


Rusovce Manor House and Its Neo-Gothic Rebuilding. New Findings from Artistic and Archival Materials

Kaštieľ v Rusovciach
a jeho neogotická prestavba.
Nové poznatky z výtvarných
a archívnych materiálov

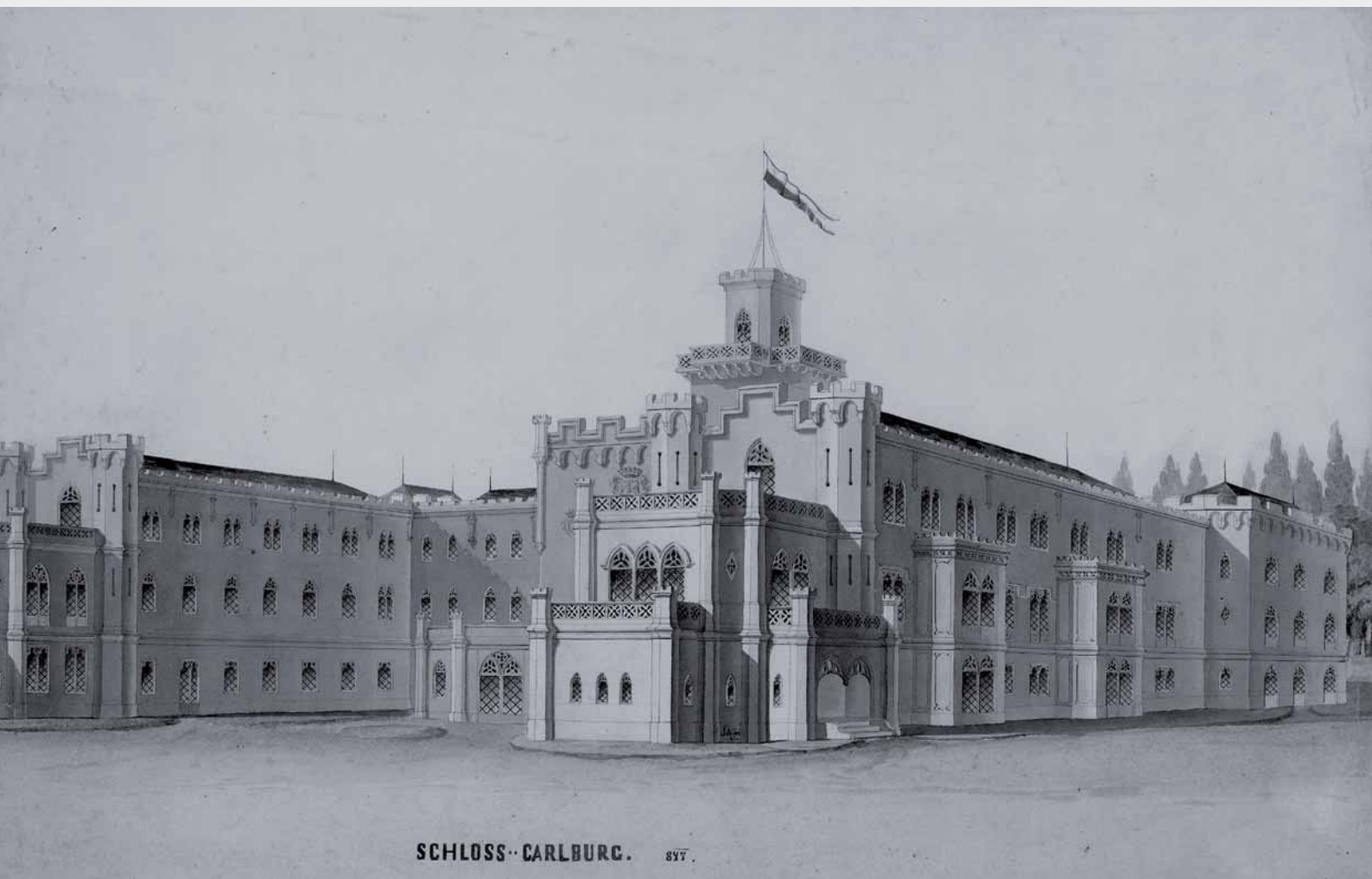
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UNKNOWN AUTHOR: RUSOVCE, 1847

NEZNÁMY AUTOR: RUSOVCE, 1847

Source Zdroj: Slovak National Gallery



V Rusovciach neďaleko Bratislavy sa nachádza kaštieľ postavený v neogotickom štýle, ktorý navrhol Franz Beer (1804 – 1861), prominentný rakúsky architekt pôsobiaci v šľachtických kruhoch monarchie. V rokoch 1841 – 1846 sa realizovala radikálna prestavba kaštieľa v neogotickom štýle, ktorej objednávateľom bol gróf Emanuel Zichy Ferraris (1808 – 1877). Rod Zichy a následne Zichy Ferraris vlastnil Rusovce už od 17. storočia a predchodcom aktuálnej stavby kaštieľa bolo klasicisticko-biedermaierovské trojpodlažné vidiecke sídlo, umiestnené v anglickom parku. Neogotická stavba bola daná do užívania v rokoch 1845 – 1846. Pre zložitú rodinnú situáciu v priebehu 50. rokov kaštieľ viac navštevovali ostatní príbuzní a postupne ho prevzal gróf Felix Zichy Ferraris, ktorý sa ho následne rozhodol predať. V rokoch 1872 – 1890 vlastnil toto sídlo gróf Hugo Henckel, potom krátko barón Rotschild a od roku 1906 ho získala princezná Štefánia s manželom Elemérom Lónyayom. S týmto obdobím súviseli aj interiérové zmeny a menšie stavebné úpravy.

Kaštieľ už krátko po svojom dokončení budil záujem verejnosti, čo dokladajú prvé výtvarné zobrazenia. V zbierke Slovenskej národnej galérie sa nachádzajú dve umelecké práce, ktoré súvisia s obdobím okolo roku 1850 a sú dokladom výtvarného stvárnenia tejto pamiatky. Popri akvareli z roku 1847, kde je zachytený pohľad na budovu vytvorený neznámym autorom, je to skicár kresieb grófa Viktora Odescalchiho (1833 – 1880) z rokov 1851 – 1852. V ňom si zaznamenal svoje návštevy Rusoviec. Zo zachovaných archívnych dokumentov je najnovším príspevkom k ďalšiemu poznaniu prestavby Rusoviec účtovná kniha, ktorá sa nachádza vo fonde rodu Zichy v Maďarskom národnom archíve v Budapešti. Práve tieto nové výtvarné a archívne doklady a ich interpretácia sú predmetom tejto štúdie.

Už od konca 18. storočia boli populárne cesty z radov vyššej šľachty do zahraničia, kde popri dominancii grand tour do Ríma sa začala tešiť čoraz väčšiemu záujmu aj Británia. Dôležitým faktorom tu boli aj osobné skúsenosti viacerých uhorských šľachticov s návštevou Anglicka. Patrili sem napríklad členovia rodov Festetics, Sándor, Erdődy, alebo osobnosti ako Samuel a Ladislav Teleki, Mikuláš Vay, a predovšetkým František a Štefan Széchenyi, ako aj ďalší. V českom prostredí bol prominentným návštevníkom Británie knieža Ján Adolf Schwarzenberg, čo dokladá jeho zachovaná korešpondencia z cesty v roku 1825. Jeho záujmom bolo spoznať rozvíjajúci sa priemysel, predovšetkým spracovanie železa a textilu. Zároveň mal možnosť vidieť niekoľko zámkov, napríklad Stowe, Warwick, Kenilworth, Barnard Castle a ďalšie. To mohlo byť inšpiráciou k neskoršej realizácii prestavby jeho rodového zámku Hluboká. Významné sprostredkovanie anglických vplyvov pochádzalo i zo vzorov a inšpirácií z literatúry, predovšetkým z prác Sira Waltera Scotta, vzorkovníkov a grafických reprodukcí. K interakcii anglického vplyvu do Uhorska došlo aj prostredníctvom manželských zväzkov, ktorých dobrým príkladom je práve manželstvo grófa Emanuela Zichy Ferraris a lady Charlotty Strachanovej.

Rusovce patrili k vyhľadávanému vidieckemu sídlu rodiny Zichy Ferraris, čo súviselo s jeho výhodnou polohou v blízkosti Viedne a Bratislavy, v tom čase ešte dôležitého korunovačného a snemového mesta. V roku 1839, po smrti grófa Františka Karola Zichy Ferraris prevzal Rusovce jeho syn, gróf Emanuel so

svojou anglickou manželkou. Rozhodol sa pre drahú a radikálnu prestavbu, pričom lady Strachan nebola nadšená tým, že sa na to minie väčšina jej vena. Gróf sa pravdepodobne snažil využitím vzorov z tzv. tudorovskej gotiky pripodobniť kaštieľ domovine lady Strachanovej. Hlavným motívom prestavby bol iste dôležitý fakt, že stavitel reagoval na aktuálne tendencie v romantickej architektúre a hlavne zámer vytvoriť reprezentatívne sídlo rodu nachádzajúce sa tak blízko Viedne. Gróf Zichy Ferraris patril k jedným z prvých, kto sa rozhodol v Uhorsku postaviť sídlo v neogotickom štýle. Stavba sa začala v roku 1841 a stala sa prominentnou udalosťou, ktorú sledoval aj grófov švagor kancelár Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, najvýznamnejšia osobnosť v krajine hneď po cisárovi, ktorý si ako svoju tretiu manželku zobral grófkou Melániu Zichy Ferraris. Až v roku 1843 sa konalo v Rusovciach položenie základného kameňa, i keď v tom čase už časť stavby stála. Udialo sa tak v prítomnosti architekta a na akcii sa zúčastnil aj knieža J. A. Schwarzenberg, anglický veľvyslanec vo Viedni Robert Gordon, gróf Karol Esterházy, ďalej grófov tajomník Adalbert Szabó, stavitel Ignác Feigler st., architekt adjunkt Anton Schmidt a palier Jakub Stephan.

