

# Dragan Damjanović

Faculty of Humanities  
and Social Sciences,  
University of Zagreb,  
Department of Art History

Filozofski fakultet  
Sveučilišta u Zagrebu,  
Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti

Ivana Lučića 3  
Zagreb, Croatia

ddamjano@ffzg.unizg.hr  
orcid.org/0000-0003-2589-8075



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# Renate Wagner-Rieger and the History of Croatian Historicist Architecture

## Renate Wagner-Rieger i povijest istraživanja hrvatske historicističke arhitekture

### ABSTRAKT

The work of Renate Wagner-Rieger was crucial in reviving interest in 19th-century architecture and in its inclusion in Croatia's national history of art. The use of stylistic terms, periodization of 19th-century architecture, particularly historicism, and Renate Wagner-Rieger's method of organizing the text within monographs on the history of architecture of cities or areas according to building types have had a remarkable influence on how similar topics are treated in Croatian art history.

### KEYWORDS

historicism, 19th-century architecture, Renate Wagner-Rieger, art history in Croatia, history of art history

### APSTRAKT

Rad Renate Wagner-Rieger pozitivno se odrazio na oživljavanje interesa za arhitekturu 19. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj kao i za njezino uključivanje u hrvatsku nacionalnu povijest umjetnosti. Korištenje stilskih termina, periodizacija arhitekture 19. stoljeća, posebice historicizma, te način na koji je Renate Wagner-Rieger organizirala tekst unutar monografija o povijesti arhitekture gradova ili područja prema tipovima građevina, značajno su utjecali na to kako su se slične teme obrađivale u hrvatskoj povijesti umjetnosti.

### KLJUČNE RIJEČI

historicism, arhitektura 19. stoljeća, Renate Wagner-Rieger, povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj, povijest povijesti umjetnosti

## Introduction

Although none of the Croatian art historians whose focus of research interest was/is 19th-century art studied at the University of Vienna at the time when Renate Wagner-Rieger worked as a professor there, through monographs published within the "Die Wiener Ringstrasse. Bild einer Epoche", in the first place through the book *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert*, and to some extent through other books and articles she wrote independently or in co-authorship, this art historian has had a strong influence on Croatian art history in last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The aim of this article is to show, on the one hand, the development of interest in the history of the architecture of historicism in Croatia, and on the other, to show which authors Renate Wagner-Rieger had the most influence on and in what way. The paper is structured according to the chronological principle. It begins with an analysis of the approach to historicism in Croatia in the first half and middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, then it talks about the spread of interest in that style, and finally, it analyses the influence of Renate Wagner-Rieger on the approach to historicism in Croatia.

## Beginnings of the Research of Historicism in Croatian Architecture

With the spread of modernism in architecture, in the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and especially after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the creation of the common state of the South Slavs, the architecture of historicism began to be severely criticized by Croatian art historians, architectural historians, architects and other authors. This is mostly the result of the criticism of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century restoration projects initiated by art historian Gjuro Szabo, under the influence of Viennese art historians (primarily Max Dvořák). The architecture of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was considered by Szabo to be "impotent" because it failed to create anything of its own, and because by restoring the monuments with the aim of achieving unity and purity of style, architects of the period destroyed numerous historical buildings.<sup>1</sup>

The evaluations of Vladimir Lunaček, an advocate of modernism in Croatian architecture,<sup>2</sup> as well as numerous other authors, especially in the period after 1918, were similar and equally fierce. So, architect Edo Schön in his monograph on Viktor Kovačić from 1927, the period in Zagreb architecture between the 1870s and 1890s called "the era of the eclipse".<sup>3</sup> Art historian Anđela Lina Horvat pointed out in her 1944 book

on the history of conservation of monuments in Croatia, in accordance to Gjuro Szabo, that historicizing in architecture showed creative impotence.<sup>4</sup>

