferdinand Mitis, and Florian Pasetti, as well as Friedrich Baron Froon zu Kirchrath as its director. Within the *Hofbaurat* Paul Sprenger, a self-assured civil servant, was a particularly conspicuous member who knew only too well how to draw many public construction assignments into his own hands. As Nobile's former student he became professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and was promoted to the position of the *Hofbaurat* head in 1842. In the following year Sprenger went on a study trip to western Europe, which led him to the German countries, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands as well as England, and returned to Vienna only in 1844. Stylistically, he was inspired by the use of Historicist styles in these countries' contemporary buildings. Scholars like Renate Wagner-Rieger have pointed out that his architectural practice's theoretical framework was highly influenced by the seminal work of the French architecture theoretician Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand. In his influential publications, namely the *Receuil et Parallèle des édifices de tout genre, anciens et modernes* (1800) and the *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'École Polytechnique* (1802–05) Durand elaborated his ideas of the systematic grid for floor plans as well as the combination of basic geometrical forms to create a building.[5]

While architectural historians in the late 19th and early 20th century have criticized Sprenger's works, which they have called a bureaucratic style *(Beamtenstil)*, today his architectural works stand out in Vienna's cityscape as examples of a late Classicist/early Historicist architectural building culture. Many of the monumental administration buildings which represent the imperial state at the Austrian capital's prominent sites were planned by Paul Sprenger. Some of them were erected in the 1830s and early 1840s, before he held a *Hofbaurat* management position, proving that he was not only an apt planner but organizer alike.

As early as 1835 he started the Imperial-Royal Central Mint's *(Hauptmünzamt)* planning, the construction of which ended three years later.[6] After that followed the Imperial-Royal Customs Office *(Hauptzollamt)* erected between 1840 and 1844, and the Lower Austrian Financial Directorate *(Finanzlandesdirektion)* in the years 1841–47. All three monumental buildings were erected in the area of the *Wiener Neustädter Canal*'s former port and all of them are considered representatives of the so-called cubic style *(Kubischer Stil,* roughly 1820–50), which was derived from a *Biedermeier* period neoclassical tradition.[7] The build-

---

4   http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/1285.htm, accessed July 25, 2021.

5   Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970), p. 87.

6   On this building, see also the contributions by Mayr and Kurdiovsky to this volume.

7   Wagner-Rieger, *Architektur*, pp. 86–88. The art historian Renate Wagner-Rieger has based Vienna's Historicist architecture on a chronological division into Romantic Historicism *(Romantischer Historismus,* roughly 1830–18), Strict Historicism *(Strenger Historismus,* roughly 1860–90), and Late Historicism *(Späthistorismus,* after 1890).

ings are composed of basic geometric forms in simple combinations and show only few decorations. In Vienna, the cubic style was seconded and followed by the Romantic Historicism movement and the subsequent examples refer to this style. The Court Chamber Archives Building's *(Hofkammerarchiv)* extension, with its five axes in the city centre's narrow *Johannesgasse*, was built between 1843–44. The Government building for Lower Austria *(Niederösterreichische Statthalterei)* has an even more prominent location within Vienna's centre and was erected between 1846 and 1847. Standing free on three sides, its façades are visible from afar. The façades of these two buildings show a different approach compared to Sprenger's earlier designs. These projects' monolithic appearance was given up mainly in reaction to the urban context. Some of the above-mentioned buildings show the architect's desire to be in the *vanguard* of architectural developments, but privately active architects considered the buildings' conception and design old-fashioned and conservative, an attitude towards Sprenger's work that was kept alive until the beginning of the 20th century, when critics like Carl Ferdinand von Vincenti, Cyriak Bodenstein, Carl von Lützow, or Ludwig Hevesi coined the dismissive term "Statthatereistil" referring to the mentioned projects by Sprenger.[8] Although contemporaries criticized the way the buildings represented a certain style they actually aimed at the circumstances of the project's commissioning. As mentioned before, in some cases plans were asked from private architects for submission to the administrative body, and subsequently the *Hofbaurat* then decided whose project was used for execution. Practically, in hardly any case was the project chosen by a governmental office outsider, but one can imagine that Sprenger used project ideas submitted by private architects for his own projects.

The case of Altlerchenfelder Kirche

Although the desire for a new construction of the church in Vienna's Altlerchenfeld suburb dated back to the end of 1843, it did not become concrete until the beginning of 1848. Here the case was as mentioned above. In a first step, projects from private architects were submitted after they were invited to do so. Following protracted discussions and negotiations, an imperial resolution dated February 8, 1848 decreed the execution of – once again – Sprenger's project (fig. 1/2). Surely Sprenger was active behind the scenes to obtain this decision. Although the subsequent work on the foundations came to a complete halt as a result of the mid-March 1848 revolts, they were soon restarted. In the political revolution's wake, discontent about the former system, as well as old resentments that those architects who were not civil servants held against the *Hofbaurat*, became blatantly obvious.

A few weeks after the March riots, Rudolf Eitelberger raised his voice and, faced with the political upheavals, wrote the first of a series of articles entitled "What does art have to hope

---

8   Ludwig Hevesi, *Oesterreichische Kunst im 19. Jahrhundert: Zweiter Teil: 1848–1900* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1903), p. 120.

for, or fear, from the movements of the present day?"[9] In it, Eitelberger, who was to be named editor-in-chief of the state's newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* five months later and who had a close relationship with the new political forces, proclaimed the political and social requirements considered essential for a modern state. In an article that appeared in the newspaper's evening supplement on the same day, he wrote an open protest against the government's building system in general and Sprenger's church construction project in particular. He had most likely become aware of the demands he publicized from circles around the Vienna Academy's architecture professors when he wrote:

> The church in Altlerchenfeld is the first monumental work to be built in constitutional Austria. The *Hofbaurat*, which is responsible for the business of aesthetic censorship, was presented with 13 construction projects. From amongst these, one that is a melange of Renaissance and Late Rococo styles would be a disgrace for Austria if it was to be carried out. The most recent buildings erected have made us sufficiently aware of the effects of this aesthetic censorship.[10]

Eitelberger was clearly not only playing a role as the new government's protagonist, but also for a group of architects that had been constituted informally as their demands corresponded with those he described in the *Wiener Zeitung*:

> We most solemnly protest against the continuation of this censorship. We demand, first of all, the immediate revision of all projects connected with this church, and, secondly, that the duty of this revision be placed in the hands of a jury selected by the architects assembly that is being held at the present time, and, finally, we propose that the architects present their rejected projects to the public in the next art exhibition.[11]

At the same time, the Swiss architect Johann Georg Müller, who was living in Vienna in those days, made a presentation to the plenum of what Eitelberger had called the "architects assembly" *(Architekten-Versammlung)* entitled: "German church construction and the Renaissance church planned to be built in Altlerchenfeld". In it, he criticized the Renaissance forms proposed for the new church building by *Hofbaurat* Sprenger and drew attention to

---

9 *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 105, April 14, 1848, pp. 497–498.

10 Ibid. ("Die Kirche in Altlerchenfeld ist das erste monumentale Werk, welches im constitutionellen Oesterreich gebaut wird. Dem Hofbaurathe, welchem das Geschäft der ästhetischen Censur oblag, wurden gegen 13 Bauprojecte vorgelegt. Unter diesen wurde eines angenommen, das ein Gemisch von Renaissance- und Zopfstyl, wenn es ausgeführt würde, eine Schande für Oesterreich wäre. Die jüngsten Bauwerke haben uns über das Wirken dieser ästhetischen Censur hinlänglich die Augen geöffnet").

11 *Wiener Zeitung* (evening supplement), no. 14, April 14, 1848, p. 53 ("Wir protestiren feierlichst gegen den Fortbestand dieser Censur. Wir verlangen, erstens, die ungesäumte Revision aller Projecte zu dieser Kirche, wir verlangen zweitens, daß das Geschäft der Revision einer Jury übergeben werde, welche von der eben stattfindenden Architekten-Versammlung gewählt wurde, und endlich fordern wir die Architekten auf, ihre zurückgewiesenen Projecte in der nächsten Kunstausstellung öffentlich auszustellen").

the exemplary character of Munich's Mariahilf Church, which had been erected in the neo-Gothic style. The architects who were present convinced Müller to reproduce his lecture in printed form.[12]

In order to give the architectural profession, which had previously only been officially organized in the Lower Austrian Trade Association *(Niederösterreichischer Gewerbe-Verein),* greater weight, several private architects decided to take advantage of the new age's benefits. After they had already informally met and constituted, they took Müller's lecture as the opportunity for founding their own organization:

> The desire for competition proceedings of this kind has always been almost undivided amongst Vienna's architects. They displayed this at their assembly held on April 20 when all those present voted unanimously in favour of approaching those high offices, from which the fulfilment of their non-profit wish must emanate, in the form of a petition.[13]

In the Lower Austrian Government's presidential files for the year 1848, we find a protocolary note from the newly-founded Ministry of the Interior dated April 22, 1848 in which it is "established that a society of architects has been formed with the aim of advising on reforms appropriate for architecture".[14] These architectural 'reforms' were synonymous with the discussion on public competition procedures. A second entry in which the Chief Building Authority (*Oberbaudirektion*) of Lower Austria was informed that it "should come to an agreement with the same [architectural association] in important and major matters concerning new civil building projects"[15] can be found alongside this protocolary entry. Unfortunately, the corresponding documents are missing. In another document, however, we read that:

> In the meantime, with reference to the ministerial decree Z.1067 of April 22, 1848 in connection with the introduction of public awarding of prizes, the association of architects has approached the Lower Austrian Government with the appeal to announce a public competition in connection with the construction of the church in Altlerchenfeld seeing that the plan of the *Hofbaurat* on which the construction of this building is based is both in *design and style* [author's highlighting] so little worthy of making generations aware of our art and our times.[16]

---

12 Franz Rieger, *Die Altlerchenfelder-Kirche* (Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1911), p. 9.

13 Ibid., p. 11, ("Der Wunsch nach einem derartigen Konkursverfahren war von jeher unter den Architekten Wiens ein fast ungeteilter. Dies haben sie in ihrer Versammlung vom 20. April an den Tag gelegt, als sie mit einhelliger Zustimmung aller Anwesenden beschlossen, sich in Gesuchsform an jene hohen Stellen zu wenden, von denen die Erfüllung ihres gemeinnützigen Wunsches ausgehen muß.")

14 Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv (NÖLA), Präsidialindex Niederösterreichische Regierung 1848, Buchstabe A, "Architecten-Verein", p. 20: file no. 1067 ("eröffnet, daß sich ein Architektenverein zur Berathung der für die Architektur zweckdienlichen Reformen gebildet habe").

15 Ibid.

16 Austrian State Archives (OeStA), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Ministerium des Inneren (MdI), Altlerchenfelderkirche, Zl. 86/6 ex 1849, 4071 ex 1849, June 14/22, 1849 ("Mittlerweile hatte sich der Architek-

In this particular case, the congruence between the document's argumentation, Eitelberger's statements in the *Wiener Zeitung* of April 14, 1848, and Müller's lecture is notable. On April 15, 1848, Eitelberger once again attacked the *Hofbaurat* as an old governmental system relic and, barely two weeks later, broached the subject of "The Reform of the *Hofbaurat*"[17] in a leading article in the *Wiener Zeitung* in which he urged entrusting another institution with these activities in the *Hofbaurat*'s place. In his eyes, this should be the Architecture Department of the Academy of Fine Arts.

Encouraged by other Association members, Müller sent the first lecture's printed version, with an accompanying letter, to the Ministry of Public Works *(Ministerium für öffentliche Arbeiten)*[18] in which he wrote, in connection with his desideratum for public competition procedures:

> Mr Minister! If you recognize the seed of something right in my simple statements, I would like to request that Your Excellency grant me the privilege of being able to describe to you, in person, how admirable church architecture can be organized through the cooperation of patriotic artists.[19]

The new possibilities that had arisen as a result of the Revolution and the responsible minister's willingness, which was expressed in his answer to Müller, were processed by the Swiss architect in another lecture that he gave in the plenary of the Architects Assembly on April 20, 1848. Although mention had already been made of "admirable church architecture" *(würdiges Kichenbauwesen)* in his first letter to the Minister of Public Works, the new lecture, titled "Which process must be followed to make it possible that only those public buildings representative of the dignity of the state and art, be executed in future?"[20], focused on a more general question and the new competition procedures that would result from it. In it, the 26-year-old architect covered the fundamental question of a national architecture's renewal, or "the higher monumental art of building" *(höhere monumentale Baukunst)*, that one could – and should – expect in Vienna, when compared with cities such as Berlin or Munich. He

---

tenverein unter Berufung auf den Ministerial Erlaß vom 22. April 1848 Z. 1067 wegen Einführung öffentlicher Preisbewerbungen an die n. ö. Regierung mit dem Ersuchen gewendet, bezüglich des Altenlerchenfelder Kirchenbaues einen öffentlichen Concurs auszuschreiben, indem der diesem Bau zu Grunde gelegte Plan des Hofbaurahtes *durch Anordnung wie durch Styl so wenig würdig sei, von unserer Kunst u. von unseren Tagen der Nachwelt Zeugniß zu geben*").

17 *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 117, April 27, 1848, pp. 559–560.

18 This short-lived ministry, which already ceased to exist in 1849, must not be confused with the Ministry for Public Works (*k. k. Ministerium für öffentliche Arbeiten*) founded in 1908.

19 Ernst Förster, *Johann Georg Müller: Ein Künstlerleben* (St. Gall: Scheitlin & Zollikofer, 1851), p. 146 ("Wenn Sie, Herr Minister! in meinen anspruchslosen Meinungsäußerungen einen Keim des Richtigen erblicken, so bitte ich Ew. Excellenz, mir die Gunst gewähren zu wollen, Ihnen persönlich schildern zu dürfen, wie durch das gemeinsame Wirken der vaterländischen Künstler ein würdiges Kirchenbauwesen organisirt werden könnte.").

20 Ibid., p. 147, see also: Eitelberger, *Schriften*, p. 245 ("Welches Verfahren ist einzuschlagen, um fortan nur solche Entwürfe zu öffentlichen Bauten zur Ausführung kommen zu lassen, welche die Würde des Staates und der Kunst vertreten?").

not only saw public buildings' importance in their functional requirements but, as buildings, compared them with an elevated semantic expression of the nation, with "monuments to the state" *(Denkmäler des Staates).*[21]

An open competition system in the architectural field

On May 2, 1848, two weeks after the Vienna Association of Architects *(Wiener Architekten-verein)* was constituted, a number of technicians and engineers met in Vienna to discuss the establishment of an individual Association of Engineers *(Ingenieurverein)*. On May 6, 1848, a petition was already sent to the Council of Ministers *(Ministerrat)* and one month later, on June 8, 1848, the Austrian Association of Engineers's founding meeting was held.

On June 6, 1848, the Association of Architects submitted a petition to the Ministry of Internal Affairs requesting the "announcement of a public competition for the construction of the church in Altlerchenfeld".[22] The Ministry of Public Works, which had since become the responsible body, issued the competition brief for the church's construction, with the number 164, on July 4, 1848. However, this first competition was "as an exception, only announced among the members of the local Association of Architects".[23] A note was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* on August 13, 1848. Therein, all the former competitions' critical aspects, which I have mentioned at the beginning, were changed to a new procedure, especially regarding the competition's publicity:

> In this way, the artist and the jury stand under the public eye. The work of art becomes a matter for the people. The worthiest (not the employees and protégés) are responsible for the execution; he alone has the greatest interest in making his work appear as perfectly as possible in the world.[24]

After Johann Georg Müller and Eduard van der Nüll, as Association of Architects members, had separately revealed their considerations on competition procedures, the Vienna Association of Architects made public a recommendation for the "Procedures for Compe-

---

21 Förster, *Müller*, p. 153.

22 NÖLA, Präsidialindex Niederösterreichische Regierung 1848, p. 20: "Oberbaudirektion: 20 Juny 2546 über Konkursausschreibungen für Entwürfe öffentl[icher] Bauten und insbesondere f.[ür] d.[en] Kirchenbau zu Al-tlerchenfeld".

23 OeStA, AVA, Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten (MdöA), 1848, box 2, no. 2501–5000, Protokoll: Sect. III. fasc. 2682/591, September 22/25, 1848. ("ausnahmsweise nur unter den Mitgliedern des hiesigen Architekten-vereines ausgeschrieben").

24 *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 222, August 13, 1848, p. 395 ("So stellt sich der Künstler und die Jury unter die Aegide der Oeffentlichkeit. Das Kunstwerk wird Sache des Volkes. Den Würdigsten [nicht den Angestellten und Prote-girten] kömmt die Ausführung zu; er allein hat das höchste Interesse, daß sein Werk so vollkommen als möglich in die Welt trete").

titions for State Buildings"[25] *(Vorschlag über die Bestimmungen des Verfahrens bei Concursen zum Entwurfe von Projecten für Staatsbauten)* sometime before the summer holidays. When these were over, the Austrian Society of Engineers followed with its own concepts that it put on paper on September 22, 1848. The revolution flamed up once again before being finally crushed in the autumn of 1848, and proposals were prepared from two sides – this time, under changed political circumstances – the following winter.

As a consequence of the October Revolution, the Ministry of Public Works, which had formerly been responsible for state building projects, merged into the Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Public Works *(Ministerium für Handel, Gewerbe und öffentliche Bauten)* led by Karl Ludwig Bruck. However, the administrative staff's continuity ensured that work could proceed unhampered. On the other hand – Müller was seriously ill and the Vienna Association of Architects had since dissolved – the Austrian Society of Engineers continued to work diligently on this matter under the leadership of van der Nüll, the architects at the Academy, and other civil architects.

On the basis of the recommendations of the Vienna Association of Architects and the Austrian Association of Engineers, the Competition Committee *(Konkurskommission)* worked out a plan by January 29, 1849 and this was subsequently discussed. This commission consisted of the architects Leopold Ernst and Eduard van der Nüll, who had been members of the former Vienna Association of Architects.[26] After their recommendations' acceptance, letters addressed to the Ministry of the Interior and to the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Public Works were sent out on March 23, 1849. In the letter accompanying the competition plan sent to the Trade Minister, special attention was once again drawn to the competitions' benefits. For the architects, the essential aspect for arriving at an executable project lay "in the mutual, carefully examined, comparison of various plans". Several passages drew attention to the Vienna Association of Architects' former recommendations, which were considered absolutely suitable for further development. The academic representatives saw it as their duty "to discuss these improvements and keep a close eye on ensuring both the material interests of the state and of art as its fixed goal". They were clearly trying to consider future regulations not only from the point of view of art but also from that of the state and its possibilities:

> Only when the new administrative system of the Empire and its Crown lands has taken on a fixed character, will it be possible to describe the extent and limitations of the policy in more detail and – through special regulations – define those boundaries within which new building and reconstruction projects are to be submitted to the competition regulations or handed over to the official administration for execution.

---

25 *Zeitschrift des österreichischen Ingenieur-Vereines* 1/3 (1849), pp. 27–28.

26 In the documents a third architect by the name of Fuss is mentioned as well. Unfortunately, his name is not traceable in other sources of the time.

The document was signed by four representatives of the Architecture Department of the Academy.[27]

Unimpressed by all of the submissions and discussions being held elsewhere, the Ministry was already working on its own draft legislation. In January 1849, when the competition law *(Wettbewerbsgesetz)* was in the making, both Franz Ferdinand von Mayern and Paul Sprenger occupied important positions in the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Public Works. Mayern, a former military officer, led the Ministerial Council *(Ministerialrat)* of the Department of Public Works *(Departement für öffentliche Bauten)*. Sprenger, the former *Hofbaurat*, moved to the Ministry in the position of Section Councillor *(Sektionsrat)* after his old government agency had been dissolved on February 5, 1849. His position was in the General Building Direction *(General-Bau-Direktion)*, which was now the highest authority of this kind, where he supervised the execution of state construction activities as the Department for Civil Building's head. The two officials were not completely impartial when dealing with the Altlerchenfeld Church matter. Both had the goal of maintaining and expanding their sphere of influence, personally as well as for their agency. The Academy's recommendation was received too late, the draft procedures drawn up by the Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Public Works were long completed, so the reaction to the architects' letter by way of Mayern was negative.

The comments and notes in the draft legislation of the Architecture Department of the Academy of Fine Arts could also stem from discussions held in the Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Public Works that Mayern and Sprenger participated in. This submitted draft law definitely played a not unimportant role in the ministerial concept. However, the added notes clearly show a reinterpretation benefitting the state authorities. The rewording and new formulations transferred decision-making power to the state and invested it with the administrative hegemony. The political environment had changed after the October Revolution was crushed. On the one hand, the centralization tendencies within the neo-absolutist state and, on the other, senior government officials' continuity had led to strengthening the state's role on the operative side.

Before the new law could come into force it had to pass the Council of Ministers *(Ministerrat)*,[28] which happened on March 30, 1849. Although the new law was dated March 28, 1849 in the Imperial Journal of Laws *(Reichsgesetzblatt)*, as it is in the ministerial minutes,

---

27 OeStA, AVA, HM, Präs A 3, fasc. 3, Zl. 477ex 1849 ("in der gegenseitigen und sorgsam prüfenden Vergleichung verschiedener Pläne" and "diese Verbesserungen zu berathen, und sie hat dabei die gleiche Wahrung der materiellen Interessen des Staates, wie der Interessen der Kunst als festes Ziel im Auge behalten." as well as "Erst wenn das neue Verwaltungswesen des Reiches und seiner Kronländer eine festbestimmte Gestalt hat, wird es thunlich seyn, Ausdehnung und Beschränkung jenes Grundsatzes näher zu umschreiben, und durch besondere Vorschriften die Grenzen festzusetzen, innerhalb welcher Neu- und Umbauten dem Konkursgesetze unterliegen, oder den Ämtern zur Ausführung überwiesen sind").

28 *Die Protokolle des Österreichischen Ministerrates 1848–1867, 2. Abteilung: Das Ministerium Schwarzenberg, I: 5. Dezember 1848–7. Jänner 1850* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften and Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 2002), p. 196.

the Council of Ministers' March 30 remarks were included. The Competition Law was reproduced lithographically on April 6, 1849 and subsequently distributed to all ministries.[29] Despite the note in the minutes that the law be published in the state's official organ, the *Wiener Zeitung*, being crossed out, the Competition Law was announced on April 18, 1849.[30]

Conclusion

The conflict over the Altlerchenfeld Church's erection had erupted over stylistic questions and the discussion carried out had been heated, but this aesthetic aspect disappeared completely in the proposals and counterproposals made in connection with competition procedures, as well as in the dramatic developments within the state. The question about the church's style continued to be explosive and the "Renaissance and late-Rococo-style" of Sprenger's plan was not pursued. However, this no longer played a role in the introduction of the first competition law in Austria. The choice of style was a political act, and this led to fierce disputes. History, especially in Austria-Hungary, has many further examples of this on file; one only has to think of style's exclusion when plans were being drawn up for the Budapest parliament.[31]

---

29 *Allgemeines Reichs-Gesetz- und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich: Jahrgang 1849* (Vienna: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1850), p. 245.

30 See *Notizblatt der Allgemeinen Bauzeitung für die Tagesereignisse im Gebiete des Bauwesens und aller damit zusammenhängenden Fächer* 1/4 (1849), pp. 81–89.

31 See *Motherland and progress: Hungarian architecture and design 1800–1900,* ed. József Sisa (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2016), pp. 792–802.

Fig. 1. Paul Sprenger, design sketch for the Altlerchenfeld Church, elevation of the main facade, 1847. Albertina Vienna, architectural collection, Az. 7065.
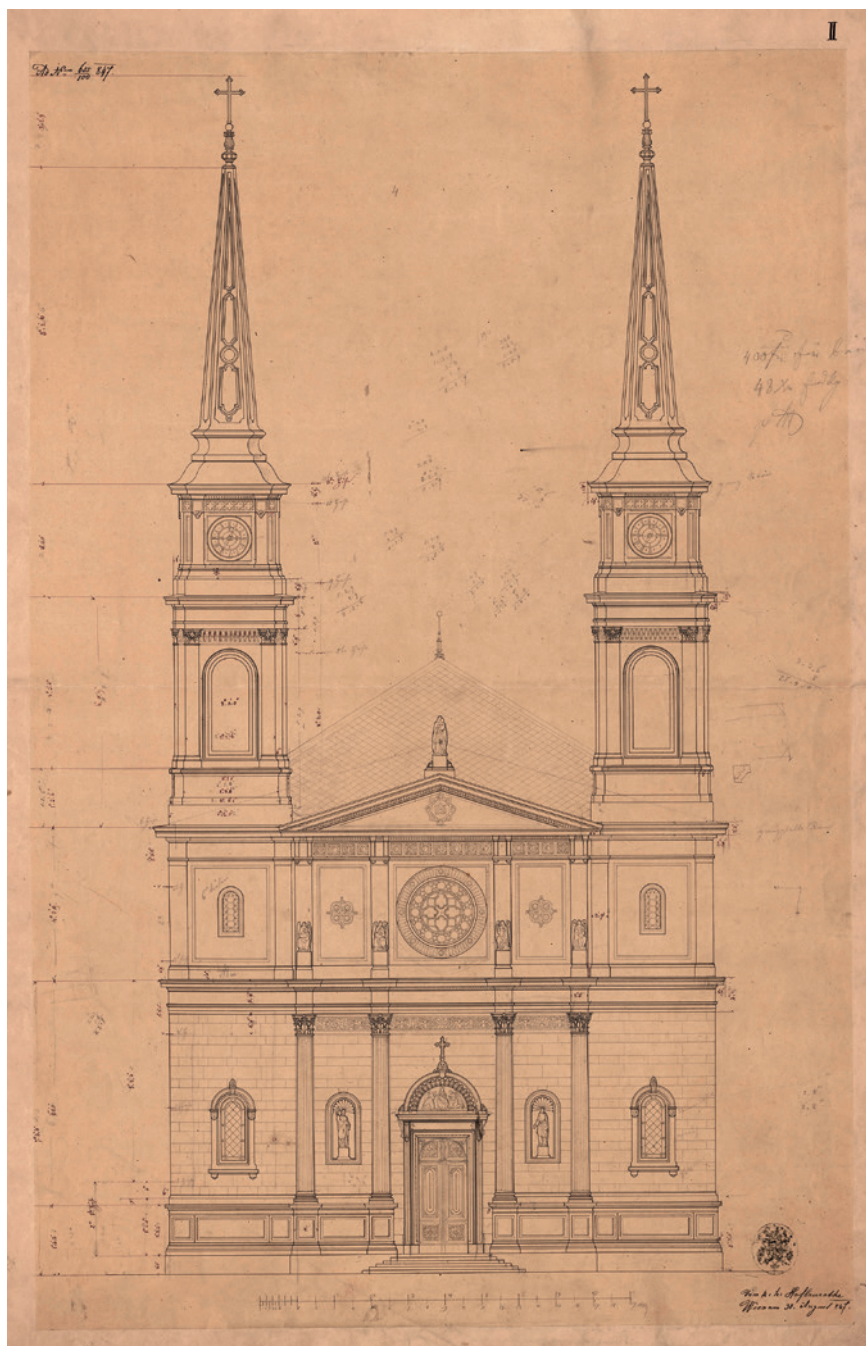
Fig. 2. Paul Sprenger, elevation of the main façade of the Altlerchenfeld Church, 1847. Albertina Vienna, architectural collection, Az. 7070.

Fig. 3. August Sicard von Sicardsburg and Eduard van der Nüll, competition design for the Altlerchenfeld Church, elevation of the main facade, 1848. Albertina Vienna, architectural collection, Az. 5382.
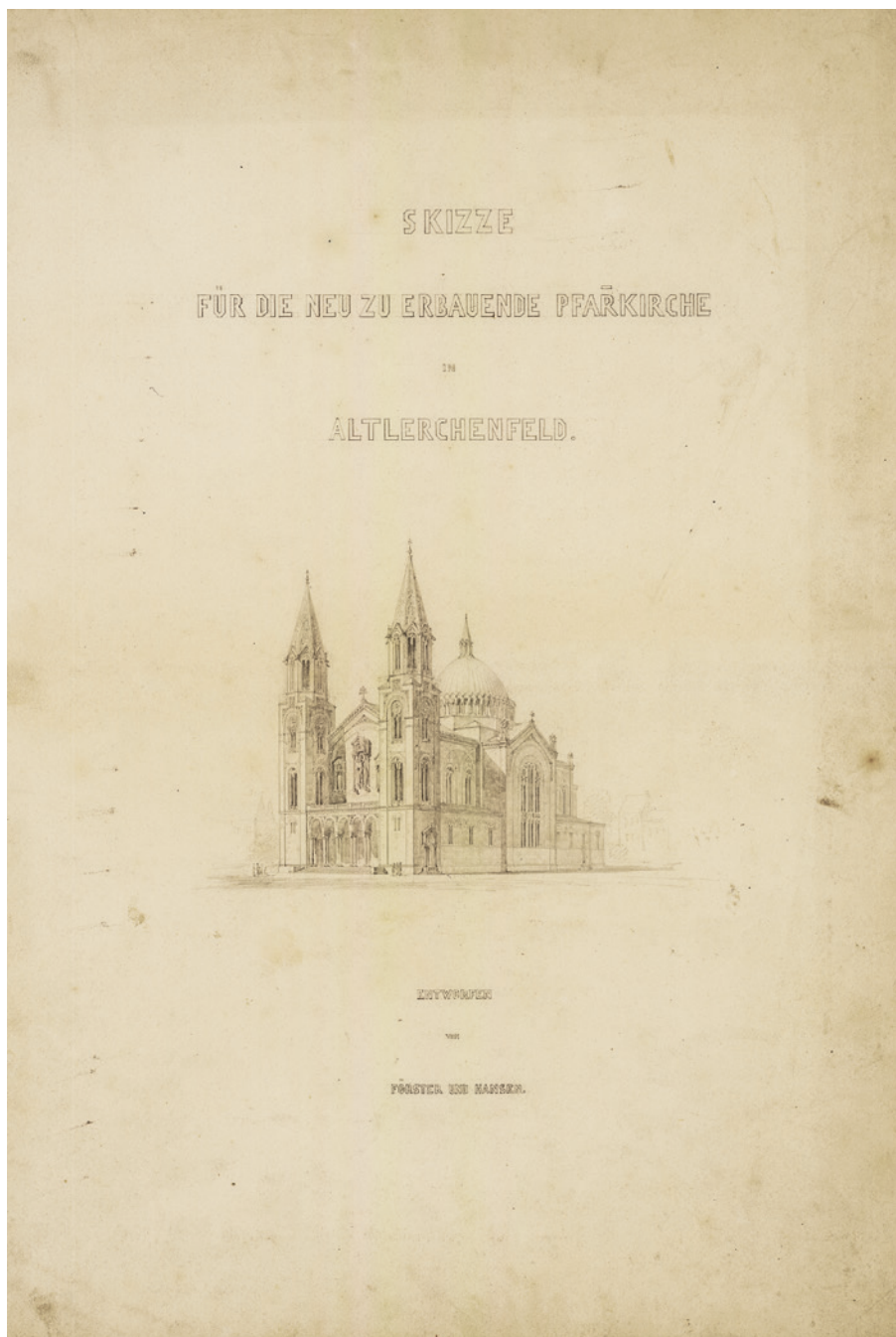
Fig. 4. Ludwig Christian Förster and Theophil Hansen, competition design for the Altlerchenfeld Church, perspective drawing, 1848. Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett, Hz. 20.848.

Fig. 5. Ludwig Christian Förster and Theophil Hansen, competition design for the Altlerchenfeld Church, elevation of the main façade, 1848. Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett, Hz. 20.852.

Fig. 6. Johann Georg Müller, executive design of the Altlerchenfeld Church, elevation of the main façade, 1848–49. Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett, Hz. 21.198.

Guido Zucconi (Venice)

After town halls: Savings banks as local symbols of liberal Italy

Old and new building types

In Italy, the municipality was born during the Napoleonic age. This new institution was supposed to be housed in a dedicated building that would only take shape in the following decades. Despite the intention to link it with the past, the town hall was to be configured as an unprecedented architectural prototype.[1]

In recently born nations such as Germany and Italy, the town hall's realization ended up taking on strong ideological connotations. Especially in those areas where a free city tradition had emerged in a remote past, the new building's location and style would have to evoke the appearance of the medieval institution's ancient seat. Behind the curtain, what emerges is the impulse to relaunch never-dormant ambitions of local autonomy and federalism, intended to stand in stark contrast to state centralization's incipient process.

Within the Italian Risorgimento's milieu, many intellectuals saw the new nation's defining feature in the free cities' civilization. On the historical level, this harked back to the century in which Dante Alighieri, who had gifted a common language to the peninsula, was born and raised. One of the Italian federalist movement's most prominent figures, Carlo Cattaneo, used the expression "Italia dei Comuni" to define the political core of the nation to be built.[2]

While claiming a significant degree of local governmental autonomy, the movement took the medieval free towns' example as a model of self-government, even for the future. For the most radical federalist wing, the new Italy should only correspond to the area where, in the past, the so-called *civiltà dei comuni* had flourished. This was the vision put forward by Giuseppe Ferrari, who spoke of a country limited to the peninsula's northern and central portions.[3] Geographically speaking, the new identity would be modelled on those urban centres located north of the line connecting Viterbo and Ascoli, the southernmost of the free cities.

---

1 No reference book provides a general view on town hall construction in 19th-century Italy. What is available at the moment are specific monographs about case studies such as Piacenza, Cremona, and Vergato (see bibliographical refernces in the next footnotes). On the subject in a transnational dimension, see: Nikolaus Pevsner, *A history of building types* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 29–35 and 331–353.

2 This concept was well elaborated in a pamphlet significantly called *La città come principio ideale della istorie italiane* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1931). The first edition came out in 1858, in serialized form, on the Florentine periodical *Il Crepuscolo*.

3 Giuseppe Ferrari, *La révolution et les réformes en Italie* (Paris: Librairie d'Amyot, 1848).

Such a vision had a great impact on architecture, especially on those buildings which were called upon to represent the new nation. Accordingly, the choice most commonly fell on those buildings which (up to the 14th century) had hosted the free towns' ancient institutions, which were restored and put to use. The case of France is different, as the town hall as an institution appears less ideologically charged. It has been defined in the modern age long before the Romantic discovery of the Middle Ages. As such, the new town hall can be located in the most disparate places.

Whilst the German language only features the term *Rathaus*, Italian presents (together with the simple expression of *comune*) a large number of definitions: *broletto, arengario, palazzo del podestà*, and *palazzo della ragione*. In France, only the term *hôtel de ville* is used to define the *municipalité*'s headquarters. Such an array of Italian names evoked the medieval past with the aim of suggesting a link with one of domestic history's most glorious pages. However, of these ancient buildings almost nothing is still standing due to a series of radical transformations that occurred over a long period of time. In the most fortunate cases, what remains is a façade's relic: a symbolic front behind which the building has been expanded in order to suit the new municipal body's multiple needs.

Nevertheless, even more so than other civil or religious buildings, the town hall seems to be a bridge between the past and the future, in particular between the Middle Ages on one side and the new Italian nation state on the other. Proceeding from these ideological assumptions, the liberal ruling class intended to make this new building unified Italy's reified symbol. This occurred in particular in those cities which are located in the peninsula's central and northern regions.

The Italian language contributes to providing a sort of ephemeral continuity. At the same time, the word *comune* defines both the medieval free cities and the modern municipalities. Unlike in other languages, the same expression simultaneously designates an institution and a building together with a territorial entity to which they both belong. Such a term shares with French and Spanish the identification with a historical phase linked to the free towns' epic between the 11th and 14th centuries. In order to identify the same period, the city's political conditions are foregrounded, similar to other languages such as English, German, and Dutch, with the equivalent of "free city".

This linguistic digression helps to highlight the important role played by municipal identity in the nation-building process; in Italy, in my opinion, more than elsewhere.[4] Thanks to the term's polyvalent character, first Romanticism and then the united country's protagonists encouraged the idea that the *comune* had never died but had rather simply been 'dormant' during the modern age. This especially happened in the peninsula's urban centres that had possessed the status of "free cities" in the Middle Ages. There, this ancient institu-

---

4   On the occasion of unified Italy's 150 year anniversary, an exhibition and a volume have been consecrated to architecture and its role in the nation building process: *Architettare l'Unità: Architettura e istituzioni nelle città della nuova Italia, 1861–1911*, exhib. cat. Casa dell'Architettura, Rome, ed. Fabio Mangone and Maria Grazia Tampieri (Naples: Paparo, 2011).

tion definitively expired and it was replaced by a senate formed by the representatives of the city's most prominent families. The corresponding building had to be reborn, bearing its old name of City Hall in the sign of a false continuity, and in this way becoming a strong local and national identity symbol.

Refurbished, rebuilt, and reinvented, these ancient cornerstones of a glorious past sometimes became the new municipality's main seat. Being created at the time by the French administration, the municipalities, however, had nothing to do either with the glorious medieval institutions, or with the role that the term (and often the building) played afterwards. Accordingly, architecture attempts to materially connect the past and the present. On this basis, even before the national unification, the town hall became the object of study and above all of design, with the aim of creating a building that, together with the cathedral, might become the symbol of a new-found civic pride.

Two of the oldest medieval free towns, Cremona and Piacenza, located on opposite banks of the river Po, decided to take this route in approximately the same period preceding Italy's unification. Better known is the case of Piacenza, where in the 1850s the so-called *Gotico*'s reconstruction represented one of the most significant examples of a municipal headquarters' re-medievalization. However, the decision which both cities almost simultaneously made produced two different examples of architectural 'restoration'. The work appears so
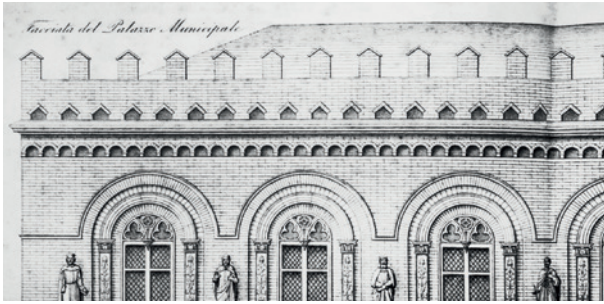
Fig. 2. Cremona, Central town hall, detail of the modified façade by Luigi Voghera, 1832. Luigi Voghera, *Raccolta di disegni dell'architetto Luigi Voghera Cremonese* (Milano: Dallo Stabilimento calcografico di B. Saldini e Comp. 1842), pl. 21.

Fig. 3. Cremona, Central town hall in a perspective view. *Cremona, Le cento città d'Italia* (Milano: Sonzogno 1888).

well disguised that in any guidebook the Piacenza building is without doubt attributed to the Middle Ages.[5] On the Lombard shore, the ancient *comune*'s dilapidated building (fig. 1) was transformed into the new municipal headquarters between 1832 and 1840 according to Luigi Voghera's design (fig. 2/3). But strangely enough, Cremona has another town hall, the so-called *Comune di Cittanova*, which was restored only at century's end (fig. 4/5). The two buildings offer us the opportunity to compare two different ways of dealing with the same problem. In the first case, the architect overlaps the so-called Gothic Revival stylistic pattern that reflects early Victorian flavour on the building surface.[6] In the Cittanova building's case, the result consists in a suite of bare façades in bricks, paced by a series of tripartite windows.

---

5   The story of this 'restoration' has been told in an exhibition shown in Piacenza between December 1985 and March 1986. In order to underline the reinvention's high degree, the author Marco Dezzi Bardeschi gave the significant title of *Gotico, Neo-Gotico, Ipergotico* to his book (Florence: Grafis, 1985). This means they made the building 'more gothic than the real gothic'.

6   The case study is described in: *L'architetto Luigi Voghera e il suo tempo*, ed. Luciano Roncai (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1990), pp. 47–73.

Fig. 4. Cremona, Cittanova town hall, project for the new façade with a tower by Emilio Gussalli, 1899. Municipal Public Records, Cremona.
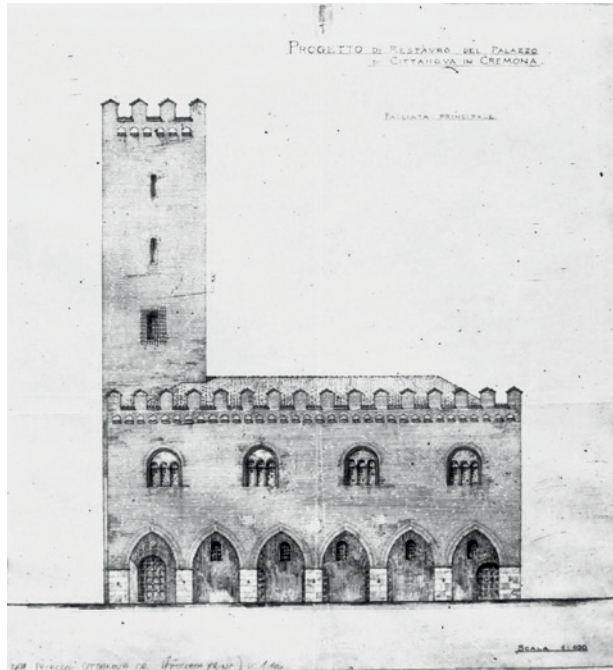
Fig. 5. Cremona, Cittanova Town Hall after its renovation in a postcard of the early 1950s. Historic postcard in author's collection.

This design mirrors the new tendency based on simple references to an unadorned kind of Middle Ages.[7] According to this notion, Lombardy's town hall architecture finds inspiration in great churches such as Sant'Ambrogio in Milan and Sant'Abbondio in Como, which belong to the so-called *comacina* tradition. These are severe forms of Romanesque architecture, first developed in Lake Como's region and soon spread to a wide area including northern Italy, southern France, and even Catalonia. These kinds of constructions were cited by Camillo Boito as models worthy of imitation even if they are in the religious realm.[8] In his opinion, the architectural focus shifted from the ecclesiastical sphere to that of public building between the 13th and 14th centuries, even if the *comuni*'s apogee was then coming to an end and was soon replaced by the hegemony of some emerging families, which led to the principalities phase, the so-called *signorie*.

Saving banks as expressions of local identity

The cases of Cremona and Piacenza corresponded to the early phase of a process that would soon be extended in a capillary way to most of northern Italy and Tuscany's cities. This was done in accordance with that demarcation line proposed by the federalist movement's most radical leaders.

As mentioned, Cremona has two town halls (in different locations) which were restored at different times. The first was refurbished in the 1840s under Gothic revival's influence, whereas the second, called *Palazzo di Cittanova*, was reshaped in the late 1880s. In this second case, an idea of purity determined the architect and builders' actions.

What finally emerged on the main city squares of that area of Italy was a visual proximity of many of the 'new/ancient town halls' to the local cathedral. This is especially true of those examples that were radically restored at the same time and rendered to an equally bare outlook, which was considered original. Both types of buildings had "bare façades of bricks coloured like terra cotta"[9], as Camillo Boito stated in 1880. The one on the secular side, the other in the religious sphere, the two civic monuments were to become expressions of local pride.

Another symbol of a newfound civic pride emerged as local institutions in the 19th century's first half: the local bank headquarters, in particular the savings bank seat, the management of which was in a tight connection with the city council. Only later would these offices emerge as specific buildings separated from the 'new/old town hall'.

---

7   Alessandro Piccinelli, "'Restauro' e città: Il palazzo di Cittanova a Cremona," *L'architetto Luigi Voghera*, ed. Luciano Roncai (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1990), pp. 125–163.

8   See the introduction of Camillo Boito, *Architettura del Medio Evo in Italia: Con una introduzione sullo stile futuro dell'architettura italiana* (Milan: Hoepli, 1880), pp. I–V, here p. IV.

9   Ibid. p. III.

This kind of financial institution originates from the transformation of the so-called *monte*, roughly corresponding to the word 'pawnshop' in English. It was called in different ways such as *monte pio*, *monte pegnatizio*, and *monte di pietà*. Starting from the pawnbroker's traditional activity, the private individual could obtain money on loan by depositing an object of value, part of the agricultural crop, or handicraft products.[10] In this perspective, during and just after the Napoleonic age, savings banks were born with the intention, on the part of both central governments and city councils, to control the capital market hitherto largely managed by individuals, most of whom belonged to the Jewish community.

This new institution's municipal patronage would last for a long time. This concerns both administrative heads' appointment and the investment of profits that contributed almost everywhere to replenish the municipal budget. In the early times, the new financial institutions' headquarters were located within the municipal headquarters. Only later would it be possible to loosen the tight physical link. When many factors dictated it, the detachment had to be as limited as possible.

In February, 1822 the *Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia* was founded as the first of its kind in Italy to be established on the Austrian *Raiffeisen* model.[11] As usual, its headquarters was kept inside the municipal building, strengthening a bond that would last over time. The city council was called upon to appoint the bank's top management as well as to allocate profits to public untility works. In 1837, it was the turn of the *Cassa di Risparmio* in Bologna, still included in the papal domains. A long series of new institutions would follow, all located in central and northern Italy, that is, north of the line mentioned above with reference to the free towns' geography. In the Middle Ages, such a line separated the free cities from the southern urban centres that still were subject to feudal rule. This point unites the local bank and the city council. Both contained a political value with a federalist stamp, an implicit claim to autonomy especially after 1861, when the new unitary state was pursuing a strong centralization process, similar to the French model of state organization.

With Italy's 1861 unification, the need for new public buildings arose, in particular for schools, hospitals, and the central government's peripheral seats. All these types of constructions strongly contributed to the nation-building process. In many cases, it would follow the same architectural path traced in the case of town halls a few decades before. They were intended to show their firm roots in the past, in particular in the Middle Ages, which everyone believed to have been more prosperous than the mediocre contemporary conditions. The ruling class hoped that it would be possible to project the old free cities' fortunes into the local economy's immediate future.

Similar to their municipal sister, the new savings bank buildings tended to find expression in large red brick surfaces, often put in chromatic contrast with the white stone used as mold-

---

10 For the Italian context, the reference book is: Luigi De Rosa, *Storia delle casse di risparmio e della loro associazione 1822–1950* (Bari/Rome: Laterza, 2002).

11 For the Venice case: Giorgio Crovato, *Il patrimonio CARIVE: L'archivio storico e il patrimonio della Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia* (Venice: Cassa di risparmio di Venezia, 2012).

ings along the edges, around portals, and on arches in general. In the peninsula's northern and central areas, stone inserts also dominate the façades of other types of public buildings, including barracks, hospitals, cemeteries, factories, and utilitarian buildings. All became the ideal field to apply a simple kind of architecture which Camillo Boito defined as "il nuovo stile nazionale"[12].

Although sharing the same fascination for the Middle Ages, this kind of architectural expression appears far removed from the Gothic revival notion as it was shaped in neo-medievalism's initial phase, under the influence of English Romanticism. The two Cremona town halls' façades represent a telling sample of the different ways of dealing with the Medieval reminiscences. Later on, such building projects tended to be enriched with references to presumed local tradition models, which were taken up and reinterpreted. Among these were Norman-Arab references in Sicily, Tuscan-Gothic in central Italy, and Venetian-Byzantine in the north-eastern regions.[13] Late 15th century or Early Renaissance stylistic patterns were also inserted in this vast repertoire of stylistic schemes.

At that time, new buildings started to appear in the field of banking, all driven by a series of new standards in order to define a clear separation from the *monti* and other seats of pawnbroking activities.[14] At the same time, after 1861, other factors like business growth contributed to establish a statutory autonomy that would be sanctioned by the banking law of 1888. As a consequence, a number of dedicated buildings was created separately from the former mother institutions such as the municipal house and pawnbroker offices.

Even more than other building types, local banks seem to exhibit a respective region's characteristics. Here, then, it was no longer a question of re-purposing the simple and "bare façades of bricks coloured like terra cotta" used on many town hall façades. Rather, it was a matter of providing for a richer type of ornamentation. This Historicist wave particularly affected the savings banks of those cities that had been free municipalities in the Middle Ages. Ultimately, any bank headquarters must represent the result of a process of mediation between the present and the past, between the organizational machine's functional needs and the reference to local history that should be expressed in the forms considered most typical.

In the Venetian provinces, for example, what emerges is the need to connect the most significant new buildings with the Serenissima's symbols. Previously, the architecture of the *Procuratie nuove*, the new offices on St Mark's Square, would reflect a character that struck a balance between the local princedoms' identities and affirmation of the Venetian Republic. In this case, there is a correspondence between political transition and stylistic vocabulary, both referring to the 15th century, in the passage between late Gothic and Early Renaissance. Finally, such new/old symbolic identity could not be located halfway between the evocation

---

12 See Boito, *Architettura*, p. II.

13 Such a differentiation of regional schools roughly corresponds to the chapter division of Boito's book *Architettura del Medio Evo in Italia:* Lombard architecture, Sicilian Art (or Norman-Arabic), Roman medieval architecture, Tuscan Gothic, and finally Venetian-Byzantine architecture.

14 The Giolitti Act of 1888 introduced a legal definition of savings bank which would be subject to the control of the central state, through the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce.

of local events and the Venetian Republic's triumph. What finally took shape in Veneto was a sort of architectural *koiné* linked to the Serenissima and its most famous symbols such as the Lion of Saint Mark. Becoming the entire community's logo, the winged lion corresponds to all local offices which bear the name of *Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia*.

References to regional models were largely used in bank headquarters designs, in particular in those centres situated (once again) above the Viterbo-Ascoli Piceno line. In contrast to the town hall municipal institution, however, the savings banks had to be placed in the urban center without topographical references to places or to historically consecrated sites.

Milan and other local responses to new needs

In the decade following Italy's unification, Milan and Bologna were among the first cities called upon to deal with the problem of new bank headquarters. They had to satisfy the need for a new representation, together with the necessity of housing new functions and providing suitable spaces. In the Lombard capital's case, the project was laid out by Giuseppe Balzaretti in 1867.[15] It took on the name of *Ca' de Sass* (literally "stones' house") after the large raw-cut stones that characterize the façades.

In Bologna, the local bank's foundation goes back to 1837. The headquarters building, however, could not be realized some thirty years later with Giuseppe Mengoni's project for the so-called *Palazzo di Residenza* (the "residence building") erected between 1868 and 1877.[16] In the same period, the architect was active in Milan for the design and construction of both the *Duomo*'s new square and of the imposing *Galleria*, the "Big Arcade", built in cast-iron and glass, and opened in 1877 (fig. 6). In Bologna, the project by Mengoni was part of an ambitious plan to transform the area immediately south of the main square. As the core of the city's merchants' and episcopal power, this space had traditionally represented the urban heart in the era of the free city. On all of the quadrangular building's façades, the architectural option refers to the ending times of the Bentivoglio family's rule, the last chapter before the city fell into the Papal States' hands.

Founded in 1823, the *Cassa di Risparmio di Milano* carried out its activity for 48 years in a single room in *Palazzo dei Giureconsulti*.[17] This building was located on *Piazza dei Mercanti* (Merchants' Square), the medieval free city's heart, which was thus regarded the right place

---

15 On the life and work of Balzaretti or Balzaretto: Paolo Mezzanotte, "Balzaretti Giuseppe", *Dizionario biografico degli italiani,* V (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1963), pp. 636–637.

16 On this bank's early story: Angelo Varni, "La Cassa di Risparmio dalle origini alla Prima guerra mondiale," *Storia di Bologna*, IV/1, ed. Renato Zangheri (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2010), pp. 805–848. The building project's short description can be found in: Giancarlo Bernabei, Giuliano Gresleri, and Stefano Zagnoni, *Bologna moderna 1860–1980* (Bologna: Patron, 1984), pp. 34–35.

17 On the Milanese Cassa's history after the Italian unification: Giuseppe Speroni, "La Cassa di Risparmio," *Storia di Milano: Nell'Unità Italiana 1859–1900*, ed. Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano (Milano: Istituto dell' Enciclopedia Treccani, 1962), pp. 907–954. It corresponds to the 15th volume of: *Storia di Milano*,
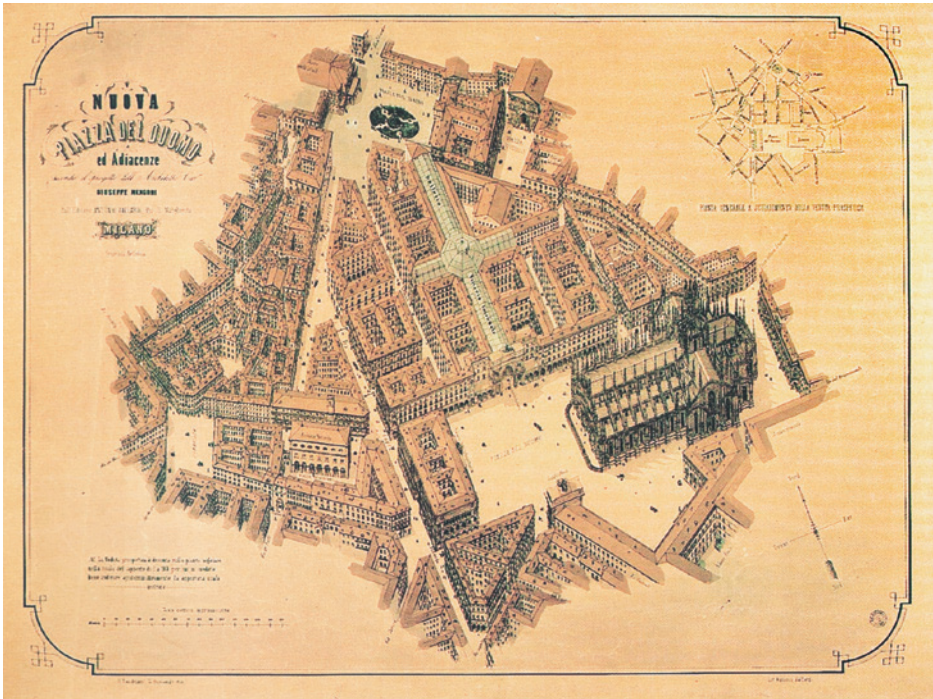
Fig. 6. Milan, *La nuova Piazza del Duomo e adiacenze*, perspective plan by Gaetano Landriani from 1865 (printed by Vallardi publishers in 1875). In the middle of the triangle formed by the three new squares (*piazza Cordusio* on the left, *piazza della Scala* at the top, and *piazza del Duomo* on the right) is the grand 'Galleria', opened in 1876.

to underline the continuity with the glorious tradition of the Middle Ages. Later, such good intentions had to be left aside, mostly for functional reasons but also to affirm the city's status as Lombardy's regional capital.

In the meantime, both the volume of business and fields of expertise were growing in equal measure. A few decades after its foundation, the *Cassa*'s offices were already forced to abandon the narrow office in *Piazza dei Mercanti* in 1852 and move to a new location in a side street of the *Corsia dei Servi* (now *Corso Vittorio*). But it did not stop there. On the basis of conspicuous growth and turnover, the company wanted to express the supremacy it had attained in the financial field. This explains the large and almost unusual size of the new headquarters designed by the architect Balzaretti.

After the Italian unification, the *Cassa* decided to move to the *Monte di Pietà* district, to the former site of the ancient *Santa Maria di Aurona* monastery. During the 18th century, such religious complexes were transformed into the so-called *Luoghi pii*, literally the Pious

---

I–XVIII, 1953–1962. For the building's construction: Alberto Cantalupi, "Il Palazzo della Cassa di Risparmio di Milano," *Il Politecnico: Giornale dell'Ingegnere, Architetto civile e industriale* 38 (1890), pp. 532–560.

Fig. 7. Milan, *Ca' de Sass*, the new headquarters of the *Cassa di Risparmio* in a photo taken around 1890. Archives of the Cassa di Risparmio, Milan.
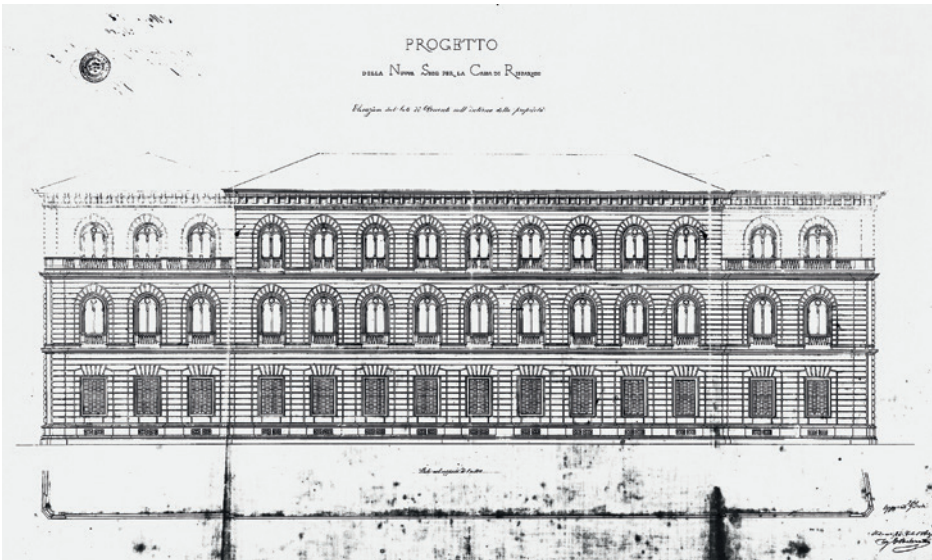
Fig. 8. Milan, *Ca' de Sass*, main façade by Giuseppe Balzaretti, 1867. Archives of the Cassa di Risparmio, Milan.

Places, which were associated with charitable institutions. The project was designed by the Giuseppe Piermarini, the prominent architect of the opera *La Scala*. Later, in both the Napoleonic and the Austrian periods, the quadrilateral complex housed the military engineers' headquarters.[18] The property corresponding to the ancient monastery was large enough for building without any particular constraints and with a large capacity of responding to the *Cassa*'s functional needs. Thanks to a generous budget provision, the building was to take shape in a relatively short period of time, between 1869 and 1871, with many innovative technical solutions (fig. 7/8). Roughly shaped freestones cover all the façades, providing the entire construction rusticated features. Once completed, the large building showed a continuous front developed homogeneously for the entire extension of the four sides and three floors above ground.[19] The façade scheme ultimately goes back to such prominent rustication examples as the *Palazzo dei Diamanti* in Ferrara and the Venetian *Ca' del Duca*. Despite the geographical distance, both buildings lead back to the Milanese lordship's history.

Even before the Milanese banks' new headquarters were inaugurated, new branches were opened in Lombardy's major cities. Due to the region's increasing prosperity, in the span of only two years (1863–64), the number of local branches grew from 29 to 39, rising to 58 in 1870.[20] In the decade following Italy's unification, the *Cassa di Risparmio* thus managed to spread to all the major regional centres, also expanding into the neighbouring Novara province. Later on, despite its local and regional range of activity, its growth rate intensified, placing the Milanese *Cassa di Risparmio* among the country's major banks.

This was a reflection of Lombardy's driving role in the national economy. In turn, these kinds of ambitions shed light on the unusual size of the *Cassa*'s new headquarters, as it was conceived from the very beginning by the architect in charge. At the same time, it also explains the particular emphasis put on the main building's architectural features.

Together with other post-unification period achievements, *Ca' de Sass* seems to concretize into brick and stones the aspirations of a rising urban centre such as Milan, which intended to acquire the leading city role. Above all stands the new *Galleria*, which was said to materialize the city's ambition to become the "capitale morale", new Italy's functional capital in contrast to Rome, the "capitale politica"[21]. As the leader in the national field of technical progress, Milan summarizes this aspiration's terms, already cherished from the Unification's early days.

Over the course of a few decades, these aspirations were to be fulfilled completely in some fields, and only partially (or not at all) in others. While on the one hand, in the industrial field, Milan was to share its primacy with Turin and Genoa, it would dominate in publishing and the economic-financial sphere, on the other hand.

---

18 For a complete description of the area before the bank headquarters' arrival: Paolo Mezzanotte and Giacomo Bascapé, *Milano nell'arte e nella storia* (Milan-Rome: Bestetti, 1968), p. 437.

19 For a full description of the building's project and construction: Guido Zucconi, *Ca' de Sass: Milan* (Milan: Terra Ferma/Intesa Sanpaolo, 2010), pp. 7–43.

20 Speroni, "La Cassa di Risparmio," p. 962.

21 Giovanna Rosa, *Il mito della capitale morale* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1982).

Concerning the choice of its location, the *Ca' de Sass* marks a clear break with what was once the medieval community's epicentre, the *Piazza dei Mercanti*, where there was not enough room for a building to be loaded with new functions (cf. fig. 6). Nor could the available space suit a dominant institution's necessary expansion, such as the municipality. Moreover, in this circumstance, what prevailed is the desire to make a connection with the future rather than the past, in particular with the new covered arcade named after King Vittorio Emanuele II and opened in 1876.[22]

Besides celebrating the new nation, this great monument was to evoke technical and commercial progress. In linking the two most representative places, the new covered axis ended up encouraging great changes in the city centre's topography (fig. 6). On one end of the *Galleria* stood the *Duomo*'s renewed stalls and on the other was the square created in front of the *Teatro alla Scala*, the 18th-century opera house, with the new municipal headquarters in *Palazzo Marino*. Originally built in the 16th century, it was opened in 1892 after being transformed and enlarged over the course of twenty years. This represented one of the most sensational displacement cases to affect a civic institution.

Finally, there is the case of the new *Piazza Cordusio*, located a short distance from the ancient *Piazza dei Mercanti*, where the stock exchange and the central post office were erected during the 1880s and 1890s. Many banking and insurance headquarters gathered around this new pole. As a result, many offices were repositioned to this emerging business centre's sides and margins.

In this context, the *Cassa di Risparmio*'s location can be considered part of this repositioning process that took place in the area around and between the city's most representative poles: the *Duomo* and the *Scala* with the addition of *Cordusio*, but to the exclusion of the *Piazza dei Mercanti*. In the small triangle shaped by these three squares were located all the major institutions related to religious, political-administrative, and commercial power of the newly created kingdom's so-called *capitale morale*.

From a historical topographic point of view, the Milanese case therefore differs from that of other Italian cities. Not only the new Town Hall and *Ca' de Sass*, but almost the totality of the most representative institutions mark a clear discontinuity with what was once considered the city's bulk in medieval and modern times.

---

22 Ornella Selvafolta, "Il progetto e la costruzione della Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II: 'one of the most magnificent buildings in Europe', *La Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II di Milano: Progetto, costruzione, restauri,* ed. Paolo Gasparoli, Angelo Manenti, Maurizio Pecile, and Ornella Selvafolta (Milan: Skira, 2016), pp. 19–50, accessed May 17, 2022, https://www.academia.edu/30643649.

The case of Venice

With Milan, Venice shares the primacy of having hosted the first savings bank[23] and a similar process of repositioning the civic administration's offices. In the urban context, the topography of power had a different physiognomy than that of the major free medieval communities. In the Serenissima's former capital, the institutions had traditionally been grouped around two distinct poles: on one side the *Piazza San Marco* with the *Palazzo Ducale*, the seat of the Doge and the Senate, and on the other the Rialto area where the various magistracies found their place. Strongly intertwined with the adjacent market, this latter space could constitute a complex similar to a free Italian city's representative nucleus. In the case of Venice, however, there was no prominent building that could be taken as a symbol of an alleged continuity with the past.

Concerning the municipality, founded as a new institution by Napoleon in 1797, which of the two poles could therefore lend itself as host? Initially, in the name of a Jacobin conception of democracy, the French administration wanted to place the municipal body in the large halls of the Doge's Palace, as if to emphasize this new institution's centrality within the city. Later, in 1826, the municipal council moved into *Palazzo Farsetti* not far from Rialto Bridge. In the meantime, the savings bank had nowhere else to be housed but in the same building as the magistrate's office. However, it was understood that such an arrangement should be considered provisional, due to the limited space and above all due to the lack of a suitable venue for meetings. As a result, the bank did not have its own headquarters until 1853, when discussions began about a possible new location due to the need for independent statutes.

From the 1870s onwards, and with further legally sanctioned allocations, the new banking headquarters problem could no longer be postponed. For the first time, the idea of creating a dedicated building arose, even if it should remain close to the municipal house. However, it took some time before this idea could take shape, and indeed the bank's new headquarters was not to be established and opened to the public until 1883 – 60 years after its foundation.

Among the reasons that slowed down construction was perhaps the uncertainty regarding the city council's choice with respect to its own expansion needs: should the building be placed along the Grand Canal (as it would later happen with a nearby building's purchase) or should it be extended towards the historic *Campo San Luca*? In accordance with this second option, the municipality would have acquired the buildings between the *Palazzo* (or *Ca'*) *Farsetti* and the *campo* itself. In this case, the council hall should have been built in the space which demolition would have freed. On this new side, we might suppose that both the main entrance and the main façade should have found their place.

In this particular perspective, an intermediate pole would have been created between Rialto and San Marco. It would have been characterized by local institutions' presence, albeit

---

23 On the Venetian *Cassa*'s beginning, and the broader context, see Giorgio Roverato, *Due secoli di banca in Veneto 1822–2007* (Venice: Marsilio, 2015).

Fig. 9. Venice, site of the later *Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia* (framed in the centre of the map) with the site of the new town hall (highlighted in dark grey; Paganuzzi's Plan of Venice, 1829 edition).

of different weight, such as the city hall and the local bank's headquarters. Nevertheless, the *Cassa di Risparmio* actually found its new office in a strategic location between the historic *Campo San Luca* and a new *campo* named after Daniele Manin (fig. 9), the hero of the 1848 Revolution. A statue dedicated to him was erected on the new square, which was created by a series of painful demolitions. The banking headquarters became an important point along the new path that was slowly created after 1855 with the Accademia Bridge's opening. Between this new urban landmark and the Rialto area, the sequence of old and new squares was linked by the means of demolitions and street widening. Although it is not a spectacular street that would be underlined by alignments and straight lines, but rather an uncertain line continually 'broken' by bends and angles, it nevertheless acquired considerable significance on both a functional and symbolic level. On the one hand, the thoroughfare constituted a new mobility factor, on the other hand, it offers a sequence of symbolic elements

Fig. 10. Venice, main façade of the new headquarters of the *Cassa di Risparmio* in a photo taken around 1890. Archives of the Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia.

