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med cenzuro in propagando

Visual Arts in the Habsburg Lands  
between Censorship and Propaganda

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## PREDGOVOR

# LIKOVNA UMETNOST V HABSBUŠKIH DEŽELAH MED CENZURO IN PROPAGANDO

Pričujoča tematska številka *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* prinaša trinajst znanstvenih prispevkov, nastalih v sklopu raziskovalnega projekta *Likovna umetnost med cenzuro in propagando od srednjega veka do konca prve svetovne vojne* (L7-8282), ki je v letih 2017–2020 potekal na Oddelku za umetnostno zgodovino in Oddelku za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Mariboru ter na Umetnostnozgodovinskem inštitutu Franceta Steleta in Zgodovinskem inštitutu Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU, sofinancirali pa sta ga Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti. Znanstveno izhodišče interdisciplinarno zasnovanega projekta je bilo dejstvo, da sta skozi zgodovino tako propaganda kot cenzura, dve pomembni politični sredstvi vplivanja na javno mnenje, odločilno zaznamovali in določali likovno umetnost. Pri svojih raziskavah smo se geografsko zamejili na področje habsburške monarhije, ki ji je več kot pol tisočletja pripadalo slovensko ozemlje in ki je zaradi svoje razgibane zgodovine predstavljala idealen teren za razvoj različnih oblik propagande in cenzure, med drugim tudi vizualne. Glede na siceršnje raziskovalno delo članov projektne skupine so se študije osredotočile na štiri zaključene časovne sklope: srednji vek, zgodnji novi vek, dolgo 19. stoletje in prvo svetovno vojno.

V želji, da bi dogajanje na periferiji vsaj delno osvetlili tudi z vidika središča, torej prestolnic Dunaja in v zgodnjem novem veku Gradca, ter da bi procese, ki so potekali pri nas, umestili v dogajanje v celotni monarhiji, smo k sodelovanju povabili tudi tri strokovnjake iz Avstrije in enega iz Češke, ki so s svojimi besedili pomembno prispevali k celovitosti pogleda na obravnavano tematiko.

Srednjeveški sklop začenja Martin Bele, ki spregovori o enem najstarejših ohranjenih primerov srednjeveške propagande na Štajerskem, *Štajerski rimani kroniki* Otokarja iz Geule, nastali v 13. stoletju v okviru spora med plemiškima rodbinama Ptujskih in Liechtensteinskih. Glavnina raziskav srednjega veka pa se je osredotočila na najpomembnejšo srednjeveško plemiško rodbino s področja današnje Slovenije, grofe Celjske, in njen odnos s Habsburžani. Miha Kosi je predstavil načrtno grajsko politiko Celjskih, v obdobju največjega vzpona so posedovali kar okoli 125 gradov, v čemer vidi obliko dinastične propagande. Mija Oter Gorenčič je raziskala medsebojne vplive in zglede v kartuzijanski politiki Celjskih in Habsburžanov. Avtorica ugotavlja tesno prepletenost med obema plemiškima rodbinama in kartuzijani, ki se kaže tudi na umetnostnem področju, v prvi vrsti pri kartuziji Jurklošter.

Obdobje zgodnjega novega veka pomembno zaznamujeta protireformacija in katoliška prenova, za potrebe propagande zmage Katoliške cerkve pa so se naročniki pogosto posluževali tudi različnih zvrsti likovne umetnosti. To je bilo še posebej očitno konec 16. stoletja in v 17. stoletju, ko je Gradec postal rezidenca Habsburžanov, pomembnih nosilcev katoliške prenove. Susanne König-Lein obravnava habsburški mavzolej v kolegijski cerkvi v Sekovi (Seckau) na Zgornjem Štajerskem, katerega naročnik je bil nadvojvoda Karel II. Avstrijski. Relievi in poslikave mavzoleja poveljujejo Karla II. kot zaščitnika katoliške vere, zaradi česar lahko v habsburškem mavzoleju vidimo primer manifestacije začetka protireformacije. O arhitekturi kot pomembnem propagandnem sredstvu govori prispevek Edgarja Leina, ki obravnava cerkev sv. Katarine in mavzolej v Gradcu, zgrajena po naročilu nadvojvode Ferdinanda (kasnejšega cesarja Ferdinanda II.). Avtor predstavi rimske arhitekturne zglede in izpostavi vlogo jezuita Wilhelma Lamormainija pri preoblikovanju mavzoleja v spomenik protireformacije.

Eno od pomembnejših propagandnih sredstev je tudi portret, še zlasti vladarski. O njem z vidika umetnostnega središča spregovori Friedrich Polleroß, ki se je posvetil javni funkciji različnih tipov portretov cesarja Karla VI. s posebnim poudarkom na njihovi propagandni vlogi. Tina Košak analizira portrete dobrotnikov cistercijanskega samostana Stična, najobsežnejši ohranjeni tovrstni sklop na Slovenskem, razkriva doslej neznane likovne in pisne vire ter ponuja novo atribucijo. Nastanku stiških portretov so botrovale ilustracije v slavnih biografskih knjigah, ki so bile svojevrstna oblika propagande Habsburžanov kot tudi plemstva na dunajskem dvoru, napisi na spodnjem delu platna pa so povzeti po takrat spisani samostanski kroniki.

Da je portret igral pomembno propagando vlogo tudi v 19. stoletju, kaže članek Polone Vidmar o portretih uglednih mariborskih meščanov, naslikanih za mariborski rotovž, mestno hranilnico in prostore gledališko-kazinskega društva, na katerih so vizualizirani tudi izjemni dosežki upodobljenec, pripadnikov lokalne politične in ekonomske elite.

Drugo polovico 19. stoletja zaznamuje emancipacija različnih narodov, živčih na ozemlju monarhije, ki so za svojo propagando uporabljali različne likovne zvrsti. Dosedanje raziskave tega pojava so se osredotočale predvsem na historično slikarstvo in javne spomenike, medtem ko je propagandna vloga arhitekture ostajala v ozadju. V tem kontekstu so izjemnega pomena narodni domovi, posebna avstroogrška različica javne stavbe, ki se je najprej pojavila v čeških deželah, potem pa razširila po celotni avstrijski polovici monarhije. Narodne domove na Moravskem in v avstrijski Šleziji predstavlja Jan Galeta, ki v svojem članku spregovori tudi o njihovi raznoliki propagandni vlogi. Med značilne oblike propagande prebujajočih se narodov pa uvrščamo tudi poskuse kreiranja nacionalnega arhitekturnega sloga na prehodu iz 19. v 20. stoletje. Avtor v svojem prispevku v kontekstu propagande predstavi tako slovenski nacionalni slog kot tudi druge nacionalne sloge v slovenski arhitekturni dediščini.

Prva svetovna vojna brez dvoma pomeni vrhunec cenzure in propagande v celotnem obdobju habsburške monarhije. Trije prispevki predstavljajo kompleksen odmev teh procesov v sočasni likovni produkciji na Slovenskem. Petra Svoljšak govori o odnosu avstrijskega državnega aparata do likovne umetnosti, predvsem z vidika cenzure in propagande. Predstavljeni so državni uradi (npr. Vojni tiskovni urad, Umetniška skupina), ki so izvajali nadzor nad umetniško propagando, pa tudi posamezniki, ki so jih rekrutirali za potrebe vojne propagande. O vplivu omenjenih državnih uradov na slovenski prostor piše Barbara Vodopivec, ki poleg medvojnih umetniških razstav, delovanja vojnih slikarjev in mehanizmov produkcije vsebin za množične tiske izpostavlja vlogo slikarja Ivana Vavpotiča in predstavi nekatera njegova do sedaj neznana dela. Vesna Krmelj pa z vidika cenzure in propagande obravnava pogoje za umetniško produkcijo v času vojnega absolutizma na Kranjskem, kjer je generacija slovenske moderne in impresionistov šele vzpostavljala pogoje za institucionalni razvoj slovenske umetnosti in s tem posledično tudi za uspešno propagando, izpostavlja pa med drugim tudi načine, s katerimi so umetniki spodbujali slovensko nacionalno zavest.

Zahvaljujem se uredništvu *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* za možnost objave projektnih spoznanj, sodelavcem Umetnostnozgodovinskega inštituta Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU za vso pomoč in podporo pri nastanku pričujoče številke, prevajalcem in lektorjem ter seveda Javni agenciji za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti, ki sta omogočili izvedbo projekta in izid revije. Upam, da bodo prispevki postali navdih in izhodišče za prihodnje raziskave te kompleksne, a zanimive in pomembne tematike.

Franci Lazarini, vodja projekta in gostujoči urednik

## PREFACE

# VISUAL ARTS IN THE HABSBURG LANDS BETWEEN CENSORSHIP AND PROPAGANDA

The present thematic issue of *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* comprises thirteen scientific papers as an output of the research project *Visual Arts between Censorship and Propaganda from the Middle Ages to the End of World War I* (L7-8282), which was carried out at the Department of Art History and the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor, as well as the France Stele Institute of Art History and the Milko Kos Historical Institute ZRC SAZU between 2017 and 2020, and was co-funded by the Slovenian Research Agency and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The starting point of the interdisciplinary project is the fact that throughout history, propaganda and censorship, two important political means of influencing public opinion, have decisively marked and defined art. Our research was limited to the geographical area of the Habsburg Monarchy, to which the Slovenian lands belonged for more than half a millennium, and which, owing to its diverse history, was ideal terrain for the development of various forms of propaganda and censorship in, among others, the visual arts. Based on the research interests of the project group members, the studies were focused on four historical periods: the Middle Ages, the Early Modern Period, the long 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the First World War.

In order to at least partially explain the events in the periphery through the perspective of the capitals, such as Vienna, and in the Early Modern Period Graz, and shed light on certain aspects of propaganda in a wider context, we invited three experts from Austria and one from the Czech Republic to participate. They contributed immensely to a comprehensive view of the issue at hand.

The medieval section begins with Martin Bele, who presents one of the oldest preserved examples of medieval propaganda in Styria, Ottokar aus der Gaal's *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*, written in the 13<sup>th</sup> century as a result of a dispute between two aristocratic families, the Lords of Ptuj and the Liechtenstein family. Most of the research relating to the Middle Ages was focused on the most important medieval noble family from present-day Slovenia, the Counts of Cilli, and their relationship to the Habsburgs. Miha Kosi analyses the strategic castle politics of the Counts of Cilli, who at the time of their ascendancy possessed approximately 125 castles, which he sees as a form of dynastic propaganda. Mija Oter Gorenčič researched mutual influences and models in the Carthusian politics of the Counts of Cilli and the Habsburgs. The author points out the close ties between both noble families and the Carthusians, which were also apparent in the sphere of art, primarily in the Jurklošter charterhouse.

The Early Modern Period was significantly marked by the Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Revival, and patrons often used various forms of art to propagandise the victory of the Catholic church. This was especially evident at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Graz became the residence of the Habsburgs, important supporters of the Counter-Reformation. Susanne König-Lein discusses the Habsburg mausoleum in the Seckau collegiate church in Upper Styria, the commissioner of which was Archduke Charles II. The reliefs and paintings of the mausoleum glorify Charles II as the protector of the Catholic faith, which is why it is possible to see the Habsburg mausoleum as an example of the manifestation of the beginning of the Counter-Reformation. Edgar Lein's contribution focuses on architecture as an important means of propaganda. The author examined St. Catherine's Church and Mausoleum in Graz, which were commissioned by Archduke Ferdinand (later Emperor

Ferdinand II). Lein presents Roman architectural models and points out the role of Jesuit Wilhelm Lamormaini in the transformation of the Mausoleum into a monument to Counter-Reformation.

One of the most important means of propaganda was also portraits, especially imperial portraits. Friedrich Polleroß, who focused particularly on the public function of various types of portraits of Emperor Charles VI, with emphasis on their propaganda role, writes about these works from an art centre perspective. Tina Košak analyses portraits of the benefactors of Stična Cistercian monastery, the largest surviving ensemble of this kind in Slovenia, offers a new attribution, and unravels its sources. The visual models for the series of ten oval portraits were the illustrations in glorifying biographical books, which were themselves an efficient form of propaganda for the Habsburgs as well as the nobility in the court of Vienna. The inscriptions on the lower part of the portraits were based on the newly written monastic chronicle by Paul Puzel.