Similar were the conclusions of Ljubo Babić in his monograph *Art by Croats in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*, which left a particularly deep mark in Croatian history of art. Published in 1934, it represented the first overview of the period. Babić recognized certain values in the architecture of the 1860s and 1870s (as Szabo did too), but he pointed out that "the sense of harmony" began to vanish already in the 1870s when it began "rapidly going downhill" and buildings became "more and more plastered with unnecessary décor", façades became more and more, and the internal space less and less important. The fiercest criticism was addressed to Herman Bollé, the most important Zagreb-based late 19<sup>th</sup> century architect that restored numerous older and built equally numerous new buildings. Babić pointed out that what the earthquake that hit Zagreb in November 1880 failed to destroy, "Bollé succeeded in demolishing" by restoring them.<sup>5</sup> Babić was also not inclined to Bollé's new buildings in Zagreb, the Mirogoj cemetery and the building of the Craft School and the Museum of Arts and Crafts, which, according to him, showed the architect's "perverted taste".<sup>6</sup> He recognized Bollé's merits only in the field of education of artisans.<sup>7</sup> Babić had almost same opinion of the rest of the architects who worked in Zagreb and the rest of Croatia at the time. He pointed out their tendency to shape even ordinary houses like palaces, cluttering them with "unnecessary decoration", and the impracticality and expensiveness of their projects. Therefore, he considered the entire period between classicism and the advent of modernism "barren".<sup>8</sup>

For the same reasons, he was also not inclined towards the architect who usually stood out as a champion of modernism in Croatian architecture, Viktor Kovačić, whom he accused of being "conservative to the core", "a typical eclectic".<sup>9</sup> Babić's monograph will remain the main literature and source of information for Croatian art historians for a long time, which is one of the reasons a negative attitude towards the architecture of historicism existed very long.

The situation began to change gradually during the 1950s and early 1960s, especially in relation to the first stages of historicism (the architecture of the 1840s and 1850s, which Renate Wagner-Rieger called romantic).<sup>10</sup> Draginja Jurman Karaman's and Zdenka Munk's research on the Trakošćan castle, the best example of the conversion of a 13<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>-century burg into a neo-Gothic complex in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Croatian architecture,<sup>11</sup> and Anđela Horvat's article on the

sculptures that were placed in the sanctuary of the Zagreb Cathedral in the late 1840s represented an important contribution to this area of research.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, during the 1950s, Professor Tihomil Stahuljak began lecturing on the topic of Zagreb historicism at the only place where art history could be studied in Croatia at the time, at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb.<sup>13</sup> This is also the time when the use of the term historicism for the style in the architecture of the second half of the 19th century became established in Croatian art history, which can undoubtedly be attributed to the extensive entry in the second part of the *Encyclopedia of Fine Arts* from 1962 by Draginja Jurman Karaman and Anđela Horvat.<sup>14</sup>

In those years, Lelja Dobronić played a key role in revalorizing historicism with her texts about the 19th- and early 20th-century architecture of Zagreb. In the mid-1950s, Dobronić first published articles on the urban development of Zagreb and the evolution of Zagreb's central Ilica street in the second half of the 19th century.<sup>15</sup> Through the research of works in wrought iron, which were her doctoral dissertation, Dobronić simultaneously began to research the work of the Craft School from the 1880s to the First World War, a key institution in the history of historicism in Croatia, and then moved on to other topics from the history of Zagreb architecture. The ground-breaking text was *Zagreb builder Janko Jambrišak*, published by the Museum of the City of Zagreb in 1959, which represents the first modern monograph on a 19th-century Croatian builder.<sup>16</sup> This will be followed by publications *Outskirts of Zagreb in the 19th century* (1960),<sup>17</sup> *Forgotten Zagreb Builders* (1962),<sup>18</sup> *Relations between Vienna and Zagreb in 19th-century architecture* (1962),<sup>19</sup> *Zagreb architects Höhnigsberg and Deutsch* (1965)<sup>20</sup> and others. Dobronić based her texts mostly on the research of archive materials of the Zagreb City Council, so they contain abundance of information regarding oeuvres and lives of Zagreb architects. These works were published before most important monographs on 19th-century architecture of Renate Wagner-Rieger, so, understandably, there are no references to her works. However, there was an attempt to contextualize the events in the Croatian history of architecture with the events in the Austrian history of architecture through works of other Austrian researchers, like Norbert Wibiral's dissertation on Heinrich Ferstel (1952),<sup>21</sup> and the monograph of Karl Ginhart *Wiener Kunstgeschichte* (1948).<sup>22</sup>

Dobronić's books will be followed at the end of the 1960s by the first extensive monographs on the

important representatives of historicism in the architecture of Zagreb: Ivo Maroević's *Grahor Builder Family*<sup>23</sup> and Đurđica Cvitanović's *Architect Kuno Waidmann*,<sup>24</sup> which clearly show that historicism gradually was beginning to be an accepted topic in the history of art in Croatia.<sup>25</sup>

### **Tracing the First Influences of the Works of Renate Wagner-Rieger in the Works on Croatian 19th-Century Architecture in 1970s**

Almost at the time when the first comprehensive monographs on 19th-century architects were being published in Zagreb, in 1970, the key monograph by Renate Wagner-Rieger *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* was printed. The openness of Yugoslavia towards the Western world, and the free fluctuation of researchers and literature made it possible that, not long after it was produced, already in the early 1970s, it began to influence art historians all over this country, also in Croatia.

