

# Valpovački vlastelini Prandau–Normann

VALPOVO LANDOWNERS  
PRANDAU - NORMANN

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## Architecture of the Valpovo Estate in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

### Introduction

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Valpovo Estate was the one of the largest estates territorially in Croatia, and one of the most successful economically. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Valpovo landowners constructed a series of important residential, public, economic, and sacral buildings in the territory of the estate, and beyond it, during that period.

Considering that the archival materials from the estate were mostly preserved, it is possible to track the construction activities financed by the estate in great detail, from the time it was established in 1721 until it was disbanded in 1945. However, considering that there is a great amount of files that deal with the construction interventions, they cannot all be inspected in detail. Furthermore, considering that the total number of structures that belonged to the estate was vast, as many as 562 structures in 1885,<sup>1</sup> this text is a kind of a selection of the most important architectural achievements during the so-called long 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. from the final decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century until 1918. The text is based on the archival materials from the estate, the overview of the periodicals from Osijek and Slavonia from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the texts published so far that covered the history or the heritage of this estate.<sup>2</sup>

During its somewhat more than two hundred years of existence, the borders of the Valpovo Estate changed often, which is a fact that had to be considered in this text, and it therefore had to be adjusted accordingly, at least in part. Therefore, the buildings in the Miholjac area built before 1831 and the formation of the separate Miholjac Estate were included in the text, but the later construction in that area was excluded, considering that those two estates were never again joined in the administrative sense. On the other hand, some more significant structures from the short-lived Bizovac Estate were included, considering that it was separated from the Valpovo Estate only in the period from 1892 to 1919.<sup>3</sup> Also, the text covers estate structures that were outside of its territory, like the palace

in Osijek or the estate cellar in Villány, which is in the Hungarian part of Baranja today.

### The Complex of the Valpovo Castle at the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

The main building of the Valpovo Estate, the Valpovo castle complex, can be considered as one of the most layered monuments in Slavonia in general, as well as the most interesting from the historical and art historical perspective. The oldest part of the complex is a well preserved Medieval fort, doubtlessly built during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, while the Valpovo Estate was owned by the Morović family, which was granted to them by a deed from King Sigismund of Luxembourg. Considering that the fort was used during the Ottoman period and that it was not burned during the Great Turkish War and the establishment of the Habsburg authority over this area in the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it was used and incorporated into the new estate complex.

The earliest period of the post-Ottoman history of the main residence of the Valpovo landowners is the most difficult period to research, because only a few documents from the 18<sup>th</sup> century were preserved. On New Year's Eve 1802 there was a great fire at the castle which almost entirely destroyed the archives and the old library.<sup>4</sup> The preserved documents indicate that immediately after Baron Petar II Antun Hillebrand von Prandau (1676 – 1767, owner of the estate 1721 – 1767) received the Valpovo Estate from the ruler, as early as 1722 – 1724, the first interventions on the fort began and it started to be slowly adapted in order to turn it into a residence of a landowner, so the work was entrusted to the masonry supervisor Jacob Hagner.<sup>5</sup> While it appears that the east and the west wing of the Medieval fort were only repaired, the south wing was thoroughly reconstructed in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The motif on the portrait of Petar II Antun Hillebrand von Prandau created around 1750 clearly shows that the mentioned wing of the castle already had all

1 Danhelovsky, A. Die Excellenz Gustav Hillebrand Freiherr von Prandau'schen Domänen Valpo und Dolnji-Miholjac in Slavonien. Wien : K. K. Hofbuchhandlung Wilhelm Frick, 1885, p. 287.

2 On the significance of the family in the cultural history of Slavonia see more in the dissertation: Najcer Sabljak, J. Umjetničke zbirke vlastelinskih obitelji u Slavoniji i Srijemu. Doktorski rad. Zagreb : Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2012, p. 40-85.

3 Karaman, I. Valpovačke vlastelinstvo : ekonomsko-historijska analiza. Zagreb : Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1962, 89-91.

4 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 12. Some of the literature states that the fire happened in 1801. Kuhar, F. K. Valpovo i njegovi gospodari. Zagreb : Tiskar dioničke tiskare, 1876, p. 13.

5 HR-DAOS-476, kut. br. 181, fasc. XI, br. 292. Perić, Lj. Valpovačko vlastelinstvo na početku uprave baruna P. A. Hillebranda. Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku 24(2008), p. 75-96; Paušak, M. Ostavština plemićke obitelji Prandau – Normann. Valpovo : Ustanova za kulturne djelatnosti „Ante Evetović-Mirojubi“, Muzej Valpovštine, 2009, p. 5.

the features it kept until today.<sup>6</sup> It was already a two-floor building with a rectangular floor plan tower prominently placed at the main façade, which is topped with a type of a roof lantern that has a circular ground plan.

Therefore, we can assume that during the reconstruction that followed the great fire in 1802, the found situation was respected, i.e. that all the old preserved walls were used.<sup>7</sup> Considering that the architectural plastics of the façade of the south wing could have been constructed in the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it cannot be clearly determined if its current appearance is the result of the intervention after the fire or if the older decoration was preserved. It is certain that the castle was reconstructed by the landowner of Valpovo at the time, the son of Petar Antun, Baron Josip Ignjat Žigmund Hillebrand von Prandau (1758 – 1816, the owner of the estate in the period 1767 – 1816), and it was done under the direction of the master craftsmen from Osijek, master mason (*Baumeister*) Anton Hartmann and master carpenter (*Zimmermeister*) Mathias Wagner. None of their designs for this building could not be found, so the scope of the intervention is not fully known, but judging from the amounts spent on construction in the castle from 1801 to 1810, it was significant.<sup>8</sup>

The castle complex was constantly expanded until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, which will be covered later in the text. During the 1880s, the residence of the Valpovo landowners contained 4,031 square metres of space in total, and it was surrounded by an English type park of the surface area of 35 jutros! (1 jutro = 5754.64 m<sup>2</sup>) Several buildings were located within the complex: three greenhouses, gardener's house, a stable and a barn, a cart shed (*Remise*), a kitchen and laundry building, and various other smaller buildings.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, many of these structures were not preserved – they were mostly destroyed after the estate was nationalised in 1945.

