EPHEMERAL ARCHITECTURE IN CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

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Edited by Miklós Székely

L'Harmattan, 2015

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in the 19th and 21st centuries

Edited by Miklós Székely

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Miklós Székely

Ephemerity and political geography

In the present collection of essays the definition of Central and Eastern Europe includes all the countries that underwent a shared process of political, social and economic modernization in the period after the first universal exhibitions in the mid-nineteenth century. Exhibitions in the nineteenth century were often related to modernity and their architecture reflected diverse nation building strategies (Greenhalgh 1990). In Central and Eastern Europe national movements flourished in imperial contexts: in the territories of the Habsburg Empire (later Austria-Hungary), Prussia (later Germany) and Russia. Central and Eastern Europe is a fluid geopolitical concept of the twentieth century referring to a politically unstable territory, whose borders shifted almost continuously during the timespan under investigation. Temporary constructions were erected for national and international exhibitions as a means for conveying ideas to an immediate audience, while pavilions were regarded as hubs of architectural and artistic trends, political visions, and cultural and social issues. The complex political, cultural, social, economic and urban context of ephemerity is related, in this volume, to the nation-building strategies of the region. Our focus is on the interrelationships between constantly changing political ideologies and spectacular ephemeral architecture and displays. The wide range of approaches in this book includes the exterior and interior design of an exhibition pavilion, along with its location within the exhibition park and among neighboring edifices, and its function as a projection of regional, national or corporate representation.

The main objective of this volume is to investigate the relationship between nation-building strategies, political propaganda and temporary architecture in Central and Eastern Europe. This region, notwithstanding the absence of any commonly accepted definition of its borders, has been subject to incessant political and ideological change from the time of the Napoleonic wars up until the accession of most of its countries to the European Union. A succession of historic events – the liberal revolutions of the mid-nineteenth century, the formation of a unified Germany, the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the retreat of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans, the two World Wars, and the gradual spread and subsequent rapid collapse of the communist regimes – has fostered, among other things, a perpetual search for stability, and yet has constantly led people and politics in ever newer directions. This resulted in radical shifts of orientation approximately every thirty or forty years, therefore within a single generation or so. Ephemeral architecture in the region has thus reflected a plethora of diverse approaches within a very short timescale, such as different historical revivalist tendencies,

vernacularism, neo-Byzantinism, and the enigma(s) of modernity, while technological innovations in construction, such as aluminum or the development of architectural photography, have become incorporated into political discourse.

The phenomenon of what it means to be Central European has recently formed the focus of scholarly investigation. A volume by Ákos Moravánszky, *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918*, was the first publication on the architectural identity of the region whose author identified Austria-Hungary as a political entity in the indeterminate region today called Central Europe. Moravánszky sees a plurality of modernistic expressions which testifies to a universalist vision of the nations within an empire – an experience that all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe have shared in the course of the last two centuries, regardless of their separate origins, languages, beliefs and traditions.

The idea of competition, before entering the world of architectural interpretations, was the key notion of Mary Douglas and Aaron B. Wildavsky's volume, *Risk and Culture* (1982), which greatly influenced the anthropological approach to the phenomenon of Central and Eastern Europe. Among academic fields, in addition to contemporary art theory and practice, anthropology and ethnography play a fundamental role in defining Central and Eastern Europe as a particular place, whose multiplicity and heterogeneity not only influence the region's "gazes", but also the way they are hierarchized and necessarily envisaged in their given cultural-political situation (Demski, Baraniecka, Sz. Kristóf 2013: 12–13).

The notions of competition, empire, the change of social norms, the role of media, and national narratives are especially symptomatic in the case of universal exhibitions, which, while addressed to an international audience, were organized in most cases in national capitals, and tended to amass increasing numbers of exhibitors. Regional exhibitions exercised great influence on industrial and cultural urban centers. (Filipová 2015: 1–20). A classification of international shows of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveals the fundamental aspects of such events. Universality and internationality often coincide, with the first referring to the universal character of the exhibited goods, objects and inventions, and the second referring mainly to the international range of exhibitors. In the course of the nineteenth century, an exhibition is more likely to have been international, displaying universal or specialized exhibits to an international audience, rather than universal, demanding a huge financial contribution from national revenues, placed under the auspices of the highest national rulers and organized mainly in capital cities (Royle 1998). The evolution of the universal exhibition can be traced back to the industrial exhibitions that appeared at the end of the eighteenth century, displaying a diversity of goods produced across the nation, such as the

Exposition publique des produits de l'industrie in 1798 (Kusamitsu 1980, Carpenter 1971: 465–470).

The universal exhibition, as a new phenomenon of the secularized and industrialized society of the nineteenth century, was an interpretation of its current state of development, and was thus in need of a new, unique form of architecture (Wesemael 2001: 136–142). This had to befit the temporary character of the universal exhibitions: it was tailored to meet the required holding capacity and mirrored its continuous development. However, this continuously renewing architecture did not manifest itself solely in the new, revolutionary materials of the nineteenth century: apart from halls of iron, glass and faience, the use of wood-and-plaster "light-structured pavilions" became widespread within a short time of its first appearance. In response to new economic challenges, organizers and participants representing the national sections of universal exhibitions faced a new, unfamiliar task: how to gain economic, commercial and cultural advantages for their country by associating it with an original and distinctive image. The economic force of country-branding was often mixed in with historical traditions, especially through peasants' room interiors, which were considered prime national symbols by many exhibiting countries (Stoklund 1999: 5–18).

In their article, Viazova and Korndorf question the conventional belief that, to paraphrase the authors, the history of glass architecture began with purely utilitarian palace greenhouses and orangeries, which grew, due exclusively to nineteenth-century technological advances, into the gigantic pavilions of world fairs and glass-vaulted arcades (Auerbach 1999). Apart from the gallery-like constructions of universal exhibitions, small-scale pavilions, as representatives of some or other political agenda, were also created using ephemeral architecture. Pavilion architecture underwent a fundamental evolution in the late nineteenth century. Traditional types of ephemeral architectural – triumphal arches, ornamental fountains, *castrum doloris* – were gradually taken over by innovations intended to serve equally the representational needs of an increasingly secularizing bourgeois society, the preservation of national memory, and mass entertainment. The most important innovation came with the exhibition pavilions themselves, which first appeared in greater numbers at the 1867 Paris Exposition; pavilions built with the express purpose of national representation appeared during subsequent decades. These buildings, initially modestly sized and constructed mostly for commercial purposes, evolved into two new types after the 1890s: open-air museums, mirroring authentic peasant architecture and catering for the newfound interest in ethnography, complemented with novel entertainment districts in the form of pavilion-complexes; and buildings that provided exhibition space for artisans or cottage industries, but without gastronomical functions. As Bernasconi argues in this volume, the tent-room represents a sedentism of mobile and ephemeral architecture. Half a century before the first universal exhibition, the late eighteenth and

early nineteenth centuries saw the spread of the "tent-room" in Europe. This was a form of internal decoration that borrowed from the shape of a tent and its different functions, both political and cultural. To paraphrase the author sedentism was an important step in the life of ephemeral architecture, providing deep insight into its function as a symbolic legitimation of the monarchy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and illustrating its role in the cultural consumption process. In this context the tent-room was the transformation of a technical device (an item of ephemeral architecture) into a decorative cipher. The mobile, easily transformable character of a tent, previously used by the military, as a place where members of the upper class could retire and relax, was transformed into a symbolic venue for national political agendas after the proliferation of pavilions in exhibition parks following the 1867 Paris Exposition (Wesemael 2001: 233–242). Indeed, both the early appearance and the diffusion of such light architectural structures can be related to the Bourbon dynasty. The spread of this interior motif can be traced in the history of political symbology and in the cultural consumption of travel at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The 1867 Paris Exposition also saw the appearance of a new medium with distinctive architectonic styles. Small-scale pavilions showcasing gastronomy or private entrepreneurs appeared here for the first time in significant numbers. Before long, pavilions were appropriated by nations as the medium *par excellence* for self–representation at the universal exhibitions at the turn of the century. The ephemeral palaces built on the Rue des Nations for the 1900 Paris Exposition are evidence of this. (Wesemael 2001: 136–142)

What had originally been referred to as "industrial exhibitions" tended to be called "general exhibitions" from the last quarter of the nineteenth century (*Országos Általános Kiállítás - General National Exposition* in 1885 in Budapest, or the *Expoziţia Generală Română* in 1906 in Bucharest), focusing on different kinds of exhibits produced nationwide especially for the occasion (Albert 2015: 113–115). Universality remained the leitmotif for major fairs, where the latest and greatest was put on display – items from everyday material culture, important technical inventions and outstanding industrial achievements, bringing international exhibitors together. As civilization "progressed", the need arose for specialized exhibitions focusing on a particular type of trade, product or invention, maintaining an international character with the attendance of non-national exhibitors. The first *International Art Exhibition* in Venice in 1895, for example, which became today's Venice Biennale, was in fact an international exhibition specializing in the fine arts, while *Die Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung* in Dresden in 1911 attracted international exhibitors of a new kind, who specialized in modern casual life.

NATION-BUILDING STRATEGIES IN THE EUROPE OF THE EMPIRES 1890–1920

In the region of Central Europe, universal and international exhibitions shared many features with their western precedents. At the same time, however, they adopted independent agendas, related to the specific political circumstances in which they were organized. The case of Hungary, as the Eastern half of the Dual Monarchy, and therefore covering a large part of what authors define today as Central Europe, provides an especially pertinent example of such an autonomous transformation of the exhibition medium, which was used to proclaim sovereignty, modernity and national identity. In contrast to the *csárda*–like Hungarian pavilions (resembling a tavern), which emphasized the idyllic *puszta*–image of the country at international exhibitions in the 1860s and 1870s, Hungarian self–definition radically changed after the Millennium festivities of 1896 (Albert 2015: 116–122). The new image considered vernacular arts and architecture as a source of the new culture of modernized Hungary (Keserü 2005: 17–24, Moravánszky 1998, Rampley 2000). For many artists, architects and passionate amateurs, peasant traditions preserved national roots and fragmented memories from the pre-conquest period. As a collection of remnants of the mythical past, peasant culture was interpreted as the basis of reinvented national myths and legends, and, more importantly from a political point of view, drove attempts to revive a national vernacular in art and architecture. (Hobsbawn 1983: 263–307, Anderson 1983) The Hungarian Millennium was an event of great national enthusiasm. Intellectuals, politicians, priests, noblemen and sometimes simple citizens promoted their ideas on how to commemorate this event. Even though organizational issues played a crucial role, the date of the conquest could not be determined, not even approximately. (Sinkó 1993: 132–136; Vadas 1996: 23–30). The use of art and architecture for national representation became a major element of official cultural politics after the Millennium exhibition in 1896, and during the subsequent two decades, in every part of the Dual Monarchy.

Hungarian exhibitors first took part in universal exhibitions as early as 1851 in London, although the history of Hungarian pavilions, like that of all the other participating nations, did not begin until 1867 in Paris. Before the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris, the Hungarian architectural presence focused on small scale pavilions for food and wine, which generally showcased the wood industry and were ethnographic in character – in 1867, 1873 and 1889, imitations of *csárda* buildings has offered visitors different experiences: a Hungarian restaurant in Paris in 1867, a wine restaurant in Vienna in 1873, and a proper *csárda* function in Paris in 1889 (Houze 2012: 131–141). As part of a new and nationalistic paradigm of national representation, national pavilions reflected the image of cultural sovereignty for both Hungary and Croatia. Still, there was no hint of an idea of political independence, and national life was envisioned within the Habsburg

Monarchy. The political concept of being Hungarian or Croatian and sovereign did not exclude accepting the results of the political compromise of 1867. Cultural self–image differed from political will and reality. The importance of Hungary's presence in exhibition halls and pavilion grounds abroad, physically separated from Austria, was visually emphasized after the Millennium Exhibition.

In the course of the nineteenth century, small trade fairs and industrial exhibitions around Europe increasingly opened up to international exhibitors and audiences. In general, universal exhibitions were addressed to international audiences. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, a number of attempts were made in Hungary to organize an international exhibition. The Millennium Exhibition was a proud affirmation both of Hungary's present and its past. The contemporary aspect of the Millennium Exhibition was contained in the representation of the latest economic and cultural achievements of Hungary in the Main Contemporary Group, which included industrial, ethnographic and art sections. The retrospective part of the Main Historical Group, housed in a romantic pavilion composed of replicas of twenty-two different historic buildings, focused on historical development and culture going back to the coronation of King St. Stephen of Hungary in 1000 AD (Albert 2015: 118–119).

As Damjanović argues in his paper, political relations and especially national political independence greatly influenced the setting, the statistical references and the display of exhibition constructions. Croatian pavilions were erected at exhibitions those organized on the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the most important being the Millennium Exhibition in Budapest in 1896, where Croatia was represented with four large pavilions (Damjanović 2010: 237–241). Participation in the exhibition reflected the political situation of the time, for Croatia was part of Hungary, and was thus obliged to be involved in the exhibition to demonstrate the political connection between the two countries.

Following the research of Cornaglia, if themes such as industry or agriculture were really "national" and therefore demanded pavilions with visible wooden or wooden-like structures, the less "serious" theme of eating and drinking could be represented by livelier and more lavish types of architecture, whose roots were intended to be seen in internationally acknowledged architectural approaches. This could result either in Baroque eclecticism – as in the case of the French Restaurant designed by the architects Kármán & Ullmann for the Hungarian Millennium celebration held in Budapest in 1896 – or in the flourishing Art Nouveau style – for example, the Hungarian Bakery Pavilion of József Fischer at the Exposition Universelle of 1900. In the case of the French Restaurant, there is a clear neo-Baroque reference, a world away from the Wagnerschule, standing out among an architectural landscape filled mostly with pavilions bearing visible wooden or wooden-like structures, referring to the national theme of woods,

forests and the wood industry. Other pavilions with neo-Baroque forms, designed by the Braun brothers and by J. E. Hubert, housed Croatian wines and Hungarian sparkling wine companies.

The commemoration of Hungary's Millennium was not, however, limited to domestic displays in Budapest, but extended to exhibitions abroad. Hungary officially joined the 1900 *exposition universelle* in Paris as a participant and invested more financial, economic and intellectual effort into its national presentation than ever before. The Hungarian pavilion on the Rue des Nations was the first to be decorated using vernacular motifs on an ephemeral construction, opening the way for the use of such motifs and premodern tendencies in Hungarian pavilions during later decades. The paper investigates the changed and unchanged aspects of the two national representations and the change of message from the domestic to the international audience. The universal exhibition of 1900 offered a radically different concept of nation-building strategies, with rising interest in the making of modern Slavic art and architecture and the emergence of neo-Byzantine architecture, both of which took on increasing significance in the interwar period.

Hungarian representations did not change fundamentally from 1896 to 1900, unlike their target from a domestic to an international audience: the Millennium Exhibition was a proclamation of Hungary's historicity as well as modernity (Unowsky, 2004). Four years later, beside the economic and cultural sovereignty exhibited in the galleries of the Hungarian historical pavilion in the Rue des Nations, Hungary's and Croatia's officially appropriated historical narrative was emphasized through a mixture of historic and vernacular architectural elements. At the turn of the century, Hungarian folk traditions were officially propagated in features of modern national art and architecture. This was an important factor in pavilion architecture and decorative art objects. This was not only political, but also had an important economic aspect: tastefully formed products reflecting the modern national style greatly enhanced a country's reputation and also improved market success. It was for this reason that organizers of some participating countries, Hungary included, wished to influence the modernization of their country's architecture and art through an interpretation of folk traditions. Hungarian pavilions erected between 1900 and 1911 proposed different solutions for national architecture: the installations of the 1900 Paris Exposition reflected the concept of Ödön Lechner (1845-1914), whose brand of "national" architecture followed the famous *Bekleidungstheorie* – the use of folk patterns and motifs on facades – propounded by the German architect and theoretician Gottfried Semper (1803–1879). The Hungarian exhibition installations in 1900 were designed by Zoltán Bálint and Lajos Jámbor, architects who followed in Lechner's footsteps: their aim was to highlight Hungary's economic and cultural sovereignty, while the pavilion on the *Rue des Nations* focused on its own historical narrative.

Minea underlines in his paper that Universal Exhibitions offered the newly independent Balkan states – Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania – an excellent opportunity to represent their diverse approaches in nation building process (Popescu 2006: 286–290). Western influence was still obviously present in the creation of a national architecture, the pavilions of the new independent Balkan countries were mostly built by French architects. The early-twentieth-century Balkans witnessed both the emancipation of several nation states and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. This was the end of a long historical process, which relied heavily not only on political and diplomatic means, but also on cultural imagination. The elites of these rapidly developing political entities (Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania) sought to create a national imagery that would be instrumental in legitimizing nation- and state-building, expansionism and various other political issues.

As Ignjatović argues in his paper a decade later the question of historicity remained a fundamental part of this process – to paraphrase the author, the nation's distinctive identity that reflected both its historical grandeur and its future prospects. At the 1900 Paris Exposition the national pavilions of Balkan countries – Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania – expressed their competition and as such they were all employing styles related to Byzantine architecture (see also Popescu 2004). The variety of Byzantine architectural appropriations and their modern "nationalized" versions reflect the various national discourses in the Balkans. The diverse approaches of forming a common modern identity in the ethnically and religiously mixed Balkan region were all based on being modern successors to an ancient imperial power.

Ágnes Sebestyén demonstrates another kind of modern imperialist tendency in the Balkans calling attention to cross-cultural references and the complex layers of identity in the Multi-ethnic and multi-religious Balkan region. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina modern identity building process was articulated around *Slavonic* and *Muslim*, "Western" and "Oriental". The author argues that the location and interdependence of the pavilions of Austria-Hungary at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1900 reflected the political and economic efforts of the Dual Monarchy. This was intended to justifying the annexation of the province and this process was culminated in the design of the pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the 1900 Paris Exposition. To paraphrase the author, the commissioner-general, the Swiss Henri Moser conceived the pavilion as an image of the peaceful encounter of two cultures and two civilizations: Slavonic and Muslim, "Western" and "Oriental" as it is reflected in the "Bosnian-imagination" architecture and decoration of the pavilion decorated by the Czech painter, Alphonse Mucha. The whole iconographical program sustained clear imperialistic political aims of Austria-Hungary, it demonstrated that all the cultural efforts of the Austrian administration had aimed at connecting Bosnia and Herzegovina to the "Western" world, while preserving

its oriental characteristics (Çelik 1992: 88–93). The pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina, similarly to the common use of oriental and western influences, remained in the core of the Ottoman Pavilions in turn-of-the-century pavilions at European universal expositions.

Contrary to the political situation of South-Eastern Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, North-Eastern European nations faced different challenges and – like Latvia and Poland, incorporated into Russia and Germany – adopted different strategies of exhibition architecture and display. The Galician General Provincial Exhibition, held in 1894 in Lviv (Lemberg) – the capital city of Galicia, one of the crown lands of Austria-Hungary – was a major shoe. As the author Drohobycka-Grzesiak demonstrates, the show reflected competing nation building strategies between ethnic groups without central political administration, analyzed in details by Markian Prokopovych (2008: 242–274). Galicia was a multinational and multicultural region, the western part being ethnically Polish, while the eastern part was mostly Ukrainian. Although the Galician General Provincial Exhibition was originally intended to reflect the aspirations of the province as a whole, it instead shone a light on the unequal position of Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia at that time. The organizing Polish patriotic circles considered the exhibition as a platform for propaganda activities, which addressed the Polish audience of the region: the event was organized on the 100th anniversary of the most important Polish independence movement – the Kościuszko Uprising. The ephemeral pavilions reflected the debates on Polish modern national architecture, like in the case of Mucha's decoration for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian pavilion in Paris in 1900 their iconographic programs were based on national – in this case – Polish history and culture while the Ukrainian participation was restricted to ethnographic character.

A similar tendency can be traced in another culturally, religiously and linguistically heterogenic Eastern and Northern territory of Austria-Hungary. In 1896, the 10th All-Russian Congress of Archaeology took place in Riga – this exhibition forms the focus of the investigations of Silvija Grosa. As the author points out, following the rationale of Çelik and Kinney exhibitions often fostered ethnographic and archeological researches in the host country (Çelik, Kinney 1990, see also Albert 2015: 121). The Riga Latvian Society organized an exhibition based on more than 6000 ethnographic items collected from different regions of Latvia by expeditions specially organized for this event, they were displayed in a wooden pavilion was built for the exhibition. In June 1901 the 700th Jubilee Exhibition of Industry and Crafts was opened in Riga. As Grosa argues, the significance of the exhibition lay not so much in the discovery of Art Nouveau as in the growth of self-confidence in both Riga and the wider region, which also promoted an appreciation of historical traditions.

MEDIATIZED MODERNISM AND PROPAGANDA 1920–1970

The definition of Central Europe changed after the First World War as a result of political realignment. The region of Central Europe (including, in discourses of the post-WWII situation, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia and, to a certain extent, Serbia) is, as mentioned earlier, a fluid geopolitical concept and a politically unstable territory with constantly shifting borders, but two additional factors must be borne in mind. Firstly, it consists of a group of countries where western civilization and western values have long been incorporated in exhibition organization and displays; and secondly, the modern canons that appeared in architecture and display in the post-WWII socio-political context served as objectified references in intellectual discourse. Additionally the implementation of modernity since the 1960s has relied upon markedly different strategies in Central European exhibition architecture.

The creation of new nation states in Central Europe after the First World War fundamentally changed the political circumstances. New national policies promoted new national identities based on the enigma of modernism in society, state administration, economics and culture. The modernism-based national cultural policies led to a boom in national museums and art galleries, especially in new capital cities of regional and/or national importance. The Čiurlionis National Art Museum (later Vytautas the Great Museum of Culture) in Lithuania's postwar capital, Kaunas, for example, and the first modern art museum in the region, the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź in Poland, soon become promoters of modernist cultural tendencies, although very different in their target audience and objectives. As in post-revolutionary Paris at the beginning of the long nineteenth century, newly created art museums in the post-WWI period played a crucial role as the foremost representational tools of the new national narratives. The foundation of national museums and art galleries in capitals from Kaunas to Ljubljana, the reorganization of regional museums (Landesmuseen), or the transformation of regional collections into national ones was all carried out to serve the representational needs of new national politics. The foundation of museums based on patriotic, civic, or middle-class initiatives is an important characteristic in the region: nations living under Russian, Prussian or Austrian rule, deprived of national self-determination until the end of the First World War, with dominant Russian- or German-speaking intelligentsia in the national lands in the nineteenth century, followed Western nation-building strategies and faced strikingly similar problems (Gellner 1983; Smith 1999). The internationalization of art and modern art museums from the beginning of the 1920s coincided with the formation of the nation states in Central Europe, and thus with a desire to create national cultural and artistic canons. As a result of the shifting status of objects – during the process of musealization – from a non-specified to a specific meaning, museum objects "leave the functional everyday environment of use and are placed in a special environment where

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they serve an entirely different purpose." This was nothing new, as ever since the reorganization of the Louvre in the 1780s, collections and individual artworks had been subject to political appropriation in modern museums. This went against the crucial international character of modernism. Modernist architecture surpassed the nineteenth century classification of classical forms and national tendencies in architecture; it reflected formal artistic problems and philosophical issues, and was based on shared experience. Similarly to the theoretical shift in musealization, the display and settings of ephemeral interwar pavilions also changed significantly.

The interwar period gave rise to national modernist architecture, which, in combination with the emerging role and rapidly developing technology of media and photography, fundamentally changed perceptions of architecture. As Ágnes Anna Sebestyén refers to the statement of Kester Rattenbury, media representations of buildings have to be distinguished from the originals that they are based upon (Rattenbury 2002, xxii). The author highlights the representations of modernist ephemeral exhibition architecture and interiors and analyzes their own narratives and their own meanings. As a precursor to Mitchell's statement on the transformation of visual culture in the light of digital culture (Mitchell 2005), newly emerging architectural photography during the interwar period became the most powerful medium influencing architectural discourse both in the national style politics and in the more cosmopolitan international forum. Ágnes Anna Sebestyén explores that the status of architectural renderings and photographs as source materials in scholarly discussions is evident, but it is necessary to accentuate, to paraphrase the author, that not only the architectural structures must be analyzed, but also the way they were constructed by means of architectural representation. Sebestyén analyzes how ephemeral pavilions became "media constructions", and then developed into "permanent structures" by means of different media.

Ephemeral constructions influenced the rapidly changing character of modern cities after the First World War. Projects for small-scale catering and transport pavilions were designed to be integrated into the Vienna and Budapest cityscapes of the 1920s. The unrealized architectural plans by Bertalan Árkay are treated as high-quality examples of ephemeral architecture in the metropolitan public space in the essay of Tamás Csáki. This essay opens the investigation on the way how modernist architects in Central and Eastern Europe intended to use "new" materials, such as reinforced concrete and glass.

The strong link between modernism and national identity cannot be considered as a Central European peculiarity. The par excellence multiethnic state in the West, Switzerland, has experienced a similar identity transformation. Swiss reaction to the First World War saw the development of a potentially destructive divide in Switzerland between the francophone and germanophone communities and the development of two opposing interpretations of Swiss exceptionalism. To para-

phrase the author Caoimhe Gallagher, Swiss historical myths have been instrumental in the creation of a coherent Swiss national narrative, chief among which has been a particular image of homogenous Swiss national unity. Le Corbusier's rejection of Swiss identity during this period was typical of many francophone Swiss intellectuals, who rejected what was viewed as a germanophone narrative. In the author's rationale the 1939 exhibition in Zurich, in particular, embodied the Swiss nationalist policy of *Geistige Landesverteidigung* (Spiritual Defense). Gallagher argues that public support for Le Corbusier, expressed among the francophone community during the period, suggests an intriguing counter-narrative existed, which contradicted the image of national unity put forward by the germanophone organizers of the exhibition of 1939 in Zürich. The identity-building process of the newly emerging nation states of Central Europe in the interwar period and the multi-ethnic, Western European Switzerland incorporated the primordially international discourse of modernism in similar ways.

New mass media technologies appeared in parallel with the formation of new nation states after the First World War. The politics representing Czech and Czechoslovak identity at fairs and expos between 1891 and 1958 demonstrates this shift in the representational paradigm, as Marta Filipová argues. Exhibition pavilions built to represent the Czech or Czechoslovak nation reflected the changing links between pavilion architecture and the constantly changing contemporary ideologies – the non-representational period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the republican period and then the communist period were all linked to the idea of architectural modernism as a characteristic of "Czechness" across the decades and political systems. Filipová demonstrates the various intentional, yet ephemeral, ideological systems in the design of ephemeral exhibition buildings of the Czech and Czechoslovak identity-building process at the exhibitions of 1928 and 1958. The paradigmatical shifts presented in her paper were symptomatic for the countries of Central Eastern Europe in the 1920 to 1960s. The Jubilee Exhibition of 1891 which, as a showcase for Czech nationalism, was organized in the frame of the multiethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire. Although the show fundamentally differed from the politically independent attitude of the Hungarian Millennium Celebrations, the Czech Village of the exhibition, similarly to the Polish or Hungarian exhibitions of the 1890s became a particularly important attraction, aimed at invoking a sense of historicity of the Czech nation, embedded in folk culture and tradition. As the author demonstrates the role of folk art has significantly lost its significance in the region. The importance of original forms of their national – Czech, Polish or Hungarian – cultures, was replaced by a more international and modernist orientation on the political and art scenes.

Like Hungary in the period before the First World War, Czechoslovakia's cultural policy and its ephemeral constructions were typical examples for most of the new nation states. The republican period of Czechoslovak identity-building was

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expressed for the first time in the full complexity of different approaches in the architectural concepts of the Czechoslovak temporary exhibition installations at La Triennale di Milano, the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts, beginning in 1923. The aim of Petra Novakova's paper is to shed light on the complexity of different approaches towards the architectural concepts of Czechoslovak temporary exhibition installations at La Triennale from 1923 until 1968. As the author argues, all eight of the national presentations of this period were considered both as an efficient way of artistic confrontation and as an important representation of the state through political propaganda both for international visitors on the spot than for the domestic audience via the means of "media constructions".

Apart from being "media constructions" the physical structure of pavilions was used as a means of propaganda for promoting the communist ideology, developing the building industry, proclaiming technological modernity and advancing the communist economy. As Péter Haba argues in his paper, in Hungary the spectacular display of technological developments was of utmost significance in the post-revolutionary, early Kádár era, since after the events of 1956, the new government strove not only to de-Stalinize the political sphere and to restructure the economy but also to win over the population by propagating modernization. Efforts were redoubled to develop the Hungarian aluminum industry, deemed important in households and also in the renewal of the building industry. Demonstrating industrial capacities through the use of new materials and the development of exhibition industry was a common characteristic of socialist economies in the region. As Mirna Meštrović and Aleksander Laslo demonstrate in their paper, Zagreb, the Croatian capital, became the flagship venue for international exhibitions in former Yugoslavia. The authors point out the commercial value of modernist pavilions: in the 1950s-1960s many new pavilions were built, while others changed owners or users. The original Hungarian pavilion of 1956, constructed with a light and dismountable metal structure, was moved not far away to make room for a new pavilion for West Germany, and later again, to a more distant point, while Hungary shared a new pavilion with Spain. To paraphrase the authors' main statement, the Zagreb Trade Fair became an unrivaled arena for the most direct head-to-head competition between the radically opposed Western and Eastern worlds. This coincides with Haba's arguments on national propaganda via the use new materials and exhibition organization. The Hungarian aluminum industry and the export of this new "national" material was seen as a means of raising the profile of the Hungarian economy in the West. By doing so the designers of the pavilions reflected on a novel international tendency in the 1950s and 1960s, on the utilization of "three-dimensional metal structures" in architecture both in Budapest and Zagreb, capitals struggling for leading position in socialist exhibition industry. Simultaneously to the repositioning of the pavilions in Zagreb, Yugoslavia's international reputation built up continuously. Lara Slivnik analyzes the Yugoslav pavilions built for world exhibitions: among the ones in Barcelona

(1929), Paris (1937), Brussels (1958), and Montreal (1967) the latter is in the focus of her investigations. The author underlines that the Yugoslav pavilion at Expo 67 was an interaction between competition entries and national representation in a troubled multi-ethnic country, the afterlife of the pavilion was a sign of international rapprochement: it was reconstructed in the West, as the Seamen's Museum in Grand Bank, Newfoundland, Canada.

Modernity, incorporated into the identity-building strategies of post-WWI nation states, is reflected also in the contemporary discourse on memory. Roula Matar-Perret's analyze of the works by the Croatian artist David Maljkovic investigate the artist's singular territories which are the history of modernist concepts. Two of Maljkovic videos – *These Days* (2005) and *Lost Memories From These Days* (2006) – unfold the Italian pavilion conceived by Giuseppe Sambito for the Zagreb Fair in 1961. In Maljkovic's films, Sambito's building does not appear as a simple set, but impregnates the attitudes and the action, giving a primordial sense to the whole work. Maljkovic's attempt at reanimating the memory of this economic and cultural icon is interesting for pointing out a manifestation of a singular afterlife of the pavilion within the tendency of patrimonialization and rehabilitation of ephemeral architecture in the 1980s.

The afterlife of pavilions, in the shape of post-WWII modernism, can be traced not only in their reuse as museums or exhibition spaces. The Hungarian pavilion in Venice's Giardini, one of the first buildings erected for the Venice Biennale, inaugurated in 1909. In her long survey, the author Cristiana Volpi demonstrates the political and architectural tendencies influencing the continuous transformation of Géza Maróti's pavilion-like permanent exhibition structure. The Hungarian Pavilion shows clear references to medieval and vernacular *Magyar* architecture and to the national artistic tradition of rich and colorful ornamentation (Sisa 2015: 23–28). As in the international expositions held in Milan three years before (1906), and in Turin two years later (1911), Hungary attempted to affirm its specific cultural identity through the architecture and the decorative arts, noticeably in opposition to the Austrian national one. Although conceived as a permanent exhibition structure, its primary architectural context was the Hungarian pavilions of Milan and Turin. The ideological and political choices that modified its structure during one century reflect a similar modernist approach to the problem of exhibition phenomena as in the preceding Yugoslav and Croatian cases. These modifications significantly contributed to the consideration of the building as ephemeral in spite of its originally permanent structure.

After a long and sparsely documented history from ancient times to the eighteenth century, ephemeral buildings appeared with new characteristics in nineteenth-century architecture. Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *ephemeral buildings* frequently offered the latest architectural solutions

for contemporary ideas, ideologies and trends. They were usually intended by architects to function as an autonomous experimental genre, providing new possibilities in terms of concept, planning, setting and display. They were also a powerful means for nation-building, they offered mass entertainment as a new phenomenon, and they provided a "magic frame" for the latest achievements of civilization in the nineteenth century. Later they were often appropriated and utilized by dictatorial regimes for their own needs, as demonstrations of power or as flagships of modernism.

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Anna Korndorf, Ekaterina Vyazova

Transparent Utopia: Nineteenth-century Glass Exhibition Pavilion Architecture as Mythological Project

According to conventional belief, the history of glass architecture began with purely utilitarian palace greenhouses and orangeries that grew, exclusively thanks to nineteenth century technological advances, into gigantic pavilions of world fairs and glass-vaulted arcades. Their dimensions, or rather the incongruity between their fragile transparent material and mammoth size, made it possible to elevate glass architecture to the category of a 'mythological project' conveying the aspirations of the human spirit and the ideas of Progress. Our article aims to show that, in fact, it was the other way round. The huge glass exhibition pavilions were not the starting point of glass architecture mythology *per se*, but rather the culmination of its age-old evolution. By the early nineteenth century, when progress in construction technologies and cast iron production in Europe had enabled a breakthrough in glass architecture, it already had a two-century long mythological tradition.

In our report we intend to give an overview of the history of glass architecture as a mythological project and will therefore dwell not so much on the aspects of architecture studies as on the ideological reasons behind the way contemporaries perceived glass architecture and the evolution of its mythology. It is important to point out that the idea of glass architecture associated with the mythology of the material itself largely predated the appearance of widespread gigantic winter gardens, glass domes, exhibition palaces and glass-vaulted arcades. Hence it is impossible to understand the underpinnings of the mythological program of nineteenth-century glass architecture and its implementation without giving thought to the symbolical potential glass architecture had had even before its appearance. Indeed, starting with the baroque period the idea of ethereal, immaterial glass architecture was scrupulously developed within the context of visions of a crystal Heavenly City, the allegorical solar program of European absolutism and, finally, social utopias. Thus, even before the arrival of technologies that made it possible to produce buildings of glass, there had appeared a certain architectural iconography of glass imitating and simulating structures that did not even need the prevalence of glass elements in architecture.

These two parallel tendencies – the myth of glass as a special material and glass imitation tradition in architecture – merged with the appearance of new construction technologies, initially enriching each other with meanings and acquiring

additional connotations. However, when it became possible to use large glass surfaces rather than imitate glass, intricately nuanced iconography of imitation glass as a symbolic form was no longer necessary. Many mythological meanings were gradually "squeezed out" while others, associated with the scale of structure and more oriented to the symbolism of glass as material, came to the fore.

The idea of glass architecture is traced back to the integral Christian concept of an ideal world order expected by mankind to come at the end of its history – the promised Ideal City of glass and precious metal. The vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem described in the Revelation of St. John the Divine produced a large vocabulary of rhetorical images. The numerous narratives of glass, crystal and precious architectural structures initially appeared in a purely religious context and, for all their diverse forms and stories, had the common aim of making the viewers sensually aware of the outer celestial image envisioned as the kingdom of supernaturally transparent hovering forms. As the idea of visionary celestial architecture was based on the idea of God being light, the phenomenology of transparent glass and light reflecting crystal proved appropriate in descriptions of the metaphysical nature of the celestial palace, which dematerialised its own structure and thus came close to the purely spiritual essence.

As a cornerstone symbol of European culture, Heavenly City architecture set practicing architects and their clients such a powerful iconographic and ethical canon that its impact is felt throughout the history of glass architecture up to the twentieth century.

First, this ideal speculative "crystal architecture" appeared in popular sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writings describing magic lands with grandiose architectural structures loaded with symbols. As a result of this experience of a literary interpretation of the crystal myth, together with the emergence of dozens of engravings illustrating the glass structures and park ornaments, glass architecture was perceived as a realized mythological project even at the dawn of its existence. The fact that it was still impossible to translate the poetical city into reality in the absence of technological and engineering means little bothered the most august clients and their builders. Mythology was summoned to help technology.

The task of putting the ideal heavenly city on solid ground at the palace estates of European sovereigns striving after political clout had become topical by the seventeenth century. The decisive factor was the extraordinary actualization of the solar myth, which was felt already in post-Renaissance Neoplatonism and mysticism and became finally coalesced by the early seventeenth century. The early attempts to mix together the images of the Heavenly City and the palace of the Sun in conformity with the preceding literary tradition were made in odes. Soon, however, what was possible only metaphysically began to appear also within reach

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of physical implementation. The most august clients wished to embody the image of the heavenly city in their residences. In their eyes the symbolical potential of the "crystal palace" must have compensated for the inevitable structural defects of its realization.

The architects faced the task of transforming the precious glass vision into an earthly structure that programmatically retained its symbolical meaning. This technologically impossible mission was fulfilled in a paradoxically baroque way. Despite the fact that it was the material nature of glass that imparted a mythological vector to architecture, ensuring by its physical qualities the very possibility of assigning mythological status to glass structures, the role of glass in the allegorical heavenly mansions of the seventeenth-century palace ensembles proved rather modest. Reproducing "spiritual architecture" in stone, the builders of the garden palaces of the Sun resorted to the same compromise material which was common in decorative design, with its plasterwork substituting for marble, painting for stucco moulding, trompes l'oeil for real perspective, and mirrors, brocade and bronze for golden and crystal structures.

The experience gained in building utilitarian orangeries and their association with the Hesperides Gardens traditional for European garden culture was of paramount importance to the development of the architectural program of the solar palace. This magic garden at the end of the Universe had a tree of golden apples and a luxurious golden palace of the Sun, to which it retired after its day's journey. The word "orangery" derived from the French "orange" spread throughout Europe in the seventeenth century only because the early winter gardens were meant to grow citrus trees rather than palms or flowers.

The earliest known architectural metaphor for the Hesperides Gardens intended to make the presence of the heavenly crystal palace known was the famous orangery of the *Garden of the Palatinate (Hortus Palatinus*) built in Heidelberg by the architect Solomon de Caus in 1614–1619 and followed later by the "solar" chambers and orangeries of the *Palazzo Barberini* in Rome and the *Palace of Versailles*.

Thus, throughout the seventeenth century it was a matter of a certain set of materials imitating glass rather than the symbolism of the architectural form of a heavenly palace. However, as early as the following century a consistently recognizable iconographical canon of solar architecture was already there. Its circular form calls to mind the principles of organizing the Temple of the Sun in keeping with the classical model formulated by Leon Battista Alberti, and also the models of ideal cities that were widespread during the Renaissance period. A representation of such a rotunda palace is found in the scenery made by Ferdinando Tacca for the production in Florence of *L'Hipermestra*, an opera by Giovanni Monigla, in 1658. *(Fig. 1)* In that project Tacca evolved and presented to the viewer a comprehensive

Fig. 1. Fernando Tacca. The Sun Palace. Stage Design for Hypermnestra. 1658

iconographical model of the ideal heavenly palace. His circular light-pervaded precious palace of the Sun became a point of departure for future solar inventions of the architects and decorators of all European palaces. From that moment on any stage or park palace of the Sun, be it only a dome supported by columns or a full-fledged heated garden pavilion, was a separate gazebo or a central rotunda with two semi-circular orangery wings.

Such are the *Orangery Palace* of Landgrave Charles of Hessen-Kassel in his summer residence of *Karlsaue* (1701) and the orangery palaces of *Charlottenburg* (1709–1712) and *Schwetzingen* (1718). However, perhaps the most grandiose monuments of baroque orangery palace architecture are *Zwinger*, conceived by Augustus the Strong in 1709 as an orangery for citrus plants, and the *Bayreuth Palace of the Sun*, both built of materials programmatically imitating gems and glass. *(Fig. 2)*

A multitude of these and similar park palaces and temples of the Sun of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, forming a single ensemble with the park orangeries, were quintessentially glass architecture even before it saw the light of day. Born of the solar myth, the representative baroque park structures owed their popularity exclusively to the allegorical task they addressed because until the mid-eighteenth century no garden orangery was economically rational from the utilitarian point of view. Expensive glass, heating and the purchase and maintenance of citrus, bay,

Fig. 2. Joseph Saint-Pierre and Carl von Gontard. The Sun Temple and Orangery in the Hermitage Schloss in Bayreuth. 1749-1753

pomegranate and oleander trees by far exceeded the fruits of the gardeners' efforts. Nevertheless, it was during that period that orangeries flourished purely due to the symbolical rather than utilitarian function of their handmade gardens.

The situation began to change in the late eighteenth century, when baroque solar emblems lost their political topicality, and the rotunda orangery palaces imitating gems and crystal of the heavenly city simultaneously saw their former charm fade away. Meanwhile, the formal scheme of central circular in plan, with or without side galleries, which had become firmly established, continued to be used actively

in orangery architecture, even though the Apollonian pattern of imagery and associations came to naught altogether by the end of the century. It should be admitted though that the very need for symbolical imitation glass had disappeared by that time. Improved glassmaking technology and pig iron and iron structures introduced in construction practice extended the possibilities of glass architecture with every passing day, enabling the builders of palaces and ceremonial orangeries to practically fully glass in the facades and even produce the earliest glass roof constructions that made it easier for sunbeams to penetrate the premises.

Anyhow, by the late eighteenth century the sun palaces had gradually given way to the theme of the orangery as Arcadia, or lost Eden, fortified by the Enlightenment ideas of "natural life" and harmony with nature. Although representative glass architecture retained its heaven-inspired mythological vector and paradise connotations, the latter underwent a signal symbolical perversion. The hoped for crystal Heavenly City of the future was replaced with the image of the lost Garden of Eden reminding of the primordial happiness of man innocent and in harmony with nature. A characteristic sign of that process was the shift in the range of orangery plants from traditional citrus trees to palms and flowers associated with paradise and also the indispensable introduction of water bodies and murmuring streams as typical of the picturesque Arcadia.

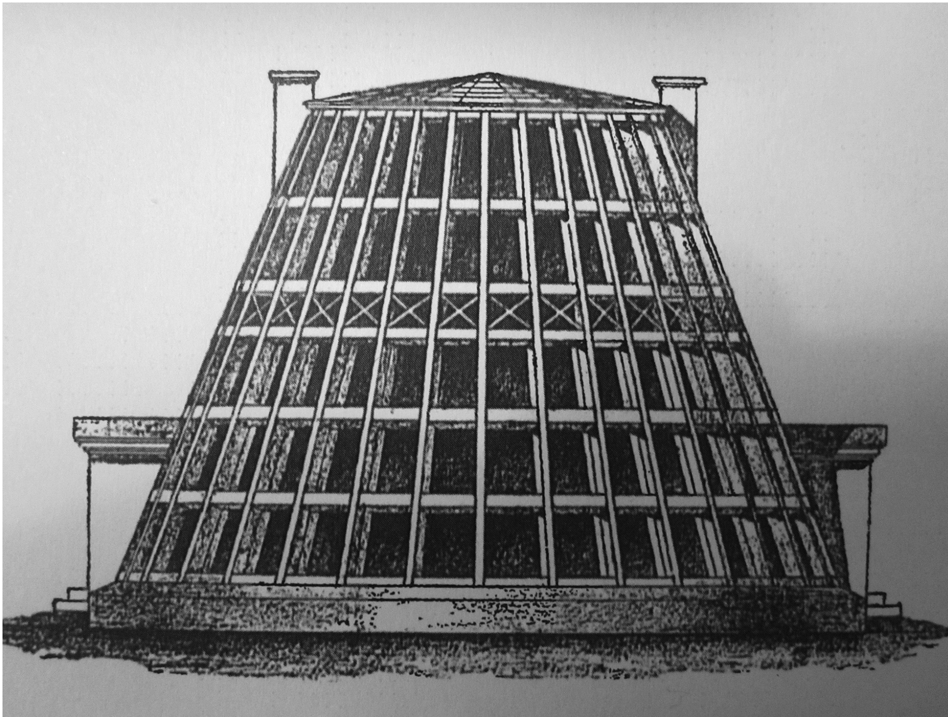

Fig. 3. Karl Friedrich Schinkel. The Berlin Botanical Gardens Design. 1821

It is noteworthy that for the time being a new form would be sought within the traditional categories of the solar palace. For instance, the *Berlin Botanical Gardens* design conceived by the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel in 1821 as a huge truncated cone with fully glassed in facets *(Fig. 3)* had for its prototype the Sun stage sets made by him five years earlier for the last act of Mozart's Masonic opera *The Magic Flute*.

By the late eighteenth century the link between constructions and society that had funded them began to be seen differently, which in turn raised the question of the relationship between architecture and technology, architecture and construction.

Alongside traditional commissions for private palaces there multiplied public construction projects, including hospitals, manufactories, theatres, public gardens and glass-vaulted arcades. The novelty was not so much in the nature of the commissions as in increasingly more specific and functional explanations attached. As architectural theory was at that time far ahead and aspired not only to be up to the mark but to determine public needs, in order to meet them late eighteenth-century architecture developed a true "political dimension". That was manifest not only in the obviously bigger role of social and political architectural utopia with its dominant glass mythology (Fourier, Northmore and Scott), but also in the desire to create "useful" progressive architecture drawing on both tradition and modern engineering opportunities.

Late eighteenth-century "useful" architecture took into account the evolution of mores and the political situation of the period and also produced clever plans for private mansions, exemplary prisons and salt-works, theatres and monuments celebrating civic virtues. In the context of culture that had discovered the importance of technology and set out to describe its mechanisms and accomplishments to be useful also meant to have new relations with the art of architecture and to heed the needs of construction to a greater extent, putting the age-old symbolism of materials to the service of new ideas.

Nurtured by the eschatological Christian tradition, representative glass architecture of the sun palaces imparted a temporal dimension to glass structures localized in concrete geographical space. Aiming at the bright future or the ideal heavenly past, ceremonial glass architecture of the Baroque and the Enlightenment invariably served as the earthly prefiguration of the transcendental world of wealth. By acquiring a distinct nature of geographical fiction, in one way or another it always offered a variation on the theme of the ideal city in which glass, be it real or designated symbolically, was the building material of the ideal with its back projection of one historical epoch onto another. It was precisely these decisive generic features that the architecture of the famous *Crystal Palace* of Joseph Paxton, the *Galerie des machines* of the Exposition Universelle of Paris and other exhibition pavilions of the nineteenth century had inherited from their glass orangery predecessors. Built

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to present man's industrial achievements, progressive ideas, machines and products of the future, they always neutralized as best as possible the building's geographical orientation and emphasized the temporal and axiological vector of beneficial glass architecture. It was not by chance that the *Crystal Palace*, conceived by its architects as the temple of the future unity of mankind, exhibited alongside future technologies ethnographic materials and models of historical architecture. The utopian urban development projects envisioned by nineteenth-century romantics and socialists as the ideal cities of the future were based on the same aspects of glass architecture.

Nineteenth-century glass architecture mythology developed along the lines of turning to advantage the symbolism of the material itself, the traditionally enchanting qualities of which – fragility, translucence and airiness – can now be stressed and exploited with the help of new building technologies, including metal structures and the modular cell production system. In the past mythology helped technology; now technology and engineering gave substance to mythology, as if "materialising" the traditional symbolism of the material itself.

Although structures built with the help of innovative glassed-in frame technology differed from the mythological palaces of solid glass or cut crystal, the new image of giant translucent, open and pellucid space was as close to its symbolical prototypes as never before. This theme of technical progress materialising the age-old symbolism of glass became a subject of artistic reflection as soon as the new frame structures enabling huge glassed-in surfaces had been introduced in the architectural practice (The mythology of glass in modern age was researched and described in details in: Iampolski 2012: 127–200).

Romanticism offered the earliest experience in interpreting the new images of glass architecture within the integral system of the philosophy of art. It won't be an exaggeration to say that the mythology of nineteenth-century glass architecture evolved under the impact of Romanticist aesthetics.

The boom in new greenhouse design of the 1830s-1840s coincided with the appearance of Romanticist literary utopias with their variations on the theme of fantastic glass cities. These included the famous novel *Henry von Ofterdingen* by the German Romanticist Novalis, which indisputably influenced the pan-European Romanticist mythology of the "transparent", and the lesser known unfinished novel *4338* by the Russian writer Vladimir Odoevsky, which had a strong impact on the glass utopia variety in Russian culture. These novels comprise a virtually complete set of the key motifs of the mythology of transparent glass architecture in the aesthetics and natural philosophy of Romanticism, which would later on prove essential to the architectural iconography and enlightenment programs of World Fairs. Inherited from the preceding eras, the symbolism of glass as the building material for the ideal city correlated with such categories of Romanticist aesthetics as "pellucidity"

and "transparency". The pervasive motifs of glazing, freezing and attaining perfect crystal form can be correlated with the formal quests of the orangery architects of the first third of the nineteenth century – orangery designs in the form of a cone or faceted crystal, streamlined orangeries and gigantic orangery vaults of various shapes (Scottish garden designer and the orangery architect John Claudius Loudon, for instance, designed a bell-shaped vault) – in which Romanticist myth-making fancifully echoed solar mythology.

The new architectural image of a building with "entirely glass" walls, a giant pellucid space, is interpreted here in the categories of Romanticist natural philosophy with its motifs of the integral and uniform world and profound correspondence between the natural and the sacral. The Romanticists interpreted the triumph of modern industrial civilisation embodied in glass palaces as its ability to merge harmoniously with the natural world. Pervaded by the spirit of enlightenment, Odoevsky's novel is a grandiose glass suite in which the ideal "image of being" is made entirely of brittle glass as a visual metaphor of inspiration and harmony. In addition to images of glass architecture and flora, there are detailed descriptions of glass clothing. The novel is made of letters written by the main character, a Chinese student who visited the "centre of the Russian hemisphere and world enlightenment" – a gigantic city incorporating Moscow and Saint Petersburg with crystal houses. Poets, philosophers, historians and scholars, dressed in elastic cut-glass and strolling in glass-vaulted gardens, form the high society of the enlightened forty-fourth century. (Odoevsky 1986: 102–127).

Glass-vaulted garden descriptions convey this apologia of "natural life" as architectural images, obviously borrowed from modern orangery building practice. At the same time in Odoevsky's novel the image of a "huge roofed garden" – a micro-model of the world – is perceived as a literary prototype of sorts of future World Fair pavilions with their motifs of the past Golden Age and symbols of the future unity of mankind.

Sir Joseph Paxton's *Crystal Palace* built in 1851 drew the line under that corpus of Romanticist and utopian ideas that indirectly fostered glass mythology and at times directly influenced orangery building practice. It is noteworthy that among the main competitors were leading experts of hothouse architecture, such as Richard Turner who, jointly with Burton, built the *Winter Gardens* at Regent's Park (1840) and the *Palm House* at Kew Gardens, the Frenchman Hector Horeau who designed *Jardin d'Hiver* in Paris and Paxton of the *Chatsworth Great Conservatory* fame. Without going into details of the *Crystal House* architecture and enlightenment program, which have been dealt with in writings galore, we shall point out several crucial aspects.

The *Crystal Palace* that drew the line under the "Romanticist boom" in glass mythology was seen primarily as a Romanticist metaphor. This metaphoric nature

enabled the actual architectural form to be seen by contemporaries as the closest approximation of the symbolic form devoid of materiality and akin to divine light that had set off glass architecture mythology in European culture.

Such Romanticist variety of the traditional symbolism of the ideal city perfectly matched the socio-utopian "message" of glass architecture as an image of the coveted future. The cross-fertilisation of the nineteenth-century avalanche of Romanticist fantasies on the theme of glass and the plethora of social utopias envisioning the creation of glass communities was only natural. For instance, Odoevsky is known to be familiar with Fourier's phalanstery projects (1808), and that imposing utopia obviously influenced his novel.

The link between utopia and glass architecture is revealed in the history of projects associated with the *Crystal Palace*. Titus Salt, a textile manufacturer, intended to acquire it in 1851 for his ideal utopia of the Saltaire model village. Owen Jones, the English architect, designer and one of the founders of the South Kensington Museum, conceived a *Palace of the People* in North London as an architectural parallel to the Crystal Palace. *(Fig. 4)* Akin to numerous utopian projects of palaces of the people, his plan was preceded by his work on interior designs for the *Crystal Palace* and, when it was dismantled and re-erected at Sydenham in 1854 as a permanent venue for "education and entertainment", on designing its display halls in different historical styles. Jones finished his *Palace of the People* project in 1858, and in 1860 designed a glass exhibition pavilion for the Paris environ of Saint Cloud. Those unrealized projects that summed up Jones' experience in historical

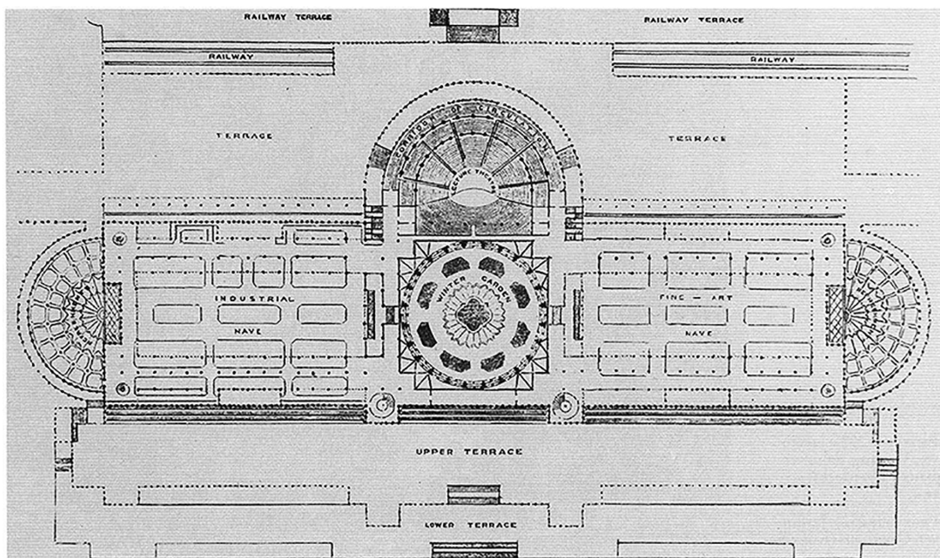

Fig. 4. Owen Jones. A Palace of the People. Plan. 1858

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reconstruction, curiously enough, manifested his interest in a sort of "historicism of space" and the traditional iconography of glass structures. Those were attempts to wed glassed-in metal structures to historical reminiscences of the recognizable solar palace modifications with the colossal round vault commanding the centre and enlarged galleries stretching along the wings as gigantic arcades.

As the culmination of visionary designs of glass structure of the first half of the nineteenth century, the *Crystal Palace* became a landmark in both the history and mythology of glass architecture. Ever since the major motifs of glass architecture – the progressist concept of social utopia following directly in the footsteps of the eschatological concept of the longed-for Celestial City, industrial visions, the Garden of Eden and the sacramental – have merged in a single mythological stratum. The glass palace has become a natural architectural form for World Fair pavilions with an invariably powerful symbolic charge. Their obvious link with the bulk of glass utopias manifests itself in pervasive iconographical motifs equally evident in exhibition design practice that is traced back to orangery structures with their rich iconographic "legacy", and in the realm of utopian projects.

The formal layout underpinning the above projects of Jones and originating from traditional "solar" iconography with the round central shape and lateral galleries survived in the architecture of World Fair pavilions even after the *Crystal Palace* had been built. It was obvious in the 1862 *International Exhibition Pavilion* in London, which was designed by Francis Fowke for South Kensington – a gigantic structure in area exceeding the *Crystal Palace* and with a vault 49 metres in diameter. The

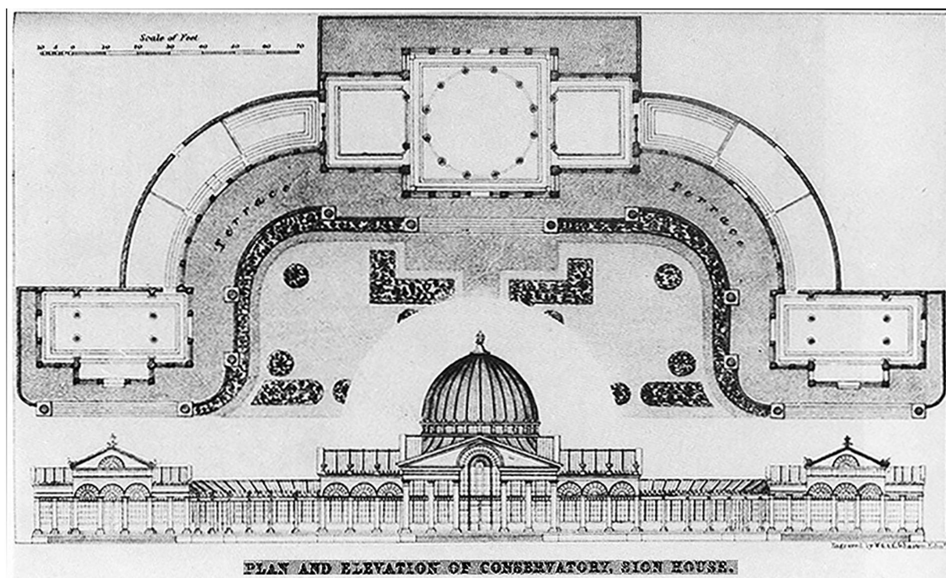

Fig. 5. Charles Fowler. The Syon Park Great Conservatory. Plan. 1827-1830

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pavilion nearly exactly reproduced the layout of the *Syon Park Great Conservatory* with a huge glassed vault, which was built by Charles Fowler in 1827–1830 and which exemplified solar palace iconography in an unadulterated form. *(Fig. 5)*

The motif of a glass rotunda going back to the architectural iconography of the Celestial City turned out to be just as stable.

The mentioned above J.C. Loudon, who designed round orangeries for the *Birmingham Botanical Garden* in 1831, was the first to use that form in nineteenth-century architectural practice. Parallel to the establishment of the round form in the practice of new glass architecture it appeared in numerous social utopias that invariably envisaged a round glass structure in the centre of an ideal community. That motif took root all the more fast and easy since the round temple of the sun directly referred to models of ideal cities widespread in the Renaissance period that in their turn resulted in the later literary project of the ideal *City of the Sun* by Campanella at the turn of the seventeenth century. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought a stunning abundance of architectural utopias with the round glass structure as their symbolic centre – from Pemberton's *Happy Colony* to the famous *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* by Ebenezer Howard (1898) with the round crystal palace 400 meters in diameter (with public services and a garden inside) in the centre of a round city two kilometers in diameter. Right from this utopian space the round glass pavilion was transported to the visionary space of World Fairs as exemplified by the giant elliptic pavilion of the 1867 International Exposition in Paris.

The symbolic "message" of glass exhibition palaces as an architectural form was so powerful that the most famous of them – the 1867 International Exposition Paris pavilion and the *Galerie des machines* pavilion of the 1889 Exposition – inspired contemporary writers to give numerous literary interpretations. Countless direct or indirect literary allusions to those buildings enhanced the mythical perception of glass architecture. Their analysis promises exciting research in its own right. As world fairs gradually lost their enlightenment thrust and began to be seen as big commercial shows by the end of the century, the literary symbolism of the traditional glass palace also changed. Very much like the Crystal Palace became a sort of epilogue of the romantic visionary myth, the *Galerie des machines* pavilion of the 1889 Exposition became the central image of glass mythology for writers of the 1880s and early 1890s. Their interpretation was diametrically opposite - glass was understood as artificial rather than natural and became a symbol of intellectual finesse and frequently alienation. (Iampolski 2012: 143–153). In Symbolist works glass architecture was often associated with infernal and deadly motifs. In the new corpus of myths glass architecture took the form of a hothouse with monstrous plants, a hospital, clinic or prison. Hofmannsthal and Maeterlinck obviously alluded to contemporary glass exhibition pavilions when they sent their characters wandering through fantastic glass labyrinths entwined with iron flora.

The Symbolist interpretation put an end to the nineteenth-century myths of glass architecture. The early twentieth century marked a new stage in its history, when traditional symbols found a fantastic reflection in Expressionism as embodied in the *Glass Pavilion* of Bruno Taut at the Cologne Deutscher Werkbund Exhibition of 1914, Futurist glass utopias (Vyazova 2000: 82–89) and then Constructivist architecture that ushered in the era of mass construction of "iron and glass". But that is an altogether different story.

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To close our survey of the nineteenth century, let us take a look at some examples of glass pavilions built for Russian industrial and art exhibitions that may be not so well-known as their European prototypes, yet conform to the pan-European mainstream. The Russian industrial exhibitions evolved their enlightenment programs under the impact of major expositions of the European industrial powers, above all those of London and Paris. Ethnographical and industrial sections combined in the Russian pavilions to meet the progressist concept of the Golden Age transplanted from the past into the future. That program called for a corresponding iconography to comply with the uniform European tradition of glass architecture mythology. The building of glass pavilions for Russian exhibitions was preceded by domestic experience in designing and building orangeries.

The "project of a building for the permanent exhibition of Russian Society of Horticulture" designed by Harald Bosse in 1860 *(Fig. 6)* was one of the earliest experiments in metal constructions that contemporaries saw "as a small replica of the London Crystal Palace" (Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti 1860). In it Russian architecture for the first time demonstrated a tendency to "dematerialise" walls that lost their supporting function, as well as a new interpretation of interior space. Design sketches show that the glassed-in interior was created with the help of an intricate pattern of openwork metal structures. The impression of space opening to without was to be complemented by a freely laid out English garden. That heavenly garden was to strike an especially expressive contrast with the snow-bound cityscape (Borisova 1993: 168–169).

Bosse's building had another characteristic typical of eclectic glass structures and emblematic of the new stage of glass architecture mythology, namely, a focus on Gothic. Innovative engineering solutions in glass architecture went hand-in-hand with aspirations, inherited by eclecticism from Romanticism, to look for historical parallels with modern structures in the pan-European architectural past. Glass architecture designers were looking not so much for decorative signs as for spatial regularities that found expression in a sort of "historicism of space". The technical possibilities of glass architecture that enabled the creation of vast interior space free from massive constraining walls prompted recourse to the composi-

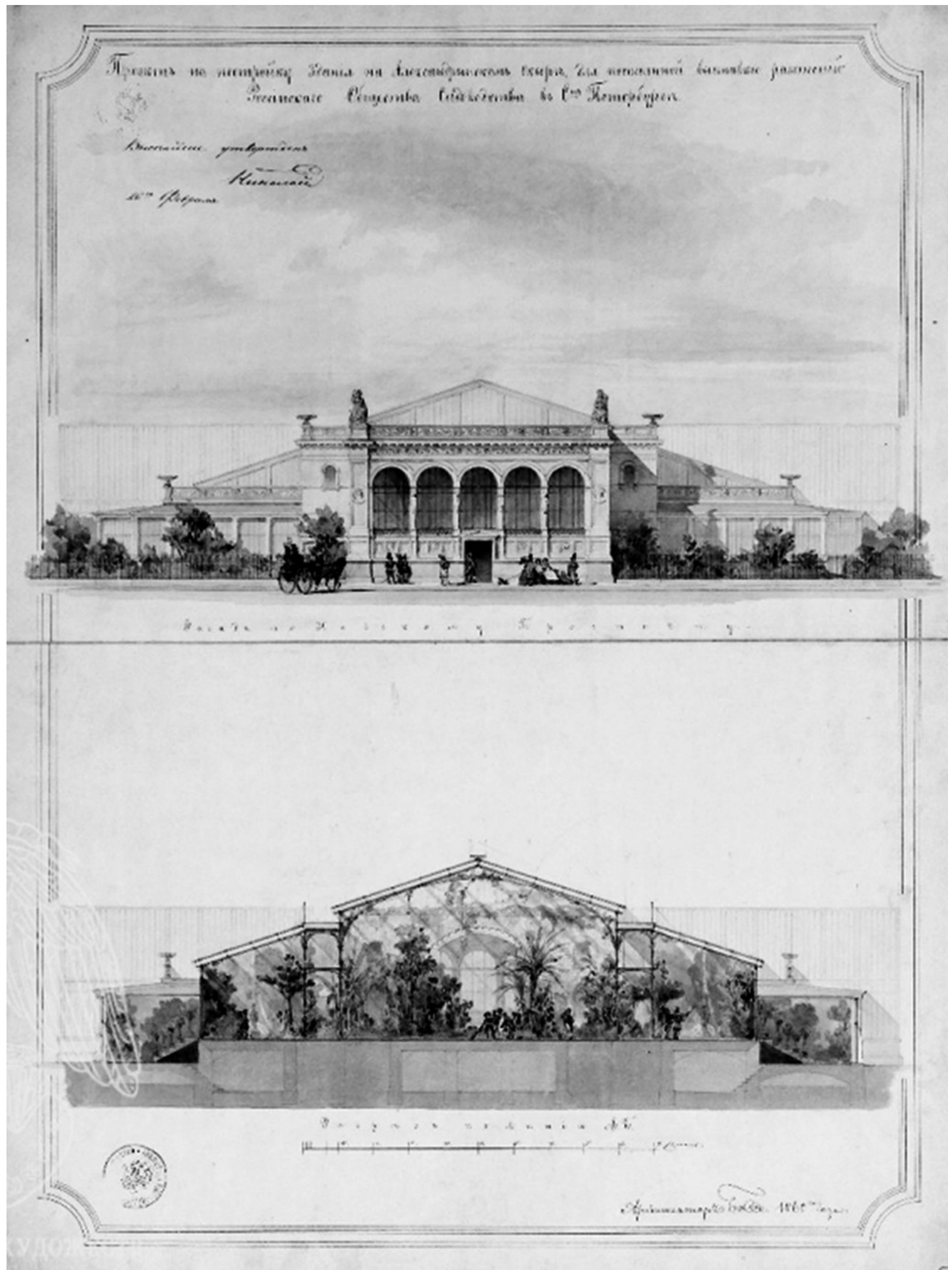

Fig. 6. Harald Bosse. The Project of a Building for the Permanent Exhibition of Russian Society of Horticulture in Saint Petersburg. 1860

tional solutions of early Christian basilicas or Gothic cathedrals. The association of glass with Gothic was especially stable in nineteenth and early twentieth-century glass architecture mythology. Designers of glass-and-metal structures appreciated

above all features of Gothic interpreted in a generalized fashion, such as accentuation of structure by attributing it a "decorative" function of its own and simultaneously dematerialising the building material itself by making it spiritual.

Gothic reminiscences in Bosse's project are found in its cruciform plan with three naves crossed by the transept and a sort of "nervure" nature of metal structures that is to become a stable motif of glass architecture and a staple method of Art Nouveau.

Although it remained on paper, Bosse's project directly influenced the architecture of the pavilions of future Russian industrial exhibitions held in Saint Petersburg in 1871 and in Moscow the following year. The 1872 Moscow Polytechnic Exhibition was Russia's first consistent experience in planning an exhibition pavilion system and, respectively, its first large-scale endeavour to build a temporary pavilion.

The glass-and-metal Naval pavilion was the hit of the show. *(Fig. 7)* Ippolit Monighetti designed the building and Nikolai Putilov was in charge of engineering. Many of Bosse's finds were used in the Naval pavilion construction, which also resembled numerous European models. The glass-vaulted arcade or glassed-in nave lining the Kremlin Embankment was cut by three short transepts, the butt-ends of which had large glass arches facing the river. Contemporaries were in raptures and saw the

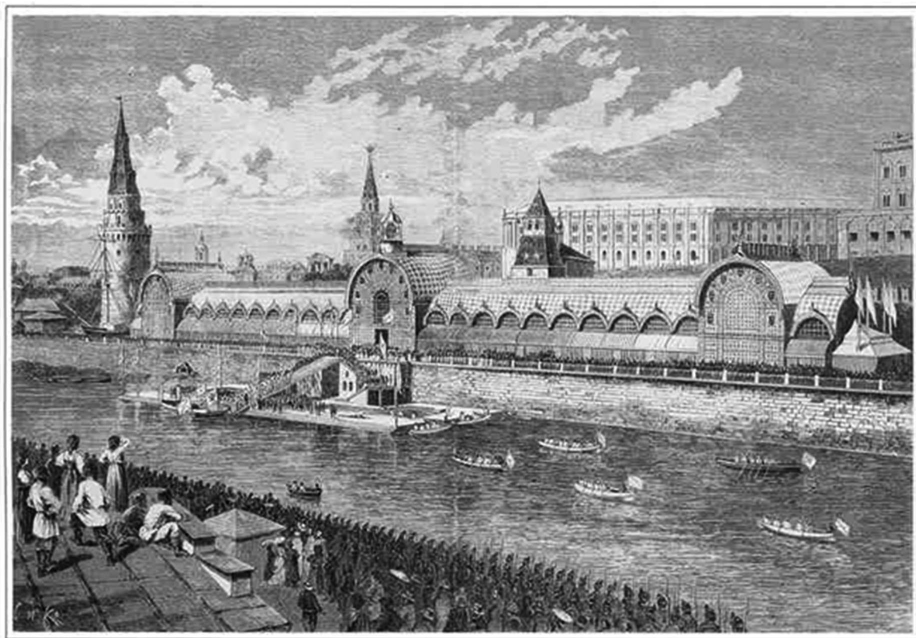

Fig. 7. Ippolit Monighetti. The Naval Pavilion at the Polytechnic Exhibition in Moscow. 1872

glass pavilion as an original Russian variety of the famous European glass palaces. (*Obshee obozrenie Moskovskoi politekhnicheskoi vistavki* 1872).

The construction of the 1882 All-Russia Exhibition of Art and Industry in Moscow was a no less fascinating parallel to European exhibition architecture. The main highlight was the central exhibition structure of eight three-nave pavilions positioned radially to form a star and connected by two concentric galleries. As a result there was a large courtyard in the centre and eight small courts. The main building was flanked on both sides by nearly identical pavilions, one of which displayed machines and the other accommodated the art and education sections. The three buildings were made of standard three-span metal frames with a total width of more than 31 metres. The higher spans in the middle had skylights. The final design of the central exhibition structure was the work of the architects A.E. Weber and A.S. Kaminsky, who supervised the building of all the main pavilions. Their façades with glass arches were partially reminiscent of Monighetti's *Naval Pavilion*, although the closest analogy was the numerous designs of stations, with their "assembled" and fully glassed-in three-arch façades and spatial layout derived directly from Gothic cathedrals and early Christian basilicas.

This association of glass with Gothic and sometimes direct similarity between the glass exhibition pavilions and Gothic cathedrals – which were already noted above in connection with Bosse's project – matched the new European myths of glass architecture of the 1860s. The combination of new and traditional motifs was typical of

Fig. 8. Alexander Pomerantsev, Vladimir Shukhov. The Machine Pavilion. All-Russia Exhibition in Nizhni Novgorod, 1896

the iconographic "junctions" which were characteristic of nineteenth-century glass architecture history as a whole. Despite the obvious gravitation towards the Gothic prototypes, the general scheme and circular layout of the Moscow exhibition of 1882 brought to mind the grandiose round building of the 1867 International Exposition in Paris, which traced its iconographic lineage from a round glass temple.

The pavilions of the famous All-Russia Exhibition of 1896 in Nizhni Novgorod, which, as it were, summed up the accomplishments of Russian culture in the outgoing century, were another graphic example of glass exhibition architecture in Russia. *The Factory Pavilion* designed by V.G. Shukhov in the form of a giant rotunda looked most progressive in structure and engineering, although it also complied with traditional iconography. *The Machine Pavilion* (architect A.N. Pomerantsev, engineer V.G. Shukhov) came closest to the European models and, as the exhibition organisers observed in the published guidebook, was associated with the glass pavilion of the *Galerie des Machines* built by the engineer Gustave Eiffel for the 1889 World Fair of Paris. It was a variation on the theme of the "cathedral" façade with huge glassed-in arches. *(Fig. 8)*

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Fig.8. Alexander Pomerantsev, Vladimir Shukhov. The Machine Pavilion. The XVI-th All-Russia Industrial and Art Exhibition in Nizhni Novgorod, 1896. Source: State Archive of audio and visual information of Nizhni Novgorod Region.

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Gianenrico Bernasconi

The tent-room: sedentism of an ephemeral architecture at the beginning of the nineteenth century (materiality, politics and travel culture)

INTRODUCTION

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the spread of the "tent-room" in Europe (Köhler 2008: 161–169). This term refers to a form of internal decoration that borrows from the shape of a tent and its different functions, which may be political or cultural. This form of interior is especially found in royal and upper-class circles, which links the tent motif with the exercise of power. However, the residences in which these interiors were found were not ceremonial buildings but small châteaux, villas even, where the monarch or a member of the upper-class would retire to from court in order to enjoy greater repose and privacy, a custom that dates back to the mid-eighteenth century.

It was in this context that the mobile, ephemeral object of the tent was transformed into a graphic object used for the decoration of an interior. The changing of the tent's function into that of a sign is similar to the concept of semiophore, (1987: 42–43) used by Krzysztof Pomian to describe the function of an object which, enclosed in a display case, loses all usefulness, to be legitimized instead by the meanings it bears. The tent, when transformed into decoration, sees its technical function replaced by the density of meaning it conveys. The hinges, poles and canvas used for these portable homes, which could be erected and dismantled at will, are nothing more than references from this point onwards. In order to understand the widespread use of the tent-room towards the end of the eighteenth century, we must first grasp the system of meanings it carries. To this end, we will initially examine the role of the tent in political symbolism, and its function in legitimizing power in an age marked by the affirmation of the Bonaparte dynasty. Towards the end of the Ancien Régime and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the cultural motif of travel was another phenomenon in which the tent-room assumed meaning, by rewriting the experience of mobility within the domestic space (Roche 2003).

The period of popularity enjoyed by the tent-room also showed the first signs of a process that foreshadowed the nineteenth-century appearance of the modern interior, understood as a place for projecting a new experience of individuality

and interiority, but also as a microcosm in which objects and decorations take on the function of evoking the exterior world (Sparke 2008; Rice 2007; Schlögel 2006: 322–328; Becker 1990).

TENT-ROOMS: VARIATIONS OF A DECORATIVE MOTIF

The tent-room is a decorative motif that mirrors three different representations of this ephemeral architecture: the war, the Oriental room and the theme of travel. While the examples discussed here date back to the period between the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, it must be observed that the decoration of interiors with the drill fabric used to make tents was a custom already attested to in the sixteenth century, as confirmed by the inventory of goods belonging to Catherine de' Medici (1519–1589) in 1559, or that of Gabrielle d'Estrées (1570–1599) from 1599 (Havard 1894: 1365–1366). Furthermore, this decoration was not solely limited to aristocratic interiors; following the rise of the wallpaper industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it also became common in bourgeois households in the form of white-and-blue striped wallpaper (Jacqué 2010: 82).

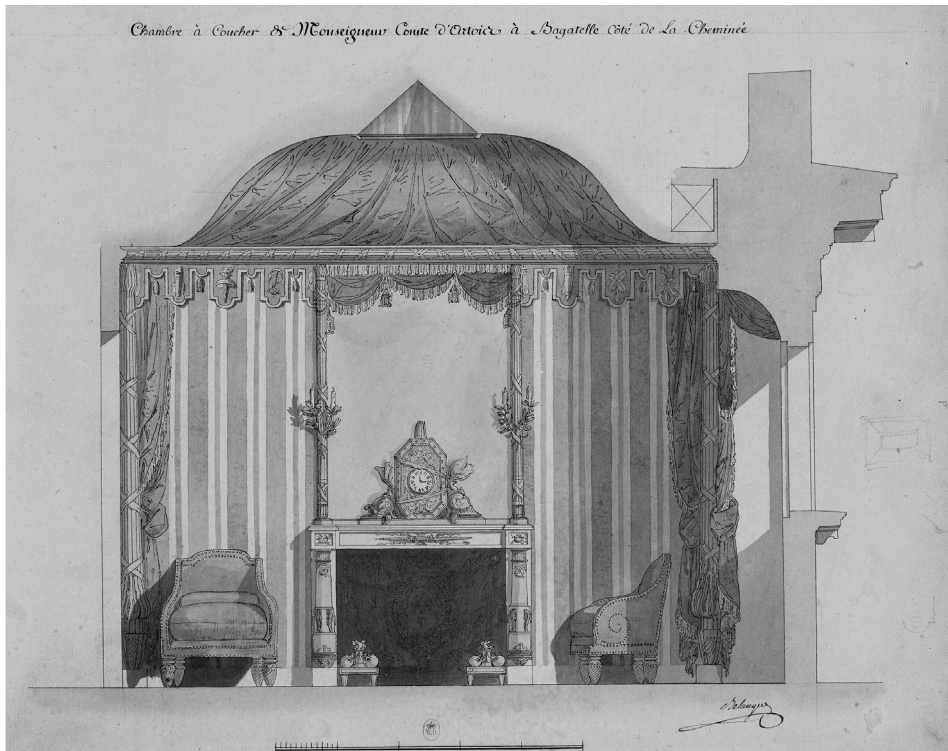

Fig. 1: « Chambre à coucher de Monseigneur d'Artois à Bagatelle, côté de la cheminée », drawing, 1770–1780

A military motif

One of the first testimonies to interior decoration in the form of a tent that used more than just drill fabric was the bedroom of the Comte d'Artois (1757–1824) at Château de Bagatelle. On the whim of the king's brother, this construction fitted into the category of a refuge, where the aristocracy would retire to free themselves from the yoke of court and etiquette (de Andia 1978: 9–10). Over the course of the late eighteenth century, these places, which were originally intended to be intimate and secret, instead became a source of competition among the aristocracy and evolved into *folies*, celebrations of the taste of their owners.

The Bagatelle *folie* was the work of young architect François-Joseph Bélanger (1744–1818) (Cast 1997: 125–127). His design was a villa with a rustic appearance, similar to the Petit Trianon by Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1698–1782) and the pavilion of Madame du Barry (1743–1793) at Louveciennes constructed by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806) in 1770 and 1771. The Château de Bagatelle was built in 1777, while completion of the garden and interiors would require a further two years. The structure consisted of a cellar, a ground floor, a small attic floor and some attics

Fig. 2: Boardroom, Rueil-Malmaison, châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau

(Scherer 1985: 147). The prince's bedroom was in the west wing of the first floor. This room was constructed in the shape of a tent, alluding to the military rank of its owner. *(Fig. 1)* The military decoration consisted of pale blue wall coverings with white stripes, as well as striped Persian cloth folded at the ceiling, giving the impression of a tent. The alcove wall hangings were supported by bundles of lances. Even the fireplace was inspired by military themes, the chimney jambs being cannon shaped while the chimney breast was carved with the arms of the *Grand Maître d'artillerie* (Ibidem: 149). F. Scherer saw in this decoration the influence of Jean-Démosthène Dugourc (1749–1825), who had introduced Etruscan ornaments to France and who would become director of decoration and costumes at l'Opéra (Ibidem: 153). The austere military style of the blue-and-white striped tent seems to have been quickly replaced by blue and gold fabric, which, while maintaining the tent shape, rendered the space more intimate and welcoming (Constans 1997: 71).