Probably the first reference to the key work of Wagner-Rieger in all of Yugoslavia appears in the article by the Slovenian author Peter Povh about the architecture of Celje in the 19th century, published in *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* in Ljubljana in 1972.<sup>26</sup> Very quickly, direct or indirect references can be found in the works by Croatian art historians Đurđica Cvitanović and Žarko Domljan as well, and soon after by other authors. The turning point for the further affirmation of historicism as a research problem in the history of art in Croatia, and thus the works of Renate Wagner-Rieger, was undoubtedly the exhibition and the conference organized in (and by) the Museum of the City of Zagreb in December 1976 in honour of the mentioned architect Herman Bollé. Papers from that gathering will be published two years later in a special edition of the journal *Život umjetnosti* no. 26-27. The texts in it laid the foundations for further dealing not only with Bollé but also with historicism in Croatia in general. One author, Đurđica Cvitanović, writing about most important historicist buildings in Zagreb, referred to R. Wagner-Rieger's monograph in relation to the chronological determination of historicism as a style, and the comparison of the Eskomptna bank building in Zagreb with the Thonet department store in Vienna, built according to the designs of the architects Fellner and Helmer.<sup>27</sup>

In the same year (1976), when the conference on Bollé was held, Ivo Maroević, the aforementioned author of the monograph on the Grahor family of builders, gave a presentation at the congress of Yugoslav art historians in Ohrid about the 19th-century city in the

north of Croatia. The following year he published the text "About historicism in Zagreb" in which he brought the first synthetic insight into the history of architecture of this period in the Croatian capital. In the article Maroević tried to defend historicism as a style, that is, he tried to show that it is not a worthless fake style that only imitates earlier eras. The article does not contain references to the works of Wagner-Rieger, but it is possible that the periodization of historicism architecture proposed by this author influenced Maroević to a certain extent. Namely, Maroević divided the stages of historicist architecture into the period of early historicism and high historicism. He does not mention late historicism, and he defines romanticism as a stylistic term differently from R. Wagner-Rieger, so the question of immediate influences remains open.<sup>28</sup> Later, Maroević will completely take over the periodization of historicism proposed by Wagner-Rieger, however not directly from this author, but through Olga Maruševski's works.<sup>29</sup>

Maroević's article from 1977 was the first text devoted entirely to historicism published in the then most important journal in the field of art history in Croatia, *Peristil*. Until then, historicism was only indirectly mentioned in this magazine in articles dedicated to older buildings or urban areas, renovated or rebuilt in the 19th century. The following year, in 1978, a new text by the same author in *Peristil* about the 19th-century city in northern Croatia (representing the publication of the mentioned conference presentation from 1976) followed,<sup>30</sup> and then in the following years, texts by various other authors on various parts of the heritage of historicism.

Maroević's article from 1978, does not contain a reference to the writings of Wagner-Rieger either – his basic starting point were the works of Lewis Mumford and Camilo Sitte. However, it was the time when other Croatian art historians, like Žarko Domljan in his monograph on Hugo Ehrlich, the Zagreb architect from the beginning of the 20th century, referred to Wagner-Rieger's monograph (albeit only in the literature list).<sup>31</sup>

It was also the time when Renate Wagner-Rieger personally came to Yugoslavia to give a presentation at the conference "Viennese Secession and the Secession in Yugoslavia" ("Die Wiener Secession und die Secession in Jugoslawien") which was organized in Ljubljana between April 10 and 11, 1978 by the National Gallery in Ljubljana and the Austrian Cultural Institute in Zagreb (Österreichische Kulturinstitut in Zagreb). Although the gathering was dedicated to Art Nouveau, her presentation, titled "The Relations of Art Nouveau

to Late Historicism" ("Das Verhältnis des Jugendstils zum späten Historismus"), sought to point out the value of historicist architecture and its unfair neglect in relation to Art Nouveau. As the text of the presentation was translated into Slovenian and published in the magazine *Naši razgledi* in the same year (1978), authors from all over Yugoslavia, including those who did not have access to a monograph on the Viennese architecture of the 19th century, either because they did not have the opportunity to obtain it or because they did not know the German language, had the chance now to learn about the work of this author and her approach to the history of architecture.<sup>32</sup>

