



1. General View of Zofiówka and the Land Exhibition from St. Jacek's Hill. The collection of Kotlobulatov's family, Urban Media Archive of the Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe

The Galician Land Exhibition in Lviv of 1894

Space and its perception*

Roksolyana Holovata

University of Wrocław / Ukrainian Catholic University

The Galician Land Exhibition, as the research subject, can be approached in various ways. On the one hand, we can study it from political, cultural, economic, and industrial points of view; on the other hand, we can consider it from the side of art and architecture or as a practice in the city's public sphere. The current study has two layers: urban and perceptual – it proposes to look at the exhibition as a development of the specific urban area and the perception of this space among the visitors – both the inhabitants of the city and its guests. The fair aroused expectations, first impressions, and further evaluations among its visitors, which may have differed from the meaning given to the Land Exhibition by its organizers. Carl Emil Schorske once stressed that perceptions of the city could not be formed in “hermetic isolation” – “one forms one's image of it through a perceptual screen derived from inherited culture and transformed by personal experience”¹. This approach can also be applied to various objects within the city, including the exhibition.

Historiography

Compared to other European exhibitions, historiographic interest in the history of the Galician Land Exhibition of 1894 has only appeared in the last two decades. In 2009, Anna Veronika Wendland, Hanna Kozińska-Witt, and Marcin Siadkowski made the first attempts to look at the Exhibition critically² in the “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung” journal³. Wendland gives an overview (ideas, circumstances, etc.) of the event and focuses on the relations between the Poles and the Ruthenians (Ukrainians). Kozińska-Witt raises the question of the representation of Krakow at the Exhibition and its competition with Lviv. Siadkowski attempts to answer the question of how and why



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¹ C. E. Schorske, *The Idea of the City in European Thought: Voltaire to Spengler*, [in:] *Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism*, Princeton 1998, p. 37.

² There are some Ukrainian publications about the Galician Land Exhibition in popular publications, for example, a 1994 article in the journal “Halyska Brama” (The Halych Gate), as well as the 2007 book by poet Bohdan Sulym.

³ A. V. Wendland, *Eindeutige Bilder, komplexe Identitäten. Imperiale, nationale, regionale Identitätskonzepte und ihre Visualisierung auf der galizischen Allgemeinen Landesausstellung in Lemberg 1894*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung” 2009, no. No. 1/2. See also H. Kozińska-Witt, *Städtische Selbstpräsentation auf der Allgemeinen Landesausstellung in Lemberg 1894 am Beispiel der Stadt Krakau*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung” 2009, no. No. 1/2; M. Siadkowski *The Land Exhibition in Lemberg (Lwów, Lviv) in 1894, Galicia and Schlachzizen in the German political discourse in Vienna*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung” 2009, No. 1/2.



⁴ J. Lewicki, *Między tradycją a nowoczesnością. Architektura Lwowa lat 1893–1918*, Warszawa 2005.

⁵ W. Puchta, *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa we Lwowie w roku 1894*, Wrocław 2016. Unfortunately, Puchta did not consider research about the Exhibition published in already mentioned “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung”, in his book.

⁶ H. Hein-Kircher, *The 1894 General Crownland Exhibition in Lviv as a Polish Hub of Knowledge Transfer*, “Yearbook of Transnational History” Vol. 3 (2020).

⁷ *Cultures of International Exhibition 1840–1940. Great Exhibition in the Margins*, Ed. M. Filipova, Farnham 2017.

⁸ R. Holovata, *The General Regional Exhibition of Galicia*, <https://lia.lvivcenter.org/en/storymaps/exhibition-before> (access date: 15.02.2021).

⁹ Programs, statistic data, notes, and other information about the Land Exhibition in Prague of 1891, Derżawnyj archiw Lwiwśkoji obłasti (The State Archive of Lviv Region; further: DALO), f. 975, op. 1, spr. 1. One of the files in the archival documentation of the Land Exhibition contains detailed information from Prague, the statute of the Bohemian exhibition, and other information with handwritten translations to Polish. Perhaps, an executive committee’s secretary Jan Kazimierz Zieliński, while he was in Prague in early December of 1892, brought these documents to Lviv.

¹⁰ [J. Łubieński], *Opis placu Wystawy*, [in:] *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa 1894 r. i siły produkcyjne kraju*, Vol. 1, Lwów 1897, p. 133.

the fair in Lviv changed the image of Galicia and “Schlachzizen” in German political discourse. Jakub Lewicki describes the Exhibition site’s architecture in his book on Lviv’s architecture in 1890–1918⁴. Wojciech Puchta wrote the first academic monograph on the Exhibition in 2016⁵. The author discussed the Exhibition chronicles in detail, particularly through the lens of Polish national manifestation. Finally, Heidi Hein-Kircher wrote a recent article on the exhibition, focusing on the concept of knowledge transfer⁶.

The Galician Land Exhibition fits perfectly into a concept explored in one of the volumes edited by Maria Filipova dedicated to exhibitions on the margins⁷. Unfortunately, research on the Lviv fair did not appear there, but the scheme introduced in the volume provides a basic framework for the exhibition study: “exhibition as a concept”, “constructing identities”, “historicity and modernity”, “art and design exhibited”. With these concepts, I constructed my research project for the Centre for Urban History in 2019 with a digital public history approach to the Land Exhibition⁸.

The current study proposes to look deeply into the formation of the Exhibition space through the site plans. Using these plans as a canvas, we will see how the ideas of this space changed and how the “plot” was built. The subsequent section will then show how the executed space correlated with public impressions.

The Space

The idea to conduct the exhibition in Lviv arose in 1891 at a session of the local Society of Merchants and Industrialists after society members visited the Jubilee Exhibition in Prague. The broader circles of Polish establishment and the city’s authorities quickly came around to the idea, and preparations began in 1892. The event was proposed as an opportunity to concurrently accelerate Galicia’s civilizational progress and review previous achievements and shortcomings.

