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154-173 **MARA MARIĆ**
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PROJECTS FOR *FERME ORNÉE* ON THE ISLAND OF LOKRUM
BY ARCHDUKE FERDINAND MAXIMILIAN OF HABSBURG

ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER
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FIG. 1 AERIAL VIEW ON THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERY AND MAXIMILIAN'S RESIDENCE FROM THE NORTHWEST

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PROJECTS FOR *FERME ORNÉE* ON THE ISLAND OF LOKRUM BY ARCHDUKE FERDINAND MAXIMILIAN OF HABSBURO

ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN I OF HABSBURO
DUBROVNIK
FERME ORNÉE
LOKRUM
ROMANTIC HISTORICISM

This research deals with projects for a residence on the island of Lokrum by Archduke Maximilian I of Habsburg (1832-1867). In the short period of owning the island (1859-1867), Maximilian ordered three different designs for Lokrum. The subject of research in this paper is the first phase of the project, dating from 1860 to 1866, when the general plan of the island, Maximilian's residence, farm building and court chapel were designed. The research is based on an analysis of primary archival sources while the contemporary models for the project have been found through literature review. Twenty archival drafts have been described textually and graphically published. Maximilian

actively participated in the planning and design process, but the author of the projects was Thomas Friedrich. After the general plan of the island from 1860 came sixteen preserved plans of Maximilian's residence, which are with this research dated to the period from 1862 to 1864. The drafts for the farm building, court chapel and altar date back to the period from 1864 to 1866. Although in terms of architecture it was only partially built (only the landscape part of the project was executed), the Lokrum project from 1860 to 1866 shows Maximilian's original idea of the island before the later grandiose plans of transformation into an imperial residence.

INTRODUCTION

The island of Lokrum, historically named Lacrova, is located only 680 meters away from Dubrovnik. As a natural pre-fortress of Dubrovnik and an important observation post from which Dubrovnik defended itself from the sea, Lokrum was a strategically prominent place in the history of the City.

This research deals with projects for a residence on the island of Lokrum by Archduke Maximilian I of Habsburg (1832-1867; Fig. 1). In the short period of Maximilian's rule of the Lokrum island, since its purchase in 1859 until Maximilian's death in 1867, he commissioned three design solutions for Lokrum. The subject of research in this paper is the first phase of the project, dating from 1860 to 1866, when the general plan of the island, Maximilian's residence, the farm building and court chapel were designed.

The research aims to show Maximilian's idea of fitting the residence within the existing Benedictine monastery and the organization of the entire island based on the concept of *ferme ornée*, more precisely the "agrarian park". The project drafts have so far been mostly unpublished, and there has been relatively little research on the park. The project will be described and dated, analysed with regard to comparative examples, and shall present the current knowledge on the authorship of the project. The research is part of a larger multi-year study of the construction and landscaping of the island. Projects for

the residence on Lokrum by Franz Xaver Segenschmid and Julius Hofmann made between 1865 and 1867 are the subject of another paper.

- **Context** – Maximilian, as the supreme commander of the Austrian navy and a person of cosmopolitan spirit, traveled frequently. He was especially impressed by the Mediterranean landscapes, architecture, and climate. The Dubrovnik climate presented to him an ideal location for a country residence. He visited Lokrum for the first time in May 1859 after the tragedy of the warship Triton right next to the island (Foretić, 2007: 349).¹ After the visit to the island, the original idea was to buy a smaller country villa with a park in the Boninovo area, modeled on the Sicilian Villa Butera (Massimiliano d'Asburgo, 1987: 73-74).

The decision to buy Lokrum matured during the summer of 1859 when Maximilian and his wife, Belgian Princess Charlotte (1840-1927), stayed in Dubrovnik to celebrate the completion of the Austrian two-year Novara world research expedition (1857-1859) (Scherzer, 1863: 452-453). Numerous new, exotic specimens of plants and their seeds collected on the expedition were to be planted or sown in a climatically suitable environment. Miramar Park was not appropriate due to the harsh continental climate in winter (Pozzeto, 1986: 8), unlike Lokrum, which was considered a favorable choice in both climatic and vegetation contexts (Visiani, 1863: 9). Gardens on the Lokrum island were not planned "only" for aesthetic enjoyment. Maximilian planned to establish an income-generating farm, trying to test plants that were new or unknown to the European context. Evidence that the exotic plant material, collected during Novara's two-year expedition around the world, was the reason for buying Lokrum so it could acclimatize to it, can be explicitly found in the renowned Austrian botanical journal *Österreichische Botanische Zeitschrift* from 1859 (Skofitz, 1859:

¹ Maximilian's first arrival in Dubrovnik was with his younger brother, Archduke Charles Louis (1833-1896), in the autumn of 1850, on his return from a trip to Turkey (Maximilian I, Emperor of Mexico, 1868: 311-334).

² The catalogue presents parts of the projects for Lokrum; a perspective view from 1867 by the architect Franz Xaver Segenschmid (1839-1888) and a general plan of the imperial residence from 1867 by the architect Julius Hofmann (1840-1896) that are not subject of this research.

³ Following researches from 1986 to 2019 studied all phases of the built heritage on Lokrum: Anđelko Badurina, Željka Corak, Danko Zelić, Davorin Štepinac, Ivan Tensek, Matko Vetma, Ivica Žile, Paola Kolić, Miljenko Mojaš, Ivana Galinović, Zvezdana Tolja, Maris Kristović, Veronika Sulic, Ana Marinković, Igor Fisković, Ivan Viden, Franko Corić, Petra Špiļ, Nela Kovacević Bokarića, Domagoj Kristović, Claudia Pezzi, Tjaša Kolacko.

In the conservation analysis from 2019 the following drawings, which are the subject of this paper as well, were mentioned or textually described: general plan of the island from 1860, pencil sketches of the southern, eastern, and western facades; coloured drawings of the south, east, and west facades; ground floor plan, foundation

374-375). Maximilian's wish was to grow Chinese sugar cane (*Saccharum sinense* Roxb.) on the island (Skofitz, 1859: 375).

In the context of time, it is important to mention that Maximilian had just resigned from the position of viceroy of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, so the island of Lokrum gave Maximilian the illusion of the continuity of "his own" territory and an escape from state failure. Charlotte bought Lokrum as a gift to Maximilian in October 1859 (Maximilian I. Emperor of Mexico, 1868: 286).

• **Previous research** – In previous research on this topic, the project documentation for Lokrum has been presented in fragments. It is important to highlight the catalogue published for the exhibition "Maximilian, from Trieste to Mexico" (Covre, 1986: 115) in 1986.² In 2009, Ferdinand Anders published a book showing parts of the Lokrum project that Franz Xaver Segenschmid and Julius Hofmann made between 1865 and 1867 (Anders, 2009). In the works of Croatian researchers, there has been speculation about the names of the Lokrum project's authors (Čorak, 1989: 207-211; Foretić, 2007: 353; Brailo, 2002: 87-109; Ivanković, 2017: 175-215).

Research on the landscaping of the island based on primary archival sources began in 2017, and resulted in the publication of study documentation and several scientific articles (Marić, Ivusić, Marinović-Peričević, 2018; Marić, Medović, 2019; Marić, Obad Šćitaroci, 2018: 332-350; Marić, Obad Šćitaroci, 2019: 50-63; Marić, 2020: 267-276; Marić, Vitasović Kosić, 2020: 443-454). Unknown and unpublished drafts, the general plan of the island from 1860, as well as the situational plan of Maximilian's residence and gardens in the area, were first published in 2018 (Marić, Obad Šćitaroci, 2018: 332-350).

Several conservation analyses have been made for the former Benedictine monastery

plan, first floor plan, second floor plan, section through both cloister, floor plan of residence and gardens, farm building plan, chapel adaptation plan, design of the main altar in the chapel.

Graphically presented were the following drawings: general plan of the island from 1860, pencil sketches of the southern, eastern, and western facades, coloured drawings of the southern, eastern, and western facades, ground floor plan, first floor plan, second floor plan, floor plan of residence and gardens (Arhita d.o.o.: 2019b: Knjiga I, Knjiga IV).

⁴ General plan of the Lokrum island, 1860, unknown author; Sign. ÖNB, sign. +079 KAR MAG. A plan was drawn in ink and painted in the watercolour technique, with defined zoning of the entire island. In the right corner of the plan is a wind rose on which the direction of the bora was particularly emphasised, which was important for the layout of the garden and production areas on the island. In the lower left corner is the draft scale in Austrian inches (zoll) (1 zoll = 2.63 cm), i.e., *Klafters* (1 *Klafter* = 1.89 m).

⁵ AST, Amministrazione Castello di Miramare (1851-1930), n. 30, f. 74 Documentazione contabile della cassa dell' arciduchessa Carlotta, nn. 4-370, 1859-60

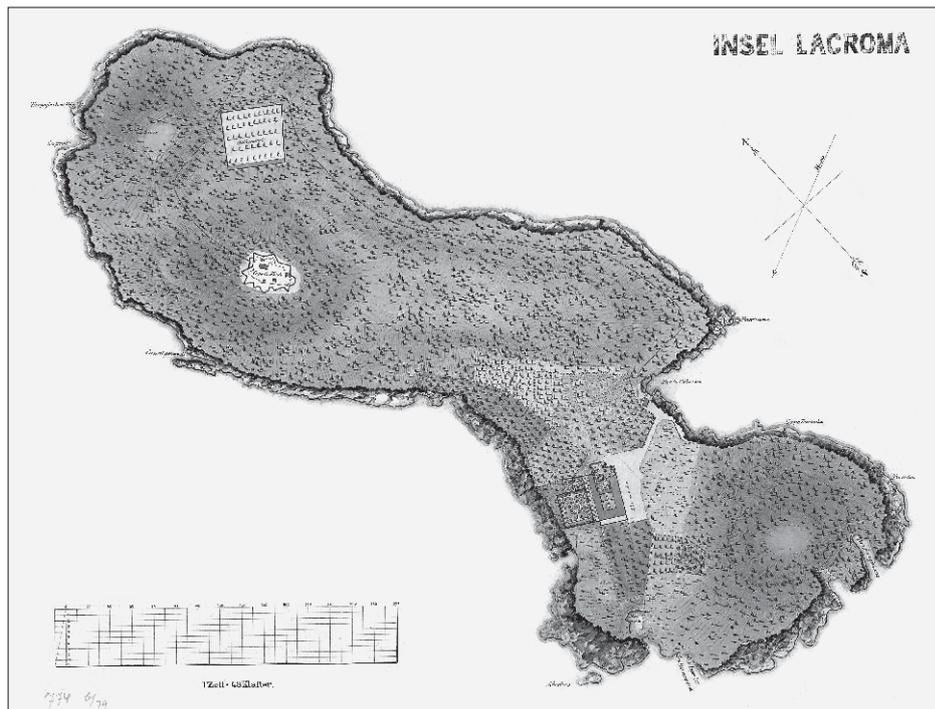


FIG. 2 GENERAL PLAN OF THE LOKRUM ISLAND, 1860, UNKNOWN AUTHOR

and the partially constructed Maximilian's residence. The earliest is from 1987, in which Željka Čorak wrote about Maximilian's residence, referring to data from the catalogue of the 1986 exhibition (Čorak, 1987: 79-115). In 2011, the conservation analysis "*Benediktinski samostan i crkva sv. Marije na Lokrumu*" was made (Arheo plan d.o.o., Arhita d.o.o.: 2011), and parts of the projects for Lokrum were partially published in the conservation analysis "*Kompleks benediktinskog samostana i Maksimilijanove rezidencije: Otok Lokrum*" from 2019 (Arhita d.o.o.: 2019b).³