Coincidentally, in the same year that Wagner-Rieger was in Yugoslavia (and when an issue of *Život umjetnosti* dedicated to Bollé was published), the second congress of the Association of Societies of Art Historians of Yugoslavia was held, which had as its theme precisely the art of the 19th century. It is obvious that at the end of the 1970s, negativity toward the architecture of historicism largely disappeared and that the themes from that period began to be important research subject in the art history of entire Yugoslavia.<sup>33</sup>

### Historicism as Established Research Topic in 1980s and 1990s

Interest in late 19th- and early 20th-century architecture in Croatia (albeit more for Art Nouveau than historicism) further expanded during the 1980s, thanks to the generally awakened interest in that period throughout Europe and the world. Especially important were the influences of newly published books: Carl Emil Schorske's book on Vienna at the end of the 19th century,<sup>34</sup> Marco Pozzetto's work on the Wagner school,<sup>35</sup> and Ákos Moravánszky's monograph on the architecture of Austria-Hungary,<sup>36</sup> as well as large exhibitions such as *Traum und Wirklichkeit* (Wiener Künstlerhaus, 1985) or *Das Zeitalter Franz Josephs* (Schloss Grafenegg, 1984 and 1987) that were visited by numerous researchers from Croatia, despite the great economic difficulties faced by Yugoslavia at the time, money inflation and very low incomes.

The impact of changed political circumstances was also very important. During the 1970s and 1980s, centralism in Yugoslavia declined, and the state became confederalized to a certain extent, which enabled individual federal units, including Croatia, the channelling of funds through the Secretariat of Culture (that is, the Ministry of Culture of the Socialist Republic of Croatia) for projects, conferences, books of proceedings and monographs that emphasized national peculiarities. In case of Croatia, it meant emphasizing belonging to

the Central European cultural circle so to stress the special position of this republic within Yugoslavia with the aspiration of a large part of Croatian political elite and population for even greater cultural and political emancipation in relation to Belgrade.

The Central European context of the architectural production of the 19th century began to be highlighted in other parts of Yugoslavia at that time as well, as shown by the first comprehensive monographs on the architecture of historicism and Art Nouveau in Bosnia and Herzegovina by Ibrahim Kržović, *Architecture of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1878 – 1918*<sup>37</sup> and on the church architecture of the Serbs in the 19th century by Miodrag Jovanović, *Serbian Church Architecture and Painting of the Newer Period*.<sup>38</sup>

The "discovery" of the common Central European cultural past (which is simultaneously happening throughout the areas that belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy outside of Yugoslavia as well) went hand in hand with the emergence of postmodernism in Croatian (and Yugoslav and European in general) architecture, a style that showed a renewed interest in the forms of the past, including in the 19th century, which undoubtedly contributed to a new appreciation to historicism.

On the territory of Croatia, the author who undoubtedly played a key role in the further affirmation of historicism and who cited Renate Wagner-Rieger the most was Olga Maruševski. With her excellent knowledge of the German language and thanks to the fact that she owned all the main editions in the field of the history of architecture and culture of the 19th century published in Austria and Germany, including numerous works by Wagner-Rieger (which was more of an exception in Yugoslavia at that time rather than a rule) Maruševski was able to contextualize the Croatian history of 19th century architecture with the architecture of the wider Central European area. At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, Maruševski began publishing a series of articles and monographs dedicated to various episodes of Croatian art history of the 19th century, and especially to the first Croatian art historian, Iso Kršnjavi. Educated in Vienna in the 1870s, after moving to Zagreb at the end of the same decade, Kršnjavi introduced new tendencies in architecture and fine arts in general. It is therefore not surprising that Maruševski on a large number of occasions, in order to contextualize Kršnjavi's work, reached out to various texts by Wagner-Rieger, especially the monograph on Viennese 19th-century architecture. In the book *Iso Kršnjavi as initiator of building projects*, published in 1986, Maruševski provided the first

overview of the history of historicism in continental Croatia. She referred to the works of numerous Austrian and German art historians and to three texts by Wagner-Rieger. The largest number of references is of course related to the book *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (at least 36). She also cited the articles "Stilwandel der städtebaulichen Komposition im Bereiche der Wiener Ringstrasse" published in the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege in Vienna* in 1968<sup>39</sup> and "Vom Klassizismus bis zur Secession"<sup>40</sup> published as part of a series of books on the history of the architecture of Vienna.<sup>41</sup>