The organizers of the Lviv exhibition modeled its structure (statute, committees, programs) after the Prague Exhibition of 1891⁹. Echoes of the fair in Prague appeared during the preparations for the Lviv exhibition and after its opening.

In November 1892, the Land Exhibition construction department was established. It was responsible for all technical and constructional works at the exhibition site. Count Józef Łubieński, then professor at Lviv Polytechnic and the Exhibition’s chief engineer, wrote that “the plateau above the Kiliński Park was very fortunately selected for the Exhibition Square due to its location, beautiful views and proximity to the charming park”¹⁰.

A neighborhood with a park was a common location choice for most European exhibitions of that time. Unfortunately, we do not know whether there was much debate over choosing the right place for the Exhibition, as in the case of Hyde Park and the Great Exhibi-

tion¹¹ or Treptower Park and the Berliner Gewerbeausstellung¹². However, it was noted that it had to be outside of the territory of Kiliński Park: “the park, or rather a part of it, was designed only for walks and decorations”¹³. The Stryiski park is situated in the so-called Zofiówka area in the southern part of the city¹⁴ [Fig. 1].

In 1911, the Lviv historian Franciszek Jaworski wrote about the characteristic features of this area:

Only twenty years ago there was a romantic emptiness in this place, an impenetrable weaving of ravines, clayey dunes, a shelter for all kinds of vagrants, and sometimes for an audience of frantic youth who, without adults' supervision, practiced shooting with firearms and organized their favorite games of the time – “the gendarme and the robber”¹⁵.

It was in 1879, when the municipality of Lviv began creating a new park: “In a place that, due to the characteristic configuration of the terrain, beautiful location and clean air, made it suitable for a park”¹⁶. Lviv city councilor Stanisław Niemczynowski undertook this initiative. According to the index laid out by the municipality in 1888, his villa was the only building on Puławskiego street (now Parkova street) leading to the main entrance to the park¹⁷. We can say that the creation of the park in this place was also in his own interest. In 1888, 38 persons owned real estate on the neighboring streets to the park. According to Zygmund Stankiewicz, the park was opened to the public in 1887¹⁸. In 1888, the city council bought another 30 morgens bordering the southern part of the park, where six years later the Exhibition was held¹⁹. Thus, the area chosen for the Land Exhibition began to be developed several years before its opening.

The construction department's first step was to create the site plan for the Exhibition space. In November 1892, the “Kurier Lwowski” reported:

the first project of the exhibition site plan is ready and looks impressive. It was worked out under the supervision of Director Hochberger by the inspector of municipal gardens, Mr. Röhring. [...] It will probably undergo many changes under the critical eye of such outstanding experts, rich in exquisite taste, as prof. Zachariewicz, director of Hochberger, J. K. Janowski, enthusiastically supporting the idea of the exhibition²⁰.

Two months later, the building committee informed the press that, due to the particularities of the area designated for the exhibition, the intention to announce an *external* competition for a site plan was abandoned²¹. As archival documentation shows, the competition was internal. We can see communication with different architects on this matter in Łubieński's letters²². On 17 January 1893, the committee published a new communiqué about the results of this competition:

as the basis for placing the buildings and the arrangement of the entire exhibition in Kiliński Park, the *hors concours* project made by count Łubieński was chosen as most suited to the terms of the competition and the inten-



¹¹ See A. J. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*, New Haven 1999.

¹² See A. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, London 2010.

¹³ [J. Łubieński], *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹⁴ The name Zofiówka or, nowadays, Sofiivka formerly belonged to the area near the St. Sofia church, but throughout the 19th century, the borders of this term were extended.

¹⁵ F. Jaworski, *Lwów stary i wczorajszy. Szkice i opowiadania*, Lwów 1911, p. 344.

¹⁶ M. Kowalczyk, *Rozwój terytorialny miasta*, [in:] *Miasto Lwów w okresie samorządu 1870-1895*, Lwów 1896, p. 320.

¹⁷ *Skorowidz król. stoł. miasta Lwowa z oznaczeniem podziału miasta, nazw ulic i placów, oliczbowania domów numerami konskrypcyjnymi i orientacyjnymi z wymienieniem właścicieli realności – tudzież nazw, i numerów dawniejszych*, Lwów 1888, p. 193.