### Architecture of the Valpovo Estate at the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Considering that the Valpovo landowners Petar Antun and Josip Ignjat Hillebrand von Prandau lived in their palace in the centre of Vienna for the most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the estate was managed by various arendators, so it is not surprising that the construction activity during that period was not very intensive. The situation began to change only after Baron Josip Ignjat moved to Valpovo in 1791. He and his son, Anton Gustav Hillebrand von Prandau (1807 – 1885, owner of the estate after 1831)<sup>10</sup>, completed a significant number of construction projects and established a very efficient Construction Office. Aside from reconstructing and furnishing the castle, they also erected many economic, administrative, and school buildings. Lastly, they donated significant sums for the

construction of numerous churches, chapels, and clergy houses, which was partly due to the legal responsibilities of the estate.

Same as in other parts of the Hapsburg Monarchy, the estate had patronage rights and duties toward most of the Catholic parishes in its territory, which numbered 11 in total in 1829.<sup>11</sup> Considering that some of the parishes covered more than one settlement, the total number of churches and chapels was significantly higher. Due to the (patronage) obligations of the nobility to construct, renovate, and partly furnish Catholic churches in its area, most of the church buildings were designed by the engineers or master masons of the Construction Office of the estate or builders from Osijek, who were regularly hired by the estate to work on its construction projects.

The patronage responsibilities of the estate did not extend to the Orthodox parishes in its territory,<sup>12</sup> however, there were not many of those. Of the total of 45 villages, which is how many there were at the estate in 1786,<sup>13</sup> the Orthodox population was the majority in only four of them: Budimci, Poganovci, Kapelna, and Kućanci, and in one, Martinci (Čepinski), the Orthodox and Catholic populations were mixed. Despite the fact that there was not an obligation to help with the construction of Orthodox churches, the estate would regularly, whether in materials or by sparing the population from mandatory labour, support their serfs of Orthodox faith. A particularly interesting case is the one of the Orthodox church in Kapelna, which was built in 1833 through the personal engagement of Baron Josip Ignjat's widow, Baroness Marija Ana Eleonora nee Pejačević Viroviticka.<sup>14</sup>

The list of constructed or reconstructed churches is the clearest evidence of the intensive construction activity in the area of sacral architecture. Since the final decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the following Catholic churches and affiliate chapels were built in the territory of the estate: in Črnkovići (1792), Podgajci (1795), Donji Miholjac (completed in 1795), Brodanci (1798), Rakitovica (1798), Harkanovci (1799, expanded in 1940), Bizovac (1802), Martinci (1803), Satnica (1808), Nard (1815 – 1817), Čamagajevci (1817), Lacići (1817), Marjančanci (thoroughly repaired in 1817), Marijanci (Medieval church from the 15<sup>th</sup> century expanded in 1813 or 1819), Bocanjevci (1821), Šljivoševci (1794, rebuilt after the fire in 1822), Beničanci (1824), Golinci (1825 – 1826), Zelčin (1829), Ivanovci (1830), Radikovci (1834), Habjanovci (1837), and Ladimirevci (from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, rebuilt in 1815, completed in 1848).<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, four Orthodox churches were also built: in Martinci (1802), Kućanci (1827 – 1828), Kapelna (1833) and Poganovci (1843).<sup>16</sup>

Catholic parishes in the estate had a specific administrative position since the end of the Ottoman rule and until 1918 – they were a part of the

Pecs Diocese from across the Drava, apart from three villages, Čadavica, Moslavina, and Šaptinovci, which were under the administration of the Zagreb (Arch)Diocese.<sup>17</sup> Partly because of the strict control of the estate Construction Office, and probably partly because the entire territory of the estate was a part of the Virovitica County, the construction there was monitored by county surveyors and the administration of the Pecs Diocese did not have much of an effect on the church architecture of this area. Sacral buildings that were built at the estate were almost the same as those built in Zagreb or Đakovo dioceses in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. All the newly-built churches were exclusively single-nave structures with a tower in front of the façade and supported by four massive pylons. Almost all of them feature very simply articulated side facades, usually with several lesenes and emphasized cornices, as well as the concentration of the decorations mostly on the bell tower, i.e. the main façade. The type of vaults in the interior and the shape of the apse vary from one building to the next. Only several churches (in Donji Miholjac, Šljivoševci, Habjanovci, and Poganovci) contain an interesting and rare motif – a semi-circular window with an inserted motif that looks like a Cyrillic letter Ž, which is titled "breach lunette" by Croatian art historian Anđela Horvat<sup>18</sup>.

In specific cases we know, thanks to the preserved documents, who the designers were, of churches as well as other buildings. The best documented case is the construction of the parish church in Brodanci (1798), for which the design and the construction records have been preserved.<sup>19</sup> The design of the church is signed by the master mason from Osijek, Anton Hartmann, and the carpentry master on the building was Mathias Wagner, who was, as mentioned before, in charge of the repairs on the castle in Valpovo after the fire half a decade later.<sup>20</sup> The documents revealed that the cost of the masonry work on the church was 3,095.03 guldens,<sup>21</sup> and the cost of the carpentry work was 459.58 guldens.<sup>22</sup>

It appears that these two masters also constructed many other buildings in the entire territory of the estate, like the clergy house in Marijanci and the estate stables.<sup>23</sup> The preserved design by Anton Hartmann for the administrator's house in Valpovo from 1806,<sup>24</sup> as well as the theatre building in the same settlement (1809) that he designed,<sup>25</sup> indicate this builder applied the style that was dominant in the Monarchy at the time, the so-called Neoclassical *Plattenstil*, with the decorations based on rectangular niches and protrusions, which he sometimes combined with Baroque elements (roof on the theatre building).

A considerable number of designs (primarily for various residential and

economic buildings) was preserved among the estate files in the 1820s. This is the period in which the economic and political situation in the Habsburg Monarchy stabilised after the war against Napoleon ended (1815), which certainly benefited the investments in construction. Most of the designs have been signed by the master mason Konrad Kopf. His design for the administrator's house in Miholjac from 1824, shows that Biedermeier Neoclassicism was dominant style in his work. In the residential architecture of the estate at the time this style was in general very widespread.<sup>26</sup> An extremely tall roof of the building, almost twice as high as the walls, as well as the windows on it, on one hand indicate that this space were used for storage purposes, and on the other hand it indicates a considerably different climate, colder winters in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is why the tall inclination was required to secure the roof from snow. Kopf's design for the cellar in Villány<sup>27</sup> unfortunately does not contain a page that shows the facade, so we do not know the style features of this building, one of the most important real property owned by the counts of Valpovo. Kopf was also the designer of the estate river mill on Karašica built in 1827,<sup>28</sup> a building that is very simple in architectural terms, but technically very demanding, and which had an important role in the economy of this estate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

