



SL. 1. K. RÖSNER: PROJEKT ZA GLAVNO PROČELJE
ĐAKOVAČKE KATEDRALE, 1854.
FIG. 1 K. RÖSNER: DESIGN FOR ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL,
FRONT ELEVATION, 1854

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PRVI PROJEKT KARLA RÖSNERA ZA KATEDRALU U ĐAKOVU IZ 1854. GODINE

KARL RÖSNER'S FIRST DESIGN FOR ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL FROM 1854*

ĐAKOVAČKA KATEDRALA
NEOROMANIKA
RÖSNER, KARL
RUNDBOGENSTIL
STROSSMAYER, JOSIP JURAJ

ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL
NEO-ROMANESQUE
RÖSNER, KARL
RUNDBOGENSTIL
STROSSMAYER, JOSIP JURAJ

Članak govori o povijesti nastanka i stilskim karakteristikama dosad gotovo nepoznatoga neizvedenog projekta Karla Rösnera za đakovačku katedralu iz 1854. godine – značajnom primjeru *Rundbogenstila* u povijesti arhitekture romantičarskog historicizma ne samo Hrvatske već i cijele Habsburške Monarhije.

This paper focuses on the history of the origin and stylistic characteristics of an unknown Karl Rösner's design for Đakovo Cathedral in 1854. It is considered a remarkable example of *Rundbogenstil* in the history of Romantic architecture not only in Croatia but also in the entire Hapsburg Monarchy.

* Translated by Željka Miklošević, dipl.angl. i pov. umj.

UVOD

Đakovačka katedrala nesumnjivo je najvažnija sakralna novogradnja hrvatskoga historičizma. Usprkos tome, dosad nije bila ni približno predmet znanstvenog istraživanja onoliko koliko to zaslužuje. Stoga i ne čudi da je Cepeliceva monografija s početka 20. stoljeća, koju su poslije vjerno prenijeli drugi autori, poput Rogića, još uvijek najiscrpniji izvor podataka za historijat njezine izgradnje.

Današnja se katedrala gradila petnaestak godina – od 1866. do 1882. – no njezinu je podizanju prethodilo gotovo stogodišnje nastojanje da se skromna barokna crkva zamijeni novom građevinom koja bi dostojno imala ulogu katedrale. Prvi Rösnerovi projekti za Đakovo iz 1854. godine jedan su od brojnih segmenata toga procesa. Dosad se samo na osnovi informacije znalo za njihovo postojanje,¹ no nije bilo poznato ni kako izgledaju, ni iz kojega stilskog konteksta proizlaze. U austrijskoj se literaturi, koja nije dovoljno upoznata s konkretnim zbivanjima na terenu, spominjalo (budući da Rösnerova ostavština nije u cijelosti sačuvana) da su projekti iz pedesetih godina oni po kojima je katedrala izgrađena.² Kako se radi o stilski izuzetno zanimljivim djelima iz doba najrazgranatije projektantske aktivnosti Karla Rösnera (tada jednoga od najznačajnijih projektanata sakralnih gradnja u Monarhiji), bez obzira na to što nisu izvedena, ovi su projekti važni ne samo za hrvatsku povijest umjetnosti kao dio historijata izgradnje đakovačke katedrale, već imaju i veliku srednjoeuropsku vrijednost.

IZRADA PROJEKTA

Naručivanje projekta od Karla Rösnera za đakovačku katedralu 1854. godine redovito se postavljalo u kontekst Strossmayerova putovanja po srednjoj Europi 1853. godine, na kojemu je, u Pragu, vidio projekt toga bečkog arhitekta za crkvu Svetih Ćirila i Metoda koja se upravo počela podizati u predgrađu Karlin (Karolinenthal).³ Poznanstvo Strossmayera i Rösnera, međutim, datira iz ranijeg razdoblja, točnije – iz četrdesetih godina 19. stoljeća, kada je budući đakovački biskup obavljao funkciju dvorskoga kapelana i jednoga od trojice predstojnika bečkog Augustineuma (od rujna 1847. do studenoga 1849.).⁴ Radeci na tako uglednom mjestu, koje je dobio po preporuci dvorskoga župnika Feigerlea,⁵ Strossmayer dolazi u neposredan doticaj s bečkim nazarenskim krugom oko slikara Leopolda Kupelwiesera i Josepha Führicha, kojemu je pripadao i Rösner.⁶ Ovaj je arhitekt, naime, nakon završetka školovanja na bečkoj Akademiji, zaposlivši se na njoj kao asistent, dobio stipendiju za Rim, uobičajenu u ono doba i namijenjenu produbljivanju znanja o klasičnoj arhitekturi. Boraveći u tome gradu 1830.-1833. godine, on se upoznaje s tamošnjim krugom njemačkih umjetnika Nazarenaca oko Friedricha Overbecka.⁷ Nekolicina⁸ ubrzo se seli u Beč i dobiva profesorska mjesta na bečkoj Likovnoj akademiji, gdje je, kako je već spomenuto, radio i Rösner.

Ono što su za religiozno slikarstvo Monarhije u tzv. Metternichovo doba (1815.-1848.)⁹ značili Kupelwieser i Führich, za arhitekturu je značio Rösner¹⁰ – ponajprije u smislu odmicanja od dotad prevladavajućeg klasicizma, okretanja prema srednjem vijeku kao izvoru inspiracije, te time stvaranja austrijske varijante romantizma. Spomenuti je krug bio najznačajniji predstavnik borbe za ponovni procvat religiozne umjetnosti pa je kao takav

1 Ponajprije, naravno, preko Cepelice. (CEPELIC; PAVIC, 1900-1904: 328-329)

2 REDL, 1998: 552; autorica pogrešno navodi da se koncepcijski đakovačka katedrala zacini 1856., no radi se, o 1853.-1854. godini.

3 CEPELIC; PAVIC, 1900.-1904: 328; ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 67. Šišić tako ističe: „Čuši da je projekte za prasku crkvu Svetih Ćirila i Metoda izradio Rösner, navratio je k njemu u Beč i naručio projekt za Đakovo. O Uskrsu 1854. bio je gotov projekt.”

4 ŠIŠIĆ, 1933: 2

5 ŠIŠIĆ, 1933: 34-35

6 FEUCHTMÜLLER, 1970: 137

7 WURZBACH, 1874: 248; REDL, 1998: 1

8 Prije spomenuti slikari.

9 Clemens Wenzel Lothar Metternich, ministar vanjskih poslova i državni kancelar Habsburske Monarhije, koji je svojom konzervativnom politikom obilježio cijelu prvu polovicu 19. stoljeća u ovoj državi.

10 Prema Eitelbergeru, Rösner je bio jedini zastupnik romantičarskih ideja na arhitektonskom odjelu bečke Akademije (EITELBERGER, 1869: 181).

INTRODUCTION

Đakovo Cathedral is undoubtedly the most significant newly erected sacral building of the Historicist style in Croatia. Despite that, it has not, up to now, come even remotely close to being scientifically researched to the extent it deserves to be. Thus, it is not surprising that Cepelić's monograph published at the beginning of the 20th century and cited by authors like Rogić still serves as the most important source of information on the history of its construction.

The present-day cathedral was under construction for fifteen years – from 1866 to 1882. How-

ever, the construction was preceded by almost a hundred year long effort to replace a modest Baroque church with a new building which could take on a worthy role of a cathedral. The first Rösner's designs for Đakovo Cathedral in 1854 are only one of numerous segments of the process. Their existence has up to now been only mentioned.¹ Nobody knew what they looked like or what stylistic background they had. Due to insufficient knowledge and insight into specific developments in the architectural projects in Croatia Austrian authors mention (since Rösner's bequest was preserved in fragments) the designs that date from the 1850s as the ones according to which the cathedral was built.² Regardless of the fact they were not executed, the designs in question are exceptionally interesting regarding their style and they belong to the most active professional period of Karl Rösner, one of the most significant architects at the time. That makes them important not only for the Croatian art history in the context of the construction history of Đakovo Cathedral but they are also valuable for the history of Central European architecture in general.

CREATION OF DESIGNS

The designs for Đakovo Cathedral commissioned from Karl Rösner in 1854 have always been related to Strossmayer's travels in Central Europe in 1853 during which he saw the project by this Viennese architect for the church of St Cyril and Methodius that was under construction at the time in the Prague suburb of Karlín (Karolinenthal).³ However, Strossmayer and Rösner met before that, in the 1840s, when the Bishop of Đakovo was a Hapsburg palace chaplain and one of the three rectors of the Vienna Augustineum (September 1847 – November 1849).⁴ Such a good position, which he received owing to the recommendation from parish priest Feigerle,⁵ enabled Strossmayer to come into direct contact with the Viennese circle of Nazarene painters gathered around Leopold Kupelwieser and Joseph Führich, to which Rösner also belonged.⁶ After finishing his studies and accepting an assistant position at the Vienna Academy, Karl Rösner won a scholarship commonly awarded at the time and intended for expanding knowledge on classical architecture in Rome. During his stay in Rome, from 1830-1833, Rösner met the Roman circle of German Nazarene artists gathered around Friedrich Overbeck.⁷ Soon after that, a few of them⁸ moved to Vienna where they were given professors' positions at the Vienna Academy of Art where, as already said, Rösner also worked.

The position that Kupelwieser and Führich had in religious painting of the Monarchy in the so called Age of Metternich (1815-1848)⁹ Rösner had in architecture¹⁰ – first of all in

1 Firstly through Cepelić (CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900-1904: 328-329).

2 REDL, 1998: 552; the author states that the concept for Đakovo Cathedral began to be developed in 1856 when, in fact, that happened in the period from 1853-1854.

3 CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900-1904: 328; ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 67. ŠIŠIĆ points out: "Having heard that Rösner had designed the church of St. Cyril and Methodius in Prague, he visited him in Vienna and commissioned the project for the church in Đakovo. Around Easter 1854, the project was finished."

4 ŠIŠIĆ, 1933: 2

5 ŠIŠIĆ, 1933: 34-35

6 FEUCHTMÜLLER, 1970: 137

7 WURZBACH, 1874: 248; REDL, 1998: 1

8 Afore mentioned painters.

9 Clemens Wenzel Lothar Metternich, the Foreign Minister and Chancellor of the Hapsburg Monarchy whose conservative politics marked the entire first half of the 19th century in the country.

10 According to Eitelberger, Rösner was the sole advocate of the ideas of Romanticism at the Department of Architecture at Vienna Academy (EITELBERGER, 1869: 181).

našao među klerom velike pobornike, među kojima je bio i Strossmayer.

Moguće je da je ključna osoba koja je prvotno povezala Strossmayera s Karlom Rösnerom bio njegov brat Ambros Rösner, jedan od nadstojnika samostana u Klosterneuburgu, austrijskom Escorialu, najznačajnijoj carskoj zadužbini, koji je, kao i bečki samostan u kojem je tada radio Strossmayer, pripadao augustinskom redu. Ne može se isključiti ni mogućnost da je buduci đakovački biskup došao do Rösnera preko knezova Odescalchi iz Iloka, tada najbogatije vlastelinske obitelji u njegovoj biskupiji, kojoj je ovaj arhitekt krajem tridesetih temeljito pregradio dvorac.¹¹ Potvrdu, mada ne potpuno sigurnu, o ranijem poznavanju Strossmayera i bečkoga kruga Nazarenaca nalazimo i u biskupovoj korespondenciji. Početkom studenoga 1851. godine, nedugo poslije stupanja na čelo đakovačke dijeceze, piše biskup već spomenutom nazarenskom slikaru Kupelwieseru kako dolazi na proljeće u Beč razgovarati s njim i Rösnerom o „namjeravanom radu” kojim bi se trebalo u „pustom kutu Monarhije” konačno nešto stvoriti.¹² Nesumnjivo je da govori o izgradnji katedrale, no ono što ostaje upitno jest datacija pisma u 1851. godinu, buduci da je datum teško čitljiv. Kako Strossmayer u istom dopisu govori i o naručivanju slike Bogorodice, ova se godina čini malo preranom jer se biskup intenzivnijom kolekcionarskom djelatnošću počeo baviti tek krajem pedesetih. Međutim, bez obzira na to iz koje je godine pismo, ono potvrđuje da je Strossmayer održavao bliske veze sa svim članovima bečkoga nazarenskoga kruga, koji su u prvoj fazi oblikovanja ideje katedrale imali na nj vrlo velik utjecaj.

Uvid u Rösnerov projekt za karlinsku crkvu mogao je biti, dakle, samo neposredan povod Strossmayeru da pozove svojega poznanika da radi u Đakovu. Nikako se nije radilo o prvom kontaktu među njima. Uoči naručivanja projekta Strossmayer je, kako je već spomenuto, obišao s Matom Topalovićem, 1853. godine srednju Europu: Prag, Dresden, Berlin, Köln, Bamberg i München, upravo s ciljem upoznavanja tamošnje srednjovjekovne baštine, kako bi ustanovio kakvu crkvu želi podići u Đakovu.¹³ Vidjevši njemačke katedrale, opredijelio se, navodno, za romaniku kao najpodobniji stil,¹⁴ a karlinska crkva, kao i brojne druge građevine, dokazivale su da je upravo Rösner čovjek kojega treba angažirati ako se želi dobiti kvalitetno djelo u ovome stilu. Naime, u tom je trenutku taj arhitekt već imao iza sebe zavidnu karijeru u projektiranju crkava, od kojih su neke bile prekretničke građevine u povijesti arhitekture prijestolnice Monarhije, osobito crkve Svetoga Ivana Nepomuka u tadašnjim bečkim predgrađima Leopoldstadt (1841.-1846.) i Meidling (1842.-1845.).¹⁵ I stil-

ski, odmicanjem od klasicizma prema srednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi, i pristupom sakralnoj građevini kao monumentalnoj gradnji, a ne – kao što je još od Josipa II. bio običaj u Beču – samo kao jednostavnoj građevini podignutoj iz nužde – Rösnerova su djela navijestila nov, tipično historicistički pristup podizanju crkava. Uostalom, upravo zbog reputacije koju je prije stekao, angažirao ga je i knez, i praški nadbiskup, Schwarzenberg, podrijetlom iz jedne od najuglednijih bečkih obitelji, kao projektanta karlinske crkve. I nije bio jedini. U trenutku kada radi za Đakovo i Prag, Rösner je paralelno zaposlen na upravo nevjerojatnom broju raznih narudžbi u Beču i izvan njega. Prva polovica pedesetih godina vjerojatno je najplodnije razdoblje njegove karijere. Suradujući gotovo konstantno s Kupelwieserom, projektirao je razne predmete za katedralu u Kaloči u Ugarskoj, naručene od tamošnjega biskupa Josefa Kunszta.¹⁶ U istome mjestu podize i crkvu sa samostanom milosrdnih sestara; u Olmützu, u austrijskoj Šleskoj, radi oltar u tamošnjoj katedrali,¹⁷ a u Beču realizirane projekte za kapelu Marije Pobjednice (Maria vom Siege) u sklopu Arsenala,¹⁸ i natječajni projekt za Votivnu crkvu.¹⁹ Sve ove narudžbe iz raznih krajeva Monarhije, iz njezina središta, ali i krajnjih točaka na sjeveru i jugu, jasno govore koje je mjesto Rösner zauzimao u tadašnjoj arhitekturi, te o sve većem favoriziranju okretanja srednjem vijeku u sakralnim gradnjama, što se uvelike moglo zahvaliti djelovanju tadašnjega predstojnika (monarhijskog) Ministarstva za bogoštovlje i nastavu Lea Thuna koji će, u sklopu ovih nastojanja, uskoro dovući u Beč i Friedricha von Schmidta.²⁰

Teško je pouzdano ustanoviti kada je Strossmayer najavio Rösneru naručivanje projekata

¹¹ O radu na obnovi ilockoga dvorca doznajemo iz Rösnerove korespondencije s bratom Ambrosom (Arhiv samostana u Klosterneuburgu /dalje ASK/, Rösnerova ostavština, Korespondencija Karla s Ambrosom, Pisma br. 47 /19.12.1838./; 48 /13.1.1839./; 49 /24.2.1839./). O ovoj problematici više u izlaganju: DAMJANOVIC, D. (2006.), *Klasicistička obnova dvorca Odescalchi u Iloku po projektima arhitekta Karla Rösnera 1839. godine*, znanstveni skup „Dvorci i ljetnikovci: Kulturno naslijeđe kao pokretač gospodarskog razvoja”, zbornik: 363-371, Varazdin.

