

# ABSTRACT

The Compromise of 1867 marked, among others, the beginning of a new era in the architectural history of Transylvania. The union of the formerly independent region with Hungary triggered various new administrative, economic, infrastructural, and cultural processes, resulting in the flourishing of Transylvania's major cities, similar to other cities in Hungary. The urbanization processes that intensified at the end of the 19th century had the most significant impact on Kolozsvár, which played the role of a regional center and a model city. They influenced the cityscape, and in some places, the structure of the city, resulting in numerous new construction projects and infrastructural investments. The half-century following the Compromise brought about efforts to catch up with the other regional centers of the Monarchy in the life of Kolozsvár as well, which could be realized through the adoption of Central European as well as metropolitan models from Vienna and Budapest. In addition to investments initiated by the state and the municipality, private sector investors and local denominations also appeared among the investors, of which the construction activities of the Roman Catholic Church are particularly noteworthy.

From the beginning of the 1880s, numerous real estate plans were prepared at the request of the St Michael's Parish and partly the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status,<sup>1050</sup> adapted to local needs and based on models already established in the capital, which can be divided into three distinct groups: buildings for religious, educational, and residential purposes. Among these, in addition to buildings serving a religious function (such as churches and a parish houses), we mainly find secular buildings in a significant number. In terms

of the proportion of new constructions, apartment buildings are at the top of the list, primarily built by the Church for income purposes due to the prevalent housing shortage of the era. Another significant development, also supported by the favorable contemporary Hungarian education policy, was the wave of parochial school constructions, which can be interpreted as a continuation of a centuries-old educational tradition. In my book, I examined the history and architectural characteristics of the new school and residential buildings constructed by the Roman Catholic Church in Kolozsvár during the Dualist period, embedding them into a societal and urban historical context.

The first group, consisting of the architecture of churches and parish houses, were not the focus of my research, as they form a distinct group of buildings with a unique character and functionality, which are markedly different from residential and school buildings. Additionally, their examination would have exceeded the scope of the book. In addition to the approximately two dozen newly built residential and school buildings that are the subject of the study, which can also be considered types of modernist architecture, there were also conversions and expansions of properties owned by the Church during this period, which are likewise not discussed in detail. The oldest building is the parish house on the main square, which was expanded with a new wing and its previous roof structure, which was covered with shingles, was replaced. The former Pannonia Hotel, later known as Központi Szálló (Central Hotel), also underwent transformations, and we can also find information about the renovation of several smaller school buildings.

No.	Designation	Execution	Builder/architect	Style	Current address
1.	Tenement house at 11-13 Bel-Monostor Street	–	Balázs Debreczeni	historicist	Memorandumului 9
2.	Tenement house at 11-13 Bel-Monostor Street	1882–1883	Horváth brothers	historicist	Memorandumului 9
3.	Tenement house at 1 Unió Street	1883–1884	Horváth brothers	historicist	Memorandumului 1
4.	Tenement houses on Libucgáti Street	1892	Horváth brothers	historicist	Cardinal Iuliu Hossu 22-32

<sup>1050</sup> The Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status is a self-governing body composed of members of the Transylvanian diocese and lay persons, which was established in the 17th century in response to the influence of the Reformation. Its goal is to represent the interests of the Church and to handle school-related issues.

No.	Designation	Execution	Builder/architect	Style	Current address
5.	Status houses on Szentegyház Street	1898–1899	Ignác Alpár	historicist	Iuliu Maniu 1-6
6.	Roman Catholic kindergarten and elementary school in Kőkert Street	1899–1900	Ferenc Papp	historicist	B.P. Haşdeu 27
7.	Tenement house at 3–5 Unió Street	1905–1906	Sándor Pápai	historicist with Art Nouveau elements	Memorandumului 3
8.	Auguszteum Roman Catholic Kindergarten and Elementary School	1907	Sándor Pápai	Art Nouveau, with historicist elements	George Coşbuc 1
9.	Tenement houses on Arany János Street	–	Sándor Pápai	Art Nouveau	–
10.	Auguszteum Roman Catholic Kindergarten and Elementary School	–	Lajos Károly and Sándor Markovits	Art Nouveau	–
11.	Marianum Roman Catholic Girls' Institute	1910–1911, 1913–1916	Jenő Hübner	Art Nouveau	Horea 31
12.	Tenement houses on Arany János Street	1911–1916?	Lajos Károly and Sándor Markovits	Art Nouveau	Arany János 13–21, Dumitru Fărcaş Street 1, Nuferilor 1, Cardinal Iuliu Hossu 20

As a result of the examination of the source material and the properties, it quickly became apparent that we are dealing with an extremely heterogeneous set of buildings. The question arose as to what type of secular properties were built by the Kolozsvár parish alongside the ecclesiastical buildings, and what their proportions were. What motivated these constructions and who initiated them? With whom did the client design the new properties and how did they choose an architect or builder? Is there any discernible style preference? How did the architectural concept align with the urban environment? To what extent was the location within the city influential in determining the appearance and character of the buildings? Was the nature of the investment more influenced by the immediate and wider surroundings or, on the contrary, did the constructed buildings have a significant impact on shaping the city? To what extent does the building activity of the Church reflect the processes taking place at the urban level? Can we talk about a distinctly Roman Catholic secular architecture? If yes, how does it manifest itself, and to what extent were the architectural programs used in the era influential? What social phenomena and processes concerning the history of mentalities can be discerned behind the builder's activities? At the same time, the question arises as to how the phenomena observed in

Kolozsvár, which played a central role in Transylvania, relate to the processes observed in other significant cities of the region. However, due to reasons of scope, this question is not addressed here and may serve as a direction for future research.