It is not entirely clear who among the construction staff of the estate was in charge of drafting designs. The sources only tell us that, aside from master masons, they were also drafted by master carpenters – like Georg Seifert, who designed the church in Poganovci.<sup>29</sup> However, the organisation of the construction administration at the estate and the names of the construction staff and their salaries were possible to reconstruct, thanks to the estate salary lists (Salarial-Tablelle), which were preserved since the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (along with several older ones from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century). The lists from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the very beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century only mention the names of the gardeners at the estate: Georg Stadler (1786) and Anton Fusbe (1809), who is joined by the land surveyor Franjo Kremniczky, who had, according to earlier research, made a land survey of the estate in 1785.<sup>30</sup> After 1811, the information became much more detailed. After that year, the estate had one engineer within the General Department and one masonry and carpentry masters each, who were a part of the castle staff (*Schlosspersonale*). The first documented estate engineer was Carl Baky (employed from 1/11/1811 to 1831, died in 1850), who was succeeded by Laurenz Nadoba (employed from 1/4/1831 until his death in 1875), who held that position for a very long time. The first master mason listed in the salary lists was the previously mentioned Konrad Kopf (employed

6 Obad Šćitaroci, M.; Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, B. Dvorci i perivoji u Slavoniji od Zagreba do Iloka. Zagreb: Šćitaroci, 1998, p. 313. Of course, there is the possibility that the image of the castle was added to the portrait later.

7 It is possible that the architectural plastics of the façade was not damaged in the fire at all, due to the exceptional thickness of the walls.

8 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 64–65.

9 Danhelovsky, A. mentioned work, 1885, p. 294–295.

10 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 11.

11 Srian Š. (editor) Visitationes Canonice. Kanonske vizitacije, knjiga III., Valpovačko-miholjačko područje 1730. – 1830. Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku: Biskupija dakovačka i srijemska, 2005, p. XI.

12 Danhelovsky, A. mentioned work, 1885, p. 59.

13 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 5.

14 Danhelovsky, A. mentioned work, 1885, p. 45.

15 Information on the time of construction or expansion of churches taken from: Kuhač, F. K. mentioned work, 1876, p. 13; Danhelovsky, A. mentioned work, 1885, p. 24–49; Tukara D. (editor) Šematizam Đakovačko-osječke nadbiskupije. Đakovo: Nadbiskupski ordinarijat, 2013; Srian, Š. mentioned work, 2005.

16 Information on the time of construction of Orthodox churches taken from: Danhelovsky, A. mentioned work, 1885, p. 24–49; Kosovac, M. Mitropolija karlovačka po podacima od 1905. god. Sremski Karlovi: Srpska manastirska štamparija, 1910, p. 822, 824.

17 Despite the efforts of some of the Đakovo bishops, like Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the area of the Valpovo Deanery, i.e. the so-called Valpovo triangle, was never included in any of the Croatian Church provinces until the dissolution of Austria-Hungary. Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 54; Srian, Š. mentioned work, 2005, p. VII–XVI, [VIII–IX]. The connections of the estate with Pecs were very strong, which is confirmed by the purchase of the house in that city in 1819, in Heugasse 5. Perić, Lj. Komiteti-Haus zu Valbo – prilog pomaganju kazališnog života u Valpovu od 1809. do 1823. godine u svjetlu arhivskog fonda obitelji Prandau i Normann. Osječki zbornik 28(2006), p. 133.

18 Nadbiskupski arhiv Zagreb, Putna bilježnica Anđele Horvat br. XII, 1957. – 1958., 87, Poganovci, October 23 1958, Thursday, 9.15 am. Danjanić, D. Pravoslava crkva svetog Ilije u Poganovcima. Peristil 57(2014), p. 91–101.

19 HR-DAOS-476, kut. br. 48., fasc. II., dosje 1488 – 794.

20 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 64–65; Obad Šćitaroci, M.; Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, B. mentioned work, 1998, p. 313.

21 HR-DAOS-476, kut. br. 48., fasc. II., dosje 1488 – 794. Proračun Antona Hartmanna, Osijek, 2. 1. 1794.

22 Ibid., Proračun Mathiasa Wagnera, Osijek, 21. 1. 1794.

23 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 64–65.

24 HR-DAOS-476. Zbirka projekata.

25 Perić, Lj. mentioned work, 2006, p. 129–131. Perić, Lj. Graditelj kazalita na majuru Antun (Anton) Hartmann (1749. – 1830.). Analizirano za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku 31(2015), p. 101–116.

26 HR-DAOS-476, kut. br. 56., fasc. II., dosje br. 5844.

27 Ibid., dosje br. 5736, Vilanyer Ober-Haus Gebäude.

28 Muzej Slavonije, Povijesna zbirka, br. 368.

29 Trifunović, L. (editor) Klasicizam kod Srba 2 – Građevinarstvo. Beograd: Narodni muzej: Izdavačko preduzeće Prosveta, 1966, p. 440–441.

30 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 51.

from 1/1/1820 until 3/4/1850), who was succeeded by Nikolaus Rauscher (Niklos Rausher) (employed from 25/4/1851 probably until 1855). The first master carpenter found in the lists was also the previously mentioned Georg Seifert (employed from 1/1/1835 probably until 1855, retired after 1/11/1870, died on 31/3/1877). Except for him, in 1850s another master carpenter was employed, Jakob Nerses (employed from 1/10/1852 probably until 1855). After 1855, there is a noticeable change in the composition of construction staff at the estate, which will be discussed further later in the text.<sup>31</sup>

### The Last Decades of the Administration of Gustav Prandau and the Emergence of Historicism in the Architecture of the Valpovo Estate (1850 – 1885)

Similar to most of Croatia and Slavonia, after the suppression of the revolution in 1848/1849, Historicism began appearing in the architecture of the Valpovo Estate. This was the period when the previously mentioned Baron Gustav Prandau started with the implementation of the series of construction projects, in Valpovo and in other settlements at the estate, which were partly motivated by the efforts to adapt the estate to new, capitalist production conditions, i.e. the formation of new industrial facilities, which were supposed to make up for the loss of income which occurred after the feudal fees ended and a part of their land was confiscated.

