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THE LEMBERG GARDEN:
POLITICAL REPRESENTATION
IN PUBLIC GREENERY
UNDER THE HABSBURG RULE

Abstract: This article considers the politicization of urban green areas as an under-researched aspect of urban spatial politics in the Habsburg Monarchy and in the specific case of Lemberg. Municipal concern with the maintenance of old private parks and the establishment of new green areas was continuous throughout Habsburg Lemberg's history. Lemberg's parks possessed a kind of privacy that permitted much more flexible use than that of the streets for various informal, non-official and, often, nationalist celebrations. As clusters of true "public spheres" and, at the same time, commemorative sites of diverse and conflicting codings, they became a kind of testing ground for subsequent mass street politics. Although at the *fin de siècle* the municipality grew increasingly Polish nationalist in its rhetoric, in practice it espoused a conglomerate of imperial and local values, as seen in its erecting a monument to Agenor Gołuchowski, rather than to Tadeusz Kościuszko.

THE LEMBERG GARDEN: BETWEEN BIEDERMEIER AND SCHORSKE?

What is one to make of concepts in cultural history such as Carl E. Schorske's "garden" and Péter Hanák's "workshop," for research into the spatial politics in other cities in the monarchy, especially those on its periphery and characterized by a distinct multi-ethnic nature and slow industrialization? Schorske saw Vienna as a European capital of modernity: the home of architectural innovation, modern psychology and Karl Lueger's politics of "the new key," it seemed to contain the internal forces of its own destruction, built into its own development. Schorske outlined the connection between Liberal politics in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, the aesthetics of the *Ringstrasse* and its subsequent criticism by modernist thought.¹ However, Péter Hanák demonstrated convincingly that Schorske's metaphor of a "garden" for *fin-de-siècle* intellectual culture was a phenomenon specific to Vienna which did not apply to Budapest, the focus of his research. While Viennese intellectuals retreated into their private, spacious gardens to create modern culture, their Budapest counterparts thought of no retreat from their nation into a "garden" of sorts. In-

1. Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981).

stead, *fin-de-siècle* Budapest's cultural environment can best be understood as a "workshop."²

Presently known as L'viv in western Ukraine, the city that was from 1340 until 1772 the Polish city of Lwów, had previously been a medieval Ruthenian *metropolia* and, even earlier, an ancient Slavic settlement. Lwów fell into the possession of Austria after the first partition of Poland in 1772 and officially became Lemberg, the capital of the Crownland of Galicia and Lodomeria.³ While for Hanák, a "workshop" primarily referred to industry and the creation of profit, Habsburg Lemberg could hardly be characterized as an industrial metropolis: throughout the entire nineteenth century, its growth largely stemmed from revenues from the city's administrative function. This was the case of "urbanization without industrialization"⁴ for the simple fact that industry was largely lacking. Subsequently, the industrial bourgeoisie was not a powerful actor in municipal politics, the working class was less explosive than were diverse ethnic organizations and student rebellions, and private investment did not play an exclusive role in shaping architectural and planning practices.

Moreover, Lemberg's development was characterized by its traditional multiethnic (Polish-Jewish-Ruthenian) composition that in the process of social modernization led to the birth of several conflicting national programs. Hence the emergence of a national "workshop," similar in shape to the one in Budapest, was not possible. Lemberg's history was rich in events that provided the local population with a variety of perspectives for self-identification. The city was witness to several important sieges, such as the one of 1649 by the Cossack troops and the siege of 1704 by the Swedish army. Coming under Austrian control with the first partition of Poland, Lemberg was recovered by Napoleonic Polish troops in the summer of 1809, subsequently occupied by the Russian army, and returned to Austrian possession through to the Peace Treaty of Vienna later that year. A center for the short-lived but turbulent events in 1848, the city experienced fighting behind barricades and was heavily bombarded by the Austrian army, which suppressed the revolution. From the 1870s the capital of a semi-autonomous province of the Monarchy, the city became a battlefield for representation by its two major

2. Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1998).

3. The name "Lemberg" is used systematically throughout this text except in quotations from Polish and Ruthenian/Ukrainian and in publication citations (Lwów for 1918-1939, L'viv for 1939-present). Local non-German names are given in Polish for the sake of brevity and due to limitations of length, except when the names derive exclusively from the Ruthenian/Ukrainian culture. Ruthenian names are transliterated with the use of Czech letters, one of the two established practices of Ukrainian transliteration, in addition to the Library of Congress system. The terms related to administrative units, such as *Statthalterei* (Viceroy's Administration), are given in German.

4. Patricia Herlihy, "Cities: Nineteenth Century," in Ivan Rudnytsky, ed., *Rethinking Ukrainian History* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1981).

ethnic groups, the Poles and the Ruthenians, as well as one of the major centers of Zionism in the region. An administrative capital, an historic city, a seat of higher education and numerous national institutions, Lemberg nevertheless remained one of the most *kaisertreu* (loyal to the Emperor) places in the monarchy.

Given Lemberg's history, its public space was employed for the simultaneous staging of the two grand symbolic projects: the staging of the empire and the staging of the nation.⁵ The Municipality needed to strike a balance between the two and, at the same time, search for its own public identity. The complex imagery of public representation, the linking of identity with place, the expression of local patriotism, and the articulation of cultural hegemony were allied with either of the projects or with both of them together. However, in Lemberg, a "garden" existed different to that of Schorske: public greenery that had primarily been created in the period between 1815 and 1848, known politically as the *Vormärz* and culturally as *Biedermeier*. Yet, while it is generally assumed that, due to the politics of restoration, a retreat into the comforts of private life became the central interest during that time, in fact an entire array of socializing and commemorative practices took place in public parks.

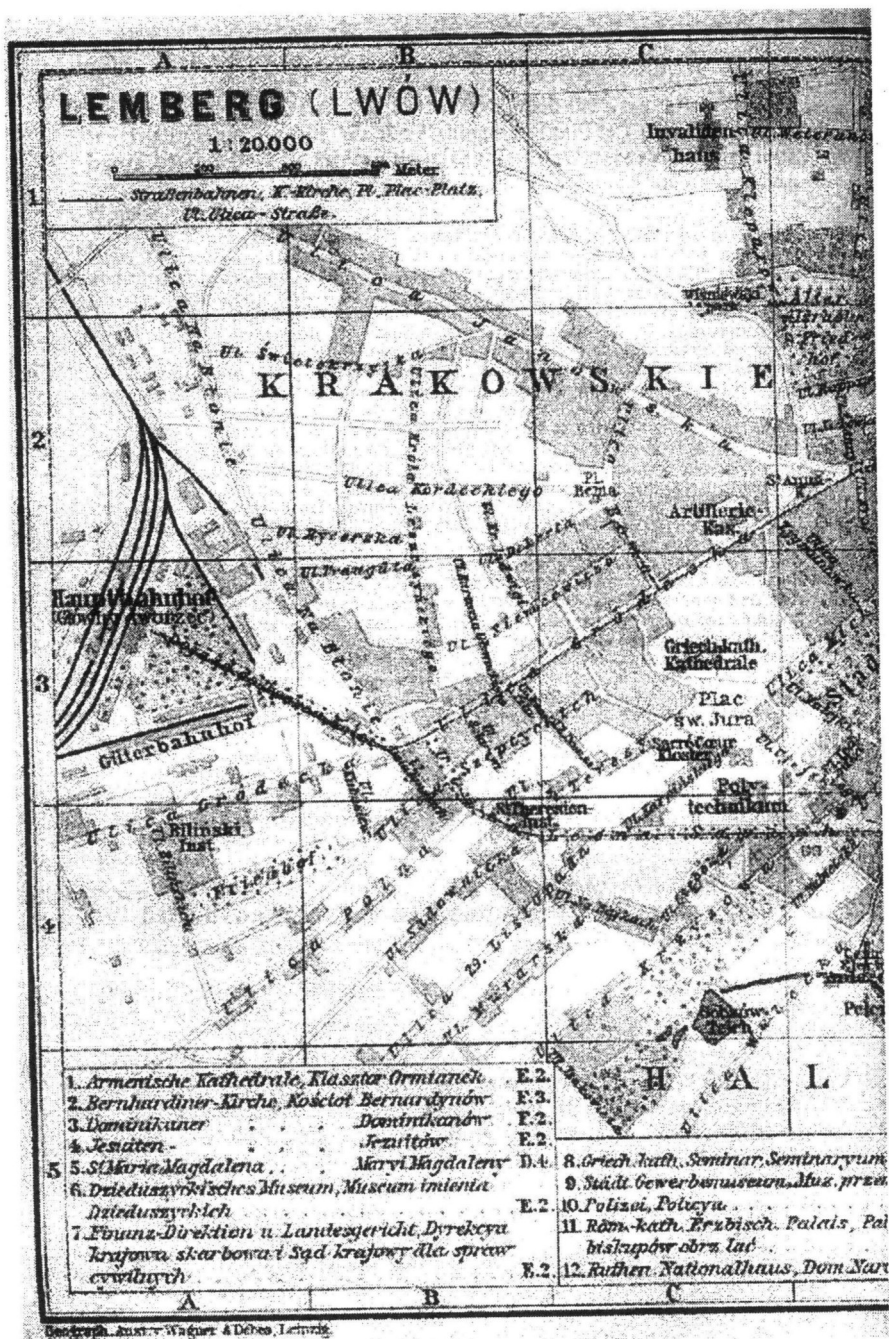
Designed by planning authorities yet loosely defined as "private," the parks in Lemberg had a specific function. Continuities with the *Biedermeier* legacy provided that, while in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna the private garden became the birthplace of Art Nouveau and psychoanalysis, in Lemberg it served as a public sphere in a true Habermasian sense. In effect, parks occupying the very bottom rung on the official hierarchy of symbolic spaces made them available for the much more unrestrained and creative expression of various identities and loyalties than could take place publicly in the street. The Lemberg garden was a place of pleasure and solitude, a site of traditional rituals and a kind of a representational workshop at the same time.

