Cultural Sentiment and Urban Space in Modern Zagreb

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Abstract

This thesis examines the cultural situation in Zagreb in the second part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century by focusing on its built environment. It is based on the understanding that urban processes and architecture are a reflection of wider cultural and political ideologies. The thesis traces the reasons for and results of Vienna's determining influence on Zagreb's culture and architecture through architectural styles of fin de siècle, highlighting both similar and different urban solutions employed by the two cities during the period in question. It also shows how this dual relationship was in fact part of a triangle of power plays, with Croatia trying to find a balance between Austrian and Hungarian hegemony.

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1. Introduction

One defining characteristic of urban space that urban studies scholars seem to agree on is precisely the lack of any one defining characteristic. One line of reasoning that leads towards this conclusion is that the world has become globalized to such an extent that the cities as varied as New York, Vienna or Tokyo have lost their individual urban identities to the process of 'McDonaldization'[1], and became virtually indistinguishable from one another. Another argument can be found in phrases such as contested space, competing visions, whose city is it, the right to the city etc., which do not seem to allow any kind of labels or attempts to define the identity of a particular urban space. And indeed, all cities seem to be a battleground between opposing, clashing or simply differing urban identities. Space is constantly being negotiated and reappropriated by various class, racial, gender, national, cultural and social identities. However, despite all these (completely valid) arguments against strict labelling, the fact remains that cities do differ from each other, that each city possesses a unique flavour and shapes the lives of its inhabitants in a very subtle, yet sometimes decisive ways. That is why people still base their personal identities on the city they live in. Cities are still important in defining who we are, which is why it is important to at least attempt a definition of who (or what) they are.

I am a *Zagrepčanin*, a person from Zagreb. I am also an (aspiring) historian. However, this analysis of Zagreb's urban identity at the turn of the 19th into the 20th century is not a personal search for roots or just the most obvious line of research into what I know. It is a look into one of the defining historical periods in the life of a capital city of an (admittedly) small country.

[1] George Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society: An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life* (Newbury Park, California: Pine Forge Press, c1993)

Capital cities often aim at being an expression of the national identity[2]. It is also an investigation into a previously rather neglected research area, that of the smaller cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and their relationship with the imperial capital of Vienna. And finally, urban studies is one of the branches of history that still remain largely neglected in the historiographies of South-eastern Europe.

The perceived identity of a city differs from one person to the next, and even an individual's experience of a city can literally change within a minute, with one new piece of information or a chance encounter. Consequently, perhaps the only, and certainly the easiest, way to conceptualise a given urban identity is to look at its most obvious defining features, the representative public infrastructure. This paper will deal with the urban identity of Zagreb since its unification in 1850, the event which is taken as both a symbolical and an objective watershed in the life of the city, within the framework of cultural studies. More precisely, it will look at the way modern Zagreb was shaped by the architecture of historicism and the subsequent reaction to and against it, namely the so-called modern architecture. The two styles, if the great diversity and plurality of tendencies present in each can be encompassed under the term 'style', were best expressed through the lives and work of their greatest representatives in Croatia; historicism will be dealt with through the examples of the Green Horseshoe, the biggest urban project in nineteenth century Zagreb, and the persona of Hermann Bollé, while the complexity of the so-called modern architecture will be touched upon by looking at Vjekoslav Bastl and Viktor Kovačić. This investigation will largely be guided by a research question about the extent and exact manner in which these processes and actors were shaped by the influence of Vienna and its cultural patterns. Even though the results of mimicking the Viennese role model are visible at

[2] Zagreb's importance for Croatia, at least in the eyes of its inhabitants, can also be seen from the informal name for its citizens – *Purgeri* (Citizens). The similarity with *burg, burgher* is obvious – inhabitants of *the* town

every corner, I would argue that Zagreb was not only a smaller imitation of the "Golden" imperial capital[3], but that it took from it different threads of culture and, adding its own contributions, wove them into a brand new tapestry.

The first chapter of the thesis is dedicated to the theoretical framework of this research, into which I will not go at this point. Chapter two will provide a purely historical context which was crucial for the shaping of Zagreb's architectural and literary landscape. The history of Zagreb and Croatia has been inextricably tied with that of Austria and, more specifically its ruling house, for five centuries. Throughout its history, Croatia, as part of the elusive and ill-defined region of South-eastern Europe, was influenced by four great centres of power – Istanbul, Venice, Vienna and Budapest. However, only one of these four cities played a decisive role on the formation of the Croatian capital, and that was Vienna. The feebleness of the influence of the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic is hardly surprising considering the historico-geographical extents of their rule and spheres of influence in these parts. What might be considered surprising is the apparent lack of influence exerted on Zagreb by the urban example of Budapest. This might, however, be explained by the fact that the same historical circumstances which made the Hungarian government the immediate ruler of Croatia, especially after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, also made it the most immediate target of resentment. Hungarian measures directed towards making Croatia as much as integral part of Hungary as possible did not create an environment in which Budapest would be a desirable role model for urban development. Thus one of the factors of Vienna's attractive power could be found in an attempt by the Croatian authorities to counteract the stifling Hungarian authority by turning to the traditional centre of imperial power.

[3] Hilde Spiel, *Vienna's Golden Autumn, 1866-1938* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, c1987)

Not that Vienna needed any help with boosting its power of attraction. The sparkling centre of the empire had always radiated a natural magnetic force to all corners of the Habsburg monarchy, but the attraction took on almost magical powers at the beginning of the 20th century. Names like Mahler, Schoenberg, Hofmannsthal, Bahr, Schnitzler, Musil, Wagner, Loos, Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele, Freud, Jung, and many others made *fin de siècle* Vienna one of the capitals of modern culture. The extraordinary flowering of arts and culture was one of the reasons why the identities of cities like Zagreb were largely built upon the desire to follow in the footsteps and, if possible, surpass the metropolis.

With a clear theoretical and historical framework provided in the first two chapters, the third one will be able to focus on the real research questions: what was Zagreb's urban identity in the 19th century? Which stylistic guidelines were followed in the creation of the city's most famous urban landmarks? And where did these principles derive from? The obvious guiding principle behind all urban developments in Zagreb was Vienna's Ringstrasse and the historicist style responsible for its majestic splendour. This claim can best be illustrated by the project that shaped the centre of Zagreb, the so called "Green Horseshoe". The idea of building a representational area that would showcase the importance and cultural refinement of the national capital clearly came from the example of the Ringstrasse. Furthermore, almost all representative public buildings on the Horseshoe were built by Vienna-based architects. The tentative conceptual link with the garden city movement again points us to Vienna.[4] Finally, the Green Horseshoe is by no means the only example of Zagreb's urban development obviously modelled on Vienna.

[4] See Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998)

Almost all of the representative public buildings erected in Zagreb in the second part of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century were executed in the grand historicist style typical of Vienna. This is hardly surprising if we account for the fact that the main shapers of Zagreb's urban visage were Hermann Bollé, a German architect who became a self-proclaimed Croatian patriot without speaking a word of Croatian, and Vienna-natives like F. Fellner and H. Helmer, who were responsible for connecting Zagreb with a wider European area, at least in the design of the building of the Croatian National Theatre.

As the capital of a small and rather provincial country, Zagreb had always found itself trailing after Vienna and other great Western European cities. The stunted economic and social development was naturally mirrored in the corresponding lag in artistic and scientific achievements. In the fourth chapter I will talk about the first artistic style that disrupted this unfortunate pattern. Only 2 years after the founding of the "Vienna Secession" artistic group, Vjekoslav Bastl finished the Pečić house in Ilica street 43, which was the first example of Wagner-inspired secession style in Zagreb. The next year, in 1900, Viktor Kovačić published an article entitled "Moderna arhitektura", which was openly inspired by Otto Wagner's book by the same name[5] and provided a programmatic background to the new architectural and artistic tendencies. Kovačić may have been a typical figure for Croatia in that the architectural and programmatic innovations he introduced consisted of ideas he picked up in the West, in Vienna. Nevertheless, the importance of "the first builder of modern Croatian architecture"[6] cannot be over-emphasised because he was the first and, at that time, only person who consistently and uncompromisingly advocated modernist principles in architectural design. Both architects

[5] Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for His Students to This Field of Art* (Santa Monica, California: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988)
[6] D. Radović Mahečić, A. Laslo, "Viktor Kovačić – promotor hrvatske moderne arhitekture", (Rad. Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, 21/1997, p.143-165), 2

studied at the very source of these new developments, at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, under the great Otto Wagner. The generic term *Hrvatska moderna* does not really distinguish between Secession (practised by Wagner and Bastl, but also partly by Kovačić) and the functionalist style championed by Adolf Loos and followed a bit more moderately by Kovačić, who could thus be called an early modernist or protomodernist.

Zagreb could not match Vienna in any aspect, neither in size, strength of its economy nor in its artistic and scientific achievements. It also suffered from the common malady of all provincial or colonial towns – looking up and imitating the imperial capital in all aspects of life, but also resenting its hegemony and trying to surpass or break away from the path it dictated. These conflicting tendencies naturally resulted in a confused national and urban identity. Still, there is a marked difference in the attitude towards Vienna and its artistic and cultural models of the 'old guard' of historicist architects and writers and the new, 'modern' artists. While the first were still trying to upgrade Zagreb's social identity by fatefully following in the footsteps of their Viennese counterparts, 20th century artists tried to make those Western trends a starting point of the roads to their own, individual styles. It remains to be seen to what extent they succeeded in this endeavour.

2. Theoretical Framework

Situating a research within the existing body of literature can be a daunting task, especially for student. Making a comparison, even just an implicit one, between one's one work and some of the defining works of the field in question may feel presumptuous and undeserved. This is aggravated by an additional problem of working within a discipline that does not lend itself easily to strict classifications. And if the research in question is concerned with a comparative study of some cultural and artistic aspects of urban studies, then its delineation requires some heavy conceptual juggling. That being the case with this particular thesis, it will be necessary to establish a theoretical basis on several different levels. The foundation on which this edifice is going to be built (to use the appropriate terminology) is an area of scholarly interest known as 'urban studies,' which covers a notoriously wide and varied array of possible inquiries.

The definition of urban studies hinges upon the definition of the city. Twentieth-century urban theories have often explained the workings of the city by using "metaphors drawn from biology or economics."[7] Thus, depending on the perspective, cities have been conceived as ecological systems or rather Darwinian social organisms (most notably by the pioneering Chicago School), the perfect markets, or systems of exclusion perpetuated either by the governments or by the merciless laws of market economy.[8] However, many of these approaches could be classified as belonging under the umbrella of sociology, and are therefore not really adequate for my purposes. The heterogeneity of urban studies necessitates an interdisciplinary approach that is able to take into account all the nuances stretching across the traditional

[7] Philip Cooke, "Modern Urban Theory in Question", in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series 15, no. 3 (1990), 331, http://www.jstor.org/stable/622675
[8] Ibid, 332

boundaries between disciplines. Nevertheless, even such interdisciplinary approach is per force grounded in one discipline (from which it then branches and appropriates the methods of other sciences according to need). So why are sociological approaches to urban studies not applicable to this, basically historical, research? Or rather, what it is that separates the sociological from the historical perspective when it comes to cities?

The basic difference is that a historian works with a different set of concepts and preconceived notions than a sociologist. This is perfectly illustrated in Anthony D. King's introduction to *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*, where he concludes that the only common theme running through all of the contributing essays is their author's rejection of the national culture and/or identity as a fundamental concept used for the analysis of either cultural or social aspects of city life.[9] The concept of national identity is indeed becoming increasingly irrelevant for social or cultural analysis of life in the cities, especially modern multinational and multicultural metropolises. When cities are discussed within the framework of colonialism and globalisation (as is the case with the book in question), it is necessary to have at one's disposal analytical tools other than the concepts of nation-state or nationality. However, if the focus is on some aspects of city life at the turn of the nineteenth into twentieth century, the contemporary understanding of nationhood and the relevance attributed to it by various groups are not only very important but downright irreplaceable.

In fact, one of the main themes of the thesis will be the ways in which different national movements in Austria-Hungary affected the political and cultural situation in Croatia, which in turn determined the mode of development of its capital city. In the nineteenth century, Zagreb was "a capital without a country, the "national" center of a territory and citizenship that had

[9] Anthony D. King (ed), *Culture, Globalization and the World-system: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c1997), 2

neither distinct political boundary nor voice."[10] In addition to the fact that Croatia's (and consequently Zagreb's) political and economical issues were decided elsewhere, by the rulers and governments of another country, its cultural policies also bore a strong foreign mark, even if it was more of its own choosing. In this regard, Zagreb's urban development could be considered through the framework of colonial cities.