Úplne novým prameňom a dôležitým dokladom celého procesu stavby je zachovaná účtovná kniha s uvedenými platbami za jednotlivé činnosti a služby. Ide o viazanú knihu s množstvom záznamov z rokov 1841 – 1846. Na čele stál architekt Beer a celý stavebný proces riadil grófov tajomník A. Szabó, ktorý realizoval väčšinu platieb. V súvislosti s Rusovcami sa v doteraz publikovanej literatúre bežne uvádzalo meno architekta Beera a staviteľa Feiglera st. Doteraz bolo neznáme, kto realizoval zvyšné sochárske a maliarske práce, ako aj ďalšie remeselné činnosti, a práve účtovná kniha poskytla odpovede na niektoré tieto otázky.

V roku 1841 je prvýkrát vedená platba pre architekta Beera, ktorý bol následne až do roku 1844 vyplácaný pravidelne v približne polročných cykloch, v celkovej sume 10 972 zlatých a 24 grajciarov. Išlo o vyššiu sumu ako dostával u svojho druhého zamestnávateľa kniežaťa Schwarzenberga (1 600 zlatých ročne). Realizáciu mala na starosti firma staviteľa Ignáca Feiglera st. Aj jeho syn, Ignác Feigler ml. (1820 – 1894) bol súčasťou prestavby. Maďarská literatúra zmieňuje ako ďalšieho staviteľa Ferencu Breina (1817 – 1879), ktorý pochádzal z peštianskej staviteľskej rodiny a pre ktorého to znamenalo získanie dôležitých skúseností. V kategórii úplne nových umelcov a majstrov, ktoré poskytla účtovná kniha, je napríklad meno „Historienmaler in Wien“, maliara Carla Hemerleina (1806 – 1884), Metternichovho chránenca, ktorý dostal objednávku na výmalbu niektorých priestorov kaštieľa. Na sochárskych zákazkách sa podieľali Anton Brandl (1817 – 1893), rodák z Litomyše, ktorý sa od roku 1844 usadil v Bratislave, kde mal úspešnú dielňu. Ďalej sochár Hirschhäufer, v Nitre pôsobiaci sochár, štukatér a pozlacovač Imrich (Emerich) Fugert, a predovšetkým viedenský akademický sochár Josef Klieber (1773 – 1850), autor erbov na fasáde kaštieľa.

Kaštieľ v Rusovciach sa stal jednou z prvých stavieb v Uhorsku, kde sa uplatnili kovové stĺpy. Beer ich umiestnil ako podporné stĺpy v neogotickom štýle v sale terrene, do ktorej sa vstupuje zo strany záhrady, ako aj podobne zdobených stĺpikoch na bočných obslužných schodiskách. Kov sa použil aj na mohutné vstupné dvere a okenné rámy vyplnené vitrážami.

V stavebnom denníku je vedená železiarska huta sv. Klimenta, postavená kancelárom Metternichom v rokoch 1827 – 1829 v Plasoch, ktorá dodávala kov do Rusoviec. Druhým dodávateľom bola firma Mader z Bratislavy zaoberajúca sa obchodom so železiarskym tovarom. Dodávateľom tehál bola firma Jána Bohumila Reidnera z Bratislavy, ktorý podnikal so železiarskym tovarom a vlastnil tehelňu a ďalšiu si prenajímal od mesta. Ďalšie tehly sa vyrábali priamo na mieste, k tomu bolo potrebné dodať materiál a zabezpečiť jeho prepravu. Zvyšné položky v stavebnom denníku dokladajú dodávky vápna, dreva (firma Linsboth, Bratislava), piesku, faktúry za dopravu, kde je konkretizovaná i doprava po Dunaji. Z remesiel sú to zámočnícke (Busch, Prešporok; Berendy, Prešporok; Andreas Kirchmayer, Viedeň – kovové koštruktúry pre sklenené výplne; Glücklich, Viedeň), tesárske (Wisgrill, Viedeň), stolárske (Renner, Viedeň; neznámy stolár z Rusoviec), natieračské (Kreuleder, Viedeň; Johann Schillinger, Prešporok; lokálny natierač z Rusoviec), pokrývačské (Petri, Viedeň; Ludwig Wentz); sklárske (Holzapfel, Viedeň; sklársky majster Ludwig Schmitz) a kamenárske práce (Hauser, Viedeň; Ober, Almásy; Feilder, Ostrihom). Kamenárske práce zabezpečil aj Ján Rumpel-mayer z Bratislavy.

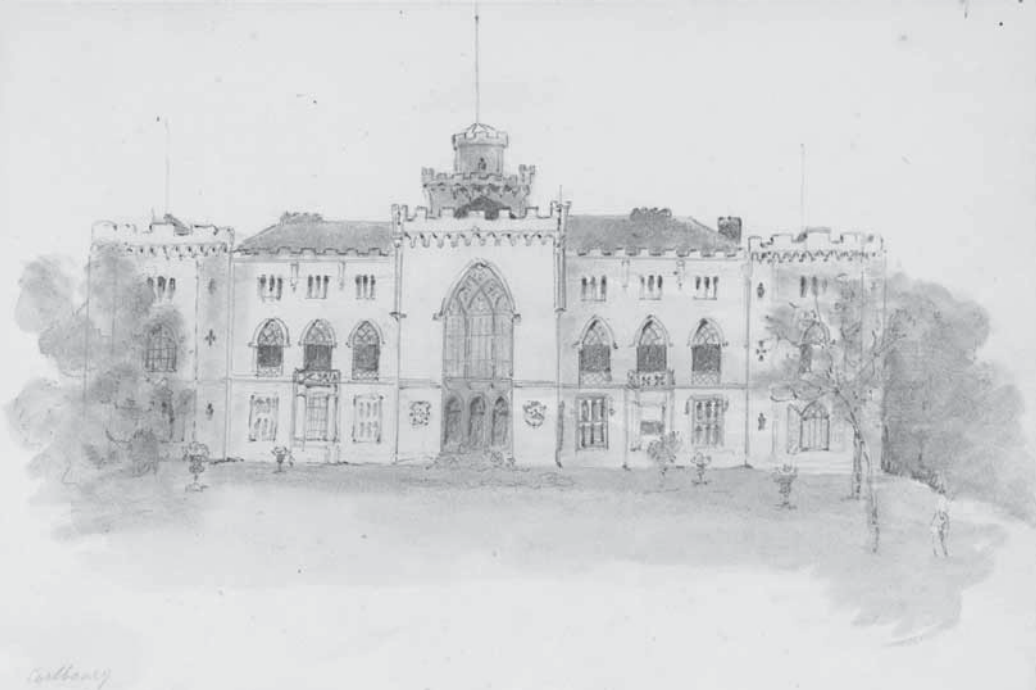
Už v čase výstavby Rusoviec pracoval Beer paralelne na pre-stavbe zámku Hluboká, čo vidno na porovnaní Rusoviec s prvým

návrhom pre túto českú pamiatku. Spája ich dizajn osovej symetrie, vysunutého stredového rizalitu s vežou a prvky cimburia a lomených oblúkov okien. Vďaka informáciám z účtovnej knihy vieme, že v Rusovciach i na Hľubokej pracovali niektorí rovnakí majstri, napríklad zámočník Andreas Kirchmayer z Viedne. Nové poznatky o neogotickej prestavbe kaštieľa v Rusovciach nám naplno odkrývajú význam tejto stavby, či zo stránky architektonickej, ako aj celkového procesu realizácie tak náročnej objednávky. Jednou zo stavieb inšpirovanou rusoveckou prestavbou bol kaštieľ vo Veľkých Uherciach, ktorý si objednal gróf Ján Keglevich. Svojho architekta Aloisa Pichla poslal v máji roku 1844 do Rusoviec, aby sa inšpiroval a aj neskôr v korešpondencii medzi obidvoma šľachticmi Keglevich prosí Emanuela Zichy Ferrarisa o zakreslenie časti cimburia, aby slúžilo ako inšpirácia pre Veľké Uherce. Obidve pamiatky spájalo aj podobné interiérové vybavenie, kde sa použili drevené obklady stien a stropov, s bohatou rezbou v neogotickom štýle. K týmto stavbám môžeme priradiť aj dnes už neexistujúce sídlo rodu Andrásyovcov v Parchovanoch, prípadne kaštieľ Esterházyovcov v Galante. Dôležité je zmieniť i ďalšie aktivity Ferenca Breina, alebo Ignáca Feiglera ml., ktorí sa i po ukončení prác v Rusovciach inšpirovali neogotickým štýlom, ako aj inými historizujúcimi slohmi pri svojich neskorších realizáciách v Pešti a Bratislave.