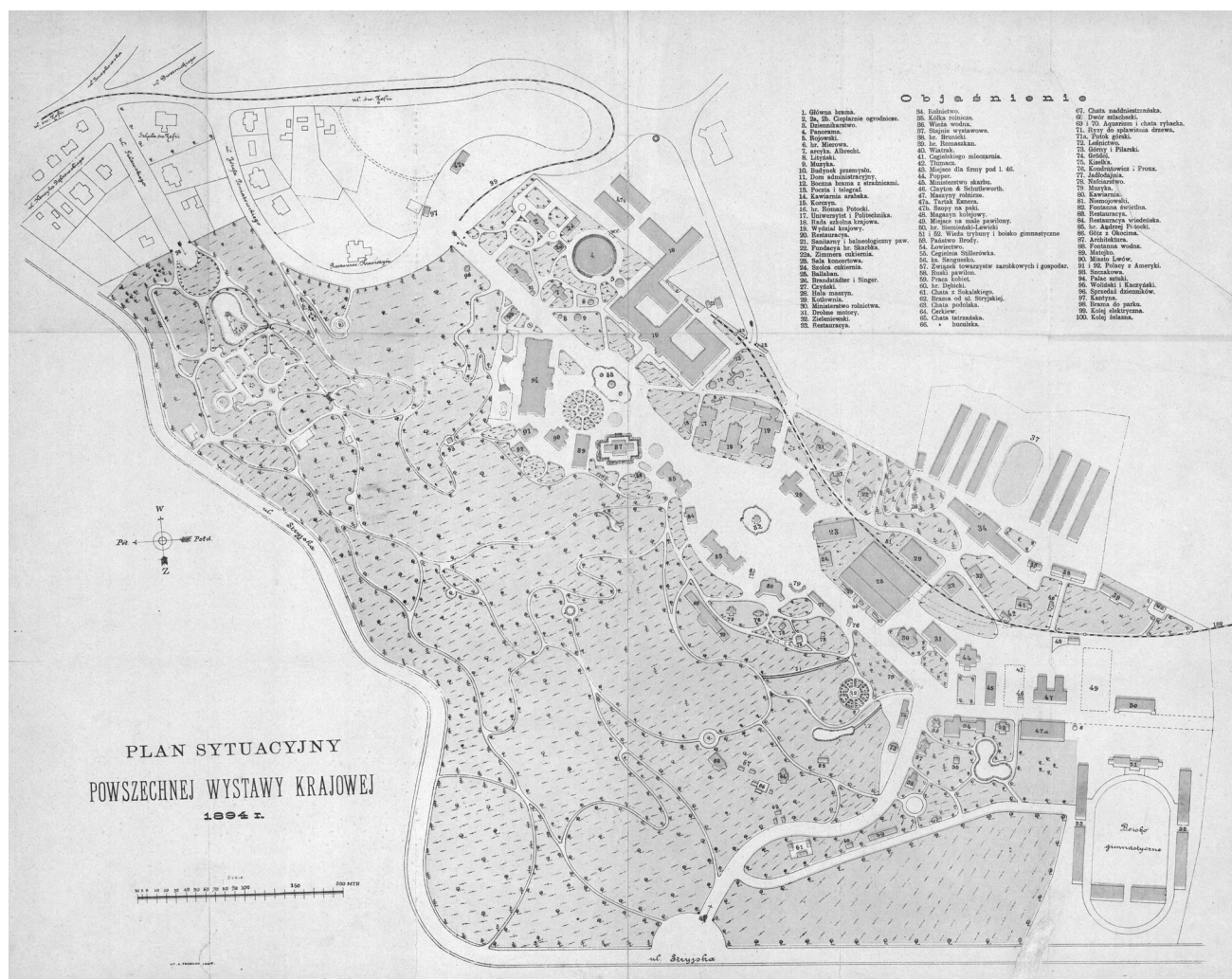
¹⁸ Z. Stankiewicz, *Ogrody i plantacje miejskie*, [in:] *Lwów dawny i dzisiejszy*, Ed. B. Janusz, Lwów 1928, p. 67.

¹⁹ *Miasto Lwów w okresie samorządu 1870-1895*, Lwów 1896, p. 227.

²⁰ *Wystawa Krajowa we Lwowie*, “Kurier Lwowski” (further: KL) 1892, No. of 19 November, s. 1. The three architects mentioned by the newspaper correspondent had a high level of trust among the Lviv community. Two of them gained their experience while studying at leading technical universities. Julian Zachariewicz, who contemporary historians of architecture identify as the founder of the Lviv school of architecture, was a graduate of the Vienna University of Technology (Das Wiener Polytechnische Institut). Juliusz Hochberger studied at the Berlin Building Academy (Berliner Bauakademie) in 1872. He was the director of the Lviv city council's building department. Józef Kajetan Janowski graduated from the School of Fine Arts in Warsaw.

²¹ *Powszechna wystawa krajowa*, “Gazeta Lwowska” (further: GL) 1893, No. of 8 January, p. 3.

²² The copies of outgoing correspondence: DALO, f. 975, op. 1, spr. 28.



2. The fourth version of the site plan. From: <https://polona.pl/item/plan-sytuacyjny-powszechnej-wystawy-krajowej-1894-r,ND-MOMzczODE/O/#info:metadata> (access date: 10.12.2019)

²³ Powszechna wystawa krajowa w r. 1894, KL 1894, No. of 17 January, p. 4.

²⁴ See the first site plan introduced by J. Łubieński (op. cit.)

²⁵ See DALO, f. 975, op. 1, spr. 28, ark. 18.

tions of the exhibition committee. Two were selected from the projects sent to the competition as most similar to the basic plan of count Łubieński and were awarded prizes. The first [...] was awarded to the project under the title of *The Land* (Mr. Kazimierz Piekarski). The second [...] was awarded to a project under the title of *They Build Buildings with Bricks* (Mr. Tadeusz Dołęga Mostowski)²³.

Unfortunately, documentation on both projects has yet to be recovered²⁴.

Later that month, Julian Zachariewicz, chairman of the construction department, invited Arnold Röhring to design the flower beds and garden ornaments and order plants²⁵. The participation of the city plantation inspector, who had had similar experience establishing the Kiliński Park, was essential because “the entire lower park was to be connected with the exhibition square and constitute



3. The final site plan. The collection of Kotlobulatov's family, Urban Media Archive of the Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe

4. The Industrial Pavilion. Photo: E. Trzemeski, from: <https://polona.pl/item/powszechna-wystawa-krajowa-we-lwowie-1894,MzM3MDgyM-DI/11/#item> (access date: 10.12.2019)



²⁶ J. Łubieński, *O powszechnej wystawie krajowej r. 1894*, „Czasopismo Techniczne” (further: CzT), 1893, No. 22, p. 177.

²⁷ See *Rada miasta Lwowa (posiedzenie z dnia 22 sierpnia)*, GL 1889, No. of 24 August, p. 4.

²⁸ The primary literature on the subject is *Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa 1894 r. i siły produkcyjne kraju* published in 1897. This book is considered to be the first monograph of the Galician Land Exhibition. A comparison of the Łubieński article from “Czasopismo Techniczne” of 1893 and the chapter *Opis placu wystawy* from the book confirms that the latter was also authored by the Exhibition’s chief engineer.