Zagreb reminds one in some respect of colonial cities defined by anthropologists Redfield and Singer (1954) as "the mixed cities on the periphery of an empire which carried the core culture to other peoples,"[11] Zagreb seems to fall into that category. It was situated on the periphery of the Austro-Hungarian empire, both physically and with regards to its development, it was in many respects a 'German' city (e.g. German language was so widely spoken that the first newspaper in Zagreb was called *Agramer Zeitung*, and the oldest street signs in Zagreb were also written in German), and it definitely constituted a gateway through which all new civic and cultural developments reached the rest of Croatia (with a considerable time lag, of course). Zagreb could also be interpreted through the discourse of the dual city; it was both a national capital, central for Croatian divided and politically dependent territories, and one of the many peripheral administrative and economical centers of the Habsburg empire. Besides the center-periphery opposition, Zagreb's duality also surfaced in the division between Austrian/German and Croatian cultural identity, as well as in its inherent dichotomy of a city that was established by uniting two distinct and often antagonistic medieval settlements (Gradec and Kaptol). Of course, Zagreb was never a colonial city in the full sense of the word, not just because Croatia was never really a colony. Blau and Rupnik argue that its peripheral position, far from implying

[10] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2007), 14
[11] Anthony D. King (ed), *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990), 13

subordination, actually gave it a freedom to choose between the gravitational pulls of many different centers (primarily Vienna and Budapest, but to some extent also the Ottoman empire and Venice).[12] Ákos Moravánszky also denied the validity of the colonial city discourse applied to the Habsburg Empire, and claimed that "the relation to "the Other" in Vienna or in Budapest could not be described as that of the colonizer to the culture of the colonies."[13] While both points are valid to a certain extent, I would still argue that the theoretical perspective of colonial cities provides a valuable alternative perspective on Zagreb and other peripheral cities of the Empire.

Colonial city theories can help explain one more practice that defined Zagreb's architectural and urban development during both the historicist nineteenth and the beginning of the 'modern' twentieth century. Urban mimicry, the imitation of forms and patterns of another city, has most often been described when taking place between a colonial city and the imperial capital. But before proceeding with the consideration of urban mimicry, I need to clarify what I mean when I say that I will look at Zagreb's urban development within the framework of cultural studies. This is again a very problematic concept that depends on how we define culture. Two traditional notions of what constitutes culture could be called 'anthropological,' which encompasses ways of life, values, beliefs, etc., and 'humanistic,' implying all forms of art and the media. Luckily, today these restrictive definitions have been rightly recognized as too narrow to encompass all the nuances of life that make up a regional, national, or global culture. That is why I adhere to King's understanding that culture,

> […] in its sense of art, literature, film, practices of representation of all kinds,
> both draws from and participates in the construction of culture as a way of life,
> as a system of values and beliefs which, in turn, affects culture as a creative,

[12] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2007), 13
[13] Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, c1998), 6

representational practice[…][14]

Such an understanding of culture corresponds to the widespread belief, central for this thesis, that art or, more specifically, architecture, is a language.[15] A language that speaks to us not only about the purpose for which the building is used, but which also expresses some external ideas, beliefs and truths about the society in general. Thus, when urban historians (as opposed to art or architecture historians) look at a city, their focus is not so much on its actual spatial forms, but on what those forms can reveal about the people and processes that created them. Urban history regards cities "as complex but legible documents that can tell us something about the values and aspirations of their rulers, designers, builders, owners, and inhabitants."[16] The obvious starting point for any research into the field of cultural studies that takes architecture to be a medium for expressing some wider socio-political undercurrents (and to an extent a factor in their shaping) are the works of Carl E. Schorske, Péter Hanák and Donald J. Olsen, as well as that of Ákos Moravánszky. Their seminal works, each a classic in its own right, provided the foundation not just for the study of Vienna (alongside Budapest, Paris and London), its culture and architecture in the nineteenth and beginning of twentieth century, but also served as role-models and examples of the desirable framing for a comparative cultural study.

Schorske, that "doyen of 'Vienna' historians," was responsible for initiating the great wave of scholarly interest in *fin de siècle* Vienna in the early 1960s.[17] Although I draw directly only on his chapter on the Ringstrasse, the entire book[18] is the perfect example of how to weave various, even seemingly unconnected, strands from all areas of human society into a tapestry that would

[14] Anthony D. King (ed), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c1997), 2
[15] Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c1986), 285
[16] Ibid, ix
[17] Steven Beller, "Modern Owls Fly by Night: Recent Literature on *Fin de Siècle* Vienna," The Historical Journal 31, no. 3 (September 1988), 665, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2639762
[18] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981)

set new standards for all future studies in cultural, social or intellectual history. The fact that his interpretation of the Ringstrasse as a symbolic triumphal arch of the newly ascending liberal middle class has since been modified by Olsen did little to diminish Schorske's pre-eminence as an authority in this particular field.

Adding another dimension to the study of culture, Péter Hanák[19] compares and contrasts Vienna to the capital city of the other half of the empire, Budapest. Hanák's inspiration with Schorske (who wrote the foreword) is visible in his general interest in one part of the Austro-Hungarian society at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century, and in the structure of the book which is a collection of essays on very different aspects of cultural history. Where he differs from Schorske is that his essays have an added dimension of considering the diverging paths in which the society developed in Vienna and in Budapest. Although his statement about writing "comparative cultural history"[20] perfectly reflects my own goal, Hanák offers a much wider definition of what that really entails. While he is much more focused on the part that 'urban mass culture' and '*Gewohnheitskultur*' play in the creation of a society, the third layer of comparative cultural history he identifies, the link between culture and politics, fits this research perfectly. Indeed, it was largely due to political reasons that Budapest's 'workshop' took a different route to modernization than Vienna's garden. The differences in Austrian and Hungarian political and national aims led the builders of Budapest to look beyond Habsburg's capital city for inspiration. They found that inspiration in Paris, which seemed to provide them with a perfect example of successful methods of urban development. It was for very similar reasons (desire for political emancipation which prevented cultural and urban imitation) that

[19] Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998)
[20] Ibid, xviii

Zagreb bypassed Budapest as a source of urban models and concentrated almost exclusively on Vienna.

Even wider comparative examination of culture and the built environment of European cities can be found in the works of Donald J. Olsen and Ákos Moravánszky. For Olsen, nineteenth century cities were 'works of art;' he concentrates on London, Paris and Vienna as "deliberate artistic creations intended not merely to give pleasure but to contain ideas, inculcate values, and serve as tangible expressions of systems of thought and morality,"[21] and points out the differences between those systems of thought that created each great European metropolis. Moravánszky intention is even more ambitious and awe-inspiring - in order to "set architectural development against its cultural background,"[22] he launches into an overview of the various techniques and styles that Central European architects used in their search for an "appropriate architectonic language" that could "address the changing political and social realities of the region."[23] What both authors have in common is that neither is interested in the everyday architecture, but focuses on the representational and ornamental. While Moravánszky says he is interested in 'alternative visions,' Olsen is not ashamed of his focus on the "superficial and the luxurious" because he is convinced that "societies better reveal themselves at play than at work."[24] Except for the incomparably smaller focus of interest, the combination of their approaches fits very well into the theme of this thesis.

[21] Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c1986), 4
[22] Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, c1998), xi
[23] Christopher Long, review of *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918*, by Ákos Moravánszky. *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 1 (March 2000), 122-123
[24] Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c1986), 5

That still leaves one, perhaps the most important, aspect of my research without a theoretical grounding. I claim that the main strategy of Zagreb's builders, developers and other decision-making elite was to imitate the urban solutions of Vienna. The mechanics of imitation were very effectively explained by two authors dealing with colonial and post-colonial urban and architectural problem - Jeffrey D. Needell and Anthony D. King. This time King takes a sideways approach to his usual themes of culture and globalization through the investigation of the bungalow.[25] Although his primary focus on post-colonialism, global culture, capitalist world economy and, of course, the bungalow itself was not directly connected with this thesis, King's book still proved useful as it provided some very important research questions. King explores themes such as the symbolic meaning of architecture, relation of ideology to architecture, the power (or powerlessness) to make decisions about building forms and urban development, and the reproduction of values, beliefs and activities of a society in the built environment.[26] I was especially interested in the discrepancy that arises when the inhabitants of an urban space have little or no say in its development.

In his two articles on Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro[27] Jeffrey D. Needell gives a masterful account of the transformation of one city in the image of another. He shows how the traditional French cultural influence in Argentina and Brazil, coupled with the historical circumstances of post-colonial economic and social development, set Paris as a "model of what a 'modern or 'civilized' city should be like."[28] What is interesting in their case is that Paris, a colonial centre, was never *their* colonial centre, but was chosen as an urban

[25] Anthony D King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995)
[26] Ibid, 9
[27] Jeffrey D. Needell, "Rio de Janeiro at the Turn of the Century: Modernization and the Parisian Ideal" *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 25, no. 1 (February 1983), 83-103, http://www.jstor.org/stable/165535
Jeffrey D. Needell, "Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires: Public Space and Public Consciousness in Fin-De-Siecle Latin America," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 3 (July 1995), 519-540, http://www.jstor.org/stable/179218
[28] Ibid, 521

inspiration for various reasons. This element of choice is also present in the otherwise different relationship between Zagreb and Vienna. Even though both South American cities differed from Zagreb in many important aspects (they are former colonies, with a large colonial elite rich enough to indulge their *francophonie* with the total immersion in French literature, language, fashion, etc. as well as education and frequent stays in Paris itself), there were also enough similarities which validate my appropriation of Needell's methodology. These parallels include the long-standing cultural influence of one culture and its central city (Paris, or Vienna in Zagreb's case) on the peripheral cities, including the education and professional experiences that the 'provincial' builders and urban developers acquired in the imperial capital, as well as the role of these peripheral cities as the "foci of cultural diffusion"[29] for the rest of the country. Furthermore, Rio, Buenos Aires and Zagreb all had an ambiguous relationship to their respective role-model capitals; on one hand, their urban elites were actively trying to imitate the urban practices of Paris and Vienna, and took great pride in the resulting modernisation of their cities; on the other, the acutely felt cultural inferiority made them reject their 'backward' hometowns with utter contempt and disgust. Needell may be more focused on the "upper-class culture in a 'neo-colonial' setting," while my emphasis is more on the actual building forms, but our aims and methods are very similar.

Finally, I have to say a few words on the existing literature on Zagreb. My research is not new in the sense of uncovering some previously unknown archival material but, with its combination of previously separate lines of inquiry, it does represent a novel approach to the study of urbanism in *Fin de siècle* Zagreb. Consequently, it is largely dependent on the work of other scholars, i.e. on secondary literature. Until a couple of years ago most literature on Zagreb

[29] Jeffrey D. Needell, "Rio de Janeiro at the Turn of the Century: Modernization and the Parisian Ideal" *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 25, no. 1 (February 1983), 87

tended to be either purely historical accounts, focusing mostly on the traditional political history with only minor excursions into some aspects of cultural history (Szabo, Perić), or a relatively straightforward tracing of architectural development (Dobronić, Knežević). Both types of literature failed to situate Zagreb within a wider social and cultural context and give a satisfactory explanation of its urban development by accounting for some general European (or more precisely Austro-Hungarian) trends and undercurrents. In other words, what had been missing was the comparative approach and a wider cultural studies framework.

