

## In the Shadow of Budapest (and Vienna)—Architecture and Urban Development of Zagreb in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

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### ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Im Schatten von Budapest (und Wien) – Architektur und Stadtentwicklung Zagrebs im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert

Innerhalb der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie ist Zagreb immer eine Stadt gewesen, die Impulse von außen rezipierte – sie importierte, gemeinhin mit einer gewissen Verzögerung, technologische Innovationen, neue stadtplanerische Konzepte, neuartige Ansätze für den Aufbau der kommunalen Infrastruktur sowie architektonische Muster größerer und stärker vom Fortschritt geprägter Städte. All diese Einflüsse stammten zumeist aus Wien, obwohl der Ausgleich von 1867 Kroatien unmittelbar ungarischer Verwaltung unterstellt hatte. Die Beitrag will hierfür die Ursachen aufzeigen: In erster Linie hatte die Mehrheit der kroatischen Architekten sowie der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Eliten insgesamt in Wien studiert, und zudem hatte sich eine oppositionelle Einstellung gegenüber Budapest herausgebildet, die von dem Eindruck herrührte, Kroatiens politische und wirtschaftliche Lage im östlichen Teil der Monarchie sei nicht zufriedenstellend. Außerdem wurde der Wissenstransfer von Budapest nach Zagreb durch mehrere Umstände gehemmt: Nur wenige Einwohner Zagrebs sprachen Ungarisch oder waren ethnische Ungarn, die architektonischen Entwicklungen in Budapest waren in Zagreb größtenteils unbekannt und die Architekten von dort erfreuten sich nicht eines so hohen Prestiges wie diejenigen aus Wien. Die Einflüsse aus Budapest verstärkten sich nach 1883 im Zuge der Tätigkeit von Vizekönig (ban) Károly Dragutin Khuen-Héderváry, einem Anhänger der ungarischen Politik. Die kroatische Regierung versuchte die Verbindungen zwischen Zagreb und Budapest zu festigen, und zu derselben Zeit nahmen in Zagreb ungarische Institutionen (die königliche Eisenbahn, das Finanz- und das Postministerium) mehrere große Architekturprojekte in Angriff. Die Gebäude dieser öffentlichen Institutionen veränderten das Stadtbild im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert. Es waren ungarische Institutionen, die in dieser Zeit einige der größten öffentlichen Gebäude Zagrebs errichteten, was erheblich zur Diversität und Monumentalität der dortigen Architektur beigetragen hat.

KEYWORDS: architecture, urbanization, knowledge transfer, Zagreb, Budapest, Vienna

## Introduction

The history of Zagreb in the period between 1867 and the First World War was marked by major modernization as well as demographic and economic growth. Despite the fact that the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise and the 1868 Croato-Hungarian Settlement placed Croatia in the Hungarian half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the architecture and urban design of Zagreb was far more influenced by Vienna than Budapest.

This occurred primarily because the majority of Croatian architects and members of the national political and economic elites had studied in Vienna. Additionally, as an imperial capital and one of the most significant centers of architecture in the nineteenth century, Vienna served as an attractive model to Zagreb (and to other cities in the Empire, including Budapest).

Croatia's turning to Vienna was also emphasized by the small amount of autonomy it had within the Hungarian part of the Empire, which consequently helped shape negative nationalistic attitudes towards Hungary and Hungarians. This political situation posed a hindrance to cultural influences coming from the eastern part of the Empire, which was also reflected in the field of architecture and town planning.

The last few decades have seen the publication of a rather large number of books and papers on Zagreb's nineteenth and early twentieth century architecture, some of which have explored Viennese influences. Connections between Zagreb and Budapest have, however, merely been touched upon, with references mainly to the railway station and other buildings of the Royal Hungarian State Railways.<sup>1</sup> The first paper to give a more detailed account of a Zagreb-Budapest relationship in the field of architecture was András Hadik's article published in 2004.<sup>2</sup> It was followed by case studies on the Medaković House in Zagreb and the Adam House in Budapest by a group of

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<sup>1</sup> ĐURĐICA CVITANOVIĆ: Arhitektura monumentalnog historicizma u urbanizmu Zagreba [Architecture of Monumental Historicism in the Urbanism of Zagreb], in: *Život umjetnosti* 26-27 (1978), pp. 127-160; OLGA MARUŠEVSKI: Der Anteil österreichischer und deutscher Architekten am Ausbau Zagrebs im 19. Jahrhundert, in: NEVEN BUDAK (ed.): *Kroatien: Landeskunde—Geschichte—Kultur—Politik—Wirtschaft—Recht*, Wien et al. 1995, pp. 349-372; EADEM: Arhitektonsko-urbanističke veze Zagreba i Beča na prijelomu stoljeća [Architectural and Urban Ties Between Zagreb and Vienna at the Turn of the Century], in: DAMIR BARBARIĆ (ed.): *Fin de siècle Zagreb—Beč*, Zagreb 1997, pp. 197-228; DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ: *Croatian Architecture of the Historicist Period and the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts: Croatian Students of the Architect Friedrich von Schmidt*, Zagreb 2011.

<sup>2</sup> HADIK ANDRÁS: Zággrábi anziksz: Adalékok-magyar építészek horvátországi tevékenységéhez a századfordulón [Zagreb Postcards: Addenda to Hungarian Architects' Activity in Croatia at the Turn of the Century], in: VADAS FERENC (ed.): *Romantikuskastély: Tanulmányok Komárik Dénes tiszteletére*, Budapest 2004, pp. 461-471.

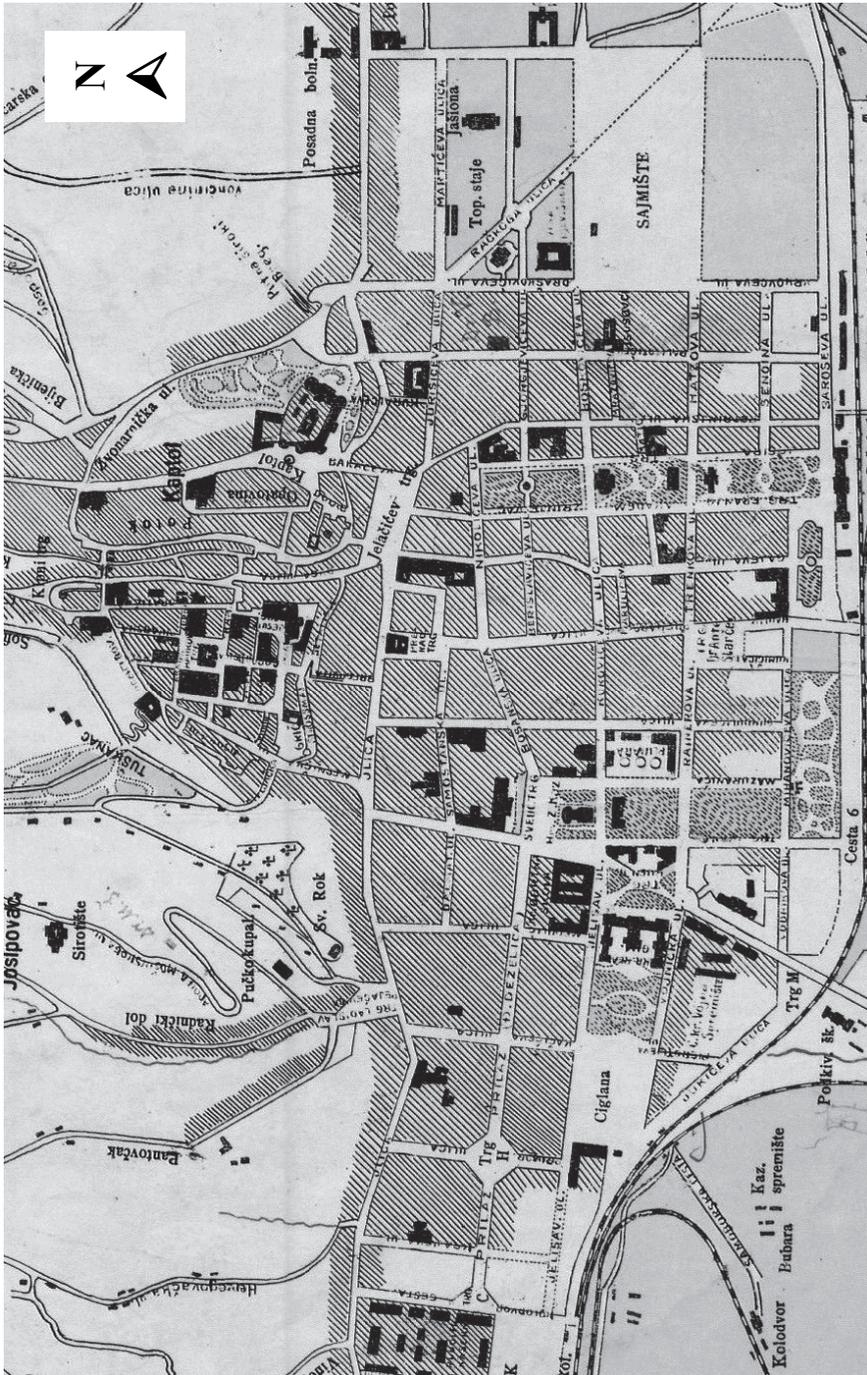


Fig. 1: Map of Zagreb dating from around 1905, made by City Building Office; Zagreb City Museum, Collection of Maps

authors and Boris Dundović's paper on the Zagreb Post Office building.<sup>3</sup> However, interrelationships between Central European cities have been explored by numerous authors who have written about architecture and urbanism in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (and who partly explored the influences of Vienna and Budapest on Zagreb). They include Ákos Moravánszky<sup>4</sup>, Anthony Alofsin<sup>5</sup>, and Elizabeth Clegg<sup>6</sup>, whose texts contain overviews of the Austro-Hungarian history of architecture in the second half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries, Eve Blau, who notices a "politically motivated turn from Budapest" in Zagreb's architecture, which forms the focus of this paper<sup>7</sup>, and Tanja Damljanović Conley and Emily Gunzburger Makaš, who give a detailed comparative analysis of coexisting manifestations and influences in the architecture and urban planning of Central and South-East European capitals in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The last two authors notice that Vienna had a stronger influence on the architecture and town planning in Zagreb, but they find certain elements pointing to Budapest's influence as well (such as the construction of the funicular that connected the old city center with the newer parts of the city).<sup>8</sup>

