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CREATING THE MONARCHY STYLE IN THE TIME OF EMPEROR FRANCIS I – THE ROLE OF URBAN DECORATIONS AND PUBLIC MONUMENTS IN ZAGREB

Keywords: ephemeral
architecture, decorations,
Neoclassical style, imperial
iconography, Francis I (II),
Zagreb 1818, festivities

<https://www.doi.org/10.17234/9789533792170.05>

Abstract

The reign of Emperor Francis I (II) (1804–1835) was characterized by the stabilization and consolidation of the new state, Austrian Monarchy, after the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna. An important role in this process was played by the emperor himself, whose extensive travels had a reuniting effect for the Monarchy. New imperial iconography and decorations in Neoclassical style were used in representations of the monarch at festivities in the cities the emperor had visited during his protracted travels. The chapter discusses the decorations installed on the occasion of the 1818 visit of the imperial couple to Zagreb, the last stop on their long travel through Dalmatia and Croatia. Although mentioned in Croatian scholarly literature, these temporary decorations have not been discussed in a broader context of the decorative programme and models of visual representation of the emperor. These decorations and ephemeral architecture have had a crucial impact on the spread of the Neoclassical style in architecture in northern Croatia.

INTRODUCTION

The end of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th century were marked by decisive events that would significantly change the European political context. 1806 witnessed the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, when the last Holy Roman Emperor, Francis II (1804–1835), abdicated his title and as Francis I became the first ruler of Austrian Empire. The new state was the successor to the Habsburg Monarchy in the new political context of post-Napoleonic Europe, and these circumstances were visible in the representation of ruler: continuity of tradition combined with new stylistic forms. Especially in the period of the Congress of Vienna and its aftermath, Emperor Francis I appropriated carefully elaborated strategies based on various models of representation of former, especially 18th-century Habsburg rulers, but now with decorations in Neoclassical style. Emperor Francis I travelled tirelessly through the country and continued the practice that had been important since the Middle Ages, seeking to (once again) bring the monarchy closer to all social classes through this “ritualized, symbolic and political communication.”¹ These travels were focused on strengthening and

¹ On similar practices employed by Prussian rulers after the Congress of Vienna, see Gaby Huch, *Zwischen Ehrenpforte und Inkognito: Preußische Könige auf Reisen. Quellen zur Repräsentation der Monarchie zwischen 1797 und 1871* [Between Triumphal Arch and the Incognito: Travels of the Prussian Kings. Sources on the Representation of the Monarchy between 1797 and 1871] (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Akademie Forschung, 2016), 3–4.

legitimizing the new state by presenting his own, new role as the father of the nation after the Congress of Vienna. The political messages and goals of the imperial travels were clearly conveyed by newspaper titles and reports intended for audiences throughout the monarchy, but also through the programmes and decorations of the lavish festivities in the cities visited by the ruler. Decorations and ephemeral architecture in the Neoclassical style were part of the detailed strategy of visual representation of the ruler of new state. The emperor visited Istria in 1816, and Dalmatia and inland Croatia in 1818.² The visit of the emperor and empress to Zagreb at the end of June 1818, the last stop on their journey, encouraged numerous ceremonies and theatre performances, as well as the publication of texts and poems commemorating the occasion. The festivities in Zagreb followed the established models of visual representation, style and types of ephemeral architecture as well as decorations and lighting in the city. These decorations also significantly accelerated the spread of Neoclassical motifs in architecture in northern Croatia.

This chapter will examine the decorations and lighting, which are traditionally attributed to the city architect Bartol Felbinger (1785–1871). Their programme and stylistic features will be considered in the broader context of the political iconography and style of the monarchy, an aspect neglected in previous research. The chapter will also consider and propose possible prototypes for the creation of these decorations.

FESTIVITIES AND DECORATIONS IN ZAGREB IN 1818

The 1818 imperial journey through Dalmatia and continental Croatia lasted from April to early July. Numerous reports and descriptions documenting the journey represent a valuable source of information about the cities, monuments and inhabitants of Croatia in that period. The emperor himself kept detailed notes in his diary entries,³ accurately describing everything he had seen. The visit of Emperor Francis I, as well as his reign, received mostly negative assessment in older Croatian historiography, often described as a reactionary period marked by “the bureaucratic-authoritarian spirit of a monarchist regime.”⁴ The reports of contemporary writers are thoroughly different in tone, especially the enthusiastic description of the decorations and lighting by Ignaz Bubenhofen, the leader of the German theatre in Zagreb,

2 Stjepan Antoljak, “Doček Franje I u njegove supruge u Karlovcu i Zagrebu 1818. godine” [The Reception of Francis I and his Wife in Karlovac and Zagreb], *Posebni odtisak iz “Nastavnog vjestnika,”* vol. 51, no. 3-4 (1943): 171. The iconography of Francis I on monuments in Croatia was discussed by Marko Špikić, “*Titus Novus*. Emperor Francis I’s Iconography of Power and Its Reception in Croatia and Dalmatia,” *IKON*, no. 5 (2012): 305–319.