The article by Polona Vidmar on the portraits of renowned Maribor townspeople painted for the Maribor town hall, the town savings bank, and the rooms of the theatre and casino society, which also visualize the exceptional achievements of the depicted representatives of the local political and economic elite, demonstrates that portrait also played an important propaganda role in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterised by the emancipation of the various nations living in the monarchy, who utilised a variety of art genres for the purpose of propaganda. So far, research of this phenomenon mostly focused on history painting and public monuments, while architecture's role in propaganda remained in the background. In this context, national houses, a special Austro-Hungarian type of public building, which first appeared in the Czech lands and then spread across the entire Austrian part of the monarchy, are of immense importance. National houses in Moravia and Austrian Silesia are presented by Jan Galeta, who also discusses their diverse propaganda role. Moreover, we place the attempts to establish a national architectural style at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century among the characteristic forms of propaganda in the awakening nations. In my article, the Slovenian national style, as well as other national styles in Slovenian architectural heritage, are presented and explained in the context of propaganda.

During World War I, censorship and propaganda undoubtedly reached their peaks, when considering the era of the Habsburg Monarchy. Three contributions reveal the complex nature of these processes on the example of the art production in the territory of Slovenia. Petra Svoljšak discusses the attitude of the Austrian state apparatus towards art, especially from the point of view of censorship and propaganda. She presents the state offices (e.g. War Press Office (Kriegspressequartier, KPQ) and the Art department (Kunstgruppe)) that exercised control over art propaganda and the individuals who were recruited for the needs of war propaganda. Barbara Vodopivec explains the influence of the above-mentioned state offices in the Slovenian context. In addition to wartime art exhibitions, war artists' activities, and mechanisms of mass press production, she highlights the role of Ivan Vavpotič and presents some of his previously unknown works of art. Vesna Krmelj discusses the circumstances in art production from the point of view of censorship and propaganda during the period of war absolutism in Carniola, where the generation of the Slovenian *moderna* and the impressionists had only begun to establish the conditions for the institutional development of Slovenian art, and consequently for successful propaganda. Furthermore, she also emphasizes the ways in which artists encouraged Slovenian national consciousness.

I thank the editorial board of the *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* for the opportunity to publish the project findings, my co-workers at the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU for all their help and support in the creation of the present issue, the translators and language editors, and the Slovenian Research Agency and Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, who enabled the execution of the project and the publication of this journal. I hope that the contributions will inspire future research in this complex but interesting and important topic.

Franci Lazarini, principal investigator and guest editor





DISSERTATIONES

# National Houses in Moravia and Austrian Silesia before 1914

## Architecture and Fine Arts as an Opportunity for the Manifestation of National Allegiance

Jan Galeta

National houses from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the Lands of the Bohemian Crown were part of Austria-Hungary, are in many respects an intriguing phenomenon, albeit somewhat forgotten by history. They were, however, public buildings, which served as prominent centres of cultural and social life in the cities. The idea of their construction came mostly from ‘grassroots’, so to speak, because they came from a civic, as opposed to a municipal, initiative. National houses were built and owned by private associations or clubs.<sup>1</sup> These were, on the one hand, closed societies belonging to the local elites, but on the other, they also presented themselves publicly – via lectures, theatre and music performances, and by organising festivities, parties, and balls. Whether they were theatrical, musical, educational, athletic, reading or other clubs, very soon after 1859 and the end of Bach’s absolutism, the clubs were split by nationality into Czech and German in Moravia and Czech, and German and Polish in Silesia. Similarly, the whole of society became divided with the spread of the Czech national revival and the way in which the Moravian Germans reacted to it with growing defensive nationalism. Therefore, associations promoted the culture and history of their nation and enhanced education. In the second half of the century, they became significant agents in both the Czech and German societies, and national houses were places to hold their activities.

Moravian and Silesian national houses are characterised by their versatility. Of course, there were clubrooms – such as reading rooms or game rooms with billiards – but also restaurants, credit unions or newspaper offices, hotel rooms and other business spaces, public libraries, Sokol<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For more on associations in the Czech lands, see Lukáš FASORA, *Dělník a měšťan. Vývoj jejich vzájemných vztahů na příkladu šesti moravských měst 1870–1914*, Brno 2010, pp. 91–169, 216–259; Jiří MALÍŘ, *Die Parteien in Mähren und Schlesien und ihre Vereine, Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918. 8: Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft. 1: Vereine, Parteien und Interessenverbände als Träger der politischen Partizipation* (eds. Helmut Rumpler, Peter Urbanitsch), Wien 2006, pp. 705–803; Pavel KLADIWA, Andrea POKLUDOVÁ, Renata KAFKOVÁ, *Lesk a bída obecních samospráv Moravy a Slezska. 2/1: Muži z radnice*, Ostrava 2008, pp. 87–104; Jiří MALÍŘ, *Vereinshäuser in Brünn und in den national gemischten Städten Mährens vor 1914, Heimstätten der Nation. Ostmitteleuropäische Vereins- und Gesellschaftshäuser im transnationalen Vergleich* (eds. Peter Haslinger, Heidi Hein-Kircher, Rudolf Jaworski), Marburg 2013, pp. 137–160.

<sup>2</sup> Sokol was a Czech gymnastics association, an equivalent of the German Turnverein. It was strongly nationally oriented and also supported Pan-Slavism. It was founded in 1862, and in 1913 it had over 190,000 members.

or Turnverein gyms, and sometimes even temporary school classrooms. The most important space was a large social hall, which could be called the 'heart' of every national house. It could be used for balls, dances, banquets, lectures, musical and theatrical performances, but also for general association or political group meetings. In this study, however, I will focus on the question of how individual nations could present themselves in a public setting through these buildings and, thus, spread national propaganda. This was done through the architectural style itself, the decoration – such as sculpture, painting and various ephemeral elements – as well as festivities and celebrations, and finally through propaganda in the press.

## Style

It would seem obvious that in the case of buildings, which took pride in being centres of national life and culture, style was the main component of their representation. After all, Ákos Moravánszky, for example, describes the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a "Masquerade of styles",<sup>3</sup> and this question of appropriate style or even national style was an essential problem for the architects of the time.<sup>4</sup> In terms of style, however, Moravian national houses can be characterised as follows: for the Czech buildings, the most typical was the use of Italianising Neo-Renaissance – ten of them were created in this style, the most significant being Besední dům (Beseda House)<sup>5</sup> in Brno in 1873 by Theophil Hansen (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> In contrast, this kind of Neo-Renaissance was atypical for German national houses with hints appearing only in the classicising of buildings in Znojmo and Nový Jičín in the 1880s.<sup>7</sup> Five German houses were, on the other hand, clad in German or Northern Neo-Renaissance style, including the distinguished Deutsches Haus in Brno by Berlin architects Hermann Ende and Wilhelm Böckmann in 1891 (fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> The Neo-Baroque proved to be a universal style, so it was used for four Czech and two German national houses<sup>9</sup> – after all, it was also the 'state' style of Austria.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ákos MORAVÁNSZKY, *Die Architektur der Donaumonarchie*, Berlin 1988, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. *Nation, Style, Modernism* (eds. Jacek Purchla, Wolf Tegethoff), Cracow-Munich 2006.

<sup>5</sup> In regard to the dates, the text always states the year in which the building was completed, although many of them were built over the course of many years. The names of the buildings are not translated but are left in their original language.

<sup>6</sup> The others were the Národní dům (National House) in Třebíč (1871), Besední dům (Beseda House) in Uherské Hradiště (1871), and Besední dům in Znojmo (1881) – these three early buildings still carry signs of late classicism. Furthermore, there were the national houses in Olomouc (1887), Moravská Ostrava (1894), Jihlava (1894), Frýdlant nad Ostravicí (1895), and Místek (1896 and 1900), and Besední dům in Královo Pole (1902).

<sup>7</sup> Deutsches Bürgervereinshaus in Znojmo by architect Josef Slowak from 1882 and Deutsches Vereinshaus in Nový Jičín by Otto Thienemann from 1886.

<sup>8</sup> Other buildings in the Northern Neo-Renaissance style were the Deutsches Haus in Moravská Ostrava (1895), Litovel (1899), and Místek (1901), and the Deutsches Vereinshaus in Šumperk (1902).

<sup>9</sup> The Czech national houses – the Národní dům in Moravské Budějovice (1893) and Besední dům in Ivanovice na Hané (1901). The Český dům (Czech House) in Vítkovice (1900) and the Národní dům in Žďár nad Sázavou (1901) mixed the Neo-Baroque style with Art Nouveau. The German national houses – the Deutsches Haus in Moravský Krumlov (1893) and in Prostějov (1894).

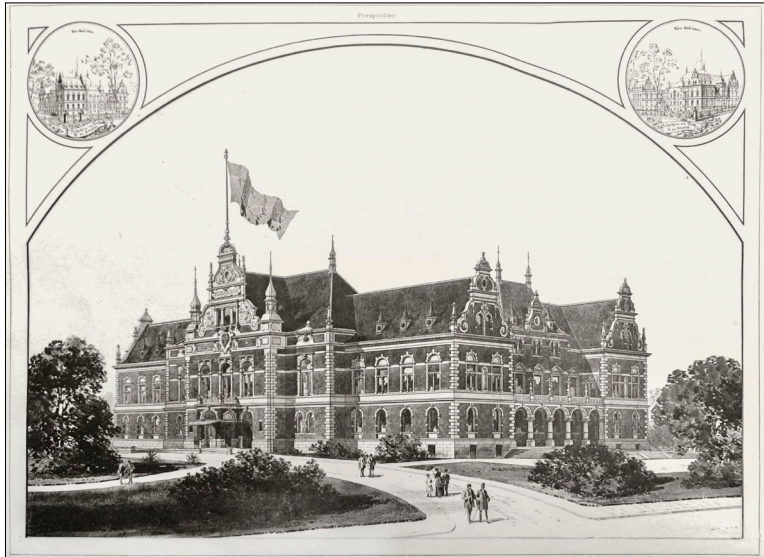
<sup>10</sup> Werner TELESKO, *Die Wiener Hofburg und die Barockrezeption, Die Wiener Hofburg. 1835–1918. Der Ausbau der Residenz vom Vörmärz bis zum Ende des „Kaisersforum“* (ed. Werner Telesko), Wien 2012, pp. 464–478; Jindřich VYBÍRAL, *Friedrich Ohmann. Objev baroku a počátky moderní architektury v Čechách/Friedrich Ohmann. Die Entdeckung des Barocks und die Anfänge der modernen Architektur in Böhmen*, Praha 2013, pp. 36–42.



1. Theophil Hansen:  
*Besední dům, Brno*



2. Hermann Ende, Wilhelm  
Böckmann: *Deutsches Haus*,  
Brno, competition proposal, 1888



Art Nouveau in its Viennese variant remained a Czech domain. Among the four national houses in this style, the Národní dům (National House) in Prostějov by Jan Kotěra from 1907 stands out in particular.<sup>11</sup> The Germans did not build any Art Nouveau national houses in Moravia. However, in 1911, the Deutsches Haus in Břeclav was built in the so-called Heimatschutzstil, which was generally somewhat atypical in Moravia.<sup>12</sup> The Poles in the town of Moravská Ostrava built their Dom Polski (Polish House) in 1901 as an eclectic collage of various styles, including a reference to recent architecture in the Polish cultural centre of Krakow, as well as to the Vienna Secession.

<sup>11</sup> Along with the aforementioned mixed Neo-Baroque and Art Nouveau buildings, there were also the Czech national houses in Hustopeče (1909), Židlochovice (1912) and Šternberk (1914).

<sup>12</sup> It was designed by the Viennese architect Clemens M. Kattner. This style was part of modern architecture, but did not deny a connection to traditions and local conventions. See Architektenlexikon Wien, [www.architektenlexikon.at/de/281.htm](http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/281.htm) (25 March 2020).

It is interesting to examine how the associations that built national houses commented on the choice of style. The surviving design programs – i.e. the instructions for architects on what the building should contain – as well as the minutes of the individual associations' meetings are quite vague on this issue. Here are just a few examples. The Deutsches Haus in Brno became an enigmatic building of the Northern Neo-Renaissance not only in Moravia, but essentially in the whole of Austria-Hungary, and its cultural significance for Moravian Germans can be compared, in some respects, to the significance of the National Theatre in Prague for the Czechs. Nevertheless, the conditions of the 1888 competition only required, without any further specification, that "The building itself should not only be practical, but in its exterior appearance it should show monumentality and an appropriate character for a 'German house'".<sup>13</sup> In Jihlava in 1904, the Germans announced their intention to build a Deutsches Haus as a 'monumental building', again without any mention of style.<sup>14</sup> A similar approach was taken by the Czechs: in Moravská Ostrava in 1892, they wanted the Národní dům to be *dignified, its character readily indicative of its purpose, but without great splendour*, and they also stated that, *With regard to the surroundings (the cathedral and school) the Renaissance style seems like the most suitable, yet the use of any other style is not excluded*.<sup>15</sup> In this case, a certain style was preferred, although it was not for its national character, but simply to fit into the surrounding new buildings. Likewise, in 1899, during the negotiations on an extension of the hall of the Národní dům in Místek, the layout and purpose of the individual rooms were addressed, but not the style, even though the members of the association ardently discussed exactly which chairs and tables to buy.<sup>16</sup>

From these and many other illustrations,<sup>17</sup> it seems that the requirement for external visual forms was usually not officially defined by the client in any way and if so, only vaguely. In the case of competitions, this led to a similar outcome as in Brno, where the projects for the Deutsches Haus ranged from various forms of Italianizing Neo-Renaissance, through Northern Neo-Renaissance, Neo-Baroque, Neoclassicism to Neo-Gothic and even unspecified 'Russian motifs'.<sup>18</sup> Architects could clearly interpret the vague requirement for characterisation in very different ways, and there is no simple answer to the question of why associations, as patrons of national houses, were so careful in their demand for style. From the comments of the jury evaluating the Brno competition, in which, besides the leader of local Germans Friedrich Wannieck, the architects Friedrich von Schmidt and his former pupil August Prokop played a key role, it is apparent that if anyone was clear on the question of style, it was the two architects. Their comment on the winning project by Böckmann and Ende is more akin to what one might have expected from the patrons: "A well-chosen style adds

<sup>13</sup> Deutsches Haus fuer Bruenn, *Sammelmappe hervorragender Concurrenz-Entwürfe*, 15, 1888, s. p.