This paper, which has been based on research of pro-governmental and oppositional press in Croatia from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, aims to give a more profound insight into different influences of the capitals of Austria-Hungary on Zagreb, with a special focus given to the transfer of knowledge in the field of architecture and town planning between Zagreb and Budapest. It shows that the Croatian political structures, which were pro-Hungarian almost the entire time between the 1868 Croatian-Hungarian Settlement and the Monarchy's dissolution, tried to establish

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<sup>3</sup> DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ, MÁRIA KEMÉNY, TAMÁS CSÁKI: Architectural Links Between Budapest and Zagreb in the Second Half of the 19th Century: Examples of the Ádám Palace in Budapest and the Medaković House in Zagreb, in: ISKRA IVELJIĆ (ed.): *The Entangled Histories of Vienna, Zagreb and Budapest (18th-20th Century)*, Zagreb 2015, pp. 157-177, 555-560; BORIS DUNDOVIĆ: *The Palace of the Post and Telegraph Administration Office in Jurišićeva Street, Zagreb: Architectural and Stylistic Features*, in: *Prostor* 24 (2016), 1 (51), pp. 14-31.

<sup>4</sup> ÁKOS MORAVÁNSZKY: *Die Architektur der Donaumonarchie*, Berlin 1988; ÁKOS MORAVÁNSZKY: *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918*, Cambridge/MA 1998.

<sup>5</sup> ANTHONY ALOFSIN: *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and its Aftermath, 1867-1933*, Chicago 2006.

<sup>6</sup> ELIZABETH CLEGG: *Art, Design & Architecture in Central Europe 1890-1920*, New Haven—London 2006.

<sup>7</sup> EVE BLAU: *The City as Protagonist: Architecture and the Cultures of Central Europe*, in: EADEM, MONIKA PLATZER (eds.): *Shaping the Great City: Modern Architecture in Central Europe, 1890-1937*, München et al. 1999, pp. 11-23, here p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> TANJA DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, EMILY GUNZBURGER MAKAS: *Shaping Central and Southeastern European Capital Cities in the Age of Nationalism*, in: EADEM (eds.): *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires: Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*, Routledge 2010, pp. 1-28.

stronger relations with Budapest through scholarships at the Polytechnics in Budapest, exhibitions and subsidized study trips for architects and engineers.

The research also shows that the Croatian government was far less successful in strengthening the ties between the two countries than the Hungarian government, which built a number of monumental buildings in Zagreb's Lower Town in the given time period. The size and lavishly decorated facades of these buildings still make them stand out in the city's architectural history.

### Vienna, Budapest and General Features of Zagreb's Urban Growth in 1867-1918

Until the mid-nineteenth century, the central part of Zagreb was divided into two administratively autonomous districts, namely the Free and Royal City of Zagreb and Kaptol. The former comprised the territory known today as the Upper Town or Gradec, while the latter, spreading to the east of Gradec, mostly comprised properties owned by various institutions of the Catholic Church. Both districts had been fortified in the thirteenth century, first due to the Tatar and then Ottoman invasions and they had developed almost exclusively within their walls until the late seventeenth / early eighteenth century when the border with the Ottoman Empire moved to the south and east of the city. Consequently, Zagreb began to grow beyond the fortifications, which was also considerably propelled by the emergence of the bourgeoisie. The growth, however, was rather slow because the feudal system, abolished in the Habsburg Monarchy as late as 1848, had hindered mass and permanent settlement of villagers in the city.

After the abolition of serfdom and especially after the construction of the railway that connected Zagreb with Vienna and Trieste in 1862, the city began to grow much faster. The growth accelerated further after the 1868 Croatia-Hungarian Settlement when Zagreb became the capital of the semi-autonomous Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (the then official name of Croatia) in the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. According to the 1869 census, there were 20,402 people living in the city, whereas the 1910 census recorded almost 75,000.<sup>9</sup> Though rather significant, this growth could not bring Zagreb closer to the size of the Empire's

<sup>9</sup> Statistički godišnjak Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije / Statistisches Jahrbuch der Königreiche Kroatien und Slavonien. Vol. II: 1906-1910, Zagreb 1917, p. 4; BOŽENA VRANJEŠ ŠOLJAN: Stanovništvo gradova Banske Hrvatske na prijelazu stoljeća [The Population of the Cities of Banal Croatia at the Turn of the Century], Zagreb 1991, p. 146; FILIP TOMIĆ, MARIO STRECHA: Zagreb raste: Prilog poznavanju populacijskog razvoja Zagreba u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća u komparativnoj perspektivi [Zagreb Grows: A Comparative Analysis of Population Growth in the City of Zagreb During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century], in: *Historijski zbornik* 69 (2016), 1, pp. 1-32.

two capitals—Vienna, which in 1910 had a population of just over two million people<sup>10</sup> and Budapest, which in the same year had 880,000 people.<sup>11</sup>

In 1910 Zagreb was not only twelve times smaller than Budapest, but it was also only the fifth largest city in the Hungarian part of the Empire, preceded even by Szeged, Subotica and Debrecen.<sup>12</sup> In the Austrian part of the Empire, a number of cities such as Vienna, Trieste, Prague, L'viv, Graz, Kraków, Brno, Chernivtsi and Plzeň surpassed Zagreb in size.<sup>13</sup> Oppositional parties in Croatia related the image of Zagreb falling behind other urban centers in the Empire to the Hungarian economic policy of the time and its lack of interest for the wellbeing of Zagreb and Croatia in general.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of administrative reforms exerted an important influence on the urban growth of Zagreb. The implementation of almost all of them followed similar concepts that had been adopted in Vienna. Soon after the abolition of feudalism, in early September 1850, old Zagreb's districts were brought together to form the Free and Royal City of Zagreb, which reflected and was influenced by a unification of Vienna's historical center with surrounding suburbs.<sup>14</sup> Seven years later, the Zagreb city authorities issued the first Building Regulation Manual modeled on Vienna's *Bauordnung*.<sup>15</sup>

In the following decades, the rapid growth of the city also necessitated planning and development regulation. The first urban plan was created in 1865 by the city's head engineer Vatroslav Egersdorfer who relied on Vienna's urban plan (although he was educated in Budapest), probably because he was helped by Vienna-educated architect Janko Nikola Grahor and engineer Kamilo Bedeković. Viennese urban planning also served as a source of inspiration to Rupert Melkus, then head of the City Building Department, who

<sup>10</sup> HELMUT RUMPLER, PETER URBANITSCH, ULRIKE HARMAT: Verzeichnis der Verwaltungsbezirke, Flächeninhalt und Bevölkerung 1910, in: Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. Vol. 9: Soziale Strukturen. Pt. 2: Die Gesellschaft der Habsburgermonarchie im Kartenbild: Verwaltungs-, Sozial- und Infrastrukturen nach dem Zensus von 1910, Wien 2010, pp. 263-325, here p. 267.

<sup>11</sup> LÁSZLÓ KATUS: Die Magyaren, in: Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. Vol. 3: Die Völker des Reiches, pt. 1, Wien 1980, pp. 410-488, here p. 459.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> KOGUTOWICZ KÁROLY, GYÓZŐ HERMANN: Zsebatlasz: Naptárral és statisztikai adatokkal az 1914. évre [Pocket Atlas: With Calendar and Statistics for the Year 1914], Budapest 1913, pp. 32-36; ANTON L. HICKMANN: Geographisch-statistischer Universal-Taschen-Atlas, Wien—Leipzig 1914, pp. 39, 41.

<sup>14</sup> LELJA DOBRONIĆ: Graditelj i izgradnja Zagreba u doba historijskih stilova [Architects and Construction in Zagreb in the Age of Historical Styles], Zagreb 1983, pp. 166-178. More on nineteenth century Zagreb in IVAN KAMPUŠ, IGOR KARAMAN: Zagreb through a Thousand Years, from Ancient Settlements to Modern City, Zagreb 1995, pp. 153-254; ZORAN GRIJAK, IVO GOLDSTEIN: Na vratima 20. stoljeća [At the Gates of the Twentieth Century], in: IVO GOLDSTEIN, SLAVKO GOLDSTEIN (eds.): Povijest grada Zagreba. Knjiga 1: Od prethistorije do 1918, Zagreb 2012, pp. 350-411.

<sup>15</sup> MARUŠEVSKI, Der Anteil (as in footnote 1), p. 200.

worked together with engineer Milan Lenuci and the municipal senator Adolf Hudovski on the second urban plan in 1887.

