Charles University in Prague
Faculty of Arts
Institute of World History
Seminar of General and Comparative History

Searching for Styles of National Architecture in Habsburg Central Europe
1890–1920

Art Nouveau and Turn-of-the-Century Architecture
as Nation-Building

Master Thesis

Dániel Veress
European Master Course TEMA

Thesis Supervisors: Pavel Himl; Éric Michaud, Gábor Sonkoly

2013

I hereby declare that I researched and wrote this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.

Paris, 15 May 2013 Dániel Veress

"The present movement, which focuses on the Podhale cottage and tries to develop it into a separate style, is founded in a national base, and the main goal of our intellectual life at present is the creation of the national style itself. [...] *The idea, whose brilliance may well be the object of the envy of the most artistic nations, is the first one, and probably the primary one, in our national cultural programme. It is in the interest of Polish society to wholeheartedly support those ideas and efforts that derive from the Tatra Mountains."*[1]

(Stanisław Eljasz Radzikowski, 1901)

"Hungarian formal language has not been, but will be. Because it has to. This conviction leads my career, whose aim is to blaze a trail in the institution of a Hungarian formal language, and whilst I strive to achieve this ideal with irrevocable faith and absolute ardour, and with the support of my comrades who increase from one day to the next, I search for strength, and I find it, not only in my patriotic fervour, but also in my artistic certitude. This is the point at which art and politics meet."[2]

(Ödön Lechner, 1906)

[1] S. Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style*, transl. J. Lesniewska, in K. Keserü, P. Haba (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, p. 49.
[2] Ö. Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language has not Been, but Will Be*, trans. A. Eisentein, in K. Keserü (ed.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, pp. 146.

Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

As the initial quotations indicate, ideologies, often political ones, were in close interrelation with art in the turn-of-the-century Habsburg Monarchy. Beyond Vienna, among the dependant nations of the empire, this idea was principally nationalism, which was stronger in these years than ever – and which resulted in such an enthusiasm toward patriotic ideas in the artistic spheres that one could "rarely found after the World War I".[3] One could see this mutual influence as a "specific *signum temporis"* of the art history of Habsburg Central Europe around 1900.[4] That was not a phenomenon without precedent, since it recalls the era of the initiators of national literatures from the early 19th century.[5] Ákos Moravánszky, whose influence on me was crucial during this research and whose stimulating thoughts I am going to often quote in the following pages, argued that the political impotence pushed toward radicalization the artists and architects of these stateless nations.[6] Since their political demands interfered with the political reality, they attempted to manifest their national singularity in the shape of artistic forms. Out of these forms, I researched the architectural ones with particular interest in the national style attempts.

Although my scope does not cover the entire map of the multiethnic Habsburg Empire, I will problematize a *representative set* of "objects". Accordingly, I chose Vienna (the *inter alia* artistically also outstanding capital), and the Hungarian, Czech and Polish nations (namely the three most populous non-German ethnic groups of Habsburg Central Europe).

---

[3] Bowe N. G., *National Romanticism: Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* in Bowe N. G. (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* Dublin 1993, pp. 10.

[4] S. Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, *"Sztuka" – "Wiener Secession" – "Mánes". The Central European Art Triangle*, in "Artibus et Historiae", 2006, 27, p. 217.

[5] This parallelism was found to be worth to note among contemporaries and recent scholars as well: Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit., p. 154. J-Y. Andrieux, F. Chevallier, A. Kervanto Nevanlinna (eds.), *Idée nationale et Architecture en Europe, 1860–1919. Finlande, Hongrie, Roumanie, Catalogne,* Rennes 2006, p. 8. J. Gerle, *What is Vernacular? Or, the Search for the "Mother-Tongue of Forms",* in N. G. Bowe (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* Dublin 1993, p. 144–145. S. Muthesius: *Neo-Vernacular Around 1900; Historicist–Revivalist/Traditionalist–Modernist,* in J. Purchla (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, p. 307.

[6] Á. Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London, 1998, p. 23.

The questions and scope of the research

I shall clarify that I was highly under the impact of my previous investigations in the Hungarian art nouveau at the beginning of this research. Here I do not mean that patriotic feelings made me biased, but that while I had intensely learnt the history of the Hungarian national style attempt, I had only a scant knowledge about the general art history of the neighbouring regions. Thus, first it seemed to me an appropriate question of research whether the Viennese, Czech and Polish turn-of-the-century architects yearned for their own national architecture as well. During the semester which I spent in Prague (where, among others, I had one of the best illuminating talks with Jindřich Vybíral), it soon became obvious that except the Viennese architect they definitely did so. From that time I have been interested in the causes of the differences between the three national style searches. I have been concerned particularly with the *time shift* between the appearances of the *fully fledged versions* of the Hungarian (1900s) and the jointly belated Czech and Polish national styles (1920s). Furthermore, irrespectively of the chronological order, I found salient that, on the one hand, all the Hungarian and Polish buildings whose style were labelled as "national" included at least a few folk ornaments or traits of the peasant houses, on the other hand, there was no Prague architect who was deeply impacted by the Czech vernacular motifs.[7] Thus, my new and final question turned out to be the following: what political and social conditions were given, in one place, and were missing, in the other, *which* affected the dynamism of the neighbouring national style attempts' and particularly their relationship with vernacular art?

For the sake of transnational comparativeness, I boldly abstracted the architectural tendencies in question: I distinguished the *experimental* and the *fully fledged* versions of national styles. I tried to accumulate all single attempts whose aims were establishing a national style (which were propagated by a group and likewise which were connected only with single architects). The majority of these attempts lastly remained a draft, while the Hungarian *szecesszió* (art nouveau), the Polish *dwór* style and the Czecho-Slovakian rondocubism gained a nation-wide acceptance (namely reached the "fully fledged level"). The criteria of the fully fledged status are the followings:

[7] The only "Czech" exception was Dušan Jurkovič who was born in Slovak family and settled in Brno, the centre of Moravia. Jurkovič was an enthusiast of the vernacular crafts and architecture of Tatra people and established a personal style on the base of that (all the same, under the influence of his Hungarian fellows).

- a rich set of distinct ornamental and/or tectonic characteristics considered as national (*nota bene!* several attempts which finally remained a draft elaborated its "national architectural alphabet" as well);
- support of numerous contemporary architects;
- not only local, but nation-wide range of buildings designed in the style.

The above-mentioned three attempts could fulfil these criteria, they went beyond the narrow sphere of professional and intellectual debates and played a veritable role in the Hungarian, Czech and Polish nation-building processes. It is important to note, that although both the local versions of the historical styles and the vernacular architecture influenced deeply the majority of the style attempts in question, the general purpose of the patriotic architects was the *expression of their nation's singularity.* Accordingly, the distinct artists and theorists (even within the same nation) approached *subjectively* and diversely the "nation-ness" of architecture. Thus in the following pages one could detect even modern and worldwide known features along with the characteristics linked to the local (historical or folk) tradition, while all are steadily interpreted as "national".

Nevertheless, at the turn of the century the Czech lands and the Hungarian Kingdom had been subjected to the Viennese court since the early 16th century (and Galicia with its Polish ethnic majority belonged under the rule of Habsburgs as well), in the recent past a serious shift occurred in the politico-administrative status of these "national regions", which affected their mutual hierarchy. This event, the so called *Ausgleich* (or in Hungarian: *Kiegyezés*), was a compromise between the court and the moderate Hungarian politicians (1867). From the perspective of this thesis, the most relevant consequence of this contract was that Hungary gained independence in domestic affairs and became a *de iure* independent state, which was *de facto* integrated with Austria into a constitutional monarchic union.[8] So the Hungarian "national region" of my research was a semi-independent state, which was still a "territorial unit" of the Habsburg Empire. Implicitly, the other three "regions" of the research were some of the seventeen provinces of the so called Austria (or Cis-Leithania).[9] to make my point I do not need to go into historical and administrative details, it is sufficient to state that Galicia and the Czech lands did not enjoy a semi-independent status as Hungary. They were not even officially distinct states, but Austrian provinces (map 1).[10]

[8] Thus this state had several denominations: Habsburg Monarchy/Empire, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, or Austria-Hungary.
[9] Leitha was a tribunary river of the Danube, which served as natural frontier during a section of the Austrian – Hungarian boundaries.
[10] P. R. Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of Central Europe,* Seattle (1993) 2002, pp. 80–81.

My fourth "region" did not consist of the German-speaking provinces of the empire (namely almost the actual Austria), but it is Vienna, the city that was sharing the role of the capital with Budapest since 1867. Although, the *Kaiserstadt* was not any more officially the only capital, it was the home of the court and more than two million inhabitants, furthermore, an enormous economical and cultural centre. Its culture and identity – latter partially imperial, partially cosmopolitan – was distinct both from the German and non-German "countryside". All the same, according to Emil Brix, the outstanding cosmopolitan culture of Vienna was based on its relationship with the approximately thirty urban centres of the Monarchy. Among them one could find Budapest, Prague and Cracow: the centres of the Hungarian, Czech and Polish national cultures – and the cities about which I am going to write the most in the following pages.[11]

The temporal scope of my thesis encompasses around thirty years (1890–1920). Despite the few allusions to the pre-history of the national style attempts I started my inquiries in the early 1890s when Stanisław Witkiewicz moved to Zakopane (1890) and the implementation of the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts was going on (according to Ödön Lechner's plans, 1891). The first years of the new century are marked by the foundations of the national applied art institutes which happened saliently close to each other (1901. Polish Applied Society, 1902. Gödöllő Workshops, 1903. Wiener Werstätte). These groups were crucial in the history of the art nouveau architecture and in the rejuvenation of vernacular crafts and design.[12] In the early 1910s a new generation of architects and ideas emerged: the Hungarian "Young Architects", who criticized Lechner's fully fledged style due to its superficial nature, the Czech Cubists, who demanded their own formal language instead of the duplication of the Viennese art, and the Polish dwór style, whose propagator would have liked to establish a national architecture. The last two movements gained currency and achieved a fully fledged standard in the late 1910s, already with the aid of the young Czechoslovakian and Polish nation sates (map 2). This moment, when all the three regions' architects elaborated fully fledged versions of a national architecture, marks the chronological end of my inquiry.

[11] E. Brix, *The Structure of the Artistic Dialogue between Vienna and Other Urban Centres in the Habsburg Monarchy Around 1900,* in P. Krakowski, J. Purchla (eds.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provincies,* Cracow 1999, pp. 11–15. According to Brix, Trieste, Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Bratislava were also national cultural centres, although less significant ones (of the Italians, Slovenians, Croatians and Slovakians).

[12] N. G. Bowe, *Vernacularism in Central Europe and Beyond: a Discussion from an English-speaking Perspective,* in J. Purchla (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, p. 291.

Art historians (and a few social scientists) have been researching the connection of national idea and art only since the 1990s. The national demands of the *fin-de-siècle* Central European artists became a field of interest at the same time together with the western narratives.[13] The editor of the database of the Hungarian turn-of-the-century architecture marked in his preface (written in 1990) that the actual book must have been published in the 1970s when its editorial works were started originally.[14] The *doyen* of the Czech art nouveau research, Petr Wittlich also noticed in the early 1990s that the national characteristics of the Prague art around 1900 are scantly documented even in Czech.[15] Until now, the national style attempts of each Central European nation have been studies by scholars. One could read summaries of these attempts even in universal languages.[16] Moreover, there are some volumes – mostly proceedings of colloquia – which accumulate papers on different national styles,[17] but there is no comparative summary on the topic. Emil Brix observed the debt of the researchers before, but he furnished with the probable cause: "Preoccupation with constructing a national identity may explain why no comprehensive comparative study has so far been written on the Art Nouveau in the late Habsburg Monarchy as a whole."[18] At a colloquium on vernacular art Dublin János Gerle also noticed the necessity of a comparative analysis on the distinct vernacular approaches of Central European patriot poets, musicians, visual artists and architects, but finally he fenced with the question in his otherwise truly stimulating paper. As he explained: "*I am not in a position to be able to examine whether these three linguistic layers emerged and survived in other nations.*" Twenty years have passed since the publication of Gerle's words, and now secondary literature about the topic written by Austrian, Czech,

[13] The UNESCO joint International Cultural Study and Action Project was an early milestone in 1986. The international programme was established by the German presidency of the UNESCO. *Nota bene!* the nationalism studies caught the domain of art nouveau when it became appreciated from the point of view of the heritage.
[14] J. Gerle, *Gondolatok a magyar századfordulós építészetről* [Thoughts on the Hungarian turn-of-the-century architecture], in J. Gerle, A. Kovács, I. Makovecz (eds.), *A századforduló magyar építészete* [The Hungarian architecture of the turn-of-the-century], Budapest 1990, p. 12.
[15] Bowe, *National Romanticism* cit., p. 11.
[16] Probably the Polish and Romanian national style has the most wrought interpretation which is accessible in a universal language: Crowley D., *National Style and nation-state. Design in Poland from the vernacular revival to the international style,* Manchester – New York 1992. C. Popescu, *Le style national roumain. Construire une nation à travers l'architecture, 1881–1945*, Rennes 2004. Andrieux, Chevallier, Kervanto Nevanlinna (eds.), *Idée nationale et Architecture* cit.
[17] The three most important volumes which focuse on Central Europe: N. G. Bowe (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* Dublin 1993. Purchla J. (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999.
[18] Brix, *The Structure* cit., pp. 13–14.

Polish and Hungarian scholars is already accessible. In this thesis my aim is to make a modest attempt to this behindhand comparison.

I mentioned several times two notions: the architecture of the turn-of-the-century and of the art nouveau. The thesis' title announce the same dichotomy what I shall elucidate before the discussion of my research questions. The architects, whereof I am writing my thesis, yearned for cultural particularism and a distinct style which express the singularity of their nation. Although the choose of this style was not evident at all. The histories of national styles in Habsburg Central Europe could be interpreted rather as searches or chain of attempts than as straight formal evolutions. Thus every existing style or approach occurred to at least one architect as a potential base for a national architecture. Accordingly, some of them sought after the ancient forms of the nation in historical styles, since art and architecture seemed "as the palpable manifestation of history". Nevertheless, the most of these interpretations were short-lived, since they came with hindsight.[19] The art nouveau was even more inseparable from the issue of national architecture.[20] Because of this several publication – mostly non-fictional, but scientific ones also – deal only with the relation of nationalism and art nouveau. I oscillated a lot in line with this question, since my original intention was the research of the issue of only the national art nouveau in the regions in question. Although recently I saw the reason of reject this original idea, and accept the moderate label of Paul Greenhalgh (expert of art nouveau) and the well-experienced editors of the companion on the Hungarian architecture around 1900. They argued that the most appropriate term of the epoch's architecture is the "turn-of-the-century", since beside the dominance of art nouveau formal language and patterns, several other styles (many neo-styles among them) was popular in the same period.[21] (Even essentially art nouveau houses' decoration contained some gothic, romantic, avant-garde etc. ornaments.)

On the other hand, evidently "art nouveau" does not take place in the title of the thesis by chance. The fully fledged version of the Hungarian national style was an interpretation of art nouveau, while the Czech and Polish fellow architect made their own experiments with the decorative art nouveau patterns for the sake of a national formal language. Albeit I consistently use the French/English term "art nouveau" and thus a really important feature of Central European art nouveau is not transparent in this thesis, I would like emphasize at least

[19] Tegethoff W., Art and national identity, in Purchla J., Tegethoff W. (eds.), *Nation, Style, Modernism. CIHA Conference Papers 1*, Cracow – Munich 2006, pp. 11–15.
[20] Andrieux, Chevallier, Kervanto Nevanlinna (eds.), *Idée nationale et Architecture* cit., p. 8.
[21] P. Greenhalgh, *Introduction: Le style et l'époque,* in P. Greenhalgh (ed.), *L'Art Nouveau en Europe, 1890 – 1914*, Tournai 2002, p. 28. Gerle, Kovács, Makovecz (eds.), *A századforduló magyar építészete* cit., p. 5.

here, in the beginning of the text, that the denominations of art nouveau derived from the name of the famous modern art group of Vienna, the *Secession* in every part of Habsburg Central Europe: *szecesszió* in Hungarian, *secese* in Czech, and *secesja* in Polish.[22] In the following chapter I am going to make clear that the Viennese impact how strong was actually in the distinct "national regions".

[22] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 107.

Chapter 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ART NOUVEAU IN HABSBURG CENTRAL EUROPE

Vienna

However Otto Wagner planned a peculiar synagogue in Budapest (in the Rumbach Sebestyén street) in his early period, as a rightly appreciated master he rarely visited the twin-capital of his beloved Vienna, Budapest. One among these visits occurred in 1915, when he penned an article toward his Hungarian peers. In this text, he evidently popularized the idea of modern architecture and criticized ironically the works of Ödön Lechner who had died a year before. His point was that national strivings what Lechner made were superfluous, since there is no place for vernacular/national ideas in the architecture. The nationalist Hungarian press raged against Wagner and upbraided the Austrians for the lack of their national identity.[23] At this time, the enthusiast patriotic journalists had right: Austrian identity as such did not really existed before 1918. Although this had something to do even with the Babylonian-like fall of the Habsburg Empire,[24] in this thesis the absence of Austrian national identity is important for a different reason. Namely the almost general lack of Austrian national art attempts is evidently due to this negative peculiarity of Austria.

Accordingly to this, my chapter on the Austrian architecture around 1900, is taciturn.[25] I am going to allude only to the most revolutionary and affecting innovations of Wagner and his entourage. By way of introduction, I shall devote a sentence to the fact that despite the definite contribution of Viennese architects for the rising modern architecture, their still mushrooming metropolis was dominated by historicism and eclecticism until the Great War. The shop-window of this anachronistic architectural fashion was the "*grand boulevard*" of Vienna, the Ring which was so brilliantly interpreted by Carl E. Schorske (fig. 1).[26]

---

[23] Á. Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London, 1998, pp. 239–241.

[24] S. Beller, *Kraus's Firework. State Consciousness Raising in the 1908 Jubilee Parade in Vienna and the Problem of Austrian Identity*, in M. Bucur, N. M. Wingfield (eds.), *Staging the Past. The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, West Lafayette 2001, p. 46.

[25] Furthermore the secondary literature on Vienna's architecture is far more richer than on any other part of Habsburg Central Europe.

[26] C. E Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture,* New York 1961.

Although the Prague, Cracow and Budapest artists tried to resist Vienna's influence because of the fear from cultural Germanization, it is difficult to overestimate the regional impact of the *Kaiserstadt* in general, and – due to Otto Wagner, and two of his disciples: Joseph Maria Olbrich and Adolf Loos – in the domain of architecture as well.[27] On the other hand, Vienna has been perceived as a centre of art nouveau besides Paris, Brussels, Barcelona and Munich since the beginning, thus its *fin-de-siècle* art history has been elaborated by scholars using different approaches in several monographs and dozens of papers during the last decades. in this thesis I do not have the possibility to summarize the results and conclusions of this vast literature, but I shall refer to the significance of the turn-of-the-century Viennese architecture, pre-eminently that of Otto Wagner and his disciples. Both the local versions of architecture and the general phenomenon of the national attempts in the Habsburg Central Europe are prone to interpretation in the context of the achievements of Viennese architects.

The intellectual and artistic scene of Vienna became as labyrinthine as rich in the last decades of the 19th century. For example, its characteristic features were decadence and social commitment at the same time. Among others, this complex atmosphere can be interpreted through the notion of "truth" or "reality". On one hand, the truth seemed ugly if one overstepped romanticism and observed it as a score (for instance Egon Schiele), because of this a great many (both artists and clients) made attempts to get rid of the truth which meant *inhumanity* and *alienation*. They tried to experience the lost harmony in the arts even if it/this meant mysticism or legerdemain.[28] Fine arts truly suited this (here it is far enough to allude to the goddess-like women figures of Gustav Klimt). On the other hand, for some other Viennese intellectuals the "truth" as *realism, honesty,* or *authenticity* became the aim of maniac search. The intellectual head of this "branch" was the founding father of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud. At the same time, among the arts, it was architecture that mostly came under the influence of this abstract value. Leslie Topp wrote an entire monograph about the turn-of-century Vienna architecture from the perspective of "truth". As she argued, "towards rigor and purity on the one hand: architects felt compelled to justify their designs, to reject and eliminate the unnecessary, the merely conventional, the formulaic. And, on the other hand, towards freedom and heterogeneity: all that existed to replace the banished conventions and formulae were the multiplying challenges of the modern world."[29]

[27] R. A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London (1974) 1977, pp. 552–553.
[28] L. Pók, *Bécs 1900* [Vienna 1900], Budapest 1989, p. 113.
[29] L. Topp, *Architecture and Truth in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna,* Cambridge 2004, p. 169.

Otto Wagner, the chief figure of this scene, also emphasized that modern architecture had to put across the "inner truth" of the buildings in their design.[30] And this confidence had a major share in the foundation of an utterly new formal language. Albeit Wagner's early works fitted the historicist taste of the decades of the *Ring*, he radically broke with the copying of previous styles in the beginning of the 1890s.[31] In 1896 he already published the *Modern Architecture*, the manifesto of the architectural revolution, intended originally as a textbook for his populous group of disciples (I am going to analyze and compare it with other contemporary manifestos in the third chapter).[32] Besides his educational activity and writings, his actual works were the greatest contribution that he made for the renewal of architecture. When he covered the *Ankerhaus* (in Vienna) with mirrors, he prepared the appearance of the non-structural curtain wall systems, which became one of the main characteristics of the 20th-century architecture.[33] Another Viennese edifice, the *Majolikahaus* (1898–1899) proved to be revolutionary as well, since in its entirely plane facade there is no plastic decoration, but a mere continuous floral decoration (Fig. 2). The facade is independent from the building itself, thus the decoration appears as an add-on that could be exchanged at will.[34] By the same token, the *Majolikahaus* tells about Wagner's social vision as well. The starting point is again the facade. Since it is plane and covered by an intact pattern, the equipartition of the windows furnish an equable web. This layout suggests to the viewer that both the apartments and the residents of the house are even, while a typical tenement house of the period involved different apartments and bed-sitter-rooms behind a palace-like facade, less and less elegant ones upwards. (The equality of the apartments was actually called into being due to the elevator.)[35] This edifice in question mirrored Wagner's opinion about the urbanites who were living in a more and more similar way. In the chain of the facade experiments, the next step was the coverage with slabs (Postal Savings Bank, 1904–1906; St. Leopold's Church in Steinhof, 1905–1907; fig. 3 and 4). The use of thin slabs was explainable with practical reasons: it enabled faster implementation of the building and reduced the expenditures (namely one could use finer materials for the same price). Nevertheless, the mere coverage of slabs would have masked the above repeatedly mentioned "truth", the actual structure of the building. Therefore, (and not for the sake of holding the slabs, since they were laid in mortar)

[30] Topp, *Architecture and Truth* cit., p. 170.
[31] P. Haiko, *Vienna 1850–1930. Architecture*, New York 1992, p. 14.
[32] O. Wagner, *Modern Architecture. A Guidebook for His Students to this Field of Art,* introduction and trans. H. F. Mallgrave, Santa Monica 1988.
[33] B. Champigneulle, *L'Art nouveau,* Paris 1972, p. 137.
[34] Á. Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London, 1998, p. 151.
[35] Haiko, *Vienna 1850–1930* cit., p. 14.

Wagner placed several bolts on the facade. The arrangement of this novel bolt-decoration was not arbitrary, or the result of a purely aesthetic decision: the bolts marked the structurally crucial points of the facade.[36] As Peter Haiko penned: "The aim was not to make visible the structure as such, but to make visible that which recalled it. [...] Until then, the task of ornamentation had been to exalt the utilitarian form as an art form, and/but this decoration was to be exclusively the result of the structure. [...] Perception took priority. This viewpoint alone permitted Wagner to make structure and function visible as a symbolic form, *His functionalism was a metaphorical one.*"[37] As a socially committed architect, who declared the "aesthetics of the practice", Otto Wagner appeared as a real precursor of modern architecture even thirty years before the foundation of the Bauhaus.[38]

In most cases, if they did not turmoil the strict rationality of his buildings, Wagner used the decorative patterns of art nouveau, thus his *œuvre* could be interpreted as a personal variant of the modish pre-modern style.[39] Hence, it is not surprising that Wagner was one of the founders of the *Secession* group. On 3 April 1897, the new artist union announced an exodus *(secession)* officially from the conservative *Künstlerhaus,* but at the same time symbolically from the domain of the "old art". In the preface, I have already pictured (described) the decisive impact of the Secession in the other parts of Austria-Hungary. In the capital the group's prestige was even higher, its members were the progressive and celebrated artists of the turn-of-the-century Vienna, *inter alia* the head, the scandalous painter, Gustav Klimt. Regarding the architects, one could find also the actually most revolutionary ones among the members of the Secession: Josef Maria Olbrich (who was asked to design the exhibition pavilion of the group, which I am going to discus at large in the third chapter; fig. 30) and Josef Hoffmann beside Wagner.[40]

Nonetheless, the artistic fermentation still accelerated in the *Kaiserstadt* and Wagner's aesthetic faced an even more radical (although not more modern by all means) architect: Adolf Loos. I mentioned above flat facades decorated with continuous patterns, which were revolutionary in the 1890s. In the eyes of Loos, the Wagnerian designers of these facades were nothing more than "tie pattern designers".[41] He considered any *ornament as "sin"*. Instead of patterns and symbols, he proposed the bare surface of the materials as decoration. An American journey had had a definitive effect on him, and from then on he praised the

[36] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 158.
[37] Haiko, *Vienna 1850–1930* cit., p. 15. (Italics mine.)
[38] Champigneulle, *L'Art nouveau* cit., p. 137.
[39] Champigneulle, *L'Art nouveau* cit., p. 137.
[40] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 146–149.
[41] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 151.

matter-of-factness of the new world. The symbol of Loos' radically puritan way of thinking is his edifice in Michelerplatz (Vienna), the Goldman & Salatsch Building (fig. 5). It is incomprehensible after one century, but the *Looshaus* was a scandal. Its construction was stopped by the authorities, because the architect erased all the ornaments that he made (out) in the original and accepted plan. The building eventually received the permission, since Loos assumed that flower coffers could hang in the windows.[42]

Although both Adolf Loos's and Otto Wagner's aesthetic concepts became generally current only during the 20th century, they had contemporaneous followers even in the eastern part of Habsburg Central Europe. Ones among them put to use the universal ideas of the Viennese revolutionists for the sake of inventing particular, national styles. At the same time, other, conservative architects, who considered the modern ideas and examples of the capital as scandals, stand for the same goal: the expression of the national singularity in architecture. The next subchapters are going to review both branches.

[42] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 312–316.