²⁹ See J. Lewicki, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

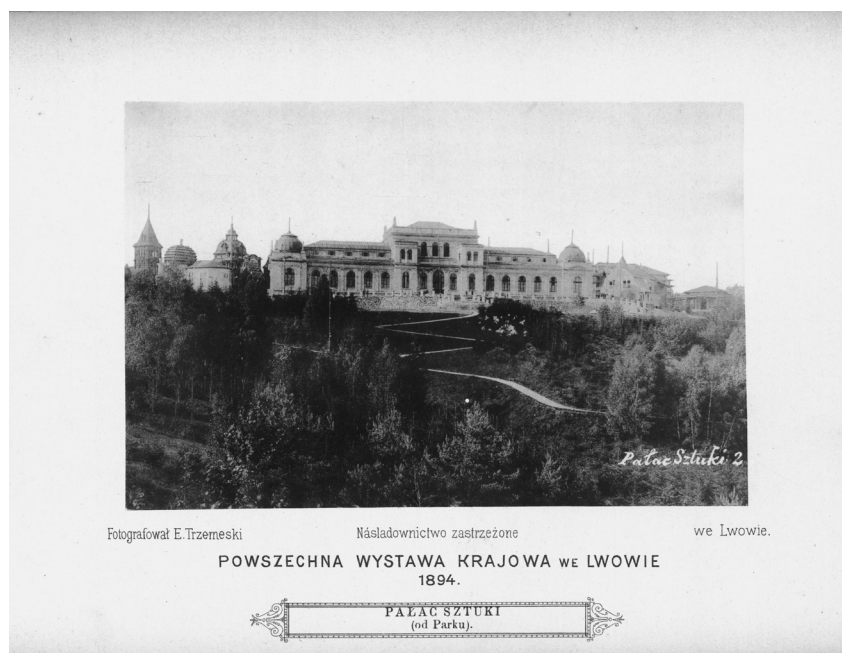
³⁰ [J. Łubieński], *Opis placu...*, p. 148; highlight – R. H..

one whole with it”²⁶. Furthermore, in 1889, Röhring had participated in a trip to Paris and the *L'exposition universelle* as a delegate from the Lviv city council. His role was to examine the landscape of the fair, the city gardens, and public squares²⁷. An inspiration from the arrangement of the paths of Champ-de-Mars is apparent on the fourth version of the site plan [Fig. 2].

According to literature on the Galician Land Exhibition, Arnold Röhring played the leading role in planning the Exhibition’s territory. He certainly contributed to creating its first site plan, before the Łubieński’. However, an analysis of the information about Łubieński’s participation in the aforementioned competition and his speech at a Polytechnic Society session²⁸ leads to the conclusion that the idea of dividing the space into several functional parts belonged to Łubieński.

The site plan was changed no less than five times due to the increasing number of private exhibitors. However, Łubieński noted that the leitmotif remained the same. The main axis of the exhibition space’s composition stretched from the northeast to the city’s southeastern border and remained so on all site plans²⁹ [Fig. 3].

“On the road, journalism has stood on guard as a reminder that the public opinion – the eyes of the whole Land, are focused on this national work”³⁰. With this fragment, Łubieński began his description of the Exhibition site. His words illustrate that he created a “plot” or “ideology” for shaping particular exhibition areas from the very beginning. The central part, or using Łubieński’s term “*ognisko*” (‘hearth’), had in its middle a pool surrounded by pavilions and was characterized as an “artistic and industrial” site. The Industrial



5. The Palace of Art from the side of the Kiliński park. Photo: E. Trzemeski, from: <https://polona.pl/item/powszechna-wystawa-krajowa-we-lwowie-1894,MzM3MDgyMDI/15/#item> (access date: 10.12.2019)

Pavilion, Panorama Raclawicka [Fig. 7], the Palace of Art, the pavilion of the city of Lviv, Matejko's Mausoleum, and the Pavilion of Architecture were located here.

As in the case of the site plan, a competition was also held to select the majority of the Exhibition executive committee pavilions. However, the jury harshly criticized the competition's results; the architects were accused of not precisely reading the guidelines and misunderstanding the very concept of an exhibition pavilion³¹. The jury admitted that another reason for the competition's failure was the overly general requirements set for the competition³².

The Industrial Pavilion, by its size, dominated the landscape [Fig. 4]. The competition guidelines required it to be designed as such. The jury awarded only two of the four submissions – both to Lviv architects Alfred Kamieniobrodzki and Kazimierz Piekarski. The report said that Kamieniobrodzki modeled his submission on a pavilion from the previous Lviv exhibition of 1877. In turn, Piekarski revealed his desire “to choose an intermediate path between the magnificence and grandeur of the motifs of the world's great land exhibitions”, also incorporating motifs from the exhibition in Vienna and Paris³³. Both architects did not have a chance to implement their projects; perhaps the executive committee thought that the building costs were too expensive. This pavilion was built and designed by Franciszek Skowron, who was also invited to be the chief architect of the Exhibition and architect Karol Boublik. The pavilion may have been a compilation of the two awarded projects. As with the vast majority of pavilions, it was constructed from wood and was an example of typical architecture for such purposes.



³¹ R. Holovata, *From Idea to Implementation*, [in:] *eadem*, *The General Regional...*

³² See *Konkurs na szkice pawilonów wystawy krajowej 1894 r. we Lwowie*, CzT 1893, No. 4, p. 26.

³³ See *ibidem*.



6. The main square of the Land Exhibition (Western side). The Pavilion of architecture, Matejko's Mausoleum, the pavilion of the city of Lviv. The collection of Kotlobulatov's family, Urban Media Archive of the Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe



7. The main square of the Land Exhibition (Eastern side), in the center - the Raclawicka panorama rotunda. The collection of Kotlobulatov's family, Urban Media Archive of the Center for Urban History of East-Central Europe

8. The second square of the Land Exhibition. In the center is the electric fountain surrounded by restaurants and cafes. Photo: E. Trzemeski, from: <https://polona.pl/item/powszechna-wystawa-krajowa-we-lwowie-1894,MzM-3MDgyMDI/33/#item> (access date: 10.12.2019)



³⁴ J. Łubieński, *O powszechnej...*, CzT 1893, No. 20, p. 158.