The plans from 1865 and 1887 envisaged the construction of a new city district based on an orthogonal system. Accordingly, this new part of Zagreb, called the Lower Town (Donji grad), was built on a flat, unbuilt area north of the Sava River and south of the central districts of Kaptol and Gradec. A U-shaped belt of gardens and parks, the so-called Green Horseshoe that resembled Vienna's Ring Street, formed the core of the Lower Town.<sup>16</sup>

Influences of nineteenth-century Budapest urban planning only began to be partially felt in the third Zagreb urban plan created by Lenuci in 1905. The plan, which regulated the eastern part of the city that was under construction at that time, diverged from the orthogonal model and, instead, envisaged, at certain points, radially laid-out streets. One of them, called *Prachtstraße*, which was supposed to lead from the city center to a new, spacious park in the southeast, was modelled on Andrassy út in Budapest.<sup>17</sup>

As in the case of town planning, when trying to find models for the modernization of public utilities infrastructure, the city authorities regularly looked up to Vienna, sometimes to other cities in the western part of the Empire, and to Europe in general. Their choices were guided by a desire to make Zagreb, as was stated in the official government daily newspaper *Narodne novine* in 1902, the "most important city on the border between East and West."<sup>18</sup>

Upon deciding to build a new municipal cemetery, the Zagreb authorities sent Melkus on two separate trips to Italy and western parts of Central Europe in the 1870s so he could learn about sepulchral architecture in cities such as Verona, Florence, Brescia, Vienna, Munich etc.<sup>19</sup> They also decided to commission Vienna-based engineer Karl Junker<sup>20</sup>, who had designed Archduke Maximilian's Miramara Castle near Trieste, to design the municipal water

<sup>16</sup> More on Green Horseshoe in SNJEŠKA KNEŽEVIĆ: *Zagrebačka zelena potkova* [Zagreb Green Horseshoe], Zagreb 1996; EADEM: Milan Lenuci and the Urbanism of Zagreb, in: EVE BLAU, IVAN RUPNIK (eds.): *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice*, Barcelona 1997, pp. 84-89; EADEM: *Zagrebu u središtu* [Zagreb at the Center], Zagreb 2003 pp. 185-201.

<sup>17</sup> MIRELA SLUKAN ALTIĆ: *Town Planning of Zagreb 1862-1923 as a Part of the European Cultural Circle*, in: *Ekonomika i ekohistorija* 8 (2012), pp. 100-107, here pp. 101-105.

<sup>18</sup> *Desetgodišnjica načelnikovanja* [The Tenth Anniversary of the Mayor's Mandate], in: *Narodne novine*, from 1902-12-31, pp. 6-7.

<sup>19</sup> DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ: *Arhitektura zagrebačkog središnjeg groblja Mirogoj, između Italije i Srednje Europe* [The Architecture of the Central Zagreb Mirogoj Cemetery: Between Italy and Central Europe], in: IVAN MARKEŠIĆ (ed.): *Čovjek i smrt: Teološki, filozofski, bioetički i društveni pristup*, Zagreb, 2017, pp. 429-459, here pp. 435-436.

<sup>20</sup> ZLATKO JURIĆ: *Vodovod u Zagrebu. Od ideje do ostvarenja 1861.-1878.* [Water Supply in Zagreb: From Idea to Realization, 1861-1878], in: *Život umjetnosti* 60 (1998), pp. 48-66, here p. 61.

supply system (completed in 1878). Landscape design of a new Zrinski Square was entrusted in 1873 to Rudolf Siebeck, the then director of Vienna City Parks.<sup>21</sup>

In fact, a peculiar position of Croatia within the Dual Monarchy can best be portrayed by architectural projects for public buildings. Public buildings that housed autonomous Croatian institutions (Croatian ministries, schools, university institutes, etc.) were almost exclusively designed by Zagreb-based engineers and architects, mostly employed by the local government. Architects from Budapest designed almost exclusively buildings of the public institutions under Hungarian control. Finally, Viennese and other Austrian engineers and architects mostly designed technically complicated public buildings of Croatian cultural institutions, and sometimes also buildings of the institutions under direct Austrian administration (military barracks).

### Croatian Intellectual Elites and Viennese Influence on Zagreb's Architecture

Considering the absolutistic regime that was established after the 1848/49 revolution in the Habsburg Empire, it is not surprising that Vienna exerted a strong influence on Zagreb's architecture and urban development before the 1867 and 1868 Compromises. However, its continued impact, which was felt even after the formation of the Dual Monarchy (and the semi-autonomous Croatian constituent within its Hungarian part), can be viewed not just through a prism of politics but also through a tradition of maintaining close cultural, intellectual and economic ties between Vienna and Zagreb.<sup>22</sup>

The key roles in the early stages of appropriating Viennese architectural concepts in Zagreb in the second half of the nineteenth century were played by Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and the first Croatian art historian Iso Kršnjavi.

Strossmayer's influence was strongly felt in the 1860s, and especially in the 1870s. Although he was Bishop of the Diocese of Đakovo, he was extremely interested in the development of Zagreb, which he wanted to turn into a new Florence—the cultural capital of Croats and South Slavs.<sup>23</sup> As the biggest patron of art and science in Croatia, Strossmayer invested enormous funds for the establishment of a number of national institutions (the two most prominent of which were the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts and

<sup>21</sup> MARUŠEVSKI, *Der Anteil* (as in footnote 1), p. 203.

<sup>22</sup> MARIO STRECHA: *Zur Frage des Einflusses der Metropole Wien auf die kulturelle Identität Zagrebs im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: BUDAK (as in footnote 1), pp. 333-348.

<sup>23</sup> *Spomenica o pedesetoj godišnjici Strossmayerove galerije* [Memorandum on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Strossmayer Gallery], Zagreb 1935, p. 14; ANTUN ČEČATKA: *Videnje crkve J. J. Strossmayera (1815.-1905.)* [Josip Juraj Strossmayer's Vision of the Church 1815-1905], Đakovo 2001, p. 14.



Fig. 2: Friedrich Schmidt: Palace of the Yugoslav (today Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1877-1884, Zagreb, Zrinski Square 11; photo by the author, 2010-04-19

Fig. 3: Herman Bollé: Museum of Arts and Crafts and Crafts School, 1887-1891, Zagreb, 9-11 Republic of Croatia Square; photo by the author, 2010-03-27

the University of Zagreb). Despite his frequent frictions with the Austrian German political elite, and owing to his Viennese education at the Augustineum which had given him a fairly good knowledge about the architecture of the Empire's capital, Strossmayer was in support of commissioning Viennese architects for important building projects in Zagreb and Croatia in general. He first entrusted Karl Rösner with the task of constructing his cathedral in Đakovo and then, after Rösner's death, Friedrich Schmidt became his favorite architect. Strossmayer's support won Schmidt the commissions for the restoration of Zagreb's two most important medieval monuments—the Zagreb Cathedral and St Mark's Parish church, as well as the commissions for the palace of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (fig. 2), and the fountain with the pillar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kaptol.<sup>24</sup>

In the late 1870s, the main role in shaping Croatia's cultural policy was taken over by Kršnjavi, whose numerous texts published in Zagreb's newspapers and magazines in the Croatian and German languages had a strong impact on the city's urban development and architecture. Kršnjavi continuously relied on Viennese models, which was not surprising because he had studied under Rudolf Eitelberger at the University of Vienna. He founded the Museum of Arts and Crafts (1880) and the Crafts School (1882) and modeled them on Eitelberger's museum and school in Vienna (and partly the South Kensington Museum in London).<sup>25</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, in addition to Strossmayer and Kršnjavi, a large number of Croatian intellectuals accepted and favored Vienna as the most appropriate source of models for the development of Zagreb in general. Ties between Zagreb and Vienna remained strong primarily because

<sup>24</sup> DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ: Đakovačka katedrala [Đakovo Cathedral], Zagreb 2009, pp. 185-215, 226.

<sup>25</sup> More about Kršnjavi in OLGA MARUŠEVSKI: Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj [Iso Kršnjavi as Initiator of Building Projects], Zagreb 1986.

the majority of former and current bans (viceroys), mayors of Zagreb, industrialists and civil servants were educated in Vienna<sup>26</sup> (and to a lesser extent in Graz). Since Croatia had no schools of architecture until 1919, Vienna was also the place where the majority of key Zagreb architects and engineers had studied, mostly at Polytechnics, the Art Academy and Crafts School (e.g. Janko Holjac, Josip Vancaš, Julije Deutsch, Leo Hönigsberg, Hugo Ehrlich, Viktor Kovačić, Vjekoslav Bastl, to name only a few) or worked as apprentices to famous Viennese *Baubarone* (for example, Herman Bollé, the most important late nineteenth century Zagreb architect, was Friedrich Schmidt's apprentice). Some architects also finished their studies at polytechnics or academies in other cities in the German speaking territory.<sup>27</sup> Budapest was a city less likely to be chosen by Croatian students primarily because of their insufficient knowledge of Hungarian.

In addition to the aforementioned reasons for holding Vienna in high regard as a source of architectural ideas and models, there was also a certain prestige that architects in this city enjoyed. *Baubarone* of the Ring Street had achieved global esteem with their architectural work and, inspired by their success, Croatian authorities wanted them to work on important projects in the Croatian capital as well.

In cases of technically demanding projects, for which Croatian architects did not have sufficient knowledge or experience, Viennese architects therefore regularly received commissions. As was mentioned earlier, Schmidt designed the new building of the Academy. A short time later, architects Carl Völckner and Franz von Gruber were employed on the huge military complex of Rudolf's barracks in the western part of Zagreb in 1888/89<sup>28</sup>, and Fellner & Helmer were entrusted with the task of designing the building of the Croatian National Theatre at University Square (Sveučilišni trg) in the Lower Town (1894/95).

Finally, the close relationship with Vienna was also fostered by political circumstances because, during their conflict with Hungarian authorities, the majority of Croatian political parties saw in Vienna and the dynasty their biggest allies.

A transformation of Croatian nationalism after the 1868 Settlement also contributed to the pro-Vienna orientation. Even though Croatia had autonomy

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<sup>26</sup> ISKRA IVELJIĆ: Kroatische Studenten und Professoren in Wien (1790-1918), in: EADEM (ed.): The Entangled Histories of Vienna, Zagreb and Budapest (18th-20th Century), Zagreb 2015, pp. 291-356.