<sup>14</sup> Baubewegung in Wien, *Architekten- und Baumeister-Zeitung*, 11/15, 13 April 1902, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Národní technické museum, Archiv architektury a stavitelství, 24: Kříženecký Rudolf, 20100813/02, Program pro stavbu Národního domu v Mor. Ostravě.

<sup>16</sup> Státní okresní archiv Frýdek-Místek, Družstvo pro vystavění Národního domu Místek, inv. no. 1, Kniha protokolů ze schůzí, notes from 7 February 1899 and 29 November 1899.

<sup>17</sup> Jan GALETA, *Národní domy na Moravě 1868–1914. Architektura a nacionalismus*, Brno 2020 (unpublished doctoral thesis), pp. 87–89.

<sup>18</sup> August PROKOP, Die Konkurrenzpläne für das „Deutsche Haus“ in Brünn, *Zeitschrift des österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins*, 40, 1888, p. 46. More on competition see Jan GALETA, Našemu městu ku okrase. Architektonické návrhy na Německý dům v Brně, *Brno v minulosti a dnes. Příspěvky k dějinám a výstavbě Brna*, 28, 2015, pp. 227–262.

the extraordinary value to the design. The German house requires a German style.”<sup>19</sup> So it was the architects, whether in the position of jurors or designers, who cared the most about style and who made decisions about it. While the clients defined the functional and spatial solution of the buildings very carefully – the number, size, and layout of particular rooms the building should have – and discussed it with the architects, in a matter as supremely artistic as style, the patrons left the solution to the architects and relied on their expertise. For the associations, it was sufficient for the building to fulfil the ideals of monumentality and dignity mentioned above. This is also confirmed by the record from 1872 from Brno’s Besední dům, which states that the members of the association left the decision regarding the mural decoration of the great hall to the architect Theophil Hansen.<sup>20</sup>

It is also interesting to explore how contemporaries expressed themselves concerning the style of national houses in the period press. The Deutsches Haus in Brno as well as the one in Moravská Ostrava were honoured by insightful descriptions in short publications, issued on the occasion of their opening, which mention the intention of transferring the typical German style to Moravia. It was these publications that likely contributed to the popularisation of the Northern Neo-Renaissance among a wider audience.<sup>21</sup> On the Czech side, however, nothing comparable occurred. Only in the case of Besední dům in Brno, a commentator aptly noted: “The building is of the Renaissance style /.../” and then, a few sentences later: “The whole building is a monumental palace /.../”.<sup>22</sup> This was, however, an absolute exception, as other remarks did not reflect on the style of the building, but only described its splendour.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, in the vast majority of period descriptions of other national houses in Moravia, mentions of style are nowhere to be found. In Olomouc, the Národní dům was thus described only as a “magnificent building”.<sup>24</sup> According to ceremonial speeches, the Deutsches Vereinshaus in Nový Jičín was designed “down to the smallest stylistic and artistic detail,” without a definition of that style provided in any way.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, at the opening of the Národní dům in Prostějov by Jan Kotěra in 1907 (fig. 3), which was a particularly significant event at which many distinguished guests gave speeches, it was only said that the building “with its overall artistic concept, as well as its execution, its distinctiveness and its usefulness, will be a permanent embellishment of the city /.../” The poet Jaroslav Vrchlický said that, “A work in which the harmony of style and colour is combined into a beautiful whole had been achieved /.../” and the press further wrote of “a marvellous piece of work, which the Národní dům undoubtedly is in its simplicity and purity of style.”<sup>26</sup> The word ‘style’ was utilised but without any specification of what the speaker or writer actually meant by it. These and many other contemporary commentaries thus give evidence to the hesitation, uncertainty and, in fact, the lack of interest in venturing into the field of stylistic evaluation of national houses. This so-called “best invention of art history”, which

<sup>19</sup> Das Deutsche Haus, *Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien*, 37/227, 6 October 1887, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Archiv města Brna (AMB), K15: Akciová společnost Besedního domu, inv. no. 32, report from 29 April 1872.

<sup>21</sup> Gustav TRAUTENBERGER, *Festschrift zur Eröffnung des Deutschen Hauses in Brünn am 17., 18. und 19. Mai 1891*, Brünn 1891; Alois SCHWARZ, *Das Deutsche Haus in Mährisch-Ostrau. Gedenkblätter zur Feier der Eröffnung am 2. und 3. Juni 1895*, Ostrau 1895.

<sup>22</sup> Ladislav DYJECKÝ, Besední dům v Brně, *Světlozor*, 8, 1874, pp. 174–175.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. K otázce českého divadla v Brně, *Moravská orlice*, 21/97, 27 April 1883, p. [3].

<sup>24</sup> Národní dům v Olomouci, *Selské listy*, 4/99, 16 December 1887, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Die Eröffnung des Deutschen Vereinshauses in Neutitschein, *Neutitscheiner Wochenblatt für Stadt und Land*, 13/45, 30 October 1886, pp. 5–11.

<sup>26</sup> Slavnosti otevření Národního domu v Prostějově, *Hlasy z Hané*, 26/135, 4 December 1907, pp. 1–3; 26/136, 6 December 1907, pp. 1–3.



3. Jan Kotěra:  
Národní dům, Prostějov

was also adopted by general history and other disciplines, was still an active and open topic at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and it was, in fact, one of the main issues not only in art history but also in architectural practice.<sup>27</sup> Apparently, in the common consciousness of the society of that time, recognition of style was not self-evident, but it was an issue of expertise left to professionals – the architects.

Concerning national houses in Moravia, it is my opinion that it is possible to speak of a 'national style' as a programmatic and deliberate choice only in the case of the Northern Neo-Renaissance German houses in Moravská Ostrava, Litovel, Místek, and Šumperk, where the clients recognised, in the manner of the Deutsches Haus in Brno, which style is the best to express 'Germanness'.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the Italianizing Neo-Renaissance prevailed among Moravian Czechs for a long time. This fact alone, however, is not sufficient to automatically consider it a 'Czech national style',<sup>29</sup> simply because another suitable style did not exist. The so-called Czech Neo-Renaissance,<sup>30</sup> invented in Prague in the early 1880s, was not employed in Moravia until around 1900, and by that time, most of the national houses had already been built. Paradoxically, perhaps the only national house in this style is the Slovenian Narodni dom in Maribor by the Czech architect Jan Vejrych from 1899.<sup>31</sup> For a long time, other styles were not available, but as soon as the Baroque was 'discovered'

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Renaissance der Renaissance. Ein Bürgerlicher Kunststil im 19. Jahrhundert* (eds. Petra Krutich, Anke Hufschmidt), 1–3, München-Berlin 1992–1995; *Der Traum vom Glück. Die Kunst des Historismus in Europa* (ed. Hermann Fillitz), 1–2, Bad Vöslau 1996; *Recepcja renesansu w XIX i XX wieku. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki* (ed. Małgorzata Wróblewska Markiewicz), Łódź 2002; Ralf MENNEKES, *Die Renaissance der Deutschen Renaissance*, Petersberg 2005; Martin HORÁČEK, *Přesná renesance v české architektuře 19. století. Dobová diskuse o slohu*, Olomouc 2012; Marek ZGÓRNIAK, *Wokół neorenesansu w architekturze XIX wieku*, Krakow 2013.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Franci LAZARINI, *Arhitektura v službi propagande - primer Nemške hiše v Celju*, *Umetnostna kronika*, 66, 2020, pp. 2–10.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Anthony ALOFSIN, *When Buildings Speak. Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867–1933*, Chicago-London 2006, p. 42.

<sup>30</sup> Jindřich VYBÍRAL, *Constructing National Identity on the Example of Czech Architecture of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, in: Vendula Hnídková, Jindřich Vybíral, *Národní styl. Kultura a politika*, Praha 2013, pp. 148–163.

<sup>31</sup> Monika PEMIČ, *Heime der Nation. Die Vereinshäuser in Ljubljana und Maribor*, *Im Dienst der Nation*.

and the Art Nouveau style ‘invented’, Czech builders of Moravian national houses adopted them, disregarding the fact that their origin lay in Vienna after all, as in the case of the Neo-Renaissance.

### Iconography of the Decoration

If architecture itself only rarely served to represent nationality, what other means of propaganda were used by individual nations in Moravia?<sup>32</sup> One was the thematic element of decoration, in which, for example, stucco or sculpture on the façade, as well as works of art and interior design referred to national culture, history and mythology. Linden branches as a Slavic symbol on Czech buildings can serve as an example (fig. 4).<sup>33</sup> Apart from being used on façades, they were typically located above the arches of stages in the halls of Czech national houses, where they coiled around the arms of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.<sup>34</sup> The heraldic signs of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown were another manner of expressing not only Czech national identity but also the political program on the building for means of propaganda. If the Moravian and Silesian eagles were together with the Czech lion and the crown of St. Wenceslas, it expressed the historical and legal ideas held by Czech politicians at that time, i.e. the idea of the indivisibility of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown within Austria-Hungary and the inviolability of the historical borders.<sup>35</sup> Thus, architectural decoration became a clear and direct expression of political opinions (fig. 5). After all, the joint display of the arms of the Czech lands irritated the Moravian Germans. Therefore, when the Czechs temporarily hung them on the balcony of Brno's Besední dům during the visit of Francis Joseph I in 1892, the police intervened and

*Identitätsstiftungen und Identitätsbrüche in Werken der bildenden Kunst* (eds. Matthias Krüger, Isabella Woldt), Berlin 2011, pp. 233–260; Franci LAZARINI, The Architecture of Cultural Institutions in Slovenia in the Period of Historicism, *Admired as Well as Overlooked Beauty. Contributions to Architecture and Urbanism of Historicism, Art Nouveau, Early Modernism and Traditionalism* (eds. Jan Galeta, Zuzana Ragulová), Brno 2015, pp. 73–84; Igor SAPAČ, Katalog pomembnejših klasicističnih, bidermajerskih in historističnih arhitekturnih stvaritev na območju Republike Slovenije, in: Igor Sapač, Franci Lazarini, *Arhitektura 19. stoletja na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 2015, pp. 525–526; Monika PEMIČ, Die Pläne vom Narodni dom in Maribor im Archiv des Národní technické muzeum in Prag und die Probleme ihrer Datierung, *Umění*, 61/1–2, 2018, pp. 88–104; Franci LAZARINI, Nationalstile als Propagandamittel in der Zeit der Nationalbewegungen. Slowenische und andere Nationalstile in der Architektur um 1900, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 25/2, 2020, pp. 257–259.

<sup>32</sup> More on various forms of representations in general, see David SUMMERS, Representation, *Critical Terms for Art History* (eds. Robert S. Nelson, Richard Shiff), Chicago-London 2003, pp. 3–19. For an example of a decorative program of a particular building specifically, cf. Werner TELESKO, Die programmatik der Residenz – die plastischen und malerischen Ausstattungen der Hofmuseen und der Neuen Burg, *Die Wiener Hofburg* 2012 (n. 10), pp. 398–419; Nataša IVANOVIĆ, State and National Representation in the Case of Ljubljana's Town Hall, *Die Repräsentation der Habsburg-Lothringischen Dynastie in Musik, visuellen Medien und Architektur/Representing the Habsburg-Lorraine Dynasty in Music, Visual Media and Architecture 1618–1918* (ed. Werner Telesko), Wien-Köln-Weimar 2017, pp. 189–204.

<sup>33</sup> Linden leaves were used on Czech national houses in Olomouc, Moravská Ostrava, Místek, Frýdlant nad Ostravicí, Hradec nad Moravicí and Vítkovice.