• **Research methods and sources** – This research is based on an analysis of primary archival sources found in the Austrian National Library, the Austrian State Archive in Vienna, and the State Archive in Trieste. The paper graphically presents and textually describes the drafts of the first project of Maximilian's residence on Lokrum. Contemporary models for the project have been found through literature review.

MAXIMILIAN'S GENERAL PLAN OF THE ISLAND FROM 1860

The first known plan for Maximilian's residence on Lokrum is the one covering the whole island, dated in 1860 (Fig. 2).⁴ The plan was based on Maximilian's tour of Lokrum with associates in March 1860, on his return from the Brazilian Expedition (1859-60).⁵ Along with Maximilian, there were the court gardener Franz de Paula Maly (1823-91), the



FIG. 3 VIEW FROM THE SOUTH ON AGRICULTURAL LAND IN THE VICINITY OF MAXIMILIAN'S RESIDENCE – FORMER BENEDICTINE MONASTERY, AUTHOR GIUSEPPE MALOVICH, BEFORE 1864

botanist Heinrich Wawra (1831-81) and the painter Josef Selleny (1824-75), who had experience in planning and drawing garden plans (Koszteczky, 2007: 59; Basch-Ritter, 2008: 55).

Although the draft is not signed by its author, Maximilian, who was skilled in drawing plans for his residences (Knechtel, 1908: 39) is undoubtedly responsible for making this basic concept of the island, owing to the fact that some names of locations on the island are references to places he visited or with which he was acquainted during his education.⁶

The plan shows several important starting points. First of all, Maximilian and his associates read the Lokrum context well and thus tried to retain the Benedictine heritage located on the island. The imperial residence was planned within the existing Benedictine monastery, and its entire surroundings, i.e., the central part of the island, have been cultivated according to the design.

The idea was to renovate the western wing, which housed the production area with the mill, and to upgrade only half of the former wing on the site of the eastern ruined wing of the older Romanesque monastery with the three-nave and three-apse church of St. Mary. Within the younger Gothic-Renaissance part of the monastery, the reconstruction of the ruined west wing is planned. The characteristic transformation of the complex, from a completely closed monastery to a representative residence of a secular ruler, is visible in the fact that near the residence and

in the east and west, ornamental gardens were planned in places where Benedictines had a simple farmland, pasture, and olive grove.⁷ To understand the context in which Maximilian's residence was designed, it is important to emphasise that the Lokrum of Maximilian's period was primarily a kind of experimental station for the introduction of exotic ornamental plants, together with numerous vegetable and fruit crops (Marić, Vitasovic, 2020: 454).⁸ Therefore, this first plan of the residence shows a "thrifty" attitude towards valuable agricultural land, which was not abundant on the island. Quite certainly, this influenced the completely rational placement of the residence within the existing built and partially demolished Benedictine structures.

Maximilian deliberately planned to expand agricultural land in certain parts of the island. According to the plan from 1860, the northern and southern parts of the island were intended for afforestation, while the central part of the island, in the western and southwestern part, is intended for the expansion of agricultural areas found at the time of purchase: ol-

⁶ For example, the cape on the northeast side of Portoc Bay on Lokrum is named *Pontinha* after the coastal part of the town of Funchal which Maximilian visited in Madeira. The name Needles on the extreme southwestern part of the island was a reference to The Needles cliffs on the west side of the Isle of Wight in the English Channel, where Queen Victoria and Prince Albert had a country residence, and which was on Maximilian and Charlotte's route (Arhiva d.o.o. 2019b: Knjiga IV: 54-55).

⁷ Read from the document: *Otok Lokrum na austrijskoj katastarskoj izmjeri iz 1837*. DAZD, Uprava za katastarsku izmjeru (Azt-1823-1839) Croatia [HR-DAZD-382].

⁸ The study found that 220 taxa were planted on the island during the Maximilian period, including 190 species, 4 varieties, 8 hybrids, and 18 cultivars. There were 194 allochthonous taxa, most of them from Central and South America 66, Asian species 47, from Australia 21, from Africa 17 (18) and from the area of North America 13.

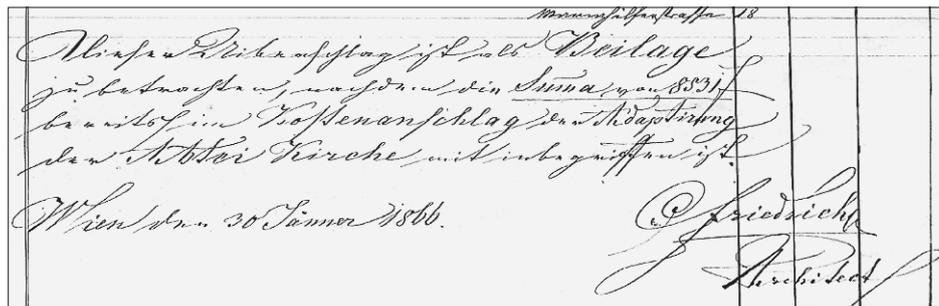
⁹ Read from the document: *Otok Lokrum na austrijskoj katastarskoj izmjeri iz 1837*. DAZD, Uprava za katastarsku izmjeru (Azt-1823-1839) Croatia [HR-DAZD-382].

¹⁰ For example, monkeys were brought to the island as early as 1860. According to archival data, the monkeys were fed bread by Maximilian's gardener Laube, for which he spent an average of 3 fiorinas a month. In the same year, Maximilian delivered Malvasia vines from Madeira, for new vineyards on Lokrum (AST, Amministrazione Castello di Miramare (1851-1930), n. 30, f. 74 Documentazione contabile della cassa dell' arciduchessa Carlotta, nn 4-370, 1859-60. Report on garden work in September 1860).

¹¹ The concept of the *ferme ornée* is a compound word of the English landscape architect Stephen Switzer (1682-1745), who in his highly quoted work discusses the simultaneous "usefulness and comfort" of gardens, applying the Latin proverb *Utile dulci*. It is a concept that implies an establishment that has incorporated ornamental gardens with useful and income-generating gardens (Switzer, 1718: xvii).

¹² At the Portuguese island of Madeira, Maximilian visited numerous so-called *quinte*, country farms on which usable land surrounded the residence and brought income. Descriptions of these farms can be found in: Maximilian I, Emperor of Mexico (1868), Vol. II.

¹³ The term *agrarian park* is used by Ana Šverko in her research of Garagnin's gardens near Trogir (Šverko, 2011: 337-386).



No.	Gegenstand	Betrag			Anmerk.
		Fläche	Maß	Wert	
1	Grundfläche des Klostersgebäude				
2	Grundfläche des 31 Baumkiste			10000	
3	Grundfläche des 31 Baumkiste			20000	
4	Grundfläche des 31 Baumkiste			950	
5	Grundfläche des 31 Baumkiste			10000	
	Summe			40950	

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the table include: "Summe des Bauwerks", "Summe des Grundstücks", "Summe des Gartens", "Summe des Hofes", "Summe des Wasserwerks", "Summe des Brunnen", "Summe des Kellers", "Summe des Dachwerks", "Summe des Innenausbaus", "Summe des Inneneinbaus", "Summe des Inneneinrichtung", "Summe des Inneneinrichtung", "Summe des Inneneinrichtung", "Summe des Inneneinrichtung".

FIG. 4 SIGNATURE OF THE ARCHITECT THOMAS FRIEDRICH DATED 30 JANUARY 1866 ON THE BILL OF QUANTITIES FOR THE ADAPTATION OF THE FORMER BENEDICTINE CHAPEL INTO A COURT CHAPEL

FIG. 5 INVOICE SUBMITTED BY "PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH" FOR THE JOURNEY FROM VIENNA TO LOKRUM AND BACK, DECEMBER 1862

ive groves, vineyards, orchards.⁹ As a result, after only a few years, the production of olive oil increased as well as the number of vine vines, many domestic animals were bred, but also many exotic ones as well.¹⁰ The areas where animals were kept, as well as the preserved and restored mill from the Benedictine period, were an integral part of the residence, as were in numerous Renaissance country-farm residences in the area of Dubrovnik and beyond.

It is no exaggeration to say that Maximilian sought to establish the concept of so-called *ferme ornée*¹¹ or the "beautified establishment" on Lokrum (Šverko, 2009: 217-226; Biasoletto, 1841: 39-40; Božić-Buzančić, 1995: 245) as he had the opportunity to see it in many localities in the Mediterranean as well as in Madeira¹², but also on one of his travels in Dalmatia, when he stopped at the Garagnin

family *agrarian park*¹³ near Trogir (Božić-Buzančić, 1995: 245). In the Dubrovnik area, the concept of (self) sustainability of the establishment was adopted in ancient times in the organization of Roman *villa rustica* and especially applied in the period of the Dubrovnik Republic. All the country estates brought income to the owner and at the same time served for the enjoyment of him and the family. This principle was reflected in a particular architectural type of both houses and gardens that would last until the fall of the Republic and later during the 19th century through the idea of physiocracy. Lokrum as an establishment that would be self-sustaining and generate income, was imperative to all managers from Maximilian's time (Fig. 3).¹⁴

One of the first descriptions of Lokrum as an agrarian park is from 1863, in which it is stated that in the vicinity of the residence, there are skilfully combined groups of ornamental shrubs with fruit trees and large areas with planted potato (Winter, 1869: 30-31), which was in that time still poorly cultivated in the Dubrovnik area (Macan, 1961: 309).