<sup>27</sup> Milan Lenuci studied in Graz, Kuno Waidmann in Stuttgart, Aleksandar Seć in Munich, Rudolf Lubynski and Dioniz Sunko in Karlsruhe, see DOBRONIĆ (as in footnote 14), pp. 350-352; MARUŠEVSKI, Der Anteil (as in footnote 1), p. 198.

<sup>28</sup> SNJEŠKA KNEŽEVIĆ: Zagreb: Grad\_Memorija\_Art [Zagreb: City\_Memory\_Art], Zagreb 2011, pp. 70, 85.



Fig. 4: Fellner & Helmer: Croatian National Theater, 1894/95, Zagreb, 15 Republic of Croatia Square; Ivan Bogavčić's Collection of Postcards, Zagreb

within the Hungarian part of the Empire, different socio-political circumstances contributed to the growth of nationalism with strong anti-Hungarian undertones, which became especially radicalized in the early twentieth century. These included the Hungarian government's economic policy, which was perceived by the Croatian opposition as showing economic negligence towards Croatia, the process of Hungarization, especially the imposition of the Hungarian language in joint Hungaro-Croatian public institutions, the construction of Hungarian schools, and the settlement of an ethnic Hungarian population in Croatia.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> ROBERT A. KANN: *The Multinational Empire. Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848-1918*. Vol. 1: *Empire and Nationalities*, New York 1964, pp. 233-259; HORST HASELSTEINER: *Ogledi o modernizaciji u Srednjoj Europi* [Studies on Modernization in Central Europe], Zagreb 1997, pp. 82-83, 90-91; NIKŠA STANČIĆ: *Hrvatska nacija i nacionalizam u 19. i 20. stoljeću* [Croatian Nation and Nationalism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries], Zagreb 2002, pp. 194-195; DINKO ŠOKČEVIĆ: *Slika Drugoga: Promjene u predodžbi koju su Hrvati stvarali o Mađarima u 19. stoljeću* [The Image of the Other: Changes in the Perception of the Hungarians by the Croats in the Nineteenth Century], in MILAN KRUHEK (ed.): *Hrvatsko-mađarski odnosi 1102.-1918., Zagreb 2004*, pp. 223-228; BOŽENA VRANJEŠ ŠOLJAN: *Hrvatsko-mađarski odnosi 1868.-1918.* [Croatian-Hungarian Relations 1868-1918], *ibidem*, pp. 269-277; DINKO ŠOKČEVIĆ: *Hrvati u očima Mađara, Mađari u očima Hrvata: Kako se u pogledu preko Drave mijenjala slika drugoga* [Croats through Hungarian Lenses, Hungarians through Croatian Lenses: The Way in which the Image of the Other Changed on the Opposite Sides of the River Drava], Zagreb 2006, p. 172. ISKRA IVELJIĆ: *Kulturna politika u banskoj Hrvatskoj 19. stoljeća* [Cultural Policy in Civil Croatia and Slavonia

Since Hungarian nationalists also had fears of unification between the Austrian areas with a predominantly Croatian population and Croatia, and especially of the South Slav union movement and the possible creation of a tripartite monarchy (the third part being Slavic or South Slavic), the strengthening of ties and knowledge transfer between Budapest and Zagreb were not always encouraged from the Hungarian side either, as will be shown further in the text.

### Attempts at Bolstering Ties with Budapest: Zagreb and Ban Khuen-Héderváry's Unionist Politics

Although Vienna continued to exert a steady influence on Zagreb's architecture and urban development until the dissolution of the Monarchy, the 1868 Compromise and the ensuing tighter political relations between Hungary and Croatia created opportunities for a growing influence of Budapest.

Budapest's impact began to grow most strongly after 1883 when pro-Hungarian Dragutin (Károly) Khuen-Héderváry took the office of Ban and when the Croatian Provincial Government, that is, the ruling People's Party intensified the so-called unionist politics with a goal of building stronger ties with Hungary.<sup>30</sup>

Ties and knowledge transfer between Budapest and Zagreb were encouraged in several ways, namely, by introducing a subsidy scheme based on which Croatian architects and engineers were enticed to enroll at the Royal Joseph Polytechnic in Budapest, by organizing study trips, and through Croatian participation in the 1885 and 1896 exhibitions in Budapest.

All these measures had limited success. For example, scholarships that were granted to Croatian students by the Royal Joseph Polytechnic in Budapest were not very popular, judging by a report published in 1889 in the Zagreb-based daily *Agramer Zeitung* that all three scholarships remained vacant for two years.<sup>31</sup> It was not until after the turn of the twentieth century that several engineers and architects, who had studied thanks to these grants in Budapest, gained recognition in Croatian architectural circles.<sup>32</sup>

Somewhat more successful were the study trips devised together by the Hungarian and Croatian governments, or more precisely Ban Khuen-Héderváry and the Hungarian Trade Minister Béla Lukács, with the aim of encouraging collaboration between Croatian and Hungarian professional associations of architects and engineers. The first trip was organized in mid-

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in the Nineteenth Century] in: *Historijski zbornik* 69 (2016), 2, pp. 335-370, here p. 368.

<sup>30</sup> VASO BOGDANOV: *Historija političkih stranaka u Hrvatskoj* [History of Political Parties in Croatia], Zagreb 1958, pp. 715-728.

<sup>31</sup> *Techniker-Stipendien*, in: *Agramer Zeitung*, from 1889-03-30, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> They were mostly experts in reinforced concrete (e. g. engineer Milan Čalović).

July 1894, when around thirty members of Zagreb's Society of Architects and Engineers, headed by Kamilo Bedeković, visited Budapest. The president of the Hungarian Society of Engineers and Architects Victor (Győző) Czigler put together a program and in certain parts of the walks around the city famous Hungarian architects, such as Ödön Lechner, Frigyes Schulek, Alajos Hauszmann, Imre Steindl and others joined the Croatian guests.<sup>33</sup> The group visited important public buildings and churches that were being built or restored (Parliament in Pest, the castle and Mathias' Church in Buda). They also saw the new water supply system, newly built bridges, a number of plants (Ganz's plant, the Machine Factory of the Hungarian State Railways, etc.), ending the trip with a visit to the channel that was under construction at the Iron Gates on the Danube, on the border between the Empire and Serbia. Other study trips of a similar kind ensued. In August 1895, Czigler organized a visit of Hungarian engineers and architects to Zagreb<sup>34</sup>, and their Croatian counterparts spent some time in Budapest once again in late August 1896 during the Millennium Exhibition.<sup>35</sup>

However, the deciding factor that finally succeeded in strengthening ties between Zagreb and Budapest was Croatia's participation in exhibitions organized in Budapest, even though this was also a source of conflict in the Croatian political arena. For example, Croatian participation at the 1885 National Exhibition in Budapest was met with fierce disapproval by the Croatian opposition parties and the Chamber of Trades and Crafts in Zagreb, which in February 1884 called on Croatian entrepreneurs to boycott the exhibition because of dissatisfaction with Hungary's economic policies toward Croatia.<sup>36</sup> With the help of Iso Kršnjavi, Khuen-Héderváry managed to organize the construction of a Croatian pavilion, and the fact that the exhibition was visited by Croatian entrepreneurs and members of the intellectual elite shows that the event, and Khuen's entire endeavor, was in the end rather successful.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> M. PL. F.: Izlet hrv. inžinirah i arhitektah u Budimpeštu [The Trip of Cro. Engineers and Architects to Budapest], in: Narodne novine, from 1894-07-31, pp. 3-4; from 1894-08-01, pp. 2-3, from 1894-08-02, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Boravak ugarskih inžinira i arhitekta u Zagrebu dne 30. kolovoza 1895. [The Stay of Hungarian Engineers and Architects in Zagreb on August 30, 1895], in: Vesti Družtva inžinira i arhitekta, from 1895-09-15, pp. 72-75.

<sup>35</sup> Der Ingenieur-Verein auf der Budapester Ausstellung, in: Agramer Zeitung, from 1896-08-21, p. 3. On the way to Rijeka the Hungarian Society will again visit Zagreb in November 1902, see Naučno putovanje [Scientific Trip], in: Narodne novine, from 1902-11-03, p. 4.

<sup>36</sup> A. S.: Der kroatische Pavillon, in: Agramer Zeitung, from 1885-05-23, p. 2; DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ: Herman Bollé and Croatian Pavilions at the Exhibitions in Trieste (1882) and Budapest (1885 and 1896), in: Centropa 10 (2010), 3, pp. 231-243, here pp. 235-237.

<sup>37</sup> ISO KRŠNJAVA: Pogled na razvoj hrvatske umjetnosti u moje doba [A Look at the Development of Croatian Art in My Lifetime], in: Hrvatsko kolo 1 (1905), pp. 215-307,



Fig. 5: Flóris Korb, Kálmán Giergl: Croatian “History, Art and Literature Pavilion” at the Millenium Exhibition in Budapest, 1896; LAURENCIC (as in footnote 53)

Fig. 6: Flóris Korb, Kálmán Giergl, Ferdinand Fellner, Hermann Helmer: Art Pavilion, 1896-98, Zagreb, 22 King Tomislav Square; Ivan Bogavčić’s Collection of Post-cards, Zagreb

The 1896 Millennium Exhibition in Budapest, or more precisely, Croatia’s participation in it, turned out to be Khuen’s most important and successful project devised to establish stronger ties between Budapest and Zagreb, or Hungary and Croatia. Croatia was represented at the exhibition with four pavilions: the “Pavilion for Industry, Crafts, Public Education, Ethnography and Economics,” the “Tasting Pavilion,” the “Forestry and Hunting Pavilion” and the “History, Art and Literature Pavilion.” The first three were designed by architects from Zagreb, while the task of designing the art pavilion was entrusted to the Budapest-based architects Flóris Korb and Kálmán Giergl.<sup>38</sup>

The opposition parties again severely criticized Croatia’s involvement in the event but, nevertheless, kept proudly claiming that the Croatian pavilions could compete with the most beautiful ones at the exhibition. A renewed sense of national self-esteem was built on the praise given by reputed Central European art critics regarding the Croatian art pavilion, not so much for its architectural design as for the art works that were exhibited in it. The display in the pavilion was entrusted to painter Vlaho Bukovac who, in collaboration with the Croatian government and the Zagreb city authorities, managed to obtain the permit to move the iron structure of the pavilion to Zagreb and to use

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here p. 254; VESNA RAPO: Croatian School Museum: The Paris Room, Zagreb 2006, p. 58.