¹² Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, St. Pölten, Ostavština Leopolda Kupelwiesera, Strossmayerovo pismo Kupelwieseru od 6. 10. 1851. O pismu se kratko govori u: FEUCHTMÜLLER, 1970: 67; datacija pisma preuzeta je iz citirane knjige.

¹³ CEPELIC; PAVIC, 1900.-1904: 328; ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 67

¹⁴ CEPELIC; PAVIC, 1900.-1904: 328; ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 67

¹⁵ WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 104, 106

¹⁶ FEUCHTMÜLLER, 1970: 70-71

¹⁷ ASK, Nachlass Ambros Rösner, pismo br. 178, Karl Rösner Ambrosu Rösneru, Beč, 5.5.1852.

¹⁸ ASK, Nachlass Ambros Rösner, pismo br. 201, Karl Rösner Ambrosu Rösneru, Beč, 6.6.1854.

¹⁹ WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 162 ; FEUCHTMÜLLER, 1970: 68

²⁰ WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 164

terms of moving away from the then dominating Classicism and turning to the Middle Ages as the source of inspiration, and, thus, of creating an Austrian version of Romanticism in architecture. The aforementioned circle was the most important representative of the struggle for a revival of religious art. As such, it attracted advocates among the members of the clergy, Strossmayer being one of them.

It is possible that Strossmayer first came into contact with Karl Rösner through Ambrose Rösner, Karl's brother who was one of the custodians of the monastery in Klosterneuburg, Austrian Escorial, one of the most important royal "Stift" (endowment) which belonged to the Augustinian order, much as the monastery in Vienna where Strossmayer held his position. However, it is also possible that the Bishop of Đakovo reached Rösner through the Odescalchi family in Ilok, then the wealthiest family of landowners in his diocese whose castle was renovated in keeping with Rösner's plans.¹¹ That Strossmayer had previously been acquainted with Rösner can be confirmed, though not surely, by Bishop's correspondence. At the beginning of November 1851, soon after he had been appointed bishop of the diocese of Đakovo, Strossmayer wrote to afore mentioned Nazarene painter Kupelwieser that he would arrive to Vienna in spring in order to talk to him and Rösner about the "intended undertaking" which should encourage creativity in "the desolate corner of the Monarchy".¹² He surely spoke of the construction of the cathedral but what remains questionable is the dating of the letter into 1851 since the date is illegible. That year seems somewhat too early since in the letter Strossmayer mentioned a commission for a painting of the Virgin Mary and it is

known that the Bishop began collecting art more intensively at the end of the 1850s. Regardless of the date, the letter still confirms Strossmayer kept close connections with all the members of the Nazarene circle who had influence on the early stages of the cathedral's conceptual development.

An insight into Rösner's design for the church in Karlin might have been an immediate cause for Strossmayer to invite his acquaintance to take up architectural work in Đakovo: it certainly was not the first time they met. Upon commissioning the project, in 1853, Strossmayer travelled around Central Europe with Mato Topalović: Prague, Dresden, Berlin, Cologne, Bamberg and Munich, precisely because he wanted to become familiar with the medieval heritage of those places in order to find out what kind of a church he wanted to build in Đakovo.¹³ Having seen German cathedrals he supposedly set his mind on Romanesque style as the most appropriate one,¹⁴ and the church in Karlin, as many other churches, proved that it was Rösner who should be hired if one wanted to have a fine piece of architecture built in such a style. As a matter of fact, at the time, Rösner had built an enviable career in designing churches some of which marked a turning point in the architecture history of the Monarchy's capital, especially the churches of St. John Nepomuk in Leopoldstadt (1841-1846) and Meidling (1842-1845), two of Vienna suburbs.¹⁵ Rösner's works heralded a new, typically Historicist approach in sacral architecture both in terms of style, by moving away from Classicism and turning to medieval architecture and in the approach to churches as monumental buildings as opposed to simple ones erected out of necessity as it was customary in Vienna ever since the reign of Joseph II. After all, it was exactly because of the reputation he had gained that he was engaged in designing the church in Karlin by the Prince and Bishop of Prague, Schwarzenberg, who was a descendant of one of the most distinguished Viennese family. That was, however, not his only engagement. While he was working on the Đakovo and Prague designs, Rösner was employed on an amazingly great number of projects in and outside Vienna. The first half of the 1850s was the most fruitful period in his career. Almost constantly working with Kupelwieser, he designed furnishings for the cathedral in Kaloča, Hungary, commissioned by Bishop Josef Kunszt.¹⁶ Additionally, he built the church and monastery of the Sisters of Mercy in the same town. For the cathedral in Olmütz, in Austrian Silesia, he designed an altar,¹⁷ whereas in Vienna he worked on the design for the chapel of Our Lady of Victory (Maria vom Siegle) which was built according to it at the Arsenal complex,¹⁸ and on unexecuted designs for the Votive church¹⁹ as

¹¹ Rösner's correspondence with his brother Ambrose provides us with the information about the renovation of the Ilok castle (Klosterneuburg monastery archives /ASK/, Rösner's bequest, Karl's correspondence with Ambrose, Letters No. 47 /19.12.1838./; 48 /13.1.1839./; 49 /24.2.1839./). More about this issue in the presentation: DAMJANOVIĆ, D. (2006.), *Classicistic renovation of the Odescalchi castle in Ilok according to Karl Rösner's 1839 designs*, scientific conference Manors and Villas: Cultural Heritage as a Generator of Economic Development, conference proceedings: 363-371, Varaždin.

¹² Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, St. Pölten, bequest of Leopold Kupelwieser, Strossmayer's letter to Kupelwieser dated 6.10.1851; the letter is mentioned in: FEUCHTMÜLLER, 1970: 67; the date of the letter was taken from the cited book.

¹³ CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904: 328; ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 67

¹⁴ CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904: 328; ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 67

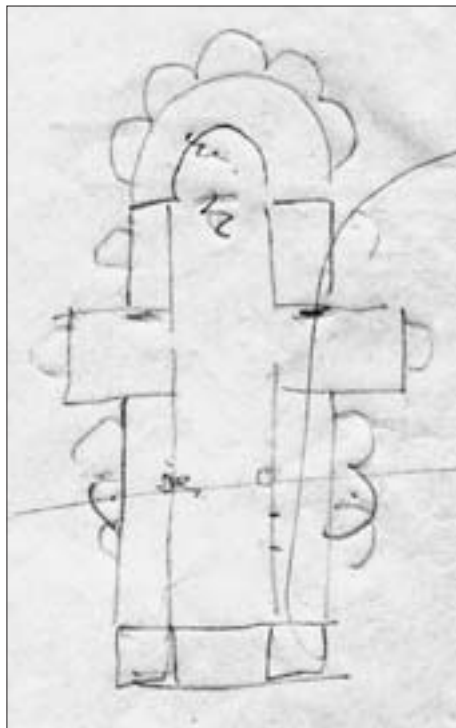
¹⁵ WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 104, 106

¹⁶ FEUCHTMÜLLER, 1970: 70-71

¹⁷ ASK, Nachlass Ambros Rösner, letter No. 178, Karl Rösner to Ambros Rösner, Vienna, 5.5.1852.

¹⁸ ASK, Nachlass Ambros Rösner, letter No. 201, Karl Rösner to Ambros Rösner, Vienna, 6.6.1854.

¹⁹ WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 162; FEUCHTMÜLLER, 1970: 68



SL. 2. K. RÖSNER: CRTEŽ TLOCRTA ĐAKOVAČKE KATEDRALE
FIG. 2 K. RÖSNER: ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL, DRAWING OF THE
GROUND PLAN

za katedralu, no po svoj se prilici radilo o prvoj polovici 1853. godine. Pišuci bratu Ambrosu u Klosterneuburg krajem srpnja 1853. godine, Karl Rösner, naime, ističe kako će putovati u Slavoniju, no da još ne zna kada, budući da čeka Strossmayerov dolazak iz Karlsbada (Karlovih Vari) u Beč, te da će do toga trenutka raditi intenzivno na svojim projektima za crkve, koji bi trebali biti gotovi do kraja srpnja.²¹ Susret se po svoj prilici i dogodio u srpnju, budući da od početka kolovoza 1853. godine počinje redovita korespondencija između Rösnera i Strossmayera.²² Krajem kolovoza Rösner je trebao doputovati u Đakovo, upoznati se s datostima terena i nakon toga započeti s izradom projekata.²³ Izvori ne govore je li doista i došao, vjerojatno jest, budući da krajem ljeta iste godine započinje raditi na projektima, koje završava krajem ožujka 1854. godine, pa ih u travnju iste godine šalje u Đakovo.²⁴ U isto vrijeme Strossmayer radi daljnje pripreme za gradnju katedrale i naručuje od tog arhitekta projekte za pet oltara u crkvi (glavni – svetoga Petra, zatim dva velika: svetoga Ilije i svetoga Demetrija, te dva mala: Bogorodičin i svetoga Josipa)²⁵ koji, suđeci po sačuvanoj korespondenciji, nisu nikada dovršeni.

Nekoliko mjeseci nakon dovršenja projekata, u rujnu 1854. godine, Rösner šalje i nacrt ugovora o gradnji katedrale s Biskupijom, kojim preuzima uobičajene obveze što ih je tada imao projektant: sav tehnički i umjetnički nadzor nad gradnjom, izrađivanje detaljnih osnova, nadziranje svih radnika, a obvezuje se i to da će najmanje jednom na godinu dolaziti izvidjeti situaciju u Đakovu itd. Za spomenuti je posao trebao dobiti 1000 guldena. Detaljne projekte trebao je početi izrađivati devet mjeseci nakon što počne gradnja katedrale, za što bi dobivao daljnjih 200 guldena mjesečno. U slučaju smrti biskupa đakovački se Kaptol trebao obvezati da će i njegov nasljednik smatrati Rösnerov projekt pogodnim za izvedbu.²⁶ Čini se da spomenuti nacrt ugovora nikada nije bio formaliziran i potpisan, a ni do izrađivanja detaljnih osnova nije došlo, budući da realizacija građevine prema projektu iz 1854. godine nije nikada počela.

STILSKE ODLIKE PROJEKTA

Rösner je u travnju 1854. godine poslao u Đakovo ukupno 14 listova projekta: 6 listova bez kripte i 8 s kriptom.²⁷ Kako je postavljanje kripte u katedrali bilo među najvažnijim Strossmayerovim zahtjevima,²⁸ zasigurno nije riječ o dvije različite verzije projekta, već vjerojatno – zbog uštede vremena, a možda i stoga jer nije bilo neposredne potrebe – na prvih šest listova nije bila ucrtana kripta. Danas u arhivu Đakovačke biskupije postoji još šest listova projekta: tlocrt, glavno, bočno i stražnje

pročelje, jedan uzdužni i dva poprečna presjeka.²⁹ Crkva je prema ovim projektima trebala biti znatno manja nego što je na posljedku izvedena, suđeci kako po preračunatim troškovima izgradnje od 185 000 forinta,³⁰ tako i po zabilješci sačuvanoj na skici u Klosterneuburgu, prema kojoj bi u građevinu trebalo stati 4000 ljudi.³¹

Crtež koji je sačuvan u Rösnerovoj ostavštini u Klosterneuburgu, a nastao je vjerojatno u prvim fazama izrade projekta negdje krajem ljeta 1853. godine, govori o prvim arhitektonskim razmišljanjima o prostornom ustrojstvu đakovačke katedrale (Sl. 2). Iako sitan element geneze budućeg izgleda crkve, skica pokazuje kako Rösner već pri prvim koracima u izrađivanju projekta planira podizanje trobrodne dvoranjke bazilike s transeptom, tlocrtnog oblika latinskoga križa. U svim trima projektima koje je radio za đakovačku katedralu u idućih petnaestak godina (1854., 1865. i 1867.) ovakvo će osnovno prostorno ustrojstvo – uvjetovano zasigurno željama biskupa Strossmayera i „pravilima” romanickog stila – ostati jedina čvrsta konstanta. Crtež iz 1853.

21 ASK, Nachlass Ambros Rösner, pismo br. 192, Karl Rösner Ambrosu Rösneru, 21.7.1853.: „Ich möchte sehr gerne zu der Zeit auch bei dir eintreffen, dieß fängt jedoch von der Reise nach Slavonien ab, ich weiß den Moment dafür erst dann zu bestimmen, wenn der Bischof von Diacova von Karlsbad in Wien eintreffen wird, und arbeite tüchtig an meinem Kirchenprojekte welches mit Ende dieses Monats fertig sein wird.“ („Htio bih vrlo rado do tebe doći u to vrijeme, to međutim ovisi o putovanju u Slavoniju. Moći ću trenutak dolaska ustanoviti tek kada đakovački biskup stigne iz Karlsbada /Karlovih Vara/ u Beč. Radim marljivo na mojim projektima za crkve koji će biti gotovi krajem ovog mjeseca.”)

22 Prvo Rösnerovo pismo od 8.8.1853. još uvijek nije navedeno. Strossmayerov odgovor na ovo pismo od 21.8.1853. u arhivu je samostana u Klosterneuburgu. Publiciran je u: PAUKER, 1915: 474-475.

23 PAUKER, 1915: 474-475

24 Arhiv Biskupije đakovačke, Crkveno-gradevni odbor, Rösnerovo pismo biskupu ili Kaptolu biskupije (nije sačuvan početni dio, pa se ne može točno reći na koga je naslovljeno) od 27.4.1854. Strossmayer je namjeravao sam uzeti projekte u Beču u ožujku 1854., no čini se da je od putovanja na posljedku odustao. (PAUKER, 1915: 475-576)

25 PAUKER, 1915: 476

26 ABD, CGO, Rösnerovo pismo od 18.9.1854. Tom je prilikom isporučio i naputke za izvodaca gradnje.

27 ABD, CGO, Rösnerovo pismo od 27.4.1854.

28 „Hier muß ich noch erwähnen, was ich früher, wie ich glaube, anzuführen vergessen habe, nämlich daß unter der Kathedralkirche eine schöne Gruft für die Bischöfe müsse erbaut werden, was dem Entwürfe des Kirchenplanes beizufügen ist.“ („Moram još pripomenuti što sam ranije zaboravio, naime da bi ispod katedralne crkve trebala biti izgrađena lijepa kripta što bi trebalo pridodati projektima za crkvu.”; PAUKER, 1915: 475). Budući da je u trenutku kada Strossmayer šalje ovo pismo (21.8.1853.) Rösner tek počeo raditi na projektima, teško da bi mogao ispustiti kriptom uz ovako izričit zahtjev.

