Forging Architectural Tradition

Aleksander Łupienko

The volume that the readers hold in their hands deals with the issue of nineteenth-century architectural heritage as a means of strengthening or creating modern national identity. It is not so much about the monuments themselves, their forms and styles – though these issues are also addressed – but rather more about texts, narratives and discourse connected to their perception and evaluation by elite groups of nationalizing nineteenth-century societies in the selected states and regions. In other words, it is about the shifting meanings imposed upon them by nationalist, social actors. It is also about the past being evoked for the needs of the present, which is close to the issues of collective memory and identity. That is why this issue may be, and often is, discussed from the standpoint of various sciences and scholarly approaches. The most relevant seems to be the whole branch of heritage studies, which is concentrated on the issues of perceiving, managing and using material remnants of the past throughout human history – and this volume may be regarded as a contribution to this field.

Nationalism as a social force in the period in question has been subject to analysis for decades. To remind the reader about the most important lines of intellectual division, we should invoke the issue of the primordial versus constructed nature of nations,[1] or the issue of nations having their roots mainly in the field of cultural and ethnic differences or in the political sphere of state activity and reality.[2] The nature of nations as groups and the whole human identity has also been thematized. The authors of the volume do not analyse nationalism as such; its topic encompasses one of the aspects of nation-building, connected to shaping space and identifying historical objects present in it.

Writing about identification instead of identity is crucial here. To be sure, some anthropologists now tend to avoid the latter term for it sounds too static and entails an implicit interpretation of selfhood as something given and unchanging.[3] In the case of structures in space, there is obviously no talk of identity even though scholars of heritage studies do use the term 'place identity' (see below). Identification as a constant process, not obvious in terms of defining the self,[4] may well explain this and is more suited as an analytical tool to examine meanings in space. The social identification of monuments from the past and new buildings designed in historical styles in the nineteenth century forms in itself part of the policy of the national elites in nationalizing societies to define the groups to which they belonged. Analogically to monuments, which seldom had inscribed meanings, groups are perceived in the scholarship as – to some extent – products of social construction. To give one example, ethnic differences are not so much real as made to seem so.[5] Ethnic or national identification is therefore a matter of imagining and maintaining symbolic boundaries, which, according to Richard Jenkins, implies a dialectic interplay between similarities and differences.[6] Architectural objects, and also 'ways of building', i.e. the perceived and imagined traditional manner of transforming space and decorating architectural structures, played an important role in imagining and maintaining these symbolic boundaries – symbolic in the full meaning of the word, because symbols – which are abstract, imprecise and multifaceted – could be used as a unifying 'umbrella' (Jenkins) to hide the real differences between people, who could 'bestow their own meanings on and in' them.[7] Architectural monuments served as such unifying symbols (see figure 0.1) not only in the nineteenth century and not only in the region addressed in this volume, but the complicated realities of this region made them especially salient to these societies.

Multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious are the most common attributes assigned to Central Europe, part of the region in question, which served as the embodiment of the heterogeneity that dominated in nineteenth-century Europe in the transitional period between pre-nationalistic and nationalistic eras. As Craig Calhoun has pointed out, there was a seminal difference in the nature of Western and Eastern nationalisms, which stemmed from the real ethnic and religious differences in both societies.[8] The situation in Eastern Europe was much more complicated, and the inter-ethnic boundaries were much less stable and clear. One scholar who did more than others to identify the complexity of the issue was Moritz Csáky. In his view, influenced by the Central-European context, culture is 'essentially hybrid, a creolizing ensemble and at the same time transnational, translocal, transterritorial, fluid, and not homogeneous or essentialist'.[9] Such hybridity and fluidity were characteristic features of Central Europe,
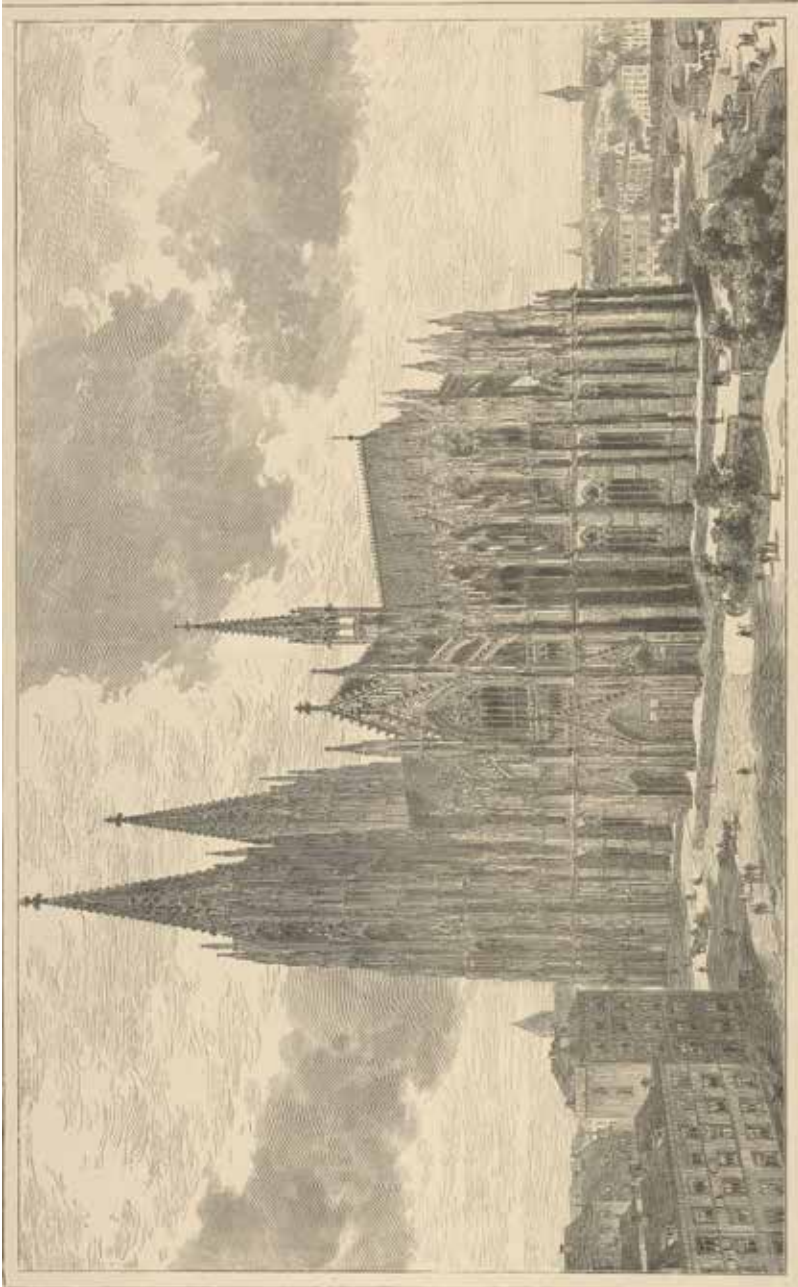
Figure 0.1. Cologne Cathedral immediately after its erection. Wooden engraving from the *Illustrated London News* (October 1880). Public domain, source: polona.pl.

and it is not hard to imagine that nationalism's aims in the region were connected to social homogenization, which, although incompatible with the social reality,[10] could in the view of Mark Haugaard be a refuge from ontological insecurity.[11] To attain this goal, nationalism had to present itself as a natural emanation of culture, and culture had to be 'reified' – i.e. presented not as unstable, dynamic and in flux, as the editors of *Understanding Multiculturalism* would like it, but static and ready to be appropriated by the masses.[12] To succeed in doing so, actors in nationalizing societies relied on the dual strategy of the nationalization of space and the naturalization of the nation in space. While the second phenomenon will be dealt with below, the former will be addressed here.

Monuments from the past were not necessarily meant to be pillars of social integrity back in the time of their construction. Their main aim was very often practical – connected to, for example, military security – and even if many buildings conveyed integrational meanings, these meanings were connected to the state, or dynasty, not the nation. In many instances, their true meanings were unretrievable already in the nineteenth century. The aim of the authors of the sources examined in the current volume was much more creative than is sometimes assumed. It was to bring the realm of history, which was indeed 'a foreign country',[13] closer to the present and bestow a new, clear nationalizing meaning on it. To be sure, this practice of bestowing meaning is processual in character and did not (and does not) always produce the anticipated results. It is often subject to contestation and negotiations, and also has a huge potential for exclusion – as do (and did) the national movements in themselves.