Recent years saw a notable improvement in this regard due to the publication of several new studies of Zagreb. One such work is the collection of essays that tackle the problem of modernity from various backgrounds from the field of arts and culture (architecture, design, dance, theatre, photography, etc.)[30] Another good example is yet another collection of essays, the first work to approach the subject of Zagreb from a different perspective, entitled *Fin de Siècle Zagreb – Beč.*[31] This book pioneered the field of comparative cultural studies in Croatia, and Olga Maruševski's essay on the architectonic and urbanistic connections between Zagreb and Vienna remains almost the only, and certainly the most comprehensive comparison of architectural strategies of the two cities.[32]

Finally, the most recent and perhaps the most ground-breaking in its approach is the joint project of Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik called *Project Zagreb*[33]. The subtitle of the book, *Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice,* indicates its approach and focus in exploring Zagreb as an urban structure. It is a case study of Zagreb as a city that has been shaped by many

[30] Vukić, Feđa (ed), Zagreb: Modernost i grad (Zagreb: AGM, 2003)
[31] Damir Barbarić, ed, *Fin de Siècle Zagreb – Beč* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997)
[32] Olga Maruševski, "Arhitektonsko-urbanističke veze Zagreba i Beča na prijelomu stoljeća" in Damir Barbarić, ed, *Fin de Siècle Zagreb – Beč* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997)
[33] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2007)

discontinuities, changes and transitions that have been especially strong in Central Europe in the last 150 years. Zagreb has 'changed hands' many times, and gained and lost importance in accordance with Croatia's shifting political status (a land ruled by a 'foreign' crown, a federal state or an independent country.) Zagreb's planners and builders responded to the "condition of transition" by generating "urban architectural strategies for dealing with the continuously unresolved"[34] which turned the city itself into an 'open work.' I am going to look at an early period of this condition of transition, the beginnings of 'modern' Zagreb, through the alternative ways suggested by this work. to look at some well-known urban manifestations. This also means a less traditional and more comparative perspective. I will follow their approach and look at key urban and architectural developments to extrapolate a more general theory of specific techniques, practices and ideologies that make the city the way it is. The Green Horseshoe, as the most comprehensive historicist urban project, can thus be searched for the underlying ideologies and patterns of imitation; the example of Hermann Bollè is perfect for studying the conflicting attitudes towards various Imperial presences in Zagreb and the related feelings about historicist architecture, seen as representative of that power. And finally, the overview of the emerging modern architecture in Zagreb can illuminate the relationship between 'modern' and nationalistic tendencies, and make a further point about the complex relationship between Zagreb and Vienna.

[34] Ibid, 17

2. History and Ties

2.1 Between the Imperial Eagle and the Royal Crown

History of Zagreb up to the end of the First World War is a story written in dichotomies. Created out of two opposed medieval towns, the capital city of a nation whose lands were divided between the Imperial eagle of the Habsburgs and the Hungarian Crown of St. Stephan, Zagreb struggled to find a balance between these two powers and, at the same time, recover its own voice that had been drowned by the Hungarian language, spoken by its political and economic rulers and the German tongue that dominated the everyday life, newspapers, theatre, literature and architecture. This historical setting, the outlines of which are given in this chapter, was instrumental in setting the course for Zagreb's urban development. I shall therefore give a brief account of the most important dates and events in Croatia's (and Zagreb's) shared history with Hungary and Austria. I use the rather imprecise term 'Austria' to imply the House of Habsburg and the corresponding imperial institutions and policies, centered, and indeed epitomised in the Residenz- und Reichshauptstadt Vienna. Although the city itself will be more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 3.1, I shall end this chapter with a brief look at the ties between Vienna and Zagreb in some fields of culture other than architecture and urban planning.

The first part of Croatia’s long and intertwined relationship with both Hungary and the House of Habsburg became formalized in 1102 when Croatian noblemen entered into an agreement with Hungarian king Koloman. The so called Pacta Conventa meant that Croatia was joined with Hungary by the institution of personal union; they had a common king who ruled in Croatia via a representative, but Croatia retained its inner autonomy and national individuality (or at least it

was supposed to). The Habsburgs came into picture in 1527. After Suleiman the Magnificent defeated the Hungarian forces at the battle of Mohács and killed king Louis II, Croatia and Hungary needed to choose another king. Most of the nobility chose Ferdinand I Habsburg, thus completing the political triangle whose dynamic interrelations would determine Croatia's future until the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918. One pattern crystallized during the almost four centuries of alternating power relations – Croatia, as the weakest partner in this alliance, constantly tried to play the two stronger powers against each other. This usually meant that a period of increased Austrian dominance caused Croatia to seek help in a tighter association with Hungary and, vice versa, when the Hungarian pressure became too strong, the emperor was called upon as a protector.

A very basic, and therefore somewhat simplified illustration of the power struggles between the three parties could begin in 1790, when the Croatian Parliament (Sabor), determined to prevent a reprisal of the just ended period of Austrian absolutism, voted to transfer some of its rights to the joint Croatian-Hungarian government. The move was seen as temporary, valid until all the Croatian lands (including Dalmatia which was then under the direct rule of the Austrian part of the empire) were freed from the Turkish and Venetian occupation and (re)united. Hungary, on the other hand, considered it to be an excellent opportunity for Croatia's further and fuller integration into the Kingdom of Hungary. Their pressure was steadily increasing until 1848, when the Croatians saw the widespread turmoil as a chance to regain an autonomous government. Their disputes with the Hungarians played perfectly into the hands of the Austrian court, which was naturally fearful of the revolution in Hungary. Thus, in suppressing the Hungarian revolution, Jelačić could reconcile his double function as the Croatian *ban* and the commander of the Imperial troops, and act in the best interest of both Croatia and the Court. But

this triumph was short lived; following yet another bout of Germanisation and imperial centralization (Bach's absolutism), Croatians once more began to strengthen the ties with the presumedly chastened Hungary. This choice, which eventually led to the Croatian-Hungarian Agreement of 1868, proved to be immutable for the rest of their sojourn in Austria-Hungary.

Despite the eight-century long tradition of various interstate ties and associations, Hungarian influence in Croatia's capital city never spread beyond the political sphere. If one was to make an assumption based solely on the historical circumstances as outlined above, one would expect to find evidence of Hungary's influence on various aspects of life in Zagreb. One would, however, be mistaken; although politically tied to the Crown of Saint Stephen, Zagreb's cultural ties were with Vienna.[35] Such strong division might seem somewhat strange; it is not surprising that Croatia, battling the increasing Hungarian political and economical ascendancy, would try to assert its independence in the few remaining areas in which it could still do so, most notably in culture. It is also not surprising that both Croatian government and public resisted Magyarisation by appealing to the only instance of power that could, at least in theory, override it, namely Vienna. What is slightly puzzling is why the usual Croatian strategy of playing one power against the other did not work both ways in the cultural sphere – why were Hungarian cultural influences not present during the periods of Habsburgs' absolutism which entailed increased centralisation and Germanization?

2.2 Agram[36]

[35] Olga Maruševski, "Arhitektonsko-urbanističke veze Zagreba i Beča na prijelomu stoljeća," Damir Barbarić (ed), *Fin de siècle Zagreb – Beč* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 197
[36] The historic Austrian German name for Zagreb

A possible explanation might be found in Zagreb's linguistic milieu. In Austria-Hungary, in accordance with the general nineteenth-century emphasis on language as a crucial element of nation building, language was one of the main weapons in the constant power struggles between its peoples. The two dominant nationalities (Hungarians and Austrian Germans) used it as a par excellence strategy for penetrating all pores of society of the nationalities under their control and thus eliminating opposition to their dominance. On the other hand, the dominated peoples tried to assert their national individualities and political independence by strengthening the position of their own mother tongues. When that was not an option, due to insufficient political strength or because of a belated development and codification of a national language, they resisted foreign authority by persisting in the usage of Latin.

Croatia Proper was a linguistic mixture of two Croatian dialects (*Shtokavian* and *Kajkavian*), German language and Latin, which was the official language up till 1847. Still, in spite of accounts of the surprising spread of Latin,[37] nineteenth-century Zagreb was often described as a 'German' city[38] by both contemporary and subsequent sources - it was widely (and popularly) known by its Austrian German name *Agram*, the knowledge and use of the German language was widespread among the elite as well as the general population, and the first newspaper in Zagreb was the German *Agramer deutsche Zeitung* from 1784 (which was followed by several other German newspaper, of which the *Agramer Zeitung - Zagrebacke novine* were the most long-lived, 1826-1912). Yet, when the Hungarians put up bilingual (Hungarian and Croatian) signs on the offices of the financial institutions, which the Agreement specified as belonging under the Croatian authority, revolts erupted throughout the country. Such protests were never

[37] Lelja Dobronić ("Zagreb u opisima starih pisaca," Kaj V, no. 7-8 (1972), 32) brings a story of a British writer Paton and his surprise when the policemen who were checking his documents in Zagreb started speaking to each other in Latin.
[38] Nikola Andrić, "Iz njemačkoga Zagreba. Prilog kulturnoj historiji Hrvatskoj," *Život, Mjesečna smotra za književnost i umjetnost*, no. 1 (January-June, 1900), 22

sparked by instances of Germanisation, despite the awareness of the need to fight the omnipresent German language and the associated dissemination of Austrian influence.

A perfect illustration of the complicated political, cultural and social situation in Zagreb can be found in the erection of an equestrian statue of Ban Josip Jelačić on Zagreb's main square which already bore his name. In Croatian historiography Jelačić was traditionally portrayed as a national hero, a fighter for Croatia's independence from the Hungarian domination (Hungarian historical narrative naturally sees in him a much more malevolent figure, which is hardly surprising considering his role in putting down the Hungarian revolution of 1848). The proposal for a statue in his honour was made even before his death, and the statue was finally completed in 1866. It had been commissioned from an Austrian sculptor Anton Dominick Fernkorn, famous for the equestrian statues of Archduke Charles and Prince Eugene of Savoy. The Jelačić statue was clad in a uniform of the Military Frontier regiments, described by the later historical accounts as a national costume.[39] In a symbolic act of political defiance, the statue of Jelačić, mounted on a horse and brandishing his saber, was turned towards the north, towards Hungary (which meant that the square was facing its backside). It was a clear allusion to the part he played in the defeat of the Hungarian revolution in 1848. This statue of Croatia's biggest hero was a telling amalgam of the country's (or at least of its elite's) public opinion at the time – the prestigious artistic commission was given to a Viennese sculptor, a clear indicator of Vienna's perceived supremacy in all questions related to art, culture and representation; the military uniform that the figure of Jelačić wore was later described as a national costume, thereby reinforcing the myth that Jelačić's fight against Hungarian revolutionaries was an act of pure patriotism; and finally, the symbolic positioning of the statue, in defiance of all dictates of the

[39] Rudolf Horvat, *Prošlost grada Zagreba* (Zagreb: August Cesarec; Atlantic Paper, 1992), 309

square's layout, spoke volumes about Croatia's powerlessness to pose a serious challenge to the Hungarian dominance.

But let us get back to the city in which these various power struggles were played out most clearly. The first written evidence of Zagreb's existence dates from the establishment of the Zagreb Diocese. It seems reasonable to assume that Zagreb was already a fairly substantial settlement when it was chosen as a bishop's seat in 1094. In 1242 the ecclesiastical settlement *Kaptol* (named after the Latin "capitulum" denoting a group or body of canons) was joined by another community founded on the neighboring hill of *Gradec* by the Golden Bull of Bela IV, which also proclaimed it a 'free royal city.' It is interesting to note that the date of this royal decree was sometimes used to point out that Zagreb was older than Vienna,[40] a clear indication of the lingering image of Vienna as an ideal to be compared to and, if possible, surpass. Gradec was primarily oriented towards crafts and trade, with various yearly and other markets accounting for a big part of its attraction for immigrants and its identity in general. Differences in character and interests made the relations between the two towns less than cordial, and sometimes even bloody.

In a way, the real development of Zagreb as the capital city began only with the unification of the two medieval towns in the middle of the nineteenth century, but that is the topic of the next chapter. Not to get into a too detailed account of its development until that time, suffice it to mention the two Habsburg rulers who had a significant impact on Zagreb. Maria Theresa instituted many administrative and governmental reforms in Croatia such as the establishment (and latter abolishment and subordination to the corresponding Hungarian institution) of the Croatian Royal Council which replaced the Sabor and thus meant spelled a further step towards

[40] Gjuro Erlih, "Zagrebački gradski bedemi," *Zagreb, glasilo društva zagrepčana*, no.1 (July 1933), 2

centralization. Consequences were also felt in Zagreb, which nevertheless profited from the founding of the Royal Academy of Science with three faculties (Philosophy, Theology and Law). Furthermore, her reign covers the only period in Zagreb's history when it was not Croatia's capital (that function was taken over by Varaždin between 1767 and 1779). Although unwitingly, her son Joseph II also played an important role in the life of the city. His decree on the abolishment of contemplative monastic orders freed a lot of land for, mostly housing, construction, and the attempt to impose German as the only offcial language in the entire Empire led to further Germanization, but also a strong counter-reaction.

Yet Vienna was responsible not just for political changes and pressures but also for new trends in everything from literature, philosophy, theatre, music, painting, architecture and interior design, to everyday language and fashion. These influences grew in strength in the first half of the nineteenth century when Biedermeier covered the city in flowers, real ones grown in one of the new public parks as well as their printed counterparts, springing up on furniture, wallpapers, jewelry and other objects of everyday use. Biedermeier, forever derided for its "small themes and small executions,"[41] was no less typical of Zagreb than it was of Vienna. Indeed, the 'kleine Mann' style seemed almost taylor made for a small town inhabitet mostly by petty bourgeoisie, traders, and craftsmen who could now afford to live in functionally, but still beautifully furnished apartments and, at the same time, take pride in the thought that their table could also be standing in a Viennese salon.