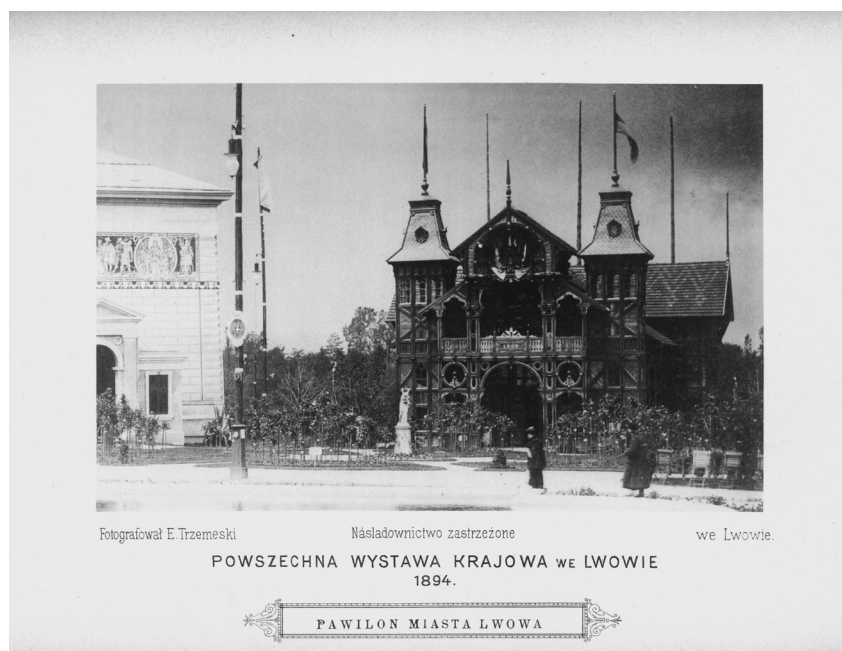
³⁵ See the second site plan of the Exhibition: <https://polona.pl/item/plan-sytuacyjny-powszechnej-wystawy-krajowej-1894-r,NDM0MzcZnZl/0/#info:metadata> (access date: 26.02.2021).

The design of the Palace of Art, the Industrial Pavilion, and a few others were entrusted to the aforementioned Skowron. After the competition, Skowron went to Munich to acquaint himself with the requirements of “capricious” artists³⁴. The Palace of Art was the only permanent building in the Exhibition and later became city property. The palace was a kind of belvedere situated on the slope of Stryiski hill with its rear face toward the park and a scenic view of the city [Fig. 5]. The building was made in the Neo-Renaissance style inspired by the early Italian Renaissance.

The pavilion of the city of Lviv – the wooden construction – was designed by Juliusz Hochberger [Fig. 9]. After the Exhibition, it was transferred to the park and served as a restaurant. The Pavilion of Architecture was built in the style of a Greek temple [Fig. 6]. The pavilion, also designed by Skowron, stood out among the others for being built on an elevated terrace.

The second site plan was developed in July 1893³⁵. The previous division of the area disappeared. In its place appeared smooth lines of paths in the eastern part of Stryiski hill. The new location of the rotunda of Panorama Raclawicka [Fig. 7] was close to the main part “art and industry”. At the first site plan, the rotunda had been situated on the northeastern edge of the Exhibition site.

The next “ognisko” was described as an entertaining space. The second site plan gave a different shape to the exhibition square, including two identical exedra-shaped restaurants; a concert hall, which by necessity was turned into a banquet hall; a music hall; and in the center – an electric fountain. The fountain was built by the firm of František Křižík, known at that time for its fountain for the 1891



9. The pavilion of the city of Lviv. Photo: E. Trzemeski, from: <https://polona.pl/item/powszechna-wystawa-krajowa-we-lwowie-1894,MzM3MDgyM-DI/19/#item> (access date: 10.12.2019)

Jubilee Exhibition in Prague. Every evening, the fountain danced with colors, kindling great interest among the public [Fig. 8]. Łubieński called it “the great attraction” of the exhibition³⁶.

The next sections of the exhibition housed the pavilion of arable farming, forestry, fishing and other industries that were characteristic for Galicia. An important part of the exhibition was also the exposition of the oil industry, which was then actively developing in the land. Another component of the exhibit was the ethnographic section located in the southern part of the park.

This space was filled with diverse³⁷ architectural forms, from eclecticism to traditional wooden architecture. Most of the architecture (with the exception of Matejko’s Pavilion, Panorama Raclawicka, and one of the Machine pavilion) were constructed from wood. The organizers were aware of Galicia’s financial limitations, and Łubieński mentioned:

our industry is still in the cradle; we cannot afford iron halls, which our fellows Czechs prided themselves on – we are on industrial achievements, and that is why we start this pre-dawn of our work with a modest wooden construction³⁸.

The “plot” of the site plans and its subsequent implementation demonstrated another key phenomenon of the Land Exhibition. If we take a look at the central section of the “art and industry” space, we will see that the vast majority of the pavilions had a cultural component. Perhaps the immense Industrial Pavilion ought to have balanced this mostly cultural section with the image of Galician industry and production. However, even this construction had history



³⁶ J. Łubieński, *O powszechnej...*, CzT 1893, No. 23, p. 186.

³⁷ See J. Lewicki, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³⁸ *O powszechnej wystawie...*, p. 184.



³⁹ See R. Holovata, *Economics vs. Culture: Narratives of the Regional Exhibition*, [in:] *The General Regional...* (access date: 17.02.2021).