Since the middle of the 1860s, as the result of the mentioned changes, Gustav Prandau started forming a series of tenant farms on his estate and building new buildings on them (Selce, 1864; Cerovac, 1865; Vučkovac, 1867; Jedinac, 1868), as well as building houses for farm managers and other similar buildings,<sup>32</sup> most of which were very modest single-floor houses. Furthermore, he had built small hunting cabins in the so-called *Swiss style* (in Lipovac near Miholjac, Polom near Koška, Cret near Valpovo).<sup>33</sup> One of those (unfortunately without the indication of the location where it was built), has been reproduced in the Koch-Kuhač monograph about Valpovo. The reproduction clearly shows that it was a single-floor building built in the *Fachwerk* technique, constructed using timber and mortar infill material. The *Swiss houses* got their name from their wooden, richly engraved porch, which is, in the case of buildings at the Valpovo estate, equally reminiscent of Alpine architecture and of the motifs based on traditional architecture of Slavonia and Sarmia.

A version of the *Swiss style* was also used as a starting point for the wood parts of the estate manor in Bizovac, which is, along with the palace in Osijek and the estate cellar in Villány considered to be one of the most important real property of the estate at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> The design for it has not been preserved, but it can be assumed that it was built

or expanded after Gustav's daughter Marijana moved there, after she and Count Konstantin von Normann-Ehrenfels got married in 1852.<sup>35</sup>

The new Valpovo steam mill is considered to be one of the most monumental buildings at the estate, built from 1867 – 1868.<sup>36</sup> The preserved and realised designs for the building that does not exist today, on which the signature of the designer is unfortunately not present, show that it was a spacious multi-floor building with facades made of facing bricks, which were widely used in the industrial architecture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Some of the construction achievements of Gustav Prandau from that period were motivated purely by aesthetic motives. Between 1862 and 1869, the estate castle in Valpovo was, for example, thoroughly renovated.<sup>37</sup> It could not be precisely determined what exact work was done in that intervention. However, there is a preserved design for a Romanticist, somewhat Gothic, floor of one of the halls of the castle, which offers some information about that renovation. It was made by the builder August Lerch,<sup>38</sup> and aside from his signature, the papers also contain the signature of the engineer Nicolaus Pansipp. Furthermore, the photographs of the castle taken not long after World War II indicate that some of the halls at the castle were decorated with Romanticist decorative paintings. Finally, the castle was furnished with exceptionally lavish furniture in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the walls were filled with paintings, graphics, photographs, trophies, and other objects. Some of the furniture and art were acquired by Gustav Prandau and some of it by his descendants. Newspaper reports revealed that in 1855 Gustav Normann acquired a dining room set and a salon wardrobe from the carpenter Josef Metzinger, and that those pieces of furniture were made according to the designs by famous Croatian architect Herman Bolle.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the preserved designs indicate that Gustav Prandau also planned to renovate the castle chapel. Instead of the Baroque tower and tympanum, he planned to build neo-Gothic additions that would better match the Medieval walls and tower located very close to the chapel. The Romanticist design, made in Valpovo by the *Bau-Adjunct* Hugo Ehrhardt in February of 1862, belongs to a group of the earliest preserved examples of re-gothization in a church architecture in Croatia, however, it was not completed. The refurbishment of the chapel was ultimately abandoned, and Franjo Kuhač left some records that state that the Baron also decided to preserve the original appearance of the medieval walls.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, in 1867 the new estate stables and the southern fruit orchard were constructed not far from the castle,<sup>41</sup> and a spacious bathhouse complex was built in 1869, after it was discovered that the water from the wells is rich in iron and was beneficial for human health. The complex also contained a dancehall, a bowling alley, and a flat for the

inkeeper. Finally, judging from the style two longitudinal buildings that were used as stables, located next to the theatre, were rebuilt at the time in neo-Gothic style. Even though the plans for this part of the complex were not preserved, considering the style similarities with the design for the restoration of the chapel, it is almost certain that they were rebuilt according to Hugo Ehrhardt's designs.

The wave of construction that started in the early 1860s ended by the middle of the 1870s, probably due to the great economic crisis in Europe in 1873. In the last ten years of estate administration, Gustav Prandau was more focused on the maintenance of the existing buildings than on constructing new ones.<sup>42</sup> The construction activities picked up again after the estate was divided in 1891, when Count Rudolf Joseph von Normann-Ehrenfels changed the organisation of the estate and soon after formed a special Engineering Office (*Ingenieuramt*).<sup>43</sup>

The salary lists also make it possible to reconstruct the composition of the construction staff of the estate during the entire period since the transition to the capitalist system of management until the dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (and after that, until the estate was dissolved). There were two engineers in the third quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – along with the previously mentioned Laurenz Nadoba, who was employed until his death in 1875, the estate also hired Georg Kötz (1/1/1859 – 1861/1862) and Nikolaus Pansipp (1/7/1862 – 1869; during 1869 he became a senior engineer Oberingenieur). After the end of the 1870s only one engineer was employed – Vincenz Beer (1879 – 1/4/1912) and Franz Červenka (1912 – 1916; 1919 – ?) after him.

Aside from the engineers, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Valpovo Estate hired many more other construction staff. After 1855, the master masons and carpenters were rarely mentioned in the salary lists. The titles of managers or associates of the Construction Office are introduced instead. Accordingly, from 1/11/1859 to 1868 Hugo Ehrhard was a *Bauadjunct* (construction associate) at the Valpovo Estate, and then he was a *Bauamtsadjunct* (Construction Office associate) and *Bauamtsleiter* (head of the Construction Office) in Donji Miholjac (1868 – 1873). In Valpovo, Ehrhard was succeeded as *Bauadjunct* by Josef Kugel (9/11/1868 – 1/9/1869?) and he was succeeded by August Lerch (*Bauadjunct* 1/9/1869 – 1874, *Bauamtsleiter*, 1874 – 1892). Between 1/1/1872 and 1877, Johann Schmerl also worked as *Bauamtsadjunct*.

Some of the positions in the construction service were temporary. Vincenz Beer worked as the second land surveyor for a decade and a half (1/10/1865 – 1879) and Josef Khan worked more than a decade as the masonry supervisor (1/12/1871 – 1882). Just before the First World War, the position of a construction assistant was formed (Bauassistent) and

Matija Vincek (1913 – 1914) was appointed to that position.<sup>44</sup>

Among the construction staff, Vincenz Beer was employed the longest – almost five decades. He was born in Sandomierz, in Poland, and received his education at the Polytechnic in Lvov, after which he worked on the cadastral survey of South Tyrol, Primorje, and Hungary. He arrived at the Prandau estate in 1865, but to Donji Miholjac first, he moved to Valpovo three years later. After he retired in 1912, the estate was paying him pension until he died on 24/11/1923.<sup>45</sup> According to the information from the Osijek press, all the economic buildings constructed at the estate in the period when he was working in the Construction Office are his work.<sup>46</sup> Very few of the designs were preserved though, and those that were preserved are signed by the mentioned head of the Construction Office August Lerch. Regardless of who their author is, they are all utilitarian single-floor buildings with facing brick facades, sometimes with wood-carved porches which are difficult to define regarding their style.