Maruševski will also refer to the monograph *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* in his numerous later texts, about the Zagreb Cathedral,<sup>42</sup> the most important park of 19th-century Croatia, Maksimir in Zagreb,<sup>43</sup> the School Forum in Zagreb,<sup>44</sup> the key architect of early historicism in Zagreb, Franz Klein,<sup>45</sup> the Greek Catholic bishop's residence in Križevci<sup>46</sup> and other texts. Maruševski consistently applied the periodization of historicism introduced by Wagner-Rieger, and at the same time, under the general influence of Austrian and German art history, she strove to promote the term historicism (for the architecture of the second half of the 19th century) in her works, which eventually did not find a home in the Croatian history of architecture. In the 1980s, shortly after Olga Maruševski, Snješka Knežević, today certainly the most important Croatian art historian dealing with 19th-century art, began her fruitful research career. In one of her first texts dedicated to the urban development of Zagreb, which will remain the central focus of her research interest, entitled "Founding culture – on the example of representative urban spaces of Zagreb", published in *Peristil* no. 31–32 from 1988–1989, Knežević referred to the entire edition of *Wiener Ringstrasse – Bild einer Epoche* and emphasized the editorial role played by Renate Wagner-Rieger. "Precisely the architecture (and urbanism) of the founding period [Gründerzeit] is finally historically and aesthetically fully represented and valued by the monumental work dedicated to the culture of the Ringstrasse in Vienna, certainly the greatest, most comprehensive achievement of that period."<sup>47</sup> This issue of *Peristil* was actually the book of proceedings of the fifth Conference of the Alliance of Art Historical Societies of Yugoslavia that was held in Zagreb in June 1986 and was titled "One Hundred Years of Modernity". The conference and the number was therefore dedicated to recent phenomena in art, which is another clear indicator of the affirmation of themes dedicated to the arts of the 19th century throughout Yugoslavia in the period.

After the aforementioned text in *Peristil*, Snješka Knežević will continue to publish a whole series of articles and books on the urban and cultural history of Zagreb and Croatia in the 19th and 20th centuries. Her doctoral dissertation and the book based on it, *Zagrebačka zelena potkova* from 1996, dedicated to the urban planning of the central area of Zagreb's Lower Town formed in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, contain a direct reference to the monograph on 19th-century Vienna architecture by Wagner-Rieger.<sup>48</sup>

The influence of this monograph was also felt at that time by other authors in Croatia, such as historian of Zagreb architecture Zlatko Jurić,<sup>49</sup> and considering the method of periodization of 19th-century architecture, it probably (perhaps indirectly, through other Croatian authors) influenced Radovan Ivančević as well.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, in the 1980s a key monograph on Croatian historicism, *The Builders and Construction of Zagreb in the Age of Historical Styles*, by Lelja Dobronić (1983), was published, which, however, represents the collected works of the author published in the previous decades, so it does not contain references to the works of Wagner-Rieger.<sup>51</sup>

In the same decade, an exhibition on the history and heritage of the Craft School in Zagreb was organized by Željka Čorak, Žarko Domljan, Ljiljana Nikolajević and Krešimir Tadić (1980)<sup>52</sup> and a conference and an exhibition on another key architect of Croatian historicism, Ćiril Metod Iveković (in Klanjec in 1987), the first of its kind after the conference and the exhibition on Bollé. Iveković was a student of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, who at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was one of the most active architects in the field of church and public buildings in Dalmatia.<sup>53</sup>

Of course, all of the aforementioned publications and conferences do not mean that a negative attitude towards the architecture of the second half of the 19th century completely disappeared, as the book with probably the largest circulation in the history of Croatian art history shows, the second volume of the textbook for secondary schools (issued from the mid-1960s until 2018 in various versions) of Jadranka Damjanov. Damjanov, a long-time professor at the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb calls the architecture of the second half of the 19th century pseudo-architecture, false architecture, in which there is a discrepancy between function, construction and form.<sup>54</sup> For decades, her textbooks were the main source of information about the history of art for generations of students in Croatia, so

they undoubtedly influenced the long-lasting negative attitude towards historicism.

