

Ödön Lechner in Context

Studies of the international conference on the occasion
of the 100th anniversary of Ödön Lechner's death

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of the 100th anniversary of Ödön Lechner's death

Edited by Zsombor Jékely
with the assistance of Zsuzsa Margittai and
Klára Szegzárdy-Csengery

Museum of Applied Arts
Budapest, 2015

The conference was jointly organized by the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest and the Institute of Art History,
Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Organising committee of the conference:

Tamás Csáki, András Hadik, Zsombor Jékely, Katalin Keserü, Magda Lichner, József Sisa

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Preface

The Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest is housed in a magnificent building, the masterwork of architect Ödön Lechner (1845–1914). This great building defines and identifies the institution, and is sometimes better known than the collection it houses. In fact, the building is often described as the first and key object in the collection of the museum. It is thus no wonder that one of the missions of the Museum of Applied Arts is to make the architect of its palace better known both at home and abroad. To commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Ödön Lechner, the museum thus embarked on the organization of an international conference and a major exhibition dedicated to the master.

The exhibition and the accompanying publication – written and edited by József Sisa – set out to survey the career and works of Ödön Lechner, displaying plans and photos of his most important buildings. Special attention was given to five major works, nominated for UNESCO World Heritage Site status: the Kecskemét City Hall, the parish church of Budapest-Kőbánya, the Museum of Applied Arts, the Institute of Geology, and the Postal Savings Bank. The aim of the conference on the other hand was broader: to place Lechner’s architectural principles and planning activity on the contemporary European scale, with the opportunity for comparisons on a wide horizon, while also giving an opportunity for presenting the results of most recent research. The conference explored the context in which Ödön Lechner

had worked and created his masterpieces: Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, a period of great scientific and architectural change and development. Hungary in particular, after the 1867 compromise with the Austrian empire of the Habsburgs, enjoyed unprecedented growth during these decades. Ödön Lechner, one of the greatest and most original architects of this period, certainly deserves a prominent place among the international talents from the late nineteenth century.

The conference was jointly organized by the Museum of Applied Arts and by the Art History Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and by an organizing committee set up to coordinate the programme and the various sections. Altogether, four sessions were organized, focusing on the role and architecture of European museums of decorative arts, on issues of orientalism in late-nineteenth-century architecture, on questions of architecture and technology, as well as on significant figures of European architecture, the contemporaries of Lechner. The detailed description and programme of each section can be read below. We are very grateful for all participants who came to Budapest to deliver their papers and to those especially who had submitted an edited version for publication. The present volume is the result of their combined effort, which represents a significant step towards understanding the phenomenon of Ödön Lechner in the context of the late nineteenth century.

PHOTOS OF THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE CONFERENCE
AND THE EXHIBITION
LECHNER, A CREATIVE GENIUS











Overview of the conference and introductions to the sections

Lechner – International conference on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Ödön Lechner's death

Conference date and venue:

19–21 November 2014, Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest

Organisers:

Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest

Institute of Art History, Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Organising Committee:

Tamás Csáki, art historian, Budapest City Archives

András Hadik, art historian, Budapest

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József Sisa, Director, Institute of Art History, Research Centre for the Humanities,
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Overview

In 2014 we commemorated the 100th anniversary of the death of Ödön Lechner (1845–1914), one of the greatest Hungarian architects and one of the most original geniuses of the European architectural scene at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This special occasion was marked with a three-day-long international conference (19–21 November 2014).

The centennial of Ödön Lechner's death (1845–1914) gave the primary occasion for an international conference devoted to the architect's oeuvre. Furthermore, in the history of the Museum of Applied Arts a highly significant event also makes it relevant to present the latest researches. The building of this museum designed by Ödön Lechner and Gyula Pártos architects' studio is nominated to be a World Heritage Site and because of its condition, the complex reconstruction and expansion cannot be further delayed. The reconstruction is also combined with the modernisation of the institute. The examination of the historical monument, the restorers' and art historians' reports on the architect's plans as well as the studies for preparing the needed documentations have come up with several new and often surprising results. These inspired to rethink Lechner's manifested principles and his architecture.