This article does not aim to present a comprehensive history of Lemberg's city parks as this has already been done in great detail by Zygmunt Stańkiewicz.⁶ In general, the planning of new parks and re-designing of existing ones went hand-in-hand with the establishing of new streets and promenades, the construction of focal monumental buildings in the city center, the relocation of cemeteries outside the center, the laying out of new districts, and, closer to 1900, the construction of monuments. These projects were part and parcel of a

5. For an excellent overview, see Harald Binder, "Politische Öffentlichkeit in Galizien-Lemberg und Krakau im Vergleich," in Andreas Hofmann and Anna Weronika Wendland, eds., *Stadt und Öffentlichkeit in Ostmitteleuropa 1900-1939: Beiträge zur Entstehung moderner Urbanität zwischen Berlin, Charkiv, Tallin und Triest*. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa 14 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002).

6. Zygmunt Stańkiewicz, "Ogrody i plantacje miejskie" [Municipal gardens and parks], in Bohdan Janusz, ed., *Lwów stary i dzisiejszy. Praca zbiorowa* [Old and contemporary Lwów] (Lwów: Nakł. Wyd. "M.A.R.," 1928), pp. 63-70.

Fig. 1. Map of Lemberg, 1905. In the upper center, below *Invalidenhaus*, Wiśniowski Park and the monument to Wiśniowski and Kapuściński (1895). In the upper right corner, the Castle Hill, officially known as *Franz-Josephsberg*, with the Union Mound (*Unionshugel*). Center right, above Kurkova Street, The Riflemen's Range (*Bürgerl. Schiessstätte*); center bottom, Kiliński (Stryjski) Park with the Palace of Arts (*Kunstpalast*) and monument to Jan Kiliński (1895, no. 16 on the map). Slightly above the Kiliński Park, Wronowski Hill (*Góra Wronowska*) with the Citadel, to the right the Botanical Garden. In the center, the Municipal Park (*Stadtpark*) with the monument to Agenor Gołuchowski (1901, no. 14 on the map), next to the right the central boulevard *Wały Hetmańskie* with the Opera House (1900) and the monument to John III Sobieski (1898, no. 15 on the map, barely visible). Above the Botanical Garden, on the two sides of *Academicka Boulevard*, the monuments to Aleksandr Fredro (1897, no. 13 on the map) and Kornel Ujejski (1901, no. 17 on the map). Lying outside the city center and thus not on this map are Ernst Kortum's Frydrychówka Garden (in the upper left corner, covered by the title), Kaiserwald, Lonszanówka (to the right of the Riflemen's Range), Łyczaków Cemetery, Pohulanka and Cetnerówka (to the right of the Łyczaków district) Source: Geographic Institute of Wagner and Debes [*Geographische Anstalt von Wagner & Debes*], Leipzig, 1905.



comprehensive policy that imparted an image to a provincial capital city – with political as well as economic undertones⁷ – and often ran against the wishes of the local population. “The Austrian municipal *Bauamt* (construction office),” recorded local historian Franciszek Jaworski, “regularly met with such surprises . . . [as] the traditional anger of Lwów paupers. [They] immediately broke down and pulled out the trees, . . . planted on the boulevards, smashed the stone benches in the night, destroyed the lawns and desecrated the *Haupt-promenade*, the only *rendezvous* [area] of stylish Lwów.”⁸

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Austrian clerks – often referred to as Germans – played the key role in this imperial project, while later this task was assumed by the local Polish officials. Between 1815 and 1848, most of the public parks that exist today were established: the Castle Hill, *Kaiserwald*, Stryjski Park, the Municipal (former Jesuit) Park, and *Żelazna woda*, to name the most prominent ones. Gubernial involvement and, after 1870, the municipal role in managing public green spaces was generally more beneficial than leaving this endeavor to private enterprises, as evident in the viceroy’s personal initiative for the creation of the university botanical garden and the Łyczaków Cemetery in 1850s,⁹ as well as in the Municipality’s landscape designs for the unattended Northern side of *Wronowskiberg* (*Góra kalecza*) in 1860s and for Stryjski Park in the 1870s and 1880s.¹⁰ The Galician parliament (*Sejm*) was located in Lemberg and occupied a monumental state building, featuring a highly developed iconography and facing one of the largest park spaces within the central city, the Municipal (former Jesuit) Park.

Stryjski Park, laid out by Lemberg’s leading landscape architect Arnold Röhrling, was to become the site of the provincial exhibition, the famous Ra-

7. On the economic reasoning of the Gubernium and central administration, such as the proposal for a province-wide market for agricultural production and export and the need to create local middle class, see Iuliana Ivakočko, “Urbanizacijni procesy Halyčyny (1772-1914)” [Urbanization processes in Galicia, 1772-1914], *Architektura*, 358, no. 5 (1998), 213. Also see idem, “Peredumovy urbanistyčnoho rozvytku Halyčyny naprykinci XVIII-po XX st.” [Preconditions of Galicia’s urbanization development in the late 18th-early 20th centuries], *Architektura* 439 (2002), 211-16; idem, “Budivelfno-pravovi zachody ščodo terytorial’no-planuvafnoho rozvytku L’vova u XIX st.” [Building legislation concerning the territorial planning of Lviv in the 18th century] *Architektura*, 375 (1996), 214-16.

8. Franciszek Jaworski, *Lwów stary i wczorajszy (szkice i opowiadania) z ilustracyami, Wydanie drugie poprawione* [Lwów of the yesterday and yesteryear (sketches and stories) with illustrations. Second corrected edition] (Lemberg: Nakł. Tow. Wydawniczego, 1911), p. 242.

9. Stańkiewicz, “Ogrody i plantacje,” p. 65.

10. See, for example, Edmund Mochnacki, *Sprawozdanie Prezydenta k. st. miasta Lwowa z trzechletniej czynności Reprezentacji miasta i Magistratu (1886, 1887 i 1888) ogłoszone na posiedzeniu pełnej Rady dnia 19. Stycznia 1889* [Report by Lwów’s Mayor on the occasion of the three years of the Municipal Council’s and Municipality’s operation, presented at the full council meeting on January 19, 1889] (Lemberg: Nakł. Gminy m. Lwowa, 1889); idem, “Introduction,” in *Miasto Lwów w okresie samorządu, 1870-1895* [The city of Lwów in the period of self-government], introduction by Edmund Mochnacki (Lemberg: Nakł. Gminy m. Lwowa, 1896).

clawice panorama in 1894, and a monument to Jan Kiliński in 1895.¹¹ At the *fin de siècle*, monuments were conventionally placed on the formal, monumental edges of parks that faced important buildings, thus articulating a certain historic vision imposed upon the city. The Monument to King John III Sobieski was erected in 1898 on the main boulevard facing the Opera (built 1897-1900) and, as we shall soon see, Agenor Gołuchowski's statue, erected in 1901, faced the Parliament building across the Municipal Park. At the turn of the century and in parallel with constructing monuments, the city re-arranged and re-planned a number of small parks, such as Teofil Wiśniowski Park and Bartos Głowacki Park.¹² The site of Wiśniowski Park, Execution Hill (*Góra Stracenia/Hycłowska*), had from the eighteenth century on been used for the carrying out of death sentences and in 1847 witnessed the execution of Polish revolutionaries Teofil Wiśniowski (1806-1847) and Józef Kapuściński (1818-1847). Wojciech Bartosz Głowacki (c. 1758-1794), a legendary peasant leader at the Battle of Raclawice, however, had no connection to Lemberg whatsoever.