PROJECTS FOR LOKRUM RESIDENCE 1862-1864

THOMAS FRIEDRICH
— AUTHOR OF LOKRUM PROJECTS
UNTIL 1866

The question of the authorship of the earliest projects for Maximilian's Lokrum residence before the dated and signed Segenschmid and Hoffmann projects of 1865 and 1867¹⁵ has remained unresolved in literature and among academics (Arhita d.o.o. 2019b: Knjiga IV 58). So far, several names have been speculated with in the literature. Chronologically, the first name mentioned as a possible author of the Lokrum project is that of Carl Juncker (1827-82)¹⁶, since in 1856 he was working on a project for Maximilian's Miramar Castle near Trieste (Čorak, 1989: 207-211). Juncker was staying in the southern Adriatic at the time of making the first plan for Lokrum, but there are no indications of his involvement in the Lokrum projects.¹⁷

¹⁴ This is evident from the financial projections of Maximilian's manager Junga, who sought to balance the revenue and expenditure side of the Lokrum establishment (AST, Miramare Castle Administration (1851-1930), N48. f.95 Registry "Prima nota" 1857-67, "Calcolo approssimativo degli introiti dell'Isola Lacroma per l' anno 1867").

¹⁵ Franz Xaver Segenschmid (1839-1888) is the author of the projects from 1865 and 1867 and Julius Hofmann (1840-96) of the 1867 project.

¹⁶ Juncker was born in Saubersdorf, Lower Austria. He studied at the Royal Polytechnic Institute for Civil Engineers. Juncker's entire career was tied to water supply systems. In 1847 he participated in the construction of the Suez Canal. He built the Aurisina aqueduct in Trieste. He was also in charge of the construction of the aqueduct of the military arsenal in Pula (1860-61) as well as the water supply systems in Salzburg and Zagreb. In 1864 he worked on the Viennese water supply system of Emperor Francis Joseph I, for which he was awarded the order (Juncker Karl, in: *** (1965), Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950, Volume 3, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 153).

¹⁷ In 1860, Juncker was awarded the Order of St. Gregory by Pope Pius IX. Historical reviews do not mention for the construction of which church Juncker received the order, but it was most likely the construction of a new Catholic church on the site of Grevia in 1857, located on the site of the older church of St. Anton. Juncker actually lived in Bar in Montenegro in 1860, so it seems logical that he was engaged in the construction of the new cathedral (Juncker Karl, in: *** (1965), Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950, Volume 3, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 153; Rastoder, S. et al. (2006) Historical Lexicon of Montenegro, Bar Archdiocese and Bar Archbishops, Podgorica: Daily Press).

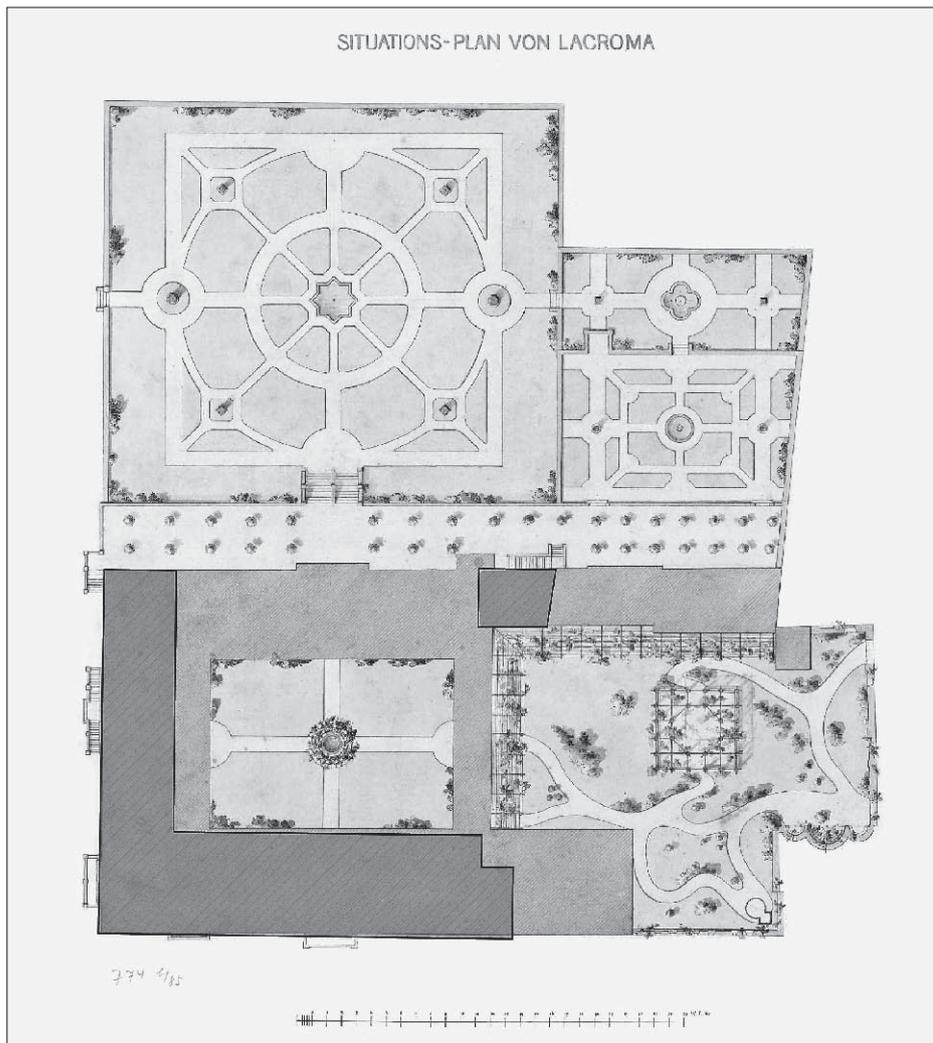


FIG. 6 GROUND PLAN OF RESIDENCES AND GARDENS WITH THE INDICATED REMAINS OF THE LOKRUM MONASTERY (DARK GREY)

The authorship of the first Lokrum project is incidentally indicated in the biography of the Austrian architect Franz Xaver Segenschmid (1839-88), the author of the second project of the residence on Lokrum in the period from 1865 to 1867. In his biography, in the Austrian lexicon of architects, it is stated that he worked on Lokrum, on the already started design solutions of architects Fröhlich and Rosenauer.¹⁸ However, the architects with these surnames, from the second half of the 19th century, still cannot be related to Lokrum.¹⁹

In her research, Željka Čorak stated that Maximilian hired “the German architect Friedrich” in 1863 to design a project of renewal of the Benedictine monastery on Lokrum (Čorak, 1989: 207-211)²⁰, while Hrvoje Ivanković stated that the hired architect could be the German architect Georg Christian Friedrich Bürklein (1813-72), imperial architect of King Maximilian II of Bavaria (Ivanković, 2017: 192). In the archives of Maximilian’s treasurer

Jakov Kuhačević, a document was found showing that a certain “professor Friedrich”, hired in the new construction project, was paid for a trip from Vienna to Lokrum and back in December 1862 (Fig. 5).²¹ The same architect also travelled from Vienna to Miramar in 1863, when he was engaged in works for the interior of the Miramar residence, the costs of which were also signed by treasurer Kuhačević.²²

The search for an architect with the surname Fridrich, i.e., Friedrich, in the usual places was not successful.²³ Of additional interest was the fact that an architect named Friedrich

¹⁸ <http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/590.htm> (accessed: January 2021)

¹⁹ The same lexicon does not mention any architect of the surname Rosenauer, who, according to the time of his birth, would fit to the time of design of Maximilian’s residence on Lokrum. Among the architects with the surname Fröhlich, whose working life coincided with the time of the design of Lokrum, only Franz Xaver Fröhlich (1823-89) stands out, but so far the evidence for this has not been substantiated (<http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/1068.htm> /accessed: September 2021/). Thanks for the help of Dr. Monika Platzer from Architekturzentrum Wien.

²⁰ In the article from 1989, the form of the name “Fridrich” is used (Čorak, 1989: 209), while in the conservation analysis from 1987, the form of the name “Friedrich” is written (Čorak, 1987: 110).

²¹ Transcription and translation by Mag. Karin Lackner from ZeitenReise, a company specializing in the transcription of archival documents (AST, Administration of the Castle of Miramare (1851-1930), N 32, f 74 Documentation of the account of the case of the archduchess Carlotta, nn 4-370, 1859-60).

²² The document entitled *Miramare Instandhaltung*, i.e., the maintenance of Miramar, indicates the amount of 111 *fiorinas* and 32 *krajcars* for professor Friedrich. In the same archival material, a train ticket to Grignan for professor Friedrich is located. Transcription and translation by Mag. Karin Lackner from ZeitenReise, a company specializing in the transcription of archival documents (AST, Administration of the Castle of Miramare (1851-1930), N 34, f 78 Documentation of the account of the case of arciduchi, nn 144-237, 1863).

²³ *Architektenlexikon Wien 1770-1945* (<http://www.architektenlexikon.at/>) and *ANNO Historische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften* (<https://anno.onb.ac.at/>) were searched. Thanks for the help to prof. dr. Matthias Noell. There was a suspicion that unknown architect could be Friedrich von Schmidt (1825-91), whom Maximilian had known since the competition for the construction of the Vienna Votive Church (*Votivkirche*), but it was unlikely that a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna would be officially titled by name, not surname.