Cultural Memory

To understand these notions, it is instructive to present yet another key to the interpretation of this volume's topic, that of cultural memory. An important example of such an approach is, in my view, that proposed in the 1990s by Jan and Aleida Assmann in Germany – researchers who coined the whole term, which, in short, works similarly to individual memory but can be realized only institutionally and artificially through ages.[14] It comprises everything that pertains to the issue of social recollection and the strengthening of social organizations like – as in the case of Jan Assmann's interests – the ancient empires. The greatest advantage of this category is its flexibility and analytical potential in dealing with the historic instances of 'management' of the past. Also important is the relationship between memory and the past. Cultural memory has, according to Astrid Erll, a large capacity to reconstruct,[15] which entails a strong relationship with the

present and its needs. The best approach will thus be to perceive heritage discourse not as an examination into the past but as the 'present of the past', to follow here Marie-Claire Lavabre,[16] whose aim is moreover to form and secure the future. This future-oriented quality was attributed quite early on to the idea of nationhood: for the famous thinker José Ortega y Gasset, this idea, developed in the nineteenth century, was strongly connected with the ability to think prospectively.[17] The reason for that may be simple: modern nationhood, as has become obvious to 'modernist' theoreticians of nationalism, was a product of the modern era, and thus had to be constructed as a future-oriented project. Whether one agrees with this or not, the context of the multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious region in question demanded that the proponents of national ideals define their claims and provide the members of the respective national communities with a sense of cultural differentiation.[18]

Moreover, creating narration on historic monuments also occasionally amounted to a symbolic acquisition of territory. Territory, a political phenomenon that started to be explicitly discussed in the seventeenth century,[19] could be symbolically conceived of as an area of sacred or nationally significant land in its entirety. Jan Assmann included this phenomenon in specific techniques of remembering, in which a single object, city or landscape could act as a 'mnemotopos', or a signifier.[20] For Anthony D. Smith, territory forms one of the crucial sorts of cultural foundations of nations. As ethnic history may be appropriated by nationalists to connect the past and the present, memories may be 'territiorialized'. Ethnies (or Smith's proto-nations) can appear in such narratives as 'naturalized' parts of landscapes, intrinsic parts or 'natural outgrowths' of historic environments, and their monuments as 'fixtures' of their landscapes.[21] This territory-oriented aspect is further developed in heritage studies. Heritage is always connected to a place, and creating narrations about monuments entails bringing about what some scholars call 'place identity'.[22] Indeed, the entire concept of heritage appeared alongside the modern national movement, and the signifying practices (i.e. bringing new meanings) performed by its proponents mark an intrinsic feature of the movement.[23] Such objects, or territorial markers, could act as a medium of the symbolic appropriation of a territory, helping to mark it as historically belonging to a nation – not necessarily just against the claims of another group or community but also as a message directed to someone's own group.[24] Occasionally, the whole territory of a nation state could be, similar to Assmann's 'mnemotopes', regarded as a media of conveying national identity, as Kenneth R. Olwig has noted referring to the Swedish example.[25] The eastern part of the defunct Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, lands lost by Byzantium to the Turks, territories appropriated by Russia from the Kazan Khanate – all of them

may serve as examples of territories where pieces of acknowledged or contested heritage were located.