### The Last 25 Years

At the end of the 1990s, the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb, an institution founded by Iso Kršnjavi in collaboration with Herman Bollé, i.e. people who played a key role in the history of historicism in Croatia, began with a series of large-scale exhibitions aimed at creating the overview of Croatian art from the beginning of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century. The exhibitions were conceptualized according to styles – the first was dedicated to Biedermeier, the second to historicism, the third to Art Nouveau and the fourth to Art Deco. Of course, it was the exhibition dedicated to historicism, organized in 2000, that played a significant role in the further affirmation of Renate Wagner-Rieger's work in Croatia. In the introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition, the then director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Vladimir Maleković, pointed out that it was precisely the periodization of historicism proposed by this author in her monograph on the Viennese architecture of the 19th century, along with the periodization proposed by Dieter Dolgner in the book on the architecture of historicism in Germany,<sup>55</sup> that served as the basis of the periodization of Croatian historicism, and the basis, as pointed out, of the "methodological approach".<sup>56</sup>

In the same period, texts devoted to architecture and architects of the last decades of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century multiplied. Historicism was no longer a novelty, it no longer needed to be justified as a research topic, it became an integral and important part of Croatian art history. It is understandable that in these years numerous authors cited Wagner-Rieger's works in their dissertations, books and articles: Jelena Uskoković,<sup>57</sup> Irena Kraševac,<sup>58</sup> Vesna Mikić,<sup>59</sup> Petar Puhmajer,<sup>60</sup> Alan Braun and Alenka Delić,<sup>61</sup> and many others including the author of this text.<sup>62</sup>

Wagner-Rieger's texts are referred to almost exclusively by authors from the area of continental Croatia, while authors dealing with 19th-century architecture in Dalmatia and Istria do so extremely rarely, which is paradoxical given the circumstance that these parts of today's Croatia belonged to the Austrian half of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which is why the buildings in those regions were more often designed by Viennese and Austrian architects. In the texts of most art historians from the coastal parts of Croatia, references to the works of older Austro-Hungarian art historians and writers such as Rudolf Eitelberger, Hans Folnesich, Max Dvořák and Hermann Bahr are common, while references

to more recent Austrian art historical literature are extremely rare.<sup>63</sup> A reference to the work of Wagner-Rieger could be found only in the book of Slavica Marković about the architect Ćiril Metod Iveković, which is undoubtedly result of the fact that he was an architect from the area of northern Croatia who was active not only in Dalmatia, but also in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and after 1920, continental Croatia.<sup>64</sup> Art historians of Rijeka are an exception, which is understandable because that port, similar to Trieste, was directly connected by economic ties to both Austro-Hungarian capitals (albeit more Budapest than Vienna).<sup>65</sup>

The fact that art historians dealing with the architecture of the 19th century in the Mediterranean parts of Croatia almost never cited Wagner-Rieger comes from perception of the heritage of Dalmatia and Istria through the Mediterranean cultural circle, while the heritage of the continental Croatia is perceived through its belonging to the Central European cultural circle, which is emphasized in Croatian art history through reliance on literature from that area. It should also be noted that regional divisions in Croatian art history are extremely strong. There still seems to be a border on the Velebit and Učka between the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the Monarchy, that is, between (continental) Croatia, Dalmatia and Istria, so art historians mainly deal with the areas from which they originated regionally.

### Conclusion

Renate Wagner-Rieger's work played an important role in revitalizing the interest in 19th-century architecture, in its inclusion in the national history of art in Croatia. Her influence was strong in the first place since the Vienna school of art history was a birthplace of Croatian art history. First Croatian art historians were educated in Vienna so the methodological approaches that characterized key representatives of the Viennese school(s) of art history such as Rudolf Eitelberger, Alois Riegl, Max Dvořák, Josef Strzygowski, Ernst Gombrich and others had a strong influence on Croatian art historians.<sup>66</sup> Understandably, this influence was felt even after World War II when political circumstances made it difficult for Croatian art historians to study in Vienna partly because German was the most commonly used foreign language of Croatian art historians until the late 1970s (especially among those from the continental part of Croatia). The strong influence of Renate Wagner-Rieger's works was, finally, the result of the fact that most Croatian 19th and early 20th century architects were educated in Vienna. Therefore, the contextualization of

19th-century Croatian architecture with 19th-century Central European architecture regularly began with a comparison with the situation in Vienna.