3 Translated and edited by Ljudevit Krmptić (ed.), *Car Franjo I. u Hrvatskoj 1818* [Emperor Francis I in Croatia in 1818] (Hannover, Čakovec: Hrvatski Zapisnik, 2002).

4 Duško Kečkemet, “Opis Splita u prigodi posjeta cara Franje prvoga 1818” [Description of Split on the Occasion of the Visit of the Emperor Francis I], *Kulturna baština*, no. 9-10 (1979): 66. See also Ivan Rabar, *Poviest najnovijega vremena. Od godine 1815. do godine 1878.* [History of the Newest Period: From 1815 to 1878] (Zagreb: Naklada “Matice hrvatske”, 1898), 7.

titled *Beschreibung der Illumination welche in der königl. Haupt-und Fraystadt Agram den 28. Juni 1818. bei der allerhöchsten Anwesenheit Ihrer k.k. Majestäten Franz und Caroline gegeben wurde.*⁵

The emperor left Vienna on April 10, 1818, accompanied by his wife Caroline Augusta. The road led them through Carniola and Ljubljana to Trieste, and then to the territory of present-day Croatia, to Rijeka, then through Lika to Zadar and further south, to Šibenik, Trogir, Kaštela and Split, places to which he dedicated most of his travel diary. He then proceeded to Dubrovnik and described the Bay of Kotor, although it was not among the places he visited. From Dubrovnik he travelled through numerous cities and towns in the period from June 2 to 27, finally arriving to Zagreb, where the imperial couple stayed for four days before returning to Vienna.⁶

The festivities in Zagreb marked the end of this long journey. Numerous decorations were placed throughout the city: On each house there was at least the inscription *Vivat F C* (Long live Francis and Caroline) and garlands, and the city was lavishly lit and transformed into a public stage of the ruler's performance in front of his hosts. This was accompanied by feasts, banquets, a theatre performance and printed speeches and poems commemorating the occasion. The reconstruction of ceremonial events, the course of the visit and the (political) programme of the festivities are aided by preserved descriptions, primarily Bubenhofen's and Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac's diary entries,⁷ while records of city administration assemblies and designs of decorations and lighting are preserved in the State Archives in Zagreb.⁸ Preparations for the imperial visit to Zagreb commenced in March of the same year, while details of the reception were established in May. In June the Zagreb magistracy made the decisions regarding the theatre performances and decorations of the theatre building, while prothonotary Josip Kušević drew up the schedule of the ceremonial reception, *ordo*, in 16 points.⁹

The emperor, empress and their entourage arrived from Karlovac to Zagreb on June 27 in the afternoon, around two o'clock. They were greeted by a ceremonial escort on the Sava bridge. The main ceremony took place in Harmica Square (today the main square, named after Ban Josip Jelačić).

