

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL STYLE IN THE ARCHITECTURAL DEBATE ABOUT THE ACADEMY BUILDING

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Received February 7, 1985
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Summary

The problem of a Hungarian style in architecture had become a point of interest in the '60s of the last century in connection with the future building of the Academy of Sciences. A tradition which could have been adopted by the contemporaries both in spirit and in form was to be found. Imre Henszlmann and Arnold Ipolyi considered the Hungarian mediaeval architecture as the representative of this tradition, and French Gothic was proposed as the style to be imitated. Their view was opposed by the Academy board, in particular by Emil Dessewffy, who highly appreciated Renaissance eclecticism, which had been gaining increasing popularity in the West. The debates, first purely theoretical, became gradually a fight for the commission.

By the early '60s the constraint of absolutism after the 1848/49 War of Independence eased to a degree that made a project, like building the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, feasible. Because of its obvious political significance, Vienna raised a lot of difficulties in its course, whereby a high significance might be attributed to the revival of the national self-consciousness and identity. How thinkers of the age considered the role of architecture in culture as a whole could be concluded from a statement of Arnold Ipolyi: "No doubt, among arts and crafts, architecture has always been a tool in civilizing an occupied land, in making it a home and a country." [1] Special significance was given to this statement by the fact that it was announced in the debate about the principal problems related to the construction of the Academy building.

The institution of the Academy of Sciences founded by István Széchenyi for cultivating the national language was in itself a symbol of national identity after the War of Independence. It was not the building itself which could have become a symbol — like that of the (National) Museum — but as soon as the idea of its construction emerged, it became a symbol. Emil Dessewffy, president of the Academy could safely rely on the public for support: the money for the construction was raised by contributions from the whole country, making the project a matter of national consciousness [2]. Each step concerning the construction was given broad publicity; newspapers

reported about the collection naming every contributor, whatever little sum was involved; later on they reported on events of the competition, even polemic articles on the debate were published. Thus, the press played an important role in focusing the interest of the whole nation on the construction of the Academy building.

The principal question in the debate concerned the style of the building. To this, however, the concept of Hungarian national style in architecture had to be cleared. The definition of this notion was equally important for the fine arts of that age [3].

There was no theoretical expert of that problem in that age except for Henszlmann. The greatest figures of the age like Arany himself first met the problem of the Hungarian national style in connection with the Academy building. In lack of other tradition, only our mediaeval architecture was to be turned to, and this idea was also confirmed by the leading researchers of Romanesque and Gothic monuments, first of all by Arnold Ipolyi, who was an ardent supporter of the movement. There was no interest in the characteristics of vernacular architecture; possible alternatives were (French) Gothics and (Italian) Renaissance.

The debate about the style was given special importance by the fact that it was not merely a conflict of opinions. As a building, which was to be built, was involved the debate was bound to be decided. As a matter of fact, real arguments relying on results of research work were only presented by the partisans of the Gothic style. As a result of this the point of interest was soon shifted from the fundamental theoretical problem, depriving it of the emphasis due to its significance. Anyhow, the opinions outlined in the debate about what was considered "Hungarian", and why, was an essential point. The final outcome of the debate was of secondary importance, namely the commission was not secured for the representative of the winning standpoint. By that time, the dilemma of style had minor importance for another reason: the problem of national architecture was reduced to that of deciding between a Hungarian and a foreign architect. Knowing the final outcome, all theoretical and practical questions seem to have remained unanswered. Before making overall statements, let us have a closer look at the events.

The idea of a Hungarian national style in architecture

The idea of constructing a building for the Academy had already caused great excitement before the final place of the building was decided upon. Already the first reflections pointed out the open questions of our national architecture. The two most important issues became obvious very soon: the unclear concept and purport of the Hungarian national style, as mentioned

above, and the lack of appreciation of the work of Hungarian architects, accompanied by an underdeveloped architectural public life and no democracy in the system of competition and commission.

By the beginning of 1860, the collection launched by Count Emil Dessewffy, president of the Academy, to increase the assets of the Institution and to raise funds for the building produced a sum which was sufficient to start negotiations about the piece of ground for the site of the building. The questionnaires which were distributed and the collection which grew to a country-wide movement, spread the news of the project abroad. Antal Szkalniczky, an architect who worked in Paris at that time, wrote an open letter, published on March 14th, as the first public reaction to the debate concerning the Academy building [4].

As indicated in the subtitle he laid stress on points of architecture and urged an open competition since — as he put it — “the Academy was an all-national matter”. Next, he argued about the problem of style. He thought there was no such tradition that could have an impact on the designer of the building. The designer had to create a style which did not use the elements of the mediaeval ecclesiastic architecture. Disagreeing with the copying of historical styles i.e. with utilizing their formal elements, Szkalniczky suggested the architect should turn to the material: “the genius of architecture should find the possibility for creating an appropriate national idea (. . .) [5] in architecture in the material.”