<sup>38</sup> ŠOKČEVIĆ, Hrvati (as in footnote 29), pp. 171-190; DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ: Croatian Pavilions at the 1896 Millennium Exhibition in Budapest, in: MIKLÓS SZÉKELY (ed.): Ephemeral Architecture in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Paris 2015, pp. 51-74; NIKOLINA ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ: Sich im besten Licht zeigen: Kroati-en und Slawonien auf der Millenniumsausstellung in Budapest 1896, in: ISKRA IVELJIĆ (ed.): The Entangled Histories of Vienna, Zagreb and Budapest (18th-20th Century), Zagreb 2015, pp. 179-214.

it as the basis for the construction of a permanent exhibition space for fine arts.<sup>39</sup>

The iron frame of the pavilion was set up in 1896/97 on what was at the time Franz Joseph I Square and facing the main railway station. Designs for new, partially changed façades of the pavilion were not entrusted to its original creators, Korb & Giergl, but to the Fellner & Helmer Architectural Office from Vienna. This turned the pavilion into an expression of a mixture of architectural elements that had originated in both Vienna and Budapest, which is why it is considered the most “dualistic” building in the history of nineteenth century Zagreb architecture.<sup>40</sup> The art pavilion, or rather, its Budapest version, was the only important building to be entrusted by the Croatian government to Hungarian architects.

Although Khuen-Héderváry’s government was strongly pro-Hungarian, it commissioned almost exclusively Croatian architects for building projects of Croatian autonomous public (cultural, judicial, religious and educational) institutions. The political position of Croatia within the Empire made that legally possible because after the 1868 Settlement, the Croatian Provincial Government controlled investments in building projects of Croatian autonomous public institutions and the urban development of Croatian cities.<sup>41</sup> This largely happened, however, because of efforts made by Kršnjavi, who established close connections with the ruling structures in Croatia in mid-1880. Compliance with Khuen’s regime enabled Kršnjavi to carry out a number of architec-

<sup>39</sup> RACHEL ROSSNER: “The secessionists are the Croats. They’ve been given their own pavilion ...”: Vlaho Bukovac’s Battle for Croatian Autonomy at the 1896 Millennial Exhibition in Budapest, in: *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 6 (2007), 1, URL: <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring07/141-qthe-secessionists-are-the-croats-theyve-been-given-their-own-pavilion-qvlaho-bukovacs-battle-for-croatian-autonomy-at-the-1896-millennial-exhibition-in-budapest> (2018-06-08); OLGA MARUŠEVSKI: *Društvo umjetnosti 1868.—1879.—1941: Iz zapisaka Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika [Art Association 1868—1879—1941: From the Minutes of the Croatian Association of Artists]*, Zagreb 2004, pp. 150-156.

<sup>40</sup> MILAN KREŠIĆ: *Izvešće o Milenijskoj izložbi kraljevine Ugarske i kod te prigode sudjelujuće Bosne i Hercegovine te Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije god. 1896.* [Review of the Millennium Exhibition of the Hungarian Kingdom and Participation of Bosnia and the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia in 1896], Zagreb 1897, p. 262; JOSIP CHVÁLA: *Umjetnički paviljon u Zagrebu [The Art Pavilion in Zagreb]*, in: *Viesti Društva inžinira i arhitekta u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, from 1900-07-15, pp. 49-50; DOBRONIĆ (as in footnote 14), pp. 241-244; KNEŽEVIĆ, *Zagrebačka zelena potkova* (as in footnote 16), pp. 152-159; MARUŠEVSKI, *DRUŠTVO* (as in footnote 39), pp. 145-147, 164-167; OLGA MARUŠEVSKI: *Okrunjeni trg: Skica za povijest gradnje Umjetničkog paviljona (1896-1898) [The Crowned Square: Draft for the History of the Building of the Art Pavilion]*, in: LEA UKRAJNČIK (ed.): *Hrvatski salon: Zagreb, 1898. 100 godina Umjetničkog paviljona, Zagreb 1999*, pp. 255-271; LEA UKRAJNČIK: *Umjetnički paviljon 1898-1998 [The Art Pavilion 1898-1998]*, Zagreb 2000, pp. 9-13.

<sup>41</sup> BRANKO VUJASINOVIĆ: *Povijesni pregled građevne službe u Hrvatskoj od 1770. do 1918.* [History of Building Administration in Croatia 1770-1918], in: *Građevni godišnjak* 20 (2003/2004), pp. 345-562, here pp. 396-400.

tural projects, especially between 1891 and 1896, when he was head (Minister) of the Croatian Provincial Government's Department of Religion and Education.<sup>42</sup>

By commissioning Croatian architects, Kršnjavi showed an economic patriotism and close personal connections with Zagreb-based architects. His actions probably also resulted from his and the Croatian government's wish to pacify local entrepreneurs by employing them.

### Hungarian Ministries and Public Architecture in Zagreb

Despite the limited success of the attempts to bring Zagreb closer to Budapest (in terms of architecture and urban planning), a considerable number of buildings designed by Budapest-based architects were built in Zagreb during the administration of Ban Khuen-Héderváry. However, they were not funded by the Croatian government—Hungarian architects were commissioned, mostly after 1890, by various ministries of the central Hungarian government to design their large architectural projects.

These building investments were to a great degree politically motivated because the main reason for the Croatian opposition's dissatisfaction with Khuen's regime and the general condition of Croatia's autonomy was a complete lack of financial independence. According to the Settlement, a great portion of tax revenue from Croatian territories (54-55 per cent) ended up in Budapest and was used for investments into alleged "joint" Hungaro-Croatian, though in actual fact Hungarian ministries/institutions, which, consequently, significantly lowered the budget that the Croatian Provincial Government had at its disposal for investments.<sup>43</sup>

The Croatian opposition parties, which were greatly divided in terms of their views but shared the same amount of enmity towards Hungary, often stressed this fact as the main reason for the slow economic growth of Croatia and Zagreb. Although Zagreb witnessed rapid urban development, when compared to Vienna and Budapest (the comparison was constantly being made by the local press), it was clear the city was lagging behind the two Monarchy's capitals. Especially interesting is the article published in late October 1891 in the *Narodne novine* that compares the budgets of the three cities. In 1892, the budget of Vienna was 28 million forint; the budget of Budapest amounted to 10 million, whereas Zagreb's was only 683,000 forint. Naturally, Zagreb was much smaller than the other two cities, but the article explicates that even according to the ratio between the budget and population of

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<sup>42</sup> MARUŠEVSKI, Iso (as in footnote 25), pp. 119-219.

<sup>43</sup> JAROSLAV ŠIDAK, MIRJANA GROSS, IGOR KARAMAN, DRAGOVAN ŠEPIĆ: *Povijest hrvatskog naroda g. 1860-1914* [History of Croatian People 1860-1914], Zagreb 1968, pp. 39, 125; PIETER M. JUDSON: *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, Cambridge—London 2016, p. 264.

each city, Zagreb was in a far more disadvantaged position. Vienna's budget was 41 times bigger than Zagreb's though its population was 35 times bigger, while the budget of Budapest was 15 times bigger and the population 12.5 times bigger than Zagreb's.<sup>44</sup> Even the unionist press openly wrote about financial difficulties of the local authorities, probably in order to improve Croatia's position in renegotiations with Hungary over the financial settlement that was revised every ten years.

So, in order to appease the Croats and prevent a bigger political crisis (which, in fact, happened in 1903), the *joint* (Hungarian) ministries launched several projects for new public buildings in Zagreb in the early 1890s. The first significant investment was the building of the new main station of the Royal Hungarian State Railways and a complex of mechanical workshops (*Maschinen-Werkstätte*) in its vicinity.