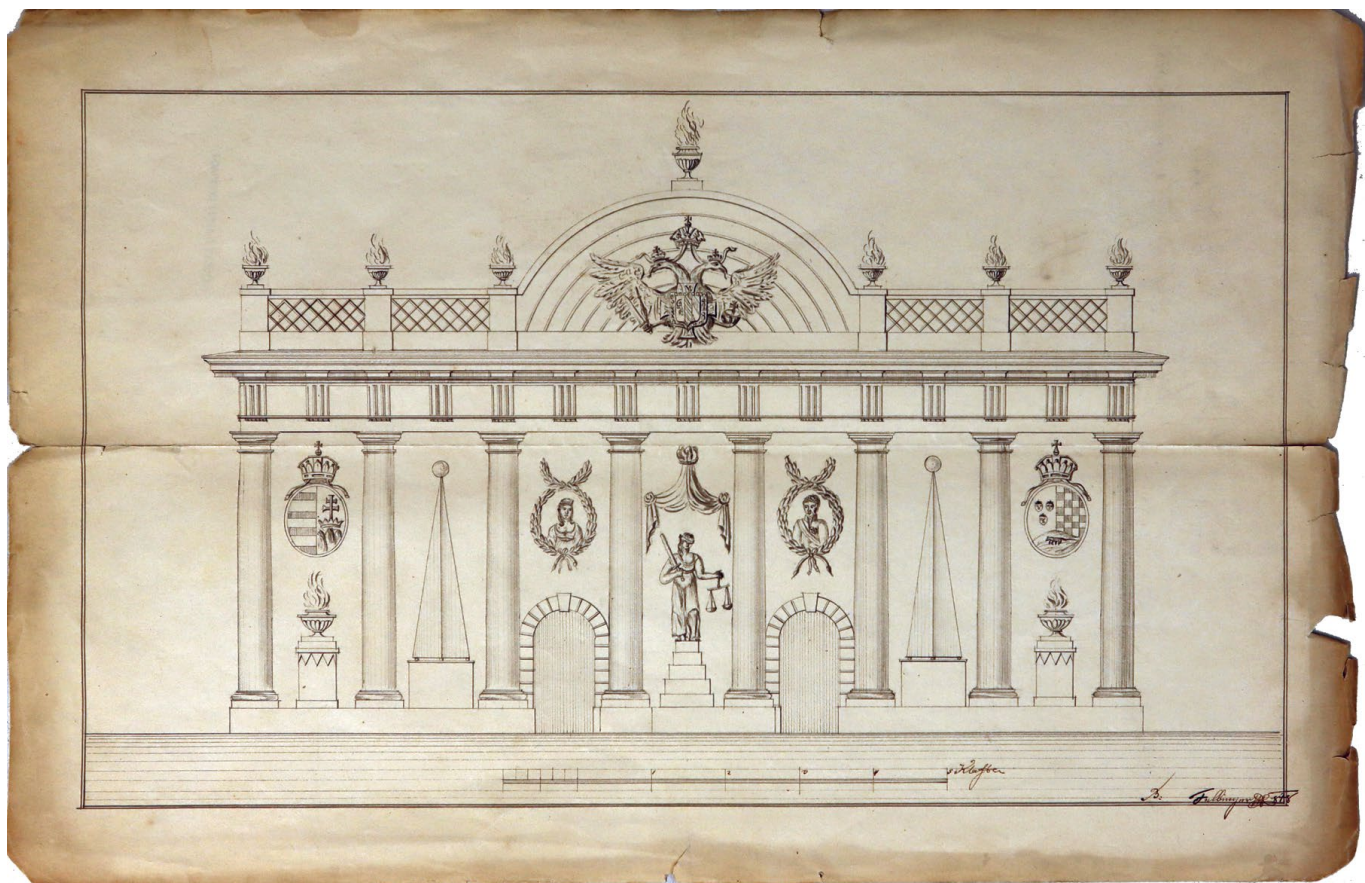
5 Ignaz Bubenhofen, *Beschreibung der Illumination welche in der königl. Haupt-und Fraystadt Agram den 28. Juni 1818. bei der allerhöchsten Anwesenheit Ihrer k.k. Majestäten Franz und Caroline gegeben wurde* [Description of the Illumination which was Used in the Royal Capital and Fraystadt Agram on June 28, 1818. With the Supreme Presence of Your K.K. Majesty Franz and Caroline was Given] (Agram/Zagreb: mit von Novosselischen Schriften, 1818), National and University Library, Manuscripts and Old Books Collection RIIF-8^o-1165.

6 Krmpotić, *Car Franjo I.*, 5–6.

7 Information from Bishop Vrhovac's *Diarium* is included in Antoljak "Doček Franje I".

8 *Acta politica*, inv. no. 2261, State Archives in Zagreb (hereafter cited as HR-DAZG).

9 *Acta banalia*, June 18, 1818, HR-DAZG; published in Draginja Jurman-Karaman, "Zagreb u klasicističkom dekoru (Dekoracija i iluminacija Gradeca i Kaptola prilikom boravka cara Franje II. krajem lipnja 1818. godine)" [Zagreb in Neoclassical Décor (Decoration and Illumination of Gradec and Kaptol during the Visit of Emperor Francis II in Late June 1818)], in *Izdanja Muzeja grada Zagreba, Iz starog i novog Zagreba*, II, ed. Franjo Buntak (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 1960), 183–196.



The emperor and empress were greeted by the city judge Gorup and city notary Štajdacher and were given the keys of the city, a symbolical gesture of confirmation of the ruler's authority.¹⁰ A ceremonial triumphal arch was placed in the square, under which the ceremony was held. The arch was constructed in the Ionic fashion, with four pillars with half columns carrying the entablature and pediments, decorated with the city coat of arms and an eagle with two swords and two palm branches. The Neoclassical style of the triumphal arch was described by contemporaries as "created according to the strictest rules and with greatest diligence" (fig. 2).¹¹ The decorations in Harmica square also included an imposing Tuscan column over 30 meter tall, surrounded by twelve smaller columns, wrapped in flaming ribbon and illuminated by 3,000 lamps and 49 flaming balls (fig. 3).¹² The house of the royal adviser and prothonotary of Croatia and Slavonia, Josip Kušević, was decorated with images of Mars and Janus, sacrificial altars, the figure of the emperor and the coats of arms of Dalmatia, Slavonia and Croatia, complemented by 1,500 lamps and inscriptions.