Hungary

The history of Hungary had been inseparable from the Habsburg dynasty since 1526 when the Hungarian Kingdom lost its king, Louis II and the decisive battle of Mohács against the Ottomans. The Habsburgs came to the throne, while the Ottomans occupied the major part of the country for one and a half century and cast the Prince of Transylvania into a vassal position, who governed the third, eastern part of the previously solid kingdom. After their expulsion in the late 17th century the Hungarian Kingdom was *de iure* not annexed and the Habsburg emperor enthroned himself as a Hungarian king as well, although the Viennese court possessed *de iure* the entire country. In the course of the European Revolution of 1848 the Hungarians made great demands for national independence and for the establishment of a civil society. Although originally they planned to remain under the rule of the Habsburgs, the political reforms led into a war of independence, which was suppressed/put down by the united armies of the Habsburgs and the Russian tsar. The revenge of the Viennese court was strong , Hungary lost even its relative separatedness and got incorporated into the Empire. The Hungarians chose the "passive resistance", which became unbearable for the court of Franz Joseph after the lost war against the Prussians. Thus, in 1867 Vienna concluded with the moderate Hungarian politicians the so called *Ausgleich* (Compromise), which re-established Hungarian sovereignty. Hungary *de iure* had identical status as the official "Austria" (Cisleithania together with the Czech lands and Galicia) in this reorganized empire.[43]

Since 1867 Hungarians had enjoyed independence in domestic affairs, and otherwise relatively the greatest autonomy among the other ethnicities of the empire. Primarily due to the Austrian and German capital, the Hungarian economy and industry was in prosperity, science, literature and arts blossomed as well. The emerging cities served as the centres of the development, above all Budapest, which was united in 1873 and looked like an overseas metropolis.[44] Thanks to this prosperity and the electoral system, the pro-Habsburg moderate Hungarian politicians were governing the semi-independent state during the epoch, while a

[43] For further details about the Hungarian history in the late 19th century?? see: G. Jeszenszky, *Hungary through World War I and the End of the Dual Monarchy,* in P. F. Sugar, P. Hanák, T. Frank, *A History of Hungary,* Bloomington – Indianapolis (1990) 1994, pp. 267–294.

[44] Firstly surprising, but edifying comparison between the parallelisms of Budapest and New York: T. Bender, C. Schorske, *Budapest and New York Compared. Introduction*, in T. Bender, C. Schorske (dir.), *Budapest and New York. Studies in Metropolitan Transformation 1870–1930,* New York 1994, pp. 1–29.

deliberately strong opposite party continuously demanded the utter sovereignty of the state. Nevertheless, not only the latter, but the governing, pro-Viennese political side was nationalist as well. The national political interest and the Hungarian culture were the most crucial issues in the country, where, beside the Hungarians (or Magyars) almost the half of the entire society belonged to other ethnicities (pre-eminently to the Romanians, Slovaks, Serbs and Germans). At the turn of the century, in the age of nationalism, in a country where the politically leader ethnicity permanently faced national challenges both from the Habsburg emperor and from the minorities, national greatness and speciality were crucial. Evidently, there was a striving to express this in architecture as well .

Residents of the "Imperial Art Nouveau"

The history of art nouveau in Hungary is inseparable from the national approach of the style and its pioneering architect, Ödön Lechner. On the other hand, the turn-of-the-century Hungarian architecture (and the art nouveau within this) was split into an international and national branch.[45] If one overlooks the question of art historical significance and regards only the number of samples fitting to the loosely traced definition of art nouveau, a set of eclectic buildings emerges which can be associated to the "imperial art nouveau". The most important components of this stylistic amalgamation are the baroque and the internationally known decorative patterns of art nouveau, and its most important examples are located in Vienna and Prague.[46] The art nouveau first appeared rather as a new stock of motifs and architectural members (colourful-golden mosaics, female figurines, floral ornamentation), which could enrich the historicist "palettes" of eclectic facades. In the course of time, the above-mentioned partially autonomous, although deeply baroque-like "Monarchy art nouveau" took root in Hungary due to the architects, who aligned to the standards. (This did not mean that only conventional buildings were implemented in this style, e.g. the largest medicinal bath of Europe, the Széchenyi thermal bath of Budapest was (is) an outstanding example of the *fin-de-siècle* architecture.) The conservative local authorities generally supported the historical styles and sometimes *ex officio* instructed the architects to transmute their art nouveau

[45] J. Gerle, *Hungarian Architecture from 1900 to 1918,* in D Wiebenson., J. Sisa (eds.), *The Architecture of Historic Hungary*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London 1998, p. 225.
[46] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 112.

buildings in a more baroque manner. A noted example of this phenomenon was the case of the Reök palace in Szeged.[47]

Nevertheless, the Reök palace (1906–1907, fig. 6) is more known because it is an example of another, statistically marginal, but remarkable tendency of the Hungarian art nouveau: the biomorphic facade art. Biomorphic facade decorations were familiar fundamentally in Western Europe (Paris, Brussels), the Hungarian exemplars are almost unique in Central Europe. It was not by chance that in Szeged, in a town of the Hungarian countryside, such edifice was still implemented. Namely, both the procurer client and the architect had Parisian relations. On the other hand, the client (Iván Reök) was a water engineer, and the architect (Ede Magyar) designed for his house a facade, which corresponds to the river of the city: the Tisza. The bay windows, balconies and gables were executed like abstract versions of water lilies' pads, while the reliefs were formed after the *flora* and *fauna* of the Tisza.[48] Due to the latter details Katalin Gellér lauded (praized: jobb) the palace as the "heyday" of the Hungarian art nouveau's floral trend. (The other outstanding architect of this floral branch was Emil Vidor.)[49]

Another, even earlier chief exemplars of the biomorphic genre were the Lindenbaum apartment houses designed by Frigyes Spiegel (in accordance with Fülöp Weinréb; 1896–1897). The decoration of the facades is alien both to the classical formal language and to the general art nouveau patterns. The reliefs (depicting living organs of the Earth) compose in total the allegory of the mankind born from the sea and rising to the Sun.[50] Spiegel wrote an essay to explain his odd choice for the decoration. He argued that because the facade was not implemented by stone, it would have been a lie to use classical architectural members, and instead of them he planned a plain, freeze-like decoration, which seems more architectonic.[51] All the same, beside the biomorphic allegory, there is a row of tulips alike as the floral ornaments of the Hungarian shepherd's cloak, the *cifraszűr.* The same pattern appears on the facade of Lechner's Museum of Applied Arts, which was opened in the very same year when the construction of Spiegel's apartment house started.[52]

---

[47] K. Gellér, *A magyar szecesszió* [The Hungarian Art Nouveau], Budapest 2004, pp. 118–123.
[48] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 112.
[49] Gellér, *A magyar szecesszió* cit., p. 128.
[50] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 110.
[51] Gellér, *A magyar szecesszió* cit., pp. 126–127.
[52] The appearance of folk ornaments in a building which was not considered as an exemplar of "Hungarian art nouveau" is not peculiar at all. For example, the outstanding edifice of the Török Bank's facade was formed by an iron-glass curtain wall structure. On the other hand, it is crowned with a wavy gable entirely covered with a mosaic, which depicts Virgin Mary as *Patrona Hungariae* surrounded by the greatest figures of the national history. (Szervita Square, Budapest, 1905–1906.) Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 127.

Ödön Lechner

The most authentic and utile source of Ödön Lechner's (1845–1914) architecture is the *Autobiographical Sketch* and the *Hungarian Formal Language has not Been, but Will Be*, the manifesto of the "Hungarian art nouveau" movement written by the architect himself.[53] (I am going to analyze the latter at large in a case study below.) Even the well-recognized art critic, Lajos Fülep, who wrote the first and up-until-today normative essay on Lechner's architecture, based his statements on the architect's words.[54] In this subchapter, devoted to the architect who established the first fully fledged modern and national architectural style in Central Europe, I am going to use principally the above-mentioned texts.

The demand for a Hungarian national style first emerged in the so called Reform Era (1825–1848), when (concomitantly with the political struggle for the non-feudal civil society) both politicians and artists made great efforts for the cultivation and reinforcement of the national culture and identity. It is telling that the selfsame István Széchenyi, the leading reformer and Maecenas of the period was the first who suggested the idea. Imre Henszlmann, the author of the first Hungarian art historical monograph, urged the foundation of a national style even before 1848 as well. After the revolution, an architect, Frigyes Feszl (1821–1884) also dealt with the idea. Although many of his drafts and sketches remained only dream-like experimental syntheses of the antique forms and the Hungarian vernacular patterns (shepherds as atlantes hold a lost war of independence memorial; monument of the millennial Hungarian state; triumphal column for national heroes), he could implement a representative building, the Vigadó Concert Hall (Redoubt; fig. 7).[55] Although Feszl did not use classical architectural members in the case of the Vigadó, the edifice is a mixture of western and local, indeed, eastern styles. Beside the characteristics of the Munich-based *Rundbogenstil* and Hungarian dress ornaments, the architect was under the impact of the Islamic examples, because he used wall pillars emphasizing the corners and foliate surrounds in the interior. According to Katalin Keserü, the Indo-Islamic reminiscences alluded to the very Asian origin of the Hungarians

[53] Ö. Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language has not Been, but Will Be,* trans. A. Eisentein, in K. Keserü (ed.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, pp. 146–154. Ö. Lechner., *Önéletrajzi vázlat* [Autobiographical sketch], in J. Gerle J., *Lechner Ödön,* Budapest 2003, pp. 15–22.
[54] L. Fülep, *Magyar művészet* [Hungarian art], Budapest (1923) 1971. The Hungarian scholars still owe a monograph on Ödön Lechner. In spite of that, this textbook and œuvre catalogue could be used in the first place: J. Gerle., *Lechner Ödön,* Budapest 2003.
[55] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 218–219.

and to the Hunnish–Hungarian kinship (as in Lechner's plans at the turn of the century).[56] Since the publishing of the above-mentioned book by Lajos Fülep, it is widely-accepted that Feszl was the Lechner's.forerunner [57] Probably a good personal connection stood in the background of this ideological continuity.[58]

Beside the statues of figures dressed in the Hungarian hussar's uniform, Feszl introduced the ceremonial knot of these uniforms as non-figural ornaments on the facade of the Vigadó. Otherwise, the floral patterns, laces and trimmings of the folk costumes, above all the *cifraszűr,*[59] were generally accepted models for the demanded national formal language. The most enthusiastic propagator of the vernacular based architecture was József Huszka, an art teacher and a collector from the Székely Land *(Székelyföld).* He traced back the Hungarian folk ornamentation and ground plans of the Székely houses to the antique Persian, moreover, Sassanid art,[60] and he stressed the Indian architectural parallelisms as well. Huszka affected Lechner's ideas about the national architecture, which was the central aim of his *œuvre.*[61] *"Hungarian formal language has not been, but will be. Because it has to.* This conviction leads my career, whose aim is to blaze a trail in the institution of a Hungarian formal language, and whilst I strive to achieve this ideal with irrevocable faith and absolute ardour, and with the support of my comrades, who increase from one day to the next, I search for strength, and I find it, not only in my patriotic fervour, but also in my artistic certitude."[62]

Nevertheless, as the architect wrote it in his *Autobiographical Sketch,* after the investigation of the German, French and English (colonial) architecture, the "destination" of his personal "search" was also the Hungarian folk art and concomitantly the Asian art. "Studying our folk art led me to the art of Asian peoples, for some striking similarities are immediately apparent. This Eastern relationship, which shows up primarily in Persian and even more in Indian art, was of a particular interest because these peoples invested their art with monumentality and I wished to find some guidance on using folk motifs in monumental architecture."[63]

---

[56] K. Keserü, *Vernacularism and Its Special Characteristics in Hungarian Art,* in N. G. Bowe (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* Dublin 1993, p. 132.
[57] Fülep, *Magyar művészet* cit., p. 43.
[58] One could assume that according to the fact that the Feszl and the Lechner family were in good connection as two architect-engineer dynast iesof the Hungarian capital. Keserü, *Vernacularism* cit., p. 132.
[59] In the eyes of József Huszka, the *cifraszűr* was the "ten commandments of the Hungarian sense of taste", while Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch also emphasized the authentic role of this dress in the only article written by a Hungarian author in the leading *The Studio* magazine. Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 222.
[60] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 186.
[61] Keserü, *Vernacularism* cit., p. 133–134.
[62] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit., p. 146. (Italics mine.)
[63] Lechner, *Önéletrajzi vázlat* cit., pp. 18–19. Translation: Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 225.

The Hungarian artists who were enthusiasts for the vernacular forms considered the art of the rural people as an isolated source which saved the formal language of the ancient Hungarians. In their present, at the turn of century, they considered it as the potential base for the style of the modern nation despite the duplication of the architecture of foreign nations. It is worth mentioning that several Polish architects and artists also regarded vernacular art as the carrier of "ancient" and "pure" Polish forms. All the same, Stanisław Witkiewicz and his entourage traced back the origins of folk art to the Middle Ages , the epoch of the Piast dynasty or its last king Casimir III.[64] Their Hungarian contemporaries were more courageous, and paralleled the folk art of a European country from the end of the 19th century with the antic Asian art relics, which they identified with the document-less "ancient Hungarian art". (The oldest known art pieces of the Hungarians are dated to the 9th and 10th century, the age of the conquest of the Carpathian Basin.)

Ödön Lechner got the national style into shape through the interpretation of the folk patterns as a new vocabulary of ornaments/ornamentation. After his early works (designed in the French Renaissant and neo-baroque styles) he elaborated the national style pre-eminently during the planning of the three representative public buildings committed by the state. The Museum of Applied Arts was the first and the most oriental one among them (1891–1896; fig. 8). (Moreover, the first museum in Europe that was not designed in a historical style.[65]) The emphasized roof recalls the oriental rug-covered tents (fig. 9). Despite the classical architectural members Lechner decorated the facade with ornaments in a way similar to the patterns of the reinforced cutouts of the shephard's coat (called *szűrrátét* in Hungarian).[66] The vestibule is roofed, but open like Persian entrance gates (fig. 10), while the layout of the exhibition hall reminds one of the "durbar courts" of the Indian Mughal palaces.[67] All the same, the most distinct peculiarity of the building is its coating of coloured glazed bricks (or *majolica,* made by the Zsolnay manufacturer in Pécs). This verifies what Lechner wrote in the *Autobiographical Sketch* about the role of the material: "From the very beginning I was sure that the starting point for a truly artistic decor could only be a monumental material."[68] This was the majolica.

[64] D. Crowley, Finding Poland in the Tatras: Local and National Features of the Zakpane Style, in J. Purchla (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, pp. 324–325.
[65] Gerle, *Hungarian Architecture from 1900 to 1918* cit., p. 225.
[66] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 225–227.
[67] Indian architecture and its British Indo-Gothic subversion affected particularly this phase of Lechner's architecture. The Museum of Applied Arts is the chief, although only implemented piece among the plans he made in these years. For further analysis of Lechner's Indianism and the Indian reminiscences of the Museum building see: Keserü, *Vernacularism* cit., 133–137.
[68] Lechner, *Önéletrajzi vázlat* cit., p. 19. Translation: Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 225.

The volume of the next chief-d'œuvre, the Geological Institute (1899; fig. 11) "is much more compact than that of the museum". Here appeared first the ribbons of brick which articulated the structure of the facade in a decorative manner (the fields are rendered within the ribbons).[69] This facade configuration and volume concept culminated in the building of the Royal Hungarian Postal Savings Bank (1899–1901; fig. 12). The facade of the building wedged into the street structure is split into two by a moulding of waving stripes. Under these stripes the verticality dominates, while in the upper stories tectonic rules evaporate and do not affect the location of the folk patterns. At the same time, the walls do not end in brackets, but in intensively waving chain of gables (fig. 13). What is significant most of all is that in this way the frontispiece becomes flat. Namely, Lechner achieved the modern *Flächenkunst* (flat art),[70] and converged the same facade into a *cifraszűr* (extremely ornamented folk costume).

Since Otto Wagner designed a representative Postal Savings Bank building in Vienna too (1904–1906; fig. 3 and 4), it is possible to compare how the leading architects of the twin capitals were thinking about ornamentation. In my thesis I analyze Ákos Moravánszky's comparison. According to him, the post-classicist, proper and novel ornamental languages of the bank buildings uncover the dissimilar aesthetic concepts of the two architects. This is rather technological in the case of Wagner, while rather organic in Lechner's case . Moravánszky's most convincing evidence is his interpretation of how the two architects symbolized *the idea of money and thriftiness* in/through their ornaments. The dense web of (dysfunctional) bolts on the facade of the Vienna buildingrecalls the curbings of a treasure coffer, or a safe-deposit. At the same time, Lechner referred to the defence of values with the statues of snakes and chickens who protect their chicks. Furthermore, the idea of money saving is allegorized by the line-up of laborious bees, which head on the pilasters toward their tops crowned by majolica beehives (fig. 14). Lechner already enriched his bank building with bull-headed broach adornments, which were direct citations from the treasure of Nagyszentmiklós (at the turn of the century attributed to ancient Hungarians, now supposed to be objects from Avar origins). Thus, the bull heads refer not only to the financial value of the money, which is guarded and maintained in the building, but also to the oriental- like forms of the ancient Hungarians.[71] The latter is crucial as a platform for the national style, whose most fully fledged example is the actual building (even if Lechner considered it only as the "first

[69] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 230.
[70] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 230–234.
[71] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 230–234

step" toward the national style[72]). I find plausible the Moravánszky's argumentation ,whose ultimate conclusion is that Lechner mystified the idea of money, while Wagner depicted it in a rational manner (way is better) in his *architecture parlante.*

This is saliently similar to how Lajos Fülep interpreted (regarding even the oriental influence and the *Flächenkunst*) the fundamental distinction between Lechner and his pre-modern contemporaries from Western Europe: "Ödön Lechner stuck to his freshly acquired truth until the end of his life: namely, the primitive Hungarian folk art-elements can not be mingled with heterogeneous, over-mature, over-cultured styles. Instead, we have to apply kindred architectural forms, which also express the very same primitive elements, and these forms can be found in the art of the Asian peoples. It is quite obvious at (the) first glance how fantastic this venture is. We should just mention it to a western architect to elucidate how different it is from the European mind. Since, what the English do in India is a compromise, hence it becomes logical and understandable to everyone, but Lechner's venture is quite radical and the common sense can not comprehend it, especially in Europe!"[73] Nevertheless, according to Fülep, the achievement of the Hungarian architect's search was essentially the same as the new principle of the western modernists: "Folk art, which he always took into consideration, is (a) plane art, and the Asian dream fascinated him with the evolvement of this plane art. So he had to start out from and return to plane art. Lechner, familiar with any kind of art, rejected all styles, all relations to them and any kind of return to the primitive styles to be able to get back to the plane surface, the wall itself. [...] The very same happened in the West as well, but out of a different reason and for a different purpose. Western architects returned to the plane wall partly to get rid of all the unnecessary stylistic fripperies, and partly because of the new construction material, which forced them to do so. Lechner did the same to give voice to the form language of folk origins in the surface element of the wall. Seeking the national he found the international, seeking the Asian the European, the individual the universal, the ancient the modern, the actual."[74] In the art theoretician's opinion , the national correlated with the universal in Lechner's case, thus the *par excellence* Hungarian architecture started with him as well (unlike the architecture of the previous centuries, which was *not Hungarian* architecture, only the architecture *of Hungary*).

If I disregard this philosophical interpretation, Lechner's crucial role oin the Hungarian style is still evident. Among others, this is confirmed by the fact that hereafter

[72] J. Gerle, *What is Vernacular? Or, the Search for the "Mother-Tongue of Forms",* in N. G. Bowe (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* Dublin 1993, p. 146.
[73] Fülep, *Magyar művészet* cit., p. 52.
[74] Fülep, *Magyar művészet* cit., p. 52.

every national architectural attempt was defined in relation to to Lechner. One branch of the next generation even emerged as his "epigones". Perhaps the most important followers were those who established joint design studios (Marcell Komor with Dezső Jakab, Zoltán Bálint with Lajos Jámbor), but Nándor Morbitzer and Emil Vidor created something irrevocable as well. They altered Lechner's decorative language in a really similar manner, thus they almost created an entirely new style.[75] Their buildings (amid which relatively many public ones) were popular in the eastern half of Hungary, which was more agricultural than the western half. Significant Jewish communities lived here, and they cordially designed their synagogues in this partly oriental, really decorative manner.[76] According to Attila Déry, Lechner's epigones did not reach/come up to (ok, measure up sem rossz!) the genius of Lechner, so they only followed and altered the "distillation" of the forefather's architecture: their characteristics were the symmetric volumes, accentuated central avant-corpses (*Risalit* in German), rendered walls, brick garlands and pre-eminently the folkloric battlements instead of classical cornices.[77] They definitely diverged from other contemporary architects committed to the national approach, who were keen on social housing issues and were interested in the rural architecture as a whole, not only in its ornaments.[78] In the following subchapter I am going to review them.

The Search Continues in the Villages. National Architecture after Lechner

Between the fully fledged version of Lechner's architecture (namely the Postal Savings Bank, completed in 1901) and the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy, a new generation of nationally committed architects appeared. Their art is unimaginable without Lechner, however, they did not followed him directly as the "epigones". Some of them started working in Lechner's design studio (among others Béla Málnai, Béla Lajta and the Vágó brothers),[79] while others, even as entrant architects, were sceptical toward the decorative national formal language of the Museum of Applied Arts or of the Postal Savings Bank. In his memoirs Károly Kós wrote

[75] Déry A., *Nemzeti kísérletek építészetünk történetében* [National attempts in the history of our architecture], Budakeszi 1995, table xvii.
[76] Keserü, *Vernacularism* cit., p. 138.
[77] Déry, *Nemzeti kísérletek* cit., pp. 126–127.
[78] Déry, *Nemzeti kísérletek* cit., p. 106.
[79] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 239. I am going to elude at large to the Vágó brothers in the case study on the exhibition pavilions, since one building in question was re-designed by them.

that although they did not dare to sound, he and his peers from the university were more under the impact of Mackintosh, Baillie Scott and Wright than that of Lechner – even in the case of the national approach.[80] In general, the members of this generation were all more or less influenced by the British, socially committed, applied arts-based architecture. Furthermore, they were more interested in the rural architecture, even in the space structures, ground plans and its "real espirit". For the sake of knowing more about the peasants' houses, they made collecting journeys to the countryside, especially to Transylvania (Kalotaszeg and the Székely Land) *vis-à-vis* Lechner, who knew the vernacular motifs only from books.

Ede Torockai-Wigand was the first who appeared in Transylvanian villages as a collector with architectural interest (his alias, Torockai, refers to a Hungarian village with peculiar folk art). However, he elaborated his own style (functional architecture with logical structure based on original rural examples), his well-known plans are the ones which he designed as a graphic artist (for the paper, and not for implementation; fig. 17). Within this generation in question Ákos Moravánszky distinguished the branch "national romanticism", whose most important representative was Béla Lajta beside Torockai-Wigand. Despite Torockai-Wigand, there is no doubt that Lajta was an architect in the strict sense of the word (fig. 18 and 19). He accumulated remarkable experiences as an entrant in Lechner's design studios in Budapest, Alfred Messel in Berlin and Norman Shaw in London. Beside the masters, he was notably influenced by the cottage plans of the British Baillie Scott and the Northern European tendencies.[81] The Hungarian architects were interested in the Finnish strivings among the northern architectural ones, because a sphere of academics argued that Finnish and Hungarian are members of the same language family (the Finno-Ugric). Nowadays this relationship is confirmed, however, at turn of the century the issue divided even the academics, since the acceptance of the Finnish linguistic connection meant the renouncement of the glorious Hunnish–Hungarian kinship. All the same, many of Lajta's compatriot colleagues made inquiries after the emerging Finnish national style, but he was the one who actually integrated Finnish reminiscences into his architecture (the most characteristic ones are the high-pitched roof(s) and the windows composed by quadrats and trapezes). Due to this he supported flat surfaces (like Lechner), accordingly, the shaping of volumes and roofs played the crucial role in his architecture.[82]

[80] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 264.
[81] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 253–256.
[82] Déry, *Nemzeti kísérletek* cit., p. 107.

As I mentioned above, many members of this generation were critical about/toward Lechner and his approach, which essentially benefitted only from the patterns of vernacular art. The so called "Young Architects" group (Dénes Györgyi, Dezső Zrumeczky, Béla Jánszky) first appeared around 1908, and their committed leader, Károly Kós appreciated Lajta rather than Lechner. But first of all, it was William Morris, the father of the Arts and Crafts movement, who impressed them. Accordingly , they had a poetic perception of history, which they united with actual social visions. Analyzingthis brief history (period), I would only like to elaborate on Károly Kós, whose works until 1918 meant only the very beginning of his œuvre, which lasted until the 1970s. His grand purpose was similar to Jan Kotěra's aim : to generate a modern urban architecture on the basis of rural structures and forms.[83] On the other hand, the middle-scaled buildings implemented according to his plans did not come up to the demanding standard of his theoretical urban concept. All the same, from an architectural point of view, the Kós's buildings were puritan, practical and poetic at the same time. The Transylvanian architect was concerned essentially with the rural architecture of his native region, and he did not benefit either from the Indian forms nor from the architecture of other Hungarian folk regions.[84] Despite the Indian interest, Kós's concept was mostly similar to Huszka's opinion on the Hungarian peasants considered as the carriers of ancient ethnic forms. Nevertheless, Kós (evidently under the impact of the Pre-Raphaelites and William Morris) traced back the origin of vernacular art "only" to the Middle Ages like the Polish enthusiasts of the Zakopane style. As he argued: "And in the same way that the art of the Transylvanian Hungarian people is derived directly from the Middle Ages, in my modest opinion the Middle Ages must be one of the two parents of our emerging national style. [...] Our folk art is based on the art of the Middle Ages, and our national art is based on folk art."[85]

The result (that can primarily be observed in the Roman Catholic Church of Zebegény, 1906–1910; fig. 15) was a personal formal language characterised by picturesque volumes, homogenous plastered wall surfaces, stone-framed accentuated entrance gates and steeply pitched gables.[86] While the latter trait is the most obtrusive in Kós's buildings, the roofs of the buildings in Hungary and Transylvania are scarcely steeper than 45 degree (and almost never steeper than 60 degree; fig. 16). The other characteristic details are the low, unframed, semicircular windows and entrances, which were considered as *par excellence* national.

[83] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 264.
[84] Déry, *Nemzeti kísérletek* cit., pp. 103–104.
[85] Gerle, *What is Vernacular?* cit., p. 152.
[86] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 268.

However, this type of facade opening does not have many antecedents in the Hungarian vernacular architecture.[87]

I shall still mention István Medgyaszay, who was Otto Wagner's most outstanding Hungarian disciple . Despite his master's antinationalism, Medgyaszay was committed to the idea of Hungarian architecture. He took collector trips in Transylvania and designed studio houses for the artistic community of Gödöllő, a Tolstoyan circle of nationally deeply committed art nouveau applied artists.[88] Alike to Lechner (with whom he was a family friend), the Székely and the Indian architecture were reconcilable in his national architectural concept. On the other hand, *vis-à-vis* Lechner, Medgyaszay entirely broke with historicism and worked on the establishment of a modern architecture.[89] The principally modern feature of his approach was the brand new material, the ferro-concrete (the Veszprém theatre, implemented in 1907–1908, was a remarkably early and representative example of the ferro-concrete architecture built on the basis of Medgyaszay's plans). According to Attila Déry, due to the experiments with the new material, the most important trait of Medgyaszay's architecture was the plain surface, and the folk art ornaments were only subsidiary. On the other hand, the architect summed up his article *On the Artistic Forms of Ferro-Concrete* as follows: "To summarise what has been said: the resolution of the artistic form of (the) ferro-concrete contains within itself numerous new tasks. Centuries have been necessary for architecture to express each new relation of forces in perfect form. Perhaps our task also takes centuries. Until then, let us strive to characterise the static relations of the new materials as clearly as possible; *let our artworks speak in the formal language of our people,* and let the spirit of the children of our age and our own world view be reflected in them."[90]

As the citation points out: progressivism and nationalism could be concomitant at the beginning of the 20th century even in architecture. The most obtrusive example of this was probably the Czech solution for the issue of national architecture.