Beyond his fast and enthusiastic reaction to the debate the merit of Szkalniczky was that he raised essential problems of the Hungarian architecture of that age. His devoted enthusiasm resulted in deeds later, by the time of the competition.

Imre Henszlmann, the real protagonist joined in the debate about the Academy project only later. As written in his memoir [6], he was officially informed about the planned project in June.

He was one of the most erudite art historians who got into the centre of the debate [7]. He was soon involved in the problem of national arts, and within it, national architecture, attempting first to define its essence theoretically, then submitting a program of how to develop it. In his “Parallels” [8] published in 1841, “national character” was an important category. A work of art is made “attractive” and typically national by particular features of history, landscape and climate; great poets remodel everything according to their national features (Shakespearian Romans are real Englishmen). Real national art becomes public property through its real national quality. The national character cannot be concealed or blurred by the label: “general human”. It is the best quality national art that becomes part of universal art [9]. This idea anticipated the views of Lajos Fülep on national and universal art. Henszlmann’s observations made in studying the history of arts,



Fig. 1. Portrait of Imre Henszlmann. Drawing in *Vasárnapi Újság*, May 22, 1859

and during his excavations and research work, convinced him that Hungarian national art had developed and flourished in the Middle Ages. Already "Parallels" pointed out his preference to Gothics and claimed it to be the most convenient style for Hungarian architecture from aesthetical, technical and geographical aspects [10].

After returning home, he concentrated on fighting the antipathy of professional and non-professional, "laic" public opinion against the "German" Gothic style and on getting the design of the Academy accepted in the Gothic style.

In the meanwhile he completed his sketches on the building and presented them early October to the building committee of the Academy, including Count Emil Dessewffy, president, Baron József Eötvös, vice-president, and Count György Károlyi, member of the board of directors. It had been earlier agreed upon that the functional wing would be built together with a block of flats for the sake of economical maintenance, and also that the Esterházy collection would be placed in the building. The sketches of the design were in agreement with the ideas of the committee in this respect, but the Gothic style contradicted them. Each committee member preferred

a different historical style but were unanimous in refusing Gothics; Dessewffy preferred the style of Sansovino and the late Venetian Renaissance, Károlyi was fond of the architecture of the Louvre in Paris, while Eötvös, without definitely preferring any historical style, denied the compatibility of Gothic style and Academy spirit. As Henszlmann put it with resignation in his quoted Memoir: "neither of them was satisfied with my ogival façade sketch" [11]. His sketches were also refused by the Academy board members; it was only Ferenc Deák who supported the style of Henszlmann's sketch [12]. At the board meeting held on October 10th, Henszlmann declared not to alter his fundamental approach, i.e. to be unwilling to design the building in a different style. He thought to be able to convince both his fellow academicians and the public of the rightness of his concept.

As to the character of the competition, the building committee opted for the closed competition system based on invitations, and not the open one. On October 25th, they invited the architects Heinrich Ferstel of Vienna, and Miklós Ybl of Pest, as well as Imre Henszlmann, to submit their designs. The invitation made it possible to involve practising architects for the calculation of costs and for similar other jobs. Henszlmann, not being an architect himself, joined architects Gerster and Frey in Pest.

What resulted in this, could be characterized by the confrontation between the partisans and opposers of the Gothic design.

Since the strong criticism of his design, Henszlmann had been aware of the fact that his ideas could only come to reality if he got influential positions against the committee. Apart from open written and oral argumentation he decided to take a rather risky step. He contacted both of his fellow competitors and took their promise to make designs in the Gothic style [13]. This agreement was significant in itself as being the refusal of an important means of winning the competition. The consentment of Ferstel, the architect of *Votivkirche*, might be attributed to his routine of using the Gothic form, but Ybl's attitude could only be explained by his unwillingness to personal controversies, which later resulted in the withdrawal of his design [14]. In the knowledge of the consequences, this consentment between the competitors should be stated of decisive importance; the "plot" missed its goal, it did not make the Committee accept the Gothic style and ultimately it contributed to the fact that the building of the Academy, financed by national collection, was designed by a foreign architect. Henszlmann himself had to face another frustration: the loss of the benevolent neutrality of Eötvös, who reproached him, obviously conforming to the opinion of the committee: "You intended to constrain us to accept the ogival style, but we don't yield to constraint" [15].