Fig. 11. Venice, main façade of the new headquarter of the *Cassa di Risparmio* in a photo taken around 1900. Archives of the Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia.

evoking Venice's political and economic awakening during the Risorgimento. In addition to the *campo* dedicated to Manin, each square is dedicated to a personality who played an important role in the national consciousness's emergence. Proceeding from the *Ponte dell'Accademia*, which was erected in 1855, we first find the marble effigy of Nicolò Tomaseo, the first Italian dictionary's author. On *Campo Sant'Angelo* stood the monument to Pietro Paleocapa, an engineer linked to the opening of both the Frèjus Tunnel and the Suez Canal, two fundamental infrastructures for Venice's commercial and maritime revitalization.[24]

Further on, between the newly created *Campo Manin* and the renovated *Campo San Luca*, there is the new bank headquarters, the economic awakening's materialized symbol (fig. 10/11). In drawing its façades, the engineer Trevisanato opted for an Early Renaissance model's dull replica, the characteristic motif of which is a mullioned window with a round

---

24 Later Paleocapa, whose monument would later be removed and relocated near the car terminal at the city's entrance, played an important role as Minister of the Savoy Kingdom and was considered one of the major experts in hydraulics.
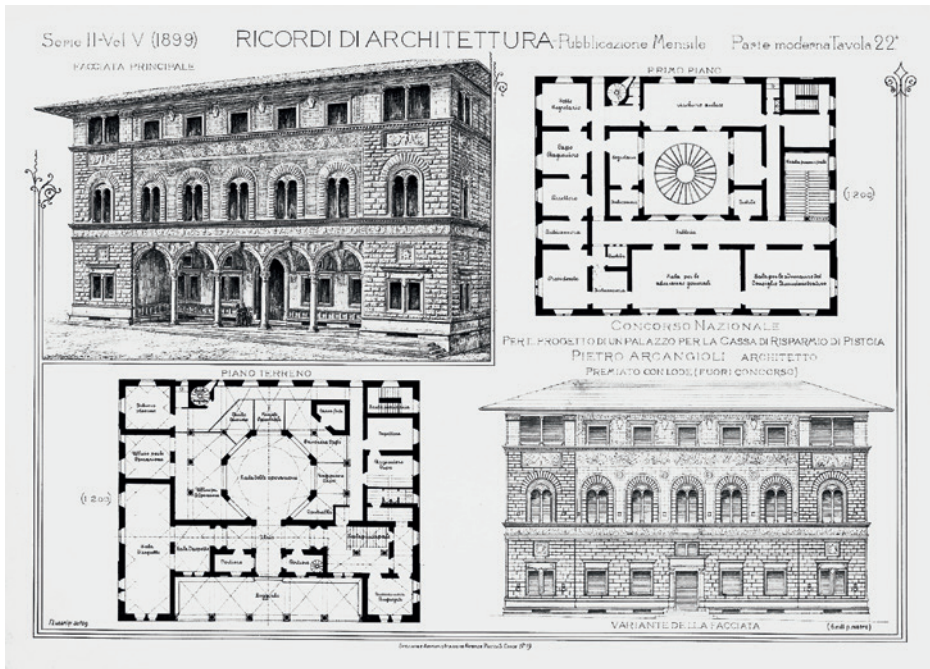
Fig. 12. Pistoia, one of the winning projects (by Pietro Arcangeli) for the 1899 national competition for the local office building of the *Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze*. Ricordi di Architettura, 1899.

arch.[25] Between these paired windows is a series of panels with embossed decorations. Unlike the Milanese sister bank, the general tone here is sober and acts as an exhortation to thriftiness.

Finally, after the *Cassa di Risparmio*, this sort of *promenade patriotique* ends near Rialto, at the point where the 1848 Revolution's commemorative column stands. But let us turn once more to the new bank building's project.

As usual in that period's bank building projects, the central space is dedicated to the customers while the side parts are reserved for employees and management. Due to a considerable growth in the volume of business, the problem of expanding the headquarters soon arose. As early as 1906, an addition was designed and built in stylistically different forms from the main building. What emerged was the new wing located along the secondary front towards *Campo San Luca*. Perhaps even more than in other contexts, the Venetian case speaks of the new banking headquarters' fundamental role in redefining the new urban topography within the city's most representative part. Together with the town hall, the savings bank plays a sym-

---

25 Plans, drawings, and papers related to the bulding no longer exist. A short description is available on the first twelve pages of *Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia: La nuova sede* (Venice: Cassa di Risparmio di Venezia, 1975).

bolic role replacing the ancient religious cornerstones with a secular society's new tangible expressions devoted to the cult of technical and commercial progress.

Outside of Veneto and Lombardy, many other banking offices were built in the 19th century's last twenty years, in particular in Emilia and in Tuscany. In Tuscany, the one in Volterra, a new building completely modelled on Tuscan town palaces of the Middle Ages, dates back to 1893. In the case of the *Cassa di Risparmio di Pistoia* (fig. 12), built in 1898 as an offshoot of the Florentine parent institution, the new headquarters were conceived as a faithful reproduction of the Florentine *Palazzo Strozzi*.

If we now think back to the *Cassa di Risparmio*'s Milanese headquarters, we can notice that Tuscan is spoken here as well, albeit with strong Lombard and Venetian inflections. It is no coincidence that such a reference seems to be indeed connected to the legacy of the new nation's founding fathers. On this purpose, what the bank's architecture implies directly refers to the language of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

Frank Rochow (Cottbus)

Theophil von Hansen's House of Invalids in Ľviv: The quest for an appropriate style

Houses for disabled veterans are a very particular kind of public architecture. The most famous one is probably the *Hôtel des Invalides* in Paris, an architectural ensemble of its own quality in terms of grandness and size. Other countries followed the French example and also created similar institutions with distinct architectures. The Habsburg Monarchy was no exception. The Danube Monarchy eventually established a number of *Invalidenhäuser* in the 18th and 19th centuries, of which some were rather unremarkable buildings while others constituted complexes specially designed for this purpose and, thus, received a distinct design just as their predecessor. The House of Invalids – in translation of the German word and according to its French origin – in Ľviv (Lwów, Lemberg), planned and erected in the 1850s, will be this paper's focus.

   This particular building's relevance derives from several angles. First, it is in fact an outstanding building complex that deserves appreciation beyond a mere recognition of its dimension. Serving as a great representational architecture example that masterfully brought together form, function, and appearance while embodying the contemporary understanding of societal structures, this House also acquired a central role in neo-absolutist Ľviv's urban fabric.[1] Second, few scholars have paid attention to this project, which was designed by Theophil (von) Hansen, the famous architect of the Vienna Arsenal complex's Armoury Museum and later buildings of the Vienna *Ringstrasse*.[2] Hence, looking at Ľviv's House of Invalids will provide us with new insights into Hansen's work at a crucial moment in his career. Third, this re-assessment and scrutiny is possible because new archival sources have been found. Thus, this paper also calls for a wider look when searching for sources and hopes to provide some impulses of how this could be done. Fourth, the Ľviv House of Invalids provides an interesting and insightful example of cooperation between different state and non-state actors in the so-called neo-absolutist era.[3] The study of this institution and its building's planning history

---

1   One of the best works on 19th century Ľviv's urban space is still Markian Prokopovych, *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, public space, and politics in the Galician capital, 1772–1914* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009). Unfortunately, military projects like the citadel and the House of Invalids receive little attention in this work.

2   A quite extensive enumeration and explanation of his works is given by George Niemann and Ferdinand von Feldegg, *Theophilos Hansen und seine Werke* (Vienna: Anton Schroll und Co., 1893).

3   On the discussion about this epoch's specific 'neo-absolutist' features, see *Der österreichische Neoabsolutismus als Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsproblem: Diskussionen über einen strittigen Epochenbegriff,* ed. Harm-Hinrich Brandt (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2014).

will further provide rich material to re-assess transfer narratives in architecture, agency of local institutions vis-á-vis central state authorities, questions of construction history, and many more. Most of these points can only be mentioned and hinted at, since it would exceed this paper's scope to tackle all these dimensions sufficiently.[4]

I will start my analysis with a brief overview of the history of Habsburg houses for invalids up to the moment when the one in Ľviv was erected. The second part will deal with the Ľviv House of Invalids's planning history. This is followed by scrutiny of its architecture with its underlying concepts and ideas as elaborated by the architect. Subsequently, this project's role will be positioned within Hansen's œuvre.

A brief history of the Habsburg houses of invalids

In reference to Jean-Pierre Bois, Achim Hölter divides the history of care for invalids into four periods.[5] Among them lie the 17th and 18th century absolutist monarchies with their attempt to take care of the invalids in central institutions. The first and until today best known of these establishments was created in Paris under Louis XIV (fig. 1).[6] The architects of the *Hôtel des Invalides*, Libéral Bruant and Jules Hardouin-Mansart, took the Spanish *Escorial's*[7] general outlay as basis for their project.[8] Hence, it is neither a surprise nor a coincidence that the *Hôtel's* design expresses a monastic scheme with its hierarchical order and seclusion from the outside. This system remained instructive during the following decades.

The reasons to establish this kind of institution in a large architectural complex were manifold, but can be grouped in two lines of argumentation. The first draws on a sense of gratefulness of the state (or its ruler) towards the soldiers who risked their lives for 'higher' interests. The second line derives from contemporary understandings of socio-political rest. Thus, it could not be in the interest of the ruler or other societal actors to release irrevocably injured soldiers from the army without any organized care structures. Not only that this group of people was perceived as financial burden and, therefore, could constitute a real threat to communal peace; it further should not be forgotten that these men were trained at weapons.

---

4   This enumeration, therefore, should mainly illustrate how rich the material in fact is. It would even provide a solid base to analyze aspects of property rights implementation in the middle of the 19th century and thus the territorial state's limitations at a crucial moment of the European state building process.

5   See Achim Hölter, *Die Invaliden: Die vergessene Geschichte der Kriegskrüppel in der europäischen Literatur bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer, 1995), p. 105.

6   A thorough overview of different architectural, institutional, and European aspects of the Parisian House of Invalids is provided in the volume *Les Invalides: Trois siècles d'histoire* (Paris: Musée de l'Armée, 1974).

7   On the *Escorial's* architectural history, see George Kubler, *Building the Escorial* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982). A more recent account with focus on the building's initiator is provided by: Henry Kamen, *The Escorial: Art and power in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

8   On this and other potential models, see Dieter Jetter, *Das europäische Hospital: Von der Spätantike bis 1800* (Cologne: DuMont, 1986), p. 162. See also Hölter, *Invaliden*, p. 114 and Louis Hautecœur "L'architecture," in *Les Invalides*, pp. 15–40, here p. 20.
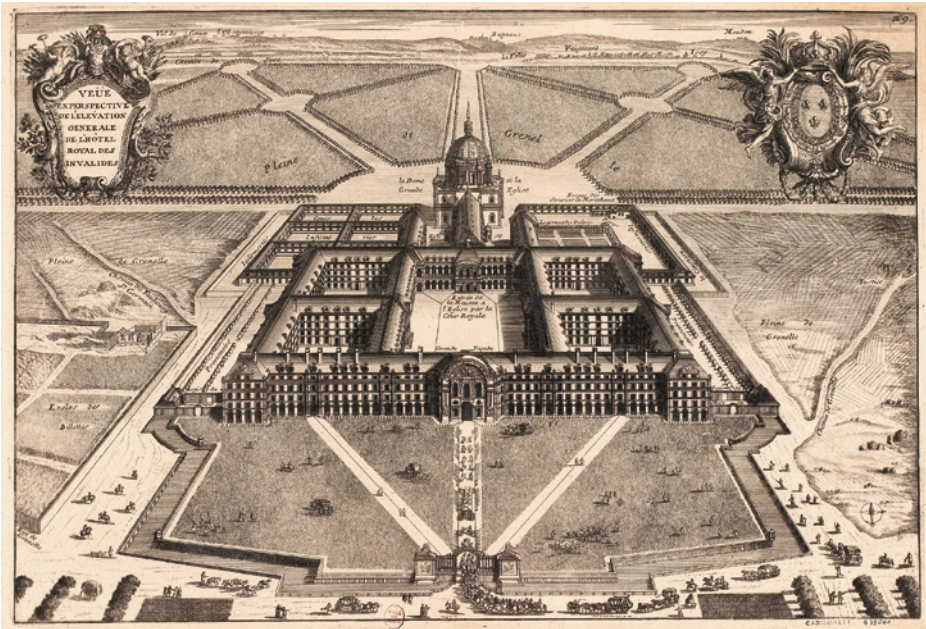
Fig. 1. Hôtel des Invalides in Paris in print by Nicolas de Fer, *Veüe en perspective de l'élévation generale de l'hôtel royal des invalides*, before 1720. Musée Carnavalet, Inv. G.39061.

Their expertise could challenge the state's monopoly on the legitimate exercise of violence. Hence, it was at least in the state and absolutist ruler's interest to keep the former executers of state power under surveillance and in immediate dependency on the state, personified by the absolutist ruler.[9] This first institution's underlying logic predestined it to acquire a major role in royal power's representation.[10] The *Hôtel*'s scale alone manifested the monarch's will to improve the situation of those who risked their lives for the state. The building complex is, thus, a reification of absolutist rule's social ambition to transfer social burdens from families, cities, churches, and communes to the central state. It was, further, only consequent that this complex was erected near the kingdom's political center as an additional dimension of state concern and activity.

The *Hôtel*'s ideological and architectural complex was compelling. Therefore, it does not surprise that this model found numerous imitations all over Europe in the following decades and centuries.[11] This idea's proliferation was further enhanced by the ensuing changing European theatres of war up until the 19th century. In total, Hans Otto Pelser identified two waves of these houses of invalids' establishment in Europe: the first one between 1670 and

---

9 See Hölter, *Invaliden*, p. 114.

10 See Jetter, *Hospital*, p. 162.

11 The first creations followed in England and Russia. See Hölter, *Invaliden*, p. 176; Bernard Sevestre, "Un modèle pour l'Europe," in *Les Invalides*, pp. 337–350, here p. 341.

Fig. 2. House of Invalids, Vienna, in detail of engraving by Johann Andreas Ziegler, *Ansicht des neuen Invali-den-Hauses am anfang der Landstrasse / Vue de la nouvelle Maison des Invalides à l'entre du Landstrass*, 1792. Wien Museum, Inv. 64339.

1750 and the second between 1800 and 1825.[12] These clusters clearly express the connection between wars and the need to find solutions for challenges that came together with growing armies and rising firepower. Yet, having this causal connection so present obscures to some extent these institutions' representational function, which is the dimension that provides the basis for understanding the L'viv House of Invalids. Built long after the second phase, this institution instead illustrates the connection primarily to a certain political system rather than to a particular period without negating the link to wars.

The houses of invalids' idea was introduced in the Habsburg Monarchy already in the late 17th century. Between 1697 and 1700, the Vienna poor house in the suburban *Alser Straße* was partially used for invalids.[13] Since this area was traditionally used for the care of sick peo-

---

12 See Hans Otto Pelser, *Das Invalidenhaus als Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Kriegsopferversorgung* (PhD diss., University of Freiburg, 1976), pp. 4–5.

13 See Walter Wagner, "Die k. (u.) k. Armee: Gliederung und Aufgabenstellung," *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918, V: Die bewaffnete Macht*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1987), pp. 142–633, here p. 306. Pelser highlights that the entire building project was, right from the beginning, conceived as a house of invalids. See Pelser, *Invalidenhaus*, p. 140. The erected complex served

ple, the building's location itself supports the assumption that invalids' care was only a secondary purpose.[14] Although it must remain unclear what portion of the entire complex was used for accommodating invalids, this first example clearly shows that a distinction between the institution, embodying a functional dimension, and the building's representational dimension must be undertaken. Without doubt, it can be assumed that this kind of caretaking institution's mere establishment was accounted as prestigious.

Yet, this first Habsburg house of invalids does not serve as an example that made use of the entire representational potential these institutions provided.[15] Only under Joseph II was a more representational building chosen to accommodate this institute. A former summer palace, already used since the 1720s as an army shelter, served as the new Vienna House of Invalids from 1783 onwards. At the end of the 18th century, some adaptations were made at the building, which resulted in further modifications from 1816 to 1818 (fig. 2). Only gradually could this building acquire a representational façade (towards the *Landstraße*), which was not at all comparable to the *Hôtel* in Paris. Consequently, the way the Vienna building was situated, with the *Glacis* separating it from the inner city, lagged behind its Paris predecessor. Fig. 2 illustrates that the building's environment was not all used to buttress its visibility. In sum, it can be concluded that the intention concerning the Vienna House of Invalids was never to represent the monarchy and its army's grandness and glory to the extent pursued in the French capital, or that at least the political will was not persistent enough to allocate the necessary resources.

This was somehow different at the monarchy's second house of invalids, which was erected in Pest (today part of Budapest, Hungary).[16] Although the institution had already been founded in 1692,[17] the construction of a building especially conceived for this purpose be-

---

14   See Hellmut Lorenz "Der josephinische Bautenkomplex: Allgemeines Krankenhaus, Garnisonsspital, Narrenturm und Josephinum," in *Stätten des Wissens: Die Universität Wien entlang ihrer Bauten 1365 - 2015*, ed. Julia Rüdiger, Dieter Schweizer (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2015), pp. 101–111, here p. 101; Helmut Wyklicky, *200 Jahre Allgemeines Krankenhaus* (Vienna: Facultas, 1984), p. 7; Herbert Nikitsch "Das Grossarmenhaus und seine Klientel: Zur historischen Topographie des Campus-Areals," in *Universität und Stadt: Campus Altes AKH Wien*, ed. Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber (Weitra: Bibliothek der Provinz, 2017), pp. 30–48, here p. 36.

as nucleus for the later founded Viennese General Hospital. See Paul Pfeiffer, *Das Allgemeine Krankenhaus in Wien von 1784: Vor dem Hintergrund der Geschichte des Hospitalwesens und der theresianisch-josephinischen Gesundheits- und Fürsorgepolitik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin/Münster: LIT, 2012), p. 59–60.

15   An explanation for this unused potential can be found in the Habsburg state's lack of financial resources at that time and this first institution's provisional character. See Pelser, *Invalidenhaus*, p. 140–141.

16   Although alterations and the demolition of a large part of the complex have changed the ensemble's character, a sense of the general idea can still be grasped when looking at the remains. These are located near the Szervita Square along the streets Bárczy István and Városház. A collection of images from different times is available via http://egykor.hu/budapest-v--kerulet/invalidusok-haza-karoly-kaszarnya/1917# (last access: 03.03.2022). An analysis of the institution's general organization is provided in: József Kiss, *A pesti Invalidus Ház jászkunsági földesurasága, 1731–1745* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992).

17   See Hölter, *Invaliden*, p. 118.

gan only in 1716[18] and was further delayed by disputes over the founding document[19], so that it could not be finished before 1727.[20] It was designed by Anton Erhard Martinelli, a renowned architect of the time.[21] He managed to develop an architectural complex that was in many respects comparable to the Paris model. The dimensions of the Budapest House of Invalids alone indicate its role in the emperor's representation. More than a hundred years later the Baroque building was still praised for its beautiful façade, its "noble soberness in its ratio", and the "tasteful decoration of its portals". Four courtyards structured the complex, which the author of those words, Joseph Oehlinger, called a palace. According to his opinion, this House of Invalids occupied the first place among Pest's most magnificent buildings in the 1820s.[22] Only its position within the urban environment was pitied because the narrow streets did not allow the beholder to grasp the entire building.[23] When Oehlinger wrote these words, the institution had long been moved to Tyrnau (Trnava, in today's Slovakia). Here, an old Jesuit college served as main building for invalids' accommodation since 1783.[24] The idea for the houses of invalids taken from the monastic orders thus returned to its origin.

This first wave's most ambitious project was constituted by an envisioned house of invalids near Prague (fig. 3). Here, Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer had planned a gigantic complex with nine courtyards around a central church that would host up to 4,000 invalids.[25] This project was not only meant to imitate the French model but to overtrump it. However, this endeavor failed because financial resources were too limited to realize it in its entirety. In sum, only

---

18 See Wagner, *Armee*, 306.

19 See Bernd Wunder, "Die Institutionalisierung der Invaliden-, Alters- und Hinterbliebenenversorgung der Staatsbediensteten in Österreich (1748–1790)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 92 (1984), pp. 342–406, here p. 345.

20 See Katalin Kapronczay, "Krankenhäuser im Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Communicationes de historia artis medicinae* 198/199 (2007), pp. 83–89, here p. 87.

21 He also contributed to Vienna's Charles Church *(Karlskirche)*. See *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich,* XVII (Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1867), p. 22. For Martinelli's work in general see Martin Šanda*, Anton Erhard Martinelli (1684–1747): Vídeňský architekt ve schwarzenberských službách* (České Budějovice: Národní památkový ústav, 2020).

22 On an 1838 map the building's dominance is still visible. See *Plan der Ueberschwemmung von Ofen und Pesth bei dem Eisgang des höchsten Wasserstandes vom 15ten auf den 16ten März 1838 zum Besten der durch die Ueberschwemmung Verunglückten*, https://mapy.geogr.muni.cz/mr.html?id=714267 (accessed May 11, 2021). The building is called "*Inval[iden].-Palais*" between "*Landstrasse*" and "*Servit[en] Platz*".

23 Joseph Oehlinger, *Europäisches Panorama, oder Abbildung und Beschreibung merkwürdiger Haupt- und Residenz-Städte, wichtiger Handelsplätze und anderer berühmter Orte in Europa*, I (Vienna/Prague: Carl Haas, 1822), pp. 443–444.

24 See Wagner, *Armee*, p. 306; Franz Raffelsberger, *Allgemeines geographisch-statistisches Lexikon aller österreichischen Staaten*, VI (Vienna: Typo-geografische Kunstanstalt, 1854) p. 401. In Franz Müller, *Die kaiserl. königl. österreichische Armee seit Errichtung der stehenden Kriegsheere bis auf die neueste Zeit*, II (Prague: Gottlieb Haase Söhne, 1845), p. 346 the transfer to Trnava is dated 1842. The before mentioned map from 1838, on which the building's use is still indicated for the accommodation of invalids, confirms the later date.

25 See Axel Karenberg, "Hospitäler in Prag vom Hochmittelalter bis zur Aufklärung (1135–1800)," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 79/1 (1995), pp. 73–100, here p. 95.
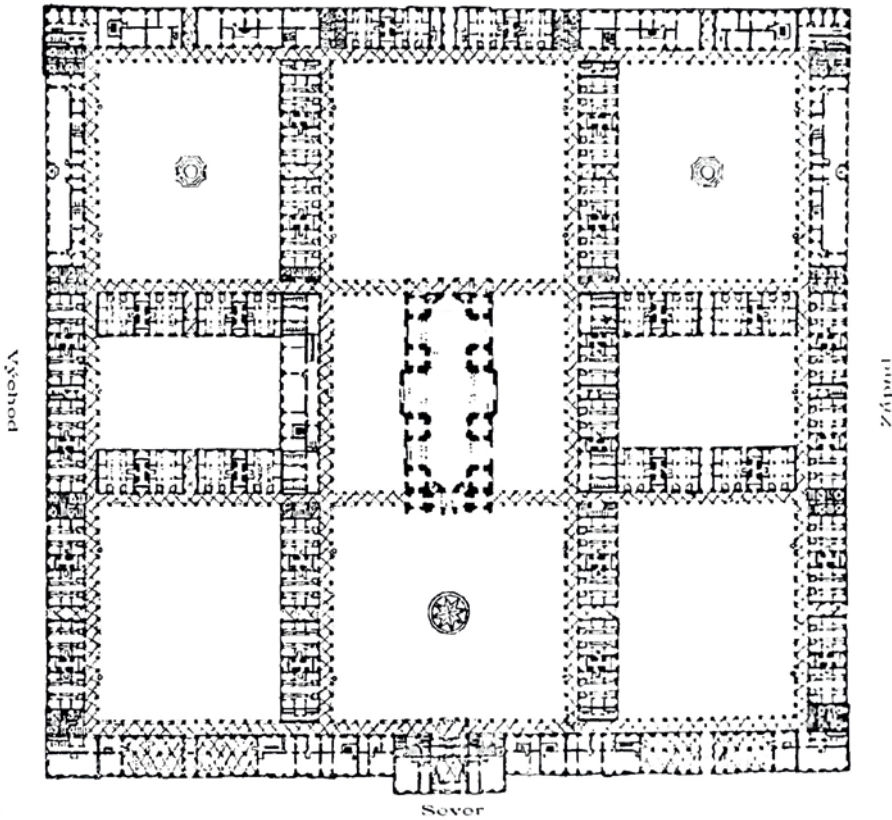
Fig. 3. Ground plan of the project for the House of Invalids in Karlín near Prague. Antonín Podlaha and Eduard Šittler, Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v království Českém od pravěku do počátku XIX. století. Bd. XV: Politický okres Karlínský (Prague: Archeologická komise při České akademii císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1901), p. 201 (Moravian library in Brno).

about 10 % of the planned complex was built.[26] This torso was inaugurated as the Prague House of Invalids in 1735.[27] That the building in fact resembled a mutilation is expressed by its architecturally overt form in the direction where the other courtyards should have followed.[28] Oehlinger did not find many words to describe this building. It was above all its idyllic location that attracted his attention.[29] In fact, this institution's remoteness stands

---

26 See ibid.; Augusta Müllerová and J. B. Novák, *Karlínská invalidovna* (Prague: Výtvarný odbor Umělecké Besedy, 1948); Kateřina Turková, *Pražská Invalidovna* (BA thesis, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2013).

27 See Wagner, *Armee*, p. 306.

28 This impression has been maintained until today.

29 "*Auf einem schönen Wiesengrunde*" in Oehlinger, *Panorama*, p. 361.

in stark contrast to the *Hôtel's* proximity to the palaces in Paris or the embeddedness of the Vienna or Pest house into the urban fabrics. Yet, this impression is deceptive because a much larger complex was planned. If it had been executed in the dimensions that the architect had conceived, only its realization on an 'open field' would have rendered the appropriate setting to put a building that large into scene. Thus, a representational dimension played a big role right from the onset. Of course, questions of ground acquisition probably also needed to be considered, like always, when building projects of such scale are conducted.

After this great project, which ultimately failed, a more modest house of invalids was established in the beginning of the 1750s in Pettau (Ptuj in today's Slovenia).[30] Here again, already existing buildings were assigned to host invalids henceforth. At first, a rather small warehouse was used for this purpose, but already in the following year, another building was purchased from the local religious order.[31] In the coming years, only minor changes and additions were undertaken. An architectural upgrade was reached in 1778, when the institution moved to Count Sauer's former palace.[32] The peak of the Ptuj House of Invalids was reached then. After Lombardy and Venetia's re-integration into the Habsburg monarchy at the anti-Napoleonic wars' end, another house of invalids was founded in Padua in 1823.[33] This resulted in a reduction of the potential invalids in Ptuj caused by the transfer of a part of the former soldiers from there to Padua a year later.[34] Ultimately, Ptuj was closed in 1860.[35]

In sum, there existed five main establishments for invalid soldiers just before the Revolution of 1848/49.[36] Although each of them had its own history, their foundations usually aligned with one of the following logics: either it served as representational backing of the claimed right to rule and thus as expression of the Habsburg emperor's (Baroque) grandeur or as instrument to foster local development and economic prosperity.[37] However, the rulers' stance towards these institutions remained ambiguous, as the transfer from Pest to Trnava and the missing will to continue the Prague project illustrate. In addition, the main institutions each contained several minor facilities, which were each also located in rather small

---

30 Little research has been conducted on this institution. Ferdinand Raisp, *Das k. k. Militär-Invalidenhaus zu Pettau von der Errichtung bis zur Auflösung* (Graz: A. Leykams Erben, 1860), although outdated, still constitutes the standard work to which more recent authors still refer. See e.g. Boris Golec "Zur Herkunft der Bürger in den Städten des slowenischen Drau-Gebietes im 18. Jahrhundert," *Podravina* 37 (2020), pp. 101–118, here p. 104. A thorough analysis with new perspectives hitherto remains a desideratum.

31 See Raisp, *Militär-Invalidenhaus*, pp. 4–5.

32 See ibid. p. 8.

33 Wagner traces the founding of a Padua House of Invalids back to 1721. See Wagner, *Armee*, p. 307. Since this pre-dated the town's possession by the Habsburg Monarchy, this aspect shall be neglected here.

34 Raisp, *Militär-Invalidenhaus*, p. 9.

35 See Wagner, *Armee*, pp. 306–307.

36 See Anton Lang, *Umfaßende Übersicht der bis März 1843 in Wirksamkeit bestehenden Verordnungen, bezüglich der k. k. österreichischen Armee, der Assentirung, der Stellvertretung, der Behandlung der Supplenten-Depositen, und der Entlassung: Als Handbuch für Militär- und Civil-Geschäftsmänner* (Vienna: Braumüller and Seidel, 1844), p. 403 § 855.

37 The latter was especially the case in Ptuj. See on this Raisp, *Militär-Invalidenhaus*, p. 4.

places.[38] Thus, it can be concluded that the strategy to centralize invalids' care was not followed systematically in the Habsburg Monarchy. In this respect, the organization of the care for invalids mirrored the Monarchy's political organization, since each house had its own geographical sphere of coverage.[39] This not only resulted in a clear division of responsibilities but at times also in competition and friction. This was also the reason for the decision to build another house of invalids in Ľviv.

The planning history of the Ľviv House of Invalids

The recorded history of the Ľviv House of Invalids starts with a letter from the commander of the Fourth Army stationed in Galicia, General Major Prince Edmund Schwarzenberg,[40] to General Adjutant Count Carl Ludwig Grünne from November 18, 1851. Schwarzenberg refers to the young emperor Francis Joseph I's visit to the Galician capital earlier that year.[41] As usual, such journeys served as occasion to state requests in front of the ruler and ask for his support. So did the Ľviv city council when it brought up the proposal to build a house of invalids. The city itself would provide the land for this institution and a brick production site for its construction. The issue was forwarded to the crown land's governor, Count Agenor Gołuchowski, who was expected to present this project soon to the emperor. In his brief letter, Schwarzenberg expressed his support for this endeavor and sought to emphasize its "invaluable benefaction" *("unschätzbare Wohlthat")* for the brave Galician (and Bukovinian) troops, which had fought so bravely in the previous wars.[42] It was not specified which wars, but probably Schwarzenberg referred to the military campaigns to suppress the revolution in the Hungarian lands following 1848. In December the same year, the emperor supported the request and ordered that all necessary steps should be taken to spur this project.[43]

What these first documents do not explicitly mention is the deeper reason for the need to establish another institution for invalid soldiers. Hitherto, Galician invalids were accommodated in Trnava,[44] which was located in the monarchy's Hungarian lands. In the course of the military suppression of the Revolution 1848/49 in Hungary, Galician troops were fighting

---

38 Wagner lists a number of different subordinated locations for Trnava and Prague. See Wagner, *Armee*, 306.

39 It may suffice to mention the Prague house at this point, which was responsible for invalids from Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia. See, on this and the other houses, Lang, *Übersicht*, p. 403 § 855.

40 See *Militär-Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthumes* (Vienna: Hof- und Staats-Aerarial-Druckerei, 1848), p. 47.

41 On this imperial visit to Ľviv see Daniel L. Unowsky, *The pomp and politics of patriotism: Imperial celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848–1916* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2005), pp. 37–46.

42 Letter by Schwarzenberg to Grünne, November 18, 1851, in: Austrian State Archive (OeStA), War Archive (KA), Highest Supreme Command (AhOB), Military Chancellery of His Majesty (MKSM), Main Series (HR), Akten, 1851, 7607.

43 See imperial resolution of December 12, 1851, in: OeStA, KA, AhOB, MKSM, HR, Akten, 1851, 8194.

44 See Lang, *Übersicht*, p. 403 § 855.

against Hungarian units on the same territory.[45] Those who were injured and finally became invalid due to this military operation would have needed to go to the Trnava House of Invalids. This situation was certainly paradoxical, thus, another solution was needed.[46] Moreover, since the central state had already engaged in other building projects in Ľviv, among which the citadel must be named as first, proposing the creation of a Galician house of invalids only seemed logical. In addition, a mushrooming of local funds for invalids had taken place in Galicia since 1848, which now called for a centralized institution to administer these resources.[47]

The task of designing the envisioned building's first draft was given to Ľviv's Genie Directorate *(Genie-Direktion)*, the local branch of a Habsburg army special unit of highly trained military engineers that was especially responsible for the planning and completion of built structures. Its director Joseph Rudolph presented the first outcome already in February 1852. Rudolph's initial idea was to take the Pest House of Invalids as his draft's model. However, his request to the respective Genie Directorate to send that House's plans to Ľviv remained unanswered, so he was forced to look for other models. He found one in the basic idea of the House in Vienna, where the invalids were generally accommodated in the same way as regular troops. This encouraged him to take Ľviv's Ferdinand barracks[48] as his draft's immediate model, which only displayed some minor adaptations.[49] This first draft's relevance derives not from its character as a manifestation of Rudolph's skills, but from its function as basis for the negotiation with the Ľviv magistrate about the grounds needed for the project's realization. Hence, Rudolph's draft did not set the project's artistic standard, but rather the dimensions it could acquire.

That Rudolph's draft did in fact not meet his superiors' ideas became more than evident in the reply he received the same month.[50] The order to undertake a number of significant changes at a moment when the Ľviv Genie officers were engaged already in many other tasks led to the decision to commission the civil architect Joseph Engel[51] for the plan's further elaboration. Yet, the cooperation between both parties did not work well because Engel refused to relocate his working place to the Directorate's office. Instead, he remained in his remote flat. As a result, the second draft still contained a number of deficiencies that needed

---

45 Letter by the Command of the Third Army to the Galician Gubernium, December 10, 1849, in: Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Ľviv (TsDIAL), Fond 146, Opis 76, Sprawa 179, pp. 14–15.

46 After its inauguration the Ľviv House of Invalids was still subordinated to the Trnava one. See Wagner, *Armee*, p. 307.

47 This is well documented in the files at TsDIAL, Fond 146, Opis 76, Sprawa 179.

48 Images of this building are available at the Center for Urban History of East Central Europa's website, https://uma.lvivcenter.org/uk/photos/914 (accessed May 20, 2021).

49 Letter by Rudolph to the General Genie Directorate, February 17, 1852, in: OeStA, KA, Intermediary Authorities (MBeh), General Genie Directorate (GGD), HR, Akten, 640 (1852), 7–8/1.

50 Letter by the General Genie Directorate to Rudolph, February 26, 1852, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 640 (1852), 7–8/1.

51 On Engel and the different Ľviv buildings he planned, see the entry by Юрій Бірюльов in *Енциклопедія Львова*, II, ed. Андрій Козицький (Ľviv: Літопис, 2008), pp. 234–235.
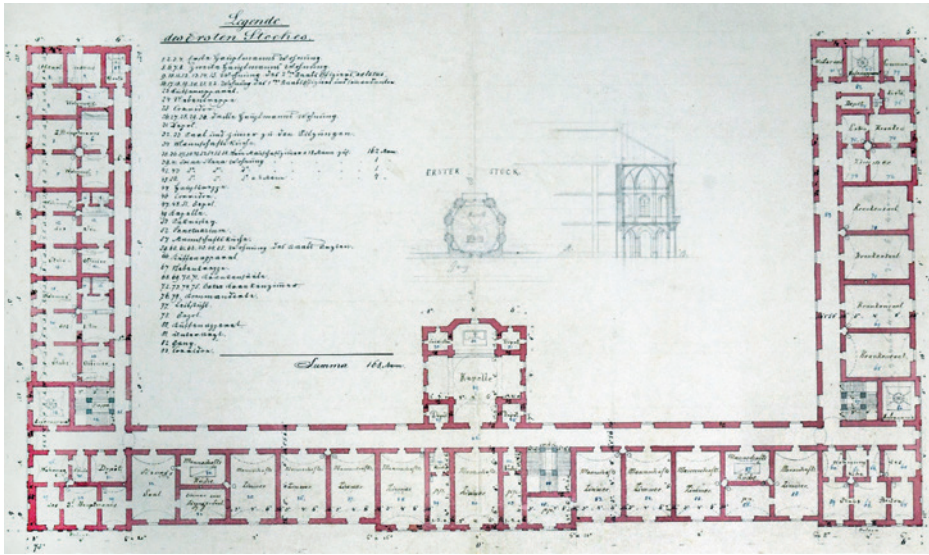
Fig. 4. Engel's draft for the Ľviv House of Invalids (*Entwurf zur Erbaung eines Invaliden Hauses für 500 Mann in Lemberg in Galizien*, Ľviv 1852). TsDIAL, Fond 742, Opis 1, Sprawa 1502.

to be remedied in the planning's later course. Nevertheless, the Fourth army's commander supported this draft, as did the Genie inspector, Georg Eberle.[52] In addition, the General Genie Directorate joined this opinion, albeit it did not refrain from still insisting on further modifications.[53]

Engel's "Draft for the construction of a House of Invalids for 500 men in Ľviv in Galicia"[54] reveals still the Ferdinand barracks' underlying scheme (fig. 4). Both contain three wings around a courtyard that was to be closed with a wall at the backside. The same similarity characterized the façades' general design with its central and two side avant-corps,[55] as well as the buildings' internal organization with long corridors running along the inner sides of the wings. The main entrance was situated in the main wing's central axis. A major difference can be seen in the chapel's position, which constituted an essential part of a house of invalids. Like at the other complexes of this kind, the chapel was located at the scheme's very

---

52 Letter by Rudolph to the General Genie Directorate, April 26, 1852, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 640 (1852), 7–8/2.

53 Letter by the General Genie Directorate to Rudolph, May 07, 1852, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 640 (1852), 7–8/2.

54 *Entwurf zur Erbaung eines Invaliden Hauses für 500 Mann in Lemberg in Galizien*, in: TsDIAL, Fond 742, Opis 1, Sprawa 1502.

55 On the barracks' appearance, see: https://forgottengalicia.com/austrian-military-barracks-in-lviv-part-i/#4-archduke-ferdinand-artillery-barracks- (accessed May 28, 2021); J. Eder, "Koszary Ferdynanda," *Львів на фотографії 1860–2006: Lwów Na Fotografii*, ed. Irina Kotłobułatowa (Ľviv: Centrum Europy, 2006). p. 52.

center. However, in Engel's draft, the chapel was transferred to the second floor because the ground level space was used for a representative passageway. It is striking that Engel chose an arrangement that, on the one hand, levelled the chapel's architectural importance, and, on the other, doubled the length of the corridor, which acquired an enhanced atmosphere of a passage between two worlds.

Engel's draft did not meet any outright opposition. Yet, the start of construction works was delayed. First, it took until the end of 1852 until the detailed budget was calculated and forwarded to the Ministry of War's accounting department.[56] The following year was characterized by prolonged building site negotiations. Options in Zolochiv and Chortkiv, both in today's Ukraine, were brought up, where already existing buildings were scrutinized for the use of sheltering invalids. This would have rendered Engel's plan void. After having visited the different places, a clear decision was reached in favor of L'viv as location for the Galician House of Invalids.[57] Yet, the project came to a halt again. In March 1854, the Supreme Army Command ordered the construction works' start as soon as possible,[58] but again no advance was tangible.

In this particular moment of a perceived standstill, although everything was ready to start, Grünne approached the young architect Theophil Hansen,[59] a rising star among Vienna's architects with close military ties.[60] His intention was to get some feedback on Engel's draft "in technical and artistic regards". Grünne further hoped to receive a draft for an alternative façade, which would be more appropriate for such a building. In his letter, we encounter a phrase that would from now on be included in every document dealing with this project. Grünne wrote:

> Military houses of invalids are institutes which attract general public attention; they should all, but especially for the army, be of moral impression; they should, thus, receive an appropriate appearance of their interior as well as of their exterior.[61]

---

56 Letter by the General Genie Directorate to the accounting department, December 14, 1852, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 640 (1852), 7–8/4.

57 See imperial resolution, October 2, 1853, in: OeStA, KA, AhOB, MKSM, HR, Akten, 1853, 2999.

58 See letter from the Supreme Army Command to the General Genie Directorate, March 13, 1854, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 730 (1853), 7–6/1.

59 See letter by Grünne to Hansen, April 16, 1854, in: Wienbibliothek, H.I.N. 203.971.

60 He was not only responsible for the Armoury Museum within the Vienna Arsenal complex, but also taught at the military's Engineering Academy in the beginning of the 1850s. See Friedrich Gatti, *Geschichte der k. und k. Technischen Militär-Akademie: Erster Theil: Geschichte der K. K. Ingenieur- und K. K. Genie-Akademie, 1717–1869* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1901), p. 617, 632. On the entire Arsenal complex with the Armoury Museum, see: *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1850), pp. 25–31; *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1864), pp. 4–6; *Abbildungen zur Allgemeinen Bauzeitung* (1864), fig. 622–636; *Abbildungen zur Allgemeinen Bauzeitung* (1865), fig. 706–727.

61 Letter by Grünne to Hansen, April 16, 1854, Wienbibliothek, H.I.N. 203.971 ("Militär Invalidenhäuser sind Institute, welche die allgemeine öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit auf sich ziehen; sie sollen überhaupt, insbesondere aber auf die Armee von moralischem Eindrucke seyn; sie sollen daher auch eine im Inneren und Äußeren wür-
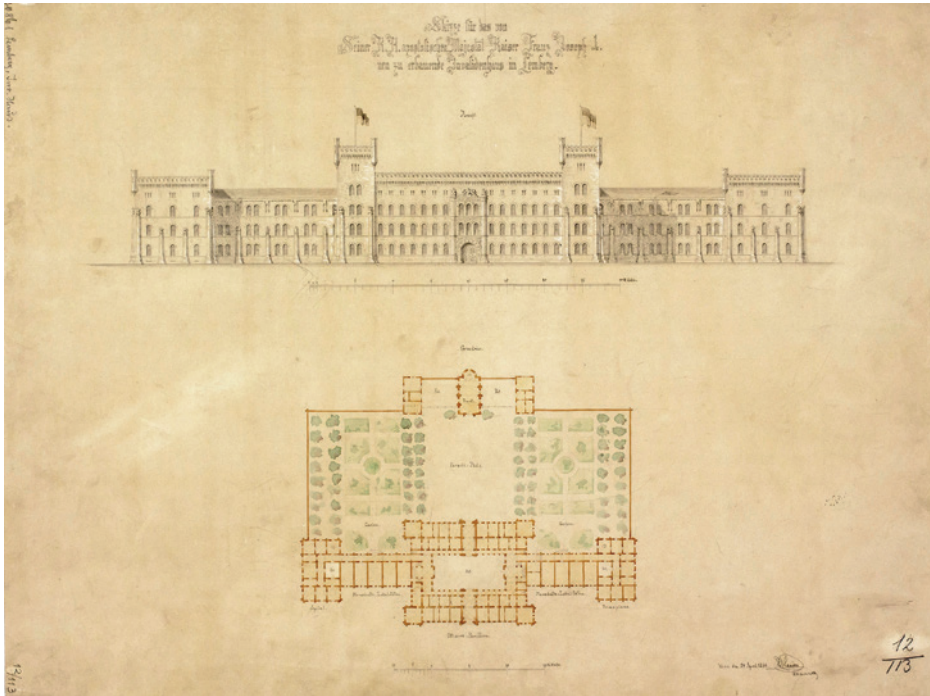
Fig. 5. Sketch of the House of Invalids by Theophil Hansen (*Skizze für das von Seiner k. k. apostolischen Majestät Kaiser Franz Joseph I. neu zu erbauende Invalidenhaus in Lemberg,* Vienna 1854). Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett, HZ 20861, 12/113.

Although Grünne did not expect to build any monumental architecture in L'viv, he was, apparently, very disappointed by Engel's proposal, which, according to him, did not meet any of these requirements. Furthermore, he criticized the small number of rooms for officers and non-commissioned officers.

Hansen in turn condemned Engel's work altogether and made an entirely new proposal, of which he attached a first sketch (fig. 5).[62] Hansen underlines that he had tried his best to modify the already existing draft in a way to meet Grünne's expectations. Yet, it seemed "impossible [...], because the draft is already in architectural regards [...] amiss" ("*unmöglich* [...], *da der Plan in architektonischer Beziehung* [...] *verfehlt*"). According to Hansen, this result was inevitable, since Engel's draft constituted nothing more than an already existing

---

dige Ausstattung erhalten"). This phrase was also used by Hansen to describe the general task in *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1860), p. 113.

62 Letter by Hansen to Grünne, April 24, 1854, in: Wienbibliothek H.I.N. 203.973; OeStA, KA, AhOB, MKSM, HR, Akten, 1854, 1259. The sketch can be found at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett, HZ 20861, 12/113.

building's modification. Thus, it lacked an "organic composition" *("organische Durchbildung")* and could not follow the principle that outer appearance should reflect the internal functions. Accordingly, the architectural design should emphasize those parts housing the more important functions. These major points of criticism seemed to reflect Grünne's sentiments. Consequently, latter expressed Hansen's opinion, in almost exactly the same words, in front of the emperor, who followed Grünne's proposal to commission Hansen with the elaboration of the detailed plans for the Provincial House of Invalids in L'viv.[63]

Together with Hansen's appointment as the House's leading architect, the emperor also decreed that the construction should start in 1855. Although a lot of correspondence among the military authorities and between them and Hansen followed[64] – which mainly dealt with reminding him of delivering the detailed plans – all main obstacles were removed by October 1855.[65] Some debates of course remained. One problem constituted the need to acquire more ground than the city was able to provide.[66] Moreover, already the city's portion, although the L'viv magistrate had generously proposed providing the necessary area without any remuneration, was only transferred to the military in the middle of 1856.[67] Further issues touched problems that arise at any construction site, but they are not the focus of this brief paper. Thus, it must suffice to mention that these points are well documented in Vienna's and L'viv's respective archival files.[68]

---

63 See imperial resolution, May 19, 1854, in: OeStA, KA, AhOB, MKSM, HR, Akten, 1854, 1702.

64 These letters are stored in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23.

65 The General Genie Directorate gave last instructions in a letter to L'viv's Genie Directorate October 18, 1855, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23/3. In a letter from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Galician Governor dated September 09, 1855, in: TsDIAL, Fond 146, Opis 76, Sprawa 179, pp. 227–228; it is mentioned that necessary preparations were already being conducted by the military.

66 See *Verzeichnis der zum Bauplatze des Invalidenhauses zu Lemberg gehörigen Grundparzellen und Häuser* in OeStA, KA, Mittelbehörden, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23/3.

67 Finally, in June 1856 the Ministry of the Interior sent a thank you note to the magistrate. See Letter by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Governor, June 19, 1856, in: TsDIAL, Fond 146, Opis 76, Sprawa 179, pp. 231–232.

68 In L'viv the relevant documents are gathered in the here repeatedly mentioned folder. In Vienna they are more scattered according to the contemporary institutions' organizational structure and the archive that mainly mirrors these structures. For the years 1855 and 1856, the respective files can be found here: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23 and 816 (1856), 7–7. In general, this list of found files corrects Adolph Stillers' statement that, despite intensive search, no further documentation could be found in the War Archive. See Adolph Stiller, "Das Invalidenhaus in Lemberg = The house for disables veterans in Lviv," in *Theophil Hansen: Klassische Eleganz im Alltag = Theophil Hansen: Classical elegance in everyday life*, ed. idem (Salzburg: Müry Salzmann, 2013), pp. 166–177, here p. 173. This confirms Wagner-Riegers' assumption, which she had stated already in 1980; see Renate Wagner-Rieger and Mara Reissberger, *Theophil von Hansen* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980), p. 39, footnote 55.
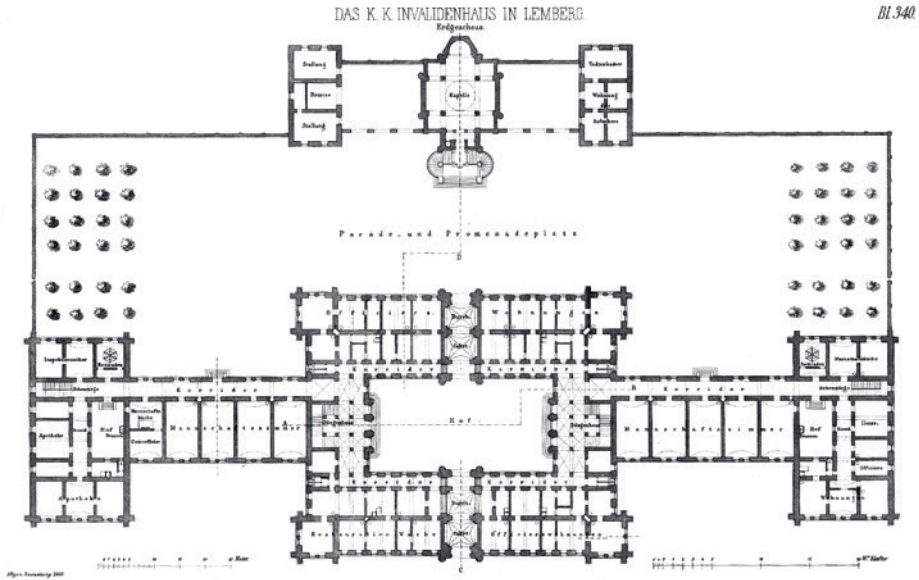
Fig. 6. House of Invalids in L'viv, floor plan of the first floor. Theophil Hansen, "Das k. k. Invalidenhaus in Lemberg. Erdgeschoss," in: *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 25 (1860), pl. 340.

The L'viv House of Invalids's architecture and its underlying concepts and ideas

Hansen must be regarded as a master in finding new architectural forms for existing buildings and new purposes.[69] Therefore, it is no surprise that his proposal for the L'viv House of Invalids went an entirely different direction compared to Engel's draft, and that the complex's general layout differed significantly from previous forms (fig. 6). Instead of grouping connected wings around one major courtyard, Hansen chose to unfold Engel's U-shaped design and, thus, to apply a long, stretched rectangle as its basic form, which he further structured.[70] In addition, Hansen's proposal differed essentially from Engel's in the chapel's position. He disentangled it from the main corpus and envisioned a separate building for this purpose, which he situated in axis to the main building at the main yard's other side, which was to be used as parade ground and garden. Hence, the chapel could no longer serve as the complex's center. Rather, it played the role of a vanishing point and, besides the main build-

---

69 Villadsen shows how Hansen had attempted to fuse Byzantine stylistic features with other styles into a more universally applicable form that could be adapted to the respective project. See Villads Villadsen, "Studien über den byzantinischen Einfluß auf die europäische Architektur des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Hafnia: Copenhagen papers in the history of art* 5 (1978), pp. 43–77.

70 Wagner-Rieger identified these features as characteristics of Hansen's buildings in the 1850s. See Wagner-Rieger and Reissberger, *Hansen*, p. 39.

ing, of a second pole that signified the yard's other end. These functions, which ascribed an important role to the chapel's ensemble, found their expression in its proportion compared to the main building's central body.

Hansen's aim to construct "a monumental building with a sober but strong architecture, which is only signified by groupings, ratio, great measures and surfaces"[71] is best grasped when looking at the main building (fig. 7). The façade follows a clear rhythm that leads the view to the center. This horizontal direction is reached primarily by the stretched form with its banded façade. The adjacent wing's coupled windows and their ensuing parts to both ends are replaced in the main corpus by single windows with smaller spaces in between. This creates an expression of higher density in the center that finds its vocal point in the entrance area, which was conceived in reference to the Viennese Arsenal's main gate.[72] Vertical elements group this view and connect the different parts. The towers of different size and height, and the play with different building heights, as such are obvious in this respect. Again, the entrance area is emphasized by a pair of extraordinarily worked columns above which the chapel's cupola thrones. Although this impression is an illusion of the perspective, it was nevertheless instructive for Hansen, since here his considerations concerning symmetry and elevation came fully to the fore.[73]

If we return to a spatial perspective, we become aware of the main corpus' fortress-like character with its four towers and the round-going crenellations (fig. 8).[74] The flagpoles, which Hansen added in his illustration, further enhance this impression.[75] From Hansen's approach to use the outer appearance as reflection of the internal functional division, it is obvious that this central section was planned to host the institution's "most important" parts. Most of the rooms here were used for officers' accommodation. The ground floor also sheltered a restaurant and a guard. The first floor contained a flat for the institution's commander and a conference room, which was located at the building's most prestigious point above the entrance. In contrast, the lower connecting wings were solely reserved for lower ranks. The adjacent parts, on the other hand, hosted necessary medical facilities, like a pharmacy and a hospital, and flats for the non-commissioned officers as well as sanitary installations.[76]

---

71 See letter by Hansen to the General Genie Directorate, October 12, 1854, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23/1 ("*ein monumentales Bauwerk mit einfacher jedoch kräftiger und nur durch Gruppirung, Verhältniße, große Maßen und Flächen sich auszeichnende Architektur*").

72 See *Abbildungen zur Allgemeinen Bauzeitung* (1864), fig. 624.

73 See *Abbildungen zur Allgemeinen Bauzeitung* (1860), fig. 338.

74 See Ihor Zhuk, "The architecure of Lviv from the thirteenth century to the twentieth century," *Lviv: A city in the crosscurrents of culture*, ed. John Czaplicka (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 95–130, here p. 113.

75 In addition, this building's mere measures must have fostered this interpretation on the beholder. The main building measured approx. 165 meters in width. On the impression of monumentality see also Jacek Purchla, "Die Einflüsse Wiens auf die Architektur Lembergs 1772–1918," *Architektura Lwowa XIX wieku: Die Architektur Lembergs im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Międzynarodnowe Centrum Kultury w Krakowie (Krakow: Międzynarodnowe Centrum Kultury w Krakowie, 1997), pp. 31–53, here p. 35.

76 See *Abbildungen zur Allgemeinen Bauzeitung* (1860), fig. 340–342 and letter by Hansen to the General Genie Directorate, October 12, 1854, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23/1.
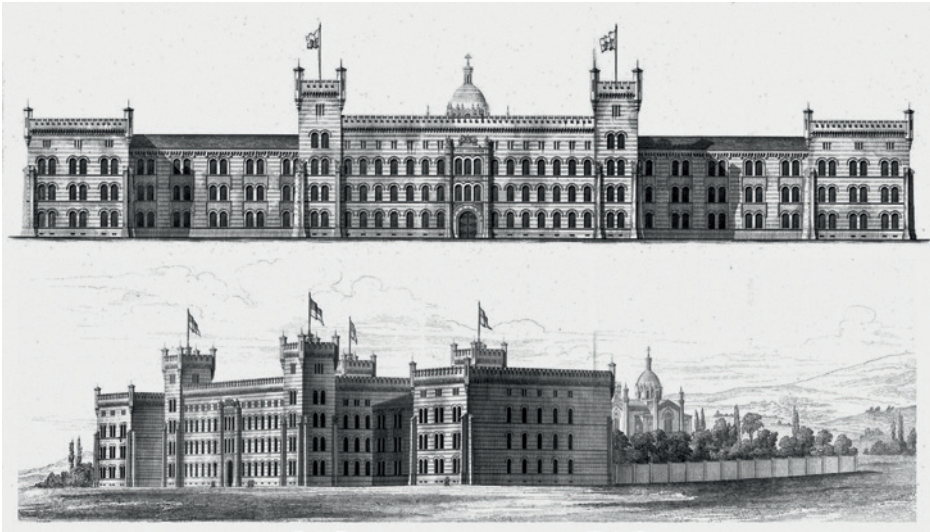
Fig. 7. House of Invalids in L'viv, front elevation. Theophil Hansen, "Das k. k. Invalidenhaus in Lemberg," in: *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 25 (1860), pl. 338.

Fig. 8. House of Invalids in L'viv, side view. Theophil Hansen, "Das k. k. Invalidenhaus in Lemberg," in: *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 25 (1860), pl. 337.

Hansen's conception of a more representative central part for the higher ranks found its continuation after entering the building. A splendid thoroughfare equipped with columns and ripped vaults that endowed this passage with the "dignity of an imperial institute"[77] provided access from the street side. Hansen envisioned the ensuing courtyard always to be "completely symmetrical and yet picturesque" *("ganz symmetrisch und doch pittoresk")*. Consequently, all sorts of cleaning and maintenance works had to be transferred to the minor courtyards in the adjacent building parts.[78] The main courtyard with its stepped gables and columns, thus, acquired a representative role as a prolongation of the entrance thoroughfare. This completely paved and thus entirely artificial space also served as central traffic spot, from where the spacious staircases could be reached or the way could be continued to the parade ground through another thoroughfare.[79]

Hansen aimed at installing short passages between the House's different parts, while, at the same time, maintaining the separation between different ranks.[80] This was explicitly expressed in the fact that officers had to use the lower ranks' corridors to reach the medical

---

77 Letter by Hansen to the General Genie Directorate, October 12, 1854, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23/1 *("Würde eines kaiserlichen Institutes")*.

78 Ibid..

79 See *Abbildungen zur Allgemeinen Bauzeitung* (1860), fig. 343–344.

80 See *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1860), p. 113.

facilities. It even reached some panoptic dimensions when Hansen described the double sense of glass doors between the corridors to the officers' flats and those to the lower ranks' rooms. They should ensure a "perpetual surveillance" *("fortwährende Beobachtung")* of the lower ranks, while not posing any obstacle to the officers.[81]

Beside his focus on the building's functionality, Hansen's second concern belonged to the aspect of comfort. On the one hand, the officers' seclusion already touched a major point of this issue. Officers' accommodation was organized in flats where they could even live with their families while lower ranks lived in shared rooms.[82] Yet, Hansen, of course, also aimed at using latest technical advancements to facilitate a high degree of comfort for all of the House's inhabitants.[83] Water supply on all floors and air heating were foreseen regardless of rank.[84]

The main building itself was a masterpiece of Hansen's objective to conciliate form and function. The full outreach, however, is only palpable, if the chapel is also embraced. A detailed account of this centrally-planned building's features is given by Villads Villadsen and may, therefore, be left out here.[85] Although this building was conceived in a Byzantine style, in opposition to the main building's *Rundbogenstil* ('round-arch style'),[86] Hansen managed to bind the two tightly together. The overall ensemble impression derives primarily from employing the same material of fair-faced bricks in two colors, which created banded façades that both buildings share. Unplastered brick façades for representative buildings were not too common in the Habsburg Monarchy at that time,[87] yet for Hansen, showing the raw building material equaled an "expression of strength and imperishability" *("Ausdruck des Starken und Unvergänglichen").*[88] Nothing less would have satisfied his quest for an "everlasting monument" *("unvergängliches Denkmal").*[89] The way he combined these two stylistic directions also illustrates that a clear distinction between them is the result of later conceptional thinking and not of contemporary discourse.

---

81 Letter by Hansen to the General Genie Directorate, October 12, 1854, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23/1.

82 See Anton Lang, *Österreichs Militär-Bau- und Bequartierungswesen* (Vienna: Braumüller & Seidel, 1845) p. 228.

83 For technical aspects of Hansen's work, see: Georg Töpfer, "Technische Aspekte in Bauten Hansens," *Theophil Hansen – ein Resümee: Symposionsband anlässlich des 200. Geburtstages,* ed. Beatrix Bastl, Ulrike Hirhager, and Eva Schober (Weitra: Verlag der Provinz, 2014), pp. 317–330.

84 See Lang, *Österreichs Militär-Bau- und Bequartierungswesen*, p. 228.

85 See Villadsen, *Studien*, here pp. 61–62.

86 Hansen stated himself that the chapel followed a plainly Byzantine style, although from today's art historical point of view other stylistic influences can clearly be identified. See ibid.

87 Unlike in Prussia, where Schinkel had successfully propagated this kind of architecture since the beginning of the 19th century. See e.g. Manfred Klinkott, *Die Backsteinbaukunst der Berliner Schule: Von K. F. Schinkel bis zum Ausgang des Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1988).

88 Letter by Hansen to the General Genie Directorate, October 12, 1854, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23/1.

89 Ibid.

One question remains: if we understand Hansen's House of Invalids as a means of representation, what exactly was the subject it referred to? What exactly was displayed as "strong" and "imperishable"? This leads to the inevitable question of on what political and spatial scale Hansen related with his House. There is no doubt that this enormous building project was in line with the general approach of expanding the central state's military presence in this part of the Monarchy as one aspect of a fostered state-building process of the 1850s.[90] The House of Invalids underlines the argument that military buildings' creation primarily served symbolic purposes rather than real strategic ones. In this respect Grünne's and the Emperor's support for Hansen's draft, which expressed "strength" and "imperishability", and which evoked associations with a fortress, seems only logical.

Although initiated and fostered by these authorities at the Habsburg state's very center as shown above, it would be simplistic to regard the House's architecture as merely a transfer from the imperial capital to the periphery.[91] Taking only the fact that Hansen as the leading architect resided at Vienna during the House's planning does not justify this assumption.[92] If a transfer of style can be identified at all, it should at least be traced back to contemporary Greece, where Hansen had spent several years before coming to Vienna. There, he had found enough occasions to study Byzantine architecture.[93] Furthermore, if transfer is equal to finding the sources of inspiration, the tracing should be continued to Schinkel with his works in and around Berlin[94] and Hansen's Danish Royal Academy teacher, Friedrich Hentsch,[95] who admired Schinkel, just as Hansen did.[96] Additionally, it should not be overlooked that the project itself was bound closely to the Galician capital. Since the location was no longer subject to discussion at the moment when Hansen entered the project, his entire plan developed against the agreed location's background. We do not know what Hansen's mental map looked like and what ideas he had of the Galician capital, but certainly he was not free of some kind of image which influenced his work.

On the other hand, the House of Invalids's architecture was certainly not the outcome of a local L'viv discourse. On the contrary, Hansen seemed to some extent indifferent to the foreseen building site's spatial conditions. Thus, he did not entirely adjust his draft to the

---

90 See on this Frank Rochow, "Die räumliche Erscheinungsform des Neoabsolutismus – Militärarchitektur in Lemberg und Wien in den 1850er Jahren," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 68/2 (2019), pp. 157–188.

91 It is not intended to reproduce centre-periphery interpretations. In the realm of urban history this narrative has been successfully refuted by Eszter Gantner, Heidi Hein-Kircher and Oliver Hochadel, "Backward and peripheral? Emerging cities in Eastern Europe," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 67/4 (2018), pp. 475–484.

92 Jacek Purchla regards the L'viv House of Invalids as one of the best transfer examples in the realms of architecture, see Purchla, "Einflüsse," p. 35.

93 See e.g. Renate Wagner-Rieger and Mara Reissberger, *Hansen*, pp. 19–20; Villadsen, *Studien*, pp. 46–52.

94 Hansen spent here some days during his journey through Central Europe in 1838 before embarking to Athens. See on this Villads Villadsen, "En ung arkitekts rejsedagbog: Blade af Theophilus Hansens rejsedagbog 1838," in *Architectura* 1 (1979), pp. 88–108, here pp. 90–94; Niemann and Feldegg, *Hansen*, p. 13.

95 On the relationship between Hentsch and Hansen, see Wagner-Rieger and Reissberger, *Hansen*, pp. 11–13.

96 See Irene (Rena) Fatsea, "Theophil Hansen's Athenian academy in the context of nineteenth century romantic classicism," *Art in Translation* 3 (2019), pp. 334–380, pp. 341–342.

already given plot of land, which caused additional land expropriation later on. At the same time, however, he paid careful attention to the geographical pre-disposition, which he used in favor of his architecture. Still, Hansen was probably never in L'viv to visit the construction site. Maybe this was not necessary due to the detailed documentation he had received from the Genie troops.[97] This nevertheless deprived him of the chance to get an idea of the surroundings. In this respect, his project was indeed one that was planned centrally and disregarded local architectural traditions. This impression is further supported by the fact that the building's realization was completely given to the Genie units' hands.[98] Although precautionary measures were conducted,[99] unforeseen changes and adaptations, as they always appear during any building process, were undertaken without further consulting Hansen.[100]

Hansen's role, however, remains ambiguous. On the one hand, he did not work as part of the central state institutions; he was a free architect who provided a service.[101] The fact, that his initial proposal was at once supported by the highest decision makers and, thus, did not undergo significant alterations afterwards, supports his independent status. On the other hand, he depended to a certain extent on the military's goodwill. How willingly he adopted their perspective is best illustrated by consulting their materials as a source for the plan of his house of invalids. In total, his role can be best understood as one of a broker beyond the simplifying center-periphery-dichotomy.[102]

The perception of the House of Invalids after its completion[103] reveals how the local population reappropriated this product of Viennese actors and subsequently turned it into a L'viv cityscape landmark. This prominent building apparently soon acquired a permanent place in the city's built identity. Numerous photographs and postcards of later decades provide plenty of evidence for this claim.[104] Another way to assess the impact of Hansen's House is

---

97 He refers to this documentation in his letter to the General Genie Directorate, October 12, 1854, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23/1.

98 The respective files of the Austrian War Archive document the organization of the construction works, the deployment of military troops and equipment, and the budget. Further, they contain different kinds of reports concerning the works' different stages. For the year 1855, see the file corpus OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23.

99 See letter by General Genie Directorate to the Genie Inspection Lemberg, September 16, 1855, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 779 (1855), 7–23/1.

100 On the significant alterations, especially at the chapel, see Albrecht J. Brechler, "Im Atelier Hansen," *Pilsener Zeitung*, January 7, 1871, pp. 1–2, here p. 2.

101 This service consisted of the elaboration of his proposal's detailed plans. For this task he received his remuneration. See by the General Genie Directorate to the Army Supreme Command, November 27, 1854, in: OeStA, KA, MBeh, GGD, HR, Akten, 730 (1854), 7–6/6.

102 On the idea of architects as brokers, see: Martin Kohlrausch, *Brokers of modernity: East Central Europe and the rise of modernist architects, 1910–1950* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2019).

103 An analysis of the perception of the construction as well as of the contemporary press assessment is still a desideratum.

104 See e.g. *Lemberg: Totalansicht und Invalidenhaus*, https://nat.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=33622&navlang=en (accessed May 19, 2021); J. Eder, "Dom Inwalidów Wojskowych," in *Львів*, ed. Kotłobułatowa, p. 29.

to look at later adaptations of his style. The Israelite Hospital is of utmost importance in this respect.[105] Other buildings like the first L'viv Central Station showed some similar architectural features as Hansen's work.[106] What these examples with their different actors also illustrate is the role of fashions and a broader architectural discourse that led to dissemination of ideas and styles beyond a linear center-periphery configuration.

The L'viv House of Invalids's place in Hansen's œuvre

Hansen's important place in the 19th century's architectural history has been emphasized on the occasion of his 200th birthday.[107] Several publications did not fail to stress that their focus was on his major works. Among them are those prominent buildings that left a significant imprint on Vienna's appearance, such as the Armoury Museum *(Waffenmuseum)* as part of the newly built *Arsenal* complex, erected in the 1848 revolution's immediate aftermath. Research focus was further placed on his later works constructed along Vienna's *Ringstrasse*, among which the parliament building is the most outstanding one.[108] These projects are added to his works in Athens,[109] where Hansen conceived the "Athene's Triology" *("Athener Triologie")* plans[110] consisting of the University (started in 1839), the Academy (started in 1856) and the later built National Library. However, little attention is usually given to his building plans outside of these architectural history epicenters. The L'viv House of Invalids is a telling example of this negligence. It is not only a decisive episode in the former provincial capital's urban history, but also a cornerstone in the young architect's career, for who, after splitting from his former supporter and partner Ludwig Förster in 1852,[111]

---

105 See e.g. Sergey R. Kravtsov, *In the shadow of empires: Synagogue architecture in East Central Europe* (Weimar/Rostock: Grünberg, 2018), pp. 211–229.

106 See Nadja Weck, *Eisenbahn und Stadtentwicklung in Zentraleuropa am Beispiel der Stadt Lemberg (Lwów, L'viv)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020), pp. 227–236.

107 See e.g. *Theophil Hanse: Ein Resümee.*

108 On Hansen's works along the *Ringstrasse* see Wagner-Rieger and Reissberger, *Hansen*; Peter Haiko, "Theophil Hansens 'griechischer Stil' und seine 'griechische Renaissance' an der Wiener Ringstraße, *Theophil Hansen: Ein Resümee*, pp. 147–162. On his role as Parliament building planner, see: *Der Baumeister des Parlaments: Theophil Hansen (1813–1891),* ed. Parlamentsdirektion/Österr. Parlament (Schleinbach: Edition Winkler-Hermaden, 2013).

109 All broader studies of Hansen's life include his formative phase in Athens and the beginning of his work as practicing architect there, but they usually serve as prelude for the following. See e.g. Wagner-Rieger and Reissberger, *Hansen*, pp. 16–27; Niemann and Feldegg, *Hansen*, pp. 14–16.

110 See Adamantios Th. Skordos "Antike versus Byzanz: Klassizismus und Rekonstruktion beim Ausbau Athens zur Hauptstadt des modernen Griechenland," *Geschichte bauen: Architektonische Rekonstruktion und Nationenbildung vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute,* ed. Arnold Bartetzky and Madlen Benthin (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2017), pp. 39–61, here p. 52.

111 It was Förster who invited Hansen to Vienna and whose daughter Hansen married. For some recent insights into the cooperation between Förster and Hansen, see Katharina Schoeller, "Ludwig Förster, Architekt und Geschäftsmann: Neues zu seiner Biografie," *Theophil Hansen: Ein Resümee*, pp. 255–272, here pp. 264–269.

the Ľviv House of Invalids project was the first joint venture together with the Habsburg state on his own.[112]

It has been argued that the lack of attention was due to an alleged lack of sources.[113] However, the attention paid to Hansen's minor Vienna works from around the same period suggests that the later success that Hansen gained with his projects in and around the Habsburg monarchy's capital was a more important factor for this bias among historians.[114] It is only logical that most attention paid to him and his works was generated and rooted there.[115] In this respect, Marilena Z. Cassimatis' and Georgios A. Panetsos' volume[116] is a welcome addition to this perspective. Also Stiller's contribution,[117] although not innovative in finding new sources, is an enrichment to the hitherto rather Vienna-focused narratives. This is the appropriate direction to reflect the complexity of Hansen's œuvre and biography.