The Context of Scholarly Literature

Current historiography tends sometimes to avoid the topic of nation-building, showing a trend of showcasing the anti-national or non-national tendencies in history – as in the works on the Habsburg Monarchy of Pieter Judson, Gary Cohen or Jeremy King.[26] This does not however mean that the process of nation-building has been sufficiently examined. On the contrary, it is still an important field of study – especially so as a broader spectrum of phenomena related to nation-building still awaits to be addressed, and comparative studies of nationalism should be continued. Our goal is to fill some of the deficiencies in the study of nation-building, by tracing back some of its cultural aspects. It combines the analyses of nation-formation with architectural history and heritage studies, and also makes some inroads into the field of memory studies (see below). The authors in this volume thematize the issue of place identity with all of its unifying potential, claim that space is not culturally neutral and treat the heritage discussed in a handful of chapters as a sort of knowledge in line with the arguments presented several years ago by the authors of *Pluralising Pasts*.[27] The authors also show that defining, discussing and narrating monuments in the nineteenth century can be conceived of as a common cultural practice similar to public celebrations and the unveiling of statues, as has been shown in the volume *Staging the Past*.[28] Their studies in the following chapters also analyse the ideas accompanying the architectural history of the nineteenth century. They bring the context of the debates, arguments used and proposals given by the relevant social actors, who included proponents of national movements, politicians and journalists as well as artists, architects and conservationists. In this respect, the chapters are informed by a long history of research into the forms and meanings of the built environment.

The origins of scholarly investigations into the issue of tradition and historical thinking in architecture date back to the interwar period,[29] if not the end of the nineteenth century, but a more recent and deeper interest in the problems of historic references and forming collective identities through the built environment comes from the late 1960s and the beginnings of the demise of modernistic visions. The first reflections expressed by the proponents of what was finally to emerge as a postmodern way of thinking went hand in hand with a new need to understand the Historicist thinking that has dominated minds since the nineteenth century. Among the scholars

who went that way was Sir John Summerson, who in 1963 gave a popular lecture on how Classical architecture should be 'read', drawing attention to the forgotten values embedded in the Historicist language of forms.[30] Robin Middleton, in his lecture twenty years later entitled *The use and abuse of tradition in architecture*, described in more detail nineteenth-century Historicist imaginary, arguing for a still deeper understanding of Historicist thinking.[31] In Germany, the first sign of the change of heart regarding Historicist architecture came in 1960, when Werner Hofmann published his book *Das irdische Paradies*, wherein he argued that in order to understand the nineteenth century we have to understand the perception of history at that time.[32] What took place later was the creation of a new historical perspective. Historicism as symptom of the new human consciousness of its historical specificity, in opposition to the natural world, was perceived as a new quality – including in the history of art.

The issue of architectural conservation, although researched and described throughout the twentieth century as an important practical and technical activity, also gained new depth. Historians examined the tensions between schools of conservation, along with their entanglement in nineteenth-century ideals and trends. But it was the studies of modernity that lent new momentum to the research. Miles Glendinning argued that the conservation movement, although presenting itself as interested in the past, was a clear symptom of modernity and a pillar of the modern transformation of architecture.[33] New attempts at depicting the international (mainly Western) history of the conservation movement followed in form of the books written by Jukka Jokilehto and the aforementioned Miles Glendinning.[34] A more detailed look at the issues concerning conservation and restoration, with a link to the national imaginary, was also included in books on early German,[35] Austrian[36] and Polish[37] conservation.

The Historical Context of the Volume

The idea of the volume is connected to the current scholarship on conservation conceived of as a cultural phenomenon, and brings new contexts for further research as well as new keys of interpretation. It offers the perspective of nations and states outside of what is commonly defined as the 'West' of Europe. The majority of chapters are related to the broad belt in Central and broadly defined Eastern Europe, stretching from the southeast (Greece), through the Balkans north to Russia and to today's Estonia. That provides historians with new points of reference and more material for comparison. This material is enriched by a fresh look at the ideas related to Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's restoration philosophy.

The authors start from the presumption that the approach towards the built heritage is entangled with deeper processes and social change, and with the transformation of political ideals. The central phenomenon here was the issue of national architectural heritage. From ancient times, rulers have borrowed and appropriated the symbols of prior regimes and chronologically distant cultures.[38] This remodelling was based on elements that were already present in the discourse and also physically present in the landscape, to which also belonged the architectural monuments of a region or state. In order that a monument ceased to be a mere object in space left by previous generations, sometimes far back in history, and became something close to the contemporaries' thoughts, it had to be re-narrated, re-actualized or invented anew by an elite group of the 'guardians of a nation', to borrow the term from a book by Pieter Judson.[39]