Perhaps the best known example of a military style tent-room was the boardroom at the Château de la Malmaison, built by Charles Percier (1764–1838) and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762–1853). The two architects were employed by Napoleon between 1799 and 1800 to renovate the château. The First Consul took charge of the project himself, ordering the construction of a boardroom in place of the ground-floor bedroom on 9 July 1800 (Fontaine 1987: 13). In the *Recueil des décorations intérieures* (1801), Percier and Fontaine made the following

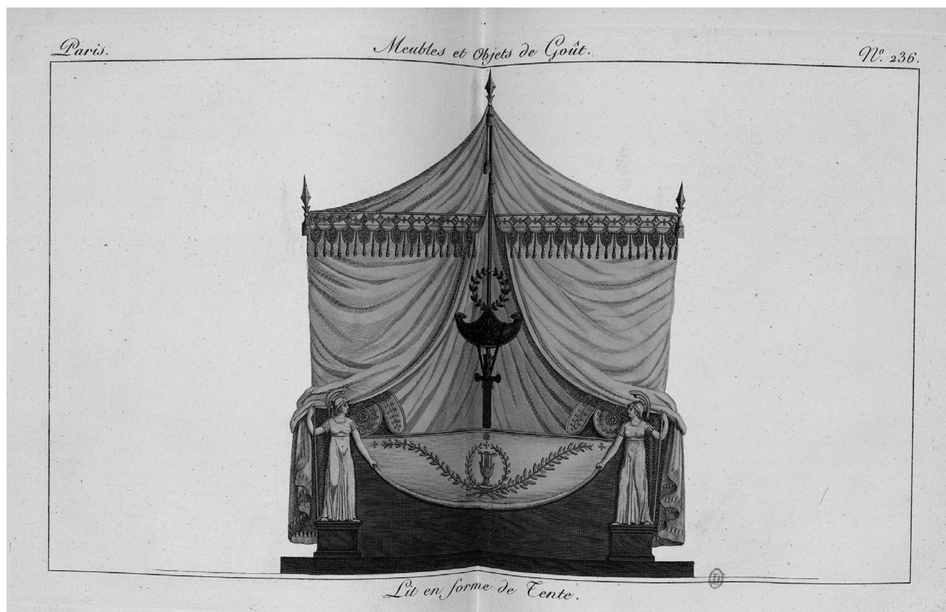

Fig. 3: « Lit en forme de tente » extrait de Pierre de La Mésangère, Collection des meubles et objets de goût, Paris, Bureau du Journal des Dames, 1805-1807, vol. V, n. 236

observation with regard to the boardroom and trophies that decorated it: "The First Consul had asked for a boardroom. The layout and decoration had to be completed in 10 days of work, because he did not wish to interrupt the frequent trips that he was accustomed to making. Consequently, it seemed fitting to adopt the tent shape for this room, supported by spikes, bundles and signage with groups of weapons to represent the most famous warrior people around the world hung between them" (1812: 55). *(Fig. 2)* The Malmaison had been conceived as a refuge for the First Consul, who was to go there to rest. However, as Fontaine remarked on 10 December 1800, "today he received homage, ministers came to report and the army generals have made it their courtyard, when it's far too small to receive so many people" (Fontaine 1987: 15).

The military motif of the tent-room was also found in other châteaux, such as the residence of the Grand Duke in Würzburg, where, under Ferdinand III of Tuscany (1769–1824), a guardroom was arranged as a tent-room and decorated with military-style furniture (Helmberger, Mauss 2014: 18–19). This style was also found in the *Collection de Meubles et objets de goût* by Pierre de La Mésangère (1761–1831), which published in 1805 a tent-bed *(Fig. 3)* confirming the importance of this theme in early nineteenth-century.

The Oriental room

A second motif harks back to the Oriental room, a theme that had already emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as in the *Türckische Cammer* at the Sassonie court in Dresden (Schuckelt 2010) or the decoration of the Bellevue château, residence of Madame de Pompadour (1721–1764) (Stein 1994: 29–44), (or again in the Perse room in the Neuilly-sur-Seine residence of Claude Baudard de Vaudésir, baron of St. James (1738–1787).[1] The Marmorpalais in Potsdam offered another example of this variation on the tent-room. This residence was built between 1787 and 1793 for Friederich Wilhelm II (1744–1797) by Carl von Gontard (1731–1791), and then by Carl Gotthard Langhans (1732–1808) from 1790. The Oriental cabinet was decorated in late 1790 and early 1791 and furnished with a divan, bearing witness to the mania for all things Turkish that was so rife among the European elite at the time (Gehlen 1999: 28–29).[2] *(Fig. 4)* At Malmaison, there was another room in the shape of a tent, the bedroom of Empress Josephine, whose construction in 1812 is attributed to Louis-Martin Berthault (1771–1823) (Chevalier 2006: 50–51). *(Fig. 5)*

1 Archives de Paris, D5B6 650, Livre de compte de De la rue, tapissier, 1783–1785.

2 This motif enjoyed a certain spread during the early 19th century, see Ernst Julius Walch, *Historische, statistische, geographische und topographische Beschreibung der königlich- und herzoglich- sächsischen Häuser und Lande überhaupt und des Sachsen-Coburg-Meiningischen Hauses und dessen Lande insonderheit*, Nürnberg, Schneider und Weigel, 1811, S. 105. The author mentions the Turkish tent-room of Elisabethenburg in Meiningen.

Fig. 4: Oriental cabinet, Marmorpalais, Neuer Garten

Fig. 5: Bedroom of Empress Josephine, decor 1812, Rueil-Malmaison, châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau

The travel theme

The Charlottenhof tent-room in Potsdam confirms the spread of this motif throughout Europe. Bought in 1825 by King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia (1770–1840) as Christmas gift for the crown prince Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1795–1861) and his wife Elisabeth Ludovika of Bavaria (1801–1873), the estate consisted of a park and a villa. The director of the gardens of Sanssouci, Peter Joseph Lenné (1789–1866), was put in charge of planning the park in 1826. That same year, the architects Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841) and Ludwig Persius (1803–1845) were responsible for the renovation of the residence, completed in 1833 (Hoffmann, Möller 1985: 3–15). The work of Schinkel and his pupil Persius on the external architecture bore witness to the neo-classical style, while the interiors reflected the bourgeois comfort and intimacy typical of the *Biedermeier* period. The tent-room was constructed in 1829 in a corner room next to the salon for the ladies in waiting. The walls of the room were covered with blue-and-white striped wallpaper *(Fig. 6);* fabric in the same pattern served as a canopy over two metal camp beds, and also covered the folding chairs and stools made by master carpenter Freudemann (Möller, Schönemann, Köhler 1981: 84).

In the Zeltzimmer at Potsdam, the travel theme was interpreted with originality. Camp furniture was used in addition to the tent decoration, consisting of portable beds, stools and folding chairs. The room was devoid of all military references and

Fig. 6: Tent-room, Schloss Charlottenhof, Park Sanssouci, Potsdam

recalled instead a scientific expedition. The illusion of travel through decoration in the form of a tent was reinforced by the sensorial experience of the body resting in a veritable travel bed. The use of wallpaper, instead of drill fabric, to reproduce the striped tent – chosen for reasons of economy (Jacqué 2002: 236) – enhanced the transition to the decorative motif. Indeed, the use of drill fabric to decorate tent-rooms preserved a continuity of material between the tent and the decorative motif, while the use of wallpaper established the transformation of the tent to a graphic device.

THE PAVILION: A "MILITARY MACHINE" AS A SYMBOL OF POWER

The tent was the place where medieval sovereignty was legitimized by the exercise of the military commander. The progressive sedentism of the monarchy and the birth of the modern State led to the assimilation of this motif into political symbolism, while the prestige of the sovereign remained bound to his role as the head of the army, which was reflected in the quality of the luggage and tents he travelled with.[3] In his *Dissertation sur les tentes ou pavillons de guerre* (1735), Étienne-Claude Beneton de Morange de Peyrins (?–1752) traced the transformation of this technical item into a political symbol. The purpose of his *Dissertation* was to explore the history of the tent as a "military machine" and as an emblem of the exercise of power:

> We saw […] that it was in the camp & beneath the Praetorian Pavilion, that the Roman officers were rewarded, that it was similar to the way that our first kings received homage from those subjects who obtained fief in return. […] [the homage] was accepted in the middle of the campaign, when the army was at battle, or in the general's tent, when the army was camped; the curtains of this tent would be lifted and the vassal would fall publicity to the feet of him to whom he had pledged an oath of loyalty (Beneton de Morange 1735: 86–87).

In keeping with Roman tradition, the medieval tent was the place where the sovereign exercised his feudal powers, according to a conception of power that was still deeply marked by military command. The open curtain walls were necessary to guarantee that the act of infeudation was public.

Beneton de Morange, displaying astonishing historical sensitivity, highlighted the transformation of the tent's function in political symbolism following the sedentism of the monarchy that marked the birth of the modern State:

3 Archives nationales Paris, 01 3243, Inventaire general des tentes, pavillons, maisons de bois, etc., du roi et leur ameublement, 1765. There is a second inventory from 1780, see Archives nationales Paris, O1 3244.

> In this way the custom of keeping the pavilion curtains raised during acts of power was established, which the Sovereigns all did in their armies. From here it followed that when these acts had to be performed in their residential palace, they would put a pavilion, or perhaps just the height of the pavilion in the room where they performed these acts, in order to maintain the idea & the Right of the sovereign & the place where he had begun to exercise it, which was the army.
> So this covered pavilion became a piece of furniture, changed in name and form, as in this case it was no longer necessary to act as a roof, to protect against rain: it was more typically made in the style of a canopy, that is to say, flat with curtains that were lifted in festoons all around (Ibidem: 88–94).

The exercising of sovereignty in the "residential palace" altered the function of the pavilion; this useful object became a means of evoking the ancient military legitimization of power. In fact, the pavilion "changed name and shape" and was transformed into a canopy-shaped dais that covered the throne. The role of the tent in the political symbolism of the monarchies of the Ancien Régime also appeared in the heraldic language of the coat of arms (Ibidem: 57; Duhoux d'Argicourt 1899).

The transformation of the pavilion into a throne dais recalled the transformation of a portable tool into a symbolic tool, observed in the case of the tent-room. The ancient legitimization of sovereignty through military power can be recognized in this interior decoration. By becoming an emblem of the monarchy, the tent was transformed into a symbol of its sovereignty. The hinges and cracks were absorbed by a graphic or plastic reference to evoke their mobility. It was no chance therefore that the tent-room, vehicle of this "political memory", enjoyed a certain success at the beginning of the nineteenth century, since the affirmation of Napoleon's power implied the mobilization of a symbolic set of tools to legitimize the new dynasty (Nouvel-Kammerer 2007; Jourdan 1998). In Napoleon's case, the tent also reflected the importance of the military function in the affirmation of the Emperor's power.

IMAGINARY TRAVEL

The tent did not have a purely decorative function in late eighteenth-century interiors, but radically transformed the space by creating an *interno nell'interno* (interior within an interior) (Forino 2001), unfettered by architectural space, which was somehow suspended. The lightness of the tent reduced the distinction between interior and exterior by reinforcing the evocative function of the room, making it a medium of the imagination. A particular journey experience is therefore made possible by the tent-room.

Economic mobility, the Grand Tour, scientific expeditions and military campaigns had a profound impact on the culture of the late Ancien Régime and the early

nineteenth century (Roche 2003; Black 2003a and b; Brilli 1995). The importance of travel was accompanied by the unprecedented spread of travel literature. Travel books, diaries and guides had become one of the greatest publishing successes of the late eighteenth century (Roche 2003: 33). This passion for travel was also evident in the decorative arts, which made reference to exotic countries and the adventure of discovery (Gablowski 2006), to the extent that one might say that travel at the time was more a feat of the imagination than a real experience.

This cultural dimension of travel was also found in the motif of 'sedentary travel', which the book *Voyage autour de ma chambre* (1794) by Xavier de Maistre (1763–1852) made into a veritable literary genre, in which the interior represents a micro-landscape to explore but also a place where the elsewhere is present (Stiegler 2013). The tent-room is another example of this 'travelling in place', which transforms the domestic space into a large screen penetrated by the sensations and memories of travel.

Wallpaper is a good example of the devices that bore witness to this functional aspect of the interior. From the late eighteenth century onwards, it played an increasingly important role in interior decoration (Jacqué 2010; Velut 2005). Its success must be attributed to its accessible price, meaning it was affordable to the better-off middle class, and to the variation of patterns available, which allowed wallpaper to follow the rhythms of fashion and satisfy public taste. Exotic patterns can be found among the products of Joseph Dufour (1752–1827), manufacturer of wallpaper in Mâcon and then Paris, for example "the Savages of the Pacific sea" or the "Voyages of Captain Cook" (Clouzot, Follot 1935: 169). In a booklet of samples, Dufour explains the purpose of these exotic tableaux:

> We thought he would be grateful to have gathered, so comfortably and visibly, this multitude of people that the immense seas held separate from us, so that, without leaving his apartment, and bearing the view around him, a studious man, by reading the general history of journeys or the tales of travellers who have fuelled the subject, he would believe in the presence of characters, compare the text to the painting, focus on the different forms, costumes, appreciate the skill of some, the taste of others, […] (Ibidem: 170–171).

CONCLUSION

Mario Praz, in his *Filosofia dell'arredamento*, stated that *Biedermeier* and Victorian interiors lost the purity of neo-classical decor for a mix of historicizing styles, inhabited by evocative objects (Praz 1993: 66). The tent-room encouraged this transformation, revealing the intermediary function of a tool that drew the gaze and stimulated the memory by evoking the travel experience. Anchored in frivolity

and luxury, but also in the political dimension of aristocratic decoration, the tent-room heralded the entirely bourgeois paradox, with which Walter Benjamin was already familiar, or rather, the exotic or military dream experienced from the comfort of one's armchair (Benjamin 1961: 411). The intimacy of the house invested by a scenographic interior like the tent-room or by a flow of objects charged with evocative power therefore becomes a vehicle of the memory, a "machine of the imagination".

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Miklós Székely

The Resetting of the Main Historical Group from the Millennium Exhibition to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1900

As Anthony D. Smith revealed in his writing *National Identity* (1991), Central-Eastern European and Asian conceptions of the term Nation are envisioned with a special emphasis on community-based common origins and on a common culture. Even though Smith later criticizes the divisive concept of civic and ethnic nationalism (*Romanticism and Nationalism*, 2004), this latter component is crucial in the competing nation-building strategies in the region. In the work entitled *Imagined Geographies*, the author Edward Said argues that, from a Western political and cultural position, geographies are perceived as instruments of power for controlling and subordinating areas in colonized territories. From the time of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 onwards, the newly re-emerging Hungarian-language administration needed a strategy to modernize and "Magyarize" the country, especially in border regions. The south of the country, almost completely divested of historical edifices, served as the main setting for an accelerated reshaping of urban textures. It resulted in the construction of something that had been *missing for so long* in those lands: a *national aspect of architecture*, which was now brought about in a modern way, with the use of an 'ornamental language'. Apart from, among other measures, expanding the nationalized railway system and embarking on a wide-reaching program of building schools, modernization began to use a new tool, in the form of the constructed vernacular, the national ornamental language. This was worked out in precise detail, especially in non-Hungarian ethnic regions. The Hungarian State was determined to be omnipresent. Contradicting this political agenda, "Hungarianness" was not defined in the visual arts or in architectural terms by "official Hungary". Institutional and educational measures were regarded as sufficient for modernization and for the process of building a nation based on common origin. Vernacular modernism in visual culture and architecture was promoted at a national level mostly by romantic patriots, artists and architects, and by influential mayors in cities and towns bordering ethnic zones. Ornamental and – as a new phenomenon – structural vernacularism began its career in the early years of the twentieth century in the two key forums for displaying state prestige: city halls, and ephemeral pavilions at international exhibitions.

The main thrust of this paper is that the reuse of certain architectural solutions, the re-exhibition of historical objects and the re-appropriation of the Hungarian peasantry's vernacular heritage from the Millennium Exhibition of 1896 in Buda-

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pest to the Universal Exhibition of 1900 in Paris represented an important shift in the attitude of the Hungarian political and intellectual elite, and a section of the general public as well. This intellectual change came to a climax in 1897–1898, when the Millennium Exhibition had closed and preparations for the Paris show were moving forward. It anticipated vernacularism in architecture, and shifted the temporal conception of official nation-building from the "past as master of the present" to the "present creating a new model for the future" by melding the notions of 'vernacular' and 'modern'. Exhibitions are made to display objects and attract visitors. The audience of the Millennium Festivities had been mainly nationals, with only negligible numbers of international visitors attending the event. The Millennium Exhibition in Budapest focused on the legitimacy of the State and involved all social classes. What was displayed and addressed at the Millennium were Hungarian citizens themselves.

The first universal exhibitions of the 1850s and 1860s had coincided with significant changes in Hungary's political status and with the construction of its political and cultural identity. The Kingdom of Hungary was part of the Habsburg Empire until 1867, when the Compromise with Austria converted the Empire into the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy (Cartledge 2011). Hungary became one of the two political and administrative entities of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy. It was only within the legal and internationally recognized framework of the Dual Monarchy that Hungary was able to attain this relative degree of self-government. Apart from a few joint ministries (finance, foreign affairs and war), Austria and Hungary were led by separate governments under a single ruler: Emperor Franz Joseph I, based in Vienna, who was also the Apostolic King Franz Joseph, whose official seat was in Budapest. From the Hungarian historical and juridical perspective, Franz Joseph represented continuity from the medieval kings of Hungary (Unowsky 2004, 2005). *(Fig. 1)*

The gradual modernization of the Hungarian economy and its culture increased in pace after the Compromise. From this moment, one of the major aims of the Budapest-centered new national administration was to present Hungary internationally as having its own economy and culture, clearly distinct from those of Austria. The question of how to establish and promote the national culture did not end with claims for political independence. This happened to coincide with a proliferation of exhibitions in Hungary and elsewhere – either on a general theme, or with an industrial or other special profile – and an accompanying rise in their popularity. Exhibitions became major venues for propagating visions of nation-building strategies. The combination of a notable historical event with a major exhibition – whether national or international in scope – therefore proved both attractive and successful.

Starting in the 1870s, public discourse had long focused on the historical and political aspects of the Millennium Celebrations, including debates not only on the

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Fig. 1. The Hungarian Csarda at the Universal Exhibition in Vienna in 1873

nation's origins, but also on the circumstances, heroes and possible timeframe of the Conquest. Once agreement had been reached on when the Millennium would be commemorated, it became clear that the exact date of this important event was uncertain, even among contemporary historians. The arrival of the Magyars, referred to as the Hungarian Conquest, had taken place at the end of the ninth century. Determining one precise and historically justifiable moment for this crucial event was the subject of intense speculation in historiography and, due to the tensions and differences of opinion in Hungary at the time, in political circles as well. Among the many publications dealing with the issue of the Millennium, one by Szilárd Blána[1] was rooted in his time's popular positivist historical concept of the Millennium, as he refers to the 'thousand years of existence of the Hungarian kingdom in the year 1883' (Blána 1874: 1). *(Fig. 2)*

In June 1890, one of the key figures in the Millennium preparations, Count Jenő Zichy (1837-1906), produced a draft program for the celebrations, the printed version of which became the fundamental conceptual document for organizational matters. Soon after its publication, the idea of the Millennium bubbled into an event that aroused great national enthusiasm. Intellectuals, politicians, clergymen, noblemen

1 The former army captain Szilárd Blána (1826 – ?), a political refugee who left Hungary after the 1848–1849 War of Independence, visited the 1851 Great Exhibition in London and later, as a passionate patriot, took part in the preparatory works of the Hungarian section for the 1867 exposition universelle in Paris.

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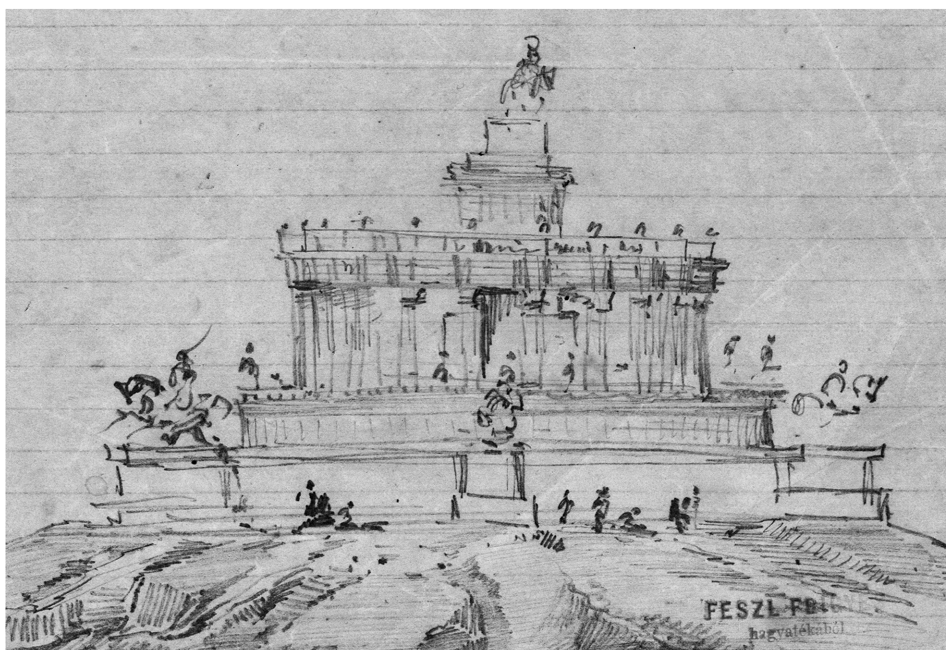

Fig. 2. Plan for the Millennium Monument by Figyes Feszl. 1871

and ordinary citizens put forward their own ideas on how to commemorate this event - one thousand years since the Foundation of the Hungarian State. Zichy foresaw a major role for the exhibition itself: opened for a period of six months, the exhibition was envisioned as a framework for a variety of commemorative events to be held nationwide. The events, to mention but a few, included symbolic political acts, such as a joint jubilee session of the upper and lower chambers of Parliament, inaugurations of national monuments and public buildings, numerous national festivals, religious celebrations, a ceremonial procession in the capital representing 'the ten centuries of Hungarian history', theatre and music performances, athletics competitions, and so on. *(Fig. 3.)*

The Millennium Exhibition in Budapest, as the quintessence of the commemorative year, turned standard international practice in organizing exhibitions on its head. The exhibition not only set the timeframe of the Millennial Year, but also determined its international visibility. To hold such a large series of commemorations across the nation within a fixed period of time was rare in the international exhibition industry; exhibitions were usually concentrated in a single city, regardless of whether the theme was regional, national or international in scope.

In terms of the territorial aspect of the series of festivities, the foundation and inauguration of seven national historical monuments held prime importance: they articulated the legitimacy of the modern Hungarian State over its histor-

ical borders by commemorating the importance of the Conquest. Alongside the Conquest itself, the territorial legacy of the Hungarian State originated in the coronation of King Saint Stephen in the year 1000, with the foundation of Christian Hungary marking the beginning of a thousand years of development, as expressed by the retrospective part of the Main Historical Group. This aspect of the Millennium was mostly manifested through a number of events and the inauguration of monuments in the regions. The importance of community-based common origins in the Hungarian nation-building process irked the sensitivities of other nation-building processes in its own lands. Eventually, the loyalty of the non-Hungarian population towards the State was regarded as 'fragile' and questionable. Ethnic groups (Germans, Slovaks, Serbs and Romanians) constituted roughly 45% of the population, with low to medium level knowledge of the official language, Hungarian. The monuments were placed in zones where Hungarian and non-Hungarian linguistic communities met: one on the Serbian-Hungarian border at Zimony (today: Zemun, Serbia), near Belgrade; one in Brassó (today: Braşov, Romania) on the Hungarian-German community border, which coincided with the Hungarian-Romanian State border; one in Mount Zobor and in Dévény (today: Devín, Slovakia) near Bratislava, both at the Hungarian-Slovak ethnic and linguistic border at the former Western gate of Hungary; and one in Munkács (today: Mukacseve, Ukraine). The erection of the commemorative monuments

Fig. 3. The Austro-Hungarian Exhibition at the Antwerp International Exhibition in 1885

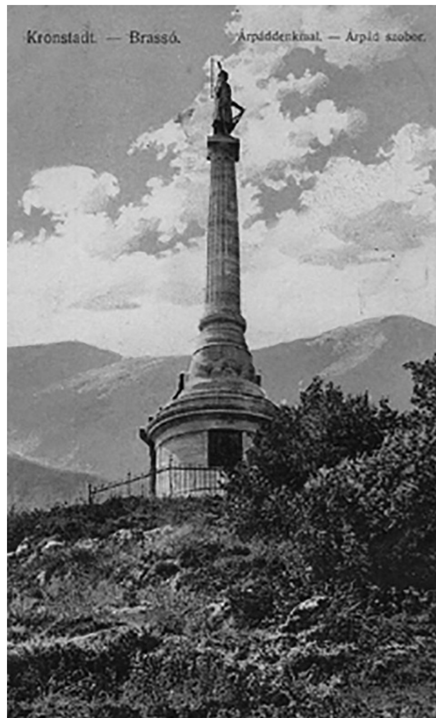

Fig. 4. Árpád Monument in Brassó by Gyula Jankovich. Contemporary postcard, 1896

had been initiated by Kálmán Thaly, a member of the gentrified middle classes, and the concept was a clear statement of intent against the separatism of non-Hungarian ethnic groups (Sinkó 1993: 134–136). Many of the border regions where the monuments were erected had significant populations of minorities who would have been ethnically closer to the 'foreigners' living in neighboring nation states. Combining the national, international and universal aspects, Zichy considered the arrival of the Magyars as an event of global significance, so a universal exhibition would provide the international framework for the commemorative festivities of the national jubilee. *(Fig. 4.)*

The Exhibition was conceived as an evocation of Hungary's historicity as well as its modernity. The contemporary aspect of the Exhibition was encapsulated in the latest economic and cultural achievements of Hungary, displayed in the Main Contemporary Group, which consisted of, among others, industrial, ethnographic and art sections. Meanwhile, the retrospective part of the Main Historical Group, housed in a romantic pavilion composed of replicas of 22 different historic buildings, focused on historical development and culture.

The architectural competition of 1893 to design the Main Historical Group (part of the Retrospective Group) at the Millennium Exhibition resulted in 14 plans. Four

of the plans were approved by the jurors: one was Byzantine-Oriental, another Romanesque-Gothic, and there were also two neo-Gothic entrants with evident allusions to the neo-Gothic character of the Parliament building, then under construction. All four premiated architects (Ignác Alpár, Alajos Hauszmann, Ferenc Pfaff and Ottó Tandor) were invited to submit a new (second) plan, this time with one clear restriction: the new plans should be composed of *replicas* of Hungarian historic monuments, representing examples of the main stylistic periods of Western European architecture. The version that was ultimately selected, by Ignác Alpár, architect of the Byzantine-Oriental plan in the first round, centered around three main historic periods: the Romanesque, the Gothic, and the Renaissance/Baroque (covering architecture from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries). The monuments that Alpár copied stood in the western and northern parts of historic Hungary and in Transylvania, on territories under the continuous influence of Western architectural trends. Most of the 22 different historic buildings – the portal of Ják Abbey, the chapel from Csütörtökhely (today: Spišský Štvrtok, Slovakia), the main wing of Vajdahunyad Castle (today: Hunedoara, Romania), Renaissance buildings from Upper-Hungary – were copied in part or in their entirety for the Main Historical Group, while elements of the Baroque (Maria Theresa) wing reflected the architecture of Fischer von Erlach and

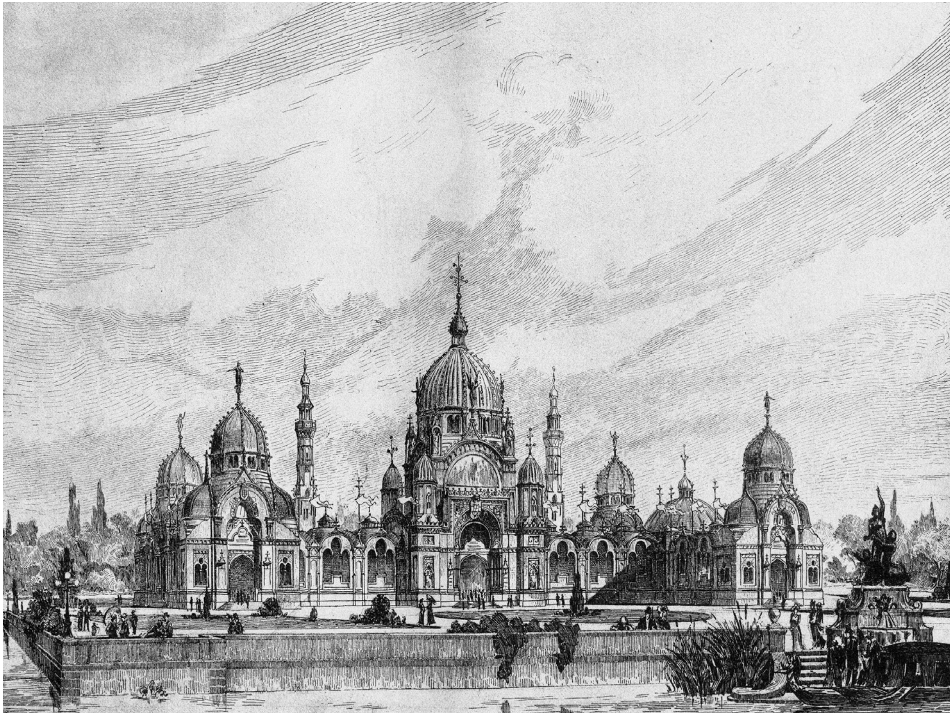

Fig 5. First (Oriental) Plan of Ignác Alpár for the Main Retrospective Group of the Millennium Exhibition. 1893

Fig. 6. The Rennaissance wing of the Main Retrospective Group of Ignác Alpár. 1896

Lucas von Hildebrandt. The original constructions were all national monuments by that time (Lővei 2013). As exemplars of bringing together architectural motifs from diverse periods, we can point to the Bern Historical Museum or the Bavarian National Museum (Sisa 2013: 603). The interiors of the Main Historical Group displayed reconstructions of significant sites in Hungarian history, recreating a lively atmosphere in the spirit of a Western and Habsburg-oriented historiography (Sinkó 1993: 141). *(Fig. 5)*

The architectural paradigm of the pavilion complex shifted between the first drafts and the final plans from an oriental perspective to a western one, and from a medieval aspect to a modern one. The visual reference to the Baroque period was marked by neo-Baroque architecture in the style of Fischer von Erlach, previously appropriated as the 'Austrian national style', and felicitously coinciding with the Habsburg-oriented tone of the Millennium Festivities. The Renaissance period focused on the reign of King Matthias Hunyadi. His memory flourished after the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise in a complex and sometimes contradictory manner. The Hungarian historical narrative concentrated primarily on his role as a patron of the arts and as the first non-Italian Humanist ruler north of the Alps, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He served as one of the models for the new (post-Compromise) national cultural and educational policy. Matthias was also, as the last medieval Hungarian king, the link between the early period of

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the Hungarian kingdom and the Habsburg dynasty's presence on the Hungarian throne. In spite of the conquest of Vienna, his role as a politician and a humanist was appreciated by mainstream Austrian historiography. The reconstruction of the Hunyadi family's famous castle in Vajdahunyad, as an architectural reference to the aristocratic Hunyadi family, also alluded to the fifteenth-century battles against the Turks and the introduction of the quattrocento to Hungary, and showed yet another instance of the attempts at modernization that were made in the course of history. Around the Millennium it served as a reference to the contemporary modernization process. *(Fig. 6)*

Alpár's architectural solution, interlinking the characteristic styles of different periods in art history, served as the framework for the (mainly ambiental) display: the reconstitution of historical interiors was an early Hungarian example of the museological concept of Alexandre Lenoir and Alexandre du Sommerard. Even though the Millennium Exhibition had been planned as a national industrial and agricultural exhibition, the retrospective aspect eventually dominated the entire display. This was true not only in the historical section, but also in the fine art exhibition at the Hall of Arts (Műcsarnok), which contained a retrospective show on Hungarian art since 1800. The historical exhibition's starting point referred to Saint Stephen's coronation as Hungary's first Christian king. The Act of Foundation, a crucial moment of the Millennium Year, framed the exhibition itself.

Fig. 7. Detail of Interior from the Historical Exhibition, the Rennaissance Wing, Exhibition of Military History

The interiors, in the spirit of a Habsburg-oriented historiography, emphasized, in eight periods, the results of the Act of Saint Stephen and the role of the aristocracy: the continuous arc of national history.[2] The exhibits in the Main Retrospective Group, referring to the Western orientation and patronage of their collectors, were composed of historical objects from the collections of major Hungarian aristocratic families. The modern period also referred to an act of foundation: Franz Joseph, as the Hungarian King, was conceived as the 'Second Founder of the State', in other words, the founder of modern Hungary. *(Fig. 7)*

In terms of the appropriation of objects, and the construction of the phenomenon of the vernacular, it was in the *ethnographic village* that the concept of 'history' and 'historical time' shifted from the retrospective to the modern. A total of 25 fully outfitted peasant houses were installed (half of them Hungarian, half representing ethnic groups). As a modern overview of the country's population, the 'Hungarian houses' also framed one special exhibition: the collection of recently acquired objects from the Caucasus expedition of Jenő Zichy, which were exhibited in a copy of the church of Magyarvalkó, a village in Kalotaszeg, in a predominantly Hungarian region of Transylvania. A major promoter of exhibitions in Hungary, Zichy had always emphasized the modern aspect of national exhibitions. The recently acquired Caucasian objects he displayed, however, were labeled as "ancient Hungarian". Zichy's first two expeditions to the Caucasus region (in 1895 and in 1896) were aimed at discovering objects – arms, clothing, and finds from excavations – that had potential connections in form, motif and/or use to ancient Hungarian artefacts dating back to the time of the Conquest (Zichy 1897, 1899). In this – also very political – act, he anticipated the vernacular modernism of the following decades, especially in the idea of the peasantry as the custodian of the lost "original" Hungarian culture (Sinkó 1993: 136–141). *(Fig. 8)*

After 1900, the vernacular architectural heritage, the collection of peasants' objects as a whole, and new archeological discoveries from the early centuries of Hungarian history, all came to be considered as surviving models for the mythical past. The appropriation of the Hungarian vernacular in architecture and the applied arts had its origins in displays of modern Caucasian objects, which referred hypothetically to the lost culture of the Conquest period. Regarding the origins of Hungarians, the way the issue was discussed in the last decades of the nineteenth century is a complex question. It is important to mention that a combination of romantic patriotism and primordial convictions promoted the idea, in opposition to official

2 The eight phase of national history : 1. From the Conquest up to the time of Saint Stephen, 2. From Saint Stephen until the end of the Árpád dynasty (1301), 3. "The golden age of Hungary" until 1526, 4. The period of the Turkish occupation, 5. The new age until the arrival of Western influences (The age of Rákóczi), 6. The age of Western Influences until the activity of István Széchenyi, 7. The age of national awakening, the revolution and the restitution of the Constitution (Compromise), 8. The newest age, under the constitution until the jubilee of the coronation of Franz Joseph.

Fig. 8. Detail of the Ethnographic Village, House from the Hungarian Transylvanian willage of Torockó. 1896

historiography, that the nation and its people had 'Eastern', that is, oriental origins. The truth, for want of reliable written sources, remains uncertain, and is thus the subject of speculation and artistic creativity. For Ödön Lechner (1845–1914) and his pupils – and also for a large section of the Hungarian intelligentsia – this idea served as the starting point for a new architectural model. Hungarian vernacular culture, as the well-spring of authenticity and as the custodian of roots stretching back to the pre-literate times of the Hungarian Conquest, was represented on one of the newly inaugurated public buildings of the capital, the Museum and School of Applied Arts. The competition to design the Museum of Applied Arts had been launched in 1891, with construction work lasting from 1893 to 1896, while approval of Lechner's plans was granted simultaneously with an upsurge in debates on the Millennium Exhibition. The inauguration of the Museum of Applied Arts – one of the concluding moments of the Millennium Celebrations in October 1896 – heralded the dawn of a new paradigm in the quest for a modern Hungarian architecture. *(Fig. 9)*

The completion of Lechner's Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest marked the turning point when things shifted from Alpár's late historicist exhibition concept towards what we might call modern Hungarian national architecture. The historicizing structure of the museum, a remnant of the architect's years as a student in France, was decorated with ceramics from the celebrated Zsolnay factory. Although

Fig. 9. Caption: Detail of the Hungarian Exhibition of Applied Art in the Universal Exhibition, Paris, 1900

the final decision to use this material was not taken until quite late on, in 1894, its deliberate use echoed the original will of the architect: Lechner's vision was to create a uniquely Hungarian *Bekleidung* on the historicizing core – reflecting broadly defined oriental origins, and the modern role of the vernacular heritage.

Hungarian installations grouped around diverse themes in the great exhibition galleries followed the architectural visions of Ödön Lechner, whose quest for a Hungarian national language in architecture was inspired by the German architect and architectural theoretician Gottfried Semper's *Bekleidungstheorie*: the use of folk patterns and motifs on facades (Sisa 2002: 128–135). Oriental elements (Chinese and Indian outside, Indian inside) were mixed with Hungarian vernacular floral decorations on the panels of the internal façade (Sisa 2013: 628–633). The application of floral ornaments from Hungarian vernacular art on innovative Zsolnay pyrogranite ensured a cheap, easy to handle, quickly reproducible, very urban and modern, yet national ornamental architectural language. The promotion of the Hungarian vernacular as a national ornamental language became a widely used tool in the nation-building strategy. The first extensive use of (floral) vernacular ornaments came four years later, at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1900, where they formed a strong visual frame for the exhibits, linking all Hungarian sections with a uniformity of appearance.

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By definition, "nations are imagined communities because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." (Anderson 1983) Reinforcement of the image of Hungarian communion required not only printed but also visual language. Benedict Anderson, in his *Imagined Communities*, articulated the importance of "print capitalism", that is, the use of vernacular languages in printed media in order to maximize circulation. He argued that the first European nation states were consolidated around their "national print-languages". In my view, the transformation of vernacular ornaments into a national visual language contributed greatly to the feeling of a modern, desirable, achievable political community, and therefore to the promotion of a modernized Hungary.

THE PARIS UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION OF 1900

At the turn of the century, patterns and motifs inspired by peasant art – sourced especially from the Hungarian-speaking region of Kalotaszeg in Transylvania, the Great Hungarian Plain and the Matyó land – decorated architectural elements as a common feature in the lands of Austria-Hungary and beyond. Architectural structures and peasant art objects were no longer considered autonomous exhibits. They were reinterpreted, and served as the basis for new structures and ornaments. In political terms, this new Hungarian art and architecture reflected the current concept of Hungary as a large and powerful, modernized historic state. This ambitious new image was based on the collective memory of the political and economic power of medieval Hungary, and combined with the economic and cultural achievements the country had enjoyed since the Austro-Hungarian Compromise.

In 1900 in Paris, the location of the Hungarian historic pavilion along the *Rue des Nations* was by far the most important question, as revealed by diplomatic correspondence. Placing Hungary's pavilion in the first, most viewed row, just by the riverbank, was intended to prove that Hungary was an 'equal' partner of the other great European powers. This idea concurred with the ideas of the French organizing committee, and the decision to locate the Hungarian pavilion on the Seine, between those of Great Britain and the other two joint parties of the Monarchy, was taken by the organizers in Paris prior to any Hungarian request. The final location suggested the inter-dependence of the countries of Austria-Hungary (Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hungary) and, through the presence of the British pavilions on the other side, guaranteed the desired "proximity" to powerful European nations. In general, location was not a determiner of any particular political or economic link between neighboring national pavilions (Wesemael 2001: 398–402). The privilege of erecting pavilions along the picturesque and most attended riverside of the *Rue des Nations* was accorded to countries that were amongst the most influential in terms of historical power and current political status.

The Hungarian historical pavilion in Paris in 1900 was a reduced version of the pavilion complex at the Millennium Exhibition housing the Main Retrospective Group. It consisted of a set of 18 architectural elements from Hungarian monuments that covered the same historical and geographical timeframe as four years earlier in Budapest. The pavilion itself can be considered a scaled-down version of Alpár's architectural solution for the Main Retrospective Group from 1896. The pavilion and the installations within the exhibition galleries were designed by two of Lechner's pupils, Zoltán Bálint and Lajos Jámbor. The fourteen rooms of the pavilion held displays of historic relics. Resetting the interiors and objects from the Millennium Exhibition was more than simply a practical solution. The historic objects of the pavilion, coupled with the latest economic, industrial and cultural achievements exhibited in the galleries, reflected not the course of Hungarian history (as it had been in 1896 in Budapest), but the year of the Millennium itself as the end of a certain historical process in Hungary. It affirmed the present standing of a modern country. The fervor of the Millennium in Budapest lasted much longer than the events themselves, and led to the 'Exportation of the Millennium' to a large international audience in Paris. In essence, the Hungarian exhibit in Paris in 1900 was the 1896 Millennium itself. The features from the Museum of Applied Arts that were re-employed in the exhibition installations demonstrated Hungary's newly formulated modern language of architecture and ornamentation. Ephemeral architecture is often regarded as a chance for architects to experiment. The four designs for the Hungarian historical pavilion in Paris, dated 1897-1898, represent the first examples of the act of melding historical precedents with the architectural solutions used in the Museum of Applied Arts. Elements from iconic medieval buildings, Baroque structures, and floral panel decorations testify to the paradigm shift that was taking place in architectural thinking and the new model for a national architecture.

Exhibitions at the end of the nineteenth century, the Millennium festivities, and the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1900 fostered the emergence of a modern national architecture in Hungary. Compared with the time of the Millennium (1896), when historicism seemed to be providing an acceptable framework in which to devise a national Hungarian style, by 1902, following the paradigm of cultural modernization, the new national art was being based on a mixture of international art nouveau and vernacularism. The Millennium festivities opened the way to this new paradigm in national representation. After the Millennium celebrations, Hungary officially rejoined the series of universal exhibitions, and invested more financial, economic and intellectual resources than in previous decades. The concept for the 1896 Millennium Exhibition was transplanted to the Hungarian exhibition at the Parisian *Exposition Universelle* of 1900, but with major modifications. The installations within the immense galleries, with their distinctive, peasant-art-inspired floral decorations designed by Bálint and Jámbor, were conceived to highlight the original culture and economic strength of Hungary, a common endeavor of many European countries at the time. Alongside the economic and cultural sovereignty

exhibited in the galleries, the Hungarian historical pavilion in the *Rue des Nations* emphasized the country's officially appropriated historical narrative through a mixture of historical architectural elements – collected from half a dozen different historic monuments around the country.

At the turn of the century, the Hungarian folk art tradition was employed to serve a new paradigm, promoted as a feature of modern national art and architecture, and this became an important factor in pavilion architecture and decorative art objects (Csáki 2006). Behind this lay not only a political motive but also an important economic one: products decorated in the modern national style enhanced the country's international reputation and were successful on the market as part of a more general trend of the vernacular revival in the region. The promotion of vernacular modernism – through the interpretation of folk traditions – was based on a more organic way of conceiving national architecture and art (Stirton 2005: 166–179). Between 1906 and 1911 vernacular modernism was appropriated by the state as a way of affirming its prestige; its promotion in exhibitions was strengthened by the professionalization of the exhibition industry. Hungarian pavilions in Milan and Bucharest (both in 1906); Turin and Dresden (both in 1911) echoed this new concept (Magdó 2012; Hutvágner 2012).

The international presence of Hungarian architecture was thus ensured by its pavilions at international events. Internal architectural representation manifested itself mostly in town halls, especially across the Great Plain, where parts of the urban infrastructure only began to be modernized after 1900. The new town halls were mainly located in the Western Great Plain region, whose architecture would have been unsuitable as a source for the Main Retrospective Group, for no historic buildings had survived the Turkish Occupation between 1541 and 1686. This lack of historical national architecture was therefore converted into a new terrain for modern national architecture.

The buildings of Ödön Lechner were at the origins of a profoundly functionalist architecture (Vujnovic 2013: 32–40). Basing his designs on the necessities of modern urban life, new technical inventions and, of central importance, the possibilities opened up by the new materials of the nineteenth century, Lechner and his followers transformed town hall architecture in Hungary into a much loved and appreciated promoter of the idea of the Nation. While historicism had remained the flagship of modernization, until 1896, town halls in the 1880s had been built in a neo-Classical style. The year of the Millennium was a turning point for rival architectural styles. Great architects of previous generations, such as Mihály Pollack, József Hild and Miklós Ybl, debated the opportunities for a Hungarian national style, with arguments based on classical architecture. The new concept, on the other hand, followed the needs of modern (especially urban) lifestyles, new functions and immensely diverse modern materials.

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Lechner's only town hall building in this period was the one in Kecskemét, a dynamically developing former agricultural town in the middle of the country. Kecskemét Town Hall, built between 1893 and 1896, was conceived as a blend of Hungarian folk art traditions and historicist architecture. The town hall was built using the historical architectural language, with the addition of the vernacular decorative system. As a reminder of Lechner's study years in France, the voluminous mass of this explicitly Hungarian town hall building represented the heritage of French Renaissance architecture. Architectural vernacularism was added in the Hungarian folk art motifs placed as ornaments on the facades. While structural vernacularism did not play a role in the 1890s, architectural modernism was expressed in the use of faience decorations on facades, while the bright, colorful aspect of the building represented modern urban features. Modernism and national peculiarities coincided in technical terms, with folk art patterns in the recently (re-)invented pyrogranite (faience) pieces produced in the Zsolnay factory in Pécs. The commission in Kecskemét was followed by other town hall competitions in the rapidly developing central and southern parts of Hungary, in Kiskunhalas (1905), Kiskunfélegyháza and Szabadka (now: Subotica) (both in 1906). Unlike the Kecskemét building, these new edifices were built in line with the modern Hungarian architectural language. These buildings comprise a clearly identifiable group of town halls belonging to the trend of the so-called Alföld (Great-Plain) Secession.

CONCLUSION

Thanks to Ödön Lechner and his followers, the understanding of the 'Hungarian vernacular' changed dramatically between 1891 and 1898. The presence of vernacular culture in the "village of nationalities" at the Millennium Exhibition, especially the houses related to Hungarian ethnic minorities, portrayed the peasantry as the genuine custodians of Hungary's authentic national cultural heritage. The use of vernacular ornamental language in the Hungarian exhibition installations in the Parisian galleries in 1900 became the promoter of modernity; the floral decoration on the installations in all parts of the Hungarian exhibition group, as a distinctive visual frame, sustained the image of modern Hungary: its latest products of industry and agriculture, and its recent achievements in education, culture and the arts. Both historicism and vernacularism offered modern visual solutions for nation-building strategies. They were indeed linked to different social classes. The gentry and the bourgeoisie made up a heterogeneous class composed of middle-aristocrats, foreign immigrants and assimilated Jews, who promoted essentially vernacular modernist thinking, while 'official Hungary', led mainly by upper-aristocrats, promoted historicist tendencies with a clear visual reference to their own historical traditions and significance. Although it appeared impossible to construct common origins after 1900, in Smithian terms, ornamental vernacu-

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larism was intended to offer a chance for both emancipation and modernization, and these self-reflecting modern ephemeral constructions expressed the vision of Hungary as a modern country, built around a common culture.

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Fig. 9. Caption: Detail of the Hungarian Exhibition of Applied Art in the Universal Exhibition, Paris, 1900. Info: Detail of the Hungarian Exhibition of Applied Art in the Universal Exhibition, Paris, 1900. Installations by Zoltán Bálint and Lajos Jámbor. Archives of the Hungarian Museum of Applied Arts, FLT. 5025.

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Dragan Damjanović

Croatian Pavilions at the 1896 Millennium Exhibition in Budapest

INTRODUCTION

Without political independence, Croatia rarely had an opportunity to build its own pavilions at great exhibitions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, so Croatian entrepreneurs and artists had to exhibit their works in Hungarian or Austro-Hungarian pavilions. After gaining the status of an autonomous nation with its own government, secured by the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise of 1868, Croatia was given the right to build its own pavilions for exhibitions, held within the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The first "Croatian house" was built for the 1873 World Exhibition in Vienna, although it was not so much a proper pavilion as an architectural exhibit forming part of the exhibition's ethnographic section. Croatia subsequently participated in two of the Monarchy's major regional exhibitions – the 1882 Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition in Trieste, and the 1885 Hungarian National Exhibition in Budapest, both of which featured selections of goods and art works produced in Croatia, displayed in their first true national pavilions. They were built under the auspices of the first Croatian art historian, Iso Kršnjavi, whose aim was to show Central European nations how far Croatia had progressed in terms of art, culture, education and its economy, much of which had been initiated by Kršnjavi himself, thanks to his personal efforts in founding numerous national institutions. Kršnjavi succeeded in bringing to Croatia a very talented architect, Herman Bollé, originally from Cologne, who had lived in Vienna in the 1870s, studying under Friedrich von Schmidt. With Bollé on his side, Kršnjavi launched projects aimed at raising standards in architecture and the applied arts, primarily through establishing the Arts and Crafts School and the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb. This also explains why the majority of the exhibits in the pavilions in Trieste and Budapest in the 1880s were the work of the school's professors and students. The pavilions were built according to Herman Bollé's designs in the "Croatian national style", as suggested by Kršnjavi, based on the vernacular architecture of the Croatian regions of Syrmia and Eastern Slavonia (Maruševski 1986: 89–97; Rapo 2006; Maruševski 2009: 136–148; Damjanović 2010: 231–243; Damjanović 2013: 596–633). The three pavilions referred to above, in Vienna, Trieste and Budapest, with their modest size, reflected the equally modest financial capabilities of the autonomous Croatian government, just like the pavilions built for the national Jubilee Husbandry and Forestry Exhibition in Zagreb in 1891 (Arčabić 2007a: 36–39; Arčabić 2007b: 76–77; Rapo 2006: 89–100.).

The situation changed considerably in later years, however, most specifically in 1896 at the Millennium Exhibition in Budapest, primarily due to political circumstances. In his efforts to show loyalty to the Viennese court and to the Budapest authorities, the then Croatian *Ban* (viceroy), Dragutin (Károly) Khuen-Héderváry (Bad Gräfenberg bei Freiwaldau, today Jeseník, Czech Republich, 1849 – Budapest, 1918), allocated a considerable sum of money from Croatian government coffers for the construction of no fewer than four pavilions (*Kraljevine* 1896; Krešić 1897; Maruševski 1999: 255–271; Rapo 2006: 110–145, 463–495; Šokčević 2006: 171–190; Damjanović 2010: 231–243).

POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND CROATIA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE MILLENNIUM EXHIBITION IN BUDAPEST

Preparations for organizing the Millennium Exhibition started in Budapest since 1892–1893. However, two years elapsed before Croatia began preparing for the participation at the exhibition. Having played a crucial role in Croatia's participation in the 1885 National General Exhibition in Budapest, the Slavonian Chamber of Commerce and Crafts in Osijek, led by Nikola Plavišić, sent a letter to Ban Khuen-Héderváry in mid-February 1894, asking for preparations for the Millennium Exhibition to begin. As Slavonia was more economically dependent on Hungary than North-West Croatia, Osijek, as the capital of the region, took participation in the exhibition very seriously.[1]

The plan for the exhibition from late 1894 shows that the idea was for Croatia to have only one pavilion,[2] as had been the case at both the 1882 exhibition in Trieste and the 1885 exhibition in Budapest. However, in February 1895 the State Exhibition Committee decided to divide the Croatian exhibits into two pavilions – the main (so-called industrial) pavilion and an art pavilion (*Viestia* 1895: 1). Only a month later, it was decided to add another building, a special pavilion for tasting food and drinks (*Kosthalle*) (*Viestie* 1895: 1). Finally, in April 1895, the Ban approved the construction of a fourth pavilion for forestry and hunting exhibits (*Viestig* 1895: 1; Maruševski 1999: 261.). While this may seem to be an extravagant

1 Hrvatski državni arhiv (Croatian State Archives) further in the notes: HDA), Fond no. 78, Predsjedništvo zemaljske vlade (Croatian Government, Ban's Cabinet, further in the notes PZV), Box no. 483, Folder 6–14, Document no. 671–1894, Trgovačko obrtnička komora za Slavoniju banu Khuen-Héderváryju (Slavonian Chamber of Commerce and Crafts to Ban Khuen-Héderváry), Osijek, 14 February 1894.

2 The plan of the exhibition was included in the letter of the Hungarian commerce minister to Ban Khuen-Héderváry. HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 483, Folder 6–14, Document no. 4577–1894, Ugarski ministar trgovine banu Khuen-Héderváryju (Hungarian Commerce Minister to Ban Khuen-Héderváry), Budapest, 7 Dec 1894. A letter of the Chamber of Commerce and Crafts in Osijek to Khuen-Héderváry proves that the original ideal was to build only one pavilion. HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 483, Folder 6 – 14, Document no. 671 – 1894, Trgovačko obrtnička komora za Slavoniju banu Khuen-Héderváryju (Slavonian Chamber of Commerce and Crafts to Ban Khuen-Héderváry), Osijek, 14 February 1894.

Fig. 1. Millennium Exhibition in Budapest, ground plan, 1896

number of buildings, it is interesting to note that Bosnia and Herzegovina, despite not having the same close political ties with Hungary that Croatia enjoyed, built five pavilions (M. Š. 1896: 5).

The official names of the Croatian pavilions differ to some degree from the names commonly used in newspaper articles and other documents. The main structure was called the „paviljon za industriju, obrt, javnu nastavu, etnografiju i gospodarstvo" (Pavilion for Industry, Crafts, Public Education, Ethnography and Economics), the art pavilion was officially the „paviljon za povijest, umjetnost i književnost" (History, Art and Literature Pavilion), the third bore the name of the „izložbena kušaona" (Tasting Pavilion), while the fourth was the „paviljon za šumarstvo i lovstvo" (Forestry and Hunting Pavilion).[3]

They were located in the central part of the exhibition area, in the vicinity of the island hosting the so-called historical group, and not far from one of the main entrances. *(Fig. 1)* The Croatian State Exhibition Committee was exceptionally

3 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 484, Folder 6 – 14, Document no. 1411–1896, Izvješće zemaljskog ekseku- tivnog izložbenog odbora (Report of the State Executive Exhibition Committee), Zagreb, 23 March 1896.

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Fig. 2. Caricature from the Trn (Thorn) magazine. Illustration of the Croatian opposition's severe criticism of the Millennium exhibition. Unknown author, 1896

satisfied with this location, close to the historical group and to the pavilion for special festivities and social events, while the Croatian opposition complained that the site was completely unsatisfactory, because the pavilions, situated in a grove, were hardly visible and far from the main path (*Viestil* 1895: 1; *Obzore* 1896: 2–3).

In addition to expressing their displeasure at the cost, the Croatian opposition claimed that Croatia should not even be participating in the millennium festivities, because the event was to celebrate Hungary's thousand-year history, not Croatia's, which meant that the occasion did not count as an activity requiring joint organization and participation, as stipulated by the 1868 Croatian-Hungarian Compromise.[4] Quite the contrary, the opposition found the exhibition act passed in the Croatian parliament to be in direct breach of the Compromise, that is, a breach of Croatian autonomy (*Obzorb* 1896: 1). On the other hand, Croatian government officials declared that the desire to organize the exhibition had "arisen from Hungarian national sensibilities, relating principally to the life, interests and future of that nation, but it does not exclude benefits to other nationalities, primarily our people, and in certain regards our national and economic life" (*Narodne novinea* 1896: 1–2). The official *Narodne novine* (People's Newspaper) stressed that Croatia was participating in the exhibition as an "independent member of the joint state" (which was partly proven by the fact that it was entitled to its own national pavilions), and that its participation was an advantageous way of self-promotion and a great opportunity for Croatian companies to show off their own strengths as well as recent developments in the country in general (*Narodne novineb* 1896: 1). "Our schools, our arts, all sorts of educational institutions, both industrial design and crafts, will be represented at the exhibition by works, labelled with the Croatian name, which have never before been presented anywhere in the world in such a way" (*Narodne novinea* 1896: 1–2).

In its attacks on the millennium festivities, the opposition press used anti-Semitic comments, often borrowed from Austrian newspapers, or more specifically, from the citations of the then Viennese Mayor, Karl Lueger (*Obzord* 1896: 2–3.). They also reported on various incidents affecting exhibition visitors, such as cholera outbreaks or protests in Hungary against the event, all with the purpose of discouraging Croatians from visiting Budapest. *(Fig. 2)* Although several protests were indeed organized in Croatia against the millennium festivities, they did not result in the wave of violence that had been anticipated by the government,[5] who still clearly remembered Emperor Franz Joseph's visit to Croatia in October 1895, when

4 *Obzora* 1896: 1. More on the opposition's disapproval of the Croatian participation in the Millennium exhibition in: Šokčević 2006: 171–190.

5 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 484, Folder 6–14, Document no. 2429, PZV svim velikim županima (PZV to All County Prefects), Zagreb, 28 May 1896.

students had burned the Hungarian flag.[6] Despite the protests by the opposition and the fierce attacks in the press, Croatia's participation in the exhibition went ahead without any major problem, and proved a major political success for Ban Khuen-Hédervár y.

THE MAIN CROATIAN PAVILION FOR INDUSTRY, CRAFTS, PUBLIC EDUCATION, ETHNOGRAPHY AND ECONOMICS

Unlike the 1882 exhibition in Trieste and the 1885 exhibition in Budapest, where the construction of the pavilions was entrusted to the architect Herman Bollé, who was close to Khuen-Hédervár y, this time around, the Croatian government, after finally agreeing to attend the Millennium Exhibition in Budapest, held an architectural design competition. It was open exclusively to architects living and/or working in Croatia and to Croatian citizens working abroad. According to the State Exhibition Committee, "Croatian architects are given [...] a chance to show their skills and taste, and to bring glory and recognition to the country with their work and art" (*Obzorc* 1896: 1). Although not directly engaged in the project, Bollé was not left on the margins. He was elected a member of the selection committee to choose the winning design, and soon afterwards he was given an opportunity to implement his own designs for the Hunting and Forestry Pavilion. The competition brief, besides giving information on dimensions and basic instructions on the size and content of the pavilions, also instructed architects to design the buildings so as to reflect their purpose to the highest degree possible, to create the facades and the interior in a tasteful manner, and to keep the costs of construction as low as possible (*Viestid* 1895: 1–2).

Only five architects submitted works to the competition, which can be explained by the fact that the jury comprised many esteemed Zagreb-based engineers and architects, such as Leo Hönigsberg, Milan Lenuci, Herman Bollé and Juraj Augustin, who were therefore excluded from the competition. Two entries were rejected and three were accepted. The second prize, worth 500 forints, went to two projects: the one created by Janko Holjac in collaboration with the engineers Prister and Deutsch, and the work of the Zagreb-based architectural office of Šafranek and Wiesner. Although they were paid for, and therefore owned, by the Croatian government, they could not be found among the documents pertaining to the Millennium Exhibition. The first prize was won by Vjekoslav Heinzel, an engineer and architect from Zagreb (who is better known today as the city's mayor in the 1920s) (*Viestih* 1895: 1–2).

6 In order to avoid a similar incident in Budapest, that is, to prevent Croatian flags from being burnt by Hungarians, they were made from inflammable material. *Obzorc* 1896: 1.

Fig. 3. Main Croatian pavilion at the Millennium Exhibition (Industry, Crafts, Education, Ethnography and Economy Pavilion), main façade, Vjekoslav Heinzel, 1896

Fig. 4. Croatian Industry, Crafts, Education, Ethnography and Economy Pavilion, architect Vjekoslav Heinzel, photo made by György Klösz, 1896

Heinzel designed the building on a rectangular plan with a sort of transept in its central section. It was 66.4m long and 17m wide, with the transept measuring 26×18m. The central area of the interior was surrounded entirely by wooden galleries, in order to create as much space as possible for displaying exhibits (*Viestim* 1895: 1). *(Fig. 3, 4)*

As far as can be discerned from archive sources, the State Exhibition Committee did not impose conditions on the style of any of the pavilions. Although each was built in a different style, all four buildings had common features (many of which were shared by the majority of the pavilions at the Millennium Exhibition). They were typical examples of late historicism, with rich ornamentation and a dynamic articulation of facades and roofs, topped with turrets and domes. A frequent feature was a mixture of styles, which must have derived from a desire among architects to demonstrate some original expression and to achieve some independence from historical models.

The stylistic expression of the main Croatian pavilion is especially difficult to define. It is a peculiar blend of Neo-Renaissance elements (sgraffito facade decorations and garlands made in stucco), motifs taken from Croatian vernacular architecture (present especially on the porches in front of the entrances and on the eaves on the main and side facades) and components from the modern architecture of train stations, industrial halls and exhibition pavilions (large semi-circular windows above the entrances, segmental windows on the side facades, simple articulation of the exterior facade walls). The dome was added to the pavilion in order to give it a monumental effect, while parts of the facade between the wooden beams were made out of brick and then plastered to resemble marble slabs (*Viestim* 1895: 1). The interior was a well-lit space, built entirely of wood in the "Croatian national style", or at least a variant of it.

The pavilion was filled with works created by Croatian craftsmen, demonstrating that the focus of the Croatian display was on the applied arts. This is understandable, because the Arts and Crafts School was one of the key institutions supported by Ban Khuen-Héderváry's administration, which provided it with a new building (on today's Marshal Tito Square in Zagreb) thanks to the close relationship between the Ban and the men who had prompted the school's foundation, Iso Kršnjavi and Herman Bollé.

In order to help Croatian craftsmen prepare for the exhibition, the Croatian government spent as much as 25 000 forints, which provided them with the means to produce numerous lavishly decorated works.[7] Especially high in quality

7 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 483, Folder 6–14, Document no. 1401 – 1895, Predsjedništvo zemaljske vlade velikom županu Jurkoviću (Croatian Government, Ban's Cabinet to County Prefect Jurković), Zagreb, 27 March 1895.

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Fig. 5. Aquarium in the main Croatian pavilion, built according to designs made by Herman Bollé, photo made by György Klösz, 1896

were entire *rooms*, that is, items of furniture designed by Bollé and produced by a number of carpenters (Dragutin Turković, Josip Šeremet and others) in the "Croatian national style". Bollé's works were largely present in the main pavilion, and they were certainly among the most original creations. Perhaps the most bizarre

product of applied art created according to his design was a huge aquarium, which was set under the dome in the very center of the industrial pavilion (Krešić 1897: 377). It seems that the aquarium, in spite of its lavish design and permanent material, was intended to be just an ephemeral structure, judging by the fact that it was not preserved, or at least, there is no record of it being transferred to a museum. The metal frame of the aquarium was covered with motifs of marine fauna and symbols of the sea (e.g. Poseidon's trident) and crowned with a statue of the sea god. As symbol of the Adriatic coast it was of particular importance to Croatian participation in the Millennium Exhibition. *(Fig. 5)*

THE HISTORY, ART AND LITERATURE PAVILION

The second most important Croatian building in Budapest was the History, Art and Literature Pavilion, whose construction was decided upon in February 1894. It was envisaged as a semi-permanent structure to be transported to Zagreb after the exhibition (*Viestia* 1895: 1; *Viestic* 1895: 1.). Since it was intended to contain a display of important historical documents, art works from the treasuries of Catholic churches (notably the treasury of Zagreb Cathedral) and Orthodox monasteries and churches (monasteries in Fruška Gora and the cathedral in Sremski Karlovci), it had to be built from fire resistant materials: "The proper protection of monuments and antiquities provided by exhibitors and their undamaged return will be ensured by the decision of the honorable Ban to have the pavilion for the historical exhibition built from iron, which would display these artefacts, in the safest possible manner and with the greatest possible attention, in sealed glass showcases" (*Viestif* 1895: 1–2).

Since there were no companies in Croatia able to produce the requisite iron skeleton for the pavilion, the government decided to request bids from respectable companies in the western and eastern parts of the Monarchy. Only two companies responded to the request – *Engine Construction Plc* from Prague and *Danubius* from Budapest. Although the Czech offer was somewhat cheaper the Ban decided to hire Danubius (*Viestii* 1895: 1), either because its iron structure was lighter, or simply because he preferred to contribute to the Hungarian economy (*Viestij* 1895: 1). Both companies sent a list of construction expenses and project designs. The authorship of the designs sent by the Czech company is still unknown, but the Danubius designs were made by the Budapest-based architectural office of Flóris Korb and Kálmán Giergl, who designed a great number of other pavilions for the Millennium Exhibition – such as the Machinery, Mining and Metallurgy Pavilion, the Aranykönyv (Golden Book) Pavilion, and so on (Gerle 2010: 54–68).

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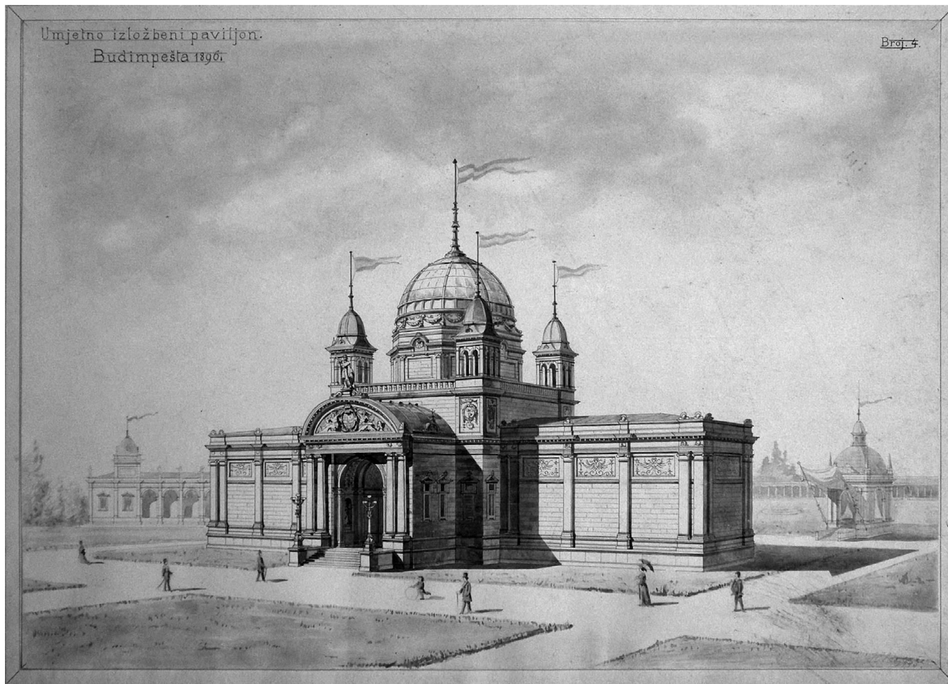

Fig. 6. Design for the Croatian Art Pavilion in Budapest, Herman Bollé, 1895

Fig. 7. Croatian Art and History Pavilion, main facade, Flóris Nándor Korb, Kálmán Giergl, 1895

In addition to Korb & Giergl, Herman Bollé also made designs for the art pavilion.[8] *(Fig. 6)* He was most likely asked to make them by Iso Kršnjavi, who, as head of the governmental Department of Religion and Education, was in charge of the construction and design of the pavilion, and who had frequently entrusted similar projects to Bollé. However, these designs are not mentioned anywhere in the documentation. In comparison to Korb & Giergl's designs, Bollé's were much simpler and rather conservative. The restrained facade articulation is a clear example of the Neo-Renaissance of high historicism, which obviously did not sit well with the tastes of the *fin-de-siècle*. It is therefore unsurprising that the State Exhibition Committee rejected this and went ahead instead with Korb & Giergl's designs. *(Fig. 7)*

The spatial disposition of Korb & Giergl's design was rather similar to Bollé's, with the difference being evident in the far richer facade, with its decoration evoking Baroque, rather than Renaissance architecture (although Renaissance was, according to the official report, the style chosen for the pavilion) (*Viestio* 1895: 1). The most obvious difference was in the articulation of the dome and the central section of the building. The 30-meter-high dome was made completely from iron and glass, topped with a lantern and surrounded with tall flag poles. The Renaissance and Baroque elements on the facades were intertwined with motifs that clearly heralded the arrival of the Viennese Secession, and which attest to the influence of Otto Wagner's works on Korb & Giergl (Maruševski 1999: 262).[9] Another possible influence that deserves mentioning came from Germany: Numerous details in the design of the pavilion dome are reminiscent of those on Paul Wallot's Reichstag in Berlin (1884–1894) and on Friedrich von Thiersch's Justizpalais (Justice Palace) in Munich (1891–1897) (Dolgner 1993: 114–118).

The walls and the foundations of the iron structure of the Croatian Art, History and Literature Pavilion were built by the Budapest-based company Ödön & Marcel Neuschlosz.[10] The construction of the pavilion cost almost 90,000 forints,[11] and this probably did not include the costs of creating and transporting the many works by Croatian artists.

The central, domed hall of the pavilion displayed mainly works by Croatian sculptors, as well as a model of the new Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb (the

8 Nadbiskupijski arhiv u Zagrebu, Zbirka građevnih nacrta (Archdiocesan Archive in Zagreb, Collection of Architectural Drawings), call no. VII-2.

9 Similar façade decoration can be seen, for example, on Otto Wagner's Anker building in Graben Street in Vienna which was built in 1895, at the time when Korb & Giergl worked on the design for the Croatian Art Pavilion.

10 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 484, Folder 6–14, Document no. 2351–1896, Predsjedništvo zemaljske vlade Zemaljskoj blagajni (Croatian Government, Ban's Cabinet to the State Treasury), Zagreb, 28 March 1896.

11 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 1177, Document no. 2388–1897, Zemaljski izložbeni odbor Predsjedništvu Zemaljske vlade (State Exhibition Committee to Croatian Government, Ban's Cabinet), no. 2388, Zagreb, 10 August 1897.

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work of Helmer and Fellner from Vienna). The large exhibition space to the left served for exhibiting important artefacts from church treasuries and archival documents, while the one to the right contained works by contemporary Croatian painters. A small space at the rear of the pavilion contained important works by Croatian writers, as well as project designs and plans by Croatian architects.[12]

Although the opposition had been severely critical of Croatia's participation in the exhibition, the fact that Croatia's pavilions were among the most beautiful exhibition spaces was welcomed with great pride, with special favor reserved for the art pavilion, not so much for its architecture as for the exhibits themselves (*Obzore* 1896: 2–3). After Iso Kršnjavi stepped down in early 1896 from his leading position at the Department of Religion and Education, the exhibition concept was entrusted to Vlaho Bukovac, a Croatian painter educated in Paris and the founder of the Croatian version of the Secession. He gathered together young Croatian artists who stood against traditionalism in painting and advocated a newer, freer approach. The exhibition of Croatian painting was therefore very well received by Central European critics.[13] Bukovac used the Budapest exhibition as an opportunity to "compete with Hungarians" and as a way of providing Zagreb with a permanent exhibition space (Bukovac 1992: 182–184, 187–188).

Unlike the forestry pavilion, which failed to be transported to Zagreb despite many efforts to do so, the iron structure of the art pavilion was shipped to the Croatian capital after the exhibition and set up in 1896–1897 on what was at the time Franz Joseph I Square (today King Tomislav Square), located in the eastern part of the so-called Green Horseshoe (the urban layout with nineteenth -century gardens and parks), and facing the main railway station. Since the pavilion was reassembled on sloping terrain which was higher on the north than on the south, its iron frame had to be supported with a substructure, while the facades were rebuilt according to a new design by the Viennese architects Fellner and Helmer, based on the original designs by Korb & Giergl (Krešić 1897: 262; Chvála 1900: 49–50; Dobronić 1983: 241–244; Knežević 1996: 152–159; Maruševski 1999: 255–271; Maruševski 2004: 145–147, 164–167; Ukrainčik 2000: 9–13; Perušić 2013: 33–39). However, they also introduced a series of changes: flag poles on the roof were replaced by finials with Neo-Baroque and Secessionist elements, and the facades of the building were much more articulated (Maruševski 1999: 263). These elements made the building a carrier of architectural traces that originated in both Vienna and Budapest. According to

12 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 484, Folder 6–14, Document no. 1411–1896, Izvješće zemaljskog eksekutivnog izložbenog odbora (Report of the State Executive Exhibition Committee), Zagreb, 23 March 1896.

13 People's Newspaper reported on praises to Croatian artists which were published by the *Neuer Pester Journal*, *Narodne novinec* 1896: 5. Ludwig Hevesi also wrote favorably on Croatian art works exhibited in Budapest. Hevesi, 1896: 3–4; *Agramer Zeitunga* 1896: 6-7; *Narodne Novined* 1896: 4; More about the participation of Croatian painters at the Millennium Exhibition and positive reviews they received in: Rossner, 2007; Maruševski, 2004: 150–156.

the official construction report, the style of the pavilion facades after their reconstruction in Zagreb was defined as "empire and reminiscent of French Renaissance". It seems that it was becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate between stylistic features towards the end of the century. Of course, the architectural elements today referred to as Secessionist were not and could not have been discerned by the author of the cited report. Even in subsequent periods, the fact that the Art Pavilion was the first building in Zagreb to contain Secessionist elements has often been overlooked in historical accounts of Croatian architecture.

Judging by the photographs of the pavilion taken during the Millennium Exhibition, the original interior was very simple, so today's ornate appearance must owe its architectural articulation to Fellner and Helmer (Maruševski 1999: 262). Despite later changes which have been made to it, the inner space of the pavilion still represents one of the most significant examples of late nineteenth-century interiors in Croatian architecture in general.

In the interwar period, with modernity on the horizon, the pavilion was, for political reasons, deemed to be a Hungarian work, and this led to demands for its removal (Maruševski 1999: 269–270). Nevertheless, it managed to survive, although the renovation of 1938–1939 considerably simplified its facades. It is only since the most recent restoration, completed in 2013, that the building stands resplendent once again in its original late nineteenth-century appearance.

THE TASTING PAVILION

The smallest Croatian pavilion, called the Tasting Pavilion, was located between the main and the forestry pavilions. It was built, much like the Hunting and Forestry Pavilion, to offer a suitable venue for representing the production of food and alcoholic beverages, as one of the main sectors of the Croatian economy, and to provide Croatian producers of drinks and food with an opportunity to sell their wares and earn some money. The building was constructed according to designs by Hönigsberg & Deutsch, at that time the most productive architectural office in Zagreb. Although the State Exhibition Committee Bulletin reported that the style chosen for the pavilion was "French Renaissance" (*Viestin* 1895: 1), its appearance could today be characterized more as a Neo-Baroque with traces of Neo-Renaissance.[14] "The lavish and freely expressed architectural forms and details of the pavilion express the intention of the architects to bring into harmony the exterior of the pavilion and its purpose of evoking culinary pleasures". In other words, the Tasting Pavilion was to speak, in its architectural language of lavishness and freely

14 Certain texts from the late 19th century claim that the Tasting Pavilion was built in the Baroque style, Krešić 1897: 262.

Fig. 8. Design for the Croatian Kosthalle, Tasting Pavilion, Millennium Exhibition, Hönigsberg & Deutsch, 1896

Fig. 09. Croatian Kosthalle, Tasting Pavilion, Millennium Exhibition, built according to designs made by Hönigsberg & Deutsch, photo made by György Klösz, 1896

developed forms, about the hedonistic, gourmet pleasures offered to visitors (*Viestin* 1895: 1). The articulation of the main facade was therefore exceptionally elaborate, opened with an arcaded porch with diagonally protruding domed pavilions, and an octagonal turret covered with a Baroque onion dome in the center. The sole surviving photograph of the pavilion does not show the main facade very clearly, which makes it difficult to speak about the plasticity of the architectural decoration. The only known fact found in the sources is that the stucco decoration was gilded, which most certainly enhanced the glamorous impression of the building. *(Fig. 8, 9)*

Certain documents state that a separate, typical Slavonian structure was built adjacent to the pavilion in order to serve as the *kiljer* (pantry), but there is no precise information on who could have been responsible for making this building or what it may have looked like (*Narodne novinee* 1896: 4; *Agramer Zeitungb* 1896: 3–4).

THE FORESTRY AND HUNTING PAVILION

The important role played by forests in the nineteenth-century Croatian economy was crucial to Ban Khuen-Héderváry's decision to support the construction of a pavilion dedicated to hunting and forestry. Forests comprised 36% of Croatian territory at the time, and timber and wooden products represented one of the principal segments of Croatian exports (Krešić 1897: 291; *Viestig* 1895: 1). The Croatian autonomous administration of forests, headed by Ferdinand Zikmundowski, was in charge of all the activities related to this pavilion. It was decided that the majority of the construction costs would be paid by the Military Frontier property municipalities, which were among the most important forest owners in the country, while the remainder would be covered by the state treasury.[15] The design of the pavilion was entrusted to Herman Bollé, without public competition this time, doubtlessly because his earlier pavilions had appropriately represented the richness and significance of Croatian forests (*Viestik* 1895: 1). The building was envisaged to be built partly from oak and partly from soft wood, and the Zagreb-based firm Fillip Deutsch and Sons was commissioned to do the construction work.[16] In contrast with other Croatian pavilions, whose architectural styles included various versions of Neo-Renaissance and Neo-Baroque, the Hunting and Forestry Pavilion was built in the "Croatian national style", which had been used by Bollé, as previously mentioned, for the Croatian pavilions in Trieste and Budapest

15 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 483, Folder 6–14, 1894, 990 – 1894 and 1895, Document no. 800, Ferdo Zikmundovski banu Khuen-Héderváryju, Zagreb (Ferdo Zikmundovski to Ban Khuen-Héderváry), 20 February 1895.

16 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 483, Folder 6–14, 1894, 990 – 1894 and 1895, Document no. 3640, Pr., Izvještaj zemaljskog eksekutivnog izložbenog odbora uz Zagrebu (Report of the State Executive Exhibition Committee in Zagreb), no. 550, Zagreb, 12 August 1895.

in the 1880s. The choice of style was partly decided upon by Bollé himself, but was also partly due to the fact that the highest quality wood which Croatia produced (and which was promoted in and by the pavilion) came from East Slavonia and Syrmia, the region whose vernacular architecture had served as the basis for the creation of the "Croatian national style". The style failed to develop deep roots in Croatian historicist architecture. Despite the efforts of both Bollé and Kršnjavi to encourage more frequent use of this style, it was, outside the exhibition pavilions, used only for a few villas in Zagreb and for a chapel in Gustelnica in the region of Turopolje (1887–1888).[17]

Although almost all newspaper articles spoke emphatically about the Croatian "national" style of the pavilion, claiming even, as it was reported in one of them, that it had Yugoslav characteristics ("All the formal details, and partly even the structure and decoration of the exterior and interiors, have a Yugoslav character") (*Viestip* 1895: 2), the Croatian Hunting and Forestry Pavilion greatly resembled the wooden Hungarian pavilions at the Millennium Exhibition (especially the pavilion representing Hungarian agriculture, which had very similar turrets, although there were also certain similarities with the Hungarian Hunting and Forestry Pavilion

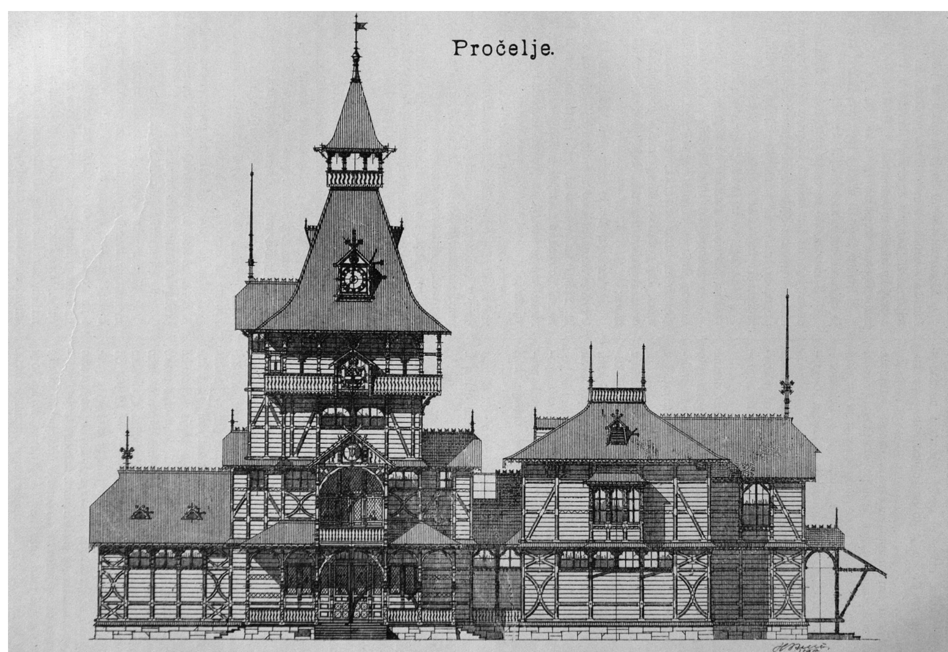

Fig. 10. Croatian Forestry and Hunting Pavilion at the Millennium Exhibition, executed design, Herman Bollé, 1896

17 More on the Croatian Forestry and Hunting Pavilion in Budapest and on the problem of the emergence of the Croatian national style in: Damjanović 2010: 231–243.

Fig. 11. Croatian Forestry and Hunting Pavilion at the Millennium Exhibition, photo made by György Klösz, 1896

and with the main Hungarian *Kosthalle*). This points to an insufficiently clear definition of the "Croatian national style", which shared the same characteristics with the vernacular architecture of Slavonia and Syrmia, as well as with modern houses built in the "Swiss style" and other national styles of the Carpathian basin, which were all created on the basis of vernacular wooden architecture.