Another important domain of pro-Gothic propaganda included Henszlmann's lectures at the Academy, published in reviews for informing the public. First of all, he wanted to dissipate prejudices against the alleged German

origin of Gothics, stating it to be of French origin, hence originating it from a friendly nation [16]. It was called "opus francigenum" in the Middle Ages — he argued in one of his later lectures (January 28th, 1861) [17]. He also fought against the other prejudice that Gothics was a monastic style, by pointing out that its development was coherent with the liberation of French towns in the 12th century when architecture got also relieved from ecclesiastic patronage. One of his other important arguments was the strict correlation of Hungarian history and Gothics: its eminent patrons ranging from King Béla IV to King Matthias [18].

His lecture at the Academy on January 28th 1861 combined the discussion of the style of the Academy building with arguing for Gothics. In this lecture he set up antiquizing (i.e. Renaissance) style against national style, thus excluding the possibility for relating this category with another style. It was a widely accepted view that there were no national Hungarian architectural elements ("since the Hungarian nation settled down as a nomadic people in this country, they built houses, churches and later palaces after foreign patterns"), consequently the proper motives had to be selected from historical styles. "We, too, have to select, but let us select an existing style best meeting our purpose" [19]. Henszlmann recommended "the ogival or French style" (avoiding the term Gothic because of its undesirable connotations) since ". . .it offers anything we need, the most perfect vault system, the most perfect illumination system, and the highest degree of freedom both in composition and in grouping and configuration" [20]. His subsequent arguments were increasingly of practical nature, in favour of the acceptability and applicability from any aspect of the suggested Gothic style.

However erudite Henszlmann was, and however intensively he fought to make his conviction accepted, he could not overcome the reluctance or even antipathy of architects.

Hungarian architects felt it unjust to be excluded from this great national cause. The Committee had no right to do this since in fact the nation financed the project. They thought this project, which was launched by public contribution, was an opportunity for Hungarian architects to enter an open, democratic competition and get a significant commission at home.

Inviting the "trifolium" (Ferstel, Henszlmann and Ybl) without an open competition not only interfered with the interests of national architecture but also offended its public morale. The democratic purity of the matter was significantly damaged by the activity of Henszlmann: he made everything: program, design, he imposed Gothic on competitors, influenced the judgment of the designs, etc. — said an architect or the reporter interpreting architects' ideas in the February issue of the newspaper *Sürgöny* [21] in 1861.

According to this article the Gothic style was antinational, incompatible with our national feelings and poetry. Apart from practical architectural

objections (i.e. lack of adaptability of the Gothic style to a small-size building and the constant need for repair of the carved stone laces) another counter-argument, i.e. its clerical and German character were the points Henszlmann explicitly denied.

This is how the society of architects reasoned. Neither their theoretical erudition nor their argumentation in the polemic matched Henszlmann's: they only refused the style in question, without submitting an alternative Hungarian national style as suggested by Henszlmann. The solution was expected from safeguarding the democracy of competition and design. The opportunity and an appropriate atmosphere are a must for architects — the problem of style was considered to be a professional problem which should be solved on the drawing desk.

The competition — however “closed” it was — was in the focus of public interest. Of course, the decision in the much debated matter of style was expected with maximum excitement, especially after the competition designs were submitted. It was a baffling turn that in the last minute Ybl “withdrew his design from criticism”, whereby the only — officially invited — Hungarian architect as competitor withdrew from the possible designers of the final project. By February 15th, the deadline of submitting the designs, Szkalniczky also submitted a design in addition to the three invited competitors. The following day Ybl withdrew his designs. His deed was commented on differently. A short news in *Pesti Napló* [22] guessed that the famous architect had submitted an incomplete design, which was due to his long illness. Henszlmann in his quoted memoir [23] made no comment, but Arnold Ipolyi devoted an extensive series of papers to the criticism of the submitted designs [24].

Ybl's design was significant for its style rather than for the circumstances of its withdrawal. As we know the competitors conspired — upon Henszlmann's initiative — to submit designs uniformly in the Gothic style. Divald wrongly assumes that Ybl loyally designed the building in Gothic style, and its withdrawal could be caused by the quoted reproach of Eötvös for the “plot” [25]. Though, Ybl's design was of Renaissance style — as seen from the drawings in his legacy [26] — it resembled the erected building in many ways. All this means that Ybl did not work in compliance with his obligations to the ogival style. Thus, his withdrawal could not follow from the reproach of Eötvös and the jury. If we accept that the probable reason for his withdrawal was his own dissatisfaction with the designs, which he could not finely elaborate because of his illness [27], the fact of the “style agreement” still must not be left out of consideration. (To be returned to later.)

Among the submitted competition designs, undoubtedly Henszlmann's work had the most of supporters — in particular his fellow academicians and Arnold Ipolyi, the expert of great authority, who was writing the quoted series of studies in his support [28].