Debates on whether these buildings would be built or not, and with what money, clearly illustrate a great divide among political parties in late nineteenth century Croatia. The unionist government used this building project to highlight benefits to Croatia of the tighter relations between Zagreb and Budapest. On the other hand, the opposition took a critical stance towards the project, regardless of its potential economic gain, and doubted the likelihood of its coming true. Immediately after the official daily *Narodne novine* reported, in December 1889, that the law on the construction of the new station in Zagreb had been taken to the sovereign for approval, the opposition press expressed doubts that the plan would be realized. The *Narodne novine* claimed the opposition press had written that “the Hungarians want to turn Zagreb into a Hungarian village—why would they want to build a railway station and mechanical workshops in Zagreb for more than two million forint?!”<sup>45</sup>

Even when it became clear that the buildings were actually going to be built, the opposition press did not write about it in a positive light. They claimed the funds for the construction had partially been obtained from the Military Frontier Investment Trust, which was in reality Croatian money. The investment was also interpreted less as a wish of Hungarian authorities to boost Croatia's development than as an act of self-interest because the railway station was to establish a better connection between Budapest and the port in Fiume.<sup>46</sup>

The Hungarian nationalistic opposition parties were also against the realization of the project. Parliament Members Kálmán Thaly and Blasius Orban stated that it was a mistake to build anything in Zagreb because civil servants

<sup>44</sup> Proračun Beča, Budimpešte i Zagreba [Budget of Vienna, Budapest and Zagreb], in: *Narodne novine*, from 1891-10-22, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Državni kolodvor i strojarnica u Zagrebu [State Railway Station and Mechanical Workshops in Zagreb], in: *Narodne Novine* from 1890-01-16, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Der neue Bahnhof, in: *Agramer Zeitung* from 1890-01-16, p. 1; Zagreb, 17. siečnja [Zagreb, January 17], in: *Obzor* from 1890-01-17, p. 1.

in that city were attacked when speaking Hungarian. They also thought that the project was too extravagant and that by building the station “Hungarians would be helping Croats establish the capital of a long-dreamed-of South Slavic state.”<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, Hungarian Trade Minister Gabriel (Gábor) Baross provided sufficient arguments in favor of the project.<sup>48</sup>



Fig. 7: Ferenc Pfaff: Main station of the Royal Hungarian State Railways, 1890-1892, Zagreb, 12 King Tomislav Square; Ivan Bogavčić's Collection of Postcards, Zagreb

The railway station was built from 1890 to 1892 according to a design by Ferenc Pfaff, the main architect of the Hungarian State Railways.<sup>49</sup> Construction works were conducted by the Milko Company from Szeged.<sup>50</sup> The total amount of money for the construction of the railway complex far exceeded the cost of any other project hitherto realized in the city. It was estimated that the final cost of the station building would reach close to one million forint and that the mechanical workshops would cost around 1.4 million forint.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Zagreb, 17. siečnja [Zagreb, January 17], in: *Obzor* from 1890-01-17, p. 1; *Zagrebački kolodvor i strojarnica* [The State Railway Station and Mechanical Workshops in Zagreb], in: *Obzor* from 1890-02-19, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Der Agramer Bahnhof*, in: *Agramer Zeitung* from 1890-02-17, pp. 1-2.

<sup>49</sup> JÓZSEF ROZSNAI: *Industrial Buildings and Halls*, in: JÓZSEF SISA (ed.): *Motherland and Progress: Hungarian Architecture and Design 1800-1900*, Basel 2016, pp. 637-65, here p. 647.

<sup>50</sup> *Gradnja novog kolodvora u Zagrebu* [The Construction of a New Railway Station in Zagreb], in: *Narodne novine* from 1890-09-26, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> LELJA DOBRONIĆ: *Zgrada zagrebačkog glavnog kolodvora—spomenik kulture* [The Building of Zagreb Main Railway Station—A Cultural Monument], in: *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora Hrvatske* 11 (1962), 1, pp. 13-17, here p. 13; NADA PREMRL: *Gradnja zagrebačkoga glavnoga kolodvora* [Building of Zagreb Main Train Station], in: *Kaj* 25 (1992), 5-6, pp. 69-76; JASNA GALJER: *Arhitektura željezničkih kolodvora u Hrvatskoj u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća* [Architecture of Railway Stations in Croatia in



Fig. 8: Alexander (Sándor) von Aigner: Royal State Forestry Administration Building, 1898/99, Zagreb, 9 Strossmayer Square / Katančičeva Street; Photo by the author, 2011-02-09

Fig. 9: Alexander (Sándor) von Aigner, Đuro Carnelutti: Forestry House (Croatian-Slavonian Forestry Association House), 1897/98, Zagreb, 11 Mažuranić Square 2 / Vukotinićeva Street; Photo by the author, 2010-03-27

The cost of its construction was mostly covered by the Hungarian government from the funds originally intended for the construction of railway infrastructure in the Military Frontier.<sup>52</sup>

The monumental, neo-Renaissance building of the railway station formed the south border of the eastern section of Zagreb's Lower Town. It directed architectural attention to this, new part of the city. Its monumentality surpassed all other public buildings that had been built in Zagreb by that time and, according to an official publication about Hungary published on the occasion of the Millennium Exhibition, it was the "finest amongst all the provincial stations [in Hungary] with the exception of that at Fiume."<sup>53</sup>

At the end of the same decade, another important architectural investment of the Hungarian authorities was made in Zagreb—the building of the Royal State Forestry Administration, the construction of which, in 1898/99, was funded by the Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture. Another Hungarian architect, Budapest-based Alexander (Sándor) von Aigner<sup>54</sup>, was commissioned

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the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century], in: VLADIMIR MALEKOVIĆ (ed.): *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj*, book 1, Zagreb 2000, pp. 159-165; NEDA STAKLAREVIĆ, TAMARA ŠTEFANAC: *Željeznički kolodvori u Hrvatskoj* [Railway Stations in Croatia], Zagreb 2015.

<sup>52</sup> Državni kolodvor i strojarnica u Zagrebu [State Railway Station and Mechanical Workshops in Zagreb], in: *Narodne Novine* from 1890-01-16, p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> JULIUS LAURENCIC: *Das Tausendjährige Ungarn und die Millenniums-Ausstellung*, Wien 1896, not paginated.

<sup>54</sup> Aigner won the tender for projects. The second prize was won by architect Ernest Baázs, and the Ministry decided to also implement the project that was created by

for this project. He designed a monumental three-floor corner building on Strossmayer Square and Katančičeva Street in the late Historicist Neo-Romanesque style.<sup>55</sup>

From what the sources have revealed so far, Aigner was the only Hungarian architect commissioned by an autonomous Croatian institution—the Croato-Slavonian Forestry Association entrusted him with the task of designing their headquarters, the Forestry House, in Zagreb. Aigner collaborated on the project with Đuro Carnelutti<sup>56</sup>, an architect from Zagreb, and their design won the first prize at the 1897 architectural design competition for this building.<sup>57</sup>

The period between 1901 and 1904 saw the construction of three other huge directorate buildings of Hungarian institutions in Zagreb. All three projects were launched and partially completed in the last days of Khuen-Héderváry's rule as ban and the fact that they were realized should be interpreted within a wider political context. The growing dissatisfaction with the Croatian financial situation and the imposition of the Hungarian language overlapped with a great crisis of the dual Monarchy. Vienna and Budapest had confronting views about the use of Hungarian in the military and a new financial settlement between Austria and Hungary.<sup>58</sup> In the midst of these developments, the Hungarian authorities probably wished to pacify Croats by launching three big building projects. As in the case of previously mentioned buildings of Hungarian institutions, these too were built according to designs by architects from Budapest and all of them were financially huge investments.

The first completed was the administration building of the Ministry of Finance (Financial Directorate), which took up a large part of the city block between Trenkova, Gajeva and Katančičeva Streets in the center of the Lower Town. It was built in 1901/02<sup>59</sup> according to a design by architect Lajos Zobel who used the Neoclassical style with elements of the Vienna Secession. Its cost was substantial and amounted to around 520,000 Kronen.<sup>60</sup> The construction of the Royal Hungarian State Railway's administration building started soon after, in early 1902, in the southern part of the Lower Town, in the immediate vicinity of the main railway station. The building was almost entirely completed in 1903, its cost reached 460,492 Kronen and it was built according to a design by Ferenc Pfaff, who also designed the railway station build-

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István Báthory and Gyula Kabdebó. Oglas [Ad], in: *Agramer Zeitung* from 1898-07-15, p. 8.

<sup>55</sup> KNEŽEVIĆ, *Zagrebačka zelena potkova* (as in footnote 16), p. 147.

<sup>56</sup> Forstheim und Museum, in: *Agramer Zeitung* from 1897-04-22, p. 4.

<sup>57</sup> Vom Forstmuseum, in: *Agramer Zeitung* from 1897-04-10, p. 4; *Das Forstmusealgebäude*, in: *Agramer Zeitung* from 1897-04-15, pp. 3-4.

<sup>58</sup> ŠOKČEVIĆ, *Hrvati* (as in footnote 29), pp. 191-210.

<sup>59</sup> *Nove gradnje* [New Buildings], in: *Narodne novine* from 1902-08-04, p. 3; *Nova financijska palača* [New Financial Palace], in: *Narodne novine* from 1902-12-11, p. 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Für Bauunternehmer*, in: *Agramer Zeitung* from 1901-07-29, p. 6.