²⁴ Thomas Friedrich (Poděbrady, CZ 1821.-1866) studied at the Polytechnic Institute of Vienna in the academic year 1840/41. Prior to that, he studied in Prague for three years. He also used to work as a bricklayer. By the time he enrolled at the Vienna Polytechnic, his father had already died. From 1842 to 1846 he was an assistant of drawing at the preparatory school (*Realschule*) at the Polytechnic Institute, and from 1851 to 1864 was appointed as professor at the school of craft drawing (*Gewerbs-Zeichenschule*). He left his job at the school to lead the Lokrum project. He died of cholera on October 11, 1866 (TUWA, Hauptkatalog der technischen Abteilung für das Studienjahr 1840/41, Eintrag Friedrich, Thomas; TUWA, Personalakt Friedrich, Thomas; *Programm für die ordentlichen und außerordentlichen Vorlesungen, welche am k.k. polytechnischen Institute in Wien im Studienjahr 1851/52 statt finden werden* Wien 1851 and so on for each academic year until 1864). A special thank you to Dr. Paulus Ebner for assistance in getting this information.

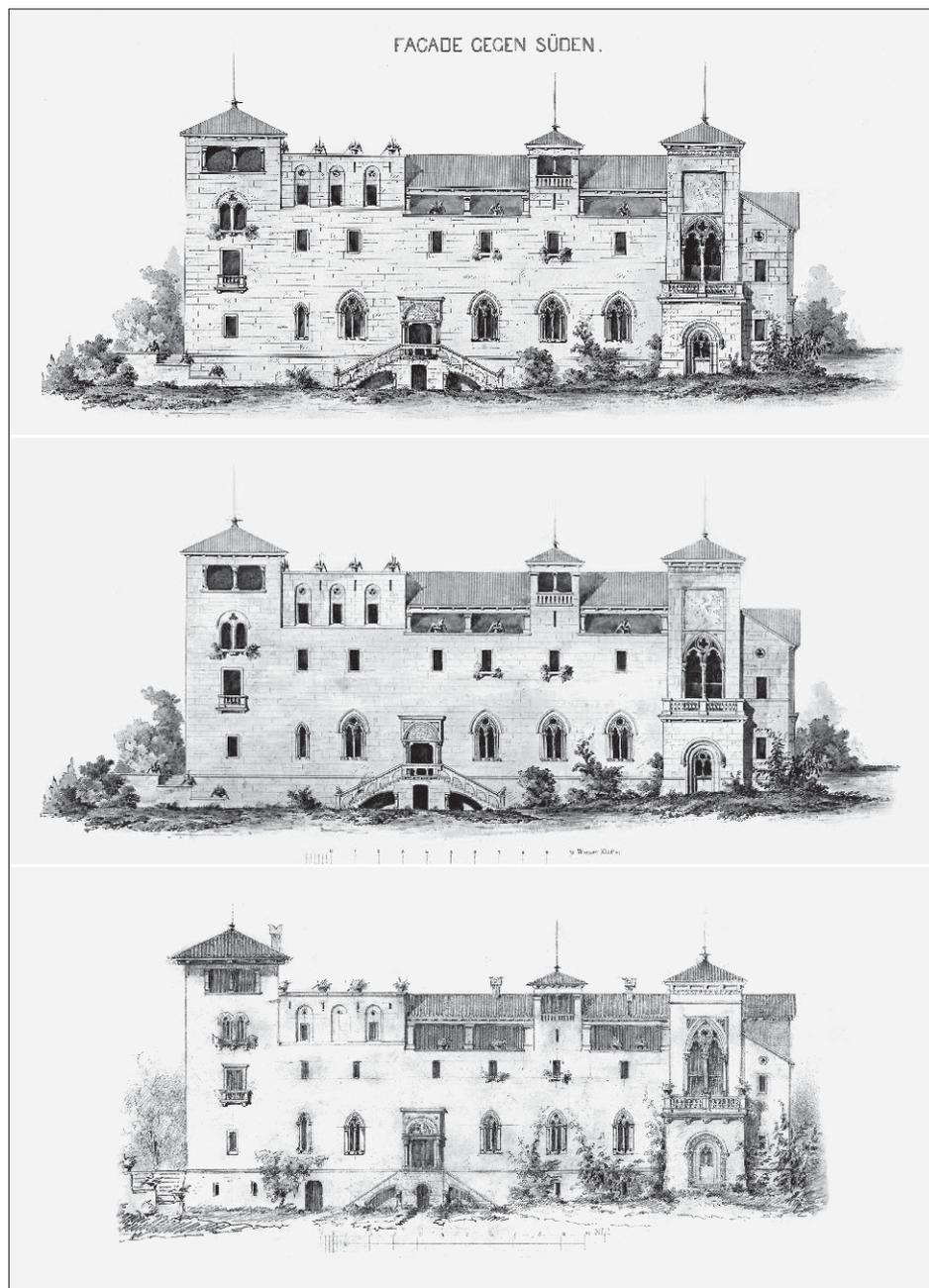


FIG. 7 COMPARISON OF THE THREE PHASES OF THE SOUTHERN FACADE PROJECT

was indeed signed with a decorative, and therefore harder to read, initial, on the bill of quantities for the project of the court chapel in the Lokrum residence (Fig. 4).

The assumption that the architect Friedrich could have been a student at the Polytechnic Institute of Vienna resulted in an inquiry into the Archives of the Vienna University of Technology. Data was obtained that a certain Thomas Friedrich attended the Polytechnic Institute and later worked as a professor of drawing at the preparatory school for Poly-

technic.²⁴ The connection of his name with the project of Lokrum residence has already been stated in recent Austrian literature (Ott-Wodni, 2019: 82, 87). The publication didn't publish Friedrich's projects from the collection of the Austrian National Library brought by this article, but only stated significant differences between the two Segenschmid projects. Segenschmid was Friedrich's assistant and co-worker who took over and continued Friedrich's projects. Marlene Ott-Wodni's research also shows that architect Thomas Friedrich was hired by Maximilian as early as

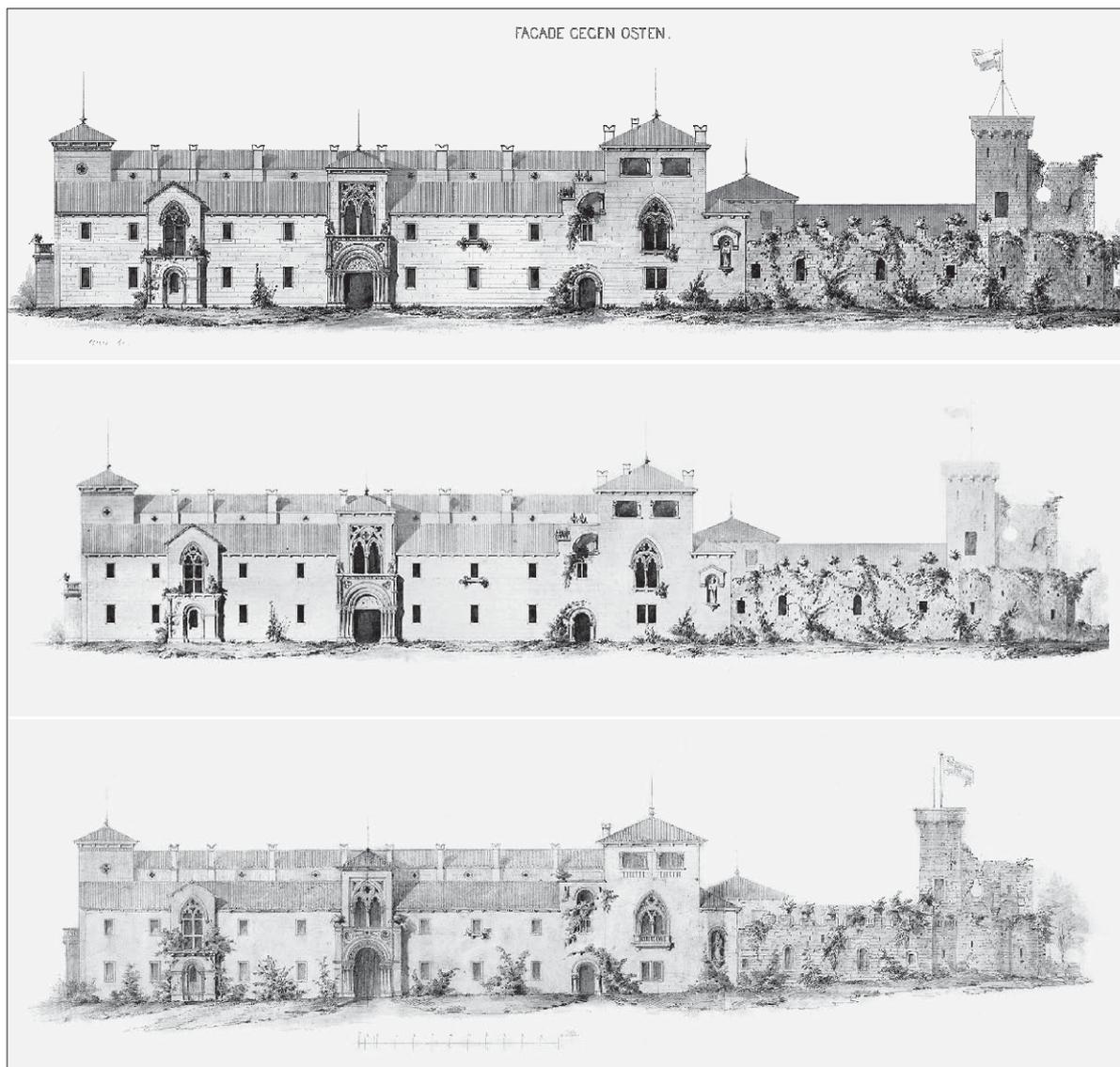


FIG. 8 COMPARISON OF THE THREE PHASES OF THE EASTERN FACADE PROJECT

1860 on a project of the museum in Miramar (Ott-Wodni, 2019: 77).

