FORGING ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

National Narratives, Monument Preservation and Architectural Work in the Nineteenth Century

EXPLORATIONS IN HERITAGE STUDIES
VOLUME 4

EDITED BY
DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ &
ALEKSANDER ŁUPIENKO

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CHAPTER 8

Renaissance Architecture and the Search for the Hungarian National Style in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Gábor György Papp

Introduction

Nineteenth-century thought was characterized by a historical sentiment and by history in the singular. The end of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of a process later described by Koselleck as a changed collective perception of time and temporality. Time was no longer solely perceived as the framework within which the events of history play out; instead, it gained a historical quality. In this context, history does not simply run parallel to the passing of time – it is also subject to it. The latter presumes a new way of viewing history – namely, history in the singular (*Kollektivsingular*).[1] In addition to this, evolving nation states created a new frame of reference for the previously mentioned historical sentiment.[2] These two phenomena provided the basis for ventures to establish national art and, in particular, national architecture. In Central Europe, efforts to create national architecture first appeared during the second third of the nineteenth century.[3] At this time, national characteristics were found in architectural traits that were determined by the climate, building materials and by customary practices on one hand, and by individuality and artistic talent on the other. Later, national characteristics were sought in historical styles. This resulted in different nations striving to find their own distinctive, individual and location-specific architectural features in widespread and inherently very similar historical forms. The national past, primarily the most important or glorious periods of a national history, provided the basis for assigning specific historical styles as representative of a particular nation. Historical buildings exemplifying national history began to be studied as possible sources of inspiration for the creation of national architecture.

In what follows, I will examine the question of how sixteenth- and seventeenth-century North-Hungarian Renaissance architecture provided a model for the creation of national architecture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[4] Much like the reigns of King Charles IV for the Czechs, and Casimir and the Jagiellons for the Poles, the reign of Louis the Great (1342–82) and Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437) came to express national identity for the Hungarians. The late Middle Ages were seen as the last glorious period of the independent Kingdom of Hungary before it was eventually included in the Habsburg Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In Search of a Style

From the 1860s onward, much was written about the national nature of the Gothic in Hungary. This coincided with the continuously growing number of restorations of historic monuments. Guidance on this was given by Imre Henszlmann, a key figure in the field of art history and archaeology in Hungary in the nineteenth century, as well as the founder of the Department of Art History at the university in Budapest in 1872. In the 1860 design competition for the palace of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he argued for choosing Gothic as, at once, a modern and a national style. His reasoning was that the Gothic style was appropriate for different buildings because of its resilience and freedom in composition, proportion and grouping.[5] Furthermore, he held that it was the most suitable style for a building of great symbolic value – especially one that was to be funded by national public donations – saying that ‘the golden ages of our national history have gone hand in hand with the Gothic style’.[6] His idea that Hungarian national public buildings should be constructed in this style was not fully supported by all of his contemporaries, and the debates that repeatedly arose and subsided led to no consensus about the ideal form of national architecture.[7] In the 1880s, the attention of experts seeking historical models – including historians, archaeologists and art lovers – was seized by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Renaissance architecture.

Nevertheless, neither the Gothic nor the Renaissance became a generally accepted norm of national style.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, the style of the majority of Historicist buildings was selected according to their types, the needs of clients and proven practices. Meanwhile, although treatises questioning the nature of and the need for national architecture – and articles wishing for its creation – were published, they provoked little response. The issue of national character was raised in the case of public buildings that carried symbolical value. The 1884 design competition for the House of Parliament in Budapest is an ideal example of this phenomenon.[8] However, in most such cases both the patrons and the architects sought to express national character by means of sculptural and pictorial decorations as well as ornaments. World's and national fairs and exhibitions, among them the 1873 Vienna and 1878 Paris World's Exhibitions, provided excellent opportunities for experimenting with architectural forms that could adequately express and promote the self-image of a country.[9] The fact that in Paris, a *csárda* (a traditional inn from the Hungarian Great Plain) was erected next to the Hungarian Pavilion shows that the representation of national characteristics in architecture did not necessarily coincide with historical styles. A further event that served as an occasion to present both the current achievements of the national economy and the country's past to foreign and domestic audiences was the 1896 celebration of the millennium of the arrival of the Magyar tribes in the Carpathian Basin.[10] The latest products of Hungarian industry were displayed in the various pavilions in the contemporary section, whilst a separate exhibition area was set aside to show the country's history and culture. In the latter, an important element of the composition was presenting the cultural history of the Hungarian nation in chronological order. The artefacts of each period were shown in architectural replicas or buildings composed of specific wings or parts (portals etc.) of Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque edifices. Thus, the architectural setting itself appeared as a display item for visitors. The exhibition was completed with an 'ethnographic village' where the diversity of Hungarian vernacular architecture was showcased. This complex, regarded as an authentic and genuine illustration of the variety of rural architecture in the country, aroused much interest among both Hungarian and foreign critics and scholars. Additionally, at this exhibition the architectural monuments and their details were shown as if on the pages of a picture book. Instead of being used as a vehicle for boosting national identity, they had, rather, the character of simple quotations from either historical or peasant architecture. As such, they cannot be seen as a material suitable for creating a national architectural style. Nevertheless, it was such historic vernacular architecture that transpired to be the source of it at the end of the nineteenth century.