⁴⁰ L. Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture*, Stanford 2010, p. 289.

⁴¹ *Wystawa Krajowa we Lwowie*, KL 1892, No. of 19 November, p. 1.

⁴² *Wystawa Krajowa we Lwowie*, GL 1892, No. of 1 July, p. 5.

and culture on its façade; the stained-glass windows depicted kings and the most important personalities from Polish history³⁹. Łubieński pointed out the region's poor industrial development compared to Bohemia; this lacuna was filled with history and culture. Historian Larry Wolff in his book *The Idea of Galicia*, mentioned that also the "proverbial Galician poverty was transmuted into the 'wealth' of Galician ethnography"⁴⁰. The appearance of the Industrial Pavilion shows that it was not only ethnography but also history and culture in general, which were to compensate for the lack of industrial production in the province.

It took almost two years to create this "city within the city" at the southern part of Lviv. It was created by local "hands", who looked to the best European examples of exhibitions. Its creators intended to be a part of the most common European trends. More than one million guildens were spent to prepare the Lviv Exhibition "the most picturesque of those that took place recently"⁴¹ or as it was said in 1892 by Prince Adam Sapieha, "I have faith that we will create something pretty, something useful and something that will show the world that we need to be respected"⁴². 129 pavilions hosted thousands of exhibitors. During the four months, the Exhibition held in the 115,000-strong city welcomed more than one million visitors.

The perception

On 5 June 1894, the Galician Land Exhibition opened its gates on Stryiski hill to visitors. The present local and foreign press focused on the exhibition's opening ceremony, creating its own narrative of the event. At the same time, articles also appeared describing and evaluating the exhibition space.

The exhibition could not stay the thing-in-itself – frequent re-transmissions and mentions of articles from Vienna, Prague, Budapest, or other cities about the Land Exhibition appeared in Lviv's press. In particular, Polish "Kurier Lwowski", "Gazeta Lwowska", and also the Ruthenian "Dilo" searched for such information and in some cases, wrote comments on it. Among the German-language newspapers and journals that wrote about the exhibition, the most prolific were the Viennese daily press and architectural journals.

Articles in Viennese newspapers primarily reported the exhibition chronicles or had descriptive style. There were several peaks when the Viennese press abounded with information from Lviv, namely the opening day in early June 1894, when Archduke Karl Ludwig was present, then ministers' visits (Ernst von Plener and Friedrich von Schönborn), and in September, when Franz Joseph I visited the capital of the Crownland. Nevertheless, there were also analytical texts, which demonstrate how the exhibition and its space were perceived. Firstly, I will present overall impressions about the Galician Land Exhibition. Secondly, I will present evaluations of the space.

Just after the opening, liberal Viennese newspaper “Neues Wiener Tagblatt” published an article with the eloquent title *Oesterreich in Galizien*, presenting cultural and political perceptions on the exhibition. Here the author stressed that the exhibition was an Austrian cultural success (“*ein österreichischer Kulturerfolg*”)⁴³, meaning that by incorporating former parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Austria had “saved” and reformed them. Moreover, the author believed that it was the Austrian cultural work (“Kulturarbeit”) that had transformed Lviv from the “city of monks” (“Stadt der Mönche”) into a modern and industrial city, failing to mention Galician autonomy and the self-governing status of its capital⁴⁴.

The author’s interpretation of the Galician Exhibition dedication is also worth mentioning:

The entire monarchy can look back with pride on the work created in the capital of Galicia. Austrian labor, Austrian work celebrates its triumph here; it never has a more glamorous memorial service being celebrated than it has just happened in Lemberg, a hundred years after the last remnants of Polish independence had disappeared⁴⁵.

“The Poles” intended dedication of this exhibition to a momentous event in the Polish national narrative – the Kościuszko uprising – was changed to the celebration of a hundred years of common life under the Habsburg Scepter.

Both Vienna’s and Lviv’s publications also mentioned and similarly evaluated Galicia’s industrial development. Julius von Bük from *Der Bautechniker* remarked:

The festival, which has also become a major political demonstration, was not disturbed by any discord, and this excellent success is even more delightful because it was achieved in a land which calls itself “**poor and unindustrial**”. May the varied and fair recognition of this exhibition **be an incentive for tradespeople and industrialists** in Galicia **to steadily change the path of progressive work**⁴⁶.

Similar opinions can be found in other magazines. In particular, the author of a *Słowo Polskie* article discussing the exhibition and comparing it with other European ones determined that “ours is **a display of progress, talents, a good desire and intentions for the future**; those are already about actual mass production and sales”⁴⁷.

More specialized and professional journals such as *Wiener Bauindustrie Zeitung* evaluated the quality of the pavilions at the exhibition. In particular, the Viennese engineer Rudolf Hand noted the high quality of the wooden architecture, something he had not seen in either the Vienna or Prague exhibitions, but still, it was only about two pavilions: “Rich carvings show only individual pavilions, such as the pavilion of the Saybusch [Żywiec] rule of Archduke Albrecht and perhaps the pavilion of the city of Lemberg”⁴⁸ [Fig. 9].



⁴³ *Oesterreich in Galizien*, “Neues Wiener Tagblatt” 1894, No. of 7 June, p. 3.

⁴⁴ See M. Siadkowski, *The Land Exhibition in Lemberg (Lwów, Lviv) in 1894, Galicia and Schlachzizen in the German political discourse in Vienna*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung” 2009, No. 1/2.

⁴⁵ *Oesterreich in Galizien...*, p. 3.