29 Za nalaženje projekata može se ponajprije zahvaliti arhivistu Đakovačke biskupije gosp. Vlatku Dolanciću.

30 CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904: 328

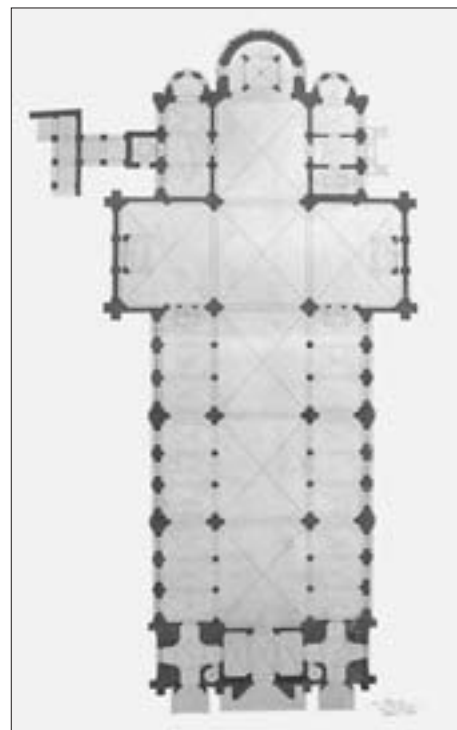
31 ASK, Nachlass Ambros Rösner, pripremi crtež za projekt đakovačke katedrale Karla Rösnera.

well. All these commissions coming both from the centre and distant areas in the north and south of the Monarchy clearly attest to the position Rösner had in the architecture of the time, as well as to the growing tendency to turn to medievalism in sacral building, which could greatly be ascribed to the Minister of Worship and Education, Leo Thun, who would, in the context of these efforts, bring Friedrich von Schmidt to Vienna.²⁰

It is difficult to determine with certainty exactly when Strossmayer indicated Rösner he would commission designs for Đakovo Cathedral. However, it probably happened in the first half of 1853. Writing to his brother Ambrose in Klosterneuburg at the end of July 1853, Karl Rösner said he was going to travel to Slavonia but he was not sure when, since he was waiting Strossmayer's return to Vienna from Carlsbad. He also added that he would until then work intensively on church designs which he planned to finish by the end of July.²¹ The two of them in all likelihood met in July considering the fact that they started to correspond regularly from the beginning of

August 1853.²² At the end of August Rösner was supposed to arrive in Đakovo to find out the details of the building site and then start working on the designs.²³ Sources do not reveal whether he actually arrived there since at the end of summer 1853 he started working on the designs which he finished at the end of March 1854 and sent them to Đakovo the same year in April.²⁴ At the same time, Strossmayer was working on further preparations for the construction of the cathedral and commissioned from the same architect five altars (high altar dedicated to St. Peter, two big altars to St. Elias and St. Demeter, and two small ones dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Joseph)²⁵ which were, according to the correspondence, never finished.

In September 1854, several months after the completion of the designs, Rösner sent a draft agreement with the Bishopric on the construction of the cathedral. The agreement bounded him with all the obligations of an architect: the technical and artistic supervision over the construction, creation of large scale blueprints containing necessary details, supervision over the contractors. He also assumed a commitment to come to Đakovo at least once a year to carry out an inspection of the works. For the said work he was to receive 1000 gulden. Detailed projects were due to be carried out nine months after the beginning phase of the cathedral's construction for which he was to receive additional 200 gulden a month. In case the Bishop of Đakovo had died, the Curia would have been obliged to consider Rösner's project valid for completion.²⁶ It seems the draft agreement was never formalized and signed and the detailed plans never carried out since the construction of the building according to the 1854 designs never began.



SL. 3. K. RÖSNER: TLOCRT ĐAKOVAČKE KATEDRALE, 1854.
FIG. 3 K. RÖSNER: ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL, GROUND PLAN, 1854

²⁰ WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 164

²¹ ASK, Nachlass Ambros Rösner, letter No. 192, Karl Rösner to Ambros Rösner, 21.7.1853.: "Ich möchte sehr gerne zu der Zeit auch bei dir eintreffen, dieß fängt jedoch von der Reise nach Slavonien ab, ich weiß den Moment dafür erst dann zu bestimmen, wenn der Bischof von Diacova von Karlsbad in Wien eintreffen wird, und arbeite tüchtig an meinem Kirchenprojekte welches mit Ende dieses Monates fertig sein wird." ("I would really much like to visit you then. However, that is dependant upon my travel to Slavonia. I will know the date of my arrival only when the bishop of Đakovo returns to Vienna from Carlsbad /Kaylovvy Vary/. I am working diligently on my church designs which I expect to finish by the end of this month.")

²² First Rösner's letter dated 8.8.1853, has not yet been found. Strossmayer's reply to the letter dated 21.8.1853, are at the Klosterneuburg monastery archive. It was published in: PAUKER, 1915: 474-475.

²³ PAUKER, 1915: 474-475

²⁴ Archives of the Đakovo Diocese, Committee for the Construction of Đakovo Cathedral, Rösner's letter to the Bishop or the Diocesan Curia (the beginning was not saved so the exact addressee is not known) dated 27.4.1854. Strossmayer intended to collect the designs in Vienna in March 1854; however, he seemed to have given up on the journey. (PAUKER, 1915: 475-576)

²⁵ PAUKER, 1915: 476

²⁶ ABD, CGO, Rösner's letter dated 18.9.1854. On that occasion he also delivered instructions for the contractors.

²⁷ ABD, CGO, Rösner's letter dated 27.4.1854.

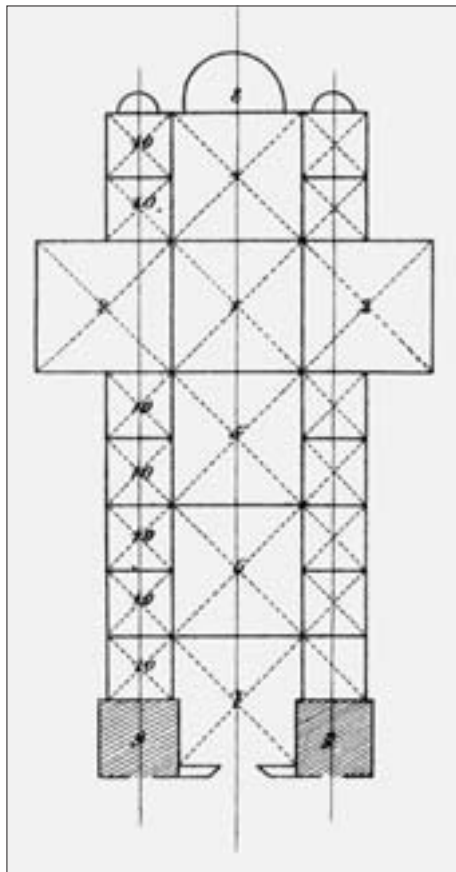
²⁸ „Hier muß ich noch erwähnen, was ich früher, wie ich glaube, anzuführen vergessen habe, nämlich daß unter der Kathedrale eine schöne Gruft für die Bischöfe müsse erbaut werden, was dem Entwürfe des Kirchenplanes beizufügen ist." ("I have to add what I have earlier forgot, namely, that a nice crypt should be built underneath the cathedral and that should be included in the church designs."); PAUKER, 1915: 475). Since at the time when Strossmayer sent this letter (21.8.1853.), Rösner began working on the designs it is inconceivable that the crypt was omitted after such an explicit demand.

²⁹ The designs supplied by courtesy of Mr. Vlatko Dolencić, an archivist at the Đakovo diocese.

³⁰ CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904: 328

STYLISTIC FEATURES

In April 1854, Rösner sent to Đakovo altogether 14 designs: 6 sheets with a crypt and 8 sheets without it.²⁷ Since the crypt was one of the most important demands for the cathedral,²⁸ these two versions were surely not two different designs. It is more probable that the first six sheets of the plan did not contain the crypt due to time saving or, perhaps because there was no immediate need for it. The archive of the Đakovo diocese today contains six of the before mentioned fourteen designs: ground plan, main, side and rear façade, one longitudinal and two transverse sections.²⁹ According to these plans the church was to be far less smaller than it was built in the end, judging from the costs of the construction which amounted to 185 000 forint³⁰ as well as a note on a draft found in Klosterneuburg ac-



SL. 4. K. RÖSNER: TLOCRT IDEALNE ROMANIČKE KATEDRALE, 1853.

FIG. 4 K. RÖSNER: DESIGN FOR AN IDEAL ROMANESQUE CATHEDRAL, 1853

godine pokazuje, međutim, u detaljima prilično neuobičajena rješenja: Rösner je, naime, razmišljao o postavljanju cijeloga niza polukružnih kapela – apsidiola koje bi se naslanjale s vanjske strane crkve na pobočne brodove, transept i svetište. Riječ je o posve bizarnom rješenju, za koje se nisu mogle pronaci paralele u povijesti romaničke arhitekture, te je malo vjerojatno da bi Strossmayer pristao na nj. Prema tome bi crtežu, nadalje, apsidu okruživao demabulatorij, a širina svetišta bila bi jednaka širini cijele crkve, i glavnih i bočnih brodova.

Prostorno rješenje do kojega je Rösner na poslijetku došao, u detaljima se prilično razlikuje od spomenute preliminarne skice, ponajprije zbog izbacivanja apsidiola i znatno drukčijeg rješenja svetišta. Prema konačnom projektu iz 1854. godine (Sl. 3.), đakovačka je katedrala trebala biti trobrodna troapsidalna bazilika s transeptom, oblika latinskoga križa s dvama zvonnicama na pročelju. Pobočni brodovi nove crkve bili bi dvostruko uži od glavnoga, dok bi transept, podijeljen u tri traveja, bio širok koliko i glavni brod. Traveji pobočnih brodova vrlo su kratki – na jedan glavnoga broda dolaze po tri u bočnima, tako da je ritam izmjene stupova vrlo brz. Zanimljivo je da je u svojem djelu o srednjovjekovnom sakralnom graditeljstvu *Über die Grundzüge des romanischen und gothischen Kirchenbaustyles*, publiciranom 1853. godine,³² u objavljenij ilustraciji kojom je želio prikazati idealno prostorno ustrojstvo jedne romaničke katedrale, Rösner (Sl. 4) zapravo publicirao tlocrt svojega prvog projekta đakovačke katedrale, koji je tada upravo izrađivao (Sl. 5).

Crkva je trebala biti pokrivena križno-rebrastim svodovima. Zona transepta i svetišta znatno je uzdignuta u odnosu na ostali dio crkve, kao neka vrsta srednjovjekovnoga kora, radi postavljanja kripote za biskupske grobnice ispod toga dijela katedrale. Rösnerovi su projekti, u skladu sa srednjovjekovnim običajima, predviđali odvajanje svetišnog od ostalog dijela crkve ogradom, koja će u kasnijim Strossmayerovim intervencijama u projektima iz 1865. i 1867. godine biti izbacena zbog težnje da se svećenstvo što više (vizualno i fizički) približi narodu.³³ Na transept se nastavlja svetište sastavljeno od jednog traveja, velikoga poput onih u glavnom brodu crkve, i polukružne apside. Prema ovom projektu glavni je oltar ciborijskog tipa trebao biti postavljen u samu apsidu, dok će kasnije, po Strossmayerovim željama, biti premješten na križište transepta i glavnoga broda, ispod kupole. S desne strane svetišta, u prostoru koji se nalazi u ravnini bočnih brodova, kao što će kasnije biti realizirano po projektima iz 1860-ih godina, nalazilo bi se nekoliko manjih prostorija: sakristija, stubište koje vodi u kriptu i predvorje bočnog ulaza u crkvu.

Zanimljivo je da je na drugoj, desnoj strani svetišta, okrenutoj prema dvorištu biskupskoga dvora, Rösner, po svoj prilici predvidio izgradnju kapele s apsidom, koja bi s jedne strane bila povezana sa svetištem crkve, a s druge, posebnim jednokatnim koridorom, s biskupskim dvorom. Ovakve su kapele bile uobičajene u katedralnim crkvama. One su omogućavale privatno posvećivanje biskupâ Bogu. Koridor koji bi vodio do kapele u prizemlju trebao je biti postavljen na dva masivna stuba spojena lukovima i posve otvoren, zasigurno kako bi se i nadalje mogla dovoziti kola iz biskupskoga vrta neposredno u dvorište dvora. Na katu bi se koridor otvarao velikim romaničkim biforama.

Projektiranje ove poveznice dvora i crkve nesumnjivo je nastalo po Strossmayerovoj želji, budući da će on i kasnije, sve do kraja 1860-ih godina, nagovarati Rösnera da mu projektira sličan koridor, samo s drugom pozicijom, između lijevoga tornja na pročelju katedralne crkve i dvora, želeći pritom da, slično kao na projektu iz 1854. godine, na kraju koridora bude biskupska kapela, smještena na prvom katu lijevoga zvonika. Pojasnivši da bi koridor narušio simetriju pročelja i kompoziciju crkve, Rösner je uspio odgovoriti Strossmayera od ove nadogradnje.³⁴

Glavno je pročelje, prema prvom Rösnerovu projektu, raščlanjeno vrlo bogato. Nekom vrstom kombinacije lezana i kontrafora bilo je podijeljeno na tri vertikalne zone, te vijencima u dvije etaže. Donja se etaža otvarala s tri portala, do kojih su zbog visine sokla vodila stubišta. Glavni je portal, po običaju, bio i najmonumentalniji, prilično istaknut u odnosu na površinu fasade. Rösner ga je uokvirio s nizom od po šest polustupova sa svake strane, završenih na krajevima neuobičajenim, pomalo renesansnim pilastrima. Iznad lukova postavljen je trokutasti zabat uokviren fijalama, a raščlanjen slijepim nišama – vrlo čestim motivom u onodobnoj i *Rundbogenstil* i *Spitzbogenstil* arhitekturi. Bočni portali pokazuju slična rješenja, samo u još jednostavnijoj varijanti. Prvi kat pročelja otvara se u središnjem dijelu s raskošnom rozetom, inače uobičajenom i nevjerojatno čestom u cjelokupnoj historicističkoj neoromaničkoj arhitekturi, dok se na bočnim stranama (zvonik) otvara

32 RÖSNER, 1853: Sl. 2.

33 Govoreći o novoj crkvi, o kornoj pregradi, Strossmayer tako ističe: „U nekim, pače mnogim crkvama tu se upravo nalaze one balustrade i ograde... Mi ih, ako živi budemo, nipošto podići necemo, jerbo ako i jest istina, da se svećenstvo od puka razlikuje, ipak je i to istina, da svećenstvo iz puka, pače većom stranom iz sirotinje proizlazi, a svaki i najmanji dio svećenstva i do najvećega u njem stepena dovit se može.“ (STROSSMAYER: 1874: 224; prema: SMICIKLAS, 1906: 224)

34 ABD, CGO, Rösnerovo pismo od 15.7.1867.

ording to which the building was supposed to be large enough to hold 4000 people.³¹

A drawing that was found in Rösner's bequest in Klosterneuburg, and was probably made in the first stages of the project's creation, around the end of summer 1853, shows the architect's original ideas on the spatial conception for Đakovo Cathedral (Fig. 2) Although a small element in the development of the appearance the church was to have, the drawing is still important because it attests to Rösner's first steps towards building a three-aisled basilica with a transept, laid out as the Latin cross in plan. In all three designs he was to work on in the following fifteen years (1854, 1865 and 1867), the spatial concept was going to remain the only constant element, surely conditioned by the wishes of Bishop Strossmayer and the "rules" of Romanesque style. The 1853 drawing shows, however, rather strange treatment of certain details. Namely, Rösner thought about placing a ring of absidioles abutting the exterior walls of the aisles, transept and chancel. This is a rather bizarre design which could not be compared to any other building in the entire history of Romanesque architecture. It is, also, unlikely that Strossmayer would have agreed on it. According to that drawing, the apse would be surrounded by an ambulatory and the width of the chancel would equal the width of the entire church, both the nave and side aisles.