The practice of creating this heritage at the institutional level became possible in the nineteenth century, the century of developed bureaucratic states. These states became communities of a new type, whose legitimacy was based not only on dynastic tradition but also on a national ideal. A national policy towards the conservation of monuments was of high importance here, as it set new narratives regarding heritage and its role in the final vision of the nation. This vision could be supported by the cultural–artistic narratives related to the Enlightenment, based on order and ancient legitimacy, or a more romantic ideal of the presupposed medieval nationhood, which could be based on the Gothic style. They were followed by the newly established states, e.g. in South-Eastern Europe, which are subject to analysis in this volume. It was however a pan-European trend. The long-established nation states, such as those united under the British crown, expressed the need for identity-building in the early nineteenth century, in which the Gothic Revival of ca. 1820–40 played a crucial role – being the harbinger of what was explicitly called the 'English style' (in a new, modern meaning of the term) in the debates related to the building of the new Palace of Westminster.[40] The question of whether the debates concerning the Gothic Revival in Britain were a symptom of modern nation-building or rather a sign of an escape from modernity will not be answered here, as it suffices to say that 'forging the architectural tradition' had its roots also in Western Europe.

An Outline of the Volume

The example of France and the leading conservationist Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc in Bérénice Gaussuin's chapter can be treated as a model approach to the monuments of the past. In his highly theorized writings, Viollet-le-Duc attempted to reconstruct not only the country's imperfectly

preserved architectural monuments but also ancient French society as such, based on substantial a priori knowledge supported by racial presumptions. It was positivistic philosophy, with its biological leanings, that lent him arguments for his visions about what the medieval builders had allegedly had in mind when building a cathedral or a town hall. The resulting well-known practice of purifying monuments might be seen as one of the successful methods of supporting the collective identity around such early *grands travaux* as the restoration of churches and castles according to their supposed original appearance, which later gained in importance in the German states. The work of Viollet-le-Duc amounted to the forging of a national style, a style that stemmed from his clear vision of medieval French society as intrinsically democratic and racially valuable. Both topics are also present in the other chapters.

Almost all the rest of the case studies in this volume relate to the conservationist debates and architecture of identity in various European states and empires. The conservationist debates revolved around certain issues, which could bear striking resemblances to one another in different ethnic and political contexts. The issue on which the authors dwell more broadly comprises the age-old dependencies between the centres and peripheries in Europe. In the exemplary discussions described in this volume, the topic of cultural orientation plays a crucial role. This orientation, defined here within the confines of identity-building stylized as (geo)political statements regarding the patterns and templates to be followed in the sphere of culture, clearly affected political systems and alliances – as was the case for those nations that gained independence from the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century: Greece or Romania. This cultural orientation could serve as a shield against possible assimilation into the wider political bodies of an empire, in itself subject to nationalizing discourses at that time. Here, the case of nineteenth-century Hungary, described by Andrea Kocsis, should be noted, wherein tension between the imperial and the national could be seen in the discourse accompanying the excavations around architectural monuments, or the nineteenth-century Kingdom of Poland, where cultural orientation towards the Roman Catholic West was a useful tool in assuring the success of building national culture, as in the chapter by Aleksander Łupienko.

The tension and connections between centres and peripheries also hint at the other side of the coin – namely, the problem of the rejection of ideals resonating from the centre. Russian cultural policy is a case in point. The cultural-political orientation towards the West initiated during the reign of Peter I, although supported by Western sympathizers in the nineteenth century, was challenged by new forms of orientation and identity like the Slavophile defence of the 'old' Russian traditions. The multidirectional,

changing ideal of the tsarist discourse of sociopolitical legitimation also included an attempt to embrace the idea of the oriental as a counterweight, or at least as an additional component of cultural orientation. As Gulchachak Nugmanova argues in her chapter, the oriental context of the capital of the Kazan Khanate brought fresh momentum to the official discourse of legitimation, supported here by the new architecture of the nationalizing Russian Empire. New churches and the preservation of ruins from the time of the Khanate, conquered in the sixteenth century, could be seen as a new stage for the show of imperial strength, along with a new vision of the cultural foundations of the Russian state – and nation. The oriental context was, however, more often used as a cultural stigma, an alleged feature of a national culture that had to be neutralized by expressions of strong and direct bonds with the (Western) centre. The stronger the stigma, the more direct were the methods of cooperation with the centre, as Anda-Lucia Spânu shows when describing the commissions placed by the Romanian Government with the French architect and conservationist Emile-André Lecomte du Noüy. Both the Romanians and the Greeks joined the mission of unequivocal rejection of the oriental stigma when asserting their place on the cultural map of Western Europe. But as the Romanian example shows, this cooperation with the centre brought a reciprocal reaction on the part of younger architects, who wanted to create a new, local architecture that would express the national distinctiveness.