<sup>34</sup> The emblems of the three Czech lands were used in various places in the interior and exterior of Czech national houses in Moravská Ostrava, Vítkovice, Šternberk, Židlochovice, Brno, Znojmo, Žďár nad Sázavou, Prostějov, Místek, Frýdlant nad Ostravicí, Doubrava, or in the design for the hall in Jihlava.

<sup>35</sup> See Jiří KOŘALKA, *Češi v Habsburské říši a Evropě 1815–1914*, Praha 1996, pp. 145–146; Milan ŘEPA, *Moravané nebo Češi?*, Brno 2001, pp. 140–142; Miroslav HROCH, *Národy nejsou dílem náhody*, Praha 2009, pp. 258–265 (English edition: Miroslav HROCH, *European nations, explaining their formation*, London 2015).





4. Národní dům, Místek, portal with linden leaves



5. Národní dům, Místek, coat of arms of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown with the Crown of St. Wenceslas

tore the arms down. The situation was then dealt with officially with the Moravian governor's office even ruling that the grouped coats of arms constituted an *inadmissible political demonstration*.<sup>36</sup> The Germans did not even want to hear about the indivisibility of the Czech lands. For them, Moravia was the crown land of the Habsburg Empire and its bond with Bohemia a relic.<sup>37</sup> At the end of the century, either Pan-German or pro-Austrian ideas, but especially strong local patriotism, prevailed among the German population.<sup>38</sup> This is one of the reasons why, in terms of heraldry, German national houses are most often decorated only with the city's coat of arms.<sup>39</sup>

However, it was not only heraldic motifs that served to clearly communicate the national identity of the builders of national houses and their visual propaganda. The other means included images of great national figures, whether historical, recent or contemporary, in the form of busts, paintings or even photographs. For example, historian František Palacký (1798–1876), called the Father of the Nation, the Baroque pedagogue and philosopher Jan A. Komenský (1592–1670), called the Teacher of Nations, or Emperor Charles IV (1316–1378), called Father of the Fatherland, stood out in Czech national houses. In some cases, the Czechs also turned to the times of legends – in Národní dům in Místek, the glass panels of one of the doors of the hall are decorated with portraits of the mythical rulers of Prague Libuše and Přemysl, and the curtain in the hall of Besední dům in Brno depicted the fabled singer Lumír, known only, however, from the forged Dvůr Králové manuscript.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, folklore and Sokol themes appeared as well.

It was no different in German national houses. The most significant in this respect was undoubtedly the one in Brno, for which a comprehensive decorative program was very carefully conceived. Along with industrialist Friedrich Wannieck, who was the father of the whole idea, the painters Emil

<sup>36</sup> AMB, K15: Akciová společnost Besedního domu, inv. no. 73; Jiří PERNES, *Pod moravskou orlicí, aneb dějiny moravanství*, Brno 1996, pp. 103–106.

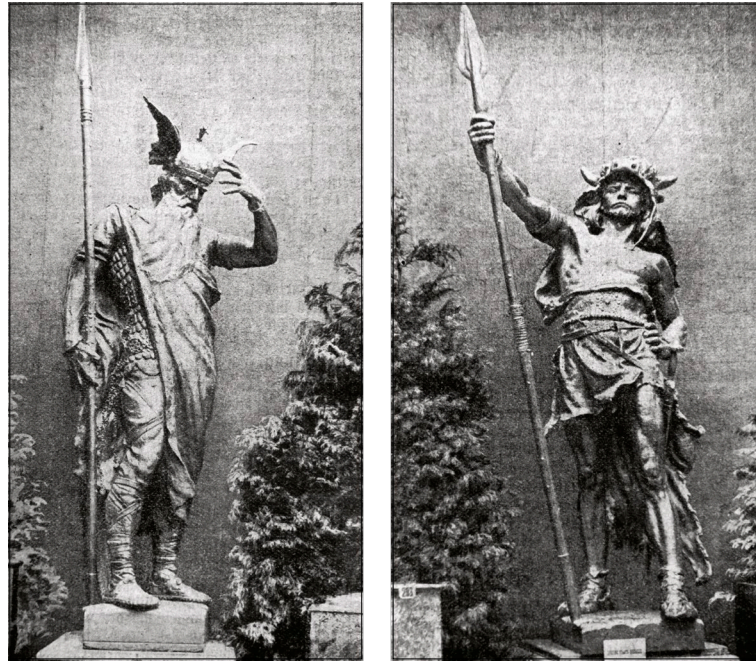
<sup>37</sup> See Milan HLAVAČKA, *Konec královského města Znojma, Šestnáct příspěvků k dějinám (Velké) Moravy. Sborník k narozeninám Bohuslava F. Klímy* (eds. Libor Bílek, Josef Kováčik), Brno 2011, pp. 125–137.

<sup>38</sup> Milan ŘEPA, *Moravané, Němci, Rakušané. Vlasti moravských Němců v 19. století*, Praha 2014.

<sup>39</sup> This was the case in Brno, Šumperk, Znojmo. It was planned in Jihlava, and it was probably the case in Moravská Ostrava as well.

<sup>40</sup> Jan RANDÁK, *Báje rukopisů, Malované opony divadel českých zemí* (ed. Jiří Valenta), Praha 2010, pp. 100–101. The curtain was moved from Brno to Žďár nad Sázavou in the 1870s and ended up in the local national house.

6. Carl Wollek:  
Quadi kings Vannius and  
Gabinus, *Deutsches Haus, Brno*



Pirchan Sr. and sisters Maria and Sophie Görlich, historians Heinrich Kirchmayr and Gustav Traut- enberger, and the architect August Prokop took part in creating the concept of the program.<sup>41</sup> The interior decorations included depictions from Germanic mythology and history, focusing on the Quadi tribe inhabiting Moravia in the first centuries AD, as well as depictions of medieval Brno, the siege of the city by the Swedes during the Thirty Years' War, and the symbolic ploughing of Emperor Joseph II. in nearby Slavíkovice (Slawikowitz). A portrait gallery of preeminent members of the Mährisches Gewerbeverein was also present.<sup>42</sup> The fascination of the Brno Germans with the historical tribe of the Quadi was substantiated by Kirchmayr's theories that the Moravian Germans of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are descendants not only of colonists from the High Middle Ages but notably of ancient Germans.<sup>43</sup> The culmination of this obsession took place at the turn of the century with the acquisition of life-sized sculptures by Carl Wollek for the foyer of the German House, which represented the Quadi kings Gabinus and Vannius and the Germanic goddesses Nanna and Fria (fig. 6).

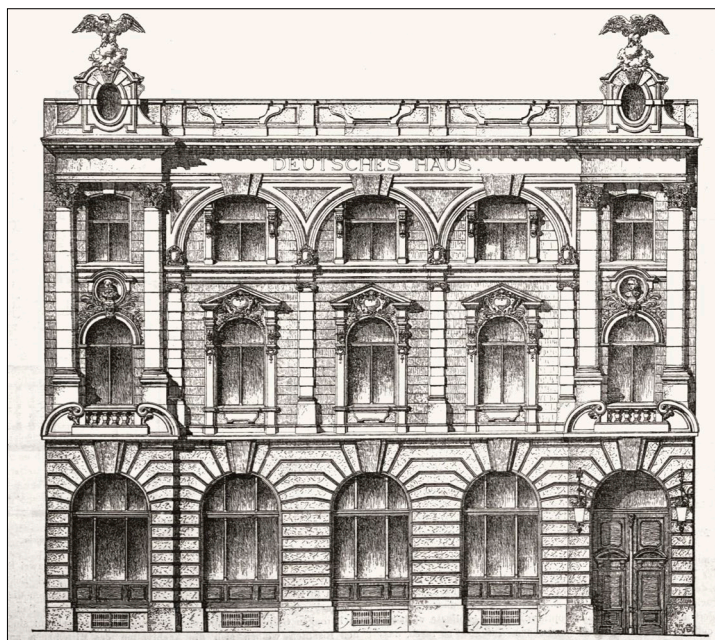
Such clearly communicated decoration could be found in other German houses in Moravia as well, although not to the same extent and sophistication as in Brno. In the German House in Moravská Ostrava, the railing of the balcony was decorated with two male figures – knights in armour with spears who referred to the medieval tradition of the so-called Roland statues.<sup>44</sup> Sculptures

<sup>41</sup> *Deutsches Haus in Brünn. Bolwerk des Deutschtums in der Brünnner Sprachinsel*, Leimen-Heidelberg 1961; Pavel CIBULKA, Historicko-mytologické motivy výzdoby Německého domu v Brně, *Paměť míst, událostí a osobností. Historie jako identita a manipulace* (eds. Milan Hlavačka, Antoine Marès, Magdaléna Pokorná), Praha 2011, pp. 348–365.

<sup>42</sup> AMB, Sbíрка fotografií U5, inv. no. Xb31, Xb59.

<sup>43</sup> Jan GALETA, Images and Reflections of Medieval Brno in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century, *Inventing Medieval Czechoslovakia 1918–1968. Between Slavs, Germans, and Totalitarian Regimes* (eds. Adrien Palladino, Ivan Foletti), Roma 2019, pp. 163–188.

<sup>44</sup> For more on this topic, see Věra LAŠTOVIČKOVÁ, *Cizí dům? Architektura českých Němců 1848–1891/Ein fremdes Haus? Die Architektur der Deutschböhmen 1848–1891*, Praha 2015, pp. 244–249.



7. Maximilian Katscher:  
*Deutsches Haus, Prostějov*

of Landsknechts guarded the entrance to the staircase in the German House in Litovel,<sup>45</sup> and the power of the knightly ideal is demonstrated by a stained glass panel with a knight at the Deutsches Vereinshaus in Šumperk.<sup>46</sup> Another popular German motif was the depiction of Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790) in the role of “patron of the Germans in the monarchy /.../, supporter of the German language and centralism /.../, forebearer of political liberalism.”<sup>47</sup> A large allegorical monument was erected in his honour in front of Brno’s Deutsches Haus, and his bust could be found on the façade of the Deutsches Haus in Prostějov together with a portrait of Francis Joseph I (fig. 7).

### Grand Opening, Speeches and Ephemeral Decoration

Ceremonial and symbolic festivities associated with the opening of new public buildings were perhaps even more significant before World War I than they are today. All the peculiarities that this entailed in the case of national houses can be illustrated by the example of the Czech Národní dům in Doubrava in Austrian Silesia (fig. 8). The opening of this essentially Italianising eclectic building began on the evening of September 3, 1903, when Sokol members arrived at the village from nearby Orlová and then made their way to the National House carrying lanterns in the evening twilight. At the end of their journey, they sang the national song *Kde domov můj*, which later became the Czech anthem, and a celebratory poem was then recited in the main hall. The poem’s opening words were:

<sup>45</sup> Státní okresní archiv Olomouc (SOKA Olomouc), Spolek Německý dům Litovel, Festrede, p. 7.

<sup>46</sup> Jan GALETA, Německý spolkový dům v Šumperku (Deutsches Vereinshaus), *Opuscula Historiae Artium*, 68/1, 2019, pp. 68–82.

<sup>47</sup> ŘEPA 2001 (n. 35), p. 237.





8. Miloslav Martinec:  
Národní dům, Doubrava

“We are in our own!”, and it dealt with the dedicated work and the suffering of the Czechs in Silesia.<sup>48</sup> Afterwards, a ‘performance’ took place in the form of a tableau vivant themed as “Tribute of the Nations to Palacký, Fügner, Tyrš and Komenský” – i.e. to four Czech greats – and a theatrical performance ensued. The next day the main celebrations started. Representatives of many associations from the surrounding area arrived and, accompanied by music, they proceeded from the station to the Národní dům. Young men in folk costumes lead the procession on horseback, each symbolically representing Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia, bearing the respective national emblems.<sup>49</sup> Several speeches were delivered in front of the building. In one of them, the builder Miloslav Martinec wished for the building “to become a bastion in this farthest Czech East, on which all the attacks of the enemy would shatter,”<sup>50</sup> and once again, *Kde domov můj* was sung. In the garden, under the streaming national banners, the Sokols performed their exercise routines, a band played, people danced and played skittles, and stands with food, beer and other refreshments were available.

This celebration included almost everything that took place at other national house openings as well. If there was anything missing at the festivities in Doubrava, it was, for example, decorated houses along the route of the parade, as well as more high profile guests from the ranks of politicians. In Moravia the deputies of the Imperial Council or the Moravian Diet were no exception, as they were happy to promote their public image while also adding to the gravitas of the event. The performed songs, theatre play, and tableau vivant, much like the façade of the building, which was decorated with the coats of arms of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia with the crown of St. Wenceslas, show how the Czech Silesians clearly cleaved to the idea of a united Czech nation in all three countries. Since they were only the third-largest group in the Duchy of Silesia after the Germans and Poles, they did not have any other options. Be that as it may, the celebrations in Doubrava demonstrate how organised and large these events could be, and they perfectly illustrate how they wavered between the seriousness of symbolic national manifestations on the one hand and folk festivals on the other.