The manor house in Rusovce (Hun. Oroszvár, Ger. Carlburg), situated not far from Bratislava,¹ was built in the Neo-Gothic style by Franz Beer (1804 – 1861), the well-known Austrian architect of the monarchy's upper classes. The radical rebuilding in 1841 – 1846 in Neogothic style was commissioned by Count Emmanuel Zichy Ferraris (1808 – 1877), whose lineage, the Zichy and later Zichy Ferraris family, owned Rusovce since the 17th century. The immediate predecessor of the current structure was a Neoclassical-Biedermeier three-storey country seat,² located within an English-style park. Though the Neogothic house was made habitable by 1845 – 1846, Count Emmanuel Zichy Ferraris did not enjoy it for long. Complicated family affairs meant that the stately home was visited more often by other relations in the 1850s, and it was gradually taken over by Count Felix Zichy Ferraris, who decided to sell it. Between 1872 and 1890, the seat was owned by Count Hugo Henckel, later by Baron Rothschild for a short while, and after 1906 by Princess Stephanie of Belgium and her second husband, Elemer Lónyay. During this time, small interior alterations and building works also took place.³

It is likely that several key factors influenced the choice of Neo-Gothic architecture in Rusovce. The first was the desire to create an aristocratic residence in the spirit of the era's Romantic trends, which would have suited the taste of Count Zichy Ferraris's wife, Lady Charlotte Leopoldine Strachan (1815 – 1851), of British origin. Another factor may have been the efforts of the Hungarian nobility at the time towards Historicism, intended to enhance their historical credit⁴, and predominantly the aim to provide this noble family with a representative seat located quite close to Vienna. Further supporting the last ambition was the creation of the house as a dignified residence to host country stays for the Zichy Ferraris family and its relations, most notably the powerful Chancellor Clemens Wenzel von Metternich, but also other representative personalities from noble families. And on its own, the theme of Neogothic architecture itself has attracted the attention of scholars for several decades.⁵ In the context of Hungarian art history, these discussions are chiefly the works of Denés Komárik and József Sisa,⁶ where Rusovce is described as one of the very first buildings in 19th-century Hungary which we can attribute stylistically to the Neogothic. In addition, Jindřich Vybíral has published on the activities of Franz Beer, a prominent architect at the time, and his parallel work on the rebuilding of Hluboká Castle in Bohemia.⁷

The house was a focus of public interest shortly after its completion, as is shown in the first visual depictions. The collections of the Slovak National Gallery contain two works of art dating to the period around 1850 that provide artistic depictions of this monument. Alongside a 1847 water-colour by an unknown author containing a view of the building, we have a sketchbook of drawings



VIKTOR ODESCALCHI: MANOR HOUSE IN RUSOVCE, DRAWING FROM SKETCHBOOK, 1851

VIKTOR ODESCALCHI: KAŠTIEL V RUSOVCIACH, KRESBA V SKICÁRI, 1851

Source Zdroj: Slovak National Gallery

by Count Viktor Odescalchi (1833 – 1800) from the years 1851 and 1852, where he recorded his visits to Rusovce.⁸ In terms of extant archival documents, the most recent addition to our knowledge of the Rusovce rebuilding⁹ is an account book, found in the Zichy family holdings in the Hungarian National Archive in Budapest. Interpretation of these new visual and archival documents interpretation is the subject of this study.

Journeys to England

Travels by members of the upper nobility to foreign lands became popular from the 18th century onwards, where alongside the dominance of the Grand Tour to Rome we can see a growing interest in journeys to Britain. In this period, Hungary also registered a trend of more freely conceived gardens, planned according to the models of English manorial parks. This tendency can be seen particularly with countryside architecture, which was placed into a natural environment in a picturesque way, influenced by British approaches.¹⁰ An important factor was also the personal experience of several Hungarian noblemen during their visits of England. These included members of the Festetics, Sándor and Erdődy families, personalities as for example Sámuel and László Teleki, Miklós Vay, and most importantly Ferenc and István Széchenyi, as well as others.¹¹ From the Czech lands, a prominent visitor to Britain was Prince Johann Adolph Schwarzenberg, which is documented by his correspondence from 1825. During his travels he visited London, where he was in touch with the Austrian ambassador, Paul Anton Esterházy. His interest was to gain first-hand experience of the development of industry, particularly the processing of iron and textiles. At the same time, he had the opportunity to see several stately homes, such as Stowe, Warwick, Kenilworth, Barnard Castle, and others, which may have inspired him in his later rebuilding of Hluboká Castle.¹² The prince made a second journey in 1838, on a diplomatic mission on the occasion of Victoria's coronation together with his wife as well as another aristocrat and member of the Zichy family, Count Joseph Zichy.¹³ The bonds of marriage also contributed to greater English influence in Hungary; indeed, a good example of this is the marriage of Count Emmanuel Zichy Ferraris and Lady Strachan.¹⁴ Other examples include Baron Miklós Wesselényi's niece Polyxena, who married John Paget, or the wedding of Miklós Esterházy with Lady Sarah Jersey Villiers.¹⁵



FRANCIS GRANT: LADY CHARLOTTA STRACHAN, 1840 – 1850

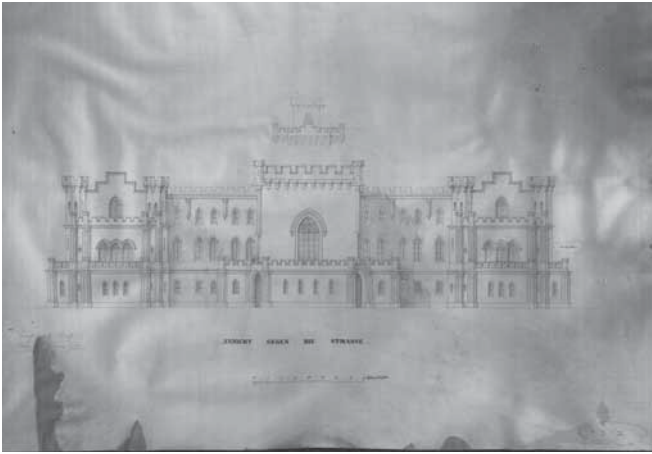
FRANCIS GRANT: LADY ŠARLOTA STRACHAN, 1840 – 1850

Source Zdroj: Slovak National Museum – Betliar Chateau

Additional important carriers of British influence were literary models and inspirations, particularly the novels of Sir Walter Scott, pattern books, and reproductions in prints.¹⁶ The latter category included views of Luscombe Castle in Devonshire (1800) by John Nash and Humphrey Repton, Windsor Castle, or Ashridge Castle by James and Jeffrey Wyatt (1808-1813) among others, along with the well-known Fonthill Abbey, the seat of William Beckford, planned and developed by James Wyatt.¹⁷ This building was made popular through the album *Delineations of Fonthill* from 1823. In the period of the 1840s and 1860s, a much-used resource was the album by Joseph Nash, *Mansions in England in the Olden Time* (1840).¹⁸ Through the style of Romanticism, elements of the English Gothic Revival made their way into art and architecture starting at the beginning of the 19th century. Builders began to employ wooden cladding, which gave the opportunity to work them in Neogothic style. Architects could peruse pattern books and prints, which were often to be found in family libraries. At the same time, they could use the personal contacts which select aristocrats made during their visits to Britain. This architectural interest was part of an 'Anglomania', which struck the Continent in the late 18th and early 19th century, and gradually spread to the wider European region.

The Radical Rebuilding of Rusovce in Neogothic Style

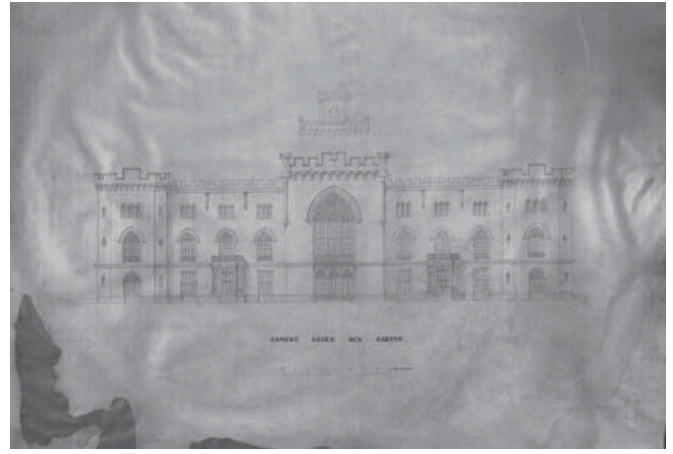
Rusovce was a favoured country seat of the Zichy Ferraris family, mostly due to its prestigious location near Bratislava, then still a significant city, the site of Hungarian royal coronations and the state Diet. In 1839, after the death of Count Francis Charles Zichy Ferraris, Rusovce was inherited by his son, Count Emmanuel. In 1837, Emmanuel married the British Lady Strachan in Milan.¹⁹ She was left with a vast inheritance from her father, and Emmanuel decided to invest it in Rusovce. Thanks to the sources from the memoirs of Renate Herczeg, we know that Lady Strachan was not very fond of the idea of investing "her" money for Rusovce.²⁰ There was probably an intention from the side of Count Zichy Ferraris to employ the forms of Tudor Gothic in the house and thus to evoke the homeland of the Count's wife. On the other hand, an equally important factor was the response to contemporary tendencies in Romantic architecture and the need for the built representation of social status. Count Zichy Ferraris was one of the first patrons in Hungary to erect their residence in Neogothic style. Building works began in 1841, though the finding of a brick inscribed with the