In this sense, cultural policy towards architectural monuments could also be seen as a utopian ideal, which tightly combines sociopolitical development with culture. The claimed relationship between the architecture – which is perceived, researched, preserved or remodelled – and the social profile of a society could venture further towards the conclusion that changing meanings related to historic objects, which is publicly supported and connected to the national ideal, may indeed in the future change society itself. This utopia can be seen in the light of the nationalizing narrations presented here, and also draws our attention to the fact that nations were not necessarily perceived as ready and coherent products of history but were, rather, historically conditioned 'conglomerates' of ethnicities that had to be internally remodelled.

Finally, the issue of state borders should be mentioned because they had a huge impact on the actions taken regarding historic monuments. Ethnic boundaries were, in the given period, never fully in accord with state ones – and sometimes they differed markedly. State institutions devoted to the conservation of national heritage could function only within the confines of the state, and this resulted in particular regions with similar cultural heritage being treated differently. We can note the example of Greece, where the policy towards its ancient and medieval heritage was implemented

on a constantly expanding territory, and those monuments still located within the Ottoman Empire could not be included. The same pertains to Latvia, not covered in this volume, where a significant part of the land inhabited by the Latvian population lay outside the Livonian *guberniia*, where autonomous institutions could take care of them.[41] In addition, the land of the defunct Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was under the rule of three different regimes, and it was only the Austrian part that had any sort of autonomy after the 1860s. Historians, archaeologists and architects from Galicia could develop a better policy to protect the monuments, and they also felt responsible for the heritage of the whole early modern Commonwealth. In the Russian partition, however, modern institutional forms of conservation were only able to appear after the revolution of 1905. Finally, Prussia–Germany serves as another case in point, but in reverse. The Silesian provinces of this state, acquired through the war of 1740, added numerous valuable monuments (churches, palaces, whole towns), examples of Habsburg Baroque, to what became later its cultural treasury. The monuments were at first often put to practical use (e.g. secularized monasteries), and later had to be managed, conserved and connected to the state's other, mainly non-Catholic, heritage – as shown in the chapter by Monika Adamska.

The second pillar on which the volume rests is the issue of nineteenth-century Historicism and, more broadly, historical imaginary. People of the era were 'enchanted' by history, as Friedrich Nietzsche once put it in his essay 'On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life'.[42] That criticism reflected the fact that the century in question was a time when intellectuals in the West realized their own historicity, i.e. belonging to the realm of linear history, in which mankind could find its fullest expression and leave traces of its existence, and not to the realm of nature with its cyclicality. This category of historic imaginary must be taken into account for several reasons, not least because of the fact that architectural design was conceived of as a higher form of human creativity, connected more with art than with technical–utilitarian skills (which were reserved more for engineers, trained at polytechnics). But, besides its purely aesthetic role, a new potential for strengthening identity was acknowledged by architects and their patrons. Viewed as such, architecture was supposed to draw inspiration from the past not so much for aesthetic reasons but to make use of the 'present of the past'. This leads me to a new locus of architectural creativity and also to greater sensitivity to the issues of historical borrowings in architecture. The new issue of style emerged, conceived of as a complex set of artistic rules resulting not only from the artistic but also from the cultural and social backgrounds of the countries and regions concerned. Therefore, the category of national specificities found a new field of expression as architecture

started to be seen as the evocation of a nation, and thus could be called, as mentioned above, an architecture of identity. Interestingly, in this way architecture can be viewed as forming part of the currently still widely discussed issue of inventing traditions. The case studies analysed here amount to the conclusion that these 'traditions', i.e. the deliberately chosen elements from the vocabulary of historical architectural forms, were in fact taken from the real substance of the historical monuments in a particular territory – thus, they were not so much pure 'constructions'.