Rösner's final spatial concept was in details considerably different from the mentioned preliminary drawing, primarily because of the abandonment of absidioles and a different design of the chancel. According to the final design of 1854 (Fig. 3), the cathedral in Đakovo was to be a three-aisled basilica with a transept and three apses in the form of the Latin cross with the façade flanked by two towers. Side aisles would be two times lower than the nave whereas the three-bay transept would be of the same width as the nave. Bays of the side aisles would be very shallow – three aisle bays on one nave bay – which would make the rhythm of the columns very quick. Interestingly enough, in an illustration showing an ideal spatial arrangement of a Romanesque cathedral published in his book on

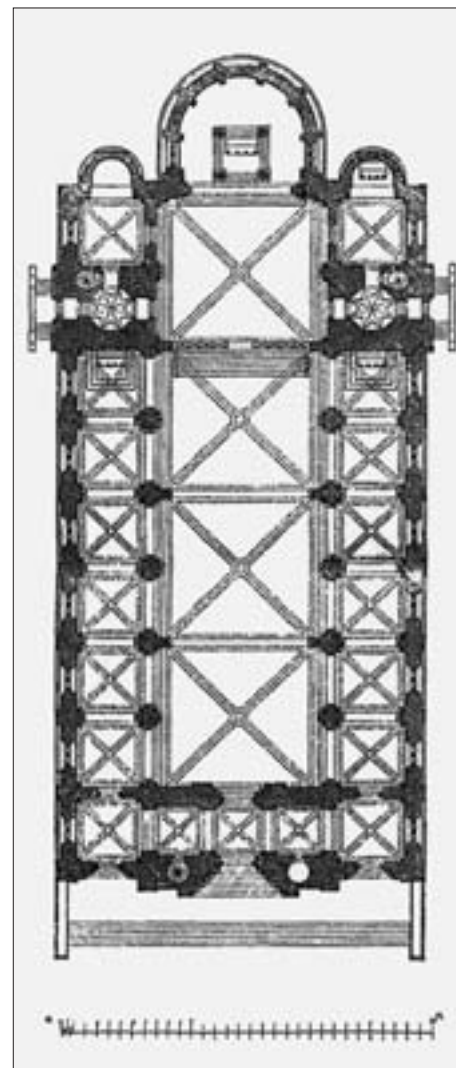
medieval sacral buildings *Über die Grundzüge des romanischen und gotischen Kirchenbaustyles* (1853), Rösner (Fig. 4) actually showed the ground plan of his first design for Đakovo Cathedral on which he was at the time working (Fig. 5).³²

The church was to be covered with cross-ribbed vaulting. The platform of the chancel and part of the transept were to be somewhat elevated, as a sort of a medieval choir, due to a crypt beneath it which would contain tombs for bishops. In keeping with the medieval tradition Rösner envisaged the chancel to be singled out by a railing, which would in later Strossmayer's interventions into the designs of 1865 and 1867 be left out due to aspirations to bring the clergy closer (visually and physically) to the congregation.³³ One chancel bay would be as wide as the nave and apse. According to this design, the high altar with a ciborium was to be placed in the apse. It would later be moved to the crossing, under the dome, thus respecting Strossmayer's wish. Several considerably small rooms, namely, sacristy, stairway leading to the crypt, and the vestibule of the lateral entrance to the church would be placed to the right of the chancel, as it was later to be constructed based on the 1860 designs.

It is interesting that Rösner envisaged the construction of a chapel with an apse on the right side of the chancel. One side of it would be linked to the chancel and the other side to one-storey corridor which would, in turn, be connected to the bishop's palace. Such chapels were customary in cathedrals. They ensured space for bishops' private time of worship. The corridor would run to the chapel and on the ground floor it would be set on two massive piers arched and completely opened, surely in order to allow for carts and carriages to pass through it from the bishop's garden to the palace court. On the first floor it would be opened by Romanesque two-light mullioned windows.

The architectural link between the palace and the church was beyond doubt made on Strossmayer's demand since up to the end of 1860s he would try to persuade Rösner to design a similar corridor only differently positioned – between the left tower and the palace, wishing for the bishop's chapel to be erected at the end of the corridor, as in the 1854 designs, only situated on the first floor of the left tower. Rösner, however, succeeded in dissuading Strossmayer from building this annex having explained to him that the corridor would disturb the symmetry of the façade and the composition of the church.³⁴

The main façade was according to Rösner's first design richly articulated. It was divided into three transverse sections by shallow but-



SL 5. K. RÖSNER, I. ULMANN: TLOCRT CRKVE U KARLINU, PRAG, 1851.-1863.

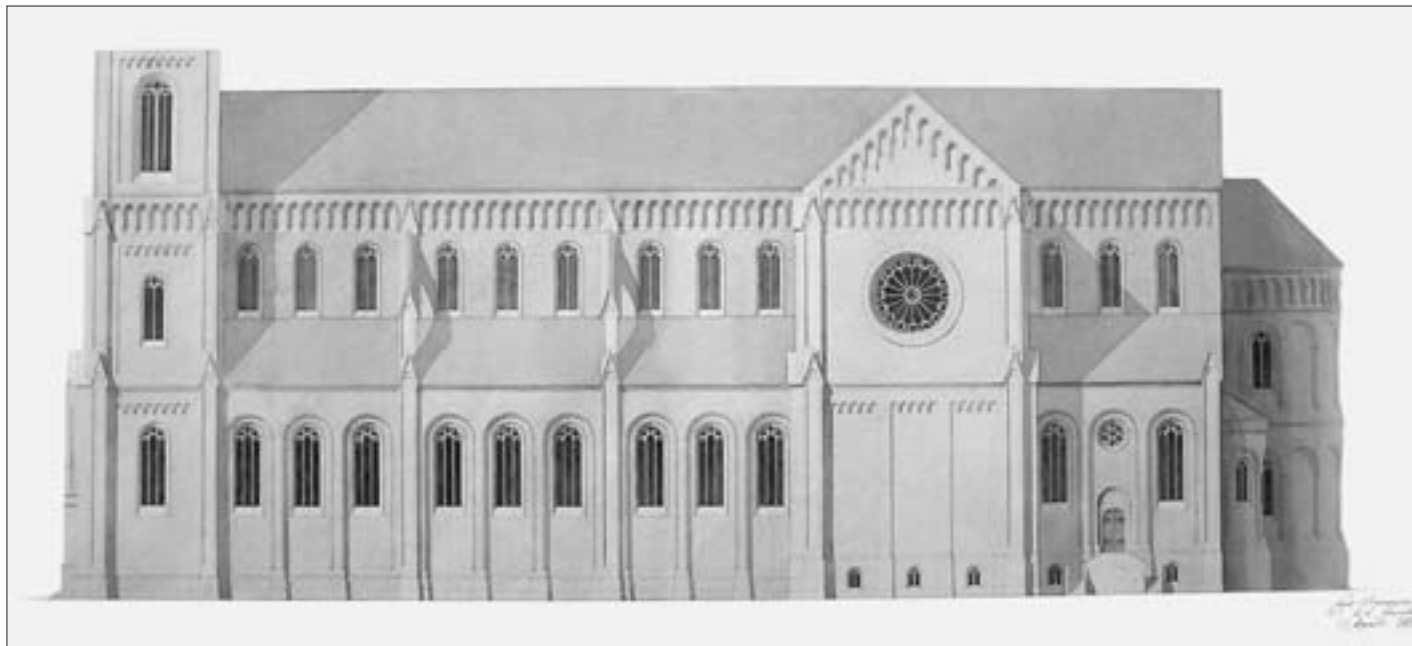
FIG. 5 K. RÖSNER, I. ULMANN: CHURCH IN KARLIN, PRAGUE, GROUND PLAN, 1851-1863

31 ASK, Nachlass Ambros Rösner, Karl Rösner's preliminary drawing of the design for Đakovo Cathedral.

32 RÖSNER, 1853: Fig. 2.

33 When talking about the new church, about the choir screen, Strossmayer points out: "Some, even numerous churches have exactly the same balustrades and screens ... If we live to that day, we will most certainly not build them, for even if it is true that the clergy differ from laymen, it is nevertheless true that it is laymen, what is more, the poor from who the clergy stem, and even the smallest part of the clergy to a large degree in them find resort." (STROSSMAYER: 1874: 224; cited in: SMIČIKLAS, 1906: 224)

34 ABD, CGO, Rösner's letter dated 15.7.1867.



SL. 6. K. RÖSNER: PROJEKT ZA BOČNO PROČELJE ĐAKOVAČKE KATEDRALE, 1854.

FIG. 6 K. RÖSNER: DESIGN FOR ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL, SIDE ELEVATION, 1854

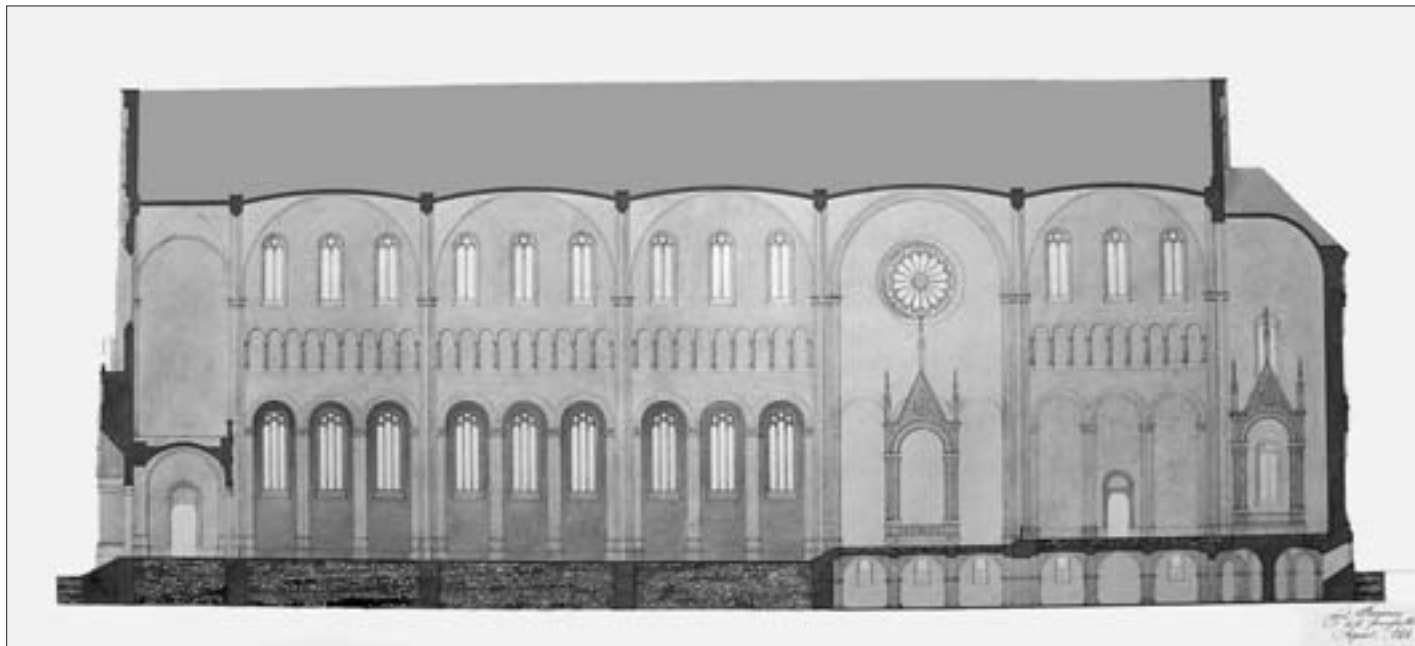
jednostavnim prozorima – biforama. U zoni visine glavnoga broda postavljena je slijepa arkadna galerija koja se nastavlja i na zabatu iznad središnjega dijela pročelja. Drugi kat zvonika otvara se kvadriforama, a završava vijencem sa slijepim lukovima postavljenim ispod vijenaca i prizemlja i prvog kata građevine, i na glavnom i na bočnom pročelju. Iznad ovoga kata pravokutna osnova zvonika prelazi u osmerokutnu. Prijelaz je ublažen postavljanjem ograde na galeriji koja je tim prijelazom nastala, te vitkim fijalama postavljenim na uglove donjega dijela zvonika, povezanim kontraforama s osmerokutnom jezgrom. Svaka bi strana oktogonalnoga kata u gornjem dijelu bila otvorena biforama i završena trokutastim zabatima s uleknucima u obliku diska. Na ovaj bi kat bila postavljena osmerokutna (po svoj prilici zidana) kapa zvonika.

Pročelja bočnih brodova Rösner raščlanjuje masivnim lukovima koji povezuju lezene, a unutar kojih postavlja vrlo velike neoromaničke trifore raskošnih mrežista (Sl. 6). Zid broda dodatno je učvršćen dvjema kontraforama, koje su završene fijalama i povezane podupiracima s glavnim brodom. Pojava kontrafora na „romaničkoj” crkvi ne treba čuditi, budući da se radi o tipičnom romantičarskom pristupu arhitekturi, u kojoj se uz dominantan redovito pojavljuju elementi drugih stilova. Naravno, njihovo pojavljivanje ne treba promatrati samo iz perspektive nerazumijevanja stila, već i, vjerojatno, potrebom konsolidacije glavnoga broda crkve. Bočno pročelje glavnoga broda Rösner otvara velikim romaničkim biforama (a ne rozetama, kao što će to učiniti na projektu za Đakovo iz 1865. godine,

približivši se tako znatnije rješenju altlerchenfelderske crkve u Beču) i slijepom arkadnom galerijom, koja neprekinuto teče od zabata glavnoga pročelja, preko zvonika, glavnoga broda i transepta sve do svetišta. Transept je riješen vrlo jednostavno, s gotovo posve zatvorenim zidovima koji stoje u velikom kontrastu s neusporedivo otvorenijim i raščlanjenijim zidovima svetišta te glavnog i bočnih brodova. Snažno izbačene lezene – kontrafore, vertikalno uokviruju transept, dodatno horizontalno podijeljen u tri etaže. Najniža, zona sokla otvara se trima biforama; svojom gornjom visinom označava visinu kripke. Srednja je etaža odvojena od gornje vijencem postavljenim u visinu vijenca bočnih brodova. Raščlanjena je vrlo jednostavno – dvjema lezenama i slijepim lukovima pri vrhu. Potpuno je zatvorena, bez ijednog prozora. Treća je etaža otvorena velikom i raskošnom rozetom, dok zabat transepta uokviruju slijepa arkade.