**FRANZ BEER: FRONT
FACADE, RUSOVCE, 1843**

FRANZ BEER: PREDNÁ FASÁDA
KAŠTIEĽA V RUSOVCIACH, 1843

Source Zdroj: National Archive of
Hungary, Fund Zichy



**FRANZ BEER: FAÇADE FROM THE
GARDEN, RUSOVCE, 1843**

FRANZ BEER: ZÁHRADNÁ FASÁDA
KAŠTIEĽA V RUSOVCIACH, 1843

Source Zdroj: National Archive of
Hungary, Fund Zichy

date of 1840 suggests that preparations started a year earlier.²¹ We have proof of the cornerstone being laid on 11 June 1843. This event was quite unusual, because at that time a significant part of the building was already ready, as we know from the drawings of Ignatz Feigler junior (1820 – 1894) completed during this year (see chapter 5 of this paper) and especially from the expenditures from the account book. Nevertheless, the important fact was the presence of not only the Zichy Ferraris family with Emmanuel at its head, but also his brother-in-law Chancellor Metternich, the most important person in the kingdom after the Emperor, whose third wife was Countess Melanie Zichy Ferraris.²² In addition to the architect, this occasion in Rusovce was also attended by Prince Johann Adolph Schwarzenberg, the British ambassador in Vienna Robert Gordon, Count Karoly Esterházy, as well as the Count's secretary Béla (Adalbert) Szabó, the builder Ignatz Feigler senior, architect adjunct Anton Schmidt and foreman Jacob Stephan.²³

The rebuilding was led by the Viennese architect Franz Beer,²⁴ who studied under Pietro Nobile at the Academy of Fine Arts (1819-1822), where he was awarded the Gundel Prize. At the same time, he studied at the Polytechnic Institute (1821-22) in Vienna, returning to the academy between 1831-32 to attend classes in printing.²⁵ In 1835 he was the inspector of works in Venice. Beer had the reputation of a sought-after architect within the circles of the empire's high aristocracy. In addition to Emmanuel Zichy Ferraris, his patrons included the already mentioned Johann Adolph Schwarzenberg, who employed Beer during the 1840s,²⁶ as well as, among others, Franz Ernest Harrach.²⁷ We have no documentary evidence that Beer visited England himself. With greatest probability, he gained his impressions of Tudor Gothic at second hand, including through his clients, and employed those in his plans. One of his inspirations, for example, was Windsor Castle.²⁸ The Zichy family archive in the Hungarian National Archive in Budapest contains Beer's plans for Rusovce,²⁹ namely the views of the front and garden facades, dated to 1843. These drawings were likely rendered for the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone on 11 June 1843.

The manor house in Rusovce is characterized by its U-shaped layout, with emphasis on the central axis of symmetry. Its rebuilding was undertaken in the intention of adapting it to the criteria of modern comforts, with a magnificent entrance staircase and hall, a sala terrena at the garden end, and a vast central "knights' hall" (taken from English prototypes), across the ground and first floor. The balconies contain carved, cusped and curvilinear tracery. Among the main stately and social spaces were the library, dining room, billiards room, and the salon, all richly decorated with wooden wall paneling. The sumptuous coffered ceilings (in total, 24), the stuccoed and painted surfaces, the parquet floors, as well as the richly stained glass used in the main halls and the chapel are all in the Neogothic style or other Historicist idioms. Beer planned the centre of the building to create a social and representative zone, whilst the side wings ensure privacy and space for domestic servants. Here, the north wing contained guest rooms, and the south wing private apartments.

ACCOUNT BOOK OF THE RUSOVCE
REBUILDING, PAYMENTS TO THE
ARCHITECT FRANZ BEER

ÚČTOVNÁ KNIHA, PLATBY
ARCHITEKTOVI FRANZOVI BEEROVI

Source Zdroj: National Archive of
Hungary, Fund Zichy

Year	Description	Amount
1841	Kupen	1439 28
1841	Lohn	1118 26
1841	Kauf	891
1841	Lohn	668 24
1841	Lohn	895 40
1841	Lohn	768 16
1841	Lohn	967 20
1841	Lohn	1000
1841	Lohn	500
1841	Lohn	1000
1841	Lohn	800
1841	Lohn	1000
1841	Lohn	1000
Summe		10972 24

No documentary evidence, however, exists to confirm the extent to which Count Zichy Ferraris, or his wife, had a say in planning the interior spaces.

The Account Book of the Rebuilding in Rusovce

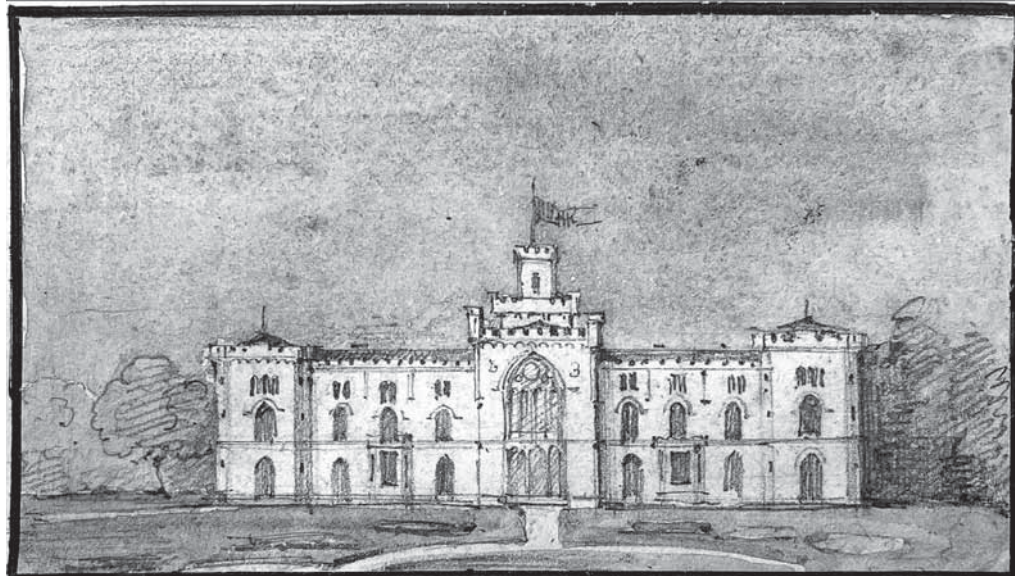
One vitally important document of the entire rebuilding process is the surviving account book, which includes the payment records of individual activities and services.³⁰ This source was completely unknown for previous researchers and provides considerably more details about the process and personalities involved in the entire project of this chateau. A hard-bound volume, it contains a great number of entries from 1841 – 1846. Though the project was the work of the credited architect Franz Beer, it is now clear that the entire building process at the accounting level was directed by the Count's secretary Béla (Adalbert) Szabó, who authorized most of the payments. Up to now, the published literature regularly assumed that Beer was the architect and Ignatz Feigler senior (1791 – 1847) the chief builder. It was unclear who holds credit for the remaining painting and sculpture works, as well as the identity of the other craftsmen, and the account book has thrown more light on these problems.

The first payment to Beer is entered in 1841, who was then paid regularly until 1844 in approximately bi-annual cycles, with the total sum amounting to 10,972 gold guilders and 24 kreutzers (see appendix 1). This evidence confirms the exact period during which Beer was involved in this prominent commission, even though he was working on the rebuilding of Hluboká at the very same time, a commission for which he received 1,600 gold guilders annually.³¹ Because nothing is known about the specifics or even the form of the contract between Zichy and Beer, only the amount of payments

IGNÁC FEIGLER JR.: RUSOVCE, 1843

IGNÁC FEIGLER ML.: RUSOVCE, 1843

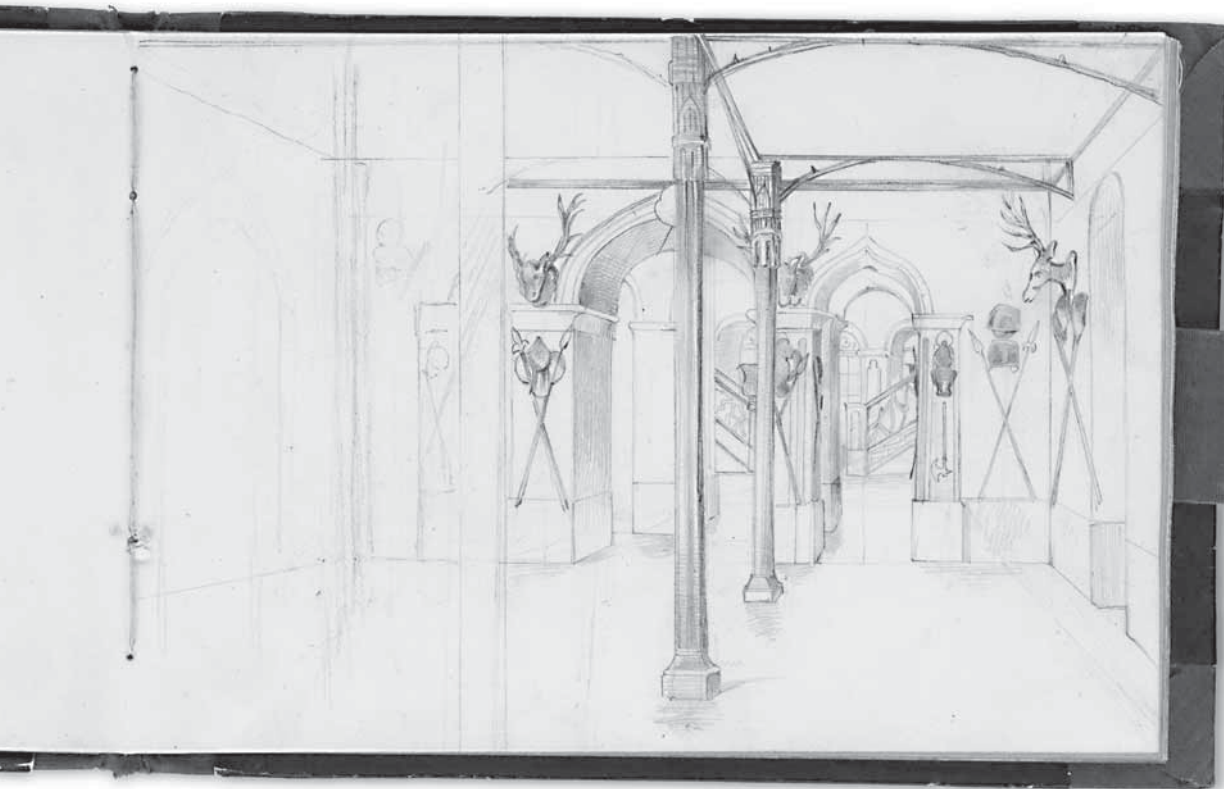
Source Zdroj: Archive of the City
Bratislava, Fund Feigler Family