The museum's Archive preserves the documentation of the construction between 1892 and 1898, the original plans, the reports of the architectural committee's sittings, the construction diary, work reports, bills and not least the files and correspondence of the governmental patronage. Besides the manuscripts and plans, the uniquely rich source material consists of archive photos and negatives with the help of which the examination was comprehensible and the future reconstruction can be authentic. Lechner's work previously was said to be eclectic because he used typical elements for different periods in art history, but the proper classification is rather syncretic – combining living parallel forms and equalised principle theories. Emphasizing the usage of sculpted decoration and sheet ornamentation many consider him an early representative of Hungarian Art Nouveau. Recently the characteristics of national Romanticism have been emphasized: he intended to develop a characteristically Hungarian architectural style.

The modernisation of the institution is of course based on researches on the phenomena of musealisation which has been a central theme in art historical studies in the last decades and has become a paradigm. The building of the Museum of Applied Arts as emblematic manifestation of Ödön Lechner's conceptions is an outstanding work even from this point of view. During the preparation works for the reconstruction viewpoints that were previously considered to be less important have been re-evaluated. In Lechner's designer practise the engineering architecture, the latest iron structures of his age, the usage of brick and concrete played a significant role. With the usage of the new materials and structures he typified the building but also made it unique. In this style characteristic to him, Lechner harmonically combined the influences that affected him, the experiences gained in Berlin, Rome, Paris and London and the patriot wishes: the dominant oriental tradition which feature is highly emphasized in the nineteenth-century-image about the origin of the Hungarians. His qualifications, the recognition of the contemporary European and Hungarian phenomena, his openness to the latest architectural trends as well as the artistic and theoretical publicity of his age made it possible – according to his intention – to develop a new style and create a 'school' from his followers and disciples. In framing the sections of the conference these viewpoints have been considered.

The aim and the role of the conference is to place Lechner's architectural principles and designing activity on the contemporary European scale, with the opportunity for comparisons on a wide horizon, while also giving an opportunity for presenting the results of most recent research. The organising committee has set up four sections for discussing these topics in detail.

Introductions to the sections of the conference

Section 1.

Applied arts – Museums of applied arts

Chair: József Sisa

This section tackled several related issues. One is the birth of the concept of applied arts, the appreciation of material culture, the changing perception of the aesthetic value of everyday objects surrounding us, with special

respect to the division of handicraft and industry. Further attention was paid to the role of shows, world's fairs and various publications (books, journals). To that comes the appearance of permanent exhibitions, later museums devoted exclusively to the applied arts, their foundation and institutional background, national significance, and their relationship to other, traditional museums focusing on history and the arts. In this section we examined the above aspects in a general context, and also with special respect to specific, major European museums of applied arts. In the case of the latter, the process of their institutionalisation, their collecting policies as well as their construction and functioning was discussed. The Museum of Applied Arts of Budapest, Lechner's chef-d'oeuvre, can be better understood against this broader background.

Section 2.

Orientalism and ornament

Chair: Katalin Keserü

The nineteenth-century orientalism – a sensational interest for the culture of the Near-, Middle- and Far-East – grew out from several roots and, we can say, had several branches. One root was the English architects' attention for the Mogul (Mughal) monuments on the Indian colonies. Another was the spectacle of the archaeological and cultural possessions brought to Europe, principally to English, German, French and Russian, museums as a by-product of the attempt for dominating the Middle-Eastern, Islam-Arabic region and the Iranian plateau. Furthermore, the synagogues on the Pyrenean-peninsula recalling the Moorish architecture could serve as another example. The goods and the knowledge about Eastern objects presented at the universal expositions in the second half of the century served as a model for the general interest and taste and presumably these exhibitions were reasons for the high popularity. The scientists and amateur researchers of Central Europe also turned towards the East, although for different reasons. The national mythical history like Romantic legends about the origin of a nation emerged for instance in resurrecting the 'Sarmatism' in Poland while in other countries of Central, Eastern, or Southern Europe joining the Pan-Slavic idea and the Byzantine traditions. With simplifying the hypothetical studies of

ethnic origin in Hungary, the Iranian and Turanian (general name for the nomadic tribes migrating east from the neighbouring Iranian mountains) relationship received special attention in the popular historical narrative. In these countries, representing the 'national character' received special meaning and was mainly manifested in the ornamentation. The science which turned towards the object culture after language research and the archaeological debate about the Great Migration Period were connected to the discourse of 'Orient or Rome' theme. This section examines and illustrates these phenomena with ornamental examples.