Later, at the turn of the century, the vernacular became a root of an ahistorical national architecture. The leading figure of this architectural trend was the Hungarian architect Ödön Lechner. Lechner's approach was fundamentally determined by Gottfried Semper's theory of ornamentation, according to which the vernacular and peasant styles preserved some kind of primeval forms for contemporary architecture and, not incidentally, created the opportunity to harmonize new architectural ideas with the issues of modern architecture. In addition, Lechner was also influenced by the Englishman John Ruskin, who contrasted his praise for those cultivating handicrafts and cottage industries and the master carvers with the industrial activities in modern European cities. Lechner's architecture succeeded in being so innovative and, at the same time, having a large impact because he was able to show a different direction for the creation of a national architecture at a time when historical forms had become empty. For this, he also needed to be able to break away stylistically from the historical model that resolved the variety of architectural tasks by utilizing the elements of historical styles befitting them.[11]

Beyond the Gothic

Historicist architects designing in styles from the past repeatedly strove to extract the most authentic, 'most national' forms from the historic material or its local variations. This endeavour, however, can more often be seen in theoretical writings than in the practice of modern urban architecture. Due to their proportions, the façades of a large number of medieval buildings that constituted the canon of Hungarian architectural history could not be integrated into the modern urban fabric. Moreover, the imitation of Gothic façades and vaulted interiors multiplied the construction costs. Therefore, architects started to seek out historical sources that could be reconciled with the possibilities and needs of the modern urban space. At the same time, the range of buildings that were deemed part of the national heritage was expanded in art historiography from the 1880s by the inclusion of later periods on the list. Under these conditions, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century North-Hungarian Renaissance architecture played a special role in the process of the creation of a self-image and the search for a national architecture.

The history of the different regions of Hungary evolved differently in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a result of the Ottoman conquest. The country was divided into three parts: the central part under Ottoman rule was governed by the Turkish sultan; the Habsburgs controlled Transdanubia and North Hungary; while Transylvania was ruled by princes from the Szapolyai, Bethlen, Báthory, Rákóczi and Apafi families. The architecture in the three regions also took different paths. Ultimately, it was North-Hungarian Renaissance architecture that gained the upper hand by the time of nineteenth-century art historiography in this comparison.

In the 1880s, when the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century architecture of North Hungary was rediscovered as a potential basis for a national architectural style, Budapest was undergoing a rapid transformation from a market city of local significance to a major Central-European metropolis. The increased volume of construction gave rise to the almost unified neo-Renaissance urban landscape that still defines the style of the city today. In the urban architecture of Historicism, the Italian Renaissance style was applied throughout nineteenth-century Europe as a reference to the economically and politically independent fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italian cities.[12] In addition to Budapest, the neo-Renaissance defined, and in many cases still defines, the profiles of other Central European cities. Vienna and Prague along with other cities of Austria-Hungary such as Lviv, Chernivtsi and Zagreb illustrate this trend. Therefore, it was no accident that the Hungarian architects attempting to create a national architectural style from historical forms found inspirational models in the North-Hungarian Renaissance. It was a style that could be easily incorporated into the neo-Renaissance urban landscape.