From the works of Renate Wagner-Rieger, Croatian art historians took primarily stylistic terms and periodization of the 19th-century architecture, especially historicism (its division into early/romantic, strict and late historicism). Furthermore, way of structuring the text within monographs on the history of architecture of cities or areas according to building types (religious, residential, public architecture) used by Renate Wagner-Rieger has had an exceptional impact on the approach to the treatment of similar topics in Croatian art history. Finally, her book was and remains a key source of information about the works of numerous Viennese architects who worked in the areas of Croatia as well as a source of analogies between buildings in Vienna and in Croatia.<sup>67</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 Gjuro Szabo, "O stilu, jedinstvu stila i umjetničkom stvaranju," *Hrvatska prosvjeta* 1 (1914): 95–105 (96).
- 2 Vladimir Lunaček, "Restauracija franjevačke crkve," *Vienac* 30 (July 24, 1902): 480.
- 3 Ljubo Babić, *Umjetnost kod Hrvata u XIX. stoljeću* (Zagreb, 1934), 151.
- 4 Lina Anđela Horvat, *Konzervatorski rad kod Hrvata* (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni konzervatorski zavod: 1944), 15.
- 5 Babić, *Umjetnost kod Hrvata*, 88.
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- 10 The quality of works from this period were recognized, as already stated, by earlier authors too.
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- 14 Draginja Jurman Karaman, "Historijski stilovi (historicizam, eklektizam)," *Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Izdavanje i naklada Leksikografskog zavoda FNRJ, 1962): 539–540; Anđela Horvat, "Historijski stilovi. Hrvatska," *Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti* (Zagreb: Izdavanje i naklada Leksikografskog zavoda FNRJ, 1962): 541–543.
- 15 Stjepan Razum, *Život i djelo Lelje Dobronić (1920. – 2006.)* (Zagreb: Društvo za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije "Tkalčić", 2007), 174–175.
- 16 Lelja Dobronić, *Zagrebački graditelj Janko Jambrišak* (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 1959).
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- 42 Olga Maruševski, "Katedrala u prostoru i vremenu," *Život umjetnosti* 41–42 (1987): 99, 100, 107, 108, 112.
- 43 Olga Maruševski, "Maksimir, spomenik kulture," in *Maksimir* ed. Maja Uzelac (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1992), 10–11.
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- 45 Olga Maruševski, "Franjo Klein, graditelj sredine 19. Stoljeća," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti 17/2* (1993): 122.
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- 47 Snješka Knežević, "Utemeljiteljska kultura – na primjeru reprezentativnih urbanih prostora Zagreba," *Peristil* 31–32 (1988 – 1989): 85
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- 50 Ivančević writes that the architecture of the 19th century can be divided into two stylistic and conceptual periods: Neoclassical and Biedermeier until the middle of the century and historicist in the second half of the century. At the end of the 19th century a mixture of styles appears. Radovan Ivančević, *Umjetničko blago Hrvatske* (Zagreb: ITP–Motovun, 1993), 180.
- 51 Lelja Dobronić, *Graditelji i izgradnja Zagreba u doba historijskih stilova* (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti SR Hrvatske, 1983).



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- 60 Petar Puhmajer, "Žbukani i naslikani medaljoni – prilog razvoju pročelja 17. i 18. stoljeća u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj", *Portal* 7 (2016): 226.
- 61 Alan Braun, Alenka Delić, "Povijesno-prostorni razvoj historicističkog ljetnikovca Grbac u Zagrebu", *Prostor* 21/1[45] (2013): 58.
- 62 Thanks to the Ernst Mach scholarships of the Austrian ÖAD, I stayed in Vienna in 2005 and 2008, where I had the opportunity to research and collect literature related to the history of 19th century architecture in Central Europe, including the works of Renate Wagner-Rieger.
- 63 The following works were checked: Marija Stagličić, *Graditeljstvo u Zadru 1868 – 1918* (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti SR Hrvatske, knjiga XLII, 1988); Cvito Fisković, *Arhitekt Josip Slade* (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1987); Duško Kečkemet, *Vicko Andrić, arhitekt i konzervator 1793 – 1866*, (Split: Regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture – Split, Književni krug, 1993); Stanko Piplović, *Graditeljstvo Trogira u 19. stoljeću* (Split: Književni krug, 1996); Stanko Piplović, *Alois Hauser u Dalmaciji* (Split: Društvo prijatelja kulturne baštine Split, 2002); Radmila Matejičić, *Kako čitati grad* (Rijeka: Adamić, 2007); Jagoda Marković, Šibenik u doba modernizacije (Zagreb, Šibenik, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Gradska knjižnica „Juraj Šižgorić“, 2009); Stanko Piplović, *Izgradnja Splita u XIX. stoljeću* (Split: Društvo prijatelja kulturne baštine Split, 2015).
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**SAŽETAK**