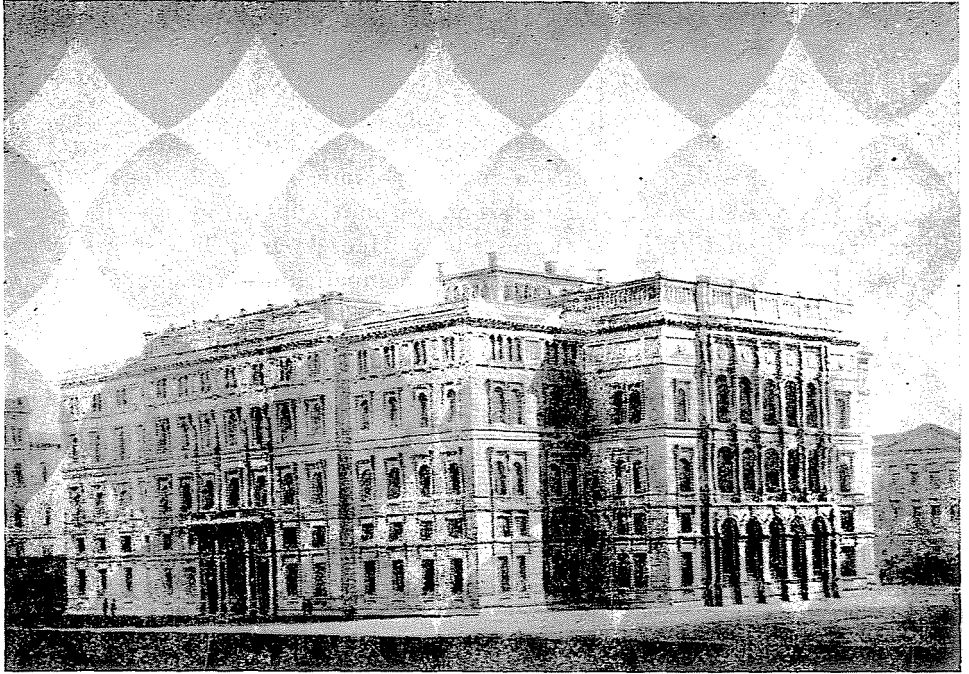


Fig. 2. Design of the building of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Competition work by Miklós Ybl. Original in the Municipal Archives

Ipolyi proved to be an absolute supporter of the Gothic style and considered it as the mediaeval Hungarian national style. Therefore he considered the agreement on the Gothic style as the ingenuity of pioneer architects. He reproached Miklós Ybl for his “arbitrary withdrawal from this agreement”. He handled “classicist Renaissance” with antipathy, and scornfully rejected Ybl’s design [29].

He considered Henszlmann’s design as an excellent example for building in Gothic style with no objections whatsoever, and acknowledged the work as an equivalent to, and a realization of the ideas and professional knowledge of this architect. As opposed to Ferstel’s Gothic, Henszlmann copied the early, moderate French taste, free from later excesses, avoiding stone laces and other accessories [30].

Szkalniczky’s competition work was also given a few sentences in Henszlmann’s report. He considered it as conceived in the Academic style, defining it as “antique Renaissance” distinguishing thereby his purely antiquing concept from the mature Renaissance of Ybl, and claimed this antique taste — in the “highly gifted footprints” of Schinkel — to be less antipathic than Ybl’s and which is also able to architecturally valuable achievements.