### New Historicist Residences of the Normann-Ehrenfels Family – Palace in Osijek and the Hunting Castle Jelengrad

The connections of the Valpovo landowners with the city of Osijek, as the largest population centre in Slavonia and the capital of the Virovitica County, which contained the territory of the estate, were very strong since the very beginnings of its history. Similar to other noble landowning families in Slavonia, the Prandaus also owned a house in Osijek, which they used as a residence while they were doing business with the merchants in Osijek or when they would visit various social, cultural, political, and religious events. A plot of land in the very centre of Gornji grad in Osijek, very near the Capuchin monastery, which was used for the construction of the future palace, was bought by the first post-Ottoman landowner of Valpovo, Petar II Antun Hillebrand von Prandau, in June of 1725,<sup>47</sup> only four years after the king Charles VI granted him the estate. A single-floor building was built at the plot, repaired in 1809,<sup>48</sup> which remained standing until just before the end of 1889, when Countess Marijana von Normann-Ehrenfels (1828 – 1891), the daughter of Gustav Prandau, along with her sons, counts Gustav Rudolf Karl Kaspar and Rudolf Joseph von Normann-Ehrenfels, decided to demolish it and build a new, luxurious Historicist palace in its place.<sup>49</sup> The construction and furnishing of the new building lasted for a year and a half. It started in June of 1890<sup>50</sup> and by the June of 1891 it was mostly finished.<sup>51</sup> The residential permit was finally issued at the end of October of the same year.<sup>52</sup>

The palace itself stands out with the lavishness of its façade and by its size, and originally it had exceptionally high quality furnishings. The main building, toward the street, was imagined as a residential-commercial

31 HR-DAOS-476, knjige br. 1004 – 1028, Salarial-Tabelle 1786, 1809, 1810. – 1855.

32 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 42, 73–75.

33 Kuhač, F. K. mentioned work, 1876, p. 20.

34 Danhelovsky, A. mentioned work, 1885, p. 295–297.

35 Čuržik, V. Bizovačko i petrijevačko vlastelinstvo (1892. – 1919.). Petrijevački ljetopis (1999), p. 44.

36 Danhelovsky, A. mentioned work, 1885, p. 298.

37 Kuhač, F. K. mentioned work, 1876, p. 23.

38 Lerch kept that position for a long time, it appears all the way to the middle of the 1880s, maybe even after that. Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 82.

39 These pieces of furniture were displayed at the National Exhibition in Budapest. A. S., Der kroatische Pavillon, Agramer Zeitung, br. 117, 23 May 1885, p. 2–4.

40 "In his renovation of the city however, Baron Prandau did not disturb the old outer walls and the tower, which still stand intact." Kuhač, F. K. mentioned work, 1876, p. 23.

41 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 74–75. Ananashaus is mentioned already in 1846. HR-DAOS-476, kut. br. 590, rationes, 1846., br. 49., cjelina 2, Gaertnerney, Ananashaus Eindeckung.

42 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 80–81.

43 Ibid., 91–92. According to the Salarial-Tabellen, it appears that the Engineering Office has existed since 1894.

44 HR-DAOS-476, knjige br. 1029 – 1090, Salarial-Tabelle 1856. – 1918.

45 Same as to all of its employees. Widows of the estate employees were also entitled to retirement. The information about the death of Vincenz Beer was taken from the estate salary lists.

46 Graf Normannscher Ingenieur: Vinzenz Beer, Die Drau, no. 251 (6882), 4 November 1910, p. 3.

47 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 10.

48 Perži, Lj. mentioned work, 2006, p. 130.

49 Bauhütigkeit in Frühjahr 1890., Die Drau, no. 103, 22 December 1889, p. 3.

50 Palais Normann, Die Drau, no. 73, 24 June 1890, p. 2.

51 Zur Bauhütigkeit, Die Drau, no. 72, 21 June 1891, p. 3–4.

52 Palais Normann, Slavonische Presse, no. 125, 22 October 1891, p. 2.

space, it had 693 square metres of space in total, and the adjoining building in the yard (with the stables, cart shed, and servants' quarters) had another 595 square metres.

The organisation of space in the main building was handled very skilfully. The ground floor had two separate shops, a clerk's apartment and a kitchen and sanitary facilities, and the first floor was reserved for the owners. Marble staircase connected the street entrance with the lobby on the first floor, from which there was access to the salon and the dining room. The corners of the house contained rooms for Count Gustav Normann (for whom, it appears, the palace was mainly built) and his mother. The bathroom and the servants' room were connected to the bedrooms. The space intended for the social life of the owner were centred around the lavishly decorated lobby of the ground floor, so they were easily accessible. The rooms of the count and countess, probably intended for meetings with friends and clients, were facing the square, and the private rooms (bedrooms, bathrooms) were located in the part of the building facing the courtyard. Judging from the descriptions of the palace after it was completed, the salons were decorated with luxurious wallpapers and the ceilings were decorated with stucco.

The Normanns hired entrepreneurs almost exclusively from Osijek for the construction and furnishing of the palace, doubtlessly in order to aid the local economy. Therefore, construction work was done by the builder Franz Wybiral, Josef Metzung was in charge of carpentry, Anton Maulbeck was the blacksmith, Antun Pšik did all the sheet metal work, Anton Erben was the painter, and Adolf Heim did all the glazing work. Companies and craftsmen from other cities were hired only for the work that could not be done by the masters from Osijek. Sculpturing and stonecutting was done by Johann Nowotny (Novotny), Jerk & Schuschnitz did the wallpapers and ceiling ornaments, the company Brausewetter from Wagram made the terracotta ornaments, and the companies Hartdmuth and Wienerberger Ziegelfabriks und Baugesellschaft did the stoves and floor tiles. Considering the quality of the construction and the spaciousness of the palace, it is not surprising that the total costs for its construction were as high as 120,000 forints.<sup>53</sup>

The facades of the building were designed in the style of early Italian Renaissance. They are decorated with terracotta ornaments (frieze, capitals, corbels, blind balustrade), and in the centre of the main façade there is, connected to the salon, a stone balcony, over which there is the tympanum that originally displayed the family coat of arms.<sup>54</sup>

The designer of the palace is the Croatian architect Josip Vancaš,<sup>55</sup> who lived and worked in Sarajevo in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time.