[87] Déry, *Nemzeti kísérletek* cit., p. 103.
[88] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 268–272.
[89] Keserü, *Vernacularism* cit., pp. 139–141.
[90] I. Medgyaszay, *On the Artistic Forms of Ferro-Concrete,* trans. A. Eisenstein, in K. Keserü., P. Haba (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, p. 175. (Italics mine.)

The Czech lands

Although several Habsburgs purchased the Czech crown in the late Medieval Age, the first member of the Viennese dynasty, who could bequeath a stable Bohemian reign to his antecedent, was the selfsame Ferdinand I (1525–1564), who initiated the almost four centuries long Habsburg dominance in the Hungarian Kingdom. Due to the rule of the same dynasty, the history of Hungary and the Czech lands became more or less similar. However, the Czech nobility suffered a greater pressure than the Hungarian, since after their rebellion and the lost battle of White Mountain (1620) Vienna took serious and enduring sanctions. The Czechs lost their native noble class and the Czech lands became hereditary property of the Habsburgs who established absolutist government there. This was concomitantly followed by a germanization process which had hold in the Czech vernacular culture in some degree until the 19th century. However, this could only slightly retard the emergence of nationalism which became even more demanding after the *Ausgleich* of 1867, when while Hungary achieved a semi-independent status, the Czechs had to bear with the same dependant political situation as since the battle of White Mountain, namely they had to bear that the Czech lands were still only ones among the Habsburg hereditary provinces without relevant scope of authority even in the domestic affairs. Under these circumstances the process of the Czech nation-building accelerated and nationalistic emotions were as strong at the turn of the century as never before.[91]

In the International Flow: Historicist Art Nouveau and Pre-Modern Rationalism

Despite the laborious work of the progressive Mánes Art Society (founded in 1900), during the first art nouveau buildings in Prague represented not a brake with the historicist style, but a continuity of it. Indeed, the most elegant examples of the so called "historicist art nouveau"

[91] For an introduction to the nationalism-based pre-Great War history of the Czech lands see: P. Cibulka, J. Hájek, M. Kučera, *The Definition of Czech National Society during the Period of Liberalism and Nationalism,* in J. Pánek, O. Tůma, et alii (eds.), *A history of the Czech Lands*, Prague 2009, pp. 331–376.

(which was fashionable in the Habsburg Monarchy) were built in Prague.[92] Jindřich Vybíral made it clear that this transition was not the aim of any Czech architect. According to the battles in the contemporary press, the conservative architects and critic writers struggled against the new style, while the propagators of the art nouveau would have liked to get rid of the historicist taste.[93] By looking at these buildings one can discover the need for statues, bas-reliefs, mosaics and ceramics. Actually in the Czech lands they used more decoration on the facades than in the other parts of the empire. This is a Czech tradition, especially in the Southern and Western parts of the region.

Friedrich Ohmann (who was born in Lviv [Lemberg]) was the first significant architect who designed in the art nouveau style in Prague. He was a professor at the local Academy of Applied Arts and he was deeply interested in the renaissance and baroque architecture. The first art nouveau building in Prague was a café in the Na Příkopě street with figures of genii and a steel *marquise*. On the other hand, its layout is semi-neo-renaissance. Ohmann's next building was built in the neighbouring street (Hybernská) in 1900. The Central Hotel was partially designed in neo-baroque style. Nevertheless, the *bay window* with the leaf ornaments and the allegorical facade figures are definitely art nouveau details. But at that time he received an invitation from the emperor to expand the Burg (the Royal Castle). The place of Ohmann as the leading architect was occupied rapidly by Antonín Balšánek, Osvald Polívka and Josef Fanta.[94]

Similarly to Vienna and Budapest the architecture of Prague also broke with historicism after 1900. Art historians identify this new period as the "late art nouveau" or "pre-modern rationalism". During these years, however, in Hungary (where the architects discovered the vernacular architecture) the Czechs started to use the utilitarian aesthetics of Otto Wagner's circle. Also, the leading architect of the Czech lands in this period was a Wagner-disciple: Jan Kotěra. One of his chief works is the museum in Hradec Králové. The asymmetric building is only partially designed in the art nouveau style, since the plain fields are dominating *vis-à-vis* the ornamentation on the facade. On the other hand, this modest exterior is counterweighted by the nationalistic stylization of the main hall's decoration. Kotěra's disciples followed further the path of modernism.[95] The brick-architecture of Otakar Novotný and the extreme lack of ornamentation in Josef Gočár's building (Wenke Shop,

[92] Á. Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1998, pp. 117–118.
[93] J. Vybíral., *Modernism or the National Movement in Prague*, in *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, dir. J. Purchla, Kraków 1999, pp. 204–206.
[94] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 117–118.
[95] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 333.

Jaroměř) prepared the Rondo-Cubism, which was entirely independent from the architecture of Vienna. The Rondo-Cubism (as I am going to discuss it in the thesis below) became a *par excellence* Czech style, but without national allegories and decorative details.

The Czech architecture on a Crossroad: Modern or National

Is there a tendency for a *par excellence* Slavic or Czech style among the Czech architects in the last decades of the 19th century? The Municipal House of Prague is definitely one of the chief examples of the Czech art nouveau buildings which is (on the one hand) densely ornamented with national symbols. On the other hand, if one ignores these symbols, no one could figure out if the building is in Prague or even in Paris. (At the same time, Ödön Lechner's buildings are not only decorated with vernacular motifs, but their forms are also intentionally "national".)

Since the last quarter of the 19th century the Czech architects and aesthetical thinkers had been interested also in the issue of the national style. Otakar Hostinský (under the influence of Hyppolite Taine) pronounced in 1869 that in the future any art could originate only from its close context – therefore from its national ground. Ignác Ullmann, already before Hostinský's statement, designed a building influenced by the tradition of the old Czech facades decorated with sgrafittos (1866–1867, Girls' school, Prague). In the next decade Antonín Wiehl continued Ullmann's attempt (eg. the apartment house of the artist, Prague, Wenceslaus square). At the end of the century Jan Koula (architect) and Miroslav Tyrš (art historian) named the renaissance as the source of the national style. According to Jindřich Vybíral, Ullmann and Wiehl did *not* choose the renaissance in the 1860s and 1870s not because of patriotic, but because of aesthetic intentions. The neo-renaissance was not originally a vernacular style on purpose before Tyrš and Koula.[96] In addition, its role as "the" national style was not evident around 1900 either. For example, Mucha's poster for the Prague Architecture and Engineering Exhibition (1897), the personification of the "Czech national architecture" (namely a symbolical, indeed already normative depiction) shows models of a rural hut and a baroque church in her hands.[97]

[96] J. Vybíral, *National style as a construction of art history*, in *The Plurality of Europe: Identities and Spaces*, eds. Eberhard W., Lübke C., Leipzig 2010, pp. 469–471.
[97] P. Wittlich, *Art Nouveau Prague – Forms of the Style*, Prague 2009, p. 24.

When the art nouveau appeared, every architect was (moderately or extremely) nationalist in Prague: the conservative ones who designed in "neo" styles and progressive young (who knit around the Mánes Art Society and its periodical: the *Volné směry*) as well. On the one hand, the reason of existence of a national architecture was self-evident. On the other hand, they argued with each other about the exact "form" of it: it should be either a historicist or a modernist style. The words of Karel Boromejský Mádl (the intellectual leader of the modernists) are typical for the general mindset: "We want to defend, express and realize our national character. Our desire is to create a Czech national style."[98] At the same time conservative critic writers distanced themselves from anti-historicism, while they pointed out to the danger of Anglo-Saxon utilitarianism and Americanization. Especially art nouveau was unacceptable for them, because it was a typically Viennese style.

Nevertheless, the members of the Mánes Art Society were not so strictly negative about historicism according to their debate in the *Volné směry* (the title of the debate is already telling: "Modernism or national movement"). Some of the participants even had the intention to seek out the essence of historicism in the sake of finding the Czech national architectural character. After Jindřich Vybíral, thanks to this article debate, art nouveau became more welcomed by most of the architects and thus such remarkable edifices like the Svatopluk Čech Bridge in the axis of the Pařižská street, the Franz Joseph train station and the Municipal House could be born.[99] Despite the fact that these buildings became the symbols of the art nouveau of Prague, they do be decorated with Czech motifs, thus they do not meet the purpose of the program of national style.

While in Hungary and Poland the most popular way of modernism originated from the rural architecture, in the Czech context only Dušan Jurkovič made attempts to shuffle the art nouveau with Slavic vernacular influences.

[98] K. B. Mádl, *The Forthcoming Art*, trans. K. Hayes, in K. Keserü (ed.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, p. 91.
[99] J. Vybíral., *Modernism or the National Movement in Prague* cit., pp. 206–209.

A Slovakian Who Was the only Vernacular Czech: Dušan Jurkovič

Both Jurkovič's personality and his works are border-line cases from the perspective of my thesis. He was born on the eastern part of the Moravian–Hungarian border as a Slovak patriot's son. He attended school in Sopron (Hungary) and Vienna, than he lived and worked mostly in Brno, Moravia. Nevertheless, he had several connections with the Czech(o-Slovak) nationalism and with the architects in Prague. Although, because of his relevant and unique attempts, I could not omit the Jurkovič's works from the Czech part of my thesis, I still have to underpin that he identified himself as a Slovak and not as a Czech patriot.[100] He was influenced by the Swedish open-air museum movement, by the Hungarian folkloristic efforts of Ede Thoroczkai-Wigand and József Huszka[101] and by his Viennese professor, Rudolf Feldscharek's enthusiasm for the Tyrolean vernacular architecture. On his own admission, the Turčiansky Svätý Martin folklore embroidery exhibition had such a crucial effect on his mind that he could not secede from the inspiration of the Slovakian and Moravian folk culture. He was 19 years old when he attended this exhibition and decided to dedicate his life to the vernacular art. Until the World War I, he had taken details and forms for his edifices without alteration from the rural architecture (like the historicist architects from the forms of the historical styles). After the Great War, he drew near to functionalist architectural approaches, and he used folklore motifs more and more in a stylized manner.

However, in the 1890s he was totally under the impact of the rural edifices of the Tatra Mountains and Moravia. In his plans he used details only from vernacular sources, so his personal style in this period could be labelled as a 'neo-Rural' style, which lacked any modernist detail. Meanwhile, he took many folklore collector trips, and he published his findings in several volumes in Vienna between 1905 and 1913 (the title of the series was: *Práce lidu našeho* – The Works of Our People). In 1902, while he was planning the spa bath in Luhačovice, he adopted details from the art nouveau forms for the first time. On the one hand, this was not mere art nouveau by a long chalk. On the other hand, the forms of the roofs are more tender than in the case of the original rural examples – and this could have been the impact of the art nouveau like in the case of the edifices of the German *Heimatstil* ("homeland style") and the Polish *Zakopane style* (right on the other side of the Carpathians). After 1905,

[100] Long C., *"The Works of Our People": Dušan Jurkovič and the Slovak Folk Art Revival,* in "Studies in the Decorative Arts" 2004–2005, 12, pp. 2–6.
[101] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 153.

he attempted to mix the vernacular details with the geometrical, rationalised variant of the Viennese art nouveau (which is attached to the names of Josef Hoffmann and Kolo Moser).[102] His most lyrical (certainly henceforward vernacular-like) works were the military cemeteries for the soldiers of the Habsburg Empire. For his thirty-two cemetery plans he used only stone and wood as material and mere rural forms.[103]

According to Christopher Long, meanwhile his *œuvre,* Jurkovič could be wedded to his Viennese professor's, Camillo Sitte's suggestion, namely: one should step further with all his works from the previous one.[104] The Slovakian architect was keen and used the Western Slavic rural architecture, but he could not synthesize it to an autonomous modern style – like Ödön Lechner. Perhaps his works before the Great War (the buildings in Luhačovice and the like) are also only an interesting attempt to create a vernacular-based art nouveau. Nevertheless, it is sure that no one followed his attempts, so the Czech art nouveau (unlike its Hungarian parallel) did not differ substantially from the general, international version of art nouveau. Its national character confined to the carrying of national and folklore symbols.

Emerging style of an emerging state: the Czech architectural cubism

Although the culmination of cubism is beyond the scope of this thesis, and its robust, distorted forms are radically different from the gracious patterns of art nouveau, I shall delineate the style, since it proved to be the outcome of the Czech architects' search for their national style. In the first decade of the 20th century, the Czech architecture closed up to the western tendencies. However, this development was mainly due to the most outstanding Czech *Wagnerschüler,* Jan Kotěra, a circle of the disciples of both architects[105] even so started to criticize their tutors' aesthetic approach. Pavel Janák, the leading theorist of this circle, announced the young Czechs' rupture with the geometrical modern style of Wagner and of Kotěra in 1910 in the *Styl* art review. In their eyes this geometrical approach was alien

[102] Long, *"The Works of Our People"* cit., pp. 6–18.
[103] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 253.
[104] Long, *"The Works of Our People"* cit., p. 11.
[105] The originator and chief theorist of the Czech architectural cubism, Pavel Janák was a student of Wagner, then he worked in Kotěra's design studio (namely under the eye of an older *Wagnerschüler*). Josef Chochol was a disciple of Wagner as well, while Gočár studied in Prague, and he attended the seminars of Kotěra. Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 333.

(namely not Czech) and material, while they would have liked to establish an own, richer, poetic and expressive modern architecture.[106]

Ákos Moravánszky challenges that cubism was committed to the national idea before the foundation of the Czechoslovakian state. His reason is that Janák and his entourage attacked the Czech patriot Kotěra as well.[107] However, Moravánszky's remark is relevant, he does not take into consideration that Kotěra was as enthusiastic for the idea of Czech independence as for Wagner's aesthetics, and his buildings in the Czech lands were idiosyncratic, but clear derivations from the Viennese art nouveau. The argumentation of the professor of ETH Zurich becomes more fragile after he cited from Janák's second programmatic essay: "It is indicative of the creation of our spiritual and *national substance* that our tendencies, in their breadth and depth, primarily developed out of *baroque art,* that is to say, in a period marked by abstract thoughts."[108] So the desire of national singularity and the architectural heritage of the Czechs lands did matter in the cubist circle.[109] They shared a predilection especially for the gothic and baroque architecture, since these styles' set of forms included not only rectangular, but also oblique details. Additionally, they made several experiments with the Doric order, trying to metamorphose the antique forms into modern ones. The results were odd. On the other hand, the Prague cubists' paradoxical attitude toward antique architecture (particularly the Doric order) is telling about their general aesthetic preferences. Thanks to an art historian fellow of their entourage, a Czech disciple of Alois Riegl, Vojtěch Birnbaum pointed out that the constructors of Doric temples surmounted their materials, and the abstract details of the facades prove the victory of the form (namely the human spirit) over the matter. All the same, Janák, the head of the circle, criticized every distinct style which belonged to the so called "southern architectural system", thus the Doric order as well, since they effectuated box-like edifices with rectangular forms.[110]

Nevertheless, the early (pre-Great War) cubist architecture was more engaged with a universal aesthetic programme rather than with the national idea. Janák demanded an

---

[106] R. Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague 1895–1945,* with the forewords of K. Frampton, trans. A. Büchler, Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London 1995, p. 100.
[107] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 338–339.
[108] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 339. (Italics mine.)
[109] Although the Czech cubist architects were committed to modernism, they appreciated the heritage of the "old Prague". One could find them among the members of an association, which protected the historical downtown of the city. Additionally, they mentioned repeatedly that they always planned their buildings in accordance with the historical urban context. (Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague* cit., p. 102.) The Baroque, especially the expressive Baroque-Gothic amalgam of Giovanni Santini Aichel (1677–1723) had a peculiar impact on the cubists. For example Dr. Fára's house in Pelhřimov evokes the odd forms of the Aichel's Pilgrimage Church of St John of Nepomuk at Zelená Hora. (Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 351–353.)
[110] R. Švácha, *Transformation of the Doric order and Prague Cubism, 1911–1914,* in J. Purchla, W. Tegethoff (eds.), *Nation, Style, Modernism. CIHA Conference Papers 1,* Cracow – Munich 2006, pp. 104–106.

architecture which is not the volume of dead matter. In his concept the human spirit has to dominate and shape the materials. He and his entourage learnt about the emerging analytical cubism from Emil Filla and Otto Gutfreund who returned back from Paris to Prague. He found that the distorted, crystallized forms of the cubist pictures could be transformed to the facade where they mirror the struggle between spirit and substance. As Rostislav Švácha summed up the architectural transformation of cubism: "the orthogonality of the geometric modern style came to be replaced by a system whose logic of form consisted of a diagonal and triangular compositional plan, and the Wagnerian cubes gave way to tapered quadrilaterals, pyramids, and all kind of slanted forms." The slanted, diagonal, sometimes jagged lines furnished organic effect for the crystal-lattice-like patterns. The facades started to live and move in spite of the static, stiffed outlook of the geometric modern buildings.[111] On the other hand, the slanted, splinter-like quasi-motifs result in a facade which seems as it if were a collage of several perspectives, "a subjectively viewed building". (Likewise as the compositions by Picasso or Braque.[112]) The same visual effect of cubists facades was interpreted by Moravánszky as "the strangeness of the Czech cubist architecture probably stems from this 'uprooting' of architectonics".[113]

However, Janák was the *spritus rector* of the group, his plans (whose primary peculiarity was the horizontally elongated facade) were not implemented in Prague (but some of his edifices were built in the countryside). He was known more as a furniture designer rather than an architect, while the formally almost identical plans of his fellows (Gočár and Chochol) were far more appreciated in the city. Josef Gočár's Black Madonna apartment house was the first and typical instance of Czech cubism (fig. 20 and 21). It is authentically cubist due to its pyramidal and slanted forms. On the other hand, Kotěra's influence can not be gainsaid, and the accentuated cornice between the third and the fourth floors is a detail unmistakably derived from classicism. Josef Chochol's characteristics are the sparse, rhythmically set out facade grids. The Czech expert of the field, Rostislav Švácha esteemed his works as "the most impressive cubist buildings in Prague".[114] His aesthetic went under classicization first among hid cubist peers by means of the disappearance of triangular forms and the use of plane facades.[115]

[111] Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague* cit., p. 101–102.
[112] Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague* cit., p. 118.
[113] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 333.
[114] Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague* cit., p. 104–108. Moravánszky also referred to Chochol as the designer of "the most significant works of cubism in Prague". Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 352.
[115] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 352.

It is unequivocally clear that after the Great War, and after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic a new phase started in the history of cubism, which is named as rondo-cubism due to the rounded and cambered decorative patterns instead of pyramidal ones.[116] Moravánszky even questions that this variant of the avant-garde architectural style could be interpreted as cubism at all, since in his eyes this post-1920 version lost the dynamism of the pre-Great War exemplars. All the same, the new formal language, which integrated exaggerated Slavic folk motifs, was shaped deliberately to the national style of the young Czechoslovak nation state. Janák was again the ideologist. In his new programmatic essay entitled *At the third of the road,* he argued that after the emancipation from the historical styles, and after the search for new forms, cubism faced a new task: becoming the Czechoslovakian national style. During "the last third of the road" he was not any more accompanied closely by Gočár and Chochol, and Janák worked with other architects (for example Josef Zasche) on the "national adaptation" (fig. 22).[117] The architects of the even slightly vernacular though essentially avant-garde style variant were adjured for designing representative buildings. Although Prague had been a capital for several centuries in the past, it needed many public and administrative edifices when it became the centre of a modern state. Several new buildings of ministries, insurance companies and banks were covered with the rondo-cubist facades, since the style was welcomed as "national" among the contemporaries. So the style was closely attached to nationalism, and "this meant that its popularity was too closely dependent on the wave of patriotic enthusiasm and thus faded along with it".[118]

[116] Švácha distinguished the two phases of the style, and he labelled the earlier one as "pyramidal cubism". Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague* cit., p. 186.
[117] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 359–363.
[118] Švácha, *The Architecture of New Prague* cit., p. 187.

Galicia

Despite a significant Ukrainian minority living in Galicia, the province is involved in my research, because it was part of the Habsburg Monarchy, where the Poles lived and formed the local political elite, and where the Polish architects made their own attempts to establish a national style. With regard to the situation of the Poles within the Monarchy I am going to point out that although, on the one hand, their nation-building process and their architecture were strikingly similar to the Czech's, on the other hand, differences were outstanding. The majority of the discrepancy was due to the peculiar Polish modern history, namely the division and abolition of Poland. The Polish Kingdom was partitioned by its neighbouring states: the western part (with the city of Poznań) was purchased by Prussia, the eastern part (together with Warsaw, the former centre of the Polish Kingdom) by Russia. The Habsburg Monarchy also obtained Galicia during the partition process (1772–1795; map 3). In consequence of this, the age of nationalism caught the Poles when they were the subjects of three different empires. Although they considered themselves as one nation, the national parties and associations were established separately on the three sides of the frontiers. So do the attempts for a peculiarly Polish (*not* Galician or Masovian!) architecture in the end of the 19th century. (*Nota bene!* While the Czechs were also under the rule of Vienna, they were altogether within the provincial borders of the Czech lands.) According to Małgorzata Omilanowska due to this very historical situation attempts for a Polish national style were peculiar among the others.[119]

Not only the emperors, but the economical and socio-political conditions also differed in the three parts of ethnic Polish lands. Immediately after the partition the people of all the three parts could experience moderate conditions. But in consequence of the uprisings (particularly in the Russian partition in 1830 and 1863), the Prussian and the Russian governance turned against their Polish subjects unreservedly. The tsarist regime was hostile to the Catholic clergy and persecuted those Poles who wore traditional folk costumes.[120] Additionally, Berlin and Saint Petersburg forbade the education in Polish language and introduced strict censorship.[121] In the northern region, the education in vernacular language

[119] M. Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style in Polish Architecture at the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th century*, in N. G. Bowe (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design*, Dublin 1993, p. 99.
[120] J. Lukowski, H. Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*, second edition, Cambridge 2006, pp. 187, 192–193.
[121] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 99.

was possible only in an autodidactic form and with the sponsorship of nationalist and philanthropist societies.[122] Comparing with the compatriots hitherto mentioned, the Poles in Galicia enjoyed a *relative* liberty.[123] It was not a coincidence that in 1908 the most populous nationalist politician, Józef Piłsudski moved to Galicia from Warsaw with the idea of establishing an anti-Russian troop. Together with all the other ethnicities, the introduction of male franchise in 1907 concerned the Poles as well (while in Russia the great liberal reforms – associated with the *zemstva* and the jury system in the law courts – were not extended to the region of Vistula, despite of the fact that it was the most western part of the Empire). Due to the relative liberty and their fear from the social changes and the emerging Ukrainian nationalism, the Galician nobility supported the Viennese governance. Moreover, despite a new nation state, they planned the reunification of Poland inside a "trialist" Austro-Hungarian-Polish Monarchy. Their loyalty is understandable in the light of the fact that education in Polish was allowed in the schools[124] and the newspapers could be edited and issued within unbound circumstances. "Polish national culture was allowed to flourish."[125]

Cracow became the "spiritual" capital of the disrupted nation. Despite the historical significance of the city, that role was not evident, because since the beginning of the 17th century Warsaw was the *de facto* capital of the Polish Kingdom, moreover, Lviv turned into the administrative centre of Galicia after the establishment of the province. Nevertheless, between 1815 and 1846, when it was a semi-independent "free city", Cracow symbolized the promise of independence for the rest of the nation. Indeed, it "took on the role of a surrogate state". The city was able to hold this symbolical status and fill it with real significance in the second half of the 19th century despite the fact that it was determined as a Habsburg fortress close to the Russian frontier and that its industry and commerce declined. In addition, its urban development was also low and eccentric.[126] Like in the case of Prague, the Habsburg governance did not allow Cracow to extend its authority to the neighbouring settlements. In spite of the support for the urban development, the imperial courtyard built a new wall on the place of the original, which had been demolished a few decades earlier. It is telling that this happened in the 1850s, when they started to construct the *Ring* instead of the city wall in Vienna. These anachronistic circumstances led to a really crowded city: the density of the population in Cracow was 15,851/km^2, while the same number in the case of Vienna was

[122] Lukowski, Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland* cit., pp. 192–193.
[123] J. Purchla, *Cracow and its Architecture at the Turn of the Century,* in: P. Krakowski, J. Purchla (eds.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centers and Provinces,* Cracow 1999, pp. 81–111.
[124] Although only 30 percents of the schoolchildren learnt in Polish.
[125] Lukowski, Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland* cit., pp. 182–207.
[126] Purchla, *Cracow* cit., pp. 81–83.

9410/km^2.[127] All the same, according to Jacek Purchla, still "in this way Cracow, to a partial extent, followed in the footsteps of *its elder sisters, Prague and Budapest,* which in the 19th century fulfilled, whilst still part of the Habsburg Monarchy, roles as national capitals in the modern sense of the word".[128]

The above detailed malevolent conditions impacted the field of arts as well. There was no artistic academy in the ethnic Polish lands, the young artists and architects had to attend the seminars of foreign masters, thus their art was shaped under the influence of outlander styles or conceptions. At the same time, the alien pressure (culminating at the turn of the century) came forward in the territory inhabited by Poles – evidently, in the Prussian and Russian regions in the first place. The most telling example of this phenomenon in Poznań was the neo-romanic Imperial Palace, whose "German" style expressed the politics of the bureaucrats who worked there. The Russification of Warsaw's cityscape was even stifling: during the 19th century, when thirty orthodox churches were implemented in one single city.[129] Adrian Baraniecki's words are definitely too rhetoric, but at the same time telling: he wrote that the homes of the partitioned former Poland became not only the last shelters of independence, but also museums of national history.[130] The Polish culture was squeezed out from the public spaces, and could exist only within the walls of homes.

This pressure had an awakening effect on the Polish architects and art critics. As general, the Polish intelligentsia sought for the source of a national art and architecture in two main directions: in the vernacular art and in the national history (considering the architecture: the styles which flourished in the epochs when the Polish Kingdom was glorious). The choice was not obvious at all, the discussion on the national style endured from the 1860s until the late 1920s. Małgorzata Omilanowska referred to this long process when she named the "search" as the most appropriate word for the Polish national architectural attempts.[131] In a similar manner, Jacek Purchla characterized the architecture of the *fin-de-siècle* Cracow (the city about which I am going to write the most in this chapter) as a "laboratory".[132] The first wave of debates started in the 1860s, but it was almost barren of results. The issue gathered ground again in the 1880s. By Omilanowska, the chain of attempts could be divided into two phases. Until 1908 the aim of the architects and art critics was to choose one singular

[127] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 31–33.
[128] Purchla, *Cracow* cit., pp. 83. (Italics mine.)
[129] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., pp. 99–100.
[130] D. Crowley, *National Style and nation-state. Design in Poland from the vernacular revival to the international style,* Manchester – New York 1992, p. 6.
[131] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 100.
[132] Purchla, *Cracow* cit., p. 87.

historical period or ethnographic region, and to develop its architectural style to the national level. Since they did not find any style that proved to be appropriate solely, from 1908 they were seeking for a synthesis of the "very Polish" reminiscences, which were present sporadically in the styles of the past and in the ethnographic map of the ethnic Polish lands.[133]

As it is obvious by now, after this brief apercu, the Poles were not averse from historicism at all. Indeed, Galicia was the region marked as the most permeated by historical styles in Habsburg Central Europe. Jacek Purchla also remarked the key role of historicism not only in architecture in general, but also in nation-building processes. He explained this salient continuance as following: "The lack of interdependence gave rise to a cult-like worship of the glorious past and increased the desire for a national style in art and architecture, thus strengthening and prolonging the duration of historicism."[134] So in Purchla's interpretation the desire for national freedom fed the demand for national historical topics, since in the past Poland was as independent and glorious as in the dreams of the contemporaries. On the other hand, taking into consideration the Czech and Hungarian art nouveau works and facade ornamentations, I do not find evidence that national history could be evocated only through historical manners. Before the summary of the interconnection between Polish historicism, art nouveau and national architecture, I should note that the domination of the historical styles is strongly *anachronistic* even before the Great War, not to mention the period of its aftermath.