FRIEDRICH'S PROJECTS FOR MAXIMILIAN'S RESIDENCE: PLANS AND ORGANIZATION OF SPACE

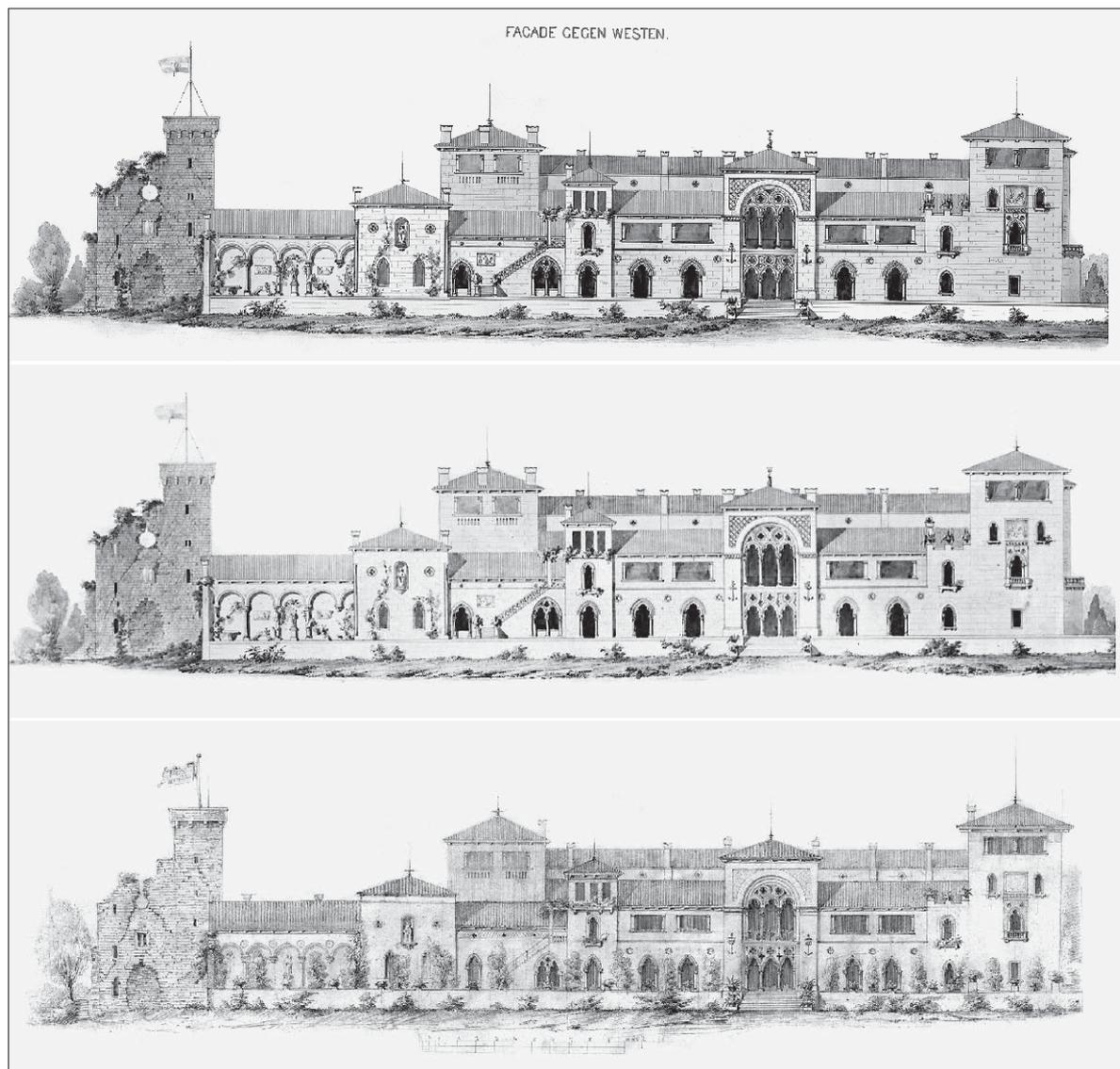
Maximilian's eclectic taste in architecture was a result of his travels, but also of the culture of the time, and he intended to apply that taste to the real Lokrum space. On Lokrum, Maximilian found the remains of the former monastery of St. Mary: from the southern, Renaissance cloister the southern and eastern wings were preserved, while the western wing was demolished (Fig. 3), and in the northern, Romanesque cloister, the western economic wing was preserved, while the eastern wing and the church in the north-

ern part were ruined (Arhita d.o.o., 2019b, Knjiga I: 11).²⁵

The pencil sketches of the southern, eastern and western facades of the "Lokrum Castle" dated between November 24 and 26, 1862,

²⁵ The Lokrum monastery was first mentioned in 1023. During the 12th century, it experienced a strong rise when a new three-nave three-aisled church was built and flourished again in the second half of the 15th century when a new, Renaissance cloister, dormitory expansion, and probably a new church facade were built. It was destroyed in an earthquake in 1667, when the church and the west wing of the monastery were no longer in use, and when in the south wing, the former refectory of the monastery was transformed into a chapel. In 1707, the last abbot left the island, and the monastery was abolished in 1798 (Lucić, 1987).

²⁶ In addition to the description, all three pencil drawings have a scale drawn. The pencil sketch of the south facade is dated 24 November 1862, and the sketch of the east facade is dated 25 November 1862. The most representative



made by architect Thomas Friedrich, reveal Maximilian's plans for his future residence.²⁶ The architect is not signed on the sketches, but it is clearly indicated in the title of the draft that he made them on "the request and instructions of the Most Reverend Archduke

Ferdinand Maximilian".²⁷ Maximilian, therefore, took an active part in the design of his residence.

FIG. 9 COMPARISON OF THE THREE PHASES OF THE WEST FACADE PROJECT

The project proposed raising the south and east wings by one floor and adding new portals, towers, and architectural decorations. The reconstruction of the west wing was planned and the ruins of the church and the remains of the Romanesque part of the monastery were to be consolidated and presented as a picturesque ruin in the spirit of Romanticism (Fig. 6).

facade is the west facade dated 26 November 1862 (ÖNB, sign. 076 KAR MAG, 078 KAR MAG, 077 KAR MAG).

²⁷ "...nach Anordnung und Angabe Seiner Kaiserlichen Hoheit des durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzog Ferdinand Maximilian"

²⁸ The drafts are described, with a scale in Viennese *Klafter*s (1 Viennese *Klafter* = 1,8965 m). View of the south, east and west facades, undated, unknown author, pen drawing (ÖNB, sign. 008 KAR MAG, 009 KAR MAG, 010 KAR MAG).

²⁹ The designs are described, with a scale in Viennese *Klafter*s (1 Viennese *Klafter* = 1,8965 m). View of the south, east and west facades, undated, unknown author, pen and watercolour drawing (ÖNB, sign. 084 KAR MAG, 082 KAR MAG, 088 KAR MAG).

Examining two more unsigned and undated blocks of drawings for the south, east, and west facades: three project-elaboration pen drawings²⁸, and three final watercolour pen drawings, which are kept in the Austrian National Library²⁹, we can notice minimal differ-

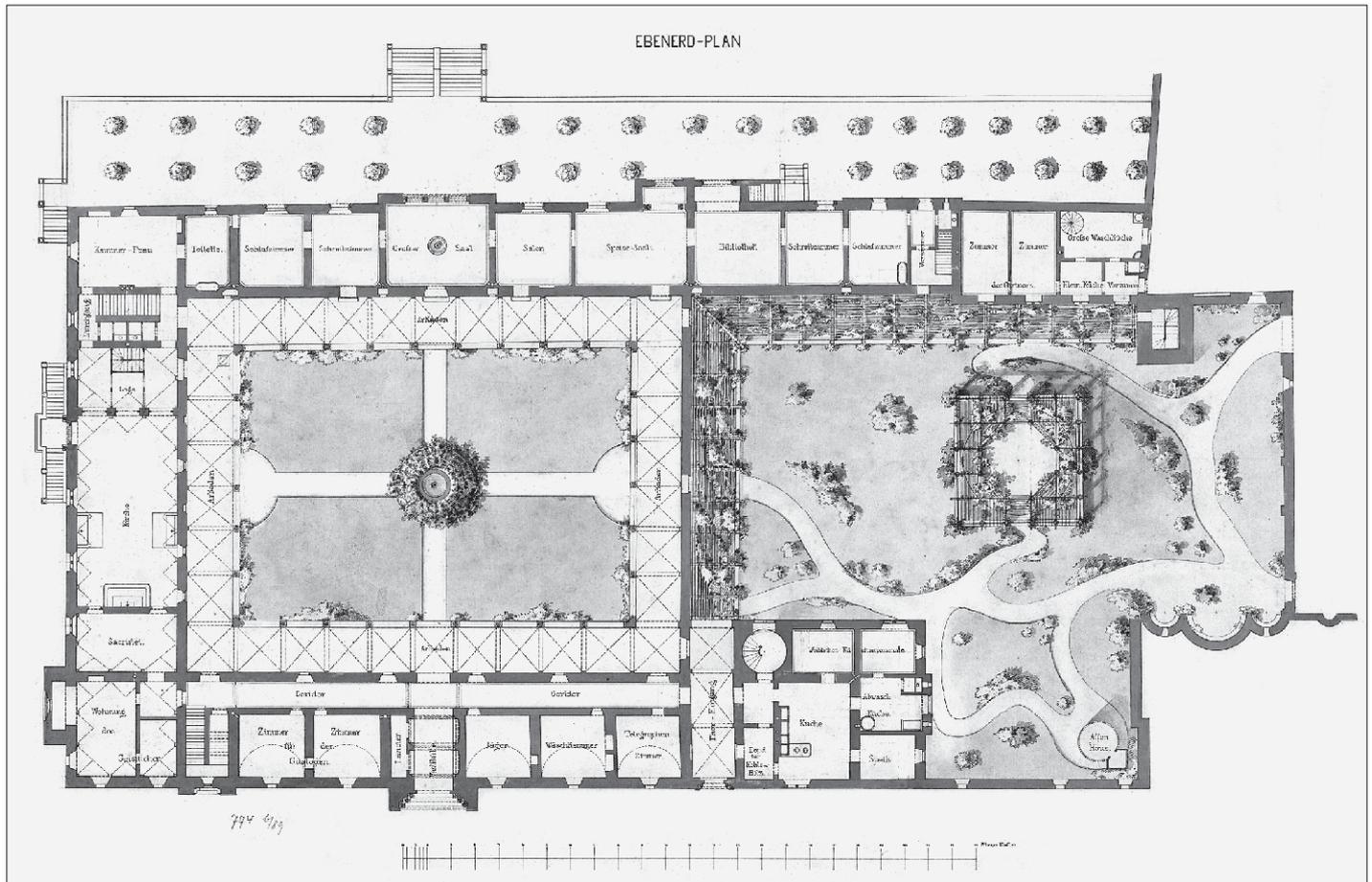


FIG. 10 GROUND FLOOR PLAN, UNSIGNED, UNDATED

ences between the three phases of the project. Differences in the phases of the facade can be traced in Figures 7-9.³⁰

We can conclude that after the first sketches of the facade in November 1862, architect Friedrich, in agreement with Maximilian, made minor changes to the designs and completed them as representative watercolours. We take the end of 1864 as the *terminus post quem non* the drafts could have been made, since in January 1864 the costs show “costs for the new parts” (*Neubauten*).³¹ That year, Maximilian went to Mexico (Lopez, 2002: 240), so most of the work was probably agreed with the future emperor.