His employment at this project can probably be attributed to the recommendation of the bishop of Đakovo, Josip Juraj Strossmayer. Since the middle of the 1880s, Strossmayer has been on very good terms with Vancaš, whom he hired to repair the roof lantern of the cathedral and the Medieval walls of the episcopal complex in Đakovo, and aside from that, he was fascinated with his recently completed cathedral in Sarajevo. That is why he recommended Vancaš to the people of Osijek in 1889 for the design of the new parish church.<sup>56</sup> Vancaš probably came in contact with the Normann family during his visit to Osijek related to that project, who then hired him to build their new palace. Considering that the Normann family was close with the lawyer Dragutin Neumann (Neumann managed the estate economic activities in the 1890s),<sup>57</sup> it is not surprising that he also hired the same architect in 1895 to design his palace, which was located in the nearby Kapucinska ulica (today Europska avenija).

The Normann palace belongs to the group of extremely rare buildings in Osijek from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the designs of which were published in renowned architectural journals of the German speaking area. This was doubtlessly due to the initiative of the architect Vancaš himself, who was building an image for himself by publishing designs in the Central European architectural publications. The reputable Viennese journal *Der Bautechniker* published the design for the façade and the floor plans of the palace in March of 1896, as well as a short but very informative text about its construction.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, the designs for the palace were exhibited at the Millennium Exhibition in Budapest, in the Croatian Art Pavilion, along with the design for the house of Dragutin Neumann.<sup>59</sup>

The new palace was not used by its investors for a long time. Only two weeks after the residential permit was issued, on 8 November 1891, Countess Marijana von Normann-Ehrenfels died.<sup>60</sup> During the following year, the Valpovo Estate was (again) divided into two parts. The palace in Osijek and the eastern and southern parts of the estate (about 1/3 of the territory) went to Gustav Normann, which created the separate Bizovac Estate, and the rest of the estate around Valpovo went to his brother Rudolf.<sup>61</sup>

The palace in Osijek soon got entirely different owners. It was sold to the Austro-Hungarian Bank in 1898, which opened its Osijek branch office there immediately thereafter. Judging from the circumstances that Gustav Normann sold it for 112,000 forints, so for an amount that is lower than what was spent for its construction and furnishing,<sup>62</sup> it is safe to assume that he was forced to sell it due to the high maintenance costs of the palace, and probably also because he had to cover his new construction investments.

In 1896 the owner of the Bizovac Estate built a new luxurious hunting castle for himself not far from the village Petrijevci, which was called Jelengrad. It was built between April<sup>63</sup> and August of the mentioned year, according to the design by the famous builder from Osijek Wilhelm Carl Hofbauer. Only the masters from Osijek were hired to build it – Friedrich Elblinger did the sheet metal work, Hirt was in charge of carpentry work, whereas the company Nagy & Walter did the blacksmithing. A picturesque building, built in dense forest, right next to the river Drava had a kitchen, pantry, and servants' quarters in the basement area. The ground floor contained a spacious apartment for the owner, and the first floor had three guest rooms, two for the forest keeper, and a large communal dining room (breakfast room). The castle was built so hunters from Vienna and the other parts of the Monarchy could stay there.<sup>64</sup> It was an exceptional example of late Historicism, built in German Renaissance Style (it was described in Osijek daily periodicals in 1896 as "Mehr altddeutsch als modern..."),<sup>65</sup> so it is not surprising that its design was also published in the renowned Viennese journal *Der Bautechniker*,<sup>66</sup> and that the daily periodicals in Zagreb reported about its construction on several occasions.<sup>67</sup> The preserved photographs of the building show that Jelengrad was reconstructed at least once – a rectangular tower was added, and another floor too it appears. Unfortunately, today there is nothing left of this castle. It was looted in the post-war chaos of 1919, after which it was bought from his brother by Rudolf Normann.<sup>68</sup> It was completely demolished in 1932, during the time when it was owned by the company Neuschloss.<sup>69</sup> After Jelengrad was sold, Gustav Normann moved away, to the castle Premstätten near Graz in Styria.<sup>70</sup>

### Unrealised Rebuilding of the Valpovo Castle 1901 – 1917

While Gustav Normann's Bizovac Estate was facing financial difficulties at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, if the sale of the palace in Osijek is an appropriate indicator, the Valpovo Estate owned by his brother Rudolf was in a much better situation. According to the official tax reports from the Virovitica County, the landowner of Valpovo was the second largest taxpayer in this county, following the landowners of Donji Miholjac.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that Rudolf Normann started several construction projects in Valpovo, most of which remained unfinished though, due to various circumstances. It appears that the designs of the reputable Viennese architect Heinrich Adam from 1901 for the new, luxurious neo-Renaissance-neo-Baroque front door of the castle complex,

that were planned to be made from wrought iron, then for the addition of a new terrace, and the addition of a hallway in the castle remained unrealised.<sup>72</sup>

The designs of the Hungarian architect István (Stefan) Möller for the thorough reconstruction and expansion of the castle, created between 1914 and 1917, also remained unrealised.<sup>73</sup> Even though before the war, in June of 1914, the newspapers in Osijek reported that Rudolf Normann was planning to demolish the old and build a new castle in Valpovo, with the costs that would amount to the enormous 3 million kronen,<sup>74</sup> the designs "only" included the thorough restoration of the Medieval part of the castle, the construction of a new tower above the entrance part of the castle chapel, and the addition of three floors above the old Medieval tower. Möller also made designs for the thorough reconstruction of the southern, main residential wing of the castle, but primarily for the interior and the courtyard section. He planned to build a new, neo-Baroque staircase and to resize the existing rooms. If it was realised, the castle would have become a picturesque late-Historicist building, but it would also destroy some of the historical layers. The war, and the devaluation of the krone soon after, combined with the difficult economic situation, stopped its realisation.