Svetišna je zona veoma elegantno riješena, čak, ako bi se moglo primijetiti, bolje nego što će biti na kasnijem projektu iz 1865. godine (Sl. 11). I glavnu i bočne apside raščlanjuju elegantne slijepa arkade, postavljene u dva niza na glavnoj apsidi. Ispod zone vijenca glavne apside i apsidalnoga zabata postavljena je dodatno slijepa galerija. Oblikovno rješenje apsidalne zone bez ikakve je sumnje derivirano sa svetišta skupine rajnskih romaničkih crkava poput Svetih apostola (Sl. 14) ili Svetoga Gereona u Kölnu.³⁵

³⁵ Zanimljivo je da je restauracija Svetoga Gereona bila upravo u tijeku i da je na njoj svoj budući zanat „pekao” Friedrich von Schmidt (REICHENSPERGER, 1891: 9).



Sl. 7. K. RÖSNER: UZDUŽNI PRESJEK ĐAKOVAČKE KATEDRALE, 1854.

FIG. 7. K. RÖSNER: ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL, LONGITUDINAL SECTION, 1854

tresses and horizontally into two tiers. The lower level was opened by three portals which were, due to the height of the plinth course, approached by a stairway. The central portal was, as it is usually the case, the most monumental one, rather protruding out from the surface of the façade. Rösner framed it with 6 clustered engaged columns on each side which are framed by somewhat unusual pilasters of almost Renaissance style. The arches enclosed a triangle tympanum flanked by pinnacles and articulated with niches – a frequent element in the *Rundbogenstil* and *Spitzbogenstil* architecture. The side portals were to have similar features only simplified. The first floor of the façade was in its central part pierced by an elaborate rose window, a customary and very frequent element in historicist Neo-Romanesque architecture, whereas the lateral parts (tower) of the façade were opened with simple two-light mullioned windows. The section which is as high as the nave had a dwarf gallery running along the top of the gable above the central section of the façade. The second floor of the tower would open through four-light mullioned windows, and was to be topped by a cornice with blind arches set beneath the cornice on both the ground floor and the first floor of the building of the main and side facades. Above this floor, the rectangular basis of the tower would be changed into an octagonal one. The transition was to be eased by placing a railing in front of a dwarf gallery, which would disappear with the transition, and by slender pinnacles positioned at the top angles of the lower tower floor, thus connecting

the octagonal part with the buttresses. Each side of the octagonal floor would be opened with two-light mullioned windows and crowned by triangle gables with recesses in the shape of a disk. This floor would end with an octagonal top of the tower (probably made of stone).

The façades of the side aisles were adorned with massive arcades which Rösner pierced with big neo-Romanesque three-light mullioned windows with intricate tracery (Fig. 6). The walls of the aisles were additionally reinforced with two buttresses topped by pinnacles and connected to the nave with flying buttresses. The appearance of buttresses at a Romanesque church should not be surprising since this was a case of Romanticist approach to architecture where elements of other styles were regularly used alongside with a dominant style. Naturally, their use should not only be observed from the point of view of a style but also function – the need to strengthen the nave of the church. Clerestory was articulated by big Romanesque two-light mullioned windows (and not by rose windows, as it was going to be done in the 1865 design with which Rösner would come considerably close to the design for Altlerchenfelder church in Vienna) and a dwarf gallery which would run continuously from the gable of the main façade, through the towers, nave and transept to the chancel. The transept was designed in a simple manner, having almost completely unadorned walls which were in that way strongly contrasted to incomparably more articulated walls of the chancel, nave and aisles. Forcibly protruding



Sl. 8. K. Rösner: POPREČNI PRESJEK ĐAKOVAČKE KATEDRALE; POGLED PREMA KORU, 1854.

FIG. 8 K. RÖSNER: ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL, TRANSVERSE SECTION; VIEW TOWARDS THE CHOIR, 1854



Sl. 9. K. Rösner: POPREČNI PRESJEK ĐAKOVAČKE KATEDRALE; POGLED PREMA SVETISTU, 1854.

FIG. 9 K. RÖSNER: ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL, TRANSVERSE SECTION; VIEW TOWARDS THE SANCTUARY, 1854

Glavna se apsida trebala otvarati samo s dva, bočno postavljena prozora, zasigurno radi osiguravanja površina za oslikavanje u unutrašnjosti crkve, kojih je na Rösnerovu projektu iz 1854. godine bilo neusporedivo manje nego što će ih biti u kasnijem iz 1865. godine. Naime, iz presjeka (Sl. 7) je očito kako za glavni brod nisu bile predviđene monumentalnije freske, nego eventualno samo likovi pojedinih svetaca, budući da je površina iznad arkada, u visini krova pobočnih brodova, raščlanjena slijepom galerijom poput one na pročeljima crkve, iznad koje arhitekt postavlja velike bifore. Površine za oslikavanje bilo je samo na zidovima transepta i svetišta, pa vjerojatno upravo stoga Rösner glavna pročelja transepta ne otvara ni s jednim prozorom, nego samo rozetom. Arhitektonska plastika u unutrašnjosti crkve – baze i kapiteli službi te stupovi slijepih arkada (Sl. 8) – trebala je biti vrlo jednostavna (ukoliko nije bilo predviđeno izradivanje posebnih detaljnih nacрта za te dijelove opreme), a to je bilo u snažnom kontrastu s bogatim profilacijama mrežišta prozora, rozetama, oltarima, orguljama, te ogradama kora i svetišta (Sl. 9).

Osim triju portala na glavnom pročelju crkve, prema prvom Rösnerovu projektu katedrala je trebala imati još dva ulaza: jedan, već spomenuti, koji bi vodio kroz koridor iz biskupskoga dvora, i dodatni, bočni ulaz sa strane grada, uza sakristiju. Za taj je ulaz arhitekt predvidio vrlo elegantno rješenje: do portala, postavljenoga, zbog kripte dosta iznad razine tla, vodilo bi dvokrako stubište poput onoga

na kapeli u bečkom Arsenalu, koju će ubrzo početi graditi. Portal bi bio upisan u velik slijepi luk poput ostalih koji raščlanjuju bočnu fasadu crkve, a iznad njega trebala se nalaziti raskošna rozeta.

Mnoge elemente raščlambe s Rösnerova projekta za đakovačku katedralu susrećemo i na drugim njegovim djelima. Karakterističan osmerokutni završetak tornjeva osobito je čest u stvaralaštvu toga arhitekta. Najranije ga nalazimo na realiziranom projektu za crkvu svetoga Ivana Nepomuka u Leopoldstadtu u Beču (1841.), a potom na nerealiziranom natječajnom radu za Votivnu crkvu (1854.), te na poslijetku na regoticiziranoj župnoj crkvi u bečkom predgrađu Hietzingu (1861.; Sl. 10). Dok je oktogonali dio zvonika crkve u Leopoldstadtu izrazito bogato raščlanjen, kasnija su rješenja – npr. na projektu za Đakovo iz 1854. godine i za restauraciju župne crkve u Hietzingu – neusporedivo jednostavnija, suša i međusobno vrlo slična. Dapače, može se reći kako je nerealizirani projekt za vrh đakovačkih zvonika Rösner ponovio upravo na hietzinskoj crkvi, prilagodivši se pritom, naravno, stilu crkve koju je i restaurirao – gotičkom. U oba slučaja prijelaz iz kvadratičnoga donjeg dijela u oktogonali gornji riješen je vrlo suhim, neproporcionalno visokim fjalama s jednostavnim (u Hietzingu nešto bogatijim) profilacijama. Donji dio oktogonalnoga kata posve je zatvoren u oba primjera, dok se gornji otvara visokim prozorima (romančkim biforama u Đakovu, odnosno jednostavnim šiljastim gotičkim prozorima u Meidlingu). Prijelaz

shallow buttresses vertically enclosed the transept which was, additionally, divided into three tiers. The lowest tier, the plinth course level, was articulated with three two-light mullioned windows, its height marking the height of the crypt. The middle tier is divided from the upper one with a cornice set at the height of the aisle cornice. It was articulated in a simple way – with two shallow buttresses and blind arches at the top. It did not have a single window. The third, uppermost tier was pierced by a big, elaborate rose window, whereas the transept gable was framed by blind arcades.

The chancel exterior was designed in a very elegant manner, even though it was noticeably done better than in the subsequent design of 1865 (Fig. 11). Both the main and side apses were articulated with elegant blind arcing set up in two rows on the main apse, which was additionally adorned with a dwarf gallery below the cornice and gable of the main apse. The structural design of the chancel unquestionably derived from the chancels of a group of Romanesque churches on the Rhein, as the church of St. Apostles (Fig. 14) or St. Gereon in Cologne.³⁵

The main apse was supposed to be opened only with two lateral windows. The reason for that must surely have been a wish to ensure the inner surface for wall paintings, which was incomparably smaller in Rösner's design of 1854 than in that of 1865. The longitudinal section (Fig. 7) shows that the nave was not envisaged to have elaborate frescoes but possibly only images of individual saints since the surface above the arcade, at the height of the aisle roof, was articulated with a dwarf gallery, similar to the galleries on the church exterior, above which Rösner placed big two-light mullioned windows. Wall surface that could contain paintings could be found only in the transept and chancel which must have made possible by opening the transept and chancel walls only with a rose window. Architectural sculpture of the church interior – bases and capitals of responds and dwarf galleries supports (Fig. 8) – was to be very simple (unless detailed designs for those elements were envisaged), and that was in marked contrast to rich mouldings of tracery, rose windows, altars, organs, choir screen and chancel railing (Fig. 9).

Except for the three portals of the main façade, the first Rösner's design shows another two gateways: the one already mentioned, would provide entrance to the church through the corridor leading from the

bishop's palace and the other would be built on the lateral side of the church, along the sacristy and approachable from the city. The latter was to be of sophisticated design: it would be rather elevated from the ground level because of the crypt and approachable by a two-flight stairway, as the one at the Vienna Arsenal complex leading to the chapel which Rösner was soon going to start building. A big blind arch encloses the portal surmounted by an elaborately decorated rose window.

Many features from Rösner's designs for Đakovo Cathedral can be found in his designs for other buildings as well. The octagonal tower top is a characteristic and very frequent element in Rösner's works. The earliest we find it is in the executed design for the church of St. John Nepomuk in Vienna (1841), then on the aborted construction plans with which he participated in a competition for the Votive church (1854), and finally on the regothicized parish church in Hietzing, a suburb in Vienna (1861; Fig. 10). Whereas the octagonal section of the church tower in Leopoldstadt was exceptionally richly articulated, later designs – such as the one for Đakovo of 1854 and for the restoration of the church in Hietzing – incomparably more simple, and similar to each other. What is more, it seems that Rösner repeated the aborted design for the top of the Đakovo towers on the Hietzing church; naturally, adapting it to the style of the church he was restoring it in – Gothic. In both cases the transition from the square plan of the towers' lower section into the octagonal higher section was carried out by slender, scarcely decorated and disproportionately tall pinnacles. Those on the Hietzing tower were somewhat more richly decorated. The lower part of the octagonal tier was completely unarticulated in both examples whereas the upper part opened with tall windows (in Đakovo the windows were with two lights). The transition to the tower top was done with rather dry, unelaborated gables. The second very characteristic motif in Rösner's works was a type of the tympanum in the shape of the so called buckwheat seed which appeared on the majority of his portals in the 1840s and 1850s. The same can be said for simple shallow buttresses which ended with plain pinnacles and windows with intricate tracery.

How to stylistically define the first Rösner's project for Đakovo Cathedral of 1854? The question might seem banal since it is clear by even taking a glance that the style reserved for the cathedral is Romanesque. However, it does not refer to the dilemma over which historical style Rösner turned to while designing the cathedral but about which phase of Historicism it belonged – early (Romantic) or mature Historicism? The answer cannot be



SL. 10. K. RÖSNER: PROČELJE RESTAURIRANE ŽUPNE CRKVE U HIETZINGU, BEČ, 1859.-1861.(?)

FIG. 10 K. RÖSNER: FRONT ELEVATION OF THE RESTORED CHURCH IN HIETZING, VIENNA, 1859-1861 (?)

³⁵ It is interesting that restoration works on St Geron were underway and that Friedrich von Schmidt "learnt his future trade" there (REICHENSPIERGER, 1891: 9).

na kapu zvonika rješava suhim trokutastim zabatima. Drugi, vrlo karakterističan motiv koji nalazimo drugdje u Rösnerovu stvaralaštvu jest nadvratnik oblika tzv. heljdina zrna, koji se pojavljuje na većini njegovih portala četrdesetih i pedesetih, a isto se može reći i za jednostavne lezene završene suhim fijalama, te prozore raskošnih mrežišta.

Kako stilski okarakterizirati prvi Rösnerov projekt za Đakovo iz 1854. godine? Pitanje možda zvuči banalno, budući da i letimičan pogled jasno pokazuje kako je stil odabran za katedralu romanika, ali ono se ne odnosi na dilemu na koji se stil iz prošlosti pri izradi projekta osvrće Rösner, već kojoj stilskoj fazi historicizma taj projekt pripada – ranom (romantičnom) ili zreloom (visokom) historicizmu? Odgovor ne može biti jednoznačan jer s jedne strane, na projektu susrećemo niz elemenata vrlo karakterističnih za romantični historicizam, točnije rečeno – za jedan od njegovih segmenata: *Rundbogenstil*, stil obloga luka (poput karakterističnih portala, suhих lezena s fijalama, raskošnih mrežišta prozora i bogatih ornamentalnih rješenja rozetâ, koji stoje u snažnom kontrastu s jednostavnom, dapače pomalo suhom obradom preostalih dijelova pročelja itd.). S druge pak strane, ono što taj projekt bitno udaljava od romantizma i približava visokom historicizmu dobrim je dijelom ostvareno jedinstvo stila. U usporedbi s altlerchenfelderskom crkvom (Sl. 12), najvažnijom sakralnom građevinom koja se tada podizala u Beču, prvi projekt za đakovačku katedralu pokazuje neusporedivo veću stilsku čistoću – elemente drugih stilova (poput renesansnog ili gotičkog) susrećemo, ali samo u tragovima. Najviše je pritom gotičkih „umetaka” – fijale, slijepe trifore na lezenama, jednostavne, gotovo neprimjetne kontrafore. Renesansa se primjećuje samo u elementima raščlambe glavnoga portala u obliku dekoracije na pilastrima. Đakovački projekt stoji dakle točno na prijelazu između ranog i zrelog historicizma, pa je kao takav važna točka u povijesti ne samo Rösnerova stvaralaštva već i cijele srednjoeuropske arhitekture. Zanimljivo je da u isto vrijeme, dapače – čak i godinu dana ranije, Rösner pri izradi projekta za crkvu u Karlinu primjenjuje stilsko rješenje koje je još bliže visokom historicizmu (u smislu čistoće stila) negoli je to slučaj s projektom za Đakovo. Moguće je kako je pritom važnu ulogu odigrao njegov suradnik Ignaz Ulmann, koji je na projektu za Karlin izvršio stanovite izmjene (Sl. 13),³⁶ ili su veća sredstva kojima je raspolagao knez Schwarzenberg omogućila Rösneru da posegne za mnogobolj kvalitetnijim rješenjima.