When not enjoying their comfortable yet stylishly decorated homes, *Zagrepčani* could join a discussion about life and art in a cafe (though he would risk being accused of contributing to the

[41] Hilde Spiel, *Vienna's Golden Autumn 1866-1938* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1987), 19

"capuccino aestheticism"[42]) or go to see a play. Theatre as a whole (meaning its organisational principles, repertoire policies, ways of acting, directing, organising the stage, etc.) also owed its basic principles to Vienna, especially to the Burgtheater.[43] Finally, throughout the whole nineteenth century, Vienna played an important part as the "academic center of Croatian societies and literary groups,"[44] an international city prefered by the children from the middle class and the city's fledgling haute bourgeoisie (while Prague, another popular academic city, received more people from other parts of Croatia).[45] In fact, Vienna's magnetism was so strong that more than one author concluded that the "artistic Zagreb at the end of the 19th century presented an image of a little Vienna."[46]

[42] A. G. Matoš, "Sintetična kritika," in Prometej na raskršću, ed. Miroslav Šicel (Zagreb: Mladinska knjiga, 1991), 401
[43] Nikola Batušić, "Hrvatsko glumište s razmeđa stoljeća i njegovi odnosi spram bečkoga kazališta," in *Fin de siècle Zagreb – Beč*, ed. Damir Barbarić (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 128
[44] Marijan Bobinac and Krešimir Nemec, "Bečka i hrvatska moderna: poticaji i paralele," in *Fin de siècle Zagreb – Beč*, 86
[45] Boris Senker, "Razmjena dramskih tekstova izmedu bečkog i zagrebačkog književnog kruga na mijeni stoljeća," in *Fin de siècle Zagreb – Beč*, 147
[46] Marijan Bobinac and Krešimir Nemec, "Bečka i hrvatska moderna: poticaji i paralele," in *Fin de siècle Zagreb – Beč* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 92

3. Historicism: the Search for Legitimacy

A well known and oft-repeated truism is that the nineteenth century was governed by history. The increased interest in history, and its establishment as a 'real', scientific discipline, explains the phenomenon only to a certain extent. Of greater importance was the general belief that history could be used to explain the essence of all things, in both the natural and the social environment. In other words, "if we wish to grasp the nature of a nation, a people, an institution, or an idea" we have to "consider its historical development."[47] Furthermore, historical models were used not only to explain contemporary phenomena, but were also reappropriated in order to shape the present. In terms of the built environment, historicism meant that the cities of the day were built from a patchwork arsenal of previous architectural styles and shapes. The artistic worth of historicist architecture is still debated. The generation following the Ringstrasse period (such as Otto Wagner) spoke derogatorily of the out-datedness of historicism and its inability to express the postulates of modern life. On the other hand, some contemporary authors see historicism as much more than a mere imitation; they claim that "employing historical models [...] enabled it to use the language of the past to make a statement to and about the present."[48] This is one of the themes that run through the following chapter, which will start by considering Vienna's trademark mix of historicist styles, famously displayed along its Ring Road, and then trace its influences on the new urban forms built in Zagreb in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

[47] F.R. Ankersmit, "Historicism: An Attempt at Synthesis," *History and Theory* 34, no. 3 (October, 1995), 144, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2505617

[48] Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c1986), 300

3.1 Vienna

The expression '*fin de siècle* Vienna' has become very popular in various academic circles. Scholarly interest in that particular time and place was initiated by the aforementioned Carl E. Schorske in the 1960s, and it has been going strong ever since.[49] The term has a sort of a double meaning – it can be understood quite broadly to include the entire period from the middle of the nineteenth century till the end of the Habsburg empire, the way Schorske uses it as an umbrella term that includes both the Ringstrasse period and the beginning o modernism in the twentieth century. A more narrow use of the turn-of-the-century time frame usually pertains specifically to the period around 1900 with its explosion of 'modern' movements and trends in arts and sciences. In painting and architecture, *fin de siècle* mostly implies Secession, the new artistic style which in Vienna began in 1897 with the 'secession' of a group of young (and not so young) artists from the established and entrenched *Künstlerhaus*. The fascination with this exciting time is perfectly understandable considering the number of commonplaces of Western culture it gave birth to. Yet all artistic styles develop out of specific historical circumstances and are very much determined by the art and its makers that preceded them.

For almost four centuries, Vienna had been identified with the House of Habsburg, possessor of the throne of the Holly Roman Empire, the Habsburg monarchy and Austria-Hungary. Their decisive stewardship began when the Catholic Habsburg decided to make the newly Protestant Vienna their capital city in the face of the imminent Turkish threat in the sixteenth century, thereby uniting in the city the "functions and forms of a palace, a mission, and a fortress."[50] The royal residence took a decisive turn towards the image of a palace during the time of the

[49] Steven Beller, "Modern Owls Fly by Night: Recent Literature on *Fin de siècle* Vienna," *The Historical Journal* 31, no. 3 (Sep., 1988), 665, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2639762
[50] Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c1986), v

Baroque, when majestic churches and palaces, like the Karlskirche, the Belvedere, and Schönbrunn Palace, celebrated the expulsion of the Turkish invaders and restated the glory of the empire. Indeed, it was precisely the legacy of Vienna's rich Baroque period that Péter Hanák identified as the crucial layer of identity, both physical and mental, which separates the city from Budapest, its future political rival whose crucial period of intense development came only in the nineteenth century.[51] One feature of Baroque developments that was to become crucial for Vienna's outlook and image were the luxurious gardens built around the new palaces of the aristocracy. However, it was not until the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century that these gardens were opened to the public, and so became fully integrated into the life of the city, making Vienna a garden city in more than one way.

For urban historians and city planners, 'garden city' refers to Ebenezer Howard's idea of how to remedy the "ills of urban life"[52] like overcrowding, housing, and labour problems on one hand, and deserted villages and depressed economy of rural areas on the other. Howard's solution was to develop a new type of town that would enjoy the benefits of both the city and the country life. Though Vienna did not exhibit any of his most important prescripts concerning size, layout or organization, it did share some striking similarities. The most conspicuous element of Howard's original blueprints, besides the outer agricultural belt meant to restrict urban expansion, was the abundant green areas in the city combined with broad avenues and representative buildings in the centre. Also present was the circular grand avenue in the form of a ring. Although this was common to many European cities of the time which freed the land for

[51] Péter Hanák**,** *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), xvii

[52] Shaul E. Cohen , "Greenbelts in London and Jerusalem" (*Geographical Review*, Vol. 84, No. 1. (Jan., 1994), 75, http://www.jstor.org/stable/215782

further urban development and modernisation by razing their fortifications and other remnants of the medieval past, it could be connected with other Viennese garden incarnations.

I am referring to the, conceptually very different, description of Vienna as the "garden city" found in Schorske and Hanák's seminal works. They use the 'garden' primarily as a mental concept, denoting an imaginary place that exists exclusively in the psyche of the Viennese artists and intellectuals and is embodied only through their creations of poetry, paintings or theatre. To an extent, the concept is grounded in physical reality due to the numerous public parks and majestic private gardens that Vienna prides itself on, but these real, existing-in-space gardens only provide a setting for the 'real' gardens of human imaginations. The garden of the Viennese cultural elites was an idyllic place, an oasis sheltered from the harsh reality, exhibiting clear allusions to the Garden of Eden but, even more importantly, representing a place of the symbolic union between the artist and the Art. Hanák calls it "the vehicle for aesthetics, the unity of man as a product of nature and the work of art as the product of man."[53]

The concept of the garden as a space of natural life and growth, opposed to the built environment it is situated in, could be applied to the city as a whole. Many descriptions of the *fin de siècle* Vienna employ botanical metaphors and talk about the *flowering* of arts and culture, their efflorescence or blooming. Thus Vienna is portrayed as the garden of the empire, its prize possession, bearing the fruits of the perennial empire and displaying the incredible abundance and variety of its many-coloured, multinational culture. Yet another tentative link could be found in the idea of an escape that lay behind both concepts of the garden – be it escape from the evils of the rapidly industrialising, over-populated cities or from the intellectuals' unarticulated premonition of impending collapse. The form of this thesis does not allow for a deeper

[53] Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 68

examination of the factors that made Vienna the imperial garden (whether it was due to its relative advanced development and wealth in comparison with other cities of the monarchy, lesser degree of industrialisation, or simply the legacy of its position as the imperial centre), suffice it to say that, while it was not influenced by the ideology of Howard's garden city movement, Vienna could be considered one of its truest embodiments.

If Vienna was the garden of the empire, it was the main public park in which the mass of individuals comes together to formulate the identity of the city. The heterogeneity of the Habsburg empire was especially pronounced in the Imperial city. The dazzling city drew people from all parts of the monarchy to itself like moths to a flame. In his introductory reflections on cultural history Hanák cites the absence of the national question as one of the reasons for the wide appeal of the turn-of-the-century Vienna as a role model for urban mimicry and an enduring focus of scholarly interest. "What exercised the Austrian mind were not local dissensions or problems of national destiny, but vital questions of universal human importance: the nature of the world, life and death, illusion and reality, the soul, and sexuality."[54] The lack of identity of a supranational state, whose parts were held together only by the authority of the ruling house (the western half did not even have a name, but was known as "the Kingdoms and Provinces represented in the Reichsrat") may have troubled the Dual Monarchy, but for Vienna it was what made it special. At a time when less than half of its citizens were actually born there, Vienna was not so much a city as "a state of mind."[55] But different classes, religions and nationalities were not the only ones living side by side; it seemed that different ages, even centuries, also coexisted in the same space in time. Timms quotes Adolf Loos saying that "while

[54] Ibid, xvi
[55] William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind, An Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972), 115

he was living in the year 1908 his neighbour was living in 1880, while there were peasants in the Austrian provinces still living in the twelfth century."[56]

Such diversity and accompanying inequalities could be the perfect breeding ground for popular dissension. So, when the flames of the revolution spread over Europe in 1848, Vienna also caught on fire. The consequences of this watershed year were manifold and far-reaching, ranging from obvious political to the more subtle changes in people's idea about themselves and the world around them. Both of kinds of changes were mirrored in the physical outlook of Vienna. Political overturns were embodied in the new monarch, only 18 years old at the time, whose enthronement was invested with hopes for the much needed political and administrative changes. Yet it soon became obvious that, despite his tender age, Franz Joseph had the character one would expect in a much older man.

A man of tradition, etiquette and order, he was rumored to have sent away the hastily summoned physician from his deathbed because the man was not properly dressed. This "Biedermeier monarch in an industrialized world"[57] was averse to everything he saw as new or modern, whether technical innovations like trains, electricity or toilets, or social movements and ideas like nationalism, democracy, liberalism, dualism, etc. A hardworking but unimaginative bureaucrat, he "symbolized more than he achieved" but still "commanded wide respect,"[58] which grew as old age infused him with additional venerability, creating an idealized image of a benevolent old grandfather watching over his people.[59] Despite (or precisely because of) his inherent contradictions, Franz Joseph was the living embodiment of the empire's anachronisms.

[56] Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1986)*, 19
[57] William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind, An Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972), 33
[58] Ibidem
[59] Interesting illustration is a Viennese cabaret song about an old gentleman brooding over the fate of his people in Schönbrunn park. Hilde Spiel, *Vienna's Golden Autumn 1866-1938* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1987), 192

He epitomized so many of the faults and virtues of Austria-Hungary that their destinies seemed to be irreversibly tied together, even down to their demise.

The Habsburgs were always quite eager in following the general tendency towards imperial absolutist rule. The 'Enlightened absolutism' of Maria Theresa and Joseph II may have had their positive sides, but in terms of the empire's social structure it was quite destructive. It "not only deprived the old Viennese *Bürgertum* of its independence but took from the old feudal aristocracy its political functions."[60] Stripped of much of its power and so of the ability to perform any really important functions, the aristocracy had only two arguments that could justify its present position in the society – their historical rights (which were also used by the other nationalities in their struggle for more political rights and bigger autonomy), and the *illusion* of power. In addition, mid-nineteenth century finally saw the liberal middle classes beginning to recover from the long suppression and trying to stake their place in the hierarchy, which necessarily meant challenging the status of the aristocracy. And finally the monarchy itself, with its tendencies towards centralization and Germanisation, was facing increased opposition from the other nationalities in the empire, opposition which would soon force the emperor to strike a deal with one of them.