While the Valpovo landowners before the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century hired almost exclusively engineers from the estate, local engineers from Osijek, or Croatian architects, Rudolf Normann decided to turn to designers from Vienna and Budapest. The choice of Möller is not surprising since that architect was extremely popular among the Slavonian high nobility. Counts Eltz hired him to construct the chapel of the Lady of the Oaks in Vukovar,<sup>75</sup> and the Nuštar Estate of the counts Khuen-Belassy had him expand their castle and chapel.<sup>76</sup> Finally, the *Mailáth family*, the owners of the estate in Donji Miholjac, which were related to the Normann family, hired this architect at the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to build a neo-Gothic castle in that town (1905 – 1914), the last monumental example of residential architecture of the nobility in Croatia.<sup>77</sup> The Slavonian high nobility were generally the key protagonists in the transfer of ideas in the area of architecture from Hungary to Croatia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, primarily due to the family relations with the high nobility in Hungary, and because they usually owned property in Hungarian urban centres. Another factor for the "preference" of Hungarian designers was surely their political orientation – they were almost all unionists, i.e. supporters of the idea that Croatia should be as

<sup>53</sup> Vancaš, J. Palais des Grafen Gustav Normann – Ehrenfels in Esseg (Slavonien). Der Bautechniker 12 (20/3/1896), p. 209–210.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. Vancaš designed his house in Sarajevo in similar style, only far more modestly, with the same type of window openings, and there are certain similarities with the palace of the Salom family in the same city. Vancaš, J. Wohnhaus des kaiserlich autorisierten Civil-Architekten Josef von Vancas in Sarajevo. Der Bautechniker 44 (6/11/1898), p. 911.

<sup>55</sup> Ivanković, G. M. Josip Vancaš-Požeski. Palača grofova Normann von Ehrenfels. U: Historicismizam u Hrvatskoj, knjige 2. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 2000, p. 539.

<sup>56</sup> Zum Baue der Oberstädter Pfarrkirche, Die Drau, no. 93, 17 November 1889, p. 2; Damjanović, D. Neogotička arhitektura u opusu Josipa Vancaša : radovi u Italiji, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji. Prostor 22(2014), 2 (48), p. 255.

<sup>57</sup> As confirmed by the circumstance that they travelled through Dalmatia together in 1903. Starine, Obzor, no. 63, 17 March 1902, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Vancaš, J. mentioned work, 1896, p. 209–210. Same also in: Holjac, J. Palača grofa Gustava Normanna-Ehrenfelskog u Ojijeku. Vestni društva inžinira i arhitekta 2 (15/2/1897), p. 15–16.

<sup>59</sup> Chvala, J. Milenijska izložba u Budimpešti. Vestni društva inžinira i arhitekta 5 (15/7/1896), p. 71–73.

<sup>60</sup> Gräfin Marianne Normann-Ehrenfels, Slavonische Presse, no. 133, 10 November 1891, p. 1–2.

<sup>61</sup> Rudolf's property contained 2/3 of the territory of the former estate, considering that he purchased 1/3 of the estate from his sister. Die Theilung der Pandrau'schen Herrschaft, Slavonische Presse, no. 64, 31 May 1892, p. 2; Čuržik, V. mentioned work, 1999, p. 42–60.

<sup>62</sup> Das Palais Normann, Die Drau, no. 50 (4537), 28 April 1898, p. 3; Das graflich Normann'sche Palais, Die Drau, no. 51 (4538), 1 May 1898, p. 5–6.

<sup>63</sup> Bau eines Jagdschlösses in Petrievec, Die Drau, no. 43, 12 April 1896, p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> Das graflich Normann'sche Jagdschloß, Slavonische Presse, no. 165, 19 July 1896, p. 3; Das Jagdschloß des Grafen Gustav Normann-Ehrenfels, Die Drau, no. 91, 4 August 1896, p. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Hofbauer, W. C. Jagdschloss „Jelengrad“ in Petrijevec, Der Bautechniker 17 (29/4/1898.), p. 321–322., also the illustration on page 323.

<sup>67</sup> Bau eines Jagdschlössen in Petrievec, Agrarmer Zeitung, no. 85, 13 April 1896, p. 5; Jelengrad, Obzor, no. 180, 6 August 1896, p. 1; Jagden auf Schloß Jelengrad, Agrarmer Zeitung, no. 195, 26 August 1896, p. 5.

<sup>68</sup> Obad Šćitaroci, M.; Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, B. mentioned work, 1998, p. 180–181; Čuržik, V. mentioned work, 1999, 50–57.

<sup>69</sup> J-i, Sruežen vlastelinski dvorac Jelengrad, Jutarjni list, no. 745I, 27 October 1932, p. 10.

<sup>70</sup> Najčez Sabljik, J. mentioned work, 2012, p. 44–45. I would like to thank prof. Šiljija Lučević for the information about the move to Premstätten.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 45. See the official lists of the large taxpayers in the Virovitica County: Oglas, Narodne novine, no. 35, 12 February 1902, p. 1; Oglas, Narodne novine, no. 10, 14 January 1903, p. 1.

<sup>72</sup> HR-DAOS-476. Zbirka projekata.

<sup>73</sup> Ministarstvo kulture, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Konzervatorski odjel u Osijeku, Zbirka planova valpovačkog dvorca.

<sup>74</sup> Schloßbau in Valpovo, Die Drau, no. 123, 2 June 1914, p. 3.

<sup>75</sup> Karač Z. Urbanistički razvoj i arhitektonska baština Vukovara od baroka do novijeg doba (1687 – 1945). In: Vukovar, vjekomni hrvatski grad na Dunavu. Zagreb : Nakladna kuća „Dr. Feletar”, 1994, p. 287.

<sup>76</sup> Vučetić, R.; Maničar Buljan, I. Nuštar : Dvorac Khuen-Belassy. Zagreb : Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2012, p. 14, 21–22, 165, 167–168.

<sup>77</sup> Obad Šćitaroci, M.; Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, B. mentioned work, 1998, p. 132–139.

closely connected to Hungary as possible.

Rudolf Normann was also very close with the most famous unionist ban, Dragutin Khuen-Héderváry, which is also demonstrated by the fact that the Ban was his son's godfather.<sup>78</sup> It is interesting that despite that Rudolf also remained very close with his great opponent Bishop Strossmayer, who often visited him in Valpovo.<sup>79</sup>

### Church Architecture in the Valpovo Estate in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

After feudalism was abolished, the intensive construction activities of the Valpovo Estate in the area of church architecture stopped. The number of new religious buildings after 1850, when compared to the situation in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was drastically reduced. However, Gustav Prandau and Rudolf Normann continued helping in the construction and furnishing of churches and chapels.