Teško je reći da li je već u izradi projekta za Đakovo 1854. godine pri izboru stila ključnu ulogu odigrala teorija biskupa Strossmayera

o romanici kao stilu zapadne crkve, najbližem bizantskoj umjetnosti³⁷ (to će pri odabiru stila za kasniji projekt, po kojem će se 1866. godine početi graditi katedrala, biti najvažniji kriterij), ili se on za romaniku doista odlučio samo na osnovi odusevljenja njemačkim katedralama koje je vidio na putovanju 1853. godine. Bez obzira na neposredan povod, zasigurno je na biskupa Strossmayera utjecala općenita situacija u sakralnoj arhitekturi srednje Europe, kojom je sredinom 19. stoljeća apsolutno dominirao *Rundbogenstil*, kojeg je važna komponenta bila i romanika.³⁸ Kako je na području Monarhije jedan od glavnih pobornika toga stila i općenitog okretanja srednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi kao izvoru inspiracije bio upravo Karl Rösner, Strossmayerov izbor arhitekta bio je više nego logičan, to prije što je drugi ključni arhitekt bečkoga ranog historicizma, Švicarac podrijetlom, Johann Georg Müller, inače autor projekta za altlerchenfeldersku crkvu, preminuo vrlo mlad – 1849. godine, nedugo nakon što se ova građevina počela izvoditi.³⁹ Nesumnjivo je da je upravo ta crkva bila biskupu Strossmayeru jedan od najvažnijih uzora i poticaja za gradnju đakovačke katedrale. Riječ je o najznačajnijem djelu romantizma u sakralnoj arhitekturi Beča uopće, ne samo što se arhitekture tiče već i unutrašnjega uređenja (freske od Kupelwiesera i Führicha, cjelokupna unutrašnja oprema projektirana u duhu stila crkve i srednjega vijeka).⁴⁰

Onodobni novinski izvori redovito navode altlerchenfeldersku crkvu kao glavni uzor Rösnerovu projektu iz 1854. godine za Đakovo.⁴¹

36 REDL, 1997.-1998: 102

37 Zbog toga što oba stila upotrebljavaju polukružni luk (STROSSMAYER, 1974: 209; prema SMICIKLAS, 1906: 209).

38 „Prije te pobjede (pobjede gotike u sakralnoj arhitekturi druge polovice 19. stoljeca, op. a.) smjelo se je na učilistih samo o romanskom stilu govoriti jer su si profesori utjesili klasicističnu savjest tim, da je romanski stil neka protorenesansa, pa zaoto neprotuslovi nauči o jedinjoj i izključivoj vrijednosti klasičnih oblikah. U to vrijeme vlade romanskog stila pada Hübschova restauracija stolne crkve u Speyeru, gradnja Neulerchenfeldske crkve u Beču, u to vrijeme padaju i prvi koraci što ih je biskup Strossmayer učinio za gradnju svoje crkve na koju se je on pripravljao vrlo savjestno, proučavajuć razna djela o umjetnosti.” (** KRSNJAVI, 1881: 5)

39 WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 108

40 WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 107-110

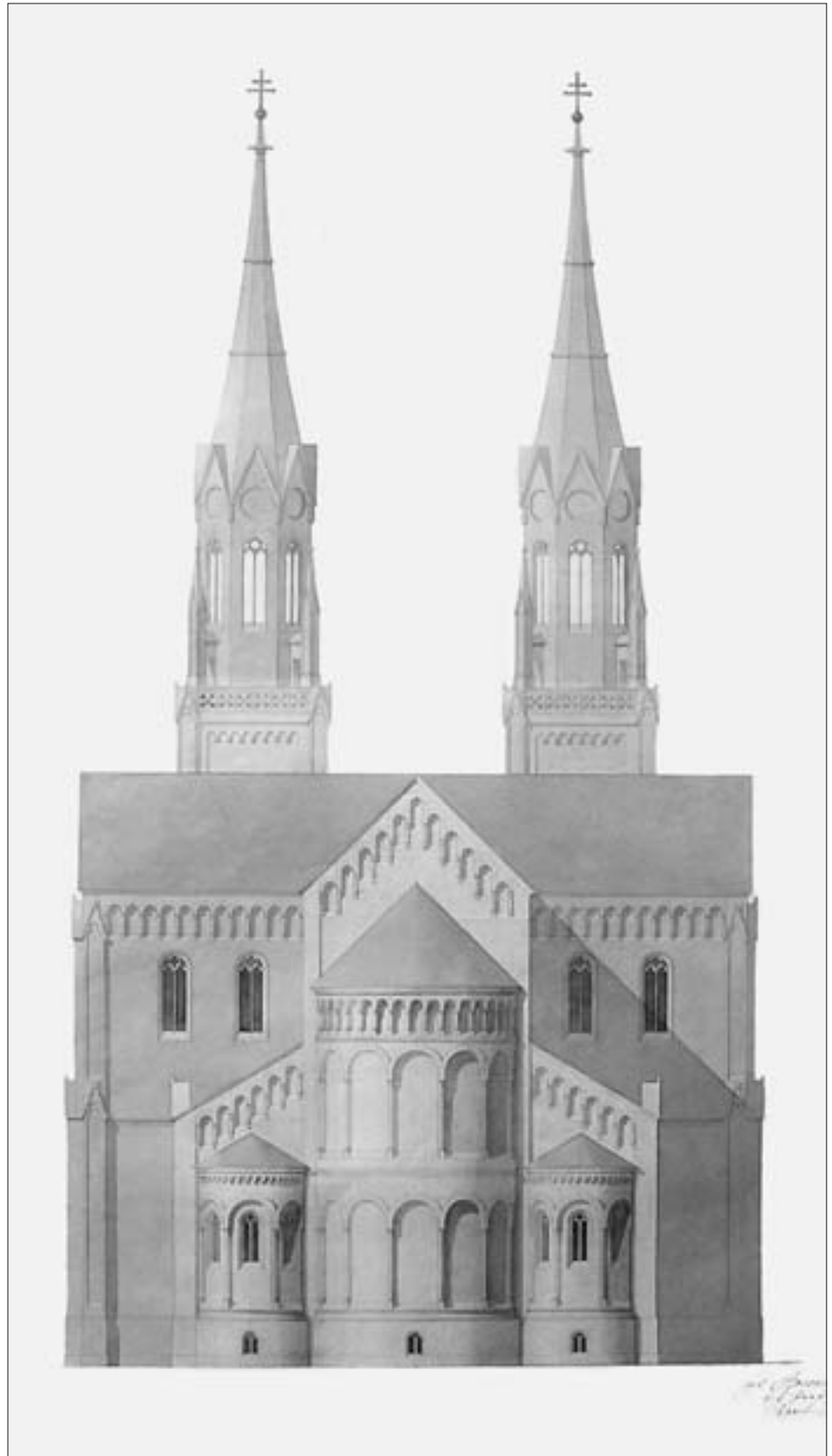
41 Govoreći o Strossmayerovoj darovnici za izgradnju katedrale „Agramer Zeitung” tako istice: „Dieser Dom wird im Basilikastyle, in Form eines römischen Kreuzes, mit drei Schiffen nach Art der Lerchenfelder Pfarrkirche in Wien erbaut. Der hochw. Hr. Bischof hat bereits auf seine Kosten durch Hrn. Professor Rösner in Wien den Plan anfertigen und in Djakovar Vorbereitungen für den Bau treffen lassen.” (** 1856.a: 1); isto govori i „Katolički list”: „Ovaj dom Božji gradit će se u slogu basilike, u slici rimskoga kriza, sa tri razdêla, nalik na novu crkvu zaup lecherfeldske u Beču i navêšćivat će dostojnim naćinom slavu trojedinog Boga i katolické istine! Osnovu iste sgrade dao je na svoj trošak presvêtli darovatelj naćiniti po akademickom professoru Rösneru u Beču i za nabavljenje gradiva već se priprave ćine.” (** 1856.b: 197)

SL. 11. K. RÖSNER: PROJEKT ZA STRAŽNJE PROČELJE ĐAKOVAČKE KATEDRALE, 1854.

FIG. 11 K. RÖSNER: DESIGN FOR ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL, BACK ELEVATION, 1854

but ambiguous, since, on the one hand the design shows a number of elements which were very characteristic to Romantic Historicism, or to put it more precisely, to one of its segments: *Rundbogenstil*, the round arch style. It comprised features such as specific type of portals, unadorned shallow buttresses with pinnacles, intricate window tracery and richly ornamented rose windows contrasted to simple, somewhat austere appearance of other parts of the façade. On the other hand, what distanced this design from Romanticism and brought it closer to mature Historicism was mainly the accomplished unity of style. In comparison with the Altlerchenfelder church, (Fig. 12) the most important sacral building in Vienna that was under construction, the first design for Đakovo Cathedral shows incomparably more stylistic purity – elements of other styles (like Renaissance and Gothic) were present only in traces. The most numerous elements are Gothic „fillers” – pinnacles, false three-light mullioned windows, simple, almost unnoticeable buttresses. The Renaissance style was evident only in the articulation of the main portal, that is, decoration of pilasters. The design for Đakovo Cathedral thus represented a transition from the early to mature Historicist style, which made it an important occurrence not only in the history of Rösner's architectural work but in the history of entire Central European architecture. Interestingly enough, at the same time, or even a year earlier, while creating designs for the Karlin church, Rösner used stylistic features that were more reminiscent of mature Historicism (in the sense of stylistic purity) than in the Đakovo designs. His associate Ignaz Ulmann may have had an important role in that since he made certain alterations,³⁶ in the Karlin designs (Fig. 13). Another possibility is that more substantial funding coming from Prince Schwarzenberg enabled Rösner to make the designs more elaborate.

It is difficult to say whether Bishop Strossmayer's theory on Romanesque as the style of the Western Church that was closest to Byzantine art³⁷ played any part in the creation of the designs for Đakovo Cathedral (Strossmayer's theory would be the most important criterion in selecting a style for the later designs according to which the cathedral was to be built) or he chose Romanesque based on his admiration for German cathedrals which



³⁶ REDL, 1997-1998: 102

³⁷ Because semicircular arch is evident in both styles (STROSSMAYER, 1974: 209; cited in SMIČIKLAS, 1906: 209).



SL. 12. JOHANN GEORG MÜLLER (PRERADIO EDUARD VAN DER NÜLL): PROJEKT ZA PROČELJE ALTLERCHENFELDSKE CRKVE ZU DEN SIEBEN ZUFLUCHTEN U BEČU, 1852.

FIG. 12 JOHANN GEORG MÜLLER (REDESIGNED BY EDUARD VAN DER NÜLL): DESIGN FOR THE FRONT ELEVATION OF THE CHURCH ZU DEN SIEBEN ZUFLUCHTEN IN VIENNA, 1852

lako se nesumnjivo mogu uočiti pojedine poveznice između dviju građevina poput oblika mrežišta prozora (koja kod Rösnera susrećemo još u prvoj polovici 1840-ih godina, pa je pitanje tko je na koga utjecao) ili rozeta, uspoređivanje elemenata raščlambе pokazuje da je ta bečka crkva više utjecala na Rösnerov drugi (iz 1865.) nego li na prvi (iz 1854.) projekt za Đakovo. Dapače, jasno je uočljivo kako altlerchenfelderska crkva u svojoj prostornoj koncepciji uvelike nasljeđuje Rösnerova djela iz četrdesetih (crkve u Leopoldstadtu i Meidlingu). Rösnerova verzija neoromanike, kakvu možemo vidjeti u Đakovu ili Karlinu, derivirana je mnogo više iz njemačke sakralne arhitekture četrdesetih godina. Ponajprije prepoznavamo utjecaje badenskog arhitekta Heinricha Hübscha (Sl. 15), zatim berlinskih Schinkelovih nasljednika (ponajprije Augusta Stülera). Ukoliko usporedimo projekt za crkve u Karlinu (1851.-1852.) i Đakovu (1853.-1854.) s Hübschevom evanđeljskom crkvom u Freiburgu, možemo uočiti brojne sličnosti – kako u prostornoj koncepciji ovih sakralnih objekata, tako i u elementima raščlambе.⁴² Ono što ih, međutim, najviše povezuje, a Rösnera izdvaja iz konteksta tadašnje bečke arhitekture, jest nesumnjiva veća čistota stila.

IZLAGANJE PROJEKATA NA GODIŠNJOJ IZLOŽBI AKADEMIJE LIKOVNIH UMJETNOSTI U BEČU 1858. GODINE

Prvi Rösnerov projekt za đakovačku katedralu izložen je, po svojoj prilici, na godišnjoj izložbi bečke Akademije likovnih umjetnosti (*Akademie der bildenden Künste*) 1858. godine. Izvori koji govore o izložbi nigdje, naime, izriječno ne spominju da je riječ o đakovačkoj crkvi, no naslov izloženoga nacrtu ne ostavlja nam nimalo sumnje o kojoj se građevini radi: „Grundriss und vordere Ansicht einer für die Ausführung bestimmten bischöflichen Kathedrale im romanischen Baustyle“⁴³ („Tlocrt i nacrt glavne fasade jedne, za izvođenje određene, biskupske katedrale u romanickom stilu“). Kako u to doba, osim crkve u Karlinu, Rösner ne izvodi niti projektira ni jednu veću sakralnu građevinu, a kamoli katedralu, nedvojbeno se radi o projektu za Đakovo. Osim toga, crkva u Karlinu nije katedralna, već župna, tako da je isključena mogućnost da je to projekt za nju, a uz to, 1858. godine bila je već dosta uznapredovala u gradnji, dok se u naslovu izloženoga projekta jasno ističe da je namijenjen za izvođenje – dakle da radovi na izgradnji još nisu bili započeli, kao što je bio slučaj s katedralom u Đakovu.

Teško je reći zašto je Rösner čekao četiri godine na izlaganje ovih projekata. Možda ih je za potrebe izložbe htio doraditi. Kao druga i vjerojatnija mogućnost, može se pretpostaviti

kako je izlaganjem projekata i eventualnim povoljnim kritikama koje je očekivao nastojao potaknuti biskupa Strossmayera na njihovo izvođenje. Akademijine su izložbe u Beču, naime, kao i u drugim gradovima i državama svijeta, predstavljale najbolje iz produkcije njezinih članova i općenito najbolje (prema mišljenju ondašnjih kritičara) što je na polju umjetnosti nastajalo u prijestolnici Monarhije. Rösner je doduše tada radio kao profesor na Akademiji, tako da mu zasigurno nije bilo teško „plasirati“ projekte za Đakovo na izložbu 1858. godine. Njegovi se projekti, naime, redovito pojavljuju na Akademijinih izložbama; tako je 1859. godine izložio razne arhitektonske crteže i projekt za glavni oltar crkve u Karlinu,⁴⁴ a 1864. godine tlocrt, presjek i dva perspektivna pogleda te praške crkve.⁴⁵ Naravno, spomenuta činjenica ne umanjuje značenje pojavljivanja đakovačkih projekata na izložbi u Beču, budući da je onodobna arhitektonska kritika u Beču bila vrlo stroga, a produkcija velika i kvalitetna, pa Rösner ni u kojem slučaju nije mogao izlagati loša djela jer bi takav postupak primijetio i oštro osudio ondašnji tisak. Koliko se zasad može ustanoviti, izložba bečke Akademije 1858. godine prva je u nizu brojnih izlaganja projekata za đakovačku katedralu.⁴⁶ Bečka se publika tako imala priliku upoznati, i to vrlo rano, sa Strossmayerovim namjerama o izgradnji monumentalne crkve u Đakovu.