Section 3.

Architecture, architecture as art, engineering architecture

Chair: András Hadik

The list of these notions, on the one hand, reflects a chronological order, but it also refers to different approaches. The questions of practical craft, creative art and theoretical planning closely relate to the changes of nineteenth-century education and also to the publicity of the opinions about art. After acquiring the basic principles in the Hungarian capital, Lechner received architectural style doctrine, planning and engineering studies in Berlin. Later during his travels in Italy and the years spent in Paris he broadened his knowledge. In the Romantic conception architecture acquired the "aura" of the Fine Arts; therefore the architects were entitled to artistic consciousness. This section deals with the connections between the qualifications and the status of the architects, and, on the other hand, with the relations and genres of how the demanded architectural tasks of the nineteenth century were executed: industrial buildings, bridges, railway stations, market halls, world fair halls and with the creators of functional and emblematic buildings.

Section 4.

Ödön Lechner – ‘Father figure’ of the modern Hungarian architecture. Followers, criticism and reception of Lechner in the first half of the twentieth century

Chair: Tamás Csáki

Ödön Lechner was the first personality in Hungarian architectural history who had a ‘school’ and ‘followers’ – and there were not many even later. In the first decades of the twentieth century even without university chair, official position and institutional position he became a point of reference for a significant group in the generation following him. Among the closest circle of Lechner were outstanding representatives of the Hungarian Art Nouveau architecture like Marcell Komor, József Vágó, Béla Lajta or Béla Málnai.

Lechner’s works and personality divided Hungarian architectural society, the most important debates in architectural press formulated around him in the first years of the twentieth century. He received strong criticism not only from the conservative and academic architects of the University of Technology, but for instance, the neo-vernacular movement around 1908 (the ‘Youngsters’), which differentiated itself from the architectural Art Nouveau, defined itself against Lechner

and his followers. From the 1910s, all criticism against architectural Art Nouveau articulated either from the conservative or the modern stream principally took aim at his followers’ architecture. Their ornamental modernism became the scapegoat to which all the ‘aberrations’ of the early years of the twentieth century were stuck to.

In this section of the Lechner conference, we asked speakers to present architects who played a central role in their countries’ architectural culture in the early years of the twentieth century. As well as examining Lechner’s personality and role we would like to present different ‘father-figures’ in twentieth-century architecture through the example of Otto Wagner, Henrik Petrus Berlage and Jan Kotěra. We wanted to know what role these architects played in their architectural community and what their relation with the Academy, the official authorities, educational institutions and the government was like. Was a school set up around them, how did that work, did they succeed in establishing their own alternative institutions and organs and what was their relationship with the architects of the generation following them like? Who were their commissioners and how did this influence their status in the profession?

Iván Szántó

The Damascus Room, Lechner, and the Domestication of Oriental Space*

In 1885, the Hungarian Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest (founded thirteen years earlier) acquired the complete interior decoration of a reception hall of a Syrian patrician residence, on the decision of Jenő Radisics, the museum's keeper.¹ Dated 1217 AH / 1802–3 AD, the set of richly decorated, gilt, carved and inlaid panels was purchased by public subscription at the International Exhibition in Antwerp from a British dealer company and it was promptly put on display at the temporary premises of the Museum on Sugárút (now Andrásy út).² Besides having

been an exhibit, it doubled as a small museum within the museum, creating an “authentic” *mise-en-scène* for “Oriental” furnishing, fabrics, metalware, and even dummies clad in “Turkish” costume. Although the new acquisition immediately became the focal point of the then still modest Islamic section of the Museum, it did not fit harmoniously into the already crammed exhibition.³ Instead, the room cried for more space around itself and more objects inside, as well as more attention to the civilisation which it represented.