The design of the facade shows a dual character. The south and east facades were designed to be relatively closed, almost like a fortress, which is also contributed to by the numerous newly designed towers that also appeared on the west facade, which usually had the function of loggias and lookouts. Such an approach to the design of the southern and eastern facades is logical, given that these are the wings of the monastery found *in situ* and which, despite the aspiration for

³⁰ On the south facade, the difference is in the change in the number of openings in the basement floor and in the fresco of an angel above the bifora, which is not shown in the original sketch (Fig. 7). On the eastern facade, the difference between the sketch and the other two drafts is in the addition of the lunette of the centrally placed entrance, in the sculptural elements of the sculpture of (assumed) St. Blaise and in the dimensions and shape of the northern annex (Fig. 8). The western facade was given a more monumental staircase in the further drafts after pencil sketches. The Renaissance medallions above the arcades in the northern part of the facade, present in pencil drawings, were erased in later elaboration (Fig. 9). On all the facades, the window openings are larger and more lavish than those in the sketches.

³¹ AST, Amministrazione Castello di Miramare (1851-1930), N 35, f 79, Documentazione contabile della cassa degli arciduchi, nn 238-306, 1863-64

³² St. Blaise is usually depicted as a bishop who, as the patron saint of Dubrovnik, holds a model of the city in his hand. In Renaissance painting, he is depicted as an old man with a grey beard holding an iron comb, a sign of martyrdom, and a lit candle, in memory of his wish to heal the sick (Badurina, 1979: 161).

³³ Analysed from the ground floor plan, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. o86 KAR MAG).

³⁴ All of the plans have the title of drafts and the scale in Viennese *Klafters*. The plans in colour, font and style correspond to the final watercolour drafts of the facade and are also dated to the period from 1862 to 1864. The layout plan of residence and gardens, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. o85 KAR MAG). Foundation plan, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. o86 KAR MAG). Ground floor plan, unsigned,

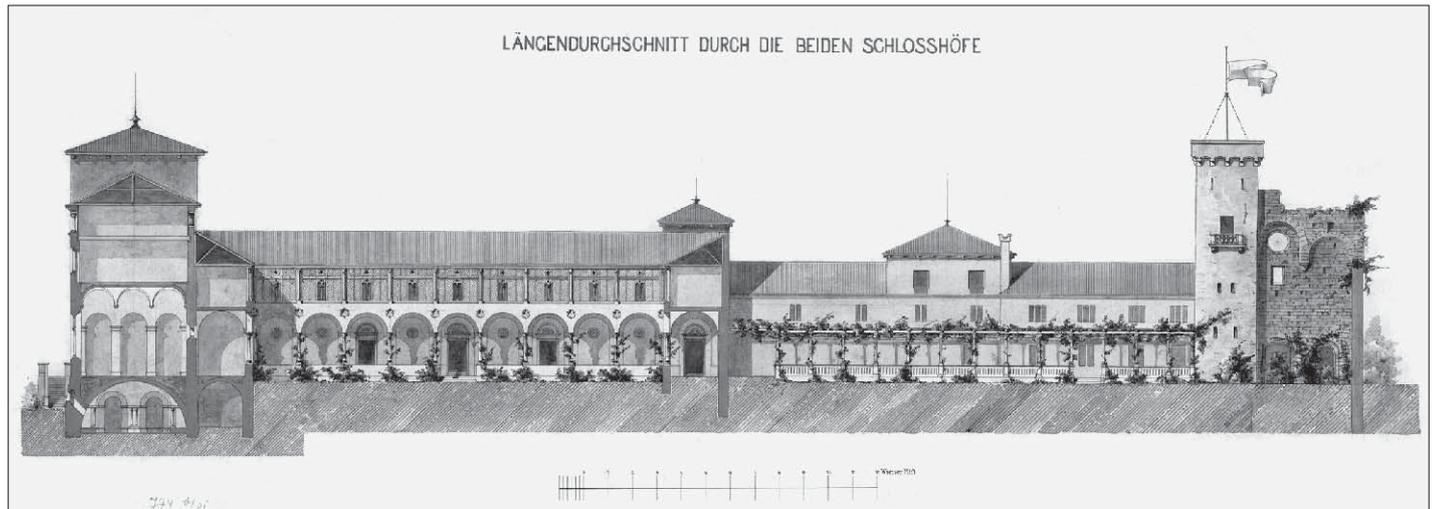


FIG. 11 LONGITUDINAL SECTION THROUGH BOTH CLOISTERS, UNSIGNED, UNDATED

architectural adaptation, have their basic constructive logic.

On the south facade, biforas on the ground floor and rectangular windows on the first floor are planned. The corner towers and the tower on the extended second floor contribute to the closed and defensive impression of the building. The eastern facade is rhythmically most uniform with a series of rectangular windows and a prominent central *risalit* with a Romanesque portal on the ground floor and Gothic biforas on the first floor, where two dragons hold shields. South of the central *risalit* is a smaller one with similar stylistic features, and in the northern part a tower with Gothic biforas is located on the first floor and a statue, probably St. Blaise, in the extreme northern part.³² The remains of the Romanesque part of the monastery and the church are shown in a typical gesture of that time, as if permeated by nature, and the monastery part of the ruins is accentuated by stylized merlons, which once again indicates the impression of a castle.

The aesthetics of the newly designed western facade best presents the features that Maximilian intended to achieve in his residence. The aspiration for the facade that opens towards the sea and the gardens in the west could have been realized here, since the project here envisages a newly built wing of the residence. What was once in the monastery time treated as a wall for protection from

wind and salt, uninvited views, and possible invaders, has now become the highest quality wing of the whole complex with private spaces of Maximilian and Charlotte.³³ Dual-pitched and multi-pitched roofs covered in Monk and Nun style enclose volumes different in directions and heights. The facade is defined by a series of Gothic openings – individual on the ground floor and part of the first floor, a bifora under staircase and a monumental two-story trifora in the central axis of the new west wing. An important emphasis of this facade are the loggias (*ducador*) on the upper floor of the west wing and on the final floors of the north annex, as well as on the south wing of the monastery complex. In the northernmost part of the facade, Renaissance arcades were designed to serve as a peculiar lapidary. The project ensured that the former entrance facade of the demolished Romanesque church was consolidated and presented as a ruin.

As visible on the general plan of the island from 1860 Maximilian opened the residence to the west but at the same time retained all the spatial conveniences of the monastery cloisters, planning gardens in them – in the northern cloister organic landscape design and in the southern cloister classical four-part design (Fig. 11). We can follow this idea in the floor plans of the residence that have been preserved – the layout plan of the residence and gardens, foundation plan, ground, first and second floor plan, longitudinal section and a project-elaboration ground floor plan.³⁴ The floor plans are logically laid out, and the relationships between the various functions of the assembly are clear.

In the basement, there were storage rooms, icebox, cistern, and a crypt (with the functions of a warehouse and a tomb), which had to be accessed directly from the outside space.³⁵ On the ground floor plan (Fig. 10), in

undated (ÖNB, sign. o89 KAR MAG). First floor plan, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. o83 KAR MAG). Second floor plan, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. o87 KAR MAG). Project-elaboration ground floor plan, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. o11 KAR MAG). There are no scales on the project-elaboration floor plan, but the functions of the rooms are described. Longitudinal section through both cloisters, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. o81 KAR MAG).

³⁵ Foundation plan, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. o86 KAR MAG).

the southern cloister, the connection between the outer and inner space is visible through a centrally located eastern and western entrance, which ends on the west side with a large terrace with a monumental staircase. The southern cloister, once an introverted space, was to become a place of passage and communication, and the northern cloister a backdrop for a romantic park in which even a “monkey house” is located.³⁶

From the functional zoning of the ground floor, a certain level of respect for the existing monastery is clear.³⁷ The ground floor of the south wing, as in the monastery after the earthquake, was to be reserved for sacral functions. The new, west wing was to be connected by an enfilade, and the living and sleeping areas of the couple were to be located there. In the northern part of the west wing, with a separate entrance, rooms for gardeners were provided. In the east wing, on the ground floor, there were to be two guard rooms, a hunter’s room, a bathroom, and a telegram room, and in the extension, storage, kitchen, pantry, dishwasher and “female kitchen staff” rooms.

On the first-floor plan, we notice that the former monastery cells in the east wing were retained. Guest rooms, maids’ rooms and doctors’ rooms are being designed there, while servants ‘and maids’ rooms were planned in the northern annex. In the south wing of the first floor, there were to be service rooms, and in the west wing a large lounge, a smoking room, and a billiard room.³⁸

The second floor is visible only on the north annex of the east wing where the cashier’s apartment was planned, and on the floor above, terraces were designed, while on the second floor of the south wing, in the attic, there were storage spaces for furniture, carpets and shutters.³⁹

UNDATED DRAFTS OF CHAPEL AND FARM BUILDING

In addition to the project of the residence itself, three undated and unsigned drafts related to Lokrum were found. The drafts are mutually akin in graphics and handwriting. However, they differ in relation to the drafts of the residence and also to the drafts by Franz Xaver Segenschmid, dated to the period from 1865 to 1867. It is likely that someone else is the author of these three undated and unsigned drafts, possibly another Friedrich’s assistant. Drafts are by analysis dated to the period from 1864 to 1866.