The pavilion was comprised of two parts: a single-story "Syrmia House", and a 37-meter-high wooden turret, which resembled a *čardak*, one of the watchtowers

that had stood along the former Military Frontier bordering the Ottoman Empire. Both parts were used as exhibition spaces for various products of Croatian forestry and for hunting trophies. *(Fig. 10, 11)*

After the closure of the exhibition, the pavilion was supposed to be transported to Zagreb and set up in the Botanical Gardens on the edge of the new city center, called Lower Town.[18] However, this plan was abandoned due to the prohibitive expense, and the material from the pavilion was sold for just over 2 000 forints,[19] which was later invested in the construction of new headquarters for the Croatian forestry administration in Zagreb.

CONCLUSION

Although the millennium celebration was initially met with fierce criticism from the Croatian political opposition, the national pavilions built for the exhibition won considerable acclaim in the end. They were visited, it is claimed, by almost 2.5 million people, who bought products valuing 80 000 – 100 000 forints in total (*Narodne novineg* 1896: 2.) (among these were three significant paintings by Croatian artists: *Dubravka* by Vlaho Bukovac, *The Martyrs of Syrmia* by Celestin Medović and *Circe* by Bela Čikoš Sesija) (*Narodne novinef* 1896: 2). The government was exceptionally satisfied because they regarded the exhibition as proof of Croatian autonomy. They stressed the fact that Croatia's participation in the exhibition had "strengthened… the legal relationship and amicable agreement between the Croatian and Hungarian people" (Polić 1901: 163). It was partly because of this participation in the millennium that the historiography of subsequent periods considered the year 1896 to be the time when the government of Khuen-Héderváry reached the peak of its power and achievement.

Lastly, owing to this ephemeral spectacle, Croatia also enriched its museum collections, since numerous artefacts from the pavilions were subsequently donated to museums. Additionally, another permanent building and institution was born as a result of the millennium show – the Art Pavilion, which remains to this day one of the most important exhibition galleries in the City of Zagreb.[20]

18 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 485, Folder 6–14, 1894, no. 990–1896 and 990–1134–1894, Document no. 5463 PZV, Hrvatsko slavonsko šum društvo u Zagrebu PZVu (Croatian Slavonian Forestry Association in Zagreb to PZV), no. 39, Zagreb, 23 October 1896.

19 HDA, Fond no. 78, PZV, Box no. 485, Folder 6 – 14, 1894, no. 990 1896 and 990–1134–1894, Document no. 6643 – Pr., Predsjedništvo hrv. slav. šumarskog društva banu Khuen-Héderváryju (Croatian Slavonian Forestry Association in Zagreb to Ban Khuen-Héderváry), Zagreb, 26 December 1896.

20 The article was translated to English by Željka Miklošević, PhD, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. The work on the article's revision was supported in part by Croatian Science Foundation under the project 4153 Croatia and Central Europe: Art and Politics in the Late Modern Period (1780–1945).

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS:

Fig. 1. Millennium Exhibition in Budapest, ground plan, 1896 (Croatian pavilions are marked with blue), unknown author; Source: Hrvatski državni ahiv, fond 78, Predsjedništvo zemaljske vlade, arhivski spisi Zemaljskog izložbenog odbora, kutija br. 1178 (Croatian State Archives, Fond no. 78, Croatian Government, Ban's Cabinet, archival documents of the State Exhibition Committee, Box no. 1178).

Fig. 2. Caricature from the *Trn* (*Thorn*) magazine. Illustration of the Croatian opposition's severe criticism of the Millennium exhibition. Unknown author, 1896; *Trn* (*Thorn*), Vol. 13, 5 July 1896, p. 8.

Fig. 3. Main Croatian pavilion at the Millennium Exhibition (Industry, Crafts, Education, Ethnography and Economy Pavilion), main façade, Vjekoslav Heinzel, 1896; Source: Hrvatski državni ahiv, fond 78, Predsjedništvo zemaljske vlade, arhivski spisi Zemaljskog izložbenog odbora, kutija br. 1174 (Croatian State Archives, Fond no. 78, Croatian Government, Ban's Cabinet, archival documents of the State Exhibition Committee, Box no. 1174).

Fig. 4. Croatian Industry, Crafts, Education, Ethnography and Economy Pavilion, architect Vjekoslav Heinzel, photo made by György Klösz, 1896; Source: Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond 135, Obrtna škola, fotografski albumi (Zagreb State Archives, Fond no. 135, Archival documents of Zagreb Arts and Crafts School, photo albums).

Fig. 5. Aquarium in the main Croatian pavilion, built according to designs made by Herman Bollé, photo made by György Klösz, 1896; Source: Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond 135., Obrtna škola, fotografski albumi (Zagreb State Archives, Fond no. 135, Archival documents of Zagreb Arts and Crafts School, photo albums).

Fig. 6. Design for the Croatian Art Pavilion in Budapest, Herman Bollé, 1895; Source: Nadbiskupski arhiv u Zagrebu, Zbirka građevnih nacrta, sign VII-2 (Archdiocesan Archive in Zagreb, Collection of Architectural Drawings, call no. VII-2).

Fig. 7. Croatian Art and History Pavilion, main facade, Flóris Nándor Korb, Kálmán Giergl, 1895; Source: Hrvatski državni ahiv, fond 78, Predsjedništvo zemaljske vlade, arhivski spisi Zemaljskog izložbenog odbora, kutija br. 1174 (Croatian State Archives, Fond no. 78, Croatian Government, Ban's Cabinet, archival documents of the State Exhibition Committee, Box no. 1174).

Fig. 8. Design for the Croatian *Kosthalle*, *Tasting* Pavilion, Millennium Exhibition, Hönigsberg & Deutsch, 1896; Source: Hrvatski državni ahiv, fond 78, Predsjedništvo zemaljske vlade, arhivski spisi Zemaljskog izložbenog odbora, kutija br. 1174 (Croatian State Archives, Fond no. 78, Croatian Government, Ban's Cabinet, archival documents of the State Exhibition Committee, Box no. 1174).

Fig. 09. Croatian *Kosthalle*, *Tasting* Pavilion, Millennium Exhibition, built according to designs made by Hönigsberg & Deutsch, photo made by György Klösz, 1896; Source: Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond 135., Obrtna škola, fotografski albumi (Zagreb State Archives, Fond no. 135, Archival documents of Zagreb Arts and Crafts School, photo albums).

Fig. 10. Croatian Forestry and Hunting Pavilion at the Millennium Exhibition, executed design, Herman Bollé, 1896; Source: *Viesti zemaljskog izložbenog odbora (Bulletin of the State Exhibition Committee)*, vol. 30, 12 August, 1895.

Fig. 11. Croatian Forestry and Hunting Pavilion at the Millennium Exhibition, photo made by György Klösz, 1896; Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, fond 135, Source: Obrtna škola, fotografski albumi (Zagreb State Archives, Fond no. 135, Archival documents of Zagreb Arts and Crafts School, photo albums).

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Paolo Cornaglia

Franczia étterem: the French Restaurant by Kármán & Ullmann as a Viennese Gartengebäude in the Hungarian Millennium Exposition of 1896[1]

> Restaurant Français (Franczia vendéglő) – Az iparcsarnok baloldalan az előkelő világ találkozó helye. Kitünő franczia konyha / To the left of the Gallery of Industry is the venue for hugh society/ A legjobb bel- és külföldi borok The best Hungarian and foreign wines/ Low prices and careful service. Mérkeselt árak és gondos kiszolgálás (*Kiállitási Ujság*, 1896)

An advertisement was published in the official daily paper of the 1896 Exposition (*Kiállitási Ujság*: n. 55, 2 July 1896) inviting people to visit what proved to be one of the best meeting places at the exhibition, on the left side of the main pavilion: "French restaurant […], the meeting place of *le beau monde.* Excellent French cuisine. The best national and foreign wines. Reasonable prices and attentive service". It was often reproduced in the picture galleries of the exhibition, but disappeared immediately – like most of the pavilions – because of its ephemeral nature. But it is still possible to find evidence of it in the guides to the exhibition, the publications and the pictures, and to put it in context in the early days of the careers of its creators, Aladár Kármán and Gyula Ulmann, well-known exponents of Budapest's early 20th century architecture (Merény 1969: 40–41; Déry, Merény 2000: 109; Gerle, Kovács, Makovecz 1990: 74–77, Komoróczy 1994: 470–471).

The subject of the restaurants, particularly those defined by "national" characteristics, recurs in all the large exhibitions held in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. At the Vienna International Exposition of 1873, the tastes of the public and a tendency for the exotic – which are represented in the various forms of Historicism – were satisfied by a number of buildings conceived *ad hoc*. The Turkish coffee house (complete with a salon decorated with verses from the Koran), the Swiss pastry shop (a *chalet*), the Chinese tea pavilion (designed as an Oriental garden pavilion), the Italian osteria (halfway between a villa and a farmhouse) and the Russian restaurant (a classic wooden izba) showed all the characteristics (even some dubious elements, like the Tudor features on the windows of the Italian restaurant) neces-

1 Research into the Franczia étterem was carried out in Budapest in archives and libraries such as BTM-KM, BFL, FSZEK, MNL and OSZK. I take this opportunity to thank their staff, and particularly Márta Branczik, Tamás Csáki and Zita Nagy. I must also thank Miklós Székely and Zsuzsa Ordasi for all their help in my research.

sary to qualify the building and attract the clientele. The Hungarian restaurant, the Csárda, also fits into this panorama, in theory the least exotic in geopolitical terms, but smacking strongly of an 'otherness' expressed by Magyar rural features like a straw roof, a wine cellar excavated into the hillside, waiters in folk costumes and gypsy musicians.

At the Paris Exposition of 1889 the Restaurant de France was built to a design of Jacques Lequeux, with historical features that were certainly not typically French but rather ascribable to its North African colonies. The Universal Exposition of 1900, also held in Paris, included an infinite number of restaurants, not only with national references but also fully a part of the winning taste of the day, Art Nouveau, which was still absent in Budapest in 1896 – primarily for chronological reasons. The array of installations with their "national" connotations included more or less "exotic" European restaurants like the Munich beer cellar, the Alsatian Kammerzell restaurant from Strasbourg (a reproduction of a historical timber-framed building), the Romanian restaurant (designed by the architect Camille Formigé on lines borrowed from orthodox churches and monasteries) and the Hungarian baker's shop, which revealed a mixture of Romanesque elements and modern Art Nouveau forms (Székely 2012: 140). The restaurants that were explicitly "modern" or Art Nouveau were the Viennese restaurant, which evokes Horta rather than Wagner, and, above all, Guillaume Tronchet's la Belle Meunière and René Dulong's Pavillon Bleu.

At the Millennium Exhibition in Budapest, there were numerous places to drink beer and dine: 36 structures for restaurants, cafes, pastry shops and champagne bars, out of a total of 213 pavilions (Bálint 1897: 47), many of which were designed by architects who were very active in the capital's lively construction boom. The structure of the "First Hungarian Beer Factory" (*A Milleniumi Magyarország* 1998: 65) was designed by Flóris Korb and Kálmán Giergl, who also designed the new Music Academy in 1904, while the Drechsler restaurant was the work of Aladár Kármán and Gyula Ulmann mentioned earlier (Bálint 1897: 47). These two architects, members of Budapest's Jewish middle class and professionals in their field, have been identified by critics as the architects closest to the Wagnerschule among those active in the Hungarian capital at the turn of the century. It is a recognised fact that the benchmarks at the time were the Germanic and Finnish schools rather than the Austrian school, reflecting an ill-concealed rivalry with Vienna. The buildings erected in Szabadság tér 10-12 in 1901 (Magyar Kereskedelmi Csarnok, Kánitz Ház and Ullmann Ház – Hungarian Trading Hall, Kánitz House, Ullmann House) reveal clear references to Wagner's poeticism, just as the Weiss residential building in Lipót körút 10 (1903), reveals links with the residential building erected in Vienna by Max Fabiani in 1902, on the corner of Stahrembergstrasse and Favoritenplatz. Considered in the pro-Viennese camp by historiographers (Merény discusses the issue in a chapter entitled *The influence of Vienna*, and Moravánsky mentions its

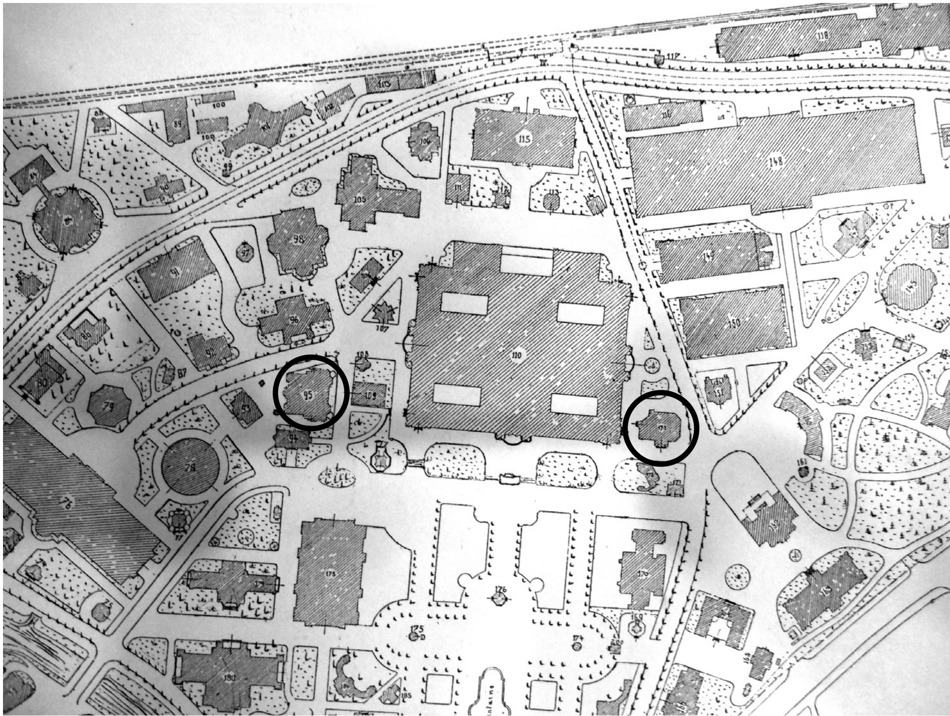

Fig. 1. The French Restaurant (n. 95, left) and the Press and Public Culture pavilion (n. 173, right) by Aládár Kárman and Gyula Ulmann at the Hungarian Millennium Exposition, 1896

vicinity to the Prague-Vienna genealogy of Imperial Art Nouveau), they already appeared in the magazines of the day with these prerogatives. *Die Architektur des XX. Jahrunderts* described the Király Bazár as: "One of the most noticeable and at the same time one of the clearest exponents of the Wagner school", while the building in nr. 10 Lipót körút is indicated as "a splendid example of the capability of development and decorative effect of simple plaster architecture as practised by the Wagner school of architects" (Haiko 1989: 59, 108). The pages of the magazine, which was the mirror of European architecture, confirmed the triumph of the two architects: in the period 1901–1914, out of twenty-three Budapest buildings published, no fewer than five were the work of Aladár Kármán and Gyula Ullmann, the only professional architects to be represented by so many buildings, when the average was one or two buildings per architect. Moravánsky also recalls that the façades of the buildings in Szabadság tér were recognised as exemplary models of the new style and published in Austrian and German portfolios such as *Das Detail in der modernen Architektur* (Fiedler 1902). The careers of Kármán (who graduated in Munich in 1893, later studying in Paris for a semester) and Ullmann (who graduated in Budapest in 1894) began with the works for the 1896 Exposition: the French Restaurant, the Press and Public culture Pavilion *(Fig. 1)* and the Drechsler

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Fig. 2. The French Restaurant, 1896

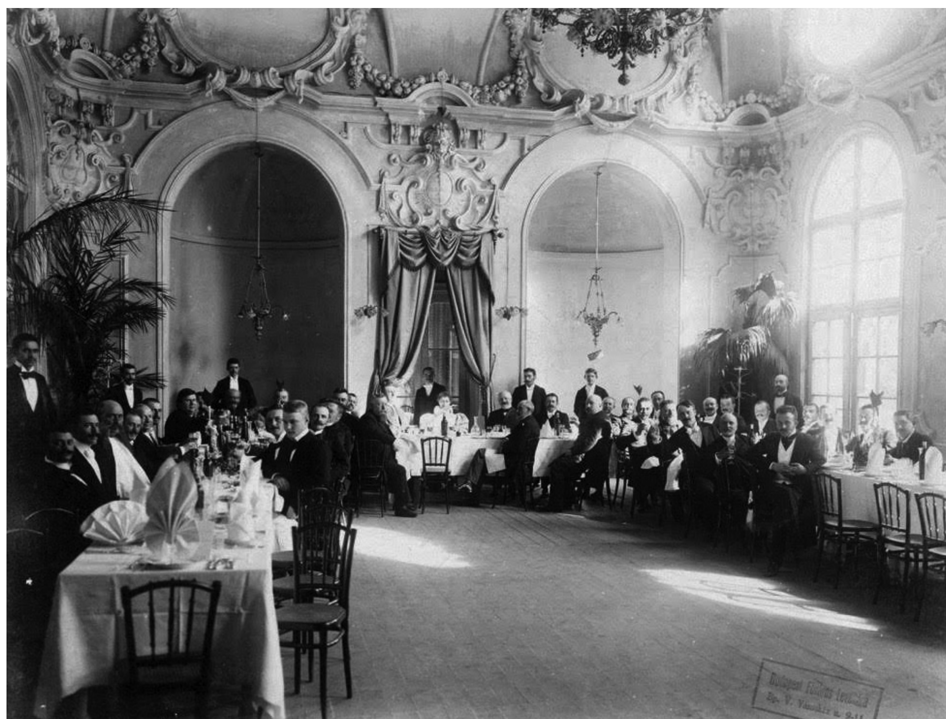

Fig. 3. The French Restaurant, dining hall, 1896

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restaurant mentioned earlier. Photographs of the day show the latter as a wooden structure like Korb and Giergl's beer cellar, similar to the chalets in the public park, aligned with the construction morphology dominant in numerous pavilions in the Expo, but the other two were very different, with a look that was anything but ephemeral, apart from the structure and the materials.[2]

The restaurant *(Figs. 2, 3)* had a good presentation in the Exposition's official daily paper for both the service and the quality of the space and furnishings: "First prize for the restaurants of the Exposition should certainly go to the French Restaurant, for its furnishings which meet the demands of taste and comfort in every way. The extraordinary terraces seem to invite *le beau monde* and elite society, the dining room is suitable for banquets, and families can spend the time pleasantly in the wonderful private rooms, while good friends will enjoy a few hours of freedom. It is all very convenient because the French Restaurant, which is located in front of the Marine Aquarium, serves the best French cooking, and one can savour the best wines and champagnes, all accompanied by excellent service." (*Kiállitási Ujság*, n. 52, 4, 22 July 1896). The guide prepared by Mór Gelléri mentions the wooden (and ephemeral) structure of the pavilion, and its cost (30,000 Forint) and underlines that more refined visitors will be satisfied in every way by the pavilion, with its "elegant, light style" (Gelléri 1896: 236–237). However we have to refer to a publication that was fundamental to understand the architecture of the Millennium Exposition in Budapest. *Az Ezredéves Kiállitás Architekturája* (Bálint 1897: 95), edited by Zoltán Bálint (1871–1939), a member of the Committee who became a well-known architect, for a more precise examination of the construction. Zoltán Bálint was also member of the Expo Board of Directors (for which he created the eclectic Pusztaszer commemorative pavilion) and of the Society of Hungarian engineers and architects, who joined with Lajos Jámbor, creating several important buildings in Budapest, like the Léderer House (1902) and the Hungarian pavilion at the 1900 Paris Exposition. After an introduction, the book presents the various buildings, separating them into two parts: the *Historical section* and the *Buildings with a modern character*.

The latter is broken down further into *Monumental Architecture* (which lists seventeen pavilions, some with illustrations, while ten pavilions are presented in the other category) and *Wooden architecture*, according to a criterion which – in spite of the titles – did not refer strictly to the character of the structures but rather to the formal characteristics of the architecture. The "monumental" section includes not only permanent, or existing buildings, like the Budapest Capital pavilion or the existing Industry Pavilion built for the 1885 National General Exposition, but also wooden structures like the Pavilion of the Paper and printing industry, by Lipót Baumhorn. Two works by Kármán and Ullmann are included in this category:

2 BFL, XI.916, 1185.

Fig. 4. The Press and Public Culture pavilion

Fig. 5. The Press and Public Culture pavilion

the Press and Public culture pavilion and the French Restaurant. Bálint's positive opinion – reflected in the large number of pictures showing the two pavilions (Bálint 1897: 28, 35, 40), - is evident in his words: "The Press and Public culture pavilion

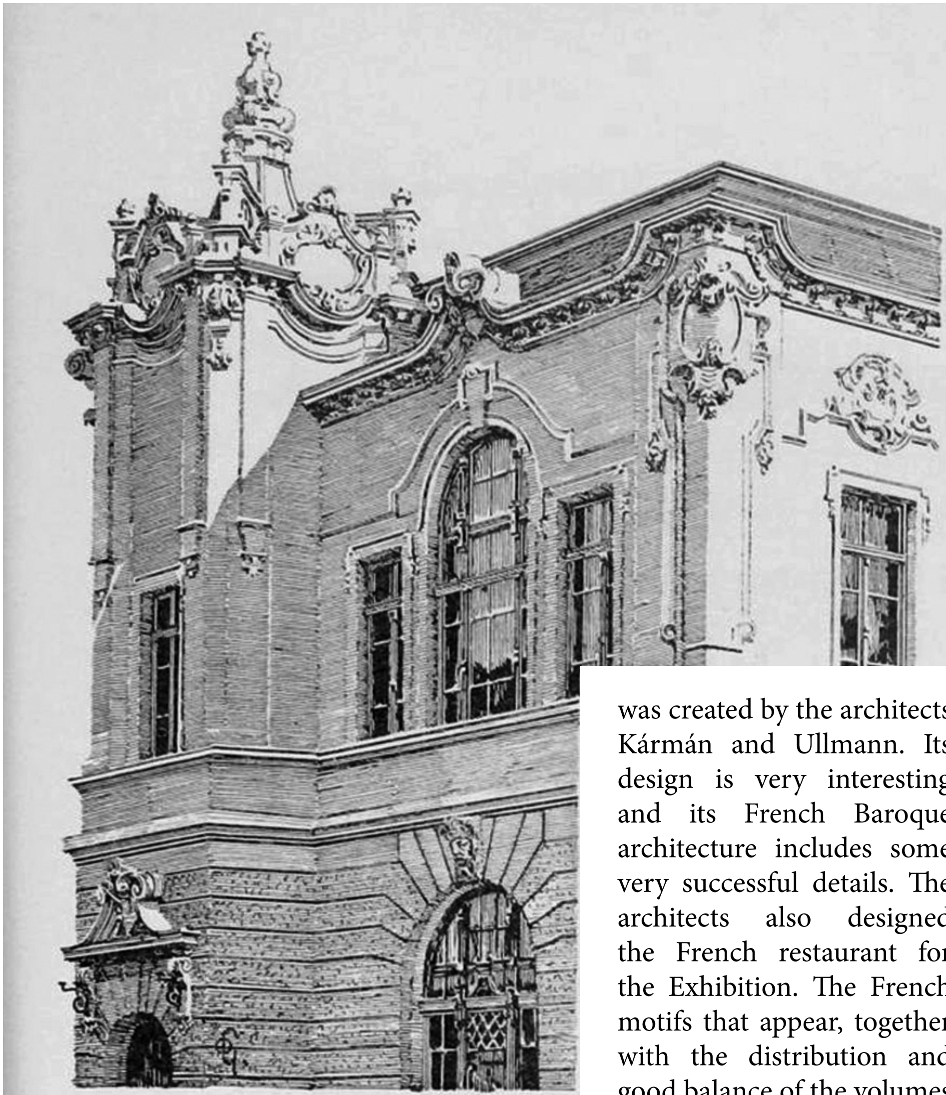

Fig. 6. The Press and Public Culture pavilion, detail

was created by the architects Kármán and Ullmann. Its design is very interesting and its French Baroque architecture includes some very successful details. The architects also designed the French restaurant for the Exhibition. The French motifs that appear, together with the distribution and good balance of the volumes ensure that this building has a privileged position in the whole, of which they are a very successful part." (Bálint 1897: 95) The most obvious feature of the design of the pavilion is the use of curved lines and concave-convex elements: there are no sharp corners, all the spaces are friendly and welcoming. A terrace that is reached by a curving staircase leads into the actual pavilion, which contains a large room and two smaller oval rooms for small parties (the private rooms described in the Exposition daily, the "*chambres séparées* where it was possible to dine with a girl without being seen", which Stefan Zweig mentioned in his *Die Welt von Gestern* published in 1942 (Zweig 2013: 85). Another terrace – probably positioned higher so that the kitchen could be positioned on the level

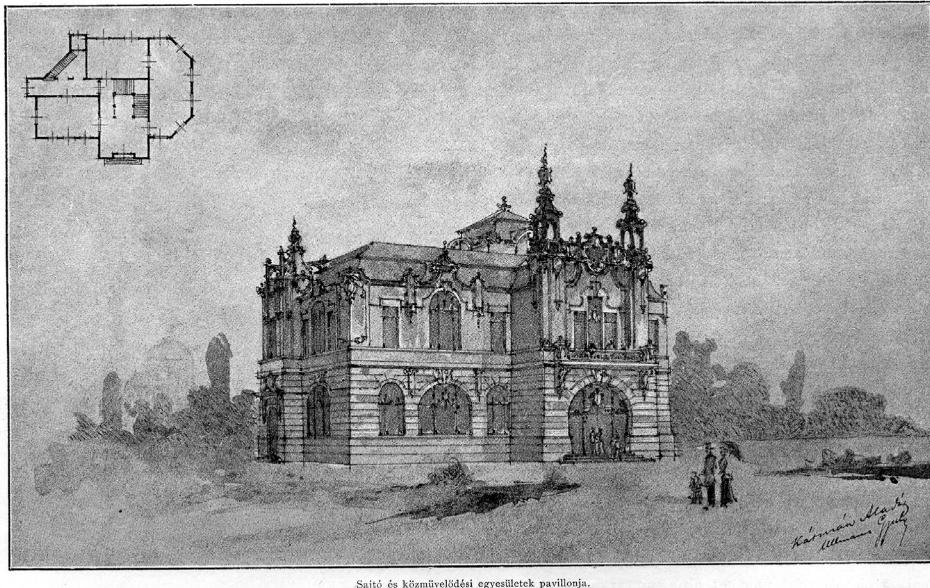

Fig. 7. The Press and Public Culture pavilion, plan and view

below – houses the orchestra and gives access to a stairway that links the different levels. A suitable system of restrooms serves the clientele, separated from the main room by lobbies. The guide by Mór Gelléri also focuses on the "French" character of the two pavilions designed by Kármán and Ullmann, and it describes the Press pavilion as "decorated, elegant, light, in the French style" (Gelléri 1896: 190–191).

The Press pavilion *(Figs. 4-7),* which cost 25,000 Forint and was conceived to host two sections, one for the exhibition organised by associations for public culture and by publishers, the other for the press (with one area for the public and another for the experts, select access, a separate staircase and services such as telephone and telegraph), stands out for its striking neo-baroque decoration, although the genuine nature of its "French" character should be investigated (*The Millennium of Hungary* 1896: 117, *Milleniumi Kiallitas Emlék – képek* 1896, Gelléri 1896: 189). The asymmetrical position of the pavilion's small neo-Baroque turret recalls the towers by Korb and Giergl for the Klotilde Buildings (1902), just as the latter recall those of the Berlin Court built in 1901 (Rudolf Mönnich, Otto Schmalz). Although the dominant tone was for wooden pavilions with their structure in view, Neo-Baroque elements occupied an important place in the context of the 1896 Exposition. Even with the limits of classification in a climate as lively and exuberant as that in Budapest at the turn of the century, this category includes some permanent structures, such as the Transport Pavilion by Ferenc Pfaff, or Gerbaud's Pavilion, the former Royal Pavilion, designed by Miklós Ybl in 1885 and then modified by

Rezső Ray (Gerle, Marótzy 2002: 194; *A Milleniumi Magyarország* 1998: 134)[3], with a cupola similar to that of Gödöllö castle, but above all, as in this case, numerous small pavilions, many of which in the catering, *loisir* and pleasure sector. Inside the exposition there are two other possible interpretations for this type of eating place: the popular-rural establishment recreating the *csárda* and popular architecture, and the exotic-national establishment that recalls Bosnia-Herzegovina with several pavilions including the Bosnian Café, striking for its Oriental-Islamic ambiance. The structures conceived by József Hubert and Dezső Jakab for the Huberth and Braun brothers champagne makers, and the pavilions of the liquor producers of Croatia, designed by Hönigsberg & Deutsch, Zagreb (see the article by Dragan Damjanović in this volume) also have Baroque elements (*A Milleniumi Magyarország* 1998: 138, 128, 93). But this is not a typically French Baroque: the pavilion dedicated to water and hydraulic structures, the work of the Exposition's own Technical Office (Sarago 1896), is an obvious reference to the Lustgebäude Althan in Rossau (Vienna, 1693) by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, with the addition of wings inserted diagonally in the central circular body. In the context of the exposition there is a structure that recalls France more precisely: the Nobel pavilion, designed by Oskar Marmorek (1863–1909, active in Vienna and Budapest), with obvious Louis XVI elements. In fact, in the European expositions, the question of the restaurant or the French pavilion is presented with other characteristics: one example is the Kuhn restaurant at the Paris Exposition of 1889, which qualifies as

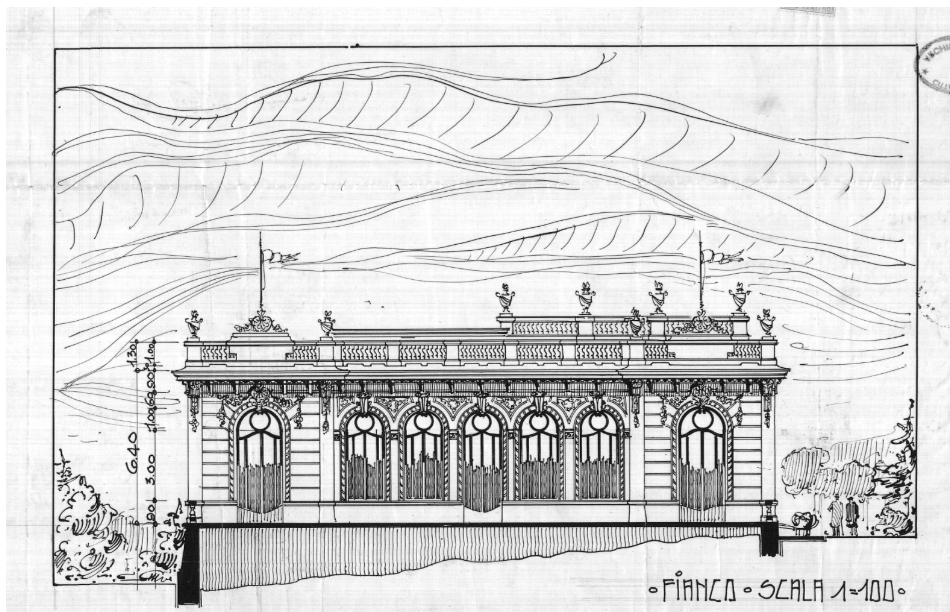

Fig. 8. Pietro Fenoglio, Du Parc Restaurant at the Valentino Park in Turin, 1908

3 FSZEK, Klösz Collection, PAZ 001633, 001635.

an example of "contemporary" French architecture, or the "historicist" pavilions at the Turin international exposition of 1911 (*Giornale* 1911: 317–320), where the pavilion of the city of Paris is a copy of a portion of Versailles and the French restaurant has evident Louis XVI elements. The City of Paris pavilion and the French restaurant were only a few metres from each other, at nos. 18 and 19 on the General Plan attached to the guide of the exposition (Guide 1911). There was another restaurant with a French name at the exposition, the Du Parc *(Fig. 8)*, also presenting a mix of French classicism, Louis XVI and Art Nouveau elements, designed by Pietro Fenoglio on the site of the previous, "exotic" Russian restaurant[4] (Bodrato, Perin, Roggero 2011: 111–112). This latter, permanent, building takes us back to the real models of a French pavilion: the villa "all'italiana" (sic) presented by Jacques François Blondel in 1737 in his treatise on the *maisons de plaisance* (I, 41), the château de la Brosse by Pierre Contant d'Ivry in Saint Cloud (1748) (Baritou, Fossard 1987: 134), the Pavillon de Laboissière by Antoine Mathieu (1751) (Le Rouge 2004: 82–83), which imagines the seduction of Mélite by Trémicour in the short 18th century novel *La petite maison* (De Bastide 1758). Triumphant Rococo interior, and classicism outside, apart from a few details. The Franczia étterem incorporates only a few elements of these models, like the curve of the staircase.

To find the sources of this pavilion, avoiding the suggestions of the guides and of Zoltán Bálint, one must look elsewhere. First of all, its turgid lines seem to stem from the neo-Baroque current active in central Europe at the turn of the century: one only has to leaf through the architecture magazines of the day to see this, as we mentioned in reference to the turret of the Press pavilion. For example, but there are several others, the Simolin Haus in Stuttgart (Haiko 1981: 35–36), designed by Eisenlohr & Weigle in 1901: the same mansard roofs, the same decorative vases, the same curved tympan. Neo-Baroque had its own eclectic followers even in Budapest at the turn of the century (Rozsnyai 2013), as we have seen; one only has to think of the work of Artur Meinig, from the Park Club in Stefánia út to the Wenckheim palace, both in 1890, the Lipótvárosi Kaszinó by Vilmos Freund (1896) and the extension designed by Miklós Ybl for the Royal Palace, emphasised even more by his successor Alajos Hauszmann, who also designed the New York café (1895). And the late-Baroque roots of this architecture are often to be found in central Europe: the triad of arched openings surmounted by three oculi that we find in the Franczia étterem appear in the Great Salon of the Saxon Garden in Warsaw (Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, 1720, a structure positioned on terraces composed of a salon and two smaller rooms at the sides, not dissimilar in concept to Fischer von Erlach's gartengebäude), in the façade of Bruchsal castle (Balthasar Neumann, from 1731) and, one of the best examples, the Belvedere in Vienna (Lucas von Hildebrandt, 1717), from which it seems to have copied the idea of a central element embellished with corner pavilions. *(Fig. 9a &b)* Even the layout of the pavilion,

4 ASCT, Progetti Edilizi, 1906/199 and 1908/92.

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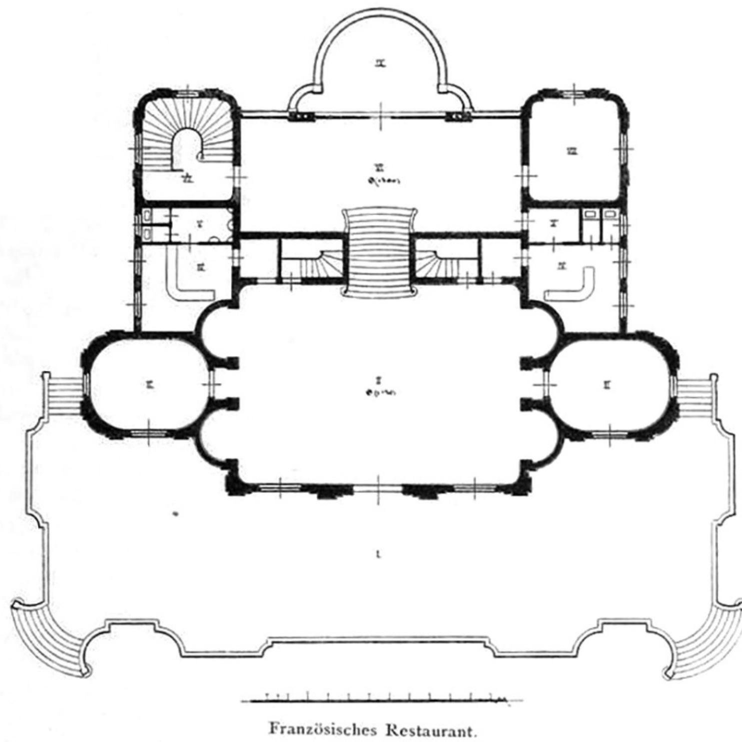
Fig. 9. The French Restaurant (Bálint Z. 1897, pl. 35), in comparison to the Belvedere in Vienna by Lucas von Hildebrandt, 1717



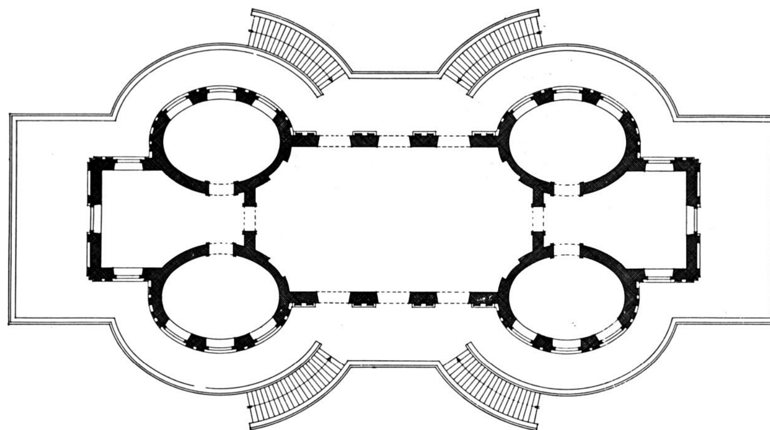


Fig. 10. The French Restaurant, plan, in comparison to the plan of a Gartengebäude by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach

published by Zoltán Bálint (1897: 40), is very similar to these sources, particularly the Viennese environment. Hans Sedlmayr has examined the drawings preserved at the Albertina Museum of Vienna to reconstruct the layout (Sedlmayr 1996: 148–149) of the Gartengebäude published by Fischer von Erlach in his *Entwurff einer Historichen Architektur* (Vienna, 1721, volume IV, plate 19). The drawings of both Fischer von Erlach and Kármán and Ullmann show curved bodies inserted into a main rectangular hall, potentially a conscious reference for the two Hungarian architects. *(Fig. 10a & b)* But then it is almost obvious: in that context, and in particular in the context of the exposition, Baroque means Vienna. The historical section presents a mixture of amply studied buildings which combine a "Baroque" wing that is the epitome of Austrian late Baroque elements with structures that reproduce the Middle Ages and Renaissance in copies of buildings. Fischer von Erlach was an explicit reference, together with Lucas von Hildebrandt, for the

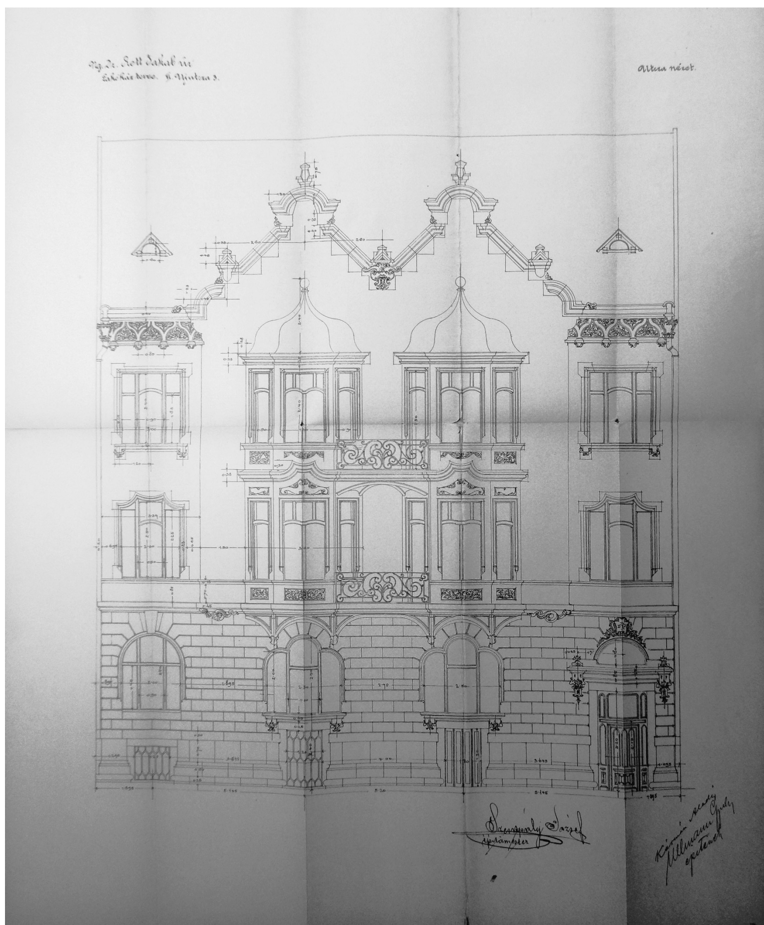


Fig. 11. Aládár Kárman and Gyula Ulmann, Rott House, Budapest, 1897, Zichy Jenő utca 3

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Baroque portion of the Historical section (Bálint 1896: 35).The two architects, who will be inspired by the Vienna of Otto Wagner, also look to the same city, but through a lens that brings to life the 18th century Imperial world, actually creating a "gartegebäude". The first work by Kármán and Ullmann after the exposition *(Fig. 11),* the house designed in 1897 for Dr. Jakab Rott[5] (Déry 2006: 698) contradicts this reference to Vienna (possibly the only occasion), presenting details that are vaguely Mediaeval or others that allude to the contemporary Germanic world, in a strongly eclectic context. These details are no longer visible today, except in the drawings themselves. The French restaurant pavilion was designed to be ephemeral, the formal elements of the façade of the Rott house became so as a result of war damage and bad maintenance, transformed into opportunities for restoration from a new "purist" perspective that is the product of two decades of the affirmation of rationalism. Unfortunately, historical illustrations and drawings in the archives are the only sources that can reveal the original state of these two buildings.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. The French Restaurant (n. 95, left) and the Press and Public Culture pavilion (n. 173, right) by Aládár Kárman and Gyula Ulmann at the Hungarian Millennium Exposition, 1896. Source: Plan from Bálint Z. 1897, p. 2, detail.

Fig. 2. The French Restaurant, 1896. Source: FSZEK, BG, B KISKY 5052-080039.

Fig. 3. The French Restaurant, dining hall, 1896, photo by György Klösz. Source: BFL.XV.19.d.1.10.135

Fig. 4. The Press and Public Culture pavilion. Source: Gelléri M. 1896, p. 189.

Fig. 5. The Press and Public Culture pavilion. Source: *Milleniumi Kiallitas Emlék – képék*, [1896].

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Fig. 11. Aládár Kárman and Gyula Ulmann, Rott House, Budapest, 1897, Zichy Jenő utca 3 Source: BFL, XV, 17d, 29183.

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Cosmin Minea

New Images for Modern Nations: Creating a "National" Architecture for the Balkan Countries at Paris Universal Exhibition of 1889

For the young Balkan countries, 19th century Universal Exhibitions were priceless opportunities to show off the unique characteristics that defined them as a nation, and architecture played a key role in places of competing nationalisms, where visual displays where meant to be as attractive as possible. The pavilion architecture hosted the countries' exhibition, so it was the first "exhibit" seen by visitors and, as the official requirement went, it had to be "national". But how to design a so called "national architecture", when one doesn't have yet neither some architectural elements agreed upon as being national, nor a patrimony considered "national"? It was a dilemma facing the majority of newly formed countries, like the Oriental Colonies, the ones in Latin America, or in the Balkans. In the following I will focus on the case of the latter ones by describing the results and implications of this dilemma.

BALKAN COUNTRIES AND THE 1889 UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION

During the long nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire gradually lost its European possessions in the Balkan Peninsula while a number of states emerged in its place. They rapidly embarked on a process of becoming modern nation states, carrying out in the cultural realm what had already been done at the political level: discarding the Ottoman legacy and replacing it with a Western European model. In this context, universal exhibitions provided the ideal opportunity to show their "modernity" in front of the world, with all the elements required by Western standards. And the most visible medium of self-representation was architecture, designed to demonstrate the existence of a rich national culture that had survived the Ottoman "yoke", and was embodied in important historical monuments and original architectural motifs.

From a comparative perspective, I will analyse the issue of representation through architecture, taking into account the first world exhibition attended, with the exception of Montenegro, by all the Balkan countries, namely Greece, Serbia and Romania. This sheds light on a number of issues, three of which constitute the framework of my study: the problem posed by architectural forms, at a period when "national" architectural styles were not yet defined in the Peninsula; the influence

of foreigners (in this case the French) on the creation of such styles, but also on creating an architectural heritage back home; and the way the Balkan nations were presented by the French, which often contradicted the official national discourse in the Peninsula.

Comparative studies on national architectural styles in the Balkans are almost non-existent in the scholarly literature and their relationship with the universal exhibitions has only been hinted at. However, there have been similar endeavours to analyse the architecture and representation of Oriental (Çelik 1992; Mitchell 1988) and Latin American countries (Demeulenaere-Douyère 2014) at various World Fairs, works to which the present study can be paralleled.

I should further mention that the "national" architectural styles were not referred to as such due to some factual reality, but out of the ideological goal of expressing the nation's architectural specificity. At the universal exhibitions, the style of the pavilions was designated, promoted and perceived as "national" both by the representatives of the participating countries and by the organizers, regardless of any relationship with the actual patrimony and building practices in the countries they stood for.

My research is prominently positioned in the world of universal exhibitions, hubs of exchange where different nations could display elements of what were seen as their national cultures at the same time and place, in competition, but also within a complex web of various influences. In this context, the process of creating a national architecture laid mainly in the interconnectedness and entanglement among the actors, the French organizers and the participants from different nations. In order to accurately comprehend this, it is necessary to appeal to what has been dubbed the study of networks (Ther 2009; Schmale 2012), or "relational" approaches (Werner and Zimmermann 2006). At the same time, my theoretical framework is based on a comparative and transnational logic, set in motion by the similarities between the national pavilions, the ways in which they were presented, and the French responses. Thus, analysing the architecture of three national pavilions at a world exhibition makes a relevant case for combining network studies with comparisons, while keeping count of various entanglements, in line with what some have recently advocated (Kocka and Haupt 2009; Kaelble 2009).

The 1889 Universal Exhibition in Paris was at risk of becoming a failure from the moment it was announced. Its purpose was to celebrate Republicanism by commemorating 100 years since the French Revolution, and therefore since the abolition of the Monarchy, so because of that the majority of Europe's kingdoms refused to participate at an official level. However, due to the enormous prestige enjoyed by Parisian exhibitions, as well as the economic interest shared by companies around Europe in presenting their products, the European monarchies

eventually came up with the solution of sponsoring private committees, resulting in participations of the same magnitude as the countries that were represented officially (Schrœder-Gudehus 1989; Bacha, Babelon 2005: 105). From Europe, only five countries were officially represented, among them two from the Balkans (Serbia, Greece, Norway, San Marino and Monaco), while Germany and Montenegro did not participate. Romania, who did not take part in an official capacity, had nevertheless a bigger display than its Balkan neighbours. This was partly due to the fact that the Romanian state had given their private committee the same funds as Greece and Serbia were spending officially. On top of that, the amount of state sponsorship was in addition to the sum raised by the committee through a lottery, making Romania's exhibition in fact twice as expensive (Bibesco 1890a; Vlad 2007: 93–102). This translated into a more diverse architectural display: while Serbia and Greece had one national pavilion each, Romania had three constructions (a restaurant, a bar, and the Romanian section in the Gallery of Diverse Products). Probably as a result of the private participation, Romania dared to replace the traditional national pavilion with a more crowd-friendly restaurant, as also did other countries represented by private committees.

In charge of the architectural displays of countries participating at the Universal Exhibition in 1889 were two commissions – one based in the concerned country and the other in Paris – and a number of specialists, a situation which led to an entangled decision-making process. At the direct head of the architectural displays was the commissioner in Paris, who, together with other members of the Parisian commission, appointed French architects to build the "national" architecture of all Balkan countries. This might seem a paradox, but the French had plenty of expertise in designing constructions for world fairs, and furthermore they were readily available in Paris. They even advertised themselves, as it is proven by a letter from a French entrepreneur to the Romanian ambassador in Paris at the Universal Exhibition of 1900.[1] But maybe most importantly, they had a better idea of what was meant by national architecture.

In the Balkans, the issue of the type of architecture intended to represent the nation had been raised only marginally before 1889. Greece had faced this problem at the previous Parisian world fair, the Universal Exhibition of 1878, where, for the first time, a street was set aside for the display of characteristic architecture from all over the world. There, Greece hired two French architects in response to the organisers' requests for a "national facade": "it is demanded to each country the construction of a section of national facade".[2] This issue came to the forefront once again in 1889. If we take the Romanian case, the general commissioner, George

1 Archives of the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, Bucharest, Fond Paris, Culturale, Vol. 281.

2 Letter to the General Commissioner of Greece, 12 October 1977, Archives Nationales de France, Paris F/12/3493: "...de demande à chaque pays la construction d'un tronçon de façade nationale".

Bibescu, must have had extreme difficulty in responding to the request of Georges Berger, the general director (who had also coordinated the foreign section in 1878), for a "decorative facade in the Romanian style", as he hadn't heard of that kind of style until then.[3] The same "Romanian style" was demanded by exhibitors, as one merchant from Bucharest implored: "on the arrangement or the decoration of the Romanian section, [there should be] a man who is specialized in the matter in the country, one who proves that he knows the Romanian style".[4] Who could be turned to, then, who had the requisite knowledge of the "Romanian", "Serbian", or "Greek" styles, which were elusive and novel notions in the Balkans? The Romanian case shows us that the answer is a rather entangled one, with complex decisional processes, a variety of actors and a multitude of consequences.

HOW A NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE WAS DESIGNED FOR THE 1889 UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION

The man in charge for Romania's participation at the 1889 Universal Exhibition was its general commissioner, Prince George Bibescu. Descendant of an ancient boyar family and son of Wallachia's ruler in the first half of the nineteenth century, he settled in Paris to become a typical figure of the bustling and glamorous *fin-de-siècle* Parisian life. His villa in the French Capital was decorated by Auguste Renoir, he volunteered and fought for the French army in Mexico, was almost killed in an innovative technical experiment, had a widely publicized affair with a married countess, was a writer, a diplomat and among the French press favourites. The 1889 exhibition was his occasion to shine even more. Both French and Romanian, he took the opportunity to promote his native country in his adoptive one. In this process, architecture played a prominent role, and Prince Bibescu took the challenge of creating the appropriate national Romanian style with his characteristic energy. First he summoned an eclectic team of architects (Bibesco 1890b: 90–105; Bibesco 1890a: 19): Paul Gottereau and André Lecomte du Noüy, Frenchmen based in Romania, the former having designed important constructions in Bucharest and the latter being the most important restorer of historical monuments (Popescu 2004: 68–77); Ion Mincu and Grigore Cerchez, Romanians who had graduated from École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and who would later become the most prominent promoters of the national style; and finally two Paris-based French architects, Charles LeCoeur and Oscar André, personal friends of Bibescu.[5] They

3 Letter of G. Berger form 19 July 1888. *Romanian Academic Library*, Bucharest, Manuscript Cabinet, George Bibescu collection, XI VARIA 1 – 148, leaf 171: "façade décorative dans un style roumaine."

4 Letter of August Clouard, "marchand-granier", at Calea Victoriei Street, 134. Ibidem,, leaf 41: „... privind aranjarea sau decorația secțiunii românești, [să se asigure] un om care are această specialitate în țară, care demonstrează că cunoaște stilul român".

5 Charles LeCoeur designed George Bibescu's house in Paris. LeCoeur and Bibescu befriended during their student days (Juvara 2009; Le Cœur 1996).

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had to design a national pavilion in guise of a restaurant, and the decorations for the Romanian section in the main exhibition gallery. Neither the three booklets written by Bibescu on Romania's participation at the exhibition, nor any other documents detail the contribution made by each of these architects, but the image that emerges is one of teamwork, where various influences and negotiations led to the creation of "Romanian" architecture.

The initial drawings for a Romanian restaurant were made by Ion Mincu, but were dropped, most probably due to the cost of construction. Eventually, though, Mincu's project had a fortuitous outcome, being built three years later in Bucharest, where it still functions as a restaurant today. *(Fig. 1)* The building has subsequently been perceived as the supreme example of the Romanian national

Fig. 1. Mincu's Project for a Romanian Pavilion at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1989 and the Restaurant Built in Bucharest (1892)

style, “the renaissance of Romanian architecture” (Petrașcu 1928: 20; Kallestrup 2006: 76; Popescu 2004: 57), and Mincu himself is still regarded today as the “father” of the Romanian national style. The porch with wooden columns, the trilobe arches and the glazed ceramic decoration employed in this first project would become archetypal elements of the national architecture, and thus Mincu’s project directly influenced the course of architecture in Romania. Despite this, the initial role of the restaurant as an exhibition pavilion, and as such conforming to a spectacular logic and offering larger freedom to the architect, has only been recently taken into account in brief (Popescu 2004: 57–58). The idea that exhibition architecture was instrumental in determining the national style back at home is lent additional support by the fact that two other architects of the team working in Paris, Grigore Cerchez and the French specialist in restoration, André Lecomte du Nouy, would later build and restore many famous buildings in the national style.

Although Mincu’s project was abandoned, the restaurant built for the exhibition used the same model as its source of inspiration: a traditional Romanian peasant house. *(Fig. 2)* The connection between the two designs was blatantly obvious. It was even made by Bibescu, who wrote that “the drawings of the *cabaret* [the restaurant] remind us of two or three of the most joyful motifs from the Mincu

Fig. 2. Romanian “Cabaret” at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1989

project" (Bibesco 1890b: 96). Mincu was even taken to be the architect, "assisted by Oscar André" (Mathieu 1989: 257), although French publications generally referred to André as its "constructor" (*Moniteur* 1890: 3; *Figaro* 1889: 66–67). However, the collaboration between Romanian and French architects seems the most viable hypothesis for the pavilion.

The team of architects pulled together by Bibescu also worked for the Romanian Section in the Gallery of Diverse Products. This consisted of a main monumental gate, flanked on both sides by two other similar constructions, small kiosks with a bell-tower on top and showcases between them. *(Fig. 3)* Inside was a kiosk described by Bibescu as a "copy after the baptistery of Curtea de Argeş" (Bibesco 1890b: 110). Indeed, the shape of the tower and of the kiosk, not to mention the decoration above the main entrance gate, all bear a great resemblance to the fountain in front of the Argeș monastery. *(Fig. 4)* However, the fountain functioning as the source of inspiration for the Romanian Section was not the original, sixteenth-century one, but a reconstruction by André Lecomte du Noüy, who had restored the church. So, if in general architects transform established motifs or buildings in order to create a national architectural style, here we have a case of a double transformation: first by the restorer, and then by the architect interpreting the restored building. It seems plausible that Lecomte du Noüy himself proposed the fountain from Argeș as a source of inspiration, while Mincu could have been responsible for the creation of the glass windows with trilobe arches, a recurrent motif in his work. This is relevant to the important role played by restorers in the assessment of architectural

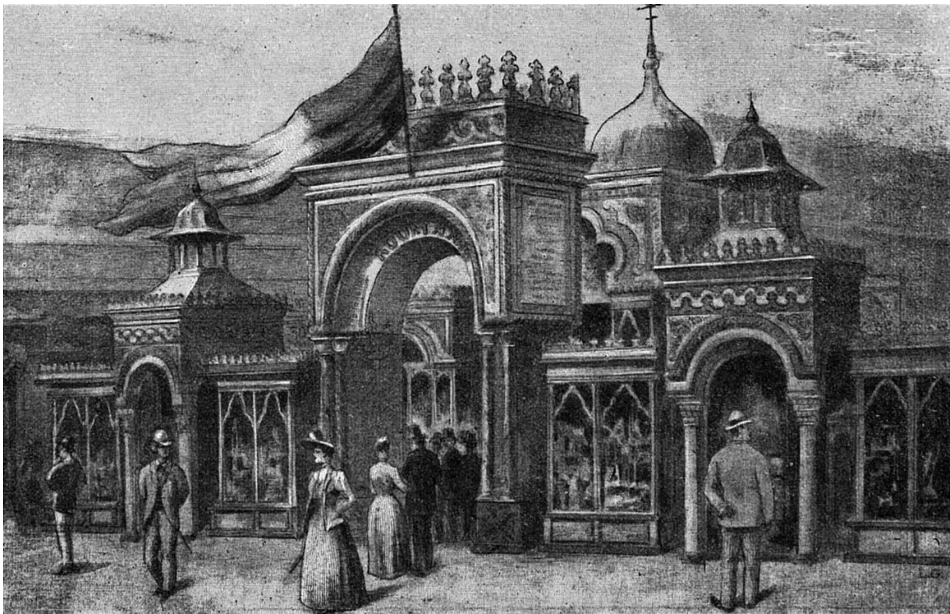

Fig. 3. Facade of the Romanian Section, Paris, 1889

Fig. 4. Curtea de Argeș Monastery, Argeș County, Romania

heritage. By way of their restorations, monuments were assigned a certain value and were deemed suitable for serving as sources of inspiration in the creation of national styles.

Also relevant in the Romanian case was the central role played by the Curtea de Argeș monastery in the architectural representation of the nation. The first Romanian pavilion at a universal exhibition, in 1867, was directly inspired by the monastery, which was also a source of inspiration for the decorations in the main exhibition hall. Further, In 1900, at the Universal Exhibition in Paris, another Frenchman, Jean Camille Formigé, would design the Romanian Royal pavilion, again using the monastery as a model. *(Fig. 5)* Paradoxically, however, its rich decorations gave it an oriental character that subsequently influenced the Romanian national architecture, even if this was precisely the image Romania wanted to deny in its nation-building paradigm.

At the Universal Exhibition in 1889, parallel processes can be noticed in the case of Serbia and Greece, where, once more, the great influence of foreigners – again, French architects – comes to the forefront. Serbia was the first nation to confirm

Fig. 5. Pavilions of Romania at the Universal Exhibition of 1867 (left) and 1900 (right)

its official participation at the 1889 exhibition.[6] Its exhibition, however, would be among the smallest, with a single national pavilion, where all Serbian products, mostly related to folk culture, were displayed. Its committee comprised two foreigners, the architect of the pavilion, Alfred Labouige, and Armand B. Gibert, who has been in Serbia in previous years (Gibert 1885). French publications also mention the French Lafanège as an architect (*Guide* 1889: 222), so the collaboration between Labouige and Lafanège is probable, similarly to that between Mincu and André in the Romanian case.

Next to the Serbian pavilion was the Greek one. Similar with the Romanians, the Greeks also had a Paris-based specialist as their general commissioner, the engineer Ernest Vlasto.[7] He assembled a team made up almost entirely of Greeks, with the exception of the architect, Aimé Sauffroy, a telling fact for the foreigner's role in the architectural display. As in all other cases, Sauffroy was not exclusively responsible for the pavilion's look. He worked under the supervision of Ernest Vlasto, and the plans had to be approved by the Frenchmen Paul Sedille and Charles Garnier. The latter championed the specificity in architecture by designing for the same exhibition houses for each important region or culture, including a "Greek house" (project named *Histoire de l'habitation humaine*).

6 As early as April 1887, the French ambassador to Belgrade announced the country's participation: Archives nationales des France, Paris, F/12/3762; See also the mention in (*Guide* 1889: 221).

7 He is called "engineer in Paris". *Archives Nationales de France*, Paris, F/12/3762.

"NATIONAL" ARCHITECTURAL MOTIFS IN THE BALKANS

The designs employed by French architects in conceiving the exhibition constructions shed light on the connections with the modern cultural and architectural developments in the Balkans, as well as on the common heritage of the peninsula. The Serbian pavilion was designed by the French team of Labouige and Lafanège, using elements regarded as "traditionally Serbian": large round arches and polychrome facade decoration, in the so called "Byzantine style", very much in fashion in Serbia at the time. *(Fig. 6)* French publications praised the pavilion as "absolutely giving the impression of Serbian national architecture" and as being in "the purest Serbo-Byzantine style" (*Guide* 1889: 221–222). However, the same publications admit that "we can find few traces of Byzantine architecture in Serbia, because the Turkish occupation destroyed all the monuments" (Ibidem). Thus, paradoxically, the pavilion was admired for having a Serbo-Byzantine style inspired by historical monuments which no longer existed, a statement that fitted in very well with the invented character of the national styles, albeit not recognized as such.

The most discussed detail of the Serbian pavilion facade was the glazed ceramic tiling, seen as a beautiful example of Serbian decorative art. But glazed ceramics also constituted a central element in Romanian architectural practice – Ion Mincu used them as one of the main motifs in what was supposed to be the Romanian pavilion for the same exhibition. On the other hand, French architects regarded

Fig. 6. Facade of the Serbian Pavilion, Paris, 1889

Fig. 7. Facade of the Greek Pavilion, Paris, 1889

glazed ceramic as a modern material and employed it in some of the most important buildings of the exhibition (for example in the *Beaux Arts and Liberal Arts* Palaces). In fact, this was a case of appropriation, both by Romania and by Serbia, of a motif rather commonly used throughout Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century. Both Mincu and Labouige, as it happened, received almost the same education, having the same professor at the Fine Arts School in Paris, Julien Guadet, and being admitted there in successive years – Mincu in 1881, Labouige in 1882 (Delaire 1907).

Greece already had a stereotypical image in the West, as the inheritor of the ancient civilization (Panourgiá 2004; Birē and Adamē 2004), and most of the comments in French publications refer to ancient Greece. However, the Greek state wanted to assert its "modernity" as well, and relevant to this double orientation in the national discourse are the two frescoes commissioned from Sauffroy, on the main facade of their pavilion: the one on the left of the main entrance related to ancient history by depicting a view of the Acropolis, while that on the right portrayed some major industrial works of the modern state, the Corinth Canal and the mines of Laurium. *(Fig. 7)* The most visible elements of the facade were, however, symbols from classical antiquity: the statue of Athena in the centre, with, on each side, the shield of the goddess bearing the head of Medusa.

The Greek pavilion is most conspicuous for its tendency to balance two display strategies: to promote a modern nation, by way of its industry, cities, arts, etc., which could at least in certain aspects compare with the West; and to extol their unique cultural heritage by way of traditions, historical or vernacular monuments, and crafts. At the universal exhibitions, the latter aspect was used as a cover, by way of architectural forms that accommodated exhibits more related to the modern state.

The Romanian case is unique in the Balkans for its heavy usage of vernacular architecture in creating a national architecture both at the universal exhibitions and back at home. Both the restaurant projects – the initial one that was rejected and the one that was eventually executed – were inspired by peasant houses, a source praised by Bibescu, the general commissioner, who mentioned in the official publication that "the most authentic expression of the nation is the Romanian peasant, his way of life and what he creates" (Bibesco 1889).

Looking again at the three pavilions, an important connection becomes apparent between the motifs used at the exhibition and the architectural developments at home. The Serbian pavilion, with its succession of round arches, is reminiscent of the very successful "Rundbogenstil" adopted in Serbia by way of architects trained in the German-speaking lands. The Greek case demonstrates that the prestige of classical heritage proved impossible to overcome with any medieval or vernacular inspired "national" style. The same can be said about modern Greek architecture, which is largely neoclassical. And finally, the Romanian pavilion, modelled after vernacular architecture, is telling for the selection of sources in the first phase of the Romanian national style. The deeply intertwined nature of the exhibition architecture with the artistic and cultural developments in each of these countries would become even more conspicuously at the next Parisian World Exhibition in 1900, when all the Balkan nations chose to promote with their pavilions what was in fashion then throughout the Peninsula, namely the Byzantine cultural heritage.

THE FRENCH VIEWS

At the time of the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1889, French organizers and journalists alike made a wide range of connections, firstly among the Balkan nations themselves, and then between them and other "oriental" or "exotic" countries. This meant that in their attempts to assert themselves as distinct European countries, Romania, Serbia and Greece encountered a double obstacle from French audiences: the tendency to treat the Balkan Peninsula as a unit, which rendered each of them less unique; and their direct connection with the oriental and exotic part of the exhibition, which made them less "European".

French attitudes can be identified in the way the Balkan nations were located, in official publications, and also in the popular press, which provides a good reflection of the ideas and stereotypes circulating among all strata of French society. One of the most revealing examples of the association among the Balkan nations comes from the vast volume dedicated to this event, *Les Merveilles de L'exposition*, in which, before embarking on an analysis of each Balkan country, the author felt the need to write an introduction from what would be classified today as a transnational perspective:

> These people, different in origins, race and aspirations, show at the same time certain similarities that a world exhibition emphasizes. (…) There are between the major industries of these countries, local industries in the first place, striking analogies. Couldn’t we assign these semblances to the Turkish yoke that oppressed these people for centuries, dictating their habits and tastes, which newly earned independence has not yet made disappear [?] (*Les Merveilles* 1889: 846).

The location of Romania, Serbia and Greece very much reinforced the view of the peninsula as a single entity, related to the oriental and exotic section. On the far right of the *Champ de Mars*, along the *Avenue Suffren*, continuing into the *Rue de Caire*, the main oriental attraction and the Moroccan constructions, were the pavilions of Japan, Serbia and Greece, one next to the other. Exactly opposite was the Romanian restaurant, with the Siamese pavilion on its right and the Chinese one on its left.

French publications also remarked upon this peculiar positioning, mentioning how the pavilions of Serbia and Greece “successfully continued the facades of the Oriental Countries” (*Les Merveilles* 1889: 847). Here the author points to both a physical and a stylistic continuation, as one of the main desires of the French officials was that all the different buildings to be placed together in harmony. However, the author seems to be particularly pleased by this “continuation”, as the pavilions from the Balkans continued the Oriental ones in the same way as the Balkans were believed to be a continuation of the Orient in Europe (Adamovsky 2005: 592, 599–600). Likewise, in another publication the Balkan countries were presented on pages immediately following those dedicated to the Orient (*Figaro* 1889: 66). Moreover, in pictures showing the Greek pavilion or the Romanian restaurant, visitors can be seen riding on donkeys driven by Egyptians from the *Rue de Caire*, a visual evidence of their connection with the Orient but also of the Orientalising atmosphere that the visitors must have felt while visiting the Balkan countries pavilions. *(Fig. 8)*

The positioning of the Balkan nations did not pass unnoticed at home either. A particularly virulent response came from Serbia, profoundly dissatisfied by the location of the pavilion “in the gallery of the countries from the Orient and Far East”.[8] In a fashion befitting the display strategies of the Balkans, they demanded a place “that is included with the countries from Europe”, while the general commissioner tried, without success, “to bring Serbia closer to the countries of Europe”.[9] This was a conscious and explicit attempt to position Serbia as a European country, since its being part of the continent was not a fact that was taken for granted.

8 Letter from the General Commissioner of the Exhibition to the Foreign Affairs Minister of Serbia on 12 August 1888, *Archives Nationales de France*, Paris, F/12/3763.

9 Ibidem.

Fig. 8. View of the Greek Pavilion, Paris, 1889

The joyful Romanian restaurant represents further proof of French perceptions that opposed the official Romanian discourse. The *Lăutari*, Gypsy singers of folk songs, the traditional food and the waitresses, all created an atmosphere unanimously appreciated as exotic or picturesque (*Guide* 1889: 216–217; *Figaro* 1889: 100; *Le Menestrel* 1889: 275; *Revue* 1889: 944; Fauser 2005: 252–261). The music itself received praise similar to that accorded to the oriental one: it was considered "slow", "languishing" and full of passion (*Revue* 1889: 944; *L'Exposition* 1889: 735). In fact, some commentators referred to the Indian origin of the Gypsies to reinforce their exoticism, while for others they were a taste of the Orient, and connected with the Egyptians (*Revue* 1889: 945).

CONCLUSIONS

The architecture at the 1889 Universal Exhibition in Paris was represented by ephemeral constructions which were meant first of all to impress, thus allowing a large degree of freedom to the architect. As such, they were in many ways extreme examples of what a national architecture could be. But the process of creating this architecture set an example, subsequently followed by architects designing

buildings in their own countries. However, for the new Balkan nations, this process was an intricate one. They had to come up with a unique "national" style, out of a mixed and shared architectural heritage, which would be fitted enough to represent their nation in a positive light. The motifs they made use of, meanwhile, were not always unique, as French perceptions were not always positive. In sum, however, the endeavour may be regarded as a success, even if only for the debates provoked by the architecture at the exhibition, and the attempts at problem-solving that it led to, both fundamental steps along the path of developing architectural styles with national meanings in the Balkans.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Mincu's Project for a Romanian Pavilion at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1989 and the Restaurant Built in Bucharest (1892) Sources: *The National Museum of Art of Romania*, Printings and Drawings Cabinet / http://romaniaistorica.ro/2012/03/01/ion-mincu-arhitect-1852-1912/ (accessed 19.02.2015)

Fig. 2. Romanian "Cabaret" at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1989. Source: *Moniteur des Architectes*, Paris, 1890, Plate 3.

Fig. 3. Facade of the Romanian Section, Paris, 1889. Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/punkmemory/ (accessed 3.06.2014)

Fig. 4. *Curtea de Argeș* Monastery, Argeș County, Romania Source: http://curteavechekmo.ro/ (accessed 12.09.2012)

Fig. 5. Pavilions of Romania at the Universal Exhibition of 1867 (left) and 1900 (right). Sources: Orsay Museum, Documentation section: *Exposition universelle 1867 Paris* / *Le petit journal*, Paris, 14 octobre 1900

Fig. 6. Facade of the Serbian Pavilion, Paris, 1889. Source: *L'Exposition de Paris (1889)*, Paris, 1889.

Fig. 7. Facade of the Greek Pavilion, Paris, 1889. Source: *L'exposition universelle de 1889*, (Paris, 1889), 105.

Fig. 8. View of the Greek Pavilion, Paris, 1889. Source: http://prints.encore-editions.com/500/0/pavilion-of-greece-paris-exposition-1889.jpg (accessed 28.03.2014)

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Aleksandar Ignjatović

Competing Byzantinisms: The Architectural Imagination of the Balkan Nations at the Paris World Exhibition in 1900

Despite its marginal geo-political position, the Balkans of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries also witnessed the transformation of the political and social landscape that sharply marked all European regions. As the enfeebled Ottoman Empire gradually lost its political authority and power – while the neighbouring Habsburg Monarchy was in a state of constant political turmoil – new national communities emerged, trying to establish or enlarge their own nation states. The process of national emancipation led the emerging elites of Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania (which were either independent political entities or in the process of gaining national independence from the Ottoman Empire) to construct different and complex national ideologies aimed at legitimizing national (and political) boundaries, national identities and what were believed to be "genuine" national cultures and histories (Calic 2010; Sundhaussen 2008; Mazower 2002; Pavlowitch 1999; Jelavich 1999).

Nevertheless, the majority of Balkan nations did not pursue nationalism completely dissociated from the idea of the empire. Governed by the ambition to achieve political and cultural domination on the Balkan Peninsula, they mostly accepted the then-dominant political and cultural model of imperial rule, which was widely shared among the European overseas empires, as well as in the so-called continental empires, such as those of the Habsburg and Romanov dynasties (Miller–Rieber 2004). Despite the diversity of cultural and political differences among the competing nations of the Balkans, they were closely tied not only by their recent past and by a mutual national enemy, but also by a common vision of the national golden age, which was believed to represent the supreme national mission of expanding the state, as well as by the prospect of living as equals in the community of the "old" European nations (Gerasimov 2009: 3–23; Stoler 2009: 33–55; Stoler 2007).

This was the context in which the national narratives and historical imaginations of many Balkan nations came to be based, simultaneously, on similar and comparable national and imperial perspectives, all employing the Byzantine legacy as a peculiarly national heritage. This process had, of course, begun at the same time in many different cultural registers, but it was at its most succinct in national historiographies. Nation-building historians established national historiographical canons distinguishing various relationships between their respective

national histories and cultures, on the one hand, and Byzantium on the other. These national canons set the scene for the historical imaginations of the Balkan nations, projecting contemporary political objectives onto late medieval states, which were interpreted as cultural and political heirs to the Byzantine Empire (Ignjatović 2004: 254–274).

Yet "Byzantium" in the Balkan national narratives was elusive, complex and changeable, nevertheless always connoting an exemplary past civilization which at that time had a range of cultural values and political meanings. On the one hand, Byzantium was seen as an empire in moral, political and cultural decline, which ought to be succeeded by the Serbian, Greek, Romanian or Bulgarian nations; on the other hand, the cultural heritage of Byzantium was seen as capable of continuing and enhancing, and it was imagined as a nucleus of each nation's imperial culture in both the present and the past. The contours of national identity in all the newly-emerged Balkan nations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries comprised a dual image—one side of the image was firmly attached to the glorious past, which undoubtedly would have belonged to the common history of Europe, while the other related to the modernity of European civilization. Yet it was the glorious past of the nation that supported its glorious future, being able to overcome the trauma of four centuries of Ottoman rule, which was seen predominately as a complete break in the historical continuity of culture, society and politics. In their efforts to provide their nations with a proper identity that could substantiate their *raisons d'être*, the political and intellectual elites of Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania concurrently constructed national narratives depicting their nation as the successor to Byzantium. This not only represented a shared historical heritage, but might also have been called the "institution of power", aimed at promoting national self-definition in the context of the imperial Europe of the time. For the Balkan elites, Byzantium stood as an ideal of the past, an integral part of European civilization. However, it also represented an empire in decline, which had to be both surmounted and succeeded by the Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian or Romanian nation state. It was this dual perspective that the Balkan elites adopted from the West and subsequently (and concurrently) included in various different ways into the national narratives.

At the same time, on a global scale – and generically tied to these Balkan national appropriations and interpretations of Byzantium – new regimes of knowledge were deconstructing traditional cultural stereotypes about the Byzantine Empire. The gradual process of the historical rehabilitation of Byzantium was essential for delineating the identity not only of the Balkan nations, and their cultures and histories, but also those of other European nations. Having borne the traditional negative stigma and the new, rather "objective" interpretation, with its variety of connotations, Byzantium became an integral part of the representational discourse of national history in Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Angelov 2003: 3–21; Stamatopoulos 2013: 321–340).

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The same process of interpreting and appropriating the Byzantine heritage was prominent not only in cultural and political historiography, but also within architectural and visual culture—both in the West and among the Christian Balkan nations. Yet the European cultural perception and use of Byzantine art and architecture was sharply marked by a traditional negative stigma, originating from the Enlightenment, which was very hard to remove (Nelson 2004: xvi). The majority of art and architectural histories of the nineteenth century widely disseminated a picture of Byzantine art that came with a political label rather than one of style and form (Mango 1991: 40–44). The picture was inferior, lifeless, decadent and frozen, beyond the global process of architectural development (Nelson 2004: 29–72; Bullen 2003; Crinson 1996: 72–92). Consequently, the Neo-Byzantine style was particularly suitable for representing ethnic and religious "Others" throughout Western and Central Europe. The case of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where non-Catholics were distinguished by Neo-Byzantine architecture, is perhaps the best example (Klein 2009: 91–124; Klein 2006: 117–134; Moravánszky 1998: 93–97).

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, Byzantine architecture came into a more profound and less biased analytical scope of scholars (which happened in parallel with the Europe-wide re-writing of the history of Byzantium), and this was partly determined by the ideological perspective of imperial rule. The growing interest in Byzantium led to the creation of a new, rather rational model of perception, institutionalized under the name of "Byzantine Studies (Jeffreys–Haldon–Cormack 2009). Among many others, Serbian "Byzantine Studies" became famous when the Russian historian Gregory Ostrogorsky immigrated to Belgrade after World War I (Pirivatrić 2010: 481–490).

It was this dual model of perception of Byzantium in general, and Byzantine art and architecture in particular, that was methodically employed in all sorts of historical imaginations throughout the Balkans of the time. Greeks and Serbs, Romanians and Bulgarians simultaneously interpreted their national histories as those of Byzantine successors, and their respective national identities were all consequently marked by an imperial mission. They all constructed their own "national-Byzantine" legacies, as the apparent essence of a genuine national identity that went hand in hand with national expansionism. This process was both influenced and propelled by architectural culture. Its key aspect was the language of "national" styles, which were not only interpreted as being related to Byzantine architecture, but were also seen as peculiarly authentic, national idioms. Via "Neo Greek", "Serbo-Byzantine", "Bulgarian-Byzantine" or "Romanian-Byzantine" styles, Byzantine architecture became the focus of the Balkan elites who, governed by the already-established patterns of nation-building historiography as well as by Western models for the historical interpretation of the past, led the drive to fabricate a distinct image of national culture and to legitimize nationalistic goals and imperialistic expansionist ideologies. Thus, the discourse of national architecture became crucial for visual-

izing and recalling the imperial grandeur of the nation, which would in turn justify territorial expansionism, political and cultural supremacy on the Balkan Peninsula and, last but not least, the process of the cultural unification of the nation (Ignjatović 2014; Pantelić 1997: 16–41). It is no wonder that local Byzantine or Byzantine-influenced architecture—interpreted as national heritage *par excellence*—came into sharpest focus at the turn of the century, running in tandem with the appellations of the Balkan states both as industrious, progressive, imperial nations and as rival modern heirs to Byzantium; distinguished by a rich historical heritage, they all claimed imperial grandeur and supremacy over one another, while at the same time striving to establish themselves in a wider European context of imperial nation states (Ricks, Magdalino 1998; Detrez, Segaert 2008; Carras 2004: 294–326; Liakos 2002: 27–41).

The messages of these competing architectural Byzantinisms, along with their corresponding ideological and political backgrounds, could perhaps be most keenly felt in the context of the great international exhibitions held in the last third of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. The 1900 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, where most of the Christian nation states of the Balkans erected their own national pavilions to resemble what each nation understood as a Byzantine-related national style, was undoubtedly the most conspicuous example of this wider cultural and political phenomenon of Byzantinism. Heavily reliant upon a "fascination with the past" (Escritt 2002: 13), the ephemeral structures built in Paris in 1900 by Serbia, Greece, Romania and Bulgaria certainly constituted the most intriguing example of the above-mentioned identity-constructing

Fig. 1: L' Exposition Universelle, Rue des Nations, Paris 1900, postcard

Fig. 2: Milorad Ruvidić and Milan Kapetanović, Serbian Pavilion, L' Exposition Universelle Paris 1900

policy, built on the discourse of Byzantinism. The exhibition itself provided an ideal framework for the nations of the Balkans to present their complex identities, distinguished by the dualities of being simultaneously ancient and modern, as well as peripheral and central to the European concept of civilization.

The Byzantinized pavilions of Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece might be read as self-perceived and self-constructed images of national identity, with distinct ideological and political functions. At the same time, the holistic image of the Balkans and the Balkan nation states as "new Byzantines"—in both positive and negative terms (related to the two above-mentioned models of perception of the Byzantine Empire and its civilization)—was yet another aspect of the 1900 Paris show, as all these pavilions were grouped on the Exhibition's *Rue des Nations. (Fig. 1)* It was not uncommon, for instance, to read that commentators regarded the Balkan nations as a distinct and coherent cultural group, "not just because of their geographical proximity on the Quai d'Orsay, but because all four [Serbia, Greece, Romania and Bulgaria] seem to have drawn their inspiration from Byzantine ecclesiastical forms" (Kallestrup 2006: 84).

The Serbian pavilion was conceived to deliberately recall the monastic architecture of late-medieval Serbia. *(Fig. 2)* The pavilion, designed by the Serbian architects Milorad Ruvidić and Milan Kapetanović, was officially designated as "Serbo-Byzantine" (Kadijević 1997: 68–71), staffed by no less than 408 people; it was a

colourful architectural ensemble "in which visitors were invited to view exhibitions of wine, food products and silk, including a display of silk-worm cocoons" (Winter 2006: 30). Contemporaries regarded its style as being rooted in the national cultural golden age; according to the official catalogue, it was a copy of Kalenić, a monastery church built in central Serbia in the early fifteenth century. On closer inspection, though, it is clear that the pavilion departed from its alleged architectural source, representing a picturesque assemblage of motifs taken from different origins and inspirations. The building rather represented an intriguing visual imagination of "Serbian Byzantium", denoting a founding national myth of Greater Serbia as the successor to the Byzantine Empire (Ignjatović 2014). At the same time, the striking architectural eclecticism of the pavilion and its "invented traditions" were far more tied to European Orientalism than to any alleged, original structure from the late Middle Ages. *(Fig. 3)*

Yet it would be misleading to see the pavilion as a mere anachronism, because its historicism clearly represented a central aspect of modern self-reflectiveness and the quest for national identity, which were essentially modern attitudes. What is more, the pseudo-Byzantine style of the pavilion—including the monumental paintings in its interior as well as its Orientalist features—was perfectly suited to

Fig. 3: Milorad Ruvidić and Milan Kapetanović, Serbian Pavilion, L' Exposition Universelle Paris 1900, postcard

the needs of contemporaneous Serbian political mythology. The overall Byzantinism of the pavilion's architecture, incorporating a quasi-folkloric porch, was a stage for displaying (and also unifying) the diversity of Serbian cultural traditions that had been dispersed throughout the Balkans, from Trieste to Thessaloniki, and from Szeged to Dubrovnik. In that sense, Byzantium was to be seen as a unifying source of cultural heritage for all members of the nation, regardless of their modern cultural diversity. Additionally, the pseudo-Byzantine style – not to mention the epic paintings that were the central display of the show (particularly Pavle "Paja" Jovanović's *Coronation of King Stephen Dušan the Mighty as the Serbo-Byzantine Emperor in Skopje in 1345*) – might have served as a particularly functional and pragmatic model for national identity.