1. Damascus Room, photograph, ca. 1885, Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, inv. no: FLT 4929



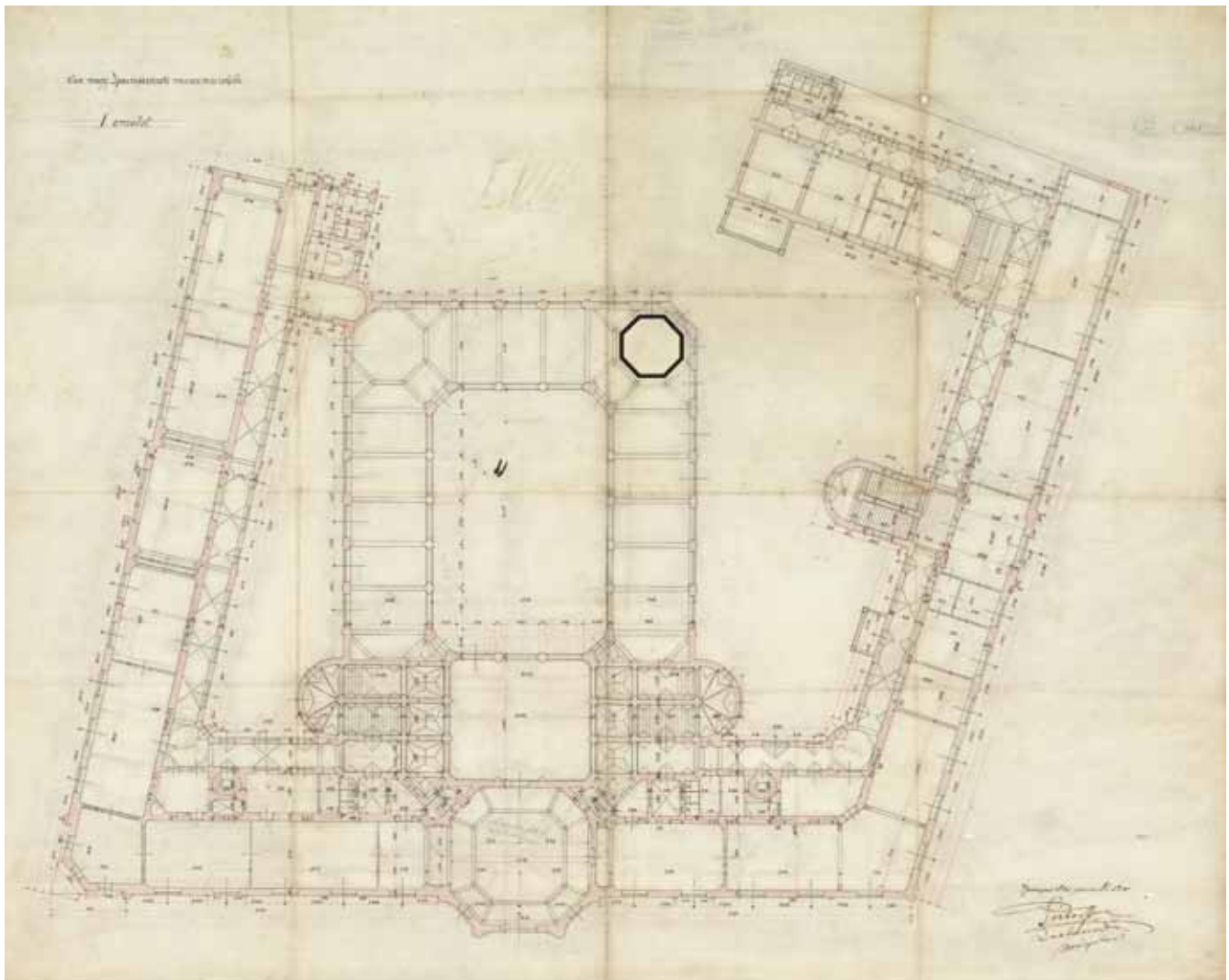
2. Drawing showing the Damascus Room at the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts, 1885, signed by L. Nagy

Inside the room an exotic microcosm reigned, completely independent from the everyday realities of the outside world, including the macrocosm of the museum. Although now completely forgotten, the Damascus Room in its microcosmic aspect proved to be a landmark in the history of Islamic art reception not only in Hungary, but also in Central Europe at large, because functionally and visually it prefigured the magnificent Lechnerian orientalism of the Museum of Applied Arts, the building which has been housing the room ever since it was installed there in 1897.⁴ Its new place, in the northern corner of the ground floor, was so carefully measured that the museum space formed an almost watertight frame around the room, creating an illusion of spatial continuum.⁵ This essay aims to contextualise the mediatory role of the Damascus Room between objectivity and spatiality, an inherent quality in Islamic art that was to exert considerable influence on the arts and crafts of the late nineteenth century in general and Ödön Lechner in particular.