Art Nouveau as Another Component to Historicism

Similarly to the neighbouring Czech province, art nouveau spread in junction with historicism in Galicia. The art nouveau decoration patterns were popular among architects and building entrepreneurs (especially in the mushrooming city of Łódź), but they appeared almost always as one single style among several others.[135] Purchla interpreted this tendency euphemistically: according to him, the application of art nouveau genii, goddesses and wreathes of laurel was the sign of an attempt to supersede historicism. The Polish researcher's opinion is particularly odd, if one reads sentences like the following one from the very same paper: "For many

[133] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 100.
[134] Purchla, *Cracow* cit., p. 87.
[135] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 123.

Cracovian architects – especially from the generation raised in the historicist tradition – art nouveau was just another period costume, and often a foretext for extending the eclectic palette of decorative motifs."[136] All the same, art nouveau was considered among the contemporaries as a new autonomous style, which was not totally homogenous in the ethnic Polish lands. In accordance with Lech Niemojewski's t subdivision, one could speak about two main branches of the Polish version of the style in question. The so called "Warsaw school" (culminated after 1918) represented a more classicist and rationalist manner, while for its pendant, the "Cracow school" the forms and materials were crucial. The architects of Cracow, whose most fruitful time was between 1905 and 1912, rather sought after picturesque and plastic effects.[137] Hereinafter I am going to sketch the most relevant examples from this city.

The majority of them are Franciszek Mączyński's and Tadeusz Stryjeński's works. The former architect still planned independently for the District Savings Bank a conventional classicist building decorated with art nouveau ornaments (1897–1898). (Even the beginning itself corresponds saliently to the first years of the art nouveau architecture of Prague.) Mączyński and Stryjeński's first joint building, the pavilion of the Society of Friends of Fine Arts was also a mixture of elegant classicism and the decorative modern style (1898–1901). (I am going to analyse the building at large in my first case study.) A few years later, between 1902 and 1906, they notably transformed the outline of the same square (Szczepański square) through the reconstruction of the Old Theatre (Teatr Stary; fig. 23). The building gained a fundamentally art nouveau facade, only the windows of the first floor with the semicircular arches reminded to the original exterior which was designed in the mid-century Munich's *Rudbogenstil*. Thanks to the reconstruction, the Old Theatre became the most modern building of Cracow both regarding its structure and facades, since it was the first edifice of the city with ferro-concrete elements, and the broad floral freeze of Józef Gardecki was a direct reference to the mural works of the famous *Jugendstil* designer, August Endell.[138] Besides the emphasis of art nouveau, the theatre is slightly eclectic, and not its modern, but its neo-renaissance elements hold national references: primarily, the pinecone decoration of the attic, which is a direct citation from the *Sukiennice*, the Wool Merchants Market Hall (fig. 24).[139]

This market building is highly symbolical in the local architectural heritage, since it is located in the very centre of the city and represents the source of Cracow's former richness

[136] Purchla, *Cracow* cit., pp. 88, 90.
[137] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 123.
[138] Purchla, *Cracow* cit., p. 89.
[139] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 123.

and significance: the commerce. I should stop here for a while and briefly picture the role of Renaissance in the *fin-de-siècle* Polish architecture. One could state it in general that the pinecone pattern presents the Renaissance as a glorious epoch in the past of the city and the nation. (It should be noted that the Wool Merchants Market Hall was popular among the architects thanks to its renovation in the close past also.) The other most frequently mentioned and partially copied Renaissance building was the former royal castle, the Wawel (particularly the cloister and the Sigismund Chapel), which activated nationalist rather than local-patriotic sentiments.[140] Additionally, Renaissance forms appeared in the interiors of the buildings as well. For example, the leading figure of the Young Poland *(Młoda Polska)* movement, Stanisław Wyspiański used them for the basically art nouveau fresco decoration of the vestibule of the Society of Physicians headquarter (also in Cracow). Wyspiański cited entire motifs from the facade of another famous local Renaissance university building, the *Collegium Maius.*[141] (This gesture could evoke national pride, since Cracow opened its university in 1364, one year before Vienna.) The use of Renaissance forms was not narrowed to Cracow: an important architect of the Russian part, Stefan Szyller chose the historical style in question for one of Warsaw's greatest construction in this period, the Poniatowski Bridge.[142]

The last important building of the Cracovian architect-duo: Mączyński and Stryjeński was the Chamber of Commerce known as the "Globus House" (*Dom Pod Globusem;* it gained that denomination thanks to the great iron globe situated on the cap of its tower; fig. 25).[143] The interior (implemented by Józef Mehoffer and the above mentioned Wyspiański) is vernacular, while the decoration patterns and the iconographical program were inspired partially by symbolism and partially by the Goral vernacular art.[144] (I am going to discuss the latter one in a detailed manner in the subchapter on the Zakopane style.) On the facade the vernacular fragments have to share the space with references from different epochs: window frames ornamented by romanesque and gothic reminiscences, indeed: Jacek Purchla find its outline as cubist-like and asymmetrical, and accordingly welcomed the building as an example from "the time of the advent of modernism".[145] To my mind, the facade of the

[140] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 104.
[141] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 123–125.
[142] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 104.
[143] The globe as a broach ornament appears in the top of a contemporary Hungarian art nouveau building as well. The glass facade of the Török bank (designed by Henrik Böhm and Ármin Hegedüs) was crowned with a major Patrona Hungariae mosaic and a glass globe. Unlike in Cracow, in Budapest the miniature earth was not single, but it was held by Atlas and two partners. (Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 127.)
[144] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 123–125.
[145] Purchla, *Cracow* cit., p. 93.

Globus House (*vis-à-vis* its interior) is truly eclectic (as the majority of the Polish architecture) and *rather* a national, than a modernist approach is detectable on it. I can argue for this opinion with the abstract sun symbol of the gable which is evidently a modern interpretation of the gable decorations of rural cottages. Additionally, the use of unbaked bricks furnishes a connection to the local architectural heritage as well.

Many among the contemporaries saw the brick facade as a clear characteristic of Polish architecture. The problem was that while the architects and critics sought for a distinct and a peculiar national formal language (as in general in Europe), the brick has been a fundamental constructing material almost everywhere in Northern Europe, thus in the territory of the Teutonic state, which was considered as the antecedent of the Germans, one of the history-long and even actual "arch enemies" of the Polish nation. Experts of architecture soon became aware of this fact, thus the relevancy of Karel Matuszewski's concept was reduced and the brick-based "Vistula-Baltic" substyle of Gothic did not develop to a national style. All the same, at least according to Omilanowska's too assertive interpretation, the neo-Gothic played the role of the national style until the Great War. This was true, especially in the sacral architecture of the territory under the Russian regime, because the Poles could demonstrate most saliently through the Gothic forms how stranger the architecture of the Orthodox churches seemed to them. Jósef Pius Dziekonski, Stefan Szyller, Jaroslaw and Konstanty Wojciechowski were the most laborious architects in that domain. The latter together with Jan Sas-Zubrzycki argued that the main peculiarities of the "Polish Gothic" should be the double arches in the facade's axis, and the asymmetrical, unequally high towers. (They based that second characteristic on the example of the famous St Mary's Church in Cracow, whose towers were actually implemented in a different size. Nevertheless, there was no intention behind this in the Middle Ages, while the modern "successors" stressed the asynchrony on purpose.)[146] I shall mention here what Omilanowska ignored, namely that neo-romanesque and neo-Gothic was remarkably popular in the cases of ecclesiastical building projects in the second half of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century in other parts of Europe as well. (I mention here only the two fundamental reconstructions of the "sister national capitals": Budapest and Prague: the Mathias Church and the St Vitus Cathedral.)

There are a few examples which benefit both from vernacular art and from the recent achievements of the pre-modern strivings (like Ödön Lechner's works). But Jan Zawiejski's, Władysław Ekielski's, and Sławomir Odrzywolski's architectural concepts were mixed with

[146] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., pp. 100–102.

historical styles as well. The latter architect made the most noteworthy attempt in Cracow to furnish an art nouveau-based Polish national architecture. The result of this attempt was the Trade School (Szkoła Przemysłowa, 1907–1913; fig. 26), an eye-appealing public building, which, according to Tadeusz Dobrowolski, an art historian active in the mid-20th century, summed up the "essence of the Cracovian art nouveau".[147] Its components are the following: the stone and brick as the materials of revetment, windows with Venetian style vaults, Gothic-like brick freezes with rhombus pattern, and the combination of the art nouveau and vernacular ornaments. Dobrowolski exemplified the latter with the Gorals' sun symbol, and I would like to add by all means the Polish coat-of-arms with the eagle, the national heraldic animal which decorates the other gable of the main facade.[148]

Małgorzata Omilanowska, Dobrowolski's successor as a researcher, was more sincere when she added - because it was regarded as a foreign style - "art nouveau was not very popular in Poland". To "soften" its extraneous character, the architects and applied artists coupled it with Polish folk art.[149] By Witold Krassowski, the vernacular architecture of the northern Tatras was discovered in the early 19th century.[150] Decades later, an art critic, Franciszek Ksawery Martynowski was the first (in parallel with Matusewski's above-mentioned "national Gothic" approach) who suggested folk architecture as a potential source for the *par excellence* Polish architecture. Martynowski's theoretical suggestion was soon followed by practical ideas.[151] Among them there was eminently the one which preferred vernacular art from the Tatras, where the quasi-fabled Gorals lived.

[147] I have to admit that this phrasing should be more moderate, because the generality of the Cracovian Art Nouveau was confined to be another source of decoration on "the palette of historical styles". On the other hand, Tadeusz Dobrowolski's expression reveals the Polish art historians' intention to consider the local examples of Art Nouveau as a fully fledged substyle.
[148] Purchla, *Cracow* cit., p. 91.
[149] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 104.
[150] Quoted by Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 248.
[151] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 102.

A Consistent, but Powerless Attempt: The Zakopane Style

The history of the Zakopane style is confusing due to its paradoxes, which are almost as many as one can count in connection with Polish history.[152] Accordingly, the contemporary and historiographical awarding of the style is dissimilar. Then, some artists (especially Witkiewicz's entourage) enthused over the idea, while the majority of the academic architects entirely ignored it. Likewise, among the experts of architecture of Central Europe at the end of the century, Ákos Moravánszky[153] and David Crowley[154] appreciated Witkiewicz's striving as the only noteworthy attempt for a Polish national architecture before the Great War, while Małgorzata Omilanowska considered the Zakopane style only as a brief chapter in the architectural history of Poland.[155] Studying the literature related to the architecture of ethnic Polish lands I also oscillated a lot about the interpretation of this deeply vernacular-based stylistic attempt. There was a period when I was amenable to accept that Witkiewicz's striving was *mutatis mutandis* as fully fledged and current as Lechner's in Hungary. Now, at this point of my research, my opinion is more modest, since the Zakopane style did not gain currency in the ethnic Polish lands and it was condemned by the contemporaries as a rural timber architecture, which would be anachronistic in the mushrooming cities. On the other hand, it was the only consistent attempt to establish a Polish architecture before 1918. (The aforementioned historicist attempts remained echoless and incomplete.) Therefore, it is worth discussing it at large with all the paradoxes connected to it.

First of all, the Podhale region and its central town, Zakopane were part of Galicia (indeed, the route from the Russian Empire to this mountainous region got across Cracow), although the artist who discovered and cultivated the idea of the style came almost merely from Warsaw and not from Cracow, the "national cultural capital". The most important institute of higher education in the Russian part of the ethnic Polish lands was the so called Central School (Szkoła Główna) of Warsaw. It was a nest of patriotism, although its scholars rejected the traditional nobility-based, romantic approach of nationalism, and stressed the national and social union of all the Polish-speakers. Their positivist-based concept also

[152] The Routledge publishing house issued a summary of the Polish history after the fall of the iron curtain with this title: S. Gomułka, A. Polonski (eds.), *Polish Paradoxes*, London 1990.
[153] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., 248–250.
[154] D. Crowley, Finding Poland in the Tatras: Local and National Features of the Zakpane Style, in J. Purchla (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, pp. 317–326.
[155] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., pp. 102–104.

emphasized the research of the actual circumstances despite the nostalgia toward the obscure past. Thus, the Polish peasants became important for the positivists of Warsaw in a double sense: they considered the rural inhabitants of the ethnic Polish lands as a contemporary social stratum, which shall be examined scientifically to enlighten them and incorporate them into the nation. The Gorals (highlanders) lived in the Tatra Mountain, more precisely in Podhale, which was one of the poorest regions of Galicia, the most underdeveloped province of the Habsburg Monarchy.[156]

The first member of the Warsaw positivist group, who visited Podhale in 1873, was a physician, Tytus Chałubiński. The aim of his journey was entirely alien from art: he was led by philanthropic ideas and helped the Gorals struggle against cholera. Chałubiński was amazed by the isolated microcosm of Podhale (and he appreciated the relatively liberal political atmosphere of Galicia after the assimilating pressure of the tsarist regime). His reports attracted the fellow members of the Warsawian intelligentsia, among them Bolesław Prus, the head of the Central School, and another physician, Władisław Matlakowski, who wrote two books on the local architecture. All the same, the Goral lifestyle and vernacular art deeply impressed Stanisław Witkiewicz, a painter from Warsaw, who first visited Zakopane in 1886, and he moved there with his family in 1890.[157]

The intensive inquiry of the Warsawian intelligentsia toward Podhale is even more salient if one takes into consideration that the scholars and artists from the neighbouring city of Cracow were much less interested in the Gorals. *Nota bene!* The followers of the Warsaw press could read thrice as many articles on Zakopane as the readers of the Cracovian journals and periodicals.[158] The disparity between the Cracovian and Warsawian interest toward Zakopane is strange, since the Young Poland movement associated with artist circles of Cracow dominated the literary/fine arts discourse of the ethnic Polish lands. Besides that, it was composed by patriots, and led by Stanisław Wyspiański, a committed agent of the national case.[159] Wyspiański cordially depicted national iconographical/decorative programs, and he utilized some details from the Goral vernacular art as well.[160] All the same, I have not founded any reference in the literature I read whether Wyspiański's and Witkiewicz's entourages, the enthusiasts of Zakopane and the Young Poland were in connection with each

[156] Lukowski, Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland* cit., p. 186. Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., pp. 317–319.
[157] Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., pp. 319–321.
[158] Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., p. 323.
[159] For a detailed introduction of the fin-de-siècle Cracow intelligentsia and the Young Poland movement see: P. Krakowski, *Cracow Artistic Milieu Around 1900,* in J. Purchla (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, pp. 71–79.
[160] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., pp. 123–125.

other or not. Even if there existed some liaison, the Cracovian artists were more indifferent toward the propagators of the Zakopane style, than toward the region itself. The eccentric lack of collaboration met the eyes of David Crowley, the most recognized non-Polish expert of the topic as well. The professor of the Royal College of Art explained that as follows: "The answer to this question is complex and may be found in the relatively conservative forms of the Cracovian pragmatism and may manifest in gestures of loyalty towards Vienna compared to the avowed activism of the Warsaw Positivism, and in Kraków's embrace of a romantic national history in contrast to the Positivist enthusiasm for the present."[161]

The Zakopane style was particularly similar to Dušan Jurkovič's pre-World War I architecture in respect of the fact that it was a "neo-vernacular" style. That is, it was a new display of the Podhale folk architectural forms, but only those ones; a new permutation within the same enclosed formal language. For the contemporaries Matlakowski's two above-mentioned books summed up the characteristics of the region's rural architecture: The buildings of the Gorals consisted of timber and stood on massive stones or oak post foundations. The center of the house was the hearth, which was surrounded by two or three rooms. The Gorals paid special attention to the decoration of the roof (particularly to the gables and the eaves), and that of the window frames and doors. The most popular patterns were the simple geometric ones and plant forms such as edelweiss, six-point compass rosettes,[162] mountain thistle,[163] sun motifs, and, first of all, the radiant sun on the gables.[164]

Although in a Europe-wide context Witkiewicz's demand for a national style is not peculiar, David Crowley featured "the attempt to 'nationalise' the local" as the great paradox of the Zakopane style. Nevertheless, for Witkiewicz's enthusiast entourage it seemed evident that the actual folk art of Podhale was not a local phenomenon, but a general Polish style in the age of Casimir III the Great (reign: 1333–1370), and was saved by the Gorals in the Tatras. Thus, it was time to "re-nationalise" it.[165] The propagators tried to support this statement with the quest after the reminiscences of this "old national art", which was left in the other regions of ethnic Polish lands. Stanisław Eljasz-Radzikowski (whose brochure is going to be an element in my case study on manifestos) discovered Zakopane Stlye-like fragments of old edifices in Lithuania (integral part of the Polish historical lands), Muszyna,

[161] Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., p. 323.
[162] Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., p. 320.
[163] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 104.
[164] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 248.
[165] Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., pp. 324–325.

Cracow, and Lviv.[166] Julian Maszyński welcomed a representative of this almost entirely lost "genuine style" in a carved and painted 17th century table, which he found in a church in Lublin (Lesser Poland).[167] Perhaps it was the greatest achievement of the style attempt and even the partitioning powers appreciated the peculiarity and the representative potential of the Podhale architecture, and they presented Witkiewicz's villa, the Dom Pod Jedlami (fig. 27) at the Paris World Exhibition of 1900.[168]

Nevertheless, Witkiewicz's committed group could not break out from a minority status in the intellectual sphere, while the buildings designed in the Zakopane style did not appear outside the Tatras. Although in Podhale seven distinct persons planned several villas in the Zakopane style (fig. 27), and a chapel (fig. 28), a sanatorium, and two hotels were implemented in this formal language, followers did not really turn up in other Polish regions (not either in Cracow or in Warsaw). In the centre of the Russian part, a single noteworthy case can be mentioned: Jarosław Wojciechowski's apartment building in the Chmielna Street, whose facade is a timber cottage outlay (with studs and lattice-work) transformed into masonry. A similar plan was prevented in Lviv, where Jan Tarczałowicz designed a Zakopane style villa with a veranda *(pazdur)*, but the city architect forbade the construction alluding to the material anachronism, namely that this building would have been a rural timber one in the proud bourgeois provincial capital. The local Polish press saw the reason of rejection elsewhere: they protested against the decision of the Habsburg bureaucratic city architect of German origins, who obstructed the appearance of Polish architecture in Lviv. Nevertheless, even Polish patriot architects criticized this vernacular approach on the strength of the same remarks. In addition, it was more awkward that in the press the academic architects called the representatives of the Zakopane style as amateurs and dilettantes, whose head, Witkiewicz was actually not an academically trained architect, but a self-educated, who followed the suggestions of the Goral craftsmen and his fellow artists.[169] The critics – among them the most vociferous was the entourage of the partially eclectic, partially modernist Władysław Ekielski – held against the Zakopane style's national demand that pointed-roofed cottages are

[166] S. Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style*, transl. J. Lesniewska, in K. Keserü, P. Haba (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, p. 49.
[167] Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., p. 324.
[168] N. G. Bowe, *Vernacularism in Central Europe and Beyond: a Discussion from an English-speaking Perspective,* in J. Purchla (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, pp. 287–306.
[169] Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., pp. 322–325.

dysfunctional on the northern vast plains of the ethnic Polish lands, for example in Lithuania.[170]

According to David Crowley, this scorn of the professional architects defeated the monumental attempt of the Zakopane style, which faced a decline even before the Great War.[171] Additionally, I find worth evoking the interpretation of the aforementioned British art historian, who emphasized that the paradoxical nature of the vernacular based style attempt is an essential question. Before, I raised the first and the most significant inconsistency that (despite their imagined "genuine Polish style" of the Middle Ages) the striving of Witkiewicz's entourage was the nationalisation of a particular, regional formal language. This discrepancy is more outstanding if one takes into consideration that in the eyes of the Zakopane movement, the Gorals were considered as the "carriers of the true Polishness", while their deflection from other Poles was underlined as well. By the same token, they would have liked to distribute the Goral architectural language and lifestyle in the contemporaneous Polish ethnic lands, and at the same time, they tried to protect it from modernity. On the whole, the Zakopane style attempt emerged from the Warsaw positivist circle, which main intention was to transcend and democratise the nobility-based Romantic Polish nationalism. Witkiewicz's circle was, on the other hand, essentially romantic and idealist.[172]

Nevertheless, the Zakopane style was the most remarkable attempt for a Polish national architecture before 1918, and it was not alien to the subsequent fully fledged version of this demanded national style. It was proven to be the most fruitful vernacular approach of this field, but not the single one. Ludwik Konarzewski made plans under the artistic impact of the region of Cieszyn Silesia (a city close to the border of Moravia),[173] while folklorists stressed that the vernacular art of Mazury region and that of the neighbouring Kurpie region are as able to be the base for a national architecture as the Goral folk art is.[174]

[170] W. Bałus, *The Zakopane Style and the Ongoing Debate about the Polish National Style in Architecture and Design*, in K. Keserü, P. Haba (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, p. 30.
[171] Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., p. 325.
[172] Crowley, *Finding Poland in the Tatras* cit., pp. 325–326.
[173] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 104.
[174] Bałus, *The Zakopane Style and the Ongoing Debate about the Polish National Style* cit., p. 30.

The narrative, which finally led to this nation-wide accepted style, went on from 1896, when Zygmunt Czartorsky's book *On the Native style in Village Constructions (O stylu krajowym w budownictwie wiejskim)* was published in the Prussian part of the ethnic Polish lands. Czartorsky argued that the rejuvenation of the architecture of the Polish villages could serve as an antidote against the Germanization of the land and townscapes. Although the author of this book sketched only theoretical ideas, one among them had gained currency since 1903 due to Stanislaw Borecki and Roger Slawski. This concept was the resurrection of the typical house of the Polish noblemen: the manor *(dwór).* The manors are not associated with a single historical style. The most current type unite the characteristics of the late baroque and the early classicist period, but it had been modelled by various styles during the centuries, while the rural architecture of the noblemen's peasants also had had an effect on the manor's outline. According to Omilanowska, the manor house type was angled in the search for a national style and finally could lend its name to the fully fledged version thanks to its style-flexibility. Since the Poles found out that there was not any single historical style which could mirror the "Polish spirit" or which could be free from the deep influence of foreign nations. Hence, they decided to accumulate the national reminiscences from distinct styles even as from the vernacular architecture. The manor house fitted this conception.[175] Neither the contemporaries nor the scholars of the topic emphasized the connection between the Zakopane style and the manor style. All the same, the peculiarities of the new attempt in question were saliently similar to the characteristics of the architecture of the Gorals: high-pitched roofs, porches, and dormers crowned by triangular gables in the axis of the facade.[176] The latter – often developed to a portico with four columns and a tympanum – was the main feature and the only one which distinguished the manor from the Zakopane style.

The three competitions of the Polish Applied Art Society were the greatest drifts that helped the manor style developing on the national scale. The society (founded in 1901 under the impact of the Arts and Crafts movement) announced the competitions particularly for manor type buildings between 1908 and 1913, around the time when the rondo-cubism evolved. The crystallization process endured until the end of the Great War, whereupon it dominated the design of the Polish suburbs in the interwar period. It was the sign of the

[175] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., pp. 105–109.
[176] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 250.

style's consensual nature that it appeared homogenously everywhere in the young nation state. Neither the peculiarities of the folk art regions, nor the 123 year long political partition reflected in it. Among others, representative garden city-like quarters were implemented for the clerics and army officers in the Żoliborz district of the new capital, Warsaw. All the same, to my mind, the steadiest proof of the manor style's national character was that both Józef Piłsudski, the *de facto* leader of the interwar period Poland (fig. 29),[177] and his successor as *de iure* president, Gabriel Narutowicz lived in a modern *dwór* during their mandate.[178]

The same historicist-eclectic synthesis dominated the ecclesiastical architecture as well, but it was termed as a homely style *(styl swojski)* instead of bearing the name of a secular house type. However, their essences were selfsame. The general description of an ordinary church designed in the homely style depicts lurid historicism of the interwar Polish architecture: on Gothic ground plan (one nave, two apses, transept, towers on the western facade) a slightly modern mass of building, but the frames of portals and windows were Renaissance and Baroque, the gables and the steeples Baroque and Rococo, while the chapels (connected asymmetrically to the nave) again Renaissance and Baroque.

Although a consensus about what could be a proper national style emerged only after the Great War, hence beyond my period scope, the fully fledged version is inseparable from the long search which predated it. This consensual national style was a synthesis in a double sense: not only because it utilized the aforesaid pre-World War attempts, but also because it was a truly eclectic approach. The processes of the Czech and Polish national style attempts could be parallel from many aspects, most of all, if one regards that both achieved their fully fledged phase straight after the establishment of the new, sovereign Czechoslovakian Republic and Poland. Nevertheless, the two processes differ mostly at this point, since Kotěra's disciples elaborated a radically progressive, *par excellence* avant-garde architectural language, while the Polish architects got stuck in historicism, moreover, eclecticism, which was anachronistic even in the last decades of the 19th century.

[177] The „representative character" of this modern manor was even more salient, since officially the Polish army gave it to Piłsudski as a present.
[178] Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style* cit., p. 107–111.

Chapter 3
CASE STUDIES

Exhibition Pavilions of the National Modern Art Associations

Due to the fact that there is no disposable qualitative data related to my topic I tried to invent the most representative possible types or genres for the qualitative case studies. My first choice is a set of the exhibition pavilions of the national modern art societies in Vienna, Budapest, Prague and Cracow.

The (exhibition) pavilion is a specific, often ephemeral architectural genre, which, at the same time, requires the expression of the procurer's ideology, but also allows the designer a greater liberty. Edifices from this type are frequently self-reflections to the contemporary tendencies of architecture.[179] Nonetheless, the pavilions of this chapter were procured by artist societies, which united contemporary painters, sculptors and architects, the majority or all of whom were engaged with art nouveau. Presumably they choose a style, a decoration and an iconography for their exhibition space which represents in the best manner possible their artistic convictions and ideology.