Given the political situation, the permanent need for "self-representation"[61] comes as no surprise. The necessity for public display of power and prestige was most visibly manifested in the imperial center of power. In the second part of the nineteenth century, this culture of self-display teamed up with the favorable economic situation to give Vienna a luxurious make-over and enable it to break out of the boundaries it had long since overgrown. Vienna was probably the last European city to hold on to the false comfort of its fortifications. The feebleness of the

[60] Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art. London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c1986), 240
[61] Ibidem

protection they afforded against enemy armies had already been demonstrated by Napoleon, but the popular uprising of 1848 gave the walls a new function of protecting the court from their own subjects. But such military considerations were slowly but surely loosing the fight against the political and economic demands. Around 1850s Vienna was experiencing economic population growth which put additional strain on the already crowded city center. The walls separating the small city core from its suburbs needed to come down. In 1857 the emperor finally ordered the fortifications to be razed and earmarked the freed space, together with the accompanying wide *glacis*, for civilian uses. The encompassing circular form of the city walls determined the shape of Vienna's future landmark. In this way, to paraphrase Schorske, Vienna used the most obvious symbol of its backwardness to propel itself toward modernity.[62]

3.1.1 The Jewel in the Garden

Given this anachronism and a sense of timelessness, it is hardly surprising that Vienna's defining landmark, the Ringstrasse, was shaped in the spirit of historicism. What better way to express the spirit of the empire that seemed to have existed forever, without a beginning or, more importantly, an end, than through an architectural style which encompassed all the previous styles that had shaped the Western civilization. And what could be more appropriate than to fashion the capital of a multi-ethnic, multi-national, and multi-confessional empire in the manifold style which takes the best that each epoch has to offer and, mixing it indiscriminately with other influences, creates a new and exciting self-identity. Just whose self-identity it was and

[62] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 27

what it signified is still open to debate. Schorske's view of the Ring as the "iconographic index to the mind of ascendant Austrian liberalism"[63] has since been challenged and overturned. A true reflection of the times that gave it birth, the Ringstrasse project was much more comprehensive. It accommodated and integrated urban visions of many different social groups and, in allowing a "universalist utopia of harmony,"[64] succeeded where imperial politics had failed.

Ringstrasse has been likened to a "set of breathtaking reception rooms for metropolis and empire,"[65] the heart of a city designed for self-representation. And the self it was representing was just as diverse and eclectic as the style through which it was embodied. The newly created open space soon began to fill up with representative private mansions and public buildings housing the most important institutions of the society (government, church, higher education, etc.). One defining feature of historicism, the belief in the referential power of architecture, meant that the style of each public building on or near Ringstrasse was supposed to represent a clue as to its intended function and provoke associations with some desirable, aimed-for values. Thus "the Gothic of the Votivkirche evoked the piety of the High Middle Ages, the Greek of the Parliament buildings Athenian democracy, the Northern Gothic of the Rathaus the independence of the medieval communities, the Renaissance of he University humanistic scholarship."[66] Of course, the practice of using architectural references to historical style to send a message to the public is by no means unique of Vienna. Yet, its particular mix of different styles and the values they represent has been deemed unique enough to warrant the name of a style, "Ringstrassenstil."[67]

[63] Ibidem
[64] Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, c1998), 30
[65] Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art. London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c1986), 248
[66] Ibid, 283
[67] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 25

The style of the building, as well as its position on the Ring Road, spoke not only of what was going on inside it, but also reflected ideas and agendas of the social group that had raised it. One of the most conspicuous ideologies reflected through the streets of Vienna was the imperial one. Franz Joseph's role in the creation of the Ringstrasse is undeniable - he ended the military monopoly over urban space and allowed the development of the city to be led by civic interests. It was therefore natural that one of the initial plans for the Ringstrasse, Gottfried Semper's project for the Kaiserforum, was drawn with the aim of imperial self-glorification. Had it been completed, the planned segment wings of Neue Hofburg would have been connected with the *Kunsthistorisches* and *Naturhistorisches* museums on the other side of the Ring, as well as to the new Hofburg Theatre. "This would have been unmistakable testimony to the fact that public access to art collections and theatre was entirely owing to the munificence if the Hapsburgs."[68] But for whatever reason (Emperor's change of heart or the need to save for the maintenance of Belvedere and Schönbrunn Palace[69]) the plan was never fully executed, a clear indication of the court's diminishing power to steer the course of its capital city as well as the empire.

Apart from the aristocratic, conservative traditions of the centralised monarchy, the design of the Ringstrasse was very much determined by the new force in 19th century politics, the middle class. The era of liberalism which began in 1860 was a time of great urban developments in Vienna. The ruling middle class was responsible for the establishment of many public services that were indispensable for a burgeoning metropolis (public health care system, water supply, etc.), as well as the much more visible, representative architecture of the Ring. Rising power of the bourgeoisie was responsible for the inclusion in the Ringstrasse of some public buildings

[68] Peter Haiko and Roberto Schezen**.** *Vienna 1850-1930 : Architecture,* translated by Edward Vance Humphrey (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 12

[69] Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, c1998), 25

whose intended function is clearly contrary to Neo-absolutist ideology. The symbols of constitutional rights (Parliament), bourgeois freedom (Rathaus) and liberal culture (University) replaced the symbols of imperial might,[70] made those institutions available to a wider circle of people, and signalled the dawn of the new "aristocracy of spirit."[71] Their private palaces also reflected the bourgeoisie quest for legitimisation; they strove to supplement their newly acquired economic power with an equal social prestige. Unlike the 'kleine Mann' values of the Biedermeier, the wealthy middle class now sought to beat the aristocracy at their own game, so to say. They eschewed the values usually perceived as being typical for that class, such as frugality, sobriety, diligence and rationality, and instead re-affirmed the aristocratic baroque postulates of monumentality and luxurious opulence. As a result, the Ring was lined with the palatial private mansions of the "*Ringstrasse* barons", a new aristocracy of achievement and money which reflected the prosperity of the period.[72]

Considering the myriad of influences, constituting elements and ideologies, equalled by the many styles used to express them, Ringstrasse Vienna could best be encapsulated by the term 'eclecticism.' Olsen summarised it well when he said that Ringstrasse was "the product of an age when, for a time, the values of monarchy, aristocracy, and bourgeoisie seemed fundamentally compatible."[73] This wealth of models was surely one of the reasons for Vienna's immense power of attraction. So many cities in Austria-Hungary appropriated some aspects, or modelled themselves completely on the imperial capital, because it contained examples of everyone's own aspirations made real in marble and stone.

[70] Ibid, 32
[71] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 45
[72] Inge Lehne and Lonnie Johnson, *Vienna, the Past in the Present: A Historical Survey* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, c1985), 76
[73] Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art. London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c1986), 285

3.2 Zagreb in Search of a Voice

Today's outlook of Zagreb is largely the result of urban development that took place in the second half of the19th century. Prior to that, it was a city at the edge of the Austrian state administration, outside all major traffic routes and with practically no industry, yet the events of 1848 crystallised its desire to become the national metropolis.[74] The 1850 unification of the two settlements was the necessary precondition and the first step towards the Zagreb's transformation from a small medieval hill town into a modern national capital. The visit of the emperor Franz Joseph I to Zagreb in October, 1851 seemed to be a symbolic confirmation of its increased importance. The new status had to be justified by matching urban developments. At that time, 'the city' encompassed a very small area (about half of what is today considered as the strict city centre) – two historic settlements of Gradec and Kaptol, Vlaška Street, Nova Ves, Ban Jelačić Square and the first, short part of Ilica Street. So the first priority is small town, only recently integrated and still medieval in outlook and character, was already trying to elevate its status by numbering itself among the many cities self-styled as 'little Vienna'[75].

Zagreb's architectural ties with Vienna were both voluntary and dictated. Prior to the *Ausgleich,* Zagreb city administration had no control over any stage of the building process; "official buildings and large-scale urban projects were commissioned by the central government in Vienna, and often designed by "official" architects in the imperial ministries responsible for public building and planning projects."[76] This meant that building designs were usually done according to a template, a tested and approved model, which may have guaranteed a higher level

[74] Darja Radović Mahečić, "Arhitektura i modernizacija grada," in Feđa Vukić, ed, *Zagreb, Modernost i grad (* Zagreb: AGM, 2003), 63
[75] Ivo Perić, *Zagreb, Od 1850. do suvremenog velegrada* (Muzej grada Zagreba, Zagreb, 2006), 35
[76] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2007), 37

of quality but it also implied a lack of individual features. Second consequence was that there was no reason for Zagreb to start educating local builders and architects, which prolonged the practice of 'importing' experts from Vienna long after it was necessary to do so.

Urban planning can never really escape making allowances for some purely political considerations. Political dictates are even more pronounced if urbanistic decisions are made outside the city itself, and especially if they are made by a foreign government. Zagreb's urban planning was heavily dependent on inter-national politics in the Empire, as can be seen from the three pivotal regulations of urban development. The 1857 Building Regulation for the Zagreb area reflects the bad economic situation in the Empire, unfavorable to new urban developments. Its provisions (most of which were never carried out) were therefore confined to setting the basic urbanization standards without which a city cannot function, while all development plans are left for future building codes.[77] Those building codes, and the future development of Zagreb, were strictly determined by the belated arrival of the new railway. The railway was instrumental in Zagreb's speedy development in the second half of the century, and it also constituted the southern limit of the town's spread. Yet its route almost bypassed Zagreb completely. Both Vienna and Budapest were looking to connect with the seaside, Vienna with Trieste and Budapest with Rijeka, and neither line planned to do so via Zagreb. Convincing both powers to change their routes to include Zagreb was possibly the most important urban victory of the new railway hub.[78]

The first Urban Development Master Plan of Zagreb as a unified national capital was drafted in 1865, but was never approved by either Budapest or Vienna. The product of an optimistic time between the Austrian defeat at Solferino (1859) and the *Ausgleich* (1867), it was more of an

[77] Snješka Knežević, *Zagrebačka zelena potkova* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1996), 19
[78] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2007), 62-63

"expansion plan than a regulation plan."[79] Croatian bourgeoisie's renewed hope for more political autonomy led to this ambitious "metropolitan vision of Zagreb as the capital of Croatia,"[80] which affirmed the Lower Town as the new city center and delimited it by the two previous centers of the Upper Town to the north and the railway line to the south. The changed urban circumstances, aggravated by the 1880 earthquake, necessitated the development of a new regulation Master Plan in 1887. Now there is no trace of previous optimism or of plans for expansion. It has been argued that the heavy handed magyarisation policies of ban Károly Khuen-Héderváry, one of the proverbial villain of Croatian historical narration, nullified almost all policies of the previous Master plan and that, since it was adopted in spite of opened resistance of the City Council, it should be "taken as an imposed document of Khuen's regime."[81] Such opinion, however, does not account for the fact that it is in the 1887 regulation plan that the Green Horseshoe, the culmination of Vienna-inspired urban historicism and Zagreb's defining landmark, "first appears as a distinctive urban formation."[82]

In addition to these politically conditioned ties with Hungary and Austria, Zagreb's imitation of Vienna's urban models could also be explained by other considerations, for example, Croatian authorities' attempt to counteract the stifling Hungarian authority by pitting it against the traditional centre of imperial power. Also, Vienna's "more cosmopolitan, universalist culture"[83] made it a logical model of imitation, while Budapest's long struggle against the Turks turned the interest of its elite towards modernisation and nation building, leaving little room for the

[79] Ibid, 45
[80] Eugen Franković, "Uloga Hermanna Bollèa u urbanistickom planiranju Zagreba, " in *Život, Mjesečna smotra za književnost i umjetnost*, no. 1 (January, 1900), 43
[81] Ibidem
[82] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2007), 66
[83] Alan Sked, Review of *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest*, by Péter Hanák (*The English Historical Review* 114, no. 459 (November, 1999), 1359, http://www.jstor.org/stable/580341

articulation of different national interests. Furthermore, though Vienna was a highly desirable role model in its own right, it had the additional advantage of acting as a window to Europe for the eastern part of the monarchy. For a backward, provincial city like Zagreb, Vienna was the perfect showcase of the latest European trends and fashions. Finally, Zagreb felt the same need for legitimisation as the different layers of Viennese society. Just like the court and aristocracy found a way to deal with their failing power, and the bourgeoisie with their rising aspirations, Zagreb's politically impotent government sought to improve their position by fostering an illusion of grandeur. And there was no city that could impart the art of self-representation quite like Vienna.