Fig. 1. Bartol Felbinger, *Decorations on the City Hall*, from *Acta Politica* (1818), inv. no. 2261, State Archives in Zagreb.

¹⁰ This medieval tradition had not only a symbolic but also a legal function and was maintained in the Early Modern period as part of rulers' representation. It continued into the period after the Congress of Vienna. See Huch, *Zwischen Ehrenpforte und Inkognito*, 80.

¹¹ "nach strenger Regel mit dem größten Fleisse hergestellt wurde," Bubenhofen, *Beschreibung*, 19.

¹² The Doric Column was 32 m high (17 Klafter, 1 Klafter is 1,896484 m = 32 m) and the smaller columns (3 Klafter) were 5.67 m tall.

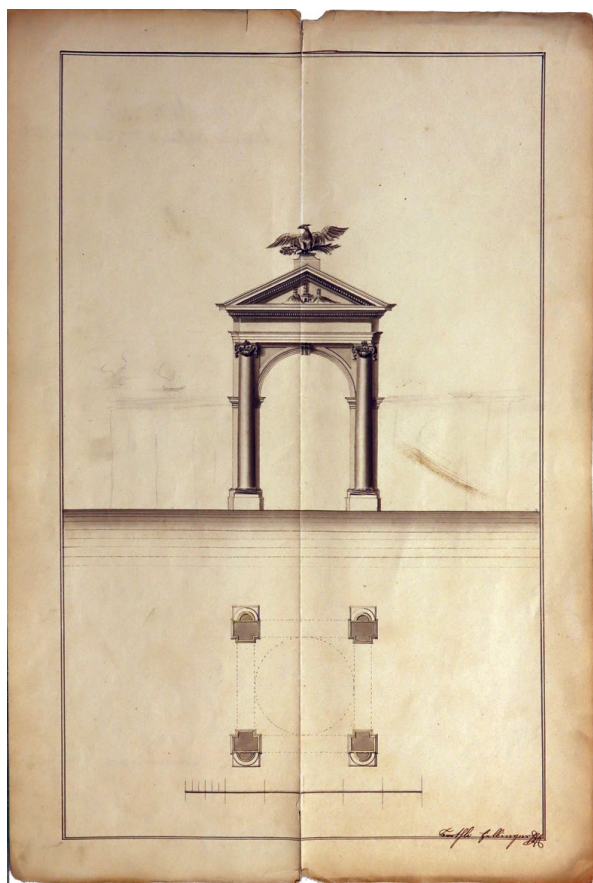


Fig. 2. Bartol Felbinger, *Project for Triumphal Arch on the Harmica Square*, from *Acta Politica* (1818), inv. no. 2261, State Archives in Zagreb.

The next day (June 28), at around 9 pm, the city – Gradec, Kaptol, Harmica Square and Ilica Street¹³ – was illuminated by solemn street lighting, described in detail by Bubenhofen. The houses were adorned by numerous inscriptions, written mostly in German, some in Latin and one in Croatian. The next day (June 29), the royal guests made a visit to Kaptol, and in the evening, Bishop Maximilan Vrhovac (1752–1827) hosted a social event (*conversatio*) in the bishop’s palace. It included a folk dance (*kolo*), performed by Croatian noblemen and noblewomen in folk costumes and singing *Pleszopisen*, composed by Vrhovac himself.¹⁴ On June 30, the imperial couple attended an evening programme at the theatre. The prologue was compiled and given by Lorenz Gindl,¹⁵ followed by a symbolic play honouring the kingdom and a selection of old folk songs. The next day (July 1), the emperor and empress and their entourage left Zagreb for Varaždin and proceeded further toward Styria and Vienna.