Speeches were an integral part of festive occasions. They were another opportunity to express the national character of the building, another chance to spread national propaganda among those

<sup>48</sup> Z Dombrové, *Opavský týdeník*, 34/79, 10 October 1903, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>49</sup> Slavnost otevření /.../, *Ostravan*, 3/42, 11 October 1903, p. [3].

<sup>50</sup> Otevření Národn. domu v Doubravě, *Noviny těšinské*, 9/45, 10 October 1903, pp. 1–2; 9/46, 17 October 1903, p. 2.

assembled. It should be noted that such celebrations for a broad audience could be attended by many people with nationally ambivalent or lukewarm opinions, and it was advisable to capture their attention with the architecture, the visuals of the celebration, as well as with the spoken word. Common elements of these speeches can be traced across dozens of Czech and German national houses in Moravia and Silesia. In almost one hundred percent of cases, including Doubrava, the speakers referred to national houses as castles, fortresses or bastions of the nation. Thus, in Břeclav in 1911, they celebrated the building not only as a “protective bastion”, but also as a “charming home of German hospitality, which is to be a place of social gatherings and artistic enjoyment, as well as a meeting place for all Germans and a place of serious national deeds.”<sup>51</sup> In 1894, the Czechs, on the other hand, appreciated that in Jihlava “In the surf of the waves of furious German-national chauvinism, the Czech Beseda stood as a strong fortress,”<sup>52</sup> and in the case of the Dom Polski in Moravská Ostrava, it was said in 1900 that “a new border fortress of Polishness was opening.”<sup>53</sup>

The speeches also included strong and determined words about who is more at home in Moravia, which the speakers supported with references to history. In the German houses in Nový Jičín or Litovel, there were mentions of the founding of the towns in the Middle Ages by colonists from German lands and in Břeclav, even by the ancient Quadi and Marcomanni.<sup>54</sup> In Litovel, the Germans also dove into mythology when an appeal to the god Odin was made as part of a celebratory poem: *Bless our German house, Allfather*.<sup>55</sup> On the Czech side, it is worth mentioning the example from Moravská Ostrava, where charity was brilliantly transformed into national propaganda. Farmers from the area spontaneously brought free sand on their wagons for the construction of the Národní dům. However, when the building was opened, the event was symbolically exaggerated in a comparison to the famous Hussite warriors of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and their military leader: “It appeared as the battlewagon wall of the brave Žižka”.<sup>56</sup>

There were not only speeches made on festive occasions, the houses were also decorated with temporary symbols, most frequently with bunting.<sup>57</sup> On the German side, the use of Pan-German black-red-gold flags was quite common – in Litovel, they adorned the hall and the inscription *Deutsches Haus* on the façade was rendered in this tricolour,<sup>58</sup> while in Šumperk, the Pan-German flag was shown off on a promotional postcard and the ceremonial keys bore the tricolour as well.<sup>59</sup> Naturally, the Czechs also liked to wave flags, and they did so with Czech flags during the opening celebrations of houses in Vítkovice and Moravská Ostrava, for example, where the participants of the parade wore red and white sashes, and the ceremonial wagons were trimmed with linden leaves. In Olomouc, the Národní dům was decorated with an imperial and Slavic banner, i.e. the gold-black bicolour and the blue-white-red tricolour.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Ein Festtag für Deutsch-Lundenburg, *Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien*, 61/555, 18 December 1911, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> Bedřich BROŽ, Mé vzpomínky na Jihlavu, *Jihlavské listy*, 18/43, 27 October 1923, pp. 2–3.

<sup>53</sup> Dom Polski, *Głos Ludu Śląskiego*, 4/38, 15 September 1900, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Ein Festtag 1886 (n. 51) p. 9.

<sup>55</sup> SOKA Olomouc, Spolek Německý dům Litovel, Feltspruch vorgetragen von Luise Theilmer.

<sup>56</sup> K dějinám Nár. domu v Mor. Ostravě, *Ostravice*, 2/24, 16 June 1894, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. HROCH 2009 (n. 35), pp. 238–240.

<sup>58</sup> SOKA Olomouc, Spolek Německý dům Litovel, Festrede, p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> Eröffnung des Deutschen Vereinshauses, *Grenzbote des nordwestlichen Mährens*, 28/104, 31 December 1902, pp. [2–5].

<sup>60</sup> Na národní dům, *Selské listy*, 4/57, 22 July 1887, p. 3.

## Campaigns in the Press

As soon as a building is proclaimed a national ‘fortress’ and if it is said loudly and often enough, it will indeed become such a fortress, and it will be perceived as such by opponents who attack it. The least that could have happened was somewhat embarrassing attempts at pointed comments, as in the case of the Czechs writing about the Deutsches Haus in Litovel in 1899, stating that tinkers were needed to wire the building so that it would not fall apart, adding sarcastically: “Like Germanness, like German house – both are bursting on all sides!”<sup>61</sup> Likewise, the Germans did not avoid such attacks. In 1880, when the Czechs from Besední dům in Brno wanted the municipal gasworks to issue their bills in Czech and not in German, they received an answer in the German press that this was not going to happen and to “let them use Czech gas!”<sup>62</sup>

These attacks fit into the general context of a relatively tense and escalated situation between the two nations, where, thanks to the Austrian municipal electoral system based on the amount of taxes paid, most Moravian cities were controlled by the economically stronger Germans. The Czechs fought against this, for example, through the ‘To each their own’ (Czech: *Svůj k svému*) campaign, according to which the ‘proper’ Czechs were to shop only in stores owned by the Czechs and use the services of Czech craftsmen, thus supporting the nation not only socially but also economically. This was accompanied by calls for placing children in Czech schools and by the struggle for even establishing these schools against the will of the German town councils.<sup>63</sup> The Germans did not appreciate these strategies. They condemned them and even claimed that it was precisely such forms of economic and cultural nationalism that led them to build German houses in Moravský Krumlov and Litovel.<sup>64</sup>

In view of the foregoing, I believe that national houses can also be perceived as liminal spaces.<sup>65</sup> As soon as a person entered one of them, they crossed a certain boundary and defined themselves as a member of a particular nation or its supporter, and they also declared this publicly. Period reports also support this. Accordingly, the mayor of village of Radvanice, František Pastrňák, owing to his surname of Czech origin, allegedly wanted to establish a German school in his village and, therefore, lobbied the Deutscher Schulverein in nearby Moravská Ostrava in 1895. The meetings took place in the local Deutsches Haus, which the Czech newspapers strongly condemned, and they warned the citizens of Radvanice of their mayor’s behaviour and against consorting with the Germans.<sup>66</sup> In Místek in 1908, the press vigorously tore into several members of the local Czech elite and scolded them for attending concerts and festivities at the local Deutsches Haus instead of frequenting the Národní dům (fig. 9). Even two young women from prominent Czech families, who also visited the German House, could not escape harsh criticism. According to the author of the

<sup>61</sup> Hledají se drátaři!, *Litovelské noviny*, 9/2, 27 January 1899, p. [2].

<sup>62</sup> Nichts Deutsch, *Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien*, 30/238, 16 October 1880, p. [3].

<sup>63</sup> J. ČECH, *Svůj k svému!*, Praha 1883; Albín BRÁF, *České a německé svůj k svému*, Praha 1911; Karel MÜLLER jr., Heslo „svůj k svému“ v hospodářské emancipaci české společnosti. Česká společnost, nacionalismus a národní hospodářství, *Střední Evropa. Revue pro středoevropskou kulturu a politiku*, 89, 1999, pp. 109–123; 90, 1999, pp. 88–104.

<sup>64</sup> Mähr.-Kromau, *Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien*, 43/13, 17 January 1893, p. 3; Ein deutsches Fest in Littau, *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 14/138, 19 June 1893, p. [4].

<sup>65</sup> More on liminality in art history, see Ivan FOLETTI, Liminality. Space and Imagination, *Migrating Art Historians. On the Sacred Ways*, Brno-Roma 2018, pp. 109–117.

<sup>66</sup> Z Radvanic, *Ostravice*, 3/49, 3 August 1895, p. 2.





9. František Staněk,  
Antonín Tebich, František R. Tichý:  
*Národní dům, Místek*



10. Zdenko Vodička:  
*Deutsches Haus, Litovel*

article, “it would be our pleasure to enlighten the young ladies on how we imagine the behaviour of a Czech lady in public life and – within the family as well.”<sup>67</sup> The Czechs who visited the German House were thus publicly disgraced without any hesitation, and the two young ladies were addressed by the editor’s sharp recommendation, calling for a kind of national re-education.

The press went even further in Litovel, where it published a letter sent by an anonymous contributor. He sternly rebuked the local miller František Schuster, stating that he “proves his Germanness with his person, family, children and everything,” and that “His heart draws him to that ‘german house’, which twice I have seen him leaving.”<sup>68</sup> The miller had to defend himself in a statement, in which he claimed that he is a good Czech, that he does not visit the Deutsches Haus (fig. 10) and

<sup>67</sup> To jsme už hodně daleko!, *Noviny Těšínské*, 14/12, 11 January 1908, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Chytá na cigáry, *Litovelské noviny* 9/17, 15 September 1899, p. [3].

that, on the contrary, he only goes to a Czech restaurant with his family.<sup>69</sup> It is certainly possible that it could be, for example, a personal vendetta, for which the press at the time simply provided space, or competition attempting to damage Schuster's mill. As can be seen from all the examples, however, a visit to the national house of 'the others' could have very profound personal, social, and economic consequences and damage a person's reputation.

## Conclusion

The previous examples and reflections on style, iconography, celebrations, and the power of the press speak to the symbolic potential of national houses. If we consider these buildings as potential centres of national propaganda, then it becomes clear that it was possible to use their stylistic forms as well. National houses could also serve as 'showcases' for other works of art and symbols – whether associated with architecture or not – and could become a 'stage' for performative acts of a clearly national focus – from plays, to songs and speeches – and they could undoubtedly become targets of hatred,<sup>70</sup> as well as places which, by their meaning and symbolism, co-created the national attitudes of specific people.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Oprava, *Litovelské noviny* 9/19, 13 October 1899, p. [2].

<sup>70</sup> Jan GALETA, National Houses – Damnatio Memoriae. Architecture and Nationalism at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and in 20<sup>th</sup> Century, *Admired as well as Overlooked* 2015 (n. 31), pp. 119–136.

<sup>71</sup> This paper is part of the MUNI/A/1192/2019 research project at the Masaryk University in Brno. It was translated by Anna Jaegerová.

## Narodni domovi na Moravskem in v avstrijski Šleziji pred letom 1914

### Arhitektura in likovna umetnost kot priložnost za manifestacijo nacionalne pripadnosti

#### *Povzetek*

Narodni domovi so bili v času nacionalnega preporoda med najpomembnejšimi stavbami na Moravskem in v avstrijski Šleziji ne le za tamkajšnje Čehe, ampak tudi za Nemce in Poljake. Kot središča javnega in kulturnega življenja v mestih so bili deležni pozornosti celotne liberalne družbe. Zgrajeni so bili po zaslugi civilne družbe in lokalnih elit, saj so jih financirala društva in združenja, sredstva pa so pridobivali tudi z nabirkami. Razumljivo je, da so bile stavbe s tako jasno opredeljeno nacionalno usmerjeno funkcijo tudi priložnost, z nacionalno propagando nagovoriti tako svojo okolico kot tudi obiskovalce. Pričakovali bi, da bo pri tovrstnih stavbah arhitekturni slog najpomembnejši element nacionalne reprezentance. Vendar pa lahko na Moravskem o nacionalnem slogu kot programski odločitvi govorimo le ob severni neorenesansi, ki so jo uporabljali Nemci, medtem ko Čehi svojega sloga niso imeli. Zanimivo je tudi, da med pogoji številnih natečajnih razpisov in v zapisnikih različnih društev naročniki zunanje podobe stavbe sploh niso opredelili, če so jo že, pa zelo nedoločno. Naročniki so zelo natančno definirali funkcionalne in prostorske rešitve zgradb in se o tem dogovarjali z arhitekti, medtem ko so pri izrazito umetniškem vprašanju sloga rešitev ponavadi prepustili arhitektom in se zanesli na njihovo strokovno znanje. Društvom je zadoščalo, da so stavbe ustrezale idealom monumentalnosti in dostojanstva.