The entire process of the inclusion of the style in question and the historical objects from the northern region as the national heritage and the style of the future was in line with a similar process of establishing the German Renaissance as the leading national vehicle of identity from the 1860s onwards, in the wake of Jacob Burckhardt.[13] Similarly, the historic buildings of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century North-Hungarian architecture began to appear in Hungarian art historiography shortly after the publication of the first nineteenth-century compilations of Renaissance art. Jacob Burckhardt's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860) was published in Hungarian in 1895–96, and the Hungarian translation of John Addington Symonds's summary *Renaissance in Italy* (1875–81) was published in a series from 1881 to 1886.[14] The acknowledgment of the historical significance of the architecture in question resulted from and was followed by surveys of historic buildings, proposals for restorations and renovations. It is important to note that, while various examples of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century North-Hungarian Renaissance architecture became part of the Hungarian national architectural canon in the nineteenth century, the remnants of the fifteenth-century Hungarian Renaissance architecture built during the reign of Matyás I did not become the reference for a national style. The 'Matyás Renaissance' was only adopted as part of national art after the excavations at Visegrád, Buda and Esztergom from the second quarter of the twentieth century onwards.[15] This fact points to the significance of the relationship between archaeological activity and art-historical discourse.

Architectural Narratives

In the following paragraphs, I will focus on the ways in which North-Hungarian Renaissance architecture and its local and Central-European connections were represented in pre-First World War Hungarian art historiography. Imre Henszlmann (1813–88), in his work on the history of architecture, highlighted the high artistic quality of fifteenth-century Renaissance architecture in Hungary and correctly recognized the rather restrictive courtly nature of the style – as well as the fact that Matyás also commissioned buildings in a late Gothic style.[16] In another publication, he discussed three sixteenth-century Renaissance town houses known as the Thurzó houses in Lőcse (today Levoča, Slovakia) in the context of an additional group of North-Hungarian buildings: further town houses, castles and towers from the former counties of Sáros and Szepes.[17] He identified three characteristic features of this group: the frequent use of an arcade on the ground floor of residential properties, the flatness of the section beneath the cornice on the façade, and the rich mouldings and sgraffito decoration on the frieze and crenellations. He found that these features originated in the Italian Renaissance and that they had been transmitted to Hungary through South-Polish regions – most notably, through Krakow.[18]

The architect Béla Ney (1843–1920), writing about the 1878 Paris World's Exhibition, also discussed the architecture of Northern Hungary. Ney was dissatisfied with the presentation of Hungarian architecture in Paris. He discussed the possibilities of the renewal and modernization of Hungarian architecture, and the necessity of its appropriate presentation abroad. He formulated his thoughts around three interconnected points. Firstly, he drew attention to the inspirational effects that the motifs that became common as a result of the institutionalized exploration of medieval buildings could have on current architecture. At the same time, he warned against strict replicas and the artificial creation of styles. His second main point was that rather than copying multiple styles, the building as a whole had to carry a local, original and thus distinctive character. He said that Hungarian architecture had the potential to become nation-specific due to special combinations of architectural elements. He cited as examples the arcaded manor houses that became common in Transdanubia and Transylvania from the eighteenth century onwards, as well as the characteristic motifs of the buildings in the towns of Northern Hungary from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He believed that the adaptation of these two historic building types could serve as a template to create architecture better suited to Hungarian customs and lifestyles. Lastly, Ney put the endeavour towards the creation of a national architecture in an international context. He thought that creating a distinct architectural language could contribute to the representation of the country as an independent national entity.[19]

Cataloguing historic buildings (monument-survey works in Kassa and Bártfa: today, Košice and Bardejov in Slovakia) played a significant role in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century architecture becoming known to a wider public of professionals.[20] Unquestionably, Henszlmann's contemporary, Viktor Myskovszky (1838–1909) from Bártfa, played an important part in this enterprise. From the late 1870s onwards, he toured the towns of Northern Hungary and prepared descriptions of their historic buildings. The list included many examples of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century architecture. As an advocate of Renaissance architecture, he wrote the first