In his exhaustive description, Bubenhofen minutely recorded the decorations on all of the buildings in the entire city. He paid special attention to the lighting, which was particularly impressive, as the emperor himself noted in his diary: “In the evening, all the cities [including the Lower Town] were beautifully lit – the most beautiful thing I saw after Pisa.”¹⁶ Bubenhofen wrote: “It is impossible to describe everything that these two cities made, to describe the impression that each object left on the eyes, even a painter would not be able to express that magnificence, sublimity, that splendour.”¹⁷ Due to the limits of space, only brief descriptions of decorations and lighting relevant for the topic are provided here.¹⁸ The most important points in the city were marked with particularly luxurious and intricate decorations and lighting. In addition the triumphal arch and column in Harmica square, the town hall in St Mark’s Square in Gradec was especially impressive, with its façade adorned by a colonnade of eight Corinthian columns bearing high entablature, illuminated

13 The old historical parts of Zagreb on two opposite hills, united in 1850: Gradec was the seat of government, Kaptol was the ecclesiastical centre for the Catholic Church, and Harmica was a new square connected to the main street Ilica. In 1850, all historical parts were united in the new city of Zagreb.

14 Antoljak “Doček Franje I,” 175–177, after Bishop Vrhovac’s *Diarium*.

15 Velimir Deželić, *Iz njemačkog Zagreba. Prinos kulturnoj povijesti Hrvata* [From German Zagreb. Contribution to the Cultural History of the Croats] (Zagreb: Tiskara Antun Scholz, 1901), 21–22.

16 Krmpotić, *Car Franjo I.*, 604.

17 “Alles zu beschreiben, was beyde Städte leisteten, den Eindruck zu schildern, den jeder Gegenstand auf das Aug machte, ist unmöglich: dem Mahler selbst würde es nicht gelingen, das Kühne, das Erhabene, die Pracht auszudrücken,” Bubenhofen, *Beschreibung*, 31.

18 The shortened descriptions of decorations were published in Dragutin Hirc, *Stari Zagreb II, Kaptol i Donji grad* [Old Zagreb II, Kaptol and Lower Town] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2008), 63–74.

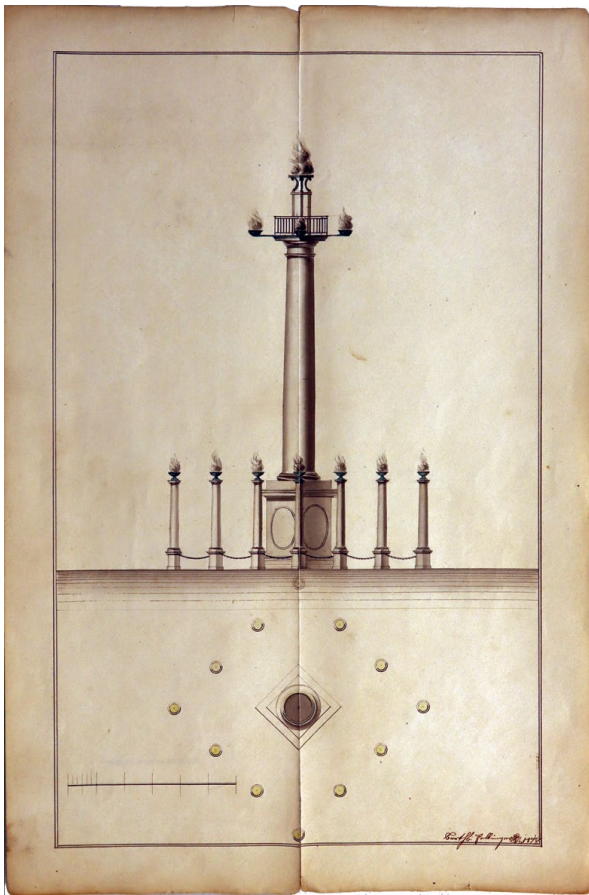


Fig. 3. Bartol Felbinger, *Project for Column on the Harmica Square*, DAZ, from *Acta Politica* (1818), inv. no. 2261, State Archives in Zagreb.

by as many as 8,500 lamps and decorated with portraits of the imperial couple, the coats of arms of Croatia and Hungary and urns with flames (**fig. 1**). A colonnade of Ionic columns was erected in front of the county building on the same square, flanked by temples with fire burning in front of them. In the middle was a triumphal arch decorated with a motif of the Sun and the inscription *Patri et matri Patriae / Devotissimi Status et ordines Comitatus Zagrabienensis*.¹⁹ The Academy building was illuminated by 2,000 lamps and decorated with mythological depictions and inscriptions, including an image of a column rising from a rock and bearing imperial insignia. Bubenhofen's description of the decoration is also an important source for the history of the city's development. For example, he wrote what is probably the first description of the newly renovated city promenade on the city walls (Svirca/Svirča, opened in 1813, and later known as the South Promenade or the Strossmayer Promenade). For this occasion, the entrance in the city walls to the promenade was marked by an ephemeral double-arched triumphal arch flanked by engaged Corinthian columns, erected on the site of the former Dverce Gate, demolished a few years earlier.