THE IMPERIAL GARDEN: BETWEEN BEAUTIFICATION, SOLITUDE AND PUBLIC PEACE

In the imagination of the average Austrian clerk appointed to Galicia in the first half of the nineteenth century, the notion of public space as an area where the "public peace" was to be carefully maintained meant little. For him, the Habermasian public sphere could not in principle have existed outdoors.¹³ To avoid provoking public discontent, Lemberg's municipal authorities concerned themselves little with the construction of memorials in public spaces until the late 1880s. Instead, as early as the late eighteenth century Lemberg streets and squares were closely monitored by the police authorities and were marked by Habsburg symbolic representation. At the same time, the city had an extensive history of regular public celebrations that were either connected to the Catholic calendar or to anniversaries of the Habsburg dynasty.

National historians have been all too eager to stress the imperial street celebrations' "artificial," "staged" and non-popular character.¹⁴ Yet it appears more

11. Centralnyj Deržavnyj Istoryčnyj Archiv Ukraïny [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, further in the text, CDIAU], F. 146, Op. 7, Sp. 4437.

12. Stańkiewicz, "Ogrody i plantacje," pp. 63-70. Other important Lemberg monuments included those to Aleksander Fredro (built in 1897 by Leonard Marconi), Kornel Ujejski (constructed in 1901 by Antoni Popiel), Adam Mickiewicz (built in 1904 by Antoni Popiel) and Franciszek Smolka (constructed in 1917 by Tadeusz Błotnicki).

13. On Governor Ludwig Taaffe's 1824 concept of public representation, see CDIAU, F. 146, Op. 6, Sp. 322, L. 1742. On the later concept of "public responsibility," see CDIAU F. 52, Op. 1, Sp. 30, L. 11.

14. See Franciszek Jaworski, *Przewodnik po Lwowie i okolicy z Żółkwią i Podhorcami* [Guidebook to Lwów and its surroundings together with Żółkiew and Podhorce] (Lemberg: B. Połoniecki, 1907), pp. 137-43; idem, *Ratusz lwowski z 21 rycinami w tękście* [Lwów townhall with 21 illustrations in text]. Biblioteka lwowska, vol. 1 (Lemberg: Tow. Miłośników przeszłości

likely that Austrian policies regarding public space turned areas of “entertainment” that the authorities would not regard as strictly public – these primarily being cafes, pubs and, importantly, public green spaces – into centers of social life, despite the presence of secret agents at any larger assembly. Street celebrations, on the other hand, represented rare occasions for Lembergers to enjoy the public space of the street.¹⁵ Concentrated around the city’s major spaces – the Market Square (*Ringplatz, Rynek*), the Roman-Catholic Cathedral and the German theatre – they rarely involved activities that moved into public green spaces. One important exception may be found in 1773, when the emperor Joseph II visited Lemberg’s newly planned park and a memorial plaque commemorating the Habsburg dynasty was unveiled. As a consequence of the event, this public greenery has remained informally known until today as *Kaiserwald* (Emperor’s forest). A second important exception to celebrations not occurring in public green areas was Franz Joseph’s visit to the newly planned public park on the Castle Hill (*Sandberg/Wysoki zamek*) – the city’s highest ground, with the remains of the medieval castle – in 1851. The official title of that area has since remained *Franz-Joseph-Berg*. Thus, like street celebrations, only on rare occasions did Habsburg imperial symbolism extend into public green spaces.

The Austrian administration is equally remembered for having introduced the first complex and systematic urban planning strategies termed “beautification” (*Verschönerung/upiększenie*). This was often done with “significant considerations for public security.” Such considerations were defined broadly enough as to include, from the 1780s on, the demolition of city fortifications and the ring street project,¹⁶ criminal offences and sanitary regulations throughout the *Vormärz*, revolutionary demonstrations in the late 1840s and “public establishments disturbing the general communal safety” on the city streets,¹⁷ and, from the 1850s on, public paupers. The management of public green spaces was one of the few aspects of urban planning where the building authorities had few restrictions throughout the entire nineteenth century and where they could also leave a key imprint on the city’s built environment.

Lwowa, 1907, reprinted Warsaw: Polski dom wydawniczy, 1990); Stanisław Schnür-Peplowski, *Obrazy z przeszłości Galicji i Krakowa (1772-1858)* [Images from Galicia’s and Cracow’s days of the yesteryear, 1772-1858] (Lemberg 1896), pp. 24; 33–34; Bronisław Pawłowski, *Lwów w 1809 r. z 20 rycinami w tekście* [Lwów in 1809 with 20 illustrations in text] (Lemberg: Towarzystwo Miłośników Przeszłości Lwowa, 1909), p. 59. Very few recent scholars have researched these early celebrations. The majority of scholars have rather concentrated on the celebrations of the late nineteenth century, for example, Patrice M. Dabrowski, *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2004). See also Markian Prokopowych, “Staging Empires and Nations: Politics in the Public Space of Habsburg Lemberg,” in Rudolf Jaworski and Peter Stachel, eds., *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes. Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Straßennamen im europäischen Vergleich* (Berlin: Timme & Frank, forthcoming 2007).

15. See CDIAU F. 146, Op. 7, Sp. 633; Sp. 1230; Sp. 1877; Sp. 2867; Sp. 3431.

16. CDIAU F. 146, Op. 79, Sp. 210, L. 1–10.

17. CDIAU F. 146, Op. 7, Sp. 3365, L. 31–32.

The positive effects of such innovations were questioned by very few. The city's largest ecclesiastic Baroque parks came into public ownership with the establishment of the new administration in 1772. Their condition was seriously deteriorating; they, too, fell into the category of the eighteenth-century's "ruin," a conventional term in historiography concerning the period of war and stagnation in the eighteenth century. Joseph II abolished Magdeburg Law in 1793, and the Lemberg Municipality was subordinated to the Galician Gubernium. The staff of the Municipality was also reduced in number, while the position of mayor was routinely left unoccupied during the *Vormärz*. As the new Austrian municipality – a mere executive extension of the Gubernium and hence of Vienna¹⁸ – demolished city walls and filled in the gutters in the early nineteenth century, it introduced a new system of parks and green boulevards. The planting of trees became a regular practice along the emerging circular street (the "ring") and in the outlying districts.¹⁹

Until the establishment of municipal self-government in 1870, Galician – and hence Lembergian – political leaders were so diverse as to include Josephinians in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Gubernium, and Metternichians during the *Vormärz*, including, for example, Franz Krieg as acting Governor General from July 1846 to August 1847.²⁰ However, this group also included impressive personalities such as Archduke Ferdinand Karl Joseph of Austria-Este (1781-1850), a famous military commander and an appointed military and civil governor from 1830 to 1846; General Wilhelm Hammerstein (1801-1872) in 1848, and finally the Polish conservative aristocratic elite, such as Governor Agenor Gołuchowski (1812-1872) during the period of Neo-Absolutism. Gołuchowski, Austrian Minister of the Interior from 1859 to 1860 and Minister of State in 1860, whose main political achievement was the October Diploma of the same year, brought an end to Neo-Absolutism by establishing diets in the Habsburg lands.²¹

The constitutional changes within the Monarchy provided that the Lemberg Municipality, a mere German-speaking executive branch of the Galician Gubernium and strictly controlled by Vienna in 1800, was by 1900 an independent political body dominated by the Polish elite. The shift from administrative rule by Vienna to local administration was at times gradual and at times rapid. Yet despite this tremendous change in the nature, ideology and composition of the municipal administration, a continuous concern existed for the

18. See, for example, *Schematismus der Königreiche Galizien & Lodomerien für das Jahr 1842* (Lemberg: Galizische Aerial Drükerei, 1842).

19. On the beautification plans of the 1770s, including the regulation of the Peltew River and the subsequent greening of the area, see CDIAU, F. 52, Op. 1, Sp. 17, L. 2-6).

20. On negative perception of Freiherr Franz Krieg (von Hochfelden) in Polish national historiography, see Schnür-Peplowski, *Obrazy z przeszłości*, pp. 368, 372.

21. Further see Bronisław Łoziński, *Agenor Hrabia Gołuchowski w pierwszym okresie rządów swoich (1848-1859)* [Count Agenor Gołuchowski in the first period of his governorship, 1848-1859] (Lemberg: Nakł. Księgarni H. Altenberga, 1901).

maintenance, upgrading and improvement of the city's green areas throughout the entire Habsburg period.

Despite a longer tradition of Baroque landscape design, Lemberg *fin-de-siècle* public parks were to a large extent the descendants of the "pleasure gardens" (*Vergnügungsgarten*) of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Pleasure gardens were either private or public outdoor summer venues that permitted high-society urban dwellers to escape the heat and noisy city life to indulge in ice cream treats, alcoholic concoctions, musical entertainment, dramatic recitations, fireworks, conversation and the like. In short, these gardens permitted high society to see others and be seen in a relaxed, often frivolous environment. In establishing and managing public green spaces, the authorities concerned themselves little with what took place within them.