SUDBINA PROJEKTA

Kako je poznato, prvi Rösnerov projekt iz 1854. godine ostao je samo na papiru. Radove je najprije kočio nedostatak sredstava.⁴⁷ Naime, iako je ovaj projekt predviđao podizanje daleko skromnije građevine negoli što će crkva na posljetku biti (cjelokupni bi radovi na katedrali stajali po procjenama Rösnera 185 000 forinta,⁴⁸ dok je izgradnja današnje građevine koštala 1 200 000 forinta),⁴⁹ te iako su postojale zaklade ranijih biskupa za njezinu gradnju, kao i zaklade za pojedinačne oltare – novca još uvijek nije bilo dovoljno. Stoga

⁴² WALTHER, 2004: 735

⁴³ U skromnom katalogu ove izložbe naveden je u popisu samo citirani navod što je sve Rösner izložio. (***) 1858: 320-321; WURZBACH, 1874: 249)

⁴⁴ *** 1859: 19

⁴⁵ *** 1864: 54-57

⁴⁶ Naravno, na kasnijim ce izložbama biti izloženi noviji projekti – kako za arhitektonska rješenja đakovačke katedrale, tako i za pojedine dijelove njezina unutrašnjeg uređenja. Osim projekata, izloženi su i pojedini predmeti iz njezina unutrašnjeg uređenja: orgulje i slično.

⁴⁷ „O uskrsu 1854. bio je plan gotov, no Strossmayer, uvidevši da nema dovoljno para za onakvu građevinu kakvu je on sebi zamišljao, morao je odgoditi početak gradnje. Sem toga pozeleo je i da vidi još neke čuvene crkve u Italiji.“ (ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 67)

⁴⁸ CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904: 328

⁴⁹ CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904: 389

he had seen on his travels in 1853. Regardless of the immediate choice of the style, bishop Strossmayer was most certainly influenced by general tendencies in sacral architecture of Central Europe, dominated in mid-19th century by *Rundbogenstil* which had Romanesque features as its components.³⁸ Since the Monarchy had Karl Rösner as one of the main advocates of the style and, in general, medieval architecture as the key source of inspiration, Strossmayer's preference for this architect was more than logical. Moreover, the second crucial architect of the Viennese early Historicism, Swiss born Johann Georg Müller, who designed the Altlerchenfelder church, died very young, in 1849, soon after its construction began.³⁹ Müller's church presents the most significant example of the Romanticist style in overall Viennese sacral architecture, not only in terms of structure but interior furnishing as well (Kupelwieser's and Führich's wall paintings, the furniture designed in the spirit of the entire church and the Middle Ages).⁴⁰ It unquestionably exerted strong influence on Strossmayer and encouraged him to start building Đakovo Cathedral.

Newspapers of the time regularly mentioned the Altlerchenfelder church as the main inspiration for Rösner's 1854 designs for the cathedral in Đakovo.⁴¹ Even certain links between the two buildings are clearly noticeable, such as the shape of the window tracery (which can be seen in Rösner's work as late as

the first half of the 1840s so the question that presents itself is who influenced who) or rose windows, comparison of the articulation showed that the Viennese church influenced Rösner's second (1865) and not the first (1854) design for Đakovo Cathedral. It is even more clearly noticeable that Altlerchenfelder church in its spatial concept greatly inherited Rösner's works from the 1840s (the churches in Leopoldstadt and Meidling). Rösner's variant of Neo-Romanesque style, such as we can see in Đakovo or Karlin, is derived more from the German sacral architecture of the 1840s. We primarily recognize influences from Baden based architect Heinrich Hübsch (Fig. 15) and Schinkel's successors in Berlin (most of all August Stüler). If we compare the churches in Karlin (1851-1852) and Đakovo (1853-1854) with Hübsch's Evangelical church in Freiburg, we can notice a number of common features – both in spatial arrangement and in articulation.⁴² However, the strongest corresponding feature of the churches which dissociated Rösner from the context of the Viennese architecture of the time is certainly the purity of style.

EXHIBITING THE DESIGNS AT THE 1858 ANNUAL EXHIBITION AT THE VIENNA ACADEMY OF ART

The first Rösner's project for Đakovo Cathedral was most probably shown at the exhibition at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (*Akademie der bildenden Künste*) in 1858. Sources that referred to the exhibition did not explicitly mention the church in Đakovo. However, the title of the exhibited work does not leave room for doubt that the building was the cathedral: *Grundriss und vordere Ansicht einer für die Ausführung bestimmten bischöflichen Kathedrale im romanischen Baustyle*⁴³ (Ground plan and entrance elevation of a bishop's cathedral chosen for construction in the Romanesque style). Since at the time Rösner was engaged only on the church in Karlin and did not work on any other big project, especially not a cathedral, the design in question was surely for Đakovo Cathedral. Besides, the Karlin church is not a cathedral but parish church, thus it has to be excluded as the project the title referred to. Additionally, in 1858, the construction of the Karlin church was rather progressed whereas the title of the exhibited project straightforwardly stated that it was intended for construction – therefore, the works on the construction had not yet begun.

Why Rösner waited for four years to exhibit the designs is difficult to determine. He may have wanted to perfect them for the purpose of the exhibition. Another, more plausible possibility is that he expected positive criti-



SL. 13. K. RÖSNER, I. ULMANN: GLAVNO PROCELJE CRKVE U KARLINU, PRAG, 1851.-1863.

FIG. 13 K. RÖSNER, I. ULMANN: THE CHURCH IN KARLIN, PRAGUE, FRONT ELEVATION 1851-1863

³⁸ "Before the dominance of Gothic (dominance of Gothic in sacral architecture in the second half of the 19th century, author's note), one was to speak only about the Romanesque style at university for the professors eased their Classicistic conscience by considering the Romanesque style as certain Proto-Renaissance which, defined as such, does not contradict the one and only value of Classical forms. The period of Romanesque dominance witnesses Hübsch's restoration of Speyer Cathedral, construction of the Neulerchenfeld church in Vienna, as well as the first steps Strossmayer took in order to built his own church for which he was preparing and knowingly studying literature on art." (***) KRŠNJAVI, 1881: 5)

³⁹ WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 108

⁴⁰ WAGNER-RIEGER, 1971: 107-110

⁴¹ Discussing Strossmayer's endowment for the erection of the cathedral "Agramer Zeitung" points out: "Dieser Dom wird im Basilikastyle, in Form eines römischen Kreuzes, mit drei Schiffen nach Art der Lerchenfelder Pfarrkirche in Wien erbaut. Der hochw. Hr. Bischof hat bereits auf seine Kosten durch Hrn. Professor Rösner in Wien den Plan anfertigen und in Djakovar Vorbereitungen für den Bau treffen lassen." (***) 1856.a: 1); the same is written in "Katolički list": "This House of Lord will be built as basilica over the Latin cross with three aisles reminiscent of the new parish church of Lerchenfeld in Vienna and it will announce with dignity the glory of Triune God and the Catholic Truth! The foundation of the church was commissioned by the illustrious donor at his own expense from Academy Professor Rösner in Vienna and preparations for acquiring building material are already being made". (***) 1856.b: 197)

⁴² WALTHER, 2004: 735

⁴³ A modest catalogue of the exhibition contains a list of only cited works that Rosner exhibited (***) 1858: 320-321; WURZBACH, 1874: 249).



SL. 14. ROMANIČKA CRKVA SVETIH APOSTOLA U KÖLNU, 11.-12. ST.

FIG. 14 ROMANESQUE CHURCH OF HOLY APOSTLES IN COLOGNE, 11TH-12TH C.

SL. 15. H. HÜBSCH: EVANGELIČKA CRKVA ST. LUDWIG, U FREIBURGU, NJEMACKA

FIG. 15 H. HÜBSCH: EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF ST LUDWIG, FREIBURG, GERMANY



biskup Strossmayer 1856. godine ustanovljuje zakladu za gradnju nove katedrale, dodijelivši u tu svrhu za ono doba golemu svotu od 50 000 forinta.⁵⁰ U tome je trenutku nesumnjivo još uvijek namjeravao izvesti građevinu prema Rösnerovim nacrtima iz 1854. godine, na što upućuje korespondencija s tim arhitektom,⁵¹ kako i natpisi u tisku,⁵² no situacija se ubrzo promijenila. Upoznavanjem povijesti arhitekture – što putem literature, što na svojim brojnim putovanjima po Italiji i srednjoj Europi – Strossmayer je u drugoj polovici pedesetih i početkom šezdesetih oblikovao do kraja svoje specifično i za romantizam vrlo karakteristično stajalište prema arhitekturi i umjetnosti uopće. U isto se vrijeme oblikovalo i njegovo glavno političko gledište – jugoslavizam, te do kraja formirala politika crkvenog ujedinjenja pravoslavlja s katolicizmom, koje je vidio kao ključan element u postizanju nacionalnog oslobođenja naroda na slavenskom jugu. U skladu s novim znanjima i donekle modificiranim političkim stajalištima, promijenila se i vizija nove prvostolnice, koja više nije trebala govoriti, kako je još početkom šezdesetih godina pisao, toliko o veličanstvenosti katolicanstva među brojnim šizmaticima,⁵³ koliko svojom arhitekturom odražavati ulogu Đakovačke biskupije kao mosta Istoka i Zapada, kombiniranjem elemenata

romaničke i bizantske umjetnosti.⁵⁴ U doba kada se još nisu do kraja iskristalizirale oblikovne karakteristike ni zapadnjačkih srednjovjekovnih stilova, istraživanje bizantske arhitekture bilo je tek na početku, pa su predodžbe što je zapravo umjetnost istočnoga kršćanstva bile vrlo maglovite. Ono što se od samih početaka znalo, svakako je činjenica da je ključan element bizantskoga graditeljstva kupola, pa ju je na zapadnjačko tijelo svoje katedralne crkve Strossmayer sada odlučno nastojao postaviti.⁵⁵ Rösnerov projekt iz 1854. godine, kako se moglo vidjeti, nije sadržavao kupolu, te je to zasigurno jedan od glavnih razloga zašto je Strossmayer počeo odustajati od njega. Mnogo upućeniji u povijest arhitekture, sve je kritičnije promatrao i cjelokupne stilske odlike toga projekta, pa ga 1863. godine (zajedno sa starijim, još uvijek

⁵⁰ Tom je prilikom Strossmayer utemeljio niz zaklada: za bosansko sjemenište, za samostan Sestara milosrdnica itd.

⁵¹ PAUKER, 1915: 476-477; Strossmayerovo pismo Rösneru od 15.1.1857.

⁵² *** 1856.b: 197; *** 1856.a: 1

⁵³ PAUKER, 1915: 478

⁵⁴ STROSSMAYER, 1974: 208-209 (prema SMICIKLAS, 1906: 208-209)

⁵⁵ STROSSMAYER, 1974: 209 (prema SMICIKLAS, 1906: 209); ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 68

cism after the exhibition which would encourage Bishop Strossmayer to accept the designs. Academy's exhibitions in Vienna, as well as in other cities and countries, represented the best of its members' works and, generally speaking, the best of the artistic production in the Monarchy's capital (according to the critics of the time). Admittedly, at the time, Rösner held a professor's position at the Academy, so it must have been quite easy to „launch” his Đakovo designs at the exhibition. His projects, as a matter of fact, regularly appeared at the Academy's exhibitions. In 1859, he exhibited various architectural drawings and the high altar design for the church in Karlin,⁴⁴ and in 1864 ground plan, cross-section and two axonometric views of the same church.⁴⁵ Naturally, the aforementioned fact does not diminish the importance of the Đakovo designs at the exhibition in Vienna. Architectural criticism in Vienna was harsh, the production big and the competition professional and strong so Rösner could not allow himself to exhibit poor works. Otherwise, he would be exposed to severe criticism by the press. As far as it can be ascertained, the 1858 exhibition in Vienna was the first among numerous venues where the Đakovo designs were going to be shown.⁴⁶ Viennese audience could there become familiar with Strossmayer's intentions in building a monumental church in Đakovo.

DESTINY OF THE PROJECT

As far as it is known, the first Rösner's design of 1854 was abandoned. Construction works were halted due to a lack of funds.⁴⁷ Even though this design was far more modest

than the one according to which the church was to be built (Rösner estimated the entire work on the cathedral to cost 185 000 forint⁴⁸ whereas the construction work on the present-day cathedral amounted to 1 200 000 forint⁴⁹) and although trusts of former bishops for its construction, as well as the trusts for individual altars existed, funds were still insufficient to meet the costs of the construction. For that reason, in 1856, Bishop Strossmayer founded a trust for the construction of a new cathedral, allocating for it 50 000 forint⁵⁰ which was at the time a large sum of money. At that moment, he certainly still intended to build it according to Rösner's designs of 1854 which is referred to in the correspondence with the architect,⁵¹ as well as the newspaper titles.⁵² However, the situation changed shortly after. By getting familiar with the history of architecture through literature and travels in Italy and Central Europe, Strossmayer formed in the second half of the 1850s and in the beginning of the 1860s his peculiar and, for Romanticism, very specific viewpoint on architecture and art in general. Simultaneously, his main political view – *Yugoslavism* (the union of South Slavs) also formed, as well as the policy of the unity of Orthodox and Catholic religion which he saw as the crucial element in achieving national liberation of the peoples in the Slavic South. In accordance with the newly gained knowledge and somewhat modified political standpoint, the vision of the new cathedral was also altered. It should speak not so much about glorious Catholicism surrounded by numerous advocates of the schism,⁵³ as he written in the early 1860s, but about the ways it could sustain the role of the diocese of Đakovo as the bridge between East and West through its structure, in other words, through the combination of Romanesque and Byzantine art.⁵⁴ At the time when the knowledge about western medieval styles was expanding, the exploration of Byzantine architecture was in its beginning. Perceptions of what the art of Eastern Christianity actually was were thus very vague. What was known all along was certainly the fact that the key element of Byzantine architecture was a dome which Strossmayer resolutely wanted to place on the „western body” of his cathedral.⁵⁵ Rösner's 1854 design did not have a dome which must have been one of the principal reasons Strossmayer dismissed it. Conversant with the history of architecture, his growing criticism in observing the design and its stylistic features led to his decision in 1863 to send the design (together with a still unknown design made by Aleksandar Brdarić) to Rome, to the papal Academy to be reviewed.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, since the names of architects whose designs the Academy received were nowhere mentioned, it is still unclear whose work was

44 *** 1859: 19

45 *** 1864: 54-57

46 Naturally, Rösner will at the exhibition show his more recent designs for Đakovo Cathedral – its architecture as well as furnishings. Apart from the construction plans Rösner exhibited individual items of the church furniture: organs and the like.

47 „Upon Easter 1854, the plan was finished. However, having seen that the funds were insufficient to erect the building he envisioned, Strossmayer was forced to postpone the construction. Apart from that, he also wanted to see some other famous churches in Italy” (ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 67)

48 CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904: 328

49 CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904: 389

50 On that occasion Strossmayer founded several trust funds: for a Bosnian seminary, for the monastery of the Sisters of Mercy and other.