The room itself is a fine example of its kind but not exceptional. Having a cuboid shape (ca. 5.5 x 3 x 5 m),⁶ it consists of an antechamber, a doorway, windows with

grilles, lime wood panelling and niches, as well as a coffered ceiling supported by arched spandrels, all richly decorated with carvings, mirrors, varnished paintings of vegetal and geometric motifs, landscapes, and inscriptions, including the date. The set also included a brass lamp in the neo-Mamluk style. It has been suggested that the room was on the upper floor of the Syrian building where it was originally destined and about which we know nothing.⁷ Given its condition and dimensions, currently it cannot be exhibited in the Museum of Applied Arts, but there are plans to recreate it as the centrepiece of a permanent Islamic exhibition in the future, once its restoration (initiated by Petronella Kovács Mravik), alongside the reconstruction of the building, is completed.

By far the most illustrious example of this kind of Syro-Ottoman domestic interiors is the famous Aleppo Room in Berlin, dated 1600–01 AD, with its innumerable little paintings in the finest classical Persian style.⁸ However, the Aleppo Room, purchased in 1912 by Friedrich Sarre, is a rather late arrival to Europe compared to the Budapest room, which was one of the first to enter a museum three decades earlier. It is preceded



4. The location of the Damascus Room in the new Museum of Applied Arts in 1897, as projected onto the master plan by Ödön Lechner and Gyula Pártos, 1894, Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, inv. no: 2608.5.e

counterbalance its still essentially nineteenth-century European articulation, may indicate a tendency whereby in Hungary Islamic ornament increasingly came to be seen as the essential ingredient of a new synthesis. For Lechner in the 1890s, Islamic art offered itself as a vibrant bud ready to be inserted in the nascent plant of national art.

By this time the instalment of small-scale architectural elements, including Islamic structures, into larger spaces was nothing new. A passing remark on the use and re-use of antique and mediaeval spoliated material, or its imitation, will suffice to indicate the firm embeddedness of this practice in global art history.¹² It is useful, however, to make special mention of one type of the European re-contextualisation of Islamic “micro-

architecture” in order to juxtapose it with the display of the Damascus Room. The example in question is the exhibition of Ottoman tents in European public spaces, commemorating the victories over the Turks in the seventeenth century. Typically plundered by the European forces after the unsuccessful Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683, many of these tents were put on view during the centennial, bicentennial, and tercentennial celebrations of the siege and more generally the Ottoman wars. Such tents, which we can consider as a special kind of miniature architecture and the quintessential category of “mobile” architecture, were widely featured in the 1883 commemorative events across the Habsburg Empire.¹³ Barely two years later, the arrival of the Damascus Room created a similar miniature environment in-

side a larger space, and it further underlined the decline of the Ottoman Empire: yet it reached the Budapest museum as a result of a completely new, less hostile and more scientific attitude towards displaying Islamic art.¹⁴

Hence the early appearance of the Damascus Room in the Museum of Applied Arts can be seen both as a typically local phenomenon and as a typically European one. Of course, it fell on fertile ground in Hungary with its predilection for an orientalisising visual outlook; but



5. Detail of restored section of the Damascus Room, Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, inv. no.: 62.1669



6. Ornamental detail from an element of the Damascus Room, Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, inv. no.: 62.1669

the room was originally exhibited in Antwerp and, as a result, it had to make its way through the international art scene before it entered Hungary. In this wider European context, the permanent display of the room represents a stage in the development of museums which is characterised by a growing integration of artefacts and their surroundings, in keeping with Gottfried Semper's suggestion (made in 1860–63 in *Der Stil*) that architecture should be viewed as the totality of its individual constituents. While this also applies to large-scale displays of the Western or national heritage, the impact of this principle could be much more powerful when the product of a distant culture was brought into direct contact with the European spectators. If a splendid treasure retrieved from a colony or a far-off country was singled out as a definitive masterpiece and displayed accordingly, the effect could be overwhelming, and the displaced artwork could easily become a new reference