Hungarian summary of the period in 1881.[21] In this piece, he presented a selection of buildings in Northern Hungary that he deemed exemplary of the style, which he described as a local, ‘national’ variation of the Italian Renaissance. Contrary to Henszlmann, Myskovszky did not take into consideration any potential relationships with Polish Renaissance architecture.[22] He attributed the earliest instances of Hungarian Northern Renaissance architecture to Italian stonemasons, from whose example a local variant of the structures had developed and gone on to become widespread during the seventeenth century. He devoted an in-depth study of the characteristic features of the style that he recognized in the parapet-like, decorative fronts articulated by semicircular niches in the façades and the crenellations surmounting the cornices. Myskovszky also discussed the sgraffito decoration of the façades, comparing their floral motifs with those of the traditional regional clothing of the period. The characteristic features described by Myskovszky along with the terminology that he applied soon became widely accepted by scholars.

Gyula Pasteiner (1846–1924), the second professor of Art History in Budapest, hinted in his works at Poland (as did Henszlmann), which, for him as well, were the source of the architecture in question. He stated, ‘It might have appeared in Poland first, but this type of crenellation soon became a prominent, indeed inescapable part of new buildings in Sáros and Szepes counties; in addition to castles and townhouses, it also appeared on church towers and belfries. The stylistic variety of these crenellations was a testimony to the exceptional creativity of the architects who worked in these two counties.’[23]

In his 1898 book, Pasteiner mentioned the *Sukiennice* (Cloth Hall) in Krakow, surmounted by an articulated cornice, as one example of this device. He pointed out that crenellated walls above the cornice divided by horizontal moulding and sgraffito decoration occurred only in Northern Hungary. He also classified the growing number of discovered historic buildings by type, and found that buildings erected in the North-Hungarian Renaissance style included palaces and town houses as well as churches and belfries.[24]

Kornél Divald (1872–1931) was not a university professor; his work to protect the artworks of Northern Hungary was fuelled purely by personal interest. He made it his mission to save artefacts that were on the brink of ruin: these included sculptures, altars, and carvings. His unrelenting work – in the course of which he scoured the counties of Szepes and Sáros; the town of Besztercebánya (today Banská Bystrica, Slovakia) and its vicinity; and, later, Liptó, Árva and Trencsén counties – makes him the intellectual successor of Arnold Ipolyi and Flóris Rómer. These two mid-nineteenth-century art historians sought to collect the artistic legacy of the past with a similar devotion as Divald half a century later. During his expeditions, he focused not only on the visual arts but branched out to architecture as well. He wrote systematic accounts on Gothic, Baroque and Renaissance artworks alike. He attributed special significance to the artistic traits of the last of these, describing it as a pivotal part of the history of art in Hungary. In his first paper devoted to the topic in 1899, he presented numerous similar façade arrangements of historic buildings in Poland. It is likely that it was Divald who coined the phrase 'crenellated Renaissance of Upper Hungary'.[25] While he acknowledged the Polish connections of the Northern Hungarian Renaissance, he sought to demonstrate its national character. He emphasized the local nature of the rich sgraffito decoration, linking it to the local textile arts and clothing adornments and arguing that it was not so much the sheer architectural form as, rather, the decoration that lent these buildings a specifically local 'Hungarian' tint:

> The whimsical patterns we see on the crenellations of seventeenth-century buildings were greatly influenced by the applied arts; the fantastic gables that have an almost mysterious effect on today's observer … are none other than the very same patterns that we find on the ends of strips of fabric from the period, adapted to a different medium. … They became so popular precisely because they proved to be the perfect backdrop for the clothing worn by the public going about their day in these places.[26]

With reference to Divald's work, Károly Pekár (1869–1911) wrote a treatise on the Renaissance and Baroque art of Northern Hungary in 1906. In his work comprising the description of various investigations into the national ornamentation styles, he proposed yet another approach towards creating modern national art. As he wrote:

> This school of architecture became so distinctive, and it evolved in so many original ways in Hungary, that its neglect by the people who seek a Hungarian style of architecture today is a true disgrace. Yes, the new courthouse in Lőcse does have a façade in a similar style, but it is a detached piece, coupled with a roof and walls that do not match, nay, the façade itself is not very authentic, and all the more unflattering to the forms that it is meant to resemble. The style it tries to imitate is more Polish (Posen town hall) than Hungarian in the first place. It is truly a pity that these pompous, almost painting-like niches, crenellations and gables with their