3.2.1 Emulating the Garden: Zagreb's Green Horseshoe

Croatian architectural practice traditionally relied on the experiences Croatian builders gained at Viennese schools and academies. In addition, the standard practice for the bigger projects was to invite some well-known Viennese architect, such as Friedrich Schmidt, Otto Hofer, Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer, and Herman Bollé. Many of the resulting representative projects were situated within a framework of park squares running around the center of the Lower town, known as the Lenuci or Green Horseshoe (Milan Lenuci was a city planer and engineer mistakenly credited with the idea of constructing the representational U-shaped green belt around the city centre). The idea of housing the most important cultural and scientific institutions in resplendent buildings placed within an uninterrupted green belt clearly draws its inspiration from

the Ringstrasse (it was even initially known as the "Zagreb Ring"[84]). The time frame fits; the Ringstrasse project began in 1857, so by the time that the first comprehensive plan of doing something similar in Zagreb appeared in the 1887 Urban Development Master Plan, the public face of Vienna was already 'beautified' into its present form.

Viennese model and Viennese architects notwithstanding, the Green Horseshoe was not a straightforward copy of the Ringstrasse, but the application of a frequently used model in an "entirely different urban situation."[85] Once again, the names reveal crucial information about the differences between the two urban landmarks. Ringstrasse is the most famous example of the usual ring-shaped grand avenue encircling many cities; the form was dictated by the old city fortification that had been replaced by the new circular avenue. Zagreb's case was different because the entire area that was to become the new city centre (Lower Town and the Horseshoe) was situated outside the walls of the medieval settlement (Gradec). Schorske's already mentioned remark about Vienna's backwardness (functionless city walls still in existence in the middle of the 19th century) which enabled the modern development that would become its trademark.[86] This is doubly true for Zagreb because, while Vienna had to raze the remnants of its long urban past to make room for the future, Zagreb literally had a clean slate. In 1880 Zagreb was hit by a devastating earthquake which caused great physical and material damage, but also contributed to the town's modernisation by turning it into one big construction site. However, even before the earthquake, finding space for further urban development hardly posed a problem; at the site of the future Horseshoe there was nothing but fields and gardens.

[84] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2007), 58
[85] Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, c1998), 41
[86] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 27

Since Zagreb's urban planners did not have to adjust their plans to any already existing urban structures, they had a free hand in designing a new one. The result was a highly regular, orthogonal grid of streets and squares, and the system of fairly large city blocks that is characteristic for Zagreb. This also meant that curves of Vienna's ring were transformed into rectangular frame. One might speculate that the name 'horseshoe' might stem from the fact that *Novi trg*, the first square in the series that form the Horseshoe, used to be the sight of a cattle market before it was turned into a park square (this, however, is only guesswork). Prior to its transformation, *Novi trg* (New Square), an area just south of the main square, served as a cattle market and was surrounded by shacks and craftsman workshops. The changes in the square's assigned function highlight the many revisions that Zagreb's urban concept went through. According to the first Urban Development Master Plan from 1865, Novi trg was designated as the new site of the market previously situated on the Ban Jelačić Square; it was no longer deemed appropriate for the main square to be soiled by the various market stalls, so they had to be relocated. However, just four years later, the perceived representative space of the city centre was extended to include the *Novi trg,* so the market had to move yet again. The square was re-conceptualised as a public park, which raised the bar for the general standard of development of the Lower town, now perceived as the setting for the "elite culture of the Lower town patricians."[87]

This brings us to the consideration of differences between the Green Horseshoe and the Ringstrasse, other than their shape. To begin with, the Ringstrasse was conceived as a complete project of *Gesamtkunstwerk;* Zagreb was too far behind in the development of both its urbanistic consciousness and the economic basis necessary for its implementation. The idea of shaping the

[87] Olga Maruševski, "Arhitektonsko-urbanističke veze Zagreba i Beča na prijelomu stoljeća" in Damir Barbarić, *Fin de siècle Zagreb – Beč* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 201

Lower town into a green representational space that would imprint Zagreb's urban identity appeared gradually, spreading one square at the time. Also, the Ringstrasse was shaped by three important lines of thought - the military, still remembering the events of 1848, called for a wide avenue suitable for fast movement of troops in case of an emergency (the same reasoning was partly responsible for Haussmann's wide boulevards in Paris); not unimportant for a metropolis of that size was the practical consideration about transportation utility; and finally, the Ring was the ultimate expression of Viennese desire for self-representation. In contrast, Zagreb's Horseshoe lacked any utilitarian purpose whatsoever (if we do not consider its role in creating and expressing the urban identity of a national capital as 'useful'). Instead of the Ring's central avenue and its communicational aspect, the Horseshoe consists of green surfaces bounded on each side by smaller streets which do not contribute to the traffic flow. The Horseshoe was envisaged solely as a representative social space whose historicist architecture would showcase the nation's cultural, scientific and educational achievements in the best possible way.

The two projects also had very different organisational histories. The design for the development of the future Ringstrasse was put up for competition. The implementation phase of the final design was a complicated affair, involving several city commissions, the federal state of Lowe Austria, state ministers, architects, professors and contractors. On the other hand, the Horseshoe could not even be called a project; "there was neither program nor plan […] nor was there any administrative body in the city empowered to make decisions […]."[88] The ownership of the land also contributed to its intermittent development. Unlike Vienna, where the emperor handed the entire tract of the land over to the project, in Zagreb the individual plots had to be purchased one by one. A mitigating circumstance was that, as I already said, there were almost

[88] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2007), 58

no previous structures occupying the land, so the acquisition process could proceed relatively smoothly. Still, the prolonged, patchwork emergence of the Horseshoe resulted in an uneven quality of individual urban and architectural units.

The final difference between the two projects was in the institutional contents they housed. I already mentioned the symbols of new liberal bourgeoisie which competed with, and sometimes replaced, the old imperial institutions. On the contrary, citizens of Zagreb could stroll the Horseshoe carefree, knowing that the new centre of the 'modern' Zagreb did not contain a single political or economical institution that could remind them of their second-class status in the Empire. The Horseshoe was a perfect reflection of Croatia's self image, which was in turn determined by its political situation. Not able to formulate its identity within the confines of Austria-Hungary, the country's elite strove to do it through culture.

These institutions of education and culture were done almost exclusively by Viennese architects, constructing Zagreb into a scaled down model of the imperial capital. Friedrich von Schmidt designed the palace of the Yugoslavian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the strict forms of the Florentine Renaissance. Theatre builders Fellner and Helmer graced Zagreb with several of their projects. The Neo-baroque Croatian National theatre was one of the thirty theatre buildings they constructed all over the Empire, and their Art Pavilion, with its combination of the Renaissance, Empire style, Classicism and Secession as eclectic as the Horseshoe itself, represented Croatia at the 1896 Millennium Exhibition in Budapest. The Art Pavilion was also the last of the representative public buildings on the Horseshoe built in a historicist style. The clearly Secessionist design of the National and University Library signified Croatia's participation in modern architectural trends, perhaps for the first time in its history without a time lag.

A more worthy account of the Green Horseshoe's urban layout and its architecture would require quite a substantial monograph.[89] Suffice it to summarise that Zagreb's much smaller size, along with its much more modest urbanistic, economic and self-governing possibilities, seemingly condemned it to being just a very pale version of its glittering imperial role model. However, although it did follow Vienna's lead very closely, the 'Zagreb Ring' stemmed from and embodied somewhat different ideological considerations. ill succeeded in adapting the taken models to its own specific circumstances and creating a new, idiosyncratic urban expression. Moravánszky's conclusion that "the grand boulevard had become a symbol of a modern city" which had to be imitated "eve if the new urban space had structurally not much in common with the model"[90] seems appropriate.

3.2.2 Hermann Bollé: The Pains and Gains of Growing Up

No look at the development of Zagreb in the nineteenth century can pass without a mention of a man who has since become almost synonymous with historicism in Zagreb. Hermann Bollé seems to embody both the positive and the negative characteristics of Vienna-dictated historicism. He was born in Cologne, Germany, and studied architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. There he worked with probably the best known representative of Neo-Gothicism within the historicist architecture, Friedrich von Schmidt. Schmidt was responsible for some of the most important Gothic monuments in the imperial capital such as the Town Hall or Rathaus,

[89] See the excellent and extremely detailed work by Snješka Knežević, *Zagrebačka zelena potkova* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga i FS, 1996)
[90] Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, c1998), 43

as well as several churches, most notably the St. Stephan's Cathedral on whose restoration he worked. It was in his atelier that Hermann Bollé adopted the universalistic elements of the historicist style that he applied to various projects in Zagreb over and over again. Bollé first came to Croatia in 1878 to work on the restoration of the church and rectory in a small town in the north of Croatia, and ended up staying in Zagreb for half a century, until his death in 1926. Although he never really learned the language, he considered himself a Croatian patriot. Versatile and prolific, Bollé left an indelible mark on his adopted city, whether in the function of an architect, restaurateur, urban developer, or the founder and long-time director of the School for Arts and Crafts.

And yet, for all his achievements, no street, square or monument in Zagreb today bears the name of Hermann Bollé. He is still a controversial figure, and the value of his contribution to the present outlook of Zagreb is still under consideration. The reasons for this are manifold and they can be related to some general historical circumstances. First of all, one of the greatest sins in the eyes of his contemporaries was his foreign birth. For many of his contemporaries, like that ever-present figure of Croatian cultural life Gjuro Szabo, Bollé was the embodiment of the 'foreigner', an oppressor who was not only taking jobs from the local architects and builders but also discharging those building and restoration contracts without any regard for the local tradition, architecture and culture. Even though, being a German national, he did not belong to either of the two hegemonic nations that the people of Zagreb might have reasons to resent, Bollé still became the object of the irrational animosity that strangers, especially successful ones, tend to provoke in a small town. He was thus derogatorily called a "Lutheran"[91] and a "stubborn old

[91] Spectator, "Vanjsko lice našega grada – i zašto je takovo" in *Zagreb, glasilo društva zagrepčana* (Volume 6, December 1933)

man who was destroying Croatian monuments with that German thoroughness."[92] Szabo even coined the term 'boletika' ('Bolléticism') to denote all the negative effects he claimed Bollé had on Zagreb's urban design. Both Bollé and his teacher baron Friedrich Schmidt, some of whose commissions he took over, were accused of representing the imperialist tendencies of Franz Joseph. They were attributed with the desire to remake the entire empire in the style and spirit of Neo-Gothicism, which was considered to be an expression of the Austrian German character (whatever that may be). Furthermore, as the true colonial masters, they supposedly exhibited total disregard and even disgust for the "barbaric Croatians."[93] Zagreb was thus left at the mercy of newcomers and 'unassimilated' foreigners who completely ignored its historic and social particularities.

Much of the criticism directed at Bollé should have actually been addressed to the historicist style itself. One of his most important projects was the restoration of the old Zagreb cathedral which was severely damaged in the 1880 earthquake. The prevailing opinion about the restoration, whose plans were drawn by Friedrich Schmidt, is that Bollé ruined it with his utter disregard for the various, stylistically eclectic elements that have been brought together by its eight centuries long existence. The construction of the cathedral first began after the founding of the Zagreb diocese at the end of the eleventh century. It was heavily damaged during the Tatar attack in 1242, and the long process of restoration and repair resulted in a unique stylistic mix. The cathedral's long history was completely ignored in the process of its restoration (perhaps reconstruction would be a better word); critics of the new cathedral especially lamented the removal of the cathedral's old baroque altar, as well as of all other elements that had made the

[92] Žarko Domljan, "Stambena arhitektura Hermanna Bolléa" in *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti* (Volume 26-27, 1978), 32
[93] Ivo Franić, "Stara katedrala u Zagrebu" in *Zagreb, glasilo društva zagrepčana* 1 (April 1935), 100

old cathedral a physical record of Croatia's historical development. Yet others hailed Bollé as the "saviour of the Zagreb cathedral,"[94] and as the man who made the Croatian capital part of the contemporary European culture by enriching it with representative monuments erected in *the* architectural style of the time.