Another aspect of the rising historical imagination was connected to nostalgia. This category may help to explain the emergence of the need for cultivating memory. Nostalgic sentiments, which could already be traced back to the overall intellectual climate of the Enlightenment, amounted within time to the Romantic turn in the approaching nineteenth century – especially in the northern part of Europe. In Britain, this climate led to the rise of the Gothic Revival and 'liberal' instincts in the arts, though not in politics. The climate of admiration for the builders of the Gothic cathedrals was transplanted to Germany with the help of artists and writers.[43] It continued into the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, where direct inspiration also came from Britain in the form of an aristocratic 'anglomania', and was later adapted to the needs of a nation without a state after 1795. Here, the practices of building cultural memory developed in order to counter the more pessimistic visions of '*finis Poloniae*', or the end of Poland. It also found reflection in forms of romantic nostalgia, which were partly based on the 'mnomotopes' or historic monuments scattered around the territories of the then-defunct Commonwealth. This nostalgia permeated the discourse of art history. Additionally, the general character of the history of 'national' art was being questioned, as mirrored in the theories of continuity or rupture in the architectural–historical process. Continuity was a useful category by which to depict architectural history in a *longue durée* perspective, wherein certain processes could be portrayed as temporal ruptures rather than more significant changes of vector – and thus could offer appropriate material for functional memory.

On the other hand, using the category of rupture as the main interpretational key was an even more effective strategy, as Jan Assmann has noted. Here we can place all the 'revivals', which went hand in hand with national awakenings. Revival of ancient cultural traditions was at the heart of nineteenth-century architectural thought. An example of this is convincingly depicted in the chapter by Georgios Karatzas on the 'medieval revival' in the architecture of independent Greece. This discovery of the Christian roots of modern Greek art could be paralleled to a similar, earlier phenomenon of the 'Classical Revival', which appeared in Greece immediately after the war of independence. Architectural revivals also characterized the Hungarian

debates around monument preservation and the issue of choosing the best-suited periods in history (represented by the appropriate styles) for expressing national distinctiveness. Here, the chapter of Gábor Papp may be mentioned, as he describes this stage of architectural thought before the mature debates about the national style were to emerge, when the rising memory of architectural monuments and its product, the nationalizing narratives, were vital in forming the new historical consciousness. Bringing new quality into the current architectural sources of inspiration also characterized the seekers of the 'true' national style in Croatia, based on the tradition of wooden architecture and later medieval stonework, as can be seen in the chapter by Dragan Damjanović. Finally, it must be added that the revivalist cultural model only virtually implied a rupture, as the practice of reviving old traditions was simultaneously the practice of binding and connecting the past with the present.

Examination of the monuments of the past, defining them as the heritage of a particular group or society, and institutionalizing functional memory by means of new historical and artistic societies, academia and schools amounted to changes in the network of meanings in space. Thus, architectural styles were perceived, described and evaluated not entirely on the basis of their physicality – proportions, construction and details – the image of the monuments of architecture was, rather, connected with and depended on the narratives accompanying it. In particular, if we look at Historicism and its vocabulary of forms and details, we can clearly see its limits. It is therefore worth stressing the potential of nationalizing narratives in establishing meanings and boosting the range of possible connotations, as opposed to the limited potential of bringing new meaning solely through additional architectural elements. As shown in the book by Michaela Marek, modernity and the national ideal brought a new network of meanings to art, including architecture, which – for its part – went into symbiosis with and strengthened Historicism as a modus operandi of architects.[44] The nineteenth century was the time of these new nationalizing meanings, which started to compete with the more cosmopolitan connotations of built forms that had dominated before the 'age of revolutions'. This problem permeates this volume as well. As the chapter by Kristina Jõekalda shows, the art-historical discourse of the Baltic Germans was conceptualized as an attempt to define their monuments culturally, which brought new national meanings to the art history of the region and to the selected church buildings that are the topic of her chapter. The chapter by Anatole Upart, for its part, highlights the example of one church in Rome that was subject to Ukrainian 'nationalization' by means of architectural details and interior solutions – thus, making it slightly less universal.