Ker je arhitekturi sami le redko uspelo reprezentirati nacionalnost, je bil v tem pogledu pomemben element dekoracije, pri kateri so npr. štukature in kipi na fasadi pa tudi umetniška dela in notranja oprema v stavbi opozarjali na narodno kulturo, zgodovino in mitologijo. Pri Čehih so bili pomembni grbi dežel Češke krone, saj so izražali ne samo češko nacionalno identiteto, ampak tudi njihov politični program. Če sta pod krono sv. Václava ob češkem levu stala moravski in šlezijiški orel, je to odražalo zgodovinske in pravne ideje čeških politikov tistega časa, tj. idejo o nedeljivosti dežel Češke krone znotraj Avstro-Ogrske in nedotakljivosti zgodovinskih meja. Na nemški strani je igralo ključno vlogo prepričanje, da so moravski Nemci ne le potomci srednjeveških kolonistov, temveč tudi starodavnega germanskega plemena Kvadov. To je doseglo vrhunec v predverju Nemške hiše v Brnu, ki so ga okrasili s kipi kvadskih kraljev Gabinija in Vanija ter germanskih boginj Nane in Frije v naravni velikosti, delom Carla Wolleka. Pogosta so bila tudi umetniška dela, ki so izražala viteške ideje, kakršno je slikano okno na stopnišču Nemške hiše v Šumperku.

Odlične priložnosti za širjenje nacionalne propagande so bile slavnostne otvoritve narodnih domov. Poleg povork z alegoričnimi vozovi in narodnimi nošami, pesmi, gledaliških iger in živih slik, ki so poudarjale nacionalne ideje in jih predstavljale široki javnosti, so na teh zborih igrali pomembno vlogo nastopi politikov in njihovi govori. Govorniki so o narodnih domovih skoraj zmeraj govorili kot o gradovih, utrdbah ali obrambnih stolpih naroda, omenjali pa so tudi lokalne zgodovinske dogodke. Zgradbe so bile okrašene tudi s provizoričnimi simboli, najpogosteje z zastavami – Nemci so v glavnem uporabljali pangermansko zastavo, Čehi dvobarvno belo-rdečo in panslavistično zastavo, oba naroda pa sta manifestirala svojo pripadnost avstrijski državi z rabo zlato-črne cesarske zastave.

Časopisje, značilno povezano s političnimi strankami, je imelo nenadomestljivo vlogo tako pri nacionalni propagandi kot tudi pri recepciji narodnih domov. Jezik v časopisih tega obdobja je bil zelo agresiven; mnogi češki članki so se norčevali iz nemških narodnih domov in obratno. Ko so na primer Čehi v Brnu od mestne plinarne zahtevali, da za Besední dům izdaja račune v češčini in ne v nemščini,

jim je nemški tisk svetoval, naj uporabljajo »češki plin«. Napadali pa so tudi posameznike in obsojali njihovo vedenje. Tako je tisk obrekoval in očrnil nekatere člane češke elite v mestu Místek, ker so obiskali tamkajšnjo Nemško hišo.

Če imamo torej narodne domove za potencialna središča nacionalne propagande, potem je razumljivo, da so v propagandne namene izkoristili tudi njihove slogovne oblike. Služili pa so tudi kot »izložbe« drugih umetniških del in simbolov ter postali prizorišča dogajanj z očitnim nacionalnim poudarkom.



*Facies  
orientalis.*

*Mausoleum  
et  
crypta sepulcralis  
FERDINANDI II IMP.  
Gracii prope Collegium  
Soc. Jesu.*

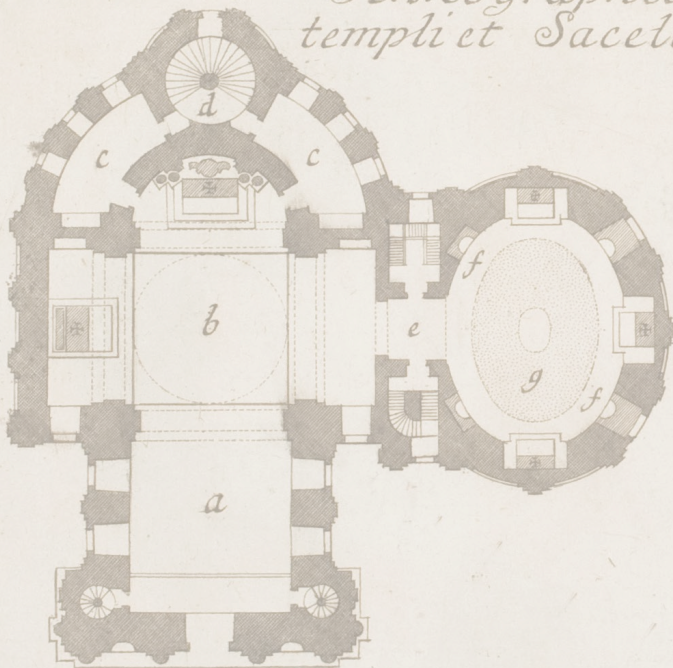
*Conspectus  
exterior  
lateralis.*



## APPARATUS

*Tehnographia  
templi et Sacelli.*

*Sectio quasi per medium  
a templo a, sacello f, et Crypta g.*



*Literarum explicatio.*  
a. Templum. e. Oratorium.  
b. Tholus. f. Sacellum.  
c. Sacristia. g. Crypta.  
d. Turris.





# IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

## ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

**Martin Bele**

*Je res to storil? Friderik V. Ptujski – strahopetec ali žrtev?*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek obravnava spor med štajerskima plemiškima rodbinama s sedežema na Ptuj in Liechtensteinu, ki se je kratek čas odvijal v 13. stoletju. Nekateri spisi, ki so nastali v kontekstu tega spora, imamo lahko za prve ohranjene primerke srednjeveške propagande ene štajerske rodbine proti drugi. Namen članka je obravnavati najpomembnejši narativni vir tistega časa, t. i. *Štajersko rimano kroniko* Otokarja iz Geule, ki je bil v službi liechtensteinske rodbine. Eden od ciljev kronike je bil predstaviti Friderika V. Ptujkega kot strahopetca, ki naj bi bil pobegnil iz bitke na Moravskem polju. Članek predstavlja razloge za spor in njegov potek, dejansko obtožbo strahopetnosti, presojo resnice za obtožbo ter epilog celotnega spora med rodbinama. Obema štajerskima plemičema – Otonu II. Liechtensteinskemu in Frideriku V. Ptujskemu – se je v začetku osemdesetih let 13. stoletja uspelo pobotati, kar sta poudarila tudi z medsebojno poroko svojih otrok.

**Ključne besede:** srednjeveški spor, vojvodina Štajerska, 13. stoletje, *Štajerska rimana kronika*, Otokar iz Geule, Oton II. Liechtensteinski, Friderik V. Ptujski, bitka na Moravskem polju, propaganda

**Jan Galeta**

*Narodni domovi na Moravskem in v avstrijski Šleziji pred letom 1914. Arhitektura in likovna umetnost kot priložnost za manifestacijo nacionalne pripadnosti*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Tako imenovani narodni domovi so ena izmed posebnosti ne le arhitekture temveč tudi narodnega preporoda na območju habsburškega cesarstva v obdobju od ok.

**Martin Bele**

*Did he Really Do it? Frederick V of Ptuj – Coward or Victim?*

1.01 Original scientific article

The article addresses the brief 13<sup>th</sup> century dispute between the Styrian noble families of Ptuj (German: Pettau) and Liechtenstein. The related texts should be considered as some of the earliest still preserved examples of medieval propaganda of one Styrian family against another. The paper's purpose is to highlight the most important narrative source of the time, Ottokar aus der Gaal's *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*. This Chronicle was written by a Liechtenstein vassal, and was meant to portray Frederick V of Ptuj as a coward – specifically during the battle on the Marchfeld. The article discusses the reason behind and the course of the feud, the actual accusation of cowardice, the validity of the accusation and lastly the epilogue of the whole dispute between the parties. Both of the Styrian nobles involved – Otto II of Liechtenstein and Frederick V of Ptuj – obviously came to an agreement sometime in the early 1280s and sealed hostilities with a marriage of their children.

**Keywords:** medieval dispute, duchy of Styria, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*, Ottokar aus der Gaal, Otto II of Liechtenstein, Frederick V of Ptuj, battle on the Marchfeld, propaganda

**Jan Galeta**

*National Houses in Moravia and Austrian Silesia before 1914. Architecture and Fine Arts as an Opportunity for the Manifestation of National Allegiance*

1.01 Original scientific article

National Houses are one of the phenomena not only of the architecture but also of the national revivals in the territory of the Habsburg Empire in ca. 1850–1914. These

leta 1850 do leta 1914. Ta središča družabnega življenja so gradila društva in združenja, ne samo za svoje sedeže, temveč tudi z namenom privabiti čim širše občinstvo in s svojimi gledališkimi igrami, plesi, proslavami, predavanji ali restavracijami spodbuditi narodno zavest. Na Moravskem in v Šleziji so tovrstne objekte gradili Čehi, Nemci in Poljaki.

Stavbe s tako jasno opredeljeno nacionalno funkcijo so ponujale tudi priložnost z nacionalno propagando nagovoriti tako svojo okolico kot tudi obiskovalce. To je bilo mogoče doseči z različnimi sredstvi: z izbiro arhitekturnega sloga, ikonografijo arhitekturne dekoracije in umetniških del, prireditvami ob slavnostnih otvoritvah narodnih domov in govori na teh dogodkih, kampanjami v časopisu, katerih namen je bil očrtni narodne domove nasprotnega naroda in njihove obiskovalce ter tudi t. i. »odpadnike«. Članek na konkretnih primerih in v širšem kontekstu predstavlja povezavo med arhitekturo in nacionalno propagando.

**Ključne besede:** narodni domovi, zgodovina arhitekture, nacionalizem, Moravska, Šlezija, nemška hiša

**Susanne König-Lein**

*Habsburški mavzolej v sekovski samostanski cerkvi*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

S tem ko je nadvojvoda Karel II. Avstrijski kot prostor za svoj pokop in pokop svoje družine izbral samostansko cerkev v Sekovi (Seckau), je poudaril njen status stolne cerkve sekovske škofije, ki je bil s širjenjem protestantizma v drugi polovici 16. stoletja ogrožen. Gradnjo in opremljanje mavzoleja v letih 1587–1612 so v glavnem izvedli severnoitalijanski stavbarji, slikarji in štukaterji. Po eni strani so bili sposobnejši, po drugi strani pa so bili, drugače kot štajerski umetniki, katoliške vere. Delo in izbrani materiali so predstavljali velik strošek. Po smrti nadvojvode sta si njegova vdova, nadvojvodinja Marija, in kasneje njegov sin, nadvojvoda Ferdinand, kljub finančnim težavam prizadevala mavzolej dokončati. Kompleksna ikonografija reliefov na epitafu in slopih ter na stropnih in stenskih poslikavah aludira na nadvojvodo Karla II in njegovo družino v smislu glorifikacije predstavnikov in zaščitnikov katoliške vere. Habsburški mavzolej je kot celostna umetnina sijajna manifestacija začetka protireformacije.

**Ključne besede:** Habsburžani, Notranja Avstrija, protireformacija, mavzolej, nadvojvoda Karel II. Avstrijski, nadvojvodinja Marija, Alexander de Verda, Teodoro Ghisi, Sebastiano Carlone

centres of social life were built by clubs and associations, not just as their private seats, but to attract a greater audience and boost national enthusiasm through theatre plays, balls, fests, lectures, or welcoming restaurants. In the case of Moravia and Silesia, these houses were built by Czechs, Germans, and Poles.

It is evident that buildings with such clearly nationally orientated functions allowed for national propaganda to reach out to their surroundings as well as their visitors. This was accomplished by several means: the architectural style itself; the iconography of architectural decoration and works of art; the festivities accompanying the ceremonial openings of national houses and the speeches given at these events; the campaigns led by the press to defame opposing national houses and their visitors, as well as so-called 'renegades'. Thus, the paper presents a connection between architecture and national propaganda and demonstrates it through specific examples in a broad period context.

**Keywords:** National Houses, history of architecture, nationalism, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, Deutsches Haus

**Susanne König-Lein**

*The Habsburg Mausoleum in Seckau Monastery Church*

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

With the choice of the Seckau collegiate church as a burial place for himself and his family, Archduke Karl II emphasized its status as the cathedral church of the diocese of Seckau, which was endangered by the spread of Protestantism in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The construction and furnishing of the mausoleum in the years 1587 to 1612 were mainly carried out by northern Italian builders, painters, and plasterers who, on the one hand had special abilities, and on the other hand – in contrast to the Styrian artists – were Catholics. Large funds had to be raised for their fees and for the selected material. After the Archduke's death, his widow, Archduchess Maria, and later his son, Archduke Ferdinand, were very keen on completing the mausoleum despite difficulties in funding. The complex iconography of the reliefs on the epitaph and on the pillars, as well as the ceiling and wall paintings, refers several times to Archduke Karl and his family in order to glorify the regent as representative and protector of the Catholic faith. As a "Gesamtkunstwerk", the Habsburg Mausoleum is a splendid manifestation of the beginning of the Counter-Reformation.