disbursed to the architect during the realization, it is important to mention his second major work from this period – Hluboká Castle, where we can rely on more information. Beer's more closely documented activities for Prince Schwarzenberg provide us with a clearer idea of how the architect worked for his patron. "According to this contract Beer, already having been honoured with the title of 'building consultant', has undertaken responsibility for the works in all ways and relevant methods, and has agreed that, for the entire period of the building campaign, that is from the beginning of the year up until Autumn, he shall be personally present in Hluboká."³² As such, Beer was responsible not only for creating the rebuilding plan, but also for setting its budget. Schwarzenberg became Beer's employer for several years and allowed him to leave Hluboká only twice, probably so that the architect could finalise the building works in Rusovce. On the other hand, the new information from the Rusovce account book casts further light onto the relationship between Count Zichy Ferraris and Beer. Between 1841 – 1844, the architect received a significantly greater amount per year than he did for Hluboká (1600 per year).³³ With good probability, we can assume the existence of an agreement between both employers to ensure that both projects – Rusovce and Hluboka - will receive proper attention from their architect.

Documents evidencing works in Hungary show the extent of Beer's great workload during the 1840s. It follows, therefore, that Beer had to be supported during the Rusovce project by master builders whom he could trust, in this case drawing on Bratislava sources. After the project was approved, he and the comital secretary Adalbert Szabó commissioned several local Bratislava and Vienna firms and foremen. Slovak scholarly literature has already dealt with the activities of the builder and master mason Ignatz Feigler senior, who resided in Bratislava.³⁴ Once more we can turn to the account book, which contains payments for bricklaying works from 20 March 1841 to 20 May 1846, to the total sum of 85,916 gold guilders and 25 kreutzers. By this time, his younger son Ignatz Feigler junior was also part of the building firm.

Hungarian researchers also mention another mason, Franz Brein (1817 – 1879), who hailed from a Pest family of builders. He was the only son of Ignatz Brein, was educated by the Piarists, and after his father's death in 1834 he attempted to establish a career as a master builder. In 1839 Franz applied for membership in the builders' guild, but he was rebuffed: the commission objected that he had not undertaken his journeyman years nor spent a year as a foreman bricklayer. On 20 November 1839, Brein decided to travel to Vienna, where he moved in the circles of the Vienna guild and worked as a draughtsman for Anton Hoppe.³⁵ He gained valuable recommendations for his draughtsmanship as well as his calculation of budgets. On 1 April 1841 he entered the services of Franz Beer, for whom he worked in Rusovce until 30 November 1842.³⁶ The confirmation of his position as architect-adjunct also contains the name of the building's patron, Count Zichy Ferraris,³⁷ as well as the architect himself, who confirms the talents of his younger assistant.³⁸ At the same



VIKTOR ODESCALCHI: INTERIOR OF THE SALA TERRENA. MANOR HOUSE IN RUSOVCE, DRAWING FROM SKETCHBOOK, 1852

VIKTOR ODESCALCHI: INTERIÉR SALY TERRENY, KAŠTIEL V RUSOVCIACH, KRESBA V SKICÁRI, 1852

Source Zdroj: Slovak National Gallery

time, the entries in the account book - "outgoings of the building office" part from 1841 - 1842 refer to payments for his work.

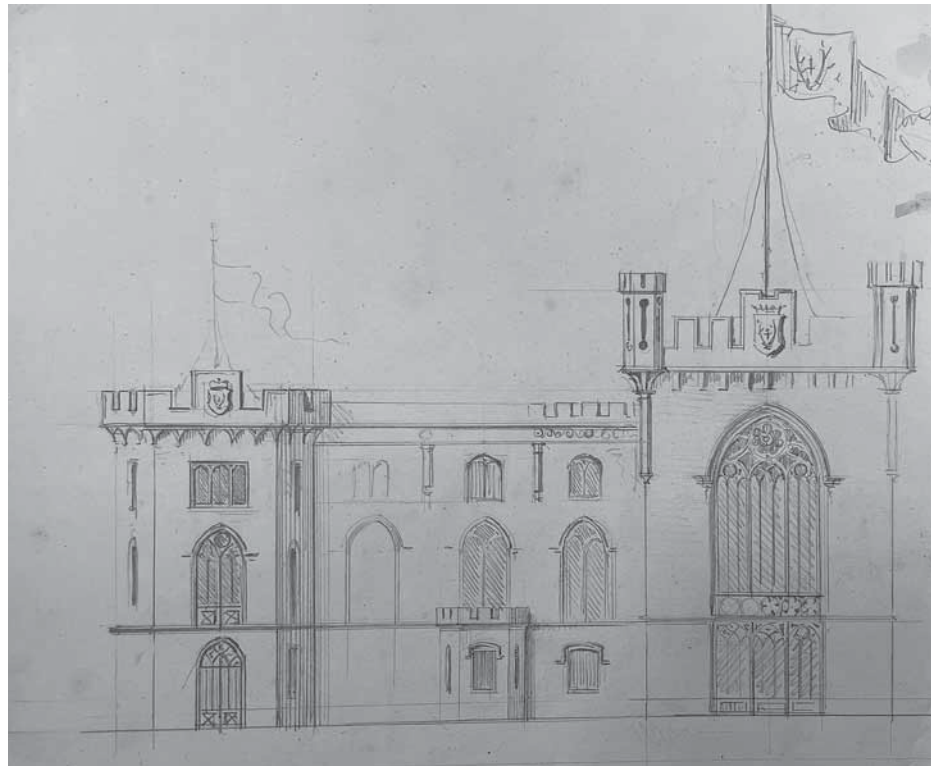
The most important part of the formal spaces in the house in Rusovce is the knights' hall, which forms the heart of the building with views onto the garden and is entirely covered with carved panelling. It includes a balcony, accessible from the first floor, and four large-scale oil paintings depicting chivalric subjects, with smaller painted panels in the corners. The account book, in the section "oil paintings" for 1843 - 1844, contains the following entry: "For four oil paintings in the dining hall, and for three altarpiece paintings in the chapel, 1,403 gold guilders shall be paid to the painter Hemerlein through the lord Count." Only the oil paintings in the knight's hall have survived, along with the decoration of the ceilings and one hall, while no altarpiece paintings remain in the chapel. The painter from the entry is Carl Hemerlein (1806 - 1884), who was a *Historienmaler* in Vienna. He first studied at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts between 1826 - 1828, and from 1835 under the important representative of French historicist painting, Paul Delaroche, in Paris.³⁹ From 1838 he worked in Vienna in the services of Chancellor Metternich.⁴⁰ Probably through the latter's protection, he came to work for Count Zichy Ferraris. In his memoirs from 1857, the painter writes that "my paintings are mostly in Hungary, with some in other provinces; many of them are in Vienna."⁴¹ We still do not know who made the decorations in the knights' hall, which provides a topic of future research. The account book also contains other entries for painting works, though these commissions belong more to the category of crafts, such as the decoration of smaller buildings like the hermitage in the park, without specifying the painter by name.

A distinct category of artistic activity for Rusovce was sculptural work, which we can find both in the interior and exterior of the building. On the basis of the account book, we know that, just as with the other efforts, both Bratislava and Vienna masters were involved. This included Anton Brandl (1817 - 1893),⁴² who hailed from the Czech town of Litomyšl and established a successful workshop in Bratislava after settling there in 1844. At the time of the Rusovce commission he still lived in Trnava, but fulfilled orders for other towns, collaborating, for instance, with the firm of Ignatz Feigler senior. He produced several unidentified sculptural works for Rusovce, some directly ordered by the architect Beer. Brandl worked here between 1844 - 1845 and was financially

**IGNÁC FEIGLER JR.: RUSOVCE –
SECTION OF THE GARDEN FAÇADE,
1843**

IGNÁC FEIGLER ML.: RUSOVCE –
ČASŤ ZÁHRADNEJ FASÁDY, 1843

Source Zdroj: Archive of the City
Bratislava, Fund Feigler Family



IGNÁC FEIGLER JR.: RUSOVCE, 1843

IGNÁC FEIGLER ML.: RUSOVCE, 1843

Source Zdroj: Archive of the City
Bratislava, Fund Feigler Family



rewarded with 1,482 gold guilders and 32 kreutzers. The sculptor Hirschhäufer is also mentioned for similar work. The third name evidenced in the list of payments is a Nitra-based sculptor, stuccoer and gilder Emerich Fugert, whose activities are evidenced in Močenok, Višňové, and other locations.⁴³ Between 1845 and 1848, his task in Rusovce was the production of carving in ebony wood: he was also responsible for the transportation of three columns and rewarded with 3,288 gold guilders.