Bringing new meanings and connotations was also crucial for ongoing architectural activity in the nineteenth century. The chapters by Douglas Klahr and Paolo Cornaglia both deal with the issue of new, urban public monuments and architecture. Paolo Cornaglia gives context to the new royal palaces, wherein the national system of meanings intermingled with the royal (dynastic) one. The quest for the style of a royal seat simultaneously invoked the question of the national style. Interestingly, an additional question emerges about the interrelationship between political forms and the artistic language created to express them – particularly, to what extent the architectural eclecticism used in such royal investments followed the political forms of the new states. In the chapter by Douglas Klahr, the meaning of the actual location of a new monument also plays a significant role. To be sure, different urban quarters were symbolically and socially charged, but the author raises our awareness of the fact that precise sites bore meanings connected with the state and national or dynastic realm – as in case of locating the new monument to Wilhelm I.

Aleksander Łupienko is Assistant Professor at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. His research interests include the cultural history of urban space in Central and East-Central Europe, private and public space, the conservation movement and the history of Warsaw and Lviv in the nineteenth century. His publications include *Kamienice czynszowe Warszawy 1864–1914* [Warsaw Apartment Houses 1864–1914] in 2015, *Order in the Streets. The Political History of Warsaw's Public Space in the First Half of the 19th Century* in 2020 and numerous papers including in *Urban History*, *Journal of Transnational History*, *Zeitschrift für Ostmittleuropa-Forschung*, *Acta Poloniae Historica* and *Mesto a Dejiny*. He has led and participated in several research grants, and organized a cycle of conferences on various aspects of urban history.

NOTES

1. It is sufficient to point to Gellner's, Hobsbawm's and Anderson's work on the one hand, and Armstrong or Smith on the other. See Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism*; Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations*.
2. See Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations*; Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*.
3. Malešević, 'Identity'.
4. Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 9–15.
5. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 16. Breuilly also convincingly showed that the naturalness of ethnic groups, like the Kikuyu in Kenya, had to be constructed regardless of the social reality, Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 61.

6. Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity*, 14.
7. Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 136.
8. Calhoun, *Nationalism*, 88.
9. Csáky, 'Culture as a Space', 199.
10. Ibid., see also Kedourie, *Nationalism*.
11. Haugaard, 'Nationalism and Modernity', 135.
12. Feichtinger and Cohen, *Understanding Multiculturalism*, 6; for reification of culture, see Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 124; for naturalization of the nation, see Balibar, 'The Nation Form', 96.
13. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*.
14. Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 9.
15. Erll, *Memory*, 29.
16. Lavabre, 'Entre Mémoire et Histoire'.
17. Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, 129.
18. The often difficult consequences of these attempts to create nationally oriented cultural space in culturally mixed Central Europe is discussed in Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte*.
19. See Elden, *The Birth of Territory*.
20. Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 44.
21. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations*, 35–6.
22. Place identity in the context of the national framing of heritage, see Graham and Howard, 'Heritage and Identity', 7.
23. Ibid.
24. McDowell, 'Heritage, Memory and Identity', 48.
25. Olwig, 'Natural Landscapes'.
26. Numerous works of Judson were lately summed up in his *opus magnum*: see Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*. See also Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival*, and the manifesto of Jeremy King: 'The Nationalization of East-Central Europe'.
27. Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge, *Pluralising Pasts*, 6, 36, 63.
28. Bucur and Wingfield, 'Introduction', in *Staging the Past*, 2.
29. See, e.g. Clark, *The Gothic Revival*.
30. Summerson, *The Classical Language*.
31. Middleton, 'The Use and Abuse of Tradition'.
32. Hofmann, *Das irdische Paradies*.
33. Glendinning, 'The Conservation Movement'.
34. Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*; Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement*.
35. Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*; Mohr de Pérez, *Die Anfänge der staatlichen Denkmalpflege*; Falser, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität*.
36. Frodl, *Idee und Verwirklichung*.
37. Frycz, *Restauracja i konserwacja*.
38. See Siwicki, *Architectural Restoration and Heritage*.
39. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*.
40. Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, 114.
41. Mārtiņš, 'Latvia's Architectural Heritage'.
42. Middleton, 'The Use and Abuse of Tradition', 730.
43. Robson-Scott, *The Literary Background*.
44. Marek, *Kunst und Identitätspolitik*.

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