**Keywords:** Habsburgs, Inner Austria, Counter-Reformation, Mausoleum, Archduke Charles II., Archduchess Mary, Alexander de Verda, Teodoro Ghisi, Sebastiano Carlone

**Miha Kosi**

*Reprezentativne zgradbe grofov Celjskih –  
izraz dinastične propagande*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Grofje Celjski so bili nedvomno najpomembnejša plemiška rodbina z izvorom na današnjem slovenskem ozemlju. Njihov meteorski vzpon je dosegel zenit s povišanjem v državne kneze leta 1436, vendar so že leta 1456 izumrli. Na višku moči so posedovali okrog 125 gradov, kar je bil rezultat več kot stoletja dolge načrtne grajske politike. Eden od načinov izražanja moči in prestiža so bile tudi reprezentativne zgradbe, obenem oblika dinastične propagande. Članek prikazuje nekatere prestižne zgradbe Celjskih: mestni grad v Celju, njihovo glavno rezidenco, dva strateška gradova na dostopih iz Italije (Vipava, Postojna), tri nove, ki so jih grofje zgradili v 15. stoletju (Bela Peč, Fridrihštajn, Mokrice), dva na prestižnih lokacijah na Koroškem (Landskronn) oziroma pri Dunaju (Liechtenstein) in njihove mestne rezidence na Dunaju, v Zagrebu, Budimu in Beogradu.

**Ključne besede:** grofje Celjski, gradovi, grajska politika, srednji vek, palača, Celje, Dunaj, Zagreb, Budim, Beograd

**Tina Košak**

*Med uniformnim in edinstvenim. Upodobitve  
dobrotnikov cistercijskega samostana Stična*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek obravnava najobsežnejši ohranjeni sklop upodobitev dobrotnikov iz slovenskih samostanov, tj. portrete dobrotnikov in deželnih knezov iz cistercijskega samostana Stična. Osredotoča se na tipologijo, pomen in slogovne značilnosti z ozirom na sorodne ohranjene cikle iz (notranje)avstrijskih samostanov in z ozirom na njihove likovne in pisne vire. Celopostavni portretni upodobitvi vojvode Leopolda III. in njegove soproge Viride (Narodna galerija, Slovenija), doslej pripisani Ferdinandu Stainerju, razkrivata izrazite sorodnosti s serijo šestih celopostavnih upodobitev dobrotnikov cistercijskega samostana Vetrinj Ferdinanda Fromillerja. Atribucijo Fromillerju omogoča tudi Fromillerjeva risba dobrotnika, identičnega Leopoldu III., v Koroškem deželnem arhivu. Tudi primerjalna analiza desetih ovalnih portretov stiških dobrotnikov in deželnih knezov omogoča tezo, da so dela nastala v Fromillerjevi delavnici. Portreti so nastali v naslonu na ilustracije v knjigah portretov, kot vir napisov na spodnjem delu

**Miha Kosi**

*Representative Buildings of the Counts of Cilli –  
an Expression of Dynastic Propaganda*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The Counts of Cilli (Celje) were undoubtedly the most important noble family to originate from the area of present-day Slovenia. Their meteoric rise reached its peak with their elevation to the rank of imperial princes in 1436, although the dynasty died out in 1456. At the height of their might they possessed more than 125 castles, the result of a century-long deliberate castle politics. One distinct way to express might and prestige was through representative buildings, in itself also a dynastic propaganda. This article presents some of the Cilli's more prestigious buildings: The town palace in Celje, their main residence, two strategic castles on the approaches from Italy (Wipach/Vipava, Adelsberg/Postojna), three new fortifications built by the counts themselves in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Weißenfels, Friedrichstein, Mokrice), two on prestigious locations in Carinthia (Landskronn) and above Vienna (Liechtenstein), and their residences in the urban environments of Vienna, Zagreb, Buda and Belgrade.

**Keywords:** Counts of Cilli, castles, castle politics, Middle Ages, palace, Celje, Vienna, Zagreb, Buda, Belgrade

**Tina Košak**

*Between Uniformity and Uniqueness. Depictions of  
Benefactors of Stična Cistercian Abbey*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The article focuses on the largest surviving ensemble of portraits of lay dignitaries from Slovenian monasteries, i.e. depictions of the benefactors from Stična abbey. It draws particular attention to their typology, comparisons with similar surviving works from (Inner) Austrian monasteries as well as their models and written sources. Full-figure life-size depictions of Leopold III, Duke of Austria and his wife Viridis (National Gallery of Slovenia, Ljubljana), hitherto ascribed to Ferdinand Stainer, reveal strong parallels with a series of six benefactors of Viktring abbey by Josef Ferdinand Fromiller, now in the Carinthian State Museum in Klagenfurt, and can be based on Fromiller's benefactor drawing, which is identical to Leopold III, attributed to Fromiller. Similarly, comparative analysis of ten oval portraits of the provincial princes and benefactors of Stična (in the National Gallery and the National Museum of Slovenia) reveals that they were also most probably made in Fromiller's workshop, closely following illustrations in portrait books, which

ovalov pa je bila identificirana leta 1719 dokončana *Idiographia* Pavla Puclja.

**Ključne besede:** upodobitve dobrotnikov, portret, knjige portretov, Stična, Josef Ferdinand Fromiller, Ferdinand Stainer, Leopold III. Avstrijski, Viridis Visconti

are identified here. Moreover, the chronicle of Stična abbey by Paolo Puzel dating to 1719, has been identified as the source of the inscriptions on the lower part of the oval portraits.

**Keywords:** depictions of benefactors, portraiture, portrait books, Stična (Sittich) abbey, Josef Ferdinand Fromiller, Ferdinand Stainer, Leopold III, Viridis Visconti

### **Vesna Krmelj**

*Narodi gredo svojo silno pot. Položaj in ustvarjalnost likovnih umetnikov med prvo svetovno vojno na Kranjskem med cenzuro in propagando*

### **Vesna Krmelj**

*The Nations Go Their Own Way. The Position and Creativity of Artists in Carniola between Censorship and Propaganda during the First World War*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

Prispevek z vidika cenzure in propagande obravnava pogoje za umetniško produkcijo v času vojnega absolutizma na Kranjskem, kjer je generacija slovenske moderne in impresionistov šele vzpostavljala pogoje za institucionalni razvoj slovenske umetnosti in s tem posledično tudi za uspešno propagando. Številni umetniki zato v vojni propagandi niso našli le možnosti za preživetje, temveč so v povečanem obtoku in pomenu vizualnih sporočil hkrati prepoznali tudi priložnost za uveljavitev tako osebnih kot narodnih idealov. Kljub prevladujočim avstrijsko-germanskim vzorcem so skozi likovno tradicijo narodne pokrajine, ljudsko umetnost in slovensko poezijo našli načine za spodbujanje slovenske nacionalne zavesti.

The article discusses the conditions for art production at the time of war absolutism in Carniola from the point of view of censorship and propaganda. In Carniola, the generation of the Slovene moderna and the impressionists had only begun to establish the conditions for an institutional development of Slovene art and, consequently, for successful propaganda. This is the reason why numerous artists found in war propaganda not only possibilities for survival, but they also recognised in the increased circulation and meaning of visual messages an opportunity to establish personal and national ideals. Despite prevalent Austrian and German models, they found ways to encourage Slovene national awareness through the art tradition of national landscape, folk art, and Slovene poetry.

**Ključne besede:** umetnost med prvo svetovno vojno, produkcijski pogoji, Kranjska, cenzura in propaganda, nacionalna pokrajina, Josip Mantuani, Ivan Vavpotič, križani vojak, Jakopičev paviljon, recepcija

**Keywords:** art during the First World War, production circumstances, Carniola, censorship and propaganda, national landscape, Josip Mantuani, Ivan Vavpotič, crucified soldier, Jakopič Pavilion, reception

### **Franci Lazarini**

*Nacionalni slogi kot propagandno sredstvo prebujajočih se narodov. Slovenski in drugi nacionalni slogi v arhitekturi okoli leta 1900*

### **Franci Lazarini**

*National Styles as a Means of Propaganda of the Awakening Nations. Slovenian and Other National Styles in Architecture around 1900*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

Prispevek obravnava različne nacionalne arhitekturne sloge, značilne za arhitekturo zadnjih desetletij Habsburške monarhije, na območju Slovenije, jih umešča v sočasno avstro-ogrsko arhitekturno produkcijo in skuša opredeliti njihovo propagandno vlogo. Predstavljeni so poskusi Ivana Jagera, Cirila Metoda Kocha in Ivana Vurnika za oblikovanje slovenskega nacionalnega sloga, obravnavani pa so tudi primeri češkega in nemškega

The article addresses various national architectural styles characteristic of architecture of the last decades of the Habsburg Monarchy on the territory of Slovenia. It places them within concurrent Austro-Hungarian architectural production and tries to determine their propaganda role. It presents Ivan Jager, Ciril Metod Koch and Ivan Vurnik's efforts for designing Slovenian national style, while it also discusses examples of Czech and German national

nacionalnega sloga (nemške neorenesanse). V zaključnem delu avtor ovrže opredelitev opusa Lászla Takátsa v Murski Soboti za primer madžarskega nacionalnega sloga.

**Ključne besede:** arhitektura, Slovenija, Avstro-Ogrska, pozni historizem, secesija, slovenski nacionalni slog, češki nacionalni slog, nemška neorenesansa, madžarski nacionalni slog, propaganda

#### Edgar Lein

*Gradec in Rim – bazilika sv. Petra kot vzor za cerkev sv. Katarine in mavzolej*

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Mavzolej v Gradcu so gradili od leta 1614 dalje po načrtih Giovannijske Pietra de Pomisa, njegov naročnik pa je bil nadvojvoda Ferdinand (od leta 1619 cesar Ferdinand II.). Prvotna zasnova fasade je nastala pod vplivom cerkvenih pročelij Andrea Palladia. Po letu 1621 je bila fasada povišana z nadstropjem atike, ki poteka okoli celotne zgradbe, in zaključena s trikotnim čelom, nad katerim se pne mogočen segmentni lok. Ta motiv, ki ga je prvi uporabil Michelangelo, najdemo tudi nad portali stolnice v Reggio Emilii in cerkve Il Gesu v Rimu. Tudi arhitekturna členitev zunanjsčine sega vse do Michelangelovega osnutka zunanjsčine bazilike sv. Petra. Bogate dekorativne oblike imajo milanski ali lombardski značaj. Posrednik rimskih arhitekturnih oblik je bil jezuit Wilhelm Lamormaini, ki je v Gradcu deloval kot sveto valec in spovednik nadvojvode Ferdinanda in njegove družine in je verjetno imel odločilno vlogo pri preoblikovanju mavzoleja v spomenik protireformacije.

**Ključne besede:** cerkev sv. Katarine in mavzolej v Gradcu, Giovanni Pietro de Pomis, cesar Ferdinand II., Wilhelm Lamormaini, jezuiti, Il Gesù, bazilika sv. Petra, pročelja Palladijevih cerkva, milanska in lombardska arhitektura, Michelangelo

#### Mija Oter Gorenčič

*Kartuzijanska politika grofov celjskih – zgled za Habsburžane?*

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prispevku je raziskano, ali je mogoče prepoznati medsebojne vplive in zglede v kartuzijanski politiki Habsburžanov in grofov Celjskih. Da bi našli odgovor na to vprašanje, so bile pregledane listine, ki izpričujejo hkratno

styles (the German Neo-Renaissance). In the concluding part, the author disproves the definition of László Takáts' oeuvre in Murska Sobota as an example of Hungarian national style.

**Keywords:** architecture, Slovenia, Austria-Hungary, Late Historicism, Art Nouveau, Slovenian National Style, Czech National Style, German Neo-Renaissance, Hungarian National Style, propaganda

#### Edgar Lein

*Graz and Rome – St. Peter's Basilica as a Model for St. Catherine's Church and Mausoleum*

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

The Mausoleum in Graz was built after 1614 by Giovanni Pietro de Pomis on commission of Archduke Ferdinand (since 1619 Emperor Ferdinand II). The first design of the façade was influenced by Andrea Palladio's church façades. After 1621 the façade was raised by an attic storey, which runs around the entire building, and crowned with a triangular pediment, which is vaulted by a mighty segmental arch. This motif, first used by Michelangelo, can also be found above the entrance portals of the Cathedral of Reggio Emilia and Il Gesù in Rome. The structure of the outer walls of the building can also be traced back to Michelangelo's design of the outer walls of St. Peter's. The rich decorative forms are of Milanese or Lombard character. Jesuit Wilhelm Lamormaini was the mediator of the Roman architectural forms. Active in Graz as an advisor and confessor to Ferdinand and the archducal family he likely held a decisive role in the transformation of the Mausoleum into a Monument of the Counter-Reformation.