Although the restoration of the cathedral clearly does not belong among Bollé's best work (e.g. the standardised new altars were designed by Bollé's associates in the 'Tyrol' style that did not have any tradition in Zagreb), its universal design arose not from some deliberate destruction of Croatian national heritage by an evil foreigner but from the philosophy of historicism itself. Historicism was the first transnational architectural style which preached "abstract universalism,"[95] aiming towards the general, the unifying, the collective and the anonymous.[96] Consequently, the buildings it produced were not so much individual works of art, but rather 'types'. So, on one hand, Bollé's restoration erased the individual character of the old cathedral, but in return it made Zagreb (and Croatia) part of the elite group of Western and Central European capitals, especially Vienna, which all boasted similar Neo-Gothic design, so typical of ecclesiastic architecture of the time. Since the greatest honour a provincial town could aim for was to come as close to imitating the appearance and importance of the *Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt* as possible, for many people, including Bollé's employers, the new cathedral was a success in this aspect at least. The price Zagreb had to pay to replace its crumbling old cathedral with a 'modern' one, reminiscent of the Vienna Votivkirche, and thus move one step closer to its desired image, was to sacrifice its own architectural history. For the growing and

[94] Željka Čorak, "Bollé u funkciji grada" in *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti* 26-27, (1978), 22
[95] Milan Prelog, "Uz problem valorizacije historicizma" in *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti* 26-27 (1978), 7
[96] Radovan Ivancevic, "Kriterij stila i kvalitete u interpretaciji neostilova; tri primjera iz Bolléovog opusa" in *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti* 26-27 (1978), 21

increasingly ambitious town that sacrifice was obviously acceptable, and so the opposing voices were helpless to do anything other than lament the disappearance of the old cathedral, the last remnant of the "gentle Baroque contours"[97] of the old Zagreb.

Another obstacle to the full acceptance of Bollé's place among the most important builders of Zagreb is the time frame during which he was active. As a typical representative of historicism, stylistically and conceptually Bollé fully belonged to the nineteenth century. The problem was that he lived well into the twentieth century, until 1926, and remained active for much of that time. Thus we have a somewhat paradoxical situation that, during his fifty-year activity in Zagreb, he first helped to raise, then worked alongside or rather opposite of, and finally outlived some of the key representatives of the new modernist architecture. To put it into wider, more easily understood relations, at a time when Bollé began work on the cathedral, Paxton's crystal palace was already thirty years old, and when its Neo-Gothic towers were close to being finished, Tony Garnier had already designed towers with a bare, reinforced concrete structure.[98] It is therefore not really surprising that many of Bollé's contemporaries considered him an anachronism at best, and at worst a charlatan.

Going back to the situation in Zagreb, the appearance of Secessionist and protomodernist tendencies marked probably the first time that Croatian architecture (and art in general) adopted a new style more or less simultaneously with the rest of Europe. Only 2 years after the founding of the "Vienna Secession" artistic group, Vjekoslav Bastl finished the Pečić house in Ilica street 43, which was the first example of Wagner-inspired secession style in Zagreb. The next year, in 1900, Viktor Kovačić published an article entitled "Moderna arhitektura", which was openly

[97] Željka Čorak, "Bollé u funkciji grada" in *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti* 26-27 (1978), 24

[98] Radovan Ivančević, "Kriterij stila i kvalitete u interpretaciji neostilova; tri primjera iz Bolleovog opusa" in *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti* 26-27 (1978), 10

inspired by Otto Wagner's book by the same name[99] and provided a programmatic background to the new architectural and artistic tendencies. Kovačić may have been a typical figure for Croatia in that the architectural and programmatic innovations he introduced consisted of ideas he picked up in the West, in Vienna. Nevertheless, the importance of "the first builder of modern Croatian architecture"[100] cannot be over-emphasised because he was the first and, at that time, only person who consistently and uncompromisingly advocated modernist principles in architectural design.

Viktor Kovačić was just one, though admittedly the most famous, of the future builders of Zagreb and Croatia who grew out of Hermann Bollé's atelier and school. Almost the entire generation of modernist architects and building engineers (such as Vjekoslav Bastl, Edo Schön, Hugo Erlich, Rudolf Lubinsky, or Stjepan Podhorsky) began their careers in Bollé's School for Arts and Crafts and the associated Builder's School. Most of them went on to continue their education at the prestigious Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. In this way the magic of Vienna's artistic achievements cast its spell over yet another generation of Zagreb's urban developers (but that is the subject of subsequent chapters). Bollé not only founded and led the Arts and Crafts School, but also designed the building it shared with the Museum of the same name. Both institutions fit into the wider European 'Arts and Crafts' movement that has been going strong since mid-nineteenth century (some say it was caused by the shock of the 1851 London World Exhibition and subsequent desire to return to the traditional handicraft[101]). Built in 1892 in the style of the German Renaissance, the museum palace represents the combined effects of Bollé's other three roles (in addition to that of a restaurateur) – architect, urban developer, and educator.

[99] Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for His Students to This Field of Art* (Santa Monica, California: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988)
[100] D. Radović Mahečić, A. Laslo, "Viktor Kovačić – promotor hrvatske moderne arhitekture," *Rad Instituta za povijest umjetnost*i 21 (1997), 144
[101] Željka Čorak, *Zagreb, pisani prostor* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske; Mladost, 1994), 135

The building was important in the urban development of the newly expanded city centre; its size and layout determined the measures of the future University Square, until then an undeveloped plot of land housing the cattle market. Three years later Fellner and Helmer's National Theatre finally found its location on what became one of the most important city squares, representing the endpoint of the string of parks and squares of the Green Horseshoe.

Another successful and urbanistically important project of Hermann Bollé was the design of the new city cemetery. With its half a kilometre long arcades that include twenty cupolas and many other facilities, Mirogoj was one of the largest historicist projects in whole of Europe. It served more than one important function in the city; first of all, this new cemetery, built for the purposes of the new, united community, encompassed and replaced all previously existing cemeteries, thus freeing valuable new construction space in the centre of the city. On a more symbolic level, this unification of old cemeteries previously divided by denominations served as the "symbolic space" in which the city's multiethnic and multidenominational population and the Illyrian ideology inherited from the Croatian national revival in the first half of the nineteenth century were "constituted as a model and mirror of the actual city."[102] Furthermore, despite being situated in the north of the city, outside of the central pedestrian routes, it quickly became a trademark of the city, featured on all postcards and various promotional materials. The Mirogoj Arcade has been called the crowning glory of Bollé's oeuvre.[103] The Neo-renaissance walls with the central church, arcades and cupolas were more than just an exceptional architectural achievement; they also left a strong mark on Zagreb's urban outlook as the first important landmark of the united city, as opposed to the churches of St. Mark and the Cathedral which

[102] Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik, *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice* (Barcelona; New York: Actar, 2007), 54
[103] Radovan Ivančević, "Kriterij stila i kvalitete u interpretaciji neostilova; tri primjera iz Bolleovog opusa" in *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti* (Volume 26-27, 1978), 15

acted as symbols of Gradec and Kaptol respectively. Also, as a unique combination of architecture, sculpture and horticulture, it is probably the closest that Zagreb has come to the Secessionist ideal of a *Gesamtkunstwerk* to this day.

Bollé and his work in Zagreb may be considered as a somewhat strange example of the influence of Vienna since he was a German national from Cologne who he had been living in Zagreb for half a century and considered himself Croatian. Yet he came from the school of one of Vienna's most important historicist, more precisely Neo-Gothic architects, Friedrich von Schmidt. His work, together with the representative buildings of the Green Horseshoe, still constitutes the landmarks that determine Zagreb's urban identity and make it a historicist, nineteenth century city. Bollé's controversial designs were created at a time when Zagreb was experiencing a period of intense development; from a small, provincial and still almost medieval town (or rather two towns), whose dark and unpaved streets were zigzagged by streams and opened sewers it transformed into a modern metropolis, capable of accommodating the rising demands of its population and various governmental institutions. When Bollé came to Zagreb, the city had less than 30 000 inhabitants; at the time of his death that number had risen to over 100 000. Through the monumental, representational architecture of its buildings and parks, Zagreb was supposed to reflect its growth in both size and importance, as well as to embody and satisfy the increasing desire for social prestige and political independence of the Croatian state. This it tried to do by looking towards the shining example of historicist Vienna, the city which had long been its political, social, cultural and architectural role model. And the German 'Croat' Hermann Bollé was largely responsible for whatever degree of approximation with Vienna that his adopted city managed to achieve.

4. Modern Architecture

Paradoxically, 'modern' has always been defined in relation to the past. Almost every new artistic style defines itself against its outdated predecessor and considers itself to be modern, meaning reflecting the new developments in the society and satisfying man's new needs. Therefore, all classifications or characterizations of styles as modern are necessarily a reflection of the thoughts and values of the classifier. This is especially important to keep in mind when talking about architecture at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. At a time when historicism in its last incarnation shares the public space with short-lived Secession and the beginnings of functionalism, the old and the new are intertwined, sometimes in highly surprising ways. This short chapter will not go into the details of life and work of the discussed architects, but will examine how Zagreb coped with the sudden proliferation of different stylistic movements at the turn of the century. More specifically, the question will be whether the novel architectural styles signaled a change in Zagreb's old relationship with Vienna, or was their adoption (pre)determined by the long-established political ties between the two cities.

4.1 Great Inspirations

Otto Wagner's status as one of the fathers of modern architecture[104] stands on firm grounds. He came into the spotlight when, at 56 years of age, he joined a group of young artists breaking away from the established Association of Austrian Artists (also known as the Künstlerhaus). The

[104] Long, Christopher. Review of *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity*, by Harry Francis Mallgrave. The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 53, no. 3 (September, 1994): 363, http://www.jstor.org/stable/990950

Secessionists were rebelling against the dominant dictate of history over many areas of human life. Senseless imitation of past architectural styles was not appropriate for framing the modern life, nor could it be an expression of contemporary ideas and sensibilities. These new ideas about art were a perfect fit for the general European atmosphere of the time, of which Vienna has since become the most famous example. Otto Wagner was a true representative of the time of change. Though already an established professor of Architecture at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, he joined the young rebels and, together with Gustav Klimt, became one of their symbolic leaders. His style, however, cannot be classified as secessionist; it contained elements of all three styles present at the architectural scene. Alternating between monumentality and functionality, Wagner merged the seemingly opposite tendencies, and was praised by admirers of Secession as well as its sworn enemies like Adolf Loos.

Wagner was also a highly influential architectural theorist, know for prescribing the ideal of *Moderne Arhitektur*, as well as for his functionalist maxim that "necessity was the sole mistress of art."[105] Truly a versatile figure, his lectures at the Art Academy educated whole generations of architects form all over the Empire. This aspect of his work is probably the most important one for Zagreb since he taught almost all major architects from the beginning of the twentieth century. Both Viktor Kovačić and Vjekoslav Bastl studied under the grand old man. Each picked up one aspect of Wagner's architectural philosophy and used it in their work in Zagreb. Wagner was thus the initiator of both Secessionist and proto-functionalist examples of Zagreb architecture.

Unlike Kovačić whose flirtation with Art Nouveau was short lived, Bastl remained faithful to Art Nouveau and is responsible for all but one major example of Secessionist architecture in Zagreb. He belonged to the second generation of architects with academic education who finally

[105] Vera Horvat Pintarić, *Vienna 1900: The Architecture of Otto Wagner* (New York: Dorset Press, 1989), 12

broke away from high historicist style[106] His most famous works are built in a pure Vienna Secession style. The house he built for the tile manufacturer Kallina is covered in multi-colored glazed tiles with a rich geometric pattern of flowery ornament.[107] The source of the inspiration is unmistakably Wagner's Majolika Haus. Unfortunately, another great house that Bastl built in order to highlight and advertise the profession of its occupant has since been completely redecorated. Situated on the corner of the main square, the corner of the Feller house boasted a two-storey tall, protruding shape of a bottle. The owner of the house, pharmacist Feller, was famous for his herbal remedy 'for all ills and aches,' which also lent its nickname to the house (Elsa-Fluid House). Though each of his works had a personal touch, Bastl never really breaks away from the dictates of the Vienna Secession, and thus helps to perpetuate the established structures and power relations.

4.2 Moderna in Zagreb: A Clean Breakaway?

So it seemed that the new century did not bring any changes at all, but continued to look towards Vienna for inspiration in all fields of culture. However, one of the general defining characteristics of the European *fin de siècle* movements was a rebellion against the prescribed rules of the past century. One aspect of this rebellion was tightly connected with political concerns of the non-dominant peoples in Austria-Hungary. Art Nouveau in particular was utilized as an architectural articulation of the national identity, and as such served as a weapon against the Germanizing influence of Vienna-inspired historicism. In other words, it was what

[106] Zlatko Jurić, "Arhitekt Vjekoslav Bastl: radovi 1901. – 1910," *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti*, 56-57 (1995), 44
[107] Ibid, 52

John Macsai called the architecture of opposition.[108] What is intriguing is that Croatian Art Nouveau period did not even attempt to use this possible tool of resistance, but sided firmly with the Vienna version, the nationally-neutral Secession.