51 PAUKER, 1915: 476-477; Strossmayer's letter to Rösner dated 15.1.1857.

52 *** 1856b: 197; *** 1856a: 1

53 PAUKER, 1915: 478

54 STROSSMAYER, 1974: 208-209 (cited in SMIČIKLAS, 1906: 208-209)

55 STROSSMAYER, 1974: 209 (cited in SMIČIKLAS, 1906: 209); ŠIŠIĆ, 1935: 68

56 ABD, CGO, Memorandum of the Academy of St Luke's to the Đakovo diocese dated 6.2.1863.

nepoznatim projektom Aleksandra Brdarica šalje u Rim, na papinsku Akademiju, na rasuđivanje.⁵⁶ Na žalost, budući da ne navode autore projekata koje su dobili na prosudbu, nije jasno čiji je rad ta institucija ocijenila kao bolji, no sačuvano je mišljenje češkog arhitekta Barviziusa, koji je kao kvalitetniji projekt ocijenio Brdarićev.⁵⁷ Ova je procjena zacijelo navela Strossmayera da konačno odustane od Rösnerovih osnova iz 1854. godine. Za izradu novih, međutim, odlučuje se ponovno obratiti istomu arhitektu, koji u prosincu 1865. godine završava svoje druge projekte za Đakovo, po kojima će započeti (ali ne i završiti) izvođenje današnje katedrale.⁵⁸

ZAKLJUČAK

Rösnerovi projekti za đakovačku katedralu iz 1854. godine, iako nerealizirani, jedan su od ključnih pokazatelja promjena u shvaćanju sakralne arhitekture u Beču sredinom 19. stoljeća. U doba kada je izgradnja prve monumentalne crkve toga stoljeća u ovome gradu tek počinjala (Altlerchenfeldske), a druge (Votivne) pripremala, na rubovima Carstva pripremalo se podizanje građevine s kojom se malo koja onodobna sakralna novogradnja Monarhije po veličini i opremi mogla usporediti. Rösner svojim prvotnim rješenjem đakovačke katedrale napušta meternihovsko shvaćanje sakralne građevine kao inženjerskog objekta. On je projektira kao reprezentativnu gradnju u svojoj svojoj cjelovitosti, od arhitek-

ture do ostaloga unutrašnjeg uređenja. Osim toga, svojim oblikovnim odlikama radi se o građevini koja je jedan od prvih primjera prijelaza iz ranoga u visoki historicizam u Monarhiji, te, koliko se zasad može reći, o prvom primjeru pojave historicizma uopće (doduše, na razini projekta) u jednoj sakralnoj novogradnji u tadašnjoj Hrvatskoj.

Karl Rösner, iako već relativno star arhitekt s formiranim pogledom na arhitekturu, pokazuje u stilskom rješenju đakovačke katedrale kako još uvijek neposredno reagira na najnovija zbivanja u arhitekturi, na radove mlade generacije arhitekata koja je počela stasati u Beču ili se doselila u Beč (Hansen, Förster, Müller). Dapače, ideje visokoga historicizma o čistoci i jedinstvu stila, koje se tada počinju kristalizirati, on dalje razvija na sebi svojstven način – ne kopirajući slijepo građevine koje su mu služile kao polazište u izradi ovoga projekta (Altlerchenfeldsku crkvu, te građevine Heinricha Hübscha). Izbor romanike kao stila za katedralu, doduše, u tom je trenutku pokazatelj stanovite konzervativnosti umjetničkog stajališta, budući da se gotika počela smatrati „modernim” stilskim izrazom. Bez obzira na to da li je izbor stila bio uvjetovan Strossmayerovim ili Rösnerovim željama, samo rješenje pokazuje, u odnosu na poznate dotadašnje realizacije toga arhitekta u Beču, vrlo visoku oblikovnu kvalitetu (osobito u rješenju svetišta) i upravo nevjerojatnu transformaciju stilskega izražaja.

⁵⁶ ABD, CGO, Dopis Akademije sv. Luke Đakovačkoj biskupiji od 6.2.1863.

⁵⁷ ŠIŠIĆ, 1931: 517

⁵⁸ Iako Cepelić (CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904.: 329) tvrdi da je pri izradi drugoga projekta za Đakovo Rösner prepravio prvi i površni uvid u ova dva rada, jasno govori kako je projekt iz 1865. godine i u detaljima i u općim karakteristikama posve nov rad.

judged better. However, there is one opinion known and it belonged to Czech architect Barvizijs who judged Brdaric's design to be better.⁵⁷ This opinion must have led Strossmayer into finally giving up on the Rösner's 1854 plans. For the creation of new plans, Strossmayer turned to the same architect who, in December 1865 finished his second set of designs according to which the construction of the present-day cathedral in Đakovo would begin (however, not end).⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

Rösner's first designs for Đakovo Cathedral dating from 1854, although abandoned, are one of the major indicators of the change in the approach to sacral architecture in Vienna in the middle of the 19th century. At the time when the first monumental church of the century in this town began to be built (Altlerchenfeld church) and the second one was in preparation stages (the Votive church), the border area of the Monarchy saw a construction of a building which could be compared in scale and furnishing to few new sacral buildings in the Monarchy at the time. In his first designs for Đakovo Cathedral Rösner abandoned the approach to a sacral building as a civil engineering construction, an approach favoured by Metternich. He designed it monumental and grandiose in its entirety, from structure to interior furnishing. Beside that, the form and structure of the building made it

one of the first examples of the transition from the early to mature Historicist style in the Monarchy, as well as the first example of the Historicist style (indeed, only at the design stage) on a new sacral building in Croatia in general.

Although considerably experienced and mature as architect, having determined views on architecture, Karl Rösner showed in the style of his designs for Đakovo Cathedral he was still responsive to the latest developments in architecture, to works of the younger generation of architects gaining education in Vienna or having moved to the city to work (Hansen, Förster, Müller). Furthermore, he continued to develop in his own distinctive way ideas of mature Historicism that were then taking more definite shape. He did not blindly copy the elements of the buildings he used as a starting point in creating Đakovo Cathedral (Altlerchenfeld church, Heinrich Hübsch's buildings). Choosing the Romanesque style for the cathedral might seem at the moment rather conservative from the artistic point of view, since Gothic began to be considered a „modern” style. Regardless whether the choice of the style was conditioned by Strossmayer's or Rösner's wishes, the design itself shows a high quality of architectural thinking (especially in the treatment of the chancel) and incredible transformation of style when compared to buildings by the same architect which had been up to then built in Vienna.

⁵⁷ ŠIŠIĆ, 1931: 517

⁵⁸ Although Cepelić (CEPELIĆ; PAVIĆ, 1900.-1904.: 329) states that Rösner modified the first design and presented it as a second one, even a superficial insight into these two works clearly shows that the 1865 design is in its details and general characteristics entirely new.

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IZVORI

SOURCES

ARHIVSKI IZVORI

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- ABD – Arhiv Biskupije đakovačke, spisi Crkveno-gradevnog odbora (CGO)/Archives of the Đakovo Diocese, documents of the Committee for Religious Matters in Civil Engineering
- NLA – Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, St. Pölten, Ostavština Leopolda Kupelwiesera/Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, St. Pölten, Leopold Kupelwieser's Bequest
- ASK – Archiv des Stifts Klosterneuburg, Rösners Nachlaß, Briefe (Archiv samostana u Klosterneuburgu; Rösnerova ostavština, Pisma; Korespondencija Karla Rösnera s Ambrosom Rösnerom i biskupom Strossmayerom)/Archiv des Stifts Klosterneuburg, Rösners Nachlaß, Briefe (Klosterneuburg monastery archives; Rösner's bequest, Letters; Karl Rösner's correspondence with Ambrose Rösner and Bishop Strossmayer)

IZVORI ILUSTRACIJA

ILLUSTRATION SOURCES

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| SL. 1./FIG 1 | ABD |
| SL. 2./FIG 2 | ASK |
| SL. 3./FIG 3 | ABD |
| SL. 4./FIG 4 | RÖSNER, 1853: Sl. 2. |
| SL. 5./FIG 5 | LEHNER, 1887: 27 |
| SL. 6./FIG 6 | ABD |
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| SL. 8./FIG 8 | ABD |
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| SL. 10./FIG 10 | Foto: Damjanović, 2005. |
| SL. 11./FIG 11 | ABD |
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| SL. 13./FIG 13 | LEHNER, 1887: 26 |
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SAŽETAK

SUMMARY

PRVI PROJEKT KARLA RÖSNERA ZA KATEDRALU U ĐAKOVU IZ 1854. GODINE KARL RÖSNER'S FIRST DESIGN FOR ĐAKOVO CATHEDRAL FROM 1854

Đakovačka katedrala nesumnjivo je najvažnija sakralna novogradnja hrvatskoga historizma. Gradila se petnaestak godina, od 1866. do 1882., no samo je podizanju prethodilo gotovo stogodišnje nastojanje da se skromna barokna crkva zamijeni novom građevinom koja bi dostojno predstavljala katedralu. Karl Rösner, bečki arhitekt, po čijem ce projektu djelomično biti izveden arhitektonski dio đakovačke katedrale, još je 1854. godine izradio prvi, dosad gotovo nepoznat, projekt za ovu građevinu. Radeci kao jedan od trojice nadstojnika u bečke Augustinskom samostanu 1847.-1849. godine, tadašnji đakovački biskup Strossmayer upozna se s bečkim krugom nazarenskih umjetnika, Leopoldom Kupelwieserom i Josefom Führichom, kojemu je pripadao i Karl Rösner. Poznanstvo je vjerojatno sklopljeno uz pomoć Rösnerova brata Ambrosa, jednoga od predstojnika samostana u Klosterneuburgu kod Beča, koji je pripadao istome Augustinskom redu, kao i samostan u kojemu je tada boravio Strossmayer. U nazarenskom krugu Strossmayer oblikuje svoje stajalište prema umjetnosti i arhitekturi, koje ce zadržati cijeli život. Prilikom putovanja po srednjoj Europi 1853. godine on se odu-

sevljava njemačkim srednjovjekovnim katedralama u Kölnu, Bambergu, Speyeru i ostalim gradovima, osobito romančkim. Ovo ga je iskustvo navelo, kao i uvid u Rösnerove projekte za crkvu sv. Ćirila i Metoda u Karlinu (Karolinenthal), predgrađu Praga, koji su upravo u to vrijeme bili izloženi, da odabere upravo romaniku kao stil svoje buduće katedrale i spomenutog arhitekta kao njezina projektanta. Karl Rösner bio je tada jedan od najznačajnijih arhitekata u Monarhiji, specijaliziranih za sakralno graditeljstvo. U Rimu, gdje je boravio na stipendiji od 1830. do 1833. godine, prihvatio je romantičarske nazore ondašnjega kruga nazarenaca oko Friedricha Overbecka, pa se među prvima u Beču, i cijeloj tadašnjoj Monarhiji, okreće prema srednjovjekovnim stilovima pri podizanju novih crkava. To dokazuju bečke crkve sv. Ivana Nepomuka u Leopoldstadtu (1841.-1846.) i Meidlingu (1842.-1845.). Strossmayer naručuje projekt za svoju katedralu sredinom ljeta 1853. za svoga boravka u Beču, a Rösner ih već do travnja 1854. završava i šalje u Đakovo, gdje se i danas čuvaju u arhivu Biskupije. Rösner projektira dvotoranjsku trobrodnu troapsidalnu baziliku s transeptom, tlocrta latinskoga

kriza s kriptom ispod svetišnoga dijela građevine i transepta. Uzore za projekt, kao i ostali onodobni arhitekti, Rösner traži dijelom neposredno u srednjovjekovnoj bastini (glavna apsida tako snažno asocira na apsida crkve svetih apostola u Kölnu), ali i u suvremenim gradnjama, kao što su Hübscheva djela u južnoj Njemačkoj, ili pak unutar kruga Schinkelovih nasljednika u Berlinu. Iako je Rösnerov projekt u brojnim detaljima karakterističan primjer romantičarske arhitekture, istodobno na njemu uočavamo neuobičajenu stilsku čistoću, što jasno govori o sve većem približavanju visokoga historizma u arhitekturi.

Rösner je 1858. godine na redovitoj godišnjoj izložbi bečke Akademije likovnih umjetnosti kod svete Ane izložio svoje projekte za Đakovo, zelevći vjerojatno da povoljnim kritikama u bečkom tisku potakne Strossmayera na njezinu realizaciju. No ipak to nije uspio, budući da se biskup u međuvremenu upoznao i s talijanskom srednjovjekovnom bastinom, te sa stručnom literaturom o povijesti arhitekture, pa su se i njegove želje o budućem izgledu đakovačke katedrale promijenile.

Đakovo Cathedral is, beyond question, the most important sacral new building of the Croatian Historicist style. It was under construction for fifteen years (1866-1882). However, the actual construction was preceded by almost hundred years of effort to replace an old Baroque church with a new building which would take on a worthy role of a cathedral. Viennese architect Karl Rösner, whose later construction plans for Đakovo Cathedral would be partially carried out, created the first design for the same church as late as 1854, which has been, up to now, almost completely unknown.

As one of the three rectors of the Vienna Augustinian monastery from 1847 to 1849, Strossmayer, Bishop of Đakovo at the time, became acquainted with the Nazarene painters in Vienna gathered around Leopold Kupelwieser and Josef Führich, whose member was also Karl Rösner. Strossmayer and Rösner most likely met through Rösner's brother Ambrose, one of the rectors of the Augustinian monastery in Klosterneuburg in the vicinity of Vienna.

Among the Nazarene painters Strossmayer adopted an attitude to art and architecture which he was going to retain for the rest of his life. On his travels around Central Europe in 1853, he became enthusi-

astic about German medieval cathedrals in Cologne, Bamberg, Speyer and in other, especially Romanesque cities. That experience, as well as an insight into Rösner's designs for the church of St. Cyril and Methodius in Karlin, (Karolinenthal), a Prague suburb, which were at the time exhibited, made him choose the Romanesque style for his future cathedral and the mentioned architect as its designer. Karl Rösner was then one of the most notable architects in the Monarchy who had specialized in designing sacral building.

In the period between 1830 and 1833, during a scholarship programme in Rome, he took Romanticist views of the Nazarene circle gathered around Friedrich Overbeck. Having brought those views with him back to Vienna, he would become the first architect to turn to medieval styles as inspiration for his churches (as shown in the churches of St. John Nepomuk in Leopoldstadt (1841-1846) and Meidling (1842-1845)).

Strossmayer commissioned a design for the cathedral during his stay in Vienna, by midsummer 1853, and Rösner finished it already by April 1854 and sent it to Đakovo where it is still kept at the Diocese archives. Rösner designed a two-tower, three-

apsidal church with transept over the Latin cross ground plan, containing a crypt beneath the chancel and transept. As well as other architects at the time, Rösner searched for a model in medieval heritage (the main apse strongly resembles the apse of the church of St. Apostles in Cologne) and in contemporary buildings such as Hübsch's works in South Germany or among the buildings created by Schinkel's successors in Berlin. Although Rösner's designs in a number of details made a characteristic example of Romanticist architecture, they simultaneously showed an unusual occurrence of the purity of style which clearly points to the approach of mature Historicism in architecture.

In 1858, at the annual exhibition at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, Rösner exhibited his design for Đakovo Cathedral, most likely expecting positive reviews in order to entice Strossmayer to start with construction. However, Rösner did not succeed in doing that since the Bishop in the meantime became acquainted with the Italian medieval heritage and literature on architecture history, which changed his wishes regarding the appearance of the future cathedral in Đakovo.

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