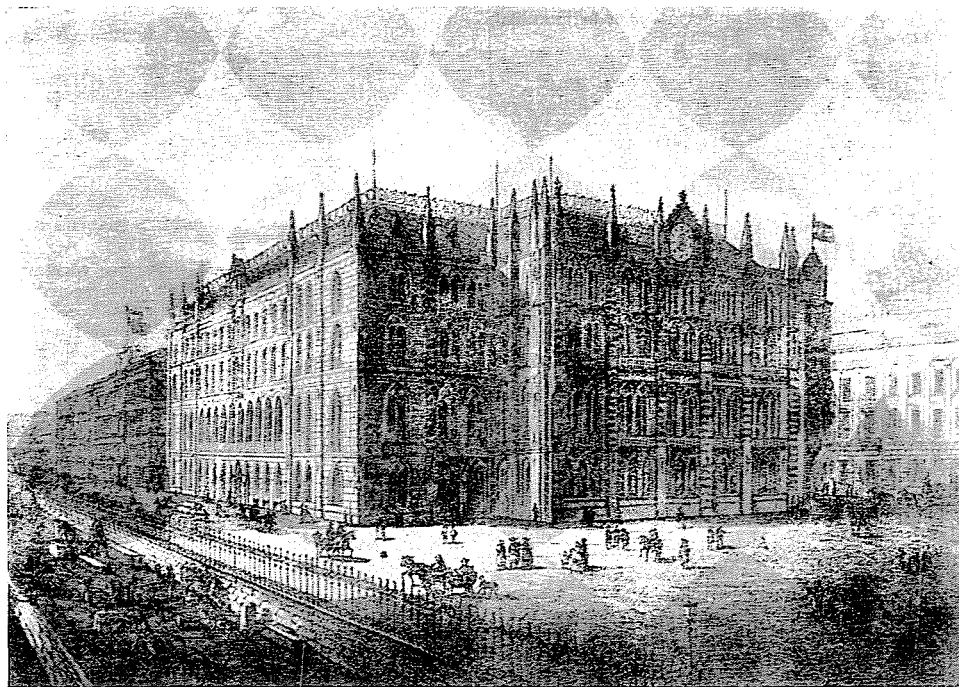


Fig. 3. Building of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences designed by Imre Henszlmann. *Vasárnapi Újság*, Sept. 15, 1861

The two last issues of the series scrutinized the designs from the aspects of ground plan and costs and demonstrated the superiority of Henszlmann's design from these two practical viewpoints.

According to the calculations, Henszlmann's designs were in fact the second cheapest after Szkalniczky's among the four documentations whereby Ybl's version was also considered. (Ybl's competition work was exhibited, without the design sketch, though.) [31].

Considering the fact that both Ybl's and Szkalniczky's designs were only sketches, Henszlmann concluded that Gothic buildings were generally cheaper than Renaissance ones because there was no need for sculptural façade ornaments. With the submittance and criticism of the designs the competition for the Academy building did not have an end, only a chapter of the story ended. No competitor was commissioned to elaborate the final plans; now the building committee invited even further architects. Thus the competition got extended without changing its original character; it did not become an "open competition", but famous foreign architects got invited instead [32].

No "open" competition

With the conclusion of the first phase the competition set a different trend to the matter of the Academy building, this was, however, far from becoming an "open" competition. This seemed to elicit a sharpening, even impassionate debate about the unsolved problems, forcing theoretical problems to the background and concrete subjects of discussion to the foreground. While at the beginning the problem of a national architectural style emerged with proper seriousness and scientific abstraction, later it was dropped completely and simplified to a pro or con in the style debate. However, the problem of national architecture was not to be restricted to the domain of theory. The propaganda for supporting the rights of the Hungarian architects and for democratizing the system of competitions was closely linked with the theoretical debate. In spite of the subsequent course of events, this tendency strengthened rather than weakened and became ultimately a definite demand. Even if points of discussion shifted to practical problems, the problem of architecture — *mutatis mutandis* — remained in the focus of the debate.

As foreseen, the building committee of the Academy was intransigent in the style problem. Although Henszlmann was awarded the prize for the best design (150 forints) but in spite of the urging demand of the academicians, fellow-architects and the part of the public, he was not given the commission. There was a possibility for a real open competition, as all details of the matter had had by then a wide publicity. The committee, however, invited two further foreign architects instead, extending with it the competition, since the three already submitted designs were retained in the competition.

It would be difficult not to consider this step snobbery, which despised the abilities of Hungarian architects. On the other hand, it was obviously motivated by the aversion to Gothics.

Urged by the academicians, who were impatient because of the protracted decision — especially by G. Kubinyi [33] (see later) — Dessewffy finally reported that the identity in style of all designs made the committee ask for designs of different styles. This was also confirmed by the creative personalities of both invited architects, Leo von Klenze and Friedrich August Stüler [34].

The German architects completed their designs in about three months, and displayed them in the antiquity-section-hall of the museum. The newspapers of June 1st already reported the designs by Klenze and Stüler, at that time positively ("they worthily join the designs of Henszlmann and Ferstel" — as the review of Sürgöny put it) [35]. Both designs recalled Renaissance architecture; that of Klenze "old Italian Renaissance", while that of Stüler "new Italian Renaissance". A few days later, Sürgöny published the criticism of the experts of the society of fine arts rejecting both German designs and