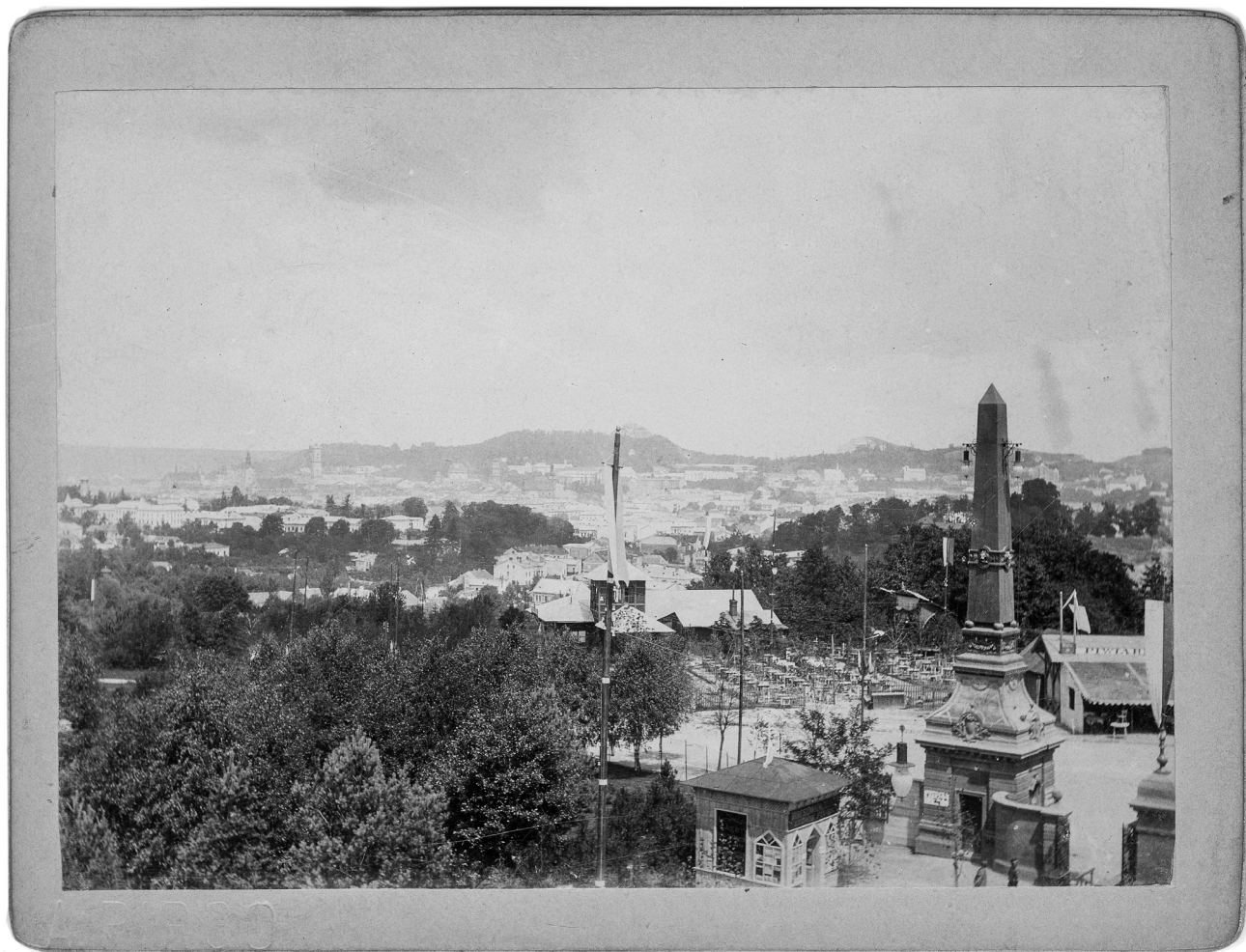
⁴⁶ J. Bük, *Von der galizischen Landesausstellung in Lemberg*, “Der Bautechniker” 1894, No. 41, p. 793.

⁴⁷ Es-te-ka [?], *W pełni wystawy*, „Słowo Polskie” 1894, No. 13, p. 373.

⁴⁸ R. Hand, *Die Ausstellung in Lemberg*, “Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung” 1894, No. of 20 September, p. 725-726.



10. The general view of the Land Exhibition and its guests. Photo: Hamel & Feigl, Museum of the Lubomirski Princes in the Ossoliński National Institute



11. The view of the city from the exhibition site. Photo: Hamel & Feigl, Museum of the Lubomirski Princes in the Ossoliński National Institute



⁴⁹ There were two forms of the spatial organization of the 19th-century exhibitions – one general building or, as it was in Lviv, a system of pavilions.

⁵⁰ *Die polnische Ausstellung in Lemberg*, „Das interessante Blatt” 1894, No. of 12 July.

⁵¹ **E. Wilhelm**, *Allgemeine Landes-Ausstellung Lemberg 1894*, „Wiener Zeitung” 1894, No. of 1 September, p. 2.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

⁵³ **L. Wolff**, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁵⁴ GL 1894, No. of 6 June, p. 3.

Other articles from the illustrated journal *Das interessante Blatt* and the official daily newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* reflected on the exposition space and thereby formed their impression of the exhibition as such:

No huge hall, no large central building⁴⁹ protrudes from the crowd of buildings. **Everything is calculated for variety and a colorful play of shapes.** Here a temple in the sun in Hellenic style, next to it buildings in Renaissance and Gothic styles, a model of the Hanseatic style next to a model of an American settlement house, which donated the patriotic enthusiasm of transatlantic Poles to the exhibition, then the eye wanders over numerous domes, towers and tunnels, which are tapering to a point **to conjure up the Byzantine Slavic style of the Novgorod and Moscow buildings**⁵⁰.

The exhibition space was perceived here as an Orient. Author of a feuilleton in *Wiener Zeitung*, professor Wilhelm Exner, who at that time was the director of Vienna Technical Museum put it most bluntly:

If you look at the exhibition from an equally high or higher point, the 130 buildings with their towers and domes give **the image of an oriental city [das Bild einer orientalischen Stadt]**⁵¹ [Fig. 10]

Exner appraised the Galician Land Exhibition as one of the best in the Empire and put it on the same level as the exhibition in Prague or Innsbruck. He also compared these three cities within the Monarchy and correlated them to cities outside the Monarchy: Prague – Brussels, Innsbruck – Nuremberg, and Lviv – Constantinople, calling the fair in Lviv “the Exhibition Byzantium” (“*das Ausstellungs-Byzanz*”)⁵².