On one hand, such choice is not surprising seeing how it is just a continuation of Croatian cultural policies. On the other, those very policies could have also lead it towards an attempted formulation of a national architecture through the National Romanticism version of Art Nouveau. But they never did; the line dividing Europe between the ornamental Art Nouveau style of the south and the "more Protestant spirit" that tended to follow the "stiff, heraldic forms of the English Arts and Crafts movement"[109] seemed to be running along the Danube. Hungary was probably the most ardent proponent of building a national architectural style among the nations in the empire. "The creators of the Hungarian national style," most famously represented in the works of Ödön Lechner, hoped that it "will be effective in two ways: against Austria as well as against the national minorities."[110] In light of those hopes, Croatian's obviously decided to stick to their old tactic of siding with the other power, in this case Austria.

It was also obvious that the prerogatives of representation and legitimization have not changed. This is clearly illustrated by the stated aim of the last representative public building to be erected on the Green Horseshoe. The National and University Library was also modeled according to the dictates of the Secession. Its creator Rudolf Lubynski was one of the few architects working in Zagreb who did not have any educational or professional experiences in Vienna. Due to an unfortunate combination of circumstances, practically all archival sources on the National and University Library had been lost. This means that the building, universally

[108] John Macsai, "Architecture as Opposition," *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)* 38, no. 4 (Summer, 1985), 8, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1424857
[109] Peter Davey, *Architecture of the English Arts and Crafts* (Rizzoli: New York, 1880), 195
[110] Macsai, John, "Architecture as Opposition," *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)* 38, no. 4 (Summer, 1985), 8, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1424857

regarded as the most representative example of Secession in Zagreb,[111] has not been sufficiently examined. What was preserved was the highly revealing instruction of the then Croatian ban to the builders of the library; he wanted to building to be equally impressing on the inside as well as the outside so that, when people entered it, they would "feel that we are no paupers and savages."[112] For a nation still obsessed with an inferiority complex, it was very difficult to embrace a style that tried to articulate the national identity through elements of vernacular architecture. The last thing that Croatian elite wanted was to resurrect its 'barbaric' and exhibit as for all the world to see. It was much more comfortable with the strict clean lines of functionalism.

That is why Viktor Kovačić is universally acknowledged as "the first builder of modern Croatian architecture."[113] He also began as Wagner's student, going to Vienna on a scholarship awarded by the Hungarian national foundation[114] (here we again see the strange power relations between Croatia, Austria and Hungary). There he met Adolf Loos and initiated their future relationship, both collaborative and friendly. In 1900, Viktor Kovačić published an article entitled "Moderna arhitektura", which was openly inspired by Otto Wagner's book by the same name[115] and provided a programmatic background to the new architectural and artistic tendencies. In addition to being a great architect introducing great stylistic and technical innovations (e.g. the dome of St. Blasius church was one of the "first reinforced concrete shells

[111] Karmen Gagro, "Obrtnički radovi na sveučilišnoj biblioteci u Zagrebu," *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti*.56-57 (1995), 20
[112] Ibidem, 21
[113] D. Radović Mahečić, A. Laslo, "Viktor Kovačić – promotor hrvatske moderne arhitekture", (Rad. Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, 21/1997, p.143-165), 2
[114] Laslo, Aleksander. Arhitektura modernog građanskog Zagreba. *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti*, 56-57 (1995), 58
[115] Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for His Students to This Field of Art* (Santa Monica, California: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988)

ever built."[116]) He also fit into the general unwillingness to experiment with vernacular forms by conceiving of modern architecture as an "abstract formal language,"[117] the safest way to be a part of European artistic movements without exposing one's own 'savage' past.

[116] Laslo, Aleksander. Arhitektura modernog građanskog Zagreba. *Život umjetnosti, časopis za pitanja likovne kulture i umjetnosti*, 56-57 (1995), 70
[117] Ibid, 71

5. Conclusion

Modern Zagreb is an elusive entity. Its beginnings have been associated with many different dates and events. One such symbolic act is the 'destruction' of the old Baroque cathedral by a foreign architect who was in charge of its restoration, and who finally built the new cathedral according to the most common European model of the time. The contradictions are obvious; like all other cities and nations, Zagreb always wanted to be considered modern, able to compete with any large European capital. At the same time, again not uniquely, it wanted to preserve its distinct past, the one thing that made it stand out from the other small, dominated nationalities in Austria-Hungary. The problem was that it could not find a way to do both.

It was difficult enough trying to accomplish only one of those goals. Since the 1867 compromise between Austria and Hungary, Croatia had undergone heavy pressure towards Magyarisation and further integration into the Kingdom of St. Stephan. The Ausgleich meant that Croatia's old strategy of juxtaposing one power against the other was no longer successful. Impotent to fight the Hungarian pressure by political means, Croatia's only way of assertion was through culture. All these considerations and influences converged in Zagreb, Croatia's capital city, situated relatively near the border towards both dominant nations. Zagreb's elite tried to strengthen its weak political voice by acquiring added prestige through cultural achievements.

The undisputed cultural capital of the Empire was Vienna. Zagreb already had a long history of political, administrative and cultural ties with the Habsburg capital. Now it strengthened them even further by conscious decisions as well as unconscious impulses, ingrained in it by traditional cultural ties and similar methods of using cultural means for political ends. Though their situations were quite different, Vienna's elite circles (I mean both court and aristocracy and

the rising liberal bourgeoisie) used art and architecture to display a (false) sense of political power and social legitimacy. Zagreb appropriated those same techniques and used historicist style to elevate its own image as a modern and cultural city, capital of a modern and cultural nation that deserved its own autonomy and national identity.

The same pattern of imitation continued into the nineteenth century, despite the changed message the new architectural styles wanted to convey. Modernism was about breaking with the past models that were no longer a valid expression of popular tendencies. The new art wanted to surpass the imperial dictate of one single identity for all nationalities and give voice to the soon to be victorious nation building processes. Paradoxically, Croatia tried to achieve those same goals by doing just the opposite, i.e. holding on to the old patterns taken over from Vienna. It attempted to break free of the imposed (and imposing) structures not by asserting its own individualism, but by trying to beat the dominant powers by using their own strategies. Needless to say that it was not very successful. That is why its first really successful architectural practices did not appear until after World War I.

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Appendix A: Photographs

Figure 1: Ringstrasse, Vienna
Source: Knežević, Snješka, *Zagrebačka zelena potkova* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1996): 313

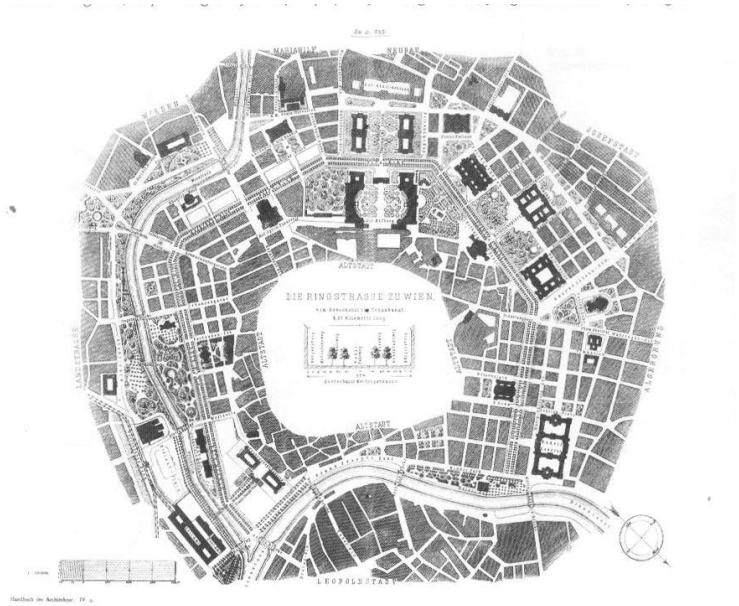

Figure 2: Green Horseshoe, Zagreb. Detail from a 1898 plan
Source: Knežević, Snješka, *Zagrebačka zelena potkova* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1996): 130

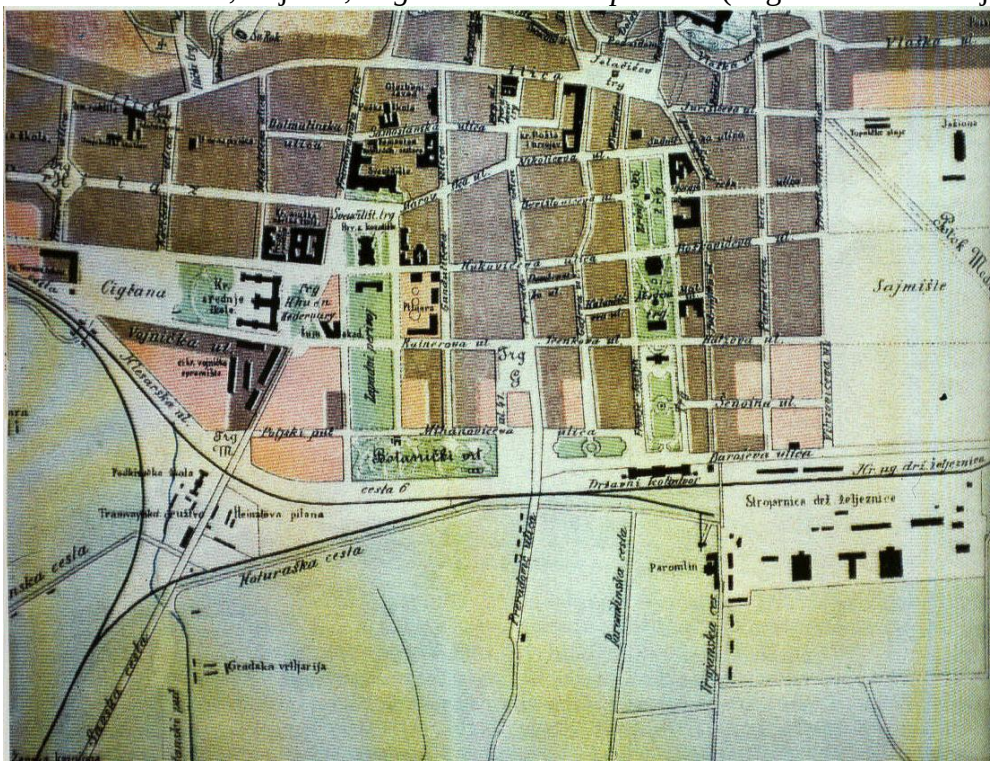

Figure 3: Green Horseshoe, Zagreb (1998 airview)
Source: Knežević, Snješka, *Zagreb u središtu* (Zagreb: Barbat, 2003): 184

Figure 4: Yugoslavian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Zagreb (Friedrich von Schmidt, 1880)
Source: taken by author

Figure 5: Croatian National Theatre, Zagreb (Fellner and Helmer, 1895)
Source: taken by author

Figure 6: Votivkirche, Vienna (Heinrich von Ferstel, 1854-1879)
Source: Moravánszky, Ákos, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, c1998): 81

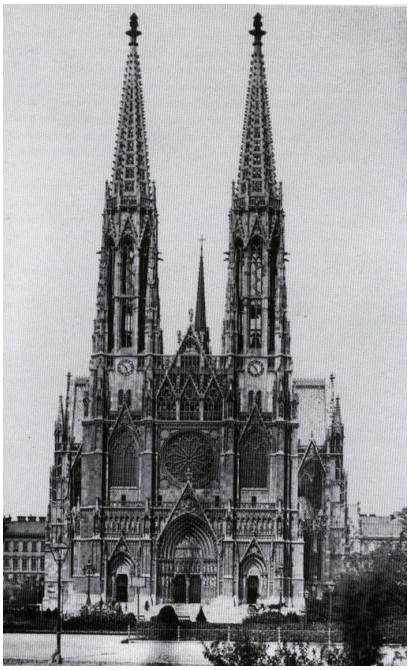

Figure 7: Zagreb cathedral (Hermann Bollè, 1880-1906)
Source: http://www.widigo.hr/galerija/mx_1195664204_katedrala4595.JPG

Figure 8: Majolika Haus, Vienna (Otto Wagner, 1898-1899)
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/27108930@N00/327321050/

Figure 9: Kuća Kallina, Zagreb (Vjekoslav Bastl, 1903-1904)
Source: taken by author

Figure 10: Kuća Kallina, Zagreb (Vjekoslav Bastl, 1903-1904)
Source: taken by author

Figure 11: Church of St. Blasius, Zagreb (Viktor Kovačić, 1910-1913)
Source: taken by author

Figure 12: Stock Market, Zagreb (Viktor Kovačić, 1923-1927)
Source: taken by author

Figure 13: Stock Market, Zagreb (Viktor Kovačić, 1923-1927)
Source: taken by author