**Keywords:** St. Catherine's Church and Mausoleum in Graz, Giovanni Pietro de Pomis, emperor Ferdinand II, Wilhelm Lamormaini, Jesuits, Il Gesù, St. Peter's Basilica, façades of Palladio's churches, milanese and lombard architecture, Michelangelo

#### Mija Oter Gorenčič

*The Carthusian Policy of the Counts of Cilli – a Model for the Habsburgs?*

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

The paper discusses whether it is possible to discern mutual influences in the Carthusian policy of the Habsburgs and the Counts of Cilli. The documents that attest to the simultaneous connection between the Carthusians, the



povezavo med kartuzijani, Habsburžani in Celjani. Ugotovljena je bila tesna prepletenost, ki se kaže tudi na umetnostnem področju. Najbolj reprezentativen umetnostni spomenik te povezanosti je strešni stolpič kartuzije Jurklošter, ki je v članku na novo časovno umeščen, in sicer v sredino 14. stoletja. Kartuzijanska politika grofov Celjskih, ki so imeli svoj sedež na južnem Štajerskem v bližini kartuzij Žiče in Jurklošter, in tesni medsebojni kontakti so bili zagotovo ena od najpomembnejših vzpodbud za Habsburžane pri njihovi odločitvi za naselitev kartuzijanov v okolici Dunaja in v Spodnji Avstriji in za pokop v kartuzijanskih cerkvah.

**Ključne besede:** srednji vek, grofje Celjski, Habsburžani, kartuzijani, kartuzijanski samostani, Jurklošter (Gairach), Gaming

#### Friedrich Polleroß

*Portrait in propaganda na primeru cesarja Karla VI.*

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek podaja pregled javnih funkcij cesarskih portretov na primeru portretov Karla VI., iz čigar časa je ohranjenih veliko pisnih in slikovnih virov. Ena od glavnih tem je uporaba portretov v procesu iskanja vladarjeve soproge in pri zaročnih slovesnostih. Po nekaj Karlovih otroških portretih je v času španske nasledstvene vojne nastala množica vladarjevih portretov, zaradi katerih je prišlo celo do »portretne vojne«. Podeljevanje portretnih miniatur in častnih medalj ter uporaba državnih portretov sta imela pomembno politično vlogo pri dednih poklonitvah deželnih stanov. Tudi pri drugih praznovanjih so bile vladarjeve slikarske in kiparske portretne upodobitve predstavljene v javnosti. Samostojne portrete ali serije pa so zbirali v »cesarskih« ali »avstrijskih« dvoranah mestnih hiš (Dunaj, Bruselj, Maribor), samostanov (Salem, Ottobeuren, St. Florian, Osoje) in rezidenc cerkvenih knezov (Bamberg, Salzburg). Nekatere primere je mogoče najti tudi v plemiških dvorcih (Forchtenstein, Znojmo) ali uradnih vladnih in univerzitetnih stavbah.

**Ključne besede:** cesar Karl VI., funkcije portretov, državni potreti, ceremonial

Habsburgs, and the Counts of Cilli were analysed to answer this question. A close interconnectedness was discovered, which is also visible in the field of art. The most representational monument of this connection is a ridged turret of the Jurklošter charterhouse. The article establishes a new chronological placement of the turret, the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Carthusian policy of the Counts of Celje with their seat in southern Styria and therefore very close to the Charterhouses Žiče and Jurklošter and the tight mutual contacts were surely one of the most important encouragements for the Habsburg family in their decision to settle this elite monastic order near Vienna and in Lower Austria and to be buried in Carthusian churches.

**Keywords:** Middle Ages, Counts of Cilli (Celje), Habsburg Family, Carthusians, Carthusian monasteries, Jurklošter (Gairach), Gaming

#### Friedrich Polleroß

*Portrait and Propaganda at the Example of Emperor Charles VI*

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

The paper discusses the public functions of the imperial portrait exemplary with the portraits of Charles VI, where we have many texts and images as sources. The main themes are: the use of portraits during the search for princely spouses and the ceremonies of engagement. After a few child portraits of Charles there was a flood and even a war of portraits during the Spanish War of Succession. The distribution of portrait miniatures and medals of grace and the use of state portraits during ceremonies played an important political role in the recognition of the new ruler by his different states. Also, in other festivities, paintings or sculptures of the monarch were presented in public. Single portraits or series with the portrait of Charles were collected in the "Imperial or Austrian halls" of town halls (Vienna, Brussels, Maribor), abbeys (Salem, Ottobeuren, St. Florian or Ossiach), and in the residences of church princes (Bamberg and Salzburg). Some examples can also be found in the castles of aristocrats (Forchtenstein, Znojmo) or official government and university buildings.

**Keywords:** Emperor Charles VI, use of portraits, state portraits, ceremonial

**Petra Svoljšak**

*Umetnost med cenzuro in propagando  
v prvi svetovni vojni*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek analizira odnos avstrijskega državnega aparata do umetnosti med prvo svetovno vojno. Zelo pomembno vlogo je imela cenzura, ki ji je uspelo nadzirati vsa področja javnega in zasebnega življenja v avstrijski polovici monarhije, medtem ko je bilo upravljanje javnega mnenja v domeni Vojnega tiskovnega urada. Urad je izvajal nadzor nad umetniško propagando in tiskom, knjigami, razglednicami in drugimi javnimi mediji. V članku so analizirana področja dela urada in dejavnost umetniške skupine (Kunstgruppe), v katero so bili vključeni umetniki, ki so na svoj način spodbujali delo vojske; med njimi sta bila iz slovensko govorečih dežel Ivan Vavpotič in Luigi Kasimir. Seznam mobiliziranih umetnikov vsebuje tudi nekatera slavna imena svetovne umetnosti, na primer Oskarja Kokoschko in Egon Schieleja.

**Ključne besede:** prva svetovna vojna, Avstro-Ogrska, cenzura, propaganda, umetnost, Vojni tiskovni urad

**Polona Vidmar**

*Portreti kot vizualizirani spomin na dosežke zaslužnih mariborskih meščanov*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prispevku je analiziranih dvanajst portretov uglednih mariborskih meščanov, ki so bili ob koncu 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja naslikani za mariborski rotovž, občinsko hranilnico in prostore gledališko-kazinskega društva. Avtorica je analizirala upodobljene rekvizite glede na funkcijo portretirancev, ugotovila prvotno nahajališče portretov in na podlagi sočasnih časopisnih člankov in jubilejnih besedil navedla nagibe naročnikov ter portrete prvič predstavila v okviru sorodnih portretnih serij v prestolnicah (Dunaj, Gradec, Ljubljana, Zagreb) in bližnjih štajerskih mestih (Ptuj, Radgona). S portretnimi serijami županov, predstojnikov direkcije občinske hranilnice in gledališko-kazinskega društva so člani mariborske lokalnopolitične in finančne elite vizualizirali izjemne dosežke upodobljencev, da bi jim zagotovili trajen spomin in spodbujali bodoče kandidate. V kontekstu primerljivih srednjeevropskih portretnih galerij je pri mariborskih serijah manj pomembno kontinuirano upodabljanje nosilcev funkcije, poudarjena je propagandna vloga portreta kot nagrade za posameznikove izjemne dosežke.

**Petra Svoljšak**

*Art between Censorship and Propaganda  
during the First World War*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The essay deals with the relationship of the Austrian state apparatus to art during the First World War. A very important role was attributed to censorship, which succeeded in controlling all areas of public and private life in the Austrian half of the Monarchy, while public opinion lay in the domain of the War Press Office. The War Press Office exercised its control over artistic propaganda in the press, in books, in postcards and in other public media products. The article, therefore, discusses the office's fields of work and also sheds light on the activities of the art group (Kunstgruppe), which also 'recruited' artists for the war effort: Ivan Vavpotič and Luigi Kasimir from the Slovenian-speaking area. The list of mobilized artists contained a few famous names in the art world, such as Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele.

**Keywords:** First World War, Austria-Hungary, censorship, propaganda, Art, War Press Office

**Polona Vidmar**

*Portraits as a Visualised Memory of Meritorious Achievements of Maribor's Townspeople*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The article analyses 12 portraits of renowned Maribor townspeople, which were painted for Maribor Town Hall, Maribor Savings Bank, and the rooms of the Town Theatre and Casino Society at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The author analysed the painted requisites based on the function of the portrayed, discovered the original location of the portraits, and based on the concurrent newspaper articles and celebratory texts, identified the motives of the patrons, while she also presented the portraits in the scope of similar portrait series in the capital cities (Vienna, Graz, Ljubljana, Zagreb) and nearby Styrian towns (Ptuj, Bad Radkersburg) for the first time. The members of Maribor's local political and financial elite used the portrait series of mayors, representatives of the Town Savings Bank Directorate and the Theatre and Casino Society to visualize exceptional achievements of the portrayed to ensure their lasting memory and to encourage future candidates. In the context of comparable Central European portrait galleries, the Maribor series places less importance on the continuous portrayal of the function holders and emphasises the propaganda role of the portrait as a reward for an individual's exceptional achievements.

**Ključne besede:** portretno slikarstvo, portretna galerija, Maribor, mariborski župani, Alois Graf, Eduard Lind

**Keywords:** portraiture, portrait gallery, Maribor, mayors of Maribor, Alois Graf, Eduard Lind

#### **Barbara Vodopivec**

*Vizualna propaganda med prvo svetovno vojno na ozemlju Slovenije: vplivi in posebnosti*

#### **Barbara Vodopivec**

*Visual Propaganda in the Slovenian Territory during the First World War: Influences and Specifics*

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

Prispevek se osredotoča na vprašanja, kakšna je bila podoba vizualne propagande na slovenskih tleh v času prve svetovne vojne, od kod so prihajali vplivi in ali ta podoba odlikava določene regionalne posebnosti. Avtorica analizira delovanje osrednjega avstroogrskega vojnega tiskovnega urada (*Kriegspressequartier, KPQ*) ter njemu podrejenih umetniške (*Kunstgruppe*) in propagandne skupine (*Propagandagruppe*). V osredje postavlja njihov vpliv na slovenski prostor, kot se kaže na podlagi medvojnih umetniških razstav, delovanja vojnih slikarjev in mehanizmov produkcije vsebin za množične tiske. Na podlagi arhivskega gradiva razkriva nekatere še neznane podrobnosti delovanja kiparja Friedricha Gornika (1877–1943) in slikarja Ivana Vavpotiča (1877–1943) kot vojnih umetnikov in predstavlja del Vavpotičevega do sedaj pri nas neznanega vojnega opusa, ki ga hrani Vojni muzej na Dunaju. V nadaljevanju so analizirani likovni motivi in tematike zbirke razglednic *Vojska v slikah*, ki je izhajala na Slovenskem, pri čemer avtorica posebno pozornost posveča iskanju vplivov in opredelitvi posebnosti, ki jih lahko vezemo na slovenski prostor.

The contribution focuses on the issues related to the image of visual propaganda in the Slovenian territory during the First World War; on the origins of its influences; and on the question whether this image reflected any regional characteristics. First, it presents the results of analysing the activities of the central Austro-Hungarian War Press Office (*Kriegspressequartier, KPQ*) and its Art Department (*Kunstgruppe*) and Propaganda Department (*Propagandagruppe*). It underlines the influence of these institutions in the Slovenian territory based on the wartime art exhibitions, activities of war artists, and mechanisms of producing the mass press contents. Based on the archival materials, it also reveals certain previously unknown details regarding the activities of sculptor Friedrich Gornik (1877–1943) and painter Ivan Vavpotič (1877–1943) as war artists and presents Vavpotič's wartime opus, kept in the Museum of Military History in Vienna, which has, to date, not received scientific attention. In the continuation, the article reveals the results of the analysis that focused on the topics and art motifs of the postcard collection *War in Pictures*, published in the territory of Slovenia, and pays special attention to identifying the influences and defining the peculiarities that can be associated with the Slovenian territory.

**Ključne besede:** vizualna propaganda, vojni tiskovni urad, KPQ, umetniška skupina, Ivan Vavpotič, Friederich Gornik, zbirka *Vojska v slikah*, vojne razglednice

**Keywords:** visual propaganda, War Press Office, KPQ, Art Department, Ivan Vavpotič, Friederich Gornik, *War in Pictures*, war postcards

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