The access terrace was illuminated by 10,000 coloured lamps, and the walls along the promenade were decorated with tree-shaped lighting with thirteen larger lamps in between.²⁰ All of the city gates were decorated, with openings flanked by pilasters and entablature, thus creating the motif of a triumphal arch. In front of the *Frauentor* (Women's or North Gate) there was a forested grove of 800 trees. The bell tower of the Cathedral of St. Stephen stood out in Kaptol, with its dome lit by coloured balloons. The Kaptol Gate and the cathedral portal were also decorated, while a temple was erected along the Kaptol walls.

Bubenhofen's account reveals the names of the authors of decorations and lighting: County engineer Joseph Szeman designed the decorations of the county building (triumphal arch and temples), decorations commissioned by the city magistrate (the high column in Harmica Square, the Triumphal arch, City Hall, Svirča gate, and the grove between the North Gate and the Stone Gate) "were mostly made according to the drawings and instructions of Mr Felbinger, master builder,"²¹ while Gigl was hired for Kaptol.

¹⁹ Bubenhofen, *Beschreibung*, 4.

²⁰ Designs for lighting are in *Acta politica*, inv. no. 2261, HR-DAZG.

²¹ "Die Hauptgegenstände welche der kögl. Magistrat errichten ließ, als die hohe Säule auf der Harmicza, die Triumphpforte, das Rathaus, die Svirca, die Thore, das Wäldchen vom Frauenthor bis zum steineren Thor sind meistens nach der Zeichnung und Angabe des Herrn Baumeister Felbinger errichtet worden," Bubenhofen, *Beschreibung*, 25.

The political programme and goals of the ruler's visit were directly implied by the inscriptions, especially those written in German: The emperor is the father of the nation, and loyal citizens celebrate him and the monarchy. The inscriptions conveyed a sense of the historical moment and the new role of the emperor in post-Napoleonic Europe, celebrating him as a peacemaker and liberator of Europe, as stated in those on the house of the city brewer Mr Albertoli, a Swiss national: *Viva il Vincitore di Leipzig! Viva il Liberatore dell'Europa! Pace. Viva tutta l'Imperial casa di Austria. Viva il Trattato di Parisii.*²² Political messages were also mediated by ceremonies, so the play and prologue in German were monarchically faithful. But other inscriptions and decorations conveyed the message of national awakening: The Croatian inscription on the house of Franciška Vrhovac, printer Novosel's widow and Bishop Vrhovac's sister, as well as the joined coats of arms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia placed on Kušević's house, reflected the desire for unification of Croatian territories expected from the emperor.²³ Bishop Vrhovac wrote a poem and the dance programme in Croatian, which was an important precursor to the national revival that would begin in the 1830s.

MODELS FOR THE ZAGREB DECORATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF IMPERIAL/ROYAL ENTRANCES INTO THE CITY

The politically important programme and elaborate decorations for such an important event were naturally not left to the city authorities, but were created according to models and instructions from the centre of the Monarchy, so they need to be considered in the broader context of visual representations of rulers and ceremonial entrances to cities. The ceremonial-performative entry into the city – *Adventus* – after the coronation of the emperor, by which the ruler takes power, was carefully elaborated in the Early Modern period.²⁴ This lavish model of representation, which included a complex programme and decorations, was the bearer of a strong message and, at the same time, a means of establishing political legitimacy. Adopted from this tradition, *adventus* was still performed in new empire, and this term was included in the title of the official description of the Zagreb ceremony: *Urbem Zagrabiensem Adventus*.²⁵

The programme and visual representation of rulers during these visits was shaped in the centre of power, and all ceremonies followed a set pattern that

22 Bubenhofen, *Beschreibung*, 12.

23 Hirc, *Stari Zagreb*, 71; Antoljak "Doček Franje I," 178.

24 The complex ceremony of *Adventus Imperatoris* had its origin in the ceremonial return of emperors to ancient Rome after military victories, which was appropriated by Habsburg rulers and popes; particularly lavish ceremonies developed in the 18th century. Relevant literature is listed in Marion Philip, *Ehrenpforte für Kaiser Karl V. Festdekorationen als Medien politischer Kommunikation* [Triumphal Arch for Emperor Charles V. Festive Decorations as Media of Political Communication] (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2011).

25 *Officiosa Relatio circa Illuminationem & Solemnitates occasione (...) ad hanc (...), Urbem Zagrabiensem Adventus Anni 1818*, see Jurman-Karaman, "Zagreb u klasicističkom dekoru," 183.