Architecture, however, was only part of the ramified national narratives, crucial as a means of political legitimization – both in Serbia and beyond. In fact, there were numerous regimes of representative culture which had similar origins and roles. Religious and historicist painting was but one example. As in the case of architecture, the post-Byzantine traditions of religious painting had completely disappeared over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Serbia. As new artistic ideas from the West and Russia seeped into nineteenth-century Serbia, monumental painting underwent a tremendous transformation. The provincial, post-Byzantine conventions were gradually replaced by new, adopted ways of representing the "pious Orthodoxy", the "Orthodox spirit" and the "Byzantine" tradition. Serbian painting of the time – not dissimilarly to "national architecture" and "national art" in the various national camps of the Balkans: Greek, Romanian or Bulgarian – was therefore markedly influenced by some rather invented, academic models of "Byzantine" art – starting from Viennese, Italian and Russian patterns, and ending with Symbolism (Makuljević 2006; Makuljević 2007; Jovanović 1987). The case of Serbia is particularly telling. Like French Neo-Byzantine architecture, the French symbolist version of "Byzantium" – which, aside from its spiritual and contemplative qualities, also connoted strict conservatism, authoritarian rule and monarchism (Bullen 2003: 60–64, 76–83, 87–90, 98–105) – had an impact on Serbian artists. The use of local Byzantine-related traditions as direct inspiration, however, did not start until the third decade of the twentieth century, twenty years after a similar process had already commenced in architecture. Consequently, the idea of establishing closer ties with medieval Serbian traditions has occupied a prominent place in art theory and practice in Serbia since the 1920s. Similar processes of reinterpreting and appropriating local Byzantine traditions took place in all the Balkan nations of the time. As a result, the styles of all these national pavilions relied on a common conceptual paradigm, and all, in a way, resembled each other.

The Greek pavilion at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 was also styled to resemble what was perceived as a domestic tradition of Byzantine architecture. For contem-

poraries, it was "inspired by local [Greek] architectural models" (Kadijević 1997: 70), apparently similar to the provincial church-building traditions of Athens or Delphi. Unlike the Serbian example, however, the Greek pavilion was designed by a foreigner – the French architect Lucien Magne, well-known for his work on the reconstruction of the Parthenon in Athens (Tournikiotis 1996: 338). Like its neighbouring Serbian counterpart, the Greek pavilion represented a stunning combination of various styles, forms and structural details, which together revealed more the contemporary quest for a distinct Greek national identity than any alleged authenticity of genuine local Byzantine traditions. The fact that the building is still preserved helps us better to comprehend the underlying rationale of the design. After the exhibition closed, the pavilion was dismantled and shipped to Greece in 1901 to be rebuilt as a museum of fine arts in Athens. Eventually, however, the reconstructed pavilion, which now stands as a green oasis in the midst of the hectic avenue *Leoforos Syngrou*, was consecrated as a Greek Orthodox church dedicated to *Agios Sostis* (the Holy Saviour, *Fig. 4*), to commemorate an unsuccessful assassination attempt against King George I in February 1898 (The king did not escape the second assassination attempt in March 1913).

Fig. 4: Lucien Magne, Church of the Holy Saviour (1900-1901), Athens. View from the North-East

Fig. 5: Lucien Magne, Church of the Holy Saviour (1900-1901), Athens. Detail of the façade

Fig. 6: Lucien Magne, Church of the Holy Saviour (1900-1901), Athens. Interior

Fig. 7: Henry-Jules Saladin and Henry de Sevelinges, Bulgarian Pavilion

Both the interior and the facades of the Greek pavilion, along with its structural system and layout, reveal the fact that a key criterion of "national authenticity" was not a meticulous archaeological reconstruction that would evoke the "national spirit", but the combined effect of the picturesque and national purity, achieved through a decorative pattern that combined Byzantine, Neo-Byzantine and even contemporary Art Nouveau details. *(Fig. 5)* Ironically, the elements that were

supposed to be recognized as truly Byzantine and authentically national – for instance, the dome and the pendentives – were constructed in the best tradition of late-nineteenth century industrial architecture, additionally adorned with floral decorations. *(Fig. 6)* Nevertheless, the overall message of this invented architectural historicism, with its Orientalist detailing, was just as sound as that of its Balkan neighbours: the Greek pavilion, by virtue of its startling Byzantine resonance, was a visual manifestation of the *Megali Idea* (The Great Idea), a telling symbol of modern Greece as the resurrected Hellenized Byzantine Empire.

The Bulgarian pavilion at the same exhibition was styled as an intriguingly Orientalized Neo-Byzantine structure. As was the case with the Greek pavilion, the architects responsible for its design were French, in this case Henry-Jules Saladin and Henry de Sevelinges. As a matter of fact, several nations commissioned French architects to design their pavilions, as many of them, to cite Zeynep Çelik, "had trusted French architects to make their countries known"(Çelik 1992: 134). The Bulgarian pavilion seems remarkably interesting as a rather multifarious assemblage of different elements, which contemporaries recognized as both Ottoman and Byzantine; the structure, though, had no particular historical predecessor. Its opulent eclecticism, which referred to different building traditions, was a visual metaphor of the contemporary Bulgarian search for identity. *(Fig. 7)* Referring to what some Bulgarian officials and visitors had seen as an improperly reflected national spirit, the representative of the Bulgarian Association of Architects, Anton Tornyov, condemned the pavilion's style with wry irony: "To the foreigner our pavilion makes the impression that it represents some European colony recently extracted from the Turkish slavery" (Stanoeva 2010: 100).

On the other hand, the competing discourse of Byzantinism in the Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian and Romanian pavilions was exactly what the Balkan elites wanted. One may easily notice that political rivalries found expression in the dreamlike Byzantinism of the Balkan national pavilions. An excerpt from a contemporary Bulgarian account merits citing here to illustrate this very phenomenon: "The most successful among these four […] is that of Serbia […] constructed in a local Byzantine style, with little difference from our churches and monasteries. The Romanian pavilion is the largest and most luxurious […] Romanian Byzantinism, which is not very different from ours or that of Serbia, has been presented by different elements of Moorish, oriental ornaments on capitals and decorations." (Tornyov 1900: 225).

Finally, the Romanian national pavilion at the Paris Exhibition in 1900 had an unmistakably peculiar style, clearly evoking the Byzantine-Romanian architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Popescu 2013: 190–196; Popescu 2004: 39–43). In the eyes of contemporary Europeans, the pavilion "evoked Romanian architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth century", and was considered

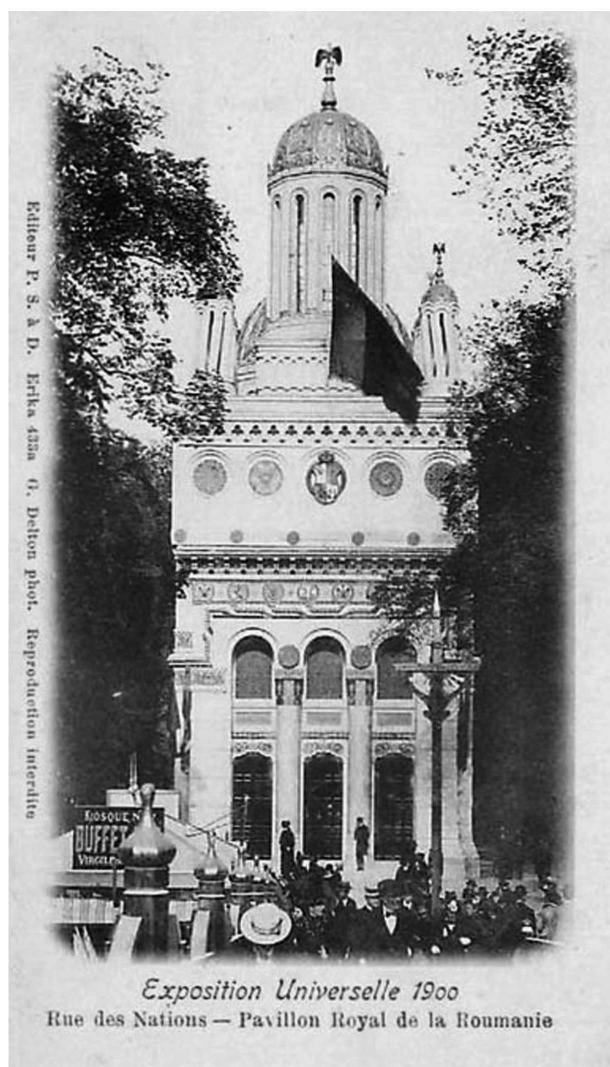

Fig. 8: Jean-Camille Formigé, Romanian Pavilion, postcard

"Byzantine, enriched with Oriental decoration" (Paris exposition 1900: 243; Guillet 1900: 330–331). The pavilion's style and form *(Fig. 8)* followed the example of its celebrated predecessor – namely, the Byzantinized Romanian pavilion built by Ambroise-Alfred Baudry at the Paris World exhibition in 1867. Both were conceived as replicas of the Episcopal Church in Curtea de Argeş (1512–1521), which was considered quintessentially Romanian in character, a prime example of the Romanian-Byzantine Style (Popescu 2004: 39–43). The same church was also regarded as one of the last truly Byzantine edifices in the world (Kallestrup 2006: 71). As with both the Greek and the Bulgarian pavilions, the designer was French, and Jean-Camille Formigé had paid a brief visit to Romania in order to acquaint

himself with local architectural heritage. Apart from the official pavilion, the same architect erected the Romanian restaurant, styled to resemble the Mogoşoaia Palace (1698–1702) near Bucharest. (Popescu 2013: 195–196). The resulting hybrid of different architectural elements and a "straightforward assemblage of ecclesiastical architectural pastiches, from different periods and regions" (Kallestrup 2002: 147–148) was not so dissimilar from the startling picturesqueness of the Serbian pavilion. In fact, in both cases, the architecture became an inseparable element of the construction of a national identity, which would refer simultaneously to the discourse of imperial rule (as a cultural successor to Byzantium), and to an authentic national culture (where the notion of "authenticity" was meticulously cultivated out of different traditions—combining adoptions from the country's architectural heritage with new inventions).

The presence of the Balkan nations at the 1900 Paris Exhibition clearly demonstrated the instrumentality of the ambivalence of meaning of Byzantium, which was employed in a number of different ways as a marker of national heritage. On the one hand, the nation states of the Balkans represented themselves using a language of historical architecture of "their own" medieval golden ages – all related to the metaphor of Byzantine succession – whether cultural or political or both. The pavilions of Serbia, Greece and Romania (and to a certain extent that of Bulgaria) were all imagined as local variants of what was believed to embody the "Byzantine-national" architecture. These national styles bore witness simultaneously to the profoundly rich cultural heritage of the nation and to its glorious imperial past, legitimizing the concurrent and comparable political agendas. On the other hand, the picturesque "anachronism" of the Serbian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Greek pavilions, and their perception as "Byzantinized", undoubtedly relied on an Orientalistic identity-pattern, which the local Balkan elites had borrowed from the West. The model epitomized the common stereotype of the Balkans: utterly influenced by the Byzantine heritage, it still carried the double mark of an uncivilized and unhistorical realm, and of high spirituality.

The local communities represented themselves through a range of comparable and concurrent architectural narratives and competing projects of Byzantinization, which were part of the typical identity formula for non-Western nations. At the same time, this was only one battle in the global war to interpret the local past in the Balkans, which represented a generic feature of the nation-building projects, with a variety of political connotations. Although the Balkan national architectural historiographies established Byzantium as *sui generis* heritage ("the Paris pavilion had symbolized true emancipation of our architecture and its departure from the Western patterns", as a prominent Serbian architectural historian has put it), the national appropriation of Byzantine architecture was exactly the Western pattern of imagining the "indigenous" identity of the Balkans (Kadijević 1997: 69). Being but one of the numerous examples, the 1900 Paris Exhibition represented the

Balkan nations as the new Byzantines, the European "Others", with a specially allotted place in the structured, panoptic view of the modern world that the exhibition itself represented. At the same time, however, the Balkan nations' pavilions reflected a globally redefined perception of Byzantine architecture, which was already included in the narratives of the architectural histories of Western nations (Ignjatović 2014).

In summarizing the national representations of the Balkan states at the 1900 Paris Exhibition, some conclusions can be drawn. First, all these ephemeral structures were conceived and understood as interrelated, competing narratives, by which national architecture became inseparable from ideology and political instrumentalization. This was a common feature of all the Balkan nations, which at that time broadly adopted Byzantine architecture as the kernel of a particular national style – a style which was simultaneously traditional and continuously recurring in modernity. At the same time, these national styles were seen as the "evolved" Byzantine styles, in the sense that they were modified by genuine national cultures. On the other hand, the exhibition clearly set the Balkan nations in an Orientalist perspective, where the Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and Romanians continued to be seen as post-Ottomans and new Byzantines, as far as the Western paternalist discourse was concerned. Interestingly, both the Ottoman Empire – which also had an Orientalizing pavilion built close to those of the Balkan nations – and the Christian nations of the Balkans were seen as the heirs to Byzantium while the Ottoman pavilion was designed by the French architect Adrien-René Dubuisson (Çelik 1992: 109–110). Yet the question of which nation would succeed in regaining the imperial grandeur of days gone by was a hotly contested one, which would sharply define the Balkan landscape in the decades that followed.

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Ágnes Sebestyén

Displaying a "Peaceful"[1] Colonization within Europe: the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris

INTRODUCTION

Following the Berlin Congress of 1878, Bosnia and Herzegovina, previously a part of the Ottoman Empire, was placed under the military guardianship of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the World Fair of 1900 in Paris represents a chef d'œuvre in a series of shows presented at international exhibitions throughout Europe[2] to showcase the results achieved by the Austro-Hungarian administration in the occupied territories. Lacking overseas colonies, the Dual Monarchy took the opportunity to present itself as a colonial power (Čusto and Leka 2004). Thus the most explicit message of the exhibition design and of the iconography of the pavilion was the justification of the new administration through modernization. The present paper will show that in order to achieve this, Bosnia and Herzegovina was portrayed as a newly discovered Oriental world, with the purpose of emphasizing the necessity of the performed cultural mission (Baotić 2012). *(Fig. 1)* The present paper pinpoints the key actors of this process and the main political agendas underlying the iconography of the pavilion, artfully designed to construct and convey the image of a benevolent guardian and the idea of Bosnian nationhood, which perfectly suited the aims of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

THE BENEVOLENT ADMINISTRATION: THE KÁLLAY REGIME

Following the occupation, the Austro-Hungarian administration faced difficulties developing an economic and cultural infrastructure in a region that was as underdeveloped as some of the extra-European colonies of the time. The new administration intended to secure the provinces, prepare their final annexation to the Dual Monarchy and find a solution against south Slavic nationalism by placing a military contingency to control the borders, fostering state-sponsored indus-

1 The title refers to a presentation held by Henri Moser, the commissioner general of the pavilion at the 11th Congress of the Swiss Geographic Society in 1896 in Geneva (Moser 1896).

2 1891 – Vienna; 1891 – Zagreb and Timişoara; 1896 – Millennial Exhibition, Budapest; 1897 – World exhibition, Brussels; 1898 – Jubilee Exposition, Vienna.

Fig. 1. The Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina

trialization and developing cultural, administrative and educational institutions according to a Western model (Baotić 2012).

Benjamin von Kállay (1839–1903), the Joint Minister of Finance of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in charge of the occupied territory between 1882 and 1903, played a central role in this process. Seeking both economic progress and political stability, he imputed equal importance to administrative, economic and nation-building aspects of modernization (Ress 2006). In his eyes, the introduction of an effective administration system, the construction of an adequate transport network, and the introduction of new methods of production were of no less importance than the construction of an independent Bosnian nationhood.[3] Focusing on the idea of a common Bosnian identity served several purposes. First of all, it was an attempt to keep the Serbian and Croatian territorial aspirations under control and thus foster the assimilation of the newly acquired provinces into the multi-ethnic Monarchy (Okey 2007; Ress 2006). Moreover, Kállay relied on Bosnian

3 The nature of the Kállay regime has received significant scholarly attention. See among others: Okey 2007; Ress 2006; Milojković-Djurić 2000; Kraljačić 1987.

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landowners to support the regime, seeing in them the most "stable element for the country and people, with whom they feel at one in nationality and language" (Okey 2007: 60).[4] At the same time, during the age in which a major part of the "Orient" was colonized, this focus also served as a justification for the claim that the Dual Monarchy performed a cultural mission: "Ce qui, jadis, fut le théâtre de lutes sanglantes interminables, est aujourd'hui un centre de travail pacifique, un foyer d'ou rayonnent le progrès et la civilisation. Et les anciens combattants, qui avaient pris les armes pour refouler les troupes d'occupation, sont aujourd'hui les soutiens le plus fidèles du régime actuel" (*La Bosnie-Herzégovine 1900:* 13).[5]

One of Kállay's main instruments in constructing Bosnian nationhood was the creation of an educational and cultural infrastructure. The educational system was completely restructured, new cultural institutions were founded, and new periodicals were published (Okey 2007; Ress 2006; Milojković-Djurić 2000; Kraljačić 1987).[6] A major initiative was the founding of the Provincial Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Landesmuseum*), led by Konstantin Hörmann[7] and the archeologist Ćiro Truhelka,[8] with collections covering archeology, history, natural history, geology and ethnography. Besides its scientific activity, the institution had an important educational role and was important in the process of nation-building initiated by Kállay (Bagarić 2008).

In Kállay's view, achieving cultural prestige at an international level was essential for legitimacy. Publications were commissioned to emphasize the good will and results of the Austrian administration, not only within the country but also abroad. The most famous of these was a volume of the so-called *Kronprinzenwerk*,[9] dedicated to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and published in 1901. It is also unsurprising that Kállay recognized the opportunity represented by international exhibitions and world fairs – the most powerful mass media of the time, capable of reaching vast audiences –

4 Okey quotes *Stenographische Sitzungs-Protokoll*e (Stenographic minutes of government meetings), Session 28 (1892), 168. When introducing the concept of a historical/political nation, where the ethnical and religious differences are superseded by a strong sense of common nationhood, as well as the reliance on the nobility to perpetuate it, Kállay relied on the similar Hungarian policy he was most familiar with.

5 That which once was the scene of endless bloody struggles, is now a peaceful center of work, a home radiant with progress and civilization. And the former soldiers who took up arms to repulse the occupying troops, are today the most loyal supporters of the current regime. – translated by the author. In the original context it is clear that the text refers to the "Muslims".

6 The most important result of this strategy was the founding of *Nada*, a high-quality illustrated belletrist and arts magazine. *Nada* (Hope) appeared between 1895 and 1903 (until Kállays death) and served as the mouthpiece of the administration.

7 Government commissioner for Sarajevo and editor of *Nada* Magazine.

8 His excavations and publications were widely recognized, and his investigations into the past of Bosnia and Herzegovina also contributed to the consolidation of the idea of a separate national identity. His key publication – Les restes Ilyriens en Bosnie (The Illyrian Remains of Bosnia), Paris, 1900 – was a supplement of the official catalogue of the section of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the World Fair in Paris.

9 Suggested in 1883 by Crown Prince Rudolf of Habsburg, the 24-volume *Kronprinzenwerk* attempted a portrayal of all nations of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

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and used these platforms to justify the presence of the foreign administration in the occupied territories and to present its accomplishments: the significance and impact of the "Exposition Universelle" of 1900 in Paris stemmed from the 50 million or more visitors who arrived in seven months (Vernoit 2000; Geppert 2010).

THE PAVILION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AT THE WORLD FAIR IN PARIS IN 1900

The Paris World Fair of 1900 introduced a new classification system: participating nations could exhibit in eighteen different sections, but to retain the option of self-representation, the *Rue the Nations* was created. Colonies of the participating nations were also presented in the *Exposition colonial* (Geppert 2010). Despite being a *de facto* colony, the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina was situated at the *Rue des Nations* in a group of three buildings representing the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, between the Hungarian and the Austrian pavilions (La Panorama 1900). The fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina was the only province within the Dual Monarchy represented by its own pavilion shows its relevance. *(Fig. 2)* Given the consciousness of Kállay in choosing the means to achieve the goals set by the Austro-Hungarian administration, his choice of the commissioner-general of the exhibition section of Bosnia and Herzegovina might seem unexpected. He appointed Henri Moser (1844–1923), son of a well-known Swiss horologist and

Fig. 2. Pavilions of Bosnia-Herzegovina (left) and Hungary (right) at the 1900 Paris World Fair

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industrial pioneer, to take charge of Bosnia and Herzegovina's representation at the World Fair. Nevertheless, a look into the biography of Henri Moser might account for this decision. Seizing the opportunity offered by Russian expansion, Henri Moser undertook four expeditions to Central Asia (1868–1869, 1870, 1883–1884, 1888–1889). His travel reports written during the third journey were published in the *Journal de Genève,* and were translated and adapted by several newspapers throughout Europe.[10] Following his return, Moser edited his reports into a book that was published in French in 1885 and in German in 1888 (Moser 1885 and 1888).

During his journeys he also accumulated a collection of Islamic artifacts amounting to several hundred pieces, including oriental carpets, rugs and garments, jewelry, illustrated manuscripts, paintings, bronzes, gilded and enameled arms and armor, silver trays, coins, ivory objects, and painted and varnished wooden objects. As soon as his travel accounts were published as a book, Moser organized a series of ten traveling exhibitions as illustrations.[11] Moser secured the positive response of the public with professional methods of mediation: the display evoked the overwhelming atmosphere of the bazaars, accompanying catalogues were published in French and German, and the openings were festive ceremonies (Pfaff 1985). In addition, Moser held lectures about his expeditions and offered guided tours through the exhibitions. As a result, these exhibitions were well reviewed and praised by the contemporary press, making his expertise even more widely acknowledged.[12]

Working for the Kállay administration from 1892 until Kállay's death, Henri Moser proved his skills writing travel guides and newspaper reports about Bosnia and Herzegovina (Moser 1895b; Moser 1895c; Moser 1896b; Moser 1896c). He gave presentations at various conferences, and organized visits and hunting expeditions for journalists and possible investors (Moser 1895a and Moser 1896a). But most

10 His original letters as well as a collection of the published reports are preserved in the Historical Museum of Berne.

11 Schaffhausen (1886, Hall of a guild house), Geneva (1886, Orangerie of the Botanical Garden), Bern (1886, aula of the gymnasium at Waisenhausplatz), Sankt Gallen (1886, sky lit hall of the museum), Neuenburg (1886, Palais Rougemont), Zürich (1887, hall of the stock exchange in Zürich), Basel (1887, sky lit hall of the Kunsthalle), Stuttgart (1888, Württembergischer Kunstverein), Frankfurt (1888, it was eventually cancelled) and Paris (1891, Champs-Elysées, Theater Marigny).

12 Nevertheless, there might have been some other reasons that qualified Moser for a diplomatic position in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. His brother-in-law, the husband of his sister Sophie, Benedek Mikes of Zabola (Transylvania) introduced him into the Austro-Hungarian high society. The bear hunts organized on the grounds of count Mikes were quite popular in the circles of the Hungarian aristocracy and Moser, being a frequent guest there, established contacts to some of the leading figures of the Austro-Hungarian administration. Moser even established personal contacts with Emperor Franz Joseph I himself, as one of his several business ventures included buying horses from Turkmenistan for the Austro-Hungarian Army. Although Moser's business venture failed, several contemporary newspapers reported that Franz Joseph and his wife were pleased when Moser gave them three horses from Turkmenistan and an Afghan hound as a gift. Moser's experience as a curator and mediator, his acknowledged writing skills, his status as an expert on the "Orient" justifies Kállay's choice regardless of the personal and somewhat arbitrary reasons behind Moser's appointment.

importantly, he was in charge of the representation of Bosnia and Herzegovina at International Fairs.[13]

The following extract from a travel guide written by Moser illustrates his approach towards the goals of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

> O you like the Orient? There would be no hesitating reply from painters, savants and globetrotters. The land of the bright sun, of colour, and magnificent skies has ever been an attraction to them, when weary of beaten tracks; they have sought the new and turned to the East. But the Orient, it will be said, lies afar in Asia or Africa. To reach it the traveller must prepare for a long voyage, with the attendant miseries of seasickness; and on landing, may be called upon to organise caravans, to camp out under tents, and endure many discomforts! Not at all. The romantic East, with its picturesque Oriental scenes, its old customs prevailing still after centuries, the true Orient of the Prophet, lies in Europe itself, at a day's journey from Vienna or within fifty-two hours from London! […]
> On the banks of the Save meet two great currents of civilization: the one setting in from the West, the other flowing from the East. […] As the Western flood advances, it rolls before it the turbid waters of fanaticism and of social decay. The traveller […] will find here a laboratory where, under the lofty and intelligent direction of a man of genius and a statesman, are worked out the most interesting experiments in economic and social science.
> We find in Bosnia and Herzegovina […] an example of what an indefatigable and enlightened Administration, keeping its aim always in view, can do with a backward country whose inhabitants have been plunged in apathy induced by centuries of oppression. […] The merit of this great work is undoubtedly due to Mr. Benjamin de Kallay, the Prime Minister. […] Under his direction and encouragement, the advance of Western civilization […] must soon impregnate that virginal country with the international spirit. […] During the past sixteen years the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been leaving their fourteenth century to enter ours." (Moser 1985c: 1–2).

It is clear that Moser not only borrows the narrative of the Kállay administration but betrays an Orientalist approach, attributing the backwardness of Bosnia and Herzegovina to its being "Eastern" or "Oriental". The whole section of Bosnia and Herzegovina – including the architecture of the pavilion, the iconography of its interior decoration, the exhibitions and even the Bosnian restaurant placed in the basement – was part of the attempt to effectively stage and visualize Bosnia and Herzegovina as a newly discovered Oriental world, and at the same time reveal the supremacy of its colonizer.

13 He has participated only as visitor and journalist at the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest (See Moser 1896b; Moser 1896c) but he was already in charge of the Bosnian pavilion at the 1897 World exhibition in Brussels. Moser's work on the Brussels pavilion was awarded with several prizes, honorary diplomas and the cross of the Austrian Imperial Leopold Order.

Fig. 3. Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the 1900 Paris World Fair

According to the official catalogue, the plans of the pavilion were designed by the Department of Public Works in Sarajevo (*La Bosnie-Herzégovine* 1900: 120). Although the otherwise very detailed official catalogue fails to mention him, several other sources attribute the design of the pavilion to a Czech architect named Karel Pánek.[14] A business card and a signed blueprint belonging to the collection of the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo clearly identify “Charles Pánek” as the chief architect of the pavilion.[15] By the time Pánek was entrusted to design the Pavilion, he had already designed a number of significant buildings commissioned by the Austro-Hungarian government, starting with a restaurant and the Hotel Hungaria in Ilidža, a thermal spa near Sarajevo, several schools (1890–1893), and, all in Sarajevo, a Franciscan Monastery (1893), a private house (1894) and the Railway Headquarters (1896) (Kurto 1998, Dimitrijevic 2014). Although no information on the selection process is available, these previous commissions from the Kállay administration may account for his appointment as chief architect.[16] *(Fig. 3)*

14 Pánek was born on the 11th of June 1860 in Místek, Moravia. Date and place of his death are not known. The first know evidence of his work in Bosnia and Herzegovina are architectural drawings for buildings in Ilidža near Sarajevo, dated 1889. Pánek’s last known projects in Sarajevo were signed in 1900 (Dimitrijevic 2014).

15 Found and reproduced by Weidinger 2009, p. 50. The Czech name of the architect is Karel, but he is often mentioned as Carlo or Karl in contemporary newspaper reports and subsequent studies.

16 Given the importance attributed to the project one cannot help but wonder why wasn’t this task entrusted to one of the leading architects involved in the modernization of Sarajevo.

Some Bosnian sources not only name Pánek as the architect of the Pavilion but also announce that he received an award for his design (Kurto 1998).[17] Most of the French, Austrian, Hungarian and German sources, even the most detailed accounts, neglect to mention his authorship or attribute less importance to his contribution, underlining at the same time the role of the Construction Authority of the Government (*Neues Wiener Tagblatt* 1900: 15; Kläy 1992: 180). Some even suggest that Benjamin von Kállay played a decisive role in the design process and gave instructions to alter the original plans to produce a building with monumental proportions, including a huge balcony and a central dome with minarets (*Neues Wiener Tagblatt* 1900: 15). The extent of Kállay's involvement is still unclear, but the fact that construction projects funded by the Austro-Hungarian Government in Bosnia and Herzegovina were sent to the Joint Ministry of Finances for approval, backed up by the related correspondence, suggests that Kállay provided comments and suggestions on a frequent basis (Ibidem: 15).

French contractors executed the construction work, but the woodwork was done by local carpenters in Bosnia and was transported subsequently to the final location (Ibidem: 15). The ground floor of the pavilion measured 25x25 meters, with a sky-lit central hall of 8x15 meters (Štembera 2002: 78; Weidinger 2009: 50). The whole exhibition surface amounted to approximately 950 square meters (Weidinger 2009: 50). A foyer led to the sky-lit two-story central hall, which was connected, via arches, to lateral exhibition halls on three sides.

The architecture of the pavilion leans on a series of Bosnian feudal manors (Ibidem: 50), including the town house of Captain Husein Gradaščević, a nobleman who fought for Bosnian autonomy during the Turkish reign in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Lipa 2006: 3). It was based on a series of architectural photographs, which were later exhibited in the pavilion itself (Weidinger 2009; *La Bosnie-Herzégovine* 1900). The result was a two-story building of irregular shape, with varied facades, a tower and a supra-structure to provide light to the central hall, clearly showing the influence of Bosnian architecture in the gently pointed ornamental arches of its colonnade and in the exterior woodwork. Some contemporary reviews even attributed symbolic meaning to the central tower, seeing in it a reminder of the wars and hardships that had led to the present peaceful state of the provinces (Fromm 1900: 446). The interior decoration also had several Orientalizing accents. The monumental diorama, including a painting titled *Panorama of Sarajevo*[18] by Adolf Kaufmann,[19] was situated on the main wall of the central hall showing an oriental Sarajevo, with the main Mosque and the Great Bazaar (Fromm 1900; *Neues Wiener*

17 Kurto refers to two issues of the *Sarajevski list* (13.11.1900 and 6.02.1902), the latter mentioning that Pánek "a former architect and Government employee in Sarajevo who lives in Barcelona" was named "Officier d'Academie" by the French Ministry of Education and Arts for the design of the Pavilion.

18 The painting must have been destroyed alongside the pavilion at the end of the fair.

19 Adolf Kaufmann (1848–1916), Austrian, trained in Paris, travelled the world, was active in Vienna after 1900.

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Fig. 4. Interior of the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the Panorama of Sarajevo by Adolf Kaufmann and the Allegory of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Alfons Mucha

Tagblatt 1900; Orlíková 2002; Štembera 2002; Weidinger 2009 et alia). This was the first image that every visitor saw upon entering the pavilion. *(Fig. 4)*

A most typical Muslim interior, a harem, was also entirely reconstructed within the exhibition space, even including "attractive female workers from government studios [who] wove carpets" (Štembera 2002: 78). The topos of the harem has often been discussed as a means of constructing the "Other" and staging the feminization of the Orient, so it was obviously a key element underlining the exoticism of the occupied provinces (Çelik, Kinney 1990). As suggested before, staging Bosnia and Herzegovina as a newly discovered Oriental colony strengthened the position of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a modernizer pursuing the imperative of a civilizing mission. The dominant elements of Islamic architecture and the additional exotic exhibition settings emphasized, through contrast, the role of the enlightened administration (Baotić 2012).

The Orientalizing traits of the pavilion architecture follow the guiding principle of the architectural modernization of Sarajevo, where "public, even private architecture began to take a modified Oriental form which was dubbed Bosnian" (Okey 2007: 71). In an attempt to introduce its own values and to appeal to the Bosnian intelligentsia, whose sympathy Kállay relied on, a pseudo-Moorish or neo-Moorish style was created, with features based on the vernacular tradition (Risaluddin 2009).

According to the exhibition catalogue, "the few years passed since Bosnia and Herzegovina entered a new era sufficed to assure a place among the civilized nations for these two provinces" (*La Bosnie-Herzégovine* 1900: 13). A major part of the exhibition space was dedicated to the enumeration of these accomplishments of the new administration: "the outer appearance of the pavilion […] alludes to the time when Bosnia was still under the dominance of the Half Moon. By contrast the visitor steps in the Austro-Hungarian Bosnia when entering the pavilion" (Fromm 1900: 448).[20]

The historical and allegorical murals commissioned for the central hall were designed to create the link between the old, exotic world and the new, civilized one. The Czech Alfons Mucha (1860–1939) must have been chosen for the task not only because he was a citizen of the Dual Monarchy, but also because he was already active and quite well-known in Paris by 1900, and had received several other commissions for that year's World Fair, including a poster and the cover for the official catalogue of the Austrian pavilion (Orlíková 2002; Weidinger 2009 et alia).[21] Mucha decorated all four walls of the central hall at the level of the emporia. The chosen form and technique were subordinated to the spatial possibilities and the

20 Translated by the author.

21 At the same time, there were some practical reasons that might have contributed to his appointment: he owned an atelier in Paris and was accustomed to work with monumental sizes due to his experience as a stage designer.

Fig. 5. Alfons Mucha: The Allegory of Bosnia and Herzegovina

ephemeral nature of the pavilion: he used watercolor and at certain points tempera on slightly colored canvas (Orlíková 2002; Fabre 1900).

The counterpart of Kaufmann's realistic and detailed "Panorama", an allegorical depiction of Bosnia-Herzegovina[22] was shown in the center of the main wall. The artists articulated the decoration of the sidewalls in three bands; the central historical frieze was framed by a lower floral band and an upper frieze depicting Bosnian legends. *(Fig. 5)*

In the central allegory, Bosnia is personified as a young girl sitting on a throne in the middle of oleanders and roses, pointing to or embracing people bringing gifts: wheat, wine, fruits, tobacco, wood, skins of wax, honey, wool, milk and sheep and horses (Orlíková 2002; Weidinger 2009; Fabre 1900; Fromm 1900; Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1900 et alia). This allegorical depiction of Bosnia offering her wares to visitors of the World Fair also shows the wealth and resources of the country.

This central group of artworks was framed by two niches housing larger-than-life-sized statues based on Mucha's designs: the *Spinner* and the *Seamstress*, allegorical figures of the two provinces,[23] with equestrian statues above them, at the level of the emporia, representing Bosnian warriors (Orlíková 2002; Weidinger 2009).

The bottom frieze of the sidewalls, adorned with stylized peonies and roses, was painted exclusively in shades of blue, with only the black contours of the flowers and a few golden stars standing out.[24]

22 The Allegory of Bosnia Herzegovina, 1900, tempera on canvas, 641 x 255.7 cm, Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague, Inv. No. GS019843.

23 The official catalogue attributes these sculptures to Mucha.

24 The surviving parts are preserved in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Watercolor on canvas, 82 x 251 cm and in the Musée du Louve, D. A. G. (fonds Orsay), tempera on canvas, 83 x 248 cm, Inv. No. 1979.67 and 69C.

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Fig. 6. Alfons Mucha: The Three Confessions of the Country, the Coronation of the King of Bosnia and the Revenge of the Bogomils

The central frieze, measuring 3.5 meters in height and 42 meters in length (although interrupted by windows and doors), depicted twelve purposefully chosen scenes from the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Orlíková 2002; Weidinger 2009; Fabre 1900; Fromm 1900; *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* 1900 et alia). On the right side of the central panel, or the left wall of the central hall when facing the Allegory of Bosnia, scenes depicting the Stone, Bronze and Iron Age, symbolized by nomads, a blacksmith and a carpenter, stood for the prehistoric period. The Roman period, illustrated by a woman and a man pouring wine, a couple under a baldachin and a column with an Ionic capital, was followed by the arrival of the Slavs, depicted as a priest stretching his hands into sacrificial fire. A tribunal and the oath on a sword stood for the founding of the judicial system.

The scene depicting the first Christian evangelists and the chastised Bogomils[25] received a central spot on the shorter wall, above the entrance, facing the Allegory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The depiction of the Bogomils – a young man carrying the corpse of another as the king and an army of Bogomil knights swear revenge – most likely refers to the persecution of this once dominant religious group in medieval Bosnia. Mucha used the characteristic monolithic gravestones, the so-called Bogomil-stones, to illustrate the scene. This topic was given such prominence because it fitted neatly into the "Bogomil theory", according to which the Bogomils converted to Islam in response to persecution from the Catholic and Orthodox churches. Muslim elites – nobles and free peasants alike – thus perceived themselves as the descendants of the indigenous Bogomils (Okey 2007: 4). The Bogomil theory was also propagated by the Kállay administration, as it defined a distinct Bosnian identity *vis-à-vis* both the Catholic Croats and the Orthodox Serbs (Ress 2006: 65–66). Lajos Thallóczy, a Hungarian historian and a close friend of Kállay's, even tried to give a scientific basis to the theory (Ibidem: 65–66).[26] *(Fig. 6)*

The fourth wall showed the coronation of Stefan Tvrtko I (1353–1391), the Bosnian King who conquered the principality of Hum (Herzegovina) and first united the

25 Christian heretics of the 12th century.

26 His attempt failed eventually, but in 1900 it still seemed to be feasible.

two provinces (Weidinger 2009). The cycle ended with allegorical representations of the three historical confessions of the country: Catholic, Orthodox and Islam. The laying of the founding stone of the Mosque of Sarajevo was the climactic scene of the historical freeze and was placed right beside the central panel of the allegory of Bosnia.

The third, upper frieze showed selected scenes from Bosnian legends, framed by pointed arches. As only a few of these have been preserved[27] and none of the contemporary photographs concentrate on them, these can be reconstructed only with the help of accounts and reviews by contemporary visitors.[28]

Mucha’s participation in the World Fair has been described quite thoroughly (Orlíková 2002; Štembera 2002; Weidinger 2009) and the murals designed for the pavilion have recently been reconstructed for a monographic exhibition.[29] It is a well-known fact that Mucha received a yearly pass for Austro-Hungarian railways and travelled several times to the Balkans to study and collect the basic elements for illustrating the Bosnian legends: He drew sketches in museums in Sarajevo and Zagreb, and took photographs of people in authentic costumes (Orlíková 2002; Weidinger 2009). Nevertheless, a letter written by Henri Moser[30] suggests that he had to work with the predefined concept of Konstantin Hörmann, the government commissioner of Sarajevo. Thus only a few of Mucha’s own ideas and sketches were included in the final design (Weidinger 2009; Orlíková 2002). Mucha followed the detailed instructions and created a decorative cycle that mediated the message intended by the commissioning Austro-Hungarian administration, betraying an attitude that shares affinities with his commercial work.[31]

This central hall of the pavilion, dominated by Mucha’s decoration, was connected via arches to the annexed exhibition sections. The main aim of these sections was to enumerate one by one the achievements of the new administration. Austria-Hungary had been present in Bosnia and Herzegovina for more than two decades by this time, and the exhibition documented with every possible measure the process and results of colonization.

27 The legend of Ivo and Anica, watercolor, tempera, canvas, 136 x 450 cm, Musée d’Orsay.

28 The Bride of Hasanaga, The Only Sister, Murcia – The Plague Lady and Enduring Love. See also: Fabre 1900, Fromm 1900, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* 1900 et alia.

29 It has been partly preserved and has been reconstructed as part of the monographic exhibition on Mucha at the Belvedere in Wien (12 February 2009 until 1 June 2009) and in the Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung München (9 October 2009 until 24 January 2010).

30 The letter written on the 9th of December 1899 to the Joint Ministry of the Dual Monarchy is quoted by Weidinger (2009: 51).

31 Ironically, it was this cycle designed for the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the related trips to the Balkans that inspired Mucha to start working on the Slav Epic (Weidinger 2009; Orlíková 2002). According to the testimony of a letter published by his son, working on this cycle on the history and culture of a Slavic country under foreign (Austro-Hungarian) administration other than his own, awoke his interest in Pan-Slavism (Mucha 1986: 290).

Fig. 7. The Interior of the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The thematically organized sections enumerated the growth and wealth induced by the Austro-Hungarian guardianship in as rich detail as possible.[32] The reorganized educational system, for example, in particular vocational training in the fields of agriculture, industry and commerce, was presented with the help of statistics, furniture, study plans, calendars, photographs and historical accounts (*La Bosnie-Herzégovine* 1900: 117–119). Though none of the artists involved were

32 The exhibits were organized in seventeen groups: 1.) Education, 2.) Fine arts and architecture, 3.) Literature, 4.) Science, 5.) Liberal arts, 6.) Public services and transport, 7.) Agriculture, 8.) Horticulture, 9.) Forests, hunting, fishing, 10.) Alimentary products, 11.) Mining, metallurgy, 12.) Interior decoration and furniture of public and private buildings, 13.) Textile industry, 14.) Chemical industry, 15.) Diverse industries, 16.) Public services, 17.) Colonization. The seventeen groups were divided in 113 classes. Each section was represented by the means that seemed most suitable in each case. (*La Bosnie-Herzégovine* 1900: 117–135).

Bosnian, fine arts were represented mainly by the interior decoration of the pavilion, designed by Mucha and Adolf Kaufmann. The section on architecture included plans and photographs attributed to the Department of Public Works in Sarajevo (*La Bosnie-Herzégovine* 1900: 120). The results achieved in the field of agriculture and especially aliments were illustrated not only by documents, maps and transcripts, but also by tangible goods such as prunes, honey, fruit preserves, wine and Slivovitza, a plum brandy, some of which can be recognized on the central decorative panel by Mucha. *(Fig. 7)*

The public transport system also received special attention, as it was completely restructured by the Austro-Hungarian Administration: timetables were intro-

Fig. 8. Alfons Mucha: Menu for the Restaurant of the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina

duced for the first time and Europe's first tramway line was opened in Sarajevo.[33] Visitors could observe models, plans and sketches of different means of public transport, especially trams. The exhibition halls were filled with showcases and life-sized figures, and there was a modern and a traditional interior, featuring even a mocked-up entry to a pit, where the figure of a miner could be seen (Orlíková 2002; Štembera 2002; Weidinger 2009; Fromm 1900; *Neues Wiener Tagblatt 1900* et alia). Pupils from schools of applied arts could be seen doing metalwork, and a band provided background music to illustrate the flourishing home industries, while a restaurant in the basement offered Bosnian specialties (Orlíková 2002; Štembera 2002). *(Fig. 8)*

Although the message of growth and wealth was made quite explicit by the exhibition and the inner decoration alone, the official catalogue included summaries containing further details and a considerable amount of statistics to ensure the desired interpretation. In addition, a dozen case studies accompanied the catalogue, discussing themes that were of primary interest to the Austro-Hungarian administration, such as archeology, primary education, secondary education, vocational training, mining and the reorganized financial system.[34]

This complex mediating apparatus – including the pavilion architecture, the interior design, the exhibited artifacts and documentation, and the accompanying publications – achieved the desired result: most contemporary reviews[35] reproduced the data published in the official catalogue (Fromm 1900) and often quoted the statements of Henri Moser (*Neues Wiener Tagblatt* 1900), interpreting the pavilion as the manifest of the enlightened administration, and praising its accomplishments.

33 It was the second in the world after San Francisco.

34 Otmar Reiser: L'activité déployée dans le domain ornithologique sur le territoire de la péninsule des Balkans par le Muséum de Bosnie-Herzégovine a Sarajevo, Rapport présenté au 3e Congrés international d'Ornithologie, à Paris (26-30 Juin 1900), Paris, 1900. / Dr Ćiro Truhelka: Les reste Ilyriens en Bosnie, Paris, 1900. / Jule Dlustuš: De l'enseignment primaire en Bosnie-Herzégovine, exposé au Congrés international de l'enseignment primaire à Paris du 2 au 6 août 1900, Paris, 1900. / Emilien Lilek: De l'enseignment secondaire en Bosnie-Herzégovine, exposé au Congrés international de l'enseignment secondaire à Paris du 31 juillet au 6 août 1900, Paris, 1900. / Dr Maurice Hoernes: Trésor d'objets d'argent trouvé a Strbci, en Bosnie. L'époque de la téne en Bosnie, 1900. / M. August Havelka: Rapport sur l'arboriculutr frutiére en Bosnie-Herzégovine, 1900. / Le Dr. Jos. Preindlsberger: La Lithiase en Bosnie, Considérée au point de vue de ses rapports avec les conditions géologiques et hydrologiques du pays, 1900. / Sur l'apiculture en Bosnie-Herzégovine, 1900. / M. Constantin Hörmann: Achat et enlévement de fiancées en Bosnie-Herzegovine, 1900. / M. Philippe Ballif: Organisation du service météorologique en Bosnie-Herzégovine et résultats des observations relatives a la pluie, 1900. / Berggesetz für Bosnien und die Hercegovine nebst Vollzugsvorschrift, Wien, 1899. / Organisations-Statut der Landes-Handwerkerschule in Sarajevo, Sarajevo, 1899 / Alojzije Studnička: Teorija crtanja na temelju geometrijskog oblikoslovlja uz prijegled geometrijskih ornamenata i pouku o crtaćem priboru, Sarajevo, 1899.

35 Moser collected the articles that discussed the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are literally dozens of newspaper cutouts in the collection of the Historical Museum of Berne, praising the pavilion and often Moser himself (he underlined his name whenever it was mentioned). Unfortunately, it not always possible to identify the sources as the articles are cut out and glued into a folder.

CONCLUSION

Although the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of the Balkan regional strategy intending to solve the problems created by the rise in south Slavic nationalism and the resulting political instability, the Austro-Hungarian administration used every available instrument to justify it as a "cultural mission". Furthermore, Benjamin von Kállay, the Joint Minister of Finance of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in charge of the occupied territory between 1882 and 1903, followed a complex policy agenda designed to secure the annexation of the provinces through binding them to the new administration as the source of economic progress and political stability. Kállay imputed importance not only to the administrative and economic, but also to the nation-building aspects of this modernization. The promotion of an independent Bosnian nationhood served multiple purposes, from keeping Serbian and Croatian territorial aspirations under control, to procuring the support of the Bosnian nobility. At the same time, by implication of Islam, it also created the image of an "Oriental" region, which thus emphasized the necessity of conducting a cultural mission.

Seeking validation at both national and international level as an essential condition of legitimacy, Kállay recognized the opportunity provided by the "Exposition Universelle" of 1900 in Paris, the most powerful and wide-reaching means of mass communication at the time. Appointing Henri Moser, an established expert in orientalism, as the commissioner general, the Austro-Hungarian administration managed to create an exhibition section that mediated the complexity of all of these angles at the same time.

Oriental elements of the architecture (the pointed arches, the woodwork, the arcades, Kaufmann's monumental painting showing the Sarajevo Mosque and the Great Bazaar) and the interior (the emporia, an entirely reconstructed harem) portrayed Bosnia and Herzegovina as an Oriental land, casting the Austro-Hungarian administration in the role of a colonial power engaged in a cultural mission.

On the other hand, the historical and allegorical murals of the central hall, by Alfons Mucha reinforced the myth of the continuity of a separate Bosnian nationhood by depicting such key episodes from Bosnian history as the coronation of Stefan Tvrtko I, the first king to unite the former territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or the persecution of the chastised Bogomils, a symbol of the continuity of Bosnian nationhood in the eyes of Kállay. Finally, an essential percentage of the exhibition space was dedicated to enumerating the achievements of more than two decades of Austro-Hungarian presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. The Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Watercolor by Alfons Mucha featured in *Le Figaro Illustré* (1 March 1900). Source: © Mucha Trust 2015

Fig. 2. Pavilions of Bosnia and Herzegovina (left) and Hungary (right) at the 1900 Paris World Fair. Source: © John Hay Library, Brown University Library

Fig. 3. Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the 1900 Paris World Fair. Source: © John Hay Library, Brown University Library

Fig. 4. Interior of the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the *Panorama of Sarajevo* by Adolf Kaufmann and the *Allegory of Bosnia and Herzegovina* by Alfons Mucha. Source: © Mucha Trust 2015

Fig. 5. Alfons Mucha: The Allegory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1900, tempera on canvas, 641×255.7 cm Prague Source: © Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague, Inv. No. GS019843

Fig. 6. Alfons Mucha: The Three Confessions of the Country, 1900, tempera on canvas, 705×355; The Coronation of the King of Bosnia and the Revenge of the Bogomils, tempera on canvas, 713×355 cm Source: © Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague, Inv. No. GS019843

Fig. 7. The Interior of the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lantern slide, 3.25×4 in. Source: © Brooklyn Museum Archives. Goodyear Archival Collection

Fig. 8. Alfons Mucha: Menu for the Restaurant of the Pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina, colour lithograph, 33x13 cm, 1900. Source: © Mucha Trust 2015

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Weronika Drohobycka-Grzesiak

National Contexts at the Galician General Provincial Exhibition (Lviv 1894)

In 1873 the International Exhibition was held in Vienna. For many Galician citizens it was the first world exposition that they were able to visit. Galicia, the crown land of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was a participant, presenting its economic achievements and the distinctive aspects of its culture. This experience provided the stimulus for the provincial government to organise its own exhibitions, on a provincial scale, in 1877 and 1887. The third exhibition, called the Galician General Provincial Exhibition, was held in 1894. It became an event of great importance in that it helped to shape historical awareness among both Poles and Ukrainians. I will elaborate on the circumstances under which both nations participated in the exhibition, discuss the ideas they conveyed and how they were implemented, and finally summarize the outcome of the enterprise.

Galicia was the name that was given to the territory taken over by Austria in 1772 as a result of the First Partition of Poland. The population of the province had a multicultural, multiethnic and multireligious character. The two biggest groups were the Roman Catholic Poles and the Greek Catholic Ruthenians – at the time, this term was commonly used to refer to Ukrainians.[1] Galicia was also an important center for Jewish communities. Among the other ethnic groups were Armenians, Germans (including Austrians) and Czechs. Society in Galician cities was diverse, consisting of various minorities, although in the larger cities Poles constituted the majority. The countryside was clearly divided: the western part was inhabited by Polish peasants, the eastern part by Ruthenians (Ukrainians). Jews formed minorities in both parts of the country.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Galicia, especially the capital city Lviv, witnessed a developing interest in politics and significant growth in nationalist movements among Poles, Ukrainians and Jews. None of these ethnic groups had their own independent state at the time. The former Polish territories had been carved up in 1795 and shared between the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and Austria. This final, Third Partition of Poland was the direct consequence of the failed Kościuszko Uprising – the Polish independence movement that broke out after the Second Partition of 1793. When Galicia was granted autonomy, in 1867, the Polish conservative aristocracy held the majority in the self-governing

1 The term "Ruthenian" is still in use, but only in case of the Greek Catholic population of Zakarpatska Oblast in Ukraine.

legislative body – the Galician *Sejm*. Ukrainians started to experience a national awakening in the second part of the nineteenth century. This process was, in the main, characteristic for the educated elite, who accounted for only ten percent of their population (Magocsi 1991: 48). The majority of Ukrainians were peasants, who, like their Polish counterparts, did not have much of a national conscience (Buszko 1989: 58–59). The Ukrainian nationalist movement was therefore quite weak. The political relationship between Poles and Ukrainians was one of rivalry, with the Poles occupying the more privileged position.

1894 was the year of the hundredth anniversary of the Kościuszko Uprising. The concept of organising a commemorative exhibition was not a new idea. The World Exhibition of 1889 in Paris had been organised to celebrate a hundred years since the French Revolution, while the Jubilee Provincial Exhibition of 1891 in Prague had marked the centenary of the coronation of Leopold II as King of Bohemia.

The provincial government, accepting a proposal by Prince Adam Sapieha, decided to organise an exhibition that year, informally to commemorate the event (Kieniewicz 1993: 438). After the previous exhibition of 1887, the plan had been for the General Provincial Exhibition to take place in 1897. With the centenary of the Kościuszko Uprising at the center of the exhibition, the event began to assume a patriotic and ideological shape. The organising committee, closely linked with the provincial government, promptly started to conceive the exhibition not only as an economic enterprise, but also as a national project. People tended to call it the Kościuszko Exhibition (Zeńczak 1994) or the Polish Anniversary Exhibition, although the official name remained the General Provincial Exhibition (Сулим 2007: 107).

Autonomous Galicia was the most open of the three Partitions of Poland for cultivating Polish culture, language and politics. Alfred Wysocki, an official of the Galician state administration, described this liberal approach in the following words: "We read the Polish press, censorship was quite lenient, we had a Polish doctor to treat us, a Polish judge to judge us, a Polish theatre to entertain us. We celebrated all the Polish national holidays, no wonder that we, the young, […] had a diminishing sense of being citizens of a foreign country" (Buszko 1989: 42). Autonomous Galicia was therefore "destined to be a sanctuary for the preservation of national elements" (Wolff 2010: 215). Another vision for autonomous Galicia was that of a "Polish Piedmont" (Buszko 1989: 4) – a land that would unite the divided Polish territories into a single state within its former borders. One of the key ideas the organisers promoted for the Galician Exhibition, aside from its economic and entertainment aspects, was to have "a great manifestation of the unity and vitality of the Polish nation" (Kieniewicz 1993: 438). On the opening day, the following declaration was made: "This exhibition will show the whole world that despite all the borders, the Polish nation has an integral sense of unity!" (Zeńczak 1994). The General Exhibi-

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tion was perceived as an exhibition for all Poles – not only those from Galicia, but also those living in the other parts of the former kingdom, but now under Russian or Prussian control. Given the fact that Galicia had incomparably better conditions for developing the national culture than the other Polish lands, it was a matter of utmost importance to use the exhibition for Polish propaganda activities. Particular emphasis was placed on the parts of the exhibition that dealt with presenting Polish history, culture and art (Fras 1999: 267). The organisers issued invitations across the borders to the other Partitions, for exhibitors and visitors, especially children and young people, for historical and cultural educational purposes. Excursions from the other regions were attentively noted by the press (*Czas* 1894, no. 194: 2). Participation by exhibitors exceeded expectations: 200 came from the Russian Partition and approximately the same number from the Prussian one (Ołdziejewski 1929: 60). The postulated unity of the Polish nation was also taken up by a delegation from the Polish minority in the USA, who took part in the enterprise with their own "American" pavilion (Opis 1897: 154). Taking all these circumstances together, the General Provincial Exhibition was actually more international than "provincial". Visitor numbers totaled around a million, ten times more than the population of Lviv at the time (Dwernicki 1897: 313).

The effort to exalt the national identity formed a solid basis for the exhibition's unprecedented splendor and became its overarching objective. The organisers were determined to do everything in their power to make the exhibition a resounding success in the province and to show the very best side of their nation. The prestige of the event was guaranteed by the patronage of Emperor Franz Joseph I, who visited the exhibition (*Czas* 1894, no. 201: 2), while the opening itself was attended by Archduke Karl Ludwig (Powszechna 1894: 88). The exhibition was open for almost four and a half months, noticeably longer than the previous provincial exhibitions, and this contributed largely to its success (*Czas* 1894, no. 206: 3). There were 130 pavilions in all. The exhibition also accelerated modernization of the city – an electric tram line was built, one of the first in this part of Europe (Purchla 2005: 87), and electric lighting was installed in the exhibition grounds.

The most important patriotic creation for the exhibition was the Racławice Panorama Pavilion. *(Fig. 1)* Panoramas, also known as cycloramas, were invented in the late eighteenth century by Robert Barker, and remained a very popular form of entertainment throughout the nineteenth century (Dolistowska 1997: 8), featuring, for example, at the Vienna International Exhibition. Although the Racławice Panorama was created towards the end of this genre's European heyday, it was the first Polish one made, and is now one of the few that survive in the world, and the only Polish example (Górecka 2000: 29).

The idea of making the Panorama, along with its subject, came from a Polish artist who lived in Lviv, Jan Styka, who would eventually execute the work. The

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Fig. 1. The Racławice Panorama Pavilion, photo by Marek Münz, ca. 1930

theme of the Battle of Racławice, fought during the Kościuszko Uprising, had many opponents, however, who argued in favor of a subject that would celebrate Polish-Austrian relations, such as the Battle of Vienna in 1683, when the Polish King, Jan Sobieski, saved the city by defeating the Ottoman army of Kara Mustafa. The director of the exhibition, though, preferred the Kościuszko Uprising theme (Dolistowska 1997: 26). Jan Styka invited another Polish painter, Wojciech Kossak, to collaborate with him, and they were also supported by six other painters and a landscape specialist, Louis Boller (Ibidem: 27). The enterprise was expensive, demanding and time-consuming. A special iron construction for the Panorama building was commissioned in Vienna, while a made-to-measure canvas, 120 meters in length and 15 meters in height, was acquired from Belgium (*Bitwa* 1894: 3). Despite the extent of the building work, not to mention the painting itself, the project was completed within 14 months (Merunowicz, Kowalczuk 1894: 163). With its technical and artistic achievements, the Panorama was considered the highlight of the exhibition (Dolistowska 1997: 36), and was a popular pilgrimage site (Zeńczak 1994). The pavilion housing the Panorama was a marvel of conception and technical execution, and was praised enthusiastically by critics and the public. At the same time, it was the culmination of the program of representing Polish identity. Being the main attraction at the exhibition, it made a major contribution to the overall patriotic message of the exhibition. The Panorama was also well received by senior

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Austro-Hungarian officials. Press articles reported the approval of some eminent visitors, such as the Treasury Minister, Ernst von Plener and his wife (*Czas* 1894, no. 197: 2), and the Minister of Justice, Friedrich Schönborn (*Czas* 1894, no. 199: 2).

Racławice was a village in Lesser Poland where, on 4 April 1794, one of the first battles of the Kościuszko Uprising against Russia took place. Tadeusz Kościuszko's forces consisted of around 6000 people, one third of whom were peasants, armed with nothing more than scythes (*Bitwa* 1894: 6), yet they defeated a far superior adversary. News of Polish victory helped to spread the Uprising to other areas of the country. The Battle of Racławice was notable for its solidarity, with the nobility and the peasantry fighting together for Polish independence. At the Provincial Exhibition, a participant in the peasantry meeting said: "Not far away we can see the Racławice Panorama. Who inspired the peasants? A nobleman he was, the one who led them. And gave them the initiative. Similarly today we will follow a proper initiative from the nobility" (Czas 1894, no. 194: 2). *(Fig. 2)*

The next Polish pavilion – the Matejko Pavilion – also conjured up the patriotic spirit. *(Fig. 3)* Jan Matejko was the most renowned Polish painter of that time, acclaimed both at home and abroad. He painted a substantial number of historical works, dedicated mostly to Polish historical themes. Matejko's works were significant in developing the Polish national conscience. His vision of the past, with its hefty national moralization, not only raised historical awareness and formed particular interpretations of past events, but also shaped the general understanding of the present moment of Polish history and summoned visions for the future (Świątek 2013: 142). The painter has been called "the architect of the historical awareness of Poles" and "the builder of national awareness" (Ibidem: 143). Matejko died on 1 November 1893, half a year

Fig. 2. Peasants in front of the Racławice Panorama Pavilion. 1894

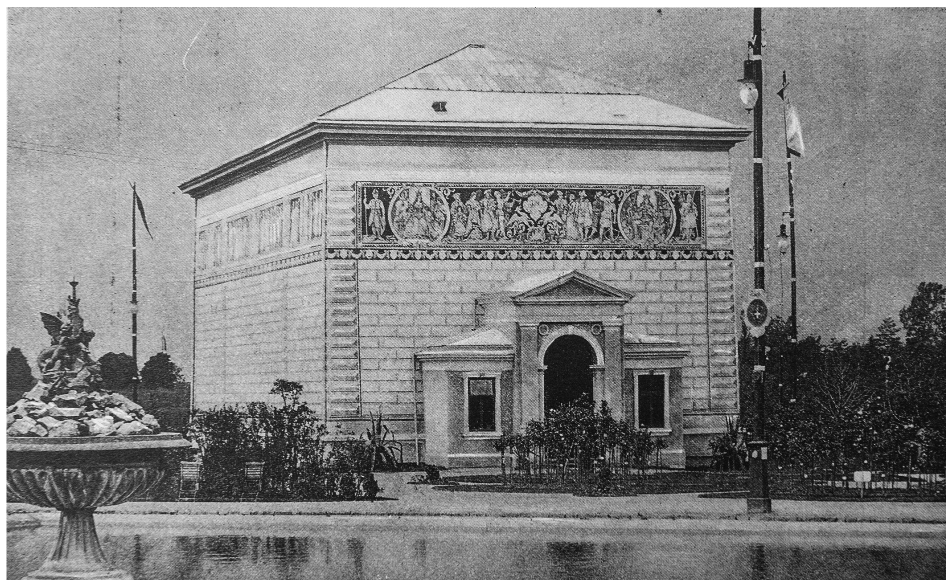

Fig. 3. The Matejko Pavilion

before the exhibition opened. In mid-February 1894 Franciszek Skowron, one of the architects of the exhibition, proposed to erect the Matejko Pavilion, a kind of symbolic mausoleum to the artist, as it was later referred to. Despite the lack of time, the organising committee accepted this proposition, and Skowron was put in charge of constructing the pavilion (Ziejka 1984: 30). As the critic Konstanty Górski wrote, "As a result of his œuvre, Matejko occupied a special position in art and society, which was emphasized by the separate building." (1896: 3).

Skowron was able to finish the pavilion quickly by using a metal construction (Opis 1897: 155). Inside the pavilion, 364 artworks were exhibited: sketches, small oil paintings and large oil canvases (Ziejka 1984: 30). The pavilion itself was decorated with Polish elements: a frieze executed by Fryderyk Lachner based on sketches by Matejko, *Polish Clothing through the Ages,* stretched around the outside of the building (Opis 1897: 155). The concept of setting up this separate pavilion, dedicated to an artist whose works were often aimed at supporting Polish aspirations for independence, was another example of the nationalist dimension of the exhibition.

Fine art was also presented in the Pavilion of Painting. *(Fig. 4)* Its exhibits were divided into three sections. The largest, *The Polish Art Exhibition 1764–1886*, contained 1439 pieces (Bołoz-Antoniewicz 1894: VII). The others were *The Exhibition of Contemporary Art from the Years 1887–1894*, with 450 works, and the *Antiques Exhibition*, consisting of miniatures, portraits, sacred paintings and other works of art and crafts, dating back as far as the eleventh century (Zeńczak 1994). Only the first exhibition, also called the Retrospective Exhibition, was officially named

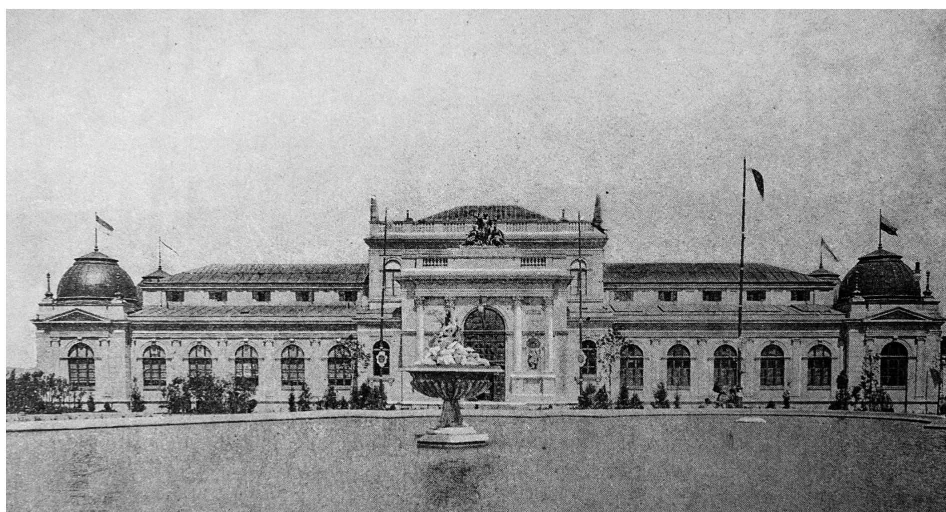

Fig. 4. The Pavilion of Painting

"Polish". Nevertheless, it seems probable that the exhibition of contemporary art was dominated by the works of Polish painters – such as Bilińska, Ajdukiewicz, Pochwalski, Gierymski, (*Czas* 1894, no. 197: 2); Axentowicz, Fałat, Pruszkowski, (*Czas* 1894, no. 199: 2) Mańkowski, Stachiewicz, Boznańska, Lentz, Chełmoński,

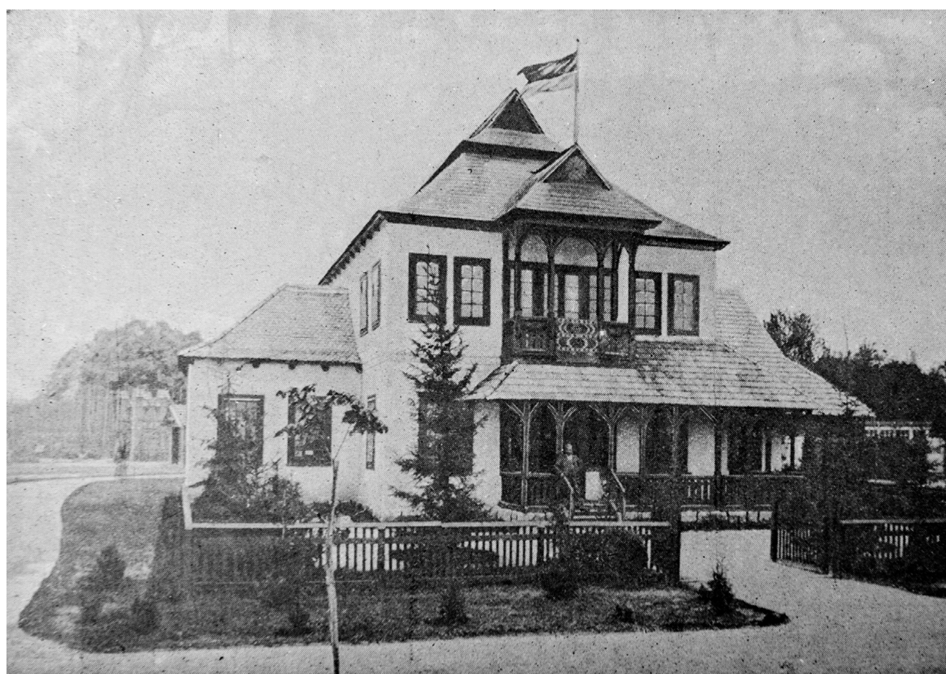

Fig. 5. The Ruthenian Pavilion

Brandt, Witkiewicz, Stanisławski, Wyspiański and Mehoffer – and sculptors – Godebski, Wójtowicz, Rygier and Laszczka (Zeńczak 1994). These artists were not all Galician, but all were Poles. However, also present was Szereszewski (*Katalog* 1894: 25), who was not considered to be a Polish artist (Zgórniak 2012).

The three pavilions mentioned above stood out for their construction materials. The majority of the others were wooden. Due to fire precautions, the Racławice Panorama and Matejko Pavilions had metal constructions, while the Pavilion of Painting was built of bricks. Only two of these buildings still exist, rebuilt after World War II, and given new functions. The Pavilion of Painting preserved its exterior, but was altered inside to accommodate a swimming pool and sports halls. The Panorama Pavilion was also converted into sports facilities after the canvas was moved to Wrocław in 1946 (Górecka 2000: 38).

The special status of these three buildings was underlined by their location on or near the First Square, the very heart of the exhibition. The overall spatial plan was limited by the plateau on which the exhibition took place, which had the shape of an extended irregular polygon. The exhibition's pavilions were arranged on both sides of an avenue that crossed the grounds in a south-west direction. Two squares were situated in the wider parts of the plateau, which became the dominant features in both the spatial and ideological plans. The First Square, by a pond, was the location for pavilions related to art, industry and the official representations of the state and the province; the Second Square, which had a *fontaine illuminée* in the center, played host to pavilions connected with entertainment and consumption. Behind the Second Square, almost at the end of the exhibition grounds, was the Ruthenian Pavilion, which opened the ethnographical section. *(Fig. 5)*

The designer of this pavilion was a prominent Lviv architect, Julian Zachariewicz, while the construction was carried out by the office of Ivan Levynskyi (Jan Lewiński) (Opis 1987: 171). The architect gave the pavilion national Ruthenian features. The building was stylized like a *khutor* – a small peasant settlement from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Khutors were isolated from other farms, situated in sparsely populated lands (Kopaliński 1999: 97). The pavilion had a polychromatic interior, painted by an artist who specialized in the decoration of Orthodox churches. The ornaments consisted of motifs from Ukrainian tapestries and rugs. Folk art motifs were also used in pieces of furniture and metalwork, stained-glass, tiles and vases (Бірюлов 1994: 9). The pavilion also housed a collection of portraits of Taras Shevchenko, the most famous Romantic Ukrainian poet, and a collection of musical instruments (Сулим 2007: 108).

A part of the ethnographical section was dedicated to Ukrainian presentations as well. *(Fig. 6)* Wooden huts from different regions of Eastern Galicia were located in the exhibition grounds: one from the neighborhood of Brody and Hutsulshchyna,

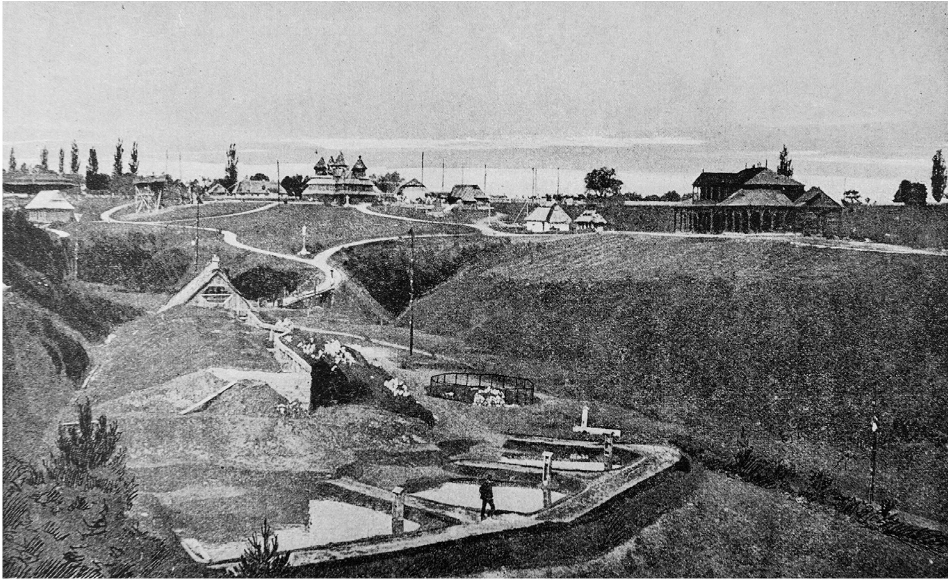

Fig. 6. The ethnographical section of the Galician General Provincial Exhibition

and two huts from the regions of Podolia and Transnistria. They were accompanied by others from Western Galicia and the former Polish regions, which made up a Polish ensemble in the ethnographical section. *Hutsuls*, Ruthenian mountaineers, built a wooden church with three domes and a campanile (Merunowicz, Kowalczuk 1894: 166–167). A press correspondent of a Saint Petersburg magazine, *Kraj*, admitted in his review of the exhibition that "the ethnographical section at this year's exhibition excellently confirms the great, renowned, inborn skills of the Ruthenian nation." (Nota 1894: 23). Ukrainian culture and art was considered at that time only from the dimension of folk art. This seems to be the reason for locating the pavilion close to the ethnographical department, which was quite unfavorable in comparison with the Polish pavilions situated around the First Square. The assemblage of exhibits in the Ukrainian pavilion was perceived as relatively modest.

The Ukrainians' attitude towards the event was ambiguous. Some of them strived to form a decent representation of their nation, others criticized the organising committee for their strict selection of Ukrainian exhibitors, while yet others tried to discourage people from supporting what they saw as an exercise in Polish propaganda activities. The last group, for fear of the Ukrainian part appearing poor in comparison to the Polish one, boycotted the whole event (Сулим 2007: 107, 111). The Ukrainian national activist, famous writer and poet, Ivan Franko, regretted the missed opportunities for the successful presentation of Galician Ukrainians: "Of course, we are far from accepting what is being said and done during the exhibition, and we have already underlined […] that while conceding some rights to Poles to reintegrate their nation in its real borders, we have to resist the idea of

Polish rule and supremacy in countries where non-Polish nationalities constitute the majority." (Ibidem: 112). Franko argued that, considering the Ukrainians' claims to the land, they should have a substantially greater influence over the region. The exhibition could have been an excellent opportunity to demonstrate Ukrainian aspirations to the other citizens of Austria-Hungary, especially its non-Polish authorities, and therefore gain support for their endeavors. The chance was not seized, however, as a press correspondent from Saint Petersburg concludes: "being honest, the Ruthenian presence was emphasized with pomp at the exhibition, in speeches, proclamations and even on the posters, whereas I can meet only very few of them, which must surely be their fault." (Scarabejus 1894: 6).

The most important problem for the Ukrainian organisers was the lack of agreement among them, and their conflicting judgement about the exhibition. In comparison with the Poles, the Ukrainian side of the exhibition was too modest and lacked diversity. However, "nobody forbade [the Ruthenians] from going beyond the borders of Galicia and boasting of the achievements in literature and civilization of the whole Ruthenian-Ukrainian nation", as Franko wrote with sorrow (Сулим 2007: 108). He himself was not only engaged in organising the Ukrainian contribution, but also took active part in the events during the exhibition. For instance, he gave a lecture at the peasantry meeting (*Czas* 1894, no. 194: 2). Another example of Ukrainian involvement in the non-Ukrainian part of the exhibition is given by Markian Prokopovych, who claims that the Matejko Pavilion was constructed by a Ukrainian builder, Ivan Levynskyi (Wolff 2010: 291). This assertion, however, is not substantiated by other sources.

Franko thought that the cooperation among the Poles was a salutary lesson for Ukrainians about how to work together. Visiting the Racławice Panorama Pavilion, he was impressed by the ideological aspect of this work, and by how Polish patriotism had peaked during the exhibition. He was surprised how Poles were able to present their achievements and developments to other nations, and to teach the youth to be proud of their country (Сулим 2007: 110). His main conclusion from the event, which he reported to his fellow Ukrainians, was to learn a few things from the Poles: self-organisation, and the exaltation and defense of national interests (Ibidem: 113).

The General Provincial Exhibition of 1894 clearly reflected the imbalanced relationship and unequal position of Poles and Ukrainians in the province. Furthermore, unlike the Polish contribution, the Ukrainian representation did not come about as a result of the efforts of a wider cross-section of the community. Nevertheless, the event played a major role for both groups in their nation-building processes. For Poles, it was an emphatic international success; for Ukrainians, the first opportunity to present their national culture to a wider audience. But even more importantly, it was an opportunity to present it to themselves, which helped to shape and foster their own national style and identity.

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Fig. 1. The Racławice Panorama Pavilion, photo by Marek Münz, *ca*. 1930, public domain.

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Silvija Grosa

Between National Romanticism and Modernist Tendencies – Exhibitions in Riga at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Ever since the Middle Ages, Latvian territory has been coveted by various superpowers, and it was not until 1918 that an independent state of Latvia was formed. In 1720, after the Great Northern War, Latvia was incorporated into the Russian Empire, and by the late nineteenth century, Latvia's territory was divided administratively into three provinces (guberniyas) of Russia: Courland, Livonia and Vitebsk provinces. At the same time, the Baltic German nobility maintained their traditional privileges in the Baltic region. By the first half of the nineteenth century, following the abolition of serfdom, the landowning nobility in the Baltic had obtained more control over land than ever before and achieved a strict codification of corporate laws. Moreover, the Baltic nobility, constituting a small, generally conservative, traditionalist section of society, was able to transform itself from a social estate into an economic elite, adapting to the opportunities provided by capitalism.

It should be borne in mind that an active process of social change and urbanization took place in the territory of Latvia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This had already begun in the mid-nineteenth century: the Province of Livonia (which consisted of the Latvian cultural and historical region of Vidzeme, with one of the largest cities in the Baltic region – Riga – and present-day southern Estonia) was one of the most important regions of the Russian Empire, both strategically and economically, and the pace of development here was much faster than elsewhere in Russia. The ports of Latvia, because of their advantageous geographical position, were amongst the most important in the Russian Empire.

The Baltic provinces had the highest rates of industrial development in the empire as a whole, driven by the region's traditional economic links with Western Europe, especially Germany and Great Britain. (Bērziņš 2000: 237) The development of architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the area of present-day Latvia was dependent on processes of social change, industrialization and urbanization, which had commenced in the mid-nineteenth century. As far as obtaining an education in architecture was concerned, the situation in Latvia improved tremendously after the establishment of the first institution offering technical higher education, the Riga Polytechnic (renamed the Riga Polytechnical Institute in 1896). From 1863 it had a Department of Engineering, and from 1869 a Department of Architecture. (Grosa 2014: 422–426)

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The development of industry and transport, especially the creation of a railway network during the second half of the nineteenth century, stimulated the development of many towns in Latvia. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this process accelerated even further. Between 1897 and 1914, the population of Latvia increased by 32%, reaching 2.5 million.

Growth was most rapid in Riga, the region's largest city. Here, starting from the middle of the nineteenth century, the population doubled every 20 years, reaching 520,000 by 1914. Riga became the fifth-largest city in the Russian Empire and the third-largest in the Baltic Sea region after Saint Petersburg (2.2 million) and Warsaw (884,000). The city's rapid economic development had a very complex socio-political background. As a result of shifting political powers, the majority of Riga's inhabitants were still German in the 1870s; they held privileged positions in the municipal government, as well as in all of the most prestigious and well-paid professions. German was the only language of education at schools. The policy of Russification, by which German was replaced by Russian in both official documents and in schools, was implemented after 1881. From 1867 onwards, but especially after 1897, an influx of Latvian peasants radically changed Riga's ethnic proportions, and Latvians made up forty-five per cent of the city's population at the turn of the century (Volfarte 2004: 32). Still, social mobility proved difficult for Latvians. Only in the early twentieth century, when the October Manifesto of Emperor Nicholas II[1] declared equal civil rights for all after the Revolution of 1905, did Latvians become the dominant ethnic group among small entrepreneurs and house owners. The movement of Latvian national awakening, which had taken root after the abolition of serfdom in the mid-nineteenth century, gained momentum on the threshold of the new century, under the conditions of Russification brought in by the Russian Empire (Kevin O'Connor 2003: 49). Song festivals provided an important stimulus in this process of awakening, and continue to play a major role in Latvian culture to this day. Song festivals had their origins in Germany, Austria and Switzerland in the first half of the nineteenth century. Germans in the urban centers of the Baltic provinces followed suit, and song festivals were held (in Tallinn in 1857 and Riga in 1861) with the participation of German choirs from the whole Baltic region. This experience was soon embraced by the Latvians[2] – the first Latvian Song Days were organized in Vidzeme in 1864, while the 1st All-Latvian Song Festival took place in Riga in 1873; since that time, song festivals have been held every five years. The Riga Latvian Society became the organizer of the event, and the number of participants grew with each festival, bringing together thousands of singers and viewers. There

1 Высочайший манифест (Об усовершенствовании государственного порядка" от 17 октября 1905 года) The highest manifesto (On the improvement of state order), *Ведомости Спб. Градоначальства*, 18 October, 1905.

2 A similar situation emerged in Estonia too in the second half of the nineteenth century. The tradition has survived to the present, and Baltic song and dance festivals were included in UNESCO's Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2008.

was no suitable concert hall in Riga, so song festivals were held in provisional structures. Temporary concert halls had to be built, and these large-span wooden constructions could achieve significant proportions. For example, the building for the 5th All-Latvian Song Festival, designed by the architect Ernests Pole (1872–1914), had 14,000 seats and dimensions of 90 × 200 meter, with the average wooden covering span reaching 24m in length (Krastiņš, Vasiļjevs 1978: 448). Ephemeral buildings were constructed quickly, involving a large number of workers.