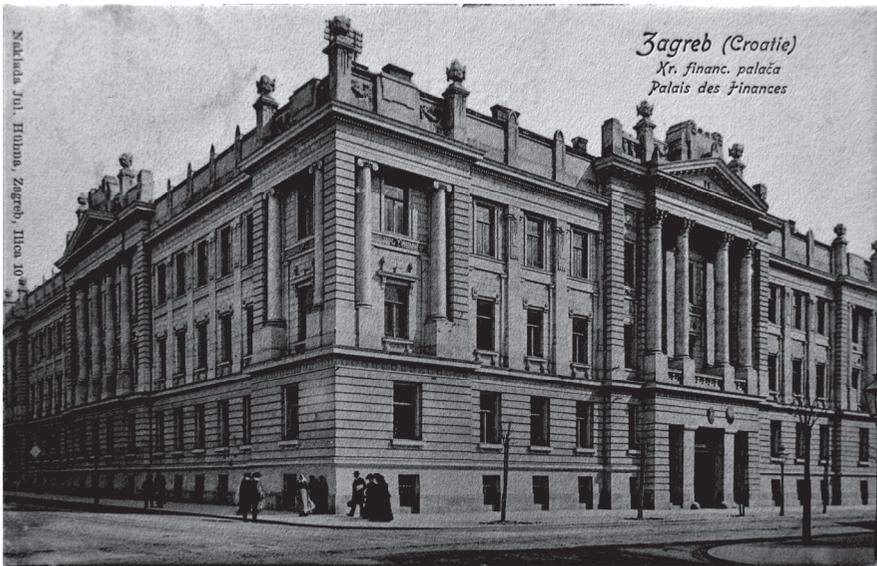


Fig. 10: Lajos Zobel: Financial Directorate of the Hungarian Ministry of Finance in Zagreb, 1901/02, Zagreb, 6 Trenkova Street / 5 Katančićeva Street / Gajeva Street; Ivan Bogavčić's Collection of Postcards, Zagreb



Fig. 11: Ferenc Pfaff, Royal Hungarian State Railway's administration building, 1902/03, Zagreb, 12 Mihanovićeve Street / Gajeva Street / Haulikova Street; Ivan Bogavčić's Collection of Postcards, Zagreb



Fig. 12: Ernő Foerk, Gyula Sándy: Directorate of Postal and Telegraph Services, 1902-1904, Zagreb, 13 Jurišićeva Street / Kurelčeva Street / Palmotičeva Street; National and University Library in Zagreb, Collection of Postcards

ing.<sup>61</sup> The last to be finished was the palace of the Postal and Telegraph Services Directorate in Jurišićeva Street. It was designed by Ernő Foerk and Gyula Sándy, whose entry had won the first award at the architectural design competition for the building.<sup>62</sup> Its construction lasted from 1902 to 1904 and the cost amounted to 750,000 Kronen, which far exceeded the costs of the previous two buildings.

The new buildings of the Hungarian institutions and the public buildings designed by either Zagreb or Viennese architects show no considerable stylistic difference. They were all mostly built in what was the predominant style at the time—Neo-Renaissance, sometimes combined with Neoclassical, and later Neo-Baroque elements. These styles, especially Neo-Renaissance, were frequently used in public architecture across the entire Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the rest of Europe, in the last two decades of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries.<sup>63</sup> However, there are two exceptions. First is the building of the Royal State Forestry Administration, which shows a mixture of different neo-medieval styles, typical of late nineteenth-century Hungarian architecture. The second is the palace of the Postal and Telegraph Services

<sup>61</sup> HADIK (as in footnote 2), pp. 466-467.

<sup>62</sup> Poštansko-brzojavna zgrada u Zagrebu [The Post and Telegraph Building in Zagreb], in: Narodne novine from 1903-07-24, p. 4.

<sup>63</sup> FRIEDRICH ACHLEITNER: The Pluralism of Modernity: The Architectonic “Language Problem” in Central Europe in: BLAU/PLATZER (as in footnote 7), pp. 94-106, here p. 96.

Directorate—the sole building that can truly illustrate the search for a Hungarian national style in Zagreb’s Secessionist (or, in general, early twentieth century) architecture.<sup>64</sup> It is not surprising that, soon after it was finished, its stylistic solution was severely criticized by one of the main Croatian art critics, Vladimir Lunaček, who, unlike Iso Kršnjavi, vigorously supported the opposition. The style and unusual proportions of the building’s roof were, according to him, entirely unsuitable for Zagreb: “That Hunyadi-castle style is consistent with neither the place nor the period, and it is extremely disproportionate.”<sup>65</sup>

Apart from these two cases when the stylistic solution reflected the Budapest origin of architectural designs, the Hungarian public buildings within the urban fabric of the Lower Town could primarily be differentiated by the lavishness of their facades and their size. They were far bigger and more spacious than any other building of Croatian autonomous institutions (except for the seat of the Department of Internal Affairs which also served as the Croatian parliament, but which was built between 1908 and 1911, somewhat later than the Hungarian buildings). Especially spacious is the railway station building with its 180-meter long main façade.<sup>66</sup> The dimensions of the railway administration building are also substantial—it has a 91-meter long façade in Mihanovićeve Street, a 36.24-meter long façade in Haulikova Street and a 41.47-meter long frontage in Gajeva Street.<sup>67</sup> The building of the Post and Telegraph Services is similar in size. The façade in Jurišićeva Street is 92.4 meters long, while the length of the two other street-facing façades were supposed to be 46.3 and 54.38 meters long in Ružična/Kurelčeva and Palmotićeve Streets respectively, but these were not completed according to the original design.<sup>68</sup> The buildings of the Financial Directorate, Royal Railways and Postal and Telegraph Services Directorate took up almost the entire street-facing façade of a city block. The latter two buildings were (and the railway administration building still is) characterized by a richly articulated roofline that dominated the fin-de-siècle skyline of Zagreb.

All Hungarian (or alleged Hungaro-Croatian) building projects were realized in the new urban district, the Lower Town. More precisely, they were built exclusively in its eastern section, which was close to the new railway station that connected Zagreb with Budapest and the main seats of the ministries that funded and supervised these projects. Interestingly, the majority of

<sup>64</sup> DUNDOVIĆ (as in footnote 3), pp. 14-31.

<sup>65</sup> VLADIMIR LUNAČEK: Prilozi za povijest hrvatske umjetnosti [Contributions to the History of Croatian Art], in: IDEM: Eseji i kritike, ed. by ANTONIJA BOGNER ŠABAN, Vinkovci 1994, pp. 46-88, here p. 59 (originally published in 1906).

<sup>66</sup> Agramer Staatsbahnhof, in: Agramer Zeitung from 1890-02-28, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> Sgrada za prometnu upravu drž. željeznica [Building for the State Railways Traffic Administration], in: Narodne novine from 1902-01-10, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Palača za poštu i brzjav [The Post and Telegraph Palace], in: Narodne novine from 1902-08-21, p. 3.

new military buildings at the time were built close to the old (western) railway station that connected Zagreb with Vienna and the seat of the War Ministry, which was in charge of the military in the Empire. On the other hand, all Croatian autonomous ministries had their seats in the Upper Town. Zagreb's urban topography, therefore, also reflected the particular position of Croatia within the Dual Monarchy.

In contrast to the railway station project, constructed ten years earlier by a building company from Szeged, the three buildings funded by the Hungarian ministries in 1901-1904 were built by Zagreb-based companies. Construction works on the Financial Directorate building were conducted by Hönigsberg & Deutsch<sup>69</sup>, the works on the railway administration building were carried out by Pilar, Mally & Bauda<sup>70</sup>, and the building of the postal and telegraph services was constructed by Greiner & Waronig<sup>71</sup>.

The governmental *Narodne novine* regularly reported on building projects launched by the joint Hungaro-Croatian institutions when commissions went to local entrepreneurs. The reports were meant, on the one hand, to emphasize as much as possible the current Croatian and Hungarian authorities' care for Croatian firms and, on the other, to ease dissatisfaction with the position of Croatia's economy in relation to Hungary. However, the fact that all the aforementioned buildings were designed by Hungarian architects could not remain unnoticed in Zagreb. Lunaček kept stressing that it was unjust "that the design of buildings for joint institutions is entrusted to Hungarian architects while only construction work is passed on to Croatian entrepreneurs as a handout." He characterized such policies of Hungarian institutions as "an exclusive and crude approach" that prevented Croatian architects from showing what they knew and could do. He also thought that the policy of cultural protectionism should be adopted in Zagreb when funding public building projects, which would ensure Croatian architects to acquire the material and emotional capital they needed. That meant that "the cultural representatives of our people" should place only Croatian architects in charge of public projects.<sup>72</sup> The oppositional press at the same time claimed that those investments should be considered as nothing else than Hungary's reimbursement of a part of the tax revenue that Croatia had submitted to the *joint* treasury.<sup>73</sup>

The propagandistic campaign of the *Narodne novine* was obviously not very successful. The buildings of the Hungarian institutions were increasingly being construed as signs of Croatian submission, and were often targets of

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<sup>69</sup> Vom Finanzpalais, in: Agramer Zeitung from 1901-09-28, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Sgrada za prometnu upravu (as in footnote 67), p. 3; HADIK (as in footnote 2), pp. 466-467.

<sup>71</sup> Gradnja poštarske zgrade [Construction of the Post Building], in: Narodne novine from 1902-11-20, p. 4; DUNDOVIĆ (as in footnote 3), p. 25.

<sup>72</sup> LUNAČEK (as in footnote 65), p. 60.

<sup>73</sup> As the construction of the railway station building clearly shows. Zagreb, 21. siečnja [Zagreb, January 21], in: Obzor from 1890-01-21, p. 1.

general discontent with the current state of affairs and noncompliance with terms of the Croato-Hungarian Settlement. That was made rather clear by the riots in Croatia in the spring of 1903, provoked by the placing of a Hungarian sign on the recently completed building of the railway administration in Zagreb. This building, in addition to the buildings of the train station, the post office and the seat of *Narodne novine*, were the main targets of the rioters who smashed their windows.<sup>74</sup> In 20 June 1903, a grenade was even thrown at the railway administration building, but there was no substantial damage.<sup>75</sup>

In the subsequent decades, the buildings of the Hungarian ministries were repeatedly and severely criticized as symbols of Croatia's colonial subjection in the eastern part of the Empire, and sometimes as examples of non-aesthetic exaggeration in architecture. Particularly fierce attacks came from the pen of conservator Gjuro Szabo, the most respected authority among art historians in interwar Croatia. Overviewing the nineteenth century cultural history of Zagreb, he wrote about the railway administration building as "that huge horrid building."<sup>76</sup> He used much stronger words for the postal and telegraph services building: "Hungarians did not forget to leave a monument to their 'brothers'—the building of the post office in Jurišićeva Street, in Attila-like style, with towers like horns. The interior was not bad for that period, but the exterior demonstrates the kind of tastelessness that is bound to emerge when a nation pushes for the creation of a style of its own [...]."<sup>77</sup>

A similar attitude has remained alive almost to the present day. In the 1970s, when historicism became an established style in architectural history, Zagreb projects by Viennese architects were presented in a positive light. Friedrich Schmidt was, for example, portrayed as "a world-class authority in the matters of historic styles in architecture" and a "renowned restorer."<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Fellner & Helmer were called "famous 19th-century theater builders."<sup>79</sup> In contrast, Pfaff's railway station building was characterized as "architecture of colonizers,"<sup>80</sup> which was later frequently repeated in the literature.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Demonstracije [Demonstrations], in: *Narodne novine* from 1903-03-28, pp. 2-3; Ulični izgredi [Street Demonstrations], in: *Narodne novine* from 1903-04-17, p. 3; more on demonstrations in VASO BOGDANOV: *Hrvatski narodni pokret 1903/04* [Croatian National Movement 1903/04], Zagreb 1961.