Fig. 4. Johann Schönberg, *Feyerlicher Einzug unseres Kaisers Franz in seine Residenzstadt Wien, am 15. Juny 1814* (Festive Entry of our Emperor Franz into his Residential City of Vienna, on June 15, 1814), 1814, inv. no. 57791, Wien Museum, accessed November 28, 2023, <https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/en/object/515047/>.



was established in festivities after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814. As Pieter Judson points out, these festivities were astonishingly similar in their programmes and decorations, although held in geographically and culturally very different places. He also emphasizes their similarities to festivities in Vienna.²⁶ This can be stated also for the festivities in Zagreb: The decorations and ephemeral architecture were created after the model of festivities in Vienna. To be precise, they were based on the decorations on the occasion of the ceremonial entry of the emperor into Vienna after the signing of the peace treaty in Paris, which took place on June 15, 1814 (**fig. 4**). The established iconography at this event became the official model for imperial representation in the first period of the reign of Francis I. Therefore, the carefully elaborated programme of the visit to Zagreb, as the end of a long journey to new lands, minutely followed the models of both decorations and lighting that had been established in Vienna, and the loyalty of the city's inhabitants to the emperor was repeatedly emphasized. The imperial journey and entry into Vienna were described by Joseph Rossi (1775–1838) in his work *Denkbuch für Fürst und Vaterland* (Memorial Book for Prince and Fatherland),²⁷ which also included printed illustrations of decorations, while descriptions of the entry were published in numerous newspaper articles. The emperor's entry into Vienna after his return from Paris thus represented the new-old *Adventus* of the 19th century, which incorporated numerous elements from earlier ceremonial entrances of Habsburg rulers. This is especially evident in the function and the design of the triumphal arch, seen as a key point for marking the entrance

26 Pieter M. Judson, *Povijest Habsburškog carstva* [The Habsburg Empire: A New History] (Zagreb: Sandorf, 2018), 115.

27 Joseph Rossi, *Denkbuch für Fürst und Vaterland* [Memorial Book for Prince and Fatherland] (Wien: In Commission bey J. B. Wallishauser, 1815), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Digital.



Fig. 5. *Triumphforte* [Triumphal Arch], in Joseph Rossi, *Denkbuch für Fürst und Vaterland* (Wien, 1815), inv. no. 185, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Digital, Vienna, accessed November 28, 2023, https://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ173217101.

to the city and the symbolic-ceremonial framework of the entrance itself. Decorations designed in the Neoclassical style occupied an important place in Viennese architecture of that period. Among the many authors of decorations, prominent names include Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg (1733–1816), who was director of the architecture school at the Vienna academy and the designer of the triumphal arch at Kärntnertor (fig. 5), and Ludwig Gabriel Freiherr von Remy (1776–1851), who created numerous decorations for city palaces. The motifs and design models for the Zagreb decorations clearly refer to Viennese examples, or rather to their graphic renderings. This is especially evident in the motif of the colonnade with high entablature and a triumphal arch in the middle flanked by temples on the façade of the county building (not preserved), similar to the *allegorisches Gebäude* that had been installed in front of the parliament of Lower Austria, as recorded in *Landhause der niederösterreichischen Herren Stände* (Country Houses of the Lower Austrian

Estates) by L. Remy.²⁸ Furthermore, the most important ceremonial element, the triumphal arch in Harmica Square, represented a simplified and smaller repetition of the triumphal arch at Vienna's Kärntnertor.

Once established as official decorations for the emperor, these design models and stylistic choices were repeated in the decorations installed on the occasion of later imperial travels, such as the Neoclassical decorations in Prague in 1836.²⁹ The decorations and lighting followed the same patterns in Vienna, Zagreb and in Prague, especially in the layout of the triumphal arches and decorations on the town hall. The colonnade and lavish decorations between columns and the baldachin with a crown/coat of arms in its centre were evident in Vienna and Zagreb as well as in Prague on the building of Old Town hall.

This also opens the question of the authorship of the Zagreb decorations, previously often published as Felbinger's work.³⁰ However, it is questionable whether all of the drawings of the series preserved in the State Archives in Zagreb can really be claimed to be the original work of Felbinger – Bubenhofen

28 See Rossi, *Denkbuch*, 67 and Figure 189.

29 Taťána Petrasová, "Slavobrány, ohňostroje a triumfální architektura" [Gates, Fireworks and Triumphant Architecture], in *V mužském mozku. Sborník k 70. narozeninám Petra Wittlicha*, eds. Lenka Bydžovská and Roman Prahel (Dolní Břežany: Scriptorium, 2002), 297–308.