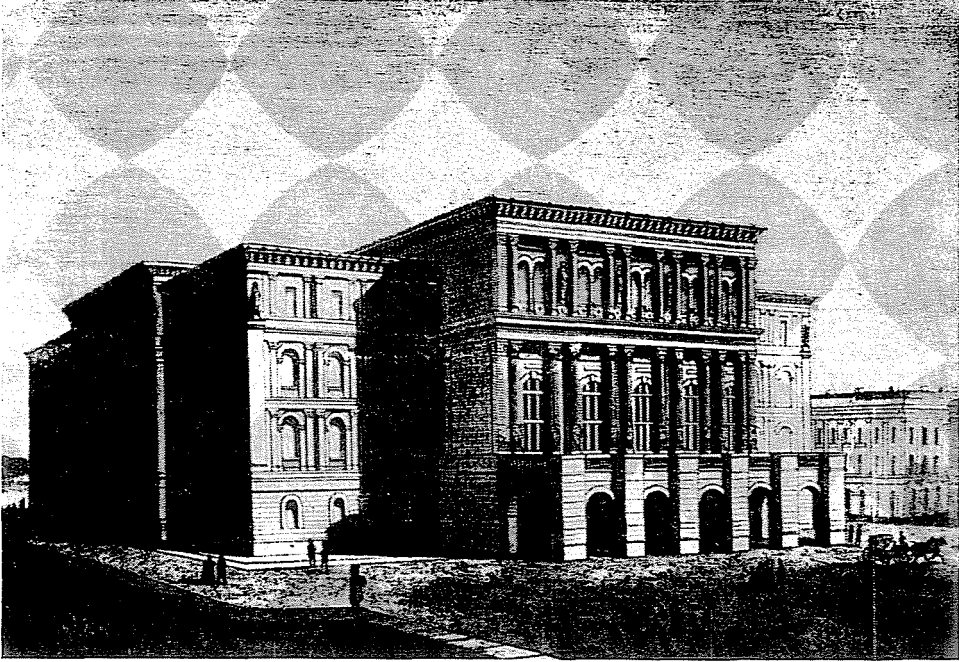


Fig. 4. Design of the Academy Building by F. A. Stüler. *Vasárnapi Újság*, March 2, 1862

claiming that the designs submitted by Henszlmann, Gerster and Frey were worth realizing [36].

The experts included three architects: Frigyes Feszl, Antal Weber and Lipót Kauser, certainly representing the official opinion of the architects. Anyhow, they aimed at excluding the foreign architects (including the Viennese Ferstel). As to the internal designs, they objected to the squandering of space by Stüler, and to locating the Esterházy picture collection on the second floor, while Hungarians correctly located it on the third floor. From the aspect of style, the criticizing architects were opposed to the Renaissance, but not in general. As the designs were entirely different in style only those of the two German architects were unacceptable. The critics preferred even the Classicist block of flats designed by Hild to the designs submitted by the two German architects. They praised Henszlmann's design for composing well-known historical elements into something that had never existed in history, rather than for the Gothic style of his designs, thereby accepting the principle of Eclectics. Finally, Ferstel's Gothic design was rejected as one, whose "artistic conception did not cope with the character of the building of the Hungarian Academy" [37]. With their argumentation they wanted more or less explicitly a Hungarian architect to be commissioned to the project.

This criticism, however, failed its goal. After the foreign designs had been submitted, another committee was appointed [38] in order to study the costs and profits, as well as structural, acoustic and illumination features of the designs. The committee was at the same time entitled to declare views on the question of style. According to the report dated November 24th, every project would cost over one million forints (hence over twice as much as the 583 000 forints at disposition), thus, from this aspect, none could be recommended for acceptance. In the matter of style, however, the committee maintained its preference to Henszlmann's design.

The Academy board [39], however, which reserved the right for final decision, consistently maintained its viewpoint in the matter of style, and preferred Renaissance. "The problem of style being thereby decided", the committee had to decide between the two designs of the two German architects (the "antique" design by Szkalniczky was not considered as Renaissance). As expected, Stüler became the winner, due to unquestionable advantages of his design to that of Klenze's, and also to the fact that his design was to the committee's taste (especially Dessewffy's) [40]. Since the costs were excessive also for this design, Stüler was invited to make a modified design so as to permit to launch the construction by the coming spring.

Thereby the closed competition for the Academy building had an end, but the relevant debates had not. Architects could not reconcile themselves with the commission of a foreigner, and felt it a patriotic duty to compete with the foreign architect, even without financial reward. An open manifesto was addressed to the Academy building committee [41] to announce another building program. The manifesto was signed by eminent Hungarian architects of the age, such as Frigyes Feszl, Lipót Kauser, Antal Weber and Hugó Máltás.

The main conclusion of the debate for us is not to see how these architects misunderstood the committee's will, but to notice the resoluteness and unselfishness elicited by the national feeling from eminent personalities of that age.

At last the issue of *Sürgöny* of May 21st reported that with the end of the debate about the style of the building, the construction had begun [42]. The exhibition of the maquette of the building, as well as the engagements of Ybl as master builder, and of the young Szkalniczky as first draftsman were also reported later [43].