The Ľviv House of Invalids is paradigmatic in this respect. The above-mentioned aspects highlighted already exhibit how simple questions will fail to illuminate Hansen's multi-facetted approach. He was above all functionalist, in the sense that he sought to find the best-suited form for a given function.[118] The combination of different stylistic directions in the same object illustrates *par excellence* Hansen's skills and capabilities in fulfilling this task. Hence, Hansen used Ľviv as an experimental field on which he probed new directions. The fact that he used the chapel's design for later works, such as Hansen´s protestant cemetery chapel in the Vienna suburb of Matzleinsdorf,[119] shows how successful he regarded his own design as the given task's solution.

The Ľviv project's relevance must also be assessed in its structural meaning, since it constituted, with the space of a few years, Hansen's second large complex commissioned by the army and the Emperor himself.[120] In this context, the Ľviv project deepened the connection between Hansen and these central state actors, and surely helped the young architect to

---

112 The split was no definite one as Wagner-Rieger has pointed out. See Wagner-Rieger and Reissberger, *Hansen*, p. 38.

113 See Stiller, *Invalidenhaus,* p. 173.

114 This view can be traced back as far as the 1890s when Niemann and Feldegg wrote their biography of Hansen – in which the Ľviv House of Invalids receives comparably little attention – whereas the churches in Altlerchenfeld and Gumpendorf as well as the Villa Pandchoulitseff, and other works are often mentioned quite extensively. See Niemann and Feldegg, *Hansen*.

115 See e.g. Wagner-Rieger and Reissberger, *Hansen*.

116 See *'Hellenische Renaissance': The architecture of Theophil Hansen (1813–1891)*, ed. Marilena Z. Cassimatis and Georgios A. Panetsos (Athens: Hidryma B. & M. Theocharakis, 2014).

117 See Stiller, *Invalidenhaus*.

118 This is especially tangible at the example of the palace for Archduke William. See on this Monica Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "Ein Tempel für Pferde? Marstall, Fuhrpark und Hofstaat eines Erzherzogs als architektonische Herausforderung in Theophil Hansens 'Deutschmeisterpalais' an der Wiener Ringstraße," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 76/4 (2013), pp. 557–578.

119 See Villadsen, *Studien*, p. 62.

120 Wagner-Rieger mentions this relationship, which Hansen knew how to use for his career, very briefly. See Wagner-Rieger and Reissberger, *Hansen*, p. 39.

build his reputation. On the other hand, with the application of Byzantine and round-arch styles, he circumvented the otherwise rigid imaginations of the 1850s.[121] This outstanding role underlines once more Hansen's influence on the stylistic development of the Habsburg Monarchy's military architecture in the 19th century.[122]

Conclusion

This paper aims primarily at raising awareness for the Habsburg Monarchy's "Houses of Invalids" building type and here, above all, for the L'viv House of Invalids, which is, contrary to general assumptions, well documented in the relevant archival records. In sum, this particular House's analysis served as vehicle to bring together four strands of research: architectural history of a specific building type, cultural history in respect to modes of political representation, history of administration, and biographic research.[123]

The houses of invalids' general history shows that they were usually associated with absolutist monarchies. However, the history of the Habsburg State's houses of invalids reveals that no uniform architectural language was found for these buildings; a basic idea for the layout was adopted from the French model in Paris. The houses' representational function differed according to the particular period's financial situation and political will.

The L'viv House of Invalids proves outstanding in two respects. First, its construction in the 1850s positions this object outside these institutions' heyday. This finding discloses this building type's connections not to an architectural fashion but to a political system.[124] Hence, the late building date can serve as an indicator for the Habsburg Monarchy's belated state-building project and the accompanying claim to absolutist rule.[125] In this respect, the planning history for the provincial House of Invalids in L'viv revealed some insights into the under-researched relationship between military and civilian actors of the time. It pointed at the military authorities' shortcomings and highlighted where in fact decisions were taken.

---

121   Ibid., pp. 47–48, highlight his ambiguous relationship to the officious style of the 1850s and the transition of Hansen's thinking around the end of this decade.

122   The 1850s witnessed a vivid debate about military architecture's appropriate style. Tracing the change towards the use of unplastered façades and the *Rundbogenstil* is part of my dissertation project "Architecture and rule: State conception and military presence in Galicia" (working title).

123   This follows a recent trend in the historiography of empires that attempts to position individuals within and vis-à-vis empires. See e.g. *Eliten im Vielvölkerreich: Imperiale Biographien in Russland und Österreich-Ungarn (1850–1918),* ed. Tim Buchen and Malte Rolf (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015); *Imperial subjects: Autobiographische Praxis in den Vielvölkerreichen der Romanovs, Habsburger und Osmanen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert,* ed. Martin Aust and Frithjof Benjamin Schenk (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2015).

124   See Sevestre, "Un modèle," p. 340.

125   See on the period as state building phase e.g. John Deak, *Forging a multinational state: State making in imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), pp. 99–135; Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A new history* (Cambridge/London: Belknap Press, 2016), pp. 218–251.

Second, the architecture of the Ľviv House of Invalids is exceptional. From the planning history, it seemed possible that this project would not have been realized at all if Theophil Hansen had not come up with such a convincing proposal. It pulled its persuasive power from its unity of form and function. In this context, the Ľviv House of Invalids deserves a more recognized place within Hansen's œuvre. Further research on this House will help to shed more light on Hansen's biography and his understanding of architectural principles before his final breakthrough and shift in stylistic language at the end of the 1850s.[126] In addition, this paper provided some insights into the cooperative nature of Hansen's relationship to the military. Further scrutiny of this aspect, which doubtlessly had a significant influence on the young architect's career, is desirable. As secondary objective, this paper sought to raise awareness of these aspects' importance and delineate some future research prospects.

---

126   See Wagner-Rieger and Reissberger, *Hansen*, pp. 47–53.

Dragan Damjanović (Zagreb)

School architecture on the Habsburg Empire's southern fringes: The fragmented politics of architectural design in the regions of today's Croatia between the mid-19th century and 1918

Introduction

As in the Habsburg Empire's other parts, the second half of the 19th and the early 20th century were marked by intensive public building construction in the territories that are part of present-day Croatia that sought to meet the needs of numerous newly established public institutions.

This paper's focus will be on the analysis of one segment of public architecture – school buildings built between the revolution of 1848/49 and the Austro-Hungarian Empire dissolution in 1918 – in different territories, parts of which came to constitute today's Croatia: the Military Frontier, Istria, Dalmatia, Rijeka, Međimurje, and the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia (a.k.a. Croatia-Slavonia).

Late 19th-century school architecture in those territories – much like public architecture in general – is extremely diverse, thanks to the fact that public institutions' buildings were designed and built equally by architects from Austria, Croatia-Slavonia, and the rest of Hungary. This was a result of political changes within the Monarchy after the 1867 Austro-Hungarian and 1868 Croatian-Hungarian Compromise: one part of the territories was under Austria (Istria, Dalmatia), the other under Hungary (Croatia-Slavonia, Rijeka, Međimurje, Baranja), and the Military Frontier was controlled until 1881 by the Viennese Ministry of War. That situation clearly reflects the political framework's importance in the choice of architects for public buildings.[1]

Educational reforms and architecture

The education of the population's broad mass was considered the most powerful tool of social transformation and progress in the 19th century. Therefore, a great deal of investment was

---

1   More on the political framework's impact on public architecture in Croatia in: Dragan Damjanović, "Austro-Hungarian dualism and Croatian 19th century architecture – politics and design," *Art and politics in Europe in the modern period*, ed. Dragan Damjanović, Lovorka Magaš Bilandžić, Željka Miklošević and Jeremy F. Walton (Zagreb: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, 2019), pp. 335–348.

made in education facilities in all parts of Europe, including Austria-Hungary. Government centralization and a modern state administration's establishment made it possible to channel funds towards the eradication of illiteracy and the general improvement of citizens' education. Thanks to these efforts, the number of schools in all parts of Austria-Hungary that are part of present-day Croatia increased dramatically, and consequently, between 1880 and 1910, the illiteracy rate in Croatia-Slavonia decreased from 73.9 % to 45.9 %; in Dalmatia from 87.4 % to 62.9 %, and in Istria from 73.9 % to 40.3 %. Despite these great successes, however, these lands belonged to the group of provinces within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (along with Bukovina and Galicia) with the highest illiteracy rate according to the 1910 census.[2]

At the beginning of the school system's expansion at the end of the 18th century, schools were initially housed mostly in rented premises. The need for purposely-built school buildings to suit students in sanitary and every other way led to the erection of a huge number of new school buildings, especially in the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries.[3] Between 1880 and 1910, the number of schools increased in Croatia-Slavonia from 1250 to 1596, in Dalmatia from 308 to 471, and in Istria from 184 to 345.[4]

Given various educational institutions' growth in number and diversity during the 19th century, many new building types of school and other educational buildings were created – different types of buildings for university institutions, high schools *(Gymnasien)*, research institutes, academies, observatories, libraries, kindergartens, etc.[5] The material possibilities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire's provinces differed considerably, so not all educational building types that could be found in Vienna, Budapest, or wealthier provinces could be found in southern parts of the Empire, too. That is the main reason why this paper is concerned with the buildings of primary and secondary schools. University buildings are only briefly mentioned because the only existing university in those Austro-Hungarian provinces that became part of present-day Croatia, the University of Zagreb, was housed first in an extended Gymnasium building in Zagreb's upper town, and then in a building originally built as a General Hospital in the 1850s.[6]

Although public and school buildings erected in present-day Croatia's territories during the 19th century's second half were modest compared to similar buildings in the Habsburg Empire's central regions, they still stood out in the urban fabric for their façades' monumen-

---

2 Suzana Leček, "Pokušaj smanjivanja nepismenosti u Banskoj Hrvatskoj početkom 20. stoljeća," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 26 (1993), pp. 123–150, here pp. 124, 133, 137–138. On the history of Croatia's school system, more in: *Povijest školstva i pedagogije u Hrvatskoj,* ed. Dragutin Franković (Zagreb: Pedagoško-književni zbor, 1958).

3 Dinko Župan, *Biti učenik u Hrvatskoj u dugom 19. stoljeću* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017), p. 8.

4 Leček, "Pokušaj smanjivanja," p. 129.

5 As can be seen from the *Gebäude für Erziehung, Wissenschaft und Kunst* volumes published as part of the *Handbuch der Architektur* (Darmstadt: Diehl, 1889).

6 The University of Zagreb is still headquartered in this building, built after the Viennese architect Ludwig Zettel's project in the so-called *Rundbogenstil*.

tality and lavishness. While school architecture shares most characteristics with the period's public architecture, it is noticeable that it is more generic: similar or identical solutions are often repeated. School buildings were most often built as detached structures, although some schools, especially those erected from the 1850s to the late 1870s and schools in coastal towns, were attached to other buildings.

A 'west side story': Vienna and school architecture in present-day Croatia's territories before and after the 1867 and 1868 compromises

Public architecture is in the first place a product of state and local authorities. Any change in the state's structure or state borders is therefore strongly reflected in the field of public architecture, especially in the last two centuries. For it was then that, with the creation of a modern state type, investments in public buildings vastly increased.

A similar thing happened in the Habsburg Empire. Its organization as a highly centralized state from the 1848/49 revolutions until the beginning of the 1860s, that is, during the period of so-called neo-absolutism, was reflected in the field of architecture through a very strict state control over investments in all public building types, including schools. The building of schools was largely overseen by the Vienna Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education *(Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht)*.[7] Therefore, in many cases school projects were also developed in Vienna by the engineers of the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works *(Ministerium für Handel und öffentliche Arbeiten)*. Since the state had limited resources during the 1850s, a small number of schools was erected.

The situation changed somewhat in the 1860s, at a time when the state's centralization was beginning to wane and local architects therefore began to play an increasingly important role in designing public buildings. At that time, on state level, the State Ministry *(Staatsministerium)* supervised education, so the direct connection with the Monarchy's capital was preserved.[8]

The more monumental school buildings erected during the 1850s and 1860s on present-day Croatia's territory, as well as in other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, are mostly examples of so-called Romantic Historicism, usually of the *Rundbogenstil*, and less often of the Neo-Renaissance style. The period's most monumental school building examples are the *Real-Gymnasium* in Zagreb (built in 1864 according to the then most important Zagreb architect Franjo [Franz] Klein's project),[9] and the Boy's School and *Real-Gymnasium* in Varaždin (1866–69, attributed to the Viennese architect H. Neumann).[10]

---

7 Antun Cuvaj, *Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas*, III (Zagreb: Trošak i naklada Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. Zem. vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910), p. 344.

8 Ibid.

9 Olga Maruševski, "Franjo Klein, graditelj sredine 19. stoljeća," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 17/2 (1993), pp. 107–123, here 109–110.

10 Miroslav Klemm, "Graditeljstvo historicizma u Varaždinu i okolici," *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj*, I, ed. Vladimir

In addition to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education during the 1850s, and the State Ministry in the 1860s, some specialized schools were built with funds from other ministries. Military school construction was controlled by the Ministry of War *(Kriegsministerium)*. This was the time when large military school buildings were realized all over the Monarchy (Maribor, Louka monastery near Znojmo, Graz-Liebenau, Vienna, etc.). In the area that belonged to the Triune Kingdom, the buildings of the Cadet School in Sremska Kamenica (1852–56, today in the Republic of Serbia's territory)[11] and the Naval Academy in Rijeka (1856–57) were built, the latter according to the military engineer Vincenzo Poradowski von Korab's design (fig. 1).[12] Both buildings are excellent examples of Romantic Historicism, which at the time turned into a kind of Habsburg Monarchy official style, especially in military architecture.

The Ministry of War was also responsible for schools in the Military Frontier *(Militärgrenze/Vojna Krajina)*, until its abolition in 1881. The Military Frontier's administration initiated the construction of a number of school buildings in the last two decades of its existence. Apparently, this was an attempt to improve education in this province, which was characterized by a strict military rule, a very high illiteracy rate, a large rural population, and general economic backwardness.[13]

Maleković (Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 2000), pp. 207–209, here 207; Ivy Lentić Kugli, *Zgrade varaždinske povijesne jezgre* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2001), p. 120. No further information could be found about H. Neumann.

11 Antun Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas*, X (Zagreb: Trošak i naklada Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. Zem. vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1913), p. 424.

12 Nataša Ivančević, "Škole," *Arhitektura historicizma u Rijeci*, ed. Ljubica Dujmović Kosovac, Daina Glavočić, Milica Đilas, Olga Magaš (Rijeka: Moderna galerija Rijeka, Muzej moderne i suvremene umjetnosti, 2001), pp. 266–291, here pp. 266–267.

13 On the Military Frontier's situation, more in: Mirko Valentić, "Borba hrvatskih političkih krugova za razvojačenje Vojne Krajine i njezino sjedinjenje s Hrvatskom", *Vojna Krajina: Povijesni pregled – historiografija – rasprave*, ed. Dragutin Pavličević (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, Centar za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1984), pp. 353–384.

Fig. 2. Wilhelm Doderer, *Pädagogium* (Teacher's Training School) in Petrinja, 1869–71. National and University Library, Zagreb, Print Collection, GZR-PETRINJ-16296.

The most monumental school building project erected at that time on the Military Frontier, the Teacher's Training School *(Pädagogium)* in Petrinja (1869–71), was entrusted to the architect Wilhelm Doderer, a long-time professor at the Vienna Polytechnic. The choice of Doderer can undoubtedly be attributed to the fact that he often worked for the Austro-Hungarian army, as evidenced by the *Korpskommandogebäude* in Vienna (1871–74, not extant),[14] and that the Petrinja School was built under Emperor Francis Joseph I's patronage. This is the first monumental school building example in present-day Croatia built in the Italian Neo-Renaissance style that came to dominate school architecture in the next three decades (fig. 2).

An *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* article on this building points out that the Military Frontier commanders *(Grenzoberst)* chose Doderer because most of the engineers employed in the province's building service had not finished their architecture studies, and few had studied at polytechnic schools. Therefore, their projects were characterized by a "completely deficient

---

14 Doderer also worked on a number of other prestigious projects such as the Peleș Castle of the Romanian Kings in Sinaia; see http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/1036.htm, accessed June 9, 2021. Paolo Cornaglia, "History, national identity and architecture in the last royal palaces in Europe (1861–1930) Turin, Budapest, Bucharest", *Forging architectural tradition: National narratives, monument preservation and architectural work in the nineteenth century*, ed. Dragan Damjanović, Aleksander Łupienko (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2022), pp. 175–195, here pp. 186–187.

sense of form and colour that produced poor results".[15] This situation was meant to be solved by ordering projects from experienced architects.[16] Unfortunately, this source does not say how many projects were actually commissioned by experienced architects, along with Doderer's. In terms of monumentality, style, and quality of decoration, no Military Frontier school building erected during the 1870s is similar to the Petrinja Teachers' Training School. Other larger school buildings erected at that time, such as the *Real-Gymnasium* in Gospić (built in 1869)[17] or the Royal *Gymnasium* in Vinkovci (1877), are much simpler works.[18] Of the smaller buildings, the Neo-Renaissance styled schools erected in 1875 in Karlobag, Petrovaradin, and Slavonski Brod,[19] and the old part of the *Real-Gymnasium* building in Zemun (today in Serbia, erected in 1879–80 according to the engineer Nikola Kolar's project) stand out.[20]

When the Military Frontier was abolished in 1881 and incorporated into Croatia-Slavonia for the most part, and to a lesser extent into Hungary, Vienna's direct influence in this area waned. It would survive, however, in Dalmatia and Istria until 1918, because according to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise these provinces belonged to the Empire's Austrian half. School construction was supervised by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education, which issued a decree on school construction for the Empire's western part on September 6, 1873, stipulating in detail that schools should be free-standing buildings, solidly built, on dry land, and adapted to climatic conditions. They needed to have purposefully arranged interiors with plenty of air and light. If facing a busy street, schools needed to have front yards. The regulation was extremely detailed – among other things, it defined that the light from the window should come from the students' left side, that classrooms should be painted in one colour, what type of space heating should be installed, that each classroom should have a painting of the emperor, etc. Finally, it was prescribed that school buildings should have a "würdiges Aeussere[s]" (dignified exterior), that is, that their façades should correspond to the time's aesthetic standards.[21]

---

15 Wilhelm Doderer, "Das Pädagogium zu Petrinja," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1871), pp. 279- 285, here p. 284, Pl. 42–44 ("[Der] gänzlich mangelnde Sinn für Form und Farbe hat dort allerorten entsetzliche Resultate geliefert").

16 Ibid.

17 Antun Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas*, V (Zagreb: Trošak i naklada Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. Zem. vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910), pp. 446–448.

18 More about the situation in the Military Frontier's public architecture in: Dragan Damjanović, "Building the frontier of the Habsburg Empire: Viennese authorities and the architecture of Croatian-Slavonian military frontier towns, 1780–1881," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 78/2 (2019), pp. 187–207, here pp. 203–204.

19 Antun Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas*, VI (Zagreb: Trošak i naklada Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. Zem. vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1911), p. 151.

20 Ibid., pp. 299–300.

21 Carl Hinträger, *Die Volksschulhäuser in den verschiedenen Ländern, II: Volksschulhäuser in Oesterreich-Ungarn, Bosnien und der Hercegovina* (Stuttgart: Bergsträsser, 1901), pp. 12–26; Elisabeth Kneisz, *Der österreichische*

Fig. 3. Karl Susan, Women's Lyceum of Saint Demetrius, Zadar, 1901–06. National and University Library, Zagreb, Print Collection, GZR-ZAD-35612.

In Dalmatia, a huge number of school buildings was erected in accordance with these rules in the second half of the 19th and in the early 20th centuries. The largest and most lavish buildings were built in the largest cities. In Zadar, the provincial capital, the Women's Lyceum of St. Demetrius (1901–04, fig. 3), the Serbian School (1902), and the Craft School (1909–10) stand out.[22]

In Split, which was Dalmatia's largest city, the Women's Civic School (1896), the Italian Boys' Primary School (1902, built according to the design of the Triestine architect Giorgio Polli), the Women's Primary School in the suburbs of Veli Varoš (1905), the Agricultural school (1903–04), and the *Real-Gymnasium* (1907–10, designed by Heinrich Köchlin, an engineer in the Ministry of the Interior's Building Department in Vienna), were built.[23] Schools built in Šibenik and in Dubrovnik (the Teacher's School from 1901 and the Royal Gymnasium, built in 1912–27) also stand out.[24]

In Istria, the largest number of schools was built in Pula, due to the significant increase in this city's population after this place became, in 1853, the Empire's main war port. The first was the Naval Mechanical School (1870), then the German State *Gymnasium* (1890, built according to local architect Natale Tommasi's design). These were followed by the Šijana district's Primary School (1898 or 1905), the Mechanical Engineering School (1899), the German State Primary School (1908), and the St. Polycarpo Primary School (1912, built by the architect Guido Brass).[25]

Schulbau in der k. u. k. Monarchie (diploma thesis, Technische Universität Wien: Vienna, 2014), pp. 6–8, 26–28.

22 Marija Stagličić, *Graditeljstvo u Zadru 1868–1918* (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti SR Hrvatske, 1988), pp. 77–82, 86, 98–100.

23 Stanko Piplović, *Izgradnja Splita u XIX. stoljeću* (Split: Društvo prijatelja kulturne baštine Split, 2015), pp. 182–192.

24 Jagoda Marković, *Šibenik u doba modernizacije* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica 'Juraj Šižgorić', 2009), pp. 53–57.

25 Attilio Krizmanić, "Prostorni razvitak austrijske Pule," *Pula: Tri tisućljeća mita i stvarnosti*, ed. Elmo Cvek (Pula: C. A. S. H., 2005), pp. 113–192, here 159–160, 163–169.

The Rovinj *Gymnasium* building, erected in 1913 according to the design of the Triestine architect Ludovico Braidotti, is one of the largest school buildings erected in the Empire's southern parts. With its Neo-Renaissance façades, the opening-up of the ground floor with arcades is somewhat reminiscent of the period's hotels, and points to the fact that the architect was obviously trying to adapt to the Mediterranean environment for which he worked and in which he lived. With far more modest façades, which is understandable considering its role, the Poreč Agricultural School's building (1903) is a bit more modern in terms of style.[26]

As these examples demonstrate, in Dalmatia, Istria, and the Empire's other Austrian provinces after the 1867 Compromise, designs for schools were mostly made by the engineers and architects of the Building Department of the Ministry of the Interior in Vienna, and by the provincial State Building Service *(Staatsbaudienst)*, that is by local civil servants, engineers, and architects. There is also an influence from Trieste, the largest Austro-Hungarian port on the Adriatic coast and an important architectural and cultural centre of the Empire's Italians. This is a reflection of the economic, cultural, and ethnic ties of Istria and parts of Dalmatia to this city.

The choice of school buildings' designers was mostly conditioned by the funding authorities' wishes and possibilities. However, as all major projects had to be approved in Vienna, a certain level of control was retained, and sometimes this meant the project's development in Vienna. Furthermore, some buildings were built according to designs by Viennese architects thanks to architectural design tenders. For example, among the 21 projects submitted to the competition for the Lyceum of St. Demetrius in Zadar, the award was given to the Viennese architect Karl Susan, according to whose project the complex was built in 1901–04.[27]

Regardless of who designed school buildings, their Neo-Renaissance and later Art Nouveau façades introduced elements of the Central European architectural tradition into the Mediterranean urban ambience.

School architecture in Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, 1867–1918

In contrast to the situation in Dalmatia, Istria, and the Military Frontier (until its dissolution in 1881), the Triune Kingdom's direct political connection with Vienna weakened from the late 1860s onwards. In accordance with the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 and the Croato-Hungarian Compromise of 1868, this territory became a semi-autonomous province within the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Education in this area

---

26 Milica Đilas, "Historicizam," *Istarska enciklopedija, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža*, Zagreb, accessed May 18, 2021, http://istra.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=1118.

27 Stagličić, *Graditeljstvo u Zadru*, pp. 77–82.
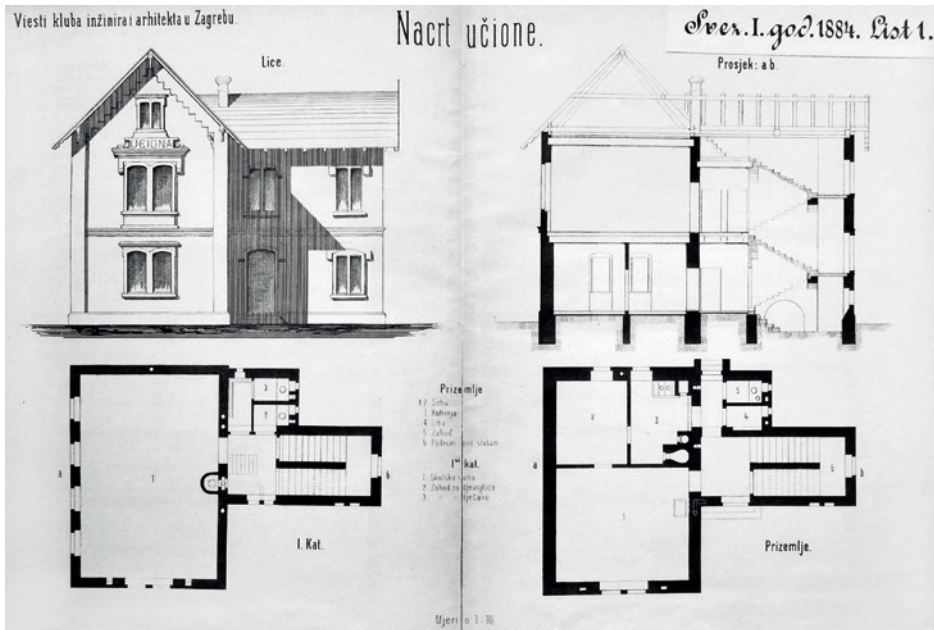
Fig. 4. Matija Antolec, design for an elementary school building, Zagreb. *Viesti Kluba inžinira i arhitekta u Zagrebu* 1 (1884), pl. 1.

began to be largely supervised by the Croatian-Slavonian provincial government's *(Landes-regierung)* Department of Religious and Educational Affairs in Zagreb.[28]

This enabled the Croatian-Slavonian provincial government in Zagreb to have complete freedom in the choice of architects designing buildings for the institutions under its jurisdiction: namely schools, other educational buildings, churches, court buildings, hospitals, and various administration buildings. Most designs for school buildings were therefore entrusted to engineers employed by the Building Section of the Interior Department of the Croatian-Slavonian provincial government, or of local authorities, and to various other Croatian architects, most of whom lived and worked in Croatia-Slavonia's capital, Zagreb.

In May 1876, and thus only a little later than the corresponding Ministry in the Austrian part of the Monarchy, the Department of Religious and Educational Affairs *(Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu/ Kultus- und Unterrichts-Abteilung)* passed regulations on school designs.[29] Parts of the designs made according to these regulations were published in an extremely informative review of primary school architecture in the Austro-Hungarian Mon-

---

28 Hinträger, *Die Volksschulhäuser*, p. 287; Cuvaj, *Grada za povijest školstva*, III, p. 344.

29 Matija Antolec, "Gradnja učiona u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, I," *Viesti Kluba inžinira i arhitekta* 1 (March 31, 1883), pp. 6–7, here p. 7.

Fig. 5. Martin Pilar, primary school and kindergarten in Krajiška Street in Zagreb, 1891. Hinträger, *Die Volksschulhäuser*, p. 351.
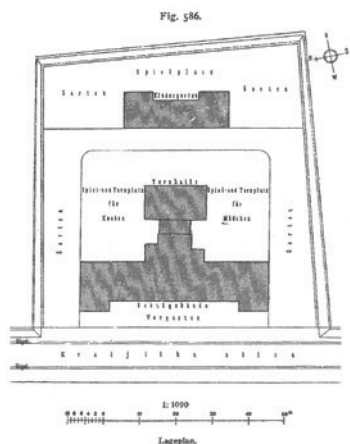
archy: the *Handbuch der Architektur* written by the Viennese architect Carl Hinträger, who with his father Moritz had specialized in designing school buildings.[30]

Hinträger's book and the preserved designs show that, during the 1870s, most of the schools, particularly primary schools, built by the Croatian-Slavonian provincial government were very modest. The situation began to change only in the 1880s, and especially from the 1890s by channelling a far greater amount of funds into school construction. Of the schools built during the 1870s and 1880s, the most prominent were the high school buildings – the Royal *Gymnasium* (1876–77) and the Agricultural School in Požega (1886),[31] the *Real-Gymnasium* in Rakovac near Karlovac (1881–82), and the old Nautical School building in Bakar (1884).[32] They were all one-storey buildings in the (Italian) Neo-Renaissance style.

---

30 Hinträger dealt with the situation in the monarchy's Austrian and Hungarian parts alike, and dedicated special chapters to the territories of Croatia-Slavonia as well as to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, this publication contains very little information about school buildings in Istria and Dalmatia. Hinträger, *Die Volksschulhäuser*, pp. 287–288.

31 A., "Glavna sgrada zavoda za ratare u Požegi," *Viesti Družtva inžinira i arhitekta* 2–3 (October 30, 1887), p. 17.

32 Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva*, VII, pp. 141–144, 146, 213, 301.
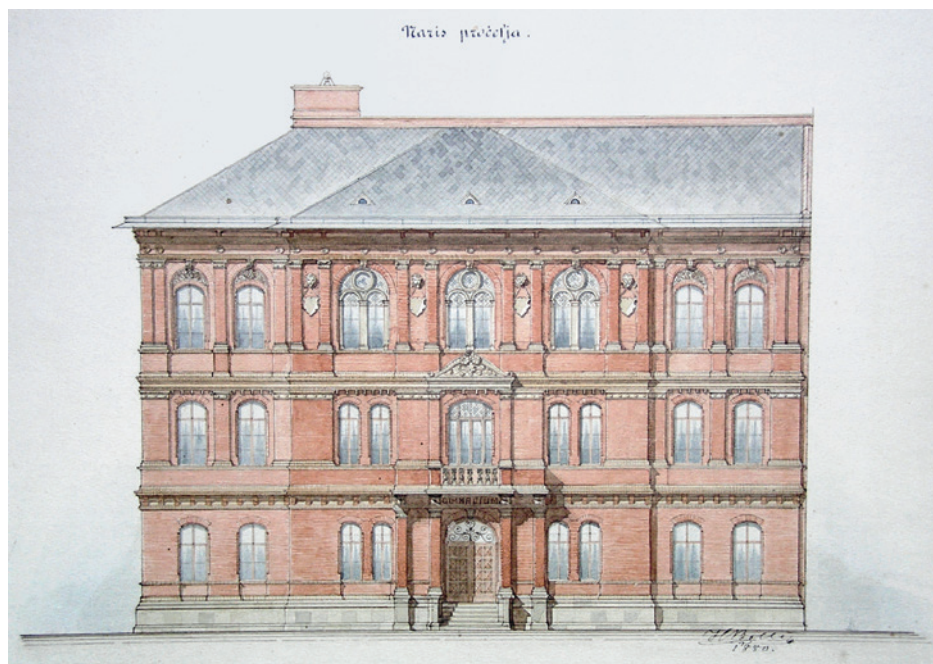
Fig. 6. Herman Bollé, Royal *Gymnasium* in Osijek, 1880–82. Archbishopric Archives in Zagreb, Collection of Architectural Designs, sign. II-45.

Primary schools in villages and even towns were characterized not only by smaller dimensions but often by conservative stylistic solutions, as shown by a group of projects published by the Croatian-Slavonian government engineer Matija Antolec in the official journal of the Association of Architects and Engineers of Croatia and Slavonia in 1882 and 1883,[33] as well as by city engineer Rupert Melkus's project for a school in Zagreb's Kaptol Street (1876, fig. 4).[34] In the second half of the 1880s and in the early 1890s, academically educated architects such as Martin Pilar and Janko Holjac, students of Friedrich Schmidt and now employed by the Croatian-Slavonian government, began to design schools with more lavishly decorated Neo-Renaissance façades.[35] An especially monumental example is Pilar's Primary School and Kindergarten in Krajiška Street in Zagreb (1891, fig. 5).[36]

---

33 Antolec, "Gradnja učiona", pp. 6–7; Matija Antolec, "Gradnja učiona u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, II", *Viesti Družtva inžinira i arhitekta* 1 (November 30, 1884), pp. 3–4.

34 Franjo Seć, "Kaptolska obća pučka škola u Zagrebu," *Viesti Družtva inžinira i arhitekta* 3 (September 30, 1885), pp. 20–21.

35 Croatian State Archives, Internal Department of the Croatian Government, Cultural-Technician Section (HR-HDA-UOZV-KTO), box 3 (5472).

36 Hinträger, *Die Volksschulhäuser*, 351–353.

The first Croatian art historian, Iso Kršnjavi, was extremely dissatisfied with realized projects, and in general with the dominance of the Government Building Section's engineers and architects, and of local authorities in school and public building design. He believed that school building projects should be entrusted to high quality architects in order to improve the situation in Croatian architecture – and that this could be best achieved by organizing public tenders. Actually, his goal was to entrust as many projects as possible to his friend, the architect Herman Bollé, whom he considered Croatia-Slavonia's best designer. With the help of the Bishop of Đakovo, Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the main patron of Croatian artists from the 1860s to the 1880s, he managed to entrust Bollé with the Royal *Gymnasium* project in Osijek. The monumental Neo-Renaissance building of two storeys, built in 1880–82 on the main square of Osijek Fortress, was originally supposed to have a brick ("Rohbau") façade (fig. 6). This specification was eventually abandoned because it would make it look starkly different from its surroundings, which was dominated by Baroque buildings with plastered façades.[37]

In the following period, Kršnjavi entrusted Bollé with the construction of a number of educational buildings in Zagreb: the Chemical Institute for the University of Zagreb (1883), the Craft School with its Museum and Dormitory (1889–91), and the Teacher's Training School (1891–93).[38]

During Kršnjavi's 1891–96 tenure as head of the Department of Religious and Educational Affairs of the Croatian-Slavonian Government, he went one step further and tried to completely take away the responsibility to design school buildings in Croatia-Slavonia from the Building Section's engineers and to entrust it instead to architects specialized in school buildings. As Bollé was busy working on a number of mostly sacral buildings, Kršnjavi began to entrust school projects to the Leipzig architectural firm Ludwig & Hülßner. Their most important work in Croatia-Slavonia is the Zagreb school complex comprising the Royal *Gymnasium*, the *Real-Gymnasium*, and the Trade School (1894–95, fig. 7). The façade of this largest school building erected in today's Croatia during Austro-Hungarian rule is almost a copy of Gottfried Semper's Zurich Polytechnic building. Originally, a number of additional buildings was planned behind it, including a museum, an observatory, and various other institutes. Due to lack of funds, these plans were never implemented.

Apart from Zagreb, Ludwig & Hülßner also made a project for a Royal *Gymnasium* in Sušak (1894–96), a municipality of Croatia-Slavonia adjacent to Rijeka. With its monumentality and position high on a hill above the city located on the Adriatic Sea, it emphasized the Croatian presence on the coast, in the immediate vicinity of Rijeka under Hungarian administration. Furthermore, in the mid-1890s, the same bureau also designed smaller school

37 Dragan Damjanović, "Biskup Strossmayer, Iso Kršnjavi, Herman Bollé i izgradnja zgrade kraljevske velike gimnazije u Osijeku," *Peristil* 49 (2006), pp. 129–150.

38 Dragan Damjanović, *Arhitekt Herman Bollé* (Zagreb: Leykam international, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 2013), pp. 541–556.

Fig. 7. Robert Ludwig & Hülßner, Royal *Gymnasium*, *Real Gymnasium* and Trade School in Zagreb, 1894–95. Ivan Bogavčić's collection of postcards, Zagreb.

Fig. 8. Carl & Moritz Hinträger, Primary school in Osijek, 1893–94. State Archives in Osijek, Collection of Postcards, HR-DAOS-2092 OS-29.

buildings in various towns in Croatia-Slavonia: in Gospić, Ilok, Ruma (now in Serbia), Nova Gradiška, and Karlovac.[39]

Despite the Triune Kingdom's political position and ties to Budapest, some school building projects were still entrusted to Viennese architects because of their expertise, and sometimes the prestige enjoyed by architects from the Monarchy's capital. Thus, in the case of a *Real-Gymnasium* and Trade School's construction (1890) in the fortress area of Osijek,[40] and of the Primary school in the Upper Town Osijek (1893–94, fig. 8),[41] the designs were entrusted to the already mentioned Viennese architects Carl and Moritz Hinträger, who at the time specialized in designing schools and were considered the Empire's best experts in the field.

Only a few prestigious projects could be entrusted to more skilled architects because the Croatian-Slavonian Government did not have enough funds to entrust all school designs to architectural firms – not only ones in Leipizig and Vienna, but even local ones. Many projects were therefore, in spite of Kršnjavi's efforts, made by local or government engineers. In 1895, the government's Building Section developed templates *(Normal-Pläne)* for buildings with simple façades that could be adapted in size to the needs of the place in which a school was being built.[42]

After Kršnjavi left his position as head of the Department of Religious and Educational Affairs in 1896, engineers and architects employed by the Croatian-Slavonian Government took over most school building projects. Therefore, the Viticulture School in Ilok (1899)[43] and the Girls' Vocational School in Zemun (1899)[44] were designed by Janko Holjac, the *Real-Gymnasium* in Bjelovar by Stjepan Podhorsky (1900–01),[45] Križevci Primary School by Vinko Hlavinka (1901),[46] etc. Architect Vincenz Rauscher, another student of Friedrich Schmidt employed in Croatia-Slavonia, was particularly active in this field. He designed a number of schools at the beginning of the 20th century: in Vinkovci (1907), Zagreb (Girls' High School in Draškovićeva Street, 1909), Krapina (1911–13), Našice (1916), etc.[47]

---

39 Dragan Damjanović, "Arhitektonski biro Ludwig & Hülssner i Hrvatska: Od monumentalne neorenesanse do tipskih projekata u suton historicizma," *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam* 28/1[59] (2020), pp. 20–39.

40 "Die neue Realschule," *Die Drau* 124 (October 21, 1890), p. 1.

41 "Zum Baue der Volksschule," *Die Drau* 192 (November 30, 1893), p. 2.

42 About school buildings built in 1890s in Croatia-Slavonia: Antun Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas*, IX (Zagreb: Trošak i naklada Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. Zem. vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1913), pp. 187–210.

43 "Vinogradarska škola u Iloku," *Viesti Družtva inžinira i arhitekta* 4 (July 15, 1907), pp. 47–48.

44 "Djevojačka stručna škola u Zemunu," *Viesti Družtva inžinira i arhitekta* 6 (December 15, 1906), pp. 67–68.

45 Željko Karaula, *Moderna povijest Bjelovara 1871.–2010: Od razvojačenja Varaždinske krajine do suvremenog Bjelovara* (Bjelovar: Nakladnik Horvat, 2012), pp. 233–234.

46 Vinko Hlavinka, "Nova zgrada za pučke škole grada Križevca," *Viesti Družtva inžinira i arhitekta u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji* 2 (1902), pp. 13–15.

47 Darja Radović Mahečić, "Pučka škola arhitekta Vincenza Rauschera u Krapini", *Peristil* 42–43 (1999–2000), pp. 133–144.

It can be concluded that Croatia-Slavonia fully used its autonomy in the field of school architecture. After 1868, most school buildings were designed by local, mostly Zagreb-based architects. In cases when architects from Vienna or some other Central European city were commissioned, it was not a consequence of Croatia-Slavonia's political position but rather a reflection of the authorities' desire to promote high standards in the design of prominent buildings.

An 'east side story': Hungarian architects and school architecture in Croatia-Slavonia, Međimurje and Rijeka, 1868–1918

I have pointed out before that the so-called Triune Kingdom did not have complete autonomy within Hungary. In accordance with the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise of 1868, a large part of the institutions was controlled by Budapest. School buildings demonstrate the extent to which this political situation was reflected in public architecture exceptionally well: schools erected in Croatia-Slavonia by the Royal Hungarian Government's institutions, in the first place by the Royal Hungarian State Railways, were designed by Budapest architects, such as Ferenc Pfaff, who built railway schools in Zagreb and Osijek.[48]

In the parts of present-day Croatia under direct control of Budapest after the Compromise, Hungarian architects were even more prominent. In Međimurje, which formed part of Hungary's Zala Comitate, they designed almost all public buildings. An example is the State Civic School for Boys and Girls in Čakovec, the work of the Budapest-based architect Zoltán Bálint (1898).[49] The situation is similar in Rijeka, where Hungarian institutions, mostly the Hungarian Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education, exclusively commissioned Hungarian architects: Győző Czigler, a distinguished professor at the Budapest Polytechnic, designed the Hungarian State Primary and Girls' High School (1896–97), Ignac Alpár the Grand Academy of Commerce (1899), Sándor Baumgarten and Zsigmond Herczegh the Hungarian Mixed Primary School (1899), and Samu Pecz the State Hungarian Royal Maritime Academy (1902–03). On the other hand, the school buildings erected by Rijeka's City administration were regularly designed by local architects: Giacomo Zammattio designed the School for Boys with the City Library, and the City Museum (fig. 9) and the School for Girls (both were built in 1886–87).[50] Here, as well as in Croatia-Slavonia, the choice of the designer depended on which authority financed the construction of school buildings.

---

48 Dragan Damjanović, "Architectural links between Hungary and Croatia in the 19th century," *Ars et virtus: Croatia-Hungary: 800 years of shared cultural heritage*, ed. Marina Bagarić, Dragan Damjanović, Iva Sudec, and Petra Vugrinec (Zagreb: Klovićevi dvori Gallery, Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2020), pp. 234–257.

49 Maša Hrustek Sobočan, "Unexplored Croatian north: Cross-influences of Croatian and Hungarian architecture in developing cross-border expression at the turn of the 19th century," *Admired as well as overlooked beauty: Contributions to architecture of Historicism, Art Nouveau, early Modernism and Traditionalism*, ed. Jan Galeta, Zuzana Ragulová (Brno: Barrister & Principal, Masarykova Univerzita, 2015), pp. 195–207, here pp. 199, 201.

50 Julija Lozzi Barković, "Arhitektura historicizma u Hrvatskom Primorju i Istri," *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj*, I, pp. 221–229, here pp. 222, 224; Ivančević, "Škole," pp. 272–291.

Fig. 9. Giacomo Zammatio, School for Boys with city library and city museum, 1886–87. Photograph by Dragan Damjanović, 2018.

Irrespective of the identity of the architects who designed Rijeka's schools, the Neo-Renaissance style normally chosen for this building type makes them very similar in character. Their monumentality far surpasses most of the school buildings erected in the Triune Kingdom's jurisdiction, with the exception of the Zagreb and Sušak *gymnasiums*. They were a testimony to this city's prosperity after the Compromise when it began to play the role of Hungary's main export harbour.

Looking for an adequate school style

Thanks to the above decrees, which were very similar in the Empire's western and eastern parts, most schools had a similar spatial concept. Classrooms faced the street while various ancillary rooms, cabinets, and hallways faced the courtyard. In the yard, there was usually a building for physical education, sometimes toilets. Rural schools often contained a teacher's apartment on the ground floor or in an adjacent building.

The decrees did not condition the choice of style, but it is clear from the text's previous part that Italian Neo-Renaissance was the first and most common choice in school building design from the late 1860s until the end of the 19th century. It was a kind of stylistic *lingua franca* of public and residential architecture in most of Europe, including the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.[51] The reasons for this should be sought in the way this style was perceived in the 19th century. For example, the already mentioned Croatian art historian Iso Kršnjavi considered the Renaissance an appropriate style "because we are imbued with the spirit of that movement".[52]

Occasionally, other styles appear in school architecture as well. Herman Bollé, certainly the most experienced architect of Zagreb school buildings, designed the Zagreb Crafts School's exterior (fig. 10) in a Northern Renaissance revival style. This stylistic choice probably alluded to the school's vocation as a place of training in various arts and crafts, with the corresponding ("altdeutsch") style for interior furnishings being very common at the time. This might explain the notable difference of this school's stylistic identity from others'.[53] Elements of this style, probably due to its decorativeness, were also used in school construction in smaller places – for example, for the Primary school in Križevci (1901).

In the coastal parts of today's Croatia, especially in Dalmatia and Istria, and even in the coastal region of Croatia-Slavonia, a greater tendency to rely on the local Mediterranean traditions of medieval or early modern architecture can be noticed. Schools were most often located on the edges of urban cores formed before the 19th century, so the architects tried to

---

51 For the situation in German Empire and in Vienna see: Dieter Dolgner, *Historismus: Deutsche Baukunst 1815–1900* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1993), pp. 48–60, 89–98; Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Baukunst im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970), pp. 173–205.

52 Olga Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj* (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1986), p. 186.

53 Damjanović, *Arhitekt Herman Bollé,* pp. 545–552.

Fig. 10. Herman Bollé, Crafts School and Arts and Crafts Museum, Zagreb, 1887–91. Croatian School Museum, Zagreb, Paris Room, painting by Robert Auer.

Fig. 11. Ćiril Metod Iveković, Primary school in Trogir, 1909. Photograph by Dragan Damjanović, 2011.

Fig. 12. Rodolfo Borri, Provincial women's lyceum in Pula, 1907. National and University Library, Zagreb, Print Collection, GZR-PUL-22762.

evoke with the façades' decoration the *genius loci*, to adapt buildings to their surrounding spaces. The style choice could sometimes be imposed by politics as well. A particularly interesting example is the Primary School building in Trogir, erected according to the project of the Chief Engineer of the Dalmatian Provincial Government's Construction Department in Zadar, Ćiril Metod Iveković in 1909–10 (fig. 11). It was built with a mix of styles on the façades: Venetian (Neo-)Gothic on the ground and on the first floor, and Neo-Renaissance on the second floor, thanks to the intervention of Crown Prince Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who was then very much involved in protecting the Empire's monuments and cityscapes.[54]

After 1900, an increasing number of schools in all provinces were built with elements of Art Nouveau. These are regularly buildings that did not represent a radical, but a classicized version of Art Nouveau. Of especially high quality are the schools designed by the architectural bureau of Viktor Axmann and Ivan Domes from Osijek – the former being that bureau's chief architect. Thanks to the fact that he studied in Munich, Axmann brought the late *Jugendstil* style to Croatia-Slavonia's eastern part. The best realized Axmann school projects

54 Stanko Piplović, *Graditeljstvo Trogira u 19. stoljeću*, (Split: Književni krug, 1996), pp. 98–100; Slavica Marković, *Ćiril Metod Iveković: Arhitekt i konzervator* (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1992), pp. 72–75.

are the *Gymnasiums* in Virovitica (1908)[55] and Ruma (1913–14).[56] A good example of the use of a mixture of Art Nouveau and Historicist elements in Croatia-Slavonia's *fin-de-siècle* school architecture are the Men's Teacher's School in Osijek by architect Stjepan Podhorsky (1901),[57] the new Nautical school in Bakar (1902–03),[58] and the mentioned school buildings designed by Vinko Rauscher.[59]

At the same time, Art Nouveau elements appear on parts of the façade of the mentioned Lyceum of St. Demetrius in Zadar. The Craft School in Zadar, built according to the design of the Dalmatian government's architect/engineer Eneja Nikolić (Enea Nikolich), and the Provincial Women's Lyceum in Pula designed by Rodolfo Borri (1907, fig. 12)[60] are particularly good examples of school buildings with Art Nouveau elements in coastal provinces.

Concluding remarks

School buildings of the 19th and early 20th centuries in today's Croatia tend to be modest in comparison to their counterparts in other areas of the Habsburg Monarchy. They are, at the same time, of great interest because they illustrate splendidly the political framework's influence on architecture. This segment of public architecture clearly testifies to the ways of dissemination of influence in the field of architecture, how architects referred to local building traditions, how Central European patterns were transferred to the Empire's most remote corners, and how they were adapted to a small scale, both in terms of population and in terms of available resources. The dissemination of influence from the Monarchy's major centres, in the first place from Vienna, but also from Budapest, Trieste, and other cities went either through the direct import of projects or indirectly through employment of local engineers and architects educated in the capitals.

School buildings played a great symbolic role – with their architecture, the façades' splendour, the dominance in the urban fabric – they testified to the local and state authorities' successes, to their care for the people's education. The fact that most of them are still used for the same purpose today clearly testifies to how well they were designed and built.[61]

---

55 AD, "Gradnja više i niže djevojačke i muške škole u Virovitici," *Viesti Društva inžinira i arhitekta* 3 (July 1, 1909), p. 53.

56 "Gradnja nove realne gimnazije u Rumi," *Narodna obrana* 240 (October 21, 1913), p. 2.

57 "Nova sgrada mužke učiteljske škole u Osieku," *Viesti Društva inžinira i arhitekta* 7 (November 15, 1901), pp. 107–110.

58 Gustav Hermann, "Nova gradnja kr. nautičke škole u Bakru," *Viesti Hrvatskoga društva inžinira i arhitekta* 4 (August 1, 1904), pp. 43–45.

59 Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva*, X, pp. 188, 221; Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva*, IX, pp. 192–197.

60 Jagoda Marković, "Pula – *K. u. K.* slika grada," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 30 (2006), pp. 215–228, here p. 225.

61 This work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2018-01-9364 *Art and the State in Croatia from the Enlightenment to the Present*.

Miroslav Malinović (Banja Luka)

Unifying and diverse? The architecture of school buildings in Banja Luka under Austro-Hungarian rule (1878–1918)

Following the advent of Habsburg rule in 1878, the former Ottoman provincial centre of Banja Luka gradually acquired the looks of a typical Central European town of a similar size. Buildings associated with the military and public authorities spurred a development that is still noticeable today – in spite of the losses incurred by the devastating 1969 earthquake. Construction activities' focus shifted northward from the old Ottoman centre toward what was then called the 'Latin quarter' (*Latinska četvrt*, sometimes also *Latinski šeher*).

Many of the new buildings hosted institutions that did not previously exist in the local environment, such as interconfessional public schools or banks, that invested them not only with architectural but also social significance. Educating many later notable and influential local figures, schools of different types and sizes played an important role in the local environment's development.

This paper first surveys the general historical context and architectural settings in which such education facilities were constructed. It will then examine the diversity of architectural styles characterizing local schools, from the Neo-Renaissance to the Orientalizing ('Moorish') style. Because only three of the seven objects discussed here have survived, I will also provide information regarding their erstwhile location, historical documentation, and fate in light of later transformations.

From Ottoman to Habsburg Banja Luka: Urban formations and transformations

While its surroundings have been settled for millennia, Banja Luka as such was first mentioned in 1494.[1] It formed part of the Hungarian Banate of Jajce, conquered and abolished in 1528 by the forces of Süleyman the Magnificent.[2] The subsequent period was the city's most prosperous during the Ottoman centuries. Banja Luka, eventually upgraded to the Bosnian province's capital, acquired a typical Ottoman provincial town's appearance. Development focused around the medieval fortress's ("Kastel") walls on both banks of the Vrbas River. Mosques marked the midpoints of residential neighbourhoods *(mahalas)*, around which sin-

---

1   Srećko Mato Džaja, *Banja Luka u putopisima i zapisima* (Banja Luka: Glas, 1962) p. 5.
2   Dragiša Spremo, *Banja Luka: Istorija, kultura, privreda* (Banja Luka: Književni klub, 1966), p. 155.

gle-family houses were grouped in irregular patterns. Walls along narrow streets outlined the borders between households. Muslims tended to concentrate in the settlement's southern parts and non-Muslim (i.e., Orthodox, Catholic, and Jewish) populations in the northern suburbs.

On the eve of the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia, Banja Luka was a midsize Ottoman provincial town. Its convenient geographical position, railway accessibility, proximity to natural resources, and mild climate helped its rapid development between 1878 and 1918. This development focused on the northern suburbs with their predominantly non-Muslim populations and underdeveloped infrastructures. The historical Roman Salt Road, already widened under the Ottomans in 1858–60, became the emerging modern city's backbone. It was in or around the street thereafter referred to as *Kaiserstraße* (today *Ulica kralja Petra I Karađorđevića*) that the authorities focused their constructions. Next to banks, hospitals, and industrial facilities, they included the main railway station *(Banja Luka Stadtbahnhof)* and a major shopping street (*Herrengasse,* today's *ulica Veselina Masleša*) as well as a military headquarters *(Militäramtsgebäude).*

As one of the new authorities' first actions, a detailed land property register (the so-called *Kataster*) was drawn up between 1880 and 1884. It resulted in a map (known as "the Austrian map") highly important for understanding Banja Luka's development. Scaled 1 : 25,000, it identified existing buildings, buildings to be demolished, and locations of future constructions.[3] Furthermore, a new building code *(Bauordnung)* was adopted in 1880. A governmental constructions department established itself in Sarajevo, with a branch office installed at Banja Luka, which became a provincial administrative centre of the first order (*Kreis*). Next to the government, Catholic institutions, too, acted as significant developers. They erected churches and schools as well as upscale rental properties.

The Crkvena River, previously visible in the area of today's *Bulevar Cara Dušana*, came to act as a border between the old (Ottoman) and the new (Austro-Hungarian) Banja Luka. With the focus of building activities having shifted to the largely undeveloped northern neighbourhoods, the integrity of the Ottoman period's architectural fabric was not endangered. Many planning directives of this period were sustained in the interwar period, when Banja Luka became the centre of the Vrbaska Banovina (1929–41) of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. More than political events, the devastating earthquake of 1969 proved a turning point. Many of the Habsburg period's buildings were damaged and demolished in its wake.

---

3   Miroslav Malinović, *A monograph: The architecture in Banja Luka during the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1918* (Banja Luka: Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering, University of Banja Luka, 2014) p. 51.
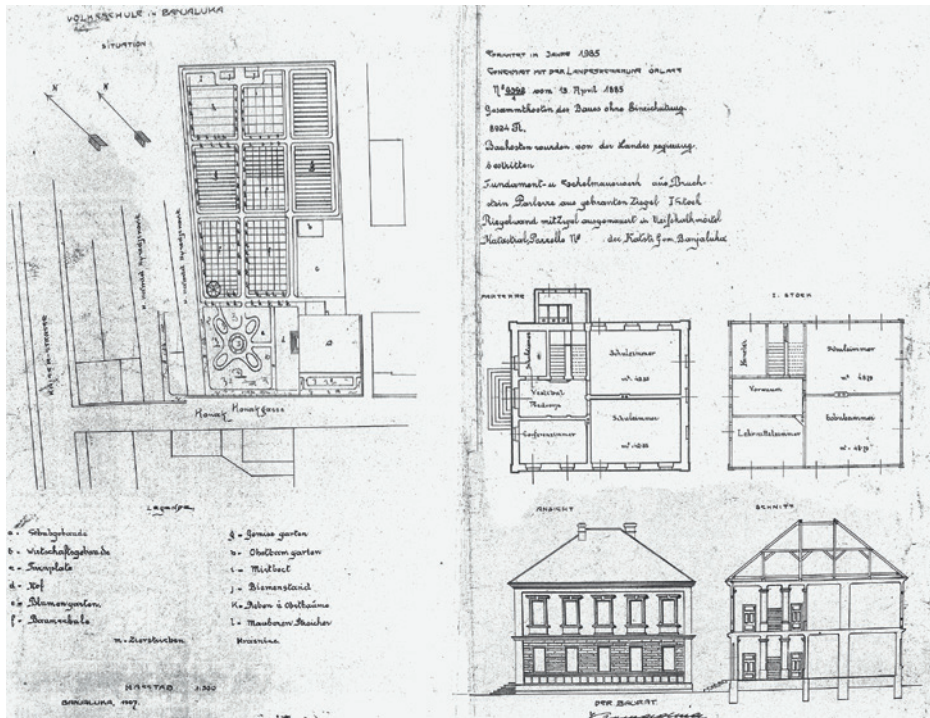
Fig. 1. Banja Luka, Tsar's school, original project documentation with the site plan, floor plans, section and elevation views; drawings dated to 1907. Archival collection of Museum of Republic of Srpska.

Schools buildings in Banja Luka, 1878–1918

Public schools

The first elementary school *(Volksschule)*

The Ottoman period left a rather modest legacy of educational buildings in Bosnia. The Habsburg period's first school buildings are similarly unassertive. The *Volksschule* (fig. 1), also known as *Carska škola* ("Emperor's School"), was among such. Prior to its demolition, it was located along the *Kaiserstraße*'s southern part, in the *čaršija*, just south of the city's main mosque *(Ferhadija)*.

This school's exact date of establishment could not be verified. In a project drawing dating to 1907, the school building's construction is dated to 1885. However, its construction was already earmarked on the 1880–84 cadastral map, indicating a longer planning phase.[4]

Stylistically, this was not a great leap from the area's traditional house aesthetics. According to information from 1907, the foundations were of rubble masonry, the ground floor

---

4   Đorđe Mikić, Banja Luka, *Kultura građanskog društva* (Banja Luka: Institut za istoriju, 2004), p. 336.

was brick, while for the upper floor a construction technique mixing brick, timber, and lime mortar was used. The project drawing may indicate that it was only around 1907 that the building received its Historicizing façade and a landscaped garden. After the 1969 earthquake, the local university's Faculty of Electrical Engineering was erected in its stead.

The elementary school in Gornji Šeher

This four-grade elementary school located in the outlying neighbourhood of Srpske Toplice (historically Gornji Šeher) is the only preserved Orientalizing style example of architecture in Banja Luka (fig. 2). Moreover, it is the oldest educational building in Banja Luka that still serves its original purpose. In spite of claims that it was erected in 1894,[5] the Archive of the Republika Srpska includes documentation ("Plan für eine IV klassige Elementarschule in Gornji Šeher") indicating that it dated only to May, 1896. It attributes the design to *Kreisingenieur* Franz von Mihanovich, assisted by *Ing[enieurs]-Adj[un]kt* Paul Pirckmayer. The choice of an Orientalizing style for this school may be connected with the local environment: Gornji Šeher, one of Banja Luka's oldest *mahala*s, was at the time predominantly populated by Muslims.[6]

The school has an L-shaped footprint, with a strong and slightly detached main façade oriented towards the old *mahala* of Gornji Šeher and the Vrbas River. Its basement is of stone, while the ground and first floors were built of brick; its floors are wooden, while the staircase was built from concrete.

The main, eastern façade, is the only face entirely treated with decorative plaster elements. It features polychrome horizontal façade banding, originally most probably in red and beige, and is richly structured with horseshoe-arched windows on the first floor and rectangular ones on the ground floor, surmounted by plaster decoration in imitation of a jack arch. A simple cornice separates the two floors. The roof is a typical wooden construction. On the façade it is emphasized with widely overhanging eaves supported on wooden corbels – a distinctive feature of Orientalising style buildings.[7] By contrast, the northern entrance façade is very simple. Besides entrance doors, still with original preserved wooden carvings, it features pairs of horseshoe-arched windows, corresponding to staircase landings.

The building has managed to preserve most of its original elements and façade design in spite of major interventions since its construction. On the southern side, an annex with additional classrooms and a sports-hall was added, so that the former southern façade is now used as an interface with the new building. The western façade's ground floor windows were closed so that another extension could serve as the new main entrance. Another addition is

---

5 Ljiljana Ševo, *Urbanistički razvoj Banje Luke* (Banja Luka: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode Banja Luka, 1996), p. 95.

6 Maximilian Hartmuth, "Orientalizing architecture in northern Bosnia under Habsburg rule: Exaggerating alterity as a means of cohesion?" *Savremena teorija i praksa u graditeljstvu* 14/1 (2020), 184–195, here 185–187.

7 Ibid., p. 186.

Fig. 2. Banja Luka, school in Gornji Šeher, view from the north-eastern corner. Photograph by the author.

the chimney for a central heating system, added to the northern façade. Finally, the façade's colouring scheme has changed over time to reddish-pink and yellow.

The building is recorded in the Preliminary list of the National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[8]

The high school (Ober-Realgymnasium)

The first great classical *Gymnasium*s in Bosnia and Herzegovina were founded in 1879 in Sarajevo and in 1894 in Mostar.[9] There was an initiative for a second Sarajevo *gymnasium*, but Viennese authorities preferred its construction in Banja Luka.[10] Surprisingly, the institution was first located in a building previously used as a Muslim elementary school *(mekteb)* before it received a purpose-built home.

The building plot selected for the high school (referred to either as *Ober-Realgymnasium*[11] or *Oberrealschule*[12] in German sources) was on a site rising above the old market place, with the *Kastel* across the Crkvena River. The street was later named *Gymnasiumstraße*, today corresponding to the *Ulica Ive Lole Ribara*.

---

8 Bosnia and Herzegovina, Commission to preserve National Monuments. *List of the Provisional National Monuments.* (Sarajevo: Commission to preserve National Monuments, April 21, 2021), accessed May 14, 2021, http://kons.gov.ba/data/Novi %20dokumenti/Peticije/Privremena_lista_sa_donesenim_odlukama_43_sjed nica-21042021.pdf

9 They moved into purpose-built edifices only in 1889 and 1898/1902, respectively.

10 Mitar Papić, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske okupacije, 1878–1918* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1972), p. 114.

11 Srećko Mato Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche (1878–1918): Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1994) pp. 65–83.

12 Petar Vrankić, *Religion und Politik in Bosnien und der Herzegowina (1878–1918)* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1998), p. 218.

Fig. 3. Sarajevo, *Gymnasium*, view of main façade. Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina, ZVS-zbirka nacrta, K. 66.

Even though it was nowhere referred to as the new building's model, it is clear that the Sarajevo *Gymnasium* building (designed by Karel Pařík, August Butscha, and Karl Panek) decisively influenced the appearance of the main façade design in Banja Luka (fig. 3). Both buildings are morphologically connected with the Academy of Fine Arts building in Vienna (1877) by Theophil Hansen. Taking into account that Pařík was one of Hansen's students, the relation between these projects is understandable.

The Banja Luka *gymnasium* project was signed by M. V. Vitzinger and V. Brückner, but it is still unclear if they were technicians, as one source advances,[13] or architects by education. A construction manager named Hypolit Pokorný, already working in Banja Luka, supervised the construction works that started in 1892.[14] The building was partially completed and opened for public use in 1898, when the institution transferred from the old *mekteb* to the new facility. At first only the oblong section with the main façade was constructed. Subsequently, again according to the initial project, additional wings were built. A first extension was built in 1903, most probably by Josip Blažeković,[15] resulting in an F-shaped footprint. A second extension followed in 1931, notably in the period of the first Yugoslavia. At that point, the building's footprint took the shape of an E.

If compared with the Sarajevo *gymnasium* project by Pařík, Butscha, and Panek, only a few differences on the main façade can be identified. In Banja Luka, the rusticated ground floor's window openings had a semi-circular rather than a horizontal finish. The attic walls above the lateral projections were pierced by windows in Sarajevo, but merely decorated in

---

13 Siniša Vidaković, *Arhitektura državnih javnih objekata u BiH od 1878. do 1992. godine* (Banja Luka: Arhitektonsko-građevinski fakultet Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci, 2011), p. 65.

14 Milutin Vujić and Nikola Zeljković, *Sto godina Banjalučke gimnazije, 1895–1995* (Banja Luka: Glas srpski, 1996), p. 16.

15 Vidaković, *Arhitektura,* p. 68.
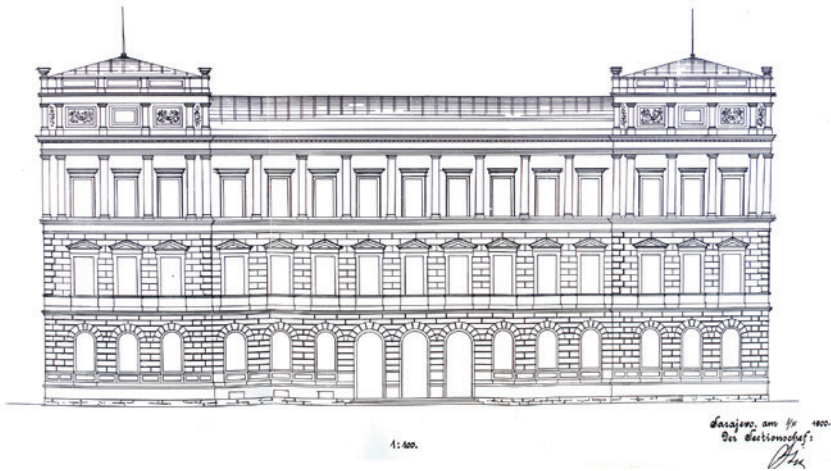
Fig. 4. Banja Luka, *Ober-Realgym-nasium*, view of elevation from the south, main façade. Archive of Republic of Srpska.

Fig. 5. Banja Luka, *Ober-Realgym-nasium*, view of the south-eastern corner after addition of the eastern wing in 1931. Snežana Vicić/Dragan Vicić, *Pozdrav iz Banjaluke: Banjaluka na starim razglednicama* (Belgrade: Atelje Vicić, 2006), p. 149.

Banja Luka (fig. 4). Nonetheless, aesthetics, materiality, general image, and proportions were very similar in both buildings.

The main façade is symmetrical with a fairly wide central part and two lateral projections, developing into wings, resulting an E-shaped footprint. The floor levels are separated with horizontal cornices emphasizing not only the structure but also the differences between the decorations used. The ground floor echoes the Renaissance Revival with its discreet rustication and semi-circular façade openings without additional stylistic features. The first floor windows were surmounted by triangular roofings; the rustication is lighter. By contrast, the second floor was completely plastered, with pilasters marking the intervals between the windows (fig. 5).

The building was designed with a cellar, a ground floor, and two upper stories, while the planned sports hall was never executed. From the structural point of view, a traditional massive system was used with walls made out of a combination of brick and stone, with wooden floors and a tile-covered roof.

The first major interventions took place in 1946/47, after the Allied bombing in 1944. The building was again devastated in the great 1969 earthquake. Having suffered substantial damage, it was completely torn down on January 31, 1970.[16] In 1974, the complex housing the Museum of the Republic of Srpska and the Children's Theatre was built in its stead.

Vocational School for Girls

The Vocational School for Girls was opened on October 1, 1898.[17] The building project's author is unknown, but possibly it was a provincial engineer. Stylistically, this simple building may be described as neo-Renaissance. It was originally located on today's *Aleja Svetog Save*, which previously connected *Kaiserstrasse* with the Military complex named *Vrbas*, just across from the Metropolitan's Palace. It first operated as a four-grade school and later extended to a five-year programme.

The building had an elongated floor plan with the classrooms oriented toward the main street. On the main façade we find a shallow central avant-corps with a slight variation in window roofings (fig. 6). Horizontal cornices were used to divide levels, with a dominant one below the roof line.

The building's main part was demolished after the 1969 earthquake, while the rear part survives. It consisted of a first extension for schooling purposes and a second one hosting a single-volume sports hall with lofty arched windows. The sports hall was remodelled as a cinema after 1969. In 2020, even that remaining part of the initial structure was demolished in order to be replaced by a multi-story building.

Religious schools

While the new authorities' emphasis was on public constructions serving all groups, religious communities were free to erect new facilities on their own. Some of these buildings significantly contributed to the urban landscape's aesthetics.

---

16 Srećko Mato Džaja, *Banjalučka realka* (Banja Luka: Glas, 1980), pp. 30–31.

17 Snežana Vicić and Dragan Vicić, *Pozdrav iz Banjaluke: Banjaluka na starim razglednicama* (Belgrade: Atelje Vicić, 2006) p. 144.