The societies in question could be considered as "secessionist" and anti-academic both in the sense of style and their separatism. They attacked not only the conservative aesthetic principles of the academies, but also their institutional monopoly in the art market. The first private galleries opened just at the end of the 19th century, thus the great annual or multi-annual "salons" offered almost the only considerable exhibition possibility. These "official" salons were controlled by the academies which frequently refused the works of progressive artists, obliging them to suffer cost-of-living difficulties. Therefore one of the most significant goals of these societies was to ensure exhibition space for their members. Moreover, the Czech and Hungarian association in question did not have any ideological program when they were founded; their aim was rather to organize shows where the members could display their works.[180] Anyway, beside their periodicals, their pavilions and the exhibitions they organized

[179] E. Prakfalvi, *Foreword. Outline of a Thematic Exhibition*, in Z. Fehérvári, V. Hajdú, E. Prakfalvi (eds.), *Pavilion Architecture in the 19–20th century from Hungarian Museum of Architecture*, Budapest 2001, p. 13.
[180] E. Szívós, *Social History of Fine Arts in Hungary, 1867–1918*, Boulder – Wayne – Budapest 2011, pp. 20, 27–31.

they presented the most peculiar characteristics of the activity of art groups in the Habsburg Monarchy.[181]

The four associations I have chosen were not the only or the most progressive non-academic art groups in the national regions of the Monarchy in question.[182] On the other hand, they were the most significant organisations within the members of the national non-academic opposition. The Vienna-based *Secession*, the Budapest-based *National Salon*, the Prague-based *Mánes Union* and the Cracow/Lvov-based *Sztuka Society* were art groups characterized by similar pursuit and ideas, which got in touch with each other (this interconnection manifested itself). All the same, the associations were founded on a national scope, which they made clear even with their denominations.[183] One could consider them as counter-associations or schismatic ("secessionist") movements. The Mánes Union was established against the local Art Association, the National Salon against the Exhibition Hall, whose directory was led by the Hungarian National Society for Fine Arts,[184] the Vienna Secession against the *Künstlerhaus,*[185] and the Sztuka against the Cracow and Lvov Association of Friends of Fine Arts.[186]

They were peculiar symptoms of the *fin-de-siècle* artistic life, such as the *Munich Secession*, the *Berlin Secession* or Ljubljana's *Sava* group. The following table sums up the important dates related to the art groups in question.[187]

	Mánes	**National Salon**	**Secession**	**Sztuka**
Foundation	1887	1894	1897	1897
Release of its art periodical	1896	—	1898	1897
Exhibition pavilion	1902	1907	1897–1898	1899–1901

Table 1

[181] Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska S., *"Sztuka" – "Wiener Secession" – "Mánes". The Central European Art Triangle*, in "Artibus et Historiae", 2006, 27, p 217.
[182] Szívós, *Social History* cit., p. 30, 248.
[183] The complete denominations of the art groups are: *Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs* "*Wiener Secession"* [Austrian Fine Artist Unification "Vienna Secession"], *Nemzeti Szalon* [National Salon], *Spolek výtvarných umělců Mánes* [Mánes Union of Fine Artists], *Towarzystwo Artystów Polskich "Sztuka"* [The Society of Polish Artists "Art"].
[184] Szívós, *Social History* cit., p. 31.
[185] R. Kurdiovsky, *Joseph Maria Olbrich*, in C. Brandstätter (ed.), *Vienna 1900 and the Heroes of Modernism*, London 2006, p. 267.
[186] Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, *"Sztuka"* cit., p 219.
[187] The data for the table was provided by Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, *"Sztuka"* cit.

The four associations were founded in the same decade (1887–1897), in addition, their exhibition pavilions were also built within ten years (1897–1907). Except the group of Budapest, they published art periodicals: the *Ver Sacrum* (Sacred Spring) in Vienna, the *Volné směry* (Free Directions) in Prague and the *Życie* (Life) in Cracow. All associations started this editorial activity (which was one of the group's most significant displays) in the second half of the 1890s, only within three years. These issues not only contain relevant admixtures for the actual case study, but they are essential sources about the evolution of modern art in Central Europe.[188]

In this chapter I focus only on the exhibition halls of the art groups. Although the original functions of the buildings were the same, their later stories differ a lot. The Secession Hall today is one of the most known examples of the art nouveau architecture, while it has become the symbol not only of the Vienna Secession group,[189] but the *fin-de-siècle* Viennese culture (fig. 30).[190] Beside the Viennese pavilion, only the one in Cracow is intact nowadays (fig. 33). The exhibition hall of the National Salon was demolished with allusion to static problems by the city council of Budapest in 1959 during the Socialist era (fig. 31).[191] The pavilion of the Mánes Union in Prague was projected intentionally as an ephemeral building (fig. 32).[192] Despite having a permission only for the Rodin exhibition for the sake of which it was raised, the pavilion served the purpose of modern art until 1916.[193]

(I should elucidate here that the Cracow pavilion lolls out from the comparison, since it was not raised by the introduced progressive art group Sztuka, but by its counter-association, the slightly conservative Society of Friends of Fine Arts.[194] Notwithstanding I associated this partially art nouveau pavilion with the more progressive and nationalist Sztuka, because they constantly exhibited there. Otherwise, this admixture could make one think over the hostility, which is considered as a fact in scientific literature.)

At the time of their construction pavilion plans got equal support from the city councils. The erection of the Mánes Union's pavilion is not separable from the Rodin exhibition, since it was implemented for the sake of the sculptural show, which became a

[188] In the case of Hungarian art life, the most important one among the periodicals was *Művészet* (Art). In *Művészet* they published several articles related to the National Salon's activity, but there was no direct connection between the editorial board and the art group.
[189] Kurdiovsky, *Joseph Maria Olbrich* cit., p. 267.
[190] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 136.
[191] Á. Tímár, *Néhány adat az Erzsébet téri Nemzeti Szalon történetéhez,* in "Ars Hungarica", 2007, 35, pp. 406.
[192] C.M. Giustino, *Rodin in Prague: Modern Art, Cultural Diplomacy, and National Display*, in "Slavic Review", 2010, 69, pp. 603–604. R. Švácha, *Mánes Pavilion in Prague, 1902*, in *Jan Kotěra (1871–1923). The Founder of Modern Czech Architecture*, with the forewords of Š. Vladimír, Prague 2001. pp. 122.
[193] Giustino, *Rodin* cit., p. 607.
[194] Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, *"Sztuka"* cit., p 227.

national issue rapidly. In default of the Czech state authorities, the municipal council of Prague, as the primary national authority, invited Rodin in Paris.[195] They sent a delegation to the border as well to welcome the French artist when he entered the Czech lands.[196] The municipal direction disburdened the construction with the one-off release of the prohibition regarding timber buildings in the city. Due to that allowance the pavilion was built only in six weeks.[197] The Lord Mayors of the twin-capitals, Karl Lueger and Isván Bárczy also supported the building intentions of the art groups in their cities.[198] Since one could speak about such thing only there, in Austria and in Hungary the state patronized the implementation of exhibition spots as well. At first, the Vienna Secession got a plot from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which belonged to the Ministry of War. (Eventually, the association built on a municipal site, because Olbrich's plan was too daring in the urban context, which surrounded the plot of the Ministry of War[199] The National Salon did not choose an empty plot, but an actual kiosk with the intention of reconstruction. Moreover, it was a kiosk designed by one of the most important Hungarian academic architects, Alajos Hauszmann, who was a hostile to the Hungarian art nouveau. The case proved to be tender and it generated numerous debates. The National Salon finally acquired the right to rebuild the former kiosk. The association's success was due to its president, Count Gyula Andrássy, who was the Minister of the Interior in line with his presidency of the art group.[200]

Nevertheless, the original layout, function, and the conditions among which they were implemented are also similar to each other in many aspects, like the associations which used them.

In the first place, the architects who were charged with the design of the pavilions were all members of the art groups in question. Furthermore, the designer of the Prague pavilion, Jan Kotěra was the editor in chief of the journal *Volné směry* and the president of the Mánes Union at the same time.[201] Nonetheless, this pavilion belongs to his early works, same as in the case of the other three architects. In 1897, when Olbrich started the plans for the Secession Hall, he graduated only four years before, but he even became charged with the construction of the art group's representative edifice, while Josef Hoffmann and Otto Wagner were also members of the Vienna Secession. The National Salon was the first public building

[195] Giustino, *Rodin* cit., p. 600.
[196] P. Wittlich, *Prague: Fin de Siècle*, trans. S. Skarbova, Paris 1992, p. 159.
[197] Giustino, *Rodin* cit., p. 607.
[198] Kurdiovsky, *Joseph Maria Olbrich* cit., p. 268. Szívós, *Social History* cit., p. 247.
[199] Kurdiovsky, *Joseph Maria Olbrich* cit., p. 267.
[200] Tímár, *Néhány adat* cit., p. 391–394.
[201] J. Vybíral, *Verba et Voces. Jan Kotěra in the Realm of Ideas and Social Relationship*, in *Jan Kotěra (1871–1923). The Founder of Modern Czech Architecture*, with a preface by Š. Vladimír, Prague 2001, pp. 55.

in the capital of József and László Vágó, who were just in their early thirties.[202] Franciszek Mączyński, the architect of the Cracow pavilion, was not even a graduate at the time of the implementation of his building. So, all the four exhibition spots were designed by young, but already recognized architects, whose name is well-known today due to their later buildings.

Additionally, the architects were even more interconnected, it is possible to draw quite a net of influences which affected the birth of the pavilions in question. The centre of this net is certainly Vienna, the nucleus of Central European architecture for centuries. Olbrich created a new subtype of pavilion architecture, which became monumental due to the portico and the dome. Mączyński's edifice was influenced by the first (at last partially superseded) plans of Olbrich, but the Polish architect reduced the dome in his own version.[203] It is eye-catching in Prague that Jan Kotěra also disposed the monumental entrance between two pylons,[204] while the reception hall is covered with a dome. According to their similar portals, Rostislav Švácha set together Kotěra's pavilion with another building by Olbrich, the Ernst-Ludwig-Haus in Darmstadt, which was constructed a year before the opening of Mánes Union's first exhibition.[205]

The Central European-wide pervasive influence of Otto Wagner, the leading Viennese modern architect of the epoch marked the architecture of the exhibitonal pavilions of the art groups as well. Perhaps even more deeply than Olbrich's Secession Hall. The aesthetic/architectural programme of Otto Wagner's atelier was really current in Austria-Hungary, especially in the eastern half of the monarchy.[206] On the other hand, it is difficult to separate the influence of the two architects, since Olbrich was working in Wagner's studio when he planned the hall, and he evidently used experiences gained next to Wagner during the design process of the Vienna underground stations. Moreover, Olbrich influenced his master also: according to Richard Kurdiovsky, the young architect played a role in Wagner's sudden and definitive turn toward modern tendencies.[207] Kotěra was also Wagner's disciple in Vienna, thus they belonged to the same circle with Olbrich. The impact of the dominant Viennese architect was not only measureable in actual buildings. Both Kotěra and József Vágó wrote intense articles about Wagner's architecture, which were published in the leading

[202] A. Lambrichs, *Vágó József*, trans. Zs. Morvay, Budapest 2005, p. 41.
[203] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 140.
[204] Giustino, *Rodin* cit., p. 604.
[205] Švácha, *Mánes Pavilion* cit., p. 122. The influence of Olbrich in the case of Kotěra is recognized by Cathleen M. Giustino and Vladimír Šlapeta as well. Giustino, *Rodin* cit., p. 605. Šlapeta V., *Architect Jan Kotěra*, in *Jan Kotěra (1871–1923). The Founder of Modern Czech Architecture*, with the forewords of Šlapeta V., Prague 2001. pp. 16.
[206] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 167.
[207] Kurdiovsky, *Joseph Maria Olbrich* cit., p. 267, 271.

art journals of the Czech lands and Hungary. Kotěra's text *O novém umění* (*On New Art*, 1900) proved to be the introductory programme of modern architecture in the Czech context.[208] The Vágó's article is also a precious source for art historians, since the author compared Wagner with his own master, the school-founder Ödön Lechner.

The contemporary critics of the Hungarian reviews and newspapers already discovered the parallelism between the new pavilion of the National Salon and the Secession Hall, which had opened its gates a decade before in the other twin-capital.[209] It happened that critics held against this parallelism and underlined the originality of the building. For example, György Kürthy interpreted the radical reconstruction of Hauszmann's former kiosk as follows: "To the top and to one side of the extant building they attached something, which was called as modern architectural effort 10-15 years ago by the innovators from Vienna and Darmstadt: Moser, Hoffmann, and mainly Olbrich. This has the effect as if one sits down and would like to reinvent the gunpowder."[210] The particularly influential critic of the epoch, the author of the first thoughtful essay on Ödön Lechner, Lajos Fülep was more satirical: "The sober, smooth, and empty walls end and join in lines, which are, according to the official report, Hungarian lines. In general here everything is Hungarian, but the smell is Viennese. The good and old smell of Secession which is the most pleasurable one far and wide in this monarchy."[211]

If one ignores the personal impacts and interconnections of the architects and take a look on the buildings without assumptions, some similarities will seem to be striking as well. The modern, slightly geometric layout of the Prague and Budapest pavilions correspond to the Secession Hall. The facades omit the classical forms: there are no capitals, even no columns or other mouldings. Despite the emphasized entrances the walls are rather plain and empty, which mirrors the anti-ornamental efforts of the modern architecture. I referred above to the great impact of Wagner's aesthetic conceptions. It was his circle as well (with Kotěra and Olbrich among the disciples), where the starkest attempts were made toward a radically modern, less and less ornamented architecture.[212]

It is also a common peculiarity that the relatively small pavilions have monumental impressions. On the other hand, the Palace of Art in Cracow has a fundamentally historicist

[208] Vybíral, *Verba et Voces* cit., p. 55–57.
[209] A Hungarian art historian, Árpád Tímár elaborated on the echo of the new building in the contemporary Hungarian press. See the citations which refer to the Viennese parallelism: Tímár, *Néhány adat* cit.
[210] Tímár, *Néhány adat* cit., p. 404.
[211] Tímár, *Néhány adat* cit., p. 403.
[212] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 289. However the "dragon of ornament" was killed by a non-*Wagnerschüler* contemporary Viennese architect, Adolf Loos.

layout, one can see on the facades several classical reminiscences (attic, tympanum, cannelured ionic columns) mixed with art nouveau details (first of all the symbolical woman head with the ray-wreath over the main entrance).

Although the usage of the floral motifs is an essential element of every definition of the 'art nouveau', it is striking that all the four ornamental/iconographical programs are determined by trees. The union of tree symbolism and architecture was supremely implemented in the case of Olbrich, who crowned his hall with the gilded laurel tree-like dome. Due to this dome the hall seems like the shroud canopies, which served as a marker of sacred sites in the antiquity.[213] According to Richard Kurdiovsky, Olbrich's intention was to raise a 'temple of art'. For the task he gained a lot of impression in front of the antique Doric temple in Segesta. In the end, he invented a new dome variant.[214] Kotěra's effort was similar, he tried to transfer the ephemeral building into a 'temple of art' with the glass dome and the pylons.[215] Stefania Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska also pre-eminently interpreted the pavilions in Vienna, Prague and Cracow as 'temples of art'.[216]

One could discover reminiscences of tree motifs even in many details of the facades and the interiors. The walls of the Vágó brothers' edifice were covered with majolica tiles decorated with motifs of tulips, leaves, and sprouts. For the paints they chose "the light, pastel colours of smooth vernal flowers, blooming apple trees, redolent lilacs, and salient sprouts", because they would have liked to express the ageless, always renewing nature of art, which is going to live in this building.[217] In Vienna and Prague the laurel wreaths (as symbols of apotheosis) have an emphasized role. The painting of the latter building's tympanum depicts also a tree in its axis. One could find limb-decoration on the facade in Cracow as well.

The architects' intentions were such buildings which are closely attached to the idea of 'modern art'. The Secession Hall with its blocky, cubistic forms was a path-breaker example of the modern architecture *per se*.[218] The Vágó brothers considered their pavilion as a manifesto of modern architecture. They rapturously speak about their goal: "When we elaborated our actual work we would have liked to make not only a nice house, but would have liked to alter it to a revolutionary flag of progress, around which the modern, the young could fall in line. We meant it as a cry of war in order to be able to finally start a systematic

[213] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 136.
[214] Kurdiovsky, *Joseph Maria Olbrich* cit., p. 269, 272–273.
[215] Švácha, *Mánes Pavilion* cit., p. 122.
[216] Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, *"Sztuka"* cit., p 227.
[217] Lambrichs, *Vágó József* cit., p. 43, 49.
[218] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 136.

fight against the inartistic nature of architecture as well."[219] Around the Rodin exhibition in Prague, every detail (so thus evidently the pavilion) was considered as a demonstration of Czech progressivism both in political and in artistic senses.[220] Kotěra's models were the pioneering edifices of modern architecture. The researchers mention above all the parallelism with Charles Harrison Townsend's Whitechapel Gallery in London (the pylons, the monumental arch of the entrance, and the asymmetry are common).[221] The impact of Frank Lloyd Wright (particularly of his so called prairie houses) is also current in the literature on Kotěra.[222] In addition one could read about Louis Sullivan's[223] influence and that of another significant work by Olbrich, the Artist Colony in Darmstadt.[224]

All the same, if one considers the usage of vernacular motifs and elements as a factor, the four pavilions are deliberately different. I would rather state that among the buildings in question the only remarkable difference lay in the application of vernacular architectural elements or in the decoration. In this chapter I made an attempt to underline how much these exhibition pavilions are similar to each other. Not only the time of their erection, or their functions, but the prestige of their architects, and their forms/layouts were also analogous of these buildings, which were meant as manifestos/temples of modern architecture. But from the aspect of national/vernacular character the convergent set of the pavilions disintegrates. First of all, a rupture is conspicuous between the hall of Vienna and the other three edifices. At the same time, the affection for national characteristics did not appear in equally intense forms in the cases of the Hungarian, Czech and Polish national exhibition spots.

Certainly, the exhibition hall of the cosmopolitan and imperial capital represents an extremity with the complete lack of national or folk reminiscences. Olbrich's hall has an iconographical program which expresses the global character of Vienna Secession with antique symbols: theatrical masks, owls, laurel wreaths and branches. As I expounded above, the utter one encompasses the whole facade. Next to the hall they displayed a grotesque statue of Marcus Antonius.

The iconography of Mączyński's pavilion in Cracow is similar to the Vienna building in many ways. Nonetheless, one could discover references to Polish vernacular art. The iconography of the facades is rather inspired by the antiquity. The tympanum of the entrance

[219] Lambrichs, *Vágó József* cit., p. 41.
[220] Giustino, *Rodin* cit., p. 591.
[221] Švácha, *Mánes Pavilion* cit., p. 122. Z. Lukeš, *The Early Works, 1898–1905*, in *Jan Kotěra (1871–1923). The Founder of Modern Czech Architecture*, with the forewords of Šlapeta V., Prague 2001. pp. 110. Šlapeta, *Architect Jan Kotěra* cit., p. 16. Giustino, *Rodin* cit., p. 605.
[222] Šlapeta, *Architect Jan Kotěra* cit., p. 16. Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 200.
[223] Lukeš, *The Early Works* cit., p. 101. Šlapeta, *Architect Jan Kotěra* cit., p. 16.
[224] Švácha, *Mánes Pavilion* cit., p. 122. Giustino, *Rodin* cit., p. 605.

is crowned with a muse's head, while in the broad frieze classical figures fall in line: the processions of the triumphant and despairing artists led by pegasuses.[225] The three shields in the tympanum are direct references to the Secession Hall's iconography, since they represent 'painting', 'sculpture', and 'architecture' like the masks in Vienna. The ulterior buildings of Franciszek Mączyński have national elements, for example the pinecone ornaments on the battlements of the Old Theater (fig. 23), which were peculiar in the Polish renaissance architecture. National or folk could be discovered only in the interior of the Palace of Arts.[226] The exaggerated folk motifs which decorated the auditorium of the pavilion were designed by Stanisław Wyspiański, the Ruskin-enthusiast spiritus rector of the Polish vernacular movement.[227]

The pavilion of the Mánes Union belonged to the early epoch of Kotěra's œuvre when he was influenced by the Czech folk architecture.[228] In the case of the building in question this influence can be seen primarily in the wooden gable ornamented with organic forms, which evokes the silhouette of folk cottages.[229] Kotěra's researcher, Jindřich Vybíral pointed out that "while national romanticism was fundamentally alien to Wagner, Kotěra did not want to, and probably could not, detach himself from the struggle for the Czech society's national emancipation".[230] Despite that, he could associate somehow Wagner and the 'Slavic character'. In an article in the periodical *Volné směry* he wrote: "Many outstanding talents emerged from his school – Slavs, which explains the fact that the movement, which linked itself to the personality of the master, carried within itself many virtues originating in the Slavic character".[231] Vybíral also draws attention to the fact that Kotěra did not believe in an 'independent national art', he rather made attempts to couple modern architecture with a "local characteristic tone" or "national character".[232] At the same time, in the neighbouring region of the Monarchy, a circle of committed Hungarian architects made an attmept to initiate a national style. The Vágó brothers were two of Ödön Lechner's disciples. In their plans for the pavilion of the National Salon they applied the "Hungarian" art nouveau style of their master.

Besides the supra-nationalism of the white cubes of the Secession Hall, the usage of folk decoration in the iconographical program at the Palace of Art in Cracow, and the slightly

[225] Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, *"Sztuka"* cit., p. 229.
[226] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 123.
[227] Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 125.
[228] Švácha, *Mánes Pavilion* cit., p. 122.
[229] Giustino, *Rodin* cit., p. 604.
[230] Vybíral, *Verba et Voces* cit., p. 59.
[231] Šlapeta, *Architect Jan Kotěra* cit., p. 13.
[232] Vybíral, *Verba et Voces* cit., p. 59–60.

vernacular architecture of the Mánes Union's pavilion, in Budapest the Vágó brothers planned a new building for the National Salon, which was intentionally 'national' in an architectural sense too.

Manifestos of Modern Architecture

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries not only the international politics, but also the world of art was getting full of tensions . The revolution of avant-garde in the arts was imminent as the Great War. This ambience determined the artistic discourse during the conception of the modern arts as well. Accordingly, the evolution of the modern architecture was accompanied by texts in combative, even warlike styles. This seems obvious, particularly if one considers the "philippics" of the artistic discourse of the epoch the manifestos.

Here I quote some phrases from the examples of this assertive genre which I am going to compare in this chapter. Otto Wagner, the essential and stimulating architect of the *fin-de-siècle* Habsburg Monarchy wrote in the most combative style. In the preface of the second edition of his standard guidebook, the *Modern Architecture,* he depicted the evolution of his entourage as a campaign: "Almost everywhere the Modern Movement has *marched in victorious*. Its opponents *thronged into camp as deserters*; the opposition's best *warriors* faltered when they saw that the *shield* of eclecticism and 'intimacy' that they were holding up to the *onslaught* of the Modern Movement was only made of pasteboard. An *army of art periodicals* appeared on the *battle field.*"[233] This is not the only section where Wagner used this allegory: he referred to the Modern Movement which was in a "struggle" and which had a "conqueror" task with the aim to "free the art from its chains".[234] It is salient, but probably unintentional, that Ödön Lechner referred to Wagner's Hungarian influence and the Viennese architect as follows: "There is quite a number of architects here in Budapest and in Hungary who are *incapable of resisting* the more highly developed, stricter and thus more accepted impact of Viennese style."[235] The nation's leading architect recommended his style, namely "the Hungarian formal language" to the statesmen as a ruse in the Magyarization process: "The spread of vernacular implies a challenge to *battle* in every corner of the world, and conscious *resistance* is born. But the formal language – never. To the contrary. Imperceptibly, silently, it persuades the eye."[236] The Polish author of this chapter, Stanisław Eljasz-

[233] O. Wagner, *Modern Architecture. A Guidebook for His Students to this Field of Art,* introduction and trans. H. F. Mallgrave, Santa Monica 1988, p. 57. (Italics mine.)
[234] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 55, p. 117. (Italics mine.)
[235] Ö. Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language has not Been, but Will Be,* trans. A. Eisentein, in K. Keserü (ed.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, p. 153. (Italics mine.) Elsewhere in the text Lechner denoted his entourage as his "fellow-soldiers" (translation mine). Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit., p. 146.
[236] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit., p. 149. (Italics mine.)

Radzikowski was not averse from the war metaphors either, when he interpreted as a "lethal" intention that the local design school of Zakopane was not utilizing the motifs of vernacular art of the Gorals, but those of German patterns.[237]

I shall briefly introduce the authors and texts whose opinions are going to be compared in this chapter (although three of them were already mentioned above). The one written by Otto Wagner is impossible to ignore in any synthesis of the period.[238] Bernard Champigneulle called it as *"le bréviaire des idées nouvelles".*[239] By Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architecture* was the first theoretical writing of the 20th century architecture. Wagner published his writing in 1896 as a guidebook for his students, but (according to the text itself) his original intention and ,even more, the impact of the work were much more demanding. At the time of its succeeding three (slightly amended) issues (1898, 1902, 1914),[240] the *Modern Architecture* was considered as the manifesto of the modern (or art nouveau) architectural circle of Vienna, the core of which was Wagner's atelier. Wagner himself also noticed in the preface of the third edition that his text had become more and more like a manifesto *(Denkschriftartigen).*[241] The other three elements of this comparison are minor in their extent, but the goals which they express are as ambitious as Wagner's: the utter renewal of architecture. However, there is a crucial distinction between Wagner's and the three other architects' claims. The Viennese master (despite his slight focus on his home city) demanded a radical change in the occidental architecture in general, while his Hungarian, Czech, and Polish fellow architects in question held a brief only for their national architecture. This distinction explains the disposition of the iconographical programs of the exhibition pavilions, which I will analyze in the last chapter. Nevertheless, the comparison of the manifestos is going to suggest a partially different classification of the architecture in the *fin-de-siècle* Habsburg Monarchy.

The Hungarian representative of this collating is Ödön Lechner, who had essentially the same role in Hungary, as Wagner in Vienna. (This *mutatis mutandis* identical role was analyzed by József Vágó, the architect who appeared in the last chapter as the designer of the exhibition spot in Budapest.[242]) Lechner's text, *The Hungarian Formal Language has not Been, but Will Be* is a committed article, in which the architect summed up his opinions and

[237] Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style* cit., p. 47.
[238] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit.
[239] B. Champineulle, *L'Art nouveau,* Paris 1972.
[240] H. P. Mallgrave, *Introduction,* in Wagner O., *Modern Architecture. A Guidebook for His Students to this Field of Art,* Santa Monica 1988, pp. 1–51.
[241] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 55.
[242] J. Vágó, *Wagner és Lechner* [Wagner and Lechner], in "A Ház", 1911, 365–366.

intentions, and which is the most quoted text connected to the founder of the Hungarian art nouveau architecture. The article was published in the periodical "Művészet" (Art), which was the most significant art journal of the time in Hungary.[243] Although the Czech author, Antonín Balšánek was not unambiguously the leader of the Prague architects around 1900, he belonged to the well-recognized Czech art nouveau architects. Among others, in junction with Osvald Polívka he planned the Municipal House of the provincial (*de facto* national) "capital", which became the symbolic edifice of the *fin-de-siècle* Prague. With his text in question *(Modernism, or National Trend?)* he participated in the debate over the justification of the Czech national architectural style, which took place in the leading nationalist and modernist art revue "Volné směry" (Free directions).[244] Finally, the Polish text of the comparison is *The Zakopane Style*, a review about the attempt for a Polish national style based on the Goral folk art.[245] Its author is Stanisław Eljasz-Radzikowski, who was not an architect, but a painter and researcher of the Tatra Mountains. On the other hand, in his text Eljasz-Radzikowski often quoted Stanisław Wyspiański, the founder and most significant architect of the Zakopane style. Both were the most important propagators of the style. Eljasz-Radzikowski's text in question is a soulful manifesto-like summary of the history and the pursuits of their movement.