> arcades, this Northern Hungarian Renaissance style, has been abandoned, and that no one has thought to revive it yet in proper fashion.[27]

In his view, this could be done by combining historic forms and national ornamentation. In achieving this, he attributed great importance to the seventeenth-century architecture of Northern Hungary – the Renaissance forms and ornamentation of which, adapted to local taste, would satisfy both these requirements.[28]

Building on the theoretical foundations laid down by Henszlmann, Pasteiner and Divald, the architect Jenő Kismarty Lechner (1878–1962) sought new ways in which to use the Northern Hungarian Renaissance as a source of inspiration in practice. He also published a study on the Renaissance architecture of Northern Hungary in 1908,[29] which was followed by further articles in 1913 and 1915.[30] His purpose in these studies was to describe the history and the specific qualities of the historic buildings of the period against the background of Central European architecture. By doing this, he followed Divald, but he was able to outline their specific Hungarian characteristics more precisely, comparing them with an array of historic buildings from Silesia, Moravia and Austria. He applied the classification of building types and regions established by Pasteiner, but in far greater detail. One of Lechner's aims in the early twentieth century – in the midst of the First World War – was to draw attention to the significance of protecting historic monuments and buildings. At the same time, he believed that it was important to emphasize the national character of the style that grew out of the local milieu ('the architecture … of our monuments is rooted in Hungarian national soil and developed nourished by its sap').[31] As an architect, Kismarty Lechner was primarily interested in the creation of a style expressing national character – and he found Northern Hungarian Renaissance architecture to be the proper source for it.

Narratives in Practice

The canonization of the architectural heritage of the Northern Hungarian Renaissance and the recognition of its national character resulted in architects starting to employ its formal vocabulary in their Historicist production from the 1890s onwards, while the contemporary Secessionist architecture expressed national characteristics by means of vernacular art rather than historical styles.

The Renaissance style of Northern Hungary appeared in two locations at the aforementioned 1896 Millennium Exhibition. The architect of the buildings in the historical section that incorporated the Renaissance group, Ignác Alpár, combined the tower of Lőcse Town Hall with details of the Rákóczi House in Eperjes (today Prešov, Slovakia). In the contemporary section of the exhibition, the Commerce, Finance and Credit Pavilion designed by Zsigmond Quittner was constructed using motifs of town houses in Eperjes, Lőcse and Késmárk (today Kežmarok, Slovakia). The last-named example could have become a model for architects on how to instil national character in state buildings using historical forms that fit into the neo-Renaissance cityscape. Further examples illustrate the spread of this trend outside the Exhibition. For example, Alpár himself returned to the forms of the Northern Hungarian Renaissance in his 1899 design of the County Hall in Nagyenyed (today Aiud, Romania), whose tower and the crenellations of the adjoining wings recall the buildings of the northern region. In Lőcse, the entrance, the niches containing statues, and the cornice of the central avant-corps of the courthouse designed by István Kiss (1857–1902), built in 1901, likewise recall these forms. While Ignác Alpár and István Kiss gave a national accent to only some of their buildings, Jenő Kismarty Lechner in the early twentieth century aimed to create a whole new style. One of the best examples of this is his teacher-training college in Sárospatak (1909–14) (see figure 8.1). In the competition for the building, multiple plans were based on the forms of Northern Hungarian architecture – including Lechner's first-prize-winning design, but also Henrik Kotál's second-prize-winning plan. A series of state-funded school-building programmes in the first two decades of the twentieth century contributed to the spread of this style. Following the construction of the one in Sárospatak, new school buildings in Bonyhád by Sándor Baumgarten (1864–1928) from 1913 to 1914 and in Liptószentmiklós (today Liptovský Mikuláš, Slovakia) by Zoltán Bálint and Lajos Jámbor from 1914 to 1916 exhibited similar crenellations and sgraffito decorations.

Although the number of buildings inspired by Northern Hungarian architecture was not particularly large at that time, they seem to have given the most appropriate answer to the problem of a national architectural style in the context of revivalist architecture. This was, again, facilitated by the style's adaptability in contemporary cities.