Fig. 6. Banja Luka, vocational school for girls, view of the north-eastern corner, main façade with entrance area on photograph of 1905. Vicić/Vicić, *Pozdrav*, p. 145.

Fig. 7. Banja Luka, Serbian primary school, view of the southwestern corner. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 8. Banja Luka, *gymnasium* of the convent of the Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent de Paul, view of main façade and courtyard from the northwest. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 9. Banja Luka, school of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ, main façade on postcard issued in 1908. Vicić & Vicić, *Pozdrav*, p. 146.

The Serbian primary school

During the Ottoman period, the Bosnian Orthodox community's first primary school was established in 1832;[18] the one in Banja Luka followed in 1856. A new primary school building, attended by both girls and boys, was built much later, in 1907 (fig. 7). It was situated just next to a non-extant Orthodox church in the former *Herrengasse*'s northern section.[19]

The single-storey building has a curious H-shaped footprint, with entrances on the side rather than from the street. This may reflect an original division into sections for boys and girls, which is continued even today, after the building lost its educational function, with different utilities housed in the two parts.

---

18 Vrankić, *Religion,* p. 81.

19 *Banja Luka u novijoj istoriji 1878–1945: Zbornik radova s naučnog skupa održanog Banjoj Luci od 18.11. do 20.11.1976,* ed. Nikola Babić (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 1978), p. 58.

Construction materials are simple: the cellar walls are made of stone, the ground floor walls of brick, and floor and roof elements are wooden. The façade is embellished with floral stucco elements around windows and on corners.

With the majority of architectural features preserved in the original state, the building is listed as a Provisional National Monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

School of the Sisters of Mercy

The largest religious school in Banja Luka was the *gymnasium* of the Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent de Paul convent, located in former *Salvatorgasse*, later *ul. Grga Martić*, today *ul. Srpska* (fig. 8). Different architects are credited for this complex:[20] Eberhard Wegnandt, a favourite Catholic architect at the time, is mentioned by some authors,[21] whereas Ivan Blažeković is mentioned in another source.[22]

The building was constructed in 1910, and equipped and furnished in 1911.[23] It is the only part of the convent's complex that survived the earthquake. It is also an early example of a building with reinforced concrete floors in Banja Luka. Moreover, its reduced façade stands out for providing a glimpse of modernist influence. The ground floor with rusticated plastered decoration is separated from upper floors with a strong horizontal plastered band. The two upper floors feature a symmetrical window layout with a geometrical plastered decoration between the floors, and a barely visible floral decoration just below the roof cornice, while horizontal plastered bands round up the overall façade layout. The former convent with the school building is on the Provisional National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina list.

The girls' high school of the Order of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ

As the only Banja Luka building with notable Art Nouveau features, its demolition in the post-earthquake era represents a major loss (fig. 9). This school for girls was located on a site adjacent to *Kaiserstraße*, across from the Cathedral, alongside the Convent of Mary Help of Christians *(Mariahilf)*, inhabited by nuns of German and Austrian nationality. The complex was built in 1888; the first school on the premises was opened in 1890, with the first high

---

20 Franjo Marić and Anto Orlovac, *Banjolučka biskupija u riječi i slici od 1881. do 2006: povodom 125. obljetnice utemeljenja Biskupije* (Banja Luka: Biskupski Ordinariat Banja Luka, 2006), pp. 568–583; Miroslav Malinović, "The architecture and historical development of the convents in Banja Luka in the period between 1878 and 1918," *ACEG+ Journal for Architecture, Civil Engineering, Geodesy and other related scientific fields* (2014), pp. 138–155, here 140–148.

21 Ljiljana Ševo, *Urbanistički razvoj Banje Luke* (Banja Luka: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode Banja Luka, 1996), pp. 114–115; Vidaković, *Arhitektura,* p. 89.

22 Marić and Orlovac, *Banjolučka biskupija,* p. 570. Note the identical surname with the aforementioned Josip Blažeković.

23 Ibid.

school for girls in operation as early as 1894. A new building, intended for educational purposes specifically, was constructed in 1903.[24]

The main façade featured a shallow but heavily decorated central avant-corps. The rest of the façade was characterized by horizontal bands and simple window details on the ground floor, gradually expanding to floral stucco decorations on upper floors, and reaching the arched gable wall's peak with sculptures in front of a painted field.

In 1946, following the expulsion of its original owners, the school was converted into a public school. It was heavily damaged in 1969 during the earthquake, and later demolished. In its stead was constructed the Yugoslav State Army Cultural Centre, today the Palace of Assembly, in 1973/74.

Conclusion

Banja Luka's Habsburg-period development was characterized by new parts being attached to the old parts. However, the development occurred in limited areas isolated from each other. This provided some of the new architecture with an implantation-like quality. Schools emerged in both old and new quarters, and their styles were similarly heterogeneous. In part, this may reflect the fact that some of the architects employed were government-employed while others were independently commissioned. The unfortunate loss of several of these buildings not only deprived Banja Luka of a part of its history; it also obscured a remarkable stylistic diversity.

---

24 Malinović, *Architecture in Banja Luka,* p. 138–139.

Ajla Bajramović & Caroline Jäger-Klein (Vienna)

From Ottoman *konak* to *Bezirksamt*: The creation of Travnik's Austro-Hungarian administrative complex

Bosnia and Herzegovina's architectural fabric reveals the historical presence of both the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires.[1] During Ottoman rule, which began in 1463/82, the development of cities parallelled the introduction of characteristic Islamic building types such as mosques and madrasas.[2] From 1878 to 1918, the country was governed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Within that short 40-year time span Bosnia underwent a period of accelerated modernization and urbanization.[3] Imbedding a Western concept of urbanity in Bosnia also entailed the establishment of a European urban infrastructure – at least in the provincial centers.[4] In the city of Travnik, one such provincial centre, we identified a unique and partially preserved administrative building complex datable to both the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods. Using it as a case study, this paper aims to show the different ways in which administrative objects in Bosnia were used, repurposed, adapted, and interpreted, and how, through various architectural styles, they reflected Habsburg Bosnia's political climate.[5]

Formation and significance of Travnik

Travnik is a mid-sized town in central Bosnia, located on the banks of the Lašva river. The area was most likely inhabited as early as the sixth century, but it was not until 1244 when it was first mentioned in the sources and established as a settlement with a medieval forti-

---

1   For the sake of simplicity, in the following text we will hereafter use Bosnia to refer to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2   Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A short history* (New York: NYU Press, 1996), p. 68; Sanja Kadrić, "Islamisation of Ottoman Bosnia: Myths and matters," *Islamisation: Comparative perspectives from history*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock (Edinburgh: University Press, 2017), pp. 277–295, here p. 278.

3   Iljas Hadžibegović, *Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća* (Sarajevo: Institut za Istoriju 2004), p. 27. According to a report from 1907, the government emerged as the largest owner in the industry and business sectors, owning and maintaining 64 of the 231 companies operating in the country at the time.

4   Ajla Bajramović, Caroline Jäger-Klein, and Lukas Stampfer, "Fire prevention in Ottoman and Habsburg building codes for Bosnia and their application in Travnik" (paper presented online at the 12th International Conference on Structural Analysis of Historical Constructions 2021, Barcelona, September 29 – October 1, 2021). Available online at https://uscholar.univie.ac.at/detail/o:1084338.

5   This paper forms part of a project that received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement No. 758099 – project "Islamic Architecture and Orientalizing Style in Habsburg Bosnia, 1878–1918", 2018–2023, PI: Dr. Maximilian Hartmuth, ercbos.univie.at).

fication (*Stari Grad* or *Kaštel*).[6] Around 1527, after the Ottoman conquest of Jajce, many smaller settlements in the area, including Travnik, developed into predominantly Muslim urban centers.[7] During the 16th century, Travnik already attained the status of a *kasaba* (town), distinguished by at least one Friday mosque *(džamija)* and a market *(čaršija)*.[8] In 1699 the capital of the Ottoman region *(ejalet)* of Bosnia and, therefore, the residence of Bosnian viziers was relocated from Sarajevo to Travnik.[9] In addition to gaining political importance, Travnik's economy grew rapidly as it developed into a distinct trade and crafts center.

When, in 1878, Bosnia was placed under Austro-Hungarian administration, Bosnia remained divided into six provinces *(sandžaks)*, which the Habsburgs renamed into *Kreise*.[10] Within the *Kreis* of Travnik, there were also lower-ranked administrative bodies, namely the district *(Bezirk)* as well as the city municipality of Travnik *(Gemeinde)*. After Bosnia switched from military to civilian administration in 1879,[11] and the transfer of administrative objects followed in 1881,[12] that schemes for settlements' regulated development were drawn up.[13] During this time several modern building complexes intended for military, social, and religious infrastructural use were also inserted into Travnik's cityscape.[14]

Following the Austro-Hungarian Empire's fall, Travnik became part of Yugoslavia. After Bosnian independence (1992/95), it became the capital of the Central Bosnian Canton *(Srednjobosanski Kanton)* of the Federatian of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Not least due to Ivo Andrić's 1945 Nobel prize winning novel *The Days of the Consuls* ("Travnička hronika"),[15] Travnik became a popular tourist town, represented among Bosnians as the "Vizier's Town" *(Grad Vezira)*. Its most prominent sightseeing locations include the viziers' mausoleums *(Turbeta pod lipom),* a late Ottoman mosque known as *Šarena džamija*, and the medieval castle. For most Bosnians, and for Travnik's inhabitants in particular, the most prosperous

---

6 Fatima Maslić, *Starine i muzeji Travnika* (Zagreb: Turistički savez Travnik, 1990), pp. 4–5.

7 Kadrić, "*Islamisation of Ottoman Bosnia,*" p. 278.

8 Hamdija Kreševljaković and Derviš M. Korkut, *Travnik u prošlosti 1464–1878* (Travnik: Zavičajni Muzej Travnik, 1961), pp. 48–50.

9 Maslić, *Starine i muzeji Travnika,* p. 6.

10 Robert J. Donia, *Islam under the double eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1878–1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981)*,* pp. 9–13. The country's six regions (*Kreise*) were Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, Banja Luka, Bihać, and Travnik.

11 Ernest Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler: 40 Jahre österreichische Verwaltung in Bosnien-Herzegowina* (Vienna/Munich: Herold, 1971), p. 50.

12 Edmund Stix, *Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom Beginn der Occupation durch die österr.-ung. Monarchie bis in das Jahr 1887: Eine technisch-statistische Studie [etc.]* (Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1887), p. 83 ("im Jahre 1881 werden die vormals ottomanischen Objekte, welche für das Militärärar keinen Wert mehr haben, dem Landesärar, also der Zivilverwaltung zur Nachnutzung oder Demolierung übergeben").

13 Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler*, p. 50.

14 Bajramović, Jäger-Klein, and Stampfer, "Fire prevention in Ottoman and Habsburg building codes for Bosnia," 2021.

15 Andrić's novel focuses on the historical, social, and political events of Ottoman Travnik over the span of seven years (1807–14). For this paper, one of the most important pieces of information the novel provided is the descriptions of several surviving Ottoman-era monuments – in particular the *konak* building.

period in the city's history was when it served as Ottoman Bosnia's administrative 'capital', with little regard for its development in the Austro-Hungarian period.

The Ottoman *konak* in Travnik and its modifications under the Austro-Hungarian building code

During Ottoman rule more than 77 viziers resided in Travnik. They carried out their official duties from an administrative and residential building termed *konak*.[16] The Travnik *konak* was most likely erected sometime between 1699, when the town started operating as the provincial capital, and 1749, when it was first mentioned in the sources.[17] Even though that building was demolished in 1950, its original shape and layout is documented in detailed building surveys by Austro-Hungarian architects and engineers. An elaborate model of the *konak*, made by Zlatko Hodnik in 2012, is on display in Travnik's local museum.[18]

Erecting this administrative complex in Travnik's undeveloped western part resulted in the formation of a second commercial center around the vizier's residential-administrative complex – the so-called upper market *(gornja čaršija)*. [19] This turned Travnik into a double-bazaar town. One of the earliest, and most elaborate sources on the *konak* complex is a map of Travnik from 1783 by "Gollubovich and Mattuch" (fig. 1).[20] It documents the entire town and identifies the prominent buildings in an index. In the town's western part, parallel to the newly created upper market in the north, and the Lašva river in the south, we see a large area with several elongated buildings around a long stretched courtyard, and an adjacent garden around it. We will refer to this area as the *Vizier's konak complex* (fig. 2). According to this map, the site was only accessible through a gated portal from the upper market's main street. From there, passing by the courtyard and a fountain *(des Pascha hoff und Brun)*, visitors were led straight to the main *konak* building *(Pascha Wohnung)*. The map showed an additional summer reception pavilion (*Lust-Haus*) and gardens to the east, with the kitchen *(Kuchel des Pascha)* placed right on the Lašva riverbank. There is also one other quadrangular building which, according to several Austro-Hungarian situation and survey plans retrieved from the Travnik Cantonal Archive *(Kantonalni Arhiv Travnik),* can be identified as an additional building named "small *konak*" *(Kleiner Konak)*.[21]

---

16 *Konak* – In the Ottoman Empire, every larger detached building owned by a noble gentleman and his family was called a *konak*. The specific building in Travnik is actually the residence of the dignitary *(vezir, vali)* administrating the Ottoman province of Bosnia, i. e., a building with a public and private function (also *vali konağı* in Turkish).

17 Zlatko Hodnik and Fatima Maslić, *Travnik vezir konaği maketi* (Travnik: Kantonalni Arhiv Travnik, 2012), p. 12.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., p. 11.

20 Zijad Šehić and Ibrahim Tepić, *Povijesni atlas Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Sejtarija, 2002), pp. 132–133.

21 The information available on the small *konak* building's function and the history is rather scarce. Other than a

Fig. 1. Plan of Travnik from 1783.
Zijad Šehić and Ibrahim Tepić,
Povijesni atlas Bosne i Hercegovine (Sarajevo: Sejtarija, 2002),
p. 132.

Fig. 2. Plan of Travnik from 1783
(detail from fig. 1).

The next source on the building's condition appears in plan or situation documentation from a hundred years later, during Austro-Hungarian rule. In the winter of 1882, the *konak* building was surveyed by Joseph Budau and Joseph Svoboda, engineers of Travnik's newly established construction department (fig. 3).[22] These documents show that the *konak* was not only

handful of period photographs from the 1930s, very little is known about the object itself. It was a small square shaped one-story building with a hipped roof. From the 1895 renovation plan it can be concluded that the *konak* was still in use during the Austro-Hungarian period, as the works on the object were related to a sanitary upgrade. On the eastern side of the building two toilets were added with the connecting sewage line. It was used by the military as the *Offiziers-Menage* until the erection of the *Militär Casino* in 1906. The small *konak* was presumably in use during the first half of the 20th century – after which the building was most likely demolished.

22 The empire's state handbook, titled *Hof- und Staatshandbuch der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, contained a subsection on Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1891 until 1918. It was comprised of meticulous entries of the names and ranks of all government employees, including engineers and architects appointed in the country's six provinces. From these entries we can see that Joseph Budau (miswritten as Buddan in 1891 and Budaus in
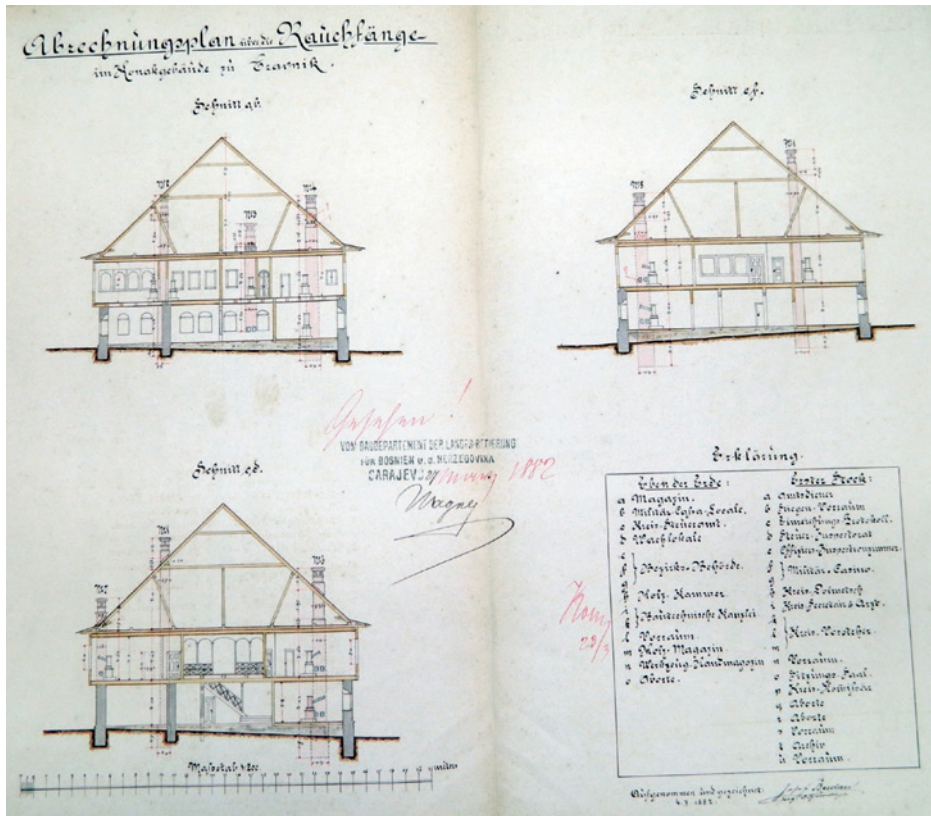
Fig. 3. Section plan of the Travnik *konak* from 1882. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, ZVS 1918, Inv. Nr. 412 and 248–9. Photograph by Andrea Baotić-Rustanbegović.

surveyed but also modified – a procedure necessary in order to bring the building up to par with the new building code.[23]

1892) served as Travnik province's chief engineer (*Kreis Ingenieur*) from 1891 until 1893. He was succeeded by Joseph Svoboda, who acted as chief engineer from 1894 until 1912. Budau was born on June 18th 1854 in Komárno in today's Slovakia, and studied engineering at the Polytechnical Institute (nowadays: Technische Universität) Vienna from 1869/70 until 1874/75.

23 Miroslav Prstojević, *Forgotten Sarajevo* (Ljubljana: Optima, 1999), p. 66. In August 1879 there was a major conflagration in Sarajevo, where 304 houses, 434 shops, and 135 other buildings burned down. In order to avoid the repetition of such a disaster, the main construction department in Sarajevo implemented a new Building Code, improving the already existing Ottoman Building Code from 1863 with specific systemic regulations. The new policy called for mandatory fire-proof roof constructions; fire-proof chimneys instead of roof hatches; the use of burnt brick or stone frames obligatory in all public buildings; a ban on dead-end alleys; and the mandatory widening of all streets according to certain classifications.

Fig. 4. Ground plan of the Travnik *konak* from 1882. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, ZVS 1918, Inv. Nr. 412 and 248–9. Photograph by Andrea Baotić-Rustanbegović.

Unlike the 1783 map, the 1882 survey plan offers a detailed insight into the *konak* building, especially regarding its internal room disposition (fig. 4). This was a large one-story rectangular object, roughly 35 meters wide and twenty meters long. The ground floor was made out of solid construction material, such as stone and mud-brick, and the first floor was implemented as a light-weight construction, probably according to the usual 'bondruk-system' (wooden framework filled in with mud laths). Due to seismic-statical reasons, the first floor was slightly larger and overhanging over the ground floor. The *konak* was topped with an imposingly steep roof silhouette, in accordance with the local Bosnian tradition, covered with wooden shingles and equipped with smoke hatches instead of chimneys. The plans further reveal that a thick wall vertically divided the building in two thirds on both ground and first floors. The reason for this comes from the traditional division of Muslim elite residences, where the house's larger part is reserved for the public *(selamlik)* and the smaller part for private use *(haremlik)*.[24]

The main entrance to the *konak*'s public area was accessible from the main road, and the visitors (oftentimes still mounted on their horses) would enter through large double-sided doors into a darkened hall acting as an inner courtyard paved with pebble-stones.[25] Surrounding the inner hall were seven small rooms, intended for servants, guards, and storage, as well as a flight of steep wooden stairs leading up to the first floor, where the vizier's chambers were located. One of the first floor's most imposing rooms was the audience room, or *divanhana*, where the vizier would welcome his guests. It was located right above the entrance portal and had a closed balcony overlooking the fountain and the garden.[26] The women's residence of the *konak* had a separate entrance and an enclosed garden in front, both located on the building's western side. It was not approachable from the main street, as it was walled off from the public to ensure privacy for the household's women. The haremlik's ground floor most likely housed the storage and pantry, with the first floor reserved for the living quarters. According to the plan documentation, the *konak*'s two areas were only connected on the first floor, via a doorway in the vizier's private chambers and a passageway in the division wall.

Following Svoboda and Budau's 1882 survey plan, the *konak* went through an extensive modification phase in order to be compliant with the new building regulations. One of the first alterations, visible on plans from 1882 through 1884, were efforts to make the *konak* building fireproof. The traditional roof smoke flaps were replaced with chimneys made of fired brickwork. In addition, some windows on both floors were walled up. From 1882 to 1886 there were also successive roofing phases, during which the wooden shingles were replaced by a fire-proof roofing made of burnt brick. This step-by-step process can most likely be justified by the fact that the state government's precarious budgetary situation during the early years and/or the supply of adequate materials did not allow for a large roof area to be

---

24 Hodnik and Maslić, *Travnik vezir konaği maketi*, p. 12.

25 Ivo Andrić, *Travnička Hronika* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1989), pp. 36–38.

26 Stix, *Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina,* p. 19.

Fig. 5. The *konak* of Travnik in an old photograph.: Enver Sujoldžić, *Stari vodovodi: Vodogradnje u Travniku* (Travnik: Zavičajni Muzej Travnik, 2012), p. 9.

covered all at once.[27] A preserved historical photo shows both the newly installed chimneys and the different tile roofing (fig. 5). Further changes to the building's structure, indicated by another plan of the *konak* made by Svoboda in 1895, suggest that the traditional steep roof was later on lowered and turned into a much flatter hipped roof, which seems to have been implemented with a rather modern truss structure in 1906. Even though the object was in still use until the 1950s, no further documentation of its modifications has come to our attention.

Adapting the Ottoman *konak* to new Austro-Hungarian administrative functions

Habsburg-ruled Bosnia had several administration layers. The provincial government *(Landesregierung)*, operating from Sarajevo, was represented by departments in each of the six provinces *(Kreise)*, below which were the district authorities *(Bezirksbehörde)*.[28] This meant that Travnik, figuring as both the provincial as well as district capital, had to accommodate administrative functions on different levels.[29] Additionally, even though the military was no longer administrating the country, it was still present in provincial capitals, where it continued to claim space. As in many other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, limited financial means forced the administration departments to adapt and reuse existing structures where possible. With the spacious *konak* building undergoing modernization, it was pre-

---

27 On an undated and unsigned plan from the Travnik Cantonal Archive, titled *Skizze zum großen Konak in Travnik*, there is a drawing of the roof showing its different adaptation phases, and dates them to the years 1882, 1884, 1885, and 1886 respectively.

28 Bauer, *Zwischen Halbmond und Doppeladler*, pp. 50–55.

29 See also the contributions by Hartmuth and Göderle in this volume.

sented as the best and only option for catering to these needs. According to the section and ground plan by Svoboda, the building was appropriated for military, regional, and district offices as early as 1882. The ground floor was reserved for the military *(Militärkassa)*, district *(Bezirks-Behörde)* and regional tax offices *(Kreis-Steueramt)*, as well as the construction department *(Bautechnische Kanzlei)*. The regional authority department, with the district head *(Kreis Vorsteher)*, secretary, doctor, interpreter, tax inspectorate, and the representative meeting hall (*Sitzungssaal*), were located on the upper floor.

Looking at the way in which the Austro-Hungarian administrative offices were assigned post-modification, it can be noted that they made use of the original inner division, both through floors and sections. On the ground floor, the military and tax offices settled in the former *selamlik*, whereas the construction department was on the other side of the dividing wall, in the *haremlik* area. This layout can be explained if we look at these departments' functions. The tax and the military offices were most likely frequented by civilians, which is why they needed to be accessible from the main street, so that visitor traffic could unfold quickly and efficiently. On the other hand, the construction department was in a more private area of the ground floor and had its own entrance with offices overlooking the river, enabling the engineers to work without disturbances. They were also most likely often away in the field, which is why they needed to be able to leave and come back swiftly, making their offices' ground floor location well suited to their needs. The upper floor was reserved for more vital administrative functions, such as the provincial head's *(Kreisvorsteher)* main office and the representative meeting hall. Both were placed in prominent corner rooms, overlooking the gardens and the river.

Resorting to a floor division in accordance with the political or social hierarchy was not a novel approach in architecture at all. However, the decision to make use of the original Ottoman structure's division into *haremlik* and *selamlik* is worth remarking.[30] Yet, this particular setup could only function during the early stages of Austro-Hungarian administration of Bosnia. With time, each department grew in size and the need for larger office and storage spaces arose.

The fact that under the new government the *konak* was not demolished, but rather modified and used as an administrative seat, illustrates well how Bosnia's Ottoman inheritance was approached by the Austro-Hungarian bureaucracy. On one hand, the reuse for administrative purposes was simply a matter of convenience. On the other hand, establishing the new administrators' offices in the former Ottoman governours' residence also communicated a political takeover.[31]

---

30 Next to the changes made to the *konak*'s inner structure, under the new administration the garden and surrounding houses of the former "Vizier's complex" were removed, most likely due to the fact that they presented a fire hazard. The only building which was not demolished was the small *konak*.

31 Stix, *Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, plate 10. According to Stix, in addition to the Travnik *konak*, Ottoman *konak*s in Tuzla, Bihać, Banja Luka, and Mostar were also adapted for use by the Austro-Hungarian administrative departments as early as 1879.
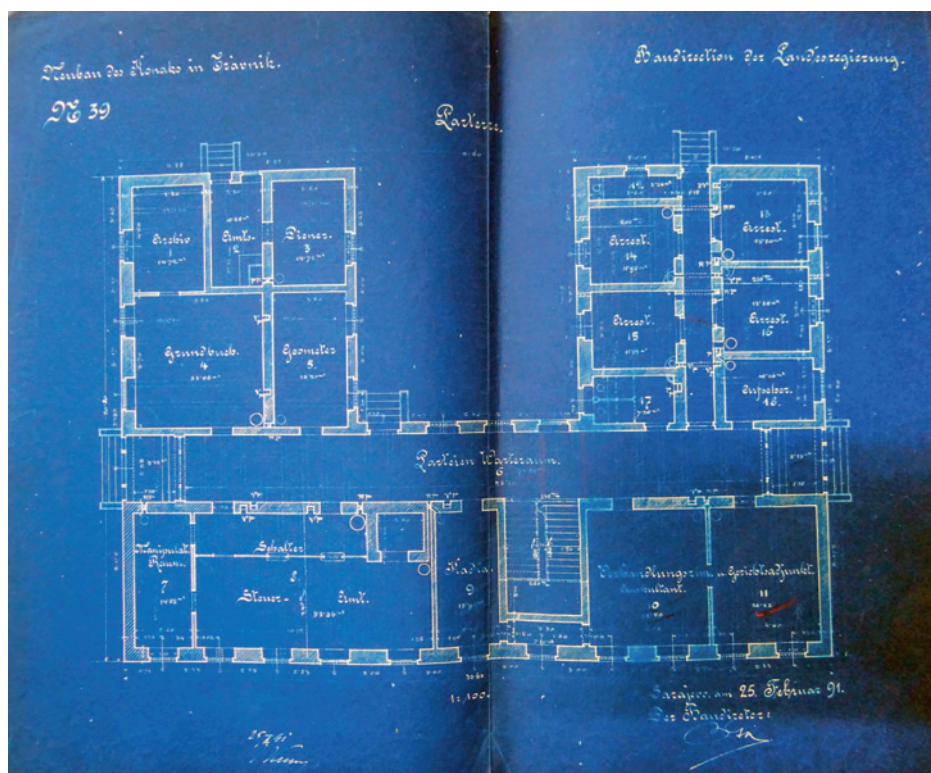
Fig. 6. Ground plan of the district authority building (*Bezirksamt*) in Travnik from 1891. Kantonalni Arhiv Travnik, no inv. nr.

Creating the Austro-Hungarian administration's complex

Toward the end of the century, Travnik's administration had significantly expanded its operations. The need for separate buildings for the district authority, the provincial court *(Kreisgericht)*, and military headquarters had become evident. In the 1890s the military and the district offices, which were until then occupying the *konak*'s ground floor, moved out, leaving behind only the provincial administration. The government took the opportunity to create a new administrative structure in the area of the former *konak* complex.

The district authority building

In February of 1891 plans were drawn up for a new district-level administrative building's construction in Travnik ("Neubau des Konak in Travnik", fig. 6).[32] It was located on the

---

32 Plan documentation of the district authority building is available at the Travnik Cantonal Archive *(Kantonalni Arhiv Travnik)*.

Fig. 7. Situation plan of the district authority building in Travnik and its adjacent garden and prison area from 1891. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, ZVS 1918, Inv. Nr. 412.

main street (then called *Württemberggasse*), to the north of the old *konak*. The fact that the two buildings were placed right next to each other is most likely what the name "new *konak*" alluded to. However, this object's function was not to be interpreted as such, but rather as a *Bezirksamtsgebäude* or district authority building. There are two curious aspects of this object worth looking into in more detail: its being the first addition to Travnik's new administrative quarter, and its peculiar Orientalizing façade.

A situation plan from 1891 showed the way in which the new district authority building would fit into Travnik's cityscape (fig. 7). When compared with the 1783 map, it becomes clear that the new object was planned to be erected well within the borders of the former "Vizier's complex". It was situated right next to the (later demolished) entrance portal. Since this was the complex's only administrative building facing the main street, the choice of the Orientalizing style for its façade is remarkable. Even though Travnik is home to several imposing examples of this style, the majority were religious objects. Provincial administrative buildings' façades, not only in Travnik but in other regions as well, were – at least until then – kept very simple.[33]

---

[33] In the State Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine*) there are blueprints for a district
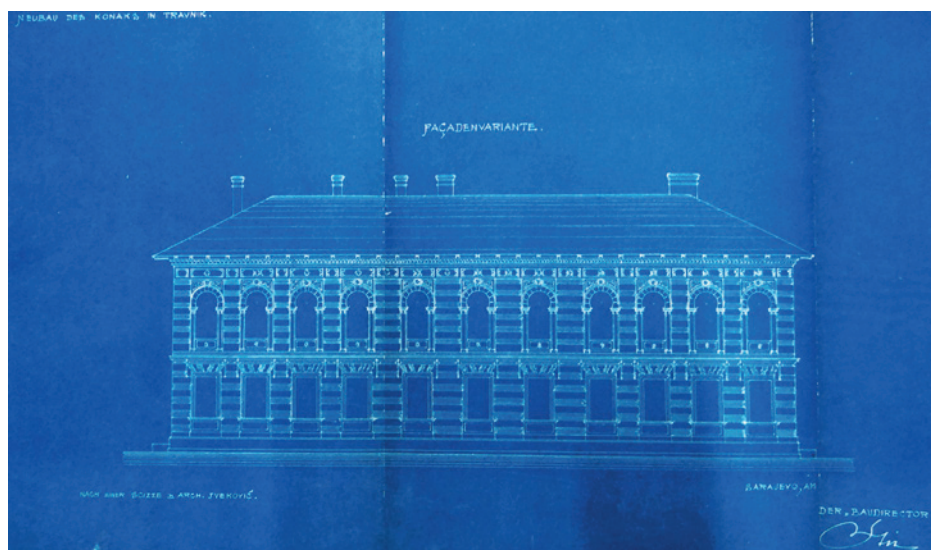
Fig. 8. Orientalizing façade plan of the district authority building in Travnik. Kantonalni Arhiv Travnik, inv. nr. unknown.

In the case of Travnik's new district authority building, we found two different façade variants at the Travnik Cantonal Archive. The first one shows the 'standard' (plain) version; the other one, titled "Neubau des Konaks in Travnik – Façadenvariante", shows the Orientalizing version. What differentiated the latter from the former was the façade with bands in red and yellow, horseshoe arches, and additional vegetal wall decoration around the windows (fig. 8).[34] All this corresponds to the façade décor of the current municipial courthouse building. It appears to have been the first built example of a type distinguished by Orientalizing elements.[35] It was expanded twice, in 1899 and 1907, resulting in a hook-shaped footprint (fig. 9).

---

authority building from Derventa, a town belonging to the Banja Luka district, dated to 1886. The building's façade and ground plan is titled *Normalplan für ein größeres Bezirksamtsgebäude* ("Standard plan for a large district office building"). It seems that the title was corrected subsequently, as the words "standard" and "large" are stricken through, and "in Derventa" is written in cursive underneath the word "large", making the new title read "Plan for a district office building in Derventa". What this suggests is that a standard administrative building's pattern plan indeed existed, and on this example, we see how it was appropriated for the Derventa district office. The ground plan had an "E" shaped plan type, similar to the "C" type building in Travnik.

34 Important to mention is that on the Orientalizing façade variant is written "Nach einer Scizze d. Arch. Iveković". This suggests that the façade template owed by Ćiril Iveković, a known state architect linked to some of Bosnia's most famous examples of Orientalizing architecture. For more information on the life and work of Ćiril Iveković, see: Slavica Marković, *Ćiril Metod Iveković: Arhitekt i konzervator* (Zagreb: Knjiga LV, 1992).

35 For a more substantial overview of district authority buildings in Habsburg Bosnia with the footprint of an E, see Ajla Bajramović, *Orientalizing architecture in Northeastern Bosnia under Habsburg Rule (1878–1918)*, (Master's thesis, University of Vienna, 2021), pp. 72–77. For more on the Orientalizing style in Habsburg Bosnia,

Fig. 9. Municipal Court building (former district authority building) in Travnik. Photograph by Caroline Jäger Klein, 2019.

The regional court building

During Austro-Hungarian rule, Travnik's provincial court was most likely also located in the same administrative cluster.[36] A blueprint we located in Sarajevo's State Archive, dated to July 1893, depicts two buildings, namely the regional court ("Kreisgerichtsgebäude") and prison ("Kreisgefängniss"), placed one behind the other, with the court facing the *Württemberggasse* (fig. 10). Even though this verifies that the court was planned to be built on the main street, we needed additional evidence to be able to place it within the administrative quarter, along with the *konak* and the district authority building. This lengthy text on Travnik and its development under the new ruling government, published in the *Bosnische Post* newspaper in October 1893, confirms just that:

> Als sehr dringend hat sich der Bau eines eigenen Gebäudes für das Kreisgericht erwiesen, das gegenwärtig in einem baufälligen Privathause untergebracht ist. Als Baugrund wurde ein inmitten der Stadt gelegener Complex in der Württemberggasse angekauft. Im Vordergrunde wird sich das Kreisgerichtsgebäude erheben, das einen geräumigen, gedeckten Hof erhalten soll, und an diesen werden sich in musterhafter Anordnung die Gefängnisse anschliessen. Das derzeit in Benützung

---

see Maximilian Hartmuth, "Amtssprache Maurisch? Zum Problem der Interpretation des orientalisierenden Baustils im habsburgischen Bosnien-Herzegowina," *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878–1918: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, ed. Clemens Ruthner and Tamara Scheer (Tübingen: Narr, 2018), pp. 251–268.

36 Stix, *Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina,* p. 188.
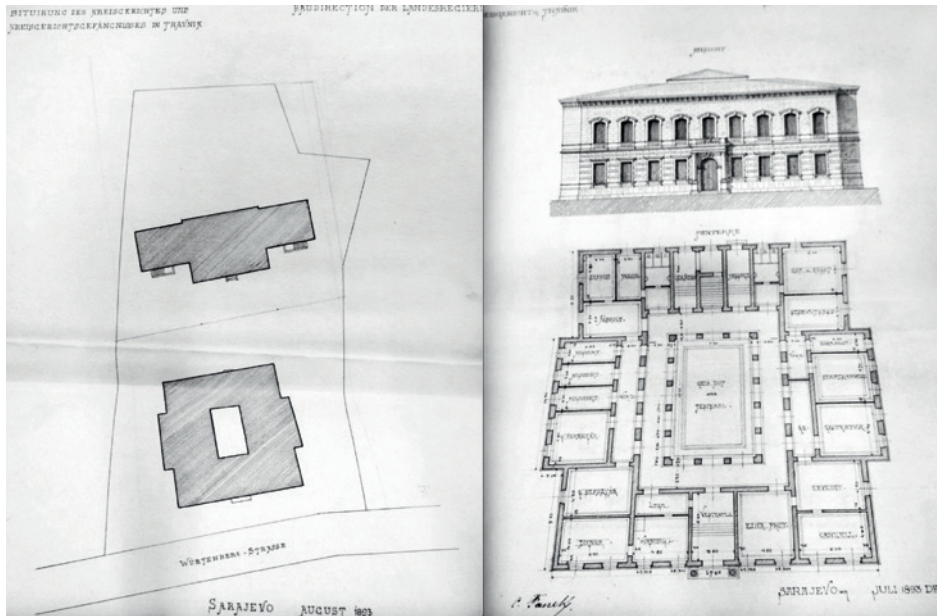
Fig. 10. Façade and ground plan of the regional court building in Travnik from 1893. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, ZVS 1873–1918, Zbirka Nacrta, inv. nr. 19.

stehende Gefängnissgebäude [sic] wird abgetragen, und wird hierdurch in Verbindung mit der Parkanlage vor dem Konak der Kreisbehörde, sowie der Baustelle der ehemaligen, bereits abgetragenen Redif Kaserne ein schöner, weiter Platz geschaffen. [...] Mit den Gartenanlagen ringsum würde es dann ein sehr angenehmes Centrum Travniks bilden. Da nunmehr auch der nachbarliche alte Thorbogen nächst dem Bezirkskonak abgetragen wurde, wodurch dieses hübsche Gebäude endlich zur Geltung gelangt, so ist die Fantasie nicht daran gehindert, sich hier in nicht allzuferner Zukunft ein Gebäude Ensemble vorzustellen, welches auf den Beschauer günstig einwirken muss.[37]

This text clarifies that up until 1893 the regional court was situated in a private residence, most likely rented by the government. It describes the planned court and prison's positioning in the same way that they were drawn a few months earlier, in July 1893. This means that the project was approved and planned as part of what is described as a "Complex in der Württemberggasse". It was almost certainly supposed to be built northeast of the Ottoman *konak*, and parallel to the district authority building on the main street. However, since 1893 no extant photographs, postcards, or situation plans of Travnik actually show the court and jail as having been built. This means that we cannot definitely confirm that this project was implemented.

---

37 *Bosnische Post*, "Zur Bauthätigkeit in der Stadt im Kreise Travnik," Nr. 80, 7. October 1893, p. 3 (emphases by authors).
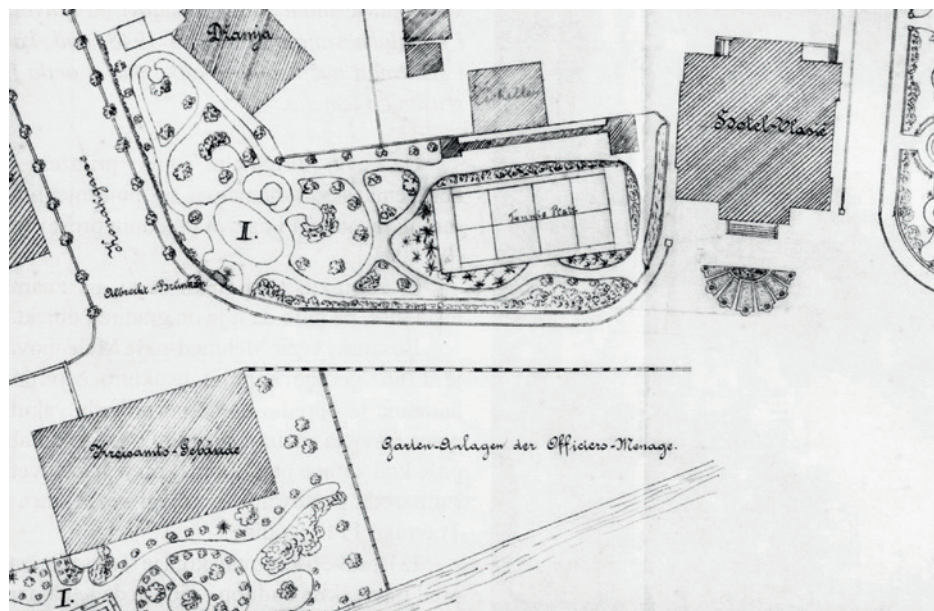
Fig. 11. Ground plan of the garden for the administrative complex in Travnik from 1901. Enver Sujoldžić, *Stari vodovodi: Vodogradnje u Travniku* (Travnik: Zavičajni Muzej Travnik, 2012), p.127.

The two other aspects this newspaper passage focuses on – the parks and the Ottoman entrance gate – were also well documented in primary sources. As insinuated in the text, the old portal was already torn down. This means that the whole administrative quarter was now accessible to the public. In order to tie these administrative buildings together, as well as offer visitors an enjoyable view, a large community park was built in between the *konak* (which also had an elaborate private garden in its backyard, facing the Lašva river), the district authority building, and soon-to-be court buildings. It was a richly decorated garden consisting of several pathways, a pavilion, and, according to one situation plan from 1901, even a tennis court (fig. 11).[38] This may be interpreted as an invitation to enter this formerly closed off area.

The Military Casino

Lastly, to complete this ensemble, in 1906 the *Militär Casino* was built right next to the former *konak* building, overlooking the new public garden. It was a large rectangular single-storey building with a prominent entryway, framed with a protruding gable roof to the south and half domed bay windows to the north, and decorated in a secessionist style. It served as a social club for officers, military, and state officials, and as a military canteen.

---

38 Enver Sujoldžić, *Stari vodovodi: Vodogradnje u Travniku* (Travnik: Zavičajni Muzej Travnik, 2012), p. 127.

Fig. 12. The 'Konak' coffee house (former Military Casino of 1906). Photograph by Caroline Jäger-Klein, 2019.

Current condition and conclusion

Today, there is almost no evidence that such an administrative complex ever existed. During the 20th century some objects, such as the big and small *konak*, were demolished, and some of them, like the Military Casino, were repurposed. The small *konak* is lost to memory, as images of it are rare and there was never an attempt to reconstruct the original object. The big *konak* is, with its model in the local museum, still considered one of Travnik's most imposing historical objects. As accurate as it may be, the model only shows the *konak* in its Ottoman setting and fails to mention its function and modification during the Austro-Hungarian period. Only the district authority building has stayed in use as a courthouse. However, that building's history is not a matter of common knowledge. It was not until 2019, when we uncovered the façade plans, that we were able to establish this building as the first of several Orientalizing district authority buildings in Bosnia.

Interestingly enough, it is actually the *Militär Casino* that maintains the Austro-Hungarian administrative complex's collective memory, in its function as well as in its name. The building still exists in its original form, and after an extensive renovation phase it was reopened in 2015 and rebranded as a restaurant named "Konak" (fig. 12).[39] This is noteworthy for a couple of reasons. Apparently, even if the people in charge of the renovation process were aware that this building's function was to accommodate the Austro-Hungarian military and state officials, it was still renamed "Konak". Presumably, this was an attempt to keep the memory of the demolished Ottoman *konak* complex alive. Its simultaneous branding as a Viennese coffee house *(Bečka kafana)* evidently referenced its clearly Austro-Hungarian architectural identitiy.

---

39 S. Pinjo, "Čuvena travnička "Bečka kafana" u novom ruhu: Renoviran oficirski dom 'Konak,'" *Dnevni Avaz*, March 12, 2015, accessed January 13, 2022, https://avaz.ba/vijesti/teme/168234/cuvena-travnicka-becka-kafana-u-novom-ruhu. Article on the grand opening of the "Konak", including a brief statement from Dragan Gačnik, the coffee house's designer.

The *Bosnische Post* article suggests that the idea of using the administrative quarters as the nucleus of a town center was present since at least 1893. Perhaps it was pursued as early as 1891, when the district authority building was erected. The fact that the plot was state-owned, previously housing changing Ottoman viziers, certainly helped in this regard. The Ottoman *konak* complex's modernization and appropriation for different users was the swiftest solution to the problem of scarce office space during the new regime's early years.

Since the *konak* was already associated with political power during the Ottoman period, the physical takeover of the building only solidified the Austro-Hungarian presence in the country. It also served as a starting point for the administrative quarter's further expansion. The Orientalizing district authority building, the court and prison complex, and the Military Casino were all planned to be strategically placed around the *konak* and interconnected with a public garden. In this way the idea of a closed off Vizier's konak complex slowly evolved into an open central area dominated by Austro-Hungarian administrative functions. By choosing to preserve the Ottoman building and investing resources into making it operable rather than discarding it upon arrival, the Austro-Hungarian authorities made a conscious effort to synthesize the old and the new.

Mattia Guidetti (Bologna)

Sarajevo's city hall as seen from Cairo

This paper investigates the sources of selected features characterizing 19th-century Orientalizing architecture. It takes as case study Sarajevo's former city hall, erected when Bosnia was under Habsburg rule. Identifying Cairo as the main source of inspiration for the building in Sarajevo illustrates how Mamluk and other Islamic architectural elements were recombined in one single building.

Orientalizing architecture and the art of assemblage

Different channels nourished the perception and knowledge of Islamic architectural legacy in Europe at the time of the Sarajevo city hall's *(Vijećnica)* erection (1892–95 – fig. 1). Travelogues and surveys increasingly introduced artworks and architecture from Islamic lands to a European audience. Some of these publications were part of the Arts & Crafts movement, which spread across Europe patterns extrapolated from various objects and buildings. At the same time, museums and private collectors accumulated objects from Islamic lands at an increasing pace. These multiple stimuli invite some reflections about 19th-century Europe's reception of 'Islamic' architecture.

The first reflection regards terminology. What is nowadays known as Islamic art was, in the 19th century, parcelled out along ethno-linguistic lines. Moving from East to West, Indian, Persian, Turkish, Arab, and Moorish art were identified as entities. The latter two terms considerably overlapped, as the term Moorish referred to the art and architecture produced in al-Andalus, which at its inception was largely dependent on the rest of the Islamic Mediterranean's artistic achievements. With the passing of time, however, al-Andalus's architectural style developed autonomously.

The familiarity of forms, architectural elements, and decorative patterns across such ethno-linguistic units slowly made room for the first efforts to conceive one single term that encompassed all regional artistic traditions. Paradoxically, it was during the rise of Middle Eastern nationalisms that terms such as 'Saracenic', 'Muhammedan', and 'Islamic' art emerged to define the field. In fact, scholars, mainly European, highlighted how the mobility of forms and styles across the Islamic lands, or the Turkish background of several rulers of Arab lands, weakened categories that anchored artistic production to the pair of 'ethnos and territory'. The concept of Islamic art, instead, organised material and visual culture on a trans-regional level by reuniting under one single umbrella the territories governed by Muslim rulers.[1]

---

1   Gülru Necipoğlu, "The concept of Islamic art: Inherited discourses and new approaches," *Islamic art and the*

Fig. 1. General view of the *Vijećnica* of Sarajevo (1892–95). Photograph by Anida Krečo.

Within such a scholarly context, it is worth mentioning that a large share of the elements that eventually flowed into so-called Orientalizing architecture drew upon historical buildings that, by then, fell under the Arab and Moorish art label.[2] There are notable exceptions, such as the case of the Zacherl factory in Vienna (1888–92), which displays disparate elements, with Persian-inspired features dominating.[3]

The second reflection deals with the process of 'fragmentation' that was a feature of 19th century interest in Islamic art. In the case of Egypt, for instance, before the first catalogues and manuals of Arab art started appearing, richly illustrated volumes helped to spread Islamic era art's visual imagery. It was the case of Émile Prisses d'Avennes, who published an illustrated atlas of Arab art in 1869–1877, and Owen Jones, who included samples labelled as "Arabian art" in his *Grammar of Ornament* of 1856, which followed an 1842 publication on the Alhambra.[4] Slightly different, because of his role as court architect in Cairo, was the

Museum, ed. Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber, and Gerhard Wolf (London: Saqi Books, 2012), pp. 57–75, here 57–62.

2   Francine Giese, "Reassessing the Moorish Revival in 19th-century Europe," *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe: Cultural negotiations and artistic translations in the Middle Ages and 19th-century Historicism,* ed. Francine Giese (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 59–78.

3   On the Zacherl factory, see: Markus Ritter, "'Eine neue Richtung geben': Islamische Kunst in der Rezeption des Historismus in Mitteleuropa," *Gezimmertes Morgenland: Orientalische und orientalisierende Holzinterieurs in Mitteleuropa im späten 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Maximilian Hartmuth and Julia Rüdiger (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2021), pp. 15–44, here 35–42.

4   Owen Jones, *The grammar of ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856); Émile Prisses d'Avennes, *L'art arabe*

case of Pascal Coste, who published his *Architecture Arabe, ou Monuments du Kaire* in 1839 as the result of his survey of Islamic Cairo's historical architecture.[5]

Illustrations dominate all these publications and a distinctive taste for ornamental features pervades the selection of subjects. The abovementioned publications presented views of the buildings and, especially in Pascal Coste's *Architecture Arabe*, ground plans of Islamic Cairo's main buildings. The illustrations' majority focuses on decorative details, sometimes presented as a collage of patterns from different buildings or objects on one plate. This choice emphasizes ornamental qualities and formal familiarities among samples. Moreover, it favours architectural decoration over architecture.

A consequence of this approach was the fragmentation of buildings into pieces, which were often decontextualized from the time and place in which they were originally erected. This was especially true when, as exposed by Mercedes Volait, later publications reproduced single drawings and images leaving aside the text accompanying them, thus definitively disconnecting patterns and motifs from their historical context.[6]

The composition of the plates included in the abovementioned publications was the result of the material's creative manipulation in response to the taste of both the author and his readership. De-contextualization and manipulation, which addressed contemporary expectations, also affected some objects from Islamic lands collected in Europe. Detached from their original context and scattered in various European collections, objects became depositories of ornamental values, admired for their technique and design.

A case in point is the *minbar* (pulpit) of the mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo. The mosque itself was a ninth-century foundation, while the *minbar* was a 13th-century votive offering by the Mamluk Sultan Lajin (r. 1296–99) to the mosque's endowment when he acceded to the throne. This donation to thank God for saving Lajin from earlier persecution consisted of the chair's inner structure and the hundreds of geometrical shapes carved with interlaced stems and leaves that decorated it.[7]

In a magnificently researched and curated exhibition at the Museum of Applied Arts of Vienna (MAK), the scholar and artist Adriana Czernin recently exposed the dispersion of Sultan Lajin's *minbar* pieces. She highlighted the trajectory of the fragments collected in

d'après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe (Paris: J. Savoy & Cie éditeurs, 1869–1877).

5   Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe, ou monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés, de 1818 à 1826* (Paris: Typographie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1839); Nasser Rabbat, "The formation of the Neo-Mamluk style in modern Egypt", *The education of the architect: Historiography, urbanism, and the growth of architectural knowledge*, ed. Martha Pollak (Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 363–388, here pp. 364–366, and pp. 368–373; Mercedes Volait, "'Les monuments de l'architecture arabe' vus par Pascal Coste", *Pascal Coste, toutes les Egypte,* ed. Dominique Jacobi (Marseille: Parenthèses/Bibliothèque municipale de Marseille, 1998), pp. 97–131.

6   Mercedes Volait, "Le goût mamelouk au XIXe siècle: D'une esthétique orientaliste à un style national générique," ed. Mercedes Volait and Emmanuelle Perrin, *Dialogues artistiques avec les passés de l'Egypte* (Paris: InVisu/CNRS-INHA, 2017), accessed June 30, 2022, http://inha.revues.org/7207.

7   Tarek Swelim, *Ibn Tulun: His lost city and great mosque* (Cairo: The American University Press, 2015).

Vienna, focusing on the manipulation they incurred when they were publicly displayed, at the museum first and later in the exhibition Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst (Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art), shown in Munich in 1910.[8]

Sultan Lajin's *minbar* became popular in Europe through its reproduction by the abovementioned Pascal Coste and other travellers, such as, for instance, James William Wild, who sketched several drawings of Cairo's Islamic art and architecture, including the wooden pulpit.[9] On the occasion of the 1867 Paris World Exhibition, the wooden tiles composing the decoration of the mosque pulpit's two parietal walls were brought to Europe by the private collector Hussein Pasha Meimar.[10] Later on, several European museums, including the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry (the later MAK) in Vienna and London's South Kensington Museum, acquired many *minbar* pieces from the Egyptian collector. The pulpit's fragments became "a must-have collectible".[11]

While some wooden pieces remained in the Museum of Arab Art in Cairo's (after 1952: Museum of Islamic Art) possession, the *minbar*'s skeleton remained like a whale's carcass in the derelict mosque of Ibn Tulun. Czernin's research unveiled how by 1892 at the latest, the *minbar* fragments in Vienna were arbitrarily configured as a rosette and publicly presented as the *Vienna tableau* (fig. 2), with the pieces arranged concentrically. The geometrical composition offered a balanced and symmetrical pattern, which, however, did not correspond to how single pieces had fitted in the pulpit in 13th-century Cairo. For the creators of the *Vienna tableau*, the pieces' provenance and original arrangement were not a main concern. The result was not a historically sensitive reconstruction and did not prioritize the fragments' reconnection to the original work. The newly created work responded, instead, to contemporary taste and expectations. The fragments' manipulation appealed to experts and scholars – to the extent of being included in the abovementioned 1910 Munich exhibition of Islamic art masterpieces.[12] To

---

8 Adriana Czernin, "Fragment" (Exhibition), MAK – Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, 18.04.2018–30.09.2018, https://www.mak.at/en/program/exhibitions/adriana_czernin (accessed June 20, 2022); on 1910 Munich's exhibition, see: *After one hundred years - The 1910 exhibition "Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered,* ed. Avinoam Shalem and Andrea Lermer (Leiden; Brill, 2010), and Eva-Maria Troelenberg, *Eine Ausstellung wird besichtigt: Die Münchner 'Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst' 1910 in kultur- und wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Perspektive* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010).

9 Coste, *Architecture arabe*, pl. V; James William Wild, *Sketchbook, 1840–1845*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv. E.3841: 56–1938. On Wild's work on Cairo, see: Abraham Thomas, "James Wild, Cairo and the South Kensington Museum," *Le Caire dessiné et photographié au XIXᵉ siècle*, ed. Mercedes Volait (Paris: Picard, 2013), pp. 41–68.

10 Mecedes Volait, *Antique dealing and creative reuse in Cairo and Damascus 1850–1890* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 42–50; fig. 16, 29–31.

11 Volait, *Antique dealing*, p. 48; Désirée N. Heiden, "Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Minbar: Verstreute Kunstobjekte in der internationalen Museumslandschaft," *Von Gibraltar bis zum Ganges: Studien zur Islamischen Kunstgeschichte in memoriam Christian Ewert*, ed. Marion Frenge and Martina Müller-Wiener (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2010), pp. 75–95

12 See a report on Adriana Czernin's work at the MAK – Museum für angewandte Kunst, and of following projects on minbars in Egypt at https://blog.mak.at/mamluk-minbars/, accessed June, 30, 2022.

Fig. 2. The *Vienna tableau*, late 19th-century composition with fragments of the *minbar* of sultan Lajin (13th century), print of 1912. New York Public Library Digital Collections, image ID 1597159. https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e3-966b-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99 (accessed April 18, 2023).

improve the final composition and create a work fitting an ideal Islamic artwork, some pieces were even newly produced. According to Czernin, new triangular drop-shaped pieces allowed the transition from the eight-pointed star at the composition's centre to the trapezoidal pieces that followed on the exterior. The additions completed the rosette and made it something perceived as an accomplished piece, worthy of being displayed as a unit.

Fragmentation, de-contextualization, manipulation, and arbitrary rearrangement are some of the underlying concepts of the reception of art and architecture from Islamic lands in 19th-century Europe. This background helps in understanding the rationale underpinning Orientalizing architecture's principles and choices. The pastiche nature of Orientalizing buildings draws on the mobility of Islamic architecture's elements and motifs that reached Europe, often disconnected from the architectural context to which they belonged. Just before the European coinage of the term Islamic art at the beginning of the new century, an increasing number of publications canonized Arab art in Egypt, refining chronology and typologies.[13] It was the conclusion of a century that started with Napoleon's occupation of Egypt (1798). Related to it was the launch of the documenting mission of the *Description de l'Égypte*, which had a strong impact on Orientalizing architecture in Europe as well as on Historicist architecture within Egypt.

---

13 See, for instance, Albert Jean Gayet, *L'art arabe* (Paris, Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1893); Max Herz, *Catalogue sommaire des monuments exposés dans le Musée National de l'Art Arabe* (Cairo: G. Lekegian & Cie., 1895); Henri Saladin, *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1907); Vincenzo Fago, *Arte araba* (Rome: Officina di fotoincisione in San Michele a Ripa, 1909).

The *Vijećnica* of Sarajevo (1892–95) and Cairo's neo-Islamic architecture

The Sarajevo town hall *(Vijećnica)* is a monumental building facing the Miljacka River in the downtown area of Bosnia and Herzegovina's capital. It was inaugurated as Sarajevo's town hall in 1896 and converted into the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1949. In 1992, it caught fire after a bombing by artillery; it reopened after extensive restoration works as a multi-functional centre in 2014.[14]

The *Vijećnica*'s planning and construction were a multi-stage process that involved three architects. The first project, produced by Karel Pařík, was rejected by the authorities though its principles were later taken up by the architects Alexander Wittek and, following the death of the latter, by Ćiril Iveković.[15] Despite a certain continuity (the building's triangular shape and the presence of an avant-corps on each façade), the transition from Pařík to Wittek implied a change in the building's stylistic outline. While the first plan accentuated neo-Renaissance (or Romanizing) architectural aspects, the final one redesigned the *Vijećnica* according to a style that adopted several features of historical Islamic architecture.

The building has a triangular shape with three wings that share at their centre a hexagonal courtyard covered by a glass ceiling. Each side has a central body slightly projecting off of the complex's footprint. The projection is more accentuated around the main entrance, while the building's three corners feature towers used as joints between the three sides. Wittek's Islamic-inspired additions include polychrome bands, horseshoe and pointed arches, crenellations, round medallions, intricate-carved panels, and *muqarnas* cornices.[16] As the detailed analysis of some features in the next paragraph shows, most of the *Vijećnica*'s planning drew on Egypt's historical architecture.

In the same years the *Vijećnica* was erected, several buildings in Cairo were planned by adapting historical Islamic architectural elements to modern and functional structures.[17] Among the several terms adopted to define the revivalist architecture of historical Islamic buildings ('Islamic revival', 'neo-Islamic', 'Fuad I style', 'neo-Moorish', 'arabisance', 'Saracenic'), the category 'neo-Mamluk' was coined to identify a style imbued with direct quotations from buildings attributed specifically to the Mamluk period (1250–1517).[18] Fur-

---

14 *Vijećnica Sarajevo: gradnja, razaranje, obnova,* ed. Nedžad Mulaomerović Valerijan Žujo, Ferhad Mulabegović, Smajo Mulaomerović (Sarajevo: Studio Urbing, 2014).

15 See recently: Julia Rüdiger, "Bauen für die bosnische(n) Partikularität(en) im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat," *Kritische Berichte* 47/2 (2019), pp. 38–49.

16 *Emily Gunzburger Makaš*, "Sarajevo," *Capital cities in the aftermath of empires: Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*, ed. Emily Gunzburger Makaš and Tanja Damljanović Conley (London/New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 241–267.

17 Robert Ilbert and Mercedes Volait, "Neo-Arabic Renaissance in Egypt, 1870–1930," *Mimar* 13 (1983), pp. 26–34.

18 Ilbert and Volait, "Neo-Arabic Renaissance", pp. 28–29; Rabbat, "The formation of the Neo-Mamluk style," p. 364; Mercedes Volait, "Appropriating Orientalism? Saber Sabri's Mamluk revivals in late 19th c. Cairo", *Islamic art in the 19th century: Tradition, innovation and eclecticism,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abuseif and Stephen Vernoit (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 131–155.

thermore, the term reveals an affinity with Historicism's wider phenomenon through the prefix *neo-*, implying the deliberate selection of a period in a nation's history that was elected as the most representative of a specific national identity.

Nasser Rabbat explains the reasons for selecting the Mamluk period as Islamic Cairo's most representative era as follows. On the one hand, Mamluk architecture was the culmination of developments taking place under earlier dynasties; on the other hand, regarding the public and religious cityscape, and given the paucity of Ottoman additions to the city, on the eve of the French occupation Cairo was still the city shaped under the Mamluks.[19] Several factors affected the 'neo-Mamluk' style's genesis. In sum, scholars highlight architect Pascal Coste's role, the activities of the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*, and a patronage that responded to the Egyptian elite's political aspirations for independence and the growing local bourgeoisie.[20]

Coste was entrusted with planning two mosques – one in Alexandria and one in Cairo – by the *wali* (governor) of Egypt, Muhammad Ali. Building upon the template of the *Description de l'Égypte*, Pascal Coste spent time (1821–24) surveying Cairo's Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk buildings. The survey's results inspired the two mosques' plans and were later assembled in his publication *Architecture arabe, ou Monuments du Kaire*. Though both mosque projects were aborted, Coste's publication became seminal not only in Europe but also at the newly established technical school in Cairo. In contrast, the *Comité's* activities directly influenced the neo-Mamluk architectural style's development as it promoted and nourished an interest for the preservation of historical architecture and objects that involved both Europeans working in Egypt and Egyptians. The *Comité* had a long-lasting impact on Cairo's layout, counterpointing the city's coeval modernization with the conservation of its medieval past.[21] Regarding the political implications of deliberately adopting the neo-Mamluk style, it is worth recalling how the 19th century's last part was a period during which the Egyptian elite increased the effort to distance itself from the Ottoman Empire's influence. Such a process included the search for intellectual references and values that were no longer exclusively dependent on Ottoman taste.

---

19 Rabbat, "The formation of the Neo-Mamluk style," p. 365.

20 Ilbert and Volait, "Neo-Arabic Renaissance"; Rabbat, "The formation of the Neo-Mamluk style"; Volait, "Appropriating Orientalism?"; Nadania Idriss, "Architecture as an expression of identity: Abbas Hilmi II and the Neo-Mamluk style," *International conferences on recent advances in geotechnical earthquake engineering and soil dynamics* 1 (2010).

21 Paula Sanders, "The Victorian invention of Medieval Cairo: A case study in medievalism and the Construction of the East," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 37/2 (2003), pp. 179–198; *Making Cairo Medieval*, ed. Nezar Al Sayyad, Irene A. Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005); Paula Sanders, *Creating Medieval Cairo: Empire, religion, and architectural preservation in nineteenth-century Egypt* (Cairo: American University Press, 2008). On the Comité, see recently: István Ormos, "The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe: Towards a balanced appraisal," *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 40 (2019) pp. 47–140.

Max Herz, a Hungarian architect trained in Budapest and Vienna and working as the chief architect of the Cairo *Comité*, planned several private buildings for the local elite, and directed the al-Rifa'i mosque's completion, achieved in 1912.[22] Located in front of the Mamluk complex of Sultan Hasan (1361), and an iconic building of the Mamluk age which the same Herz had previously studied, Herz took on the al-Rifa'i mosque's architectural project in place of the Egyptian architect Husayn Fahmi.[23] Husayn Fahmi started working on the mosque's plan as early as 1869 – a keydate for Egypt as it was the year of the Suez Canal's inauguration for which the Khedive Isma'il hosted many foreign guests and showcased Cairo's new 'Parisian-style' urban layout. Fahmi's work suggests that he based his al-Rifa'i's plan on Pascal Coste's interpretation of Mamluk buildings, especially with regard to the rigid symmetry of the façade.[24]

The neighbouring Sultan Hasan complex obviously inspired the 19th-century mosque of al-Rifa'i, which, however, also included a central prayer hall with massive pillars reminiscent of old Egyptian temple architecture. In reworking the existing building, Herz decided to heighten the interior arches so to make the building "plus agréable et plus en rapport avec la tradition de l'art arabe".[25] The mosque, which also included the royal family's mausoleums, was decorated and furnished by applying the same Mamluk revival principles to objects such as lamps and the *minbar*.[26]

Around the turn of the century, the number of buildings echoing historic Islamic architecture built in Cairo by both local and foreign architects increased. The Italians Ciro Pantanelli and Alfonso Manescalo worked on a public fountain and a library respectively. Pantanelli built, together with the above mentioned Husayn Fahmi, the *Sabil-Kuttab* (a public fountain with a school and library on top of the building) in the Bab Hadid quarter ca. 1870, while Manescalo's building, located in the Bab al-Khalq quarter, was inaugurated in 1903 as the Khedivial Library and the House of Arab Antiquities (fig. 3). The two buildings show the transition from a generic 'neo-Islamic' style, in part imbued with the late Ottoman style's legacy, to the 'neo-Mamluk' style that drew upon a selection of Mamluk-era buildings and artistic details.

---

22 Mohammad al-Asad, "The mosque of al-Rifaʿi in Cairo", *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 108–124; Rabbat, "The formation of the Neo-Mamluk Style," pp. 377–380; István Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha 1856–1919: His Life and Career* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2009), pp. 430–445.

23 Max Herz, *La mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1899); Max Herz, *La mosquée el-Rifaï au Caire* (Milan: Humbert Allegretti, 1911).

24 Rabbat, "The formation of the Neo-Mamluk style," pp. 378–379.

25 Herz, *La mosquée el-Rifaï au Caire*, p. 40.

26 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Orientalism and the artisanal revival in 19th- and 20th-century Egypt," *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 41 (2020), pp. 1–18; Mercedes Volait, "Revival, replica, and reuse: Fashioning 'Arabesque' furniture in Khedival Cairo," *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 41 (2020), pp. 229–243; Marcus Milwright, "Reviving the past and confronting the present: Crafts in Syria and Egypt, c. 1875–1925," *The Journal of Modern Craft* XIII/1 (2020), pp. 7–21.

Fig. 3: The Khedivial Library and the House of Arab Antiquities by Alfonso Manescalo (inaugurated in 1903), Cairo. Historic postcard in author's collection.

Besides several private residences, other public buildings reinforced the preference for the neo-Mamluk style as the most representative Historicist style used in Egypt. One example is Cairo's Central Railway ("Ramses") Station (1893) for which the English architect Edwin Patsy planned a neo-classical façade interspersed with Mamluk architectural motifs. The Awqaf Ministry building, built in three stages in 1898, 1911, and 1929 under the initial supervision of Mahmud Fahmi, the chief architect of the Awqaf Ministry (Ministry of Religious Endowments), was a further public construction displaying a reinterpretation of Mamluk elements. After completion, the structure displayed all of neo-Mamluk architecture's features, with rectangular recesses crowned by *muqarnas* (stalactite vaults), pointed arches, and *ablaq* (alternation of white and light red stones) masonry.

The origins of historic Islamic elements in the *Vijećnica* of Sarajevo

It is possible to extrapolate single elements from the Sarajevo city hall and trace them back to historical Islamic buildings. As already stated, a single building did not inspire the Sarajevo city hall, but rather multiple buildings served as sources.

Fig. 4. Detail of the façade of the *Vijećnica* of Sarajevo (1892–95). Photograph by Anida Krečo.

Fig. 5. The upper façade of the portico of the mosque of al-Azhar (II phase of the mosque added under al-Hafiz li-Din Allah, 1129–49), Cairo. https://www.manar-al-athar.ox.ac.uk (accessed April 27, 2023), image ID 101287. Photograph by Ross Burns.