The first draft is a floor plan for the adaptation of the chapel, the pre-earthquake refectory, in the south wing of the monastery, into a court chapel with the visible main and two side altars and benches.⁴⁰ The second draft shows the view of the main altar in the chapel

interior.⁴¹ The third draft shows the farm building design similar to residence (Fig. 12).⁴² The bill of quantities for the interior decoration of the chapel was signed by architect T. Friedrich on January 30, 1866 (Fig. 4).⁴³ Given that, the identity and role of architects Fröhlich and Rosenauer in the projects for Lokrum have not yet been established, the possibility should be left that they also drew and/or designed Lokrum projects.

The importance of Lokrum as a sustainable, modern establishment, is also visible in the excellence of the solution for a new farm building. The building is positioned west of the planned Maximilian’s residence, on steep terrain, just below a large reservoir into which water is collected through straight lines of promenades from the highest elevation point on the island – the Fort Royal (Fig. 12). Promenades drawn in the plan between the residence and the non-constructed farm building were mostly built because they still exist today. The cross-section of the building shows that it follows the layers of terrain, and in the layout it is organized around the inner courtyard. On the ground floor, an oil mill, a wine cellar and a brewery were planned. They could be accessed directly from the outside. The first floor, i.e. due to the slope of the terrain, the ground floor of the northern part of the building, is divided into two parts; in the northern part, there are spaces for animals, and in the southern part, service rooms with accompany-

³⁶ In the center of the northern cloister, there was a cistern that was put back into operation (ÖNB, sign. 089 KAR MAG).

³⁷ Ground floor plan, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. 086 KAR MAG).

³⁸ First floor plan, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. 083 KAR MAG).

³⁹ Second floor plan, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. 087 KAR MAG).

⁴⁰ The ground plan of the chapel in the south wing of the residence, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. 091 KAR MAG). The draft is described and has a scale in Viennese *Klaffters*. It is consistent with the ground plan of the chapel, visible in the ground floor plan of the residence in everything except in the lack of openings in the north wall and the lack of one passage to the sacristy.

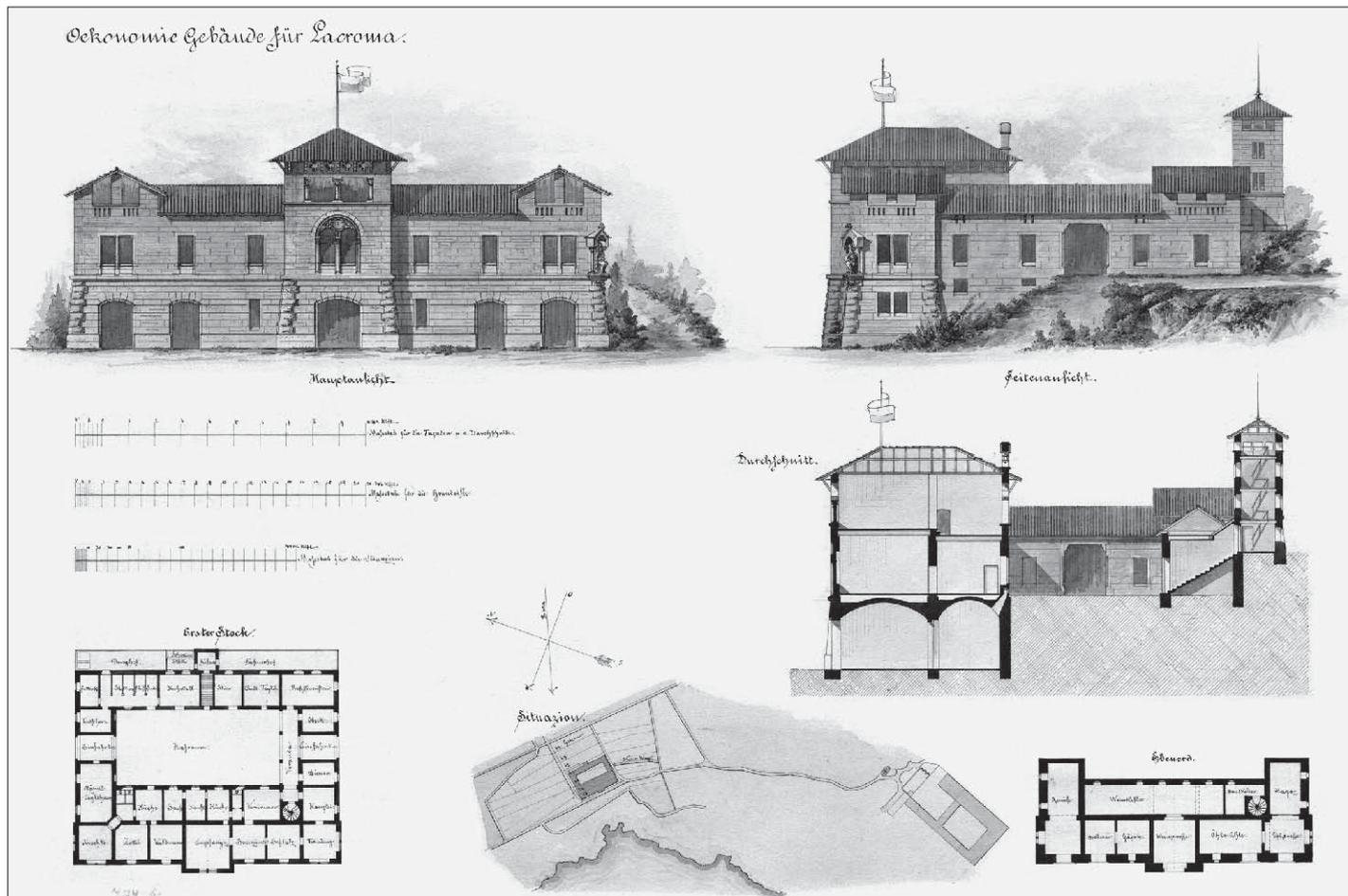
⁴¹ View towards the main altar, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. 090 KAR MAG).

⁴² Farm building on Lokrum, unsigned, undated (ÖNB, sign. 080 KAR MAG). The same sheet shows the situation, the ground floor plan, the first floor plan, the cross-section, the main and side facades. The plans are described, the names of the rooms are written, and the scales are expressed in Viennese *Klaffters*.

⁴³ ÖNB, Kartensammlung, the bill of quantities is among the documents attached to the map with an old signature KAT 774b.

⁴⁴ Due to too little level of detail, similar as in the project of the residence, the iconographic features of the sculpture are not visible. The miter and pluvial can be seen, which, with regard to Lokrum and Dubrovnik area, points to the identification of the sculpture as Saint Blaise.

⁴⁵ Analysed by overlapping Segenschmid’s project of the eastern facade and the architectural survey of the Lokrum monastery, i.e., Maximilian’s residence (ÖNB, sign. 006 KAR MAG; Arhita, 2019a).



ing kitchen and dining rooms. On the southeast corner of the facade, facing Maximilian's residence, a sculpture was planned.⁴⁴

The main, south facade is symmetrical, with smooth-faced rustification on the facade, with quoins on the ground floor. On the ground floor, in addition to rectangular openings, openings with segmental lintels were planned, while in the central axis of the first floor a Renaissance bifora was designed. The corner towers and the central northern and southern *risalit*, similar as on the residence, contribute to the impression of a castle, but are also conceived as loggias/lookouts.

PROJECT CONSTRUCTION

Maximilian's residence and farm building were not built according to the project from the 1862 to 1864 period. This project served as the basis for the later project by Franz Xaver Segenschmid. Despite Maximilian's ambitious plans, the only part of the residence built, out of all commissioned projects, was the northern annex of the eastern wing of the monastery, completed according to the proj-

ect of Franz Xaver Segenschmid in 1866, after the death of architect Friedrich (Ott-Wodni, 2019: 86; Fig. 3).⁴⁵

DISCUSSION

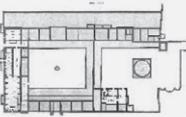
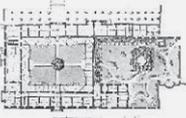
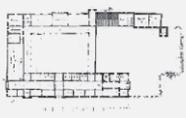
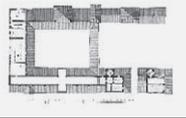
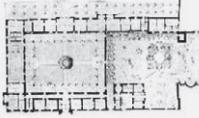
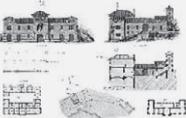
Harmonizing historical fragments into a newer construction, such as turning the Benedictine monastery on the island of Lokrum into an imperial residence, gave investors a sense of continuity, but also a sense of a connection to historical figures and glorious past periods (Arhita d. o. o., 2019b: Knjiga IV, 53; Čorić, 2021). The propensity for creative research of history, and application, merging and crossing historical references without indications of stylistic unity that occurred only in high historicism since the mid-19th century, are also visible in Maximilian's Lokrum project combining historical elements of the Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance style.

The location of the former medieval monastery on the Lokrum island was the perfect place to develop architectural ideas of Romanticism, framed by carefully designed gardens, parks, and exotic plants.