30 The most important contributions, in chronological order, are: Lelja Dobronić, *Bartol Felbinger i zagrebački graditelji njegova doba* [Bartol Felbinger and Zagreb Master Builders of His Time] (Zagreb: Društvo historičara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1971), 81–83; Draginja Jurman-Karaman, *Bartolomej Felbinger (1785–1871), zagrebački klasicistički graditelj* [Bartolomej Felbinger (1785–1871), Zagreb's Neoclassical Master Builder], *Bulletin JAZU*, no. 1, 55/56 (1984–85): 15–37; Snješka Knežević and Aleksander Laslo, "Klasicizam/biedermeier u Zagrebu" [Neoclassicism/Biedermeier in Zagreb], *Čovjek i prostor: arhitektura, kiparstvo, slikarstvo i primijenjena umjetnost*, no. 38, 1/2=454/455 (1991): 31–32; Jasna Galjer, "Arhitektura u Hrvatskoj u vrijeme bidermajera" [Architecture in Croatia during the Biedermeier Period], in *Bidermajer u Hrvatskoj 1815–1848*, ed. Vladimir Maleković (Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1997), 338–340.

claims that the decorations “were mostly made according to the drawings and instructions of Mr. Felbinger”³¹ – or rather his adaptation of the models of decorations and ephemeral architecture from Viennese festivities. The drawings of the decorations that are site-specific, such as decorations on city gates (Mesnička Street gate, the Stone Gate) and tree-shaped lighting on the south promenade, are undoubtedly attributable to Felbinger. Compared to the drawings of the most politically and symbolically important decorations and more detailed projects – the triumphal arch and column in Harmica square but also the Dverce gate – the aforementioned drawings are rather simple and lack volume modelling. In style, quality and manner of execution, the drawings of the most important decorations suggest the hand of a trained draughtsman, skilful in volume modelling, shading and attentive to details, especially in the rendering of capitals and motifs of flames. In my opinion, these drawings indicate a closer connection with the Viennese circle of architects, rather than the local architects.

The ephemeral architecture and decorations in Zagreb in 1818, created with elements of the classical style – Ionic and Doric columns – were the most prominent examples of “mature Neoclassical style” at the beginning of the 19th century in Croatian architecture.³² These decorations, especially the ephemeral architecture, had a considerable influence on the development of architecture and the acceptance and spread of Neoclassicism in Zagreb and north-west Croatia. Some of the protagonists of festivities had an important role in this process: Bartol Felbinger adopted the Neoclassical style in his own projects, especially in his early works, probably most present in the façade of the pharmacy building in Kamenita Street (1823), where he applied a triumphal arch, i.e. four fluted engaged columns and entablature. Similarly, Bishop Vrhovac renovated the castle in Stubički Golubovec with Neoclassical garlands and other decorations on the façade.

CONCLUSION

The arrival of the ruling couple to Zagreb in 1818 made a great impression, as recorded in contemporary descriptions and reports. For a few days, and especially on the evening of June 28, impressive decorations and lighting turned Zagreb into a magical stage for a festive event. The lavish, complex programme of the ceremonies was created to emphasize loyalty to the crown and to present the new emperor as a bearer of peace and caring father of

31 Bubenhofen, *Beschreibung*, 25.

32 According to Andela Horvat, there are three phases of Neoclassical style in architecture in Croatia between 1780 and 1830 – baroque classicism, the mature Neoclassical style and early romanticist Classicism. Andela Horvat, “Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj” [The Baroque in Inland Croatia], in *Barok u Hrvatskoj*, eds. Slavko Goldstein, Milan Mirić, Vera Čičin-Šain and Željko Ivančić (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1982), 62–63. On periodization and terminology see also Milan Pelc, “Periodizacija hrvatske povijesti umjetnosti i klasicizam” [Periodization of Art History in Croatia and Neoclassicism], in *Klasicizam u Hrvatskoj* [Neoclassicism in Croatia], ed. Irena Kraševac (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2016), 11–22.

the nation. The models for such festivities were established in Vienna on the occasion of the emperor's return from Paris and victory over Napoleon in 1814. The decorations and ephemeral architecture in Neoclassical style, theatrical plays, and published descriptions that accompanied the ceremony of the solemn entry of the ruler into the city, as well as the people's welcome, became a model followed in other cities and other parts of Austrian empire. In Zagreb in 1818, the city was decorated with Neoclassical motifs, facades of the important building were displays of Neoclassical ephemeral architecture by city architects Felbinger, Szeman and Gigl, while sumptuous lighting transformed the city into a fantastic stage. For some of the decorations they adopted Viennese models – the triumphal arch and column on Harmica square – while other, site-specific decorations in the city (the city gates, the south promenade) were designed by city architects. These Neoclassical decorations designed for the imperial visit to Zagreb greatly influenced the rapid spread of classical architectural motifs in Zagreb and north-west Croatia.