Wolff analyzing one of the Viennese articles from 1894 on the ethnographic section of Lviv’s exhibition, used the words from it to describe the exhibition as “pleasing irregularity”⁵³. Indeed, the Austrian eye on the exhibition was not unpleasant, but still, it is unlikely that the organizers expected such an assessment of the exhibition.

In Lviv’s newspapers, such connotations rarely appeared. The locals perceived the exhibition as a modern European space on par with other European cities: “You feel like you are in Europe!” (“*Czujesz, że jesteś w Europie!*”) remarked one journalist when sharing his impression of the exhibition⁵⁴.

Only in one marginal journal published only in 1894 “*Słowo Polskie*” the exhibition space was criticized:

However, if the frames of this space are beautiful and charming, the content of the external form leaves a lot to be desired. Beautiful, neat, not necessarily large and expensive buildings, but not glaring at least to the eye of an ordinary, cut profane, we will not find much here. Please only go down to Kiliński Park and **look up at this chaos**: poles, pillars, roofs of towers, domes compacted into one-kilometer-long mass. **A real Jewish cemetery. The exhibition is gaining from the park – the park is losing.** After all, the

main fault of this shoeing of the exhibition cannot be attributed to those who planned it, because these people had to make an effort within the boundaries of the area, which could not expand any further, probably by including the racetrack, but such denial and patriotism, it was difficult to expect from our motley jockey jackets⁵⁵.

The author blamed the space's appearance not on the engineers and architects but on the racetrack owners who did not allow their land to be used for exhibition purposes. Like all of the observers whose impressions we have read, he positively evaluated the greenery around the exhibition and the nearby Stryiski park. But at the same time, his perceptions of a feeling of chaos appear here as in some of the Viennese texts. Here also, the author proposes to look at the exhibition from down in the park. However, he described the chaos he felt not as an oriental city but as "kirkut żydowski", which here can have a pejorative meaning – "Jewish cemetery". The pages of the Ruthenian "Dilo" held similar impressions – the author compared the overall concept of the Exhibition space to "Mahommedan minarets"⁵⁶.

Conclusions

The perception of the Galician Land Exhibition of 1894 in the press had various stages: the exhibition as a political, cultural, and industrial event, which has its physical place, in our case, on the hill above Stryiski park. The creation of the space – with a Polish national character and as a modern European fair – was evaluated. For the most part, the visitors and organizers positively described the exhibition's surroundings, namely the neighborhood with the park, as well as the successful choice of location from which a magnificent panorama of the city appeared [Fig. 11].

Lviv's architects and engineers, who comprised a part of organizers, were aware that Galicia's economic development compared with other parts of the Empire (especially Bohemia) was low. In their opinion, this caused almost all buildings at the exhibition to have wooden structures. However, what they thought was a deficiency, in the Viennese press turned into a positive feature – an interesting example of wooden architecture.

The organizers did not give up the hope that the exhibition would lead to the land's future success. Conversely, the Viennese emphasized that the exhibition was already a success, but in their reading – the success of Austria.

The perception of the exhibition space has also been reduced to the impression of an oriental place. In cases of Vienna's press, the exhibitory complex was compared to the "eastern" cities of Moscow, Novgorod, and Constantinople, in Lviv's pejoratively to a "Jewish cemetery". Both these evaluations of the exhibition's site were in-



⁵⁵ Es-te-ka [?], *op. cit.*, p. 374.

⁵⁶ Листы зь выставки, "Dilo" 1894, No. of 26 July, p. 1.

formed by the feeling of spatial chaos. However, for the Lviv's and Vienna's press, this chaos evoked divergent associations.

Such an assessment could hardly meet the intentions of the exhibition's creators and most of the press in Lviv. Looking at other European exhibitions, they sought to create a modern space in a modern city, placing it in an all-European context.

Słowa kluczowe

Lwów, Powszechna Wystawa Krajowa, przestrzeń miejska, architektura, percepcja

Keywords

Lviv, the Galician Land Exhibition, urban space, architecture, perception

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Roksolyana Holovata, MA, roksolyana.h@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0003-4731-7710

She received her master's degree in history from Ukrainian Catholic University (Lviv) in 2017. Currently, she is a student of the joint PhD Program in the Humanities Department of the Ukrainian Catholic University and

Institute of the Art History of the University of Wrocław. Her supervisors are Dr. habil. Rafał Eysymontt (prof. UWr) and Dr. habil. Maryana Dolynska (prof. UCU). She is working on her PhD thesis, which is dedicated to the urban changes of Lviv's suburbs and the perception of space transformations in the long 19th century.

Summary

ROKSOLYANA HOLOVATA (University of Wrocław / Ukrainian Catholic University) / The Galician Land Exhibition in Lviv of 1894: space and its perception

The Land Exhibition in Lviv of 1894 was one of the most prominent events in Galicia at the turn of the century. From almost two years of preparations emerged the result – on the Stryiski hill appeared, as local press stressed at that time, a “magical city”. During the four months of the Exhibition, held in the 115,000-strong city, it welcomed more than one million visitors. Guests of the Exhibition were not only from around the province but from all over the Empire and abroad. Lviv, as the host city, tried to present itself as a modern European capital of the province. Various newspaper articles evaluated these measures. The first part of this research presents the place and the stages of the creation of the exhibition's space. The second part reveals the perceptions of the space in the press. The results of the current survey have shown the difference between the intentions of the exhibition's creators and the impressions and evaluations among the exhibition's visitors.