On the other hand, the legacy of *Biedermeier*, an epoch characteristically known for its retreat into privacy and Nature in the context of *Vormärz*-era restoration politics, introduced a certain life style. This style was emphasized in the public display of modesty, civic commitment and, notably, the unadorned house set in an ensemble of ordered greenery, such as Privy Councilor Ernst Kortum's private estate, Friderikenhof known locally as *Frydrychówka* or *Kortumówka*.²² Classicism, the restriction of public access (privileging upper-class Christians) and the possibility for solitude were this ensemble's key elements. *Biedermeier* culture was deeply respectful of privacy and solitude with greenery and, at the same time, disliked public socializing in cafes and pubs, which flourished nonetheless. The city's green spaces thus became a perceived refuge for those who longed for solitude and those who sought public pleasures, but it also continued to host traditional religious and popular rituals, such as the widely recorded Ruthenian *Haïvky*. Having clear pagan roots, the ritual was an Easter celebration that took place in Franciscan Square, in the area near Kurkowa Street and the Riflemens' Range (*Strzelnica*). Attended by the urban lower classes, villagers who specifically came to Lemberg on that day, craftsmen and lower-ranking military, the celebration was imbued with a humorous and erotic urban ethos.²³

Aside from practical uses, public promenades figured as places of symbolic representation from the very beginning: for the authorities to demonstrate achievements to distinguished visitors, and for the "respectable public" to put itself on display. The planning process of the early nineteenth century did not yield immediate results. Until Emperor Francis I visit to Lemberg in 1817, there still were few places for the public expression of symbols: even the most formal boulevards were full of garbage, dangerous holes and cattle.²⁴ By the 1820s this had changed: in front of the Governor's Palace, a promenade was laid down, which very soon became the city's favorite. Named after

22. For more on Ernst Bogumil Kortum, a Silesian German, and his bitter criticism of the Polish gentry, see Jaworski, *Lwów stary*, p. 328.

23. Jaworski, *Lwów stary*, pp. 95-97.

24. *Ibid.*

Gubernial Councilor Wilhelm Reitzenheim, father of Józef Reitzenheim, a Polish revolutionary émigré, it was called in Polish and, subsequently, Ruthenian, *Reitzenheimówka*.

The Emperor's visit appears to have catalyzed a larger process. The Gubernium decreed the demolition of the fortification walls on the northern side of the city, from the (Jewish) Cracow outlying district, and from 1821 to 1825 the area near the Castle Hill was redone. In this way provincial Lemberg lost its most interesting medieval fortification walls, a move that subsequently – but much earlier than, for example, in Vienna – inspired great regret in nationalists and proponents of architectural conservation. In 1826, the city began planting trees on its western side. This was to become later – under a very different, Polish-dominated, post-Compromise Municipality – the most stately part of the ring project of the *fin de siècle*: there, exclusive hotels, the opera house, government buildings and expensive private houses were to set its characteristic urban “*Ringstrasse*” tone. In 1837 the Castle Hill – the future site of several curious events – came up on the municipal agenda again. The German-language local periodical *Mnemosyne* remarked in 1846 on the decisive role of yet another Governor, Count Lazansky, in the management of the Castle Hill area. The hill was transformed from the city's “burden rather than decoration” (*mehr eine Last als eine Zierde*) into “the most beautiful and magnificent of parks (*Prachtanlagen*) of this genre.”²⁵

Perhaps the most illustrative example of how green spaces and park architecture could be manipulated for different purposes – and with varying success – can be found in the story of the *Vormärz*-era Municipal Park (*Ogród miejski*). This green area had formerly been in the ownership of the Jesuits and hence, was still informally called *Ogród jezuicki* during the *Vormärz*. The story of its transformation does not need to be repeated in full here,²⁶ yet the pre-history of its “making” is important to this discussion because the park became subject of contest for several symbolic projects at the *fin de siècle*. Planned in the Baroque fashion, featuring axes, topiaries and shadow-lined labyrinths, it was sold by the Municipality in 1799 – in a rather sorry state – to Höcht, a wealthy entrepreneur and owner of the city casino and hotel on the site. Höcht obliged himself to maintain the park.²⁷ He had it redesigned in a Classicist manner by adding public baths, pergolas and a carousel.

The curious public visited it eagerly, at first. The Casino Building soon became a center of upper-class socialization and was honored several times with imperial visits. Yet, while the private entrepreneur took care of the public buildings on the territory of the park, he neglected the greenery itself. In 1813 the

25. CDIAU F. 52, Op. 1, Sp. 950, L.36. On the promotion in the official Gubernial press (*Lemberger Zeitung/Gazeta lwowska*) and abroad, see CDIAU F. 52, Op. 1, Sp. 950, L. 12.

26. See Stańkiewicz, “Ogrody i plantacje,” pp. 63–70; CDIAU F. 146, Op. 6, Sp. 322, L. 727; F. 720, Op. 1, Sp. 623.

27. Stańkiewicz, “Ogrody i plantacje,” pp. 63–64.

park's decline had become apparent. Ironically, it emerged that excessive plantings, arranged to resemble fashionable Italian gardens and fitting the *Biedermeier* ideal, were not suitable for Lemberg's notoriously wet climate. A change in ownership in 1847 did not produce positive overall change: private entrepreneurs repeatedly attempted to free themselves of the obligation to maintain the park.²⁸ The disappointed public soon discovered the pleasure of private parks in outlying districts: *Kortumówka (Friederikenhof)*, *Pohulanka*, *Woda Żelazna* and *Lonszanówka*. After half a century of private ownership, the park was again assumed by the city, in a sorry state, in 1855.²⁹ On April 12, 1855, the Council of the City Administration accepted a plan for a new park arrangement by the city's second famous landscape gardener, Bauer, who consequently brought it to its now familiar late nineteenth-century look.

Managing greenery – the legacy of *Biedermeier* planning – fell among the building authorities' priority for the rest of the century. The reaction of the "respectable" public – Jews exempted, as elsewhere in Galicia – took the form of appreciation.³⁰ Not only did the more wealthy Lemberg residents admire the new administration's "greening" of Lemberg's public areas, but many individuals followed this example and surrounded their own cottages in the outlying districts with previously unseen rich plantings,³¹ in line with the *Biedermeier* ideal of the private house. Very few, however, followed the example set by prominent local Germans, such as Gubernial main clerk and theatre director Franz Kratter and Police Director Joseph Rohrer,³² whose orderly attitude toward green spaces required daily walks into the "wilderness," a category into which, for example, the Castle Hill was designed to fit. While the Gubernium concerned itself with further insertion of Classicist garden architecture – promenades, paths, fountains, vistas and grottoes – into the park on the Castle Hill, the degree of activity there was fundamentally transformed only by the insertion of a cafe in the late 1840s.³³ The Castle Hill, transformed

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65.

29. For the entire process of the ownership change of the Municipal Park (1840–1859), see CDIAU F. 146, Op. 78, Sp. 377; F. 146, Op. 6, Sp. 212, L. 1727–1728. For the plan of the park of 1876, see CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 103.

30. For an opinion from 1813, see Stańkiewicz, "Ogrody i plantacje," p. 63. On the restrictions to Jews in Cracow, see Wojciech Balus, *Krakau zwischen Traditionen und Wegen in die Moderne: Zur Geschichte der Architektur und der öffentlichen Grünanlagen im 19. Jahrhundert*. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003).

31. Stańkiewicz, "Ogrody i plantacje," p. 63.

32. See Franz Kratter, *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien. Ein Beitrag zur Statistik und Menschenkenntniss* [Letters on the present condition of Galicia] (Leipzig: Verlag G. Ph. Wucherers, 1786); Joseph Rohrer, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von der türkischen Grenze über die Bukowina durch Ost und West Galizien* [Notes during one journey from the Turkish border through the Bukovina and through East and West Galicia] (Vienna: Pichler, 1804, reprinted in Berlin: Scherer, 1989).

33. CDIAU F. 52, Op. 1, Sp. 950, L. 6. For municipal measures concerning the beautification of the Castle Hill in 1840–1858, see CDIAU F. 146, Op. 109, Sp. 101.

into a public garden suitable to *Biedermeier* pleasures, was appreciated only when one could socialize in an informal environment.