The conclusion of the debate

As stated earlier, the debate gained significance by the national feeling about the Academy building, a project which challenged the problem of national architectural style. It would have been difficult to solve the problem verbally, even if there had been a theoretical solution for it. Just as for other arts,

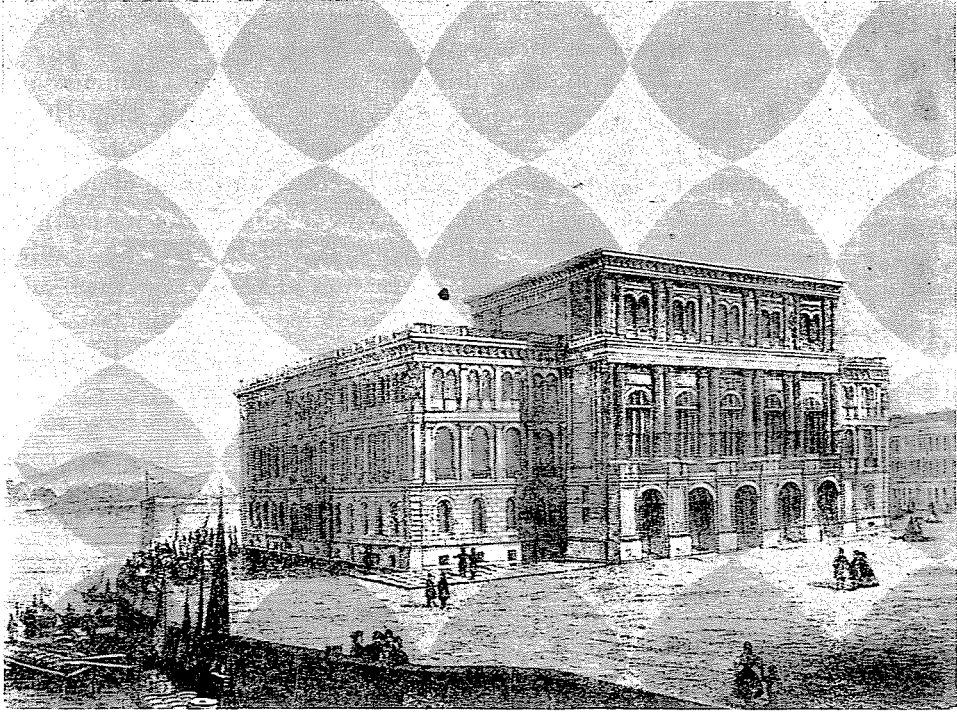


Fig. 5. Stüler's design finally accepted. *Vasárnapi Újság*. August 3, 1862

historical prototype of the Hungarian style was attempted to be deciphered from traditions, and the search for identity necessarily manifested itself in approaching some architectural styles, and rejecting others (without popular or vernacular art being mentioned as an option). The question "what was Hungarian in architecture" was asked. On the other hand, only by partisans of Gothics. Their arguments aimed at demonstrating that only the Hungarian Middle Ages offered tradition worth being followed, attempting thereby to support the revival of Gothics. Theoretically, however erudite they were and however efficiently they argued, architectural realizations had lost just this mediaeval Hungarian character. The design by Henszlmann followed French Gothics, avoiding thereby the "German" character, but without giving it a Hungarian character. This style was a non-Hungarian historical style just as Renaissance, the supporters of which insisted on criticizing Gothics only. They had foreign examples in mind, and fancied a palace of international niveau, leaving for its construction the talent of the despised Hungarian masters out of consideration.

Another aspect of the problem was the support of Hungarian architecture and architects. While the debate about the style was mainly shared

by scientists, politicians, academicians and journalists, this aspect obviously caused constant ferment among architects.

For them, the Academy building primarily meant the great commission, the great possibility, and also good opportunity for opposing the competition system in practice. The bourgeois society required more democracy also in the institutional system of architecture; it was not that partisans of a more up-to-date open competition system referred by chance to Western examples where — opposed to sporadic cases at home — it had become the regular practice. The question of style was not a question of theory for them but a practical, professional problem, which was considered only in the last stage of the debate when supporting Henszlmann with his Gothic design; but then, stress was mainly laid on the figure of a Hungarian architect.

Although it was outside the scope of the debate, some words have to be devoted to architecture, an aspect of the problem which has not been considered so far. It is useless to ask the question "how the appearance of Ybl would have affected the course of events". However superficial the knowledge of his opinion and design might be, it is obvious that events would have taken a quite different course. (Both important objections to Henszlmann: the Gothic style and the lack of architectural qualification, would have not emerge at all in this case.) As to the architectural value of the designs — which was hardly considered in the tense atmosphere of the debate about the person of the architect — undoubtedly the best work was that of Stüler made in conformity with the latest European trend of Renaissance Eclecticism (Szkálniczky also designed in the same style, but it was awkward and clumsy showing a newly acquired language) [44]. Thus, the triumph of Stüler defeated the endeavour to create some kind of national style and the attempt to "keep the commission at home". Paradoxically, the matter of architecture won, the best designer was granted the commission, thus contributing positively to Hungarian, maybe also to universal architecture.