7. Ödön Lechner, Ceiling decoration of the Entrance Hall of the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest

point in aesthetics and taste. A case in point is the Pergamon Altar which gave rise to the establishment of the eponymous museum in Berlin: here the very name of the museum is derived from a single exhibit, and not only the name but the entire building becomes an outgrowth of the latter, framing and protecting it like a shell around a pearl.¹⁵ When the friezes arrived in Berlin they were tucked into the already overloaded Altes Museum, instantly necessitating plans for a new building.¹⁶ Moreover, the hitherto unseen Hellenistic dynamism of the friezes generated a heated debate about the chronology of Greek art and the quality of its different periods, and caused a dilemma whether or not certain periods deserved more emphatic display than others. Many could not tolerate the lack of harmony in the friezes, pointing out that the display of the values of classical antiquity was the main purpose of the Altes Museum. However, for others, like the young Heinrich Wölfflin, the painterly nature of the reliefs was revelatory.¹⁷ The eventual establishment of the Pergamon Mu-

seum in 1910 witnessed the altar and Hellenistic art in general emerging triumphantly from this discourse.

The case of the Pergamon Altar is just one example. Ironically, the Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*) was erected in Istanbul, at the opposite end of art trade, in a similar fashion, as another protective shell, here aiming to put an end to the systematic looting, or – at best – selling out, of the Ottoman Empire. The building was completed in 1891 by which time thousands of treasures, from the Pergamon Altar to the Damascus Room, had already left the empire.¹⁸ This museum was also fashioned to signify the main showpieces inside, namely the recently excavated Hellenistic sarcophagi from Sidon, Lebanon.

Through the projection of individual objects into the macrocosm of the museum via the micro-architecture of the showpieces, the displayers signified their aspiration for increased scientific accuracy and authority on the one hand, and territorial control on the other. Political geography, urban space, exhibition space, and

exhibit are thus blending into each other and create a sense of totality which propels the visitor into a recreated present time of bygone worlds. Typically, these new acquisitions of the late nineteenth century (though not without precedents from the previous decades) are themselves representing an architectural magnitude which easily lends itself to spatial extension. The Pergamon Altar friezes arrived in Berlin in 1879 at the start of German imperialism and it was both an early product of this project and a fuel for further goals.

The progression from the first sporadic Islamic acquisitions in Budapest to the arrival of the Damascus Room and the final culmination in Lechner's masterpiece shows obvious parallels with Berlin and Istanbul. But there are two main differences from both. Firstly, in Budapest we see wholesale integration of non-European elements into this procedure, unlike the purist

Hellenism of Berlin and – paradoxically – Istanbul. Secondly, compared to the other two examples, in Budapest there is a striking lack of imperialist overtones, despite the potential of the non-European element for the contrary. Of course, Hungary nurtured its own imperialist dreams in the Balkans and in fact these dreams had repercussions in architecture – I have discussed them elsewhere.¹⁹ Yet, the Mughal-inspired Great Hall of the Budapest museum, unlike the syncretistic colonial projects of the British Raj from which Lechner partially drew inspiration, does not seem to lay claim for political domination.²⁰ Instead, it manifests the universalist collecting policy of the museum which aims to include every relevant technique and style regardless of temporal and spatial boundaries. By internalising oriental features, its architecture also proclaims the conviction that Hungary, with its double



8. Damascus Room, photograph, ca. 1885?, Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts, inv. no: FLT 4930



9. Ödön Lechner, Great Hall of the Museum of Applied Arts seen from the entrance hall

foothold in the East and West, is best suited for this synthesising endeavour amongst the European nations. Here is Lechner's imperialism as far as it gets. Something similar is conveyed by the iconography of the Geological Institute where the four Atlases supporting the globe on top of the building proclaim that scholarly commitment founded on national ground can attain global excellence – but the motif is anything but a raised banner for world conquest.