As the exhibition pavilions of the previous comparison, these texts were also issued (with)in the same decade. The first edition of Wagner's guidebook was published in 1896, while Lechner wrote his assertive article in 1906. (Lechner's article and the first edition of Eljasz-Radzikowski's text are dated to 1898 and 1901.)[246] Hence, it is obvious that the three fellow authors referred to Wagner and to the *Modern Architecture*. It is widely accepted that Wagner's architectural and aesthetic views and his atelier are a collective base for the region's architecture. Although Balšánek was quite malevolent towards the Viennese architect, he admitted that "if we discount a considerable dose of cliché-ridden self-congratulation, there is still so much good left in his programmatic writing *Modern Architecture* that we would all, without hesitation, sign our names under it, even though we fly another banner".[247] Besides this, Lechner compared the reception of the attempts for a Hungarian national style to Wagner's Viennese context in the 1890s.[248]

[243] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit.
[244] A. Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?*, in Keserü K. (ed.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, p. 82–85.
[245] Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style* cit.
[246] K. Keserü., P. Haba (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005.
[247] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, p. 83.
[248] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 153.

First, I would like to point out to the common thoughts of the four authors and the common motifs of the four texts. I am going to underline their similarity for the sake of emphasizing the points where they differ: in the question of nationalism *and* the vernacular approach. In the previous chapter I mentioned the different depictions of the so-called sister arts (architecture, painting and sculpture) on the pavilions' facades. This motif also appears in the manifestos. Nevertheless, this idea of "ars una" was shaded by the expression of hierarchy, in which, evidently, the architecture occupies the leading position. According to Wagner, architecture is "the first art", which is "called into being her sisters, painting and sculpture".[249] In Balšánek's text one could read that he refers to the architecture as "the most serious of the arts".[250] Subsequently I quote Lechner, who argues for the state financial aid for architecture as follows: "Architecture was always the mother and cultivator of all the arts."[251]

Therefore, the reinforcement of architects was crucial. Lechner argued for the foundation of an architectural academy (Masters' school) with the very reason that architecture impacts all the arts, consequently, the special mission of the formal language of Hungarian art depends also on the rising generation of the nation's architects. It becomes clear at that point of the Hungarian manifesto that it has an abstract and a practical goal: the national style (formal language) and the Masters' school, an institution where it could be elaborated. "The establishment, therefore, of an architectural Masters' school, from the perspective of a Hungarian architectural formal language, is by all means imperative" – pinned down Lechner.[252] According to him, despite the accentuated position of architecture, this was the last domain within the arts which did not have an "artistic Masters' school".[253] One could recognize the intention of the elderly architect, who would like to save and transmit his œuvre. Lechner persisted to his young entourage until his death. He thought much of his followers, and he hoped that they would have continued the pursuit of the Hungarian national style attempt.[254] For Lechner the issue of the national style and that of the Masters'

[249] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 91. Moreover, the Viennese architect considered his artistic domain first not only among the arts, but among all human activities: "as the crowning glory of modern man". He argued with this statement that architecture is a proper melange of idealism and realism. Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 61.
[250] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, p. 82.
[251] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 151.
[252] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 151.
[253] Lechner confessed that architecture had a university in Hungary, but he considered the Royal Joseph Technical University as a pure scientific site of higher education and not as an artistic one. (Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 152.)
[254] This confidence was nearly general at the time of Lechner's death in 1914. Selection from the obituary articles: M. Komor, *Lechner Ödön,* in "Pesti Hírlap" [Pest Journal], 1914 (13th June), 37, p. 43. V. Magyar, *Lechner Ödön,* in "Építő Ipar – Építő Művészet" [Building Industry – Architecture], 1914 (7th June), 38, p. 247. D. Zrumeczky, *Lechner Ödön művészete* [The Art of Ödön Lechner], 1914 (14th June), 34, pp. 31–32.

School fused during the last phase of his œuvre. Indeed, the actual, although somehow camouflaged goal of his manifesto was rather the latter one, namely to gain financial state support for the school.

Wagner already had a school when he wrote his text in question which is even a "guidebook for his students" – as he determined in the subheading. His disciples were also crucial for him, he considered them as the pledge of the spread of the modern architecture. In addition and despite his cosmopolitan views, he emphasized the financial role of the state – like Lechner. Wagner considered the maintenance of arts and artists basically as a state responsibility. He thought that the state support for art in Austria was much less than in other prospering parts of Europe: "In Italy we see today a country in which the artistic achievements of past generations surely form its most important life-nerve, and France likewise owes its wealth in no small part to art."[255] As he disposed of a school, he demanded another type of institution: an autonomous ministry which could ensure the state support for art and supervise the distribution of that.[256] At another point of the text Wagner explained why he considered significant the state support: "It should never be forgotten that a country's art is the measure not only of its well-being, but also first and foremost of its intelligence."[257]

The education has an emphasized place in the narrative of the Polish text and in the argumentation of the Czech article too .Eljasz-Radzikowski described the German curriculum of the local School of Wood Industry as a fatal challenge against the Goral vernacular art.[258] Balšánek pointed out that the lack of the subjects of European and pre-eminently of Czech art history basically prevent the establishment of a national architecture, since the new generation was not familiar with the rich gothic, renaissance and baroque heritage of the Czech lands. Hereby they are isolated from the source of the renewal of the national style.[259]

As I exemplified at the beginning of this chapter, the artists of the turn of the century felt themselves in a sharp-edged milieu, where they were surrounded by internal and external foes. In the eyes of the authors of this comparison, the previous group was composed by the representatives of the eclecticism (or historicism), who faced a steady scorn by the propagators of modern architecture, thus by Wagner, Lechner, Balšánek and Eljasz-Radzikowski as well. Otto Wagner stated about the art of the 19th century that it was incomprehensible and anachronistic. According to this view, the Viennese architect wrote

[255] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 63.
[256] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 64. Wagner considered the foundation of "Bureau of Art" or "Ministry of Art" "urgently needed".
[257] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 114–115.
[258] Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style* cit., p. 47.
[259] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, p. 81.

about the eclecticism in a wholly cynical tone: "If we consider in a calm, impartial way all the stylistic fanfare and philippics of the past fifty years that have tried to steer the world's artistic views down the rights paths, we can simply look back on the colossal mistakes of these apostles of style with a pitiful smile."[260] Wagner's conception was so progression-based, that he not only resisted eclecticism, but he also considered all great historical styles of the previous epochs as second-rated. He promulgated this in the preface of the second edition of *Modern Architecture*: "With the impetus of the Modern Movement, tradition has been given its true value and lost its overemphasis; archaeology has been reduced to an *auxiliary* science of art, which, one hopes, it will always remain."[261]

Balšánek's attitude toward historicism was contradicted. This seems obvious in view of his buildings (*nota bene!* the Municipal House in Prague which is a mixture of baroque splendour and art nouveau decorativeness) and his thoughts as well. Nevertheless, according to his words, the novelty did matter for him in first place. In the article from 1898 he made an attempt to provide a compromise, since Prague is a place with a significant architectural tradition that has to be taken into consideration. This is a reasonable principle which is contradictory with Wagner's radicalism. On the other hand, Balšánek's manner of selection regarding historical styles was odd and partially incomprehensible, since he considered without arguments the gothic as a "dead style", while he saw the potential origin of the rejuvenation of the Czech architecture in the local versions of the renaissance and the baroque style.[262]

This mentality is parallel in part with Lechner's concept about the innovation of new styles. Although, the Hungarian architect (as he unfolded it in another text) would have not proceeded from full-blown, mature styles, but from early stages of styles which contain many details from the previous formal language.[263] Afterwards, he utterly turned away from the historicist approach and improved his own version of modern architecture from the Hungarian vernacular art. At that time (despite his neo-baroque buildings, which he planned during his early years) he condemned the "neo" approaches as styles which are beyond recovery. The elderly Ödön Lechner's opinion about historicism was as assertive and negative as Wagner's. The Viennese and Hungarian architect (*vis-à-vis* Balšánek) did not tolerate the copying of historical styles at all. "According to a formula, after the fact, centuries after the withering of a style or the development of a formal language, it is no longer possible to create artistic value

[260] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 74.
[261] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 58. (Italics mine.)
[262] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, pp. 83–84.
[263] Ö. Lechner., *Önéletrajzi vázlat* [Autobiographical sketch], in J. Gerle, *Lechner Ödön,* Budapest 2003, p. 15.

in that formal language. [...] If, consequently, we would like to repeat the architectural history of past centuries, we are perpetrating *falsification* before the eyes of the future."[264]

The criticism toward historicism anticipated the main goal, which all the four texts expressed: *the establishment of a new style*. Straightaway the titles give voice to that intention by entry-word like, as solid denominations of the styles *(Modern Architecture, The Zakopane Style)*, by a sonorous question *(Modernism, or the National Trend?).* or by a zealous exclamation *(Hungarian Formal Language has not Been, but Will Be).* The texts unravel that Wagner considers Modernism as the most recent style,[265] while Lechner uses the "formal language" as a more proper synonym of the word "style", which was invented and which is used only by "the cloistered scholars and artists of the 18th and moreover the 19th century".[266] Nevertheless, the only main common characteristic of these styles is novelty. Balšánek and Wagner are almost under the spell of modernism. "We gladly welcome the *new* trend in architecture, in so far as it is *new*." – as the Czech architect pinned down one ultimate feature of his demanded style, and then he unequivocally confirms his relentless wish toward novelty: "We, too, want to be the sons of the *new* era, to seek *new* solutions to *new* tasks, *new* forms for *new* needs."[267] It is typical that he exclaimed at the beginning of his text, almost entirely independently from the context, before the exposure of his arguments: "Modernism in architecture!"[268] The starting point of Wagner's architectural concept is the idea of correspondence to the present. He is primarily keen on the adaptation of contemporary context, society, demands.[269] In addition, the use of new materials and technology is also crucial for the Viennese architect.[270] According to him, the most modern challenge of architecture is related to the rapidly emerging cities, pre-eminently to the issues of housing and to the questions of urban aesthetics (design of squares and avenues).[271] Lechner and Eljasz-Radzikowski did not emphasize the idea of novelty in their manifestos, they rather consider it self-evident, since they are propagators and cultivators of a new style. What is relevant for them (and obviously for Balšánek beside his attachment to novelty) is the national character of the demanded new style.

At this point, I arrived again to the fundamental subdivision of the last chapter on the exhibition pavilions. As I argued above, there are several mutual points and motifs of the

[264] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 147, 150. (Italics mine.)
[265] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 79.
[266] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 146.
[267] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, p. 82. (Italics mine.)
[268] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, p. 82.
[269] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 80.
[270] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 78.
[271] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 103.

manifestos in question: the use of a warlike rhetoric manner; the idea of "ars una" with the leading role of architecture; the central role of education; anti-historicism; and the demand for novelty, whose culmination point is a new style. All the same, the examples of the comparison dissever most strikingly again according to the nationalistic interest, as in the case of the exhibition pavilions. While Wagner declared a paradigm shift in architecture in general, his fellow colleagues from the Monarchy wrote about the architectural rejuvenation only in their national context. The Czech, Polish and Hungarian authors were aware of the modernist intentions, and they referred their national style attempts also to the worldwide movement of the architectural reform. On the other hand, they unequivocally distinguished their national attempts, and they formulated opinions only about their own local/national versions of modern (art nouveau) architecture.

Wagner stood against the idea of national styles.[272] Likewise in the *Modern Architecture*, he rarely mentioned the vernacular or national aspects of architecture, and he explained that this lack of national allusions is not a coincidence. In the chapter on *Composition* he admitted that one could find various forms in the different regions and countries of Europe, because the nations have "different ideals of beauty", and these forms are able to express the *genius loci*. Although, he did not consider the national differences truly relevant: "Surely the national element will be woven into art only in this natural way. Given the similarity of the modes of expression and styles of living in civilized countries these differences will never be great and will be determined chiefly by material and climatic conditions."[273] Wagner's criticism about the national architectural approach became particularly offending when he adverted to the liaison within the historicist styles and the national idea: he marked this correspondence as an "absurdity" and here he referred ironically to the national style attempts.[274]

Wagner's opinion is distinct from the others in this point of the comparison. For the leading architects of Vienna's neighbouring "capitals", the national approach seemed to be evident. Moreover, the establishment of the national architecture or architectural style was a point of honour. It is salient and telling about this subdivision that while the copying was spurned by the four architects in general, Wagner interpreted this definition as the duplication

[272] Á. Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1998, pp. 12.
[273] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 85.
[274] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 86. "For the reasons mentioned, a stubborn adherence to historical styles for certain projects or the choice of one such style for certain nations must be considered an *absurdity*, even if, for example, the expression 'Old German style' has for years – probably only owing to the name – *electrified us Germans*." (Italics mine.)

of old styles (namely historicism) and the other three interpreted it as the duplication of foreign national styles (principally the German style). According to this understanding, any architectural influence from abroad is considered as an offensive one by the Hungarian, Czech and Polish architect authors in question.

On the other hand, it can be observed that patriotic architects would not have liked to isolate their nations from Europe, only from external influences. In turn, they endeavoured to join the line of the great European national arts as a full member. One could find examples for the ulterior part of this "artistic mercantilism" in the Hungarian, Polish and Czech texts as well. Lechner was the one who wrote about this intention in the finest way: "Whereas, if anywhere, in Hungary a formal language would be especially important, when we, with our completely foreign language (to almost all others) cannot make ourselves understood; only with the aid of a specific formal language are we capable of creating individual success and a distinct cultural position for ourselves in the lap of the European family of peoples."[275] It was Balšánek who first emphasized the significance of the difference from the architecture of Berlin and Vienna, nonetheless Prague is situated right between the two cities. Then, he admitted that the intention is also to achieve the standard of Otto Wagner's school.[276] Finally ,the Polish author also considered the Zakopane-based national style as a success even on a European scale. He referred to the style movement as an "idea, whose brilliance may well be the object of the envy of most artistic nations".[277]

At the beginning of this chapter I selected some details from the texts which exemplify the warlike atmosphere of the period's artistic life. Here I would like to present some quotations in which the architects or tendencies from abroad are proclaimed as quasi "invasions". In Eljasz-Radzikowki's interpretation the architect Stanisław Witkiewicz appears as a romanticized hero of the time when "the *Górale* cottage was seriously endangered".[278] The origin of this danger was the Alpine-style, a "German" architectural influence, which arrived to the region of Zakopane with the houses implemented according to the taste of the "newcomers" from the plain. The peril was sharpened by the establishment of the local School of Wood Industry, which tried to satisfy the market demands and where they taught and fabricated only items of the Alpine-style. The fact that the school was "directed by a Germanized Czech, Neužil" fits superbly to Eljasz-Radzikowki's narrative, According to the Polish authorthe local School of Wood Industry produced "things in the German renaissance

[275] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 147.
[276] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, p. 83, 85.
[277] Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style* cit., p. 49.
[278] Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style* cit., p. 47.

style, which was lethal for the art of the *Górale*".[279] This is a pain for Eljasz-Radzikowki, since he considered the folk art of the Goral people as the pure source for the Polish national style. He expressed this concept when he soughed with a quotation from Karłowicz: " 'How fortunate we would be if this new and most beautiful style of architecture were imitated everywhere! It is thoroughly native; there is not a single detail that is borrowed or invented. It is as ours as the folk dances *mazur* or *krakowiak*; it is wholly and indivisibly ours' "[280] Accordingly, the Zakopane style became an interest of the whole nation which later were propagated by the politicians and the press. According to Witkiewicz's and Eljasz-Radzikowki's concept art was not only an admixture to the national identity, but also an integral part of the intentions of the national movement. "The present movement, which focuses on the Podhale cottage and tries to develop it into a separate style, is founded on a national base, and the main goal of our intellectual life at present is the creation of the national style itself."[281] The artist was not a member of the court, who contributes to the politicians' representation, but a politician.

Balšánek' and Lechner' opinions about the national architecture are in an unwitting dialogue. Both used metaphors related to the leading national cities to picture the maleficent foreign influence. As the Czech architect wrote: "How poor we would seem if a foreign style would dominate the city [Prague] with such a rich artistic past."[282] His Hungarian fellow as if would like to take over the line of speech: "If a scholar of antiquity would visit Hungary [...], he would certainly only happen upon compilations, imitations, 'foreignisms'. If a foreigner roves over all the streets of Budapest, he will find the styles of each nation in the world: it is just the Hungarian national features that he will not see in the architecture."[283] Nevertheless, it was radically different what they considered as a "national feature". According to Balšánek, the local heritage of the historical styles should have been the source of the rejuvenation of the Czech architecture. While the base of Lechner's style-founder attempt was folk art, the Hungarian architect opposed intensely everything that could had a liaison with historicism.

However, the architectural heritage of the Czech lands and Hungary were seriously different. Both architects in question were aware of this difference, which evidently turns out even from the texts. These sentences mirror each other in an inverse manner: "We have our

[279] Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style* cit., p. 47.
[280] Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style* cit., p. 49.
[281] Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style* cit., p. 49.
[282] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, p. 83.
[283] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 147.

own Czech gothic from the time of Vladislav, the Czech renaissance, the Prague baroque."[284] – "We search in vain for Hungarian gothic, Hungarian renaissance and baroque from these times."[285] The take-off point of Balšánek's concept was the rich architectural heritage of the Czech lands, and especially Prague. He considered the historical context of the city and the lands as a commitment: every national architectural attempt is impossible which do not take into consideration that. Lechner thought in the opposite way, for him even the reuse or only the interpretation of historical styles was impossible. (Evidently, this opposition was rooted in his anti-historicism and anti-eclecticism.) The Hungarian architect found also senseless the regenerating attempts on historical grounds in the case of nations which have abundant architectural heritage (the English, the Germans).[286] I would like to place emphasis on the contrast between Balšánek's and Lechner's ideas by quoting the greatest Hungarian antipode of Lechner, Alajos Hauszmann, who thought of the national architecture also in terms of historical styles: "The national character roots in the land; 'national' is what is justified by history, what we inherited as our tradition."[287] Balšánek used the same "soil of tradition" metaphor in his article in 1898, ten years before Hauszmann: "[The distinctive national character] will not emerge as a new style, but will develop on a historical base. [...] What does not grow from Czech *soil* can never be close to our hearts. Only from *soil* fertilized with the traditions of our own past can a tree grow that will bear good fruit."[288]

First and last, despite their joint strivings for modern and national architecture, the conception of Balšánek contrasted strikingly with the one of Lechner. They varied in their attitudes towards historical styles and this determined the true novelty of their modernist attempts. And perhaps this determined the success of the tentative of national architecture as well. Since, while Lechner could improve an autonomous national substyle from the Hungarian folk art, Balšánek could not achieve that from the Czech renaissance. I do not want to rush into general conclusions on the strength of the Habsburg Monarchy, but I find noteworthy that among the style attempts in question only those could evolve which utterly broke with historicism. Two of them (the Hungarian art nouveau and the Zakopane style)

[284] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, p. 83.
[285] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 147.
[286] "According to the formula, after the fact, centuries after the withering of a style or the development of a formal language, it is no longer possible to create artistic value in that formal language. Only those people could develop the renaissance, gothic and baroque in which the level of artistic maturity was already such that in due time they could draw their own characteristics into this arable soil of great styles. [...] But each always brought its own to it." Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 147.
[287] A. Hauszmann, *Néhány szó a magyar művészetről* [A Few Words on Hungarian Architecture], quotation in Moravánszky, *Competing Visions* cit., p. 187. (Italics mine.)
[288] Balšánek, *Modernism, or the National Trend?* cit, p. 83. (Italics mine.)

originated from the vernacular art, while another two them (the Viennese art nouveau and in the end of the epoch the Czech Rondo-Cubism) improved from *tabula rasa.*

At this point I arrived to/reached the most edifying part of the actual comparison: the issue of vernacular art. Due to this comparison I saw a reason for a changed display of the architecture in the *fin-de-siècle* Habsburg Central Europe. The crucial subdivision of the last comparison was along the opposition of national (Hungarian, Czech, Polish) and international (Viennese) understanding of pre-modern architecture. Now I would like to piece together that with *the question of vernacular art* in the architecture of the Monarchy.

From the point of views of vernacular art and architecture the authors of my comparison split markedly into two. In the eyes of Balšánek Czech architecture consisted only of Prague, he did not mention the countryside or the rural architecture of the Czech lands. Wagner did not deal much with the architecture of the villages either. Probably because he did not appreciate rural architecture. The Viennese architect touched the topic in the *Modern Architecture* only once and in a pejorative meaning. Therewithal he mentioned especially the dreariness of the *Hungarian* countryside when he paralleled them with the modern suburbs of Vienna: "the periphery of the city is no better than proverbial Hungarian villages."[289] However, the Hungarian villages were the same place where Lechner found the inspiration and basement for his architectural goal.[290] Among the peasants he discovered the seed of the monumental national architecture, which his predecessors could not find (despite the single Frigyes Feszl, whose *oeuvre* at the same time remained strikingly incomplete). The Polish case was likewise. Witkiewicz and his circle also found their " own art" in the villages, among the Goral people.[291] In spite of the urban approaches of the Viennese and Czech architects, the Hungarian and the Polish attempts at the turn of the century originated not so much from the national history, but from the actual art of the rural people.

[289] Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 104. The author deleted this pejorative sentence from the fourth edition of the book together with the whole section where he lifted up his voice against the one-sided urban development policy of the *Kaiser Stadt*. (Wagner, *Modern Architecture* cit., p. 133, note: 116.)
[290] Lechner, *Hungarian Formal Language* cit. p. 139.
[291] Eljasz-Radzikowski, *The Zakopane Style* cit., p. 45.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSIONS: ARCHITECTURE AND NATION-BUILDING

The Role of Vernacular Art, Historical Traditions, Modernism and the State

Due to the summary of the secondary literature and my case studies, I make an attempt to depict the interrelations of artistic, political and social factors which affected the tentatives for national architectural styles in the *fin-de-siècle* Habsburg Central Europe. If I take into consideration only the architecture (temporarily irrespectively of the politico-social context), the issues I shall calculate on are the following: the art nouveau/pre-modernism, the historicism and the vernacular architecture. Here I would like to present these interrelations in an evidently simplified, but telling table. The core of the following "matrix" is the demand for a distinct national style which was made by the Hungarian, Czech and Polish architecture.

	Vienna	**Hungary**	**Czech lands**	**Galicia**
Peculiar Art Nouveau/Modernism	X	X		
Attempt for a National Style		X	X	X
Historicist approach			X	X
Vernacular approach		X		X
Fully fledged National Style		X		

Table 2

In the table Vienna takes such a controversial place as in the architectural history of the Empire during the period in question. On one hand, Vienna was a salient centre of the Art Nouveau and concomitantly a motor of architectural revolution not only in the Empire, but also in Europe. On the other hand, architects of the neighbouring cities considered it as the suppressor of their nations. Thus, they tried to ignore every influence (even the artistic ones) originated from the *Kaiserstadt.* These (only partially successful) attempts pointed out the controversial connection of the capital and the dependant nations. This contradiction was underlined by the fact that, while the Hungarian, Czech and Polish architects were working on the task of the national style in the "gravitational zone" of Vienna, their colleagues in the latter city did not even realize that architecture could be "national". Accordingly, the capital

of the Austrian part of the Empire has a marginal role in this matrix, since it focuses on the *national* architectural attempts (as it dissevers visually in the table).

From the three other regions for which the national formal language was crucial, only the Hungarian architects could achieve the goal, namely, to execute and to disseminate a national style before the Great War. This Hungarian substyle was implemented by Ödön Lechner as a synthesis of the modern architecture and the folk art ornamentation, and this was followed by Lechner's "disciples" and developed by the "Young Ones" circle. Although this was not a dominating, but a well-disseminated style, since national art nouveau buildings could be found almost in every county town of Hungary. Regarding the narrow scope of my research, I would not like to invent a principle, but I find worth noticing that among the three national approaches in question only the Hungarian one was acquainted with modern architecture (despite historicism), as well as being the only "fully fledged" national style.

Although the Czech and the Polish architects were seeking for their peculiar architecture, before 1914 they could not implement it. In Prague they experimented almost merely with the historical styles (eminently with the Neo-Renaissance and the Neo-Baroque) without any pertinent outcome, while the Art Nouveau of the Czech lands accommodated to the international tendencies and to the Eclectic architectural context. I confirm the observation of a Polish scholar on the topic, Małgorzata Omilanowska, who argued that the "search" for national styles could find its source basically in the local versions of the historical styles or in vernacular art.[292] The architects in Prague roamed only on the first path. The only exception was Dušan Jurkovič, whose art – almost independently from the contemporary developments – reconsidered the vernacular architecture of the Tatra Mountains. The rural architecture of the other side of the Tatra was also discovered by a group of Polish artists, who, under its impact, became self-educated architects and raised the idea of the so called Zakopane style as a Polish national style. In the end, they built only in the very region and their effort was not accepted by the peer architects. Nevertheless, the ulterior circle tried to choose a single historical style as the national one – but in vain, as Jurkovič. The histories of the Czech and Polish national architectural attempts were obviously similar, especially if one takes into consideration the period which followed the Great War and the establishment of the autonomous Polish and Czechoslovakian states. In the young nation states the same architects and his disciples could evolve national architectures, which were appreciated by the state and

[292] M. Omilanowska, *Searching for a National Style in Polish Architecture at the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th century,* in N. G. Bowe (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design*, Dublin 1993, p. 100.

among the peer architects. The Czechs furnished a radically modern, even avant-garde style: the Rondo-Cubism, while the Polish combined the peculiar arrangement of the *dwór,* the manor of the national nobility with ornaments of historical styles. Despite the mutual development, in one aspect the architecture of the two nations diverged all along: while Poles considered the rural art as a main source for the rejuvenation of their architecture, the Czechs were hardly concerned with the vernacular art of the Czech lands.

The above-mentioned architectural correspondences and discrepancies I could relate with the politico-social circumstances of the declining Habsburg Empire. These architectural attempts in question are inseparable from the nation-building processes, since their aims were to emphasize the singularity of the Hungarian, Czech, and Polish national culture. Among the three nations only the Hungarians could elaborate a national architecture, while the same nation had relatively the greatest independence and a semi-independent state in the Habsburg Empire. Considering the above mentioned facts, it is worth analysing further the interconnection between the existence of state and the national architecture. Perhaps the attempts for national styles could be inserted into John Breuilly's concept, in which nationalism and the state are inseparable.[293] Accordingly, my suggestion is that a national style could emerge only under the aegis of a sovereign state. Beside the Hungarian case, I can confirm this hypothesis with the Czech Rondo-Cubism and the Polish "manor style", which appeared as national styles immediately after the foundation of the Czechoslovakian and Polish nation states. Although the patriotic architects of the Empire discussed the issue simultaneously, before 1914 the ideas evolved to a fully fledged national style only in Hungary, which in 1867 (unlikely to the Czech lands and Galicia) gained independence in its internal affairs.