Notes and References

1. Ipolyi, A.: Mediaeval Monumental-Like Architecture in Hungary.* Lecture at the XXth meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on December 22, 1861. p. 3.
2. History of the building of the Academy had been processed by Kornél Divald. His monography contains several data also on the collection of funds for the construction. (Palace and Collections of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Manual.* Budapest, 1917. p. 8.)
3. The study below will concern the problem of national style exclusively from the aspect of architecture, on a single building, the Academy.
4. Szkálniczky, A.: In the Matter of the Academy Building (from the Aspect of Architecture).* Vasárnapi Újság, March 4, 1860. p. 116.
5. Op. cit.
6. Henszlmann, I.: History of the Academy Building.* Kritikai Lapok, March—June, 1862.
7. The significance of Imre Henszlmann as an art historian, in: Zádor, A.: Sketch of the

* In Hungarian.

- History of Hungarian Art History up to 1945.* *A Magyar Művészettörténeti Munkaközösség Évkönyve*, Budapest, 1952. pp. 12—14.
8. Henszlmann, I.: Parallels between Antique and Modern Artistic Views and Instructions, with Particular View on the Development of Arts in Hungary.* *Landerer and Heckenast*, Pest, 1841.
 9. *Op. cit.* p. 14.
 10. cf. Timár, Á.: Imre Henszlmann on the Architecture of his Age.* *Építés-Építészettudomány*, Vol. V. (1973) Nos 3—4. p. 54 and below.
 11. Henszlmann, 1862.
 12. At last, Eötvös took the view that since he would not build for himself, on his own cost, he would not oppose the Gothic version, against public preference. (*op. cit.*).
 13. The "agreement" with Ferstel and Ybl was concluded on November 28th, and Henszlmann made it appear as if it had been a decision compatible with the artistic freedom of architects. (*op. cit.*).
 14. See below.
 15. Henszlmann, 1862.
 16. *Mediaeval Architecture*. *Budapesti Szemle*, 1860. p. 309.
 17. *Building of the Hungarian Academy*.* *Sürgöny*, Feb. 1, 1861. No. 27.
 18. Quoted from (16).
 19. *Building of the Hungarian Academy*.* *Sürgöny*, January 31, 1861, No. 26.
 20. *Op. cit.*
 21. *Sürgöny*, February 10, 1861.
 22. Short news in *Pesti Napló*, Feb. 22, 1861.
 23. Henszlmann, 1862.
 24. See below in details.
 25. *Op. cit.* p. 10.
 26. *Municipal Archives, Documents and Designs* by Miklós Ybl, published by: Ybl, Ervin: Miklós Ybl, Budapest, 1956. Figs 56, 57, 58.
 27. Ybl, E.: *op. cit.* p. 36, according to a letter by Miklós Ybl to the Academy president.
 28. *Pesti Napló*, February 28, March 2, March 6, March 9 and March 10, 1861.
 29. *Pesti Napló*, March 2, 1861.
 30. *Pesti Napló*, March 6, 1861.
 31. Accordingly, Henszlmann estimated Frt 673.305,16; Ferstel Frt 693.600,—; Ybl Frt 744.600,— and Szkalniczky Frt 644.800,— for realizing their respective designs.
 32. *PN*. March 10, 1861.
 33. Henszlmann, 1862; Divald, 1917, p. 11.
 34. cf. Zádor, Anna: *Classicism and Romanticism*.* Budapest, 1976. p. 228.; Herrmann, W.: *Deutsche Baukunst des XIX. und XX. Jahrhunderts*, Band I. Breslau, 1932.
 35. *Sürgöny*, June 1, 1861.
 36. *Sürgöny*, June 6, 1861.
 37. *Op. cit.*
 38. With architects József Hild, József Diescher. (?) Wagner and Ferenc Wieser as members: description of the subsequent events is based on the report of Dec. 20th, 1861 of the building committee of three members. ("Report on the Current Affair of the Academy Building").* *Politikai Újdonságok*, January 1, 1862.
 39. Count Emil Dessewffy, president, Baron József Eötvös, vice-president, and Count György Károlyi, board member.
 40. (Stüler) "... designed his work, probably for the sake of Count Emil Dessewffy, if not subserviently imitating Sansovino, but in the spirit of the flourishing Renaissance in Northern Italy, with dominant Hellenistic accent in details." as written by Divald (*op. cit.* p. 14.).
 41. *Sürgöny*, January 10, 1862.
 42. *Sürgöny*, No. 117. May 21, 1862.
 43. *Sürgöny*, No. 137, June 15, 1862.
 44. Cf. Gerő, L.: *Development of Hungarian Architecture in the late 19th Century*.* *Építés-és Közlekedéstudományi Közl.* Vol. VIII (1964) pp. 252—254.

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* In Hungarian.