Exterior

Prominent features of the *Vijećnica* of Sarajevo's façade are the keel arches that crown the upper storey's windows (fig. 4). The definition of keel arches derives from the fact that the arch's profile resembles a boat's inversed keel.[27] The arch forms visible in Sarajevo start to appear in Egypt in the Fatimid period (969–1171). Fatimid architecture presents two distinctive arch form phases. The first one dates to the late tenth and the eleventh century and features pointed arches. This is visible in the al-Azhar mosque's first phase, conincinding with Cairo's foundation (969–970), as well as in the mosque of al-Hakim (990–1003). Keel arches dominate the second phase, which finds its inception date in the mosque of al-Aqmar (1125). They also appear in the courtyard arcade added to the mosque of al-Azhar (under al-Hafiz li-Din Allah, 1129–49).[28] Al-Azhar's upper portico façade displays an alternation of round medallions placed on top of the arches and elongated blind keel arches in correspondence with each column (fig. 5). The combination of decorative medallions and blind arches in al-Azhar's por-

---

27 "Arches in Islamic architecture," *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Jonathan M. Bloom and Sheila S. Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), Oxford Islamic Studies Online, Jun 1, 2022, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t276/e87, accessed June 30, 2022.

28 Jonathan M. Bloom, *Arts of the city victorious: Islamic art and architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 139–155.

Fig. 6. Portal under the minaret, *madrasa* of the sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, Cairo (1243). Photograph by Maximilian Hartmuth, 2023.

tico arcades draws upon Cairo's previous Friday Mosque, the mosque of Ibn Tulun (876–79), established by the Abbasid governor Ahmad Ibn Tulun. In the latter, however, the arches are slightly pointed, and those added on top of the pillars (alternated with rosette medallions) are windows, thus creating a contrast between the dark interior and the sunlit façade.

The blind arches decorating the upper section of al-Azhar's portico present another feature found at the *Vijećnica* in Sarajevo. The flat niche displays a fluted hood radiating from a polygonal centre. This is an element also visible in the niches of the al-Aqmar façade arches, where they radiate from circular medallions set at the hood's centre. Such a combination between the arch's new shape and its decoration develops further during the Fatimid period. The prayer niche at the mausoleum *(mashhad)* of al-Sayyida al-Ruqayya in Cairo (1133) is a case in point. There, the stucco flutes end in the cornice with a delicate stalactite form that replicates the niche's keel arch. The work is completed with a band decorated with a Kufic inscription and interlaced stems.[29]

Later Cairene examples quote earlier Fatimid innovations. An important further step can be found in Sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub's *madrasa* (1243). It was built on the site of a previous Fatimid dynasty palatial complex. This madrasa is a late Ayyubid building

---

29 Keppel A. C. Creswell, *Muslim architecture of Egypt*, III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), pp. 247–249.

for teaching Islamic law's four rites, together with the sultan's domed mausoleum. The main façade quotes the nearby mosque of al-Aqmar. Especially noteworthy is the portal located under the minaret (fig. 6). On top of the entrance there is a blind niche flanked by two rectangular recessed panels. All panels display a stalactite form that gradually connects the recess with the building's façade. In the central blind niche, the stalactites appear on a central rectangular panel's edges. In Mamluk architecture, blind keel arches spread even into buildings' interiors. That is the case of the walls flanking the smaller *iwan*s (recessed rooms) of the mosque of Qaytbay (1474), in which keel-arched recesses top the upper rectangular windows.[30] The arch consists of a triangular band that simplifies the keel arch's shape. On top of the arch, the band develops into a circular knot and continues into an outer rectangular frame. The spandrels, that is, the spaces between the arch and the rectangular frame, feature interlaced tendrils. The Qaytbay mosque marks the final stage in the development of a decorative feature introduced in Cairo during the Fatimid period.[31] A detailed repro-

---

30 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic architecture in Cairo: An introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) (1. ed. 1989), pp. 144–147.

31 On the Fatimid period's legacy in later Islamic architecture in Cairo, see: Jonathan Bloom, ibid., pp. 176–181.

Fig. 8. Square panel on the façade of the *Vijećnica* of Sarajevo (1892–95). Photograph by Maximilian Hartmuth.

Fig. 9. Detail of the façade, The *zawiya* of 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda (1729), Cairo. Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe* (1869–77), in: *Oriental art*, p. 127.
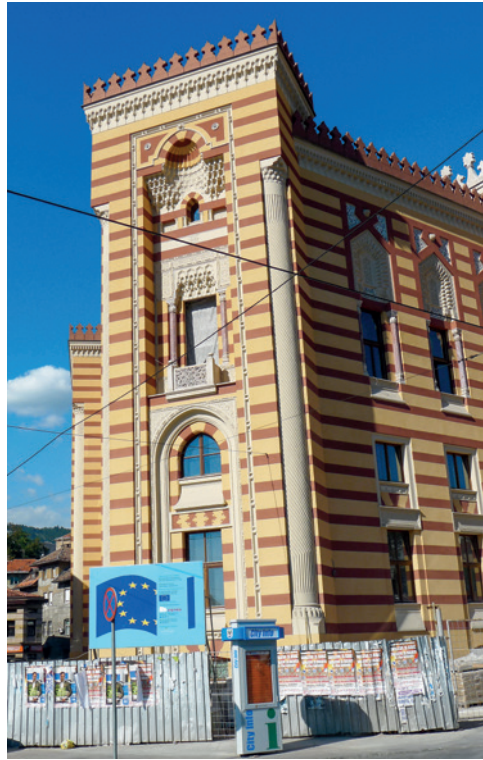
duction is included in one of the several plates Prisse d'Avennes dedicated to the Qaytbay complex (fig. 7).[32]

The upper façade of the *Vijećnica* avant-corps presents a decorative pattern also retraceable in Cairo's historical architecture. It is a square panel with a central circular grille, which allows the passage of light and air (fig. 8). The panel is connected to four smaller medallions with central protruding bosses. The corners of the square panels display the same interlaced tendrils pattern already observed elsewhere in the façade. Each square panel corresponds to the width of the arch or window below it. Such a solution appears in Cairo's Ottoman era architecture. Though purely decorative in the mosque of al-Burdayni (1616), the square panel with a central grilled medallion performs the same function as in Sarajevo in the *zawiya* of ʿAbd al-Rahman Katkhuda (1729) in Cairo (fig. 9). Under the amir ʿAbd al-Rahman Katkhuda (d. 1776/77) such medallions were disseminated on top of several façades, including the new portal added to the al-Azhar mosque's main entrance.[33] ʿAbd al-Rahman Katkhuda's Ottoman period buildings reflect Mamluk features. In fact, the square panel with a central medallion also appears in the Mamluk period's latest phase on the drum of the tomb of al-

---

32 Prisses d'Avennes, *L'art arabe*, p. 94.
33 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic architecture*, pp. 30–31.

Fig. 11. Portal of the mosque of Amir Bashtak (1336), Cairo. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic architecture in Cairo: An introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pl. 12.

Ghuri (1503–05), and in the back wall of Sultan Tarabay's mausoleum (1503–04), in which the central medallion has the function of an oculus.[34]

The *Vijećnica's* main avant-corps consists of a distinguished two-tier gallery dominated by pointed horseshoe arches. Horseshoe arches are typical of western Islamic art, retraceable to the first phase of the Great Mosque of Cordoba (785). Its prayer hall features two-tier arcades with round arches on the upper tier and horseshoe arches on the lower.[35] Pointed horseshoe arches also appear in ninth-century north African architecture, as, for instance, in the Great Mosque of Qayrawan's (Tunisia) main prayer hall entrance (dated to the mosque's second phase, ca. 862). Arches display a double-centre pointed profile, with a maximum width slightly larger than the distance between the two side supports.[36] Horseshoe arches, however, never became a dominating form in Cairene architecture. After a first hesitant example in the mosque of Ibn Tulun, pointed horseshoe arches were reintroduced to Cairo during the Mamluk period, as exemplified by the great arch giving access to the Qaytbay mosque's prayer hall, also illustrated in the work by Prisses d'Avennes.[37] The Mamluk era emerges as a period of synthesis during which stylistic choices developed during previous centuries were reinterpreted and combined together, offering a great variety of forms and decorative solutions.[38]

---

34 Prisses d'Avennes, *L'art arabe*, pp. 104–107; 120–121; 126–127.

35 Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "The Great Mosque of Córdoba," *Al-Andalus: The art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: Abrams, 1992), pp. 11–26.

36 Keppel A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture* (London: Penguin Books, 1958), pp. 282–283.

37 Prisses d'Avennes, *L'art arabe*, p. 95.

38 Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien: 648/1250 bis 923/1517* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1992); Nasser Rabbat, *The citadel of Cairo: A new interpretation of Royal Mamluk architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Nasser Rabbat, *Mamluk history through architecture: Monuments, culture and politics in Medieval Egypt and Syria* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

A peculiar solution in the articulation of the *Vijećnica's* exterior façade is the choice for the architectural elements placed at the corners of the building's three sides (fig. 10). The vertical façades mimicking the form of Mamluk portals, among the most distinguished innovations of Egypt's late medieval architecture, replaced the round domed towers in Karel Pařík's original design. In reality, in Sarajevo the corner towers are a pastiche of elements encapsulated into a vertical rectangular recess. They are the result of adopting a form while rejecting its function, namely providing access to the building. However, the rectangular frame that delimits the recess and the slightly pointed arch on top of it, which crowns a stalactite cascade that allows the transition from the recess's deeper surface to the building's façade, directly recalls numerous Mamluk buildings. In 14th-century Cairene architecture, the portals of religious complexes received great attention and developed distinctive features, among which were the tri-lobed arch on top and the stalactite vault.[39] In Sarajevo, the corner towers seem to be inspired by models preceding the introduction of the Circassian Mamluk period's (1382–1517) iconic tri-lobed profile. A case in point, including the scalloped half-dome and the 'dripping' stalactites above the main entrance, is the portal of the mosque of Amir Bashtak (1336 – fig. 11).[40]

Three further details on the *Vijećnica* exterior façades originate in Mamluk architecture, but are difficult to pinpoint to specific models. One is the bichromy (pale yellow and brick red) of the brick architecture's plaster covering. The second is the upper cornice with stalactite tiers, especially visible on the avant-corps in which it develops into four *muqarnas* tiers. The third is the crenellation on top of the building's exterior (fleur-de-lis, alternating with taller seven-lobed leaves motives on top of the avant-corps). In the early Bahri period of Mamluk façade bichromy (called *ablaq* in the terminology of Islamic architectural historiography) was more often limited to arch voussoirs. Starting with the mid-14th century (the madrasa of Amir Sarghitmish, 1356; the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban, 1368/9), the *ablaq* masonry characterized the architectural complexes' exterior, a feature later widely adopted during the Circassian Mamluk period. Introduced in the Fatimid era, cornice *muqarnas* spread in the Mamluk period. They were initially placed so as to facilitate a transition between different levels of the cylindrical Bahri minarets. Later, they were extended to the recesses and upper cornices of building exteriors. The fleur-de-lis is widely disseminated in Mamluk material culture, including coins as heraldic blazon.[41]

While all the elements touched upon so far relate to the Mamluk period's Cairene architecture (including the horseshoe arch, which is renowned for its presence in al-Andalus and was adopted in Egypt under the Mamluks), one aspect of the *Vijećnica's* façade looks radically

---

39 Hilary L. Roe, *The Bahri Mamluk monumental entrances of Cairo*, I-II (MA dissertation: American University of Cairo, 1979); Daad H. Abdel Razik, *The Circassian Mamluk monumental entrances of Cairo*, I-II (MA dissertation: American University of Cairo, 1990); Mohamad Kashef, "Bahri Mamluk muqarnas portals in Egypt: Survey and analysis," *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, VI/4 (2017), pp. 487–503.

40 Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, pp. 16–17.

41 Paul Balog, "New considerations on Mamluk heraldry," *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 22 (1977), pp. 183–211, here 197–199.

foreign to the language of Mamluk and Islamic architecture. It deals with the façade's volume and articulation, which look foreign to the Islamic architectural tradition. The avant-corps's two-tier gallery is largely dependent on other architectural legacies, such as the main façades of some Venetian palaces (see, for instance, the *Ca' d'Oro*, 1428–30).

Interior

Moving to the *Vijećnica*'s interior, there are further elements that explicitly quote or echo historical Islamic architecture. Among the echoes is a wooden staircase with a sidewall displaying an interlaced pattern that creates six-pointed stars. This appears as a translation of the side wall decorations of *minbar*s, the Muslim pulpits. These objects, mainly dating to the Mamluk period, were highly appreciated, as discussed above on the example of the *minbar* of Sultan Lajin. The *Vijećnica's* staircase woodwork is a simplified version of Mamluk examples, offering a low relief subdivision into geometrical tiles that lacks both the plasticity obtained in the Mamluk *minbars* and arabesque patterns carved on each tile surface.

A connection between the *Vijećnica* and historical Islamic architecture is visible in the roofed courtyard placed at the building's centre. The courtyard's six sides present a double order of arches, pointed horseshoe arches on the ground floor, and round horseshoe arches on the first floor. The arch profile on both floors is scalloped – a feature, though perhaps ascribable to late medieval Andalusian models, also appearing in Mamluk Egypt. It is the case, for instance, of the profile of the arch crowning a stalactite cascade in the portal recess of the palace of Yashbak min Mahdi (late 15th century), located on the Cairo Citadel's western side.[42] The stained-glass roof of Sarajevo's hexagonal courtyard represents a further adaptation of a specific element of Mamluk architecture. The glass roof is a skylight allowing the courtyard's illumination. Bands connecting the opposite sides subdivide it into seven smaller hexagons. The crossing of the diagonals is highlighted by stars, while each hexagon is decorated with a coloured flower (fig. 12). The careful design intermingles a geometrical scheme together with a decorative pattern. Mamluk Egypt offers some parallels. Firstly, the obvious reference lies in the roof-cum-skylight *durqa'a* in Mamluk madrasa complexes. The *durqa'a* is the name taken by the central roofed courtyard that gives access to contiguous rooms, like, for instance, in buildings such as the madrasa of Qujmas al-Ishaqi (d. 1486) and the complex of Sultan Qaytbay (1423–96 – fig. 13). In both cases, the octagonal drum is pierced with several windows and the wooden roof displays a geometrical scheme. In the former, radiating interlaced bands create octagonal shapes, while in the latter broken lines connecting the opposite sides of the octagon generate nine stars, each one decorated with further geometrical and floral patterns.[43] The roof's whole concept, including a stalactite cornice at the drum's bottom, is ingeniously transplanted in the *Vijećnica* of Sarajevo, in which the stained-glass

---

42 Museum With No Frontiers (ed.), *L'arte mamelucca: splendore e magia dei sultani* (Milan: Electa, 2001), pp. 88–89).

43 *Ibid.* p. 100, 119.

Fig. 12. The stained-glass roof of the hexagonal courtyard in the *Vijećnica* of Sarajevo (1892–95). Photograph by Anida Krečo.
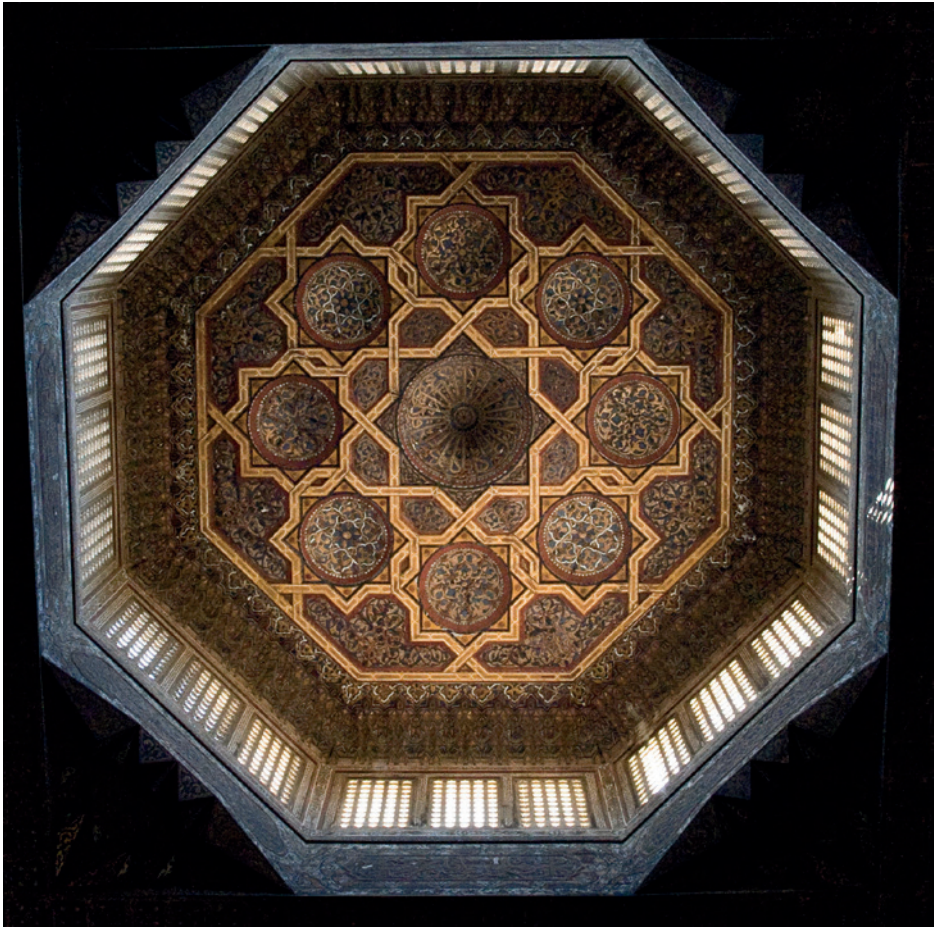
Fig. 13. The ceiling of the *durqaʻa* in the complex of sultan Qaytbay (1470–74), Cairo. https://www.manar-al-athar.ox.ac.uk (accessed April 27, 2023), image ID 123095, cropped. Photograph by Ross Burns, 2010.

roof performs both the covering and enlightenment functions. It is also worth mentioning that in the Mamluk period stained-glass windows were known, as shown, for example, by the windows in the mausoleum of Sultan Qalawun in Cairo (1284–85).[44] The specific hexagonal pattern decorating the roof's inner surface might find its source in other objects displaying the same decoration principle, though on a different scale. It is the case, for instance, of the geometrical wall-sides of wooden *minbars* and of Mamluk Quranic carpet pages.[45]

---

44 Ellen Kenney, "Mixed metaphors: Iconography and medium in Mamluk glass mosaic decoration," *Artibus Asiae* 66/2 (2006), pp. 175–200.

45 *Islamic art in Egypt 969–1517,* ed. Ahmad Hamdy (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, 1969), pls. 51–55.

Conclusion

A great share of architectural and ornamental elements inserted in the *Vijećnica* appears to have been extrapolated from Mamluk buildings. However, several features appearing in Mamluk buildings, in turn, derived from Cairo's previous Islamic architecture, notably from the Fatimid period. The continuity and inner development of Islamic architecture in Cairo made the Mamluk period a sort of heyday of Cairo's historical architecture. The concomitant growth of the neo-Mamluk style in Egypt offered a selected vocabulary of Mamluk forms and elements ready to use.

Some elements distinguish Sarajevo's building from the contemporary neo-Mamluk architecture. It is the case of the avant-corps's gallery, a composition foreign to historical Islamic architecture. Viennese Historicist architecture, such as the former Armoury Museum (the present *Heeresgeschichtliches Museum*), offers a similar focus on the avant-corps with its lattice-like structure that might have been influential on the *Vijećnica*'s planning. The horse-shoe arches, though appearing in Mamluk Cairo as well, belonged to al-Andalus's architectural legacy, whereas the square frames with medallions appeared more frequently in Ottoman-era productions.

Although complexes such as the mosque and tomb of Qaytbay seem to have played a greater role than other buildings, inspiration from Cairo drew on several models and not on a single prototype. These models mainly pertain to religious architecture: this is not the result of the choice to transplant religious themes into a secular building such as the *Vijećnica*, but rather the consequence of the preservation of Cairo's historical architecture.[46]

The *Vijećnica's* assembledness is unsurprising given the late 19th-century European habit to fragment and reunite bits of Islamic art and architecture. This leads to a further aspect, which is the knowledge of Cairene architecture by those who planned the *Vijećnica*. On the one hand, it seems easier to speculate that published works reproducing architectural and decorative details might have worked better than on-site surveys. Printed works or photographs, in fact, allowed selecting and freely combining disparate elements. At the same time, however, certain aspects resonate a knowledge of a range of Mamluk architecture that is difficult to attain through reproductions only. This is the case, for instance, of the corner towers, that, without replicating the Mamluk vertical portals' original function, represent perhaps the most outstanding and ingenious insertion of Islamic architectural features into a modern one.

---

46 One reason for religious architecture's preservation is the *waqf* institution (inalienable charitable endowment), which protected religious architecture from later transformations.

Julia Rüdiger (Linz)

Habsburg *madrasa* or Euro-Islamic university? Forms and typologies of Sarajevo's Islamic Law School *(Scheriatsrichterschule)*

Introduction

It is this volume's claim and premise that in public building design the question of authority has been undervalued. Within this category of buildings, many differentiations can be made. They may qualify as 'public', for instance, on account of their funding's origin and their claim to represent society at large or specific social groups. In other cases, it is their general access that makes them 'public'.[1]

Educational buildings are a quite specific sub-category. While museums were conceived as institutions serving the general public, with their architectures corresponding to that claim, the situation is different with schools and universities. In their practical function, they only address a part of the public: that of students, professors, and researchers. However, an adequate education is considered of great interest to society at large. By the Enlightenment, with its rational image of man, many European states reformed their education and training systems. To guarantee a most comprehensive popular education was seen as a necessary step towards mankind's perfection. In turn, appreciation of learning was considered an indicator of a *Culturstaat*,[2] an advanced political framework in civilization.

Schools and universities were seen an instruments for adolescent citizens' shaping in accordance with values defined by the political elites. They were trained to take on tasks within society. A comprehensive education of its citizens would make the state more efficient and progressive. In the German-speaking world, the educational reformers Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Schleiermacher were important advocates of freedom of teaching and learning. With the Ministry of Public Education's founding in 1848 (the later Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education), education's position in the Habsburg Empire was improved. This also affected the architecture that would facilitate the public's education.[3] In

---

2   Gustav Behnke, "Schulbauwesen im Allgemeinen," *Handbuch der Architektur*, 4. Theil, 6. Halb-Band *(Gebäude für Erziehung, Wissenschaft und Kunst)*, 1. Heft *(Niedere und höhere Schulen)* (Darmstadt: Arnold Bergsträsser, 1889), p. 4.

3   *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, IX: *Soziale Strukturen,* 1. Teilband: *Von der Feudal-agrarischen zur bür-*

DIE SCHERIATSRICHTERSCHULE IN SARAJEVO.
Von Architekt Karl Pařík, Oberbaurat der Landesregierung.
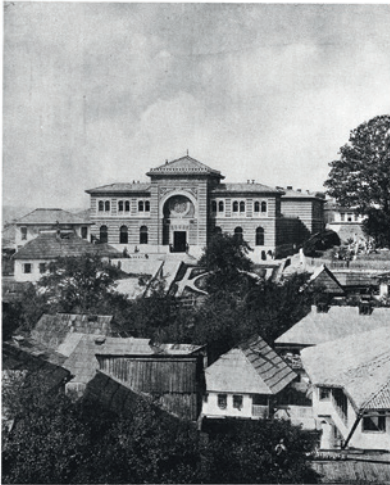
Fig. 1. Karel Pařík, *Scheriatsrichterschule* (1887–89), main façade and inner courtyard. *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 82 (1917), pl. 38.

manuals and guides, architects and architectural theorists as well as teachers and hygienists discussed the principles of an adequate school and university architecture.[4] Nevertheless, this building task's fulfilment often fluctuates between expediency and representation.

Sarajevo's Islamic Law School *(Scheriatsrichterschule)*, which is this case study's focus, falls into the second category. Due to its form and unusual façade design (fig. 1), it must be considered a building that, in addition to its practical function as a school building with an attached dormitory, was also intended to fulfil a significant representative function. As I will show, the building succeeds in engaging typological and stylistic features so as to communicate with its situation in Sarajevo, then the administrative capital of the occupied province of Bosnia.

As its architect Karel Pařík recounted 30 years after the fact in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, the *Scheriatsrichterschule* had been founded to promote studies in the sciences of Islam more generally, but more specifically to train suitable candidates for public service as Islamic

---

gerlich-industriellen Gesellschaft, Teil 1: *Lebens- und Arbeitswelten in der industriellen Revolution*, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2010), pp. 67–69; Helmut Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa: Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna: Carl Ueberreuter, 1997), pp. 331–335.

4   See *Handbuch der Architektur*: *Niedere und höhere Schulen* (op. cit) and Carl Hinträger, *Volksschulhäuser in Oesterreich-Ungarn, Bosnien und der Hercegowina* (Darmstadt: Arnold Bergsträsser, 1901).

judges *(kadi)* in Bosnia and Hercegovina.[5] The institution was an invention of the occupying power, which saw this training as a possibility to also ideologically shape a local Muslim elite for Habsburg administration service.[6] As a boarding school *(Konvikt)*[7] with studies and professional training, it was institutionally located between a school for higher education and a university.

After the Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied the Ottoman province in 1878, a massive administrative rupture occured in Bosnia. Its aim was to streamline the administrative standards with those of other Habsburg territories.[8] For this, however, it was not only necessary to build up a civil servant corps, but also to construct suitable administrative buildings. As the *Wiener Zeitung* stressed in 1888, the civil administration's building activities had to first focus on creating official buildings for the various administrative branches.[9]

These measures' implementation shaped the city in the following years. Their success was examined by Austria and Hungary's Joint Minister of Finance, Benjámin von Kállay, who was the superintendent of occupied Bosnia at that time. He visited Sarajevo in 1889, as various daily newspapers reported in similar terms:

> The 'Bosnische Post' expresses the conviction that the minister's stay in the country will again be accompanied by most beneficial consequences. All of Sarajevo [...] resembles a large construction site this summer. The tramway, the government building, the teachers' preparatory school, the school for Islamic judges, the pension fund building, the Catholic cathedral and the construction of the water supply system, which was begun a few days ago, may be seen as honourable monuments to the tireless activity of the government.[10]

---

5 See Karl Pařík, "Die Scheriatsrichterschule in Sarajevo," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 82 (1917), pp. 51–52, here 51.

6 Maximilian Hartmuth, "Forging a Habsburg Muslim elite: The architecture of the Islamic Law School (Scheriatsrichterschule) in Sarajevo, 1887–1889," *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie* 8 (2022), pp. 51–66.

7 Pařík, "Die Scheriatsrichterschule," p. 51.

8 The civil service staff's development began without delay, but in the *Hof- und Staats-Handbuch der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* the administrative staff of Bosnia and Herzegovina is only listed from the 1891 edition onwards, including the staff of the *Scheriatsrichterschule*: *Hof- und Staats-Handbuch der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie für 1891* (Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1891), p. XIX and pp. 1189–1200.

9 *Wiener Zeitung*, February 11, 1888, p. 5 ("Die Hochbauthätigkeit der Civilverwaltung mußte in den ersten Jahren sich vorerst der Schaffung von Amtsgebäuden für die verschiedenen Zweige der Verwaltung zuwenden. Es wurden zahlreiche Adaptirungen und viele ganz bedeutende Neubauten ausgeführt*").*

10 "Minister Kallay in Sarajewo," *Welt-Neuigkeits-Blatt*, August 3, 1889, p. 2 ("Die 'Bosnische Post' spricht die Ueberzeugung aus, daß auch der diesmalige Aufenthalt des Ministers im Lande von den wohlthätigsten Folgen begleitet sein werde. Ganz Sarajevo [...] gleicht im diesjährigen Sommer einem großen Bauplatze. Die Tramway, das Regierungsgebäude, die Lehrerpräparandie, die Scheriatsrichterschule, das Pensionsfondsgebäude, die katholische Kathedrale und der vor einigen Tagen in Angriff genommene Bau der Wasserleitung sind gewiß ehrenvolle Denkmale der unermüdlichen Thätigkeit der Regierung "). Similar remarks in *Prager Abendblatt*, July 31, 1889, p. 1; "Reichs-Finanzminister v. Kallay in Bosnia," *Das Vaterland,* July 31, 1889, p. 3; *Vorarlberger Landeszeitung,* August 2, 1889, p. 1.

Fig. 2. *Scheriatsrichterschule*, ink drawing by Karl Panek, signed and dated 1898. Austrian National Library, Picture Archive 461.810-B.

The *Wiener Abendpost* also reported in more detail on the governor's programme, highlighting his visits to specific places:

> The afternoon was devoted to visits to the arts and crafts studios, a trip to the Goat Bridge, a visit to the Islamic Law School, the Begova Mosque and the *Landesmuseum*.[11]

The *Scheriatsrichterschule* thus not only appeared among the list of those building projects that were considered "honourable monuments to the tireless activity of the government"; it is also on the list of places distinguished by the governor's personal visit. The architectural design anticipated this ideological significance. The eye-catching building, with banded façade in yellow and red and a colossal horseshoe arch portal surmounted by decorative crenellation, was built on a prominent hilltop overlooking central Sarajevo. It must have been clearly visible from there once (fig. 2). In what follows, I will discuss its conception as a building for the public.

---

11 *Wiener Abendpost*, August 2, 1889, p. 2 ("Der Nachmittag war dem Besuche der kunstgewerblichen Ateliers, einer Fahrt zur Ziegen-Brücke, der Besichtigung der Scheriatsrichterschule, der Begova-Moschee und des Landesmuseums gewidmet").

State of research

Since the *Scheriatsrichterschule* is institutionally located between secondary school and university, it has to be contextualised in between those two building types and traditions.

The development of new or specific typologies in school and university buildings has already been discussed in detail in research for Western and Central Europe. In particular, the development of new disciplines and higher educational institutions was shown to have had an impact on the further development of this building task's functional and representative elements.[12]

The Habsburg province of Bosnia's educational buildings are only slowly coming into the focus of architectural historical research outside the country. In 2013, Alexander Zäh devoted brief, descriptive chapters to individual schools, including the 'functional unicum' *Scheriatsrichterschule*, in his overview of this region's Orientalising architecture.[13] He empasized that most of the building tasks for which Orientalising forms were used were not originally Ottoman. Instead, they corresponded to this era's international modular system of architecture. They were Eclecticist only in style.[14]

In 2019, in my essay titled "Bauen für die bosnische(n) Partikularitäten im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat," I argued that the amalgamation of different typological and stylistic models and associations in the case of the *Scheriatsrichterschule* is multifaceted and follows different agendas in the domain of functionality as well as identity construction.[15]

Most recently, Maximilian Hartmuth outlined the political necessity of founding the school and the origins of its many orientalising forms in his article "Forging a Habsburg Muslim elite: The architecture of the Islamic Law School *(Scheriatsrichterschule)* in Sarajevo, 1887–1889".[16] This paper's focus is therefore not on the discourse of Orientalisation; rather, I aim to classify this particular building within the late 19th century's university architecture discourse as it relates to state representation. Which architectural means does the *Scheriatsrichterschule* use to fulfil its practical and ideal functions? How does the building address

---

12 See e.g. Michaela Marek, *Universität als 'Monument' und Politikum: Die Repräsentationsbauten der Prager Universitäten 1900–1935 und der politische Konflikt zwischen 'konservativer' und 'moderner' Architektur* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001); Hans-Dieter Nägelke, *Hochschulbau im Kaiserreich: Historische Architektur im Prozess bürgerlicher Konsensbildung* (Kiel: Verlag Ludwig, 2000); Konrad Rückbrod, *Universität und Kollegium: Baugeschichte und Bautyp* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977); Julia Rüdiger, *Die monumentale Universität: Funktioneller Bau und repräsentative Ausstattung des Hauptgebäudes der Universität Wien* (Vienna/ Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2015); *Universitäten im östlichen Mitteleuropa: Zwischen Kirche, Staat und Nation: Sozialgeschichtliche und politische Entwicklungen,* ed. Peter Wörster (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2008).

13 Alexander Zäh, "Die orientalisierende Architektur als ein stilistischer Ausdruck des offiziellen Bauprogramms der k. u. k. bosnisch-herzegowinischen Landesregierung 1878–1918," *Südost-Forschungen*, 72 (2013), pp. 63–97, here pp. 88–89.

14 Ibid., p. 89.

15 Julia Rüdiger, "Bauen für die bosnische(n) Partikularitäten im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat," *kritische berichte* 47/2 (2019), pp. 38–49.

16 Hartmuth, "Forging a Habsburg Muslim elite," p. 57.

the intended users, namely the local Muslim elite? How does it signal that it wants to be noticed not only locally but throughout the empire as an 'honourable monument' to the occupying power? How did the architect manage to unite these diverse messages and tasks in one design?

The comparative examination of the *Scheriatsrichterschule* with various school and university buildings reveals intrinsic formal and iconographic references and serves as the basis for my argument that this building was a lighthouse project of 'public' commissioning in occupied Bosnia. My sources documenting the intended effect and the building's reception include the architect Pařík's retrospective review of 1917 in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* and contemporary press comments.[17]

Designing the *Scheriatsrichterschule*

The Bosnian government commissioned the architect Pařík, who had already been residing in Sarajevo since 1884, to design the *Scheriatsrichterschule*. He had studied in Vienna from 1878 to 1882 at the Academy of Fine Arts, where he attended the classes of the famous *Ringstrasse* architects Friedrich von Schmidt and Theophil Hansen.[18] Not only did his professors pass on the principles of contemporary building to the student; the lively building activity on Vienna's *Ringstrasse* also served as an orientation for Pařík, as this case study will show.

In Sarajevo, Pařík found employment in the provincial administration's construction department, where he initially accompanied the Ottoman building surveys conducted by Edmund Stix.[19] Pařík's first independent works in Sarajevo were the design of the pension fund's residential and commercial buildings (1886) and the *Scheriatsrichterschule* (1887).[20]

The latter was built in cooperation between the provincial government and the *Vakufdirektion*, the umbrella organisation of pious Muslim foundations in Bosnia. For the building planned by the government, the *Vakufdirektion* provided a building site within a predominantly Muslim neighbourhood. For the steeply rising terrain, the architect designed a building adapted to both the topography and the task. To this end, as the description will show, he synthesized inspirations from existing buildings in a unique way (fig. 3).

---

17 Pařík, "Scheriatsrichterschule in Sarajevo," op. cit. As part of the ERC-funded research project "Islamic Architecture and Orientalizing Style in Habsburg Bosnia, 1878–1918" led by Maximilian Hartmuth, the Ottoman and local newspapers *Vatan*, *Rehber*, *Sarajevski List*, and *Bosnische Post* were analysed with the help of Ajla Bajramović, Nazlı Vatansever, Franziska Niemand, and Boris Trapara. In these texts, no detailed press engagement with the *Scheriatsrichterschule*'s architecture could be found.

18 Branka Dimitrijević, "Der Architekt Karl Pařík," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 44/3–4 (1990), pp. 155–169, here p. 155.

19 Edmund Stix, *Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom Beginn der Occupation durch die österr.-ung. Monarchie bis in das Jahr 1887* (Vienna: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1887).

20 Dimitrijević, "Architekt Pařík," p. 156.
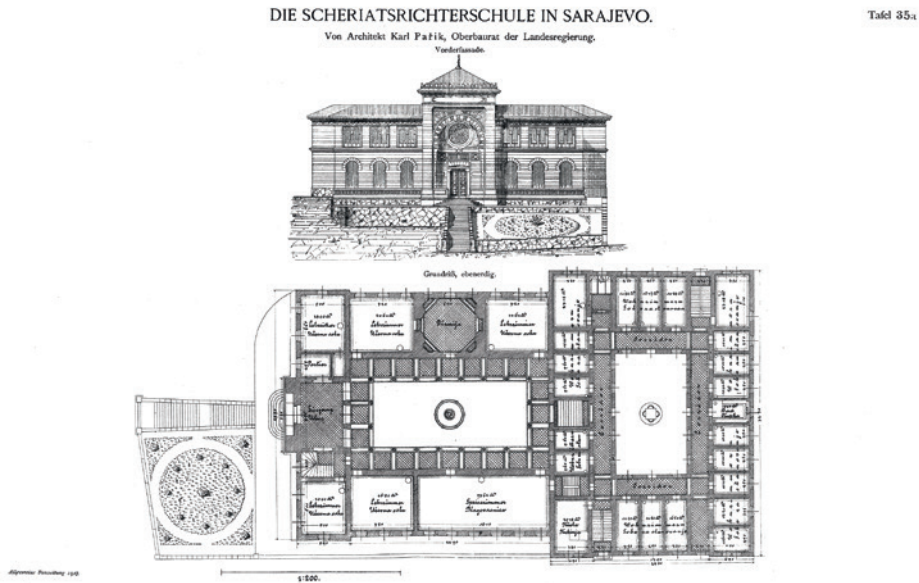
Fig. 3. Karl Pařík, *Scheriatsrichterschule*, elevation and plan of the ground floor. *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 82 (1917), pl. 35a.

Typology

The building consists of two interlocking parts erected in two construction phases: the first concerned the rear boarding wing, meant to accommodate the students and teachers; the second phase concerned the educational wing.[21] The main façade faces the street as a two-storeyed building. Behind it, two single-storey wings enclose what is now a glass-roofed arcaded courtyard. In the west-facing arcade's centre is the passageway to the two-storey former residential building, which is arranged in four wings around a second courtyard.[22] The first courtyard is reminiscent of the madrasa of Gazi Hüsrev Bey – a school of advanced Islamic learning with a rich tradition in the heart of Sarajevo. The *Scheriatsrichterschule* copied the forms of its arcades and capitals, including the conspicuous corner solution with two arches sharing a column, as well as the central fountain (fig. 4).[23] The madrasa's footprint can

---

21 Pařík, "Scheriatsrichterschule," p. 52.

22 Today, the building is used by the University of Sarajevo's Faculty of Islamic Studies.

23 This building was included in a report on building activity in Bosnia published by the State Building Director in Sarajevo, Edmund Stix; the report featured a description and plans at a time when Pařík was already employed in the Building Directorate. In an introductory chapter on building before the occupation, Stix describes the madrasa and adds a floor plan, elevation, and section in the appendix. Cf. Stix, *Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina*, plates IV and V.
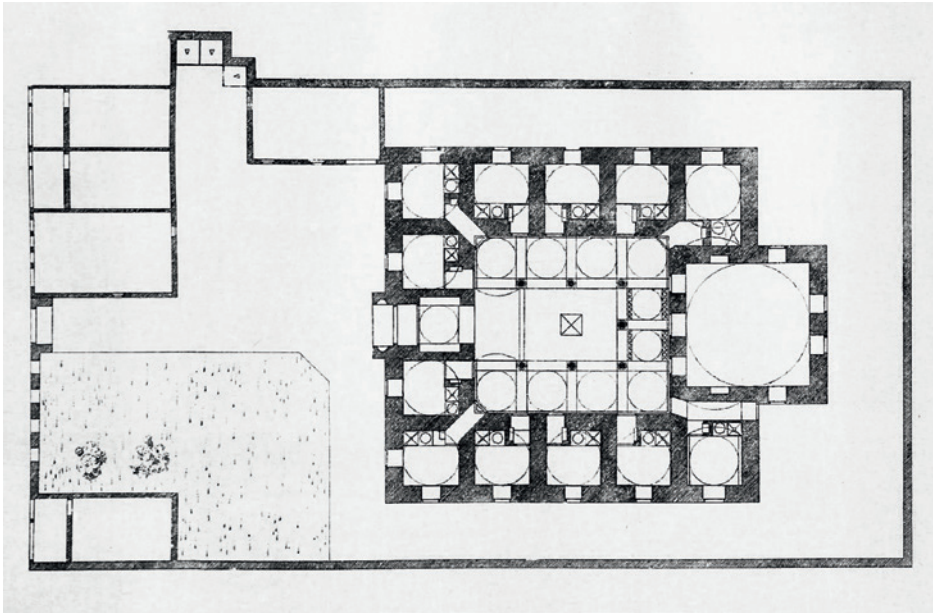
Fig. 4. Madrasa of Gazi Hüsrev Bey, ground plan. Edmund Stix, *Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina* (Vienna: Hof- u. Staatsdruckerei 1887), unpaginated appendix.

be seen as the starting point of a typological adaptation for new requirements: an arcade ambulates a courtyard with a stone fountain in the middle. Twelve small domed cells for students are located around the courtyard. Opposite the entrance on the central axis is a larger domed room that was used as a classroom. In this way, the floor plan also resembles the European university building archetype, the two-storeyed *Collegio di Spagna* (1365–67) in Bologna, which combined collegiate single rooms, a chapel, and teaching rooms in a similar disposition.[24] In other representative 19th century school buildings, the planners also attached great importance to the creation of an inner courtyard. For the Protestant school building in Vienna's Wieden suburb, the architect Theophil Hansen explains:

> These arcades as well as the courtyard [covered with glass, author's note] have the advantage that the schoolchildren can move about freely under supervision between each change of lessons, even in unfavourable weather, without having to go out into the street. In addition, the courtyard is very suitable for special school celebrations, etc., in which all the schoolchildren should participate.[25]

---

24 Rückbrod, *Universität und Kollegium*, pp. 123–127.

25 Theophilos Hansen, "Das evangelische Schulgebäude an der Hauptstrasse der Vorstadt Wieden in Wien," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 32 (1867), pp. 384–386, here p. 385 ("Diese Arkaden [sind] so wie der Hof [mit Glas gedeckt und] gewähren den Vortheil, dass die Schulkinder auch bei ungünstiger Witterung zwischen jedem Stundenwechsel sich in selben unter Aufsicht frei bewegen können, ohne auf die Strasse gehen zu müssen. Außerem
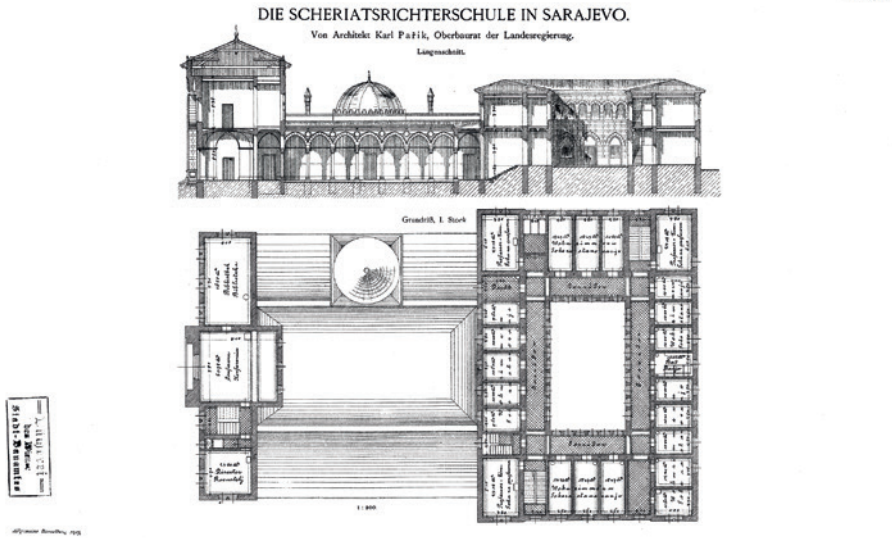
Fig. 5. Karl Pařík, *Scheriatsrichterschule*, longitudinal section and plan of the upper floor. *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 82(1917), pl. 36a.

An inner courtyard for such purposes was also a requirement for the new building of Vienna's *Akademisches Gymnasium*, which the architect Friedrich Schmidt constructed in neo-Gothic style near the *Stadtpark*.[26] As with the building types of monasteries and madrasas, an inner courtyard was to provide space for mental focus and security within the school or university community. As such it became a widespread typological element in school and university designs in Habsburg as well as Ottoman domains. [27]

Pařík, as Hansen and Schmidt's student, knew well the aforementioned school buildings near Vienna's prestigious *Ringstrasse*, as well as Ottoman buildings in Bosnia. This is demonstrated in his first educational building. Details clearly reveal an intended reference to the prestigious local educational institution of Gazi Hüsrev Bey's madrasa.

---

eignet sich der Hof sehr gut zu besonderen Schulfeierlichkeiten etc., an denen alle Schulkinder theilnehmen sollen.").

26 Christina Schulenburg, *Das Akademische Gymnasium in Wien von Friedrich Schmidt und der Beginn der neugotischen Schulhäuser im deutschsprachigen Raum* (diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2009), p. 21; Robert Winter, *Das Akademische Gymnasium in Wien: Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 1996), p. 71.

27 In Kugler's famous survey of the history of art, the inner courtyard was seen as a very characteristic element of Muslim architecture. Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1842): Twelfth chapter: *Die Kunst des Islam*, pp. 393–414, here p. 395.

Pařík, however, replaced the small residential cells in the courtyard of the latter with six larger classrooms. Instead of individual lessons, the education of larger student numbers at the same time was possible and thus corresponded to the efficiency ideas of Habsburg educational policy.[28] Pařík moved the domed room out of the central axis and positioned it in the left wing, where it assumed the function of a Muslim oratory *(masjid)*. Although it still appears to the outside as a domed room, it is not the building's central element (fig. 5). Instead, Pařík placed the residential wing's entrance on the central axis and thus shifted the structural accent to the combination of teaching and dwelling.

This combination of a teaching wing with an adjoining residential wing is uncommon in Islamic typologies as well as in Central European ones. This is because it differs noticeably from boarding school buildings or colleges, which accommodated living and learning on several floors in the same wings of a two-wing or four-wing complex. An example of a horizontal school building and boarding school combination is today's *Aloisianum* in Linz, which Archduke Maximilian of Habsburg-d'Este had built in the middle of the 19th century as a representative two-wing Jesuit boys' seminary.[29]

The functional interlocking of two building blocks may rather be related to the architect's training in Vienna. There, from 1869, the new university's first part was built in accordance with designs by the architect Heinrich Ferstel. The overall commission for the new university's buildings came from the highest imperial authorities. In addition to practical concerns, they also had the aim of representing the entire monarchy's largest educational institution to the outside world.[30] One of the specifications for the Chemical Institute's construction as part of this university cluster was the integration of professors' flats into the department building.[31] The architect solved this task by attaching an annex to the spacious teaching wing (fig. 6). The two-storey teaching wing with its numerous lecture halls and laboratories slopes down the hillside and encloses two small courtyards. The residential wing's ground floor is attached to the teaching wing's basement. On the residential wing's upper floor, a connection leads directly to the central lecture hall's entrance.

The topographical situation in the steep terrain of both buildings creates the impression that the wings slide into each other. By adapting this unusual but quite up-to-date solution,

---

28 Tomas Cvrcek and Miroslav Zajicek, "The rise of public schooling in nineteenth-century Imperial Austria: Who gained and who paid?" *Cliometrica* 13 (2019), pp. 367–403, here p. 370 and 379; Martin Viehhauser, "'Das Schulwesen aber ist und bleibet allezeit ein politicum,' The Felbiger general school ordinance and school reform in the eighteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy," *School acts and the rise of mass schooling*, ed. Johannes Westberg, Lukas Boser, and Ingrid Brühwiler (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 17–40.

29 *Dehio-Handbuch – Oberösterreich,* II (Linz), ed. Beate Auer, Brigitta Fragner, Ulrike Knall-Brskovsky, Paul Mahringer (Horn/Vienna: Berger, 2009), pp. 333–335.

30 Rüdiger, *Die monumentale Universität*, pp. 197, 227, 282; Julia Rüdiger, "The minor monumental building: The Department of Chemistry as the first post-1848 University building," *Sites of knowledge: The University of Vienna and its buildings: A History 1365 – 2015*, ed. Julia Rüdiger and Dieter Schweizer (Vienna/ Cologne/ Weimar: Böhlau, 2015), pp. 155–163.

31 Heinrich Ferstel, "Der Bau des chemischen Institutes der Wiener Universität", *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 39 (1874), pp. 44–47, here p. 46.
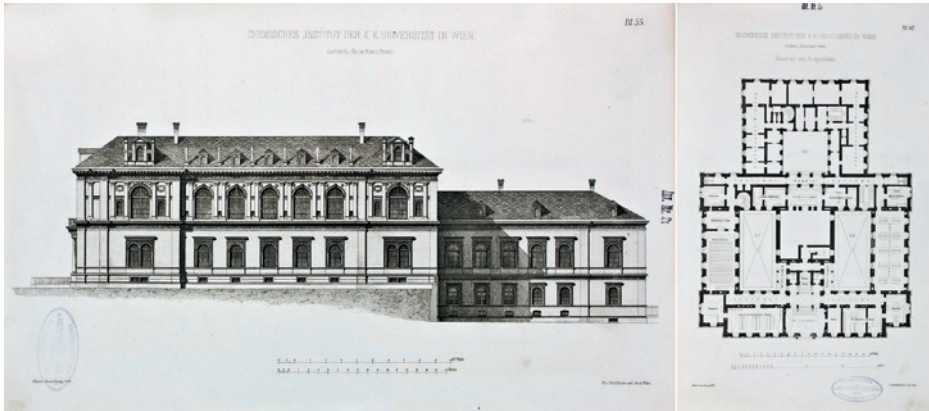
Fig. 6. Heinrich von Ferstel, *Chemisches Institut der Universität Wien* (1869–72), lateral façade and plan of the ground floor. *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 39 (1874), pl. 55 and 52.

Pařík demonstrated his knowledge of contemporary educational architecture in the empire's capital. He thus succeeded in creating an innovative solution that linked the local construction tradition to contemporary and internationally perceived university architecture in the empire's centre.

Style

Also remarkable was Pařík's façade designs. Here he referred neither to local Ottoman traditions (with natural stone or plastered exterior walls and roofs covered with lead sheets), nor to the Italian Renaissance, as was the case in Vienna's contemporary *Ringstrasse* constructions. Instead, the building is clearly distinguished from the historical surroundings by its yellow-red plaster banding, a colossal horseshoe-arched portal niche, and stacked crenelations (fig. 2). Nevertheless, Pařík emphasised in his synopsis of the building in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* of 1917 that the building was

> designed in the Oriental style with reference to the Oriental buildings existing in the country, and the interior furnishings [...] are entirely in keeping with the purpose and have the Oriental and customary character of the country.[32]

In fact, as shown above, it is first and foremost the inner courtyard that is typologically and stylistically oriented towards local customs (fig. 7). The banded façade rather refers to mod-

---

32 Pařík, "Scheriatsrichterschule," p. 52 ("Das Gebäude ist im orientalischen Stile unter Anlehnung an die im Lande bestehenden orientalischen Bauwerke gehalten, und auch die innere Einrichtung hat dem Zwecke entsprechend gänzlich den orientalischen und landesüblichen Charakter.")

DIE SCHERIATSRICHTERSCHULE IN SARAJEVO. Tafel 39.
Von Architekt Karl Pařik, Oberbaurat der Landesregierung.

Arkadenhof. Blick gegen das Vestibül. Arkadenhof. Blick gegen den Eingang, oben Konferenzsaal.
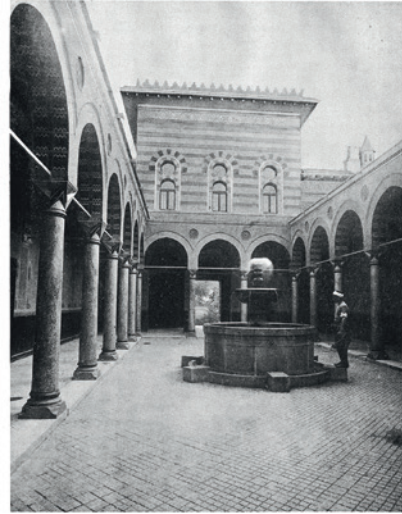
Fig. 7. Karl Pařík, *Scheriatsrichterschule*, Views of the courtyard. *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 82 (1917), pl. 39.

els in Mamluk Egypt, such as the funerary mosque of Sultan Qaitbay.[33] The crenelation, too, originates in that area. The horseshoe arches of the colossal portal and in the windows, on the other hand, are borrowed from Moorish designs. As far as we know, Pařík did not know any of the models from studying the original buildings. He must have seen them in publications or exhibitions, synthesizing fragments from a diverse 'Oriental' heritage perceived as undifferentiated by outsiders.[34]

The two surveys on the history of art that were still frequently used in Vienna's architectural training during the 19th century's second half were Franz Kugler's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (Handbook of the History of Art) and Carl Schnaase's *Geschichte der bildenden Künste im Mittelalter* (History of the Fine Arts in the Middle Ages).[35] Before both authors discuss Muslim art history's characteristics and styles, which vary greatly in time and place, they open their chapters with general, sweeping statements about Muslim culture and architecture. They believed this tradition to be best characterized by imaginative decoration, the use of arcades, *muqarnas*, and crenelations. Only in the following sub-chapters do the au-

---

33 On the question of sources, see also Guidetti's contribution to this volume.

34 Hartmuth, "Forging a Habsburg Muslim elite," p. 53; Rüdiger, "Bauen für die bosnische(n) Partikularitäten," p. 42.

35 Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* pp. 393–414; Carl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste im Mittelalter, I/3: Die muhamedanische Kunst*, pp. 319–452.

thors address local specifics, with both giving only a few pages of attention to the Ottoman Empire's architecture, emphasizing instead the splendor of Persian, Spanish, and Egyptian styles.[36] Carl Schnaase did not recognize an independent architectural development in the Ottoman Empire; Franz Kugler saw it as mainly imitating pre-existing Byzantine church buildings, Orientalized by adding minarets.[37] Considering such academic evaluation of Oriental styles, Pařík chose for his prestigious Sarajevo project forms and elements that were perceived as more originally Oriental and, at the same time, impressive.

In the context of what Pařík experienced simultaneously during the Vienna *Ringstrasse* building boom, these elements are as well legitimate means of monumentalizing a building. This is also indicated by Pařík's explicit specification of the materials used:

> The plinths, door jambs, tracery, etc. are executed in carved stone and cyclopean masonry respectively, the façade surfaces are made in red and yellow plaster, the ornaments as sgrafitto, the roof coverings with customary hollow tiles on shingles and made of galvanised sheet iron.[38]

For the Chemical Institute, Heinrich Ferstel had argued more than a decade earlier in the same architecture journal how monumentality could also be produced through materiality. According to Ferstel, a building or façade made purely of stone was to be reserved for colossal buildings. In the Chemical Institute's case, a brick building with consideration for artistic detail forms could satisfy lesser requirements.[39] The stone elements mentioned by Pařík, such as plinths and door jambs, but also the sgrafitti – which, going back to Semper, were considered a particularly monumentalising design element – would correspond to such artistic details

---

36 See Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, pp. 410–411; Schnaase, *Altchristliche, ... Kunst*, pp. 419–422.

37 Schnaase, *Altchristliche, ... muhammedanische Kunst*, p. 419: "Zur vollständigen Aufzählung muhamedanischer Architekturen bleibt mir noch übrig, des neuern türkischen Reiches zu erwähnen. Diese letzte Eroberung des Islam auf christlichem Boden brachte zwar keine Erscheinung hervor, welche in die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Kunst bedeutend eingegriffen hätte." ("For the complete enumeration of Muhamedan architecture, it remains for me to mention the recent Turkish Empire. This last conquest of Islam on Christian soil did not produce any phenomenon that would have significantly intervened in the historical development of art."); Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, p. 410: "Hier gründet sich die Aufnahme desselben freilich auf unmittelbarer Nachahmung der Kirchenbauten, welche man in dem, in Besitz genommenen Reiche vorfand. Es ist die Structur der Sophienkirche, mehr oder weniger frei wiederholt [...]. Das eigentlich orientalische Gepräge erhalten diese Moscheen nur durch die Minarets, die den Körper des Gebäudes schlank und frei, kriegerischen Lanzen vergleichbar, umstehen [...]." ("Here the reception of the same is based on direct imitation of the church buildings, which one found in the taken realm. It is the structure of the Church of St. Sophia, more or less freely repeated, [...]. The actual oriental character of these mosques is given only by the minarets, which surround the body of the building slender and free, comparable to warlike lances [...].")

38 Pařík, "Scheriatsrichterschule," p. 52 ("Die Sockel, Türgewände, Maßwerk usw. sind in Haustein respektive Zyklopenmauerwerk ausgeführt, die Fassadenflächen sind in rotem und gelbem Putz hergestellt, die Ornamente als Sgrafitto, die Dachdeckungen mit landesüblichen Hohlziegeln auf Schindeln und aus verzinktem Eisenblech.")

39 Ferstel, "Der Bau des chemischen Institutes," pp. 46–47; Rüdiger, "The minor monumental building," p. 161–162.

Fig. 8. *Scheriatsrichterschule*, vestibule. Photograph by Maximilian Hartmuth, 2018.

recommended by Ferstel.[40] Instead of grotesque paintings inspired by the Italian Renaissance (as in Ferstel's vestibule), Pařík had the vaults of the vestibule, the arcades, and the halls decorated with Orientalizing ornamental paintings. (fig. 8). The luminous plaster façade is Pařík's cost-saving interpretation of the Mamluk façades built of different coloured stones.

In sum, the *Scheriatsrichterschule*'s architecture is an assemblage of different, traceable building traditions. The references to the local madrasa connects it with a long Muslim educational tradition. Yet, the structure also associates it with recent building activities in Vienna. The Historicizing adoption of monumental architectural forms from Cairo and Spain may be seen as a concession to the Muslim target audience.

Scheriatsrichterschule as a public building task?

The attention that the Viennese architects Ferstel, Hansen, and Schmidt devoted to their above-mentioned educational building projects also influenced Pařík's *Scheriatsrichterschule* design. Their designs also reflected the importance assigned to the respective institution

---

40 Gottfried Semper, "Die Sgrafitto-Dekorationen," *Kunstchronik: Beiblatt zur Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 3 (1868), pp. 45–48*;* Julia Rüdiger, "The main building: An architectural victory of light over darkness," *Sites of knowledge* (op. cit.), pp. 165–190, here pp. 178–179.

in terms of a broader social development. With reference to humanistic education, Ferstel and Hansen based their designs on Italian Renaissance forms, whereas Schmidt chose neo-Gothic forms for the *Akademisches Gymnasium*, presumably also a reference to its long tradition. Consequently, the newly founded *Scheriatsrichterschule* in Sarajevo, which would offer the local Muslim elite an educational alternative to institutions in Istanbul, was designed by Pařík in Orientalizing forms mostly from Cairo and Andalusia. With the construction of a college that could be perceived as a veritable sight, the architect also fulfilled a need that his superior, the *Baudirektor* Johann Kellner, would later describe as follows:

> The state administration is particularly devoted to school buildings. The *Scheriatsrichterschule* in Sarajevo [...] is an outstandingly beautiful building in a strictly Oriental style, as is the madrasa in Travnik. The grammar school buildings in Mostar, Sarajevo, D[olnja] Tuzla, the upper secondary school building in Banjaluka, the commercial school buildings in various towns, the crafts school in Mostar, the weaving workshop, the preparatory school and the teachers' college in Sarajevo, Hreljevo, Visoko, etc. are all worthy of mention, although the Renaissance style was also used in many of these buildings. Even the elementary schools in various villages immediately catch everyone's eye with their attractive appearance. Although the other interested parties have also contributed to the school buildings partly through free donations of building land, partly through contributions in kind, and also through money, the expenditure of the provincial administration for this is quite significant and currently already amounts to over 4,500,000 crowns.[41]

As stated in the beginning, the construction of schools and related public buildings simply followed a necessity in the state government's argumentation.[42] But the "particular devotion" stems from a necessity of representation noticeable in many projects discussed in this volume. Educational institutions' construction is not only considered proof of the ruling elite's (paternalistic) care for civil society and its participation; it also served the training of civil servants in ways that ensured the current ruling elite's position of power was not questioned.[43] Thus, the above list also includes a remarkable number of school buildings, some of which are similarly representative and eclectically designed. A design in Orientalising forms

---

[41] Lecture of Johann Kellner printed in: *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den öffentlichen Baudienst* XIV (1908), pp. 247–248, here 247 ("Eine ganz besondere Fürsorge wendet die Landesverwaltung den Schulbauten zu. Die Scheriatsrichterschule in Serajewo [sic] [...] in streng orientalischem Stile ist ein hervorragend schönes Bauwerk, desgleichen die Medrese in Travnik. Die Gymnasialgebäude in Mostar, Sarajewo, D.-Tuzla, das Oberrealschulgebäude in Banjaluka [sic], die Handelsschulgebäude in den verschiedenen Städten, die Handwerkerschule in Mostar, das Webeatelier, die Präparandie und das Lehrerkonvikt in Serajewo [sic], Hreljevo, Visoko u.s.w. reihen sich würdig an, doch wurde bei diesen Objekten vielfach auch der Renaissancestil angewendet. Selbst die Volksschulen fallen in den einzelnen Ortschaften durch ihr schmuckes Aussehen sofort jedermann angenehm auf. Obgleich zu den Schulbauten auch die übrigen Interessenten teils durch unentgeltliche Zuwendung des Baugrundes, teils durch Naturalleistungen und auch durch Geld beigetragen haben, ist doch der Aufwand der Landesverwaltung hiefür ein ganz bedeutender und beträgt derzeit schon über 4,500.000 K.")

[42] *Wiener Zeitung*, February 11, 1888, p. 5.

[43] Cvrcek and Zajicek, "The rise of public schooling," pp. 370–371; see also Hans-Dieter Nägelke, "Gebaute Bil-

(such as the madrasa in Travnik or the grammar school in Mostar) was not necessarily mandatory.

As Miroslav Malinović points out in his contribution to this volume, the state government in the northern Bosnian town of Banja Luka only had one elementary school built in Orientalizing forms on the town's outskirts. The other buildings varied in style. The example of Banja Luka's *Ober-Realgymnasium* shows that the adoption of design elements from Viennese architecture for Bosnian academic buildings was systematic. In the 1890s, that school's architects were not only oriented towards the province's already constructed grammar school buildings, but also – as Malinović makes reference to – towards Theophil Hansen's Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (inaugurated in 1877), which could apparently be regarded as an exemplary model.[44]

For the Muslim elite's training centre, however, the design in the newly occupied province played an even more important strategic role. The Constantinople Convention, negotiated between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire, guaranteed the Sultan's unrestricted sovereignty over the occupied territory on the one hand and the entire population's religious freedom on the other:

> The freedom and practice of all existing cults are guaranteed to those who live or reside in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In particular, the Muslims are assured full freedom of intercourse with their spiritual superiors.[45]

In practice, however, this confessional level assurance led to a paradoxical blending of secular interests because the concession of sovereignty and freedom of worship also included Islam's recognition as a state religion, as declared in the Ottoman constitution of 1876, and thus also sovereignty over the administration of justice.[46] As a strategy to undermine this influence, the finance minister Kállay, following the emperor's right to appoint Catholic as well as Orthodox bishops, created the Council of Scholars *(ulema medžlis).* Its head *(reis-ul-ulema)* was appointed independently of the sultan by the Austro-Hungarian governor.[47] As a result, not only the highest offices of religious society came under the mandate power's influence,

---

dung: Universitätsarchitektur im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871 bis 1918", *Universität als Bauaufgabe: Architektur für Forschung und Lehre*, ed. Klaus Gereon Beuckers (Kiel: Ludwig, 2010), pp. 127–146.

44 See the contribution to this volume by Malinović.

45 *Wiener Zeitung*, 1 June 1879, p. 1 ("Die Freiheit und die Ausübung aller bestehenden Kulte sind jenen zugesichert, welche in Bosnien und der Herzegowina wohnen oder sich dort aufhalten. Namentlich ist den Muselmanen volle Freiheit im Verkehr mit ihren geistlichen Oberen gesichert.")

46 Cf. Johann Bair, *Das Islamgesetz: An den Schnittstellen zwischen österreichischer Rechtsgeschichte und österreichischem Staatsrecht* (Vienna/New York: Springer, 2002), p. 15; Dietrich Jung, "Staat und Islam im mittleren Osten", *Politik und Religion: Politische Vierteljahrszeitschrift* 33 (2003), pp. 207–227, here p. 216.

47 Bair, *Islamgesetz*, pp. 15–16; Robert J. Donia, *Islam under the double eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina 1878–1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 20–21.

but also the judicial system, which was to be applied in accordance with Islamic regulations.[48] For the judges, *imam*s, and preachers who were previously trained in Ottoman institutions, Sarajevo's state government therefore created its own *Scheriatsrichterschule*. The building created for this purpose was intended, on the one hand, to do justice to its confessional dedication and Muslim traditions and, on the other, to isolate Bosnian Muslims to the extent possible from Ottoman influence. The colourful and richly decorated buildings create the image of a more flattering Islamic architecture than an Ottoman tradition perceived as insufficient in this regard. The architect was probably aware that his building did not correspond to an actual local tradition. In this location, the new school with a façade visible from afar signalled cultural accommodation on the one hand and a new beginning under a new religious leadership within the Habsburg empire on the other.

Conclusion

The *Scheriatsrichterschule*'s example shows well how the Habsburg-Bosnian government instrumentalised architecture in its claim to power and how, at the same time, it met the simultaneous need to integrate the local Muslim elite. The Orientalising style was not used for all public buildings, but it was evidently seen as a viable choice.[49] Planners and architects were challenged by new building tasks that necessitated a reconsideration of traditional typologies. In the design of the *Scheriatsrichterschule*, diverse models were synthesized. While newspaper reports illustrate how special attention was paid to educational buildings, the *Scheriatsrichterschule* is singled out as a sight to be visited by delegations and tourists. Its location was chosen to increase its striking architecture's visibility in a city in transformation. For this premier Habsburg empire institution of Muslim education, a building was erected that typologically simultaneously referred to the local educational tradition and to Vienna as the empire's centre. Its style references an Islamic tradition, but to a foreign, colourful one that draws attention to the building. Clearly, this was a landmark project for the occupying power, communicating with a 'new' Muslim public.

---

48 Cf. Bair, *Islamgesetz*, pp.16–17.

49 Rüdiger, "Bauen für die bosnisch(n) Partikularität(en)," p. 47; Maximilian Hartmuth, "Amtssprache Maurisch? Zum Problem der Interpretation des orientalisierenden Baustils im habsburgischen Bosnien-Herzegowina," *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878–1918: Annäherungen an eine Kolonie*, ed. Clemens Ruthner and Tamara Scheer (Tübingen: Narr, 2018), pp. 251–268, here p. 261.

Maximilian Hartmuth (Vienna)

Power-sharing as a design problem: Public administration architectures between Vienna and Sarajevo on the eve of modernity

The term 'public building' undiscerningly lumps together buildings that vastly diverge in purpose and orientation. Even within the seemingly manageable category of 'administrative buildings' there can be a marked difference between buildings representing differently scaled levels of government. As the agendas of authorities representing local municipalities, regions, or states occasionally diverge, this can have a bearing on their approaches to the question of how to represent their institutional identity through architecture. In many cases, form clearly followed function. In other cases, form represented function. A dignified general appearance was not only an afterthought to the planning process; buildings were to broadcast agendas as instant landmarks. In perhaps most cases, spatial and representational needs were carefully balanced.

This paper highlights differences in the administrative building architecture of local and supra-local authorities.[1] It identifies certain features and configurations that were regularly used because they corresponded to functions specific to one level or government – or at least its iconographical tradition. It also draws attention to cases in which different levels of government were housed in the same building, either by design or due to later arrangements.

To illustrate this historical problem, I will discuss a sample of cases from the 19th century in both the Habsburg empire's center – the Vienna basin – and its utmost periphery – the quasi-colony of Bosnia-Herzegovina. My emphasis, first illustrated by the example of the (better-documented) Austrian sample of town halls and related buildings, will be on the correspondence between design and mandate. However, as the section devoted to the Bosnian cluster of Habsburg-period administrative edifices will demonstrate, the insight produced by this investigation can be applied both ways.