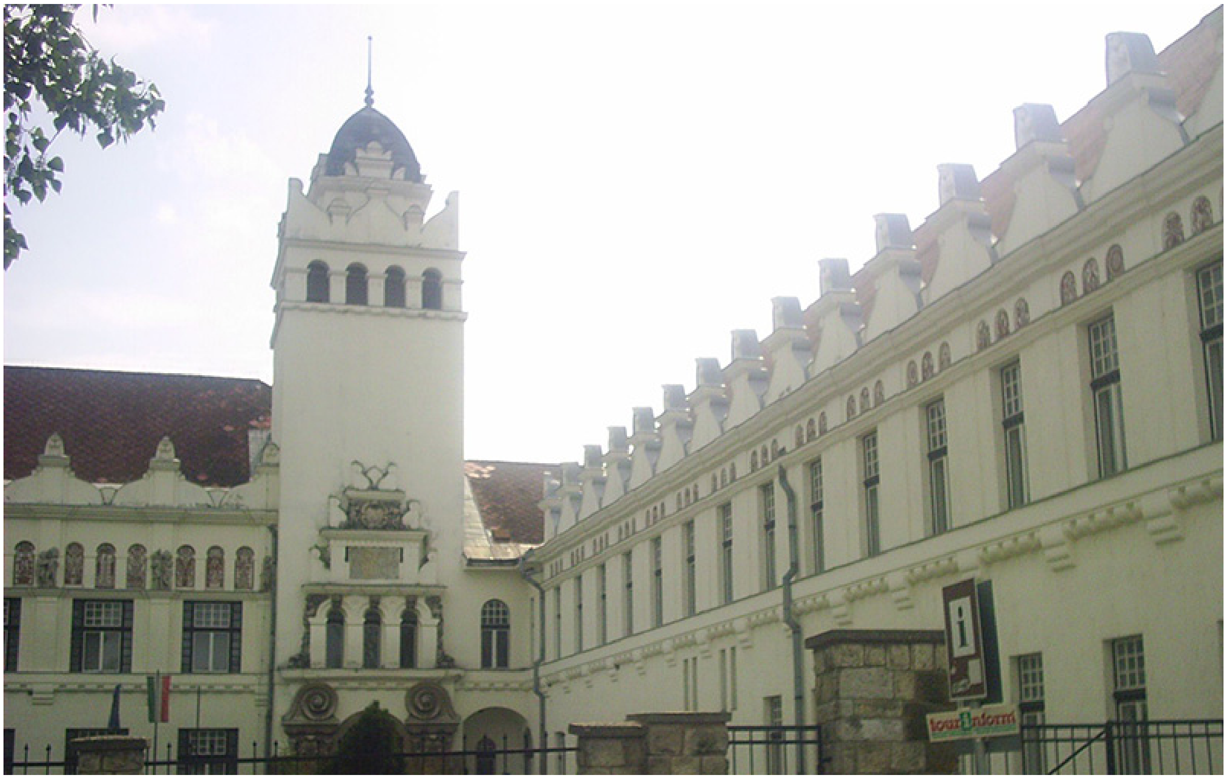

Figure 8.1. Jenő Kismarty Lechner, teacher-training college (today Campus Sárospatak, Eszterházy Károly University) built in 1909–14. Creative Commons BY 3.0 (Source: Wikipedia, Photo: Attila Brunner).

In the changed sociopolitical environment after the First World War, the issue of national architecture – particularly, its creation through historical forms – acquired a new meaning. By Hungary ceding the greater part of the country's territory, the architectural references to historic buildings located now in areas beyond its borders additionally conveyed references to the bygone 'happier' period. This was apparent in the forms of the buildings constructed with crenellations in the interwar years, such as Gyula Sándy's Postal Palace in Buda erected in 1939.