I presuppose correspondence between the scale of urbanization and the approach of a distinct national style as well. I predicate this thesis on the observation that in the more industrialized and urbanized part of the Empire (Austria, the Czech lands) architects were concerned only with the historical styles (either they developed, or exceeded them), while in the agricultural based Eastern part (Hungary, Galicia), where a great portion of the society lived still among rural conditions, the vernacular art remarkably influenced the national style attempts.[294]

[293] J. Breuilly, *The State and Nationalism,* in M. Guibernau, J. Hutchinson (eds.), *Understanding Nationalism,* Cambridge 2001, p. 33.

[294] This last observation fits to the conception of Nicola Gordon Bowe, leading researcher of the vernacular impact in the modern applied arts. N. G. Bowe, *National Romanticism: Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-*

scale	Czech lands 1828	Austria 1828	Hungary 1828
1) captial	*	305	*
2) metropolis	88	*	57
3) city	34	42	213
4) town	24	54	692
5) little town	350	66	620
6) semi-urban township	195	18	298
1 >> 6	691	485	1880
All inhabitants	5400	3900	12600
Proportion of citizens	12,8 %	12,4 %	14,9 %

Table 3

The number of citizens proportionately to the whole population (in thousands)

(Granasztói Gy., *L'Urbanisation de l'Espace Danubien*,
in "Annales ESC", 1989, 44, pp. 396–399.)

	1200	1400	1500	1600	1700	1750	1800	1850
Vienna	12	20	20	50	114	175	247	431
Prague	10	95	70	100	48	59	76	118
Cracow	10	10	22	28	30	20	24	42
Lemberg				20	20	25	42	68
Buda		*8*	*12*	*	*13*	*	*25*	*42*
Pest		*7*	*10*	*	*4*	*	*25*	*119*
Óbuda						*5*	*6*	*12*
"imagined Budapest"							56	173

Table 4

The population of the fin-de-siècle *cultural centres from 1200 (in thousands)*

(Bairoch P., Batou J., Chèvre P., *La population des villes européennes. Banque de données et analyse sommaire des résultats, 800–1850*, Genève 1988.)

Century Design, in Art and the National Dream, in *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* Dublin 1993, p. 7.

The historical demographical sources do not wholly strengthen my suppositions (not to mention the scant data what keep especially the Galician items silent), nevertheless they confirm the hypotheses in some degree. In the first half of the 19th century the Austrian, Czech and Hungarian part of the Monarchy was evenly urbanized in essence. Namely, according to a general picture, Hungary cannot be considered as a backward territory from an urban point of view. What is more, this part of the empire seemed to be the most urbanized on the strength of raw numbers (see table 3). On the other hand, the urban heritage of Austria and the Czech lands was richer than the historical tradition of cities in Hungary. Until the beginning of the 19th century, Vienna, Prague, Cracow and Lemberg (the *fin-de-siècle* cultural centres of Monarchy) were more populous than the "historical Budapest" (see *table 4*). (Therewithal the antecedent cities of Budapest were occupied by the Ottomans during almost one and a half century, between 1541 and 1686.) It is important to add, that the majority of the Hungarian cities (which were at the same time inhabited by Hungarians or Magyars in ethnic sense) did not possessed a layout like the Western European cities and the much of its population were agricultural workers. In Upper Hungary and Transylvania (often next to mine sectors) the one-time wayfarer from the West could find towns like at home and citizens who earn their living by handcraft, trade or mining. In turn, almost all of these cities were founded and populated by Germans, not ethnic Hungarians. On the whole, it seems comprehensible that the Hungarian architects gravitated rather toward the villages than the urban culture, *vis-à-vis* their Czech contemporaries.

	Austria-Hungary	**Hungary**	**Cis-Leithania**	**Czech lands**
agriculture	60 %	66 %	52 %	38 %
industry and handcrafts	21 %	15 %	26 %	39,5 %

Table 5

The repartition of the population in the two main economic sector in 1900

(Bruckmüller E., *Histoire Sociale de l'Autriche*,
with the preface of Le Rider J., trans. Mannoni O., Paris [1985] 2003, p. 289.)

language	both	agriculture	industry, commerce and transport
Allemand	24,9 %	15,49 %	40,62 %
Hongrois	19,28 %	19,68 %	16,39 %
Tchèque	13,08 %	9,49 %	20,29 %
Polonais	9,31 %	10,3 %	8,12 %
Autres	33,43 %	45,04 %	14,58 %
Autriche-Hongrie	100 %	100 %	100 %

Table 6

Population of the Habsburg Monarchy as per linguistic groups and economic sectors in 1900

(Bruckmüller E., *Histoire Sociale de l'Autriche*,
with the preface of Le Rider J., trans. Mannoni O., Paris [1985] 2003, pp. 354–355.)

The data on the economical sectors around 1900 fit directly to my theses, and supplement the pure demographical data on the extent of the urbanization. Almost twice as much people worked in the agriculture in Hungary than in the Czech lands (66% and 38%), while nearly thrice as much Czechs earned their living by industry and handcrafts than Hungarian (39,5% and 15%; see table 5). Table 6 is even more salient: considering all employee who were engaged with industry, commerce or transport (namely sectors which are related fundamentally to the cities), every fifth worker was Czech (20,29% in the whole Monarchy), while the same number is 16,39% in the case of the Hungarians, and only 8,12% in the case of the Poles. Galicia was boldly the most backward and the poorest province of the Habsburg empire.[295] Accordingly, it is not surprising that the Polish intellectuals were deeply interested in the local rural peoples and that many artists founded inspiration for the national endeavours among the peasants.

[295] J. Lukowski, H. Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*, second edition, Cambridge 2006, p. 189.

RÉSUMÉ FRANÇAIS

À la recherche des styles d'architecture nationale dans la Monarchie des Habsbourg, 1890–1920

L'architecture de l'art nouveau et la fin de siècle comme édification de la nation

Après l'histoire politique et sociale, l'histoire de l'architecture ne commençait à se concentrer à l'examen du nationalisme qu'aux années 1990. Un des sujets les plus importants de ces recherches interdisciplinaires concernent la fusion des mouvements nationales avant la Grande Guerre – qui connaissaient à l'époque un élan jusque-là impensable –, et les mouvements architecturaux du fin de siècle, dont particulièrement la sécession. Les derniers vingt ans, ces historiens travaillaient sur l'aspiration des nations de l'Europe Centrale à la création d'un style national. Pourtant, ces écrits sont faits indépendamment les uns des autres, donc le résultat est un ensemble des îlots indépendants, comme représentants de la volonté de l'époque de se distinguer des autres et de créer une identité bien définit, distinguée de celle des autres. Dans mon travail, je me focalise sur l'analyse comparative des ces tentatives de création d'un style nationale, en cherchant une explication aux différences repérées entre elles, sans pouvoir s'appuyer sur une base bibliographique bien déterminée. Le cadre de mon analyse comparative est la Monarchie austro-hongroise avant sa dissolution, et ses unités sont les trois ethnies non-germaniques de celle-ci, en plus la capitale incontournable du point de vue artistique, Vienne.

Il est très remarquable, que du discours architectural du *Kaiserstadt* manque le problématique du style nationale – comme il manque également une identité autrichienne –, alors que l'intelligentsia hongrois, tchèque et polonais voulait accentuer leurs propres spécificités nationaux à travers l'architecture. Les recherches parallèles des styles nationaux respectifs aboutissaient d'abord en Hongrie, où les cadres en cours de développement étaient acceptés aussi bien par les architectes que par le gouvernement, et ses exemples pouvaient se répandre largement. La sécession hongroise, liée au nom de Ödön Lechner, est née aux années 1890, et par les épigones et les successeurs (Béla Lajta, Groupe des Jeunes Architectes), les bâtiments de style national formaient l'image de plusieurs villes.

En parallèle, les architectes de sécession à Krakow et Stanisław Witkiewicz avaient également une tentative pour la création d'une architecture polonaise par excellence, mais leur projet n'a pas abouti au plan national. Cette volonté de créer un style national a gagné son terrain après 1918, quand dans la Pologne, qui venait de regagner son indépendance, le style

historique-éclectique des maisons de campagne de la noblesse se répandaient avec un soutien financier de la part de l'État.

Le même phénomène s'est produit dans la Tchécoslovaquie ; au cœur de l'État-nation naissante et les cadres institutionnels donnés, le style rondo-cubiste, décoré des ornements folkloriques slaves, mais radicalement modern, voir avant-garde a gagné sa place.

Les tentatives qui conduisaient vers la naissance des styles décrits ci-dessus peuvent être distinguées du point de vue chronologique et selon leur rapport au style populaire. Le style national hongrois s'est formé vingt ans plus tôt que le style polonais ou tchèque. Je suppose, que cette dichotomie peut être expliquée par le fait qu'en 1867, la Hongrie est née en tant qu'État semi-indépendant, ayant certains droits particuliers, mais la naissance de la Pologne et de la Tchécoslovaquie ne s'est passée qu'après la Grande Guerre. Au niveau du politique intérieur, les possibilités du gouvernement hongrois étaient significativement plus larges pour le support de la formation de la nation, même pour faire construire des bâtiments typiquement hongrois. Quant aux tchèques et aux polonais, ils ne pouvaient financer la culture nationale que par les ressources locales ou privées.

En comparant le rôle de l'art et de l'architecture vernaculaire, on peut voir deux pôles : le hongrois-polonais, et le autrichien-tchèque. Ce dernier – à part le travail de Dušan Jurkovič, architecte d'origine slovaque, influencé par les traditions hongrois – n'a pas utilisé l'héritage des maisons populaires de la paysannerie. Pourtant les architectes hongrois et polonais allaient régulièrement faire des tours dans les villages, surtout dans le Tatras et en Transylvanie, pour recueillir et observer ces bâtiments populaires. Donc les bâtiments dits nationaux de la Hongrie et de Galicie ont toujours porté les motifs populaires et les traces des maisons paysannes. Cette dualité du modèle des territoires tchèques et celui de la Galicie et de la Hongrie peut être expliqué par le rythme différent de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation. La Tchéquie et la Moravie avait des grandes villes et étaient plus industrielle, alors que les parties hongroise et polonaise de la Monarchie étaient encore plutôt agraires, la majorité de la population appartenait à la paysannerie, et l'urbanisation ne prenait un élan considérable qu'au tournant de siècle. Vu la trajectoire différente des territoires mentionnés du point de vue économique et sociale, j'associe l'identité tchèque de la fin du 19^{e} siècle plutôt aux villes, quant à l'identité hongrois et polonais dans la même époque, je les associe plutôt à la vie paysanne. Les architectes eux-mêmes selon cette tendance décrite ci-dessus, s'agissant des tentatives de création d'un style national, dont le succès – comme on a déjà mentionné – ne pouvaient être garantis que par la naissance des cadres nationaux indépendants.

MAGYAR ABSZTRAKT

Stíluskísérletek a nemzeti építészet megteremtésére a Habsburg Monarchiában, 1890–1920

A szecesszió és a századforduló építészete a nemzetépítés szolgálatában

A politika- és társadalomtörténészek után az építészettörténészek csak az 1990-es években fordultak a nacionalizmus tanulmányozása felé. Ezen interdiszciplináris kutatások kiemelt témáinak számítanak az első világháború előtt soha nem látott erőre kapó nemzeti mozgalmak és a századforduló (így többek között a szecesszió) építészetének összefonódásai; különösen a minden egyes nemzetépítési folyamat keretében feltűnő nemzeti stílustörekvések. Ugyan eltérő részletességgel, de az utóbbi húsz évben minden közép-európai nemzet stílusalapítási kísérleteit egyenként feldolgozták. Az így létrejött narratívák azonban ugyanolyan szigetszerűen állnak egymás mellett, mint annak idején azok a stíluspróbálkozások, amelyek hátterében olyan építészek álltak, akik féltek a szomszédjaikkal való összemosódástól, és mindenáron sajátosságra törekedtek. Dolgozatomban e narratívák egymáshoz való közelítésére, tehát a nemzeti stíluskísérletek összevetésére és az azok során felismert különbségek magyarázatára teszek kísérletet – anélkül, hogy szorosan vett szakirodalmi előzményre támaszkodhatnék. Komparatív vizsgálatom kerete a felbomlása előtt álló Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia, egységei pedig a birodalom három legjelentősebb nem-német etnikuma, illetve a művészeti szempontból is megkerülhetetlen főváros, Bécs.

A régió leginkább szembetűnő, szinte közhelyszámba menő dichotómiája, hogy amíg a *Kaiserstadt* építészeti diskurzusából – az osztrák identitás hiánya miatt – szinte teljesen hiányzik a nemzeti stílus problémája, addig a magyar, cseh és lengyel értelmiséget egyaránt foglalkoztatta sajátosságaik építészeti kifejezése. A párhuzamosan zajló stíluskeresések elsőként Magyarországon vezettek olyan konzisztens formakészlet kialakulásához, amelyet a szakma, illetve állami és helyi hatóságok is elfogadtak, példái pedig széles körben elterjedtek. A Lechner Ödön nevéhez kapcsolódó magyaros szecesszió az 1890-es években alakult ki, majd az epigonok és a továbbgondolók (Lajta Béla, a Fiatalok építészcsoport) révén több város képét formálták át nemzeti stílusú épületek. Párhuzamosan krakkói szecessziós építészek, valamint Stanisław Witkiewicz a Tátra vidéki Zakopane vernakuláris művészetét felfedező csoportja is tett egy-egy, végül megtorpant kísérletet a *par exellence* lengyel architektúra megteremtésére. Erre csak 1918 után került sor, amikor a nemesi kúriák (*dwór*ok) historikus-eklektikus stílusa terjedt el kormányzati támogatással a függetlenségét visszanyert

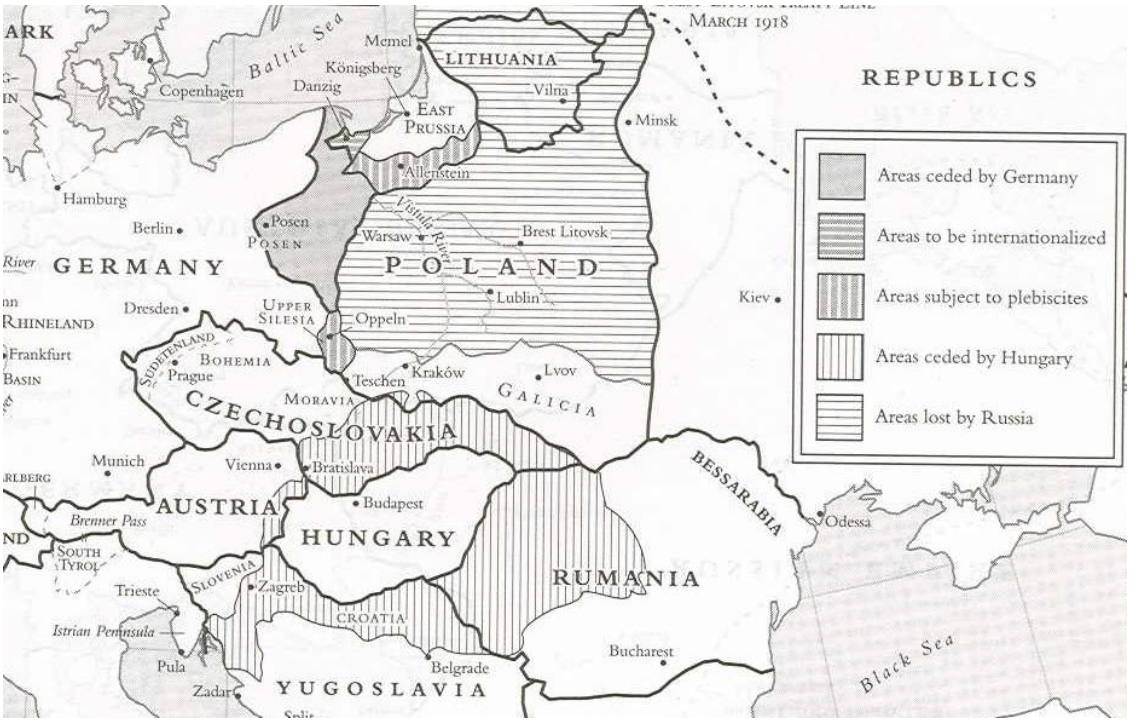
Lengyelországban. Szintén immáron a fiatal csehszlovák nemzetállam határain és intézményi keretein belül nyert támogatottságot a rondókubizmus szláv folklór ornamensekkel díszített, de radikálisan modern, egyenesen avantgárd stílusa.

A régió felvázolt stílusai és a kialakulásukig vezető kísérletek alapvetően kronológiai tekintetben és a népművészethez való viszonyuk szerint különböztethetők meg egymástól. A magyar stílus kialakult formája mintegy húsz évvel előzte meg lengyel és cseh pandanját. Feltételezésem szerint a kettősség hátterében az áll, hogy amíg 1867-ben létrejött egy részlegesen szuverén, belügyekben (így kulturális téren) önálló magyar állam, addig a monarchia szláv nemzetei továbbra is közvetlenül a bécsi kormányzat alá tartoztak, a lengyel és cseh nemzetállam megalakulására egészen az első világháborúig várni kellett. A belpolitikai téren független magyar kormányzatnak összehasonlíthatatlanul nagyobb lehetősége volt a nemzetépítés támogatására, így magyaros stílusú épületek megrendelésére is, szemben a nemzeti kultúrát csak helyi önkormányzati és magánforrásokból finanszírozni képes csehekkel és lengyelekkel.

A vernakuláris művészet és építészet szerepének összevetése során magyar–lengyel és osztrák–cseh pólusok kristályosodtak ki. A történeti stílusok örökségét ápoló prágai építészek közül különösebben senki, vidéki társaik közül is egyedül a szlovák származású, magyar minták hatása alatt álló Dušan Jurkovič emelte be terveibe a parasztházak tanulságait. Mindeközben számos lengyel és magyar építész járt gyűjteni a falvakba (különösen a Tátra és Erdély vidékein), valamint Galícia és Magyarország nemzetiként deklarált épületeinek *mindegyikét* népi motívumok díszítették vagy a falusi épületek tömegformálásának jegyeit viselték magukon. A szembetűnő kettőséget a cseh területek, Galícia és Magyarország városiasodásának és iparosodásának eltérő ütemére tudom visszavezetni. A Monarchia magyarok és lengyelek által lakott területén szerényebb előzmények után csak a századfordulón pezsdült meg az urbanizáció, miközben a lakosság többsége még mindig paraszti életformát folytatott. Ugyanebben az időszakban Cseh- és Morvaország – melyek területén patinás városok feküdtek – iparosodottabb volt. A monarchián belül tehát nem volt egyenletes a gazdasági és társadalmi fejlődés üteme. Ennek tükrében megalapozottnak találom, hogy a 19. század végi cseh identitást *inkább* a városokhoz, míg a magyar és lengyel nemzeti tudatot *inkább* a paraszti életformához kössem. Az építészek is ennek megfelelően fordultak inspirációért a népi építészethez vagy városaik kultúrájához (legyen az épített örökség vagy a modern nagyváros lüktetése) nemzeti stíluskísérleteik során. Ezek sikerességét pedig – mint fent vázoltam – csak a független nemzetállamok keretein belül tudták biztosítani.

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Map 1: The Habsburg Empire, 1815–1918



Map 2: the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire, 1920

Map 3: The Partition of Poland, 1772–1795

1. Vienna, the *Ring* with the Parliament and the Natural History Museum (around 1880)

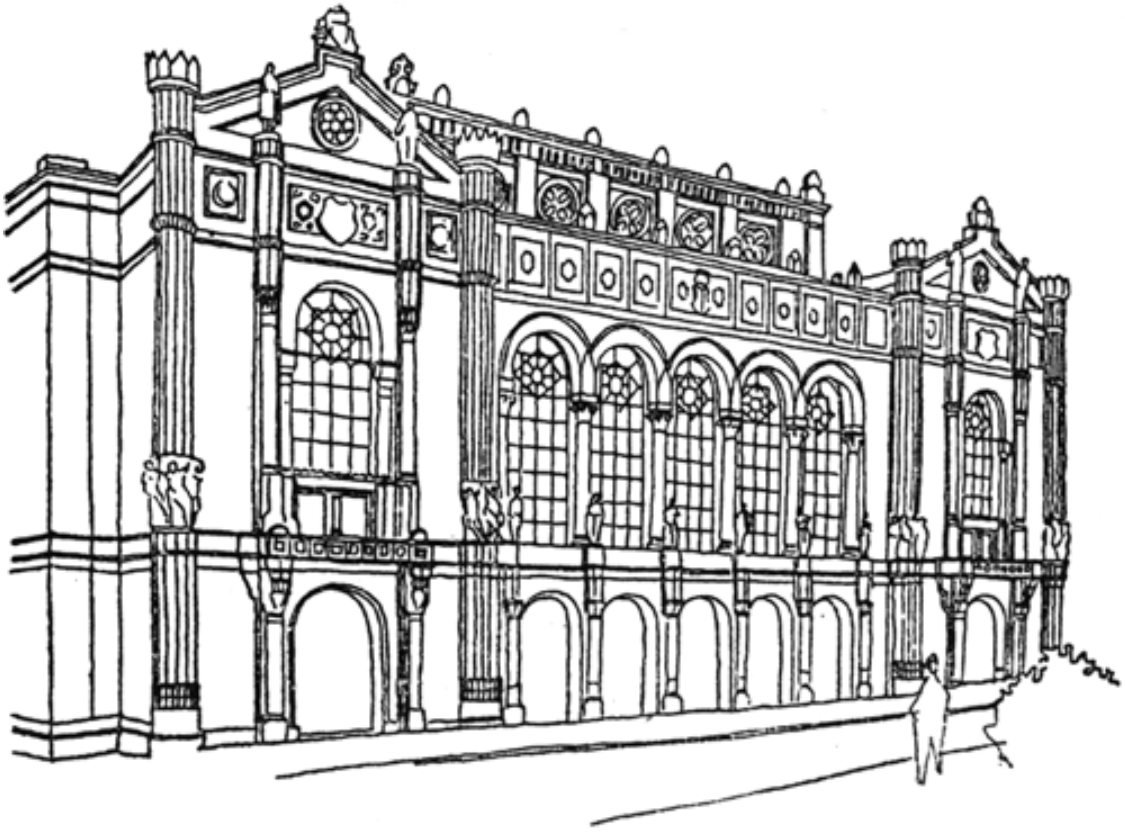
2. Otto Wagner: Majolikahaus, Vienna, 1898–1899

3. Otto Wagner: Postal Savings Bank, Vienna, 1904–1906

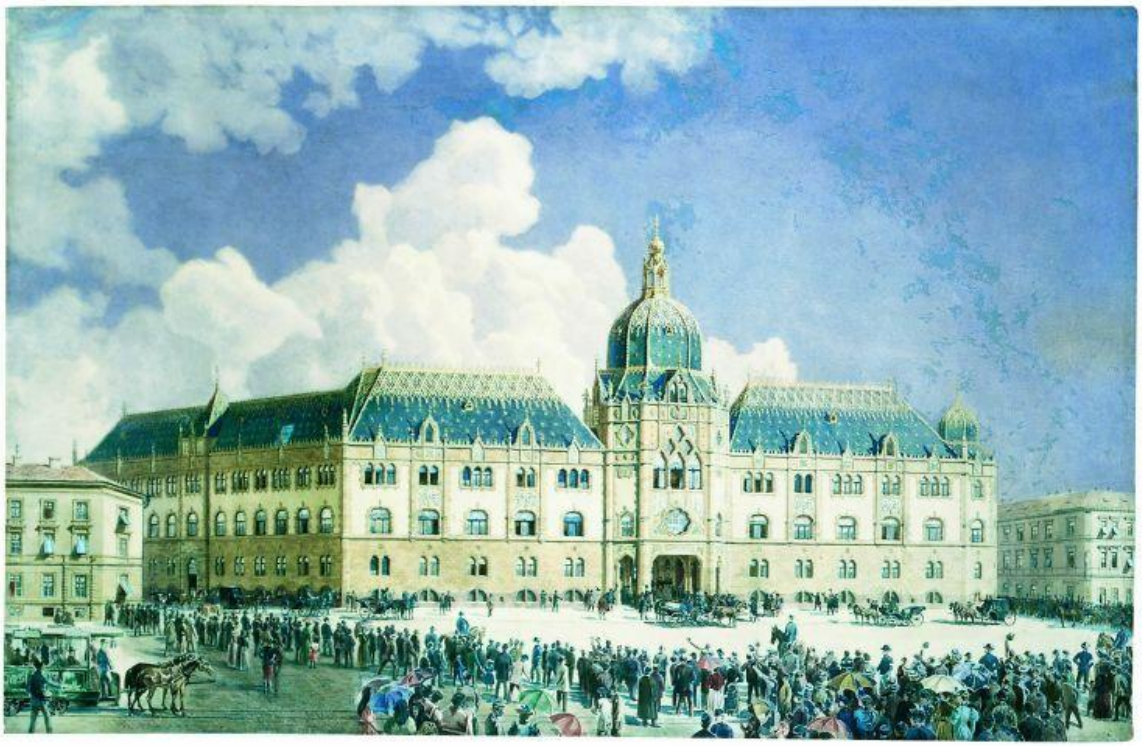
4. Otto Wagner: Postal Savings Bank, Vienna, 1904–1906 (cornice detail)

5. Adolf Loos: Looshaus, Vienna, 1909–1911

6. Ede Magyar: Reök palace, Szeged (Hungary), 1906–1907



7. Frigyes Feszl: Vigadó Concert Hall, Budapest, 1859–1864



8. Ödön Lechner: Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, 1891–1896

9. Ödön Lechner: Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, 1891–1896, the lantern

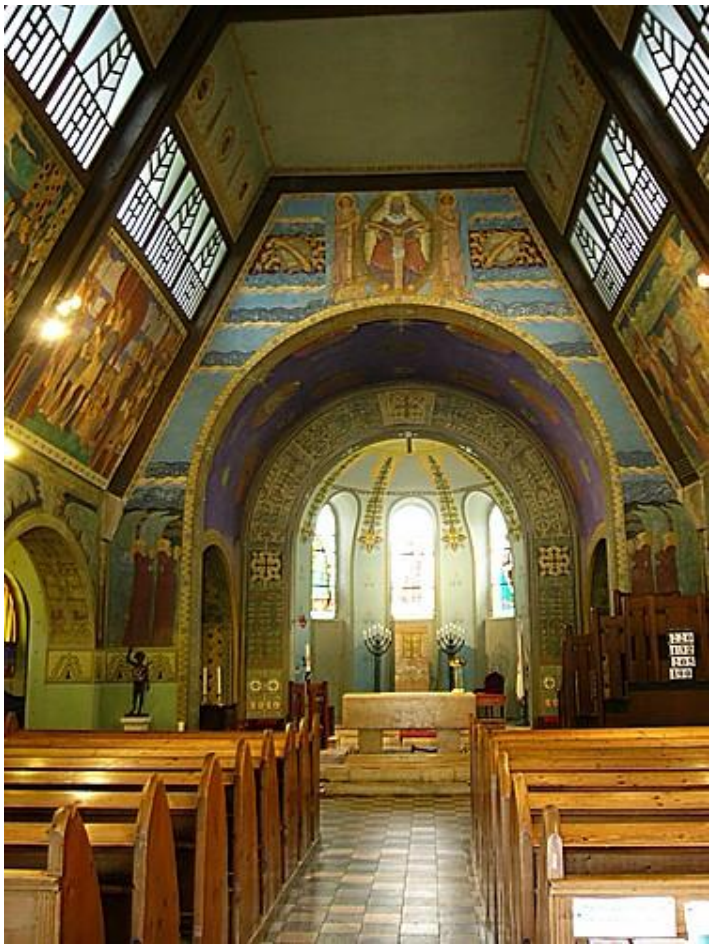
10. Ödön Lechner: Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, 1891–1896, entrance porch