'Public architecture'

What makes a building 'public'? Its – theoretically – general accessibility? Or, perhaps, the source of its funding: a collective that tolerates its earnings' taxation in return for the pro-

vision of services? Does a generally accessible commercial space, such as a shopping center, qualify as a public building? Are cafés, central sites for the constitution of Habermas' public sphere, public buildings – or, rather, private buildings' publicly accessible parts? And what about private schools?

Despite the indisputable significance of public buildings, however delimited, not only in individuals' lives but also in the work of urban and architectural historians, there is no universal consensus on what makes a building 'public'. As a category of inquiry, the term differentiates some buildings from others on account of their ('public') function, specifically their relevance (and, by consequence, accessibility) to a large(r) group of people, rather than solely by their formal characteristics. Even so, there are certain architectural elements that have been routinely used for public buildings – or, rather, *some* public buildings, as I intend to explain.

In so doing, this paper seeks to foreground the routinely glossed-over problem that the administration of public affairs is not undertaken by a single institution with a single agenda. Instead, it occurs on various levels that may well be in competition with each other. In post-imperial Austria, as in many other countries, there are three main levels of elected representation: federal state *(Bund)*, province *(Land)*, and municipality *(Gemeinde)*.[2] These representative bodies may differ with regard to their political orientation. Even if not, their mandate to represent differently-scaled communities' interests – the nation, a region, a local community – may lead to the pursuit of different agendas.

The bearing this has on the historical study of architecture is immense. When actors on different administrative levels engage in the construction of public buildings to house services offered by their institutions, the choice of style, shape, and site is never arbitrary; it carries meaning. This concerns, as must be stressed, not only the design of administrative/governmental buildings, such as town halls, but all building projects implemented by these bodies, including courthouses, schools, and (communal) savings banks.[3]

These differences, asserted here to correspond to different bodies' mandates, are not always easily legible. One reason is the conversion of existing buildings to different purposes. Monumental new construction was costly and required serious commitment. The actual construction phase was often preceded by a planning phase that was even longer and may have been obstructed by conflicting views on what a building should accommodate, cost, and visually represent.

Judging from a superficial survey of cases in the former Habsburg domains, town halls are most easily identifiable as a category that markedly differed from other public buildings in terms of their ambition and sensitivity to place.[4] Yet, there was no 'town hall style'. Often, a

---

2 The *Bezirk* is (outside the metropolises of Vienna and Graz, where the term *Bezirk* or *Gemeindebezirk* is used for city boroughs with elected councils) a 'non-political' administrative body, with the principal charge of taking on state agendas in the provinces.

3 For the latter category, see also Zucconi's contribution to this volume.

4 The literature on town halls is surprisingly lacking. Notable exceptions include *Rathäuser als multifunktionale Räume der Repräsentation, der Parteiungen und des Geheimnisses*, ed. Susanne Pils, Martin Scheutz, Christoph

small group of prominent locals would develop their own conception of their town's ideal architectural manifestation in the form of a town hall.

'State' buildings, such as district authority premises or court buildings, tend to be less concerned with (that is, meaningfully interacting with or enhancing) their immediate urban context.[5] Their openness to picturesque architectures – as perhaps best illustrated by asymmetrical solutions, which are common among town halls – also appears to have been comparably limited. Even more, they are often the result of type planning. A local grounding needed not be stressed, as the institution's identity was decidedly supra-local.

Buildings experiencing political ruptures: The instructive case of Baden's town hall

The 19th century saw not only a sequence of stylistic trends; it also witnessed a series of incisive changes with regard to the organization of public affairs. The term 'public' clearly had a different bearing before and after the political upheavals of 1848/49 in Central Europe. The pre-modern social order's gradual disestablishment during that century's course went hand in hand with the establishment of new levels of administration and bodies of representation. The effect this must have had on how architects and their clients went about the challenge of designing buildings both functional and representative is only marginally addressed in the scholarly literature.

While researching this study I stumbled upon the interesting case of the town hall of Baden, a historic spa town south of Vienna. The story of this building (fig. 2), inaugurated in 1816, proved a potent case to exemplify the variety of problems addressed here. Traditionally (if not undisputedly) attributed to the famed Viennese *Biedermeier* architect Josef Kornhäusel,[6] it constitutes a rare case of a town hall built anew in this period and region. In fact, in the whole of today's Austria, the construction of entirely new town hall buildings appears to have been quite exceptional until the later 19th century.[7] Many if not most municipalities

---

Sonnlechner, and Stefan Spevak (Innsbruck/Vienna: StudienVerlag, 2012) and Ekkehard Mai, *Das Rathaus im Kaiserreich: Kunstpolitische Aspekte einer Bauaufgabe des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Mann, 1982).

5   An interesting exception is Tulln's *Bezirkshauptmannschaft* building (1892, Arch. Ferdinand Nebesky), built with much assistance by the municipality, which had competed with other towns to become the district's seat. Its representative *Ringstrasse* appearance seems to celebrate Tulln's councilmen's ambition to greater centrality. See Theresia Hauenfels, Iris Meder, and Andrea Nussbaum, *Architekturlandschaft Niederösterreich 1848 bis 1918 = Lower Austria – the architectural landscape 1848 to 1918* (Zurich: Park Books, 2017), p. 157.

6   Hedwig Herzmansky, *Joseph Kornhäusel: Eine Künstlermonographie* (Diss., University of Vienna, 1964), pp. 114–117.

7   Another prominent exception is Bad Hall's town hall (1855), which replaced an older building that had obstructed local development plans. In most other cases older buildings were merely 'updated', often following fires. This was the case, for instance, in Wiener Neustadt, where the town hall was remodeled following a devastating fire in 1834. The façade toward the main square was restructured in classicist forms and a broad pediment framing a clock was added, whereas a belfry in Baroque forms disappeared. See Gertrud Gerhartl, "Das Wiener Neustädter Rathaus," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 38 (1970), pp. 295–312, esp. 307–308.

were housed in buildings originally erected for other purposes, later bought by the municipalities, often merged with neighboring buildings, and then adapted to serve as town halls.

At Baden, a catastrophic fire in 1812 made a new building's construction obligatory. Even before that, replacing the municipal administration's building, described as having a steep roof and a tower, with something more evocative and functional had been planned.[8] Perhaps the fact that Emperor Francis II/I made Baden his official summer retreat, purchasing a house on the municipality's same square, boosted local ambitions.

It appears that the architect produced two variants to be executed by a local builder (fig. 1a/b).[9] The more ambitious plan, with a colossal portico surmounted by a pediment as the dominant motif, was chosen. It forms an *avant-corps* and accommodates a loggia accessed from the interior ceremonial hall *(Magistrats-Sitzungssaal)*. Eventually, a balcony was added to the original design. The Doric frieze with triglyphs was substituted for simpler cornice molding (fig. 1c/d).

This classicizing variation on the town hall theme features some of its standards and lacks others. Most notably, it lacks a tower, which had been a mainstay of town hall architecture since the Middle Ages. Towers challenged the church's dominance in town silhouettes and functioned as watchtowers for spotting intruders and conflagrations. They symbolized control and power-sharing. In Baden, the clock that usually invested towers with a legitimation of their vertical obtrusiveness, was relegated to the pediment.

That this may have been found an acceptable compromise at the time is suggested by the municipal building *(Gemeindehaus)* Kornhäusel may have built a little later for the bustling Viennese suburb of Leopoldstadt (fig. 3).[10] There, as in Baden, a balcony or porch facilitated the transportation of messages from the inside, where public matters were negotiated, to the outside, where the community could be addressed. Such negotiations often took place in rooms ('halls') that doubled as sites of celebration and assembly. They were a crucial element of 'democratic' architecture – so crucial that it became desirable to also make plain on the exterior their existence in the interior, through, for instance, protrusions, separate roof constructions, and very often through loftier windows. At Baden, too, this hall was easily understood as being situated on the first floor.

It remains unclear why no tower was requested. (As we will see below, the building's 'towerlessness' later indeed became the subject of debate.) Did Baden's councilmen, convening in the period of the oppressive Metternich regime, carefully consider just how aggressively they should visualize their claim to power-sharing? Or was it perhaps simply a design problem? Indeed, few buildings at that time had aimed, or managed, to combine the motifs of 'temple' and 'tower'.[11]

---

8 Hermann Rollett, *Beiträge zur Chronik der Stadt Baden bei Wien: Baden bei Wien* (Baden: Schütze, 1880), p. 188–191.

9 *Im Schatten der Weilburg: Baden im Biedermeier*, exhib. cat. Frauenbad/Baden, ed. Johann Kräftner (Baden: Grasl, 1988), p. 40 and pp. 192–193.

10 Herzmansky, "Kornhäusel," pp. 256–257.

11 The Wiener Neustadt town hall, renovated after an 1834 fire, dispensed with its façade belfry at the expense of
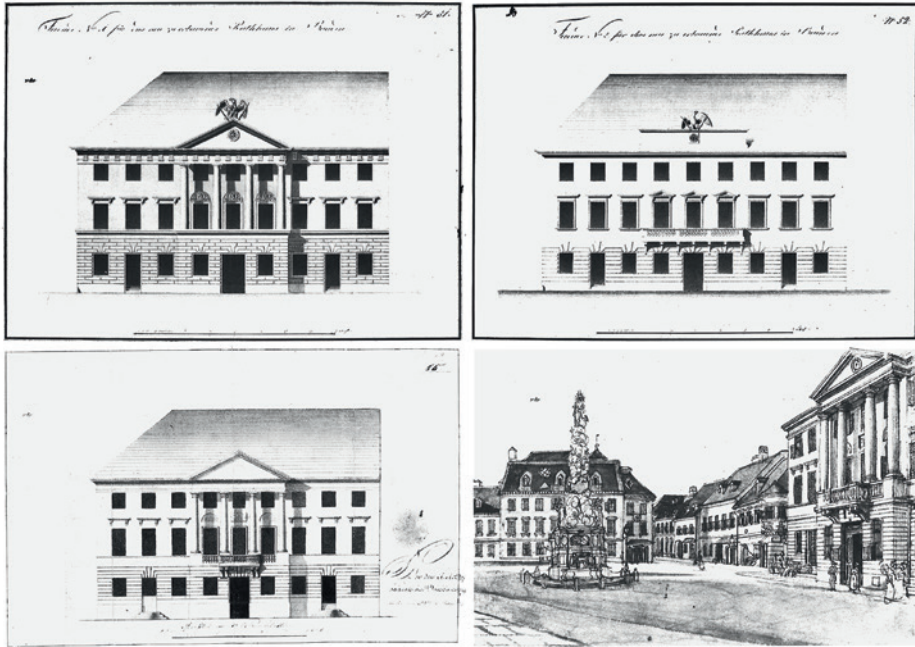
Figs. 1a–d. Baden bei Wien, town hall, two design variants attributed to the architect Joseph Kornhäusel in 1814 (a, b) and the implemented design (c), then represented in an anonymous drawing from after 1833 (d). All images after Johann Kräftner (ed.), *Baden* (Baden: Grasl, 1988), p. 80, 112, 192f., 194, 260.

The 1848 revolution and its aftermath then brought great changes to Baden's town hall – yet, not so much in terms of its architecture, but in the way the building was used. District authorities *(Bezirksbehörden)* were installed as a local representation of provincial state functions, replacing the earlier *Kreis*. Presumably in light of their expanded mandate, office space was needed in the districts' administrative centers. In Baden, this problem was resolved by accommodating the state's public servants in the town hall's basement and first floor. The municipality retreated to the second floor. This, notably, entailed a loss of the first floor's ceremonial hall, which was reallocated as office space to the *k. k. Bezirksbehörden*. Thus, somewhat ironically, at Baden the municipalities' gaining of authority after 1848 went hand in hand with a loss of a principal symbol of local authority: the town hall's ceremonial hall.[12]

There are signs that this cohabitation was first thought of as temporary. As late as 1876 the municipality went about reorganizing its second floor space so as to better meet its needs. Around the same time, voices were heard that found the town hall's austere appearance in-

---

a broader triangular gable. Meanwhile, a less visible older tower in the back was restored. Gerhartl, "Das Wiener Neustädter Rathaus," pp. 307–308., see also pp. 299–300 for another (older) tower.

12 Rollett, *Beiträge*, p. 191.

Fig. 2. Baden bei Wien, town hall, ca. 1815, with interventions 1893–95. Photograph by Maximilian Hartmuth.

Fig. 3 Vienna, former municipal administration (*Gemeindehaus*) of the Leopoldstadt suburb, 1824. Photograph by Maximilian Hartmuth.

Fig. 4. Baden bei Wien, former municipal hall of former suburb of Weikersdorf, 1905, by Rudolf Krausz. Photograph by Maximilian Hartmuth.

commensurate with its function. One essayist demanded that, in order for the building to "look more like a town hall," turrets, oriels, and pointed-arched windows should be added.[13] The expectations of the visual identity of town halls as a building type had clearly changed.[14]

In Baden, adaptations to the façade were eventually undertaken, but only in 1893–95.[15] They followed a controversial debate about an annex to be built in light of increasing space problems. One faction advocated that the district authorities move into the newly con-structed annex, thus returning the old building entirely to the municipality. Another faction promoted a horizontal division, in which the municipality would take the second floors of both buildings and the district the remainder.

The second faction proved successful. A new ceremonial hall was planned on the annex's second floor, but critics complained that this new hall not only did not face the main square, as the old one had, it did not even face the street, but instead the courtyard![16] Noteworthy here is the attention devoted to the ceremonial hall as an interface between municipality and public. For some, its being tucked away from the public eye was seen as a significant deficit.

The interventions of the 1890s also included changes to the building's exterior, resulting in the appearance preserved to this day (fig. 2). Instead of a neo-Gothic makeover, Baden's town hall remained Classicist in character, but became a little less austere. This is visible especially around the windows, to which frames, garlands, and consoles were added. Doric capitals were replaced with Ionic ones. The town hall was even equipped with a tower – or, rather, a reminiscence of one in the form of a patinated copper ridge turret. In that sense, the municipality could at least symbolically claim its retrieval of a building complex that had in actual fact become dominated by public functions outside its jurisdiction.

This rather sensitive appropriation of an old building should not distract us from the fact that around 1900 a wholly different set of forms had become available for town hall architec-ture, and was probably generally found more appropriate. This is illustrated splendidly by the town hall completed in Baden's residential suburb Weikersdorf (fig. 4) only a few years later, in 1905.[17] A massive tower and elaborate gables are the dominant motifs. The commitment to asymmetry and so-called German Renaissance forms suggest that this was to represent a different epoch's bourgeoisie – probably a consciously German one that Romantically per-ceived itself as picking up where its pre-absolutist forebears had left off.

---

13 Ibid.

14 Such opinions may have been inspired by contemporary debates around the style appropriate for Vienna's new town hall, the construction of which, as a principally neo-Gothic edifice with a surplus of towers, was already underway at that time.

15 *Dehio-Handbuch Niederösterreich südlich der Donau* I., ed. Bundesdenkmalamt (Vienna/Horn: Berger, 2003), p. 192.

16 For protocols of the relevant exchanges in the municipal meetings of October 1892, see *Badener Bezirks-Blatt* 125 (1892), pp. 2–3; 126 (1892), pp. 2–3, and 51 (1895), p. 2.

17 *Architekturlandschaft Niederösterreich*, ed. Hauenfels et al., p. 38.
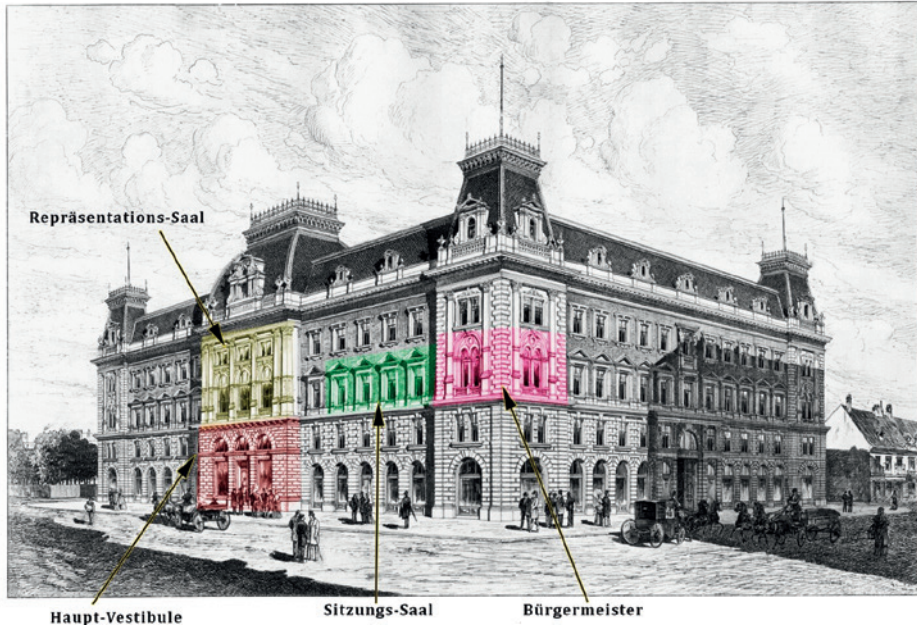
Fig. 5. Vienna, municipal hall of former suburb of Fünfhaus, 1884, by Gustav Matthias. *Der Bautechniker* 5/1 (1885), p. 1, modified by author.

Uneasy cohabitation: Citizens and state in two Viennese suburbs

There are other examples that illustrate that the sharing of buildings among authorities of different administrative levels was not only common, but frequently also a bone of contention. In 1882 the commune of Fünfhaus, then still outside Vienna's city limits and jurisdiction, had committed to move its municipal services ("Bürgermeisteramt der Gemeinde Fünfhaus") into a new building that was to be shared with the administration ("Bezirkshauptmann-schaft") and court of the Sechshaus district, of which its municipal territory formed part. A design that very much reflected a *Ringstrasse* aesthetic, with Renaissance forms superimposed over Baroque volumes, was drawn up. Due to the lack of a clock tower, its vocation as a town hall was – perhaps on account of its planned dual function – not made instantly clear. The exterior articulation of what the floor plan identifies as a *Repräsentations-Saal* provides a hint – although in this building it was notably disconnected from the council's meeting hall, identified in the documentation as *Sitzungs-Saal* (fig. 5).[18]

Was this architecture perhaps conceived of as a compromise between an aspiring unincorporated suburb's municipal hall and the homogenizing infrastructure of decentralized state functions? If so, Fünfhaus's councilmembers may soon have regretted this candidness. For

18 "Das Amtshaus der Gemeinde Fünfhaus," *Der Bautechniker* V/1 (1885), pp. 1–2.

RATHHAUS DER GEMEINDE WÄHRING (WIEN).

Architekten: M. u. C. Hinträger Wien.

Hauptfaçade in der Martins-Strasse.
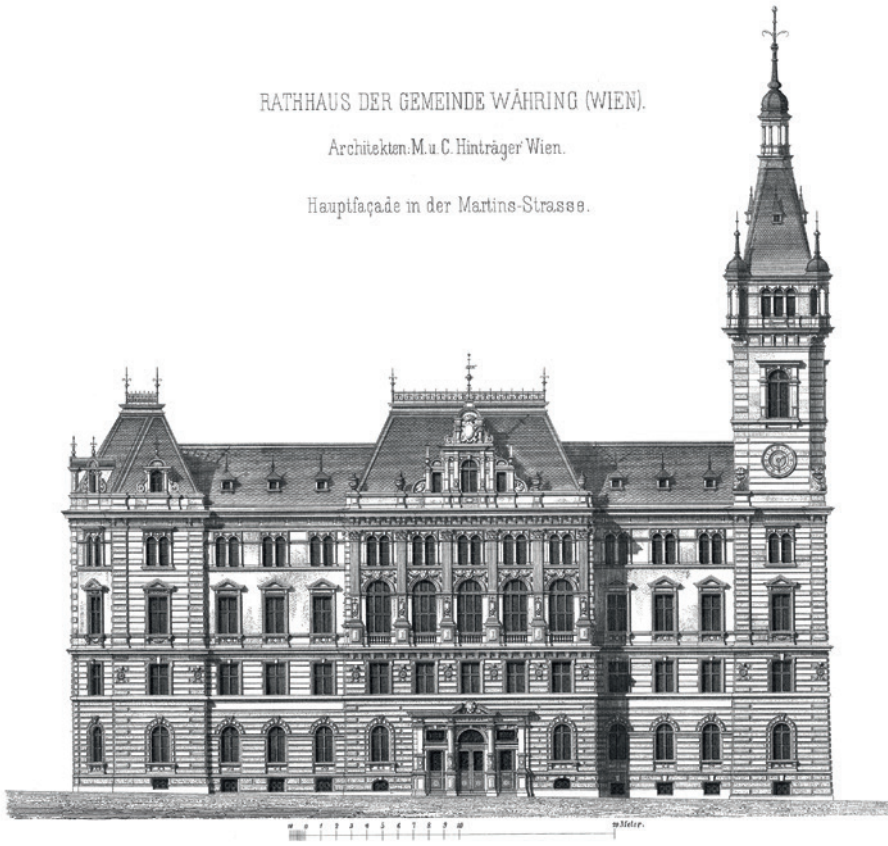
Fig. 6. Vienna, municipal hall of former suburb of Währing, 1891, by M[oritz] & C[arl] Hinträger. *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 57 (1892), pl. 37.

soon after the foundations were laid in 1882, disagreements with the prefecture *(Statthalterei)* of Lower Austria over expenses led to the latter's resignation from the agreement. The commune decided to go ahead with the construction anyway and convert the surplus space into flats. Construction resumed in 1883 and was completed in 1884.[19]

In this, as in other cases, it appears that the municipality was the landlord and the district authority perceived either as a tolerated guest or a useful income-generator. No matter the outcome, in this case and others it was not seen as a contradiction that a building generally referred to as 'town hall' also housed administrative functions outside the municipality's sphere of influence.

---

19 "Das Rathhaus von Fünfhaus bei Wien," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* LXI (1891), p. 80.

This was also the case in the town hall project of the Viennese suburban commune of Währing. It, too, was built in 1890/91 with the plan to also house the eponymous district's authorities. The building (fig. 6), which even after Währing's incorporation into the capital remained referred to as its *Rathaus*, is more easily identified with this type due to the massive corner tower. The tower functions as a joint between the part of the building on Währing's main street (*Währinger Straße*) that was to house the district authorities, and the part reserved for the municipality and the communal savings bank, which faces a side street *(Martinstraße)*. The ceremonial hall, spanning two storeys, formed part of the municipality's half of the building, but the district was allowed to co-use it. The mayor's room was next to a smaller assembly hall; the *Bezirksvorsteher* was provided with a rather large service apartment and an office in the tower. Unfortunately for Währing, only months after construction began in 1890 the Viennese *Gemeinderat* decided to incorporate all urbanized western suburbs. The Währing district was abolished and its responsibilities absorbed by Vienna.[20]

These examples appear to demonstrate the uncertainties in periods of rapid demographic change as well as the problems inherent to communication between different authorities sharing one roof. Despite evident synergies, this often uneasy cohabitation was first and foremost an alliance of reason.

From symbolic form to historical function: Making sense of Bosnian *općine*

In this paper's final section I turn to Bosnia. My point of departure for the following inquiry was the existence, in today's Bosnia, of a considerable number of Orientalizing style town halls (*općine* – "municipalities"[21]), fourteen to be precise, the bulk of which date to the 1890s or early 1900s (fig. 7).[22]

Although many stylistic elements are common to most of these administrative infrastructures – notably the polychrome horizontal façade banding, inspired by the Islamic architectural tradition of Cairo and the Levant, or the horseshoe arches, derived from Andalusian sources – we may also notice striking differences. Some façades are relatively level and repetitive (fig. 7g/h), while others are diversified by means of ornament and protrusions or recesses (fig. 7a/d). Some are surmounted by simple hip roofs (fig. 7e/h), while the silhouettes of

---

20 "Das Rathaus der Gemeinde Währing (Wien)," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* LXII (1892), p. 48 and plates 35–39.

21 In Serbian contexts the term *opština* is used.

22 This style and its expressions is the focus of an ERC project (#758099), in the context of which one of the conferences underlying this volume was organized. Most of the Orientalizing style buildings either served Bosnia's Muslim population's religious needs specifically, or administrative purposes. While it is not hard to see why those in charge thought that, for example, for a mosque an Orientalizing visual identity was suitable, this stylistic choice is less clear in the case of public buildings intended to serve all confessional communities. Moreover, not all public buildings were designed in this style. There was evidently a logic to the choice of this style for specific architectural projects.

Fig. 7. Bosnia, administrative buildings from the Habsburg period grouped according to features: tower-like elements in Gradiška (a) and Novi Grad (b), a central *avant-corps* in Sarajevo (c) and Bugojno (d), balconies in Kostajnica (e) and Odžak (f), and additive façade structuring in Kladanj (g) and Travnik (h). Photographs by Ajla Bajramović (a/b/f/g/h), Miroslav Malinović (d/e), and Maximilian Hartmuth (c).

others are diversified by means of towers and elevations, curiously shaped cupolas, or widely overhanging eaves (fig. 7a/d).

Which logic informed these differences? Clearly, the Sarajevo city hall (fig. 7c) constitutes a category of its own on account of its location in Bosnia's administrative capital. However, cases of 'compact monumentality' are also found in inconspicuous towns like Novi Grad (fig. 7b) or Bugojno (fig. 7d) even though in other similar-sized towns only unimaginative counterparts (fig. 7e/h) are found. Unfortunately, few of these buildings have been safely dated or attributed to an architect. That said, it is fairly clear that they were the work of different authors, operating on the basis of different models and influences.

There are different ways of grouping these buildings on grounds of formal characteristics. For instance, there are buildings with a tripartite ('palatial') façade scheme with a central *avant-corps* (Sarajevo, Brčko, Bugojno – fig. 7c/d). There are also buildings with tower-like elements (Novi Grad, Gradiška, Brčko – fig. 7a/b), or buildings with corner balconies (Odžak, Kostajnica – fig. 7e/f). The largest group is constituted by very similar modular type buildings, with additive façade structuring (fig. 7g/h – Gračanica, Kladanj, Srebrenica, Ključ, Travnik, Visoko).

If one proceeds into these buildings' interior, a further disparity becomes evident: some feature a larger room with a ceiling painted in almost all cases in curiously Orientalizing forms (fig. 8). In its compartmentalizing of space by way of geometric and vegetal ornament, these ceilings occasionally remind of carpets or illuminated manuscript pages. However, such a room is found in only about half of the cases discussed here, which may well be due to an imperfect state of preservation. Or could it be that these buildings, today all referred to as either *općina* (municipality) or *vijećnica* (councilhouse), or both, originally served different functions?

I was initially not sure what to make of the fact that on archival plans some municipality buildings ("Gemeindehaus"), or parts thereof, were actually referred to as *Bezirksamt*.[23] The key to make sense of this confusion was found buried in the somewhat complicated administrative history of Tito's Yugoslavia. In the 1950s and 1960s a series of administrative reforms were undertaken, which reduced the layers of administration at the federal republic level. The levels of district (*srez*) and munipality/commune (*općina*) were merged. To add to the confusion, the areas of districts remained largely the same but now became the territory of a unit called municipality, *općina*.[24] Hence, irrespective of whether the buildings in question were built to serve a municipality, that is, a body of local representation, or a district, that is, being usually a decentral agency of the state, all such buildings came to be referred to as *općina* (after the government level represented by the building) thereafter.

At that point it became evident that we were largely dealing with at least two different categories of buildings, the design of which followed different logics.

---

23 Rather curiously, also the Ottoman term *konak* continued to be used (in German) for buildings representing this level. In many cases, Ottoman *konak*s (*vali konağı*s to be precise) were used by the Habsburg authorities as *Bezirksämter*.

24 On these reforms, see e.g. Jack C. Fisher, "The Yugoslav commune," *World Politics* XVI/3 (1964), pp. 418–441.

Fig. 8. Odžak, town hall, ca. 1900, detail from the ceremonial hall ceiling in Orientalizing forms. Photograph by Ajla Bajramović.

One group is constituted by buildings erected to serve as district authority offices. They were, it appears, generally designed by government architects and expressed fewer ambitions with regard to their architecture, while satisfying a basic degree of representativeness (fig. 7g/h and 9).

A second group consists of buildings actually built for purposes of local (self-)government. Certainly not coincidentally, it is in this group that we find tower-like elements, cupolas, balconies, ceremonial halls with decorative ceilings, and generally an architecture that seemingly wants to acknowledge a certain *genius loci* (fig. 7a/f). As municipal authorities did not have the privilege of an assigned government architect *(Kreisingenieur)*, we may presume that independently commissioned architects designed these buildings, very probably on the basis of more detailed communications beforehand, if not even very limited competitions. This, probably, accounts for their non-schematic appearance.

A third group pertains to 'mixed buildings', in which municipal and other authorities' services were housed, either *ex ante* or *ex post*. Bosnian examples include the northern town hall of Brčko, the ground floor of which came to accomodate the district court, and Gradiška (fig. 7a), which was extended so as to also accommodate the district authorities.[25]

---

25 Both moving-ins may be related to the separation of district courts *(Bezirksgerichte)* from the district authority offices *(Bezirksämter)* in 1906 with the aim of – also spatially – separating executive and judiciary. See F[erdi-
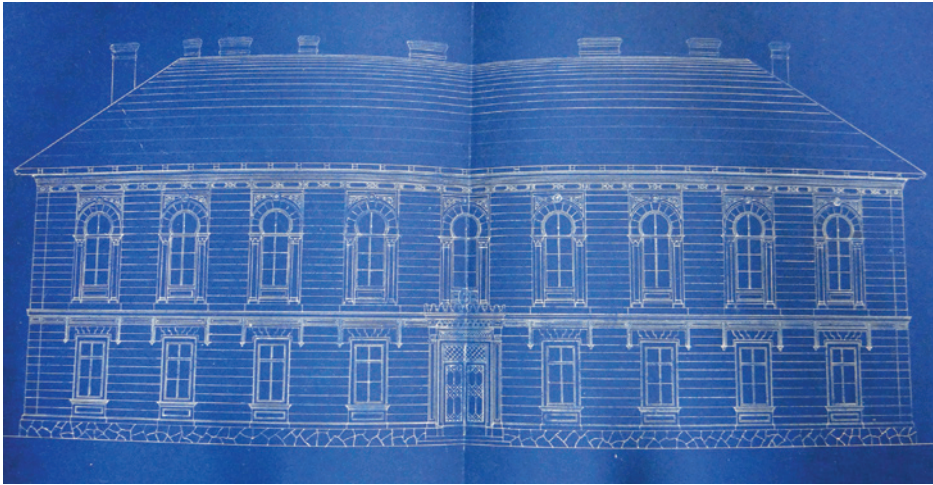
Fig. 9. Gračanica, current municipality building, blueprint, as an example of an additive facade composition. The accompanying documentation of 1890/91 and 1906 in the Archive of Bosnia-Herzegovina (section GDZVS 1918–1918) consistently identifies this building as "Bezirksamtsgebäude", making plain the later conversion. The drawings are signed by the *Kreisingenieur* F[ranz] Mihanovich and the relevant authorities of the regional government.

Conclusion

The necessary detours to Baden and Tito's Yugoslavia alert us to the fact that public buildings were particularly liable to transformation in conjunction with changing political circumstances. Similarly, the mere existence of town halls must not be necessarily read as evidence of rising civic consciousness. In Habsburg Bosnia, municipalities were installed from above, not instigated from below. At least until reforms in 1907, mayors were appointed by the government, which also directly appointed a third of the council members in important cities like Mostar and Sarajevo. Expatriates from Austria-Hungary had the same voting rights as locals.[26]

nand] Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns* (Leipzig: Veit & comp.), 1914, pp. 170–171. Instructive for Brčko is the existence in the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina (GDZVS 1878–1918) of plans from 1893 titled "Adaptierung des Konaks in Brčka." This demonstrates that at that time the old Ottoman *konak* (see also note 23 for this term) housed the court, and not the town hall. An undated floor plan of Brčko titled "Gemeindehaus in Brčka[:] Bezirksgerichts-Unterkunft", which shows only the ground floor's and basement's room program, may thus be tentatively dated to ca. 1906. Both buildings' architecture is discussed in: Maximilian Hartmuth, "Orientalizing architecture in northern Bosnia under Habsburg rule: Exaggerating alterity as a means of cohesion?" *Savremena teorija i praksa u graditeljstvu* 14/1 (2020), pp. 184–195.

26 Schmid, *Bosnien*, pp. 83–101. In Sarajevo, a government representative *(Regierungskommissär für die Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo)* participated in all council meetings as a kind of supervisor. Senior employees of the magis-

Yet, all this would not necessarily have deterred an architect from responding to the task of building a town hall with a design featuring, for instance, a tower, a ceremonial hall, or other standard elements in the formal repertoire available for this type. However useful in potentially identifying a building's original function, these elements perhaps tell us more about an iconographic tradition than about the quality of the institution's autonomy.

---

trate were appointed by the government as well. The councils' members were appointed in accordance with the electorate's ethno-confessional composition.

Wolfgang Göderle (Graz)

Imperialism, statehood, and public infrastructure in the Habsburg Anthropocene

'State' continues to be a central term in the description of European territorial rule for much of the 19th and 20th centuries, though also for significant periods of time prior to that.[1] Even though the ongoing discussions and debates over *new imperial history* have led to a new and more differentiated vocabulary's emergence (for instance the word "empire" has been used more widely in this context lately), an essentialist and uncritical understanding of modern statehood, derived from a dominant notion of the nation-state, remains important in analysing (not only) Europe and its political structures and public infrastructures over the past two centuries.[2]

In this text I argue that this common state notion significantly overrates state agency and public infrastructures. I will challenge a retrospective understanding of the term state and its administrative structures in scholarly engagement with the late Habsburg Empire, thus the period between c. 1867 and 1918.[3] It is, however, safe to assume that this question needs to be raised at latest for the period after 1804/06, marking the Holy Roman Empire's end;[4] whereas the discussion about the definition of Habsburg rule begins much earlier.[5] Along a particular use case, I will show how rule, power, and administrative action took place in a field delineated by the term empire on one end, and modern statehood on the other. I will demonstrate how civil servants and other agents of empire participated in a negotiation process that granted them a certain, limited field of agency. How did imperial power translate down to a local level? Which role did infrastructure play in exercising power, what did cen-

---

1   There is an enormous body of literature to prove that point, culminating recently in a broader debate on the statehood's character in the *longue durée*: James C. Scott, *Against the grain*: *A deep history of the earliest states* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 1–36.

2   Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in world history: Power and the politics of difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Pres, 2010), pp. 1–22; John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The rise and fall of global empires, 1400–2000* (London: Penguin, 2008), pp. 1–46; Stephan Wendehorst, "Altes Reich, 'Alte Reiche' und der *imperial turn* in der Geschichtswissenschaft," *Die Anatomie frühneuzeitlicher Imperien: Herrschaftsmanagement jenseits von Staat und Nation*, ed. Stephan Wendehorst (Berlin/Munich/Boston: DeGruyter, 2015), pp. 17–60.

3   Gerald Stourzh, "Die dualistische Reichsstruktur, Österreichbegriff und Österreichbewusstsein 1867–1918," *Der Umfang der österreichischen Geschichte: Ausgewählte Studien 1990–2010*, ed. Gerald Stourzh (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011), pp. 105–124.

4   Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, *Zeitenwende 1806: Das Heilige Römische Reich und die Geburt des modernen Europa* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005).

5   William D. Godsey, *The sinews of Habsburg power: Lower Austria in a fiscal-military state 1650 – 1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 1–36.

tralized infrastructure look like, and how much power could the state mobilize in the early 20th century?[6]

These questions will be tackled through a particular case study: in the summer of 1910, the Habsburg imperial administration released eleven mongooses *(Herpestes auropunctatus)* on the remote Dalmatian island of Mljet to engage with what was supposed to be a venomous snake plague, caused by an abundance of horned vipers *(Vipera ammodytes)*.[7] This complex operation's larger backdrop was the 'improvement' of an imperial periphery in order to render it economically exploitable, for instance via tourism. I will take the mongooses' release as a starting point for an in-depth exploration into the question of what empire, statehood, public service, and particularly public service infrastructure in late 19th and early 20th century Habsburg Central Europe actually meant. This event's details allow us to closely observe imperial agency, and provide us with valuable insights into modern empire in action, when confronted with a situation it was not designed to handle. Further, they reveal European empire's global dimension, in this specific case with connections to Japan and India. By scrutinizing this intervention, the consequences of which can be felt up to today, this article will attempt to reconstruct imperial agency in the early 20th century *ex negativo*.

On another level, this text addresses important questions when it comes to empire's conceptualization: The example of the mongooses will show that it can be difficult to draw a clear line between the rulers and the ruled. What does foreign domination mean when it is not entirely clear what local sovereignty would look like?[8] Above all, this text inquires about the Habsburg Empire's capacity to exert its power over Dalmatia, and investigates the lines and hierarchies of power that were supposed to enable centralized control over imperial peripheries. In a way, this article will try to render imperial rule in local and regional contexts readable; it draws the outline of empire as an actor-network.[9]

The text starts with a short yet concentrated description of the mongoose operation, followed by a detailed description of the public service materiality – buildings and other infrastructure, from the central layer down to the local. Building on this description, I will reconstruct the translation chains of imperial power at work in a Latourian way. I will investigate where actions are localized and how power materializes.[10] Finally, I will offer a

---

6 Stefan Nellen and Thomas Stockinger, "Staat, Verwaltung und Raum im langen 19. Jahrhundert," *Administory* 2 (2017), pp. 3–28, DOI: 10.2478/ADHI-2018–0013.

7 On a more detailed account of the events and an analysis from the environmental history perspective cf. Wolfgang Göderle, "Habsburg Anthropocene: Vipers and mongooses in late Habsburg southern Dalmatia," *Südost-Forschungen* 79 (2020), pp. 215–240.

8 See Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in question: Theory, knowledge, history* (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 2005).

9 On making empire legible: James C. Scott, *Seeing llike a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 9–83; on the fundamentals of actor-network-theory (ANT) see Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the social: An introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

10 Bruno Latour, "Circulating reference: Sampling the soil in the Amazon forest," *Pandora's hope: Essays on the reality of science studies* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 24–79.

.

conclusion proposing an outline of a reassessment of statehood as such in the late Habsburg Empire.

Empire, imperial infrastructure, and actor-network-theory

Many accounts of late Habsburg imperial rule as well as a significant number of important studies on the late Habsburg Empire refer to the architectural signature this political structure left. We read of the omnipresence of *Schönbrunner Gelb* and Historicist buildings, symbolically marking the territorial expansion of a space of communication.[11] Scholarly interest in the more profane, yet much more frequent, realities of Habsburg rule in its past two centuries is comparatively limited. Hardly any research is devoted to the many gendarmerie barracks erected after 1849, and thus to the material dimension of the centralized administration's significant expansion in the neo-absolutist era, or to the inconspicuous buildings that housed a bureaucracy that grew for most of the 19th century.[12] More literature is to be found on the public transport infrastructures' consequent expansion.[13]

Despite the humble boom that interest in infrastructure in general and imperial rule's materiality has recently seen, the roads and buildings providing for political action and power's exercise remain neglected in historical research, which makes it difficult to assess different empires' actual resources and capacities.[14] The release of mongooses does not represent the imperial administration's standard business in Habsburg Central Europe; interventions in 'natural' environments on different scales, however, had become part of the daily repertoire in imperial rule's exercise.[15] This particular operation thus promises to allow deeper insights into two important and not entirely understood matters of interest: firstly, it will permit us

11 Joseph Roth, *Radetzkymarsch* (Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, 1975), pp. 39, 63, 75; Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A new history* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2016), pp. 346; on the concept of communication space for Central Europe, though focusing predominantly on non-material codes: Moritz Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte: Kulturelle Verflechtungen – Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), pp. 89–127.

12 John Deak, *Forging a multinational state: State making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), pp. 65–136; Helmut Gebhardt, *Die Gendarmerie in der Steiermark von 1850 bis heute* (Graz: Leykam, 1997), pp. 51–60; Thomas Stockinger, "Bezirke als neue Räume der Verwaltung," *Administory* 2 (2017), pp. 249–277, DOI: 10.2478/ADHI-2018-0013; Wolfgang Göderle, *Zensus und Ethnizität: Zur Herstellung von Wissen über soziale Wirklichkeiten im Habsburgerreich zwischen 1848 und 1910* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016), pp. 82–101.

13 Andreas Helmedach, *Das Verkehrssystem als Modernisierungsfaktor: Straßen, Post, Fuhrwesen und Reisen nach Triest und Fiume vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Eisenbahnzeitalter* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2002); Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*: *Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

14 Dirk Van Laak, *Alles im Fluss: Die Lebensadern unserer Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2018); Timothy Moss, *Remaking Berlin: A history of the city through infrastructure* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020).

15 For example, Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An environmental history* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

to study a comprehensive system response of an imperial administration confronted with an impulse for which it has not been designed; secondly, it will allow a better understanding of the emergence, composition, and fundamental mechanics behind empire in action. Which chains of translation can be identified, how are these supposed to be working together, which agents and actors get involved and to what end? The article aims at opening up a new angle on the study of late modern empire, as it invites us to see this large and abstract structure as an assemblage of human and non-human actors – animals, and mobile and immobile material configurations alike – working together to negotiate and realize its respective interests.[16]

The mongooses: animals migrating into the imperial periphery

The mongoose-affair began with the trip of a high-ranking official delegation of the Ministry of Trade and Commerce to India, either in 1908 or 1909. The official who seems to have been responsible for the idea, Richard Riedl, a department head and a prominent figure regarding the economic development of the Monarchy's south-eastern parts, appears to have made arrangements for these animals' purchase and transport to Trieste.[17] The bigger plan behind this seems to have been the animals' release on the island of Mljet to develop the island for touristic use. At least among the German-speaking bourgeoisie, but also among Dalmatia's Croatian-speaking notables, the island had a reputation for suffering from a veritable snake plague.[18] The entire debate needs to be located around an ongoing discussion concerning the economic conditions' 'improvement' in the empire's southern domains (the term used in the sources is usually *Hebung*, which means "elevation" and is deeply rooted in high-modernist discourse).[19] Riedl was an important voice and a leading figure in this debate about the better exploitation of Dalmatia's resources and economic opportunities, which was by that time among the Habsburg Monarchy's least developed and poorest provinces.[20]

In April 1910, the mongooses were finally sent off to Trieste from Bombay via the Triestine Lloyd, and Riedl had his office inform the Ministry of Agriculture thereof, asking at the same time whether it could support this operation by taking care of the animals, and organising and overseeing their release on Mljet. The Ministry of Agriculture subsequently

---

16 Manuel Delanda, *Assemblage theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

17 Hrvatski državni arhiv (HDA), Ackerbau-Ministerium, 15.911/880 (1910).

18 See Max Kleiber, "Wie ich zum erstenmale nach Meleda kam," *Adria* 3 (1911), pp. 135–148, here 135–136. Further, the 1927 issues of the Croatian journal *Priroda* (which translates into "nature") picked up on the topos again, further emphasizing its importance in terms of Dalmatia's 'improvement'.

19 Scott, *Seeing like a state*, pp. 87–146.

20 Andrea Komlosy, "Innere Peripherien als Ersatz für Kolonien? Zentrenbildung und Peripherisierung in der Habsburgermonarchie," *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, ed. Endre Hárs, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Ursula Reber and Clemens Ruthner (Tübingen: Francke, 2006), pp. 55–78, here p. 56. Dalmatia was at the list's bottom not only for the Cisleithanian provinces, but also most Transleithanian regions were faring better.

took charge of the mongooses and commissioned Karl Schrutek, the regional Forest Authority head in Gorizia and responsible for the state forest's management and administration, to ensure that Mljet's local forest authorities would be able to deal with the situation. Schrutek, however, replied quickly that the local Mljet authorities were unfit to take care of the animals, due to the resource scarcity that people on this remote island had to deal with, and recommended that the neighbouring island Korčula's larger forest authority should look after them instead during an extended period of acclimatization.[21]

In May 1910, Senior Forest Inspector Karl Nejedly, Korčula's subregional forest authority head, was informed of the mongooses' imminent arrival and began to prepare his authority for the acclimatization period. The instructions he received, however, were vague at best. It took another two months until the mongooses arrived on Wednesday, July 13, 1910 on Korčula via Trieste. Twelve animals arrived instead of the ten originally announced, and they were inspected by the island's official district veterinarian, Michael Rencevic. Instead of a longer acclimatization period, the mongooses underwent a significantly shorter quarantine on Korčula, in the inner yard of Nejedly's house. As Dalmatian summers tend to be extremely hot and the mongooses, which had travelled under terrible circumstances, suffered from diarrhoea, the situation soon became unpleasant, at least for Nejedly, who decided to move them indoors once one of the mongooses managed to escape. A room was adapted for the small predators, and both Nejedly and Rencevic urged the superior authority in Vienna to speed up the procedure.[22]

On Friday, August 26, 1910, the mongooses were shipped to Mljet via the so called "Finanzdampfer", a small steamboat used by the finance patrol based in Zadar. They were then released in Mljet's state forest and continued to be observed by auxiliary foresters based on that island.[23]

Imperial infrastructure – an important component in empire as an actor-network

The introduction of mongooses represents an excellent example of what imperial administration was not designed to do, which makes it an interesting case study. The Habsburg Empire and its bureaucracy displayed significant initiative and commitment to successfully complete this task and to ensure that imperial power's exercise from its centre in Vienna down to the local level on an Adriatic island could take place.

---

21 HDA, Ackerbau-Ministerium, 17.586/976 (1910); 21.229 (1910); 22.667/1246 (1910).

22 HDA, Ackerbau-Ministerium, 22.667/1246 (1910); 30.257/1770 (1910); 583/10 (1910).

23 Reports about the mongooses and their lives on Mljet continued to be written and sent to Vienna until at least 1916, and the animals further occupied Croatian notables in the SHS-state of the 1920s; in the recent past, they earned some attention for being among Croatia's most important invasive species. Cf. HDA, Ackerbau-Ministerium, 9414/534 (1911); "Pabirci," *Priroda* 17 (1927), pp. 54–55; the debate in *Priroda* continued through the entire year 1927.

I argue that particularly these operations – given they were well documented – provide us with unique opportunities to study modern empire in action, and to assess its capacities, practical constraints, resources, and limitations.[24] A closer look at the mongooses and their forced migration to an Adriatic island will disclose disparities between the framework of legal norms and imperial action's reality. By trying to allocate decisions and actions to places and by connecting these with certain infrastructures and material conditions, I will render empire visible as an actor-network, less rigid and certainly less powerful than common notions of modern statehood as a body of power assert.[25] I aim at following the associations between human and non-human actors, concentrating the empire's slim material body that only allowed imperial rule to emerge and to be exercised over the Habsburg Empire's remote areas: buildings, boats, steam-ships, telegraph lines, large sheets of paper, certain building materials, even dead mice, sparrows, and milk (which were supposedly the mongooses' favourite food items). Further, I consider it important not to lose sight of the practical constraints and individual and collective interests that shaped empire in action.

The materiality of Vienna's central administration

The starting point for reconstructing the mongoose affair's actual events is Vienna, the late Habsburg Empire's capital and centre of calculation.[26] Four ministries were involved – the Ministry of Trade and Commerce, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Ministry of Finance – all of which had their headquarters in Vienna, the first in *Postgasse* 8, the second in *Liebiggasse* 5, the third in *Wipplingerstraße* 7 (which was at the same time *Judenplatz* 11), and the fourth in *Himmelpfortgasse* 6 and 8. All four ministries occupied considerable office space and were located in large building complexes (see fig. 1). The Ministry of Trade occupied the general post building's larger part, which encompassed six formerly individual buildings. The complex had not been built in a single construction campaign, but it represented the result of a series of modifications, which had taken place during almost a century, beginning in 1767. The same applies to the Ministry of Finance's building complex in *Himmelpfortgasse* 6 and 8: it consists to one part of the former winter palace of Prince Eugene of Savoy and another palace (*Questenbergpalais*) that adjoined to the building's rear and was used in this function from 1848 on; in 1898 it was further expanded when the building *Himmelpfortgasse* 6 was connected to the complex, the former *Bürgerspitalbad*. The Ministry of the Interior resided in a large palace as well, erected in 1710–14 by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, the former Bohemian Court Chancellery, which was turned into a ministry in 1848 (fig. 2).

---

24 See Bruno Latour, *Science in action: How to follow scientists and engineers through society* (Cambridge, MA: Havard University Press, 1987).

25 Latour, *Reassembling*, pp. 1–17.

26 Latour, *Science*, pp. 215–257.

Fig. 1. Map of the city centre of Vienna around 1910, with buildings used by the administration represented in dark brown. The locations of the Ministry of Finances (1), the Ministry of the Interior (2), the Ministry of Trade and Commerce (3), and the Ministry of Agriculture (4) are identified (by the author) in red numbers. *Neuester Plan und Führer durch Wien und nächste Umgebung* (Vienna: Lechner, c. 1900).

This situation reflects well the rapid expansion of the Habsburg Empire's central administration after 1867. For centuries, the imperial bureaucracy had been limited in size, as crucial tasks were outsourced into the massive apparatus of imperial intermediaries.[27] The empire's modernization in the long 19th century saw a new and – in terms of size – unsurpassed administrative infrastructure's emergence, which, however, did not develop organically. Due to the scarcity of funds as well as space in the narrow lanes of Vienna's old city centre, the use of the imperial bureaucracy's existing buildings was intensified – a process that can be observed during most of the 19th century. For instance, the *Kleinmariazeller-Hof* that came to host the Habsburg Empire's first statistical authorities in the 1830s, became more and more jammed, as did the building in *Postgasse* 8.[28] Adjoining buildings were frequently used to expand the

---

27 Burbank and Cooper, *Empires*, p. 31.
28 Wolfgang Göderle, "Volkszählung und moderner Staat: Die Praxis des Zensus im späten Habsburgerreich am Beispiel der Zählung des Jahres 1869," *Die Zählung der Welt: Kulturgeschichte der Statistik vom 18.–20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Stefan Haas, Michael C. Schneider and Nicolas Bilo (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019), pp. 99–122.

Fig. 2. The façade of the Ministry of Interior in *Wipplingerstraße*, facing *Judenplatz*, Vienna, on a postcard of 1910. Photograph by Paul Ledermann. Wien Museum Online collection ID 65861/144 1–3, https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/426919-wien-i-ministerium-des-innern-judenplatz/ (accessed 16 April, 2023).

administrative infrastructure. *Postgasse* 8 became subject to expansions on several occasions, creating more space by adding floors, for instance; *Himmelpfortgasse* 6 and 8 emerged from three quite large and formerly independent buildings. However, enlargement in this way was not always possible in Vienna's already chronically crammed inner city. For the 19th century's larger part material constraints appear to have physically limited the central administration's expansion. We therefore encounter surprisingly small and frequently inefficient authorities even relatively late in the 19th century.

The continued expansion into what used to be Vienna's *Glacis* area offered urgently required space. Therefore, large scale construction works took place and, to house imperial bureaucracies, entire quarters were erected from the 1870s on. The *Liebiggasse* 5 object was just one among many such projects. It is not surprising that it came to house one of the 'younger' ministries, reflecting well the continuing expansion of the imperial claim to power and direct control over new scopes of interest; the Ministry of Agriculture simply represented rule not only over agricultural production, but more or less everything remotely referring to nature, natural resources, and natural conditions of rule. Probably the *Ringstrasse*'s most famous building was the Ministry of War built on *Stubenring* from 1907 onward. It became known as the empire's most advanced office building upon its completion in 1913.

Whereas the Ministries of Trade and Commerce, the Interior, and Finance were all located in Vienna's old city centre, the Ministry of Agriculture was placed in an expansion

zone, an entire new quarter had been built there. The walking distance between these four buildings, amounting to two kilometres, was significant when compared to the imperial administration's standards less than a hundred years earlier. At that point in time, most central institutions were found within literally a few steps of each other. Distance, however, did not matter in terms of communication, which took place almost exclusively in written form.

Compared with Vienna of fifty or hundred years earlier, the imperial capital had by 1910 turned into a major administrative centre. This left significant traces in the city centre, where approximately half of the buildings were used by the public service (all the buildings highlighted in dark brown in the map, fig. 1). This not only created an enormous labour market of its own, directly and indirectly, because highly qualified jurists and specialists in different areas found employment there, as well as tens of thousands of office staff, and further domestic employees. It also reflects the degree to which the Habsburg Empire had expanded its areas of responsibility.

At least one other Vienna institution would play a role in the mongoose affair: Alois Kraus, the director of the Imperial-Royal Menagerie of Schönbrunn, which was located a few kilometres outside the city centre near the eponymous imperial summer palace, delivered valuable experience and expertise in the further course of events.

Regional centres: Trieste

Trieste, with its well above 200,000 inhabitants, was the Habsburg Empire's most eminent port town and an important regional centre. It hosted a wide range of different administrative institutions and illustrates well the degree to which empire and imperial politics on the one hand and private intermediaries on the other hand cooperated and collaborated in developing and furthering the imperial network.[29] The Lloyd Austriaco is a good example thereof. Trieste was of great importance in terms of the early 20th century finance industry. It was the empire's gateway to the sea trade and travel, and thus an enormously relevant logistical node.

Even though it does not show up directly in the mongoose affair's documentation, two Trieste institutions need to be mentioned in order to ensure a complete description and documentation: one is the *k.k. Seebehörde* (Imperial-Royal Admiralty), the other is the harbour itself, where the mongooses arrived and changed ships in order to move on to Korčula. Until 1910, the admiralty was located right next to the Lloyd Austriaco' pompous palace in a building (fig. 3) that was then demolished and replaced by the Savoia Excelsior, the last of the luxurious riviera hotels that popped up all over the northern Adriatic during Habsburg

---

29 See Andreas Zangger, "Patriotic bonds and the danger of estrangement: Swiss networks in colonial South-East Asia, 1850–1930," *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking colonialism from the margins* (London: Palgrave, 2015), pp. 91–109, particularly p. 104. It can be assumed that the situation with Habsburg Central Europe presented itself analogically.

rule's last decades.[30] Shortly before the building's demolition in 1910, the admiralty and other authorities hosted in the same building moved to *Palazzo Carciotti*, a considerably more representative building located in a central spot of the Triestine seafront (fig. 4).

The harbor itself needs to be considered less an institution than a manifold spatial configuration. It covered an enormous territory along the Gulf of Trieste's coastline and directly linked the backbone of Central European railway lines – the *Südbahn* between Vienna and Trieste – with the sea. The famous *Stazione Centrale* had been built under significant difficulties and represented an engineering masterpiece. It lay right next to the sea and passengers leaving the train were less than a few hundred meters from the Adriatic. The harbour served as a logistical node, a commercial bypass, and a social space, used by tourists and locals alike to promenade, represent, and relax. It opened directly into the city centre, staging the sea as an integral part of Trieste's urban life.[31]

Sea and land dovetailed in Trieste in a unique way. A total of nine large piers protruded into the sea – five of them into the old harbour, four into the new harbour, the latter having been constructed along with the new train station. With the *Canal Grande*, the sea protruded right into the city centre. The *Piazza Grande*, today's *Piazza Unità d'Italia*, opened on one side toward the seafront.

The admiralty's original building was an outstanding example of neo-classical architecture. It lay south of the *Piazza Grande*, overshadowed from 1883 on by the newly erected *Palazzo del Lloyd Austriaco* (designed by the renowned Viennese architect Heinrich Ferstel), so it had an important and prominent position. The building was relatively large, two to three storeys high, and additionally hosted sanitary services and the port authority. According to a source from the early 1890s, it hosted approximately 45 civil servants.[32]

When it moved further to the north into *Palazzo Carciotti*, it received an even more prominent location, and a building of significant architectural quality. The early 19th century palace was no less than 100 meters long and 40 meters deep, lay on the corner of *Canal Grande* and the seafront, and was crowned by nothing less than a cupola.[33]

Prior to the admiralty, the building had been used by one of the large Triestine insurance companies. By 1910, Trieste had become an immensely important administrative centre, and a significant proportion of the city's architecture was used by different bureaucratic branches of the imperial administration, which had also become an important employer in the town.

---

30 See Corrado Caccialanza, *L'Hotel Savoia: Excelsior Palace di Trieste: La città, il palazzo, la società, le istituzioni* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992).

31 See Matteo Cossi, *Der alte Hafen von Triest: Geschichte und zukünftige Herausforderungen* (diploma thesis, Vienna Technical University, 2021).

32 See *Die österreichische Seeverwaltung nebst Special-Catalog zu den von der K.K. Seebehörde aufgestellten Gegenständen* (Trieste: Buchdruckerei von L. Herrmanstorfer-Verlag der k.k. Seebehörde, 1882), p. XIV. Further Rudolf Agstner, *Handbuch des k. (u.) k. Konsulardienstes Die Konsulate der Donaumonarchie vom 18. Jh. bis 1918* (Vienna: new academic press, 2018), p. 4.

33 See https://www.guardiacostiera.gov.it/trieste/Pages/storia.aspx, accessed September 4, 2021.

Fig. 3. The old building of the admiralty in Trieste, demolished and replaced by the Savoia Excelsior Hotel in 1910. https://www.guardiacostiera.gov.it/trieste/Pages/storia.aspx (accessed April 14, 2023).

Fig. 4. *Palazzo Carciotti* in Trieste, into which the admiralty moved upon the demolition of its old facilities in 1910. https://www.guardiacostiera.gov.it/trieste/Pages/storia.aspx (accessed April 14, 2023).

Not unlike Vienna, hosting administrative authorities impacted the city's urban development greatly.

Below or beside the region? The case of Gorizia, and many others

Few inhabitants of the late Habsburg Empire would have considered Gorizia an important administrative centre; yet in terms of the forest administration this was indeed the case. It hosted one of only six regional forest and domain authorities *(k. k. Forst- und Domänendirektion)*, the ministry of agriculture's regional branches, in charge of the state forests. The Habsburg Empire's Austrian half consisted of a total of fifteen crown lands; the Gorizia branch oversaw the state forest in four of them: Carinthia, Carniola, Dalmatia, and the Austrian Littoral. With 123,749 hectares it had authority over a relatively small total area of forests, which were, however, scattered across an enormous territory.[34] Gorizia was a small, yet old and well connected town right between the Alps to the north, the plains of northern Italy to the west, the Adriatic to the south, and the Istrian peninsula to the southeast. It had no direct access to the sea, located approximately twenty km to the south; Monfalcone was the next port town. Much larger and more important since at least the beginning of the 18th century, however, was Trieste, 40 km down the coast. Upon the completion of the *Südbahn* between Vienna and Trieste, Gorizia became comfortably accessible.

By the late 19th century, Gorizia had become a minor tourism and regional administrative centre, and as such it formed a well visible node in the network of imperial rule thoroughly spanned over the emperor's realm.[35] Its case illustrates modern empire's *modus operandi* in its Habsburg manifestation very well, which was based on a politics of integration and close entanglement of smaller places with Habsburg rule's central administrative backbone. Even though in larger towns, central functions and institutions were of significant importance, central bureaucracies' regional and local branches were frequently found in less important places. Another forest and domain authority for instance was in Gmunden (for historical reasons); Carinthia, Carniola, and the Littoral's torrent control authority *(k. k. Forsttechnische Abteilung für Wildbachverbauung)* was in Villach; the rural management council *(Landeskulturrat)* was in Poreč on Istria's western coast; and the important mining office for Carinthia, Carniola, Dalmatia, the Littorale, Styria, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg was in Klagenfurt *(k. k. Berg-Hauptmannschaft)*, a relatively small provincial capital of the crown land of Carinthia. In this way, smaller places were attributed a certain relevance in the net of imperial administration, disproportional to their actual importance. Qualified and unqualified

---

34 *Hof- und Staats-Handbuch der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie für das Jahr 1910. XXXVI. Jahrgang. Nach amtlichen Quellen zusammengestellt* (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1910), pp. 650. In 1910, there was a total of six such forest authorities for fifteen Crown lands.

35 See Edith Schattleitner, *Die Anfänge des Fremdenverkehrs in Görz und Gradisca* (diploma thesis, University of Graz 1991); Carl Czörnig, *Görz: Oesterreich's Nizza nebst einer Darstellung des Landes Görz und Gradisca* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1873).

employment was created in remote places, the posting of higher-ranking civil-servants, who were expected to take up honorary functions in local elite associations and social networks, brought these places much closer to the empire.[36]

Then, posting civil-servants in provincial small-towns created new patterns of mobility and circulation. Gorizia, for instance – like many other smaller urban centres all over Habsburg Central Europe – had played a role in several spatial configurations in the course of centuries. Most of the time, however, it had held closer ties toward the southern alpine area to its west, which went as far as Tyrol, and reflected the common history of these areas that had once been ruled by the Gorizia counts *(Görzer Grafen)*. Events and developments in the 19th century's second half pushed Gorizia into a new spatial configuration that lay somewhat between Trieste and the upper Adriatic coast (the maritime resort town of Grado and environs) on the one side, and Vienna and its Bohemian hinterland on the other.[37] Patterns of circulation of people, knowledge, and goods were henceforth transformed accordingly.

Beside this decentralized distribution of central authorities' regional branches, the Habsburg Empire pushed some basic public infrastructure into the depth of the enormous territory it covered after 1848/49. Most visible and far-reaching were probably two institutions: first, an extended judiciary infrastructure and the so-called political administration's institutions *(politische Verwaltung)*, which existed below the regional level (in 1910, no less than 966 district courts were dispersed over Cisleithania); second, a relatively large territorial police force, particularly the gendarmerie that oversaw public order outside the urban centres.[38] It disposed of 368 district commands in 1910, and 3428 gendarmerie stations.[39] Finally, municipal autonomy from the early 1860s on had brought municipal offices into the empire's smallest entities, the local communities. Thus, by 1910, the empire and its symbols had reached even remote places in Habsburg Central Europe.

The imperial administration's material presence, however, varied greatly. Gendarmerie stations were newly erected upon the foundation of this institution after 1849 according to strict specification books. These buildings were usually small and constructed in a relatively cheap manner. More complex tasks required considerable space, and with the imperial civ-

---

36 Karl Schrutek, for example, the *k.k. Forst- und Domänendirektor* posted in Gorizia from 1909 onwards, immediately became the local forest association's president and familiarized himself quickly with local land owning and agricultural elites. See "32. Jahresversammlung des krainisch-küstenländischen Forstvereins," *Oesterreichische Forst- und Jagdzeitung* 27 (1909), p. 411.

37 It is worth noting that migration patterns persisted and reflected the continued existence of Gorizia in its old transregional orientation long into the 20th century.

38 With the end of neo-absolutist rule (1848–67), the *gemischte Bezirksverwaltung* (mixed district administration, a constellation, which combined judicial and political administration) was disentangled. It formed two separate layers thereafter, the *Justizverwaltung* and the *politische Verwaltung*.

39 All numbers calculated on the basis of the data taken from the *Staatsschematismus* of 1910, a series of annual publications that described the Habsburg administration and its officials and appeared from the early 18th century until the empire's end.

il-service's significant expansion during the neo-absolutism era, many existing buildings and resources of the former seigneurial administration were acquired or rented for continued use by the now centralized bureaucratic service. Thus, a wide range of very different buildings was used by the Habsburg imperial administration. The most important requirement was expediency, and in many cases, the choice in terms of real estate at the administration's disposal was extremely limited.

Whereas the political and juridical administrations were accommodated in the old town centre's representative palaces, Gorizia's forest and domain authority was located in *Via del Monte Santo* 15–17. This address corresponds to an old and spacious manor house near the city's eastern railway station, opened in 1906. The building disposed of a generous park, about one kilometre walking distance from the town centre. It had three storeys and was quite large, and possibly provided some apartments for higher-ranking civil-servants. According to an 1897 report, Gorizia's regional forest administration authority had forty employees, though it remains unclear whether all of them were working in this building, or whether this number refers to the total staff, dispersed over the entire, quite large, territory.[40] Most probably, no more than a dozen employees were working in the building in 1897.

In the Habsburg Monarchy, civil-servants' salaries included parts of the living costs, so in many cases service apartments were provided.[41] Due to the important social position of higher-ranking civil-servants, who also represented the empire, considerable sums for adequate living and representation could be paid. It is not entirely clear to what extent this applied to the entire public service: Positions in the ministry of foreign affairs, including the diplomatic service, were usually held by aristocrats, who were expected to utilize significant personal means to guarantee the empire's impeccable appearance to the host country. The same applied to at least parts of the army: becoming a cavalry officer meant bringing in important private financial resources. Thus, we can observe different layers of administration coexist here: one old core layer – diplomatic service and foreign politics, higher ranking military service – where social background and networks remained a principal resource, but formal qualifications appear to have been less important. The imperial administration's newer parts – the fully differentiated bureaucracy that came with increasing centralization – recruited according to qualifications and competencies.

---

40 See *Bericht über die Thätigkeit des k.k. Ackerbau-Ministeriums in der Zeit vom 1. Jänner 1894 bis 31. December 1897* (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1897), pp. 391. Most probably this number comprised the entire staff of the Gorizia forest district, which would actually show with how little the staff forest administration had to manage 123,749 hectares (see pp. 450–451).

41 At the university of Graz for instance, the newly built department of physics featured quite generous bourgeois service apartments for its professors from the mid-1870s onwards, Ludwig Boltzmann was among those, who benefitted. See Waltraud Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen: Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich, 1780–1848* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 1990), pp. 249–273, further Waltraud Heindl, *Josephinische Mandarine: Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich, 1848–1914* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2013), pp. 200–209.

Below the region, though not yet local: The case of Korčula

Korčula played an important role and provided crucial infrastructure in the mongoose affair. When Gorizia's forest and domain authority first learned that it was supposed to settle mongooses on Mljet, its director Schrutek realized immediately that the island did not possess the required premises for these animals to undergo an extended acclimatization period, meaning they would have to be fed and monitored for at least several months, according to the initial plan. Schrutek thus suggested sending the animals to Korčula first, where not only did his authority command much larger resources, but where other sub-regional branches of the imperial administration's network maintained nodes as well.

Korčula, a small town on a larger island of the same name, had approximately 2000 inhabitants in 1910.[42] It was a city of particularly rich tradition and featured a strong sense of urbanity, even though it had massively decreased in importance and wealth in the course of the previous centuries. Its architecture remained impressive and displayed the rich cultural heritage of the small town that had once been an important eastern Adriatic harbour.

It was one of ca. 350 smaller towns all over Cisleithania that had become a district authority *(Bezirkshauptmannschaft)* seat after 1867; another ca. 30 larger towns were statutory cities, and therefore constituted their own districts. Together they amounted to slightly less than 400 district authorities.[43] The district authorities oversaw no less than 23,000 municipalities, and they constituted the administrative layer below the fourteen prefectures *(Statthaltereien)* of Cisleithania, where each represented one crown land.[44]

At this point we can grasp the sheer size of the centralized imperial administration by 1910, which materialized in an impressive manner: more than 23,000 town halls making up the bulk of it, plus ca. 3500 gendarmerie and police stations. The great majority of these buildings were relatively plain, but one level above – and this is the level on which Korčula was located – the empire possessed a total of ca. 400 somewhat larger and often relatively representative district authority buildings, another ca. 370 larger gendarmerie stations, plus hundreds of diverse subregional branches of different ministries, the forest and domain authority being just one of these. On the regional and central level however, and we can observe this very well with Vienna and Trieste, imperial administration increasingly took up a significant proportion of the larger towns' available office space.

As a district authority seat, Korčula owned only the minimum equipment for such a place: Besides the forest and domain authority's sub-regional office, it also had a district veterinar-

---

42 *Allgemeines Verzeichnis der Ortsgemeinden und Ortschaften Österreichs nach den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910*, ed. K.K. statistische Central-Commission (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1915), pp. 405.

43 Gerhart Wielinger, "125 Jahre Bezirkshauptmannschaften: Zur Geschichte einer Institution, die sich bewährt hat," *Mitteilungen des steiermärkischen Landesarchivs* 42–43 (1993), pp. 65–76.