In Lemberg, as elsewhere, the *Biedermeier* period was characterized by its retreat into privacy and Nature. Lemberg's green surroundings were poetically recorded in numerous German-language writings in the first half of the nineteenth century:

This was an epoch of the home hearth's highest value, not accidentally called *Biedermeier* since a large part of it was embodied by sentimental Germans who loved songs, greenery and romantic walks. Nobody before has surrounded trees and greenery with equal sentiment. It is to this epoch that Lemberg owes its wonderful green appearance.³⁴

Yet the contemporary Lemberg public seems not to have appropriated the orderly and disciplined German attitude to greenery. In 1852 an anonymous Polish writer remarked on the spirit of the local Germans³⁵ of the *Vormärz*:

Returning to the aforementioned statement that Lwówians do not like to move about or, to put it plainly, exhibit a repugnance for walks. Simply get up an hour earlier than you normally do, and you will find time for a morning walk from which both your health and good mood will benefit.³⁶

Yet all the enlightened bureaucratic effort and all the German *Biedermeier* verse notwithstanding, the city public seemed to have forgotten the secret pleasures of the outdoors. Instead, it was the loud military music that the public chose to attend on two weekdays in summer, when a military bandmaster played marches at the Castle Hill for a small entrance fee.³⁷ On the other hand, however, the public greeted every new thing in the city with enthusiasm. Thus, for example, when the new cafe "in the Dutch style" was opened on an open terrace of the Castle Hill, the event was widely attended. "Nearly the whole city has made a pilgrimage [. . .] Castle green spaces have become overcrowded with visitors, and everybody either by foot, horse or on a carriage [. . .] headed to and from the cafeteria [unintentionally] following the rhythm of the military music that played first sad, and then joyful melodies," thus ran a contemporary ac-

34. Stańkiewicz, "Ogrody i plantacje," p. 63. Further see Maria Kłańska, *Daleko od Wiednia. Galicja w oczach pisarzy niemieckojęzycznych 1772-1918* [Far from Vienna: Galicia in the eyes of German-writing authors] (Cracow: Universitas, 1991); idem, *Problemfeld Galizien in deutschsprachiger Prosa 1846-1914* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1992).

35. It is customary to group under this term various non-Lemberg German-speaking bureaucrats, the largest group of whom was comprised of Moravian and Bohemian Germans, as well as Germanized Czechs.

36. Anonymous (Dr. B), "Wzorki lwowskie" [Lwów ornaments], *Czas*, 282 (1852). Also see CDIAU F. 52, Op. 1, Sp. 950, L. 11.

37. Anonymous, "Wzorki lwowskie."

count of 1846. The newspaper enthusiastically commented on the wonders of modern female fashion that the male public had a chance to study on such occasions. It seems that by late 1840s, the new generation has slowly forgotten the *Biedermeier* – inspired desire for hidden pleasures, and was increasingly hungry for social interaction and loud public attractions rather than solitude in Nature.³⁸ In the age of Historicism, nationalism and the expansion of the public sphere, the vision of green spaces as merely “entertaining” was no longer sufficient.

THE NATIONAL GARDEN AND THE CLASH OF AUTHORITIES

As early as 1809 the explosive nature of public space demonstrated itself clearly in various street celebrations when Polish troops were present in Lemberg, even if public unrest had mainly been expressed by the social stratum of the Polish nobility.³⁹ In times of peace, the public attended both imperial and national celebrations. In times of unrest, as in 1809 and 1848, spurred on by centuries-old divisions and recent economic misfortunes, popular sentiment mobilized large groups of the population. The Galician Governor Franz Stadion learned to manipulate the ethnic issue by reigning in Polish nationalism and, to this end, “invented the Ruthenians” in 1848.⁴⁰ In the late 1860s, public space could and would be used for national memorials and celebrations, attracted ever-larger crowds and became a serious issue as regarded public order.

With the rise of popular politics in the Habsburg lands after the Compromise, public societies increasingly laid claims on the right to shape public space, even if only in rhetoric. Together with constructed histories on Lemberg’s foundation, its university and its modern, democratically elected municipal and provincial governments, such speculations belong to the more general discourse of the construction of Lemberg’s historic and modern “national software.” Yet when it came to “national hardware” – such as the actual construction of national monuments or other kinds of national representation in public spaces – such issues became more difficult because they required official approval.

With the Compromise, the Gubernium was transformed into the Viceroy’s Administration (*Statthaltereie*, with its executive body *Landesausschuss*), while the Municipality was given much greater powers of decision on local matters. By the late 1870s, local Poles had gradually replaced German-speaking clerks on the staffs of both the provincial and municipal administrations, and national voices could occasionally be heard even within the administration itself. Yet in the particular political arrangement of the Compromise,

38. CDIAU F. 52, Op. 1, Sp. 950, L. 14.

39. Pawłowski, *Lwów w 1809*, pp. 43–52; Schnür-Peplowski, *Obrazy z przeszłości*, pp. 24–25.

40. On Franz Stadion (1806–1853), see *Neue österreichische Biografie ab 1815: grosse Österreicher*, vol. 14 (Zürich, Leipzig and Vienna: Almathea, 1960), pp. 62–73.

the Polish conservative elite was given a relatively free hand to rule Galicia, including its non-Polish population, but this came at the price of a pronounced loyalty to Vienna. Hence the new authorities would not tolerate any disturbance to this fragile, yet favorable, political arrangement by outbursts of nationalism of any kind.

On the streets a kind of consensus with imperial values was sought, even when a figure from Polish national history was to be commemorated. Such was the case with the 1898 monument to King John III Sobieski, a major hero in Polish national history who was also renowned for his role in the 1683 defense of Vienna.⁴¹ The choice of Sobieski was not accidental: born in nearby Olesko to a notable Polish aristocratic family with strong roots in Ukraine, Sobieski was a *local* representative, as well as a national and imperial one. Popular among his subjects and a brilliant military commander, Sobieski was an ideal figure for a monument, thanks to his being non-conflictual and enjoying a broad, general identification with different groups, despite the multiplicity of meanings associated with him. Stylistically and symbolically, this equestrian statue – later to become modern Lemberg's landmark and, ironically, to be removed to Gdańsk after the Second World War – is not dissimilar to the monuments to Eugene of Savoy in Vienna and Budapest. Lemberg's public streets and squares remained double-coded: the symbol of Polish national rebirth simultaneously carried a message of faith to Austria.

Yet the city's parks, those curious semi-public spaces peculiar of relatively unrestricted *Biedermeier* socializing that had been frivolous or national depending on the situation,⁴² became the subject of a much more bitter contest between the authorities and an increasingly nationalist public. Monuments were erected, celebrations organized, and public meetings and demonstrations were held. Not precisely a public realm – as the authorities were often the last to get involved – but certainly a public sphere, they became a trial ground for national symbols.

The construction of monuments revealed the interplay between the authorities, professional architects and the wider society. In late nineteenth-century Lemberg, several locally important Polish historical personalities were used and abused, approved and appropriated by the authorities as well as by various societies and committees. Parks were the first places to become commemorative sites. A man-made mound is not exactly what comes to mind when one imagines an architectural monument. Yet such a mound, erected on Lemberg's Castle Hill (officially known as *Franz-Joseph-Berg* since 1851) in

41. For the official 1897 unveiling of Sobieski's monument, see CDIAU F. 739, Op. 1, Sp. 130. Also, see Ihor Siomočkin, "U tradycijach l'vivských ambicij, abo u hlybiny navkolotvorčych konfliktiv kincia XIX st." [In the traditions of L'viv ambitions, or in the depth of art conflicts at the end of the 19th century], *Halyc'ka Brama*, 11 (1996), 15.

42. See Stańkiewicz, "Ogrody i plantacje," pp. 63-70.

commemoration of the Union of Lublin, was the city's first memorial initiated by a public society, rather than by the authorities. For Franciszek Smolka (1810-1899), a former revolutionary, a parliamentary deputy and a democrat, who nurtured to fruition the idea of the monument to the Union of Lublin in 1869, the fact that the future mound would be constructed in Lemberg's green surroundings was far from accidental. The availability of the Cracow model, where the mound to Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746-1817) was added to the city's two prehistoric artificial mounds in 1820-1823 to honor the leader of the insurrection and the winner of the Battle of Raclawice (1794), emerges as one plausible explanation.⁴³

The Union Mound was to become the city's highest landmark, visible from virtually everywhere and enthusiastically discussed by public activists, historians, architectural preservationists and members of the state administration. The Castle Hill was the site of the medieval castle ruins, disputed between the Poles and the Ruthenians. This multi-coded landmark was also the site of the important siege of 1655 by Bohdan Chmelnickij's Cossack troops, an event that led to opposing interpretations by Poles and Jews on the one hand, and by Ruthenians on the other. In addition, out of political considerations the Ruthenian clerical elite who was devotedly loyal to the Emperor fiercely opposed any Polish Democratic events. In order for the mound to become a reality, Smolka's legal skills were needed. He successfully manipulated with the surviving official (*Vormärz*-era) notion of public green areas as not-exactly-public spaces, where matters of symbolic representation were less central than in the streets and where memorial plaques, and obelisks, were routinely placed to commemorate distinguished visitors to the city.