Latvia's geographical setting has made wood a popular building material and, in spite of the ever-increasing number of masonry buildings, statistical calculations indicate that wooden buildings predominated between 1890 and 1914. The role of timber in the region was emphasized by the Riga architect Eduard Kupffer (1873–1919) in his handbook for architects, published in 1914 (Kupffer 1914: 11).

Traditional, age-old techniques of building with timber remained in use in Latvia. The popularity of wooden structures in Latvia also meant there were many skilled craftsmen working in this field.

Ephemeral wooden buildings or complexes were constructed not only for the needs of song festivals but also for cinemas and theaters, and they were not only quick to assemble, but also offered many opportunities for alteration. For example, on Pushkin Boulevard (the present Kronvalda bulvāris), a temporary circus building was erected in the first years of the twentieth century, which was later transformed into a cinema. In 1908 it was converted into a "temporary" theater – the Interim Theatre (architect: Aleksandrs Vanags, 1873–1919) – used by the theater company of the Riga Latvian Society following a fire in the society house, and the building continued to serve this purpose for almost a decade till 1917.

Complexes and special pavilions for several exhibitions also deserve a mention among the most significant and ambitious examples of ephemeral architecture. The first was the Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition, which took place in the late nineteenth century to coincide with the 10th All-Russian Archaeological Congress. The series of Russian archaeological congresses began in 1867, held in a different city every three years. The aim of these conferences was to discuss studies into antiquity and ethnography, and to make their findings public. In 1896, the 10th All-Russian Congress of Archaeology took place in Riga. Two years earlier, the Riga Latvian Society had proposed to organize an exhibition dedicated to Latvian ethnographic culture, to represent the traditional lifestyles and occupations of Latvia's inhabitants. During preparations for the exhibition, a number of scientific expeditions were organized to collect museum-type objects, (Vanaga 1996: 38–47) while the experience of the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition held in Prague in 1895 was also analyzed. This process, together with press reports, raised public interest in Latvian traditional culture. The Ethnographic Exhibition was opened in

Fig. 1. Latvian Ethnographic Exibition complex in Riga. 1896.
Architect Konstantīns Pēkšēns

summer 1896 and attracted many visitors, marking an important turning point in the growing national self-awareness of Latvians. Constructions for the exhibition were arranged on a square close to the city center near the canal. Besides the special exhibition pavilion, several authentic Latvian peasant houses were built here. It is noteworthy that the show contained not just ethnographic items but also included the first exhibition of paintings by Latvian professional artists. Wooden exhibition pavilions were designed by the architect Konstantīns Pēkšēns (1959–1928). The ambitious entrance gate, resembling a triple triumphal arch crowned by a rising sun, as well as the central pavilion with its dome-shaped construction at the axial point of intersection, were not specifically indications of Latvian ethnographic culture; they rather suggested a glorified architectonic wish for the future of national culture. Thus these ephemeral constructions, whose shapes are known only thanks to a drawing published in the magazine *Austrums* (1896, 8; 10), became one of the first manifestations of National Romanticism in Riga's architecture. *(Fig. 1)*

This trend turned into a significant aspect of the architectural scene over the next few years, right up until World War I. As in the case of the Ethnographic Exhibition, ideas of National Romanticism could be formally implemented in different ways, including the so-called Nordic National Romanticism. National Romanticism in the architecture of Riga and Latvia is comprised of different stylistic phenomena and does not fit within the time-span of a few years. The pursuit of Latvian identity can be attributed to several different stylistic idioms in Riga's buildings, including the Neo-Classicist trend. Around 1910, Neo-Classicist forms were also used, as manifested in the Riga Latvian Society House (1909, architects: Ernests Pole, Eižens Laube [1980–1967]); its Neo-Classicist architectonic image symbolized that Latvian culture belonged to the European classical tradition, as rightly pointed out by the British scholar Jeremy Howard. (Howard 1999: 213)

The second exhibition, held in 1901, was Riga's 700th Jubilee Exhibition of Industry and Crafts. The decision to organize an exhibition to commemorate Riga's 700th jubilee in June 1901 had been taken in 1899 by a joint meeting of 150 of Riga's industrialists, factory owners and craftsmen. Preparation work for the exhibition continued over the next two years and 775 applications were submitted to take part in the show – large industrial enterprises, private companies and individual craftsmen from Riga (76.1 %) and other Baltic cities.

Fig. 2. View of the Riga 700th jubilee exibition square, 1901

Fig. 3. View of the Riga 700th jubilee exibition

Still surviving from Riga's 700th Jubilee Exhibition are a wide array of printed materials, photographs, postcards and keepsakes,[3] numerous press publications, several catalogues and a special illustrated collection of articles. These materials allow us to make a visual assessment of the stylistic solutions seen in the buildings, showcases and stands constructed for the exhibition's needs.

The Esplanāde was chosen as the exhibition venue; at that time it was a vacant lot in the city center. *(Fig. 2)* Buildings for the Riga City Art Museum and the Riga Stock Exchange Commercial School (now the Latvian Academy of Art) would be added a few years later. The director of the Riga Craft School, Max Scherwinsky (1859–1909), won the competition to become chief architect of the exhibition; he was responsible for working out the exhibition's layout as well as designing the major pavilions. A whole miniature city of wooden structures was put together in a very short period of time to serve the exhibition's needs. The major pavilions were the Large and Small Industry Halls, the Construction Hall, the Large and Small Mechanical Engineering Halls and the Gardening Hall. *(Fig. 3)* The problem of how to cover wide areas was successfully solved in the large pavilion construc-

3 Riga 700th Anniversary Celebration June-August 1901. Pictures, printed material and manuscripts from the collections of the Latvian Academic Library. Available: http://www.acadlib.lu.lv/site/Riga700/riga700a.htm (accessed 15.02.2015)

tion – supports were not masked in the interior and were harmonized with the overall composition. It should be added that all the pavilions had either wooden or tiled floors. Showcases and stands for the exhibits were created in the pavilions.

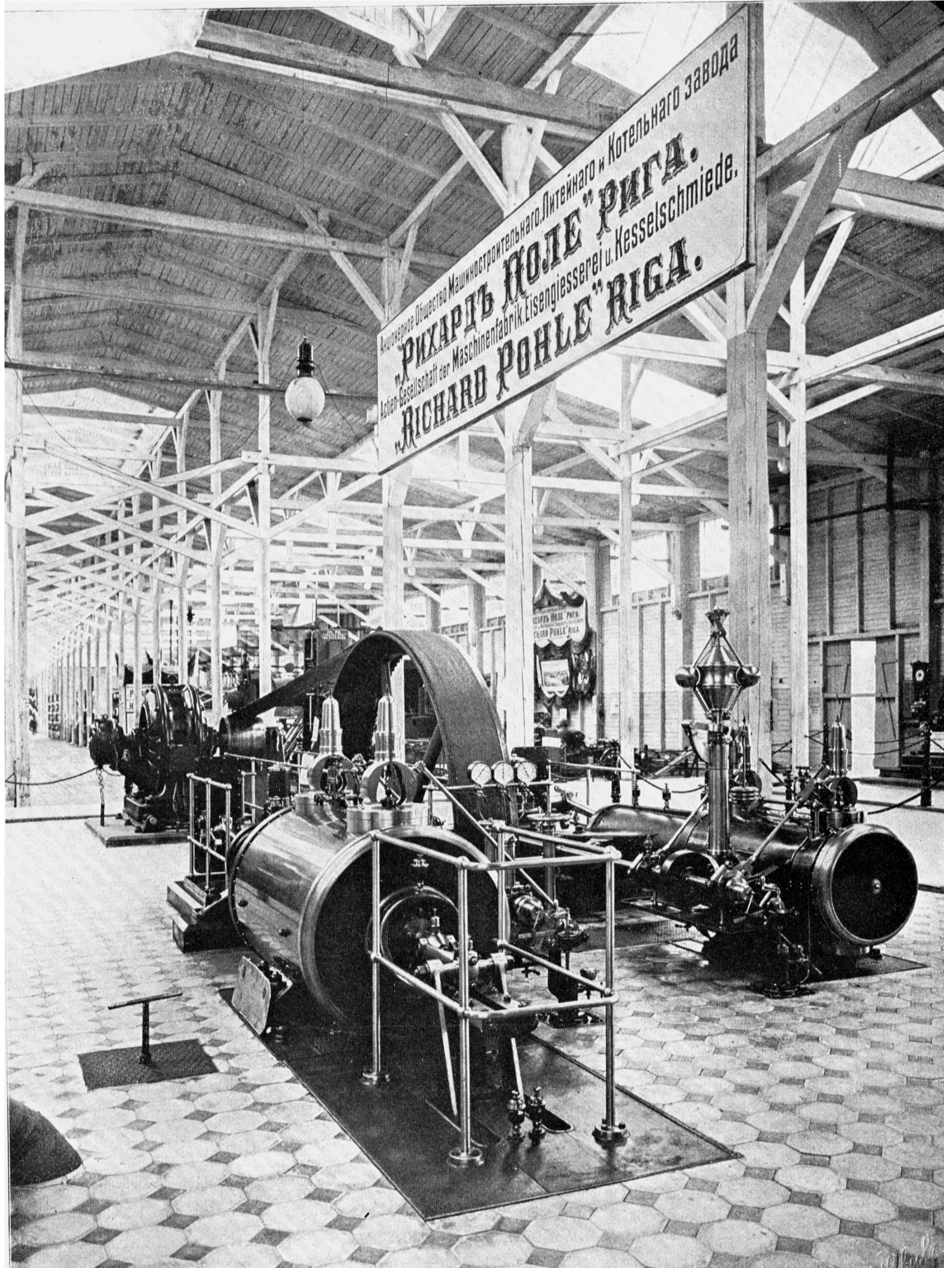

Fig. 4. Interior of the Industry Hall at the Riga`s 700th jubilee exibition. Design and plan by architect Max Scherwinsky.

Fig. 5. Engineer Bernhard Herrmann's pavilion at the Riga`s 700th jubilee exibition – an enlarged steam stopcock

Electric lighting was used both inside the buildings and on the exhibition square,[4] as was becoming customary at large world exhibitions. *(Fig. 4)* Such exhibitions, in particular the Paris Universal exhibition of 1900, were certain to have been studied as models for Riga's own special jubilee celebrations in 1901.[5]

4 In 1887 there were already several private power plants supplying electricity to Riga, although gas and kerosene were still used for lighting.

5 Catalogues of the large exhibitions (including the Paris 1900 Universal Exhibition) as well as various materials offered by professional art and architecture journals by St. Petersburg and German publishers were well-known in Riga. The Paris Universal Exhibition of 1900 was widely represented also in Riga's Latvian and German press. Examples are a series of articles "Kāda lauksaimnieka ārzemju novērojumi, piedzīvojumi un salīdzinājumi uz Parīzes izstādi braucot" [Foreign observations, adventures and comparisons of a farmer travelling to the Paris Exhibition], *Mājas Viesis*, 22 November, 29 November, 6 December, 21 December, 1900. Publications also gave practical advice how to attend the Paris Exhibition more conveniently.

Many attractive private pavilions were also located there, competing in originality, and sometimes even advertising their products by the shape of the construction. *(Fig. 5)* Ephemeral buildings can be very surprising in terms of their novel ideas, their attention to detail in technical solutions and their ornamentation. Many pavilions were adorned with decorative paintings. *(Fig. 6)* After the exhibition closed, several advertisements appeared in Riga's newspapers offering the pavilions for sale, but no information survives on the success of these ventures. A total of 47 constructions, including several restaurants and a concert platform, were built in the territory of the exhibition. The square was embellished with purpose-made flower beds designed by the renowned gardener Georg Kuphaldt (1853–1938).

Fig. 6. Pavilion of the Riga Architects` Society at the Riga`s 700th jubilee exibition, design by architect Wilhelm Neumann

Fig. 7. The town hall" in "Old Riga"

The newspaper *Rigaer Tageblatt* wrote soon after the exhibition's opening: "The light, festive exhibition buildings and the improvised character of architecture are enjoyable. Mr Scherwinsky has thoughtfully managed to avoid the pseudo-architecture unfortunately looming in many exhibitions, including Paris; they try to transform short-lived wooden constructions into eternal stone buildings, using plaster casts. In Riga,

especially well-done is the light dome construction and the fancy side extensions. The exhibition proves the victory of the new style – Art Nouveau – in all spheres. Just a few craftsmen continue to ignore it. Showcases influenced by the new style are fascinating and correspond to the Vienna Secession taste." (*Rigaer Tageblatt* 1901) Indeed, several exhibition pavilions, as well as some showcases, testify to the turn towards modern Art Nouveau forms, although the traditional approach, with some pronounced retrospection, was retained elsewhere – in general, there was a wide spectrum of stylistic trends, visible both in form and in decorative finish.

The traditional attitude can be seen in the show's sole surviving exhibit – the pavilion made by Master Mason Krišjānis Ķergalvis; it was created after the Roman example of an *arcus quadrifrons*, crowned with a dome. After the closing of the exhibition, Ķergalvis donated it to the city of Riga.

The exhibition venue, the Esplanāde, was connected to the Strēlnieku Garden across the street by a purpose-built bridge. The garden hosted the entertainment zone for visitors to the exhibition; all the constructions here were also made of wood. Especially imposing was "Old Riga", *(Fig. 7)* in which life-size buildings from Riga's historic center were imitated, with the wooden structures plastered to resemble stone edifices. The project was designed by the architect August Reinberg (1860–1908), incorporating material by Wilhelm Neumann (1849–1919). "Old Riga" was the setting for stage performances and costumed balls, but there was also a certain political overtone, in that it permitted Riga's Baltic German circles to be nostalgic about the Middle Ages, when political and economic power in Riga lay completely in their hands. Nearby, close to the city canal, and offering gondola rides, was "Venice", a particularly romantic and popular section of the garden. There were many other unusual sources of entertainment, such as pantomimes by an African Amazon troupe, a dance show called "Night in Dahomey", a Boer War diorama, and a ride along the canal in a Viking boat. These amusements were steeped in romanticism, designed to appeal to society's interest in exotic themes; yet at the same time, there were links with the topical news of the day, as, for example, events from the Second Boer War were regularly reported in the press of the time. The exhibition lasted for three months and was well attended – the number of visitors totaled 806,880, most of whom were attracted specifically by the entertainment city. (Mieriņa 2001: 33)

Photographs and printed matter from Riga's 700th Jubilee Exhibition allow this show to be considered in the context of the world exhibitions that were typical of Europe in those days, where an emphasis was placed on value, weight, size and price, the number of visitors and the most diverse attractions. (Thornton 1982: 272)

In Riga's architectural context, the 1901 exhibition reveals processes going on in the city's architecture, a change in stylistic criteria, and the way Art Nouveau was interpreted in early twentieth-century Riga. Around 1900 it was accepted

mainly as an ornamental style, retaining a strong historicizing trend. (Grosa 2008: 58) The exhibition of 1901 therefore manifested stylistic pluralism, a certain dichotomy between historicizing and modernist tendencies, and the interplay of traditionalism and innovation characteristic of Riga's architecture in the first five years of the twentieth century. This is well represented in the largest group of buildings – multi-story blocks of rental apartments – as well as in public buildings that retained their retrospective outer shell much longer than the rented housing, thus exemplifying modernized neo-styles. Such a tendency was maintained till the end of the peak of Art Nouveau. Behind the "architectonic shell" of the exhibition buildings, sometimes enhanced with individual Art Nouveau motifs, there were modern building materials and constructive solutions, a functionally considered interior layout, a high level of amenities and, in some cases, even a decorative interior finish that was influenced by the new style. At the same time, the exhibition organizers aimed to emphasize that Riga belonged to German culture. This is confirmed by the fact that the influential newspapers of Latvian society wrote that the jubilee events "do not really relate to all of Riga, but are organized by Riga's German citizens", although they did add that the promotion of these events "benefits us too". The Latvian press was also disappointed by the exhibition posters printed in just Russian and German, while text in the language of the native population of Vidzeme Province was only added in places to the lower part of posters.

Still, the exhibition's main aims were to demonstrate the city's industrial growth and to convince the Russian government about Riga's potential, thus securing additional funds for infrastructural development, and in this sense it was a complete success.

Riga's growth was especially rapid after the 1905 Revolution, in the years leading up to World War I. The revolution that began this period had a very direct impact on the architecture of Latvia. Evaluation of the causes and consequences of the revolution has become one of the major themes in the discourse of twentieth-century Latvian political history. Certainly, the period after the 1905 Revolution, which brought the final boom in construction before World War I, was marked by a paradigmatic shift in Latvian architecture – a move towards rationalism.

For the workers, living conditions changed little. Nevertheless, in the Late Art Nouveau period a new tendency, albeit purely theoretical, showed up in attempts by architects to make the homes of even the "lowest class" of society "like every kind of building that has to be functional, durable and beautiful", (Kupffer 1914: 389) adapting the three qualities of *firmitas, utilitas*, *venustas* – famously championed by the Ancient Roman architect Marcus Vitruvius Pollio – to the basic approach of the Art Nouveau age.

This tendency is attested by the Exhibition of Workers' Apartments and Popular Subsistence, held by the Riga Society of Architects in 1907. In the run-up to the

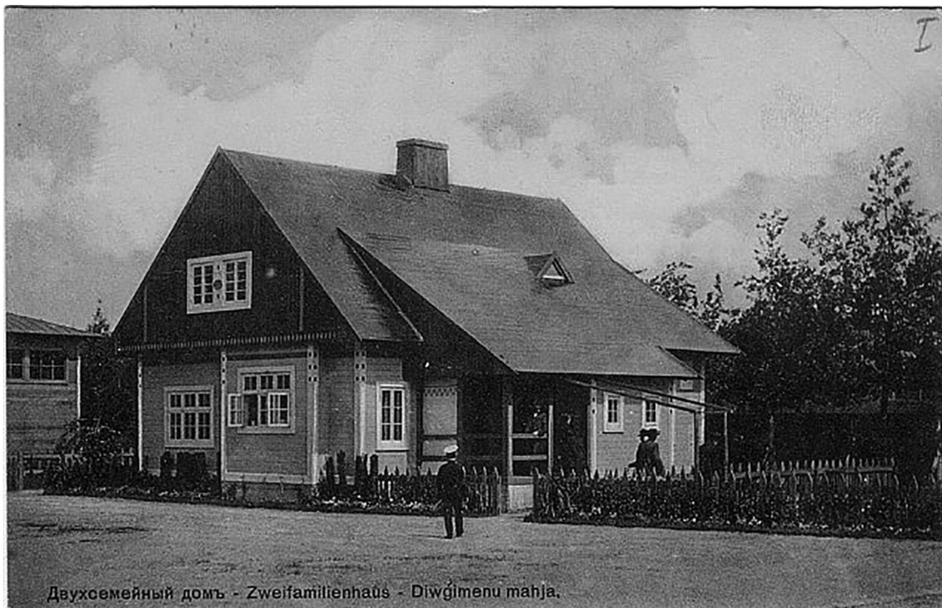

Fig. 8. Konstantīns Pēkšēns and Eižens Laube. Workers' house at the 1907 exibition in Riga.

exhibition, a design competition was held for a detached house intended for a workers' family, a semi-detached house, and the layout of particular interior spaces, along with the kitchen. The main preconditions were that the design had to be economical, as well as displaying a balance between practicality and aesthetic appeal. In the detached-house category, the first prize for the design of a masonry house went to Konstantīns Pēkšēns and Eižens Laube, *(Fig. 8)* a temporary version of their design being realized for the purposes of the exhibition. The exhibition attracted large numbers of visitors, who were also interested in the exhibits of practically-designed furniture, and in the examples of house gardens created according to the recommendations of Georg Kuphaldt, demonstrating the possibility of combining aesthetics with usefulness.

The exhibition was the first of its kind in the Russian Empire. A richly illustrated catalogue was also prepared. However, the exhibition was a project motivated by the idealism of its creators, and did not represent a real solution to social issues. Various comments subsequently appeared in the press to the effect that this had been a "something of a sporting exercise, which has not left any practical benefit". (*Jaunā Dienas Lapa* 1909)

In conclusion, it is clear that late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ephemeral wooden buildings in Riga were commonly used for a wide variety of purposes. The possibilities they offered for quick assembly and for creative experiment mean that

exhibition buildings occupy a special place in Riga's architectural context. They can be considered a peculiar catalyst of stylistic tendencies in the rapidly growing city. The complex for the Ethnographic Exhibition is one such example, the first manifestation of National Romanticism in the architecture of Riga. Riga's 700th Jubilee Exhibition (1901) became a testimony of modernism, as well as of the coexistence of Art Nouveau and Historicism. But the show of Workers' Apartments demonstrated a turn towards rationalism, which emerged as a prominent trend in Riga's architecture in the final phase of the period before World War I.

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Fig. 4. Interior of the Industry Hall at the Riga`s 700th jubilee exibition. Design and plan by architect Max Scherwinsky. Source: Die Rigaer Jubiläums – Ausstellung 1901 in Bild und Wort. Ein Erinnerungsbuch. Hausg. M. Scherwinsky, (Riga: Jonk & Poliewsky, 1902): 190.

Fig. 5. Engineer Bernhard Herrmann's pavilion at the Riga`s 700th jubilee exibition – an enlarged steam stopcock. Source: Die Rigaer Jubiläums – Ausstellung 1901 in Bild und Wort. Ein Erinnerungsbuch. Hausg. M. Scherwinsky, (Riga: Jonk & Poliewsky, 1902): 71.

Fig. 6. Pavilion of the Riga Architects` Society at the Riga`s 700th jubilee exibition (design by architect Wilhelm Neumann). Source: Die Rigaer Jubiläums – Ausstellung 1901 in Bild und Wort. Ein Erinnerungsbuch. Hausg. M. Scherwinsky, (Riga: Jonk & Poliewsky, 1902): 66.

Fig. 7. „The town hall" in "Old Riga". Source: Die Rigaer Jubiläums – Ausstellung 1901 in Bild und Wort. Ein Erinnerungsbuch. Hausg. M. Scherwinsky, (Riga: Jonk & Poliewsky, 1902): 235.

Fig. 8. Konstantīns Pēkšēns and Eižens Laube. Workers` house at the 1907 exibition in Riga. Source: Eduard Kupffer, ed. Das Arbeiter-Wohnhaus auf der „Austellung für Arbeiter –Wonungen u. Volksernährung, Riga. 1907 (Riga: W F. Häcker, 1907): 20.

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Shaping Ephemeral Architecture by the Media

INTRODUCTION

Media representations of buildings have to be distinguished from the originals that they are based upon, as Kester Rattenbury states "This is not architecture. Or at least, this is not the same as the substance of architecture itself as it is usually understood ... But even in the most physical understanding of architecture, the media that describe it shape what we understand it to be, and the way we design and build it." (Rattenbury 2002: xxii) Representations are constructed in their own way and are very much shaped by the given medium.[1] Rattenbury chose a very strong image to provide an explanation: she compares the Barcelona Pavilion by Mies van der Rohe to René Magritte's painting *This is not a Pipe* to understand that what we see on the photo is a photographic representation of the Barcelona Pavilion and not the Pavilion itself.[2] Representations have their own narratives and their own meanings, and it is crucial to emphasise that they are extremely powerful constructions as they influence architectural discourses to a great extent.

In this paper, I analyse the representations of architecture in publications and exhibitions examining the methods and aims of their mediation. As a case study, I discuss both temporary and permanent structures built in Hungary in the 1930s by modernist architects. My special focus is the ensemble of exhibition pavilions at the Budapest International Fair of 1935 designed by Marcel Breuer, József Fischer and Farkas Molnár (Ferkai 2011: 258–261, 371, 372, 379; Ferkai 2012: 92, 94). Though these pavilions are not as iconic as the Barcelona Pavilion with regards to the history and theory of architecture, they represent a remarkable focal point where two of the most progressive modernist architects in Hungary and the renowned Hungarian expatriate joined for enforcing modern design in the wider architectural community of Hungary. The pavilions received far-reaching media coverage: they

1 "The photograph is not a simple representation of an external reality, but constructs its meaning and reconstructs its subject." (Higgott, Wray 2012: 4); "The building should be understood in the same terms as drawings, photographs, writing, films, and advertisements; not only because these are the media in which more often we encounter it, but because the building is a mechanism of representation in its own right. The building is, after all, a "construction," in all senses of the word." (Colomina 2000: 13–14)

2 "it's almost impossible to conceive that a photo of the Barcelona Pavilion … is not architecture. As with Magritte's painting *This is not a Pipe*, it's hard to accept the construct – that what you're looking at is a representation and not the thing itself. The assertion that this picture is not architecture doesn't ring entirely true. The photo of the Barcelona Pavilion is not just architecture, but one of the most famous examples of modern architecture in the world – and a print of one of the original photos of the original building too. Like Magritte's pipe, the representation is almost more definitive than the thing itself." (Rattenbury 2002: xxi)

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Fig. 1. The architectural exposition of the Milan Triennale in 1936 featuring the Hungarian tableau

were featured on Hungary's main exhibition tableau at the Milan Triennale of 1936[3] *(Fig. 1)* and also in the publication on the Triennale written by the organizer of the exhibition, Agnoldomenico Pica (Pica 1938: 141–142). He presented the international architectural exhibition of the 1936 Milan Triennale with all the photographs, the descriptions of the works and the biographies of the architects grouped according to nations. The Triennale provided an international platform that went beyond geo-political frontiers collecting architectural images from all over the world from Argentina to Japan. Displaying tableaus with long arrays of photographic images, photography were the key media tool, which mediated modern architecture to the audience of the Triennale.[4] The exhibition tableaus provided a visual panorama of the modern architecture of the time so as the accompanying publication that became an ultimate reference corpus of the international modern movement.[5]

3 The Hungarian tableau was photographed by the official photographers of the Milan Triennale (Stab. Fototecnico Crimella, Milano (VI-5)), the Hungarian Museum of Architecture holds two of these vintage photographs: ref. no. 74.01.111 and 74.01.112.

4 "photography assumed a new importance in the composition of such exhibitions as the 5th and 6th Milan Triennales of 1933 and 1936 or the Italian Aeronautical Exposition, Milan (1934) with its innovative display" (Elwall, Carullo 2009: 18)

5 See the work of architect and propagandist Alberto Sartoris as a parallel undertaking: Baudin 2005.

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The Triennale, as a very important architectural event, was extensively covered by the contemporary media. In Hungary, the architectural journal *Tér* és *Forma* (*Space and Form*), the main organ of modernist architects in Hungary[6] reported on this occasion (*6th Milan Triennale* 1936). *Tér* és *Forma* published also the majority of the buildings that were displayed at the Triennale – mostly through the same photographs. This is because usually one decisive series of photographs was taken for publication, which led to the fact that both local and international audiences encountered built works via the same particular images.[7]

The presentation of the pavilions in different media and contexts raises vital questions in relation to the Hungarian publication system and its mechanisms during the interwar years. This paper's core argument is that a single design could belong to parallel narratives at the same time, i.e. local discourses on the built environment, international discourses on contemporary architecture and the dialogue elaborating in media platforms. The media itself also question "ephemerality" in this regard, as it can be argued that the media abolish the burdens between temporary and permanent structures placing them from their construction site into the immaterial sites of publications and exhibitions.[8] They are no longer shaped by the weather, wars, political circumstances and the owners' decisions, but by architectural critics, editors, photographers, layouts and typography. Regardless of whether they were temporary or permanent structures, the photographs preserved their original state. Photographers usually captured modern buildings immediately after they had been finished, depicting them pristine and perfect, preserving their ideal state before the process of weathering (Overy 2007: 217–218). Their youthful appearance became permanent, in contrast to the "real" life of buildings that includes weathering, renovations, alterations, changes in function, etc. The pictures represented a state that was very soon to be changed, as it was a common

6 *Tér* és *Forma* reported on modern architecture on an up-to-date basis during the interwar period presenting both Hungarian and international examples and also theoretical arguments. The magazine was launched in 1926 as the appendix of the journal *Vállalkozók Lapja* (*Entrepreneurs' Journal*), but it was published as an independent periodical from 1928 under the editorship of architect Virgil Bierbauer until 1942. In 1943, the journal was taken over by an editorial board led by József Fischer. The magazine ceased to be published soon after the Second World War. The magazine put an emphasis not only on the textual but also on the visual presentation of buildings. Due to its aims and objectives and also its layout and content, *Tér* és *Forma* can be paralleled with such periodicals as the German *Die Form* and *Das Neue Frankfurt* or the Swiss *Das Werk*.

7 "The first coverage of a building is often decisive in establishing its place within the canon of built works – in many cases a building will only be published once, and its documentation in a journal remains the definitive analysis. Architectural journals and magazines are thus instrumental in determining discourse on new architecture, but often seem to be complicit in advancing the agendas set by architects and represented by photographers." (Higgott, Wray 2012: 6).

8 "a transformation of the site of architectural production – no longer exclusively located on the construction site, but more and more displaced into the rather immaterial sites of architectural publications, exhibitions, journals. Paradoxically, those are supposedly much more ephemeral media than the building and yet in many ways are much more permanent: they secure a place for an architecture in history, a historical space designed not just by the historians and critics but also by the architects themselves who deployed these media." (Colomina 2000: 14–15)

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idea among modernist architects and theorists that they were not building for posterity anymore, but that buildings would change with the change of generations and their needs (Ibidem: 19–21). In contrast to this, the media preserved the "originals", which implies that a study of these images clearly illustrates the shifting borders of what we call "ephemeral".

THE PAVILIONS OF THE BUDAPEST INTERNATIONAL FAIR OF 1935

In 1934, the Budapest Chamber of Commerce and Industry invited entries for a competition to design the pavilions of the Budapest International Fair of 1935 situated in the "City Park" in Budapest (Ferkai 2011: 258–261; Ferkai 2012: 92, 94). The City Park was the main venue of exhibitions in the Hungarian capital over several decades and political systems – such as the Milan Triennale itself. Though both being politically charged places to a great extent, I shall not elaborate their political aspects here.

At the competition, Marcel Breuer, József Fischer and Farkas Molnár won the first prize with their design. Fischer and Molnár – both prominent modernist

Fig. 2. Villa Sommer in Budapest, Farkas Molnár and József Fischer, 1934

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Fig. 3. Model office at the exhibition of the Hungarian Society of Applied Arts in 1935, Marcel Breuer and Farkas Molnár

architects and members of the Hungarian Chapter of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) – entered into a partnership at the end of 1933 and beginning of 1934, while Breuer joined them during the course of 1934. Breuer had previously been pursuing his career in Berlin, but in 1931 he had to close his office due to lack of commissions. In 1933, he commuted between Budapest, Berlin and Zurich, and decided to settle down in his home country, Hungary. He was in continuous contact with his former Bauhaus companion, Farkas Molnár, who encouraged him in his plans to return home, which he finally did in 1934.

During their brief collaboration, they worked together on the staff building of the workers' hospital and the apartment houses of the National Insurance Institute, the Villa Sommer *(Fig. 2)* and the model office at the exhibition of the Hungarian Society of Applied Arts in 1935.[9] *(Fig. 3)* For the Budapest International Fair they

9 Farkas Molnár and József Fischer: The apartment houses of the National Insurance Institute, 1934–1935, Budapest VIII., II. János Pál pápa Square (originally Tisza Kálmán Square) 14-15-16; Farkas Molnár and József Fischer: The staff building of the workers' hospital of the National Insurance Institute, 1935–36, Budapest XV., Őrjárat Street (previously Pestújhely, Székely Street) 1-3; Farkas Molnár and József Fischer: Villa Sommer, 1934, Budapest II., Csévi Alley 7/a; Farkas Molnár and Marcel Breuer: Model office at the exhibition of the Hungarian Society of Applied Arts, 1935.

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created an innovative, modern plan, which was quite different from the previous designs of the Budapest Fairs (Ferkai 2011: 259). Usually the pavilions were conceived individually and positioned separate from one another, but here they constituted a coherent ensemble, as the Fair was to have a uniform appearance covering the permanent historicist buildings with a temporary front. Along this continuous, closed "façade" the visitor would follow a designated route. In addition to the continuous row of the pavilions, the three architects also designed separate structures: restaurants and an observation tower with a double spiral ramp, which was meant to be the landmark building of the Fair. *(Fig. 4)*

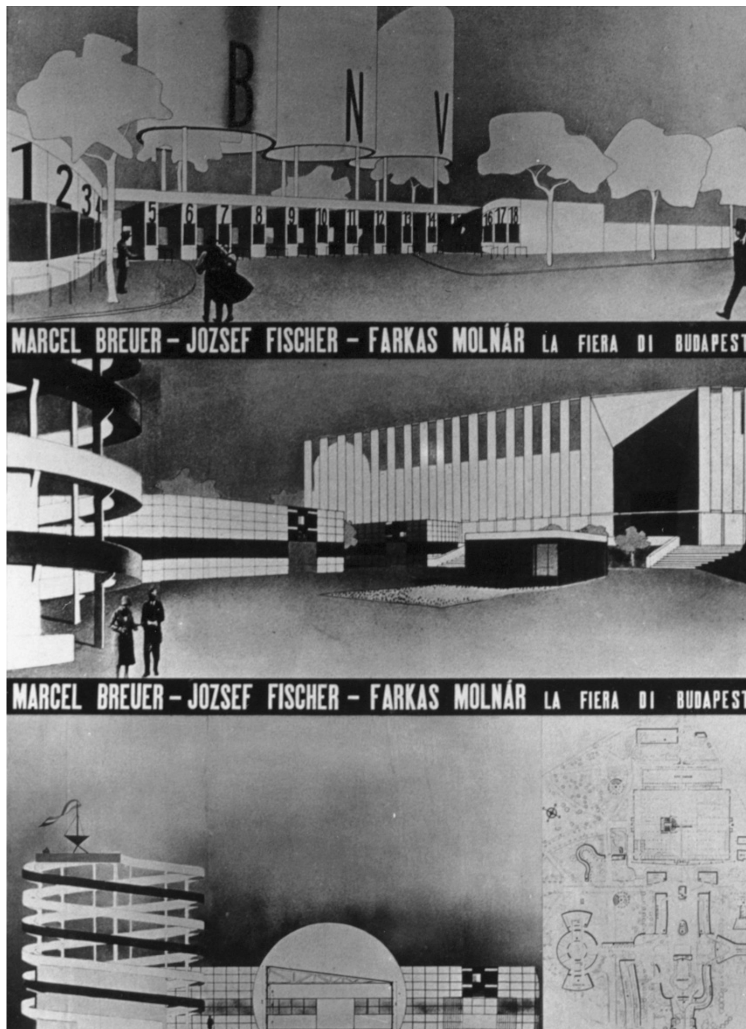

Fig. 4. Plans for the Budapest International Fair of 1935 on the Hungarian tableau at the architectural exposition of the Milan Triennale in 1936, Marcel Breuer, József Fischer and Farkas Molnár

Fig. 5. The Budapest International Fair of 1935

Winning the first prize was a real success for the three architects and for the Hungarian chapter of the CIAM. However, the plan was not realized in its entirety, as it was not supported by all the organizers of the Fair, especially not Miklós Kanics, who served as the chief architect of the Fair. Thus, their design was executed with many compromises (Ibidem: 259, 261). The coherent structure was discarded and only certain pavilions were built according to the original plans: the Textile and the Clothing Halls as well as the Italian Pavilion. In contrast, the so-called Goldberger Pavilion was streamlined and given an Art Deco character, as was the State Tobacco Pavilion, which was more like a tower presiding over its surroundings than a typical pavilion. *(Fig. 5)* Two further pavilions, however, were built according to the architects who won the competition: the small pavilions of the Pécsi Briquette Company by Molnár and Fischer, and of the architectural magazines *Vállalkozók Lapja* and *Tér* és *Forma* by Molnár.

The award-winning plan and its powerful images remained essentially in the realm of the media, as the execution of the original design was far from complete. The cooperation of the three architects – Breuer, Fischer and Molnár – did not last either. Breuer decided not to settle down in Hungary, he went to London instead; and Fischer and Molnár also came to the decision to work independently.

RENDERING AND PHOTOGRAPHING THE BUDAPEST INTERNATIONAL FAIR OF 1935

For the close examination of the architectural renderings of the original design and the photographs of the completed structures, I shall analyse the three renderings displayed on the Hungarian tableau of the 1936 Milan Triennale *(Fig. 6)* and the photos published in *Tér* és *Forma* (Kotsis 1935). The link between the two media is Virgil Bierbauer, who was a prominent Hungarian architect, and, most importantly, the editor of *Tér* és *Forma* between 1928 and 1942. He was also a great promoter of Hungarian modernist architecture both at home and abroad. Agnoldomenico Pica mentions this fact in his book on the 1936 Milan Triennale, saying that Bierbauer should be remembered for the dissemination of Hungarian art and culture, by contributing to the organization of Hungary's participation in the 5th and the 6th Milan triennials in 1933 and 1936, among other activities.[10]

For the tableau at the Triennale, Bierbauer favoured the renderings over the photographs. This is quite understandable knowing the problems that arose in executing

Fig. 6. The Hungarian tableau at the architectural exposition of the Milan Triennale in 1936

10 "Di V. B. deve poi essere ricordata in modo speciale l'attività svolta per la diffusione della Cultura e dell'Arte ungheresi all'estero, in questo senso egli ebbe a collaborare, fra l'altro, alla organizzazione della partecipazione ungherese alla V (1933) e alla VI (1936) Triennale di Milano." (Pica 1938: 145)

Fig. 7. The Textile Hall at the Budapest International Fair in 1935

the designs. The renderings show the "original", the ideal state that should have been built, but remained on paper. We see the continuous temporary façades and their plain surfaces, which are articulated only by stripes and grids. The most interesting structure of the plan, the spiral ramp, appears in two of the pictures – expressing its status as a landmark. The renderings demonstrate a modern, clean-cut and coherent design, signed by a man who was already renowned at that time, Marcel Breuer.

In contrast to the tableau at the Triennale, it was instead the photographs that were published in *Tér* és *Forma* (Ibidem). They were taken primarily by Zoltán Seidner, an acknowledged architectural photographer during the interwar years in Hungary, while the other photos were taken by the Hungarian Film Company.[11] Most of the photographs depict the structures designed by the Hungarian CIAM group: including the Textile and the Clothing Halls, the Italian Pavilion, the Pécsi Briquette pavilion and the pavilion of *Tér* és *Forma. (Fig. 7)* But of course a few others were featured as well, such as the Goldberger Pavilion.

The differing choices for the two media – for the exhibition and the architectural magazine – were caused by their dissimilar purposes and audiences. Architectural mediation coincided here with a social form: consumption, as architectural mediators like exhibitions and publications transformed architecture into commodities (Colomina 1988: 9–10; Colomina 2000). These articles of consump-

11 For more on the Hungarian architectural photographers of the time, see: Ibolya Cs. Plank's article entitled "Photo – Construction – Art" (Cs. Plank, Hajdú, Ritoók 2003: 66–89)

tion can be mediated in several different ways with regards to the target audiences. For the Hungarian public, the goal was to introduce and examine the arrangement and the design of the pavilions in their actual, realized form. The article in *Tér* és *Forma* is entirely about the Fair: how it looked, whether it was successful, and, finally, whether it expressed the Hungarian character. It was simply a report with photographs illustrating the Fair.

In contrast to this, the Hungarian tableau at the Milan Triennale is a totally different story. Its point was to collect the most eminent pieces of modern architecture from the three years that had passed since the last Triennale to represent Hungarian modernist architecture. Considering the difficulties of the original design's realization, it is understandable that Bierbauer and Pica chose to present the renderings, which were much more spectacular. To put it succinctly, the inventiveness of Breuer and his colleagues was shown to the international audience of the Triennale, which represented pure modernism, in contrast to the architectural ensemble as executed. The image of the idea was considered to be more important than the actual building signalling the modernists' belief in the media, which had the power to secure any design's place in the international architectural community.

THE ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATIONS ON THE HUNGARIAN TABLEAU AT THE 1936 MILAN TRIENNALE AND IN THE JOURNAL TÉR ÉS FORMA

The Triennale's main aim was to extend the modern taste for the design of furniture, industrial products and architecture. *Tér* és *Forma* reported on the event to the Hungarian public in an article entitled "The architectural exhibition of the 6th Milan Triennale of 1936" (*6th Milan Triennale* 1936). This brief article provides information about the organizers, their intentions and, of course, highlights the Hungarian participation. As the author of this report says the main goal of Pica was evidently to popularize modern architecture, not just to present it by selected examples, but also to interpret its essence. In other words, to state that modern architecture is much more than the formalism of flat roofs and large windows, it is about the well-being and health of the people. The exhibition's tone is quite similar to typical modernist propaganda, with its usual slogans such as the concern for physical health, the intention to educate people to be more conscious of their well-being and body image, the notion of a hygienic and rational interior, furniture as a functional tool, standardization, functionalism, and finally, the intent to serve humanity – to provide people with more space, light, fresh air and easy access to nature. These concerns were articulated by programmatic tableaus at the Triennale with such slogans that "Lo sport dev'essere regolare quotidiano e praticato da tutti" (Sport has to be an everyday activity for everyone) and "Abitazione e uno spazio organizzato per vivere secondo l'igiene l'estetica e la praticita" (Dwelling is an

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organized space to live according to hygiene, aesthetics and practicality) (Ibidem: 289–290).

The point of the exhibition was to promote and disseminate modern architecture to a wide audience. In other words, it was a genuine publicity campaign for modern architecture. At the 1936 Milan Triennale, the Hungarians' "campaign" consisted of a freestanding and a continuous tableau along the side walls; the images were mainly photographs, but there were also a few ground plans as well as the designs for the Budapest International Fair.

The freestanding tableau displayed the so-called Glasshouse, which was a glass shop and warehouse, the Villa Klinger, a villa with three apartments and the Atrium House; then a weekend house by Endre and György Farkas on Lupa Island on the Danube near Budapest; the renderings of the Budapest International Fair and, lastly, an apartment house with a spectacular roof terrace by László Lauber and István Nyiri.[12] The tableau on the side presented many more buildings, mainly villas and apartment houses, but a church and a slaughterhouse were also featured.[13]

The exhibited photographs were taken according to the established canon of modern architectural photography by the best Hungarian architectural photographers of the time: Zoltán Seidner, Ferenc Haár, Olga Máté, Tivadar Kozelka and the photographers of the Hungarian Film Office. The photographers captured the buildings in sunshine, focusing on contrasting light and dark surfaces, while also favouring wide angles and placing an emphasis on panoramas.

The buildings appear here dislocated from their construction site and cut out of their original context. "[T]heir object-like status and lack of contextualization" make them greatly self-referential (Blundell Jones 2012: 50). Upon closer examination, it is clear that the main subjects of the photographs are the most highly praised qualities of modern architecture. They represent pure modernist notions in the same way as they are featured in magazines like *Tér* és *Forma*. The Glasshouse, for example, stands for transparency and modern materials, with the accompanying

12 Lajos Kozma: Glasshouse, 1934, Budapest V., Vadász Street 29, photographed by Zoltán Seidner (Cs. Plank, Hajdú, Ritoók 2003: 160–161); Lajos Kozma: Villa Klinger, 1933–34, Budapest II., Herman Ottó Street 10, photographed by Zoltán Seidner (Cs. Plank, Hajdú, Ritoók 2003: 142–145); Lajos Kozma: Villa with three apartments, 1934–35, Budapest II., Bimbó Street 67, photographed by Zoltán Seidner (Cs. Plank, Hajdú, Ritoók 2003: 176–177); Lajos Kozma: Atrium House, 1935, Budapest II., Margit Boulevard 55, photographed by Zoltán Seidner (Cs. Plank, Hajdú, Ritoók 2003: 184–185); Endre and György Farkas: Weekend house on the Danube near Budapest, 1935, photographed by Zoltán Seidner; László Lauber and István Nyiri: Apartments, 1933–34, Budapest XII., Kékgolyó Street 10, photographed by the Hungarian Film Office (Cs. Plank, Hajdú, Ritoók 2003: 152–157)

13 The buildings were the works of Bertalan Árkay, Virgil Bierbauer, Marcel Breuer, Sándor Faragó, Endre and György Farkas, József Fischer, Dénes Györgyi, Károly Heysa, Péter Kaffka, Gyula Kaesz, Tibor Kiss, Lajos Kozma, József Körner, László Králik, László Lauber, Pál Ligeti, István Nyiri, Farkas Molnár, Móric Pogány, Gábor Preisich, Gyula Rimanóczy, Mihály Vadász and Pál Virágh.

Fig. 8. The roof terrace of an apartment house in Budapest, 1933–1934, László Lauber and István Nyiri

article in *Tér* és *Forma* stressing the importance of glass in both architecture and human life (B. I. 1935). The author of this report relates glass to biological functions, hygiene, rationality and the modern man's love of nature. Glass lets light into the interior, inspiring human thinking and creativity while also stimulating biological and physiological functions. At the same time, glass is easy to clean, which means that it is healthy and functional. The weekend house and the two villas on the tableau are the visual manifestations of the characteristics of the new, modern lifestyle: open and floating spaces with big windows that let the sun and air into the interiors and provide easy access to nature. The apartment house by László Lauber and István Nyiri also embodies modern living: the photographs depict the spectacular roof terrace with stunning views over the Buda hills. *(Fig. 8)* This particular house is Virgil Bierbauer's main positive example in his article in *Tér* és *Forma* about residential houses in Budapest (Bierbauer 1935). He discusses the advantages of the new architecture in contrast to historicist buildings – which were built extensively in Budapest from the second half of the nineteenth century – as well as their "successors" that were constructed during the interwar period. While emphasising the benefits of modern architecture with regards to the well-being of people, he clearly highlights the roof terrace, which he calls an earthly paradise.

CONCLUSION

For the visitors to the Milan Triennale, the tableau was a visual equivalent of the frequent themes of modernist architectural discourses, while for us it is about the shifting borders of ephemerality. The viewers of 1936 were able to experience these buildings in situ if they visited Budapest, but now they have either been destroyed or modified. For today's viewers, both the exhibition tableau – a temporary installation – and the buildings that are featured in the display are equally ephemeral. They are permanent only in the realm of the media that preserved the original versions.

The media conserved them and these products have now accumulated in archives, transforming the images into historical recollections of past media tools. These renderings and photographs served as communication devices, circulating in publications and exhibitions all over the world. They generated discussions and debates that were soon to be superimposed by newer arguments aroused by more recent transmitted images. The open question is how ephemeral are the buildings, their representations and their media coverage? Despite the fact that the images usually belong to historical narratives as illustrations, as single pictures they simply congregate into a myriad of images where they are permanent but at the same time are lost among a multitude of others. In today's overabundance of images we cannot really count on anything's permanency.

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Tamás Csáki

Ephemeral architecture of the Metropolis: plans for urban pavilions by Bertalan Árkay from the 1920s.[1]

The fourth issue of the leading organ of Hungarian architectural modernism, *Tér* és *Forma* (*Space and Form*), first published as a separate periodical in 1928, was dedicated to the architecture and design of transport. The first article (T. I. 1928: 149–152) was about the recently built historicist railway station buildings of the *Duna-Száva-Adria Vasút* (Danube–Sava–Adriatic Railway Company). This was followed and as it were counterpointed by a text of one of the editors, János Komor, presenting unrealized projects of three young Hungarian architects (Komor 1928: 153–158). Apart from Endre Kotsis' competition plans for a railway station building and a set of plans for airport buildings by Jenő (Eugenio) Faludi, living in Rome at the time, among the works presented were two projects for small urban pavilions by Bertalan Árkay.[1] A modern Hungarian architectural plan "is a thing to be cherished, considering our artistic isolation", Komor pointed out, to explain why he had decided to include not only the plans for a tram stop building by Árkay for Budapest's central *Kálvin tér* (Calvin Square), but also those of a tea room pavilion destined for a similarly busy junction of the Austrian capital, the *Karlsplatz*, not exactly in tune with the general topic of the article. The text that went with the repros of the architectural drawings focussed not as much on the interpretation of the individual plans, but on the more general characteristics of modern (transport-related) architecture. "Just as the advent of aviation has given new horizons to human travel, up till now hopelessly ground-bound, so have the new, nearly unlimited possibilities of modern architecture undone the old rules of stability and with the aid of concrete and steel constructions created architectural forms that have come to express new materials and new balance systems."

The next writing to reflect on these two plans by Bertalan Árkay also underlined their radical novelty, which made them hard to place in the context of contemporary Hungarian architecture. This piece, written seventy years later, was the introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition on pavilion architecture of the *Magyar*

1 The article is an extended English version of the following publication: Csáki, Tamás: *Árkay Bertalan pavilontervei az 1920-as évekből.* In: *Opus Mixtum* I. (2013) 78-88. Available at: issuu.com/centrart/docs/opus_mixtum_1 (accessed 15.02.2015)
Komor published two perspective views of the tea room pavilion, one of the tram stop, and also the site map, floor plan and cross-section of the latter.

Építészeti Múzeum (Hungarian Museum of Architecture), by Endre Prakfalvi. He mentioned this particular tea room pavilion, considered by him 'avant-garde', not in the main text giving an overview of the history of pavilion constructions in Hungary, but referred to it in a footnote on the Barcelona pavilion by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, built for the 1929 World Fair (Prakfalvi 2001: 9). The perspective view of the tea room, however, is put in an entirely different context a few years later, in a short monograph by József Vadas on the Hungarian art deco movement – here the same plan sits pretty with the rich and diverse collection of fine and applied art works, examples of architecture and design, all filed under the umbrella term of art deco (Vadas 2005: 8).

Material- and structure-centred modernist architecture, avant-garde, art deco – probably none of these labels fully describe Árkay's work, doubtlessly unique and interesting examples of Hungarian ephemeral architecture of the 1920s, a decade certainly less colourful than those preceding and following it. In this essay, we shall attempt to place the two pavilion plans and some related works in both the context of contemporary movements in European architecture and the context of the genre of ephemeral architecture in Hungary.

It is doubtful whether the small scale architecture of transport, commerce and catering, the kiosks, pavilions, booths or even shop-fronts and advertising constructions erected in or on the edge of urban public space can be labelled ephemeral architecture or they are just to be called "temporary constructions". Though they are a completely different set of products from the exhibition pavilions (especially the national pavilions of the world fairs) or constructions built to serve urban festivities and state pageantry, they still share some common characteristics with these later. In fact, they have more in common with the smaller representatives of temporary exhibition architecture, such as the company pavilions of the *Budapesti Nemzetközi Vásár* (Budapest International Fair) of the 1930s.

The life span of pavilions built in urban public space is not as strictly defined as that of expo pavilions, yet it is greatly influenced by building regulations, the choice of building materials, their function and contemporary fashion. These buildings are part of the ground floor level architecture of modern metropolitan streetscape, which is always more changeable and ephemeral than the upper zone of residential and public buildings. Their role, in this respect, is akin to that of shop fronts, street commercials and street furniture. As most of these small constructions are erected on municipal ground, they are often qualified as temporary in their building permits, which means that they have to be dismantled whenever the municipal authorities ordered so. Their ephemeral nature thus has a legal justification. While expo pavilions are very emphatically unique creations, typically made for and used at one-off occasions and events, these characteristic examples of small-scale urban architecture are normally mass produced commodities. There

are others, however – usually the ones placed in some kind of community hub with a commercial function – which are characterised by more spectacular forms, an attempt at uniqueness and at sticking out of the environment. Corresponding to their everyday, mundane character, these small urban buildings – unlike the expo pavilions, designed by artists and considered a work of art by their users as well – are often anonymous creations; their often unsigned plans come from catalogues of construction companies or the construction departments of the municipal administration or public utility companies. Nevertheless they exert a strong influence on the appearance of the urban space and their ephemeral character contributes strongly to its changing nature.

So far the small-scale architecture of the 1920s in the public spaces of Budapest, so the pavilions and kiosks have not attracted much professional attention – and understandably so. Some characteristics of this – by now mostly perished – phenomenon can be described on the basis of surviving archival documents and photographs.[2] The simplest and really everyday variety of the kiosk building was the catalogue-listed buildings of newsagent's stalls and tobacconist's shops, which, by the 1920s were mostly unadorned metal-glass structures – chiefly the products of two companies, Haas & Somogyi Co. and Márkus Lajos Co. (Kinchin 2008: 96–107).

The more ambitious, individualized examples from the 1920s instilled an almost bucolic trait into the metropolitan swarm, because their formal solutions were usually inspired by eighteenth and nineteenth century garden architecture – the pavilions, gloriettes and monoptera adorning the gardens of aristocratic homes. For their architects, with their typically historicist design attitude, the easy-to-follow precursors included buildings like the *Petit Trianon*, *Sanssouci* or *Amalienburg*. All this went not only for the situations where function as well as the location of the new building was somewhat similar to those of the models, as was the case with the Dairy Cafés by university professor Iván Kotsis (Kotsis 1946: 132–135) on *Margitsziget* (Margaret Island) and in the *Városliget* (City Park), but for metropolitan buildings like the tram waiting room erected at the *Déli Pályaudvar* (Station of the Southern Railway Company).[3] *(Fig. 1.)* In these cases modern structures, for example reinforced concrete constructions, were typically given a historic garment. One counter-example that managed to do away with the models taken from garden architecture was the advertising and newspaper vending tower designed by leading conservative architect of the period, Gyula Wälder in 1925 for *Nyugati tér* (Nyugati Square). As it was also situated in a central

2 The two major record series containing such plans at *Budapest Főváros Levéltára* (Budapest City Archives) are the public space section of the Municipal Plan Collection (BFL XV.17.d.328 Közterület) and the transport section of the Metropolitan Board of Public Works plan collection (BFL XV.17.d.322.a).

3 It was written about the tram waiting room, that, "its pleasant appearance is nothing like the unadorned uniform buildings of old private transportation companies architecture and lends a nice liveliness to the cityscape" (Budapest közúti 1934: 179).

Fig. 1. Tram waiting room of the Budapest Municipal Transport Company at Southern Railway Station, 1929

Fig. 2. Wälder Gyula: Vending and advertisement pavilion of the General Procurement and Expedition Co. at Nyugati Square, 1925

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square with substantial traffic, it can be compared to Bertalan Árkay's contemporary pavilion for *Kálvin tér* (Calvin Square) – yet Wälder created a building with extravagant neo-empire forms, in a kind of historicist *Großstadtarchitektur* manner.[4] *(Fig. 2.)*

A TEA ROOM AT KARLSPLATZ

Having finished his studies at *Királyi József Műegyetem* (Budapest Technical University), Bertalan Árkay spent three semesters at the master school of architecture of the *Akademie der Bildenden Künste* (Academy of Fine Arts) in Vienna, between 1925 and 1927. In Vienna both reputed traditional architectural training institutions retained their significance and unique character throughout the first half of the twentieth century. As opposed to the *Technische Hochschule* (Technical University), which provided a training oriented towards the practical tasks of the profession, the architecture master schools of the Academy of Fine Arts were very emphatically geared for training artist-architects. The Academy was one of the most important foreign sites for the training of Hungarian architects up till the 1880s, but after that the number of Hungarian students in Vienna plummeted – those who wished for more than the knowledge to be gained at the Budapest university set their sights further away, at the turn of the century as well as in the 1920s. The number of Hungarian students at the master school of Otto Wagner, one of the institutions with the highest reputation and the boldest experimenting spirit, had already been rather low; the impoverished Austrian capital of the 1920s, having lost its international significance, was even less appealing (Moravánszky 1983: 45–47; Sisa 1996: 169–186).

The seemingly odd choice of Bertalan Árkay is probably best explained by a long-standing family tradition. His grandfather of Moravian origin, Mór Kallina (1844–1913) was a student of Theophil Hansen at the Vienna Academy, and a collaborator of Otto Wagner. Having settled down in Pest as Wagner's site architect at the building of the Rumbach Street Synagogue (1870–1873) he then established a successful architectural office of his own. His son-in-law, Aladár Árkay (1868–1932) – Bertalan's father – was an apprentice in the Fellner & Helmer office and held Otto Wagner in high esteem – he became a prolific and innovative personality of early twentieth century Hungarian architecture (Aczélné Halász, Virág-Eglesz 2014; Dercsényi 1967).

4 Vending and advertisement pavilion of the *Általános Beszerzési* és *Szállítási Rt.* (General Procurement and Expedition Co.). Contractor: Haas & Somogyi Co. Plans and building permit: BFL XV.17.d.328 Közterület V. kerület, BFL IV.1407.b. 145.585/1925-III. The building was cited as a bad example in terms of city aesthetics in a column published in the journal of the *Magyar Iparművészeti Társulat* (Hungarian Applied Arts Society) as early as 1926 (A reklámtorony 1926: 186). Two years later it was also one of the bad examples listed by the avant-gardist architect Pál Forgó in his book *Új építészet* (Forgó 1928: 149).

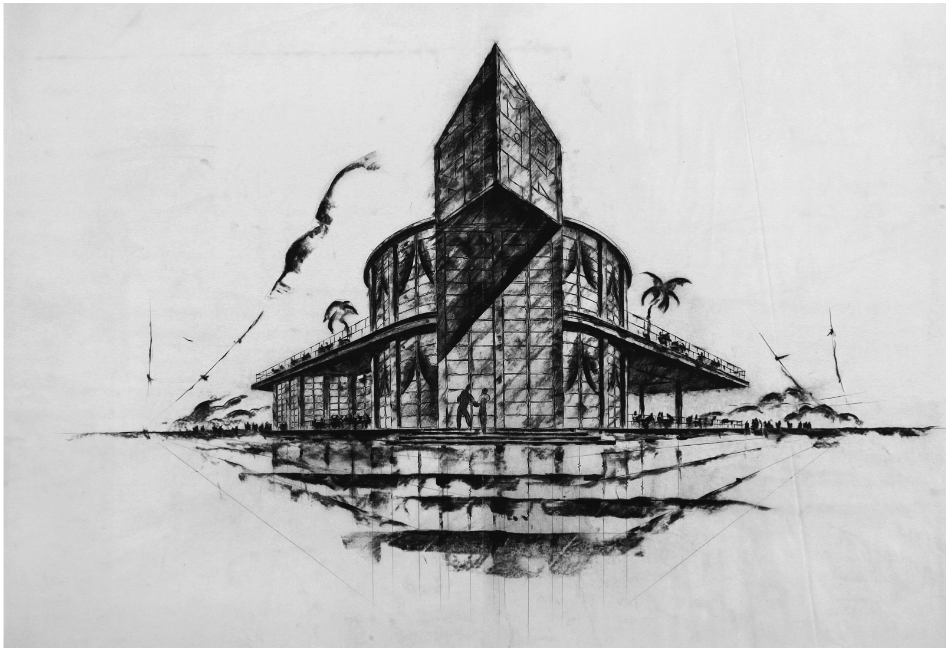

Fig. 3. Bertalan Árkay: Tea Room at Karlsplatz in Vienna, perspective drawing, 1925–1927

One of the master schools of the Vienna Academy was headed by Peter Behrens from 1921 – a well-known German architect who earned his reputation not just by his residential, office and exhibition buildings, but by the industrial buildings and products he designed for the *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft* (General Electric Company). His master school, by the name of *Meisterschule für Moderne Kunst unter Berücksichtigung monumentaler und Industriebauten* (Master School for Modern Art with special consideration to monumental and industrial architecture), similarly to Otto Wagner's school, had metropolitan architecture, transportation and industrial architecture as its main field of research. The most characteristic plans by the students of Behrens, with their reinforced concrete bulk formed either heavy and monumental or boldly dynamic, attempted to create expressive forms corresponding to the novel building types of technical civilization, representing an expressionistic variety of German *Großstadtarchitektur*. Thus the plans made at the master school can best be placed not in the local Viennese context, but in that of contemporary German architecture (Csáki 2003: 28–29).[5]

5 Between 1920 and 1926 Lajos Kassák and the Hungarian émigré artists centred around the journal *MA* (*Today*) were also living in Vienna and were active in the completely different context of the international avant-garde. Árkay had no links to this "activist" group. However, it has to be noted that the most architecture-looking work amongst Kassák's *Bildarchitektur* compositions was the plan of an urban pavilion, a newspaper booth from 1922, entitled "*Bildarchitektur II*" or "*Kiosk*" (Schröder-Kehler 1986: 395–397; Gergely, György, Pataki 1987: No. 149).

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Árkay's plan is modest part of this project on metropolitan architecture: the pavilion of a *Tee Stube* (Tea Room), a two-floor building with a circular floor plan and perimeter walls made of glass panels.[6] *(Fig. 3.)* According to the site map, the pavilion was meant to adorn a spot of great significance within the cityscape – *Karlsplatz*, at the corner of *Friedrichstraße* and *Wiedner-Hauptstraße*. This square had been an architecturally unresolved issue ever since the zone of the *Ringstraße* was completed and the river Wien was regulated and given an arched cover – an extensive and shapeless leftover area, whose partitioning and at least partial utilisation for construction projects had continuously been on the agenda in the form of monumental or more modest plans. After World War 1, the idea was to use parts of this area for buildings to cater for entertainment and consumption needs. In 1919 it was Friedrich Ohmann who designed a cinema-cum-café building to be erected between *Karlsplatz* and *Wienzeile*, south of *Friedrichstrasse*, while in 1928 Josef Hoffmann and Oswald Haerdtl submitted plans for a nine-floor, glass-panelled tower on the corner of *Kärtnerstrasse* dividing the rest of the square into several smaller spaces (Kassal-Mikula 2000: 288–311; Feller 2008: 154–159). We don't know about any architectural competitions for this square from the 1926–1927 period, so Árkay's work, with its captions written in German, must have been an academic assignment. In the surviving works of the Behrens master school there are several similar plans, such as a café pavilion plan by Otto Niedermoser, who later became a reputed stage set designer – so much so, that his work bears such resemblance to Árkay's that it can be regarded a more sparing version for the same assignment (Grimme 1930: 40).

Árkay's plan shows a simple building: a two-floor cylinder, twelve metres in diameter, with glass-panelled perimeter walls and adjacent wings of similar floor areas aligned with the incoming streets. From the direction of the junction a tower-like bulk is joined to the cylinder, holding a windbreaker on the ground floor and a band stand on the first floor. Its jutting, wedge-like upper part with the words "*Kaffee Meinl*" functions as a logo for the entire establishment, clearly discernible from afar. The support for the cylindrical structure is provided by a set of reinforced concrete pillars arranged in two concentric circles and connected by radial concrete beams. The facades are formed by glass panels filling the spaces between the pillars of the outer circle. The two floors, four and six meters of height, are connected by a set of winding stairs made of reinforced concrete, located in the middle of the building and supported by the inner ring of pillars, which reach only the ceiling of the ground floor. *(Fig. 4.)*

The tea room is adjoined by a one-floor annex on the side of *Wiedner Hauptstrasse*. It contains a florist's shop and the service area for the tea room. On its outer side facing the street there is an indentation and the roof is turned into a terrace.

6 *BTM Kiscelli Múzeum,* Építészeti *gyűjtemény* (Budapest History Museum, Kiscell Museum, Architectural Collection), no.: 68.137.3/1-4., 68.140.5, ill. 68.140.2/8, 14, 15. The last two sheets are probably part of a series of perspective views compiled around 1935.

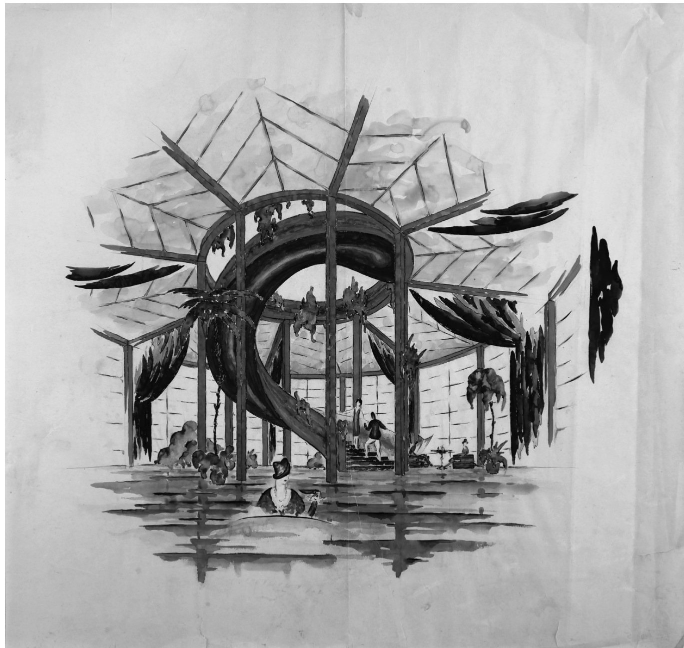

Fig. 4. Bertalan Árkay: Tea Room at Karlsplatz in Vienna, interior view, 1925–1927

This annex is mirrored on the other side of the main building by the two-floor open terrace of the tea room, whose upper balcony with its boldly jutting floor is supported by four sleek reinforced concrete pillars.

As opposed to some other contemporary (partly) cylindrical pavilion buildings of similar scale with glass-panelled facades, such as Erich Mendelsohn's *Mosse pavilion* built for the *Pressa* Fair in Cologne in 1928, or Otto Ernst Sweitzer's *alcohol-free restaurant* building *(Fig. 5)* at the Sports Park in Nuremberg, the *Tee-Stube* in Vienna wasn't a light, floating glass cylinder (Stephan 1998: 113; Bierbauer 1930: 112–114; Boyken 1996: 110–111).[7] This pavilion was meant to be a more bulky structure, as it is well conveyed by the charcoal perspective views.[8] As opposed to the curtain-wall facades of the former two buildings, detached from the supporting structure, giving the impression of one large continuous glass cylinder partitioned

7 Similar solutions can be seen on Wilhelm Riphahn's *Restaurant Bastei* jutting over the river Rhine in Cologne (1923–1924) and Carl Fieger's *Restaurant Kornhaus* designed in 1929–1930 in Dessau, overlooking the river Elbe.

8 Besides creating clay models to determine the buildings volumetric already at the beginning of the design process, making large charcoal drawings (especially suitable for conveying the shape of the volumes) was introduced in the daily practice of the master school by Behrens. This depiction tool, an organic part of his whole outlook on architecture, remained one of the favourite media of Bertalan Árkay for the presentation of his plans throughout his later career.

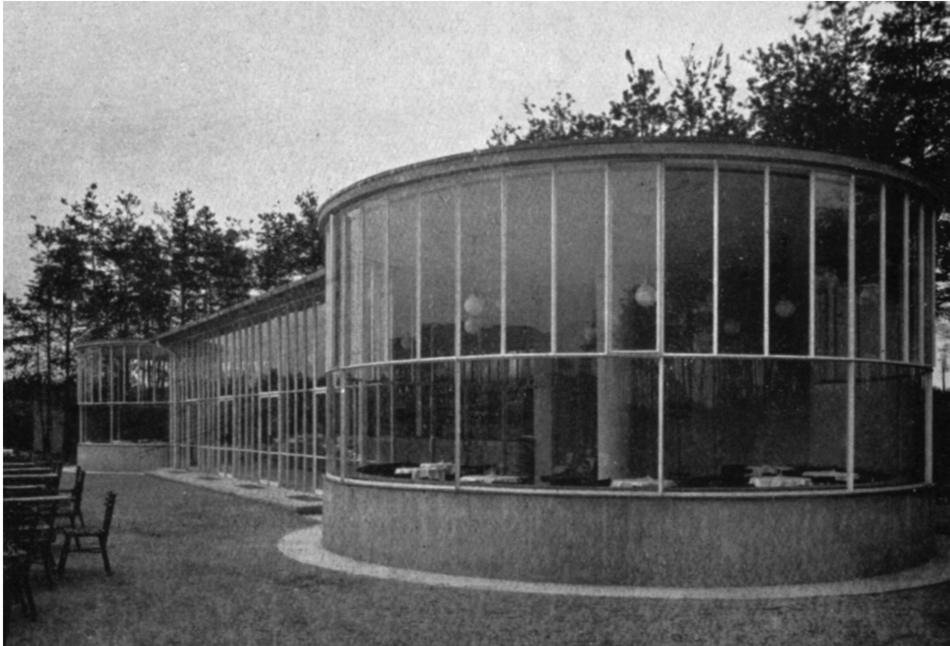

Fig. 5. Otto Ernst Schweizer: Alcohol-free restaurant in the Nuremberg Sport-park, 1927–1929

only by thin metallic bars, and offering an unobstructed view into the inside of the building, Árkay's plans show a building whose supporting structure and facade are not detached from one another.[9] The glass facade of the pavilion is divided by reinforced concrete pillars 2.4 meters apart, with yet another bar (most probably meant to be metallic) within each slot, and the elongated vertical swaths of glass are divided each into eight (or, on the first floor, seven) separate fields, one meter in width and 45 centimetres in height by horizontal bars of similar width. These panes meet the concrete pillars at their midline, thus the girders partly jut out of the surface of the glass panels, underlining their dividedness and, as a result of the shadow cast on the facade, the bulkiness of the entire building. The frequent divisions also diminish the transparency of the glass facade – tellingly, neither in the perspective view nor in the interior view did the architect make any attempt at showing what's behind the glass walls.

9 The effect of a continuous glass surface could be achieved in other ways apart from the curtain wall structure, see for example Mendelsohn's glass cylinder divided by frequent horizontal bars as the stairway of the *Schocken Department Store* in Stuttgart – here the glass surfaces were attached to the outer plane of the façade pillars: thus Árkay's decision was a purely aesthetic one, not determined by the choice of structure. (Stephan 1998: 108–109). It also has to be noted, that smaller kiosks like Árkay's *Tee-Stube*, usually erected in public parks or squares had been designed with cast iron frame and as large glazed openings as possible even in the heyday of architectural historicism. See for example the famous *Hangli Kiosk* at *Vigadó tér* (Vigadó Square) in Budapest, designed by Alajos Hauszmann and Béla Haliczky in 1871. BFL XV.17.b.312 3496/1871.

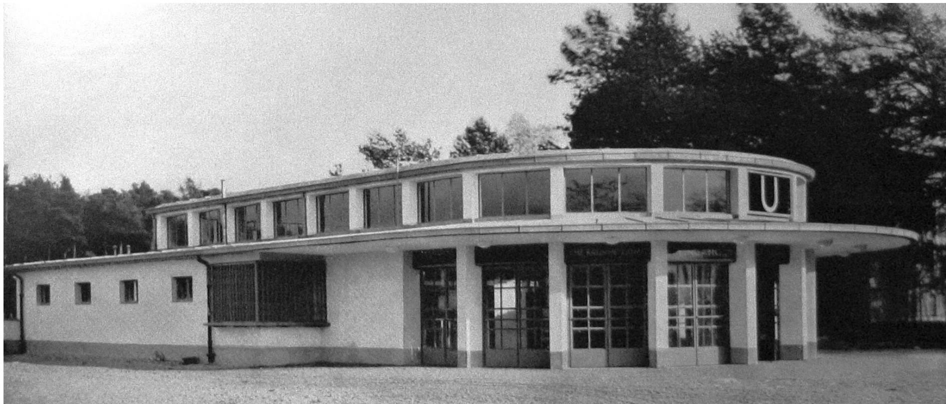

Fig. 6. Alfred Grenander: Krumme Lanke U-Bahn Station, Berlin, 1929

Árkay's plan also has its counterparts in contemporary German architecture. Maybe the most obvious of these is the Berlin *Krumme-Lanke U-Bahn station* opened in 1929 and designed by Alfred Grenander, who was an architect with the Berlin public transport company and designed numerous buildings, vehicles and structures for them from 1902 on. *(Fig. 6)* The station building resembles the tea room not only in its semi-cylindrical form, but also due to its facade, with wide glass surfaces divided by reinforced concrete pillars (Hüter 1987: 260–270). The above mentioned characteristics of the main elevation also indicate that Árkay never strived for what constituted a basic value for Mendelsohn, Schweitzer an numerous other avant-garde architects of the time – transparency, the interpenetration of the inside and the outside, the elimination of the borders separating the two spheres and the floating, lighter-than-air impression created by the buildings beyond traditional tectonics, i.e. the very characteristics that János Komor uses to describe modernist architecture in his article on Árkay's works.[10]

The young Hungarian architect was a faithful follower of his master in this respect, since Behrens championed the essentially nineteenth century notion that a building was primarily a plastically modelled volume. It was because they diminished the bulkiness of a building that he avoided curtain wall facades and suggested that glazed fronts should be divided by massive reinforced concrete pillars, both in his article dating from 1910 and in a publication presenting the plans for his school in Vienna in 1925. "Steel as a construction material has the great advantage of being solid without having to be massive. In a certain sense, then, it is immaterialising in nature. This is, on the other hand, the factor endangering architectural effect – with the advent of buildings and bridges with steel structures, which give the impression of a framework

10 In their classic essay Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky call this phenomenon "literal transparency" as opposed to the "phenomenal transparency" observable in Le Corbusier's works (Rowe–Slutzky 1963). A short summary of the 20th century history of the notion transparency is given by Nigel Whiteley (2003: 8–16).

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made of thin sticks or even a cobweb. However, we do have the tools to be able to create a closed effect of space and volume using glass and steel. Thinner steel structural elements and glass panels can be worked into such a surface that can be contrasted with bulky structural elements, such as girders or jutting eaves – creating striking shadow effects and a sense of mass" (Behrens 1925: 98–99; Anderson 2000: 138–145).

The point here is not just that while spectacularly applying modern structures (such as the wide, cantilevered balconies shown in the plans presented in his above mentioned article or in Árkay's drawings) the elderly architect would still cling to an aesthetic principle derived from earlier construction technologies but considered timeless – the principle of the closed volumetric nature of a building. His insights had a critical edge to them. Behrens recognised that by his time, technology and engineering had become formative forces determining the life of society as a whole, yet in his view, these forces, given their exclusively material and intellectual nature, had no cultural significance by themselves. For him the most perfect engineering construction was but a product of civilization, its form determined not by *Kunstwollen*, but by structural conditions and mechanical regularities, thus all its potential beauty could only be a pseudo-aesthetic one, outside of culture, similar to natural beauty. Rejecting constructivism he thought that a building must primarily express not its own structural or functional characteristics, but the character of the given institution in a regular, monumental artistic form (Csáki 2003: 31–33). This stance of Behrens may also make it easier to understand another detail of Árkay's tea room pavilion plan not yet analysed above. The strongly jutting tower-like structure with the windbreaker and band stand adjoining the cylindrical mass of the main building doesn't seem to have enough functional reason for its existence while its oppressive bulk overwhelms the purity of the cylindrical shape. This component was probably included by the young architect as an attempt to emphasize the dynamic, metropolitan character of the building, making it resemble a breakwater protruding from the flow of metropolitan traffic. This can be seen as an expressionistic overdrive applied to the novel architectural task in the vein of a technological or metropolitan romanticism as spelled out in Behrens's writings, which can be discerned in a large portion of his students' plans as well.[11]

Behrens would apply his own principles with a lighter hand when it came to similar smaller scale buildings. In 1925 he designed two glass pavilions himself: one for the Cologne Fair for the association of German glass pane companies (apart from its floor plan only a perspective view and a photo of its clay model survives), and the conservatory attached to Josef Hoffmann's Austrian Pavilion at the *Exposition des Arts Décoratifs* in Paris. *(Fig. 7)* The photos of the latter illustrate how he managed

11 One of the outstanding students of Behrens, who later strayed very far from this approach was Ernst A. Plischke, who in his memoirs recalls in great detail a lecture read by Behrens in the winter of 1923–1924 in Vienna, entitled "*Die romantischen Zusammenklänge unserer Zeit*" (Plischke 1989: 61).

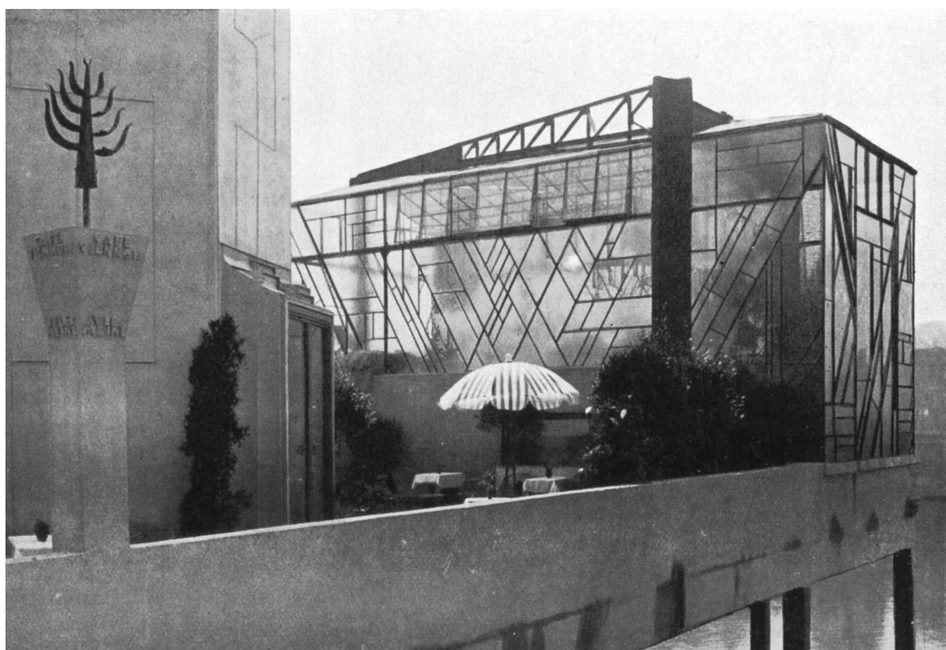

Fig. 7. Peter Behrens: Conservatory of the Austrian Pavilion at the Exposition des Art Décoratifs in Paris, 1925

to eliminate transparency and create an intimate, romantic, self-contained atmosphere for the interior by his choice of the type of glass to be used and by the decorative metallic grid of the facade – which contained not only a variety of rods of different width, but also some slanting ones, to break the regularity of the horizontal and vertical lines (Cremers 1928: 143–144).

THE METROPOLIS AT CALVIN SQUARE

Bertalan Árkay never completed his studies in Vienna. In the spring of 1927 he returned to Hungary having finished only three semesters. The reason was most probably that his father could not handle alone all the commissions that started to pour in again, after the post-war depression had come to an end. Thus the son became responsible for planning smaller residential buildings and family homes, creating in 1927–1928 numerous notable works regularly mentioned among the beginnings of architectural modernism in Hungary (Csáki 2003: 46–48; Ritoók 2012: 33–43). At the same time, he made a point of submitting entries for architectural competitions as a way of making a name for himself within the professional community, using the set of tools he had acquired at Behrens's school – predominantly geared for monumental public buildings rather than small scale residential houses. His most monumental plan was made and submitted for the grand architectural competi-

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tion of the *Magyar Mérnök- és Építész-Egylet* (Association of Hungarian Engineers and Architects) for 1926/27 – the plans for an office tower block at *Vörösmarty tér* (Vörösmarty Square). The competition unfortunately failed to attract the attention of professionals – there was only one single other entry – and thus it was cancelled; so Árkay's entry, making use of the achievements and insights of contemporary German high-rise architecture got no publicity at the time at all (Csáki 2001: 14–19). As for the next, minor competition of the Association in 1927–1928, Árkay was all the more successful there: his entry with the "plans for a tram waiting room at Calvin Square" came first out of the five entries submitted.[12]

Calvin Square was one of the busiest junctions of Budapest already in the 1920s, the dawn of motorised traffic, where seven roads met and with two tram lines crossing the square. According to a contemporary traffic census, in 1933 no fewer than 1700 vehicles crossed Calvin Square in one hour (Ruisz 1939: 65–81). During the 1920s several calls were made demanding that the "chaotic" traffic conditions should be reregulated (Quittner 1928: 34–35; Póka-Piviny 1929: 247–248). The idea of a roundabout lent itself, with a large circular traffic island in the middle, providing room not only for an underground public toilet, but also a tram stop. The authors dealing with the transformation of traffic conditions of Calvin Square rarely dwelt on the architecture of the buildings. Emil Méhes, though, in his article published in the bulletin of the above mentioned Association coinciding with the competition, did write about how it would be desirable to eliminate what he calls the "visual chaos" of the square, now that the chaotic traffic conditions are finally being resolved (Méhes 1927: 248–249). He argued that all the different public toilets, newsagent's booths and tram waiting room ruined the uniform image of the square and suggested that one glass pavilion be built to accommodate all these functions, with the public toilet hidden underground.[13] Like other authors dealing with transport related architecture, Méhes considered glass-walled, transparent buildings a good choice for reasons of traffic safety – because they don't block out the view of their surroundings from the drivers. Méhes, however, had some aesthetic considerations in mind – in the description of his vision of the new traffic and visual order of Calvin Square he talks about the modern, glass-walled pavilion

12 The members of the jury were Virgil Bierbauer, Jenő Rados and Géza Ziegler. The competition was announced in November 1927, setting the deadline as 12 April 1928. The results were published in: *Magyar Mérnök-* és Építész-Egylet *Közlönye (Bulletin of the Association of Hungarian Engineers and Architects)*, 1928, vol. 62, pp. 175, 184. The reasons for the decision are given only as "it was Árkay's entry which best met the requirements". Árkay made plans for a similar small scale, transport infrastructure building back during his studies at the Budapest Technical University. In 1921 he submitted a set of plans for a "*Tram Terminal in the Mountains*", that show an asymmetric, villa-like building of picturesque composition, its main elevation partly covered by stone, with a steep roof and a tower. On these sheets hardly any reference is made to the transportation function of the building – the architect clearly aimed at capturing the typical characteristics of alpine architecture. BTM Kiscell Museum, Architectural Collection, no.: 68.102.1-2.