44 Numbers require careful handling because the number of districts continually expanded between 1869 and 1910, as can be seen from the census results. It has to be assumed that similar effects took place on the lower levels as well.

ian. The district authority itself employed a civil-servant in charge of the cadastral mapping affairs. Korčula also maintained a district court and a small tax office, but it had no health office and larger financial affairs were taken care of by the larger regional authorities located in Zara (Zadar). It is safe to assume that Korčula represented the lower end in terms of district authorities, possessing only the minimum services this authority had to provide and illustrating well the empire and its administrative agency in a remote periphery in 1910.

In Korčula, chief forest inspector Karl Nejedly had his office, of which we know relatively little. According to the documentation's sparse description, it is supposed to have been a larger house with an inner court (where the mongooses spent the first few days). It is likely that Nejedly not only worked in this house, but that he also lived there. The house further seems to have included additional plots of land, as Nejedly prepared for the construction of a larger cage house there before he was stopped by a telegram from Vienna. Beside Nejedly, there were at least two assistant foresters employed on Korčula (though most likely more) who show up in the documentation. It is unknown where they lived, but unlike the Bohemian Nejedly they appear to have been locals.[45]

Empire on the ground: Mljet, the local level

The entire island of Mljet constituted at the same time a single municipality, stretching over little less than 100 km², with a total of little more than 1600 inhabitants. Municipalities formed the indivisible smallest entities that represented the political administration's lowest level. Every single stretch of territory in Habsburg Central Europe was part of a municipality. Taken together, the 23,000 municipalities therefore covered the Habsburg Monarchy's entire territorial expanse. Mljet's sparse population was scattered over the island's surface: according to the *Special-Orts-Repertorium* of 1894, there were six villages and eighteen smaller entities, mostly "clusters of houses" *(Häusergruppe)* yet also one hamlet *(Weiler)*.[46]

Mljet featured hardly any infrastructure. It had one pier, where a steamship could land, a forester's house, and a larger forester's station located in the ancient Benedictine monastery on the island of Sveta Marija.[47] The assistant foresters overseeing the large Mljet state forest lived in these houses. Although it is not entirely clear who lived where, it is most likely that every house – the forester's house in Tatinica and the forester's station in the old monastery – was used by one forester's family each. The auxiliary foresters, who were recruited among the local population, appear to not have been provided with housing by their employer, the imperial forest administration.[48]

---

45 Names and context would suggest that conclusion: see HDA, Ackerbau-Ministerium, 628/10.

46 *Special-Orts-Repertorien*, pp. 103–104.

47 See "Meleda," *Adria* 3 (1911), pp. 67–74, here p. 74.

48 Ibid.

The island featured at least one gendarmerie station and some basic school infrastructure (although it is possible that schooling was provided by some of the island's priests).[49] During the winter months, it was frequently closed for long periods of time, due to the bad weather conditions. In a way, Mljet represented the most remote imperial periphery.

Imperial infrastructures and its spaces

Whereas this article shows well the material infrastructure's enormous importance for the public services of the Habsburg Empire in particular and for the exercise of imperial power in general, it raises several new questions, which require more substantial research.

A first conclusion is that by 1910, the sheer size of the administration's material body was impressive. It is safe to assume that this is due to the building and transport infrastructure's constant expansion from the 1840s onward, even though a trend toward centralized administration could already be observed earlier. Neo-absolutism's advent in 1848 constitutes a milestone in terms of public service buildings in 19th century Habsburg Central Europe. After 1870, however, the development accelerated towards the century's final decades and did not slow in the remaining years prior to World War I.

The imperial administration's demand for office space not only exerted an influence on the important urban centres of the empire – Vienna and Trieste in this case. Undoubtedly, the emergence of the central administration and its labour market had a lasting impact on the social history of Habsburg Central Europe, and it further accelerated urban growth and urbanization.[50]

The article allows the formulation of a few qualified hypotheses. Particularly in the modern Habsburg Empire's early decades, right after 1848, administrations erected new buildings only when these were relatively small and cheap, which applies for instance for gendarmerie stations and later town halls. When larger buildings and facilities were required, more often than not administrations used existing structures, which were either bought, leased, or rented by the state (another aspect that would deserve attention). In more than one case, older buildings were structurally merged, including two of the ministries in Vienna. In the case under scrutiny here, we see the construction of larger buildings after 1870 with the onset of the *Ringstrasse* boom. At this point, I cannot offer a more generalizing explanation for the principles behind the erection of public service infrastructure. However, the relative scarcity of (not only) the Habsburg Empire's financial means is a well-known fact in the research

---

49 See HDA, Ackerbau-Ministerium, 22667/1246.

50 Cf. Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Die Wiener Altstadt: Von der mittelalterlichen Bürgerstadt zur City* (Vienna: Deuticke, 1977); Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Wien – Prag: Metropolenforschung* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 1993); Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Wien: Bauliche Gestalt und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 1978).

community, and building and investment strategies were therefore frequently defensively designed.

Central administration needs to be differentiated into different spheres of centrality. Whereas military and foreign affairs constituted old and clearly vital imperial interests, other departments only rose with the emergence of modern empire. The ministries of finance and the interior, for example, grew rapidly and became enormously important when they had to take over priorly seigneurial tasks after 1848. In a second wave of expansion of imperial administrative responsibilities, trade and commerce as well as agriculture became new and increasingly important topics. Major differences separated civil servants working in the diverse departments and ministries. Whereas the foreign service or the career of a high-ranking officer remained exclusive domains for socially high-ranking persons, social mobility was enhanced in many of the 'new' departments.

Another interesting observation that this article cannot explain is the disproportionate distribution of resources. An enormous quantity of public servants based especially in Vienna contrasts with a more cost-effective budgeting of staff at regional and local levels. Even though the Habsburg Empire was notorious for its army of (underpaid) civil servants by the turn of the century, it displayed austerity when it came to recruiting additional staff, even in fields in which this might have delivered a good payoff, as, for instance, in the forestry sector. On all levels of administration – central, regional, and local – people were frequently hired only temporarily. The material infrastructure's sheer strength thus contrasts with the latent understaffing of local or regional branches of authorities. In the case of the mongooses, however, this does not appear to be an issue at any time.

An attempt to a conclusion: How powerful was the Habsburg Empire?

This article shows that the late Habsburg Empire's public service possessed an impressive material dimension by 1910. Yet, to assess its capacity to act and to exercise imperial power, substantial gaps in the existing research need to be filled.[51] A preliminary summary must emphasize Habsburg power's regional and local differentiation. The imperial administration's centralization did not entitle the imperial administration to intervene equally powerfully over the empire's entire territorial expanse. Attempts at centralization – from the central state of 1804/06 through neo-absolutism to the double monarchy – therefore failed on the practical level. The Habsburg Empire's central region remained central to its operation,

---

51 Many of my observations are indebted to Thomas Stockinger, who shared with me years ago his unmatched expertise in the Habsburg administration's materiality. I regret not being able to reference here publications from the project in the course of which these questions were pursued. In the following, I will refer to some studies that I conducted regarding the census operation, cadastral mapping, and the mongooses in the Habsburg Empire, rounding up the bigger picture. See Göderle, *Volkszählung und moderner Staat*; Wolfgang Göderle, "Modernisierung durch Vermessung? Das Wissen des modernen Staats in Zentraleuropa, circa 1760–1890," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 57 (2017), pp. 155–186.

wealthier, and better integrated. That said, imperial administrative and traffic infrastructure did contribute to a better integration of peripheral regions, and it further helped to decrease the huge disparities in terms of prosperity and political participation. This process, however, worked extremely slowly, even slower when it came to the most peripheral imperial spaces, and it was expensive.

The architectural heritage considered in this article displays surprising heterogeneity. Beside large-scale institutions of central administration, such as police stations of the gendarmerie corps and town halls in the 23,000 municipalities, which were erected according to central planning and execution in the most unspectacular and pragmatic way, the empire used a wide range of different buildings. Particularly in the era of neo-absolutism, just about every available and suitable building was converted to house administrative agencies. This applies especially to larger and more important institutions. Thus the aesthetic codes employed by the Habsburg Empire to claim its rule worked more subtly and unobtrusively than the author originally expected.

To which degree empire could take vigorous action depended crucially on several factors, a historical line of continuity being probably the most important. Habsburg rule seems to have worked quickly and smoothly in those parts of Central Europe that had been under direct or indirect imperial rule for long periods of time. In Bohemia, Inner Austria, and the old Archduchy of Austria, the central administration's young institutions blended smoothly over their abandoned predecessors, yet it needs to be taken into consideration that these were also economically well-off areas, which benefitted from frictionless relations. On the other side of the spectrum lay areas that shared few features. Many had become part of the Habsburg Empire only lately. Some were located in areas from which Vienna just did not seem to be a practicable point of reference. Language did play a role, although 19th century empires were usually very efficient in handling multilinguality.

The public building infrastructure erected by the imperial administration materialized and stabilized rule; it also contributed to the exertion of control. Above all, it becomes quite clear that the territory's penetration by administrative authorities allowed for a large-scale production and processing of knowledge, which became a principal fluid to circulate in the imperial actor-network.[52] The public building infrastructure, however, could not provide sufficient leverage for rapid large-scale imperial interventions against significant local resistance. It was not remotely strong enough to protect local populations against natural disasters and depended heavily on military support when it came to questions of security and unrest. Despite its considerable size and the relevant cost it caused, central administration on the ground remained toothless in those regions in which it mattered, and it was highly efficient in those other regions in which it did not matter. In every way, its proper operation depended heavily on the cooperation of those the Habsburg emperor ruled.

---

52 See Göderle, "The Habsburg Anthropocene."

Andrea Baotić-Rustanbegović (Munich)

Competing visions: The unrealized project for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian parliament building in Sarajevo (1911–14)

After Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1908, the country's political circumstances led eventually to the Constitution's proclamation as well as the formation of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian parliament *(Sabor Bosne i Hercegovine, Landtag von Bosnien und Herzegowina)* in 1910. Soon enough, the authorities took measures for erecting a parliament building, which was supposed to not only accommodate the institution of the highest political importance, but also represent a 'spiritual and administrative centre' of Sarajevo. Due to the unsuccessful public competition held in 1912, complex administrative procedures, and political circumstances, as well as World War I's outbreak, the intention to raise a parliament building in the so-called Bosnian Style *(Bosanski slog)* just across from the Sarajevo city hall, never came to be realized.

The history of Sarajevo's parliament building case, which can be reconstructed through primary and secondary sources,[1] seems, however, to be quite instructive when enquiring about the 'aesthetics of public service'[2] because it addresses the question of decision-making processes and roles played by the different actors planning and designing public buildings. Namely, the questions of location and the style in which the building should be built were discussed among the provincial government, the city council, and the parliament itself, as well as the individual architects who were involved in the whole project. While some of them favoured the city's eastern and older Ottoman part for the parliament building's location, others suggested areas in the central and western, more modern parts of Sarajevo. Likewise, some of the governing actors opposed the implementation of the Bosnian Style, a recent derivative of domestic vernacular architecture that some of the country's leading architects advocated. The confrontation finally led to the unclear competition conditions, which resulted in stylistically diverse architectural proposals submitted from different parts of the Monarchy. The discussions held both in public sphere and 'behind the scenes' related to the par-

---

1   Despite its significance, the Parliament building's case has not been fully explored or scientifically treated so far. While it is completely omitted in general surveys treating the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina's architecture, it is briefly mentioned in a few publications and mainly in relation to the Sarajevo City Hall. See: Nedžad Kurto, "Vijećnica u Sarajevu," *Bosniaca: časopis Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine* 8 (2003), pp. 25–31, here p. 27; Valerijan Žujo, Ferhad Mulabegović and Smajo Mulaomerović, *The Vijećnica of Sarajevo: Construction, Destruction, Reconstruction* (Sarajevo: Studio Urbing, 2014), pp. 50–52; Ibrahim Krzović, *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 2004), p. 96.

2   The title of the conference at which this paper was first presented, as explained in this volume's introduction.

liament building's placement and architectural style, as well as the competition itself, were manifested in competing visions that were (in)sensitive to the complex local circumstances.

The aim of this paper, therefore, will be to discuss the undertakings and ideas that affected the Sarajevo parliament building's planning and prevented its realization. Apart from describing the course of preparations and the competition's outcome, two important questions that will be addressed here refer to the parliament building's location and the use of the Bosnian Style for its design. Also, the roles played by the governing actors, as well as certain prominent local architects, will be revealed. By focusing on this lesser known and unexplored case, the paper will attempt to shed light on some aspects and particularities of designing and erecting public buildings in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian governance.

The context: Sarajevo's architectural and urban image before 1910

In order to understand the process of planning the parliament building and its significance, it is necessary to outline not only the political context, but also the administrative instances and building practices that shaped Sarajevo's image before the parliament was even constituted (fig. 1). From the occupation in 1878 to the annexation in 1908, Bosnia and Herzegovina's capital underwent an architectural and urban transformation under Austro-Hungarian governance, due to which this former Ottoman *šeher* (city, from Turkish *şehir*) started to resemble modern Central European cities. Multiple interventions and infrastructure improvements, the regulation of streets and neighborhoods, as well as the introduction of new building types and architectural styles contributed to this metamorphosis, which was generally labeled as Sarajevo's Westernization and modernization.[3] Although it came as a natural consequence of economic, social, and cultural changes that occurred in the country by the end of the 19th century, this shift was considerably directed by the new authorities, who aimed to show the 'enlightened Habsburg mission''s achievements through construction practices as well.[4]

The main administrative actors who contributed to Sarajevo's development were the provincial government *(Landesregierung)* and the City Municipality *(Gemeindebehörde)*.

---

3   Robert Donia, "Fin-de-Siècle Sarajevo: The Habsburg transformation of an Ottoman town," *Austrian History Yearbook* 33 (2002), pp. 43–75; Emily Gunzburger Makaš, "Sarajevo," *Capital cities in the aftermath of empires: Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*, ed. Emily Gunzburger Makaš and Tanja Damljanović Conley (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 241–257, here p. 241. For general history surveys on Sarajevo's development, see: Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod Austro-Ugarskom upravom* (Sarajevo: Muzej grada Sarajeva, 1960); Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vijeme austrougarske uprave (1878–1918)* (Sarajevo: Arhiv grada Sarajeva, 1969); Mary Sparks, *The development of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

4   See: *Entwicklung der Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo unter der Regierung S.M. des Kaisers und Königs Franz Josef I.: Auf Grundlage eines von der Landes-Regierung für Bosnien und Herzegowina herausgegebenen Planes* (Vienna: G. Freytag & Berndt, 1897).

Fig. 1. Postcard showing a panorama of Sarajevo as seen from the east, with Miljacka River in the middle, the city hall on the right, and the *Alifakovac* area on the left, c. 1900. Author's collection.

While the former represented the country's highest governing institution through which the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy ruled over the provinces,[5] the latter functioned as the local authority responsible for managing city affairs.[6] Together with the *k. u. k.* Army, both were the principal instigators of Sarajevo's construction works,[7] but they were also in charge of regulating and controlling all building activity in the capital. Their main agency, in that sense, was implementing the Building Regulations *(Bauordnung)*, first introduced in 1880 as a set of rules based on west-European standards, according to which new urban and architectural structures had to be carried out.[8] Another incentive for qualitative and quantitative change in Sarajevo's built environment also came after 1884 when the provincial government founded its own building department *(Baudepartement)* responsible for planning and exe-

---

5   For more on Austro-Hungarian governance in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see: Mustafa Imamović, "Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian rule," *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Evolution of its Political and Legal Institutions* (Sarajevo: Magistrat, 2006), pp. 191–253, here 199–213.

6   For more on the City Council's structure and functioning, see: Kruševac, *Sarajevo*, pp. 57–68; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo*, pp. 27–30; Donia, "Fin-de-Siècle Sarajevo," p. 58.

7   Makaš, "Sarajevo," p. 243. For specific works, see: Kruševac, *Sarajevo*, p. 49; Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo*, pp. 30–36; see also: Sparks, *Development*, Appendix 2.

8   The Building Regulations were initially introduced by the Provincial Government and were revised in 1893; in 1909 it was the City Municipality that composed its third version. Kruševac, *Sarajevo*, pp. 36–40; Nedžad Kurto, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Razvoj bosanskog stila* (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 1998), pp. 19–21; Makaš, "Sarajevo," pp. 244–245, Sparks, *Development*, pp. 43–48.

cuting public constructions in the province.[9] Thanks to the monarchy's academically educated architects who were employed there, as well as the incoming engineers and builders who almost completely took over the country's construction activity, Sarajevo was broadened and diversified with dozens of new edifices, which were designed according to the current academic thought and Viennese architectural models.[10]

Whether they were raised for the authorities, religious communities, or private investors, new buildings in Sarajevo were generally created in Historicist styles and the Secession style,[11] and often with the intention of asserting their commissioners' material and cultural identities. When it came to public buildings, the neo-Renaissance was mainly used, for it was considered both "classical and universal," an appropriate "representation of European style and taste".[12] After 1890 the so-called pseudo-Moorish style also emerged on public edifices because its combination of various Islamic architectural elements was perceived as appropriate for emphasizing the occupied provinces' "Oriental character".[13] Both of these styles were applied on Sarajevo's two most significant administrative buildings, the provincial government palace (Josip Vancaš, 1885) and the city hall/*Vijećnica* (Karel Pařík, Alexander Wittek, Ćiril Metod Iveković, 1895)[14]. Their design process also involved not only the provincial government's Building Department, but also the Monarchy's highest officials, i. e., the Joint Finance Minister Benjámin von Kállay, who was at the time also a chief administrator of the condominium of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[15]

Considering the general administrative hierarchy, and the fact that the City Municipality monitored the building regulations while subordinate to and controlled by the provin-

---

9 On the Building department's *(Baudepartement)* organization and functioning, see: Jela Božić, "Organizacija građevinskog odjeljenja Zemaljske vlade Bosne i Hercegovine 1878–1918," *Glasnik arhivskih društava i arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine* 30 (1990), pp. 83–94; Branka Dimitrijević, "Organizacija državne građevinske službe u periodu 1878–1918 u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Arhitekt Karl Paržik* (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 1989), pp. 22–45, accessed March 25, 2021, http://www.karloparzik.com.

10 For a survey of Sarajevo's architectural styles, see: Ibrahim Krzović, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878–1918* (Sarajevo: Umjetnička galerija Bosne i Hercegovine, 1987); Ibrahim Krzović, *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 2004). Also: Nedžad Kurto, "Austrougarski period 1878–1918," *Sarajevo 1462–1992* (Sarajevo: OKO, 1997), pp. 45–99; Kurto, *Razvoj bosanskog stila*, pp. 18–148.

11 Ibid.

12 Krzović, *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine*, p. 16; Kurto, "Austrougarski period," p. 51.

13 Makaš, "Sarajevo," p. 250; For a survey of the 'pseudo-Moorish' style in Bosnia and Herzegovina and different interpretations of its use, see: Krzović, *Arhitektura*, pp. 26–29; Kurto, *Razvoj bosanskog stila*, pp. 32–42; Saba Risaluddin, "Architecture and imperialism in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the British Raj," *Baština: godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo 5 (2009), pp. 317–361; Alexander Zäh, "Die orientalisierende Architektur als ein stilistischer Ausdruck des offiziellen Bauprogramms der k. u. k. bosnisch-herzegowinischen Landesregierung 1878–1918," *Südost-Forschungen* 72 (2013), pp. 63–97.

14 On the latter building, see also Guidetti's contribution to this volume.

15 On this subject in particular, see: Božo Madžar, "Sto godina vladine zgrade u Sarajevu, 1885–1895," *Glasnik arhiva i društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine* 25 (1985), pp. 249–255; Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karl Paržik*, p. 53.
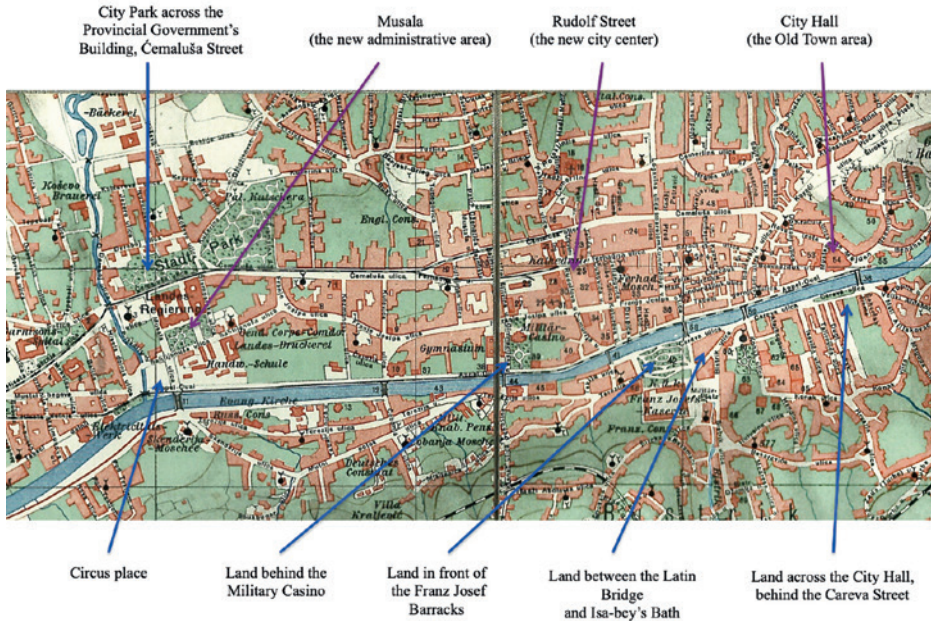
Fig. 2. Map of Sarajevo with marked areas that were considered for erecting the Parliament building. *Walny's Plan von Sarajevo* (detail), 1904. Historijski arhiv Sarajevo, ZKP-43, 1904.

cial government,[16] it can be said that Sarajevo's building activity was practically centralized. Nonetheless, the urban interventions planned by these authorities were not just simply imposed, but conducted gradually and fragmentarily, and often with departures from the initial ideas due to economic or property-legal reasons.[17] Also, instead of a general urban plan, multiple piecemeal projects were conceived, among which the earliest and the best known comprised a plan for regulating the Ottoman city core, back in 1880.[18] As a result, the city's growth was uneven. Sarajevo's eastern, old part was left somewhat marginalized,[19] whereas the *čaršija* and its surrounding hillside settlements were only punctuated with single new edifices, such as the city hall. At the same time, the city's urban development moved further westwards, down the Sarajevo valley's plane parts and along the Miljacka River, with a new center emerging around the *Ferhadija*, *Rudolf*, and *Franz-Josef* streets.[20] Ultimately, the city's

---

16 Kruševac, *Sarajevo*, p. 40, pp. 66–67; Makaš, "Sarajevo," p. 243.

17 Kruševac, *Sarajevo*, pp. 40–47; Makaš, "Sarajevo," pp. 244–247; Sparks, *Development*, pp. 40–43; Maximilian Hartmuth, "K.(u.)k. colonial? Contextualizing architecture and urbanism in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918," *WechselWirkungen: Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Western Balkans, 1878–1918*, ed. Clemens Ruthner et al. (New York: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 155–184, here p. 172.

18 Makaš, "Sarajevo," p. 245, Sparks, *Development*, p. 41.

19 Kruševac, *Sarajevo*, pp. 48–49; Makaš, "Sarajevo," p. 247; Hartmuth, "K.(u.)k. colonial?," p. 172.

20 Sparks, *Development*, pp. 121–122.

expansion went beyond *Musala*, a former Ottoman 'border' zone, which became the Austro-Hungarian administrative area and a provincial government seat (fig. 2).[21]

Sarajevo's architectural and urban 'division' into an eastern, old Ottoman part, and a western, more modern part was acknowledged also by contemporaries[22] and proved to be significant for the parliament building's case because it affected the choice of its placement and the style in which it would be built. More importantly, it also manifested, in a certain way, a social polarization that existed between the native residents and the immigrant population that came to Sarajevo from the Monarchy's various parts. Initiated by the neo-absolutist and repressive policies of Kállay's Regime (1882–1903), which sought to suppress the emerging nationalistic ideologies that would thwart the Monarchy's Balkan prospects,[23] this polarization was also exacerbated by the fact that the incomers, i. e., the non-Bosnian citizens who by 1910 constituted as much as a third of Sarajevo's population,[24] were the dominant agents of the city's political, economic, and cultural activities during the occupation period. It was precisely the foreign officials who administered the provincial government, and they were also well involved in the work of the municipality and its council, whose members and mayors, actually, were local personalities.[25] Only with the change of political course after Kállay's death in 1903, then the annexation in 1908 and the constitution's adoption in 1910, did domestic factors begin to influence the province's political and public life more strongly. Their engagement was ultimately supposed to be manifested in the work of the parliament, which was constituted out of male members and deputies, both appointed and elected according to the curial and confessional principle (Orthodox, Muslims, Catholics, and Jews).[26] The parliament's jurisdiction scope, however, was very limited, because supreme power still remained in the hands of the Austro-Hungarian Joint Ministry of Finance, which continued to administer the provinces as a *corpus separatum*.[27] Nevertheless, the parliament was important as a domain where local issues, raised by the provincial government or the deputies themselves, could be discussed by local structures, which was the case with the parliament building.

21 Ibid., p. 61.

22 Such as: Josef Pospišil, "Die Sarajevoer Stadtregulierung," *Bosnische Post*, January 25, 1910, nr.19, pp. 2–3; Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Oesterreich-Ungarns* (Leipzig: Veit, 1914), p. 749.

23 Pursuing a policy of Bosnian nationhood (*bošnjaštvo*, *Bosniertum*), which attempted to foster a sense of the local populace's unique, yet multiconfessional identity, Kállay actually aimed to supress the emerging Croat and Serb nationalist movements in the occupied provinces. On politics during Kállay's regime, see: Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882–1903)* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987). Also: Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan nationalism: The Habsburg 'civilizing mission' in Bosnia 1878–1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

24 Kruševac, *Sarajevo*, p. 19.

25 As notes 5 and 6.

26 On the Bosnian parliament's structure and functioning, see: Kruševac, *Sarajevo*, 353–379; Imamović, "Bosnia and Herzegovina," pp. 244–253; Edin Radušić, "Period austrougarske uprave," *Parlamentarna skupština Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Parlamentarna skupština Bosne i Hercegovine, 2010), pp. 27–37.

27 Ibid.

Planning the parliament building

Ideas about constructing the Bosnian and Herzegovinian parliament building were conceived already upon enactment of the constitution, which was sanctioned by the Emperor Francis Joseph I and proclaimed in Sarajevo on February 20, 1910. As the local press announced, it was the provincial government who entrusted its building department and its experienced architect Rudolf Tönnies[28] to design the parliament edifice, planned to be finalized by the end of the next year.[29] In the meantime, the provincial government also ensured that the Sarajevo city hall's premises were adapted and leased for the parliament's purposes,[30] which was convoked for the first time on June 15, 1910.

Already in mid-November 1910, parliament deputies opened a debate about the necessity and a potential site for building 'their own house', since they were warned that the city council would reclaim the city hall for its own purposes.[31] In a parliament session held on November 29, a report was thus submitted by a special committee,[32] which proposed that the parliament building's construction commence in the following spring, with costs up to 1,200,000 crowns, at one of the five suggested locations in the city.[33] The latter comprised empty plots along the banks of the Miljacka River (see fig. 2). Two of them were situated in the western, new part of the city (the *Zirkusplatz* near *Musala* and the lot behind the Military Casino), and three in the eastern, old town part of Sarajevo (plots in front of the Francis Joseph Barracks, between the Latin Bridge and Isa Beg's bath, and finally behind the *Careva* Street).[34] With the exception of two deputies who considered the whole endeavor premature and unnecessary, "a luxury that would give a false picture of the material situation in the country,"[35] the majority voted for the abovementioned proposals after being guided by the words of the parliamentarian and deputy mayor Nikola Mandić. In a lengthy speech Mandić urged that the parliament building be raised in Sarajevo's center "at the best possible

---

28 By that time Tönnies had multiple projects realized in Sarajevo, both for the public service and private commissioners, see: Kurto, *Razvoj bosanskog stila*, pp. 367–369.

29 "Das Bosnische Saborpalais," *Bosnische Post*, February 19, 1910, nr. 40, p. 5.

30 Ibid.

31 "Stenografski izvještaj XXIX sjednice Sabora Bosne i Hercegovine (November 14, 1910)," *Stenografski izvještaji bosansko-hercegovačkog Sabora god. 1910./11., I zasjedanje, sv. II.* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1911), pp. 111–112.

32 It was Rudolf Tönnies who examined the available plots, made sketches, and submitted the report to the other committee members on November 22, while Diogen Petrović presented the final report to the parliament deputies. "Stenografski izvještaj XXXVIII sjednice Sabora Bosne i Hercegovine (November 29, 1910)," *Stenografski izvještaji bosansko-hercegovačkog Sabora god. 1910./11., I zasjedanje, sv. II.* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1911), pp. 373–382.

33 Ibid.; "XXXVIII sjednica u utorak 29. novembra", *Sarajevski list*, November 29, 1910, nr. 294, p. 2.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., p. 378, 380. Deputies that spoke against raising the Parliament building were Đuro Džamonja (bookseller elected in Mostar county) and Kosta Majkić (ecclesiastial court clerk, elected in Bihać county). "Sabor Bosne i Hercegovine", *Bošnjak, kalendar za prostu godinu 1911* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1911), pp. 68–69.

location and under the best possible conditions", since, he claimed, the "capital is a mirror of the whole country" and its edifices should "testify the cultural degree of its habitants".[36] He also stated that the parliament building itself should be "magnificent, majestic, serious and dignified", for it would not only "awaken constitutional consciousness in the people" but also "remind of the duty to fight for national values in a place where cultures of the East and West cross".[37] Since the building's specific location was not selected at this session, deputies finally voted for a proposal that the special committee investigate the five suggested plots's prices and then submit a new report for the parliament to decide which one to choose.

Only few months later, at the beginning of 1911, the Sarajevo city council also got involved in resolving the issue of the parliament building's location. On the initiative of city councilor Mustaj-beg Mutevelić, who thought that the building should be raised in the old "city center" (that is, Sarajevo's eastern, *Čaršija* part), "as it will contribute to its betterment and add value to the neighboring areas",[38] the council offered the parliament assistance in finding the best possible site.[39] At a special city council session, held on March 6, 1911, the parliamentary committee submitted a report indicating that the land on the *Zirkusplatz* near *Musala* (the new administrative area) and the one behind *Careva* street across the city hall (in the old town) were the most appropriate, but dismissed the first because it was a *Vakuf* (pious endowment) property and its purchase would take too long.[40] Another proposal stated that the parliament building should be erected on the site across from the city hall, and that both buildings be connected with a wide bridge over the Miljacka River, which would form a "fine square with a park" that could be also used for raising a monument to Emperor Francis Joseph I.[41] The idea about the wide bridge connecting the city hall and the parliament building came from the *Oberbaurat* Josip Vancaš, one of the most prominent architects with many public and private projects realized in Sarajevo, who was at the time both a city councilor and parliament deputy *(Abgeordneter und Gemeinderat)*.[42] The city council unanimously supported his proposal and agreed to bear half of the estimated 400,000 crown cost for the construction works over the Miljacka River.[43] This information resonated in Sarajevo's daily press, and led to different opinions. For example, one perspective argued that instead of erecting the building "on the periphery", that is in the city's eastern, old part, it

---

36   "Stenografski izvještaj XXXVIII sjednice," pp. 376–377.

37   Ibid.

38   "Gemeinderat: Der Baugrund für das Landtagsgebäude," *Bosnische Post*, January 7, 1911, nr. 5, p. 3.

39   "Stenografski izvještaj XLIII sjednice Sabora Bosne i Hercegovine (January 23, 1911)," *Stenografski izvještaji bosansko-hercegovačkog Sabora god. 1910./11., I zasjedanje, sv. II.* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1911), p. 506; "Landtag: Zum Bau des Landtagsgebäudes," *Bosnische Post*, January 23, 1911, nr. 18, p. 2.

40   "Gemeinderat: Der Bauplatz für das Landtagspalais," *Bosnische Post*, March 7, 1911, nr. 54, pp. 2–3; "Izvanredna sjednica gradskog zastupstva," *Sarajevski list*, March 7, 1911, nr. 51, pp. 2–3.

41   Ibid.

42   On life and work of Vancaš, see: Jela Božić, *Arhitekt Josip pl. Vancaš: Značaj i doprinos arhitekturi Sarajeva u periodu austrougarske uprave* (PhD diss., University of Sarajevo, 1989).

43   Mayor Fehim ef. Čurčić, and mayoral deputies Risto Hadži-Damjanović and Nikola Mandić, gave their full support to the Parliament and their requirements. As note 40.

would be better and more appropriate to realize the parliament building in the western, new part of Sarajevo, more precisely on *Zirkusplatz*, or plots near *Ćemaluša* Street and *Marijin Dvor*, close to the new administrative area in *Musala* (fig. 2).[44]

The final word on the choice of the building site, however, was given by the parliament at its session held on April 11, 1911, during which Vancaš submitted the "combined parliamentary and city council committee" report.[45] Adhering to the principle of "aesthetics and local considerations", this body now assessed three plots as appropriate.[46] The best rated plot was the one in front of the Francis Joseph Barracks because it was thought that, with a square and an extended access coming from the Latin bridge, it would look impressive, especially since it was a slightly ascending terrain, so the planned parliament building "would be visible from afar".[47] The plot on *Zirkusplatz* was also rated as aesthetically favorable, but "because of the desire of the Sarajevo people to build the parliament building in the old part of the city," the committee gave it up.[48] The third option involved the area behind *Careva* Street, as defined at the city council meeting held on March 6, 1911. According to the plan put forward by Vancaš, the parliament building would only be built there if it were in the city hall's axis, with which it would be connected by a 70 m wide bridge forming a square (fig. 3).[49] Although the last option was the most expensive,[50] the deputies mostly argued in its favour. By criticizing the provincial government for having erected administrative buildings in the west, due to which the old "central part of the city" was neglected, some of the deputies argued that with the parliament building across from the city hall, real estate values in the old town would increase, a "benefit for the native residents of Sarajevo".[51] As it turned out, some deputies were also driven by personal interest because some of them were owners of the land in question.[52] Ultimately, the third option was voted for, as well as the propositions that the construction

---

44 "Gradnja saborske palače," *Hrvatski dnevnik,* March 20, 1911, nr. 65, p. 2.

45 "Stenografski izvještaj XCI sjednice Sabora Bosne i Hercegovine (April 11, 1911)," *Stenografski izvještaji bosansko-hercegovačkog Sabora god. 1910./11., I zasjedanje, sv. III* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1911), pp. 2091–2099; "Vom Landtag," *Bosnische Post*, April 11, 1911, nr. 83, p. 1. It is not clear who were the members of this combined committee, but it might be assumed that among them were both Vancaš and Tönnies.

46 The land between the Latin Bridge and Isa-beg's bath was rejected, while the plot behind the Military Casino was already sold to the Austro-Hungarian bank. "Stenografski izvještaj XCI sjednice," p. 2092.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid., p. 2093.

50 It was deemed that the costs for the *Zirkusplatz* (owned by Mahmud-beg Fadilpašić, Hadim Ali-paša's *vakuf*, and the Provincial Government) would be 200,000 crowns, the plot in front of the barracks (owned by the city municipality) 21,000 crowns, while the land behind *Careva* Street (in property of Fehim ef. Čurčić, Ismet-aga Merhemić, Mehaga Trlić, Asim-aga Paloš, Hilmi-ef. Muhibić, and the city municipality) would reach 490,000 crowns with construction works over the Miljacka river. As in: "Stenografski izvještaj XCI sjednice," 2093–2094.

51 Among deputies which spoke on this matter were Risto Hadži-Damjanović (merchant elected in Sarajevo county) and Mustaj-beg Halilbašić (landowner elected in Sarajevo). "Stenografski izvještaj XCI sjednice", pp. 2095–2098.

52 Ismet-aga Merhemić was one of the deputies that owned a part of the land behind *Careva* Street. Apparently,

site and building preparatory program costs would be 400,000 crowns, that the parliament committee negotiate and buy the land from the private owners, and finally create a legal basis together with the provincial government for building and covering the construction expenses.[53]

Not only the future parliament building's location, but also its stylistic features were pre-determined at this session. As Vancaš stated in his exposition, the parliament building and the edifices that would surround it would have to be stylistically harmonized in the Bosnian Style, which, he further stated, "has not yet been fully refined, because it is in its formative stage and it bears traces of Oriental style".[54] The Bosnian Style was in fact an attempt of several local architects such as Vancaš, Rudolf Tönnies, and Josip Pospišil[55] to create a new idiom based on regional vernacular architecture, containing elements and compositional solutions of the 'Bosnian house'. This style was to be differentiated from an Orientalizing style, used for public and private buildings in the occupational period, that drew upon the Islamic Mediterranean's highly decorative architectural heritages. Thus, the Bosnian Style's inspiration was derived from the local Ottoman bey's houses *(begovska kuća)* and feudal tower houses with manors *(kule i odžaci)*, which could still be found throughout the country (fig. 4)[56] and had already been used as models for eclectic pavilions representing Bosnia and Herzegovina at international exhibitions and fairs.[57] The attempts to reinterpret these constructions around 1910 were stimulated, on the one hand, by the current architectural considerations on 'homeland protection architecture' *(Heimatschutzarchitektur)*, discussed in Vienna in 1908 at the 8th International Congress of Architects, which Vancaš attended.[58] On the other hand, they were encouraged by Sarajevo's increased post-annexation construction activity, which was believed to endanger the autochthonous architectural heritage.[59]

Mustaj-beg Mutevelić opposed building on the site in front of the barracks as his house was near that location. Stenografski izvještaj XCI sjednice," p. 2098; "Sabor Bosne i Hercegovine," *Bošnjak, kalendar*, pp. 68–69.

53 "Stenografski izvještaj XCI sjednice," p. 2095.

54 Ibid., p. 2093.

55 Other architects engaged in studying Bosnian vernacular architecture were Bartholomeus Knopfmacher, Franz Blažek, Hans Berger, Karel Hudec, and Miloš Miladinović. See: Josip Vancaš, "Bosansko narodno graditeljstvo," *Tehnički list: Organ udruženja jugoslavenskih inžinjera i arhitekta*, December 31, 1928, nr. 24, pp. 353–356, here p. 355.

56 Such as the towers of Hasanpašić in Travnik, the Husein-kapetan Gradaščević in Gradačac, or the Kapetanović in Vitina. See: Vancaš, "Bosansko narodno graditeljstvo," p. 354. For more on this architectural type in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see: Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Kule i odžaci u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Naše starine: Godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine* II (1954), pp. 51–86.

57 The best known is the Bosnia and Herzegovina pavilion at the 1900 Paris World Exhibition (designed by the Provincial Government's architect Carlo [Karl] Panek), with elements resembling the house of Husein-kapetan Gradaščević in the northern Bosnian town of Gradačac.

58 Vancaš, "Bosansko narodno graditeljstvo," p. 353.

59 Allegedly, it was the famous German architect Cornelius Gurlitt and a certain Dutch minister who drew Vancaš' attention to this matter during their stays in Bosnia and Herzegovina. See: Vancaš, "Bosansko narodno graditeljstvo," p. 353.

Fig. 3. Situation Plan for the Parliament Building on *Careva* Street across Sarajevo's city hall, by Josip Vancaš, dated April 7, 1911. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, ABiH, ZVS Prezidijal, 1911/2673.

Fig. 4. *Čengića odžak* in Ustiko-
lina near Foča, c. 1900. Louis
Olivier, *La Bosnie et Herzegovine*
(Paris: Armand Colin, 1900),
p. 22.

Some ideas on the "Bosnian way of building" were outlined in articles published around that time and later on,[60] while the first Bosnian Style constructions were already built between 1910 and 1911, mainly for private commissioners. A few notable projects that were realized in Sarajevo, such as the building of Ali-paša's *vakuf* (Pospišil, 1910), the Arnautović-Čurčić house (Tönnies, 1910), or the Aleksandar Jeftanović house (Vancaš, 1911), show what these buildings had in common: cubic structures, semi-circular or polygonal bay windows combined with wooden verandas as reminiscences of porches and *divanhanas* (open-air terraces), as well as steep roofs with deep eaves (fig. 5).[61] Aspirations for the style's wider use were also reflected in the resolution "On the Protection of Historic Buildings and Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina", submitted by Vancaš to the parliament in mid-March 1911, in which he proposed that the provincial government not only protect the old structures, but also create tax breaks for new edifices built in Bosnian Style.[62] Even though both instances wholeheartedly endorsed the proposals,[63] the initiative did not come to fruition due to World War I's outbreak. Moreover, the Bosnian Style did not really find enough support from the authorities, especially for representative public edifices, such as the Town Hall of Tuzla (fig. 6);

---

60 Such as: Josip Pospišil, "Bosnische Städte," *Der Städtebau* 8 (1911), pp. 6–9; Josip Pospišil, "Aus bosnischer Praxis," *Der Bautechniker* 32 (1912), January 5, pp.1–4; Josef v. Vancaš, "Bosnische Bauweise und die Plankonkurenz für das Saborgebäude," *Der Bautechniker* 32 (1912), September 13, pp. 919–920.

61 For more examples, both in Sarajevo and other towns, see: Ibrahim Krzović, "Traženje bosanskog stila," *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine*, pp. 225–241; Kurto, *Razvoj bosanskog stila*, pp. 247–284; Božić, *Arhitekt Josip pl. Vancaš*, pp. 203–211; Mehmed Hrasnica, *Arhitekt Josip Pospišil: Život i djelo* (Sarajevo: Arhitektonski fakultet u Sarajevu, 2003).

62 "Stenografski izvještaj LXXXII sjednice Sabora Bosne i Hercegovine (March 16, 1910)," *Stenografski izvještaji bosansko-hercegovačkog Sabora god. 1910./11., I zasjedanje, sv. II.* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1911), pp. 1830–1832.

63 "Stenografski izvještaj VI sjednice Sabora Bosne i Hercegovine (October 28, 1911)," *Stenografski izvještaji bosansko-hercegovačkog Sabora god. 1911./12., II. zasjedanje* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1912), p. 69.

VAKUFSKA NOVOGRADNJA
U ČEMALUŠ ULICI···

SARAJEVO, 4./II 1910.

Fig. 5. Drawing of Ali-paša's *vakuf* building (realized with modifications), by Josip Pospišil in 1910. Historijski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, ostavština Josipa Vancaša.

instead, it was realized only on smaller scale constructions commissioned by the city municipality, such as Sarajevo's *Josefsplatz* music pavilion and fire station (Pospišil, both 1910), or the *Landesbank* buildings in Banja Luka, Bihać, Bosanski Šamac, and Derventa.[64] Ultimately, the Bosnian Style turned out to be a point of dispute in the further procedural steps taken for the parliament building's construction.

In the summer of 1911, the provincial government and the Joint Ministry of Finance got involved in the parliament building's planning. Even though they deemed that the parliament had exceeded its authority by negotiating the property purchase, they allowed the combined committee to continue that undertaking,[65] and in the coming months, they approved the loans requested for the preparatory construction work.[66] According to the press, the parliament building's construction program, prepared by the provincial government's Building Department architect, Rudolf Tönnies, was first adopted at a conference of the parliamentary presidency in late September[67] and then submitted to the provincial government, which was in charge of carrying out the architectural competition.[68] However, during the revision of the general and special competition conditions, which was conducted during the winter of 1911/12, the provincial government's Building Department and the parliament representatives disagreed when defining the building's style. While the parliament representatives[69] insisted on the Bosnian Style's use for "patriotic reasons",[70] the Building Department opposed it, holding that all those foreign architects who are not familiar with it would find no interest in participating in the competition.[71] Also, the latter instance, considering that the "Bosnian motifs" *per se* were insignificant for the building's overall appearance and that they were anyway "based on Arab structures redesigned for local climate conditions".[72] Instead, the Building Department, at the head of which were its chief architect Karel Pařík and the director Michael Rauch,[73] recommended a broader "Oriental style" conception that would harmonize the parliament building with the existing city hall. Ultimately, it was agreed by consensus that "the façades of the parliament building must have a monumental

---

64 As note 61. There were, however, some Bosnian Style projects designed for a railway station in Sarajevo, but they were also not realized. Ultimately, it was Vancaš who complained during one of the Parliament sessions that the Bosnian Style was not getting official support. See: "Stenografski izvještaj V sjednice Sabora Bosne i Hercegovine" (October 17, 1912), *Stenografski izvještaji bosansko-hercegovačkog Sabora god. 1912./13., III. zasjedanje* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1913), p. 77–79.

65 Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (A BiH), Prezidijal, 2673/1911 (May 18, 1911) "Gradnja saborske palače."

66 A BiH, Prezidijal, 2365/1911, "Bau eines Landtags-Gebäudes" (May 6, 1911); "Iz gradske općine: Sjednica gradskog zastupstva-pokrivanje Miljacke," *Sarajevski list*, July 4, 1911, nr. 142, p. 2.

67 "Das neue Landtagspalais," *Bosnische Post,* September 27, 1911, nr. 221, p. 4.

68 "Das neue Landtagsgebäude," *Bosnische Post,* October 28, 1911, nr. 248, p. 3.

69 Representatives of the parliament were its presidency members, i. e., Vojislav Šola, Nikola Mandić, and Safvet-beg Bašagić. "Bosansko-hercegovačka zemaljska uprava," *Bošnjak*, p. 4, p. 68.

70 A BiH, Prezidijal, 4226/1913, "Projektverfassung für das Saborgebäude" (November, 1913).

71 A BiH, Prezidijal, 5727/1911, "Bau eines Landtagsgebäudes" (November 3, 1911).

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid. Both Pařík and Rauch's signatures are present on the report regarding the competition conditions' revision.

Fig. 6. Drawing of a city hall in Tuzla (unrealized), made by Josip Vancaš in 1912. Historijski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, ostavština Josipa Vancaša.

character", but also "need to adapt to the local, Oriental architecture of the Balkans with the widest possible application of Bosnian motifs and modern technical design".[74] Also, it was stated that the building should be a "worthy counterpart to the city hall", yet the building's composition must "harmonize with the surroundings",[75] i.e., the hillside houses of *Bistrik* and *Alifakovac* settlements around the construction site. It was precisely such a wide-ranging and rather imprecise compromise that led to the competition's unsuccessful results, which was conducted by the summer of 1912.

---

74 Ibid. "Die Fassaden müssen monumentalen Charakter tragen und sich dennoch der Eigenart der heimischen Bauweise möglichst anschmiegen; aus diesem Grunde ist der Stil der orientalischen Bauten am Balkan mit grösstmöglicher Anwendung bosnischer Motive angepasst dem Zweck und der modernen technischen Ausführung in Anwendung zu bringen."

75 Ibid. "Hiebei wird Bedacht zu nehmen sein, in dem zu projektiernden Saborgebäude ein würdiges Gegenstück zum bestehenden Rathause zu schaffen. [...] Bei der Gruppierung der Baumassen des zu projektierenden Saborgebäudes ist darauf Bedacht zu nehmen, dass sich das Gebäude glücklich in das Landschaftsbild einfügt. Da man diese Gebäude von den umliegenden Hängen sieht, ist auch auf die Dachausbildung besondere Rücksicht zu nehmen."

The competition and its outcome

The competition for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian parliament building was made official on February 15, 1912, and was announced in the daily press and professional magazines published in Sarajevo, Zagreb, Vienna, and Budapest.[76] It was set forth by the provincial government, which called for architectural proposals that would include designs for both the building and the square in front of it, for the sum of 700,000 crowns. The competitors were provided with the design basis *(Entwurfsgrundlagen)*[77] and required to submit their proposals under code names by May 29, among which the best would be awarded a prize of 10,000 crowns. The right to compete was given to the architects "residing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, kingdoms and provinces represented in the Imperial Council, or in the Kingdom of Hungary," including the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia.[78]

Between June 12 and 15, 1912 a jury examined the submitted proposals.[79] It consisted of parliament representatives, the Sarajevo city council[80], and the provincial government, as well as architects acknowledged in the abovementioned Monarchical lands. Among the latter were appointed Karel Pařík, the provincial government's Building Department chief, and Josip Vancaš, city councilor and parliament deputy, because they were residing in Sarajevo and had already been involved in planning the competition, while the Zagreb architect Martin Pilar, professor Emil Töry from Budapest, and professor Karl Mayreder from Vienna were appointed by the Joint Ministry of Finance for their reputation and previous merits.[81] According to the results announced on June 17, the jury awarded five of the fifteen submitted proposals, without assigning the first prize at all.[82] The second prize was awarded to

---

76 Allegedly, those were: *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur und Architekten Vereines and Österreichische Wochenschrift für den öffentlichen Baudienst* in Vienna, *Magyar Mérnök- és Építész-Egylet Közlönye* and *A Vállalkozók Lapja* in Budapest, *Vijesti Hrvatskoga društva inžinira i arhitekta u Zagrebu i Društva inžinirjev v Ljubljani* published in Zagreb, *Sarajevski list* and *Bosnische Post* in Sarajevo. As in: A BiH, Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo (ZVS) 1912, box nr. 248–94/2.

77 This document included two site plans, the longitudinal and cross section, three photographs of the construction site, and one photograph of the Sarajevo City Hall, as well as the general and special terms and conditions for the building's disposition (*Programm; Raumbedarf*), along with the price analysis. A BiH, Prezidijal, 5727/1911, "Bau eines Landtagsgebäudes" (November 3, 1911).

78 As in: "Wettbewerb zur Erlangung von Entwürfen für den Bau eines Landtagsgebäudes in Sarajevo," *Bosnische Post*, March 2, 1912, nr. 51, p. 4. Also: A BiH, Prezidijal, 2463/1912.

79 "Die Pläne für das Landtagsgebäude," *Bosnische Post*, June 10, 1912, p. 6.

80 Ibid. Representatives of the local authorities who participated in the jury were the Parliament president Vojislav Šola, the chamber director Vladimir Besarović, the deputy Jovo Simić, and the City Mayor Fehim ef. Čurčić.

81 A BiH, Prezidijal, 5727/1911, "Bau eines Landtagsgebäudes," (November 3, 1911). The same architects were also appointed as jury members in a competition for the Palace of Justice in Sarajevo, held two years earlier, see: "Wettbewerb für das Justizpalais in Sarajevo," *Wiener Baiundustrie-Zeitung* 27 (1910), April 8, p. 208; Dimitrijević, *Arhitekt Karl Paržik*, pp. 126–127.

82 "Die Entwürfe für das Landtagsgebäude," *Bosnische Post*, June 17, 1912, nr. 137, p. 5; "Nagrada nacrta za gradnju saborne palače," *Sarajevski list*, June 17, 1912, nr. 132, p. 2; "Gradnja saborske palače," *Sarajevski list*, June 25, 1912, nr. 149, p. 2.

architect Rudolf Tönnies in Sarajevo for his design named "Bodenständig", while the third prize was shared between the Viennese architects Anton Floderer for his project "Sarajevo", Oskar Klaar for his "A E I O U" design, and Tönnies again for his second proposal submitted under the name "Am Balkan". The jury also assigned the fourth prize to the author of the "Gezeichnetes Bosnisches Wappen" design, no less than the abovementioned Ćiril Metod Iveković – the Croatian architect known for contributing to the Sarajevo city hall's design.[83] Ultimately, the provincial government decided to purchase the two projects under the name "Sarajevo", submitted by Vjekoslav Bastl from Zagreb, and "Landtaghaus Sarajevo", designed by Vienna's Rudolf Sowa.[84]

Unfortunately, the designs and the competition protocol are lost today,[85] so it is difficult to analyze them with precision. However, several newspaper articles and reports covering their display at the Sarajevo city hall between July 5 and 29, 1912[86] offer some insight into what the best rated among them looked like. According to Vancaš who wrote one such review, the competition failed because not only was the term Bosnian Style omitted from the design requirements, but also because the contestants "did not understand what the style of the Oriental buildings of the Balkans meant", so they offered proposals in the "Romanized, Serbo-Byzantine and Arab-Egyptian styles and combinations thereof".[87] Practically, the competitors were required to design a building that would be as monumental as the 'pseudo-Moorish' city hall, but stylistically different from it, for its forms were supposed to resemble Ottoman vernacular architecture in the Balkans, possibly with "Bosnian motifs" applied. Allegedly, only Rudolf Tönnies' projects met the competition requirements, and that so in their exterior design. However, Tönnies' best-rated "Bodenständig" proposal did not deserve the first prize because it had the "silhouette of unequal parts and height", which, according to the jury, took away from the building's monumentality.[88] In contrast, the projects submitted by the Viennese architects, the project "Sarajevo" by Floderer (fig. 7), "A E I O U" by Klaar, and "Landtaghaus Sarajevo" by Sowa, had a very good disposition, but were deemed "too serious" and "not at all in the spirit of the competition", since "neither Oriental nor Bosnian elements were emphasized" on them.[89] Ultimately, the projects "Sarajevo" and "Gezeichnetes Bosnisches Wappen", designed by Croatian architects, were judged to be the best artistically, but had

---

83 Ibid. On Iveković's City Hall contribution, see the literature under note 1. Also: Slavica Marković, *Ćiril Metod Iveković: Arhitekt i konzervator* (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti, 1992).

84 As note 82.

85 Kurto, *Razvoj bosanskog stila*, p. 270, note 591. Also, the fund "Sabor Bosne i Hercegovine," where the documents concerning the competition might have been kept, was destroyed in a fire at the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2014.

86 "Ausstellung der Pläne für das Landttagsgebäude," *Bosnische Post,* July 1, 1912, nr. 148, p. 3; "Pläne für das Landtagsgebäude," *Bosnische Post,* July 5, 1912, nr. 152, p. 3

87 Josip Vancaš, "Bosnische Bauweise und die Plankonkurrenz für das Landttagsgebäude I-VI," *Bosnische Post*, July 1912, nr. 152–156. Also: Josef v. Vancaš, "Bosnische Bauweise und die Plankonkurrenz für das Saborgebäude," *Der Bautechniker* 32 (1912), September 20, nr. 38, pp. 940–944, here pp. 940–941.

88 Vancaš, "Bosnische Bauweise," *Der Bautechniker*, p. 941.

89 Ibid.

"too many Arab elements", which matched the city hall's style, but were not in accordance with the competition requirements as such.[90] In general, all proposals were designed either to correspond to the Sarajevo city hall's architecture, or to harmonize with the low private houses in the *Alifakovac* neighborhood, which served as the parliament building's backdrop.[91] How disparate the rest of the submitted proposals might have looked like, can be seen from two unrewarded, but published examples, created by the Viennese architects Hans Glaser and Alfred Kraupa (fig. 8), and Hans Dürr and Richard Baumgartner (fig. 9).[92]

What the contemporary local press showed is that the competition results led to polarized opinions on whether the Bosnian Style should be used at all. Among those who vehemently opposed it was the engineer Karl Fitzinger, a longtime employee of the provincial government's building department,[93] who held that the Bosnian Style could not be implemented on monumental public buildings and that experimenting with "projecting forms, towers or small ornaments, should be conducted on less important edifices".[94] There were also strong remarks against the highest ranked designs, which, according to one critic, had flaws in their architectural disposition and should have been judged by unbiased jury members.[95] By contrast, Vancaš clearly advocated the Bosnian Style and openly announced that it would definitely be applied in the further procedures for the parliament building's construction.[96]

As it appears, the rest of the competition jury held opinions similar to that of Vancaš. Even more so, in the competition's conclusion, unanimously adopted by the jury, parliamentary President Vojislav Šola expressed his desire to entrust Rudolf Tönnies with designing the parliament building, and that his two prize-winning projects serve as a basis for this new design.[97] The intention was to have it evaluated by a new committee, which would consist of six parliament members and only one representative of the provincial government's Building Department.[98] Since such an arrangement would practically bypass the provincial government as an executive governing body charged with carrying out the parliament building's

---

90 Ibid.

91 "Die Ausstellung der Pläne für das Landtagsgebäude," *Bosnische Post*, July 6, 1912, nr. 153, p. 3

92 "Projekt für das Landtagsgebäude in Sarajevo," *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung* 30 (1913), nr. 21, pp. 182–183; "Wettbewerb: Landtagsgebäude in Sarajewo," *Der Bautechniker* 34 (1914), May 8, nr. 19, p. 325.

93 See: Kurto, *Razvoj bosanskog stila*, p. 341; Dimitrijević, "Organizacija građevinske službe," p. 35.

94 For more, see: Karl Fitzinger, "Bosnische Bauweise und die Plankonkurrenz für das Saborgebäude," *Bosnische Post*, July 16, 1912, nr. 161, p.1.

95 One of the reasons for such remarks was the fact that in the end, the appointed Viennese architect and professor Karl Mayreder did not participate in the jury, see: "Das Ergebnis der Konkurrenz für das Saborgebäude," *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, July 9, 1912, nr. 154, p. 1; "Zur Konkurrenz über den Bau des Saborgebäudes," *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, July 11, 1912, nr. 156, pp. 1–2.

96 Vancaš, "Bosnische Bauweise," *Der Bautechniker*, p. 942.

97 Ibid. A BiH, Prezidijal, 3208/1912, "Wettbewerb um Projekte für den Bau des Landtagsgebäudes" (August 31, 1912).

98 Ibid. It was suggested the committee be formed of the Parliament presidency members Vojislav Šola, Nikola Mandić, and Safvet-beg Bašagić, the deputies Josip Vancaš and Jovo Simić, and the Parliament chamber director Vladimir Besarović, as well as Karel Pařík as the Provincial Government's Building Department chief.
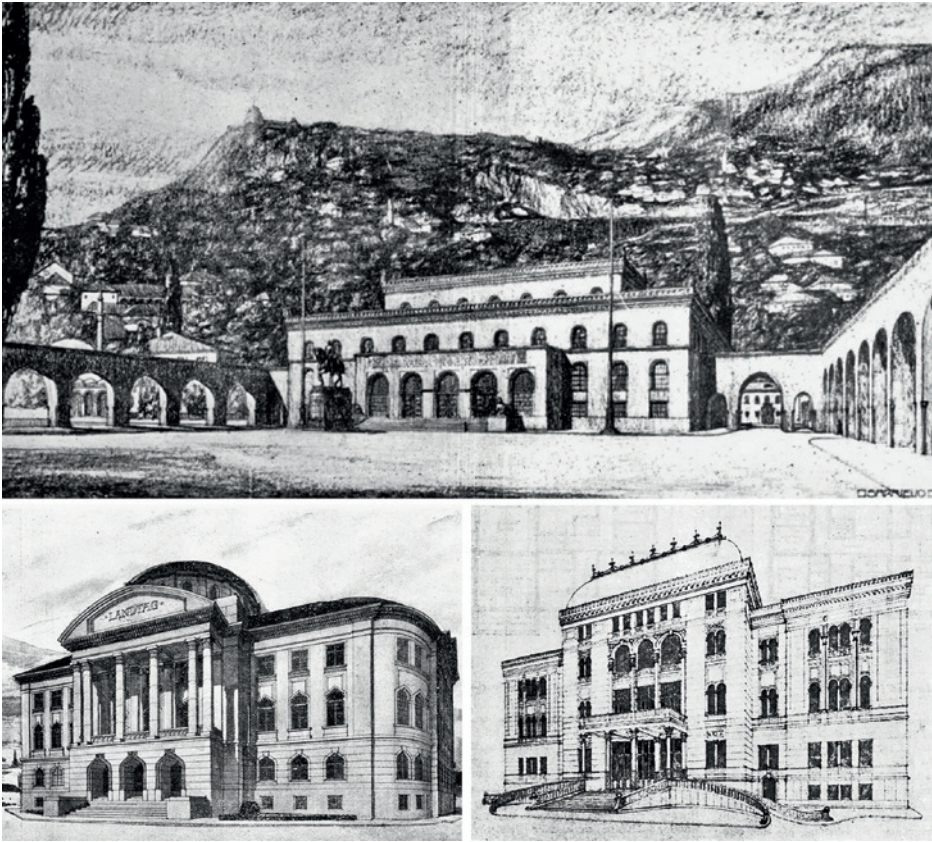
Fig. 7. Proposal plan for the parliament building in Sarajevo, by Anton Floderer, 1912. *Der Architekt* 19 (1913), table 107.

Fig. 8. Proposal for the parliament building in Sarajevo by Hans Glaser & Alfred Kraupa. Anonymous, "Projekt für das Landtagsgebäude in Serajevo." *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung* 30/21 (1913), p. 183.

Fig. 9. Proposal for the parliament building in Sarajevo made by Hans Dürr & Richard Baumgartner. Anonymous, "Wettbewerb: Landtagsgebäude in Sarajewo." *Der Bautechniker* 19 (1914), p. 325.

construction, this instance reserved its rights and requested that the Joint Ministry of Finance have the competition results reviewed and assessed by an independent expert.[99]

In July 1913 the provincial government was thus provided with the report delivered by the architect Eduard Zotter, chief of the Building Department at the Austrian Ministry for Public Works.[100] Although the competition's initial results were confirmed by his review,

---

99 Ibid.

100 A BiH, Prezidijal, 4226/1913, "Bericht über das Ergebnis der Ueberprüfung der prämiierten und angekauften Konkurrenzprojekte zum Baue eines Landtagsgebäudes in Sarajevo" (June 24, 1913).

Zotter stated that it were Floderer's "Sarajevo", Klaar's "A E I O U", and Tönnies' "Bodenständig" projects that could be taken into consideration as the basis for the new design – the first one because of its good disposition, the second one because of its good floor plan, and the third one because of the good implementation of "local motifs on the façade".[101] As Zotter was not precise in recommending an exact person to execute the new design, the provincial government decided to conduct an internal competition between Rudolf Tönnies and its own Building Department, and then let an impartial authority, such as the architect and professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Friedrich Ohmann, examine their proposals.[102]

Although the Joint Ministry of Finance approved this last arrangement, it probably did not materialize. In February 1914, the city council once again started discussing the parcel behind the *Careva* Street, demanding that the provincial government provide them with the exact dimensions of the construction site and the planned parliament building, for it was not precisely defined by that time.[103] Only in April was the city council informed that the regulation plan for the area in question was in the process of creation, and yet, the Council accepted a proposal for the construction site not to have new surrounding edifices higher than two-story houses designed in Bosnian Style.[104] Nevertheless, already in May 1914, a new chief of the provincial government's building department, Josip Pospišil, began to revise the planned parliament building's parcel. By noting that the land across from the city hall was "inadequate for monumental construction" and that it should be built on a site that would become "the spiritual and administrative center of the city", he suggested the City Park *Ćemaluša* in the western part of Sarajevo, as a better solution (fig. 2).[105] This move might seem surprising, since Pospišil was one of the leading architects who actually promoted Bosnian architectural heritage, and had even been in favor of the area behind *Careva* Street for the parliament building at first.[106] It can be assumed, though, that the revision was a result of his engagement in making Sarajevo's first general urban plan and his belief that the old town's ambient whole should be preserved as it was.[107] But it might also have to do with the authorities' reluctance to apply the Bosnian Style to governmental buildings.[108] In any

---

101 Ibid.

102 A BiH, Prezidijal, 4226/1913, "Projektverfassung für das Saborgebäude" (November 3, 1913).

103 As in: "Sjednica gradskog zastupstva 17. februara 1914," *Sarajevski list*, February 18, 1914, nr. 32; Historijski arhiv Sarajevo (HAS), "Zapisnik javne redovite sjednice općinskog zastupstva u Sarajevu 17. februara 1914," nr. 8781/1914, pp. 11–12.

104 "Gemeinderat, Sitzungsbericht vom 27. April; Das Landtagsgebaude," *Bosnische Post*, April 28, 1914, nr. 96, p. 5; "Gradsko zastupstvo 27. aprila, Sabornica," *Sarajevski list*, April 28, 1915, nr. 85, p. 2; IAS, "Zapisnik javne redovite sjednice općinskog zastupstva u Sarajevu 27. aprila 1914," nr. 17087/1914; 1914, pp. 32–33.

105 A BiH, Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo (ZVS), box 650, 248-98, (May 16, 1914).

106 See: Hrasnica, *Arhitekt Josip Pospišil*, pp. 200–204.

107 Ibid. pp. 38–40; 50–54; also on Pospišil see: Kurto, *Razvoj bosanskog stila*, pp. 324–326, 362–364.

108 When in 1912 Vancaš complained in Parliament about the lack of support from the authorities, he was discussing the designs produced by the Provincial Government for the Tuzla and Brčko courthouses – he expressed regret and surprise that it was Pospišil who made them in the Historicist manner instead of apply-

case, the story of the parliament building's construction was in fact brought back to its very beginning. Furthermore, two months later, the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and Sofie of Hohenberg, which led to World War I's outbreak, ultimately brought the story to its end.

What needs to be finally emphasized here is the role played by Rudolf Tönnies in the whole abovementioned process of planning and designing the parliament building. Although the parliamentary session records left him almost unnoticed, the archival documents and press releases revealed that he was involved in almost every aspect of this case from the beginning. Initially entrusted by the provincial government to make designs in February 1910, the parliament commissioned Tönnies to submit reports on possible construction sites half a year later.[109] The parliament even sent him on two study trips, first to study "parliamentary buildings in Germany, Switzerland and the Monarchy" in winter 1910/11, and then to study "old structures in Vinac and Rataj" in Bosnia during fall 1911.[110] As already mentioned, Tönnies was also commissioned to compose the building program revised by the provincial government in fall 1911, and for the architectural proposal competition in 1912, he not only submitted two designs, but was awarded for both of them. Ultimately, he was even selected by the jury to conduct further plans for the parliament building. Such preferred treatment could not go unnoticed by his fellow architects.[111] Another significant fact is that Tönnies remained involved in the planning process despite having left the provincial government's Building Department in December 1910, when he became a *Zivilarchitect* (independent architect) and joined the building company *Bosnisch-herzegovinische Bau-Aktiengesellschaft*.[112] This company, founded in 1907 and directed by Josip Vancaš at the time, was one of the leading companies in planning, executing, and managing construction works in the country.[113] But more importantly, it was in this company where the Bosnian Style as such was fostered, if not even conceived. As it turns out, the main projects that were made and ultimately realized in this style were actually conducted between 1910 and 1912, when both Tönnies and Pospišil worked in this company under Vancaš' supervision, and most of those designs even bear the company's signature.[114] Considering the fact that Vancaš submitted the resolution to the parliament in 1911, with which he not only defined and promoted the style, but also

---

ing the Bosnian Style "for which he was completely prepared to deliver". "Stenografski izvještaj V sjednice", p. 77–79.

109 As notes 29 and 32.

110 A BiH, Zajedničko ministarstvo finansija (ZMF), 3269/1917, "Architekt Rudolf Tönnies, Sarajevo; Erwirkung des Titels eines Baurates," pp. 11–12.

111 As note 94. Architect Anton Floderer even made a complaint to the Joint Ministry of Finance for that matter. ABiH, Prezidijal, 3741/1912, "Wettbewerb für das Landtagsgebäude in Sarajevo".

112 ABiH, ZMF, 3269/1917, pp. 10–11; "Ausübung der Zivil-Architektur," *Bosnische Post*, December 7, 1910, nr. 280, p. 5.

113 Božić, *Arhitekt Josip pl. Vancaš*, p. 14; Krzović, *Arhitektura secesije*, p. 212.

114 The designs under the signature of the *BH Bau-Aktiengesellschaft* are preserved in the Historical Museum, Sarajevo, as a part of Vancaš' private legacy. Also, Pospišil publicly objected that Vancaš took credit for some of his designs, made precisely when the former was working under the latter's supervision in the company, see:

required tax breaks for its use, it can be assumed that his institutional undertakings aimed to open more space for his entrepreneurship as well.