<sup>75</sup> ISO KRŠNJAVI: *Zapisci: Iza kulisa hrvatske politike* [Records: Behind the Scenes of Croatian Politics], book 1, Zagreb 1986, p. 244.

<sup>76</sup> GJURO SZABO: *Stari Zagreb* [Old Zagreb], Zagreb 1971, p. 153 (first edition from 1940).

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 175.

<sup>78</sup> CVITANOVIĆ (as in footnote 1), p. 130.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 142.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 140.

<sup>81</sup> ALEXANDER LASLO: *Lica moderniteta 1898-1918: Zagrebačka arhitektura secesijske epohe* [Faces of Modernity 1898-1918: Zagreb Art-Nouveau Architecture], in:

Regardless of the unquestionably ideological undertones and passionate nationalism that characterizes these cited claims about a colonial attitude of the Hungarian authorities towards building projects in Zagreb, there was a difference in the reasons for commissioning architects from Vienna in relation to those from Budapest. Viennese experts, either individuals or firms, were commissioned by representatives of the Croatian Provincial Government or local authorities (Fellner & Helmer for the designs of the Croatian National Theater), and sometimes private patrons (Bishop Strossmayer) primarily because of their reputation and without any political pressure from Vienna. Contrary to this, Hungarian institutions employed architects from Budapest without any consultations with the authorities of Zagreb or Croatia.

In spite of a negative perception of the aforementioned buildings, they played an important role in contributing monumentality to Zagreb's urban image, and vitalized and intensified development of the central parts of the Lower Town, which is especially true for the building of the railway station. Due to their dimensions and the quality of architectural design, these buildings represent today some of the most significant examples of late historicism and the early stages of Vienna Secession in Zagreb.

### Budapest-based Architects and Zagreb's Residential and Commercial Architecture

The dominance of local, Zagreb-based architects did not remain limited to the architecture of public buildings of Croatian autonomous institutions – it also pervaded the sphere of commercial and residential architecture.

Even Viennese architectural firms were rarely invited to design these types of buildings. There are only a few examples. Fellner & Helmer designed the palace of the Croatian Discount Bank (Hrvatska eskomptna banka) in Ilica Street, while Friedrich Schachner designed the building of the Croatian and Slavonian National Mortgage Bank (Hrvatsko-slavonska zemaljska hipotekarna banka) on Zrinski Square.<sup>82</sup>

In the field of residential architecture, Fellner & Helmer were entrusted in 1902 with the task of designing the mansion of the Pongratz family in the Upper Town.<sup>83</sup> Somewhat earlier (in 1879 and 1881), architect Otto Hofer de-

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ANDELKA GALIĆ, MIROSLAV GAŠPAROVIĆ (eds.): *Secesija u Hrvatskoj: Muzej za Umjetnost i Obrt*, Zagreb, 15.12.2003-31.3.2004, Zagreb 2003, pp. 23-39, here p. 26.

<sup>82</sup> ISKRA IVELJIĆ: *Očevi i sinovi: Privredna elita Zagreba u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća* [Fathers and Sons: Economic Elite in Zagreb in the Second Half of the 19th Century], Zagreb 2007, p. 378.

<sup>83</sup> DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ, ISKRA IVELJIĆ: *Arhitektonski atelijer Fellner & Helmer i obitelj Pongratz* [Architecture Studio Fellner & Helmer and the Pongratz Family], in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 39 (2015), pp. 121-134.



Fig. 13: The Medaković house, 1884/85, photo taken probably in the early 1930s, Zagreb, 15 Zrinski Square, in: DEJAN MEDAKOVIĆ: *Srbi u Zagrebu* [Serbs in Zagreb], Novi Sad 2004, p. 89

Fig. 14: Antal Weber: *Ádám Palace* in Budapest, 1875/76, Budapest, 15 Bródy Sándor Street; photo by the author, 2015-06-12

signed two residences of the Vranyczany family in the Lower Town.<sup>84</sup> The Pongratzs and the Vranyczanys were both high bourgeoisie and two of the wealthiest families in Zagreb and it was most probably because of prestige that they wanted to employ architects from the Empire's capital to design their mansions.

On the other hand, it has been impossible to establish the existence of a single privately funded building project in Zagreb of either residential or commercial architecture that was designed by an architect from Budapest, or Hungary in general. Only the house of the Medaković family at 15 Zrinski Square in Zagreb presents a case (though unclear) of a possible import of architectural design from Budapest. The main façade of this Neo-Renaissance bourgeois mansion (built in 1884/85) is identical to the main façade of the Adam House in Budapest (at 4 Bródy Sándor Street), which had been built in 1875/76 according to a design by Hungarian architect Antal Weber. It can be assumed that the investor, Bogdan Medaković, could have commissioned the same architect, or perhaps his apprentice János Bobula, but no surviving ar-

<sup>84</sup> CVITANOVIĆ (as in footnote 1), pp. 136-137; MARINA BAGARIĆ: *Arhitekt Otto von Hofer i plemićka obitelj Vranyczany-Dobrinović* [Architect Otto von Hofer and the Noble Family of Vranyczany-Dobrinović], in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 37 (2013), pp. 145-158.

chival documents could prove that.<sup>85</sup> Somewhat later, Daniel Hermann, a reputable merchant of fabric and ready-made clothing, planned to invite Bobula to design his residential and commercial building in Ilica Street, however this project was never realized.<sup>86</sup>



Fig. 15: Hönigsberg & Deutsch: Robert Kolmar's house, 1904/05, Zagreb, 7 Ban Jelačić Square; Photo by the author, 2010-04-20

Although there has been no reliable proof of the activity of Budapest-based architects in the field of residential and/or commercial architecture, two other buildings might illustrate an influence of Budapest's architecture on Zagreb's. The construction of the funicular in Zagreb that connects the Upper and Lower Towns (1890) illustrates a transfer of knowledge in the field of technology based on the funicular in Budapest that was 20 years older.<sup>87</sup> The construction works were conducted by the famous Ganz Company (that also built numerous bridges in Croatia in the late nineteenth century). On the other hand, Robert Kolmar's house, built in 1904/05 at 7 Ban Jelačić Square by the local architectural firm of Hönigsberg & Deutsch, represents a transfer of architectural motifs—it is an interpretation of the famous New York palace at Erzsébet körút in Budapest.

<sup>85</sup> DAMJANOVIĆ/KEMÉNY/CSÁKI (as in footnote 3), pp. 157-177, 555-560.

<sup>86</sup> HADIK (as in footnote 2), p. 465.

<sup>87</sup> DAMLIANOVIĆ CONLEY/GUNZBURGER MAKAS (as in footnote 8), p. 14.

## Conclusion

Within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Zagreb has always been a city adopting external impulses—by importing, mainly with a certain delay, technological innovations, new concepts of urban planning, novel approaches to the construction of municipal utility infrastructure, and architectural designs from bigger and more progressive cities, most of all Vienna.

The influence of Budapest was weaker which shows that politics limited the possibilities for knowledge transfer in the fields of architecture and town planning. Negative nationalist feelings towards Hungarians largely impeded the import of designs from Budapest, except in the cases where the construction of buildings was funded by Hungarian institutions.

Although Budapest's influence was weaker than Vienna's, it could nevertheless be strongly felt and it significantly contributed to Zagreb's architectural image in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. With its monumental structures, Hungary left a deep mark on Zagreb in that time period and built some of the most architecturally impressive public buildings in the city.

Regardless of the fact that the influence of political authorities was not entirely successful, the importance of governmental structures for knowledge transfer can be attested by the comparison of the situation in the period 1867-1918 with the post-World War One period. With the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Hungarian architects completely stopped designing buildings in Zagreb and Viennese architects also suddenly lost their prestige (partly because of the political and economic crises in Vienna in the 1920s). After the war, Zagreb's architects and the city government turned in search of models to the Czechoslovakian capital city of Prague by reason of Slavic reciprocity, and to most progressive German cities, primarily Berlin, due to a desire to continue with the modernization process.

All of Hungarian nineteenth and early twentieth century public buildings in Zagreb were, however, preserved after 1918 and used by similar Yugoslav and, later, Croatian public institutions. The Royal Hungarian State Railway's administration building is today the seat of state owned Hrvatske željeznice (Croatian Railways). The Postal and Telegraph Services Directorate building is the seat of Hrvatska pošta d. d. (Croatian Post Inc.) and the Financial Directorate building houses the Croatian Ministry of Finance.

Due to a very complex web of relationships and the limited space of this paper, it has not been possible to present all aspects of the transfer of ideas and influences from Budapest (and especially Vienna) that were important for the architecture and urban development of Zagreb in the period of Austro-Hungarian dualism. This paper only gives a basic framework within which Zagreb has been described as one of the emerging cities in Central Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Further research on individual architectural accomplishments, architects' biographies and investments by

Croatian and Hungarian ministries will most certainly provide a much broader understanding of this topic.<sup>88</sup>

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