The fourth name present in the list belonged to the most prominent individual in terms of the context of the local sculpture scene, this being the academic sculptor Joseph Klieber (1773 – 1850).⁴⁴ First trained with his father in Innsbruck, he worked after 1792 in Vienna, where he enjoyed a successful career. Count Zichy Ferraris commissioned him to produce four large-scale heraldic shields to be positioned on the façade, two on the main frontage and the others facing the garden. A second commission included four smaller shields, small-scale sculptural work, three columns, and, according to the account book, the making of a Trinity column, though this commission may have been a restoration. Klieber was fortunate in having excellent contacts in Hungary, where he worked on several commissions, e.g., the richly decorated armorials for Count Károlyi in Pest, the

decoration of the palace of Count Antal Festetics (also in Pest), or works for Count Keglevich in Topoľčianky. He also produced a portrait of Emperor Franz I for Bratislava.⁴⁵ However, the authorship of the Virgin Mary statue placed on the exterior façade of the chapel remains doubtful.

Rusovce was one of the first buildings in Hungary that employed metal columns, which Beer had placed as Neogothic supporting columns in the *sala terrena*, entered from the garden side, as well as similarly decorated colonettes on the side service staircases. Metal was also used for the massive entrance doors and window frames filled with stained glass. The account book contains entries for several suppliers of metal components for Rusovce. The main source was the St. Clement iron-smelting works, founded by Chancellor Metternich in 1827 – 1829 in Plasy, which provided fine art alloys as well as the usual broad range of technical iron. All in all, iron was ordered to the value of 1,412 gold guilders and 36 kreutzers. The second supplier was Mader, a Bratislava company which traded in iron products,⁴⁶ who were paid 12,629 gold guilders and 40 kreutzers. This company supplied metal not only for the rebuilding of the stately home, but also for use outside of the building itself, such as the stables or the pheasant-cote, to the value of 1,776 guilders. As the use of alloys started to increase gradually during the 1840s, Beer also worked with this material on his second project of Castle Hluboká, particularly for the loadbearing staircase columns.⁴⁷ In turn, Count Keglevich was himself inspired by the use of metal columns in Rusovce for his residence in Velké Uherce.

The brick was supplied by the firm of Johann Bohumil Reidner of Bratislava, who dealt in ironmongery but also owned his own brickworks while leasing an additional one from the city.⁴⁸ He was paid 13,319 gold guilders and 19 kreutzers for his supplies to Rusovce. More bricks were produced directly on site, which necessitated the cost of raw materials and their transport (see appendix 2). Other entries in the account book document the supplies of lime, wood (the firm of Linsboth of Bratislava), sand, and invoices for transport, including shipping via the Danube. Artisanal works include locksmithing (by Busch of Bratislava; Berendy also of Bratislava; Andreas Kirschmayer of Vienna – iron constructions for glass infilling; Glücklich; copper blacksmith Surtory of Vienna), carpentry (Wisgrill, Vienna), joinery (Renner of Vienna and an anonymous Rusovce joiner), painting decorating (Kreuleder, Vienna; Johann Schillinger, Bratislava; a local painter decorator from Rusovce), roofing (Petri, Vienna; Louis Wentz), glassworking (Holzapfel, Vienna; glass mason Ludwig Schmitz) and stonemasonry (Hauser, Vienna; Ober, Almásy, and Feilder of Esztergom; stucco mason Postl). Stonemasonry was supplied also by Johann Rumpelmayer of Bratislava,⁴⁹ mostly in respect of the family chapel, as well as garden vessels for plants totalling a sum of 1,404 gold guilders and 37 kreutzers.

LUDWIG ROHBOCK: RUSOVCE,
1845

LUDWIG ROHBOCK: RUSOVCE, 1845

Source Zdroj: Bratislava City Gallery





VIKTOR ODESCALCHI: MANOR HOUSE IN RUSOVCE, DRAWING FROM SKETCHBOOK, 1851

VIKTOR ODESCALCHI: KAŠTIEĽ V RUSOVCIACH, KRESBA V SKICÁRI, 1851

Source Zdroj: Slovak National Gallery

Surviving Artworks Showing the Neogothic Appearance of the Rebuilding

During the building works on the stately home in Rusovce, Ignatz Feigler junior produced three drawings.⁵⁰ One of them, depicting the eastern façade of the edifice, is dated 4 April 1843 and is attached to the inside cover of his sketchbook no. 2. It shows a coloured sketch of the house with an emphasised central section, with its large Neogothic window, topped with a turret and flag. Feigler gave visual stress to the battlements and other Neogothic detailing. Depictions of the garden façade show it still bearing a more classicising character compared to the main front. The second drawing, taken from the third sketchbook and unpublished until now, captures part of the garden façade and is executed in detailed pencil. Several details, such as the cornice endings of the main porch, are not identical with the current state, suggesting it to depict a kind of variation of the Rusovce architecture. The third sketch, from the fourth sketchbook, is a tiny, rapidly rendered depiction of the building from a side-view, probably from 1843 which shows us the already finished form of the exterior. These drawings are evidence not only of the quick progressing of the building works, but also the earliest depictions of the building itself. During this period, Feigler junior was probably helping his father, hence his sketchbooks from this time include various drawings of buildings and architectural elements, which served him as patterns. From 1843, we also know the previous mentioned pair of technical drawings of the facades made by the architect Beer himself, providing us with precisely depicted architecture with an emphasis on individual details. Another work exists from 1847, a watercolour made shortly after the finished Neogothic rebuilding of the house. It is a view of the main and side facades, most likely drawn by unknown master.⁵¹

The house became known to the public as early as 1845, with a printed view of it produced by the leading German landscapist Ludwig Rohbock, published by G. G. Lange. Another lithograph was made by Miklós Szerelmey.⁵² The collection of the Bratislava City Gallery also contains a drawing with a view of the chateau from the side towards the garden façade, which emphasises the park-like green space around the building; the drawing's author was the founder of the Municipal Museum in Bratislava, Josef Könyöki.⁵³ In 1850 – 1852, the young nobleman Count Viktor Odescalchi sketched several views of the Rusovce house in his album of drawings. It was common practice in noble families to receive instruction in drawing, and some, particularly female members of such families, made still-extant images of interiors, views of salons and other stately spaces in palatial homes.⁵⁴

Such visual material is also available in our case, for instance by the mother of Viktor Odescalchi, Countess Henrietta Odescalchi, born Zichy Ferraris, the elder sister of Count Emmanuel. She spent her own childhood in the house, then still in its Classicist-Biedermeier garb, and her sketches provide a truly comprehensive documentation of it. In 1851, Viktor depicted a view of the garden and side facades of the house, both highlighting the building's Neogothic elements, as well as its placement in picturesque greenery. In 1852, probably during another family visit, he also depicted the interior. This sketch is our only document of the interior furnishings from this period, where we can see the garden entrance and *sala terrena* with iron Neogothic colonettes. The interior is embellished with hunting trophies and weapons on the walls, an expected part of such interior spaces, as an important decorative element.⁵⁵

Echoes of the Neogothic and the Influence of Rusovce

In certain cases of European aristocratic residences, the patron directly contacted an English architect for the building commission, for example with Prince Michael Vorontsov and his residential castle of Alupka in Crimea (1828 – 1848), which was built by Edward Blore.⁵⁶ While he was working on Rusovce, Beer was simultaneously employed on the rebuilding of Hluboká: this second commission is quite evident when comparing the first design of the Czech castle to Rusovce. They both share an intention towards axial symmetry, a projecting central block with a tower, and elements of castellation and pointed arches on the fenestration. Thanks to information from the building account book, we know that the same craftsmen worked on both Rusovce and Hluboká, among them Andreas Kirchmayer of Vienna.⁵⁷ In comparing these two monuments, the extent of the interior furnishings is a difficult issue owing to the drastic changes in Rusovce, both due to changes of ownership as well as the severe degradation of its fabric in recent decades. An avenue for further research is the question and extent of personal engagement, whether creative or conceptual, into the interior furnishings by Count Zichy Ferraris and his wife. She did not live to enjoy the house to any great extent, as at the end of the 1840s and start of the 1850s she fell in love with Count Emmanuel Andrásy and committed suicide as a result. After her death, Rusovce was mostly used by Count Felix Zichy Ferraris and his family, eventually being sold by them in 1872.

The era of the first half of the 1840s was influenced by Romantic tendencies. “The role occupied by country-house architecture in the transformation of style and taste is shown by the fact that the start of Romanticism – or, to give it its other name, Romanticist Historicism – in Hungary is generally taken to be the point at which work began on the first major Romanticist country house, the Zichy-Ferraris Mansion in Oroszvár [Hungarian: Rusovce].”⁵⁸ The new findings fully reveal the significance of the Neogothic rebuilding of the seat in Rusovce, whether from the viewpoint of its own architecture or the entire process of such an ambitious commission. The main contribution of the new findings presented in this paper is the confirmation of the names of all suppliers of specific works in Rusovce. From the field of artistry and craftsmanship, we can extrapolate further to the network of artistic commissions and social contacts between individual figures and companies between Austria, Hungary and Bohemia. One of the main important personalities in the background of the whole project was Chancellor Metternich, who through his personal contacts to the Zichy Ferraris family recommended for Rusovce not only some of the participating artists (Hemmerlein) but also the sources of his own business in the field of ironworking (his personal forge in Plasy).