Smolka succeeded, at least by the end of the day and in this private form, to create a truly national celebration. Conducted over time at an ever-greater scale and increasingly as a truly public holiday, the Union of Lublin anniversary celebration became an annual tradition in the city. It boasted a grand and picturesque ceremony through the city center and, with increasingly less lip service to the Ruthenians who opposed it, sacralized in the cathedral and legitimized by passing through the city center, the Town Hall, the celebration routinely ended at the site of the slowly growing mound.⁴⁴ As public buildings became increasingly available for such events, the ceremonial expanded from "private" space in the green spaces to become a public event in the streets and the public buildings. Smolka's pioneering role was later followed by other "masters of ceremonies," who came mostly from the Galician Democratic Party and were pejoratively referred to by the public as "trumpeters" (*trom-*

43. For more on the Union Mound see Markian Prokopowych, *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Public Space and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772-1914* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue Univ. Press, forthcoming)

44. For the celebrations of 1871 and 1874, see Schnür-Peplowski, *Obrazy z przeszłości*, pp. 83-84; for 1874, also see CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 110, L. 97-110.

tadraci) with ideas of monuments and celebrations to national leaders in a variety of places. By the *fin de siècle*, some had succeeded in overcoming official reluctance and in “nationalizing” the garden before the “nationalization” of the street, even transforming the most solitary place of the *Vormärz*, the Łyczaków cemetery.⁴⁵

THE MUNICIPAL GARDEN: BETWEEN IMPERIAL AND NATIONAL SYMBOLISM

Within the Municipality, the prevailing understanding of a monument (*Denk-mal*, *Monument* in German and *pomnik*, *zabytek* in Polish) was that of a memory, rather than a physical object. During the *Vormärz*, monuments were associated with certain sites – such as Lazansky’s Castle Hill or Reitzenheim’s promenade – but they needed not be erected physically. No monument to Joseph II was ever built in Lemberg, yet the memory of his visits was kept alive in local urban folklore. Although the provincial administration conducted correspondence from 1838 to 1848 with regional offices about the collection of funds for the construction of monuments to the Emperor Francis I and the Archduke Franz Karl in Lemberg, no project was realized.⁴⁶ Aside from provisional care to the existing Baroque monuments to St. Michael and St. John, the statue of hetman Jabłonowski was the only monument in the city center that was restored and re-erected (being moved from an interior courtyard to a small square) until the 1880s.⁴⁷

Even the monuments that were constructed, such as the memorial plaque to Joseph II’s visit to *Kaiserwald*, were devoid of explicit imperial symbolism: a simple plaque or obelisk, Classicist decoration, a brief inscription. Since the construction of any other memorial would not have been possible, due to the maintenance of the public peace, the link between reserved Classicist symbolism, the concept of a monument as a solitary remembrance, and Austrian loyalty became even more cemented in local minds. Plantings around memorials, viewed as creating a fitting setting for such sites of remembrance, became a common element in such monuments. Symbolism very similar to that found in the memorial plaque to Joseph II was used for the memorial marker to King John III Sobieski on the Castle Hill as late as 1883.

Due to the activity of various committees and societies for the construction of monuments who followed Smolka’s street politics, the post-1870 Mu-

45. See Józef Białynia-Chołoddecki, “Cmentarze dawne i obecne” [Old and contemporary cemeteries], in Janusz, *Lwów stary i dzisiejszy*, p. 73. On the incorporation of the “Jagiellonian idea” into the burial ritual at the Łyczaków cemetery, see Dabrowski, *Commemorations*, pp. 195–98.

46. CDIAU F. 146, Op. 7, Sp. 2243.

47. For a summary of the construction of monuments in Lemberg, see Ihor Siomoškin, “Pamjatnyky” [Monuments], *Halycka Brama*, 38, no. 2 (1998), 14–15. Also see CDIAU F. 146, Op. 7, Sp. 2243.

nicipality had to reconsider its vision. Yet these years were also the period when construction committees, initiated by the Municipality, included members of the state administration as well as non-affiliated professionals. Hence, sites and symbolism needed to be negotiated in this process. In these debates, the authorities often argued for Classicism and greenery, while public activists and architects supported explicit national symbolism and central public spaces.⁴⁸ The decisive role of the Municipality in urban planning affairs at the *fin de siècle* resulted in a "memorializing" of even the most central spaces with statues to the imperially loyal such as Sobieski and his comrade Jabłonowski. Local Ruthenians lacked an independent body of intellectuals willing to work with the "Polish" authorities on matters related to symbolic architectural representation. Instead, their relation with the Municipality could be described as one characterized by suspicion that in the early twentieth century turned into hostility. Retreating into the halls and courtyards of their cultural institutions, the Ruthenian cultural elite could only contemplate in private a possible site for a monument to a great Ukrainian, poet Taras Ševčenko.⁴⁹

Financial difficulties accompanied the building departments' memorial architectural projects throughout the nineteenth century. Yet a comparison of projects with clear imperial references to ones not initiated by the authorities and full of national symbolism reveals clear difference. When, in 1889, the provincial budget commission issued its report on the previous year's expenditures,⁵⁰ the difference between the funds for the construction of a monument to Tadeusz Kościuszko in Cracow on the one hand, and for one to Agenor Gołuchowski in Lemberg on the other, was striking. Although the former project had by 1887 a self-established executive committee, the fund of the latter proposal was almost twice as large.⁵¹ It is thus revealing to note how, in contrast to a later proposal for a monument to the Polish national hero Kościuszko, a monument to a personality unproblematic in the eyes of Vienna, Gołuchowski, was an apparent public success.

48. On the construction of the monument to Adam Mickiewicz in 1904, see Ihor Siomočkin, "Pamjatnyk Mickevyciu v Lvovi" [Monument to Mickiewicz in Lviv], *Halycьka Brama* 38, no. 2 (1998), 14–15.

49. See Ivan Krypjakevyč, *Istoryčni próchody po Lvovi* [Historical walks through Lviv] (Lwów 1932, reprinted in Lviv: Kameniar, 1991), pp. 78–82.

50. On the collection of public donations for the building of a monument to Gołuchowski (1875–1898), see CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, L. 37–45. For several preserved plans and architectural drawings of the Monument to Sobieski, see Deržavnyj Archiv Lvivškoji Oblasti [Lviv Regional Archive, further in the text DALO], F. 2, Op. 4, Sp. 1261.

51. 33.874 zlr for the Gołuchowski monument, and 15.207 zlr for Kościuszko monument. See CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, L. 37–45.

CITIZEN AND STATESMAN: THE MONUMENT TO AGENOR GOŁUCHOWSKI

Hardly any personality in Polish nineteenth-century history would have met with less resistance at any level of the Austrian state than Count Agenor Gołuchowski, an aristocrat, a long-term Galician governor and generally one of the most prominent conservative figures in Galician and Austrian administration and politics. Yet in 1875, when the *Landesausschuss* decided to collect funds for a monument to Gołuchowski,⁵² the deceased governor's achievements for the Polish nation were not self-evident. Hence a serious promotion campaign was needed to collect funds for the erection of such monument: the city and the province were, as always, short of funds for expensive symbolic projects.

On September 14, an appeal to the Galician population came out in print, signed by the vice-speaker of the *Sejm*, Oktaw Pietruski and four members of the *Statthaltereii*, among them the "master of street ceremonies," Franciszek Smolka.⁵³ The text, significantly similar to the earlier 1873 appeal for private support of the Memorial Foundation for the Youth in the name of Francis Joseph and written largely by the same officials,⁵⁴ merged loyal statements with national rhetoric. It saw the Governor as "a loyal advisor to our Monarch and, at the same time, a citizen deeply attached to his homeland" and as "citizen and statesman (*obywatel i mąż stanu*)" and appealed "to the hearts of our co-citizens in the name of . . . our nation."⁵⁵ As specifying what exactly "citizenship," "nation" and "homeland" meant would turn the text either into an explicitly national document, or conversely into a soapy, imperially loyal one, the authors needed to keep its characteristic un-clarity.

The appeal was to no avail: financial shortages prevented the monument's erection until 1890. The issue came up in the agenda again, due to Lemberg's enthusiastic and active mayor Edmund Mochnacki (1836-1902).⁵⁶ Mochnacki's involvement in the construction of the monument to Agenor Gołuchowski was a decisive one, and revealed both his understanding of the importance of monuments as public symbols, and his own identity that merged local patriotism with imperial loyalty and nationalism. Had there been no stimulus coming personally

52. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, L. 6-7.

53. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, L. 17.

54. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, L. 12.

55. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, L. 17.

56. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, L. 33-35. See Mochnacki, *Sprawozdanie Prezydenta*. Also see idem, "Introduction," in *Miasto Lwów*; Leon Gustaw Dziubiński, *Poczet prezydentów, wiceprezydentów i obywateli honorowych miasta Lwowa. Odbitka z "Księgi pamiątkowej," wydanej w 25-letni jubileusz autonomii królewskiego stołecznego miasta Lwowa* [Account of Mayors, Vice-Mayors and Lwów's honorary citizens. Reprint from the "Memorial Book," issued on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the autonomy of the capital city of Lwów] (Lemberg: Nakł. Gminy m. Lwowa, 1896).

from Mochnacki, the idea of this monument might have died unfulfilled just like several other projects throughout the nineteenth century: due to a lack of "practical" purpose, enthusiasm and finances.⁵⁷ He not only revived the idea in 1890, but also became an active member of the decision committee.⁵⁸ On its regular meeting on July 25, 1891, he offered several building sites on behalf of the Municipality, free of charge.⁵⁹

Such places were not numerous as the top sites in Lemberg's symbolic hierarchy were already filled: in 1891, one could think either of remaining plots on the ring (either *Gouverneurwälle*, *Hetmanwälle*, or the Marian and Gołuchowski Squares), or the Municipal Park.⁶⁰ The opinions split, and this split illustrated well the division in understandings of the place of a monument in the city. The Municipal Park offered possibilities of solitude in greenery, while the ring location suggested a strong landmark in the new, modern city. Architect Julian Zachariewicz argued for the garden option, Mochnacki suggested the city.⁶¹

While the 1891 vote was in the favor of the latter, the site for the monument was finalized in 1900 to the Municipal Park, largely due to the proximity of the Gołuchowski Palace located nearby. Archival sources do not provide information on whether or not the decision saw any alignment between the future memorial and the monumental building of the Galician Parliament nearby. Yet this location seems to have offered a compromise of "old" methods of placing monuments in greenery in order to allow for solitary commemoration, and "new" wishes to dominate city focal spaces. In this light, it is important to observe the symbolism of the future monument to Gołuchowski in connection to the already existing statements of Polish nationalism in public green spaces, such as Raclawice panorama and the monument to Jan Kiliński in Stryjski Park, the site of Galicia's greatest provincial exhibition to date.

Contrary to the previous decision committee, the executive committee at the *Landesausschuss* was a larger body that was to handle the artistic side of the future monument. Both bodies were exclusively Polish. Apart from the previously involved individuals, new members were invited to participate in the meeting of the committee: historians Dr Jan Bołoz Antoniewicz (1858-1922) and Władysław Łoziński (1843-1914), architects Zygmunt Gorgolewski (1845-1903) and Juliusz Hochberger (1840-1905), and artists Antoni Popiel

57. The first suggestion to erect the monument came from the *Landesausschuss* in 1875. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 2.

58. The committee was set in March 1891 by the *Landesausschuss* and included Vice-Speaker of the Diet Antoni Jaxa Chaniec, *Landesausschuss* members Eduard Jedrzejewicz and Edmund Mochnacki, Count Adam Gołuchowski (son of Agenor Gołuchowski) and Julian Zachariewicz (CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 2, L. 46-47).

59. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 2, L. 49.

60. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 2, L. 59.

61. *Ibid.*

(1865-1910) and Jan Styka (1858-1925). Antoniewicz was a distinguished Lemberg university professor and a renowned historian, while Gorgolewski was the government councilor, the director of Lemberg School of Industry, and the author of the winning project for the Opera theatre. Juliusz Hochberger was the Municipal Building Department's long-term director, and professor Władysław Łoziński was another renowned historian. Antoni Popiel and Jan Styka were Lemberg's leading Historicist artists, Styka being the author of the famous "Polonia" painting and the Raclawice panorama at the 1894 Provincial Exhibition. The choice of those particular figures demonstrated, first, the importance of the monument's future aesthetic appearance over its national meaning, and second, the existence of a cohort of Polish academia and arts leaders that was ready, in co-ordination with the authorities, to make decisions on architectural matters.

It was this committee that invited émigré Polish sculptor Cyprian Godebski (1835-1909), French-born grandson of the Polish revolutionary and poet Cyprian Godebski, and son of the historian Franciszek Ksawery, to realize the idea. This choice would cause the committee further headaches as the artist proved to be careless, stubborn and convinced of his own artistic authority.⁶² Since the site had already been chosen, discussions on the aesthetic appearance of the future monument centered around two further issues: the material and the symbolic reliefs on the base. Curiously, the deceased governor's figure was not the crucial part of deliberations on the monument: the only major requirement was that it represented Gołuchowski as realistically as possible. The discussion over the aforementioned reliefs illustrated that there already existed firmly established symbolic associations, according to which to make choices concerning the material or the motifs of base reliefs was also to make statements concerning "old" (imperial and allegorical) or "new" (modern and realistic) values.⁶³

The matter was not purely aesthetic, and some of the committee members even suggested completely removing the reliefs and replacing them with "wreaths and garlands, lapidarian inscriptions, and the city and province's coats-of-arms."⁶⁴ Yet the heated discussion over the readability of the reliefs and the absence of a dispute over the figure demonstrated that important issues were at stake. In accordance with the Gołuchowski family's and, allegedly, the late count's wish, the side reliefs that caused heated discussion were to represent the two major events in his biography: the October Diploma of 1860 and his return to Lemberg as Galician Governor. Godebski's stubborn refusal to submit to the allegories caused the committee's specification on March 29 as to why this was unacceptable:

62. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 2, L. 9-10.

63. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 2, L. 7-16.

64. This suggestion was made by the librarian of the Baworowski Library, Josef Korzeniowski. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 2, L. 7.

1. None of the historical scenes from Count Gołuchowski's life are readable in general and today cannot do without a commentary, while to further generations they would be absolutely *unclear*.⁶⁵

2. None of the reliefs represents what it aims to represent. The October Diploma scene *is not* a historical scene because *there has never been such a scene*. This is . . . only . . . an allegory of an act, a *realistic* allegory, and hence a false one. . . . The scene [representing] the late Mr. Gołuchowski in Lwów does not give the impression of impressive applause.⁶⁶

Hence, according to the committee, the historic message of the reliefs should be easily readable and given a monumental significance. The committee also specified what it would like to have instead: on one relief, "a female figure (*postać niewieścia*) representing the Monarchy or [alternatively] History who writes on the leaves of a book the words 'The October Diploma' and the date 'MDCCCLX'." On the other relief, "a female figure personifying the Province at the base of a column, or on the memorial plaque with the dates of the late Mr. Gołuchowski's political activity and his deeds for the province, 1849–1875."⁶⁷ Pressed to comply with the committee's requirements – and yet reluctant to make the required changes – Godebski complied only after receiving Count Adam Gołuchowski's letter (dated April 15, 1900), in which Gołuchowski son expressed his family's agreement with the requirements of the committee.⁶⁸

Cast in France, the monument was transported to Lemberg and unveiled with official pomp on June 27, 1901. It thus "cemented" the great Polish nobleman's contribution to Habsburg Austria and its loyal province and, at the same time, struck a balance between the local *Biedermeier* legacy of solitary remembrance and public greenery facing the building of the Galician Parliament.⁶⁹ The support that the provincial and municipal authorities provided for the erection of a monument to a local Polish aristocrat and a prominent Austrian politician delivered a certain historic vision of what was good for Galicia, a vision different to that of the Raclawice panorama and Jan Kiliński monument. The latter two commemorative sites emphasized the popular character of the fight for the independent Poland: both Kościuszko and Kiliński were depicted wearing a peasant garb, known as the *sukmana*, while the main message of the panorama was that the role of peasantry was decisive in winning the battle. This suggested that the peasantry could and should be raised to the level of nobility, if involved in a "sacred fight" for the freedom of the nation, despite a number of historical inaccuracies in the message of popular na-

65. Emphasis in the original.

66. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 3, L. 5.

67. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 3, L. 3.

68. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 3, L. 7–11.

69. CDIAU F. 165, Op. 5, Sp. 230, vol. 3, L. 15, 35, 39.



Fig. 2. Monument to Agenor Gołuchowski in the Municipal Park (1901, sculptor Cyprian Godebski). Source: Private Collection of Wanda Niemczycka Babel.

tionalism.⁷⁰ Gołuchowski, conversely, wore the clothing of a respectable public official and an aristocrat, while the monument's relief bespoke a message of loyal nobility justly commemorated for his deeds to the province and Austria in the controversial times of Neo-Absolutism.