13 The ensemble of a public toilet, a newsagent's booth and an advertising pillar as seen in contemporary photos hardly evokes the notion of chaos if contemplated today. The metropolitan buzz is best conveyed by a photo by Pál A Veress (Genthon, Nyilas-Kolb 1934: 194).

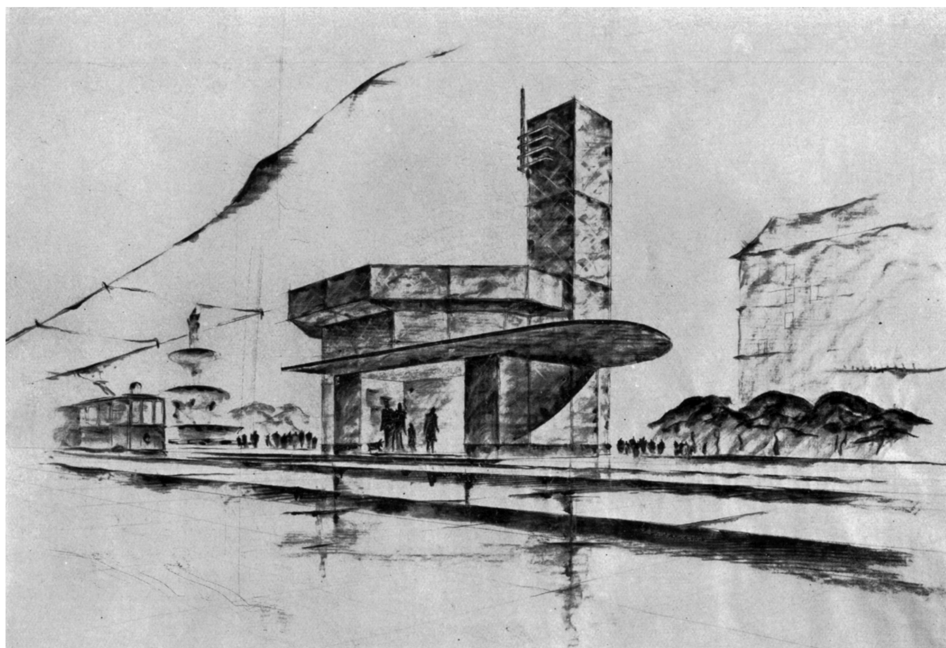

Fig. 8. Bertalan Árkay: Competition plan for a tram waiting room at Calvin Square in Budapest, perspective drawing, 1927–1928

building complementing "the calm and pleasant continuity" of the vehicles rolling along steadily in one direction, as two aspects of modern metropolitan harmony (Méhes 1927: 248–249).

Bertalan Árkay's plans, submitted under the code name "Metropolis" – even though they didn't include the regulation of the entire square, just the pavilion – corresponded to the expectations spelled out it Méhes's writing. *(Fig. 8)* The small building with public toilets in the basement and a newsagent's booth plus a half open, half covered tram waiting room on the ground floor had a gross floor area of 9.4 × 11 meters and a height of 5.6 meters (without the tower) and was made up of three intersecting geometric volumes.[14] The large octagon divided into several separate spaces was complemented by a square tower and the rectangular box of the waiting room intersecting the octagon and open to the other side. This playing around with the bulks, aesthetic yet stricter and more objective than in the case of the Tea Room in Vienna, was enriched by some small but functionally justified details: the decorative, flagpole-like end point of the tower, the protruding edge of the octagonal column, maybe meant for placing advertising signs and the strongly jutting sunshade with a semi-circular end. The draft plans suggest that Árkay intended the construction to have a glass-and-metal structure.

14 BTM Kiscell Museum, Architectural Collection, no.: 68.48/1-2, 68.140.2/12.

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In 1927–1928 this kind of architecture was interesting and novel, as shown by the praise cited from *Space and Form* above – and was to be found almost exclusively on paper, not on the streets of Budapest. In the following years, however, the cityscape of downtown Budapest altered considerably. Although hardly any new office or commercial buildings were erected, modernist visual language transformed commercial design and the geometrically simplified, colourful advertisements, commercial posters and rebuilt shop-fronts lent a new appearance to the main streets of the inner city (Ferkai 1997; Ferkai 2013; Bakos 2014). The modernisation of street furniture and transport architecture went hand in hand with it – in its last issue of year 1928 *Space and Form* could already publish photographs of the modern-looking glass-and-metal waiting rooms of the *BESZKÁRT* (Budapest Metropolitan Transportation Co.), parts of which could also be used as telephone booths and advertising columns (1928: 308, 315). The company went on to install these types over the next decade in many different smaller and larger versions, some of them simple, some of them more complex.

Around 1930 designing shop-fronts or small pavilions at the yearly International Fair became a major opportunity for young modernist architects – who rarely had the chance to build larger commercial structures – to show their talent and to gain some public attention. Bertalan Árkay had no part to play in this: he earned his bread designing residential buildings – villas and detached houses – and his ambitions were directed to creating larger public buildings and churches or completing urban planning tasks.[15] However, his best accomplished monumental works retained the characteristics reminiscent of the middle-ground German modernism of the 1920s as seen on his 1926–1927 plans for the tea room in *Karlsplatz* – including his opus magnum, the Catholic church in the *Városmajor* quarter of Budapest dating from 1931–1933. This monumental building betrays the same ambivalent attitude to the application of glass as a building material: although its side fronts feature enormous vertical bands of glass (stained glass windows designed by Árkay's wife, Lili Sztehlo) these are turned into three-dimensional architectural elements and are inserted between heavy reinforced-concrete pylons, so that the facades have a strong sculpturesque effect instead of being flat glass surfaces (Csáki 2008: 37–41).

15 Of these the one he created jointly with his father in 1931, the plans for the Regulation of the area between Gellért and Rudas Baths feature cylindrical pavilions of glass facades, similar in scale to the ones discussed above – that is, as parts of a complex ensemble of buildings. These plans are highly eclectic in appearance: while the closed, glass-panelled corridor running around the spa buildings and divided by reinforced concrete pillars is reminiscent of the Vienna tea room, there is also a several storey high cylindrical glass structure with a curtain-wall facade in the style of Mendelsohn's and Schweitzer's above mentioned buildings (the glass tower of the mineral water factory). BTM Kiscell Museum, Architectural Collection, no.: 67.39; Komor 1931: 157–166).

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Caoimhe Gallagher

Le Corbusier – the Francophone Swiss Nationalist's Internationalist?

Swiss historical myths have been instrumental in the creation of a coherent Swiss national narrative, chief among which has been a particular image of homogenous Swiss national unity (Furrer 2004). Before 1914, the traditional multiplicity of allegiances (primarily linguistic and religious) in Switzerland prevented the development of a clear-cut division of public opinion. Nuanced affinity, but not division, defined Franco-German affinity in the pre-war period. At the outbreak of the war, the dominance of Germany's influence in Swiss trade, banking and migration informed a logical preference for German victory. Simply opting out of the maelstrom, which swept Europe as a whole, was not a possibility. Despite neutrality, the war was refracted into Swiss opinion from every angle. However, Swiss reaction to the First World War, in particular the German invasion of neutral Belgium, saw the development of a potentially destructive divide in Switzerland between the francophone and germanophone communities. This found expression initially in the Swiss press: the resounding silence of the germanophone press betrayed a sense of unease with the actions of their linguistic brethren, while the remarkably accurate reporting of the francophone press, and their analysis of both the war and German atrocities committed during the invasion of Belgium, shows how different the two main linguistic communities in Switzerland could be (Gallagher 2014: 44–66). Swiss politicians saw the perception of Swiss unity abroad as a vital element of Swiss national defence. The impact of Swiss neutrality and linguistic identity on the Swiss economy remained significant. The symbolic capital of Swiss neutrality was a crucial factor in the development of the burgeoning Swiss banking industry, while the manipulation of linguistic identity (During the war *Schweizerische Kreditanstalt* changed its name to the more allied friendly *Crédit Suisse*) was the key to the maintenance and development of Swiss global trade (Jöhr 1956: 532; Dejung and Zangger 2010: 183; Bairoch 1978: 29–50; Bairoch and Körner 1990: 287–316)[1]. Geneva cosmopolitanism and international outlook led it to focus more on international trade, while Zurich was more inward-looking, and its exclusive focus on holding companies allowed it to become the centre for foreign direct investment (Bauer and Blackman 1998: 184; Bänziger 1986: 30; Andrist, Anderson, Williams 2000: 43–69; Gerlach, Gerlach-Kristen, 2004: 763–781; Bauer, Blackman 1998: 187). Ultimately, this trade lent itself to the development of Swiss secret banking and made germanophone Zurich the financial centre of Switzerland by the end of the war (Bauer 1972: 441). While the symbolic capital of the ICRC's

1 VA 18. 1; DA A.3.13; BA E2200.110

humanitarian action helped ensure Swiss independence during the war, encounters with foreign civilian and military prisoners of war further emphasized the division between the two main linguistic communities. While francophone Swiss public opinion appeared to have been consistently more supportive of the French cause and the ICRC's mission, germanophone public opinion, though supportive of the German cause, became increasingly nationalistic. From 1916 onwards, there was an increase in the number of recorded public attacks by germanophone Swiss, and reports of germanophone verbal abuse hurled against French repatriation convoys and prisoners of war interned in Switzerland (NZZ 9 February 1916). Attempts by right-wing germanophone Swiss commentators to codify *Homo Alpinus* as a separate racial category offered an example, albeit extreme, of how the germanophone Swiss community saw itself as distinct. This was also reflected in the growing pressure to restrict immigration, thus protecting Switzerland from dangerous ideological and political influences associated with wartime Europe (Ibidem). Internal Swiss divisions during the war were less political than linguistic – between the francophone and germanophone communities. Swiss parties across the political spectrum campaigned for the restriction of immigration. Representatives from both linguistic communities made xenophobic statements. However, the germanophone community was consistently more extreme in its xenophobia (Kury 2003; Bollinger 1912: 1)[2]. While it would be a mistake to view this as a clear divide, the nuanced division which evolved, particularly between the francophone and germanophone communities, saw the development of two opposing interpretations of Swiss exceptionalism and identity: one that was outward-looking and international, and another that tended to look more inward, secure in a more narrow interpretation of homogenous national identity (du Bois 1983).

Le Corbusier's rejection of this view of homogenous insular Swiss identity was typical of many francophone Swiss intellectuals during the same period, who rejected what was generally seen as an exclusively germanophone narrative. This article seeks to examine the relationship between the ideological context and the temporary constructions of pre- and post-war Swiss Exhibition architecture, and the influence this narrative of Swissness had on Le Corbusier's development as an architect, as expressed in his own ephemeral and exhibition architecture and design. While viewing architecture as a communication system, Umberto Eco's *Introduction to Semiotics* equates the primary functions of architecture with practical functions. However, it is in the secondary functions – the idea of the building, the meanings which its symbols express and convey – that this communicative dimension takes precedence. Therefore, in order to test the theory that Le Corbusier's development was decidedly influenced by Switzerland, it is necessary to analyze national and individual exhibition architectures, plans and sketches, as they are more overt in such declarations of allegiance and influence.

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My research, in the Le Corbusier Archives in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland and the Janko Cádra files at the Slovak National Library, indicated that Le Corbusier's designs, like the *Dom-ino* system and *ferme/ville/village radieux* designs, can be seen as a hitherto unrecognized retort to the regressive anti-urbanism of the Swiss exhibition organizer and germanophone architect, Armin Meili. Meili's rejection of Le Corbusier's proposals and subsequent denunciation of Le Corbusier as "anationalist" following the publication of the *radieux* designs in *l'Œuvre complète* in 1934 and 1938, adds further weight to this argument. Public support for Le Corbusier, expressed among the francophone public during this period, suggests an intriguing counter-narrative existed, which contradicted the image of national unity presented by the germanophone organizers of the exhibition of 1939. This interaction raises a wider question; to what extent was Le Corbusier shaped and influenced by the Swiss ethno-linguistic divide of the First World War, and by Swiss nation-building and national debate?

PRE-WAR LE CORBUSIER

Le Corbusier's designs before World War I contrasted dramatically with his post-War style, yet they set a precedent for the impact Le Corbusier's Swiss context would exert on his development. Le Corbusier's hometown, La Chaux-de-Fonds, was a centre of the Swiss watch making industry. This influence was highlighted by Jean-Louis Cohen, in the ties that existed between the industry and the local art school (Cohen 2006: 7). Le Corbusier's style may have also been shaped by the promotion of "the educative virtues of the geometrized form", which he experienced through the Froebel method of teaching he was exposed to as a boy, and later as part of the program designed by Charles l'Eplattenier at the La Chaux-de-Fonds art school he attended. The influence of the Swiss context can be clearly seen in his work with René Chapallaz, but also in his own work before the war. The stereotypical Swiss chalet style of the roofs of the *Fallet House* (1906–1907) and even the *Villa Jeanneret-Perret* (1912), as well as the influence of Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* on the geometric figures derived from alpine flora and fauna and from the landscape around the Fallet House, were decidedly at odds with the style expressed in the *Dom-ino* designs (1914) and the Villas *Schwob* and *La Roche-Jeanneret*, constructed both during and after the war. Le Corbusier's pre-war commentary and analysis also reflected this different style and ethos. In an essay from 1910 called "La construction des villes", for example, he outlined a distinctly different vision of idealized urban planning. The essay was written following a research trip to Germany, funded by *L'Ecole d'Art*, La Chaux-de-Fonds, where he reported on German applied arts and architecture. The final report, here he reported on German applied arts and architecture. The final report, *Study of a Decorative Arts Movement in Germany*, focused on his analysis of the urban areas of Frankfurt, Dusseldorf, Dresden, Weimar and Hamburg. Both his report and

the unpublished essay extolled the virtues of irregular streets, typical of medieval urban planning, and the thrill this variety inspired (Jeanneret 1912; Le Corbusier 1924). For Le Corbusier, such irregular urban planning inspired the flaneur to wander. By contrast, he criticized the rational, ordered layout of his hometown, which, following destruction by fire in 1794, was completely rebuilt according to Charles-Henri Junod's grid street plan in 1835. Le Corbusier criticized what he saw as Junod's heavy handedness and viewed him as having imposed such plans upon the public with little consideration of their desires.

His rejection by Peter Behrens, who refused him an interview in 1910, has often been associated with the shift in Le Corbusier's attitude towards Germany, in particular Berlin and German urban planning. Certainly, his change in attitude coincides with his dislike for Berlin, expressed in his letters to William Ritter, where he accused the city of inducing "a feeling of the blackest desolation".[3] Ultimately, however, his attitude towards urban planning was far from clear cut. His oscillation between opposing viewpoints could have also been influenced by the Swiss context into which he returned.

REACTION TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Whereas his fellow germanophone Swiss architects, Hannes Meyer and Hans Wittmer, served in the Swiss military for two years, Le Corbusier remained in his hometown. There was a tendency for francophone Swiss artists to leave for France during the war, where some like the poet and fellow resident of La Chaux-de-Fonds, Blaise Cendras, volunteered for the French Foreign Legion. Le Corbusier's flirtation with this trend can be seen in his letters to Wilhelm Ritter, where he implied his own involvement with the French army, describing them as "a marvel, nothing could be finer".[4] This was pure fantasy, for he was never in the French military, and his poor eyesight made him ineligible for Swiss military service. It does, however, reveal how strong a hold his francophone Swiss context had on him, as well as his propensity to romanticize his past. The *Inventory of Swiss Architecture* (Vol. 3 1982: 129) highlights the arrival of French and Belgian refugees, and not the outbreak of war, as the key event in Le Corbusier's hometown in 1914. Not being eligible for military service allowed Le Corbusier to witness the arrival of civilian refugees to La Chaux-de-Fonds. The diary entries of Le Corbusier's father[5] show great empathy with the Belgian and French refugees he had met in La Chaux-de-Fonds, and he documented the human suffering inflicted on these civilians as they fled the violence of August 1914. Le Corbusier's childhood friend, the engineer Max du Bois, was

3 FC 1910: R3.18.1–3.
4 FC 1914: R3.18.357–361.
5 BVCF 6 November 1915, 2 December 1915 and 1916.

from Le Locle, outside La Chaux-de-Fonds. As co-creator of the *Dom-ino* system, du Bois would have also witnessed the plight of these refugees, ravaged by the forces of destruction and left suddenly homeless. It is this context that Le Corbusier ignored in his *L'Œuvre complète*, published in 1929, when he explained the *Dom-ino* System and the ideological shift it represented as simply a "flash of unexpected insight". One could argue this propheticism had its roots in the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, which Le Corbusier grew up with. The reality, however, was much simpler. Given Le Corbusier's capacity for self-promotion (ignoring Max du Bois's role, for example) and his tendency to romanticize his artistic evolution, the main catalyst for the development of the *Dom-ino* system, however innovative, was more a practical solution to the problem faced by his town than an unanticipated stroke of genius. Indeed, Le Corbusier's phrase, "éclairs inattendus", was not invented by him, but used by his francophone Swiss compatriot Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1792: 173), which Le Corbusier read and Rousseau had written in Le Corbusier's home canton of Neuchâtel. Indeed Adolf Max Vogt's analysis (1998: 339) goes so far as to say that Le Corbusier identified with Rousseau's sense of persecution and saw himself as also a *poète-martyr*.

According to H. Allen Brooks (1997: 381), "Unlike Germanic Switzerland" local sympathies in La Chaux-de-Fonds "lay solidly on the side of France". Le Corbusier's father described his neighbour's disapproval of the decision by Le Corbusier's brother, Albert Jeanneret, to study music at Freiburg University, Germany during August 1914.[6] It is also significant that, according to Jean-Louis Cohen's analysis, after 1914 Le Corbusier showed a reluctance to reply in German to his German correspondence. Le Corbusier's analytical writing during this period is also reflective of his Swiss context. Le Corbusier's unpublished commentary *France ou Allemagne?*[7] argued that French artistic pre-eminence, as opposed to German, exerted a greater influence on the development of modern art. This type of analysis was typical of Swiss general opinion during the first year of the war, which argued about the war in cultural terms (Böschenstein 1971: 50). Indeed it was even noted as a phenomenon by the Swiss ambassador to the French Prime Minister Viviani.[8] It was a debate which was not always delineated along linguistic lines. For example, the germanophone broadsheet *Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ* 16 August 1914) advocated Descartes and French rationalism over the likes of Hegel and German romanticism in its report on the German invasion of Belgium. But for most commentators, like Romain Rolland, the distinction between the allegiances of both communities regarding the issue could hardly have been clearer. On 16th August, Rolland declared (Rolland 1952: 37), "All French Switzerland is enraged against the Germans". Bearing this in mind, the Belgian representative in Switzerland, Emile Waxweiler advised

6 BVCF Diary 6 November 1915, 2 December 1915 and 1916.

7 FC 20.110.

8 ADCP Viviani 1914.357.

the Belgian propaganda mission to best present the invasion of neutral Belgium in Switzerland as an "offering - a holocaust for Latin civilisation?"[9]

While the invasion of Belgium was the key event of the war for both father and son, the focus of Le Corbusier's concern was in stark contrast to that of his father's. The outbreak of the war and the influx of Belgian and French refugees into La Chaux-de-Fonds would seem to have been the catalyst for Le Corbusier's interest in social housing, urban reconstruction and planning. According to H. Allen Brooks (1997: 382), "The war's devastation stirred [Le Corbusier] profoundly; less for its human loss than its destruction of buildings". He wrote in his correspondence with Ritter,[10] "I'm profoundly disturbed by the spectacle of these fallen stones. Reims destroyed. […] hurled to the ground by a pig named Wilhelm or Kronprinz". The laying waste of Reims Cathedral was, for Le Corbusier, a nightmare (Allen Brooks 1997: 382). The ruin of so many workers' and farmers' homes in Belgium he declared in his diary (Ibidem) as "a great opportunity". Research into Le Corbusier's reaction to the outbreak of the First World War would seem to suggest that Switzerland and Swiss national identity helped to shape Le Corbusier's development as an architect. It is a narrative which can be most clearly seen in his exhibition architecture during the period.

INTER-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

The *Pavilion de l'ésprit nouveau* of 1925 was designed primarily as an architectural prototype by Le Corbusier for the Paris-based International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts. It was perhaps the most public expression of Le Corbusier's new development since the war. Constructed as an annex to the main pavilion exhibition space, the walls of the pavilion were adorned with pictures and representations of Le Corbusier's urban plans. One of these pictures was the *plan voisin*. It was a proposal for the redesign of central Paris, which, on the one hand, outlined Le Corbusier's vision of the modern city and the "new spirit" of the people who would live in it. On the other, it was also a critique of the historic centre within which the exhibition was based – proposing the demolition and redevelopment of six hundred acres of Paris. These *voisin* plans hung like the typical landscape scene that may have been found in the typical bourgeois villas Le Corbusier had originally focused on in the pre-war period. Indeed, Le Corbusier's designs for the city borrow from the Swiss idyll of stillness and quiet. In a way, the rural is relocated to the city. The language Le Corbusier (Martin, Nicholson, Gabo 1971: 70) used was reminiscent of the alpine surroundings where he grew up: "Imagine all this junk [...] carted away and replaced by immense clear crystals of glass rising to a height of over 600 feet; each at a good distance from the next and all standing with their

9 AGRB Waxweiler 1914: 2.
10 FC 1914: R3-18-357-361.

bases set among trees". Alpine imagery often featured directly in Le Corbusier's commentary and analysis. For example, introducing his line of furniture, exhibited at the *Salon d'Automne* in Paris, Le Corbusier (1925) cited the alpine landscape as his inspiration: "On Sundays we often gathered at the summit of the highest mountain. Peaks and gently sloping banks; pastures, herds of large animals and infinite horizons, flights of crows. We prepared for the future." Silence is a bias in both history and art history, so when the pavilion was said to have been attributed to the cells of the Galluzzo Charterhouse in Val d'Ema near Florence, this comparison seems less valid than the more direct influences which existed closer to home.

By the end of the war, Le Corbusier was a permanent resident in France, but as his voluminous letters to his mother in La Chaux-de-Fonds testify, he remained in contact with and continued to seek acceptance in his homeland. A perceived French-German cultural divide, still expressed among Swiss public opinion, continued to exert a presence in Le Corbusier's commentary and writings. In 1937, his contribution to the anthology *CIRCLE: International Survey of Constructive Art*, titled "*The Quarrel with Realism*", reacted to Wilhelm Worringer's distinction between abstraction and empathy by describing French art as "the most realistic for being empathy-based, and therefore better suited [than German art] for the development of a new monumentality internationally" (Moravánszky 2011: 10). This growing gulf between francophone and germanophone identity and allegiance, greatly disturbed the political establishment, in particular the germanophone members, and encouraged a public campaign which sought to foment unity. This campaign had its precedent in Swiss national exhibition architecture. After Geneva joined the Swiss confederation, a national exhibition was held there in 1896. It presented a series of Swiss exhibition villages which were to be taken as representing the nation. These exhibition villages were built with examples of rural architecture chosen from all over the country, and took place in an artificial countryside landscape with mountains, waterfalls, real cows, real farmers and craftsmen. This kind of village was reproduced again in 1914 in Bern, and once more for the 1939 exhibition in Zurich. Situated in this broader historical context, it could be said that Le Corbusier's *r*éorganisation agraire, ferme et village radieux of 1938 could also be seen as an ironic commentary on or internationalist interpretation of the Swiss tradition of the "Swiss Village", which was created to represent the nation at these various internal National Swiss Exhibitions.

1939 LANDI-EXHIBITION

The fifth Swiss National Exhibition *(Fig. 1)* (Landi), held in Zurich *(Fig. 2)* in 1939, particularly embodied the Swiss nationalist policy of *Geistige Landesverteidigung* (Spiritual Defence).[11] Though it was never articulated and defined as *Geistige*

11 *Bundesblatt* 90. Bd.2 1938: 985–1053.

Fig. 1. The left-bank location of the exhibition, Swissair-Foto, May 1939

Fig. 2. The right-bank location of the exhibition, Swissair-Foto, May 1939

Landesverteidigung before the 1930s, the concept of defining the Swiss national identity as superior to cantonal identity had its roots in the Swiss reaction to the First World War (Gallagher 2014: 14–44, 144–170). By 1939, the concept found expression in the formation of new institutions, such as *Pro Helvetia* and *Heer und Haus* (Army and Home), and in the popular films produced by the Swiss movie industry, of which *Füsilier Wipf* (1938) was a prime example. The defining features of the concept – self-sufficiency, Swiss unity and exceptionalism – found expression in architectural design and planning during World War I and in the interwar period. For example, the practical implications of economic deprivation, experienced by the Swiss population during and after World War I, came to dictate trends in landscape architecture. According to Udo Weilacher (2012), landscape

Fig. 3. Entrance to a typical Dörfli Village Exhibition, 1939

Fig. 4. View of Zurich from the exhibition cable car across Lake Zurich

architectural trends during this period sought to "enhance self-sufficiency, facilitate emotional convalescence and [as a result] contribute to preventative health care". A new reform movement in garden design, spearheaded by the Swiss Association of Craftsmen, also displayed these trends at the 1918 Werkbund exhibition in Zurich. In Switzerland, the *Heimatstil* (homeland style) trend dovetailed with international modernism, but in their own way, both remained expressions of self-sufficiency, unity and exceptionalism, albeit interpreted through the prism of Swiss nationalism and internationalist modernism. For example, the Neubuhl housing development in Zurich–Wollishofen, built between 1928 and 1932, by Gustav Ammann, displayed a more modern, international trend in Swiss architecture, which also implemented these other trends on a wider scale.

Though the *Heimatstil*, whose alpine villages (*Dörfli*) *(Fig. 3)* defined the Exhibition of 1939, was crudely nationalistic in general, there remained some internationalist influence. According to Ákos Moravánszky (2011: 4) the 1939 Exhibition drew parallels with the Stockholm Exhibition of 1930 in the way it aimed to "integrate […] modern design with advanced technology with a colourful, light and elegant appearance." Peter Meyer, a well-known Swiss architect and critic, argued in debates during its early organization that the exhibition should be situated on the shoreline of Lake Zurich *(Fig. 4),* as this narrow piece of land would prevent the construction of "monumental axial compositions". Moravánszky alludes to the fact that this may have been a reference to the exclusion of Le Corbusier from the exhibition. However, the same anti-monumentalism,

Fig. 5. Exhibition mural depicting the defence of Switzerland in 1914

Fig. 6. Military Readiness, Hans Brandenberger

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Fig. 7. The inauguration of the exhibition, military procession with architect, 1939

which could be interpreted as being against Le Corbusier, might just as easily be construed as anti-fascist. For the germanophone Swiss, who saw themselves as exceptional and distinct from their francophone compatriots, being anti-internationalist, anti-French and anti-German was no contradiction. The francophone community, meanwhile, were comfortable espousing the cultural and artistic affinity and virtues of France. The dominant role of the Swiss military pavilions in the 1939 exhibition *(Fig. 5)* emphasized the exhibition's purpose as a pre-war exercise in Swiss nation-building *(Fig. 6)* and Swiss mobilization. *(Fig. 7)* Swiss national exhibitions were primarily for internal consumption, but as Armin Meili, director of the exhibition, declared this exhibition also aimed to convey a message to non-Swiss people:[12] "give the Swiss people new courage and instil in foreigners new respect for our little land-locked country". The *Heimatstil* presented was interpreted as a form of this defence – in particular germanophone Swiss nationalism asserting its difference from German nationalism. Max Frisch's analysis of the 1939 exhibition concluded (1970: 7), "The architecture was dinky. This was our defiant stance against the barbaric monumentalism of the Third Reich. It was dinky, no continuation of the Bauhaus style, no trace of Le Corbusier. An immaculate Switzerland, as healthy as her cows." Armin Meili agreed, Le Corbusier was pointedly not invited and the "architecture of the village" became the main architectural model for the exhibition (Moravánszky 2011: 11). However, such nuances seemed to escape the very people who the germanophone Swiss were trying to distinguish themselves from, and the Nazi delegation praised the exhibition. The organizers were keen to point out that, while the titles of the main exhibitions – *Heimat und Volk* (*Homeland and Nation*) and *Wehrwille* (*Military Will*) – may appear to echo the militant nationalism of

12 SAZ Meili 18 February 1937Akt.O59: 2.

the Third Reich, Otto Baumburger's mural *In Labore Pax* (*Through work Peace*) and the *Gelöbnis* (*Oath*) exhibit emphasized a nationalistic ideology that stood apart from its neighbours.

The exhibition was located on opposite sides of Lake Zurich, which were connected by a cable car across the lake. *(Fig. 4)* The main entrance to the exhibition was on the left (*Enge*) bank of the lake. *(Fig. 1)* Here, the focus was on the heritage of Swiss defence, Swiss unity, and Swiss commerce. The right (*Riesbach*) bank focused on food and culture, with a variety of cuisine and beverage houses, chosen to represent Swiss diversity (2). A series of three Swissair flights, taking in most capital cities within the radius of Cairo, Helsinki, London and Barcelona, sought to publicize Swiss exceptionalism and the exhibition itself. These promotional flights concentrated particularly on Berlin and Rome, as part of the official campaign against pan-Germanism and pan-Italianism, but also on Brussels and Antwerp, where the emphasis was on Switzerland's multilingual identity. Such plurality, however, was not reflected in the selection process to choose which Swiss architects would exhibit. Meili's rejection and denouncement of Le Corbusier as "anationalist" was indicative of the narrow, mainly germanophone, interpretation of Swiss national identity, which the exhibition would represent and promote. *(Fig. 8)*

While the faux traditionalism, insularity and conservatism of the *Heimatstil* dominated, two buildings in particular championed a different narrative. The PTT (Post, Telephone and Telegram) Pavilion *(Fig. 9)* and the Aluminium building *(Fig. 10)* were exceptional exemplars of the international style represented by

Fig. 8. Yard of the Folk Costume Exhibition Pavilion, 1939. Caption "The Homeland can be found in the Tracht", 1939. Tracht refers to Germanophone National Costume, (Lederhosen, Dirndl/Tracht) common in Bavaria, Austria and Switzerland

Fig. 9. PTT Pavilion, 1939, L. Beringe, Zurich, Foto-Rotation W. Pleyer, Zurich

Fig. 10. Aluminium Pavilion, Architect Jos. Schütz, BSA Zurich, Photographer Louis Beringer, 1939

such absent national architects as Le Corbusier and Hannes Meyer. The wooden skeletal constructions of the exhibition's overall chief architect, Hans Hoffmann, also contained many elements of *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Their presence alongside the *Dörfli* villages reflected the tension which existed between perceived tradition and modernity throughout Swiss architecture in the 1930s. Intriguingly, public support for Le Corbusier, expressed among the francophone press during this period, suggested that an intriguing counter-narrative ran in parallel, which contradicted the image of national unity presented by the germanophone organizers of the exhibition of 1939.

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TELL-ING ECHOES OF THE MOTHERLAND

In 1964, the year before he died, Le Corbusier's reflections on his early years in Switzerland coincided with general acknowledgment of his life and work in Switzerland. There was a large exhibition of his work in 1964 in his hometown, La Chaux-de-Fonds, titled *De Léopold Robert à le Corbusier* (From Léopold Robert to Le Corbusier). Léopold Robert was the name of the town's central avenue. It was where Corbusier lived between the age of six and nineteen. It was also the name of the town's most famous artist, who left Switzerland to find fame in France and whose work inspired not just fellow artists but writers like Victor Hugo, Lamartine

Fig. 11. Heidi Weber Museum, Centre Le Corbusier, Zurich, Switzerland, 1967

Fig. 12. Neuchâtel Pub, Architect S. P. Vouga, 1939, The Hans Hirt Collection, Thalwil, 1939

Fig. 13. A young woman at a fountain outside the Fribourg Wine Restaurant, Photographer Louis Beringer, 1939

and Dumas. It was the ultimate honour and it rehabilitated Le Corbusier's image as one of the town's beloved sons. The fact that Le Corbusier had grown up on the avenue named after Robert seemed fortuitous. The title of the exhibition itself alluded to notions of destiny with an ominous parallel, which Le Corbusier must have been aware of, as Robert also committed suicide, in the autumn of 1835 (Le Corbusier in *L'Impartial*, 4 October 1965).

This reflection on his formative years included the revisiting of key designs related to his homeland, and perhaps even the reworking of Swiss influences during his early career in the 1920s and 1930s. Le Corbusier's design, in 1964, for the ambassador's house at the French Embassy in Brasilia was "conceived […] as an exceptionally handsome elaboration of the *Pavilion de l'Esprit Nouveau*" (Fox Weber 2008: 760). It is, however, Le Corbusier's final building, the *Centre Le Corbusier* or the Heidi Weber Museum *(Fig. 11),* which reveals this hidden narrative of Swiss identity and Le Corbusier's desire for acceptance. Finished two years after his death, this edifice stands in the same Seefeld Quarter where the Zurich Landi Exhibition was held in 1939. While the exhibition on the left bank of the lake was designed to celebrate Swiss unity *(Fig. 1),* the right-bank aimed to salute its diversity. *(Fig. 2)* The building overlooks the site where the PTT (Post, Telegram and Telephone) exhibition pavilion, attributed to Frida and Werner Allenbach-Meier, and the Aluminium Building once stood in 1939. The "free-floating" prefabricated roof designed by Le Corbusier to protect the museum from the sun and the rain, seems to echo the design and construction of the roofs of both the PTT building *(Fig. 9)* and the Aluminium Building. *(Fig. 10)* In adopting the similar "free-floating" roof was this a wry assertion of his achieved national acceptance? Today the *Centre Le Corbusier* is located on the side of the lake the exhibition organisers chose to

represent Swiss national diversity, primarily through a series of wine bars *(Fig. 12)* and restaurants, *(Fig. 13)* and exhibitions of cantonal folk costumes *(Fig. 8)*. The site itself is now located on what was the Trade and Propaganda Pavilion, which introduced these wine and folk exhibition villages. It stands roughly 200 meters from where Le Corbusier's home canton of Neuchâtel was represented, as a wine bar *(Fig. 12),* which in turn was situated beside an abstinence bar called "Zum rote Öpfel" (At the Red Apple). The symbolism of Öpfel (apple) in both French and German is significant, for the term was used generically for all foreign fruit. To illustrate how the word was used, the Swiss German word for the foreign tuber, potato, is *Erdöpfel* (earth apple), *pomme de terre* (apple of the earth) in French. Le Corbusier, like any Swiss citizen, would have been aware of the significance of the apple in the founding myth of Switzerland: Wilhelm Tell was persecuted for resisting tyrannical oppression, but through his ingenuity and skill he triumphed, saving his son and legacy by shooting an apple from his progeny's head. It is hard not to draw parallels with the context and irony represented by the location of the *Centre Le Corbusier*. It is easy to imagine that the symbolism in all this is something that Le Corbusier himself would have appreciated.

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Marta Filipová

Ephemeral Ideologies. Exhibitions and the Politics of Display, 1891–1958

Exhibitions, whether regional, national or international, played a vital role in promoting political ideas and ideologies from their very onset across the globe. Comparing exhibitions in different historical settings raises questions about exhibitions as a political medium and their relationship to the ever-changing political systems. National and international exhibitions were important, yet "ephemeral" events which played a major role in creating political ideas about nations, states and peoples. The rest of the world could enjoy the tangible exhibits on display, specific pavilions and events associated with the exhibitions while absorbing the intangible ideological messages they were conveying.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the Czech speaking lands of Bohemia and later Czechoslovakia underwent fundamental political changes. From one of the regions of the Habsburg Monarchy administered by Austria and the democratic republic of Czechoslovakia created in 1918, they were transformed into a communist state under a direct influence of the Soviet Union after the Second World War and eventually returned to democracy in 1989. Under all of these political circumstances, which produced specific ideological environments, exhibitions with national and international ambitions were organised in the Czech speaking lands while Czechoslovakia participated in a number of world's fairs. The turbulent history and the changing political regimes of Central Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth century make exhibitions in this geographical location particularly interesting case studies. They show how exhibitions responded to external ideological influences and what effect these had on the contents, agendas and motivations of the events. This chapter therefore examines such responses using the example of exhibitions organised by the Czechs or with a Czech (and Slovak) participation.

EXHIBITING A NEW OLD NATION

Even though the exhibition history in Bohemia dates back to the end of the eighteenth century and the industrial exhibitions of 1791 in Prague, the first major event, organized in the capital, took place in 1891 (Noback 1873; *Paměti* 1890). At this time, the Czech-speaking lands, a part of Austria-Hungary, were in the middle of the national revival aimed at cultural, linguistic and political renewal of the Czechs. Partly motivated by the strong presence of the German minority in Bohemia, the Czech leaders of the revival, including politicians, journalists, artists

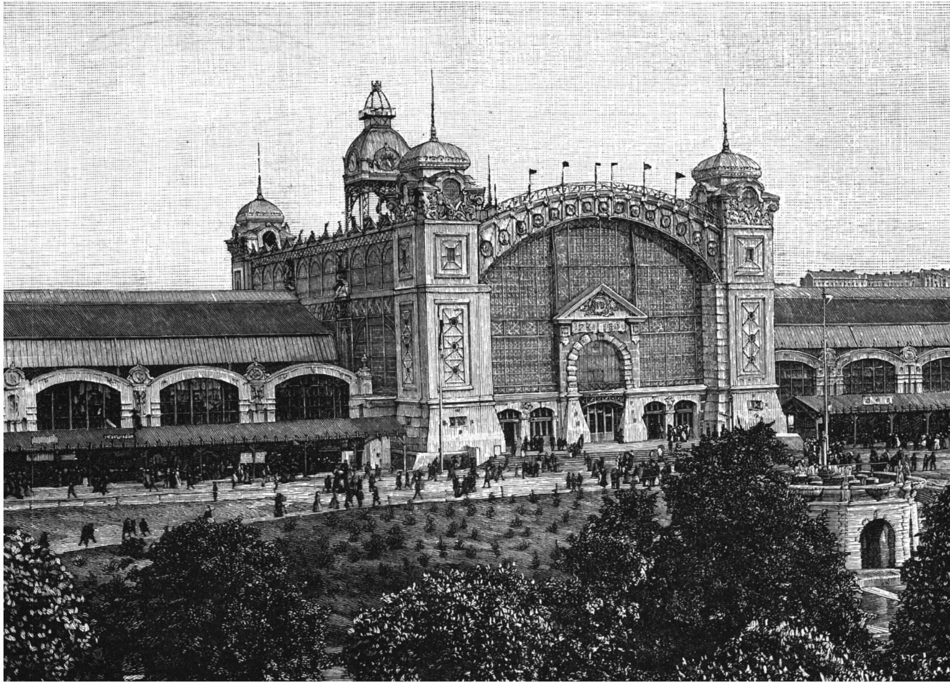

Fig. 1. Palace of Industry, The Jubilee Exhibition 1891

and scholars, had been striving for political autonomy as well as Czech institutions during the nineteenth century (Agnew 2004; Marek 2004; Sayer 1998; Holý 1996).

The Jubilee Regional Exhibition *(Fig. 1)* was a presentation of industries, culture and life in Bohemia that was built up in the Royal Game Preserve, which eventually became a permanent exhibition ground (Janatková 2008; Albrecht 1993). The idea to organize an exhibition of this scope and content was inspired to a great extent by the Parisian *Exposition Universelle* of 1889. The Club of Czech Tourists, a patriotic organization, sent out a group of nearly 400 people to visit the *exposition* (Kurz 1891). They came back with suggestions for a Czech version that would replicate the event in Paris on a smaller scale, and this even included a construction of a miniature Eiffel tower on the hill of Petřín – the 60m high lookout tower.

The exhibition put emphasis on the genuinely Czech character of the presented industries and arts, which was, however, an attribute that only fully developed during the preparatory works and after the exhibition was opened. Originally, the exhibition was intended to bring together the main ethnic groups living in the Czech lands of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, therefore Bohemian Germans too. But as it happened so often at this time, the organization was influenced by nationalism that dominated politics in Bohemia and Austria-Hungary. Although the German minority of the Czech lands was invited to take part in this event,

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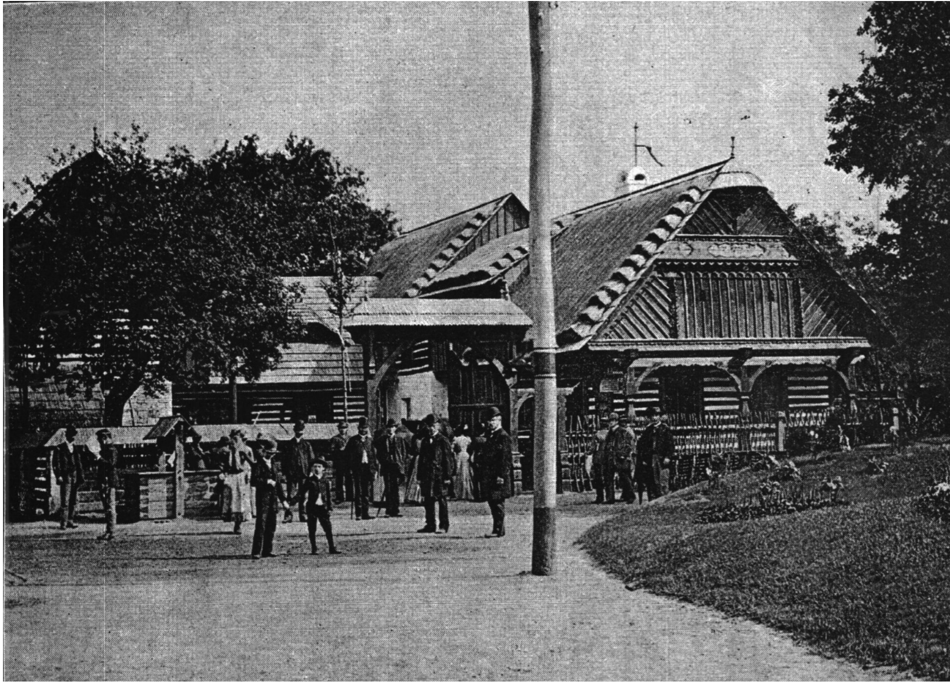

Fig. 2. Czech village house at the Prague Jubilee Exhibition (1891)

due to the growing political tensions that were leading to a polarisation of the two communities, the Bohemian Germans refused to participate. The entire exhibition consequently became a celebration of Czech nationalism and the impact of the six-month-long event on nation's self-awareness was immense (Albrecht, 101–118).

The exhibition ground comprised the pavilions displaying "the best of" Bohemia in an eclectic mixture of architectural references - the main Industrial Palace, for instance, used a combination of motives of Secession and historicising architecture, a classicist building to house fine arts, a pavilion of the paper industries with exotic references to Egyptian motives, or romanticised pavilion of the Czech tourists (Janatková 2008).

The promotion and praise of Czech culture was, however, most evident in the display of folk art and culture in the so-called "Czech Village House", designed by the architect Antonín Wiehl upon consultation with Czech ethnographers and writers, including Čeněk Zíbrt, Alois Jirásek and Renáta Tyršová. *(Fig. 2)* In a way similar to the ethnographic village of Vienna's Weltausstellung in 1873, it became a fusion and an imitation of real village buildings. It was also equipped with figurines which represented the diverse types of the people, and attempted to portray their facial features, body postures and their "peculiar costumes" (Vykoukal 2007: 9). The country folk were portrayed as curious, bizarre and primitive but also as retaining the original forms of Czech cultural and artistic life.

For a long time, folk culture had been understood by a number of scholars across Central Europe as an important player in the recovery of the nations. Its elements, including material objects, costumes, songs, tales and customs, were collected and described from the early nineteenth century onwards as a part of the search for the national roots. This became a political programme of the Czech intelligentsia in Bohemia too and folk culture was framed with an ideological agenda (Jančár, Krist 2007: 9). Whereas high culture had been for a long time claimed by the middle-class Bohemian Germans, a practice disputed by the Czechs, the latter also started to study the "low culture" of the villages as associated with genuine "Czechness". In the second half of the century, Czech cultural events were organized to promote the vision of the people as the "repository of identity and seat of patriotism" (Sayer: 119).

The Jubilee exhibition put lot of emphasis on the homogenous quality of folk culture and its close connection with the concept of nation. Such appreciation of the uniqueness and authenticity of folk art and culture soon materialized in a number of exclusively ethnographic exhibitions held across Bohemia and Moravia which showcased the peasants as a specific strata of the nation which preserved the original Czech traditions and heritage.

Fig. 3. The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition 1895, poster

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In 1895, the largest of these ethnographic exhibitions was organized in Prague on the same site as the Jubilee Exhibition. The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition *(Fig. 3)* introduced various regional cultures of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia [politically Upper-Hungary until 1918], and presented folk culture both as a static display in the cabinets of the Ethnographic Palace, and as living exhibits in the Exhibition Village. The main aim of the Ethnographic Exhibition – according to the organizers – was to explore "the entire original life of the Czech people and preserve its image", to show the genuine and historical national culture independent of German influences, and educate the Czechs and the "world about the nation's originality, character and strengths" (Kovář 1891: 532).

The various village buildings – including a smithy, mill, school, church and of course a pub and a distillery – were designed by the architects Dušan Jurkovič (1867–1947), Jan Koula (1855–1919) and the ethnographer Josef Klvaňa (1857–1919) and others, who were all active in collecting and preserving elements of folk culture through their practical or theoretical work. At the Ethnographic Exhibition, these elements were modified to suit the motivations of the organizers and the needs of the visitors. Such was the case with, for instance, the blacksmith's house, designed by Koula in imitation of ancient village smithies. Practicalities, nevertheless, forced him to design a special doorway on the left [of the house], through which the numerous visitors, who entered through the main door, could leave. Also, for practical reasons, the usual position of the smith's flat in the house was transformed into an exhibition room, in which the smith's old tools and products were displayed.

Exhibitions that displayed what was understood as primitive culture were illusions in which the local bourgeoisie could identify the peasant and folk art with the remnants of its own origins on the one hand and as a symbol of its increasingly cultured civilisation on the other. Village architecture, inserted into the urbanized environment of the exhibition space, played a great part in this ideological construction as it became an imitation and a purposeful adaptation of "real buildings".

From a political point of view, Czech culture was shown at both exhibitions of the 1890s as independent from German influences in an attempt to emphasise the cultural and artistic emancipation of the Czechs. The search for the nation's roots, found in traditional art, architecture and culture of Czech villages, thus closely reflected the mobilization of national consciousness in Czech society of the end of the 19th century.

THE PERSISTENCE OF FOLK MOTIVES

These exhibitions, however, did not present any radical political claims for independence from Austria-Hungary and remained rather loyal to the idea of the Habsburg Monarchy in which Czechs would be recognized as an ethnic group

with more autonomy. After the collapse of the Dual Monarchy in 1918, however, the political re-composition of Central Europe brought a fresh need to present the new political entities as politically independent, economically self-sufficient, yet historically and culturally justified and became a great opportunity to achieve such goals at exhibitions both at home and abroad.

A participation of the new states at international exhibitions became especially crucial for constructing such an image. Czechoslovakia, for example, took part in an international exhibition in Rio de Janeiro in 1922, only four years after its creation, as one of the 13 states from abroad. The Centenary Exhibition to celebrate Brazil's independence from Portugal became an opportunity for the Brazilian organizer to promote the nation's modernity, republican government, economic recovery and future trading opportunity (Rezende 2015). Czechoslovakia also showcased their products for reasons that were officially advertised by the Czechoslovak government as "purely economic" (Turnovský 1923: 6). These economic benefits, however, were accompanied by a more political motivated intention of the government to put the new state of Czechoslovakia on the world map through the participation in this type of international contest. As the "only state from the entire Central Europe", the place next to a limited number of foreign exhibits of for example the United States, Japan, Portugal, Great Britain and France, became particularly meaningful (Ibidem).

However, the modernisation of Czechoslovakia, which was being formed urgently after the end of WWI, and demonstrated in for example rapid industrialization, the conscious alliances with the western powers – especially France, USA and Great Britain – or an embrace of modernist art, was displayed at this exhibition in a pavilion with distinctive references to folk culture. Designed by the architect Pavel Janák and Josef Pytlík the vernacular motives were derived from for example floral ornaments and bright colouring used in folk decoration in villages across Czechoslovakia.

While this choice may be seen as a purely aesthetic one, especially in the light of the more progressive architectural trends that were already established in Czechoslovakia at the time, at the same time it can be understood as an intentional reference to Czech (rather than Slovak) folk tradition (Hnídková 2010; Hubatová-Vacková 2011). Vernacular architectural motives penetrated Czech architecture and design around this time on a large scale and a number of architects used what is often referred to as a "national style" to reinvent the visual arts of the new state. Janák's Adria Palace in Prague (1922–1923) or his crematorium in Pardubice (1922–1923), as well as Josef Gočár's bank of the Czechoslovak Legions in Prague (1923) *(Fig. 4)* are a few examples of the mainly official buildings that subscribed to such folklore-inspired decorativism.

Fig. 4. Josef Gočár, Bank of the Czechoslovak Legions in Prague, 1923

The tendencies to incorporate folk culture in the Czechoslovak modernist project, however, were put aside in the late 1920s. Czechoslovakia, formed in 1918 as a joint state of the Czechs and Slovaks gradually turned away from the nationalism of the previous century to the vision of a democratic republic based on a future-oriented vision. Such ideological motivations, most visible in the politics of President Masaryk and the government, influenced the setting up of the largest interwar exhibition that took place in 1928 in the second largest city of the state, Brno in the region of Moravia (Hnídková 2010; Orzoff 2009).

DEMOCRACY ON DISPLAY

The main aim of the Exhibition of Contemporary Culture *(Fig. 5)* was to celebrate the cultural, technical, economic and social achievements of the past ten years in independent Czechoslovakia. The choice of Brno to host this exhibition was a conscious step towards acknowledging the new composition of the state: Brno was in the middle of the Czech and Slovak regions and as such was now put into the role of "a bridge between east and west," a role that was only a few decades earlier Vienna claimed to play (Rampley 2011: 111). According to the official proclamations

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by the Czech organizers and various commentators, both Brno and the exhibition thus aimed to "emphasise the excellent position of the young Czechoslovak state in the centre of the European culture and civilization," as was stated at the opening (Pluhař 1928: 1; Giustino 2010).

The exhibition was also designed to fit into the character of Brno as a modern and modernist city. In architectural terms, interwar Brno is recognized by art and architecture historians as an important hub of functionalism and internationalism – it is not only the home of Mies van der Rohe's villa Tugendhat, completed in 1931, but also of a number of other modernist private or public buildings in the city centre and residential neighbourhoods designed by for instance Bohuslav Fuchs, Emil Králík, Josef Kranz, and Ernst Wiesner (Kudělka, Chatrný 2000; Müller 2002; Pelčák 2011). The fair ground which was to host the Exhibition and its pavilions originated from the same architects that created the new image of the city.

The main exhibition building, the Palace of Trade and Industry, was designed as a central rotunda with arched aisles in reinforced concrete and glass, to house the sciences, spiritual and technical exhibits, higher and secondary education, applied arts and fine art. *(Fig. 6)* There were also pavilions with exhibits by individual cities, including Brno and Prague, a Moravian Pavilion or the anthropological pavilion of Dr Absolon, entitled *Man and the Mankind*, which housed a replica of a 5m tall mammoth. Understood as a symbol of evolution, even the mammoth fitted the image of a science-oriented and pragmatic exhibition and the state (*Výstava:* 96).

Fig. 5. The Exhibition of Contemporary Culture in Czechoslovakia, 1928, poster

Fig. 6. The Main Exhibition Hall, The Exhibition of Contemporary Culture in Czechoslovakia, postcard

In an attempt to address contemporary social and economic needs, a number of buildings on the exhibition ground served as show-houses that should help and solve the current housing crisis in Czechoslovakia. The concrete solutions to living and housing at the Brno exhibition were also accompanied by the extensive development of a site near the exhibition. The so-called New House colony, over the hill from the exhibition ground, became another example of how architects tried to react to the current needs of housing (Starý 1928–1929: 97–103; Václavek, Rosmann 1928; Kudělka et al. 2000). Inspired by the Weissenhoff estate in Stuttgart built by e.g. Miese van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius at the occasion of Die Wohnung exhibition a year earlier (Ruller 2002: 16), the sixteen family homes with open spaces and terraces in Brno also subscribed to the ideas of functionalism which was also extensively present at the exhibition. By showcasing possible answer to the economic or social problems, the exhibition related itself to the current situation in the state, much more than any of the previous events in Central Europe which more or less created an idealised and intended reading of the world.

As forward looking and future-oriented ideology dominated the exhibition, folk culture, so distinctively present at the previous exhibitions, was radically reduced in Brno. Only few exhibits in the Regional Moravian Museum's exposition recalled the existence of peasantry and traditional ways of life or agriculture. Instead, a futuristic electrified farmhouse was built here and was equipped with electric

milking machines, a modern compost pit, a potato-peeling machine and dish-washer in the kitchen. Finally, the cellar featured an electrified distillery.

EXHIBITING BRIGHT FUTURES

As is clear from the examples of events organized in the periods of the national revival and the new democratic state, national and international exhibitions were under direct or indirect influence of the political milieu in which they took place. The politically and ideologically tense climate after the Second World War, however, created a new environment for world's fairs and expos that followed the tradition of the earlier universal and international exhibitions. The Brussels Expo of 1958 is a frequent and favourite example for many researchers who focus on exhibition cultures and exhibition mechanisms because it highlights the fact that exhibitions were indeed susceptible to the world politics, but also the fact that they often tried to create an independent environment outside of the political systems.

Even though main theme of the Expo '58 tried to avoid anything suggesting conflict and rather referred to the more generic international reconciliation and humanism for modern times, the event was still a comparison and competition between individual states or rather, between the Cold War's East and West. In this environment, the Czechoslovak pavilion and its expositions received special attention for their ability to combine elements of progressive and traditional display.

Apart from the obligatory showcases of industries and trade, the Czechoslovak entry consisted of displays of design directly recalling the legacy of interwar modernism. This so-called Thaw Modernism of the Khrushchev era was, nevertheless, marked by a contradiction in that it tried to create a modern civilization that differed from western capitalism, while it also accepted models and norms from the global western modernity (Crowley 2000: 145; Péteri 2004: 114). The Czechoslovak state apparatus adopted a western, modern the exhibition model to promote the products of its socialist manufactures and studios.

The pavilion was designed by a team of architects (František Cubr, Josef Hrubý, Zdeněk Pokorný) on the principles of functionalist architecture *(Fig. 7)*. The design was not radical – the clear cubic forms of large glassed areas were combined with a prefabricated façade. In many respects, the more striking part was the interior disposition, designed as a continuing walk through the exposition with an abundance of visual stimuli of different kinds. The architecture of the restaurant, a self-sufficient pavilion that was subsequently moved to Prague, was more inventive with its design of a glass box floating on thin pillars (Havránek et al 2008; Benešová, Šimůnková 2008).

Fig. 7. The Czechoslovak Pavilion, Expo 58. Photograph

The content of the exposition was devised by the architect Jindřich Santar and the artist/writer Adolf Hoffmeister as *One day in Czechoslovakia.* This was a presentation of the everyday life in the state, which consisted of work, time off and culture. Hoffmeister was conscious that Czechoslovakia cannot compete in size or quantity with the largest exhibitors like the USA and the Soviet Union and focused rather on inventiveness and originality (Ibidem: 68). Generally, artistic and cultural exhibits played probably the most crucial role, yet Hoffmeister put emphasis on applied arts, especially glass, and argued against the inclusion of contemporary fine art, which he saw as "in contrast with the western concept and potentially open to harsh criticism" (Ibidem: 69). The most popular proved to be the Magic Lantern, which combined cinematic images and live performances, and the so-called polyecran, a multiscreen filmic projection that created a visual collage.

Despite the comments of the Czechoslovak Communist party officials about the lack of references in the exposition to the "socialist character" of the state and its working class ideological foundations, the interventions into the concept and architecture from the bureaucrats were minimal. As Santar noted, during the initial years of preparing the exhibition, when the designs were finalised, no one in the higher places took much notice of the preparation activities (Wanatowiczová 2008). At the same time, the pavilion was, indeed, not immune to the Communist ideology and contained texts of politicians and loyal poets and a few works of art that served as a reminder that socialist realism was still alive. In general though,

these were rather subdued and the predominant impression was more of an "illustration of the power of modern design" (Crowley 2012: 88–105). To recognize the pavilion's inventiveness, Czechoslovakia was awarded several prizes at the Expo, included the grand prix for the best exposition.

The fact that the Czechoslovak pavilion was so successful in Brussels suggest that despite the postwar political isolation from the West, artists and architects did not completely lose contact with the so-called western trends. Czechoslovak modern art and design, even though marginalized when compared to socialist realism, experienced a comeback in the late 1950s, especially after the political and cultural thaw of the Khrushchev era. It was therefore possible for the Czechoslovak pavilion to reconnect with the modernism of the interwar period, which was familiar to the international audiences and develop it in new directions. The display thus became a part of the socialist myth and a tool of political and cultural propaganda during the Cold War (Crowley 2000; McDonald 2010; Castillo 2010). The exterior and interior of the pavilion served as an expression of the communists' soft power, used to attract audiences (Nye 2004).

CONCLUSION

National, international and universal exhibitions that originated in the so-called west can be very much seen as a western phenomenon. However, adopted and modified in various geographical conditions across the world, they have acquired new meanings and agendas based on the ephemeral political environment that produced them.

Exhibitions organised in the Czech speaking lands before and those with Czechoslovak participation after the Second World War were influenced by the universal trends in exhibitions and the global politics. Yet the local and national circumstances of the time turned them into events with particular political significance – the two exhibitions in the 1890s focused on displaying folk culture in the way that suited the middle class image of what constituted authentic national traditions. These exhibitions were organized to increase awareness of such, often reinvented, Czech traditions in an environment full of cultural and political clashes with the German minority. In interwar Czechoslovakia, the democratic, pragmatic and modernist orientation of the state was highlighted in the exhibition of 1928. On display was a new vision for the republic as a nation integrated into the "west". And, the Czechoslovak pavilion at Expo 58 attempted to reconcile artistic freedom of inventive visual expressions with the communist political system, set in the environment of continuous political divisions of the Cold War. Yet even though these exhibitions were under the direct influence of the ideologies in which they originated, they also often created a world of their own – an idealised world of

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the past, present and future as it should be or as it could be, a world that was to disappear with dismantling of the exhibition.

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Fig. 3. The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition 1895, poster. Author's collection.

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Fig. 5. The Exhibition of Contemporary Culture in Czechoslovakia, 1928, poster. Author's collection.

Fig. 6. The Main Exhibition Hall, The Exhibition of Contemporary Culture in Czechoslovakia, postcard. Author's collection.

Fig. 7. The Czechoslovak Pavilion, Expo 58. Photograph. From Wikimedia commons.

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Petra Nováková

State Propaganda in the Background of the Czechoslovak Temporary Exhibition Displays at La Triennale di Milano, 1923–1968

The aim of this paper is to discuss the complexity of different approaches towards the architectural concepts of Czechoslovak temporary exhibition displays at La Triennale di Milano, the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts, between 1923 and 1968. All eight of the national presentations that took place during the above-mentioned timeframe were regarded as offering both an efficient way of artistic confrontation and an important representation of the state through political propaganda.

The examination of Czechoslovak temporary exhibition displays is based mainly on documents, sources and literature from the historical archives of the city of Milan, Monza and the Triennale of Milan.[1] These sources, especially diplomatic correspondence, enable us to follow the organization of Czechoslovak temporary exhibition displays, and have often helped to explain the approach of the Czechoslovak and Italian authorities towards the selection of works and artists and the architectonic installation of the show. To the author's best knowledge, many recent publications have addressed the general history of the Triennale of Milan, or have analyzed and compared various aspects of the triennial exhibitions. (Bassi, Riccini, Colombo 2004; Pansera 1978, Pansera, Chirico 2004; Pica 1957) However, there is still a lack of detailed studies of Czechoslovak participation at the Triennale of Milan. It should be noted that the author is not going to focus on every single artist or piece of art that was shown at the triennial exhibitions, for that would go beyond the scope of the paper.

The paper focuses on the period between 1923 and 1968. 1923 was the first year in which the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Monza was attended by the newly established Czechoslovak Republic, while 1968 was the revolutionary

1 Major sources as follows: Archivio storico, Centro documentazione presso La Triennale di Milano: TRN_08_DT_166_C (Cecoslovacchia), TRN_11_DT_22 Cecoslovacchia, TRN_12_DT_067_C Cecoslovacchia, XII_TRN_1960_54 Corrispondenza con commissari e allestitori sezioni estere, XII_TRN_1960 Ufficio Amm.ne – sezione estere, XIV_T_ Cecoslovacchia - Karel Hetteš, Cyril Kříž, Rappresentanze diplomatiche). Archivio storico civico di Monza: File Comune di Monza, Sezione seconda (1871–1935), 96/1 Prima esposizione internazionale di arti decorative alla Villa Reale di Monza (1923), File Comune di Monza, Sezione seconda (1871–1935), 99/1 Trasferimento a Milano della Mostra internazionale di arti decorative, File Comune di Monza, Sezione seconda (1871–1935), 1251/2 Costituzione CAMMU.

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year that marked the end of an era in the Triennale of Milan. One of the numerous student strikes which occurred in 1968 also occupied Milan's exhibition hall. Public criticism and the conceptual crisis threatened the future existence of the exhibition. It was necessary to re-evaluate prevailing attitudes and the whole organization of La Triennale.[2] Additionally, for the Czechoslovak Republic, the year 1968 was a sad turning point. The fourteenth Triennale of Milan closed its exhibition venues one month before the invasion by troops from Warsaw Pact countries. 1968 was, for a long time, the last year in which Czech and Slovak artists could participate in this renowned artistic exhibition.

OUTLINE OF THE ITALIAN EXHIBITION SYSTEM

The Venice Biennale has always occupied the most prestigious position in the Italian exhibition system. It first took place in 1895, and its philosophy merged the idea of French Salons with the model of nineteenth-century world exhibitions. The Venice Biennale was first and foremost an exhibition of the fine arts, and devoted space to both Italian and international artists, thus bringing a new significant impulse and powerful artistic influence from abroad. The international exhibition of industrial art had already been held at the 1899 Venice Biennale, but it was completely ignored by Italian artists. (Bossaglia, Godoli, Rosci 1994: 3). Apart from the Venice Biennale, in Italy, as in France, before World War One, there were many national exhibitions organized on different scales in order to present goods and to boost regional or rather national identity.

The pivotal Turin exhibition of 1902 brought a critical review of the tradition of *great exhibitions* by focusing solely on the applied arts. The lively discussion about emancipation and the re-evaluation of the applied arts resonated with polemics concerning eclecticism, the role of art in education and new original forms that would reflect the demands of modern society. Architecture played a significant role in Turin, too. We must consider not only forms of ephemeral national pavilions but additionally, the great number of architects who were members of national preparatory committees, such as Joseph Maria Olbrich, Peter Behrens, Charles R. Mackintosh, Victor Horta and Camillo Boito. (Crane 1902: 489). On the other hand, Milan's Sempione Exhibition of 1906 implied the return of the idea

2 Soon after the opening of the 14th Milan Triennale, the Palazzo dell'Arte was immediately occupied by a group of students and artists who demanded a new direct democratic committee of the Triennale. The famous quotation of Rudi Dutschke, spokesperson of the German student movement, was later incorporated in the exhibition which was reopened one month later after the resignation of the executive committee responsible for the Triennale exhibition: "*La nostra opposizione non è contro alcune piccole manchevolezze del sistema. È piuttosto una opposizione totale che si rivolge contro tutto il modo di vita fin qui dominante dello stato autoritario. Dipende dalle nostre capacità creative approfondire e politicizzare audacemente e risolutamente le contraddizioni visibili e immediate*." (Rocca 1999: 58)

of monumental general exhibitions. The spectacle was dedicated to movement, communication, and means of transport, and to the liberal circulation of people, goods and ideas. The exhibition was perceived as a metaphor of modernity that reflected the development of products made by craftspeople working in the applied arts and the progress of applied science in industry (Ricci, Cordera 2012: 18–50).

After the Sempione Exhibition, the city of Milan wanted to continue to boost activity and the city's potential for growth. The city council intended to follow up with an ambitious project of periodically repeated exhibitions of applied arts, which would assure Milan a key position in this field. However, it was a private philanthropic society, the *Società Umanitaria*, founded by Prospero Moisè Loria, that revived this idea. In reaction to the demoralizing situation in post-war Italian society, which went hand in hand with a decline in the quality of applied arts and crafts, the *Società Umanitaria* made an effort to raise the level of the professional, social and cultural education of workers by following the pattern of the English Arts & Crafts movement or the German Deutsche Werkbund. The First Regional Exhibition of Decorative Arts of 1919 (*Esposizione regionale*: 6), organized by the *Società Umanitaria*, was dedicated to housing and interiors, and showed objects that overwhelmed not with startling originality but with technical perfection (Bossaglia 1986: 31).

For Milan's city councilors, it seemed to be almost impossible to implement the idea of a biennial exhibition in the post-war period. Other partners needed to be involved. February 1922, then, saw the establishment of a special consortium, the Milano-Monza-Umanitaria, with Guido Marangoni in charge. He was the consortium's spokesperson and wrote a famous letter demanding vigorous political and economic decisions that would contribute to the development of Italian society and applied arts. He pointed out that Italian artistic potential was being gradually oppressed by French production and German monopoly. Marangoni's impulse was well received and the international exhibition of decorative arts in Monza gradually gained a privileged role in the Italian fascist exhibition mosaic of the interwar period. To complete the backbone of the interwar Italian exhibition system, we must not forget to mention the renowned Rome Quadriennale and exhibitions of the Futurist Art movement and the Novecento Group (Negri 2011: 179–195).

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL BIENNIAL EXHIBITION OF DECORATIVE ARTS, 1923

The first international biennial exhibition of applied arts at the Royal Villa in Monza, organized by the consortium *Milano-Monza-Umanitaria,* was officially opened on 19 May 1923. The show had no overarching theme or topic that had to be followed, so national exhibitions were mostly based on handicraft traditions and artistic intuition.

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For the newly created democratic and independent Czechoslovak Republic, this exhibition was considered an efficient means of active involvement and of establishing a foothold within the international artistic and political scene. As one of the scholars of the period notes "Since the very beginning, statesmen and leading state officials have devoted much care to the Czechoslovak Republic's participation in foreign exhibitions." (Hnídková 2013: 184) Before the Monza show, Czechoslovakia had participated in exhibitions in Lyon (1920) and Rio de Janeiro (1922). The images from the Czechoslovak exhibition display in the Villa Reale of Monza, whose concept and construction were directed by Rudolf Stockar, Václav Vilém Štech, Antonín Solar and Pavel Janák, clearly show the exhibition layout in the so-called "national style". Like elsewhere in the Habsburg Monarchy, discussions concerning the Czech national style had begun in the 1850s and 1860s, and were connected with Neo-Renaissance architecture, followed by the recognition of the Baroque as a national style at the very end of the nineteenth century. The architect Friedrich Ohmann and art historians such as Karel Chytil and Karel B. Mádl were connected with a new evaluation and revival of Bohemian Baroque (Vybíral 2013: 31–33). At the same time, there was another group of art historians and literati promoting medieval styles, as well as modernists who championed a national art without any imitation of the past. However, if we focus on the situation after the First World War, architects and theorists of architecture, such as Pavel Janák, Zdeněk Wirt and Václav Vilém Štech, chose vernacular art from Moravian Slovakia – which was disapproved of – as their basis for the national identity and style. There were several reasons for this decision – the newly established state, personal experience and excitement about being Czech, independence from Germany, and, last but not least, the fact that the national style appealed to the wider Czechoslovak public more, for example, than Czech cubism.

By examining the ground plan of the Czechoslovak exhibition in the Villa Reale of Monza, we can see that Czechoslovakia had only four rooms available on the second floor of the Royal Villa – rooms 26-26bis-27, and room No. 14, dedicated to the *Artěl* company. The Royal Villa was not originally built for exhibition purposes, so it was necessary to adapt the original interiors for national exhibitions. Original lighting, furniture and interior pieces were temporarily or permanently removed. In the Czechoslovak section, an original bathroom was removed, the same as lighting and furniture.[3]

A reconstruction of the layout of the installation is possible only by means of a few black and white photos from the official catalogues or from the archive of La Triennale. According to an article in the *Corriere della sera,* one of the rooms was transformed into a "rustic kitchen" where Czechoslovak national colors – red,

3 Comune di Monza, Sezione seconda (1871–1935), 96/1 Prima esposizione internazionale di arti decorative alla Villa Reale di Monza (1923).

Fig. 1. Interior of the Czechoslovak exhibition display, entrance hall (?), copy of the rondo cubistic interior of Antonín Hořovský's villa in Prague Hodkovičky, design: Pavel Janák, 1920-1922

white and blue – prevailed (Ojetti 1923: 3). The sole surviving picture shows only a corner of the "kitchen". *(Fig. 1)* However, we can say for certain that it was a copy of the Rondocubist interior (the entrance hall, to be precise) of the well-known villa of Antonín Hořovský in Prague Hodkovičky, designed by the architect Pavel Janák between 1920 and 1922. The interior was decorated with stylized flowers and leaves in a vernacular manner, bonded with Slavic tradition and inspired by ornaments from the Moravian Slovakian region. The furniture had the same ornamental style, enriched with circular and segmental forms. The question is why the article describes the space as a kitchen rather than an entrance hall. We may assume that in the interior, other pieces of furniture had been added that evoked a kitchen environment. We know that Janák had also designed kitchen furniture in a decorative and ornamental manner for the villa in Hodkovičky (Přikrylová 2009: 76–77). However, without any further photos, identification of the interior remains difficult.

The next room was modified into a palisander bedroom – a ladies' boudoir – designed by František Buben. The bed was flanked by two night tables with ornamental decoration above, accompanied by a built-in mirror and wardrobes. The room included beveled corners and a polygonal vault with a wooden chandelier by

Rudolf Stockar. Foreign critics perceived the design of the room in different ways. Ugo Ojetti described the bedroom "as dark, unfriendly and suffocating, in typical German style" (Ojetti 1923: 3). On the other hand, Roberto Papini claimed that "this room is the most organic place of the whole exhibition, with references to Otto Wagner, Olbrich and Hoffmann" (Papini 1923: 284). These reactions, strictly speaking, negated the intention of the national style, which was trying to liberate Czechoslovakia from German influences.

In the third room, there were art deco display cases containing craft artifacts and crystal. The exhibition display was regarded by the Czech organizers as preparation for the international exhibition in Paris in 1925.[4] The effort to succeed both politically and artistically in Monza was mixed with a thirst for the emancipation of the new state and with envy. This is clear from the very frequent assaults against Hungary in Czechoslovak newspapers, which claimed an unwitting cultural fight with the Hungarians with a political background. Disharmony and political rivalry in bilateral relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary had their roots in the newly established geopolitical system in the interwar period. The Treaty of Trianon, signed in 1920, broke the Hungarian historical state tradition, as well as its territorial integrity, and defined new Czechoslovak state borders that included formerly Hungarian regions such as Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. We can read in the newspapers: "Hungarians took over the 13 best exhibition rooms in the Villa Reale. There remained only four rooms for us, where one of them was a corridor which had to be kept clear." Or later: "The Hungarians used this opportunity as a promotional tribune of their biased and political interests. They sent a special mission to Monza, and its members gave some lectures there, trying to establish good relations with the Italian market and industry. The Hungarian exhibition display was five times bigger than ours, but on the artistic level, it was much more conservative and inhomogeneous. One of the Hungarian representatives became a member of the jury. So it was clear that the jury was assembled poorly and wrongly. The injustice that was caused would have been excusable if the case had not had a political background." (*Svaz* 1923: 210) It is almost inappropriate to compare the positions of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak representatives as described above. As a matter of fact, Hungarian art, and architects such as Géza Maróti, one of the members of the *special mission* mentioned in the quotation, had established a continuous tradition of exhibiting Hungarian art in Northern Italy starting with the Turin Exhibition of 1902 and L'Esposizione del Sempione in Milan in 1906, often earning the strong appreciation of the Italian critics of the day (Székely 2009: 110).

4 "Our participation in Monza was a great way to evaluate our possibilities for the Paris exhibition of 1925. We can be more than satisfied with the high artistic level of Czech production. However, we must take care of the equally high quality of technical execution." Source: Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, Fund: Diplomatic Reports, Politics, Italy, fascicle Milan 1923, inserted folio.

VI. TRIENNALE DI MILANO, 1936

Ten more years passed before the next participation of the Czechoslovak Republic in any international exhibition of applied arts. The fifth Triennale of Milan was held in 1933. The name of the exhibition says a lot. After its first years in Monza, the international exhibition moved from provincial Monza to the Lombard capital, Milan, and changed its periodicity. It must be noted that Czechoslovak participation was marginal, presenting only two photomosaics with recent projects by modernist architects such as Bohuslav Fuchs, Oldřich Tyl, Jiří Kroha and Antonín Engel. *(Fig. 2)*

Three years later, in 1936, Czechoslovakia did not initially want to participate in the sixth Milan Triennale due to a lack of departmental funds.[5] We should bear in mind that the Venice Biennale, which was considered a state priority in the field of state/artistic representation, also existed. In 1920, Czechoslovakia attended the Venice Biennale as an independent state for the first time. Compared to Milan's ephemeral displays, there was a permanent pavilion designed by one of the founders of Czech

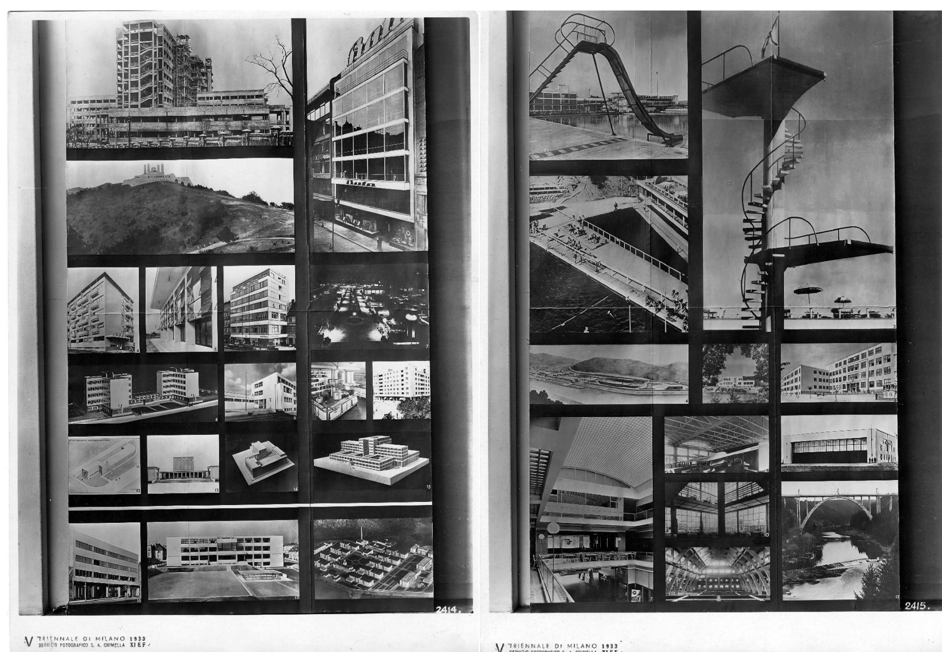

Fig. 2. Two photomosaics with recent projects by Czechoslovak modernist architects. V. Triennale of Milan 1933

5 Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, File: Osvěta, výstavy Itálie, Monza Milán – dekorativní výstava (Education, Exhibitions in Italy, Monza Milan – Exhibition of Decorative Arts), letter no. 142.390/34-V/2, report no. 18403, report no. 72179.

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Fig. 3. Czechoslovak exhibition display (frontal view), 1936 design: Ladislav Sutnar

modern architecture, Otakar Novotný. A compact pavilion in the Giardini Park, consisting of a simple functionalist central hall with a large roof window and two adjacent spaces, was officially opened at the fifteenth Venice Biennale in 1926 (Zajícová, Sedláková 2013: 9). As we can read in the archive materials, participation in both exhibitions of 1936 caused a considerable burden for the budget of the Ministry of Education. Eventually, the budget was shared by three ministries, and Czechoslovakia had its own exhibition display at La Triennale as well.[6]

The designer of the modernist architectural concept of the Czechoslovak exhibition was Ladislav Sutnar, who enjoyed international repute and was also a renowned theorist. In his enlightening essay on visual communication and exhibition displays, he emphasizes that any new language for displays must be first and foremost *functional*, with its focus on content and purpose. On the other hand, he also adds that it must be *flexible*, so as to encourage inspiration and invention.[7]

6 See footnote no. 5.

7 Ladislav Sutnar wrote about the issues of visual communication in the book *Visual Design in Action*, published in America in 1961. He quoted sources and essential installations that influenced his work, such as El Lisickij and his installation at the Pressa in Cologne, Le Corbusier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius and László Moholy-Nagy. In 1968, he also wrote the text *Moderní gramatika výstavního výtvarnictví*, *(Modern Grammar of Exhibition Display)* (Knobloch 2010: 35).

The space on the ground floor of La Triennale was almost square with a spiral staircase leading up to the first floor. The composition of the interior was very generously underlined by convergent diagonals. This solution favored a frontal view over a lateral one, and reminded the observer of classical theatrical scenery. *(Fig. 3)* The walls converged towards the staircase and a glass wall allowed natural light to come in. The axis of the staircase was covered with velvet, which evoked a white, red and black waterfall. The glass wall was flanked by two walls covered in photos taken by Josef Sudek and by students at the State Graphic School. Four simple glass display cases were placed on the left of the room. On the other side of the room were more panels with photographs and scenographic works of art. Mario Labo of *Casabella,* speaking highly of the layout, wrote: "We can find only utilitarian exhibition facilities here. However, the simplicity and raw structures deserve our attention, indeed." (Labò 1936: 12–13) By leaving sufficient surrounding empty space, Sutnar placed the emphasis on subtle and unobtrusive display.

VII. TRIENNALE DI MILANO, 1940

Due to political changes during the Second World War, Czechoslovakia participated in La Triennale of Milan as the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. It is important to underline that the administration of the Protectorate of Bohemia and

Fig. 4. Exhibition display of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, design: František Tröster. VII. Triennale of Milan 1940

Moravia carefully chose participants for the national exhibition. No Slovak artists could participate. The same restrictions were applied to The Venice Biennale in 1940 (Wolf 2005: 191). Conception of the layout was entrusted to scenographer František Tröster, who designed a very sensitive and theatrical temporary exhibition space, which was filled with mystic light coming from beyond the "stained glass window" which dominated the display area. *(Fig. 4)* The central space was isolated by an unusual arch. Tröster wanted to evoke the sense of a church nave, and this idea was underlined by the stained glass in the background and the dark blue velvet ceiling. Where three dimensional objects and sculptures were placed, the ceiling of the exhibition space was high, whereas it was lowered where the display cases were located, in order to create a more intimate space. Light played an important role in Tröster's work and design, and his ideas about light as a functional artistic element were influenced by Oskar Schlemmer. In his opinion, light underlined both particular details of objects and a perception of exhibition space. In his project he also experimented with spotlights, reflectors and dispersed light.

VIII. TRIENNALE DI MILANO, 1947

The main topic of the eighth Triennale, soon after the Second World War, was inevitably "living and reconstruction". Frantisek Cubr, Evžen Linhart, Zdeněk Pokorný

Fig. 5. Detail from the Czechoslovak exhibition display at the VIII. Triennale of Milan 1947

– architects working on the conception of the Czechoslovak pavilion – were well aware of the dangers of an autotelic excess of the graphic, of charts or panels that can bore and tire the observer, and additionally of the dangers of formal visuality, which can drown out the message of the exhibition itself. The fact that they took these ideas into consideration in the layout is obvious at the entrance, where the construction was very light and interesting from a graphical point of view. *(Fig. 5)* The graphics included data and numbers concerning post-war reconstruction in Czechoslovakia.