11. Ödön Lechner: Geological Institute, Budapest, 1899

12. Ödön Lechner: Postal Savings Bank, Budapest, 1899–1901

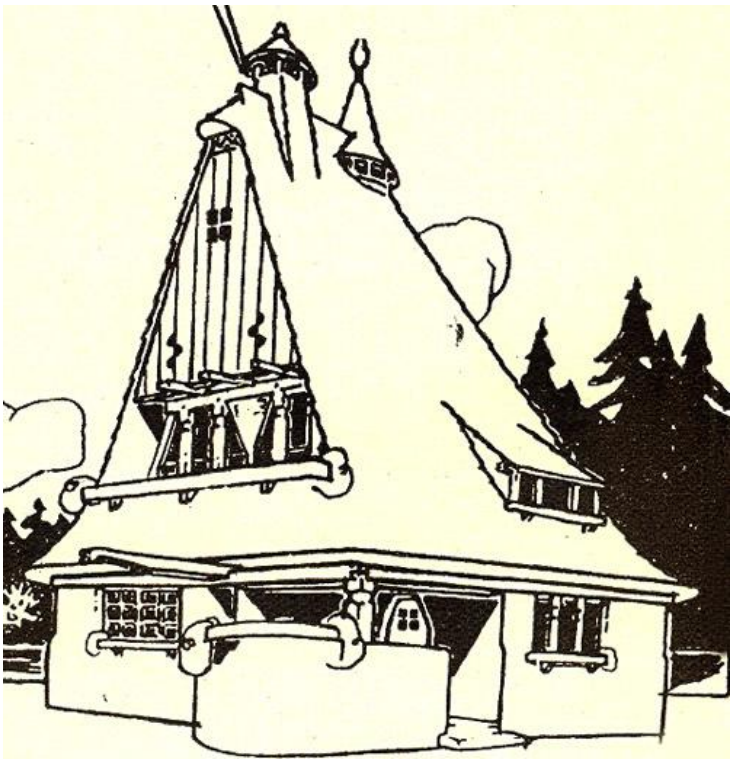
13. Ödön Lechner: Postal Savings Bank, Budapest, 1899–1901, cornice detail

14. Ödön Lechner: Postal Savings Bank, Budapest, 1899–1901, majolica beehives with gable



15. Károly Kós – Béla Jánszky: Catholic Church, Zebegény (Hungary), 1908–1909

16. Károly Kós, the cottage of the architect, Sztána (today Stana, Romania), 1910

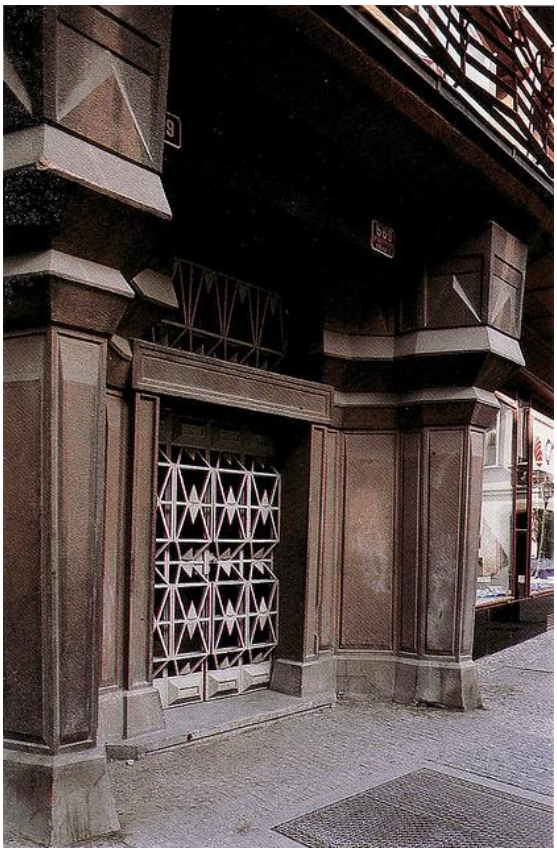


17. Ede Thoroczkai Wigand: imagined Transylvanian cottage

18. Béla Lajta: Vas Street Trade School, Budapest, 1909

19. Béla Lajta: Vas Street Trade School, Budapest, 1909 (detail of the facade)

20. Josef Gočár: Black Madonna apartment house, 1911–1912



21. Josef Gočár: Black Madonna apartment house, 1911–1912, facade detail

22. Pavel Janák, crematorium, Pardubice (Czech Republic), 1921–1923

23. Franciszek Mączyński – Tadeusz Stryjeński: the renovated Old Theater, Cracow, 1902–1906

24. Sukiennice (Cloth Hall), Cracow, 15th century

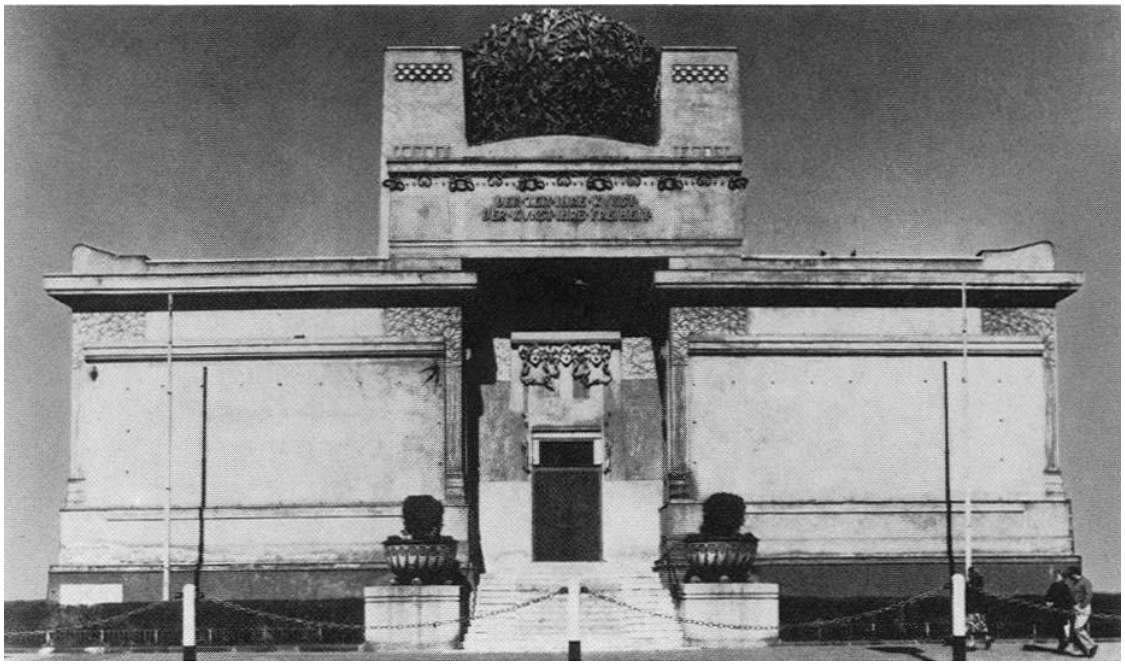
25. Franciszek Mączyński – Tadeusz Stryjeński: The clubhouse of the Chamber of Trade and Industry, Cracow, 1904–1906

26. Sławomir Odrzylowski: Trade School, Cracow, 1907–1913

27. Stanisław Witkiewicz: “Pod Jedlamni” villa, Zakopane, 1896

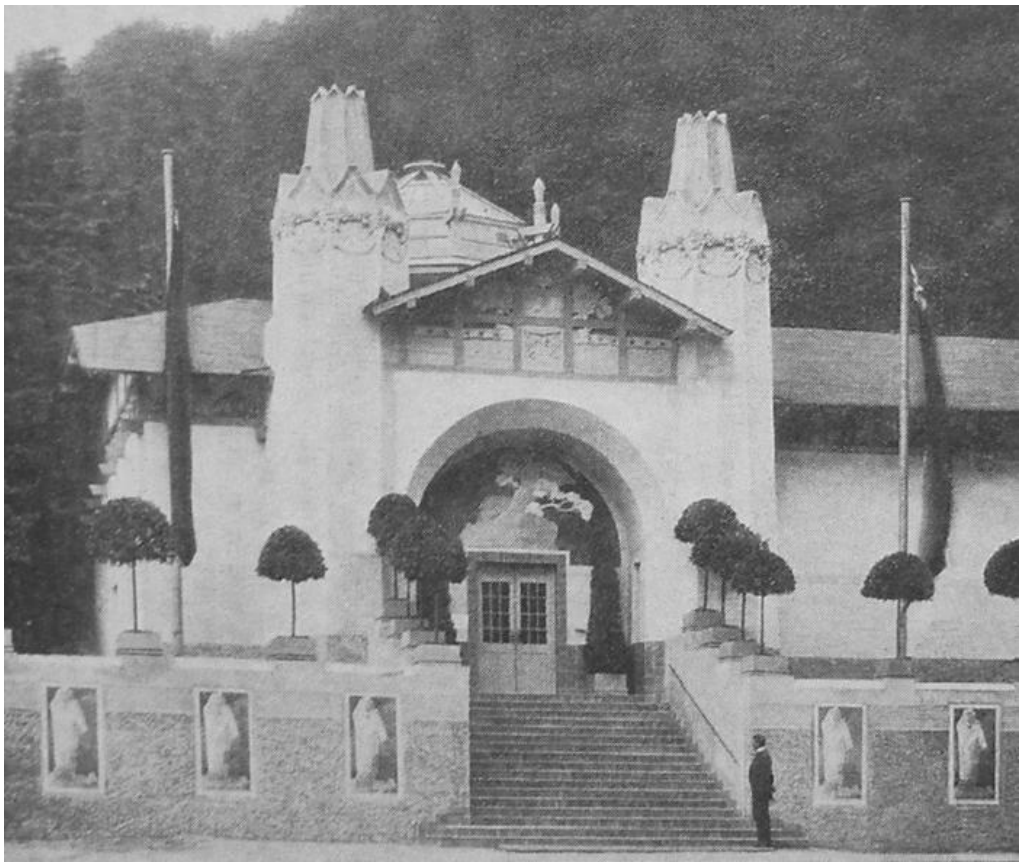
28. Stanisław Witkiewicz: Chapel, Zakopane, around 1900

29. The residence of Józef Piłsudski, Sulejówek (Poland), 1925

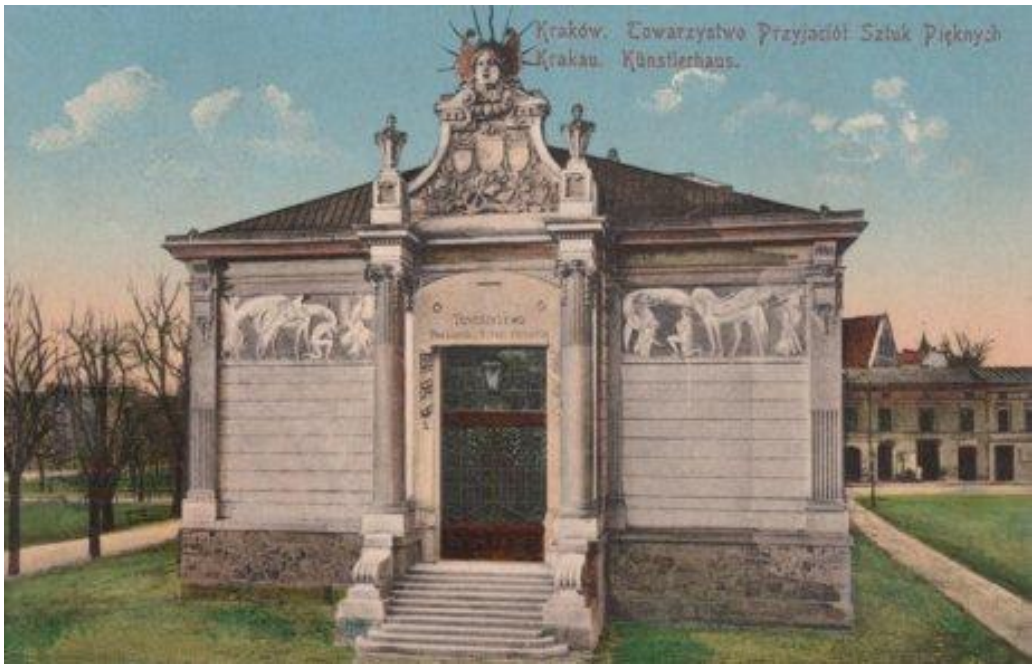


30. Joseph Maria Olbrich: Secession Hall, Vienna, 1897–1898

31. József Vágó – László Vágó: National Salon, Budapest, 1907



32. Jan Kotěra: Pavilion of the Mánes Union, Prague, 1902



33. Franciszek Mączyński: Palace of Art of the Society of Friends of Fine Arts, Cracow, 1899–1901

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Maps

1. http://withfriendship.com/images/i/41722/Habsburg-Monarchy-wallpaper.png
2. http://faculty.unlv.edu/pwerth/Europe-1920.jpg
3. http://www.teara.govt.nz/files/m1156enz.gif

Illustrations

1. http://prints.encore-editions.com/500/0/burg-ring-vienna.jpg
2. http://cache2.allpostersimages.com/p/LRG/26/2661/7SFUD00Z/affiches/bibikow-walter-jugendstil-building-majolikahaus-vienna-austria.jpg
3. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/68/Österreichische_Postsparkasse_Vienna_Oct._2006_002.jpg
4. http://bohemestudio.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/2012-Österreichische-Postsparkasse-Vienna-Austria3872x2592.jpg
5. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/ba/Looshaus.jpg
6. http://keptar.oszk.hu/018500/018582/Szeged_reok1_nagykep.jpg
7. http://arc.sze.hu/eptortea/99ab.GIF
8. http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02185/html/img/3_063a.jpg
9. http://www.lenolaj.hu/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/epetiszet_ip_m.jpg
10. http://jelesnapok.oszk.hu/prod/SZERKEZET/10oktober/o_unnepek/o1_foldtani/10_01_foldtanint2.jpg
11. http://www.mke.hu/lyka/01/e1p41.jpg
12. http://budapestcity.uw.hu/03-muemlekek/05/Postatakarek-penztar/kep-nagy.jpg
13. http://budapestcity.org/03-muemlekek/05/Postatakarek-penztar/kep-nagy.jpg
14. http://budapestcity.org/03-muemlekek/05/Postatakarek-penztar/kep-nagy.jpg
15. http://www.muvelodes.ro/images/1342785319.2768.jpg
16. http://www.foodandwine.hu/wp-content/uploads/2009/09/0735_t6785_maxi.jpg
17. http://lajtaarchiv.hu/wp-content/gallery/174-archiv-fotok/xii-2_xv_17_d_328_kti_130_a.jpg
18. http://lajtaarchiv.hu/wp-content/gallery/174-archiv-fotok/untitled-45.jpg
19. http://www.archinet.cz/ApDownload.php?id=20293
20. http://farm4.staticflickr.com/3496/3206875507_f22bfbba2b_z.jpg
21. http://farm3.staticflickr.com/2507/4103146211_f0907a291d_z.jpg?zz=1
22. http://www.polskiekrajobrazy.pl/images/stories/big/41837PA_ShiftN.jpg
23. http://galerius.pl/images/1243767735/1_780/51341414.jpg
24. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cc/Szkoła_Przemysłowa,_Kraków.jpg
25. http://m0.i.pbase.com/o6/69/31969/1/120813290.nKxdgs9E.Krakov0005.jpg
26. http://farm3.staticflickr.com/2084/2107961671_a7bbb8d80d_z.jpg
27. http://gfx.lumisfera.pl/media/photos/45280/1064626.5.jpg
28. http://www.radzima.org/images/pamatniki/5647/vlvlpike01-02.jpg
29. http://projects.ecfs.org/bome/cities/HBand2004/Vienna/SKendall/images/SecessionBldg.jpg
30. http://egykor.hu/images/2010/original/budapest-v-kerulet-nemzeti-szalon-_3.jpg
31. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/7/78/Jan_Kotera,_The_Manes_Pavilion,_Prague,_1902.JPG
32. http://bi.gazeta.pl/im/1/10362/z10362211AA,Gmach-Towarzystwa-Przyjaciol-Sztuk-Pieknych.jpg

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrieux J-Y., Chevallier F., Kervanto Nevanlinna A. (eds.), *Idée nationale et Architecture en Europe, 1860–1919. Finlande, Hongrie, Roumanie, Catalogne*, Rennes 2006.

Bairoch P , Batou J., Chèvre P., *La population des villes européennes. Banque de données et analyse sommaire des résultats, 800–1850*, Genève 1988

Bałus W., *The Zakopane Style and the Ongoing Debate about the Polish National Style in Architecture and Design,* in Keserü K., Haba P. (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, pp. 29–31.

Balšánek A., *Modernism, or the National Trend?,* in Keserü K., Haba P. (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, pp. 82–85.

Beller S., *Kraus's Firework. State Consciousness Raising in the 1908 Jubilee Parade in Vienna and the Problem of Austrian Identity,* in Bucur M., Wingfield N. M. (eds.), *Staging the Past. The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, West Lafayette 2001, p. 46–71.

Bender T., Schorske C., *Budapest and New York Compared. Introduction*, in Bender T., Schorske C. (dir.), *Budapest and New York. Studies in Metropolitan Transformation 1870–1930*, New York 1994, pp. 1–29.

Bowe N. G. (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design*, Dublin 1993.

Bowe N. G., *National Romanticism: Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* in Bowe N. G. (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design*, Dublin 1993, pp. 7–14.

Bowe N. G., *Vernacularism in Central Europe and Beyond: a Discussion from an English-speaking Perspective,* in Purchla J. (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, pp. 287–306.

Brix E., *The Structure of the Artistic Dialogue between Vienna and Other Urban Centres in the Habsburg Monarchy Around 1900*, in Krakowski P., Purchla J. (eds.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provincies,* Cracow 1999, pp. 11–16.

Bruckmüller E., *Histoire Sociale de l'Autriche*, with the preface of J. Le Rider., trans. O. Mannoni, Paris [1985] 2003

Champigneulle B., *L'Art nouveau,* Paris 1972.

Cibulka P., Hájek J., Kučera M., *The Definition of Czech National Society during the Period of Liberalism and Nationalism,* in Pánek J., Tůma O., et alii (eds.), *A history of the Czech Lands*, Prague 2009, pp. 331–376.

Crowley D., *Finding Poland in the Tatras: Local and National Features of the Zakpane Style*, in: in Purchla J. (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, pp. 317–326.

Crowley D., *National Style and nation-state. Design in Poland from the vernacular revival to the international style*, Manchester – New York 1992.

Déry A., *Nemzeti kísérletek építészetünk történetében* [National attempts in the history of our architecture], Budakeszi 1995.

Eljasz-Radzikowski S., *The Zakopane Style*, transl. Lesniewska J., in Keserü K., Haba P. (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, pp. 45–49.

Gerle J., Kovács A., Makovecz I. (eds.), *A századforduló magyar építészete* [The Hungarian architecture of the turn-of-the-century], Budapest 1990.

Gerle J., *Gondolatok a magyar századfordulós építészetről* [Thoughts on the Hungarian turn-of-the-century architecture], in Gerle J., Kovács A., Makovecz I. (eds.), *A századforduló magyar építészete* [The Hungarian architecture of the turn-of-the-century], Budapest 1990, pp. 7–15.

Gerle J., *What is Vernacular? Or, the Search for the "Mother-Tongue of Forms",* in Bowe N. G. (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design*, Dublin 1993, pp. 143–154.

Gerle J., *Hungarian Architecture from 1900 to 1918*, in Wiebenson D., Sisa J. (eds.), *The Architecture of Historic Hungary*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London 1998, pp. 223–244.

Gerle J., *Lechner Ödön,* Budapest 2003.

Gellér K., *A magyar szecesszió* [The Hungarian Art Nouveau], Budapest 2004.

Giustino C.M., *Rodin in Prague: Modern Art, Cultural Diplomacy, and National Display*, in "Slavic Review", 2010, 69, p. 591–619.

Gomułka, S., Polonski, A. (eds.), *Polish Paradoxes*, London 1990.

Granasztói Gy., *L'Urbanisation de l'Espace Danubien*, in "Annales ESC", 1989, 44, pp. 379–399.

Greenhalgh P., *Introduction: Le style et l'époque,* in Greenhalgh P. (ed.), *L'Art Nouveau en Europe, 1890 – 1914*, Tournai 2002.

Fülep L., *Magyar művészet* [Hungarian art], Budapest (1923) 1971.

Haiko P., *Vienna 1850–1930. Architecture*, New York 1992.

Jeszenszky G., *Hungary through World War I and the End of the Dual Monarchy*, in Sugar P. F., Hanák P., Frank T., *A History of Hungary*, Bloomington – Indianapolis (1990) 1994, pp. 267–294.

Kann R. A., *A History of the Habsburg Empire,* Berkeley – Los Angeles – London (1974) 1977.

Keserü K., *Vernacularism and Its Special Characteristics in Hungarian Art,* in Bowe N. G. (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* Dublin 1993, pp. 127–142.

Keserü K., Haba P. (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005.

Komor M., *Lechner Ödön,* in "Pesti Hírlap" [Pest Journal], 1914 (13th June), 37, p. 43.

Krakowski P., *Cracow Artistic Milieu Around 1900*, in Purchla J. (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, pp. 71–79.

Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska S., *"Sztuka" – "Wiener Secession" – "Mánes". The Central European Art Triangle*, in "Artibus et Historiae", 2006, 27, pp. 217–259.

Kurdiovsky R., *Joseph Maria Olbrich*, in Brandstätter C. (ed.), *Vienna 1900 and the Heroes of Modernism*, London 2006, p. 267–275.

Lambrichs A., *Vágó József*, trans. Morvay Zs., Budapest 2005.

Lechner Ö., *Hungarian Formal Language has not Been, but Will Be,* trans. Eisentein A., in Keserü K., Haba P. (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, p. 146–154.

Lechner Ö., *Önéletrajzi vázlat* [Autobiographical sketch], in Gerle J., *Lechner Ödön*, Budapest 2003, pp. 15–22.

Long C., *"The Works of Our People": Dušan Jurkovič and the Slovak Folk Art Revival,* in "Studies in the Decorative Arts" 2004–2005, 12, pp. 2–29.

Lukeš Z., *The Early Works, 1898–1905*, in *Jan Kotěra (1871–1923). The Founder of Modern Czech Architecture*, with the forewords of Šlapeta V., Prague 2001, pp. 94–119.

Lukowski J., Zawadzki H., *A Concise History of Poland*, second edition, Cambridge 2006.

Mádl K. B., *The Forthcoming Art,* trans. K. Hayes, in Keserü K., Haba P. (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, p. 89–91.

Magocsi P. R., *Historical Atlas of Central Europe*, Seattle (1993) 2002.

Magyar V., *Lechner Ödön,* in "Építő Ipar – Építő Művészet" [Building Industry – Architecture], 1914 (7th June), 38, p. 247.

Mallgrave H. P., *Introduction,* in Wagner O., *Modern Architecture. A Guidebook for His Students to this Field of Art,* Santa Monica 1988, pp. 1–51.

Medgyaszay I., *On the Artistic Forms of Ferro-Concrete*, trans. A. Eisenstein, in K. Keserü., P. Haba (eds.), *The Beginnings of Modernism in Central European Architecture*, Budapest 2005, pp. 169–175.

Moravánszky Á., *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867–1918*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London 1998.

Muthesius S.: *Neo-Vernacular Around 1900; Historicist–Revivalist/Traditionalist–Modernist,* in Purchla J. (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, pp. 307–315.

Omilanowska M., *Searching for a National Style in Polish Architecture at the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th century*, in Bowe N. G. (ed.), *Art and the National Dream. The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design,* Dublin 1993, pp. 99–116.

Pók L., *Bécs 1900* [Vienna 1900], Budapest 1989.

Popescu C., *Le style national roumain. Construire une nation à travers l'architecture, 1881–1945*, Rennes 2004.

Prakfalvi E., *Foreword. Outline of a Thematic Exhibition*, in Fehérvári Z., Hajdú V., Prakfalvi E. (eds.), *Pavilion Architecture in the 19–20th century from Hungarian Museum of Architecture*, Budapest 2001, pp. 13–16.

Purchla J. (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999.

Schorske C. E., *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture,* New York 1961.

Šlapeta V., *Architect Jan Kotěra*, in *Jan Kotěra (1871–1923). The Founder of Modern Czech Architecture*, with the forewords of Šlapeta V., Prague 2001, pp. 8–53.

Švácha R., *The Architecture of New Prague 1895–1945,* with the forewords of Frampton K., trans. Büchler A., Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London 1995, p. 100.

Švácha R., *Mánes Pavilion in Prague, 1902*, in *Jan Kotěra (1871–1923). The Founder of Modern Czech Architecture*, with the forewords of Šlapeta V., Prague 2001, pp. 122–123.

Švácha R., *Transformation of the Doric order and Prague Cubism, 1911–1914*, in Purchla J., Tegethoff W. (eds.), *Nation, Style, Modernism. CIHA Conference Papers 1*, Cracow – Munich 2006, pp. 95–106.

Szívós E., *Social History of Fine Arts in Hungary, 1867–1918*, Boulder – Wayne – Budapest 2011.

Tegethoff W., Art and national identity, in Purchla J., Tegethoff W. (eds.), *Nation, Style, Modernism. CIHA Conference Papers 1*, Cracow – Munich 2006, pp. 9–23.

Tímár Á., *Néhány adat az Erzsébet téri Nemzeti Szalon történetéhez* [Some Data to the History of the Construction of the National Salon at Deák Square], in "Ars Hungarica", 2007, 35, pp. 391–410.

Topp L., *Architecture and Truth in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna,* Cambridge 2004.

Vágó J., *Wagner és Lechner* [Wagner and Lechner], in "A Ház", 1911, 365–366.

Vybíral J., *Modernism or the National Movement in Prague,* in Purchla J. (dir.), *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces*, Kraków 1999, pp. 203–209.

Vybíral J., *Verba et Voces. Jan Kotěra in the Realm of Ideas and Social Relationship*, in *Jan Kotěra (1871–1923). The Founder of Modern Czech Architecture*, with the forewords of Šlapeta V., Prague 2001, pp. 54–71.

Vybíral J., *National style as a construction of art history,* in *The Plurality of Europe: Identities and Spaces*, eds. Eberhard W., Lübke C., Leipzig 2010, pp. 465–474.

Wagner O., *Modern Architecture. A Guidebook for His Students to this Field of Art,* introduction and trans. Mallgrave H. F., Santa Monica 1988.

Wittlich P., *Prague: Fin de Siècle,* trans. Skarbova S., Paris 1992.

Wittlich P., *Alfons Mucha in the Municipal House*, Prague 2000.

Wittlich P., *Art Nouveau Prague – Forms of the Style*, Prague 2009.

Zrumeczky D., *Lechner Ödön művészete* [The Art of Ödön Lechner], 1914 (14 June), 34, pp. 31–32.

CONTENTS