PERSISTENT DIFFICULTIES: THE MONUMENT TO TADEUSZ KOŚCIUSZKO

In 1893, the Cracow municipality brought up the idea of a monument to Kościuszko on Cracow's main Market Square (*Rynek*). The monument was to be erected on the place where the legendary Polish general took his oath to independent Poland a hundred years before. Yet when, in 1897, the Cracow Municipal Council informed its Lemberg counterpart about its decision, with the approval of the *Statthaltere* and financial concession issued in 1896,⁷¹ the news was met with official chill in Lemberg. Lemberg mayor Godzimir Małachowski was outraged at the thought that the city of Cracow might appropriate the greatest hero of recent Polish history all for itself. Only matters of a political nature and the "age-old discrimination against the divided Polish nation"

70. For more on this, see Dabrowski, *Commemorations*, p. 124.

71. For a full discussion of the issue of the Kościuszko monument in Lemberg/Lwów (1893-1928), see DALO F. 2, Op. 4, Sp. 829.

could explain why there was no monument to Kościuszko in Galicia, yet he was as dear to Cracovians as he was to Lwówians, Małachowski maintained:

For years there exists an idea to erect a proper and beautiful monument to Kościuszko in Lwów, which has not been fulfilled only due to the shortage of finances. The city of Cracow would like to decorate itself with a new ornament with the use of the money from the whole province. . . . Yet until today it has not accomplished the task of erecting the monument to Mickiewicz. . . . On the other hand, the Municipality of Lwów proved its usual patriotism when erecting the monument to the king John III [Sobieski] and would undoubtedly be able to accomplish the task of Kościuszko's monument too.⁷²

For Małachowski, King John Sobieski, a great hero in the defense of Vienna, might have been as much a great Pole as Kościuszko, who took an oath to Poland in Cracow and fought for Polish independence against Russia, then an Austrian ally. Yet while Kościuszko was already commemorated in Lemberg's Raclawice panorama, the decision to propose the monument was not easy to make. Financial reasons were not the only cause of a lengthy delay dealing with the issue. The involvement of the long-term Municipal Building Department director, Juliusz Hochberger,⁷³ caused the introduction of yet another argument against explicitly national monuments in *fin-de-siècle* Lemberg's public spaces. His argument is important here because it took into account the future surroundings of a monument and clearly differentiated between public spaces of the street on the one hand and green spaces on the other. Hochberger maintained that Lemberg's historic architecture was inadequate – not grand enough – to serve as a background for great national monuments, and yet dismissed the idea of this historical fabric's radical reshaping in order to fit them. Trained in Poznań and Berlin in a good Classicist tradition,⁷⁴ he reasoned that the search for an adequate place for the monuments to Sobieski, Gołuchowski and Mickiewicz met with "grave (*dosadne*) difficulties." There simply was "no single adequate (*porządny*) square [. . .], the one that would, by its size, symmetry, beautiful architectural surrounding and stately location (*położeniem reprezentacyjnym*), be adequate for the erection of a monumental sculpture and would [also] provoke an uplifted emotion (*uroczysty nastrój duchowy*)."⁷⁵ According to

72. DALO F. 2, Op. 4, Sp. 829, L. 2–3.

73. For more on Hochberger, an author of the Diet Building (1877–1881), several schools and *gymnasium* secondary schools, and pavilions at the 1894 Provincial Exhibition, see "Nekrologia," *Czasopismo techniczne* (1905), pp. 170–72.

74. See Stanisław Łoza, *Architekci i budowniczowie w Polsce* [Architects and Builders in Poland] (Warsaw: Budownictwo i Architektura, 1954).

75. See "Sprawozdanie Komisji wybranej przez Towarzystwo politechniczne, o organizacji urzędu budowniczego miejskiego we Lwowie" [Report of the Commission Elected by the

Hochberger, one should experience such emotion in places where great works of art such as national monuments stand. For him, just as for the older generation of Lemberg's architects and planners, beauty was in strict geometrical shapes, broad streets and monumental sizes, which Lemberg's building fabric "lacked":

The most adequate place for the Kościuszko monument . . . would be the Market Square. However, one has to bury this wish . . . once and for all, since there is no adequate space for Kościuszko there, and in order to create such a space by appropriating and demolishing the houses on the southern side of the square there are no sufficient funds. In my opinion, the only two adequate locations [are] Halicki Square and the Municipal Park. The former is better in respect that it is closer to the life of people (*bliższy życia ludu*), yet as a square it is worth nothing [. . . especially because] [it would make the monument look] profane [. . .]. To erect it in the Municipal Park also has its vices; it would lose its monumentality and would degenerate into a mere park decoration. . . . Additionally, the neighborhood of the *Sejm* provokes the thought of a connection between the two, while there is no such connection. Yet the location is a beautiful one . . . and improves one's moods to such extent that, although not all, but at least certain [crucial] preconditions speak for it.⁷⁶

National symbolism required the grandeur of scale that the city's architecture was unable to offer. Thus professional beliefs contradicted with and took priority over national aspirations. Hochberger's strong opinion was disliked by many, yet it did help delay the discussion on the issue until the 1910s, when the Polish Gymnastic Society *Sokół* volunteered to support the monument with its own, however insignificant, funds.⁷⁷ By then, the situation has changed fundamentally: the bonds and loyalties that kept the Monarchy together were already too loose in Galicia and elsewhere, and lip service from local authorities to Austria and the throne was unnecessary altogether.

In 1917, the honorary committee for the erection of Kościuszko's monument – including the Speaker of the *Sejm* and the Lemberg mayor – printed out a public appeal that exuded Polish political nationalism and for the first time refused to consider the legitimacy of the Habsburg state. It appealed to "every Pole" not to let the year's Kościuszko jubilee pass unnoticed. It urged turning the celebration into a national holiday until the triumphal Zygmunt Bell of Cracow Wawel Castle would thunder in honor of the Leader in the "new, free Motherland."⁷⁸ Yet even despite all such appeals, the monument erection did not move any further, and the issue was only brought up again,

Polytechnic Society about the Organization of the Municipal Building Regulation in Lwów], *Czasopismo techniczne*, 3 (1910), 24, 32-34.

76. DALO F. 2, Op. 4, Sp. 829, L. 21.

77. DALO F. 2, Op. 4, Sp. 829, L. 25-26.

78. DALO F. 2, Op. 4, Sp. 829, L. 36-37.

indeed in a "new, free Motherland," i.e., interwar Poland, in 1928. This, however, was a different story; nearly all the members of the former committee had joined the Polish legions during the war and were no longer alive, while the collected funds were lost due to inflation.⁷⁹ The interwar administration had a very different ideology concerning the distribution of funds for Polish symbolic projects: public campaign and private donations were no longer necessary.

CONCLUSION

The *Vormärz*-era building authorities presented their initiative to "beautify" the city with parks and promenades in terms of "public security considerations" and the improvement of health conditions. Yet greenery and park architecture could be and was used for different purposes by other groups, too. The provincial and municipal authorities concerned themselves with grottoes and obelisks of Classicist and imperial codings, while the city's noble and rich engaged in demonstrative walks and thus appreciated the chance to show themselves in public as the lower classes retreated into the greenery for religious and popular rituals. Private entrepreneurs handled maintenance on the territory of urban parks of profitable enterprises, yet often neglected to maintain the greenery itself. Whatever was erected in public spaces required approval by the authorities and thus spoke of the values shared by the Municipality, the provincial administration, and Vienna.

As the century drew to its end and the Municipality became increasingly independent, the national commemorative project initiated either by an independent body (as the Union Mound), or a rival municipality (as Kościuszko monument), was gradually taken over by the local building authorities. The Union of Lublin celebration might have become the city's annual public holiday, yet the mound itself was growing very slowly due to the lack of public commitment. The Raclawice panorama might have proved a great success both financially and in terms of integrating the larger public into Polish nationalism, but the erection of a national and anti-imperial monument such as the one to Tadeusz Kościuszko was a very problematic affair. Prior to the outbreak of war, the success of national project of "Polish Lwów," as a viable alternative to "Habsburg Lemberg," was still not obvious. There was no agreement within the Municipality as to where such a national monument should stand. The city, bound to the empire administratively and to the nation locally, was at pains to clarify its own identity versus the national question. Municipal attention, funds and efforts were directed elsewhere: to commemorating compromise figures such as Agenor Gołuchowski. In that, Mayor Edmund Mochnacki's local patriotism, which overlapped with dynastic loyalty and nationalism, was characteristic.

79. DALO F. 2, Op. 4, Sp. 829, L. 41, 53-54.

Successful projects, such as the monument to Gołuchowski, needed the approval of joint committees, where local patriotism and professional ethics took preference over nationalism, as for Juliusz Hochberger. They were by definition a result of negotiation in a situation in which a part of the urban population viewed the "Polish Lwów" project with suspicion and hostility and retreated into the courtyards and green spaces, while the other part was largely uncommitted when it came to donating to national monuments. By giving preference to local, compromise figures in public green spaces, a place of traditional urban retreat and a history of conflicting codings, the Municipality might have fostered the city's urban identity and in so doing diminished the national project itself. Today, "Habsburg Lemberg" has become as much a historical chimera as "Polish Lwów." Contemporary L'viv has lost most of its *fin-de-siècle* monuments such as the one to Gołuchowski, while its central spaces are filled with clearly national, this time Ukrainian, memorials such as that to Ševčenko, while much of its greenery remains empty and unattended.