By turning to Mughal architecture, Lechner inadvertently brought into play a pre-modern visual language of universalism. The greatest Mughal builders, Jahangir (whose name translates as “World Conqueror”) and Shah Jahan (“World Emperor”) created a conscious architecture of Solomonic dimension.²¹ Their *divan*

halls in Delhi, Agra, and Lahore are earthly recreations of the universe. Yet, despite its explicit claims, the global project of these “World Emperors” was a largely literary and metaphorical one, something with which Lechner may have instinctively found affinity. In Lechner's formal dictionary, just like in much of contemporary scholarship, “Indian”, “Islamic”, “Oriental”, or “Syrian” lack strict definition and are interchangeable. Thus, the intermediary role of the Damascus Room as argued here seems reasonable even if the organic chain between object, room, and building was broken and lost when early in the twentieth century the room was removed, disassembled, and the constituent parts, having become mere objects, were swallowed by the store-rooms of the building.



10. Ödön Lechner, Globe atop the Hungarian Institute of Geology, Budapest

NOTES

* This study was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

¹ The room is not yet mentioned in the museum's first illustrated catalogue (Radisics 1885); but it was subsequently published in the same year (Boncz 1885, 200–207), suggesting that the entire exhibition layout was altered for the sake of accommodating it. For recent publications, see Kovács Mravik–Fodor Nagy 2011; Scharrahs 2013, 246–249, figs. 458–461.

² The museum then occupied the basement area of what is now the Hungarian University of Fine Arts (69–71 Andrassy út).

³ It had been already home to a temporary exhibition of Indian art, see Béla Kelényi, “Az indiai művészi ipar recepciója az Országos Magyar Iparművészeti Múzeumban”, *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 56 (2007), 259–265.

⁴ Except for a period when in the 1960s it was exhibited at the István Dobó Castle Museum in Eger.

⁵ For the location of the room in the new building, see Radisics 1898, 12. I am indebted to Dr Magdolna Lichner for identifying this site in the current arrangement of the museum space. Fig. 4 is based on this identification.

⁶ For a more precise measurement, see Kovács Mravik–Fodor Nagy 2011, 2.

⁷ Scharrahs 2013, 246.

⁸ See most recently: Gonnella–Kröger 2008.

⁹ The room in the Victoria and Albert Museum is treated in Scharrahs 2013, 243–246.

¹⁰ Boncz 1885, 200–207 provides a detailed justification of the purchase.

¹¹ Scharrahs 2013, 243–276.

¹² For the practice in Indian architecture and elsewhere, see Elizabeth Lambourn, “A Self-Conscious Art? Seeing Micro-Architecture in Sultanate South Asia”, *Muqamas* 27 (2010), 121–156.

¹³ *Katalog der historischen Ausstellung der Stadt Wien aus Anlass der zweiten Säcularfeier der Befreiung Wiens von den Türken vom Gemeinderathe der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien veranstaltet*, Wien, 1883.

¹⁴ This new tendency is probably best represented by Julius Franz, *Die Baukunst des Islam*, Darmstadt, 1887.

¹⁵ Alina Payne, “Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Wölfflin and German Art History at the fin de siècle,” *RES. Journal of Aesthetics and Anthropology* 54–55, (2008), 168–189.

¹⁶ Friedrich Karl–Eleonore Dörner, *Von Pergamon zum Nemrud Dağ. Die archäologischen Entdeckungen Karl Humanns*, Mainz, 1989, 70–71.

¹⁷ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, München, 1888.

¹⁸ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed. Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Berkeley, 2003, 156–169.

¹⁹ Szántó 2013, 130–159.

²⁰ Thomas R. Metcalf, “Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860–1910,” *Representations* 6, (1984), 37–65.

²¹ Ebba Koch, “The Mughal Audience Hall: A Solomonic Revival of Persepolis in the Form of a Mosque”, in Metin Kunt–Tülay Artan–Jeroen Duindam (eds.), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Leiden, 2011, 313–338.

Bibliography and General Abbreviations

General Abbreviations

- BFL = Budapest Fővárosi Levéltár (Budapest City Archives)
MNL–OL = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – Országos Levéltár
(Hungarian National Archives, Budapest)
MNW = Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie (National Museum,
Warsaw)
MOB = Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága (National Committee
of Historic Monuments, 1881–1949)
OMF = Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség (National Monument
Protection Agency, Hungary, 1957–1992)
ZÖIV = Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und
Architekten-Vereins

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- 8 (FLT 4930); Dávid fig. 3 (FLT 2724); p. 47 (KR TF 2608.13.e); p. 153 (KR TF 6483)
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