The display included a copy of a fully furnished flat from a collective house at the factory in Most. Ernest N. Rogers, an architect and the director of *Domus* magazine, was taken aback by the amazingly simple display, which avoided all exaggerated decoration. "It is surprising that architects didn't worry about representing themselves with a model of a modest apartment for workers that is being built near a petroleum factory. We can perceive it as a propagandistic demagogy that misleads foreigners. But because these projects are real, they command respect and a degree of envy." (Rogers

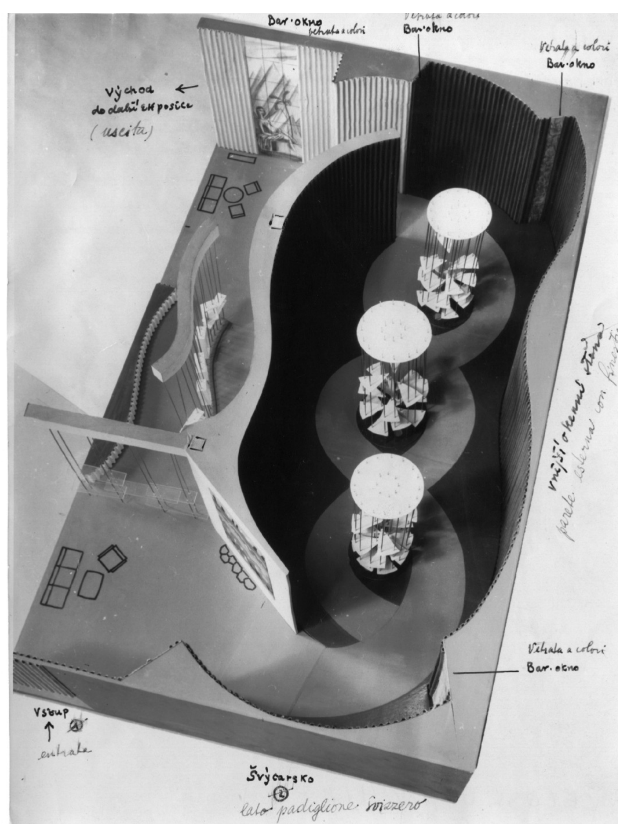

Fig. 6. Photography of the model of the Czechoslovak exhibition at the XI. Triennale of Milan 1957, design: František Tröster

1947: 49) The correspondence between Galligo and Linhart or Kalivoda not only provides us with technical information, but additionally touches upon repression and its fundamental role in everyday life (the impossibility of travel, etc.).

XI. TRIENNALE DI MILANO, 1957

Ten years later, Czechoslovakia chose "glass" as the only theme for its exhibition display at the eleventh Triennale of Milano. In February 1948, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had seized power with the backing of the Soviet Union, and the country was declared a people's republic. The monothematic exhibition of glass intended to show that the Czech glass tradition was still alive and had not suffered either due to the resettlement of the Germans or as a result of economic and political processes after 1948. The socialist propaganda aimed to prove that the new system was generating unforeseen opportunities, which went hand in hand with the evolution of contemporary arts. Emanuel Poche, director of the

Fig. 7. Light cylinders, design: František Tröster. XI. Triennale of Milan 1957

Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, was in charge of the organization, but the concept of the layout was again entrusted to František Tröster. He divided the exhibition space with an undulating wall. He also distorted the outer walls so as to give dramatic movement to the space. *(Fig. 6)* Moreover, the walls were covered with dark blue and white velvet. The entrance hall was very bright, illuminated by daylight, whereas the adjacent dark room was lit by reflectors. Tröster's experience with the theatre and scenography became evident, especially in the second dark section, where he placed three circular structures. He named them "light cylinders". *(Fig. 7)* These were made of thin bars, on which glass boards were placed in a spiral. Thanks to spotlights located above the cylinders, the objects were lit very dramatically – giving the sense that they were emerging from darkness. Apart from these spotlights, there were two other long vertical glass windows that were lit from behind.

The state and the communist party were expecting great success in Milan.[8] In order to comprehend the state effort that was put into this, it should be mentioned that a new glassworks was built with a highly professional environment, and the Lobmeyr glassworks in Kamenický Šenov was reorganized.[9] This effort and seemingly very positive approach is easily explicable – glass was one of the major export commodities. With regard to the glass objects, more than 2200 proposals were set forth, of which 149 were finally chosen for the exhibition. Again, the reaction of critics varied from very positive to very negative – one of the worst compared the exhibition with an opium den (Glaserfeld 1957: 7–8).

XII. TRIENNALE DI MILANO – 1960

The circumstances of participation in the twelfth Milan Triennale clearly reflect a complicated political situation and "behind-the-scenes manipulation" of the interested parties. After the enormous success of the Czechoslovak artists at the EXPO in Brussels, and at the glass exhibitions in Moscow, São Paulo and in the Corning Glass Museum in New York, the Triennale of 1960 was regarded as another very important international show in which to present progress in the applied arts. A Czechoslovak preparatory committee, led by Miroslav Míčko, was aware of the higher and stricter expectations; therefore they started their meticulous preparatory work long in advance. However, the official invitation remained unconfirmed for a very long time. In the archive documents, we can find speculation concerning a conspiracy by Italian glassmakers, who were allegedly trying to prevent the organization of the

8 Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic, File: Teritoriální odbory – obyčejné 1945–1959 (Territorial Division – common 1945–1959), no. 9 – Triennale, p. 2.

9 Ibidem, p. 4.

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bilateral glass exhibition in 1957.[10] The very opposite is true. Eventually, the socialist Czechoslovak Republic was invited to the Triennale through the intercession of the *Associazione nazionale dei commercianti del vetro e della ceramica*. When it was understood that La Triennale di Milano did not want to invite Czechoslovakia due to the unstable political situation,[11] they stated: "We are conscious of the importance of good relations with the Czechoslovak market, concerning both the import and export of Italian goods on local markets (especially fruit and vegetables)."[12] To sum up, the negotiation about the participation of Czechoslovakia at La Triennale was only a political and economic calculation. It left a bitter aftertaste of reality, in which the factor that decided whether artists would take part or not turned out to be solely the fulfilment of import and export quotas.

The designer of the exhibition display was a painter, Jan Kotík. Inspired by the idea that nothing should divert the observer's attention away from the exhibited pieces

Fig. 8. Interior of the Czechoslovak exhibition display, design: Bohuslav Rychlink. XIV. Triennale of Milan 1968

10 Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic, File: Teritoriální odbory – obyčejné 1960–1964 (Territorial Division – common 1945–1959), č. karton 6 – Itálie (Carton 6–Italy). Otázka účasti na XII. Triennale v Miláně 1960 (Participation at the XII. Triennale of Milan).

11 Archive documents always speak very vaguely concerning reasons to disapprove or otherwise restrict the participation of Czechoslovakia.

12 TRN_12_DT_067_C 67.4 Cecoslovacchia – Informazioni varie, Letter no. 2225, 19 September 1959.

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of art, he designed a very simple display, opting to use natural materials. Czechoslovakia presented both unique pieces of arts and the results of serial production. The objects (including glass, porcelain, fabrics, light fittings and interior pieces) were exhibited in material confrontation, and they themselves created a division of the exhibition space, with, for example, colorful fabrics hung vertically, which stood out rather pronouncedly.

XIV. TRIENNALE DI MILANO – 1968

This paper concludes with Bohuslav Rychlink's exhibition display at the fourteenth Triennale di Milano in 1968. Even though the main topic of the exhibition was *Grande numero,* the Czechoslovak Republic decided to display prototypes of different tools. The focus was on the relationship between hand and object, on the importance of the designer's work. The architect left the space fully open and chose materials like glass and metal, the color white, and large black-and-white silk-screen pictures by Dagmar Hochová. *(Fig. 8)* Glass walls were placed along the perimeter, which enabled the inner space between glass and the wall to be used for display cases. Rychlink put only one object right in the middle of the room – a dentist's chair with tools and accessories. By the entrance, there were two glass objects by Libenský and Brychtová and René Roubíček. The exhibition display was clear and precise, and did not distract from the exhibited tools. Rychlink underlined functionality, construction and form, perceived from the perspective of biology, anthropology, physiology and psychology.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have very briefly described the complexity of the different approaches towards the architectural concepts of Czechoslovak temporary exhibition installations at the Triennale di Milano up until 1968. From the beginning, the Milan exhibition offered a crucial setting for the presentation and reception of new artistic and cultural values and tendencies. It likewise served as a testing-ground for individual approaches when confronted by the international specialist public. We have witnessed the rise and fall of Czechoslovak political ideologies, and the background political manipulation and economic calculations, which – apparently unseen, yet exerting considerable impact – influenced the conception for the national exhibits and the choice of artists. We have also witnessed shifts in the style and form of the exhibition displays from an early national style, through Sutnar's bright modernist layout and Tröster's mystic and dramatic visions, to a very simple and precise approach, present in the exhibition display of Rychlink, which leads us from applied and decorative arts to the era of design.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Interior of the Czechoslovak exhibition display, entrance hall (?), copy of the rondo cubistic interior of Antonín Hořovský's villa in Prague Hodkovičky, design: Pavel Janák, 1920-1922. Source: *Catalogo della prima mostra internazionale delle arti decorative* (catalogue of the exhibition), Villa Reale, Monza May-October1923, Consorzio Milano-Monza-Umanitaria 1923.

Fig. 2. Two photomosaics with recent projects by Czechoslovak modernist architects. V. Triennale of Milan 1933. Source: Archive of the Triennale of Milan, TRN_V_02_0047, TRN_V_02_0048.

Fig. 3. Czechoslovak exhibition display (frontal view), design: Ladislav Sutnar. Source: Archive of the Triennale of Milan, TRN_VI_06_0403.

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Fig. 5. Detail from the Czechoslovak exhibition display at the VIII. Triennale of Milan 1947. Source: Archive of the Triennale of Milan, TRN_08_05_0341.

Fig. 6. Photography of the model of the Czechoslovak exhibition at the XI. Triennale of Milan 1957, design: František Tröster. Source: Archive of the Triennale of Milan, TRN_XI_11_0557.

Fig. 7. Light cylinders, design: František Tröster. XI. Triennale of Milan 1957. Source: Archive of the Triennale of Milan, TRN_XI_11_0561.

Fig. 8. Interior of the Czechoslovak exhibition display, design: Bohuslav Rychlink. XIV. Triennale of Milan 1968. Source: Archive of the Triennale of Milan, TRN_14_06_280.

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Péter Haba

The Rise of Aluminum. Pavilions by ALUTERV at the Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center

The spectacular display of technological developments was of utmost significance in the early Kádár era. After the events of 1956, the new government not only strove to de–Stalinize the political sphere and restructure the economy, but also to win over the population by propagating modernization. These efforts were focused on research into prefabrication methods to satisfy the housing shortage, and were also aimed at intensifying industry to meet the modernization needs of households. (Pető, Szakács 1985: 369–376, 531–534; Romsics 1999: 399–400, 428–432) The Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center distinctly reflected the era's political techno–optimism and was one of the most important propaganda tools used to implement the policy of 'opening up to the west'.

The scale of the industrialization program introduced in the early Kádár era by far exceeded the country's natural resources. For this reason, substantial efforts were made to develop a Hungarian aluminum industry based on the massive domestic supply of bauxite. The domestic aluminum industry was significant even by international standards and was envisioned as being important in households as well as in the renewal of the building industry.

This was a time of great hopes and plans, all revolving around aluminum, which was promoted as 'Hungarian silver'. The new leadership regarded aluminum as a key component of foreign trade and as a representative of the country's revival as a large–scale industrial base. (Várhegyi 1984: 45–52) The party's ambitious economic policy objective was advertised by the Hungarian pavilion at the 1958 Brussels World Exposition, with its vastly expansive aluminum facade invigorated by its dynamic sculpted surface. (Gádoros 1988: 34) The serious intentions behind this propaganda were confirmed by negotiations carried out around 1960, in which Comecon cooperation laid the foundations for extensive future developments. (Várhegyi 1984: 49–52)

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the reconstruction of the City Park Trade Fair Center, which began in the 1950s, focused on the unique pavilions that were designed by the Aluminum Industry Design Institute (*Alumíniumipari Tervező Intézet*, ALUTERV), displaying the great potential inherent in aluminum as a new building material. (Haba 2013: 65–66) Nor was it by chance that the pavilions were built on the representative main square of the trade fair center. This main square was used as the exhibition area for the industrial ministries, and its political rank emphasized the

importance of the new aluminum pavilions. Thus, these highly innovative pavilions were soon seen as icons of 'industrial progress', and as exhibits that transformed the standardized, prefabricated structures into 'soul–stirring spectacles'.

The main contributors to the design of these pavilions were the employees of ALUTERV's architectural and structural design team: István Kádár, György Seregi, Zoltán Kelecsényi, Oszkár Jankovich and Imre Ozorai, who utilized the results of their previous research into aluminum when used as a raw material in the supporting structures of pavilion buildings. (For more details about this see: Seregi 1965) This went in tandem with the then–emerging international architectural trends related to three–dimensional metal structures, to which ALUTERV's engineers and architects added their own structurally and aesthetically sophisticated systems. (Kelecsényi 1976: 5)

The first commission received by ALUTERV was for two pavilions for the Ministry of Heavy Industry: one was to exhibit the development projects carried out in the chemical and aluminum industry, the other to display the achievements of the mining industry. The pavilions, built in 1961, were akin to exhibits themselves, demonstrating the ongoing technological developments of the time, while offering something spectacular in an architectural sense as well. (Kádár 1961, *Alumínium vázú*: 524)

In the case of the pavilion for the chemical and aluminum industry, István Kádár and Imre Ozorai chose an architectural solution that was highly complex with

Fig. 1. Pavilions of Ministry for Heavy Industry, 1961. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center. In the backround: Pavilion of Aluminum and Chemical Industry – designers: István Kádár, Imre Ozorai; in the foreground: Mining Pavilion – designers: György Seregi, Zoltán Kelecsényi

regard to both technology and form: they designed a braced dome composed of triangular elements welded together from aluminum members. *(Fig. 1)* The structure was covered with glass–fiber reinforced polyester sheets, quite a novelty in those days. The dome structure was reminiscent of Buckminster Fuller's outstandingly important invention, the geodesic dome, which proliferated from the second half of the 1950s onwards, especially during the 1960s, although it differed in several respects. Whereas the structure of geodesic domes is based on a geometric grid on a spherical surface, in Kádár and Ozorai's design, the triangular components were arranged along an ovoid membrane surface with a hexagonal plan.[1] (Ibidem: 525–528; Kádár 1963)

This system was, in several ways, highly important in the history of structural design in Hungary. It represented a breakthrough in structure and technology that captivated architects across Western Europe: developments in industrial prefabrication technology and new findings in structural theory enabled the widespread use of three–dimensional metal structures in the 1950s and 1960s. (An in–depth analysis of this trend can be found in Makowski 1966; Gilyén 1982: 110, 170) It also drew attention to the results of Hungarian and international research into building materials after World War II, heralding a new era in the use of aluminum. From the 1950s, it became increasingly clear throughout the world that the most appropriate, economic and competitive uses of aluminum were in three–dimensional structures. These structures covered expansive, undivided spaces such as space grid structures, braced domes and vaults, as well as various folded plate systems. (For more details about this, see Buray 1956: 205; Gilyén 1982: 83–85; Kádár 1961 and 1964; Kádár 1964; Edwards 2004: 39–40) The struts of the three-dimensional metal structures spread out in all directions – unlike conventional two-dimensional structures – thus, by creating quasi–infinite webs, they enabled an omni-directional distribution of static stress.

These developments were of immense architectural significance. As opposed to traditional two–dimensional systems, web–like three–dimensional structures built from lightweight bracing struts brought with them unprecedented freedom for forming space. This was made possible by the flexibility and stability they provided in covering previously unimaginable large spans. These three–dimensional structures also opened up new opportunities for the prefabrication industry. (Makowski 1966: 10–11)

The dome produced by Kádár and Ozorai was a milestone not only in Hungary but also internationally, since it was the first large metal structure built in the shape of an ovoid membrane surface. (Kádár 1961; Alumínium 1967: 528) The engineering

1 In this context membrane surface denotes the shape assumed by a membrane first stretched across a wire frame and then blown up.

innovation used in the dome, unparalleled worldwide, attracted the attention of some leading Western European periodicals. For example, in 1966 *Architectural Design* published a monumental study on the latest and most important three–dimensional structures. In his study Zygmunt Stanislaw Makowski, an internationally acclaimed expert on the theme, analyzed the Hungarian dome alongside designs by the "big shots" of civil engineering. (1966: 31) The article also presented Ferdinand Lederer's famed braced dome pavilion in Brno, and highlighted that the design of exhibition pavilions played an important role in the development of three dimensional structures.

In the following years ALUTERV's architectural team carried out research into three–dimensional aluminum structures: the breakthrough brought about by the building for the Ministry of Heavy Industry led to further large–scale commissions for pavilions. The architects applied new systems for each new project, and therefore not only discovered many different qualities of aluminum structures, but also satisfied their ambition to explore new modes of forming and composing the material.

István Kádár applied the principle of geodesic domes in his design for the Tourism Pavilion, built in 1963 along the longitudinal axis of the trade fair center's main square. *(Fig. 2)* (Kádár 1964: 33–34; Seregi 1965: 109) The French pavilion in 1963 was also constructed in the vicinity of the main square, thus occupying a prominent location (designers: György Seregi, Ilona Harcos). *(Fig. 3)* The structure

Fig. 2. István Kádár: Tourism Pavilion, 1963. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center

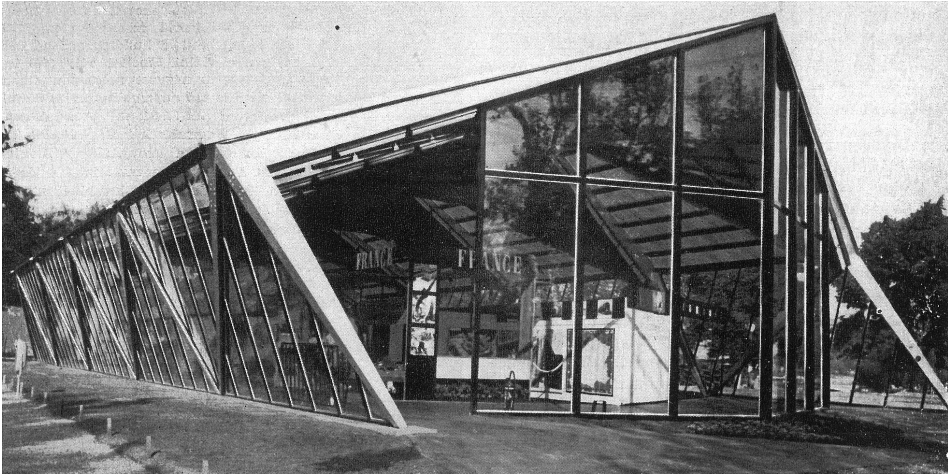

Fig. 3. György Seregi, Ilona Harcos: French Pavilion, 1963. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center

was built from special hollow girders. Due to the arrangement of the beams, the roof structure was divided into triangular and rhomboid sections, the former being covered with polyester plates and the latter with hyperbolical paraboloid aluminum shell structures. (Seregi 1963: 519–523; *Ausstellungspavilion* 1964: 1335) This geometry – i.e. an almost complete lack of right angles, and a sharp contrast between open and closed surfaces – created a highly dynamic overall effect.

In the same year, another structural solution – a prefabricated double-layer grid system – was implemented for the new pavilion of the Soviet Union (designers: István Kádár, György Seregi, Imre Ozorai). *(Fig. 4–5.)* (O. I. 1964: 42–43; Kádár 1964: 32–33; Seregi 1965: 109) The engineering achievement represented by this building is shown by the fact that it was cited as an outstanding example in many prominent Western European periodicals. (Makowski 1966: 11; Büttner, Stenker 1970: 13–14) The architects also exploited the aesthetic and spatial potentials inherent in space frames. In their pavilion they managed impressively to exploit a particular quality of space grid structures. Due to the refined design of the components and the complex yet clearly laid out geometry of the structural details, this space grid structure virtually became an autonomous work of art. The architects were able to 'test' this structural invention on a gigantic scale. They designed the large–spanned hall of a chemical plant in Szolnok, and this awe-inspiring structure was enthusiastically celebrated by their contemporaries. (Kádár 1966: 27–29)

Another monumental pavilion built in 1966 on the trade fair center's main square signified a further change regarding the representational requirements of clients, ALUTERV's structural development work and the status of the building industry (designers: Zoltán Kelecsényi, Oszkár Jankovich, György Seregi). *(Fig. 6–7)* This

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Fig. 4. István Kádár, György Seregi, Imre Ozorai: Pavilion of Soviet Union, 1963. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center

Fig. 5. István Kádár, György Seregi, Imre Ozorai: Pavilion of Soviet Union, 1963. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center

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Fig. 6. Zoltán Kelecsényi, Oszkár Jankovich, György Seregi: Aluminium Industry Pavilion, 1966-1967. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center

Fig. 7. Zoltán Kelecsényi, Oszkár Jankovich, György Seregi: Aluminium Industry Pavilion, 1966-1967

pavilion was jointly commissioned by the Aluminum Application Technology Center (*Alumínium Alkalmazástechnikai Központ*, ALTAK) and the National Technological Development Committee, and was obviously closely linked to their propaganda activity. (*Alumínium szerkezetű* 1967: 40–42) ALTAK was established in 1963 to act as a mediator between the industry's organizations and companies in aligning technological development projects with the state's economic policy concepts. (Várhegyi 1984: 479–480) With this pavilion, the Hungarian aluminum industry was granted its own exhibition space – moreover, it was built along the axis of the fair trade center's main entrance, the most prominent part of the main square. This decision was fuelled by cogent political reasons. A new, extensive era in the aluminum industry was steaming ahead at the time, aimed not only at increasing the capacity of alumina production but also at significantly upgrading the production of standard aluminum building structures. (Ibidem: 50–52, 471; Jinda 1968: 247–248)

A standard aluminum structure intended for mass prefabrication was used in the construction of the ALTAK pavilion, which was a practical idea that also conveyed an unambiguously clear message: with this gesture, the commissioners were alluding to industrial achievements in the area of high-volume structural manufacturing, demonstrating the ways in which the aluminum industry could contribute to the building industry's large-scale development projects. Every element of this standard structure was a mass-manufactured product to be used to cover large-span spaces without internal supports (mainly for use in industrial halls, agricultural facilities, hangars, warehouses, and sports facilities). The basic component of the product line was a circular aluminum shell that could be cut into different sizes and joined in numerous ways. (Seregi 1966: 293–298) Structures made from bent aluminum sheets represented a novelty even by international standards, since their worldwide introduction to the building industry had only begun around 1960. (Kelecsényi et al. 1976: 29) Hungary was therefore in the vanguard in this area too, not only because this product line was one of the first development projects of its kind, but also because it achieved great success in professional circles, thanks to its novelty. (Ibidem: 26; Seregi 1967: 300–303; Büttner, Stenker 1970: 14)

This pavilion, however, was more than a monumental exhibit showcasing the primary technological aspirations of its commissioners. By using custom-designed glass walls and a refined design for the bands of polyester roof lights, the designers lent an exclusive quality to the pavilion, which matched its function. Due to the architectural articulation of the standard structure and the location's context, the building did not merely announce the product line's inherent industrial aesthetic, but also gained a kind of dual identity: it represented a new building method made possible by new construction technology, while also being an iconic, one-of-a-kind manifestation of a mass-manufactured product. In this regard, the building called attention to the dawn of a new age in Hungarian architecture: it can be seen as a

symbol of standard design and mass production in the building industry, a practice that was gaining ground in the mid-1960s. In retrospect, ALUTERV's pavilion architecture clearly signifies a process in which the techno–optimistic architecture of the 1960s – marked by an attitude of experimentation – was gradually replaced by principles based on architectural standardization and advocated by politics. By building the twin of this pavilion in 1967 on the main square, this trend was accorded further emphasis in the trade fair center's architecture.

In the 1960s, the main square of the City Park Trade Fair Center was increasingly dominated by pavilions designed by ALUTERV. However, in the second half of the decade some other, less high-quality pavilions were also erected in the vicinity of the main square. These included, for example, the large, rectangular pavilions that served as venues for the exhibitions of the food industry and the furniture industry. The standardized structures of these buildings neither impressed viewers with a novel design, nor demonstrated engineering virtuosity – at most they were stunning only in terms of size. (Haba 2013: 78) *(Fig. 8)*

It can be seen that the main square of the trade fair center had taken on a peculiar duality by the last third of the 1960s. On the one hand, there were buildings that reflected the architectural exploration of the early Kádár era and its optimism against the odds of financial constraints and repressive politics; on the other hand, there were pavilions which, in some cases, showed signs of the architectural schematism created by the rapidly increasing need for exhibition space. The latter pavilions also reverberated with the then–widespread practice that often obliged

Fig. 8. The main square of the City Park Trade Fair Center, 1967. In the centre: Aluminium Industry Pavilion. In the foreground, left: Pavilions of Ministry for Heavy Industry

architects to retreat into structural and formal automatisms due to the utilitarianism that proliferated in the building industry at the time.

This architectural mix was, to a certain extent, a peculiar manifestation of the political processes in the Kádár era, formulated in the language of architecture. The main square of the trade fair center, which hosted numerous architectural 'spectacles' propagating the political program of the time, was undoubtedly one of the most important venues for the Kádár regime to express its prestige as the constructor of a socialism laid on new foundations, using the new tools of the power apparatus. Fundamental faith in the idea of technological progress serving and driving social progress lay at the heart of this strange Hungarian kaleidoscope, just as it was present almost the whole world over. The trade fair center – as a propaganda display – presented all this in a way that the public could consume, emphasizing those aspects that contributed to improving people's everyday lives. Thus, the main square conveyed the message to visitors that, in the early Kádár era, industrialization was seen as embracing all sectors and every part of the country, and was used as one of the main tools for social levelling in the spirit of socialism (i.e. socialist progress). The main square clearly showed that, of all the industrial sectors, heavy industry continued to enjoy priority, despite negative past experiences and the country's unfavorable economic potential. Obviously, the Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center's 'industrial spectacle' presented Hungarian society as being far richer and more developed than it really was. This must have been partly aimed at shaping the minds of visitors – both foreign and domestic – since gaining the confidence of international concerns and trade organizations was instrumental in raising the prestige of Hungarian industry.

All things considered, the numerous pavilions built at the Budapest Trade Fair Center – especially those by ALUTERV – clearly illustrate the acute response made by Hungarian architecture at the time to the renaissance of pavilion architecture in the 1950s and 1960s, despite the many obstacles along the way. The example of a number of important buildings indicates that the new pavilion architecture conceptions, with their powerful symbolism mediating social ideals and glorifying industrial progress, were successfully adapted to Hungarian circumstances at the time.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Pavilions of Ministry for Heavy Industry, 1961. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center. In the backround: Pavilion of Aluminum and Chemical Industry – designers: István Kádár, Imre Ozorai; in the foreground: Mining Pavilion – designers: György Seregi, Zoltán Kelecsényi. Source: MTI – Hungarian News Agency Photo Archive, FGOBA19630519004

Fig. 2. István Kádár: Tourism Pavilion, 1963. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center. Source: Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library Budapest – Budapest Collection, Photographic Archive.

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Fig. 3. György Seregi, Ilona Harcos: French Pavilion, 1963. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center. Source: Seregi Gy. 1965, Teherviselő alumíniumszerkezetek tervezése (Design of Load-bearing Aluminium Structures), [in:] Selmeczi B. et al. (eds.) *Az ALUTERV jubileumi évkönyve 1955-1965 (Jubilee Yearbook of ALUTERV 1955-1965)*, Budapest, 110.

Fig. 4. István Kádár, György Seregi, Imre Ozorai: Pavilion of Soviet Union, 1963. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center. Source: Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library Budapest – Budapest Collection, Photographic Archive.

Fig. 5. István Kádár, György Seregi, Imre Ozorai: Pavilion of Soviet Union, 1963. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center. Source: Photo Archive of the periodical *Hungarian Architecture*.

Fig. 6. Zoltán Kelecsényi, Oszkár Jankovich, György Seregi: Aluminium Industry Pavilion, 1966-1967. Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center. Source: MTI – Hungarian News Ageny Photo Archive, F_ZO19700522019

Fig. 7. Zoltán Kelecsényi, Oszkár Jankovich, György Seregi: Aluminium Industry Pavilion, 1966-1967. Source: Budapest City Park Trade Fair Center. Courtesy of György Seregi.

Fig. 8. The main square of the City Park Trade Fair Center, 1967. In the centre: Aluminium Industry Pavilion. In the foreground, left: Pavilions of Ministry for Heavy Industry. Source: MTI – Hungarian News Ageny Photo Archive, F_ZO19670521037

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Mirna Meštrović, Aleksander Laslo

The Fairground as a Geopolitical Playground: The Zagreb International Trade Fair and Cold War Circumstances

Zagreb is a city with a centuries-old tradition of annual fairs, where the first modern international trade fair was organized as early as 1864. As in many other cities, the fairs developed from markets. Until the mid-seventeenth century, markets in Zagreb were organized on the traditional central squares of the upper town, Gradec and Kaptol. The idea of hosting a major trade exhibition emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, and in 1864, on the Fairground (Sajmište) Square and in today's Rectorate Building, the first in a series of internationally important commercial exhibitions was held (the *Triune Kingdom National Exposition*). The *National Economy and Forestry Exhibition* followed in 1891. Over the years, the Fair changed location several times, due to the need to expand and the physical limitations on the space available. The following exhibition was relocated to the eastern part of the city,[1] where the *Croatian-Slavonian Economy Exposition* was held in 1906.

The history of the Zagreb International Trade Fair begins in 1909, when its predecessor, the *Zagreb Convention*, was founded, while its first exhibition was held the following year. The initial impetus for the Trade Fair came from the mayor, Milan Amruš,[2] who realized how important it would be for the future development of the city. The Zagreb Fair had five large permanent exhibition buildings, as well as thirty companies with their own pavilions, and national pavilions for, initially, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and France, and later also for Italy and Spain. One of the permanent structures was a former riding house, converted into an "Industrial Palace".

Exhibitions were also organized in 1911 and 1913. The end of the First World War saw the formation of a new state, *The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*.[3] In

1 After the final decision was taken to build the new National Theatre on the site of the former fairground.

2 *Milan Emil Amruš* (Brod na Savi, 1848 – Zagreb, 1919) was a Croatian physician, lawyer and politician, a two-term mayor of Zagreb (1890–1892, 1904–1910). As mayor, he contributed significantly to the development of Zagreb (the introduction of trams, the construction of the new Zagreb Main Station, the Zagreb Funicular, the power plant, improvements in health and hygiene – a new maternity hospital and the first public restrooms – the relocation of the gasworks away from the city center, and, among other things, the launch of the Zagreb Convention).

3 The term "Yugoslavia" was its colloquial name from its origins. The official name of the state was changed to "Kingdom of Yugoslavia" on 3 October 1929.

the new state, Zagreb was the center of industry, trade, commerce and finance. The need to reinforce the links between the newly established state and the market led to the revival of the Zagreb Convention, and the first post-war trade fair was organized in the summer of 1922. It was conceived as a Kingdom trade fair with an international focus (Arčabić 2013: 46). After the revival, two events took place each year – a special spring show in April (cars and other motor vehicles, and individual branches of the economy) and a major annual international trade fair in September, with numerous specialized exhibitions. The fair of 1922 covered an area of over 31,000 m^2, including 13,000 m^2 in the pavilions, and there was a total of 650 exhibitors, including over five hundred from the host nation.[4] International participants included companies from France, Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Switzerland and Italy.

Due to the growth of the Zagreb Convention, its location soon became unsuitable. In 1930, a call for proposals was made to reorganize the venue, but this idea was dropped. Instead, the decision was taken to relocate, and in 1934, after years of searching, the Convention was moved to the large site of a former furniture factory – "Bothe & Ehrmann" – on the Savska Road. This move represented the final acceptance of the Zagreb Convention's development as an urban institution, with significance reaching beyond the city limits. The new location eliminated the basic spatial restrictions of the Zagreb trade fair and provided the necessary conditions for its continued evolution.

At the end of the 1935, a contest to redesign and reinvigorate the Zagreb Convention was announced. The architects Hinko Bauer and Marijan Haberle won first prize. The design of the complex by Bauer & Haberle, implemented in 1936–1938, reflects the high quality of the ensemble as a whole, and of national pavilions individually (Laslo 2007: 34). It is appropriate to evaluate the Zagreb Convention using the criteria for constructing complexes used for the international fairs of the era, particularly the 1937 *Paris Exposition*. Individual pavilions can be compared with the structures built for international exhibitions, such as the *Venice Biennale*. This was a kind of global competition in architecture, similar to the international section of the Paris exhibition in front of the Trocadero, with the Finnish pavilion of Alvar Aalto, and the Yugoslav one designed by Josip Seissel. The permanent national exhibition pavilions of France, Italy, Germany and Czechoslovakia were designed by foreign architects – the architects Robert Camelot and Jacques Paul & Herb with the constructor Bernard Lafaille in 1937,[5] Dante Petroni in 1937,

4 Among domestic exhibitors Croatians were most numerous (359), followed by Slovenes (87), exhibitors from Vojvodina (40), Bosnia and Hercegovina (26) and Serbia (12).

5 The architect Robert Edouard Camelot (Reims, 1903 – Paris, 1992) was repeatedly involved in the construction of exhibition pavilions. The engineer Bernard Lafaille (Reims, 1900 - Paris, 1955) was a famous innovator and inventor of spatial structures. Alongside numerous industrial and exhibition halls, as well as churches in

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Otto Roemer in 1937, and Ferdinand Fencl 1938, respectively. The French exhibition pavilion was built in the center of the new trade fair complex.[6] Its position and circular plan were taken from the first-prize-winning design. The pavilion was cylindrical with an irregular perimeter, and covered with a thin-shell steel structure (la voile mince), and had an inverted conical shape with a diameter of 33 meters. The cone was built of 2 mm-thick steel plates positioned 15 meters above the ground on a ring of 12 tubular posts with a diameter of 80 cm each. The posts stood on short reinforced-concrete base columns rising from the foundation ring. The lower part of the perimeter had masonry walls, while the upper part was built of wooden frames and boards with narrow vertical windows. Additional natural lighting was provided through central roof glazing. The pavilion was heated by an electric heating system. The structure was built by the "Braća Faltus" construction company, while the "Braća Ševčik" iron and metal foundry produced the metal construction. In the Zagreb fair complex, the French pavilion represents a unique engineering innovation, because it was the first time a thin-shell construction had been applied to a load-bearing structure. The pavilion has exceptional cultural, historical, technical and technological value, far exceeding its local significance, and was therefore repeatedly published and appraised in the international professional press.[7] The Italian pavilion, a worthy achievement of interwar rationalism, was also immediately published in the periodical *Heraklith-Rundschau*. The Czechoslovak pavilion, a significant building in the spirit of what was known as scientific functionalism,[8] was highly appreciated within the œuvre of its author. Interestingly, the pavilion of the Third Reich in Zagreb was designed as an elegant, atrial, skeletal structure in the Bauhaus style. It was completely different from the German pavilion, designed with totalitarian architecture by Albert Speer,[9] which was built almost simultaneously for the 1937 Paris Exposition. The architects of the French and Czechoslovakian pavilions in Zagreb occupy highly valued positions in the international history of modern architecture, while the designers of the Italian and German pavilions have fallen into complete oblivion (Laslo 2007: 36).

Bizerte and Royan, Lafaille is the author of the Le Corbusier project Unité d'Habitation, built in Nantes-Rezé and (after his death) in Briey-en-Forêt.

6 Fonds Laffaille, Bernard, Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine. http://archiwebture.citechaillot.fr/fonds/FRAPN02_LAFBE/inventaire/objet-7460 (accessed: 28.03.2013).

7 "*La Technique des travaux. Revue mensuelle des procédés de construction modernes*" and within the extensive obituaries published by Renéa Sargera "*L'Oeuvre de Bernard Lafaille*", published in "L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui", Paris, 64/1956.

8 Functionalism is the theory that good design results from, or is identical to, functional efficiency, i.e. architecture should be determined by function alone (J. S. Curl: Oxford Dictionary of Architecture, Oxford University Press, 1999: 259). Functionalism had the strongest influence in Germany, Czechoslovakia, the USSR and the Netherlands. In the former Czechoslovakia, functionalism was a dominant architectonic style in the period 1935–1970 (except during the occupation, and the Stalinist architecture of the 1950s), and was the result of a fascination with industrial development.

9 Speer later revealed in his autobiographies (*Inside the Third Reich*) that he had designed the German pavilion to represent a bulwark against Communism.

The dynamic development of the Zagreb Convention was unfortunately short lived: the big autumn show in 1939, where the Philips Company presented a television exhibition with a movable TV studio, coincided with the German invasion of Poland and the outbreak of the Second World War. Soon the activity of the Convention began to fade and in autumn 1942, instead of the international fair of samples, only a Croatian-German agricultural festival was held. The exhibition activity on the Savska Road site was reignited in 1947 under the new name "Zagreb Fair". Post-war changes, both social and political, demanded a reorganization of the Zagreb Fair in a way that suited the government of the newly established Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The composition of foreign exhibitors changed significantly, with the leading role now taken by the Soviet Union. (The last pre-war exhibitions had been marked by an aggressive presentation of German exhibitors who were not present in 1947.) The affiliation of Yugoslavia to the socialist bloc, and the beginning of the Cold War, were both important factors in how individual states presented themselves at the Zagreb Fair (Arčabić 2013: 222). *The International Sample Fair* was organized with the purpose of promoting the first Yugoslav five-year plan for boosting the national economy. At the fairground, the former French pavilion, located in the middle, now became the Central Pavilion, while the Czechoslovak pavilion was retained for use by Czechoslovakia; the Concert shell between the main entrance and the French Pavilion (which became the national pavilion of independent Croatia in 1941) was demolished, and the picturesque Banovina pavilion was replaced with an unsightly addition to the former German pavilion. The new era was marked with a sgraffito mural titled *Work, industry, construction* by Ernest Tomašević (Laslo 2007: 38).

In June 1948 an attempt was made to sabotage the Zagreb Fair: "the countries of the Cominform bloc wished to obstruct the fair by first hiring pavilions and then cancelling their participation at the last moment. Thanks to the resourcefulness of the Zagreb Fair management, this scheme was not only prevented – quickly filling the entire exhibition space previously hired by the USSR – but was also turned to our advantage, the western side of the fairgrounds being expanded by three new pavilions" (Sabolić 1999: 89). As the Yugoslav League of Communists under Comrade Tito had been expelled from Cominform that same month for having refused to accept limits on its independence of action, sabotage of the Zagreb Fair was not entirely unexpected.

From the early 1950s the Zagreb Fair yet again showed a need for expansion. At the same time, Većeslav Holjevac, mayor of Zagreb between 1952–1963, recognized the city's need to cross the river Sava – one of the longitudinal barriers for the development of the city – and to continue its logical progression to the south. Out of this came the idea of making a new venue for the Zagreb Fair on the right

bank of the river Sava. In the spring of 1953, experts from various city institutions came together to evaluate the possible expansion of the city, and the Zagreb Fair, beyond the Sava"(Sabolić 1999: 92). A location was conditionally approved, along with plans to expand the city south of the river.

Construction on the first stage of the new Zagreb Fair started in summer 1956, along the lines of a spatial concept by the architect Marijan Haberle. In record time, with only 115 days till the vernissage, the first 41,000 m² of exhibition space, complete with all utilities and facilities, was completed on a plot measuring 325 x 900 m. Thirteen pavilions were built, seven of which were designed for foreign countries by selected national architects. Italy, the USSR, Romania, Czechoslovakia, China, Hungary and Poland took the opportunity to build new structures, with a total exhibition area of 19,432 m². For Yugoslav exhibitors, the Zagreb Fair authorities built five pavilions totaling 20,464 m² in area. Due to the unexpectedly high interest from exhibitors and the lack of space, two other pavilions originally earmarked for Yugoslavia were ceded to India, Austria and West Germany. In addition, some foreign countries, including the USA, Great Britain, Liechtenstein, Israel and Pakistan, stayed at the old fairground, occupying some 20,000 m² of exhibition space in the city center (Savska Road), making a total of twenty-five participating countries from three continents.

In September 1956, Marshal Tito opened *The 51st International Fair* in Zagreb, which was that year held in two locations: on the completed part of the new grounds, and on the old fairground in Savska Road. During the opening it was pointed out that «the Zagreb Fair "is becoming a manifestation of two permanent policy aspirations of Yugoslavia: aspirations for economic progress and aspiration for a wider broader cooperation between Yugoslavia and other countries"» (*Međunarodna politika*, Sept. 19 1956). "With the 51st International Fair, Yugoslavia was affirmed as an industrial land and at the same time had become a manifestation of Europe's economic scale. That, business people of many countries did not hide" (*Novi list*, Sept. 23 1956).

As part of US President Eisenhower's foreign economic policy, which started in 1954, United States participation in international trade fairs included exhibitions behind the Iron Curtain. The first such appearance was at the International Trade Fair in Zagreb in Communist Yugoslavia 1956. While little was expected in immediate trade, the fair offered a chance to counter Soviet propaganda and present an approach to American life and resources (*The New York Times*, May 22 1956). The theme was "America at home", where Yugoslav workers were invited to compare their daily lives with those of their American counterparts. The display model was a completely furnished "pumpkin" – a shaped dwelling of sprayed concrete designed by the architect John Johansen especially for the Zagreb Fair. *(Fig. 1)* "It

ZAGREB, YUGOSLAVIA

The Zagreb International Trade Fair was the first opportunity the United States has had to stage an industrial exhibit in a Communist country. While little was expected in immediate trade, the fair offered a chance to counter Soviet propaganda and present an approach to American life and resources.

Designers of Raymond Spilman's office, including Don Waterman and David Wurster, developed the theme, "America at Home," against the background of a photo-story of an average American industrial worker, Ed Barnes (which has been shown at other fairs in the past). Displays of model prefabricated houses—one of them, by John Johansen, of unusual design in sprayed concrete construction—were completely furnished and supplied with kitchen, garden and recreational equipment. The method of approach was to invite the Yugoslavian worker to compare his daily life with that of his American counterpart.

The industrial equipment shown was selected for its applicability to Yugoslav problems, and included a butcher shop in operation with modern refrigeration and packaging devices, a Department of Agriculture display of dairy processing machinery, and a sewing machine production line. Do-it-yourself tools, automobiles, cameras, a children's playground, hi-fi and television equipment presented other aspects of American life.

Marshal Tito, standing to right of his wife, watches demonstration of meat-processing machinery with obvious interest. Behind him is one of the exhibit designers, Don Waterman. Below, prefabricated sprayed concrete structure is shown in U. S. outdoor area, housing an exhibit of American architecture.

Fig. 1. Shaped dwelling of sprayed concrete designed by John Johansen - US display model at Zagreb International Trade Fair 1956

is the first building of its kind in the world […] The structure of the building is made of a concrete shell covering over the pipe framework. A concrete circular dome covers a floor of about 15 m in diameter. The frame, coated with concrete (concrete can be also sprayed), is mounted on the edge of the circular foundation and connected at the top to a tubular joint. The most interesting thing is that the

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Fig. 2. Zagreb Internationl Trade Fair, aerial view 1957: in front line – Hungarian, Soviet and Chinese pavilions; behind – Czechoslovak, Romanian and GDR pavilions; far behind – USA and Engineering pavilions

roof of this building does not require any central pillar, so the entire surface of the building is completely free for decoration" (*Narodni list*, Sept. 6 1956). Despite its interesting project, the United States exhibit was at a disadvantage, being housed at the old fairground in downtown Zagreb, while the Russians and Chinese had permanent buildings of their own at the new grounds outside the city (*The New York Times*, Sept. 8 1956).

For the following event in 1957, the new Fair was complete, having been substantially enlarged in line with designs by Božidar Rašica, to comprise a total of 21 pavilions: nine for domestic exhibitors, designed by renowned Croatian architects, ten others for foreign countries (the existing pavilions were joined by those for the USA, Austria and the two Germanys), one more for collective foreign shows,

Fig. 3. USA pavilion at Zagreb International Trade Fair 1957

and the last one for domestic representatives of foreign industries. *(Fig. 2)* The first US pavilion at the Zagreb Trade Fair was designed by the Walter Dorwin Teague Association.[10] It contained 4,250 m^2 of space. Most of the construction materials were made in Yugoslavia, including ten Y-shaped steel posts supporting the building, each stretching its arms 29 meters across the width of the building. Aluminum louvers, each almost one meter wide and 4.8 meters long, covered the façade (Ibidem, Sept. 1 1957). *(Fig. 3)* These were fabricated in the US and shipped across the ocean with "do-it-yourself" instructions for the construction crew. The pavilion included an appliance store, a model apartment, an area for farm machinery and a fully equipped laundromat, creating a sensational picture of the American way of life. By creating consumer demands that the Soviets could not yet fulfill, Americans wanted to push the independent-minded President Tito closer to the West (Hadow 1997: 65). Many years later Walter Dorwin Teague explained the situation:

> "In 1957, I designed and built the permanent United States pavilion in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, for the Department of Commerce. With some misgivings, Paul Medalie, the Commerce man, and I gave in to the pleadings of the Yugoslav fair management and agreed to let them do the construction. The schedule was almost impossible; because of delays in the contract we couldn't break ground until June, and the 350-foot-long building was supposed to open, with exhibits, Sept. 10. The Yugoslavs wanted to show what they could do. The steel mill in Maribor worked 24 hours a

10 *Walter Dorwin Teague* was an American industrial designer, architect, illustrator, graphic designer, writer, and entrepreneur in America, often referred to as the "Dean of Industrial Design". Teague is recognized as a critical figure in the spread of mid-century modernism in America. He is widely known for his exhibition designs during the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair, such as the Ford Building, and his iconic product and package designs.

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> day, and 13 machine shops in Zagreb cranked out the huge louvers that made up the facade, using the material we shipped over. Our people and the Yugoslavs worked side by side, communicating in sign language. The main exhibit was a complete duplication of a large U.S. supermarket, and the U.S. Food Chain Association did a masterly job of bringing over everything and setting it up. On Sept. 10, Marshal Tito walked down the aisle and cut the ribbon to open the show. The supermarket was a huge success, and the Zagreb officials went on radio with glowing praise of the building, the exhibits and the cooperation that had overcome all obstacles. Almost 30 years have passed since then, and I haven't been back, but I know that at that time there were very few people in Zagreb who didn't admire and want to emulate the United States, and that includes Communist Party members. We weren't trying to tell them to give up Communism; we were saying: 'This is how we do it. Judge for yourselves.' " (*The New York Times*, Oct. 1 1986).

The permanent American pavilion was the largest exhibition building constructed by the United States in any foreign country at the time of construction, and it was supervised by the designer's son, Walter Dorwin Teague, Jr (Ibidem, Sept. 16 1959). The first American supermarket in a communist country, Supermarket USA, as a joint project of the National Association of Food Chains and the US, was housed in one third of the pavilion (Ibidem, July 24 1957). Six hundred manufacturers contributed equipment and merchandise for the exhibit, including packed and perishable items.

The American pavilion drew visitors with a series of interesting exhibits (agricultural and household appliances, the typical American home) and a supermarket that had never before been seen in Yugoslavia (Haddow 1997: 68), while the pavilion of the USSR, dominated by huge machinery, special vehicles, also presented "a 'new model of the Volga passenger wagons', trucks, and a self-propelled combined harvester SK-3." Only the free sightseeing flight by Aeroflot helicopter, brought along with the Soviet exhibition, went some way toward matching the delights of American abundance (Jakovina 2003: 475).

The following year, the struggle for supremacy between the Soviets and the Americans was once again expressed at the Zagreb Fair with demonstrations of the competing achievements of their nations. The idea behind the US exhibit was to "show the Yugoslavs that American ideas and methods can help them solve some of their problems… The food packaging machinery, for instance, is a follow up of last year's highly successful exhibit of a typical American neighborhood supermarket. The supermarket idea has caught on here since then – about fourteen are said to have been built or are being built in Zagreb and Belgrade." (*New York Times*, Sept. 7 1958) Tito, having inspected the US units on display, commented: "Just the thing for Yugoslavia." Reporting from the Fair, the Russian press *Moskovskaia pravda* obviously criticized Tito's short visits to the pavilions of the socialist countries

(three to seven minutes), as opposed to the US pavilion, where he stayed for over 30 minutes. They concluded that Tito's attitude to the Fair was just as questionable as his views on Marxist doctrine (*Die Zeit*, Sept. 18 1958).

Throughout the years "rival suitors - the United States and the Soviet Union - woo Yugoslavia with technological triumphs" (*National Geographic* 1970: 610) developing competition that intended to maintain economic, military and political interests in this part of the globe. In 1959, for instance, the main Soviet exhibit was Sputnik 3, an automatic scientific laboratory spacecraft. The same year, the United States countered with a North American X-15 rocket-powered aircraft, along with the Transland Ag-2, and cars such as the Chevrolet Impala and Studebaker Lark VI. The most significant achievements from the Space Race were exhibited at the Zagreb Fair shortly after their use. *(Fig. 4)*

Competing for position, even at the Fair, led to several new pavilions being built in the following decade or so, while others changed owners or users. Italy constructed three new national pavilions in 1956, 1959 and 1962, selling their previous ones to Poland, the Netherlands and Switzerland respectively, while the original Hungarian pavilion of 1956, having a light and easy-to-dismantle metal structure, made way for the new West German pavilion and moved nearby; it was later moved to a more distant point in order to accommodate domestic wooden industries, while Hungary shared a new pavilion with Spain. The largest pavilion built for a foreign country was the second USSR pavilion,[11] designed by Boris S. Vilenskiy in 1967. That same year, the second American pavilion was also built, designed by Fritz Bornemann using the innovative Mero system of nodes and beams, positioned closer to the main city axis.[12]

In the chronology of the Zagreb Fair, the 1960s were the years of greatest development, with a fast growing economy in general and particularly rapid industrial advances. This enabled further strengthening of international trade and politics. The expansion of the fair in 1963 was mainly due to developing countries in Africa and Asia using international trade exhibitions to promote themselves as part of the world economy (Sabolić 1999: 105). Within the Non-Aligned movement, the AYA – Africa-Yugoslavia-Asia – exhibition center played an important role in world relations. The Round Table of Developing Countries, a permanent forum

11 Its precise transparent cube shows the references to the Crown Hall or the theater in Mannheim by Mies van der Rohe, linking abstract design with the function of displaying large machines. The steel structure with its minimal profile and large span deserves recognition today. It was planned as a multi-purpose facility (originally conceived and executed with the possibility of creating ice surfaces, movable stands, and so on, various events took place here, such as shows on ice, a concert by Louis Armstrong, a performance by Karlheinz Stockhausen during the International Biennial of Contemporary Music in 1965, filming, etc.)

12 *Technische Universität Berlin –Architekturmuseum*, http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=79&Daten=226610 (accessed: 15.06.2013).

Fig. 4. Soviet exhibit Sputnik 3 and United States exhibit North American X-15 rocket-powered aircraft at Zagreb International Trade Fair 1959

for stimulating cooperation among developing countries, used especially for the transfer of knowledge and technology, also took place at the Zagreb Fair, along with its pioneering role in presenting developing countries to the rest of the world (Zdunić 1986: 121).

In the 1970s, the trend in fairs tended towards specialized events, and the Zagreb Fair management also adopted such a business policy. In parallel with the founding of specialized fairs, the tradition of the Zagreb International Autumn Fair was maintained. In the late 1980s, the history of the fair reached another turning point with the break-up of Yugoslavia. A period of transition ensued, and a significant part of the market was lost. With a view to establishing closer links between the economies of particular countries and the domestic market, the *Partner Country* project was initiated in 1987 at the Zagreb Fair.[13] Despite the turbulent social and political events in the 1990s, the Zagreb Fair continued to be held (Sabolić 1999: 116, 117). The last twenty years have been characterized by a slowdown in activities.

Since 2003 the entire complex of the Zagreb Fair has been registered cultural property with 8 individually protected pavilions: the *USSR pavilion*, designed by J. Abramov in 1956 – a distinctive exhibition hall, 14.2 m in height with a 27.5 m arch span, consisting of prefabricated mounting elements resting on two monolithic reinforced-concrete frames; the *Chinese pavilion*, designed by Cheng Sung Mao in 1956; the *Czechoslovakian pavilion* from 1956, designed by the Czechoslovak architect Josef Hrubý as the only major building at the Zagreb Fair whose load-

13 The first partner was India (1987), then the United States (1988), the Soviet Union (1989) and the Federal Republic of Germany (1990).

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Fig. 5. International 'collective' pavilion, Zagreb International Trade Fair 1957

Fig. 6. Engineering pavilion, Zagreb International Trade Fair 1957

bearing structure is made of wood, making it a rarity among the mostly concrete and steel buildings typical of fairs; the *International 'collective' pavilion* by the architect Ivo Vitić, from 1957 – a reinforced concrete structure of the original system, with cables on the roof, whose elegant silhouette and mesh-ribbed-surface gable walls make it truly stand out *(Fig. 5);* the *Engineering pavilion* from 1957, by the architect Božidar Rašica – a simple object with large dimensions and an airy construction (steel and glass) that allows variable spatial solutions and multipurpose use, located on the very edge of the fair, in order to facilitate access and use, without the need of going deeper into the grounds of the fair *(Fig. 6);* the *third Italian pavilion*, built in 1962 by Raffaele Contigiani and Giuseppe Sambito – this project aimed to create an architectural structure showing new technical possibilities (Inverted pyramids

Fig. 7. Third Italian pavilion, Zagreb International Trade Fair 1962

made of lightweight ribs covered with sheet metal and glass. The design allows flexible shifts that may be caused by the wind or the stretching of the steel acting on the pyramids themselves, on their covers and on the glass wall membrane) *(Fig. 7);* the *Hypar* of 1964, again by Božidar Rašica – a reinforced concrete shell designed as an information point; and the *DDR*, also designed by Božidar Rašica in 1964 – the design is based on a modular spatial system, where six major load-bearing concrete piers carry inverted pyramids. The mantle object is derived from what was at the time an entirely new building material: molded glass elements (*Conservation documentation* 2003: 51). The existing urban matrix of the Zagreb Fair in its present situation is the guiding commitment for future constructors.

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The principles on which the pavilions for trade fairs were built were not rigidly determined, because the role and character of the fair, in conveying the latest ideas and products to an immediate audience, changed in accordance with social, economic, political and other factors. By a tradition, European nations tended to build their own pavilions for the Zagreb trade shows: France and Czechoslovakia had their own pavilions here in 1922, and then there was, of course, the great architectural contest between the German, French, Italian and Czechoslovak pavilions at new Zagreb Convention in 1936–1937.

The last relocation of the Zagreb Fair, in 1956, to its current location on the right bank of the river Sava, close to the main city axis, was a step of far greater importance than simply moving the fair. It was a decisive moment in the expansion of the city, which propelled further development and gave added impulse to the immediate construction of the emerging New Zagreb. The Zagreb Fair was always a place of innovation, in terms of both architecture and the exhibits themselves. The innovative techniques used in the design and construction of the pavilions (the thin shell of the French pavilion, the sprayed concrete house and the Mero system used in the US pavilions), combined with the way the latest achievements in science and culture were presented, ensured that the Zagreb Fair played a significant and inescapable role in the history of trade fairs.

Above all, however, the (new) Zagreb Trade Fair, generously arranged, and embellished over time with some fine landscaping and a number of open-air sculptural accents, was not only a prestigious international commercial event: its premises became an unrivaled arena for the most direct head-to-head competition between the diametrically opposed Western and Eastern worlds, eventually augmented (following the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961) by the addition of third-world countries in the famous AYA – Africa-Yugoslavia-Asia – exhibition hall.

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Fig. 3. USA pavilion at Zagreb International Trade Fair 1957. Source: Croatian State Archives, Zagreb. AG FOTO L-996-024.

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Lara Slivnik

Yugoslavia at the Montreal Expo 67: The Architectural Competition and the Pavilion

The 1967 International and Universal Exhibition or Expo 67 in Montreal, Canada, was the second global exhibition held after World War II. Canada organized this exhibition to mark the one hundredth anniversary of their secession from the British colonies and the establishment of the Confederation of Canada as a dominion under the British crown. The theme of the exhibition was *Man and His World*. The exhibition took place from 28 April to 27 October 1967 on two islands on the St. Lawrence River.

YUGOSLAV PAVILIONS BEFORE EXPO 67

Before Expo 67 Yugoslavia had only participated with its own national pavilions at three world exhibitions: in Barcelona (1929, as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), in Paris (1937, as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), and in Brussels (1958, as the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia).

At the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition, Yugoslavia built its own national pavilion for the first time. It was designed by a Serbian architect, Dragiša Brašovan (1887–1965), who up until that time had been a devotee of Central European Eclecticism. As his first avant-garde architectural project, the pavilion "was designed as a formal exercise in modernity" (Blagojević 2003: 96) and shows elements of both Expressionism and Modernist architecture. The ground floor was shaped like an irregular star, while its facade, with black and white stripes generated by timber beams, resembled Adolf Loos's famous proposal for the house of Josephine Baker. The pavilion was among the three most successful ones at the exposition (Mattie 1998: 148), besides Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's German pavilion and Peder Clason's Swedish one. Dragiša Brašovan was also awarded the highest prize of the exhibition, the International Grand Prix for Architecture. Although the pavilion was demolished after the Barcelona Exposition, it established Dragiša Brašovan as one of the leading modernist architects of the early twentieth century in Yugoslavia.

The Paris 1937 *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* was dedicated to art and technology in modern life. The design for the Yugoslav pavilion was chosen in a two-stage competition. After an open call for anonymous submissions in the first stage, the commission chose a number of works and invited their authors to improve and resubmit their proposals in the

second, non-anonymous stage. In both stages, the first prize went to Josip Seissel (1904–1987), a Croatian architect and urban planner who was also a constructivist artist, graphic designer, stage designer, theoretician, and from 1965 professor at the Faculty of Architecture at Zagreb University. With its asymmetrical ground floor plan, a cubical facade with a mosaic painting, and an undecorated interior, Seissel's Yugoslav pavilion exhibited a clear Modernist design (Slivnik 2008: 16). Even the classical architectural elements strictly followed the Modernist agenda, such as the four grand columns that divided the triple entrance symbolizing the three nations of the Kingdom (while disregarding the others), which were left undecorated. For the design of the Yugoslav pavilion, Josip Seissel received two international prizes: the Order of the Légion d'Honneur from the French government and the Grand Prix for Architecture.

The Yugoslav pavilion at Expo 58, held in Brussels in 1958, was designed by Vjenceslav Richter (1917–2002). Richter was a Croatian architect and theoretician, but he also worked in many other fields of art: painting, graphic arts, sculpture, stage design, and town-planning. He submitted a number of competition projects for pavilions at international fairs: Trieste 1947, Vienna 1949, Stockholm 1949 and 1950, Hannover 1950, and Paris 1950. At the competition for the Yugoslav pavilion at Expo 58 he finally won the first prize. Richter "originally proposed to suspend the whole structure from a giant cable-stayed mast. When that proved too difficult, Richter devised a tension column consisting of six steel arches supported by a pre-stressed cable which stood in front of the pavilion as a visual marker and symbolized Yugoslavia's six constituent republics." (Expo 1958) With its light structure made of steel (Springer 2008), its transparent facade and its functional floor plan, the pavilion represented International Modernism in architecture. The pavilion remains one of the most significant achievements in the history of modern Yugoslav architecture "either in the context of contemporary world architecture, or taking into consideration the fact that the pavilion was bought out after the exhibition and moved to Wevelgem (some 80 km from Brussels) where it is converted for the use of a private school, thus representing one of few Croatian architecture realisations abroad" (Galjer 2009). According to many influential contemporary art critics, including Alfred H. Barr, Jr. and Jean Cassou, Richter's Yugoslav pavilion was among the six architecturally most successful pavilions at the Brussels exposition (Kulić 2008: 105). For the pavilion's simplicity and elegance, Vjenceslav Richter was awarded a Gold Medal.

Based on the prizes awarded for the designs of the first three Yugoslav pavilions at world exhibitions, each of these pavilions can be considered a success. Unfortunately, the story of the fourth national pavilion is quite different – unique and rather sad.

THE CONTROVERSIAL COMPETITION

In May 1965 the Federal Executive Council, i.e., the government of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, decided that Yugoslavia would participate at Expo 67 with its own national pavilion. On 15 September 1965 the General Committee of the Yugoslav Section for the World Exposition in Montreal (note the pompous name given to the newly established government body) and the Federal Union of Associations of Yugoslav Architects announced an architectural competition for the pavilion. On the one hand, the competition called for ingenious and extravagant designs of symbolic form expressing deep emotions, but on the other hand, it stressed a desire for highly innovative technical ideas and exceptionally effective organization of the interior space.

A two-stage competition was conceived, similarly to the one organized three decades previously for the International Exhibition in Paris: an open call for anonymous submissions in the first stage was to be used to decide who would qualify for the second stage, where improved versions of the best first-stage entries would be resubmitted.

The jury, consisting of twelve members, was presided over by Rodoljub Čolaković, a Bosnian Serb general during the Second World War and a top ranking Yugoslav politician. The other eleven members were either politicians or artists: Otmar Kreačić (Croatian WWII colonel general and a top ranking official at the Ministry of Defense), Bogdan Bogdanović (Serbian architect, urban planner, politician and essayist), Oskar Davičo (Serbian novelist and poet of Jewish origin), A. Đorđević (architect), Mladen Kauzlarić (professor of architecture at the University of Zagreb), Uroš Martinović (Montenegro – Serbian architect), Kiril Muratovski (Macedonian architect), Miodrag Protić (Serbian painter), Vojin Bakić (Croatian sculptor of Serbian descent), Marjan Tepina (Slovene architect and politician), and finally the unknown Vl. Saičić.

Although participating countries were allowed to start constructing their pavilions as early as the summer of 1965, it took the General Committee four months to organize and announce the competition. However, despite the narrow, 30-day deadline given for submitting competition entries, 59 were submitted in total. It took the jury only 6 days, from 15 October to 20 October 1965, to select the six entries whose authors would be invited to the second stage. They were given 45 days to improve their competition entries, strictly adhering to the jury's remarks, and to resubmit them together with full technical documentation and all the feasibility issues resolved. This time, the jury needed 10 days, from 1 December till 10 December 1965, to reach the final decision for ranking the six finalists (Slivnik, Kušar 2008).

1

KONKURSI

KONKURS ZA IDEJNO REŠENJE JUGOSLOVENSKOG PAVILJONA NA SVETSKOJ IZLOŽBI U MONTREALU — EXPO 1967.

Svetske izložbe predstavljaju izuzetno važne političke i arhitektonske manifestacije. Prema Konvenciji o održavanju međunarodnih izložbi, koja je potpisana u Parizu 22. novembra 1928, cilj svake izložbe je da se prikaže napredak zemlje, odnosno razvoj jedne ili više proizvodnih grana.

Svetska izložba 1967, takođe će obilovati ovakvim prikazima, ali će istovremeno pokazati i najznačajniji napredak iz oblasti kulture, nauke, umetnosti, tehnologije itd. formulisana kroz moto: »Čovek i njegov svet«, u okviru tema: čovek istraživač, čovek kreator, čovek proizvođač, i čovek i zajednica.

Svetska izložba u Montrealu održaće se od 28. aprila do 27. oktobra 1967. i to baš u vreme kada Kanada proslavlja stogo-

1, 2 — I nagrada — arh. Miroslav Pešić
3, 4 — II nagrada — arh. Vjenceslav Rihter

1, 2 — Ier prix — arch. Miroslav Pešić
3, 4 — IIe prix — arch. Vjenceslav Rihter

1, 2 — I Prize — Arch. Miroslav Pešić
3, 4 — II Prize — Arch. Vjenceslav Rihter

3

2

4

Fig. 1. The First Page of the Report in Arhitektura urbanizam on the Expo 67 Architectural Competition: the 1st Prize (top and bottom left) and the 2nd Prize (middle left and bottom right)

dišnjicu svoje Konfederacije i 325-tu godišnjicu postojanja grada Montreala. Izložba će biti smeštena u centru Montreala i obuhvataće prostor od oko 200 ha.

Savezno izvršno veće SFRJ prihvatilo je učešće na izložbi, kojim će se popularisati SFRJ sa političkog, ekonomskog, privrednog, kulturnog i turističkog aspekta, kako kod kanadske i svetske javnosti, tako i kod poslovnih ljudi i naših iseljenika. Oblasti našeg izložbenog materijala su: državno i društveno uređenje; kultura, nauka, umetnost i obrazovanje; privreda i prirodne lepote (turizam).

Konkurs za idejno rešenje paviljona i uređenje terena, raspisali su Generalni komesarijat jugoslovenske sekcije za Međunarodnu izložbu u Montrealu 1967. i Savez arhitekata Jugoslavije i to u dva stepena: prvi anonimni, anketni, kvalifikacioni, koji je odredio šest učesnika za dalje takmičenje i drugi uži, neanonimni, idejni u kome su učestvovali samo izabrani učesnici. Cilj prvog stepena je bio da se dobiju najbolje ideje, na osnovu kojih mogu da se rade idejna rešenja.

Atraktivnost objekta, njegova funkcija, program i položaj na izložbi kao i forma konkursa privukli su veliki broj učesnika — 59. Žiri, pod predsedništvom druga Rodoljuba Čolakovića, rukovodio se u sistemu eliminacije kriterijumima koji favorizuju izvornost osnovne ideje prostorne koncepcije rešenja, oblikovanje objekta, realnost izvođenja i organizaciju izložbenog prostora. U drugom delu konkursa žiri je razmatrao u kojoj meri su pojedini radovi udovoljili stavljenim primedbama kod pregleda u prvom stepenu.

Prva nagrada u iznosu od 1,800.000 starih dinara dodeljena je arhitekti Miroslavu Pešiću iz Beograda, čija koncepcija rešenja bazira na ritmu prizmatičnih prostornih elemenata, postavljenih u vidu dve kontrapostirane baterije. Rešenje pruža pored jednostavnosti saopštavanja ideje i prostornu dinamiku. Konstrukciono rešenje elemenata daje povoljne mogućnosti variranja u materijalu i obradi i realnost za realizaciju u pogledu vremena i tehnike. U prvom delu ovaj rad je imao nedostataka u diferenciranju prostora po vertikali i u komunikacijama, što je u drugom delu u potpunosti otklonjeno.

Druga nagrada u iznosu od 1,400.000 starih dinara dodeljena je arhitekti Vjenceslavu Rihteru sa saradnicima iz Zagreba, čiji pokušaj sa poluotvorenim prostornim konceptom paviljona je vrlo originalan i daje niz mogućnosti za atraktivno eksponiranje izložbenih objekata. Jedinstvo čitavog prostora pod svodom neba je osnovna karakteristika projekta sa posebno interesantnom idejom uvođenja visećih tela sa dinamičnom promenom slika. Međutim, u drugom delu konkursa autor nije dao zadovoljavajući odgovor u odnosu na istaknute probleme klimatskih uticaja, racionalnosti i realnosti konstrukcije.

Treća nagrada u iznosu od 1,000.000 starih dinara dodeljena je arhitekti Ivanu Štrausu iz Sarajeva, čija osnovna koncepcija predloga sa razvijenom spiralom kretanja kroz trougaone prostorne elemente postavljene oko heksagonalnog jezgra, daje u isto vreme sažet i prostorno dinamičan oblik. Elementi su dati vrlo jasno i u prostornom i u konstrukcionom pogledu, pogodni za realizaciju montaže. Tretiranje unutarnjih prostora sa naizmeničnim otvaranjem svetlosnih površina i punih zidnih platna kroz denivelisane elemente daje interesantne mogućnosti rešenja unutrašnjeg prostora. Međutim u opštem prostornom izrazu potenciran je utisak utilitarnog objekta.

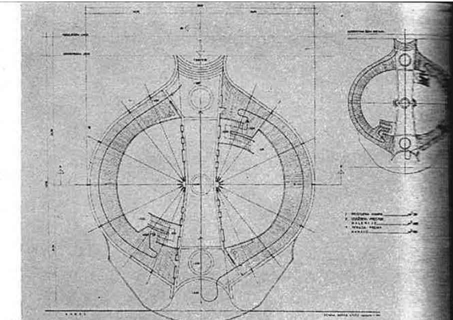
Ostale tri nagrade u iznosu od 600.000 starih dinara dodeljene su: četvrta arhitekti Simi Miljkoviću i vajaru Nikoli Milunoviću iz Beograda, čiji rad ima koncepciju koja polazi od jedinstvenog tretiranja problema sa tendencijom skulptoralnog izražavanja. Sugestivan je predlog procepa dinamiziranih konstrukcionih elemenata, koji pruža atraktivne mogućnosti.

Petu nagradu dobili su arhitekti: Marko Mušič, Jernej Krajgher i Lojze Drašler iz Ljubljane u čijem rešenju idejni koncept je tretiran kao jedinstveni prostorni zahvat, likovno obogaćen omekšanim fasadnim obimom u vidu zidnog platna. Jedinstvo unutarnjeg prostora čini osnovni kvalitet predloga, međutim u spoljnom oblikovanju nije postignuta originalnost.

Šestu nagradu su dobili arhitekti Ivan Filipčić i Berislav Šerbetić iz Zagreba u čijem radu posebna vrednost je ideja sa rešetkastom konstrukcijom kao nosačem celokupnog izložbenog prostora koji je u raznim volumenima u više nivoa obešen o konstrukciju i povezan međusobno pasarelama. Međutim koncentrisanje tereta na pojedine tačke prostorne rešetke nosi u sebi i nelogičnost sistema i dovodi do pseudokonstruktivizma.

Prvoplasiranom učesniku konkursa, raspisivač je obezbedio izradu glavnog projekta i nadzor nad izvođenjem. Kratkoća rokova i posebni uslovi montaže i transporta posebno otežavaju ovaj rad.

Olga MILIĆEVIĆ-NIKOLIĆ



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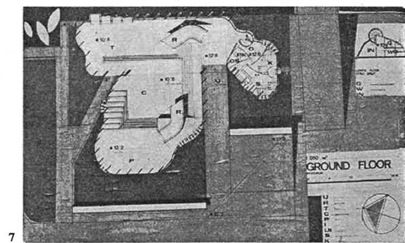

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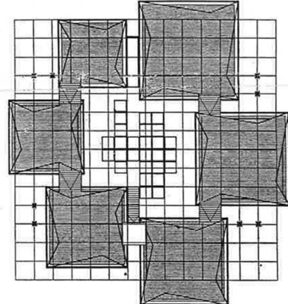

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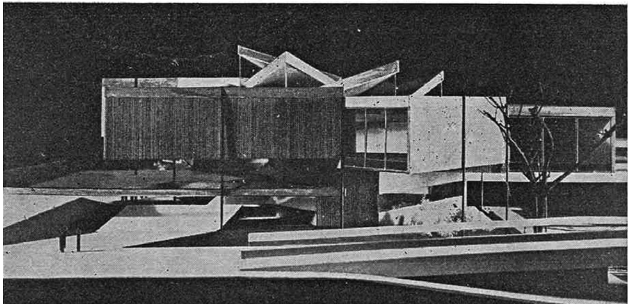

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5 — III nagrada — arh. Ivan Štraus
6 — IV nagrada — arh. Sima Miljković i vajar Nikola Milunović
7 — V nagrada — Marko Mušič, Jernej Krajgher i Lojze Drašler
8 — VI nagrada — arh. Ivan Filipčić i arh. Berislav Šerbetić

5 — IIIe prix — arch. Ivan Štraus
6 — IVe prix — arch. Sima Miljković et sculpteur Nikola Milunović
7 — Ve prix — Marko Mušič, Jernej Krajgher et Lojze Drašler
8 — VIe prix — arch. Ivan Filipčić et arch. Berislav Šerbetić

5 — III Prize — Arch. Ivan Štraus
6 — IV Prize — Arch. Sima Miljković and sculptor Nikola Milunović
7 — V Prize — Marko Mušič, Jernej Krajgher and Lojze Drašler
8 — VI Prize — Arch. Ivan Filipčić and Arch. Berislav Šerbetić

Fig. 2. The Second Page of the Report in Arhitektura urbanizam on the Expo 67 Architectural Competition: the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 3rd prize (from top to bottom)

Architects Ivo Filipčić and Berislav Šerbetić from Zagreb were awarded the sixth prize; Marko Mušič, Jernej Kraigher and Lojze Drašler, students of architecture from the University of Ljubljana, came fifth; and the team made up of the architect Sima Miljković and the sculptor Nikola Milutinović from Belgrade won the fourth prize. Each of these three teams received the same amount of 600,000 Federation dinars. Ivan Štraus, an architect from Sarajevo, designed a pavilion as a footpath leading through triangular rooms to the hexagonal central part, and won the third prize and 1,000,000 Federation dinars. Architect Vjenceslav Richter from Zagreb, who had already designed the Yugoslav pavilion for Brussels Expo 58, won the second prize and 1,400,000 Federation dinars by proposing an open-air pavilion in the shape of pyramid that would have been cut vertically in two.

The first prize, together with 1,800,000 Federation dinars, went to Miroslav Pešić (who had only recently graduated from the Belgrade Faculty of Architecture) and Lazar Milutinović. Their collaboration quickly ended in dispute, and following litigation, the court ruled in May 1966 that the sole author of the competition entry was Miroslav Pešić (1937), who was subsequently entitled to lead the construction of the Yugoslav national pavilion in Montreal (Manević 1966).

Several articles were published soon after the competition was over. The first one, a completely neutral report about the competition, was published in the Serbian architectural magazine *Arhitektura urbanizam* (Milićević-Nikolić 1965). *(Fig. 1, Fig. 2)*

It was quickly followed by an article in the Croatian architectural magazine *Čovjek i prostor* (Manević 1966). *(Fig. 3)* The author discusses the competition in depth, and points out that, although the competition rules clearly asked for ingenious and extravagant designs, the winning project was relatively cheap and easy to construct quickly. The article concludes with a general question, which in the context of this competition is a very specific one, of how much an architectural idea for an ingenious and extravagant design is worth compared with the time, money, and effort needed to realize it.

In the third article, published in the Croatian architectural magazine *Arhitektura*, the same author discusses the decision of the jury once again (Manević 1967). The article starts with the history of world fairs, including Crystal Palace in London (1851) and the engineering architecture of the Paris World Exhibition (1889), and then describes the Yugoslav pavilions constructed in Barcelona (1929) and Brussels (1958). In the author's opinion, these are all examples of avant-garde architecture, whereas Pešić's project is considered merely a work of standard art quality. The author claims that although Pešić demonstrated skill at using compelling but relatively basic structures, his design can be defined as anything but avant-garde architecture. After describing all six projects in the second stage

čovjek i prostor

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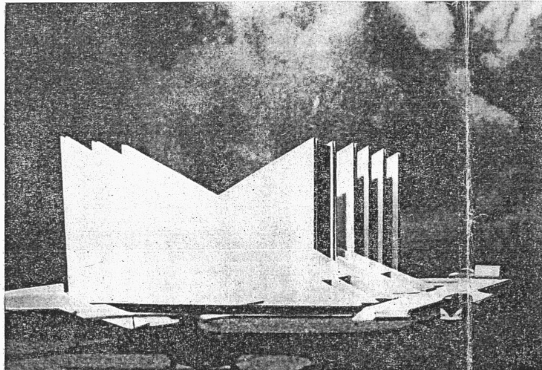
ARHITEKTURA, KIPARSTVO, SLIKARSTVO I PRIMIJENJENA UMJETNOST

GOD. XIII – ZAGREB, SVIBANJ 1966. MAJ IZDAVAČ: SAVEZ ARHITEKATA HRVATSKE CIJENA ND 2,5



Prva nagrada. Autori: Miroslav Pešić i Lazar Milutinović

Odlukom žirija prva nagrada u iznosu od 1.800.000 st. dinara dodeljena je radu pod šifrom DIS (o autorstvu ovog rada sada se vodi sudski spor između Miroslava Pešića i Lazara Milutinovića iz Beograda), druga nagrada u iznosu od 1.400.000 st. dinara dodeljena je Vjenceslavu Rihteru iz Zagreba, treća nagrada u iznosu od 1.000.000 st. dinara dodeljena je Ivanu Štrausu iz Sarajeva, a četvrta, peta i šesta nagrada u iznosu od po 600.000 st. dinara dodeljene su: Simi Miljkoviću i Nikoli Milutinoviću iz Beograda, Marku Mušiću, Jerneju Krajgeru i Lojze Drešleru iz Ljubljane i Ivanu Filipčiću i Berislavu Šerbetiću iz Zagreba.

2.

Zašto se trudimo da ovako pažljivo zabeležimo istoriografska fakta i hronologiju ovog konkursa?

Organizacija konkursa, izbor članova žirija, a zatim odluke žirija i raspored nagrada pripadaju svetu svakodnevnih činjenica i njih je nemoguće komentarisati bez prethodne analize čitavog niza okolnosti, uzroka i posledica. Pa čak i pod pretpostavkom da se sve okolnosti koje su uticale na tok i rezultate jednog konkursa do krajnosti pažljivo prouče, ipak je već unapred, zahvaljujući samoj prirodi problema, mogućnost da se iz ovakve opširne analize izvedu pozitivni i značajni zaključci zaista minimalna.

Rezultati konkursa postoje, međutim, i u drugom, rekli bismo značajnijem obliku, u obliku projekata, tehničkih skica, zabeleženih **arhitektonskih ideja.** I pošto se pređe preko opštih spoljnih činjenica koje određuju praktične vrednosti i stvarne tokove jedne arhitekture, treba se ipak okrenuti i onim unutrašnjim činjenicama, onim naglašenim ili tek napomenutim kvalitetima koji, bez obzira na rang-listu žirija, predstavljaju specifičnu i samosvojnu vrednost.

Treba, dakle, poći od hipoteze da cilj ovog konkursa nije morao biti izbor najrealnijeg, već najduhovnijeg objekta, onoga čija simbolika oblika najviše prijanja uz temu izložbe, uz čoveka i njegov svet. I onda ne vidimo više razloga da se ne istakne očigledna superiornost tehničkih i osećajnih sadržaja ideje Vjenceslava Rihtera.

Rascepljena piramida Vjenceslava Rihtera, taj veliki romantični zamah u dinamičnom osvajanju prostora, koji smo prvi put mogli zapaziti u rascvetanoj tavanici Muzeja Revolucije u Beogradu, a zatim i u unutrašnjim i spoljnim gibanjima nove varijante sinturbanističkih zigura, dobio je ovde čudnog i naizgled neprijateljski raspoloženog saputnika – tehniku. Ako je klasicistička tendencija geometriziranja bila osnovna slabost svekolikog dosadašnjeg »industrijskog dizajna«, slabost koju smo svi osjećali više ne-

(Nastavak na str. 2)

Iz ovoga broja:

Koliko vrede arhitektonske ideje
Nova montažna izgradnja u Čehoslovačkoj
Visoka škola za političke nauke u Ljubljani
Nagrada grada Zagreba
Akcija za otkup Narodnog doma 1846.
Umjetnine Poreča
Odjeci festivala crnačke umjetnosti u Dakaru
Na temu zagrebačkog Kaptola
Kazalište Bourbonnaisa u Parizu
Likovna kronika

KOLIKO VREDE ARHITEKTONSKE IDEJE

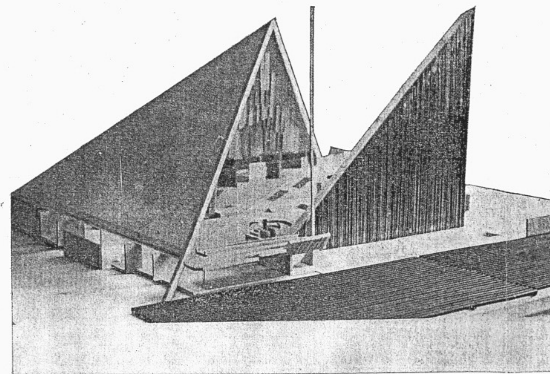
Konkurs za jugoslavenski paviljon na svetskoj izložbi u Montrealu

1.

Krajem 1962. i početkom 1963. godine vođeni su pregovori o našem učešću na svetskoj izložbi sa temom »ČOVEK I NJEGOV SVET« koja će se iduće godine održati u Montrealu. Ovi pregovori završeni su uspešno i, prema podacima u »Informaciji o svetskoj izložbi u Montrealu 1967. g. i našem učešću«, priloženoj uz konkursni materijal, »maja 1965. g. Savezno izvršno veće odlučilo je da prihvati predlog kanadske vlade o učešću Jugoslavije na Međunarodnoj izložbi u Montrealu, sa sopstvenim paviljonom«. U isto ovo vreme, u proleće 1965. godine, zemlje učesnice mogle su – kako je to navedeno u već citiranoj informaciji – početi sa radovima na podizanju svojih paviljona.