Conclusions

The place of North-Hungarian Renaissance architecture in the history of creating a national style cannot readily be appreciated without a comparative study of similar tendencies in other Central-European countries. This style, attributed mainly to Hungary in the period in question, is in fact the regional version of a common, formal architectural vocabulary. Examples of it can be found primarily in Silesia and Moravia, but partly also in Austria. As with their Hungarian counterparts, these buildings also played an important role in the formation of the national architecture of their respective countries. When Hungarian theorists and architects, aiming at the creation of a national architecture, went beyond the common language of the neo-Renaissance and found – in their view – a distinctive, national, historical architectural style, they also found another common language: that of the Central-European architectural tradition of the sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century Renaissance.[32]

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NOTES

1. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 369–70.
2. For the term nation state, see Boswell and Evans, *Representing the Nation*, 51–58. For new frame of reference, see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Smith, *National Identity*; Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*.
3. See Hajdu, *The Search*, 394–439; Crowley, *National Style*; Damjanović, ‘Polychrome Roof Tiles’; Filipova, ‘Writing and Displaying Nations’; Hartmuth, ‘K.(u.)k. colonial?’; Hnídková, ‘Rondokubismus’; Jõekalda, ‘Baltic Identity’; Veress, ‘Architecture as Nation-Building’; Vybiral, ‘National Identity’.
4. I use the term ‘Northern Hungary’ to refer to the north-eastern regions of Historic or Greater Hungary (some literature refers to this region as Upper Hungary because of its mountainous

landscape): the region of origin for a distinctive style of late-Renaissance architecture, now in Slovakia.

5. He referred to George Gilbert Scott as well. See Scott, *Remarks*, 20. ‘No style of architecture has so directly derived its characteristics from utility as that which I am advocating; that no style is capable of adding so much that is beautiful and pleasurable, not only without reducing, but as arising out of its uses, as this; and that no style is equally capable of adapting itself to varied requirements, or of enlisting in its service the inventions, materials, and ideas which are introduced by the advance of social improvement’.
6. Henszlmann, *Válogatott képzőművészeti írások*, 203–9.
7. Concerning Henszlmann’s views on Gothic monuments as the sources of national art within the universal evolution of art, see Marosi, ‘Restoration as an Expression of Art History’, 170–71, 173.
8. Gábor and Verő, *Az Ország háza*; Sisa, ‘Le Parlement hongrois’; Sisa, *Az Országház építése és művészete*.
9. Papp, ‘Önkép alkotás és régiótudat’; Székely, ‘A Capital in the Margins’.
10. Setting the date for this exhibition was entrusted to historians, who identified the presumed date for the conquest of Hungary in different periods. Eventually, a committee proposed that 1894 should be the chosen date; however, due to delays in the preparations for the exhibition, this was changed to 1896. See Vadas, ‘Programtervezetek’.
11. Papp, ‘Present Constructed from the Past’; Róka, ‘Fejezetek a Lechner-recepció történetéből’.
12. Zádor, *A historizmus művészete*; Németh, *Magyar Művészet*; Milde, *Neorenaissance*; Hübsch, *In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?*
13. See Cordileone, ‘The Austrian Museum’.
14. Burckhardt, *A renaissancekori műveltség*; Symonds, *A renaissance Olaszországban*.
15. See Mikó, ‘A reneszánsz művészet története’.
16. Henszlmann, *Magyarország ó-keresztyén,* 5, 22.
17. See Henszlmann, *Lőcsének régiségei*, 161–63.
18. Concerning the origin of the forms of the Renaissance façades, which is a recurring issue for other scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see current literature such as Haber and Kadluczka, ‘Renaissance Architecture in Cracow’; Omilanowska, ‘Searching for a National Style’; Torbus, ‘Die Rezeption der Renaissance’; Omilanowska, *Architekt Stefan Szyller*.
19. Ney, *Jelentés*.
20. See: Bardoly and Lővei, ‘The First Steps’.
21. Myskovszky, *A renaissance kezdete*.
22. Myskovszky, *Felsőmagyarországi műemlékek*; idem, *Kassa város középkori*.
23. Pasteiner, ‘Felső-Magyarország’, 164.
24. Ibid., 161, 163, 164–66.
25. Divald, ‘A felsőmagyarországi renaissance-építészet’.
26. Ibid., 351.
27. Pekár, *A Magyar nemzeti szépről*, 107–8, 115.
28. Ibid., 105–22.
29. Lechner, ‘Modern és nemzeti építőművészet’, 188–91, 198–202.
30. Lechner, *Tanulmányok a lengyelországi*.
31. See Gábor ‘“e műemlékeinkben a történelmi”’, 180–85.
32. See Bialostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance*.

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