FIG. 12 FARM BUILDING ON LOKRUM, UNSIGNED, UNDATED

TABLE I FIRST PHASE OF PROJECTS FOR LOKRUM

	Title (description)	Archival signature	Signed	Dated (on the draft)	Dated (according to analysis)	Shown drafts	Photography
1.	General plan of the Lokrum island (<i>Insel Lacroma</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 079 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1860	general plan of the Lokrum island	
2.	South facade (<i>Skizze zur südlichen Facade vom Schlosse zu Lacroma nach Anordnung und Angabe Seiner Kaiserlichen Hoheit des durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzog Ferdinand Maximilian</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 078 KAR MAG	unsigned	November 24 1862	November 24 1862	South facade	
3.	East facade (<i>Skizze zur oestlichen Facade vom Schlosse zu Lacroma nach Anordnung und Angabe Seiner Kaiserlichen Hoheit des durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzog Ferdinand Maximilian</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 077 KAR MAG	unsigned	November 25 1862	November 25 1862	Eastern facade	
4.	West facade (<i>Skizze zur westlichen Facade vom Schlosse zu Lacroma nach Anordnung und Angabe Seiner Kaiserlichen Hoheit des durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzog Ferdinand Maximilian</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 076 KAR MAG	unsigned	November 26 1862	November 26 1862	West facade	
5.	Project-elaboration South facade (<i>Facade gegen Süden</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 008 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	South facade	
6.	Final South facade (<i>Facade gegen Süden</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 084 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	South facade	
7.	Project-elaboration East facade (<i>Facade gegen Osten</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 009 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	East facade	
8.	Final East facade (<i>Facade gegen Osten</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 082 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	East facade	
9.	Project-elaboration West facade (<i>Facade gegen Westen</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 010 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	West facade	
10.	Final West facade (<i>Facade gegen Westen</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 088 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	West facade	
11.	Ground plan of residences and gardens (<i>Situations-plan von Lacroma</i>)	ÖNB, sign. 085 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	ground plan of residences and gardens	

	Title (description)	Archival signature	Signed	Dated (on the draft)	Dated (according to analysis)	Shown drafts	Photography
12.	Foundation plan (<i>Fundament-Plan</i>)	ÖNB, sign. o86 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	Foundation plan	
13.	Ground floor plan (<i>Ebenerd-Plan</i>)	ÖNB, sign. o89 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	ground floor plan	
14.	First floor plan (<i>Erster Stock-Plan</i>)	ÖNB, sign. o83 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	first floor plan	
15.	Second floor plan (<i>Zweiter Stock Plan</i>)	ÖNB, sign. o87 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	second floor plan	
16.	Project-elaboration ground floor plan (<i>Ebenerd-Plan</i>)	ÖNB, sign. o11 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	ground floor plan	
17.	Longitudinal section through both cloisters (Längendurchschnitt durch die beiden Schlosshöfe)	ÖNB, sign. o81 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1862-1864	longitudinal section	
18.	Ground plan of the court chapel in the south wing of the residence (<i>Kirche zu Lacroma. Grundriss</i>)	ÖNB, sign. o91 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1864-1866	ground plan of the chapel	
19.	View on the main altar (<i>Ansicht des Hauptaltars</i>)	ÖNB, sign. o90 KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1866	view on the main altar	
20.	Farm building (<i>Oekonomie Gebäude für Lacroma</i>)	ÖNB, sign. o8o KAR MAG	unsigned	undated	1864-1866	main facade, side facade, section, ground, situation plan, floor plan, first floor plan	

The Romanticism of the first half of the 19th century tends to explore nature and historical periods, which necessarily results in the restoration of historical buildings. In 1853, the Central Commission for the Research and Maintenance of Historical Buildings (*Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*) was established in the Monarchy, which provided the institutional framework for dealing with architectural heritage (Sisa, 2002: 172).

With its Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance references, Maximilian's Lokrum project should be viewed within four contexts. The first is the context of the investor himself, Archduke Maximilian, for whom the Lokrum residence is one in a series of projects of his own residences, which he himself led and in which he participated with his plans. At the villa and park in Maxing from 1850, design solutions that are proposed vary from the Tyrolean style to references to the French Renaissance (Anders, 2009: 139-156), while at the Miramar Castle, built from 1856 to 1860, numerous design proposals appear, mostly neo-Gothic and *Rundbogenstil* solutions (Anders, 2009: 156-210). Maximilian usually hired architects or engineers from the Polytechnic, but he also often left the artistic design of buildings to himself, asking the architects only to realize his ideas. This is shown by the engagements of Johann Roman, August Schwedenwein, Carl Juncker, Giovanni Berlam, Thomas Friedrich and Franz Xaver Segenschmid (Barta, I., Ott-Wodni, M, Skrabanek, A., 2019: 21, 43, 82).

The second context in which the Lokrum project should be considered is the work of architects with whom Maximilian collaborated or with whose works he was acquainted, and who moved away from the classical tradition and began to explore other historical styles. Friedrich Hitzig (1811-81) worked on the project of the city palace in Trieste from 1853 (Perotti, 2003: 193), and is important for the Lokrum project because he independently, or as an associate, designed a number of neo-Gothic castles, among which Kittendorf (1848-53) and Kartlow Castle (1853-58) should be singled out (Perotti, 2003: 193).⁴⁶ Certain links can be observed with the Lloyd Arsenal in Trieste by Hans Christian Hansen (1803-83), which has been designed since 1850 and is characterized by cubic volumes and an impression resembling a fortified castle (Perotti, 2003: 193-194).

The third context in which to consider Maximilian's project of residence on Lokrum are Maximilian's personal travel experiences during which he studied numerous examples of country architecture, but also the courts of the then ruling elite. During his trip to England in 1857, Maximilian visited the Windsor

Castle, which Jeffry Wyattville (1788-1840) rebuilt in the Gothic Revival style since 1824 (Perotti, 2003: 198). In Portugal, Maximilian visited the Pena Palace, built by Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege for King Ferdinand II of Portugal on the remains of a former monastery (Dorsi, 1986: 24). He also toured the Isle of Wight, where Thomas Cubitt designed the royal residence for Prince Albert and Queen Victoria from 1845 to 1851 (Macnayr, 2008: 203). The toponym Needles at the southwestern end of Lokrum is reminiscent of the latter tour.⁴⁷ A whole series of Central European "new" buildings created by remodelling and extensions of historic buildings or by inserting parts of old buildings into new buildings should be added to this (Ćorić, 2021: 133-135). One of them is Franzensburg in Laxenburg, a summer residence of the Habsburgs that Maximilian knew very well. The mentioned residence projects did not focus exclusively on the construction of buildings, but, like the Lokrum project, also included the landscaping of the wider territory.

The fourth, last, but fundamental context, was the existing context of the former Benedictine monastery on Lokrum, where the ruins of the Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance architectural traditions are intertwined, and Maximilian and Thomas Friedrich followed up on them. The existing Gothic bifora on the south facade is repeated on the east, the preserved rectangular windows are adapted to the rhythm of the facade, and the remains of the north cloister and the church are integrated into the romantic vision of the complex. Relations with Dubrovnik's Renaissance countryside architecture are visible, for example, at the Stjepović-Skocibuha villa in Sudurad on the island of Šipan, which, at the same time, unites the country, economic and defensive character (Marić, Mirošević, 2021). Details such as the statue of St. Blaise on the facades indicate respect for local traditions.

The project of Maximilian's residence is one of the most ambitious examples of romantic historicism in Croatia. Maximilian established an establishment on Lokrum based on the concept of *ferme ornée*. He designed his residence carefully in relation to the existing conditions, and connected it with the gardens in the immediate vicinity. The farm building, the reservoir, and the general plan from 1860 show the intention for a holistic view of Lokrum as a "beautified establishment". The first project for Lokrum, authored by Thomas Friedrich, shows contemporary Central European historicist experiences wo-

⁴⁶ Friedrich Hitzig participated in the design on Neetzow Castle (1848-91), Kartlow Castle (1853-58) and Bredenfelde Castle (1854-55).

⁴⁷ ÖNB, sign. 079 KAR MAG

ven into the local traditional context, from the organization of the residence to the subtle motifs on the facades, suggesting belonging to Dubrovnik's architectural heritage. The first project for Lokrum, in which Maximilian participated both as an investor and as a (co) designer, due to the demonstrated spatial ambition and luxury and the uniqueness of the solution, extends well beyond the local Dubrovnik and Croatian context, and places Lokrum in the context of Central European Romanticism.

CONCLUSION

This research deals with the project for Maximilian's residence on Lokrum island in the period from 1860 to 1866 in which Maximilian's idea of Lokrum as a "beautified establishment" was presented. Twenty archival drafts have been described textually, and graphically published.

Maximilian actively participated in the planning and design process, but the author of the projects was Thomas Friedrich. The general plan of the island from 1860 was followed by sixteen preserved plans of Maximilian's residence, which are, by this research, dating to the period from 1862 to 1864. Three drafts for the farm building and court chapel are dated to the period from 1864 to 1866. In addition to Franz Xaver Segenschmid, who

was Thomas Friedrich's assistant on the first Lokrum project, it is possible that some other architects participated in the design. The identity and role in the Lokrum projects by architects Fröhlich and Rosenauer, probably also their colleagues from the Polytechnic, has not yet been established.

Although Maximilian's residence was not constructed by his first concept, most of the interventions in the landscape of the island of Lokrum were carried out just in accordance with this first concept. These interventions are still clearly "readable" in Lokrum's landscape. When renovating the Lokrum gardens, this concept should be taken into account.

Comprehensive approach to the conservation of the Benedictine monastery and Maximilian's summer residence on Lokrum is needed with respect of all historical layers according to conservation-restoration methods with special attention to benedictine interventions in 17th and 18th centuries, the Segenschmid projects from 1865 to 1867 and the present condition of the buildings, which were not the subject of this research.

All of Maximilian's concepts and projects of the arrangement of Lokrum should be interpreted in an appropriate way in the museum exhibition on the island of Lokrum.

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- ILLUSTRATION SOURCES
- FIG. 1 Photo: Boris Jović, 2021
 - FIG. 2 ÖNB, sign. 079 KAR MAG
 - FIG. 3 Austrian State Archives in Vienna, sign. Ke3-4-01 Lacroma Bd.04
 - FIG. 4 ÖNB, Kartensammlung, document in the cover attached to the map with old signature (new sing. 080 KAR MAG)
 - FIG. 5 AST, Amministrazione Castello di Miramare (1851-1930), n. 32, f. 74 Documentazione-contabile dell'arciduchessa Carlotta, nn 4-370, 1859-60
 - FIG. 6 ÖNB, sign. 085 KAR MAG
 - FIG. 7 below – pencil sketch, 24 November 1862. ÖNB, sign. 078 KAR MAG; middle – project-elaboration draft ÖNB, sign. 008 KAR MAG; above – final pen and watercolour drawing ÖNB, sign. 084 KAR MAG
 - FIG. 8 below – pencil sketch, 25 November 1862. ÖNB, sign. 077 KAR MAG, middle – project-elaboration draft ÖNB, sign. 009 KAR MAG, above – final pen and watercolour drawing ÖNB, sign. 082 KAR MAG
 - FIG. 9 ÖNB, sign. 076 KAR MAG, middle – project-elaboration draft ÖNB, sign. 010 KAR MAG, above – final pen and watercolour drawing ÖNB, sign. 088 KAR MAG
 - FIG. 10 ÖNB, sign. 089 KAR MAG
 - FIG. 11 ÖNB, sign. 081 KAR MAG
 - FIG. 12 ÖNB, sign. 080 KAR MAG

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