Conclusion

The case of Sarajevo's unrealized parliament building shows that the undertaking of planning and designing public buildings in Bosnia and Herzegovina's capital under Austro-Hungarian rule involved multiple administrative instances, ranging from the municipal and provincial to the ministerial level. Contrary to popular belief, but also to the practice before the annexation in 1908, representatives of local bodies – the parliament and the city council – played the most significant role in the decision-making process on where and how a building of the "highest importance for the country" would be erected. The realization of ideas and undertakings of certain deputies and city councilors, as well as local architects such as Josip Vancaš, proved to be achievable to a certain extent, especially because the higher instances, i. e., the provincial government and the Joint Ministry of Finance, made concessions on their sides. However, they were prevented from determining the style and form of execution of the parliament building.

As desired by the local elite, the plot chosen for the parliament building was situated in the eastern, older Ottoman part of the town, instead of the site in the western, newly built area that had more potential for further urban development. Considering the location's history and architectural image, solutions with elements of "Islamic architecture" were to be expected for the planned edifice's design, but issues arose as to whether and to what extent these elements would be based on autochthonous building traditions. While the provincial government advocated an Orientalizing idiom (later locally called 'pseudo-Moorish') that was already well-established as a style for public buildings in the country, many local actors insisted on a more specifically Bosnian style. Later, in its initial phase of development, this style actually had only limited support, mainly from the local elite. The competition's preparation and its outcome also showed that the struggle to apply this style was not so much driven on some national ideological basis as it was on the standpoint of aesthetics, heritage protection, and even struggle for the market. The provincial government's resistance to accepting the parliament's demands in that sense, proved to be based on the retention of its executive power as well. Ultimately, the 'patriotic reasons' that justified the choice of site and architectural style for the parliament building, concealed the personal interests of individuals, and that practice is something that goes beyond the spatial and temporal framework in which Bosnia and Herzegovina was under Austro-Hungarian rule.

The attempts made by the local Sarajevo architects to create and implement a style that would refer more accurately to the local building tradition, however, should not be under-

"Bosnische Bauweise und die Plankurrenz für das Saborgebäude," *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, July 17, 1912, nr. 161, p. 3.

estimated. Today, when the plot across from the city hall remains an architecturally under-developed area and is used as an underground parking place with a plain square above it, it can be only imagined how much the architectural image of this area of Sarajevo would be enhanced had their visions to raise a parliament building in the Bosnian Style been realized.

Richard Kurdiovsky (Vienna)

The scope of Austria-Hungary's public construction authorities: The case of the Archaeological Museum in Split

Public agencies for the state's building business

In the Habsburg monarchy's last century, the matter of public building constantly circled around the question of centralism. The reforms introduced under Joseph II[1] dominated the state's construction business deep into the 19th century. Building departments as parts of the provincial governments existed for all Crown and Hereditary Lands, and they were responsible for all public building campaigns. By contrast, municipal building departments like Vienna's *Unterkammeramt* (sub-chamber office) exercised only minor influence and were mainly occupied with street paving, fixing street lines, and other urban infrastructure.[2] In the pre-March era, the *Hofbaurat* (literally the "court building council", but actually the Austrian Empire's public building council) acted as the central authority.[3] It had the duty to examine public constructions in the whole monarchy. Sometimes, this building council would even develop new plans to achieve a satisfactory design. Concerning the adequate artistic appearance, this council received support by another art council, the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, which acted as the central agency for all art matters.

After the revolution of 1848, all public construction agendas were transferred to the newly established Ministry for Trade, Industry, and Public Buildings.[4] Architecture was obviously regarded as a matter of economy. However, the 1859 military defeats in Upper Italy brought a decisive change, especially for Vienna. Connected with the huge enlargement project of

---

1 Most recently: Anna Mader-Kratky, "Die Gründung der Oberhofbaudirektion und die Etablierung länderübergreifender Baunormen im habsburgischen Bauwesen (1783–1784)", *Schöne Wissenschaften: Sammeln, ordnen und präsentieren im josephinischen Wien*, ed. Nora Fischer and Anna Mader-Kratky (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2021), pp. 155–167.

2 Heinrich Berg, "Die Baukonsensakten des Unterkammeramtes: Dokumente des Wiener Baugeschehens vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert", *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 45/2 (1990), pp. 113–114; Josef Pauser, "Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Wien", *Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Karl Vocelka and Anita Traninger (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 47–90, here pp. 65–68.

3 On the *Hofbaurat* most recently: Richard Kurdiovsky, "Architect for the Austrian Empire", *Pietro Nobile 1776–1854: Neoclassicism between technique and beauty*, ed. Taťána Petrasová (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), pp. 129–155, especially pp. 135–138.

4 Walter Goldinger, "Geschichte der Organisation des Handelsministeriums," *100 Jahre im Dienste der Wirtschaft: Eine Festschrift,* I, ed. Bundesministerium für Handel und Wiederaufbau (Vienna: Druck- und Verlagsanstalt "Vorwärts" AG, 1961), pp. 303–363, especially p. 334. See also Stühlinger's contribution to this volume.

Vienna's Inner City, the development of the *Ringstrasse*, all public construction matters were now under the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior, which exercised strong control over this new city quarter's design.[5] Big international competitions were arranged to obtain suitable plans for monumental buildings such as the Court Opera, executed to the design of August Sicard von Sicardsburg and Eduard van der Nüll, both professors at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. Other prominent buildings along the *Ringstrasse* were also designed either by professors of this academy (like Friedrich Schmidt or Theophil Hansen) or by professors of the Polytechnic (like Heinrich Ferstel). However, the qualified staff in the Interior Ministry's building department was still active with architects and engineers designing university buildings, schools, and buildings for medical institutions.[6] In addition, there were still the building departments of the different provinces; Lower Austria's, for instance, executed the famous mental home and sanatorium Am Steinhof, inaugurated in 1907.[7]

The same year, Albert Gessmann, co-founder of the Christian-Social Party alongside Karl Lueger, undertook preparations to establish a new ministry, the Ministry for Public Works *(Ministerium für öffentliche Arbeiten)*.[8] Starting its duties in 1908, this ministry was to cover all civil engineering matters in the Cisleithanian part of the double monarchy. This caused immediate quarrels with those ministries formerly responsible for building matters (railway business in its own ministry, harbour construction in the ministry for trade, buildings for the state monopoly of tobacco and salt in the ministry of finance, etc.). Until the monarchy's end, these different competences remained densely intertwined.

Starting from the Ministry for Public Works and focussing on one of its building projects, the Archaeological Museum in Split,[9] I aim to shed light on the complex business of public constructions in the Habsburg monarchy's final decade. We learn about the processes that accompanied a building project, and we gain insight into the question of who decided about the aesthetics of public buildings and how those individuals and institutions argued to reach their goals.

---

5 Andreas Nierhaus, "Die Hauptstraße des 19. Jahrhunderts: Planung und Organisation der Wiener Stadterweiterung," *Die Wiener Ringstraße: Das Buch*, ed. Alfred Fogarassy (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2014), pp. 18–28.

6 *Sites of knowledge: The University of Vienna and its buildings: A history 1365–2015*, ed. Julia Rüdiger and Dieter Schweizer (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2015), especially part 2 and 3, pp. 137–255.

7 Most recently: *Die Stadt außerhalb: Zur Architektur der ehemaligen Niederösterreichischen Landes-Heil- und Pflegeanstalten für Geistes- und Nervenkranke Am Steinhof in Wien*, ed. Caroline Jäger-Klein and Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber (Basel: Birkhäuser 2015).

8 Walter Goldinger, "Die Zentralverwaltung in Cisleithanien – Die zivile gemeinsame Zentralverwaltung," *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918, II: Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*, ed. Adam Wandruszka (†) and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973), pp. 100–189, especially pp. 148–157.

9 Martha Fingernagel-Grüll, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege: Die Ära Helfert: Teil 2: 1892 bis 1910* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2020), pp. 297–299.

Fig. 1. Friedrich Ohmann and August Kirstein, design for the archaeological museum in Split, bird's eye view, 1906. Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett, Hz. 28.344.

The brief architectural history of the Archaeological Museum in Split: Actors and processes

The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education *(Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht)* discussed plans for a museum to house the rich finds of the archaeological excavations at Solin near Split as early as 1885.[10] By 1898, the Split municipality (with its special interest in promoting local tourism) had offered a building site north of the historic city centre for this new museum.[11] Friedrich Ohmann and his colleague August Kirstein received the commission to design plans in 1902,[12] but the new museum's first known drawing dates only

---

10 Anonymous, "Zum Neubau eines Museums in Spalato," *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung* 10 (1892/93), p. 140.

11 Anonymous, "Spalato. Museumbau," *Der Bauinteressent: Beilage zur 'Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung'* 16 (1898/99), p. 37.

12 Reinhard Pühringer, *Friedrich Ohmann (1858–1927): Protagonist des "genius loci" zwischen Tradition und Aufbruch vom Frühwerk bis zu den Wiener Großprojekten (1884–1906/07)* (PhD diss. University of Vienna, 2002), pp. 529–532.

from 1906 (fig. 1).[13] By 1909, the Ministry of Finance had approved the plans. Construction works, however, did not begin before the summer of 1912. Until the beginning of World War I, the main construction works were completed, and work on the interior fittings and the sculptural decoration started. As WWI advanced, carrying out the finalizing works became increasingly difficult. As a result, the museum's opening could only take place when Split had already become part of a new state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.[14]

At least three ministries were involved in the museum project: the Ministry for Public Works, the Ministry of Finance, which had to authorise any budget question, and finally the Ministry for Religious Affairs and Education, which was (among other things) responsible for cultural issues like collections and museums in public property. In the field of archaeology, this ministry could rely on the competence of one of its sub-departments, the Austrian Archaeological Institute. According to its rules, the Archaeological Institute was responsible for archaeological excavations at home and abroad as well as for all public collections, such as the one in Split; the museum's director, Frane Bulić,[15] was thus listed as that institute's personnel. Political local public bodies were also involved: Dalmatia's provincial government *(Statthalterei)*, seated in the Dalmatian capital Zadar with its construction office, was responsible for general organisational matters, including communication with the capital's central authorities. Split's district administration and the local construction office were responsible for the execution on site, and Split's municipality provided the building plot. A construction committee supervised the actual execution. Its members represented all the major institutions behind the whole project.

The museum and the Austrian Archaeological Institute shared identical wishes concerning the museum building's functions. They had the same opinion regarding the shape of the interior fitting and the best way to exhibit as many ancient objects as possible (e. g. by turning open arcades into interior halls, or by inserting additional partition walls into the exhibition hall). In most cases, the central ministry supported these wishes. However, if the ministry's authority was impinged on, reactions could be rather sharp.

In March 1911, the museum's director, Bulić, requested the acquisition of the neighbouring plot to prevent any new constructions on that site, which could endanger the constant and sufficient light flow into the museum.[16] The Ministry for Religious Affairs and Education agreed, as did the architects Ohmann and Kirstein. Decisions, however, may have taken too long for Bulić's patience, so he initiated the acquisition on his own without the ministry's explicit consent. A year later, the ministry complained that Bulić had acted with-

---

13 Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett, Hz 28.344. Later drawings from 1907 are kept at the Albertina Museum's architecture collection, Vienna: Az. 10.341–10.343.

14 Pühringer, *Friedrich Ohmann*, pp. 529–532.

15 Manfred Kandler and Gudrun Wlach, "Imperiale Größe: Das k. k. österreichische archäologische Institut von der Gründung im Jahre 1898 bis zum Untergang der Monarchie," *100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut 1898–1998*, ed. Manfred Kandler (Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1998), pp. 24–25.

16 Austrian State Archives (OeStA), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Ministerium für öffentliche Arbeiten (MföA), Allg Reg, fasc. 460, 251/8 ex 1911.

out state authorisation.[17] In the opinion of the ministry, the construction and maintenance of museums of local interest – as was the case in Split – was not a state matter, but of local authorities. Since the ministry had decided (in a way, exceptionally) to treat this museum as a state institution, and since it had agreed to pay the costs from public funds, an arbitrary act as that performed by Bulić must never happen again, the ministry urged – even more so as the ministry had previously agreed to let a free architect design the museum and not a civil servant architect of the ministry.

Two things are remarkable here: the characterization of the Split museum as a local institution for which local authorities would be responsible, and mentioning the artistically independent architect. In the first case, the ministry, even though it argued as if this were not the case, definitively had to assume responsibility for the public collection of archaeological finds from Solin and Split. One of its own sub-departments was responsible for controlling public antiquities collections, as stated in the Archaeological Institute's statutes,[18] irrespective of whether the museum was of local or of state interest. In the ministry's eyes, Bulić's autonomous action must have been so offensive to the agency's authority that it even overlooked certain inconsistencies in its argumentation.

The second point is notable for another debate that occupied professional societies and public institutions: how to guarantee that independent artists and architects could successfully engage in public building projects. To promote art, the so-called *Kunst-Rat* (art council) was established at the Ministry for Religious Affairs and Education in 1898.[19] Prominent members of this art council were architects such as Otto Wagner and Friedrich Ohmann. In 1900, this art council adopted the following resolution, on which Wagner had exerted a dominating influence:

> The art council acknowledges a decisive damage for the native art and public reputation in the lack of public construction campaigns for monumental buildings, furthermore in the accommodation of public agencies in rental buildings, and finally in the execution of public buildings by non-artists.[20]

Especially architects who had received their training at art academies obviously sought employment in big building campaigns for reputation and money. Two architectural societies

---

17 OeStA, AVA, MföA, Allg Reg, fasc. 460, 67.097 ex 1912.

18 §2c. For the Statutes of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, see Christa Schauer, "Die Entwicklung der Archäologie im 19. Jahrhundert," *100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut 1898–1998*, pp. 1–11, here: pp. 1–2.

19 Vilja Popovic, *Die Zentralvereinigung der Architekten Österreichs* (master thesis, Karl Franzens-University Graz, 2005), p. 17.

20 OeStA, AVA, Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht (MfCU), Zl. 15.787 ex 1900, minutes of the meeting on May 12, 1900, cit. after: ibid., pp.17–18 ("Der Kunstrat erkennt in dem Mangel an Durchführung von staatlichen Monumentalbauten, ferner in der Unterbringung von Ämtern hoher Behörden in Mietsobjekten, endlich in der Durchführung von öffentlichen Bauten durch Nichtkünstler eine schwere Schädigung heimatlicher Kunst und des staatlichen Ansehens").

were therefore founded: the *Gesellschaft österreichischer Architekten* (Society of Austrian Architects) in 1903, with Otto Wagner as its prominent member, and the *Zentralvereinigung der Architekten Österreichs* (Central Union of Austrian Architects) in 1907. To increase their influence on state building campaigns, a group of architects headed by Wagner aimed to establish even a ministry for the fine arts. While one society, the Central Union, negotiated with the Ministry for Public Works to establish at least an advisory board for architecture in this ministry, the Society of Austrian Architects did so with the Ministry for Religious Affairs to strengthen the *Kunstrat*'s influence. Unfortunately, mutual accusations between the two societies prevented the achievement of their shared goal. The Central Union argued that the negotiations of the Society of Austrian Architects with the Ministry for Religious Affairs and Education had negative effects on their own negotiations with the Ministry for Public Works, which actually refused cooperation with free architects, since it maintained its own engineering personnel. The Central Union accused the Society of Austrian Architects (with none other than Wagner as a member) of wanting only to promote its own concept of modern architecture. Concerning this last aspect, the quarrel about modernism, Ohmann took a special position, for he was neither an extreme modernist, nor a conservative traditionalist. In the words of his famous biographer Ferdinand Feldegg, Ohmann had the amazing ability to combine "everlasting values of the past with the demands of the present"[21] by achieving "an individual rearrangement of the historical"[22]. Furthermore, Feldegg stressed that Ohmann had "re-discovered the 'beauty of the province'"[23], that he designed his objects according to the local climate and the native construction techniques[24], and that Ohmann realised the necessity to integrate architecture into the landscape properly[25]. Especially in these last remarks, we may find clues why Ohmann was chosen to work on the museum in Split.

The choice of the architect

Little is known about decisions such as the choice of architects and – consequently – the choice of style for the new Dalmatian museum's aesthetic appearance. The story, however, started already some years earlier. In 1901, Ohmann (then architect of the enlargement project of the *Hofburg*, the imperial palace in Vienna, who was appointed professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna only a little later) and August Kirstein received the commission

---

21 Ferdinand von Feldegg, *Friedrich Ohmann's Entwürfe und ausgeführte Bauten mit einem Anhange von Studien: Ein Sonderabdruck aus den Monatsheften 'Der Architekt', ergänzt durch neue Aufnahmen* (Vienna: Schroll, 1906 [I]), p. 2 ("die unvergänglichen Werte der Vergangenheit mit den Forderungen der Gegenwart").

22 Ferdinand von Feldegg, *Friedrich Ohmann's Entwürfe und ausgeführte Bauten mit einem Anhange von Studien: Ein Sonderabdruck aus den Monatsheften 'Der Architekt', ergänzt durch neue Aufnahmen* (Vienna: Schroll, 1914 [II]), p. 29 ("persönliche Umgestaltung des Historischen").

23 Feldegg, *Ohmann* 1906, p. 4. ("Neuentdeckung der 'Schönheit der Provinz'").

24 Ibid.

25 Feldegg, *Ohmann* 1914, p. 38.

Museum römischer Ausgrabungen in Carnuntum.
Von den Architekten Fr. Ohmann und Aug. Kirstein.

Fig. 2. Friedrich Ohmann and August Kirstein, design for the *Museum Carnuntinum* in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg (Lower Austria), 1901. *Der Architekt* 8 (1902), pl. 11.

Fig. 3. *Museum Carnuntinum* in period photograph. *Der Architekt* 14 (1908), p. 56.

to build the *Museum Carnuntinum* in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg (Lower Austria),[26] where the findings from the excavation of the nearby Roman town and military camp of Carnuntum were to be displayed (fig. 2). The Austrian Archaeological Institute was not only engaged in excavations on this site, but also shared responsibility for the *Museum Carnuntinum*'s administration with the private club of the same name.[27]

Kirstein obviously conducted the construction site's work in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg and therefore must have had closer contact with these archaeologists than Ohmann. This may be the reason why the Archaeological Institute (or his director Otto Benndorf) proposed to commission Kirstein with the museum's new building in Split. Kirstein's work in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg must have convinced the archaeologists that he was capable of producing an adequate museum. In 1902, minister Wilhelm Ritter Hartel actually gave his consent for Kirstein to elaborate a Dalmatian museum project – but on the condition that Friedrich

---

26 Pühringer, *Ohmann*, pp. 523–529; Reinhard Pühringer, "Zur Baugeschichte und Architektur des Museums", *Marc Aurel und Carnuntum*, exhib. cat. Bad Deutsch-Altenburg 2004, ed. Franz Humer (Horn: Berger, 2004), pp. 13–16.

27 Kandler and Wlach, "Imperiale Größe", p. 32.

Fig. 4. Archaeological Museum in Split, picture postcard, photograph by Stühler (Split), ca. 1930. TU Wien archives, Nachlass 14.044 (Friedrich Ohmann), 4.4.75.

Ohmann supervised the whole project.[28] While archaeologists seem to have thought about a museum mainly as a perfect storage system, the minister obviously had the museum's aesthetical values in mind.

Consequently, the museums in Lower Austria and Dalmatia look amazingly similar (fig. 3/4). Both consist of a block-like building under a unifying hip roof. The construction material is local rubble with partial ashlar use, especially around the portal. Two free-standing colossal columns carrying decorative sculptures flank the main buildings. Either porticos or arcaded halls serve to connect the built structure to the surrounding gardens.

Only the semantics of the museum's components and building material was interpreted differently: While in contemporary architecture magazines the construction material in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg was said to resemble provincial Roman work typical for ancient utilitarian buildings,[29] the material used in Split was said to be Dalmatia's common local construction technique.[30] What worked as a historical reference in one case turned into a local reference in another – perhaps because it would cause difficulties to argue with provincial Roman construction techniques in a city like Split with Diocletian's famous palace ruins?

---

28 Archive of the Technische Universität Wien (hereafter TUWA), NL 14.044: minister Hartel to Ohmann on December 4, 1902.

29 "Museum Carnunti [sic] in Deutsch-Altenburg", *Der Architekt* 8 (1902), pp. 6–7, here p. 7.

30 "Das neue Museum für Spalato", *Der Architekt* 14 (1908), pp. 55–57, here p. 56.

Ohmann's biographer Feldegg even combined these aesthetic values with topographical and artistic characterisations, which turn the museum design into an autochthonous work. In his words, the Split museum was "a building of a strong, rustic stereometry which naturally grows out of the rocky coast of our monumental karst mountains"[31]. It could therefore not be built anywhere else – except, perhaps, in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg? There was obviously a certain need to explain why an architect from the distant capital Vienna would design a provincial museum in Dalmatia.

Art on a building

In the case of both museums, the two columns are described as the whole complex's only artistically significant element. In a letter written to the museum's director Bulić in the 1920s, Ohmann called these columns the museum's only monumental element, and the only concession to monumentality the ministry had allowed.[32] Indeed, when the Ministry of Finance accepted the draft and the calculation for the Split museum in 1909, it insisted on eliminating these two columns to reduce the building costs by nearly 10 %.[33] The Ministry for Public Works however defended Ohmann's and Kirstein's design and argued that these columns were characteristic for the museum's façade. They could not be omitted because the design was already as simple as possible. Without the columns, nothing of artistic importance would remain. Only these columns could express the building's purpose and the character, which will even be "subject to criticism from abroad due to the expected visit of art scholars and archaeologists of international repute"[34]. When necessary, the state's international reputation was also evoked in the argumentation.

Ohmann had actually intended to place pieces of the museum collection on top of the columns: for Carnuntum he chose any sculpture from the collection, for Split he thought of ancient portraits of Diocletian, Justinian[35], or Augustus.[36] Understandably, the Carnuntinum director opposed exposing antique sculptures to the weather without protection, as did his Split colleague, who received strong support from the Archaeological Institute's director. In fact, the archaeologists involved had wished to display ancient objects in the open air, but had always opted for roofed exhibition spaces like the colonnades in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg or the arcades around the courtyard in Split. In the end, Arthur Strasser received the commis-

---

31 Feldegg, *Ohmann* 1914, pp. 85–86 ("ein Bau von kräftiger, rustikaler Stereotomie, der natürlich emporgewachsen ist aus dem Felsenufer unseres monumentalen Karstgebirges").

32 TUWA NL 14.044: Ohmann to Bulić on August 25, 1924.

33 Also for the following: OeStA, AVA, MföA, Allg reg, fasc. 460, 137/14.143 ex 1909.

34 Ibid.: comment of the Ministry for Public Works ("Charakter des Gebäudes, welches durch zu erwartenden Besuch von Kunstgelehrten und Archäologen von internationalem Ruf auch der Kritik des Auslandes unterworfen ist").

35 Pühringer, *Ohmann*, pp. 529–532.

36 Also for the following: OeStA, AVA, MföA, Allg Reg, fasc. 460, 145.220 ex 1917.

Fig. 5. Plaster cast of an eagle for the free-standing columns of the Archaeological Museum in Split, probably either by the sculptors Jung and Willy Russ or by Josef Bock, ca. 1916/17, anonymous contemporary photograph. TU Wien archives, Nachlass 14.044 (Friedrich Ohmamn), 4.4.75.

sion to sculpt new busts of Augustus and Marcus Aurelius for Lower Austria. For Split, eagles were newly manufactured on plaster models (fig. 5) by the Viennese sculptors Jung and Russ.[37]

A state building's completion and that state's end

The general inflation during WWI delayed work on the Split museum. The cost estimates were already invalid when the ministries in Vienna discussed them. A company guaranteed a certain price until, for instance, the end of February 1918 and would afterwards add 17 % by April, and an additional 37 % by the month of August.[38] It became safer to accept offers

---

37 OeStA, AVA, MföA, Allg Reg, fasc. 460, 81.169 ex 1916 and 145.220 ex 1917. While the identity of the sculptor Jung still remains unclear, his colleague may have been Willy Russ (http://gesichter-des-dka.gnm.de/content/mdc_person8012, accessed July 5, 2021), who was mainly involved in the field of artistic ceramics, working for such renowned institutions as the *Wiener Werkstätte*. Another small-size model was produced by Josef Bock, graduate from the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, and the execution in stone was done by "a skilled Viennese sculptor" for the construction company Bettiza in Split.

38 OeStA, AVA, MföA, Allg Reg, fasc. 460, 75.134 ex 1918: offer by the graduate of the school of applied arts in Vienna Josef Korlact from Split for the interior furnishing.

from local companies because, in the autumn of 1918, goods or furniture produced in Vienna could no longer be safely transported to Dalmatia.[39] Prisoners of war who could exercise a certain handicraft, such as carpenters or locksmiths, were summoned to work for the museum's interior fittings.[40] Since the personnel in Ohmann's and Kirstein's bureau were obviously called to serve in the army, no more designs could be made for a unified furnishing of the museum, which the Ministry for Public Works still greatly desired. Finally, in November 1918, a few days after the armistice for Austro-Hungarian troops, Ohmann and Kirstein asked for their fee's last instalment, which had been paid so far by the Dalmatian provincial government in Zadar. Although the Ministry for Public Works ordered the provincial government to pay at the beginning of October 1918, it was already too late for the old administration system: Ohmann and Kirstein were advised to apply to receive their payment from the liquidation fund, out of which the former state's liabilities were to be compensated.[41]

Conclusion

The case of the Split Archaeological Museum provides insight into the processes of a state building project at the Danube Monarchy's end. It allows conclusions about the different actors, their motivations, and their scope of action, and reveals aesthetic positions and preferences as well as the argumentation necessary for their implementation.

At the onset of such projects there was always an initiative, a sparking idea or an urgent need by local authorities, institutions, or individuals, which was then negotiated by the responsible authorities: for example, by the Ministry for Religious Affairs and Education regarding the new building's function and required spatial size. In the course of this process, organisations subordinate to the ministry, such as the Archaeological Institute, acted as competent specialist agencies to accompany the operational process. Members of such specialised sub-organisations of a ministry (such as, in the field of monument conservation, the local conservators who worked for the ministry not as civil servants but as competent specialised personnel who had their own civilian professions) could thereby come into a dual role, such as Frane Bulić as local museum director on site and at the same time an Archaeological Institute member operating on a much larger geographical scale.

Money was always of central importance, and so the Ministry of Finance, which had to give its approval to a building project's spatial and, depending on this, budgetary scope, assumed a key role in the decision-making process. It usually demanded the greatest economy in the use of public funds, which forced the other parties involved to argue accordingly.

---

39 OeStA, AVA, MföA, Allg Reg, fasc. 460, 26.246 ex 1917.

40 OeStA, AVA, MföA, Allg reg, fasc. 460, 78.459 ex 1917: e. g. the carpenter Peter Sergej or the locksmith Michael Černy.

41 OeStA, AVA, MföA, Allg Reg, fasc. 460, 75.143 ex 1918.

The ministry responsible for the state's construction infrastructure, the Ministry for Public Works, was primarily responsible for the overall supervision of operational implementation, which was carried out at local level. The strong centralisation of Cisleithania's building administration becomes evident here. The ministry's first contact point was the respective provincial government (*Statthalterei*) with their building departments, which passed on orders to the subordinate district authorities without being able to play an influential role in the decision-making process. The municipal level was not excluded, but had hardly any room for manœuvre: it wanted a museum building to promote tourism, for example, and supported it financially, but without the ability to directly influence its appearance. However, in order to protect the interests of all parties involved and to control the on-site execution, a joint committee (*Baucomité*) was set up as a board to which representatives of all parties were delegated. In some cases, these representatives only had an advisory capacity and certain decision-making powers were weighted very differently in order to secure the state authorities' position. These seemingly strictly regulated administrative processes can, however, be disrupted when unforeseen events occur, when decisions have to be made at short notice or when quick reactions are required, as in the case of the opportunity to purchase neighbouring properties. An important goal of the ministries here is to visibly maintain the state's authority even in far-flung territories.

Aesthetic decisions actually occupied a marginal place. The ministry responsible for the budget did not really take an aesthetic position apart from pragmatic aspects and, remarkably, neither did technically competent sub-organisations such as the Archaeological Institute. Statements that ultimately had aesthetic consequences came, significantly, from the highest position in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education (the resolute demand of its minister for Ohmann as the designing architect), and the Ministry of Public Works appeared as the downright defender of aesthetic ideas in architecture. In other words, it should by no means be seen as a bureaucratic administrative authority, but rather as a central state institution that decisively determined state buildings' appearance and had aesthetic ideas (even if these were not strictly uniform, but could have different characteristics). To ensure this ability, the ministry also operated its own building studio with trained specialists in the form of architects who were civil servants (as, for instance, Eduard Zotter), but who obviously had the desire to design aesthetically. And so, at the same time, a confrontation could occur between the private architects and the state building officials, because both sides wanted to and were able to become active in designing architecture. The disputes about influence and participation in public architecture's creation had both economic and aesthetic motives, and ultimately revolved around the question of the ministries' authority as representatives of central state power or as executive bodies for the democratically expressed needs of (electorally entitled) parts of a society on a constitutional basis. However, we do not find traces of a substantive argumentation for, or against, a certain architect or style in the ministries' course of business, but have to obtain them, for example, from architectural circles or from other professional associations such as archaeological museum associations in civil society. There, at least officially, artistic discourse takes place.

It seems to have been essential for state-produced architecture in the Danube monarchy's last decade to make local references in form, construction and material – thus paralleling contemporary architectural theory. However, these argumentations are not always stringent or consistent, so that the justification used for a local case can closely resemble that for another place where only individual arguments need to be exchanged (as in the case of Feldegg's justifying the choice of building material). It is not so much about whether the local reference could actually only be realised in this way or not. What is essential is that this local reference is established and that it is published in writing so that it can be perceived by a larger audience, including those not present on site.

Matthew Rampley (Brno)

Building for the departed: Free thinking, secular politics and crematorium design in Central Europe, 1873–1932

Most larger municipalities in Europe have a crematorium, and their existence may be taken for granted. It can often be forgotten, therefore, that the introduction of cremation was a fraught process and that it was only in the late 19th century that cremation began to gain social acceptance. A specific episode in the history of European and North American modernization, its significance can be seen to lie in its role as an index of the wider process of secularization; religious injunctions against the practice gave way to secular notions of civil society that thereby paved the way for its introduction. In addition, we might understand cremation as a 'technicized' and 'disenchanted' treatment of the dead, as one historian has put it, and thus as an instance of the instrumental rationality of modernity.[1] In this context we must also note its dark side; although espoused as a symbol of progressive free thinking, cremation will also, of course, remain indelibly associated with one of the most horrifying aspects of history, when cremation was part of an apparatus of mass murder and genocide.

The latter falls into a period outside of the scope of this article, which is, in any case, less concerned with cremation *per se* than with crematorium design. As a building type, crematoria have seldom been examined in any depth. Books and articles on the subject were published in the 19th and early 20th centuries by advocates of the practice, but this was not matched by a parallel interest on the part of architectural historians; only recently has crematorium design been a topic of serious study.[2]

Yet the study of crematoria can generate productive insights into the history of modern architecture, and one might argue that this is particularly so in Habsburg and post-Habsburg central Europe, where cremation became an important site of ideological conflict and focus of identity formation. Furthermore, with no obvious typological precedent, crematoria became a field of considerable experimentation on the part of architects as they wrestled with the dilemmas and demands placed by this new type of building, as well as larger social and political debates.

---

1   Norbert Fischer, *Vom Gottesacker zum Krematorium: Eine Sozialgeschichte der Friedhöfe in Deutschland seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 1996). See especially pp. 94–132.

2   See, for example, Markéta Svobodová, *Krematorium v procesu sekularizace českých zemí 20. století: Ideové, stavební a typologické proměny* (Prague: Artefactum 2013); *Goodbye architecture: The architecture of Crematoria in Europe,* ed. Jeroen Visschers, Laura Cramwinckel and Kris Coenengrachts (Rotterdam: naio10 publishers, 2018).

This article is concerned with crematorium architecture in Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia during the period from 1873, when the first crematorium was put on display at the Vienna World Fair, to 1932 when the crematorium in Salzburg was formally opened, an event which, for reasons that will become clear, we might treat as a milestone in the spread of the practice. It covers a period that saw attitudes towards cremation change considerably, but that was also punctuated by the key historical event: the collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918. The development of cremation and crematorium architecture in central Europe was deeply intertwined in the politics of post-Habsburg identity formation. In each of the states in question we can see how cremation and crematorium design provided a means whereby ideas of national self-definition were not only reflected but also articulated. Crematorium architecture reveals the significant social and cultural shifts that accompanied the emergence of the successor states of Austria-Hungary, above all, attitudes towards the Catholic Church and notions of a secular public sphere. Before looking at specific examples, therefore, it is instructive to consider the background to the adoption of cremation.

The rediscovery of cremation in the 19th century

Cremation had been common in pagan Europe, but the introduction of Christianity had led to its disappearance across Europe except as a form of punishment. It was first seriously proposed in 1774 by Scipione Piattoli, an Italian priest and private secretary of the Polish King Stanisław II August, in a book on the hygienic disposal of the dead which recommended the possibility of cremation.[3] Much of the book consisted of a historical account of cremation amongst ancient classical cultures, from Egypt to Greece, Rome and the early Church, as precedents to legitimate adoption of the practice. Due to his political prominence – he had been a leading political reformer and had helped draft the final version of the Polish constitution – Piattoli's publication attracted attention and debate; such was its significance that it was translated into French and was also re-published in an annotated edition.[4] It initiated wider discussion of the idea; as early as 1796 in post-Revolutionary France, for example, the Five Hundred – the lower legislative house – passed a motion approving cremation, although without pursuing the matter further.[5] Slowly, advocacy of cremation was adopted across Europe, and by the mid-19th-century, was common. In Prussia Jacob Grimm advocated the practice to the Academy of Sciences in Berlin in 1849; moral concern at the destruction of the body was misplaced, he argued, since cremation only speeded up the decay endured by the corpse interred underground. In addition, he stated:

---

3 Scipio Piattoli, *Saggio intorno al luogo del seppellire* (Modena: n.p., 1774).

4 *Essai sur les lieux et les dangers des sepultures [par Scipione Piattoli], traduit de l'italien, publié avec quelques changemens, et precedé d'un Discours préliminaire,* ed. M. [Félix] Vicq-d'Azyr (Paris: P. Fr. Didot, 1778); *Saggio intorno al luogo del seppellire: Nuova edizione con note critiche, che ne distruggono il fondamento, e l'oggetto* (Venice: appresso Francesco Sansoni, 1774 [1775]).

5 Paul Pasteur, "Les débuts de la crémation moderne en France," *Le movement sociale* 179 (1997), p. 61.

> How lovely it is, when acquaintances or friends die far away, that their ashes can be taken and brought home with little effort, since collection of the entire corpse encounters great obstacles.[6]

Concern that cremation would prevent resurrection was also entirely misplaced, he argued, for it was based on an overly literal reading of the Bible and would exclude those who had otherwise died through incineration.

A key motivation behind the movement was fear of the danger posed by infected corpses to water supplies. At a time of significant urban expansion, when many cities still did not have well planned sewage systems and when population growth was overwhelming the ability of cemeteries to dispose of the dead, it was feared that infections from interred corpses could leak into the water table and hence contaminate the water consumed in the cities.[7] This and similar arguments were widespread, with a burgeoning literature on the topic in Germany, Austria and Italy.[8] The prominence of Italy in the debate is striking, both because of the dominant role of the Vatican, which was basically opposed to cremation, and also because it is now the country in Europe where the fewest cremations are performed. However, anticlericalism was widespread in Italian civil society in the wake of the Risorgimento.[9]

Such interest in the cremation of human corpses as a tool of mass hygiene remained mostly theoretical, however, in the absence of technologies that could achieve high enough temperatures and/or operate on a mass scale. In this respect the very idea of cremation as a practical policy was a product of the industrial revolution and was only conceivable following contemporaneous technical developments, above all, the development of suitable furnaces. Advocates of cremation followed with interest the development of industrial smelting technologies that reach the temperatures necessary for higher quality steel manufacturing. The best-known examples were the Bessemer process, developed in the 1850s by the English inventor Henry Bessemer, and the regenerative gas furnace developed by the Anglo-German engineer Sir Carl Wilhelm Siemens in 1860, which was then developed and refined by the

---

6 Jacob Grimm, *Über das Verbrennen der Leichen* (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1850), p. 7. ("Wie schön ist, wenn Verwandte oder Feunde in weiter Ferne sterben, dass ihre Asche ohne Mühe gefasst und heim getragen werden kann, da das Fortschaffen der ganzen Leiche grossen Schwierigkeiten ausgesetzt bleibt.")

7 On the debates about the benefits see Alessandro Porro et al, "Modernity in medicine and hygiene at the end of the 19th century: The example of cremation," *Journal of Public Health Research* 1/1 (2012), pp. 51–58.

8 See, for example, Johann Trussen, *Die Leichenverbrennung als die geeignetste Art der Totenbestattung* (Wrocław: Korn, 1855); Angelo de Tedesco, *La cremazione dei cadaveri* (Trieste: Apolonio, 1874); Leopold Adler, *Die Feuerbestattung: Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die österreichische Gesetzgebung* (Vienna: Manz, 1874); L. J. Neumann, *Urne statt Sarg: Die Leichenverbrennung als die einzig denkbare Bestattungsart der Zukunft* (Vienna: Albert Benedikt, 1875). On these debates in Germany see Henning Winter, *Die Architektur der Krematorien im Deutschen Reich, 1878–1918* (Dettelbach: J. H. Röll, 2001), pp. 19–27.

9 Asher G. Colombo, "Why Europe has never been united (not even in the Afterworld): The fall and rise of cremation cities (1876–1939)," *Death Studies*, 41/1 (2017), pp. 22–33. See, too, Fulvio Conti, Anna M. Isastia, and Fiorenza Tarozzi, *La morta laica I: Storia della cremazione in Italia (1880–1930)* (Turin: Panavia, 1998).

French engineer Pierre-Émile Martin.[10] It was on the basis of such innovations that Ludovico Brunetti, professor of anatomical pathology of the University of Padua, and Paolo Gorini, a physics lecturer at nearby Lodi, exhibited a model of a cremating apparatus at the Vienna World Fair of 1873, publishing as well a short pamphlet on the *Cremation of Corpses*.[11] The exhibit gained considerable international interest, and throughout the 1870s a number of different techniques were explored for the destruction of human corpses, such as dissolving them in molten liquid, incineration by wood, or by gas.[12]

The exhibit attracted great interest, not only in Austria but internationally, and it gave additional impetus to the interest in cremation as an alternative to burial. Indeed, cremation took on further importance not merely as a practical solution to a problem of public health, but also as a marker of a commitment to progressive modernity. 1873 saw the founding in Vienna of *Die Urne – Verein für facultative Leichenverbrennung*, and the first cremation was attempted in Dresden in 1874 – though not in a purpose-built crematorium. In the same year, 1874, the Cremation Society of Great Britain was founded, led by a "congeries of medical scientists, novelists and sandal-wearers."[13] The first crematorium in Germany opened in Gotha in 1878, but in keeping with the leading role of Italians in debates about cremation, it was in Italy that it was first introduced on an extensive scale. The earliest public crematorium opened in Milan in 1876, to be followed by others in Pavia (1881), Rome, Cremona and Brescia (1883), Padua and Pisa (1884), Como (1886), Asti, Sanremo and Turin (1887), Mantua and Verona (1888) and Bologna (1889).[14] Italy was important internationally, too. When, in 1878, the Cremation Society of Great Britain decided to construct a crematorium in Woking, in southern England, it was to Paolo Gorini, the associate of Brunetti, they turned to for technical assistance in the design.[15]

Even though Brunetti's display at the Vienna World Fair was an important catalyst, Austria-Hungary is conspicuously absent from this list, for the Catholic Church exercised its political and cultural power to ensure that cremation was never adopted. Nevertheless, the campaign for cremation gained momentum in all parts of the Empire. In 1885 the Austrian

---

10 On the Bessemer furnace see William F. Horsford, *Iron and steel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 11–24.

11 Centralcommission des Deutschen Reiches, *Amtlicher Bericht über die Wiener Weltausstellung* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1874), Volume 3.2, p. 171. See, too Brunetti's discussion of the issue in *Cremazione dei cadaveri* (Padua: P. Prosperini 1873).

12 For a brief account of the various techniques explored see Porro et al, "Modernity in medicine and hygiene", pp. 51–58.

13 Tom Wilkinson, "Typology: Crematorium," *The Architectural Review*, 14 November 2016 accessed January 13, 2022, https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/typology/typology-crematorium/10014547.article

14 An outline history of cremation in Italy during this period is provided in Fulvio Conti, Anna-Maria Isastia and Florenza Tarozzi, *La morte laica: Storia della cremazione in Italia, 1880–1920* (Turin: Scriptorium, 1998).

15 Lorenzo Lorusso, Bruno Falconi, Francesca Antonia Franchini and Alessandro Porro, "Geology, conservation and dissolution of corpses by Paolo Gorini (1813–1881)," *Geological Society London, Special Publications* 375/1 (2013), pp. 469–75.

Cremation Society *Die Flamme* was created.[16] Originally it was based in Vienna, but the society cultivated wider connections, too, and several exhibitions on cremation were staged in Austria-Hungary. In Budapest, for example, the Federation of German-speaking cremation societies staged a crematorium exhibition in 1894 to coincide with the 8th International Congress of Hygiene and Demography held in the city.[17] Branches of *Die Flamme* were founded elsewhere, particularly amongst German communities in Bohemia and Moravia, including Liberec (1903), Teplice (1907) and Olomouc (1911). After some considerable debate amongst Czech-language communities, a Czech-language society for cremation *(Společnost pro spalování mrtvol)* was founded in 1899 in Prague, to be followed, a decade later, by the *Krematorium* association.[18]

In Hungary, too, doctors, artists and members of the liberal intelligentsia spoke up in favour of cremation; the Hungarian Cremation Association *(Magyar Halotthamvasztók Egyesülete)* was founded in 1886, led by Károly Légrády, publisher of the Budapest Liberal newspaper *Pesti Hirlap* (The Pest News). Cremation was not formally prohibited but, as Szilvia Polgári has pointed out, powerful conservative political voices as well as those of the Church meant that proposals in Hungary to build a crematorium were obstructed.[19] As an emblem of progress and open-minded modernity, however, cremation still found strong advocates. "It is true that the cremation of corpses is a break with ancient customs," noted the architect Moric Pogány in 1905, "but customs have only a raison d'être as long as they correspond to the degree of education of a people and must disappear as soon as they become redundant or just harmful in a progressive culture."[20] And to support his claim, the article in which he made this assertion featured the crematoria of Milan, Gotha, Adelaide, Chicago, St. Gall, Karlsruhe and Glasgow. The message was unambiguous; the failure to introduce cremation in Hungary only demonstrated its backward character in the face of a globally accepted practice. Two years later, the first issue was published in Budapest of the journal *Hamvasztás* (Cremation), advocating introduction of the practice on the familiar grounds of public health and hygiene, and in the same year the Legislative Committee of Budapest city council expressed approval of cremation.[21]

---

16 "Die Flamme," *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung,* 11 April 1885, p. 6.

17 *Catalog der cremastischen Ausstellung des 8. internationalen Congresses für Hygiene und Demographie in Budapest, 1–9. Sept. 1894* (Vienna: J. B. Wallishausser, 1894).

18 "Krematorium, spolek pro spalování mrtvých," *Národní listy*, 1 May 1909, p. 5.

19 Szilvia Polgári, "Hamvasztás Magyarországon: A debreceni krematórium rövid története," *Aetas* 31.2 (2016), pp. 83–103, here p. 89.

20 Moric Pogány, "A hallotégetésről," *Magyar Szalon* 23/44 (1905–06), p. 695.

21 Polgári, "Hamvasztás Magyarországon," p. 91.

The first crematorium design in Europe

Supporters of cremation remained undeterred by obstruction in official and church circles, and formal proposals were submitted in Graz (1904) and Liberec (1915).[22] Momentum had gathered pace behind the idea and the municipalities were supportive, to the extent that in Liberec a crematorium, designed by Rudolf Bitzan, was built, and formally opened in 1917, but it was prevented from operating by the Bohemian administration in Prague.

Yet if permission were granted, how might one design a crematorium? Faced with a new type of building, designers had little to guide them when looking for precedents. The apparent freedom this might have presented had to be tempered by various factors. As Timothy Pursell has stated,

> At all costs [architects] wished to avoid creating a building with too alien an appearance. Architecture was a means to 'package' and 'sell' cremation as a burial option. Building attractive crematoria was a means of obtaining acceptance for a new burial form.[23]

Crematorium design thus involved a compromise between the desire to signal the modern and progressive nature of cremation, and the need to humanise the process with an architectural vocabulary with which the public were familiar.

The earliest crematoria, such as that in Milan, designed by Carlo Maciachini and built in 1876, was based on a classical temple.[24] This reference undoubtedly served to legitimise the practice by drawing out its origins in classical antiquity, and was in keeping with many of the arguments used to promote its acceptance. The crematorium chapel in Woking by Edward Francis Channing Clark, in contrast, was a Gothic revival building that was, according to Sir Henry Thompson, the first historian of modern cremation, "agreeable in appearance [...] harmonising well with the surrounding woods," with associations that might forestall accusations of it introducing a "heathen practice."[25] Here one could see a basic requirement of any crematorium: the need for it to convey a sense of the sacred and the spiritual. For while many who opted for cremation were entirely unconcerned at such symbolism, many others still entertained some form of religious belief. This could include Catholics as well as Protestants and Jews.

One of the most intriguing illustrations of the different ways in which the challenge of designing a crematorium was interpreted was the competition for a proposal held by Buda-

---

22 "Austria," *Encyclopedia of cremation,* ed. Lewis H. Mates and Douglas J. Davies (London, 2005), pp. 70–79; Svobodová, *Krematorium*, pp. 37–44.

23 Timothy Pursell, "'The burial of the future': Modernist architecture and the cremationist movement in Wilhelmine Germany," *Mortality*, 8/3 (2003), pp. 233–250, here p. 239.

24 Annalisa Boi and Valeria Celsi, "Il tempio crematorio nel Cimitero Monumentale di Milano," *Ricerche e progetti per il territorio, la città e l'architettura* 6/8 (2015), pp. 100–113.

25 Sir Henry Thompson, *Modern cremation: Its history and practice* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Trübner, 1891), p. 27.
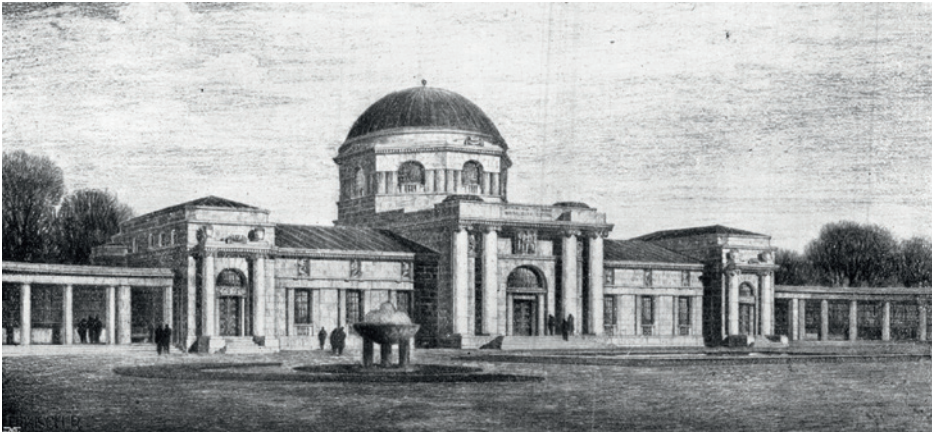
Fig. 1. Resző Hikisch, Budapest crematorium design submission (1916). *Magyar Epitőművészet* 14 (1916), p. 4, cropped.

pest city council in 1915. This decision was due to the reformist tendencies of István Barczy, the Liberal mayor of the city from 1906 to 1918. The various design submissions, published in the journal *Magyar Epitőművészet* (Hungarian Architecture) the following year, indicated the different ways in which architects understood their task.[26] The first prize was awarded to Resző Hikisch (fig. 1), who had recently co-designed the Astoria Hotel in Budapest (1913), one of the most luxurious and prominent hotels in the city. Perhaps the most conventional submission, his design was a low-level neo-classical building with a massive central pavilion as well as pavilions to each side, fronted with Doric columns and a heavy octagonal dome. On each side there stretched a semi-circular colonnade. The decision to award the prize to Hikisch may be attributed to the caution of the committee, which included Barczy himself, regarding what was still a contested idea; the classical idiom, although unimaginative, at least conveyed a sense of hallowed cultural tradition and could have helped encourage its acceptance. Alongside a number of architecturally incoherent pastiches of different historical styles, other submissions included several designs that unapologetically highlighted the pagan associations of the practice. Aladár Árkay, for example, proposed a pagan temple (fig. 2), as did Lórand Almási Balogh and József Bálint. There was a precedent for this, since it mobilised myths of Hungarian identity that emphasised the pagan nomadic origins of the Hungarians. In 1911, for example, Moric Pogány and Emil Töry had designed the Hungarian pavilion for the International Exhibition in Turin (fig. 3) on the basis of historic descriptions of the wooden palace of Attila the Hun.[27] The pavilion attracted considerable positive atten-

---

26 Miklós Führer, "A Székesfővarosi krematórium tervpályázata." Special Issue of *Magyar Epitőművészet*, 14/7–8 (1916).

27 Anthony Alofsin, *When buildings speak: Architecture as language in the Habsburg Empire and its aftermath, 1867–1933* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), p. 217.
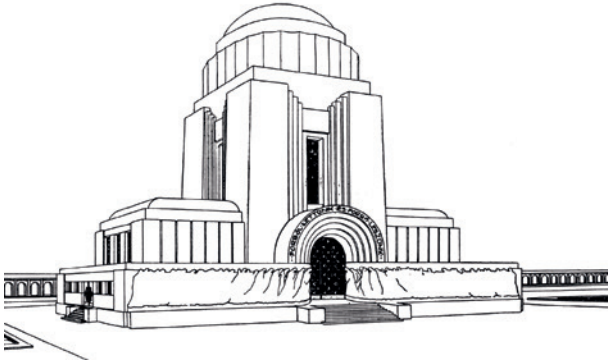
Fig. 2. Aladár Árkay, Budapest crematorium design submission (1916). *Magyar Epitőművészet*, 14/7–8 (1916), p. 14.

Fig. 3. Moric Pogány and Emil Töry, Hungarian Pavilion, Turin 1911 International Exhibition (1911). *Magyar Ipárművészet*, 14/6 (1911) p. 263, cropped.

tion, and this was perhaps to be expected in an international industrial exhibition, where buildings had long served as visual symbols of some of other aspect of a purported national identity. To employ this approach for a crematorium, however, may have been seen as too provocative, given the ongoing opposition to the practice in so many quarters.

However we might view this particular example, some general observations can be made; despite the rapid changes that were occurring in architectural design in Hungary in the first two decades of the 20th century, the proposals submitted all relied on various kinds of historical reference, from classical antiquity and pagan mythic roots to Renaissance Florence. This suggests considerable uncertainty about how best to design a crematorium and about the most appropriate symbolic language. The resulting hybrids were hardly successful, although they offer considerable insight into the conceptual dilemmas with which architects

were wrestling. Hungary was not unique in this regard. One of the most striking early crematorium designs was by Peter Behrens for the city of Hagen (1907, fig. 4). He opted for a design based on a church, but this time, rather than the Gothic revivalism of Woking, he took inspiration from the 15th-century church of San Miniato in Florence. The chimney was integrated into the design to mimic the campanile, but this suggested a parallel, too, between cremation and the release of the soul from the spiritual bondage of the body. The use of the historical vocabulary was an exercise in legitimation, but the pared-down rigid geometries of the design, coupled with the awkward proportions, result in a strange hybrid building. Yet in certain respects, its strangeness was an augury of crematorium design for much of the early 20th century.[28]

Crematorium design after 1918

It was not until 1951 that cremation was permitted in Hungary. The assumption of power by Admiral Miklós Horthy in 1919 and his declaration that he was regent of a "Christian state" meant that legalisation of cremation was never in contention.[29] Yet there remained a lively interest in the idea. The architectural journal *Ter és Forma* (Space and Form), an important platform for progressive ideas in design and architecture, published a number of articles on new crematorium designs, including an extended account of the one crematorium built in Hungary between the wars.[30] It was built in the city of Debrecen in 1930. The city was traditionally known as the Calvinist capital of Hungary, and both the city administration

---

28 Stanford Anderson, *Peter Behrens and a new architecture for the new century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), p. 35.

29 On the campaign for a Christian Hungary see Paul Hanebrink, *In defense of Christian Hungary: Religion, nationalism and anti-semitism, 1890–1944* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

30 József Molnár, "Krematóriumokról," *Tér és Forma* 3.8 (1930), pp. 353–61.

Fig. 5. József Borsos, Debrecen municipal crematorium and columbarium (1930). Fortepan/Károly Hirschler, https://fortepan.hu/hu/photos/?id=187579 (accessed April 8, 2023).

as well as the local inhabitants did not share the resistance to cremation of their Catholic co-citizens. The project was not uncontroversial, however, with many voices raised in opposition, but with support from the medical establishment and the liberal intelligentsia – an article on the crematorium in *Tér és Forma* was one of the longest and most detailed reviews it published of any building – there were high hopes for its successful completion.[31] This confidence was visible in the building (fig. 5), an ambitious and large-scale structure that represented a considerable investment on the part of the city council. Yet even though contemporaries saw the design of the building as an expression of patriotic sentiment, the Ministry of the Interior intervened, and it was never allowed to operate.

The situation in neighbouring Czechoslovakia presents a powerful contrast. The president of the new state, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, was well known for his anti-clerical attitudes. Although deeply religious, he had declared Catholicism to be the relic of a bygone era.[32] For

---

31 Tibor Vári-Szabó, "A debreceni ravatalozó és krematórium epületről," *Tér és Forma* 5/9 (1932), pp. 279–86. The confidence was expressed in contemporary press reports, which saw obstacles primarily as technical hurdles to be overcome. See "A debreceni polgármester és több orvosprofesszor érdekes nyilatkozata a krematóriumról és a körülőtte támadt ellentétekről," *Esti Kurir* 23 January 1923, p. 5; "Nagy viták közöt foglalkozott a kisgyülés a krematórium ügyével," *Debreczeni Újság* 12 February 1932, p. 3.

32 Bruce Berglund, *Castle cathedral in modern Prague: Longing for the sacred in a skeptical age* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2017), pp. 147–88.

many in government, therefore, the adoption of cremation symbolised a rupture with this legacy, and it was legalised on April 1, 1919 with the terse declaration: "Committal by fire is permitted."[33] Historians have taken it as a sign of the establishment of a secular liberal public sphere in the First Republic of Czechoslovakia.[34] However, implementation of the law was inconsistent. In Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, both part of the new state, cremation remained an alien practice. It was not until 1968 that the first crematorium was built in Slovakia and there are still none in Uzhhorod and Mukachevo, the main cities of former Czechoslovak Ruthenia.

This difference between the western territories of Bohemia, Moravia and Moravian Silesia, on the one hand, and Slovakia and Ruthenia on the other, highlights the complex internal dynamics of Czechoslovakia and the confessional and cultural divides between Czechs, on the one hand, and Slovaks. For the former, Catholicism was associated with Habsburg rule and the suppression of Hussitism, whereas in Hungarian-ruled Slovakia, Slovak-speaking priests had been a mainstay of local cultural and linguistic identity in the face of attempts by the Budapest administration to impose a uniform Hungarian identity on its subjects.[35] Consequently, there was no impulse to challenge the traditional Catholic injunction against cremation.

Despite such caveats, Czechoslovakia became an extraordinarily fertile territory of experimentation in crematorium design between the wars, and many towns oversaw the construction of crematoria in these decades. This not only met a growing demand in civil society, but also communicated municipalities' progressive aspirations. In place of the hesitant reliance on traditional forms by crematorium designers in the previous 50 or so years, after 1918 the

---

33 "Čis. 180: Zákon ze dne 1 dubna 1919 o fakultativním pohřbívání ohněm: § 1: Pohřbívání ohněm jest dovoleno," *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého* 38, 9 April 1919.

34 This is the basic thrust of Svobodová's argument in *Krematorium*, pp. 16–18.

35 On the role of the Church in Slovakia see Thomas Lorman, *The making of the Slovak People's Party: Religion, nationalism and the culture war in early 20th-century Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 9–50.

lack of historical pedigree and of established typological precedent seemed to provide them with a new freedom. Indeed, contemporary commentators specifically discounted as inappropriate the practices elsewhere, where medieval revivalism had been pressed into service. It was too closely connected to Catholicism.[36] Even in the case of apparently conservative buildings, such as the crematorium of the town of Most in north-western Bohemia (1923–24, fig. 6), the seemingly anachronistic Secessionist design by August Kirstein was modelled on Otto Wagner's 1907 chapel for the Steinhof psychiatric hospital which, when built, had been a controversial and provocative structure. For an architect of Kirstein's generation – he was born in 1856 and had originally studied in Vienna with the medieval revivalist Friedrich Schmidt – the Most crematorium, too, was an attempt to break with tradition. Elsewhere, more radical possibilities were explored, and it is notable that some of the most novel ideas were to be found in smaller regional towns such as Pardubice (1921–23), Nymburk (1922–24), Plzeň (1924–26) and Olomouc (1931–32).

Perhaps the most celebrated, and most eccentric, was the crematorium in Pardubice (fig. 7), designed by Pavel Janák and built between 1921 and 1923. One of several crematoria he designed (although the only one that was built), it is an extraordinary hybrid.[37] The basic ground plan and structure are a Greek temple, but the oversized and simplified ornaments of the building and the colour scheme suggest something else entirely: a primitive peasant hut. It exemplifies the so-called national style, a short-lived project in the new post-war state of creating an architectural language that was distinctively Czech. This built on the folk revivalism of the late 19th century, but instead of simply replicating motifs from traditional folk art, it subjected them to an aesthetic deformation and modernization, involving stripped down and grossly simplified forms, their outsize character intentionally transgressing traditional

---

36 František Mencl, "Krematoria," *Stavba* 1 (1922), pp. 112–15.

37 Janák also entered the competition for crematorium designs for Plzeň, Olomouc and Brno. See Norbert Kies-ling, *Pavel Janák* (Prague: Arbor Vitae, 2011), p. 133.

Fig. 8. Bedřich Feuerstein and Bohumil Slama, Nymburk municipal crematorium (1924). Wikimedia Commons, Stribohorak, 2014, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Drahelice_H._KrematoriumCelne.jpg (accessed April 8, 2023).

proportions.[38] The evocation of pagan roots in the design is then curiously contradicted by a rose window above the entrance, a reference to church design that emphasises the contradictory qualities of the building.

This design has little of the caution evident in earlier crematoria, and the same can be observed of other crematorium designs. A comparable example can be found in that built by Bedřich Feuerstein and Bohumil Slama for the town of Nymburk (fig. 8), to the east of Prague, between 1921 and 1924. This design had none of the folkloric references of Pardubice; Feuerstein and Slama opted for a vocabulary of simple geometrical forms devoid of ornament. As such, it has been seen as an example of Purism, and as representative of the next step in the history of Czech modernism.[39] But apart from the questionable teleology of this observation, it still has much in common with the national style, in that the architects adopt a traditional architectural structure – a neoclassical temple, with a colonnade running around the central ceremonial hall – and systematically deform it with incongruous proportions. Here, the columns are squat and set too close to the main building, while the rectangular roof overhangs the main building and appears to flatten it. The cross-shape of the windows appears to be a concession to Christian sentiment, but it has also been suggested that the building reveals Feuerstein's interest in Buddhist architecture.[40] There is also a tension in the design; the Purism which it embodied was one of many similar examples of the search for spiritual order amongst modernist artists and architects, from Kandinsky and Mondrian to the early Le Corbusier. The outsize columns, the imposing roof and the squat overall profile convey a powerful sense of gravity, mass and materiality, directly contradicting these metaphysical preoccupations.

---

38 Vendula Hnídková, *Národní styl: Kultura a politika* (Prague: Vysoká škola uměleckoprůmyslová, 2013).

39 See, for example, Otokar Nový, *Česká architektonická avantgarda* (Prague: Prostor, 2015).

40 Helena Čapková, *Bedřich Feuerstein: Cesta do nejvýtvarnější země světa* (Prague: Kant & Aula, 2014), pp. 24–28.

Battles and conflicts: Cremation in Austria

Czechoslovakia and Hungary represent extremes in the debates around cremation; enthusiastic adoption and rejection. Austria after 1918 comprises a third alternative that also reveals the complex political and cultural landscape of the Republic that emerged out of the ruins of the Habsburg Empire. The Christian Social national government that came to power in 1920 – and governed until 1933, when the authoritarian dictatorship was established – was consistently opposed to cremation, but in the brief period of Social Democrat rule between 1918 and 1920 cremation had been devolved to municipalities. This arrangement persisted even after 1920.

The best-known crematorium was that in Vienna, designed by Clemens Holzmeister in 1922 (fig. 9), and it is important not only because it informed the design of some others, but also because it established a legal precedent. Construction had been completed in 1922, but its operation was delayed, because the Minister for Social Affairs of the Christian Social Party, Richard Schmitz, tried to block it. A legal battle ensued, which was not concluded until March 1923, when the constitutional court ruled in favour of the city council, which had claimed that the matter was beyond the jurisdiction of the national government.[41]

This ruling opened up the possibilities for others to be built, and crematoria were installed in Steyr in 1927, Linz in 1929, Salzburg in 1931 and, after a 28-year hiatus, in 1932 in Graz, all of them run by Social Democratic municipalities, with the exception of Salzburg. Cremation societies were established, too, outside of Vienna, in towns such as Innsbruck, Graz and Salzburg. The significance of this spread for the cultural politics of the Republic should not be underestimated, for it has long been held that interwar Austria was governed by a tension between regionalism and metropolitanism. In other words, that Christian Social and other conservative parties and groups tried to elevate regional culture as a locus of national identity in contrast to the Social Democratic city. According to this narrative, regional and provincial life, with its authenticity, piety and tradition, served as an ideological counter to the socialist, internationalist and secular values associated with Vienna.[42] Salzburg and Tyrol, in particular, were foregrounded as sites of an alternative seat of Austrianness. The spread of *Die Flamme*, however, and the building of crematoria undercuts that narrative. Indeed, it is all the more remarkable that a crematorium should have been built in Salzburg, home of the Festival that was, as Michael Steinberg has shown, the site of an attempt to create a re-sacralized conservative vision of post-war Austrian identity.[43]

---

41 "Anklage der Bundesregierung gegen einen Landeshauptmann im Sinne des Artikels 142, Absatz 2, lit. des. B.V.G. – Unmittelbare Bundesverwaltung," *Sammlung der Erkenntnisse des Verfassungsgerichtshofs* 3 (27 March 1923), p. 38, no. 206.

42 For a critical discussion of this idea see *Stadt und Land: Zwischen Status quo und utopischem Ideal*, ed. Karsten Berr and Hans Friesen (Münster: Mentis, 2016).

43 Michael Steinberg, *Austria as theater and ideology: The meaning of the Salzburg festival* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

Attitudes towards cremation became a touchstone for wider political allegiances; not only denoting a commitment to free thinking and progressive social values, it also symbolised the conflict between the two main political tribes of the Republic. For the national government crematoria were centres of Social Democratic opposition and were drawn into the political conflict of the time. A newspaper report from May 1933, for example, notes that the crematorium in Steyr was raided by the police because there had been reports that it was being used for stockpiling weapons, in other words, as an arsenal for the *Schutzbund*, the paramilitary organization of the Social Democrats.[44]

More generally, cremation became a matter of public political debate, and one can find scattered throughout the press in the 1920s and 1930s dismissive accounts of the positions of the opposing camp. Hence, the liberal *Neue Freie Presse*, for example, noted acerbically in relation to the attempts to stall the crematorium in Vienna:

> One might think that Austria was faced with graver problems than cremation and that it was more appropriate to concern oneself with the living than with the dead.[45]

In Salzburg the crematorium was approved in 1928 when, following municipal elections, an unlikely coalition of Social Democrats, National Socialists and the Greater German Party *(Großdeutsche Partei)* voted the measure through. Yet this was on the understanding that the local branch of *Die Flamme* would bear the costs, with no contribution from the city. In fact, the enterprise was beyond the resources of the association, and Anton Neumayr, the Social Democratic mayor of neighbouring Hallein, stepped in with funds so that the project could go ahead.[46]

---

44 "Waffensuche im Steyrer Krematorium," *Salzburger Wacht*, 3 May 1933, pp. 6-7.

45 "Der Kampf um das Krematorium," *Neue Freie Presse,* 18 December 1922, p. 1. ("Es mag manchem erscheinen, daß es für Österreich wichtigere Probleme gebe als die Feuerbestattung, daß es angebrachter wäre, sich mit den Lebenden als mit den Toten zu befassen.")

46 "Der Kampf um das Salzburger Krematorium," *Salzburger Wacht*, 19 June 1928, p. 2.

Crematoria were not an open field of design experimentation comparable to Czechoslovakia, but they serve as a useful barometer of the changing ideas of architecture in the 1920s and 1930s, and they communicate, too, many of the hesitancies and uncertainties of the period. Holzmeister's crematorium in Vienna, for example, evoked the early expressionistic architecture of Hans Poelzig; its Gothic arches and gargoyles suggested some quasi-medieval heritage conveyed a non-specific sense of spirituality, but the zigzag crenellations on the outer wall were taken by contemporaries to evoke some imaginary Oriental architecture, while the pared down ornament and whitewashed walls declared its modernity.

Other crematoria in 1920s and 1930s Austria demonstrate a similar range of hybrid forms which in certain respects sought to minimise the cultural rupture that cremation signified. In Steyr, for example, where the second Austrian crematorium opened in 1927 (fig. 10), the design by Franz Kopelhuber, in which the chimney was integrated into the building as if it were a tower, could easily have been mistaken for that of a church. The Gothic archway at the front, coupled with the simple geometric masses of the main body of the ceremonial hall, suggest that Holzmeister's earlier building in Vienna was an important model. Eduard Wiedenmann's design for the Salzburg crematorium (fig. 11), in contrast, was a modernist ziggurat and represented an important step away from the lingering ecclesiastical associations of the buildings by Holzmeister and Kopelhuber. Given the broader architectural heritage of the city, we might view this design as a provocation, since it had none of the concessions to tradition or religiosity we can observe in Steyr or Vienna. Regardless of whether this was a deliberate gesture or not, the design suggests ways in which cremation could stand as a marker of social identity.

Fig. 11. Eduard Wiedenmann, Salzburg crematorium. Wikimedia Commons, 1971markus, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons. wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Salzburger_Kommunalfriedhof_-_Krematorium_(7).jpg (accessed April 8, 2023).

Conclusion

Due to its association with mass murder and genocide, crematorium architecture has seldom been an object of sustained analysis. Crematoria are conspicuously absent even from studies of military design and architecture.[47] Yet they comprise a notable, and mostly marginalised, chapter in the history of architecture from the late 19th century onwards. Not only does the study of crematoria and the solutions arrived at by their designers cast an instructive light on changing architectural ideas, it has a wider social significance. For alongside the public debates over cremation and its role in the process of European modernity, the design of crematoria provides a visible index of changing attitudes towards the place of religious and spiritual belief in an increasingly secular civil society, towards the kinds of values and practices that might be embraced, and the meanings they might acquire.[48]

---

47 Jean-Louis Cohen's *Architecture in uniform: Designing and building for the Second World War* (Montréal: CCA, 2011), one of the most extensive such works makes no mention of crematoria, even though it describes the designs of labour camps.

48 The research for this article was undertaken as part of the European Research *Council Advanced Grant Continuity and Rupture in the Art and Architecture of Central Europe 1918–1939* (Grant No. 786314).

Index of persons

Index of places