The example of the church in Šag, constructed in 1852, clearly shows that even after the revolutionary turmoil of 1848/1849, the Baroque-Neoclassical patterns remained present in the religious architecture of the estate. It appears that the older church in Veliškovci, built in 1854,<sup>80</sup> had similar style features, and it is significant that the design for the new church in the same village from 1875<sup>81</sup> retained many elements that link it to Baroque Neoclassicism (organisation of space, appearance of the tower). Only the shape of the tall arched windows indicates the influence of the Romanticist *Rundbogenstil*. The same could be said for the parish church in Josipovac, built in 1881 thanks to the large gift by Gustav Prandau in the amount of 6,350 forints.<sup>82</sup>

Along with the church in Josipovac, the only larger parish church that the estate helped build during that period is the new church in Veliškovci, which is also the most interesting because of architectural design. It was built in 1901/1902 at the significant expense of 60,000 kronen, according to the design by Josip Vancša<sup>83</sup> and it is the most significant example of Historicism in the church architecture of the estate. The single-nave, single-tower structure has been built in the neo-Renaissance style, which was utilised the most by Vancša for the design of his religious structures at the time, and it is exceptionally reminiscent of the project that was realised somewhat later (1909), of the parish church in Bosanski Brod, by the same architect.

The Prandau family, then the Normann family, also donated to churches outside of the territory of the estate, primarily in the Gornji grad in Osijek. They were very closely connected with the Capuchins in Osijek,

partly because these monks served in the Valpovo parish at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>84</sup> and also probably because the palace of the family Hilleprand von Prandau was built right next to the Capuchin monastery in the very centre of Gornji grad. Therefore, it is not surprising that in 1857, Gustav Prandau, along with the members of the families Pejačević and Adamović, built a new neo-Gothic choir in the church,<sup>85</sup> and then, in 1872, donated an organ to the church, the work of the master from Osijek, Lorenz Fabing.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, the Normann family was also actively involved in the construction of the new Gornji grad parish church of St Peter and Paul, for which they donated three figurative stained glass windows in the sanctuary.<sup>87</sup>

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is the time when the estate built or restored a number of chapels. In Valpovo, Gustav Prandau thoroughly restored the family tomb-chapel of St Roch in 1860, which was built by his father Josef Ignaz in 1796 as a votive building, because the area was spared from the plague which broke out in Syrmia.<sup>88</sup> He added a crypt to it and partially modified its facades in the round arch style (*Rundbogenstil*). Also, in 1880, a picturesque neo-Gothic chapel of the Feast of the Cross was built at the local cemetery, equipped with an altarpiece by the renowned Hungarian painter Károly Jakobey.<sup>89</sup>

After the grandson of Baron Gustav Prandau, Count Rudolf Normann, bought the Podgorač Estate in 1903,<sup>90</sup> at the highest point of the Podgorač cemetery he built a Neoclassical chapel made of high-quality marble and granite for Pavle Pejačević, the last count of Podgorač, and his wife, Rudolf's aunt Alvina, nee Hilleprand von Prandau. It was built in 1909, under the supervision of the builder from Osijek, Paul Wranka, by the Viennese master Eduard Hauser, who had a branch office of his company in Osijek.<sup>91</sup> It is interesting to mention that a tomb with almost the same appearance can be found in Vienna (and it was also made by the company Hauser), at the cemetery in Hietzing, right next to Schönbrunn, which was built by the Weiler family.

The second tomb-chapel that Rudolf Normann intended to build, which is also the most ambitious religious project from the time he was the administrator of the estate, the new family tomb in Valpovo, remained unrealised. Its design has been entrusted to the already mentioned favourite architect of the Slavonian landowners, István Möller, who designed the neo-Renaissance building with a floor plan reminiscent of a Greek cross, and its transverse beams were transformed into a sanctuary, or an apse. Above the central space of the chapel there would have been a tall dome with a roof lantern. The designs for the chapel were dated 26 September 1914, so they were made at the time when the First World

War already started, so their realisation could not start.<sup>92</sup> It is not clear whether it was supposed to replace the existing chapel of St Roch or was it supposed to be built in another location.

### Conclusion

The end of the First World War also signified the end of the major construction projects at the Valpovo Estate. Even though the estate increased its size again in 1919, after Rudolf Normann bought the Bizovac Estate from his brother Gustav, the economic situation of this sizeable estate deteriorated dramatically in the following several years. After the land reform was completed in 1934, the estate lost another part of its land, and after that it was exclusively in the business of selling wood. It completely disappeared after the communists came into power in 1945.<sup>93</sup>

The period immediately after the First World War was marked by the gradual destruction of existing architectural heritage of the estate – in 1919 the castles in Bizovac and Jelengrad were looted, and more and more buildings on the estate were falling into disrepair. The process culminated after 1945, when the castle and the entire estate in Valpovo became ownership of the state and when a part of the inventory of this spacious residence of nobility was destroyed, partly due to vandalism and partly due to the low quality of the interventions that were implemented.<sup>94</sup>

78 Ban kao kum, *Narodne novine*, no. 110, 15 May 1894, p. 3.

79 Bischof Strossmayer, *Die Drau*, no. 101 (4591), 25 August 1898, p. 3.

80 Danhelovsky, A. mentioned work, 1885, p. 33.

81 HR-DAOS-476. Zbirka projekata.

82 Großartige Spende, *Agrarier Zeitung*, no. 79, 7 April 1881, p. 2; Velikodušan dar preuzvišenoga gos. baruna Prandaus, *Narodne novine*, no. 78, 6 April 1881, p. 2.

83 Valpo (Slavonien): Bau einer neuen Kirche. *Der Bautechniker* 37 (13 September 1901), p. 856; Blagoslov župne crkve u Veliškovcima. *Vjesnik Županije virovičke* 21 (1/11/1902), p. 191.

84 Kuhač, F. K. mentioned work, 1876, p. 9.

85 Kada i kako su kapucini došli u Osijek, *Hrvatski list*, no. 27 (2781), 27 January 1929, p. 11.

86 Dank-und Freuden-Ruf aus Esseki, *Die Drau*, no. 15, 22 February 1872, p. 3.

87 Živaković Keržić, Z.; Jarm, A. *Župna crkva sv. Petra i Pavla u Osijeku*. Osijek, 1995, p. 54.

88 According to the memorial inscription in Croatian at the façade of the chapel.

89 Documents on the furnishing of the chapel in: HR-DAOS-476, kut. br. 1690., Bauamt, 1878. – 1880.

90 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 95.

91 Damjanović, D. *Grobna kapela grofa Pavla Pejačevića u Podgoraču*. *Naišićki zbornik* 7(2002.), p. 221–229.

92 Muzej Slavonije, *Povijesna zbirka*, inv. br. 377–387.

93 Karaman, I. mentioned work, 1962, p. 100–107.

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