## Renate Wagner-Rieger i povijest istraživanja hrvatske historicističke arhitekture

Iako nitko od hrvatskih povjesničara umjetnosti čiji fokus znanstvenog interesa predstavlja umjetnost 19. stoljeća nije školovan na Institutu za povijest umjetnosti u Beču u vrijeme dok je na njemu predavala Renate Wagner-Rieger, preko monografija objavljenih unutar edicije Wiener Ringstrasse Bild einer Epoche, na prvome mjestu preko knjige Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert, a u određenoj mjeri i kroz druge njezine knjige koje je pisala samostalno ili u koautorstvu (monografije Historismus und Schlossbau, Theophil von Hansen i drugih tekstova), ova je povjesničarka umjetnosti izvršila snažan utjecaj na hrvatsku povijest umjetnosti zadnjih desetljeća 20. i početka 21. stoljeća. Utjecaj Renate Wagner-Rieger bio je snažan, na prvom mjestu zahvaljujući okolnosti da je bečka škola povijesti umjetnosti ishodišna točka hrvatske povijesti umjetnosti – očevi hrvatske povijesti umjetnosti, Iso Kršnjavi, Josip Brunšmid, Gjuro Szabo, i drugi, studirali su u Beču pa su metodološki pristupi koji su karakterizirali ključne predstavnike bečke škole povijesti umjetnosti poput Rudolfa Eitelbergera, Aloisa Riegla, Josefa Strzигowskog, imali snažan utjecaj na hrvatske povjesničare umjetnosti sve do sredine 20. stoljeća (a i kasnije). Snažan utjecaj publikacija Renate Wagner-Rieger posljedica je i okolnosti što se u Beču 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća školovala većina hrvatskih arhitekata pa je kontekstualizacija zbivanja u hrvatskoj arhitekturi 19. stoljeća sa zbivanjima u širem, ponajprije srednjoeuropskom kontekstu redovito započinjala usporedbom s tim gradom. Neposredno nakon objavljivanja spomenute knjige Renate Wagner-Rieger, već tijekom 1970-ih, a osobito tijekom 1980-ih kao referentni „izvor” za proučavanje hrvatske arhitekture 19. stoljeća, počinju je koristiti povjesničari umjetnosti Žarko Domljan, Đurđica Cvitanović, Snješka Knežević, Vladimir Maleković i, na prvome mjestu i najviše od svih, Olga Maruševski koja je nizom tekstova i monografija odigrala ključnu ulogu u istraživanjima hrvatske umjetnosti 19. stoljeća. Njihovim stopama nastavit će ići generacije mladih povjesničara umjetnosti, pa i se danas brojni autori koji se bave hrvatskom povijesti arhitekture 19. stoljeća, osobito autori koji se usredotočuju na istraživanje arhitekture sjeverne Hrvatske, a u manjoj mjeri Dalmacije, referiraju na pisanja Renate Wagner-Rieger. Zaključiti se može da je knjiga Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert odigrala važnu ulogu u revitalizaciji interesa za arhitekturu 19. stoljeća, u njezinu uključivanju u nacionalnu povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj. Stilski pojmovi, periodizacija arhitekture 19. stoljeća, odnosno historicizma na rani historicizam/romantizam, zreli i kasni historicizam, način strukturiranja teksta unutar monografija o povijesti arhitekture gradova ili područja prema tipološkim obrascima (sakralna, stambena, javna arhitektura) koje je koristila Renate Wagner-Rieger iznimno su utjecali na pristup obradi sličnih tema i duboko su se ukorijenili u hrvatskoj povijesti umjetnosti.

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DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ, PhD (Osijek, 1978) is a full professor and head of the Department of Modern Art and Visual Communication at the Department of Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. A special focus of his academic interest is the history of architecture, painting and sculpture from the end of the 18th to the middle of the 20th century. He has so far published a number of books and scholarly articles in this area, participated in international conferences and collaborated in the preparation of exhibitions.

Dr. sc. DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ (Osijek, 1978.) redoviti je profesor i predstojnik Katedre za modernu umjetnost i vizualne komunikacije na Odsjeku za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Posebno područje njegova znanstvenog interesa predstavlja povijest arhitekture te slikarstva i skulpture od kraja 18. do sredine 20. stoljeća. S toga je područja do sada objavio niz knjiga, znanstvenih članaka, izlagao na međunarodnim skupovima i surađivao na pripremi izložaba.