Further, it is no less important to mention the echoes of the Rusovce project to another realization in Upper Hungary. One of the projects inspired by the Rusovce rebuilding was the seat of Veľké Uherce, commissioned by Count Johann Keglevich. He sent his architect Ludwig Pichl to Rusovce in May 1844 for inspiration. Indeed, in a later exchange of letters between the two noblemen, Keglevich asks Emmanuel Zichy Ferraris for a drawing of part of the crenellations, to serve as a pattern for Veľké Uherce.⁵⁹ As József Sisa characterises these buildings, “with their crenellations, turrets and pointed windows they resembled English architecture of the Later Middle Ages. Their pseudo-military character allows us to describe them as buildings in the castellated style.”⁶⁰ Both houses shared similar interior furnishings, including wooden panelled ceilings and walls, and richly decorated carvings in the Neogothic style. The wider group includes buildings in the territory of Slovakia such as the now-lost seat of the Andrásy family in Parchovany, or the Esterházy manor house in Galanta. It is also important to mention other activities of Franz Brein⁶¹ or Ignatz Feigler junior, who even after Rusovce were inspired by Neogothic and other historicist styles and employed them in Pest and Bratislava.

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1841			gold guilders	kreutzers
June	5.	Paid on account (fee for January 1 – June 1)	1429	38
November	9.	Detto (fee for June 1 – September 1)	1118	59
December	15.	Confirmation paper (fee for September 1 – December 1)	842	
1842				
March	18.	Confirmation paper (fee for September 1, 1841 – March 1, 1842)	633	24
May	18.	Account (fee for May 1 – June 1)	694	40
September	5.	Confirmation paper (fee for June 1 – September 1)	768	16
December	29.	Confirmation paper (fee for September 1 – December 1)	937	30
1843				
July	16.	Account	1000	
October	19.	Confirmation paper (fee for December 1, 1842 – September 1, 1843)	500	
1841				
January	9.	Paid by Mr. Szabó	1223	
1843				
	26.	Paid by the Count Emmanuel Zichy Ferraris, fee for September 1. – December 1, 1843	800	
1844				
June	2.	Confirmation paper for fee from December 1, 1843 to June 1, 1844	1000	
together			10 972	24

APPENDIX 1
ARCHITECT FRANZ BEER /
PAYMENTS BASED ON THE
WORKS DIARY OF THE RUSOVCE
REBUILDING:

APPENDIX 2

WORKS DIARY OF
THE RUSOVCE REBUILDING:

Main Builder (Mauermeister) Feigl[er], Pressburg (Bratislava)	85 916,25	Stonemason Hauser, Vienna	60 100
Painter (Glass)	2 570	Stonemason Ober, Almásy	6 590
Painter for the "Hermitage"	3 129,20	Stonemason Feidler, Esztergom	7 040
Payment for paintings	1 405	Stonemason Rumpelmaier, Pressburg	1 404,37
Sculpture works – lead by Anton Brandl, Emerich Ingerthom from Nitra, Josef Klieber from Vienna	6 862,38	Joinery (cabinet-maker) Renner, Vienna	35 258,24
Brick supplier (Ziegellieferand) Reidner, Pressburg	14 848,50	Joinery (cabinet-maker), Rusovce	4 944, 22
Brick provider (Ziegelschlagler), Rusovce	13 319,19	Painter Kreuleder, Vienna	6 650
Additional brick payment	1 958,11	Painting decoration Johann Schillinger, Pressburg	179,30
Transport of bricks (Ziegelfuhren) Rusovce	3 945,55	Painting decoration, Rusovce	615,50
Wood for the brickworks, Rusovce	16 331,31	Roofing Petri, Vienna	5 245
Purchase of lime	18 206,21	Roofing Ludwig Wentz – Iron seller, Vienna	1 412,36
Wood transport company Linsboth, Pressburg	21 521,13	Glass maker Holzapfel, Vienna	6 850
Wood transport via the Danube (by boat) ⁶²	1 106,4	Small glass works	158,43
Sand, building material, transport by boat	8 226,27	Glass Mason Ludwig Schmitz	32,40
Iron products supplier Mader, Pressburg	13 168,27	Ceramic Works	38,30
Locksmith, Pressburg (Busch)	3 051,16	Copper Blacksmith Sartory, Vienna	27 752,16
Locksmith, Rusovce (Glücklich)	1 583,37	Stucco Mason Postl	4 657,16
Locksmith from Vienna, established in Rusovce	864,43	Construction office expenses	7 604,58
Locksmith Berendy, Pressburg	1 096,38	Various daily payments	155,13
Locksmith Andreas Kirchmeyer, Vienna	24 200 ⁶³	Various transport payments	1 779,56
Schmid, Rusovce	454,10	Various expenses	10 591,44
Carpenter Mason Wisgrill, Vienna	51 229,28	Architect Franz Beer	10 972,24 ⁶⁴

- 1** MALLINERITS, Jozef. 1998. *Rusovce*. Bratislava: Miestny úrad Bratislava – Rusovce, 147 p.; BEŇOVÁ, Katarína. 2016. *Kaštieľ v Rusovciach vo svetle výtvarných diel 19. storočia. Kresbový album rodiny Zichy Ferraris*. Bratislava: Stimul, 147 p.; Monument protection research: Archive of the Department of Monument Protection, Collection of research reports (Zbierka výskumných správ), inv. no. T 5099; ČESLA, Alexander and SMOLÁKOVÁ, Mária. 1992. *Kaštieľ v Rusovciach. Pamiatkový a reštaurátorský výskum*.
- 2** Beňová, K., 2016.
- 3** SMOLÁKOVÁ, Mária. 2019. Kaštieľ v Rusovciach. Grafické dokumenty k poslednej historickej etape. *Monument revue*, 8(1), pp. 38 – 47.
- 4** MACHALÍKOVÁ, Pavla. 2005. *Objevování středověku. Tři kapitoly k recepci gotického umění v Čechách v pozdním 18. a raném 19. století*. Praha: Artefactum, 232 p.; NÉMETH, Nóra. 2022. Középkori stílusok megjelenése a 19. századi építészeti gondolkodásban. In: Farbaký, P. and Farbakyné, D. (eds.). *Házai építőkövei. Tanulmányok a 19. századi építészet köréből Sisa József tiszteletére*. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi KK. - ELKH, pp. 37 – 44.
- 5** WAGNER RIEGER, Renate (ed.). 1975. *Historismus und Schlossbau*. München: Prestel. 365 p.
- 6** KOMÁRIK, Dénes. 1975. A romantikus kastélyépítészet kezdetei Magyarországon. *Építés-, Építészettudomány*, 7(3 – 4), pp. 431 – 451; SISA, József. 2009. Mansions under the Spell of the „Olden Times“. County House Building in the English Style. *Ars*, 42(2), pp. 206 – 216; SISA, József. 2016. *Motherland and Progress: Hungarian Architecture and design 1800 – 1900*. Basel: Birkhäuser, pp. 354 – 356.
- 7** VYBÍRAL, Jindřich. 1999. *Století dědiců a zakladatelů. Architektura jižních Čech v období historismu*. Praha: Argo.
- 8** Unknown author (probably BEER, Franz). 1847. *View at Rusovce* [drawing]. Watercolour, paper, 40,2 x 63,2 cm. Slovak National Gallery (SNG), inv. no. K 19949; ODESCALCHI, Viktor. 1850 – 1852. *Sketchbook*. Pencil, watercolour, paper, 13,2 x 18,9 cm. SNG, inv. no. K 18832.
- 9** During the personal survey of the manor house in February 2023, traces of buildings were observed from the previous phase of Rusovce, especially in the basement and the ground floor. For this reason, I am leaning towards the opinion that the manor house in Rusovce is entirely the result of the radical rebuilding during the 1840s in Neogothic style, in which the architect Beer created a new layout of the building using some of the older substance and materials.
- 10** SISA, József. 2001. Az „Angolkert“ és a kényelmes ház – brit hatások a 19. századi Magyarországon. *Ars Hungarica*, 29(1), pp. 75 – 110; SISA, József. 1999. The ‘English garden’ and the Comfortable House. British Influences in Nineteenth-Century Hungary. In: Erney, G. (ed.). *Britain and Hungary. Contacts in architecture and design during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Essays and Studies*. Budapest: Hungarian University of Craft and Design, p. 71.
- 11** KOMÁRIK, Dénes. 1982. Az európai hatások útja a romantika korának építészetében. *Ars Hungarica*, 10(1), p. 22; SISA, József. 1992. „Bárki mit mond is, az architectura törvényi csupa önkényen alapulnak“. Széchenyi István építészeti érdeklődése. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 41(1), p. 45 – 61.
- 12** VYBÍRAL, Jindřich and SEKYRKOVÁ, Milada. 1998. Britská cesta Jana Adolfa ze Schwarzenbergu roku 1825. *Umění*, 46(1), pp. 129 – 145. For the influence of this path, see: Vybíral, J., 1999, pp. 25 – 27. We do not have a similar source for the journeys of the Hungarian nobility, therefore it is important to mention a detailed case study of Prince Schwarzenberg, also because of his contacts to Hungarian noble families such as Esterházy or Zichy Ferraris.
- 13** Vybíral, J., 1999, p. 34.
- 14** KATONA, Csaba. 2012 – 2017. Akik nem illettek egymáshoz: Charlotte Strachan’s Zichy-Ferraris Manó házasságának tragikus története. *Moson Megyei Műhely*, 14 – 20, pp. 83 – 102.
- 15** Komárik, D., 1982, pp. 25 – 26. It relies on work: VEREBY, Soma. 1872. *Magyar mágnások életrajzai s arcképcsarnoka*, XI. Pest: [unknown publisher].
- 16** BROOKS, Chris. 1999. *The Gothic Revival*. London: Phaidon, pp. 168 – 170. Major works here included PUGIN, Augustus Charles. 1821 – 1823. *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*; PUGIN, Augustus Charles. 1828 – 1836. *Examples of Gothic Architecture*. London: M. A. Nattali, 307 p.; MOLLER, Georg. 1825. *Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst*; HOFFSTADT, Fridrich. 1840. *Gothisches A-B-C Buch*. Frankfurt a. M.: Schermer, 328 p.; See also: CLARK, Kenneth. 1950. *The Gothic Revival. An Essay in the History of Taste*. London: Constable & Co Ltd, 256 p.
- 17** Komárik, D., 1982, pp. 155 – 157. For evaluation of the development of the Neogothic style in Britain see: Vybíral, J., 1999, p. 53 – 59.
- 18** POSPÍŠILOVÁ, Marie. 1979. Historizující zámecký interiér 19. století v Čechách. *Umění*, 27(4), pp. 303 – 304.
- 19** GILÁNYI, Marek. 2016. Rodostrom rodiny Zichy a Zichy Ferraris. In: Beňová, K., 2016, p.1 28.
- 20** Katona, Cs., 2012 – 2017, pp. 83 – 102.
- 21** Česla, A., Smoláková, M., 1992.
- 22** Sisa, J., 2015, p. 364; Beňová, K., 2016. They lived together in Italy in as early as 1838, which we know from Princess Melanie’s diary. It mentions that part of the family met in Venice, along with Charlotte Strachan. – *Aus Metternich’s nachgelassenen Papieren*. 1883. Band 6. Metternich-Winenburg, R. (ed.). Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, p. 147, 238.
- 23** Komárik, D., 1975, p. 438; Sisa, J., 2015, p. 364 – 366.
- 24** *Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*. Vol. 8. 1994. München: Saur, p. 245.
- 25** *Architektenlexikon*. 2011. *Franz Beer* [online]. Available at: <http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/1013.htm> (Accessed: 14 February 2023).
- 26** Vybíral, J., 1999, p. 36.
- 27** Vybíral, J., 1999, p. 33.
- 28** Sisa, J., 2009, p. 206.
- 29** Ground floor – signed: Franz Beer, Architekt 843; Ignatz Feigler Bürg. Baumeister v. Pressburg; Facade from the street: Franz Beer, Architekt comp.:843, Ignatz Feigler Bürg. Baumeister v. Pressburg; Facade from the garden: Franz Beer, Architekt 843; Ignatz Feigler Bürg. Baumeister v. Pressburg. Fund Zichy, F 708, 017, IV, no. 36 – 38. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL), – Komárik, D., 1975, p. 431 – 451. Thanks for alerting me to this account book to Dr. Tomáš Janura (Slovak Academy of Sciences).
- 30** Fund Zichy, F 708, 127, box. LXX, no. 11631. MNL OL. See appendix no. 2.
- 31** Vybíral, J., 1999, p. 35.
- 32** Vybíral, J., 1999, p. 35.
- 33** Vybíral, J., 1999, p. 36.
- 34** LEWEKE-WEYDE, Gizela. 1932. Meisterstück eines Pressburgers Baumeisters aus dem Jahre 1818. *Forum*, (2), pp. 120 – 121; LABUDOVÁ, Zuzana. 1999. *Feiglerovci a Bratislava 19. storočia*. Master’s thesis. Department of Art History, Comenius University Bratislava; POHANIČOVÁ, Jana and BUDAY, Peter. 2016. *Storočie Feiglerovcov*. Bratislava: Trio Publishing, 160 p.
- 35** Komárik, D., 1972, p. 184.
- 36** Komárik, D., 1972, p. 185. Subsequently he requested his master examination on 6 April 1843, and continued to work in Pest.
- 37** „Zeugnis. Dass Herr Franz Brein beÿ meinem Schlossbau zu Carlburg