15. septembra 1965. godine, četiri meseca posle odluke SIV-a, Generalni komesarijat jugoslavenske sekcije za Međunarodnu izložbu u Montrealu i Savez arhitekata Jugoslavije raspisali su konkurs koji je trajao 30 dana. Rezultat konkursa bio je 6 izabranih idejnih rešenja paviljona. Ova rešenja su sada poznati učesnici za sledećih 45 dana razradili i dokumentovali koristeći primedbe žirija, koji ih je izabrao između 59 konkurenata.

Žiri je morao svoju odluku formirati i doneti u dva zasedanja: u prvom, eliminacionom delu, za pet dana, između 15. i 20. oktobra 1965. g., i u drugom, konačnom, za deset dana, između 1. i 10. decembra 1965. godine.



Druga nagrada. Autor: Vjenceslav Rihter

NOVA MONTAŽNA GRADNJA U ČEHOSLOVAČKOJ

Studenti Arhitektonskog fakulteta iz Zagreba boravili su za vrijeme ljetnih školskih praznika 1964 g. u Čehoslovačkoj (razmjena studenata arhitekture Praga i Zagreba. Tada su se, između ostalog, imali prilike upoznati i sa montažnom građevnom djelatnosti u toj zemlji. U ovom osvrtu prikazat ćemo uspjehe postignute na dva velika radilišta: u naselju Invalidovna u Pragu i na izgradnji stambenih četvrti u Mladi Boleslavi.

U posljednje vrijeme sve se više pažnje posvećuje montažnom načinu građenja u Čehoslovačkoj. Glavni principi pri industrijalizaciji građevinske djelatnosti u toj zemlji su:

maksimalna redukcija radova na mjestu gradnje, odnosno maksimalnu količinu radova, izvedenih u tvornicama gotovih elemenata,

maksimalna redukcija težine zgrade i upotreba novih, lakših materijala.

masovna upotreba velikih prefabriciranih elemenata.

Pridržavajući se tih principa, treba se ići na dosljednu unifikaciju kod izvedbe stambenih i javnih objekata, i to ne samo kod primjene elemenata glavne konstrukcije, već i produkata i prefabriciranih elemenata za završne radove. To dopušta visoku serijsku proizvodnju i maksimalno korištenje mehanizacije.

Naselje Invalidovna u Pragu

Najveći napredak u montažnoj izgradnji postignut je primjenom stropnih ploča do raspona od 6,0 metara. U početku su se one izvađale samo na javnim zgradama; utvrđeno je, da isti raspon zadovoljava i u stambenoj izgradnji.

Kontinuirana unifikacija bazirana je na modulu od 60 cm za elemente glavne konstrukcije, odnosno 30 cm za elemente završnih radova. Tako je izabrano: 120, 240, 480 i 600 cm za glavnu konstrukciju i 30, 60, 90 i 120 cm za elemente završnih radova, da bi se postigla primjena što manje vrsta s optimalnim ispunjenjem prometnih i arhitektonskih zahtjeva.

Veliki stropni rasponi omogućuju maksimalnu redukciju težine, uz zadovoljavanje akustičkih zahtjeva, tako da ona iznosi 300 kg/m². Po zahtjevima stabiliteta, te bi konstrukcije mogle biti još tanje i lakše.

Veličina stropnih i zidnih panela bila je djelomično izmjenjena zbog akustičkih zahtjeva, zatim zbog mogućnosti prenosa kranovima, kao i zbog mogućnosti sretnijih arhitektonskih rješenja stanova, jasno

(Nastavak na str. 3)

Fig. 3. The Article in Čovjek i prostor Asking how much an Architectural Idea for an Ingenious and Extravagant Design is Worth

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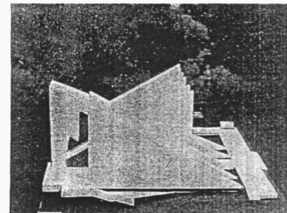
JUGOSLOVENSKI PAVILJON U MONTREALU

Projektant: arh. *Miroslav PEŠIĆ*
Konstruktor: dipl. ing. arh. *Oskar HRABOVSKI*
Unutrašnje uređenje: dipl. ing. arh. *Vjenceslav RICHTER*



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Istorijat građenja i projektovanja ovog objekta dovoljno je interesantan i poučan da bi zaista mogao biti predmet posebnog osvrta. Iz njega bi se ponovo moglo saznati šta sve može da doživi mlad arhitekt u našoj sredini, bilo da nezgode dolaze od samog investitora ili od kolega arhitekata. Isto je tako izvesno da bi se u tome osvrtu moralo govoriti i o arhitektonskoj etici, pa samim tim i o našim prilikama iz oblasti projektovanja. Tema je opširna i svojevrsna, pa kako po svom karakteru i obimu ne spada u časopis ove vrste, istorijat projektovanja spominjaću samo u onolikoj meri u kolikoj je on istinski uticao na izgled i kvalitet građevine.

Reč je o Jugoslovenskom izložbenom paviljonu u Kanadi koji je otvoren u Montrealu 1967. godine povodom Svetske izložbe sa temom: »Čovek i njegov svet.«

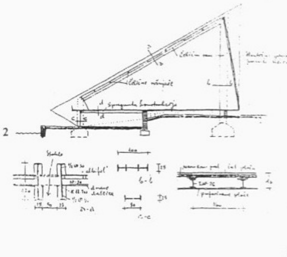
Posle ponovljenog konkursa, jednog anonimnog a drugog javnog, žiri u sastavu: 1. Čolaković Rodoljub, 2. Vl. Saičić, 3. Otmar Kreačić, 4. arh. B. Bogdanović, 5. Oskar Davičo, 6. arh. A. Đorđević, 7. arh. N. Kauzlarić, 8. arh. U. Martinović, 9. arh. Kiril Muratovski, 10. Miodrag Protić, 11. Vojin Bakić, 12. arh. M. Tepina, izabrao je rad arh. Miroslava Pešića i dodelio mu prvo mesto i izvođenje.

Arh. Miroslav Pešić je rođen 1937. i pripada našoj najmlađoj generaciji arhitekata. Njegov način razmišljanja i projektovanja temelji se i nadovezuje na naše najbolje i priznate svetske tradicije u oblasti arhitekture. Ovim radom, Miroslav Pešić, bez sumnje obogaćuje arhitektonsku stvarnost, dodavajući joj nove, određene kvalitete i vrednosti i unoseći svežinu u lanac naših posleratnih ostvarenja u arhitekturi.

Ostvarenjem svoga projekta za izložbeni paviljon u Montrealu, Pešić potvrđuje staro pravilo da arhitektura postaje to jedino kao gotov, kompletan čin i pojava, pri čemu je ova njena potonja pojava jača od one prethodne, papirnate, pa je tako posmatrano sasvim svejedno da li se do dela došlo preko javnog konkursa ili direktnom narudžbom nekog od investitora.

U ovom slučaju je to zaista svejedno jer je investitor, i pored javnog konkursa i vrlo reprezentativnog žirija, uglavnom radio ono što je on smatrao za potrebno. Tako se dogodilo da projektant zgrade ne dobije čak ni nadzor nad izvođenjem a kamoli pristup za vreme montaže ili, recimo, odlučujući glas pri izboru materijala. Autor se morao pomiriti i sa tim da drugi arhitekt, koga je u javnoj utakmici pobedio ne jednom, nego dva puta, dakle da taj drugi bude angažovan da u njegovom paviljonu isprojektuje svoj enterijer. Ako je Pešić pobedio na jednom izuzetno važnom konkursu trebalo mu je dati odrešene ruke i pokloniti mu poverenje pri građenju od početka do kraja. Ubeđen sam da bi paviljon, ako ne bolji, svakako bio iskreniji i celovitiji, da je autor bio u mogućnosti da potpuno ostvari svoju zamisao. To je trebalo učiniti tim pre što je autor mlad i talentovan čovek kome je ovo i prvi objekt i prvo javno priznanje. Za žaljenje je što je uz prve uspehe, Miroslav Pešić na samom početku doživeo i prva razočarenja.

Tako je neobično počelo i tako trajalo sve do završetka gradnje. Sva je sreća što je autorova koncepcija bila jača od svih nepredviđenih i kod nas izgleda neizbežnih situ-



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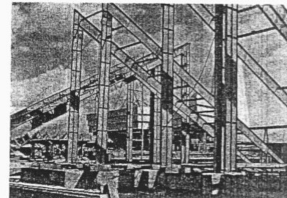

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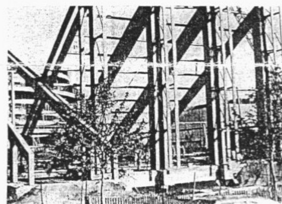

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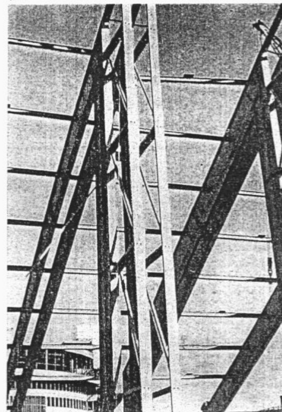

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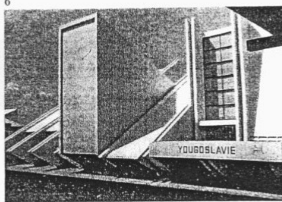

1 — Maketa jugoslovenskog paviljona
2 — Presek
3, 4, 5 — Jugoslovenski paviljon u gradnji
6 — Izgled izgrađenog paviljona

1 — Maquette du pavillon yougoslave
2 — Coupe
3, 4, 5 — Pavillon yougoslave en construction
6 — Aspect du pavillon construit

1 — Scale model of the Yugoslav pavilion
2 — Section
3, 4, 5 — Yugoslav pavilion under construction
6 — View of the constructed pavilion

1 — Макет югославского павильона
2 — Разрез
3, 4, 5 — Общий вид стройтельства павильона Югославии
6 — Вид павильона Югославии

Fig. 4. The Article in Arhitektura urbanizam about the Yugoslav Pavilion at Expo 67

of the competition and complaining about the short amount of time available for the entire two-stage competition, and the lack of money and resources for the construction of the pavilion, the author provides his own opinion on several

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issues to do with the competition. He strongly rejects the "Europeanisation" of Yugoslav architecture (whatever that means) and "the ghost of the practicism" (again, whatever that is), as evinced in the prefabricated structure of the pavilion, and finally asserts how risky it is to promote avant-garde architectural ideas even at such competitions.

The next article was published in *Arhitektura urbanizam* (Bogunović 1967) *(Fig. 4)* when Expo 67 was already open. The author states that Pešić, as a young architect, had some difficult times with the investor and with the contractor, and even with his fellow architects. The story of the competition and the pavilion's construction is told once more, only to support the author's view that Pešić's pavilion, whose quality results from its simplicity and modesty, is a decent representation of the small state.

In the same issue of *Arhitektura urbanizam*, the Serbian architect Ranko Radović wrote an article about the architecture of the Montreal World Exposition (Radović 1967: 66). He sums up the Yugoslav pavilion and the Yugoslav attitude in a single paragraph: "In Montreal the Yugoslav pavilion was received well. If the whole project had been started earlier, with more money and public support, the overall effect could have been better. It seems that we cannot overcome ourselves and that for decades we will participate at such events as a nation of impulse and inspiration, but always awaken only in the very last moment."

To fully understand the situation in the Yugoslav context, it is worth mentioning that all four writers are Serbs. Olga Milićević-Nikolić and Uglješa Bogunović are architects, Zoran Manević is one of the most prominent Serbian architecture historians, and Ranko Radović was an architect, professor and theoretician of architecture. However, neutral and supportive articles were also published in Serbia, while less favorable opinions were printed in Croatia.

THE PAVILION

The jury highlighted the architectural form of Pešić's design, and the quality of both its concept and its content. The main architectural idea of the pavilion was based on a clever use of twisted prisms: seven triangular prisms were strung together beside one another in a straight line, but the fourth, sixth and seventh prisms were twisted. *(Fig. 5)* Each of these prisms was made of two triangular prism elements. They were thirty meters long and sixteen meters high, although the central prism – the fourth one, also twisted – stood out by being nine meters longer than the others. The prefabricated steel structure was made in cooperation with the architect Oscar Hrabovski (Bogunović 1967). It was a pity that this unusual

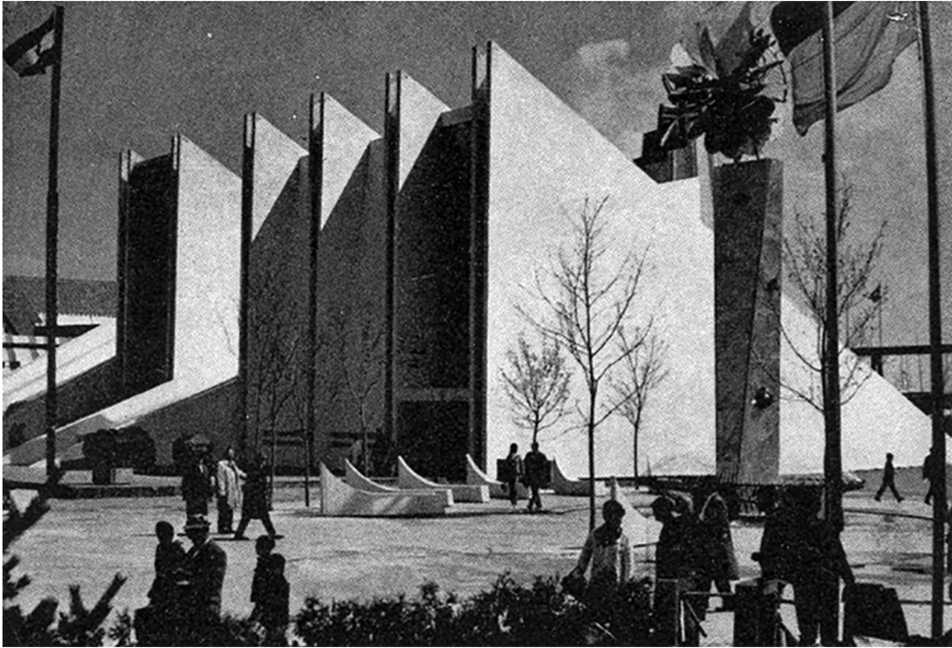

Fig. 5. The Front Side of the Yugoslav Pavilion

Fig. 6. The Back Side of the Yugoslav Pavilion

structure was covered on both sides, i.e., inside and outside, because this meant that visitors were unable to see it either as a whole or in detail.

Windows were installed into all the lower zones. *(Fig. 6)* Furthermore, one vertical surface each of the first, fifth and sixth prisms was made entirely of glass, and thus provided the interior of the entire pavilion with a significant amount of light. The facade and the roof were painted white, clearly delineating the full and empty spaces of the facades.

The pavilion was located on Île *Notre-Dame*, close to the French and British pavilions, and also to the Expo-Express station. The piazza around the pavilion was paved with black and green marble slabs. The floors within the interior were again covered with marble (Stanton 1997). The pavilion had three visitor entrances, which were very clearly visible.

Once inside, the feeling was "cathedral like" (Stanton 1997). The interior space was completely undivided and very bright, due to the multitude of windows. *(Fig. 7)* Different sources of light entered the interior of the pavilion through its many horizontal and vertical apertures, with the latter covered by screens, resulting in unique effects of light refraction.

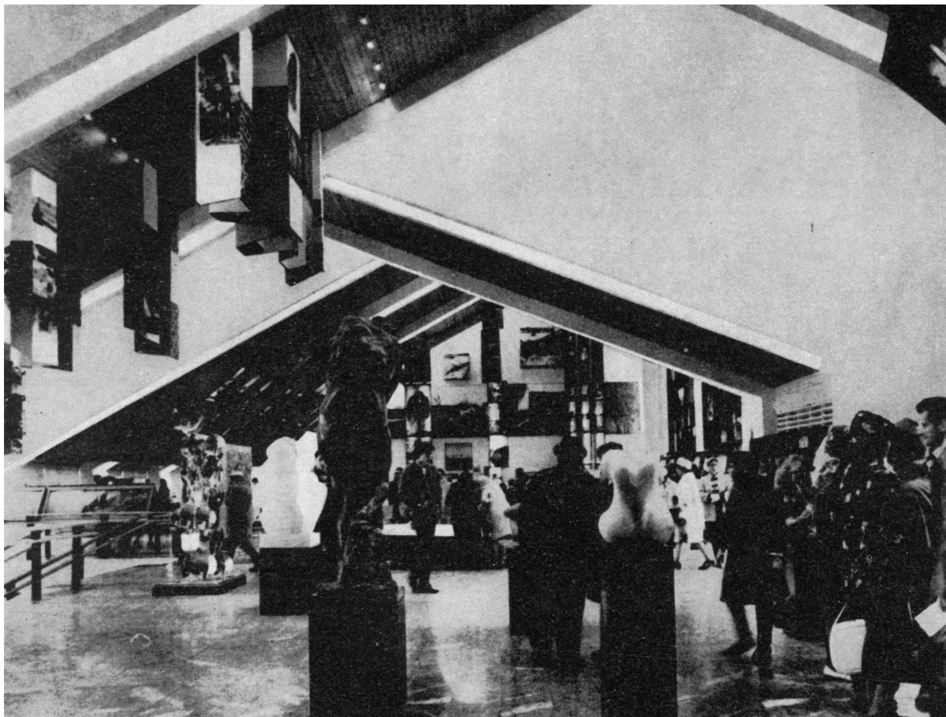

Fig. 7. The Interior of the Yugoslav Pavilion

The Croatian architect Vjenceslav Richter, winner of the second prize at the competition, was entrusted with the design of the interior. The exhibits inside the pavilion were dedicated to four main themes. The first was about the role of Yugoslavia in the world. It was shown in the light of the relationship between Canada, the United States and Yugoslavia as "a comradeship that spans two World Wars and years of peace" (*Official Guide of l'Expo 67*). Yugoslav culture, as the second theme, was presented through a range of national treasures stretching from the Neolithic age to contemporary art. The third theme, Yugoslav tourism and tradition, included photographs of different landscapes and significant collections of folk arts. In the last theme, about political and social organization, Yugoslavia was presented as a democratic and prosperous society.

The Yugoslav pavilion is best judged in the context of other pavilions at Expo 67, since more than sixty countries built their own national pavilions in Montreal. The USA Pavilion, designed by Richard Buckminster Fuller, was a geodesic dome made of steel and acrylic cells. For the Federal Republic of Germany Pavilion, Frei Otto and Rolf Gutbrod developed picturesque, asymmetrical pre-stressed cable-net roofs. The British pavilion was designed by Sir Basil Unwin Spence as an unfinished cone-shaped tower dominating over a group of buildings on several levels. The Soviet pavilion, designed by Mikhail Vasilevich Posokhin, impressed visitors with its elongated roof, whose large peak bent upwards over the facade, and with its enormous aluminium-covered roofing. The pavilion of Czechoslovakia was an imaginative and well-balanced structure made of prefabricated steel, while both glass and ceramics were also widely used in the building. One of the most important permanent buildings made for that exhibition is the prefabricated modular housing complex called Habitat, designed by Moshe Safdie.

Outstanding pavilions at Expo 67 were distinguished by their unusual architectural solutions, their bold engineering and construction ideas, or their incorporation of new materials. Nowadays the exposition is remembered for its playful and extravagant buildings, and for its demonstration of the most advanced construction technologies of the day.

International professional journals published hardly anything about the Yugoslav pavilion, though they reported a great deal about the exposition. English magazines *The Architectural Review* (AR 1967) and *Architectural Design* (AD 1967) made no mention of the pavilion at all. The leading French architectural magazine *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (AA 1967) wrote only about the pavilions which its managing editor deemed worthy of visiting. Out of sixty-two national pavilions and sixteen others from Canadian provinces or cities, he chose twenty-six interesting ones, while the Yugoslav pavilion was among those ignored.

In Germany, the Yugoslav pavilion was mentioned in an anonymous report published in *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, the oldest technical architecture periodical in Germany. The report (DB 1967: 648), consisting of a half page of text and copious photographs of various pavilions, mentions the Yugoslav pavilion in a single sentence but provides no photograph of it. It says that "*Der jugoslawische Pavillon hat eine interessante geometrische Form*", or in English translation printed in the same magazine, "Yugoslavia's pavilion has an interesting geometric form".

AFTERLIFE – SEAMEN'S MUSEUM

Expo 67 ended in October 1967. Most of the pavilions continued to be used for an exhibition called *Man and His World*, which was kept open in the summer months from 1968 until 1981. By 1981 most of the buildings had deteriorated and were demolished. Today the area where the exposition took place is mainly used either as parkland or for recreation. Only a few remaining structures, such as the USA pavilion, still stand to remind passers-by that the exhibition was once held there (Expo 1967). Other pavilions were demolished once Expo 67 was over, while a few were dismantled and re-built in other locations in Canada.

There are two stories about what happened with the Yugoslav pavilion after the end of Expo 67. The official story states that the building was dismantled, sold for a symbolic sum of $1.00, and shipped to the town of Grand Bank on the coast of Newfoundland in Canada, where it was officially opened as a branch of the Newfoundland museum (Grand Bank). According to the unofficial story, the pavilion was dismantled to be shipped back to its homeland. However, the ship carrying the components of the structure back to Yugoslavia was caught in a nasty storm near Newfoundland. A local fisherman helped the ship and brought it safely into port, and as a mark of gratitude, the Yugoslav government donated the building to Newfoundland (World's Fair Community). Regardless of which story is true, the pavilion was built again in Grand Bank. The Seamen's Museum, showing the life of fishermen and their rich fishing history, was opened in September 1971. The triangular forms of the facade call to mind the open sails of a schooner, a typical fishing-boat of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Little is known about Miroslav Pešić's professional work after the pavilion at Expo 67. Unlike his noble predecessors, Dragiša Brašovan, Josip Seissel and Vjenceslav Richter, he was unable to capitalize on his competition victory.

YUGOSLAV PAVILIONS AFTER EXPO 67

Although Expo 70, which took place in the spring and summer of 1970 in Osaka, Japan, was one of the most significant world expositions after Montreal Expo 67,

we can only speculate about the reasons why the Yugoslav government opted not to participate: a lack of money; a lack of interest, as the location was too far; or perhaps the bad experience from the previous Expo.

The next world exposition based on national pavilions was not organized until 1992, taking place over six hot months in Seville, Spain. At the beginning of 1990 the Yugoslav government organized a competition, in which all three prizes were won by Croatian architects (Štraus 1991: 251). The first prize went to Marijan Hržić, Tomislav Odak, and Branko Silađin; second prize was awarded to Đivo Dražić and Edvin Šmit; while the third prize was received by Vjenceslav Richter, the veteran of Yugoslav pavilion architecture. In 1991, however, Yugoslavia collapsed into a number of separate countries, with Slovenia and Croatia gaining independence in January 1992. The outcome of the competition was therefore disregarded and the eventual pavilion was designed by the Serbian architect and urban planner Miša David. The Yugoslav pavilion at Expo '92 represented only the remaining parts of the former Yugoslavia, officially referred to at the time as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This led to the bizarre consequence that every time Yugoslavia participated in a world exhibition with its own national pavilion, it did so under a different official name.

CONCLUSION

A review of contemporary articles dealing with the competition for the Yugoslav pavilion at Expo 67 makes it clear that this competition, and even more its results, caused strong upset to the architectural community in Yugoslavia at the time. It was obvious that the jury failed to respect any of the selection criteria, and what is more, they even modified the criteria in the middle of the process – in the end, the jury selected a design that was quite different from what the competition rules had called for. Perhaps this came about because a significant number of its members were not experts, as half of them were politicians, and only a third were architects with at least some professional experience. Furthermore, absurdly but nevertheless importantly in Yugoslavia, there was insufficient national diversity, for at least half of the jury members were Serbs. Disagreements over suggestions, designs and plans for what pavilions should look like have always been a part of (Yugoslav) architectural competitions, but they definitely reached a peak with this competition. Hence, this competition can be considered as one of the most, if not the single most controversial one in the history of Yugoslav architectural competitions.

From today's perspective, most pavilions at Expo 67 at least tried to present some innovative structures and/or materials. As the pavilion needed to be transported from Yugoslavia to Canada, prefabricated structures were used out of necessity,

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but no innovative materials were involved. The omission of any novel materials may have been due to the lack of time available for designing the pavilion, or simply down to the fact that in those days, Yugoslavia was not technologically advanced enough to provide such materials.

Furthermore, it is strange indeed that not a single article about the competition or the pavilion provides any explanation as to why the pavilion consisted of six smaller and one large prism. It might be that the smaller prisms were intended to represent the six Yugoslav republics, with the larger one symbolizing the federation – but this remains mere speculation. Prisms have never been used anywhere else in Yugoslav iconography, but at least they ended up representing the ships of Newfoundland.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. The First Page of the Report in *Arhitektura urbanizam* on the Expo 67 Architectural Competition: the 1st Prize (top and bottom left) and the 2nd Prize (middle left and bottom right). Source: O. Milićević-Nikolić: Konkurs za idejno rešenje jugoslovenskog paviljona na svetskoj izložbi u Montrealu – EXPO 1967. *Arhitektura urbanizam,* 1965. No. 35-36, p. III.

Fig. 2. The Second Page of the Report in *Arhitektura urbanizam* on the Expo 67 Architectural Competition: the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 3rd prize (from top to bottom). Source: O. Milićević-Nikolić: Konkurs za idejno rešenje jugoslovenskog paviljona na svetskoj izložbi u Montrealu – EXPO 1967. Arhitektura urbanizam, 1965. No. 35-36, p. IV.

Fig. 3. The Article in *Čovjek i prostor* Asking how much an Architectural Idea for an Ingenious and Extravagant Design is Worth. Source: Z. Manević: Koliko vrede arhitektonske ideje. Čovjek i prostor, 1966. No. 158, p. 1.

Fig. 4. The Article in *Arhitektura urbanizam* about the Yugoslav Pavilion at Expo 67. Source: U. Bogunović: Jugoslovenski paviljon u Montrealu. Arhitektura urbanizam 1967, No. 47, p. 71.

Fig. 5. The Front Side of the Yugoslav Pavilion. Source: U. Bogunović: Jugoslovenski paviljon u Montrealu. Arhitektura urbanizam 1967, No. 47, p. 72.

Fig. 6. The Back Side of the Yugoslav Pavilion. Source: U. Bogunović: Jugoslovenski paviljon u Montrealu. Arhitektura urbanizam 1967, No. 47, p. 72.

Fig. 7. The Interior of the Yugoslav Pavilion. Source: U. Bogunović: Jugoslovenski paviljon u Montrealu. Arhitektura urbanizam 1967, No. 47, p 72.

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Roula Matar-Perret

David Maljković's attempt to reanimate Sambito's Pavilion in Zagreb

This text focuses on a specific aspect, present in the recent phenomena of the patrimonialization of modern architecture, in considering the integration of pavilion architecture in the context of contemporary art. It takes as its starting point a video, directed by the young Croatian artist David Maljković,[1] entitled *Lost Memories of These Days.*[2] *(Fig. 1)* Whereas the film is set in the Italian pavilion built in 1961 on the occasion of the Zagreb Fair, the purpose here is to examine the place of the pavilion in the constitution of the collective memory of contemporary Croatia, which the artist seeks to revive.

Much of David Maljković's multi-faceted œuvre (made up of films, sculptures, collages, paintings and installations), explores the remains of communist Yugoslavia, through places, monuments or modernist buildings left empty or deprived of their original use. These architectures or "exhausted objects" (Fletcher A. 2012 : 31, 34), by their state of abandonment, constitute the gap between a once utopian project and a now disillusioned presence. If Maljković turns his attention to the architectural remains, it is to better emphasize their status as meaning "our heritage is disappearing". The trilogy *Scene for New Heritage*[3] (2004-2006) clearly illustrates this position. All three films take place in a single place, a ruined monument built in memory of supporters and civilian victims of the Second World War – a strange silvery monument in Petrova Gora in Croatia, designed by Vojin Bakić (1915–1992). By using temporary crossings, Maljković intends to show how the meanings of history and monuments change over time, or how the vision and the definition of the future fluctuates, depending on historical contexts. Still, a central and recurrent issue remains: what happens to a monument when it is abandoned

1 Born in 1973, in Rijeka (Croatia), David Maljkovic studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb and participated in the artists' residency program of the Rijksakademie in Amsterdam. He lives and works in Zagreb.

2 *Lost Memories of These Days*, 2006, video/ DVD One channel video and sound installation. Edition of 5. 6.44 minutes.

3 *Scene for New Heritage*, 2004. video/DVD/Colour/Sound. Edition of 5. 4.33 min.; *Scene for New Heritage* 2, 2006. Video/DVD/Colour/Sound. Edition of 5. 6.06 min.; *Scene for New Heritage 3*, 2006. Video/ DVD/ Colour/ Sound. Edition of 5. 11.30 min. "Set in the futuristic world of 2045 the first film follows a group travelling to the memorial park at Petrova Gora. They visit the communist monument and ponder over its long-forgotten meaning. They communicate in traditional Croatian folk song, recast here as a futuristic language. The second part is set twenty years later, a solitary young man returns from farther in the future and is guided through its cavernous, peeling interior with a magical shining ball. The final film of the trilogy is set neither in the future nor any identifiable historical past. Young people gather and hang around the derelict, almost alien, monument. When shown as an installation, the three films can be watched consecutively in an angular built frame, reminiscent of Constructivism"

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Fig. 1. David Maljković: Lost Memories from These Days, 2006 One channel video and sound installation 6.44 min.

by ideology? What is therefore its potential? This is also the question raised by the presence of the pavilion of the Zagreb Fair, in the video that interests us. If it asks a certain reading of the history of modernist architecture, and draws attention to figures that have so far remained in the shadows or been left on the periphery of the "grand narratives" of the history of architecture, it finds some answers in the analysis of the methodological complex used by the artist. Because the historiographical[4] (Roelstraete D. 2009) method that qualifies his approach seems to expand the dimension of the places, now acting not only as part of the action but also, and above all, as a signifier in the reconstruction of a certain collective memory.

DAVID MALJKOVIĆ'S PROJECT

Lost Memories of These Days (2005), is set in an architectural icon of the recent cultural history of Croatia: the Italian Pavilion of the Zagreb Fair, designed by the Neapolitan architect Giuseppe Sambito in 1961. This video is considered by the artist as a sequel to his earlier video work *These Days* (2005), in which many young people sit in or around cars, strangely immobilized in front of the building.

4 With reference here to Dieter Roelstraete's definition: "The retrospective, historiographic mode [is] a methodological complex that includes the historical account, the archive, the document, the act of excavating and unearthing, the memorial, the art of reconstruction and reenactment, the testimony[; it] has become both the mandate ("content") and the tone ("form") favored by a growing number of artists (as well as critics and curators) […]-They either make artworks that want to remember, or at least to turn back the tide of forgetfulness, or they make art *about* remembering and forgetting"

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Fig. 2. David Maljković: Lost Memories from These Days, 2006 One channel video and sound installation 6.44 min.

Because of "the inability to escape the thoughts and feelings brought out during the shooting of its predecessor, *These Days*" **(**Dziewior Y. 2007: 118–119), the artist returns to the Italian Pavilion to direct *Lost Memories of These Days*. He enters this time inside the pavilion: "The feeling of emptiness was even stronger. I recalled a snap-shot from the 1960s – a vintage car sale – and the attempt to reanimate memory began." (Ibidem)

The artist tries then to rebuild a car sale from the 1960s. As for the presentation of the latest models, young girls pose beside cars. But unlike at exhibitions, the models look rather bored. *(Fig. 2)* According to the artist, "The smiling mode disappeared from the hostesses' faces the moment the illusion of a better tomorrow vanished from the place that once had been built for that purpose." (Ibidem) Their actions and words are almost hallucinatory or absurd. For example, a group of young people repeat mechanically, in a trance-like state, what appear to be phrases from an elementary English class; in another, through physical gestures, which gradually become sensual, girls describe their relationship with cars.

Whereas the Zagreb Fair was established by Josip Tito as a rare example of economic exchange between East and West, Maljković's video is a remarkable deconstruction of this first building's *raison d'être*. Actually, it is a remarkable deconstruction of the spectacle of advertising, one that, in the sixties, through fairs and pavilions, embodied unwavering optimism about a future under construction. In this perspective, the building no longer constitutes the background of the action, and no longer appears merely as decor. Space is not purely a scenography of human relationships; it also has an influence on them, since it deeply embeds attitudes and hopes.

HERITAGE AND SUSPENSION OF MEMORY

When Maljković returns to the pavilion once more in an attempt to revive the memory of the place, a strange feeling comes to light: "everything was going perfectly well until a strong feeling of the present kicked in. The absence of memory prevailed and at that point everything turned into a lost project. […] There was no air in the pavilion; it had simply been sucked out by time, and we were there only for a short while, too short to bring it back. I shared a feeling of anxiety with the exhausted hostesses and reduced motion to a minimum. It seems that the new generation has been stuck in the immobile space between yesterday and tomorrow, and that history without continuity has produced a new standstill and its concealed part – the new victims." (Ibidem)

In *Lost Memories of These Days*, the pavilion is empty; nothing disturbs the characters. The whole point of Maljković is the suspension of time, which is also emphasized by the stillness he describes. Indeed, the actors' gestures are minimal, they do not move, and they seem to be waiting for something that never happens. Objects are also immobilized by white polystyrene shapes recalling, as an echo, the bizautée form of the pavilion's columns. These elements lock the wheels of the cars motionless on the ground, preventing them from being moved.

This suspension can also be read, literally and figuratively, in the series of collages *(Fig. 3)* made in parallel with his videos. In *Lost Memories of These Days* (2006-2008 – series of 4 panels) or in *Lost Review* (2006-2008 – series of 5 panels), he combines photographs and text brochures dating from this early period. But these early optimistic images are combined with views of the current neglected site. In this way, the artist creates, in the assemblage of disjointed times, a clash that

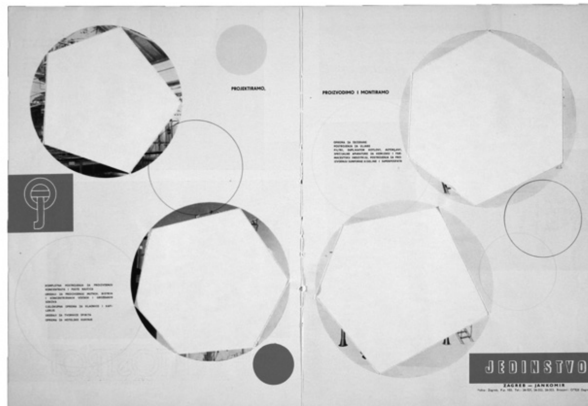

Fig. 3. David Maljković: Lost Memories from These Days, 2006-2008 collage 32,5 × 47 cm

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underlines the loss of optimism, the emptiness of the pavilions being the symbol of this failure (which is also supported by the disappearing smile of the hostesses in the video *Lost Memories of These Days*).

Simultaneously, the artist also intends to consider, through these collages, new possibilities for his own generation. It is also a central feature of the photomontage, when used by the radical architecture of the 1960s and 1970s. The collages explore the potentialities, the possibilities and new functions for these empty objects (Macel, Petrešin-Bachelez 2010).

It is also interesting to note here how the suspension works as a deep and intrinsic characteristic of the medium, in this case, the blank in the photomontage, which is not without reference to the suspension of time in the video. This white surface then becomes a surface for possible projections. In this regard, Annette Südbeck convenes very judiciously this idea of "Janus-like temporality which connects memory and imagination". Indeed, with regard to reading the temporality that characterizes a number of Maljković's works, "References to the objects' own history constantly compete with their obvious emptiness and openness, the promise of future uses and the as-yet-unfulfilled longing for such use. Designed as supports and containers for something else, in an emptied state, the works become surfaces for projections, places where (mental) pictures are created." (Sudbeck, Lipski 2011)

More broadly speaking, is the suspension here suspended between reality and fiction? From that perspective, art is definitely coming to the rescue, if not of History itself, then certainly, at least, in the way it is told.

But the suspension that interferes in this "history without continuity", which the artist challenges in this space of suspension "between yesterday and tomorrow"; this discontinuity in the course of history is not without echoing Walter Benjamin's concept, described in his theses "On the Concept of History", written in 1940. One crucial aspect of Benjamin's argumentation remains the notion that history does not only exist as a set of actualities but also as a *potentiality*. The actual history is always the one that triumphs; but the history of the potential is the promise, often of those who have been deprived of their own history by violence. From this perspective, Maljković reactivates the potentiality as he tries to make a tribute to those who are suffering from some kind of deprivation.

THE MODERNIST HERITAGE

In all ways, could Maljković find or resuscitate, as he intended, this memory he sought when entering Sambito's pavilion? As a possible answer, my hypothesis proposes extending the meaning of the suspension to cover a third possible reading:

one that constitutes the very structure of the work, namely the pavilion or, more broadly, architectural modernism, which is revealed through the historiographical mode or the "meta-historical" one used by Maljković.

As discussed in the videos *These Days* and *Lost Memories of These Days* – although it is also a feature in Maljković's process – initially there is an iconic architectural space, which the artist analyzes, deconstructs and fragments, in order to rebuild it; a hospital for veterans of the Communist Party is turned into a monument, places Orson Welles filmed for *The Trial* (1962) in Zagreb, the Zagreb Fair ... These buildings are abandoned, now becoming witnesses to the promises of the past, the singular promise of modernism in three dimensions, as a social project, a symbolic language and an aesthetic code. For readings of modernity are made through the lens of architecture, and modernist architecture resurfaces. But this time, it has none of its previous utopian character. What is latent, what had been ignored or denied, will be revealed in works that recontextualize through their narration. In other words, they are the venues on which the return of the repressed is staged.

Specifically, the return of the repressed interests us because it relates, in a very intricate way, the concept of memory. And Maljković's attempt to revive the memory of the pavilion exposes it eloquently and symptomatically (his previously cited words also reveal this point).

We all know that with modernism, a different flavor is given to the idea of memory and monuments. The famous case of Le Corbusier speaks – since forgetting is expressed, in a literal and figurative sense, in the *tabula rasa*, a necessary concept on which the foundations of new urbanism are based. The modern wanted to forget the old city, the old monuments, and their traditional meaning.

It seems then, and this point will be our conclusion, that Maljković enters Sambito's pavilion with the expectation of finding a potential exposure of memory. But the pavilion as revealed proves rather to be haunted by absence. This absence, which the artist formulates, is nothing more than an echo, "in a literary sense, a parable of the dislocation of memory in the modern city" (Vidler 1992: 176–186).

Significantly, Maljković's film is a reconstruction and a narration; it is definitely not a prescription. It confronts us with an invisible or forgotten heritage. If we read the negative path that its traces of erasure form, while tropes of the discourse of memory generated by Sambito's pavilion are explored, Maljković's work confronts us with a double oblivion or two types of repressed: the repressed of the communist period, and the repressed constituting modernist architecture.

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Fig. 1. David Maljković: Lost Memories from These Days, 2006 One channel video and sound installation 6.44 min. Courtesy Annet Gelink Gallery Amsterdam

Fig. 2. David Maljković: Lost Memories from These Days, 2006 One channel video and sound installation 6.44 min. Courtesy Annet Gelink Gallery Amsterdam

Fig. 3. David Maljković: Lost Memories from These Days, 2006-2008 collage 32,5 × 47 cm. Courtesy of Annet Gelink Gallery, Amsterdam

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Cristiana Volpi

The Hungarian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale. Tradition and modernity during one century.

The eventful story of the construction and subsequent transformations of the Hungarian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale clearly reflects the evolution of Hungarian architecture over the twentieth century and its peculiar relationship with tradition. The initial design of the Pavilion, featuring refined decorative elements and motifs drawn from the country's history and folk culture – transposed in a modern key (Romanelli 1976) –, was heavily influenced by the search for national awakening, which inspired architects in Hungary (and elsewhere) in the late nineteenth century *(Fig. 1)*. This was followed by an essentially anonymous "modernist" makeover imposed by the Communist government in 1958 and, as the latest step, by a restoration of the building at the end of the 1990s by György Csete, making the roof of the pavilion once again hark back to the original Magyar constructions.

Since the very first biennial international art exhibition in Venice in 1895, Hungarian artists had showcased their work in the "Palazzo Pro Arte" (later renamed the "International Pavilion"), located in the Gardens of Castello. Very few Hungarians took part in the first two Biennales, but in 1905 the Secretary of the Exhibition,

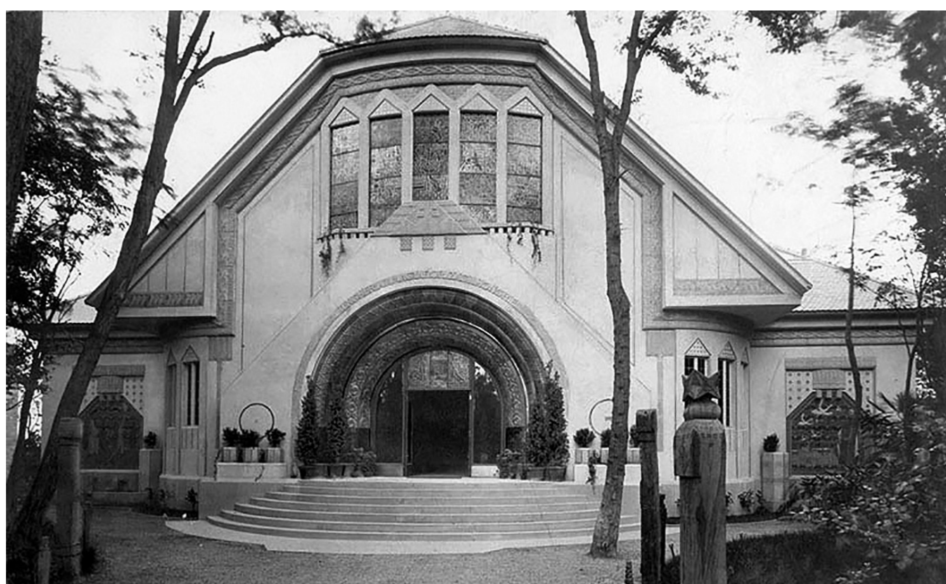

Fig. 1. The Hungarian Pavilion, Venice Biennale, main facade, Géza Maróti, 1909

Antonio Fradeletto, decided to dedicate an entire room to the Hungarian guests, who impressed Italian art critics with the „striking originality" (Pica 1906: 83) of their decorations, animated by a cult of the past. The show was curated by the architects Zoltán Bálint and Lajos Jámbor, who had previously designed one of Hungary's structures at the Paris World's Fair in 1900.

The great success of the biennial art events, and the desire to strengthen their international standing, led to a decision to build a number of pavilions dedicated exclusively to foreign countries, starting from the following year, with the financial aid of the local authorities of Venice. This resulted in the Gardens being „transformed into a sort of international city, where each pavilion is the ideal home in which the respective artists can find a corner of their country" (L'VIIIa Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte della Città di Venezia 1909). The first pavilion to be built was the Belgian one, which opened for the exhibition of 1907, followed two years later by the pavilions of Hungary (although it had been designed at the end of 1906), Great Britain and Bavaria (which, as of 1912, was opened to artists from all parts of Germany); initially, the new pavilions flanked the existing "Palazzo Pro Arte", gradually spreading out to the further reaches of the area and incorporating, in the case of the British pavilion, an existing restaurant-café converted into an exhibition space.

HUNGARIAN HISTORY AND VERNACULAR TENDENCIES EXHIBITED ABROAD

Hungary was given a site of about 300 square meters at the side of the main exhibition hall, initially free of charge, but later under lease for a symbolic rent of one gold ducat per annum. The building costs, however, were borne by the Hungarian government, who selected, in the wake of the success achieved by the display of the Hungarian pavilion at the International Exposition in Milan in 1906 (Simplon Exhibition), the sculptor and decorative artist Géza Rintel Maróti to design the new Biennale pavilion (Iványfy-Balogh, Jakabffy 1976: 137; *A velencei Magyar Ház* 2000; Ács 2002a)[1]. Construction work began at the end of July 1908 and the building was formally inaugurated the following spring,[2] in the presence of the authorities and the designer himself.

1 „Who was Maróti?", Karoly Simon wrote in the introduction of the catalogue of the exhibition on Maróti's work in 2002, „Was he a painter, a sculptor or an architect? He was none of these and yet all of these" (Simon 2002: 7). Maróti studied especially sculpture, but in his „free time" he „very happily addressed" himself „to the study of architecture, and often made drawings in the offices of architects" (Ács 2002a: 12).

2 The VIII International Exhibition of Venice was inaugurated on 24 April 1909. According to the protocol signed in Venice on 14 June 1909, the „Plenipotentiary Ministerial Commissioners, i.e. the noble Councilor Camille Fitter and the technical Councillor Robert K. Kertész […] restore to the Municipality of Venice […] the completed Hungarian Pavilion, in accordance with the conditions agreed to in connection with the handing over of the land" (ASAC, Fondo storico. Padiglioni, atti 1897-1938, serie „Scatole nere". Padiglioni, 16).

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Well known in his home country for the sculptures decorating several bank and insurance company buildings in Budapest – such as the Gresham Palace (Zsigmond Quittner and József Vágó, 1905–1907), the eclectic building of the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music (Flóris Korb and Kálmán Giergl, 1904–1907) and the later Cabaret Parisiana (Béla Lajta, 1907–1909), Maróti became internationally renowned at the turn of the century primarily as an exhibition designer, starting with his design for the exhibition space for Hungarian artists at the Simplon Exhibition of 1906 in Milan.[3] On that occasion, Maróti worked with several members of the Gödöllő artist' colony – a state-financed colony organized around the revival of folk art –, who had already risen to prominence at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of St. Louis in 1904. Art critics at the time pointed out the emergence of a distinctive national style in interior decoration, claiming independency from the predominant European styles, and suggesting influences from the East, seen as the legendary cradle of the Hungarian nation. In fact, this emphasis on motifs drawn from a mythical "Eastern origin" – on an ancient past separate from those of its Slavic, Austrian and German neighbors, traces of which remain primarily in the folk culture – constituted the key feature of the image that Hungary aimed to project at international fairs from the last decades of the nineteenth century (Switzer 2003), and this can also be clearly discerned from the displays at Italian exhibitions in the early twentieth century[4]. The novel nature of the Hungarian pavilions, in which „loyalty to the old traditions" was combined with a „progressive modern renewal of decoration", was generally viewed favorably, despite the many comments referring to a lack of "order" and "control", due to an underlying "barbaric" spirit, which was totally different from the disposition and traditions of Vienna, with which – many critics observed examples please – Budapest was united only by virtue of economic interests and a political compromise (Pica 1906: 83–84).

The design of the Milan pavilion served as a blueprint for Maróti's pavilion at the Venice Biennale, in particular with regard to the interior layout and the decorative

3 The architect József Fischer created the outer appearance of the Hungarian section and the wedge-shaped ground floor, made up by nine halls, twenty rooms and three corridors; Maróti thought out the interior design and artistic embellishment for most of these spaces (Ács 2002b: 65). On 3 August 1906, a fire destroyed the Pavilion of Italian Decorative Arts and the Hungarian section, which was partly rebuilt (albeit in more austere form) in the space of just a few days. Maróti won five grand prix awards, for different creations as architect, sculptor and decorative artist, and the Royal Italian Academy of Fine Arts elected him an honorary member. In 1907 the Pécs National Exhibition gave the Hungarian public an idea of the exhibits displayed in Milan; the ground plan for this show, the facade of the building and the design of the interior were all Maróti's work. The excellent results achieved in Milan had other repercussions on Maróti's professional career. The impressions drawn from his visit at the 1906 Exposition will in fact convince Italian architect Adamo Boari, to engage the Hungarian artist for some of the decorative work on the National Theatre of Mexico, which Boari had designed, and which Maróti would work at, on and off, between 1906 and 1921 (Szente-Varga 2010).

4 The Hungarian section had already distinguished itself for its originally open attitude to the East at the International Exposition of Modern Decorative Arts of Turin in 1902 (Kiss 1994).

apparatus.[5] Indeed, according to several observers at the time, „it featured nothing new, compared to what had already been seen and admired in Milan, in 1906". What did emerge, however, was the modern approach, which, as in the case of the Milan Fair and other previous international exhibitions in which Hungarian artists had taken part, was used by „designers and executors" to „draw advantage from the skillful imitation of the old peasant forms" and the „local character" and „color", demonstrating, through the „magnificence" of the „gildings" and the „traditional use of mosaics and enamels", that the Hungarian people were closer to „Byzantine taste" than to „Latin sophistication", and clearly aiming, therefore, to counter the inevitable uniformity ensuing from a certain „artistic internationalism", especially one coming from a Neoclassical background.

References to Magyar architecture could clearly be seen on the outside of the Pavilion, beginning with the roof, which was steeply pitched – albeit discontinuously so – and resembled the traditional tents of the steppes. These close ties with the peasant culture also emerged from the presence, around the building, of a number of roughly hewn „wooden grave markers" typically used in rural areas (Chiesa 1909a).[6]

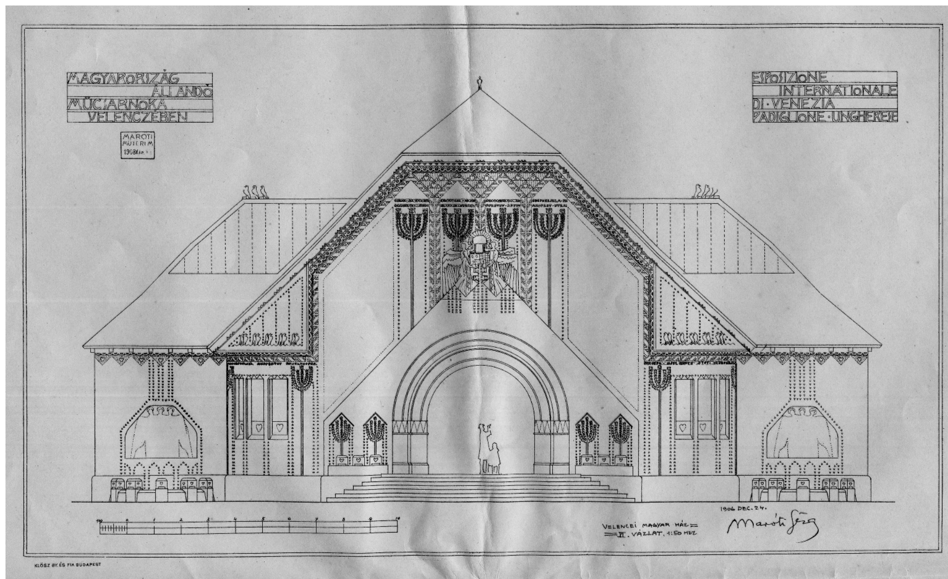

Fig. 2. The Hungarian Pavilion, Venice Biennale, first design by Géza Maróti, 13 December 1906

5 Although the basic conception remained the same, some major changes were introduced, mainly with regard to details of the ornamentation (Ács 2002b: 66).

6 The wooden grave markers, made in Hungarian town of Kalotaszeg, had to be removed owing to the vehement objection in the Budapest press (Sümegi 2000: 62).

The main facade of the building *(Fig. 2),* where straight and curved lines alternated, was dominated in the middle by a large arched doorway reached by a flight of steps and framed by a slightly projecting triangle, symmetrically opposed to an apse-shaped feature on the rear facade. Both elements were inspired by Hungarian churches of the thirteenth century (Mulazzani 1988: 41). The doorway was surmounted, on the upper floor, by five stained-glass windows (which were absent in Maróti's first designs), decorated by Miksa Róth, based on cartoons by the painter Sándor Nagy depicting the feast of Attila, King of the Huns. The archway, which resembled those designed by Maróti for the vestibule of the Hungarian pavilion at the Milan Fair, and which must have also been substantially inspired by Béla Lajta's design for a mausoleum dedicated to Lajos Kossuth (1901), was „decorated with gracefully intertwined ears of wheat and gold enamel", while the surrounding wall was „decorated with iridescent tiles, made by the Zsolnay factory, forming a stylish frieze of alternating geometrical shapes and flowers".[7]

At the sides of the doorway were two mosaics depicting the *Siege of Aquileia* (on the right) and the *Sword of Attila* (on the left), both made by Róth after drawings by the painter Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch,[8] who was also the author of other mosaics on mythological themes decorating the exterior of the pavilion. The choice of subject, represented in a style well suited to the subject matter, did not go unseen; Italian critics, in fact, made a point of highlighting the Hungarian decision to depict the feats of Attila in the very city founded by people fleeing the fury of the Huns. References to legends concerning the life of Attila (particularly those relating to the king's "tent palace") and, generally speaking, to the „culture of the steppes", were also highly characteristic of the later pavilion, built by the architects Dénes Györgyi, Emil Tőry and Móric Pogány for the International Exposition of Turin in 1911. The pavilion at Turin can be seen as an interpretation of the legendary king Attila's "tent palace" (Éri, Jobbágyi 1990: 64; Switzer 2003: 179; Alofsin 2006: 216; Székely 2011: 270–271), whose initial designs, especially the doorway, were also inspired by the Venice building (Cornaglia 2000: 92–93; Székely 2011: 270–272).[9]

In the case of the Hungarian House in Venice, the forms and decorative elements that reflect Magyar history, traditions and culture were combined with a modern structure of reinforced concrete, which supported the complex metal frame of the pitched roof. This use of modern technology and materials alongside motifs drawn from vernacular art, aiming at defining a national architecture (Alofsin 2006: 211–216), was a distinctive feature of the turn-of-the-century architecture of

7 Likewise, in the vestibule of the Hungarian section at the Milan Exposition of 1906, there were „deep round arches beginning at a short distance from the ground, on a base covered with tiles featuring brilliant metallic reflections, decorated […] with intertwined ears of corn and slight perforations" (Chiesa 1906b: 71).

8 Both Nágy and Körösfői-Kriesch had taken part in the Milan Exposition of 1906. Körösfői-Kriesch and Róth also collaborated with Maróti in the decorations for the National Theatre of Mexico.

9 In Turin, in 1911, Maróti designed the section dedicated to the city of Budapest.

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István Medgyaszay, who designed several buildings in the Gödöllő artists' colony (Gellér 1981: 58-59; Polano 1982; Gerle 1998: 223-243; Merény 1999) – of which Körösfői-Kriesch and Nagy were the leading masters – and with whom Maróti was on close professional terms in those years. The myths surrounding the Huns and Attila were recurrent themes in the output of the artists of Gödöllő, while Medgyaszay's 1902 project for a national Pantheon represented an archetype for the exhibition spaces built over the next fifteen years (Wiebenson, Sisa 1998: 233).

The choice of a modern structure was also motivated by functional considerations, since it allowed greater flexibility in the interior layout – the room was 10 x 18 meters and 8 meters high –, which could be transformed as needed (Elemér 1909: 151). In 1909, the Pavilion consisted of a large double-height space *(Fig. 3)*, with a semi-circular niche (corresponding to the apse visible from the outside), a smaller exhibition space and a round music room; all the interior spaces were lit by glazed skylights in the roof (which was externally covered with ceramic tiles).[10] In the initial designs the niche is occupied by a fireplace and is preceded by an arch, which more or less mirrors in size the entrance archway. The music room, which was quite similar to the one designed by Maróti for the Milan Exposition, featured wooden paneling and furniture, as well as a marble statue of Beethoven. Two round staircases at the sides of the vestibule (the curves of which were echoed in the mixtilinear section of the main facade), led to the upper floor, which featured a balcony opening onto the main hall, and a model of Maróti's sepulchral monument for György Ráth,[11] standing out against the stained glass by Nagy and Róth; in 1909, examples of Hungarian decorative arts were exhibited here. Finally, the building also featured a basement floor for storage.

The distinctively national character of the Hungarian Pavilion in Venice contrasted markedly with the classical architectural forms, linked to the idea of artistic internationalism (similarly to the later Turin exposition of 1911), that were typical of the British and Bavarian pavilions, inaugurated on the same occasion.[12] The former, in fact, designed by Daniele Donghi, engineer in charge of the technical office of the Commune of Venice and supervisor of the technical work during the Hungarian Pavilion's construction, featured an elegant Ionic portico on the main facade; while the latter, designed by the architect and painter Edwin Alfred Rickards and converted from an existing restaurant-café erected in 1887 by the

10 Groups of white ceramic pigeons „engaged in lovemaking, with bulging breasts and swollen necks" decorate the roof (Cozzani 1909: 301). Pigeons had already been used for decorative purposes in one of the rooms of the Hungarian section at the Milan Exposition of 1906.

11 The sepulchral monument for György Ráth (lawyer and judge, but remembered above all as art collector, patron of the arts and supporter of Hungarian applied arts), who died in 1905, was inaugurated in 1911 in the Kerepesi út cemetery in Budapest.

12 „Externally, they both share a certain common academic gracefulness, more or less, but internally they differ significantly, in both the concept of decoration of the rooms and in the nature and value of the works they contain" (Chiesa 1909a: 51).

Fig. 3. The Hungarian Pavilion, Venice Biennale, the double-height space

municipal engineer Enrico Trevisanato, included a raised neo-Palladian style loggia. By contrast, the Belgian pavilion, designed by the architect and decorator Léon Sneyers in 1906 and opened in 1907, appeared to be the result of a national approach, not unlike the Hungarian pavilion, which in the Belgian case was expressed through the modern Art Nouveau style (though influenced by the Viennese Secession movement and the work of Josef Hoffmann in particular). Furthermore, the design of the exhibition spaces was also based on the „innovative spaces of the Belgian decorative arts section at the Milan exposition of 1906" (Chiesa 1909b), evidencing the Belgians' desire to project a modern, unified image of their country on the international stage.

The fragile iron-and-glass structure of the roof soon led to maintenance problems for the Hungarian Pavilion. The deterioration of the building was first tackled in 1921, when repairs were made, at the expense of the Biennale, primarily to prevent damage from water leaking through the skylights in the roof. The work consisted of installing lead gaskets in the roof, repairing and cleaning the parquet flooring, replacing the broken glass and tiles at the entrance, and installing a more

rational ventilation system.[13] The interior layout, however, remained unchanged compared to the 1914 Biennale (the last one attended by Hungarian artists), with, on the ground floor, the vestibule and five rooms, and the central hall lacking the semi-circular niche that had been present in 1909.

MODERNIST ARCHITECTURE AND NATIONAL POLITICS

Further restoration and maintenance work was required in the early 1930s, once again to fix the roof and the exterior wall tiles. In November 1936, the Hungarian government commissioned the architect Bertalan Árkay to refurbish the pavilion in time for the 1938 Biennale. *(Fig. 4)* Árkay was a member of the so-called "Roman School", whose main objective – renewing Catholic art and architecture following Italian twentieth-century examples – was the result of a cultural policy that began at the end of the 1920s, when Hungary was oriented politically toward Fascist Italy (Ferkai 1998: 262, 264). After participating in the Rome exhibition of 1934, dedicated to sacred art, Árkay had distinguished himself in 1936 for his design (in the form of a "basilica-hall") of the Hungarian section at the VI Triennale of Milan (Papini 1936: 74). The architect proposed to radically alter the Venice pavilion (Szücs 1987: 108, fig. 176), eliminating the „tall and cumbersome" structure of the roof, transforming the main hall into an open courtyard for the statues, and building a new room for paintings (by occupying part of the space behind the building), to be accessed via a majestic portico; all the rooms would be lit by perpendicular glass panels. After meeting in Venice with Duilio Torres, one of the architects collaborating at the time with the Biennale, Árkay changed his mind and advocated the possibility of building a brand new pavilion, on an axis with the Italian Pavilion (the facade of which had been altered by Torres himself in 1932, in a monumental style inspired by classical Roman proportions and lines), in order to enhance the appearance of the garden and to improve access to the avenue leading to the island of S. Elena, which, in the 1930s, had been identified as an area of development for the permanent structures of the Biennale. Since no funds for the new building were contributed by the city authorities, Árkay – as highlighted in the catalogue of the 1938 exhibition – limited himself to a light makeover of the existing building, postponing the project of moving and rebuilding the pavilion to the next Biennale. However, due to the outbreak of World War II, only strictly necessary repairs were carried out in 1940 and 1942, to solve the problem of water infiltration through the roof and repair the damage to the glass panels, skylights and interior walls.[14]

13 Commune of Venice, Public Works Technical Office (Finzi), 15 October 1921, Restoration of the Hungarian Pavilion, ASAC, Fondo storico. Padiglioni, atti 1897–1938, serie „Scatole nere". Padiglioni, 16.

14 ASAC, Fondo storico. Padiglioni, atti 1938-1968 (serie „Paesi"), 30. Commissioner and government delegate for the 1938, 1940 and 1942 Biennales, was the art historian Tibor Gerevich, to which referred the artists of the "Roman School".

Fig. 4. The project for the Hungarian Pavilion, Venice Biennale, by Bertalan Árkay, 1936

The matter of restoring the Pavilion resurfaced before the 1948 Biennale, but a lack of time and, above all, of financial resources, obliged Hungary to stage its contribution in the Romanian pavilion. At the end of 1948, the Italian architect Agostino Jaccuzzi – who acquired experience in the exhibition field during the 1930s – was asked by the Board of the Biennale to renovate the roof of the pavilion at the request of the Hungarian authorities, probably because of his engagement in the arrangement of the pavilions for the XXIV exposition in 1948 (Lanzarini 2003: 57). Jaccuzzi, however, besides designing a „new rational and aesthetic roof", also developed a radical project for the „renovation" of the entire building, which involved fitting exterior cladding to renew „its outdated shape" and to make it

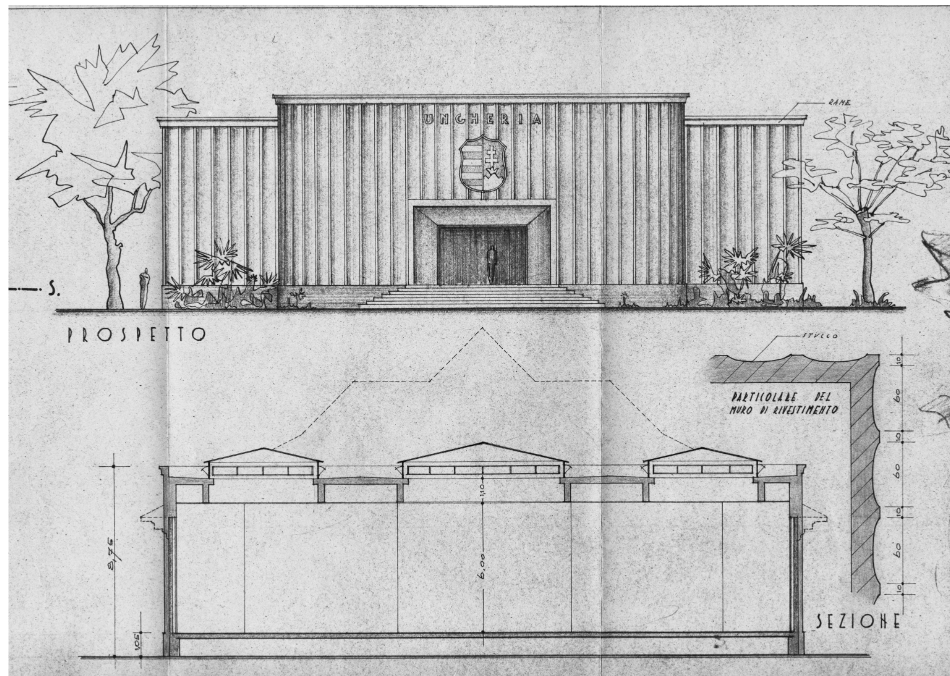

Fig. 5. The Hungarian Pavilion, Venice Biennale, building renovation project by Agostino Jaccuzzi, 16 October 1949

„more modern, simple and elegant, suited to the style of today". In Jaccuzzi's project *(Fig. 5),* the pointed roof was replaced by a horizontal structure supported by six reinforced concrete beams resting on the existing outer walls; the interior spaces, with free-standing walls, would be lit by „three large iron and glass skylights, which could be manually opened on the sides by the staff from the roof terrace (accessible via the existing stairways) by means of simple sliding windows". Externally, the features would be white *marmorino* cladding with "gigantic" grooves, between a red base and a copper sheet cornice, while an avant-corps, rounded at the ends (obtained by "regularizing" the mixtilinear section of Maróti's projecting entrance porch), would contain a new multi-colored ceramic portal surmounted by a large emblem of the Hungarian Republic.[15] Jaccuzzi's project, presented on 16 October 1949, was severely criticized by the Hungarian authorities, both because of the costs involved (there were still not enough funds for such large-scale works) and also due to aesthetic considerations regarding the new outer shell.

15 Jaccuzzi A., *Progetto di ricostruzione del tetto del padiglione della Repubblica ungherese e conseguente variante architettonica. Relazione* (The Hungarian Republic Pavilion roof reconstruction project and resulting architectural variations. Report), 16 October 1949, ASAC, Fondo storico. Lavori e gestione delle sedi. Padiglioni, 7.

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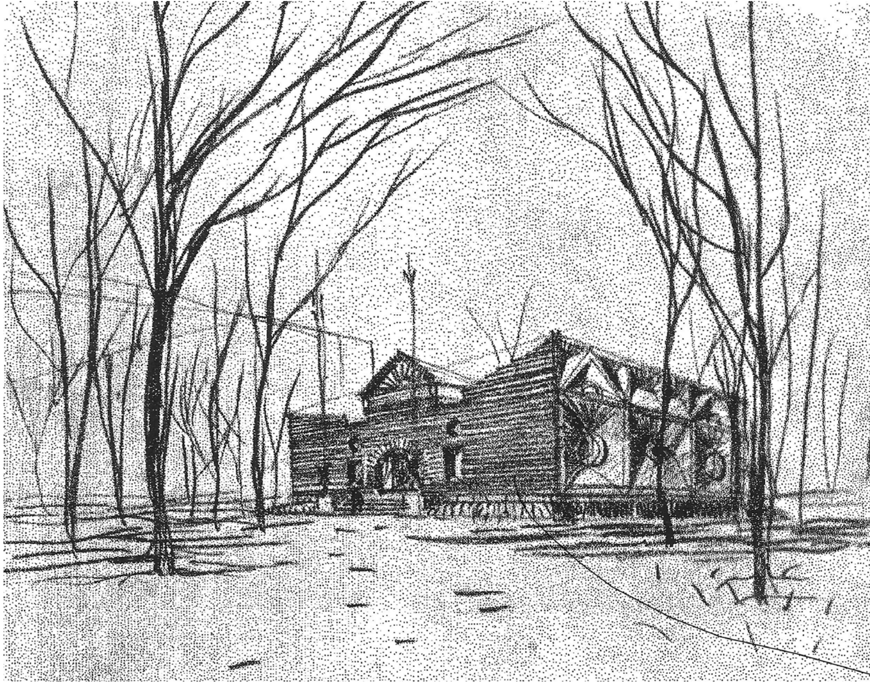

Fig. 6. The Hungarian Pavilion, Venice Biennale, the new facade project by György Szrogh, 1953

At the beginning of the 1950s, the pavilion was severely dilapidated, exacerbated by catastrophic events such as a huge wind storm in July 1949. In November 1951, the Hungarian Legation in Rome selected the architect Alfio Marchini to restore the building; after inspecting the pavilion with his colleagues, Attilio Lapadula and Carlo Scarpa,[16] Marchini reiterated the need to alter the structure of the roof. At the end of 1953, after the Mayor of Venice threatened to demolish the building,[17] the Biennale architect Virgilio Vallot was asked – in order to produce a cost estimate – to consider a project drawn up by the young Hungarian architect György Szrogh, who worked for the Public Building Planning Office. *(Fig. 6)* Szrogh provided for the removal of the iron roof structure and its replacement with a new, partly glazed roof; the creation of an interior space divided into three rectangular exhibition rooms separated by means of arches on pillars; and the construction of a new red-brick surrounding wall in typical Hungarian style, enclosing the (existing and

16 Lanzarini supposed that an unidentified drawing kept in the Scarpa's archive could be a proposal by the Italian architect for a new facade of the Hungarian pavilion, maybe developed already in 1949. Scarpa inserted in a big arch (but, at first glance, bigger than the Maróti's one) shapes and motifs drawn from the Palladio's architecture (Lanzarini 2003: 56–58).

17 Letter by Angelo Spanio, Mayor of Venice, to the Minister of Education of the Hungarian People's Republic, 19 June 1953; letter by Angelo Spanio, Mayor of Venice, to the Minister of Education of the Hungarian People's Republic, 26 August 1954, ASAC, Fondo storico. Padiglioni, atti 1938–1968 (serie „Paesi"), 30.

Fig. 7. The Hungarian Pavilion, Venice Biennale, Ágost Benkhard

designed) semi-circular extensions in a regular, square plan.[18] But this project also eventually fell through, as did the commission to reconstruct the pavilion given to the engineer Bruno Folin in 1956.[19] Only at the end of 1957, once the necessary funds had been found, was a project finally approved for the overall renovation of the building, not including the large entrance portal. After the building permits were obtained, the work was awarded to the Ernesto Zafalon construction company, and although it took several months, it was ready in time for the summer exhibition of 1958. The design, by the Hungarian architect Ágost Benkhard (assisted by an Italian engineer, Vinicio Brancaleoni), aimed to adhere to „the Hungarian progressive traditions", as stated in the technical report. The outer walls were maintained but radically renovated, with all apertures eliminated; two oblique surfaces

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18 *Descrizione tecnica e preventivo di spesa dei lavori di costruzione per il ripristino del padiglione ungherese a Venezia* (*Technical specifications and cost estimate for the refurbishment work of the Hungarian pavilion in Venice*), Budapest, December 1953, ASAC, Fondo storico. Padiglioni, atti 1938-1968 (serie „Paesi"), 30; A velencei Biennale Magyar kiállítási pavilonjának ujjáépítési terve (Reconstrucion Plan of the Hungarian Exhibition Pavilion at the Venice Biennial) 1955.

19 The commission to Folin was, most likely, taken by the Biennale management in response to Szrogh's plans, because they overstepped the area designated. The committee designated by the Hungarian Ministry for Popular Culture to judge the Folin's proposal, agreed with the interior plans, but didn't know „the architect's intention regarding the design of the front" and invoiced a sketch of its concept of the new facade (Sümegi 2000: 66–67).

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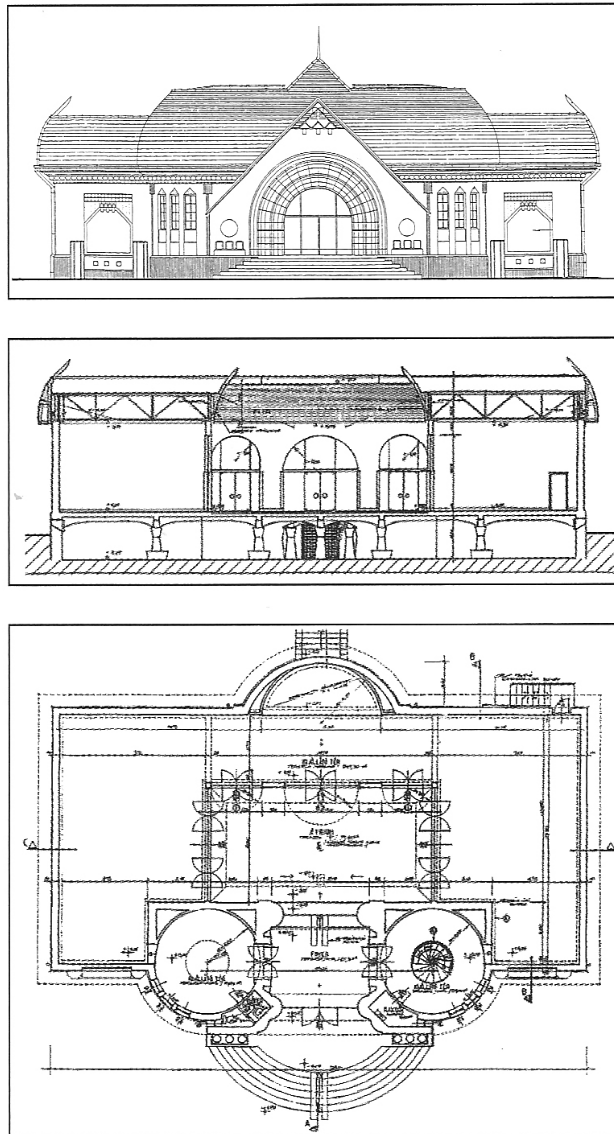

Fig. 8. The Hungarian Pavilion, Venice Biennale, the reconstruction project by György Csete (with the collaboration of Jenő Dulánszky), 1991-2000

were constructed at the sides of the triangular mass surrounding Maróti's original portal – which was painted over white in the 1960s, and subsequently restored to its original appearance (Mulazzani 1988: 41–42) –, while the edges on the rear facade were straightened, and a shell was added, consisting of a layer of "scaled" cement plaster. *(Fig. 7)* The interior layout was altered by removing the upper story (and, consequently, the staircases) and by creating an open courtyard, around which

all the spaces were arranged, the walls being „plastered with smooth concrete, whitewashed and decorated with simple friezes in slight relief". The old roof of the building was demolished and replaced with a new one sloping towards the courtyard (externally), with a flat false ceiling (internally); the lighting consisted of large glazed apertures in the new roof, and in the glass walls and doors enclosing the courtyard.[20] The pavilion thus received a modern, albeit rather anonymous, facelift, consistent with an international style based on the use of pure plain shapes, and also reflecting the aversion of the Hungarian political establishment of the time for fin-de-siècle artistic trends (Hossain, Bódi, Ghiu 2012: 2; Székely 2009: 118–119).

NEW NATIONAL POLICY AT THE DAWN OF POLITICAL CHANGES

At the end of the 1980s it became necessary once again to restore the building, and work started in 1991. The project, by the architect György Csete (with the collaboration of Jenő Dulánszky), aimed to bring back the original structure and decorations concealed beneath Benkhard's refurbishment. The main front therefore regained its mixtilinear appearance of 1909, with the colored tiles of Maróti's arched portal, the mosaics by Körösfői-Kriesch and the glazing on the curved surfaces. *(Fig. 8)* The interior courtyard was retained, while the roof underwent further alteration, formally justified (similarly to what had happened at the beginning of the century, albeit with different results) as an attempt to recover the traditional roots of Hungarian architecture, linked to the ancient culture of the steppes of Central Asia. György Csete was, along with Imre Makovecz (architect of the Hungarian pavilion at the Seville Exposition of 1992), one of the father figures of the "organic" movement (Cook 1996), which promoted a national modern architecture inspired by historical and vernacular sources, and whose representatives claimed, from the 1990s, to represent organic architecture as the new national style (beginning with the 1991 Biennale). Finally, the shape given to the roof in 2000, which recalls ancient curved wooden structures (also used by Makovecz at Seville), just like in the original 1909 design, once again harks back to the roots of Magyar culture, and especially to the tents from which the first Hungarians emerged (Pálffy 2013: 54).

20 *Descrizione tecnica dei lavori di costruzione del padiglione ungherese alla Biennale di Venezia* (*Technical specifications for the Hungarian pavilion construction work at the Venice Biennale*), ASAC, Fondo storico. Padiglioni, atti 1938-1968 (serie „Paesi"), 30.

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IN MEMORIAM ALEKSANDER LASLO (1950-2014)

Aleksander Laslo has earned his reputation and professional relevance with his research, critique and writing and is regarded as the undisputed and supreme authority on Croatian architecture. His work was a mission to him, and he carried it with dignity, greatest responsibility but also with joy and pride. His expertise was often requested on current topics in the field of urban planning, protection of cultural heritage and architectural competitions, on exhibitions, books – in short, on every topic regarding public space and the city.

His original preoccupation was the history of Modernism, from which he stepped backward and forward: from its history, to the middle of the nineteenth century, simultaniously examining its perspective to the present day. His insights were published in lapidary and synthetic form in his masterpiece, the architectural guide of Zagreb (2010)., the first of its kind.

Aleksander Laslo was born on October 18 in 1950 in Celje. He went to school in Zagreb, where he graduated from the Zagreb School of Architecture in 1976. Until 1995 he was the main architect in several respected Zagreb architecture offices, lecturer at the Zagreb School of Architecture from 1981 to 1988, from 1995 to 2005 he worked as a consultant at City Institute for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage, and from 2005 until his death he worked at the City Office of Strategic Planning.

He started his journalist work in late 1970s and early 1980s. His first architectural guide to the Zagreb Lower Town from the 19th and 20th century (1982) is still a reliable help to anyone who works on the subject, both as a source of information and as a manual. The same applies to five similar guides, systematically published in the "Man and Space" and "Architecture" journals. They are modestly named "guide", but they contain anthological collection of work. In his work, Laslo presents an epoch, architects and individual works with great knowledge. Much of his writing is devoted to architects, who until then despite their great reputation have not been thoroughly published, let alone in a monograph (Viktor Kovacic, Rudolf Lubynski, Zlatko Neumann, etc.). Those texts are first systematic overviews of individual authors and works – equipped with scholarly apparatus, an abundance of facts, contextualized in time and space. Without Laslo the exhibition on Aladar Baranyai (1999) would not have been mounted, and major exhibitions "Secession in Croatia" (2003/04) with his introductory text "Faces of modernity 1898 – 1918" or "Art Deco, Art in Croatia between the two World Wars" (2011.) in the Museum of Arts and Crafts wouldn't have been possible. Laslo's presentation is basic: they can be used as a basis for specialist essays. He dared to do difficult interpretive tasks that both architects and art historians avoid.

Aleksander Laslo's potential was noticed by his European colleagues, experts and critics from the major centers of knowledge and culture, so he was one of the few of Croatian authors regularly invited to cowork on various projects. Thanks to Laslo, Croatian architecture is well established in the European and global context, through major exhibitions, publications, and conferences. He participated in the "Adolf Loos" (Albertina, Vienna, 1989) exhibition with a text on Loos's Croatian students, at the exhibition "Architettura e nella spazio sacro modernità" (Venezia Biennale, 1992) Laslo presented St. Blaise church in Zagreb designed by architect Viktor Kovacic, in the "The Modern Zagreb" publication edited by Feđa Vukić, as part of the "New Europe" (Copenhagen, 1993) he wrote about the modern bourgeoisie architecture in Zagreb, and in the book on European architecture of 1990s by distinguished theorists S. Steiner and A. Nussbaum and published by Birkhäuser from Basel in 1995, he wrote a provocative article "Continued modern or back to the future".

He participated in prominent international conferences on modern architecture, coordinated the Croatian workgroup within the International committee for documentation and conservation of buildings, sites and neighborhoods of the Modern movement, "DoCoMoMo International". But from the point of view of promoting Croatian architecture, perhaps the most important was his contribution to the "Shaping the Great City" (1999) exhibition. The show was initiated by Harvard professor Eve Blau with the aim to present architecture and urban planning in Central Europe from the period from 1890th to 1937. Laslo presented two periods: 1880-1918 and 1918 to 1937 with most important and best architecture examples. The exhibition has toured the cultural capitals of Europe and the United States. The exhibition catalogue was published in English, French, German and Czech. Architecture of Zagreb was presented on the cover with a photo of Slavko Löwy's tower in Gunduliceva Street in, and for the first time it was presented on the Internet. It was a greatest promotion of Zagreb architecture to this day.

In all those great international projects Aleksander Laslo represented the value of Croatian architectural culture with superior knowledge, with a sense of measure and without provincial inferiority complex. His articles on connection of Croatian architecture with Adolf Loos, the Czech avant-garde, architecture in the 1990s and finally a large synthesis of the period from 1880 to 1937 are unprecedented in Croatian literature.

Aleksander Laslo created his enormous opus practically in his free time. It is evident from his biography that he started working as an architect in companies Industroprojekt (1976 to 1983), Ina-Project (1983 to 1990) and Plan (1990-1995.), after that as an advisor and assistant to the Head of the City Office for Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage (1995-2005), and as an advisor in the Office for Strategic Planning, where he gave his expert and intellectual contribution to research of very complex topics.

To many generations of Croatian architects, media and the cultural public sphere Aleksander Laslo was an architectural icon. He was very modest, never wanting to stand out, let alone impose; his judgement and valuation were accurate, objective and uncompromising, but always thoughtful and never personal. The City of Zagreb Award he posthumously received in May of 2014 testifies how greatly he will be missed.

Snješka Knežević PhD, art historian

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