- in der Eigenschaft eines Architecten-Adjunctent von 31ten April 1841 bis 30ten Novemb. 1842. verwendet... Sandorf den 30ten November 1842. Graf Emanuel Zichy Ferraris.“ Komárik, D., 1975, p. 434.
- 38** „Zeugniss. Dass Herr Franz Brein von Pesth in Ungarn gebürtig, durch ein Jahr und neun Monath als Architects Adjunctent bey dem Hochgräfl. Zichy-Ferrarischen-Schlossbaue in Karlburg sich kunsteifrigst verwendete, jede wie immer auszuführenden Objecte, sowohl in der Kanzley als auch auf dem Bauplatz mit aller Energie und Umsicht leitete, die Aufnahmen und Baupläne, Überschläge so wie auch Rechnungsrevisionen... ausführte; in Decorationsfache verschiedener Baustyle stets in höheres Kunststreben und Bildung beweis, ... Wien den 30ten November 1842. Franz Beer m. p. Hoch Gräfl. Architect.“ Komárik, D., 1975, pp. 434 – 435.
- 39** NERLICH, France and SAVOY, Bénédicte. 2013. *Pariser Lehrjahre. Ein Lexikon zur Ausbildung deutscher Maler in der französischen Hauptstadt*. Vol. 1, 1793 – 1843. Berlin: de Gruyter, p. 105.
- 40** „Unser Dinner war sehr begablich; die Kinder machen sich viel mit einem Maler, Namens Hemmerlein von Mainz, zu schaffen, der gekommen ist, um sie zu porträtieren und inzwischen ihre Freundschaft gewonnen hat.“ Aus dem Tagebuche der Fürstin Melanie. Vol. 6. *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren*, (21 October 1839), p. 322.
- 41** FILIP, Aleš. 2018. Carl Hemerlein (1801 – 1884), ein Wiener Maler aus Mainz. *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 73(1), p. 25.
- 42** *Fórum: časopis pre umenie, stavbu a interieur*, 1934 (3), p. 309; KAPOSY, János. 1952. Építő, szobrászok, festők és grafikusok Magyarországon 1828-ban. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 1(1), p. 137.
- 43** Buday, Peter. 2020. Pamiatky obce. In: Keresteš, P. et al. *Močenok. Monografia obce*. Nitra: EN ARS, p. 418; BUDAY, Peter. 2010. Kaštieľ v Močenku v archívnych prameňoch. *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 59(4), p. 53; MEDVECKÝ, Jozef. 2010. Gottlieb Anton Gallarti inventor. Maliarska výzdoba katedrály v Nitre a jej autor. *Ars*, 43(2), p. 180.
- 44** LUXOVÁ, Viera. 1972/1974. Zur Problematik der Bildhauerkunst der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Slowakei. *Ars*, 6 – 8(1), pp. 70 – 72, 75, 77; SCHMIDT, Hildegard. 1987. *Josef Klieber – Monographie*. Master's thesis. Department of Art History. Vienna University.
- 45** Wikisource. 2017. *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* [online]. Available at: https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/BLK%C3%96:Klieber,_Joseph (Accessed: 14 February 2023).
- 46** The company, incorporated in 1785, was led by Thomas Ehrenreich Mader until 1822, and subsequently entrusted to his son-in-law Ladislaus Weisz. FORBAT, Eugen. 1959. *Dejiny bratislavského obchodu 18. a 19. storočia*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, p. 417, 465.
- 47** As early as 1825, Prince Schwarzenberg was interested in the processing of iron during his travels through England. Vybíral, J., 1999, pp. 26 – 27.
- 48** Incorporated in 1826, it began production in 1832 of a new type of brick made of two types of clay. Forbat, E., 1959, p. 379, 468.
- 49** LUXOVÁ, Viera. 1968. Archívne záznamy o bratislavských umelcoch a remeselníkoch. *Ars*, 2(1), p. 178; Luxová, V., 1972/1974, p. 72.
- 50** They form part of his sketchbooks, found in the personal archive of the Feigler family in the Bratislava City Archive, Fund Feigler. See also: Labudová, Z., 1999, p. 38.
- 51** The image is unsigned, and comes from the collection of Valentina von Springer-Rothschild (1886 – 1969), known for collecting depictions of Austrian castles and seats.
- 52** ROHBOCK, Ludwig. 1845. *Rusovce* [lithograph]. Bratislava City Gallery (GMB), inv. no. C 15941; SZEREMLEY, Miklós. 1850 – 1870. *Kaštieľ v Rusovciach* [lithograph]. GMB, inv. no. C 6303.
- 53** KÖNYÖKI, Jozef. 1860 – 1890. *Rusovce* [drawing]. Bratislava City Gallery (GMB), inv. no. C 5912; GAUČÍK, Štefan. 2019. *Mestské múzeum v Prešporuku v kontexte doby (1868 – 1918)*. Bratislava: VEDA.
- 54** See more: Beňová, K., 2016.
- 55** Pospíšilová, M., 1979, p. 311.
- 56** Vybíral, J., 1999, p. 35.
- 57** Vybíral, J., 1999, p. 46.
- 58** Sisa, J., 2016, p. 355.
- 59** Sisa, J., 2009, p. 209.
- 60** Sisa, J., 2009, p. 209.
- 61** Sisa, J., 2015, p. 346; JERNYEI KISS, János. 2004. Brein Ferenc kecskeméti tervei. In: Vadas, F. (ed.). *Romantikus kastély. Tanulmányok Komárik Dénes tiszteletére*. Budapest: Hild-Ybl Alapítványi, pp. 219 – 227.
- 62** This was related to the location of Rusovce, close to the river Danube.
- 63** Special iron construction for glass infilling.
- 64** See Appendix 1.