Among the methodological patterns, we must mention the monographs dealing with the architectural history of other cities in the Monarchy during that period. The closest example is the volume written by architect Gheorghe Vais.<sup>1051</sup> In this work, the author presented the economic and cultural conditions first on a Transylvanian level and then in Kolozsvár from the perspective of an architectural historian. Subsequently, he attempted to summarize the architecture and urban planning issues of the era by going through the important architectural tasks and their realized examples, type by type. After providing a list of the notable architects who worked in Kolozsvár, the author proceeds to offer a detailed account of four highlighted building projects. First, based on available literature, the author describes the establishment of the institution, followed by an explanation of the design and execution process. Finally, a thorough critical description of the properties is presented. Mónika Pilkhoffer and István Szilágyi also applied a similar approach in their studies of the architecture of Pécs and Szombathely, respectively.<sup>1052</sup>

<sup>1051</sup> VAIS 2009.

<sup>1052</sup> PILKHOFFER 2004; SZILÁGYI 2005.

In addition to the different emphases, the most significant difference compared to Vais' work is that the detailed description of the architectural programs is mostly uniform, without highlighting more thoroughly some analyzed topics. Furthermore, in addition to private and public constructions, the authors also discuss ecclesiastical buildings. Szilágyi, in addition, covers topics related to infrastructure, monument protection, and public sculpture.

The first chapter of the volume discusses the historical background of the topic, including Kolozsvár's position within the Hungarian urban hierarchy, the city's demographic and religious situation during the Dualist period, its economic situation, with a brief mention of infrastructure investments. In the following subchapter, I summarized the major architectural and urban development milestones of the era that provide the background for the narrower topic. The following section presents the oeuvre of builders and architects commissioned by the Church for residential and school design. It is important to emphasize that in addition to the professionals listed, the Church also worked with other experts over time for the renovation and remodeling of existing buildings and for the construction of new ones. Here, I only presented the major milestones in the lives and work of those who were the designers of the buildings discussed in the volume. A lesser-known architect, Sándor Pápai, played a prominent role, who was the engineer of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status, and whose work was previously shrouded in obscurity despite having designed numerous significant school buildings throughout Transylvania, including the Roman Catholic secondary schools in Marosvásárhely, Kézdivásárhely, and Udvarhely, among others. Therefore, in addition to his buildings in Kolozsvár, I sought to provide a comprehensive overview of the buildings associated with his name. With the help of archival sources and reports published in school yearbooks, I tried to clarify the sometimes ambiguous attribution issues and outline the trajectory of his oeuvre. This was particularly important because, as the quasi-house architect of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status, most of his work consisted of school buildings commissioned by the institution.

Subsequently, I presented the school and residential buildings, which are the subject of the research, by building type, in chronological order. In a separate chapter, I outlined the educational policies of the era and the main educational laws that had an impact on the

development of the school system and, directly or indirectly, on the development of school architecture. I also presented the regulatory efforts, proposals, and sample plans related to school building, as well as the European and Hungarian precedents and socio-historical aspects of tenement house construction at the beginning of the second thematic block. Following the presentation of the broader Hungarian context, I focused on the specific characteristics of school and residential architecture in Kolozsvár, as well as on some of their significant examples.

While Vais outlined the historical antecedents of the four selected architectural programs primarily based on data found in the literature and other local history writings, in tracing the history of the schools and residential buildings I presented, I could not be satisfied with this method alone. This is because in the literature, only sparse information was available, usually only a sentence or a few paragraphs, or at best, a few pages. Therefore, based on written and graphic sources, I provide a detailed account of the building history, including the previous buildings on the plot, the design and execution process as allowed by the sources, the negotiations and disputes arising during this process, the circumstances of the architect's selection, and a general overview of the subsequent fate of the properties. The technical condition of many buildings was greatly influenced by the nationalization after 1948, but in recent years, several of them have been subject to professional renovation. Apart from matters related to art history, I tackled issues pertaining to economic, mentality, and social history as well.

The majority of the sources regarding the narrower topic can be found in the Kolozsvár Collective Archives of the Archdiocesan Archives of Gyulafehérvár and in the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status Archive. The basis of the research was provided by the minutes of the meetings of the parish and the building committee, which in most cases revealed the main stages and specific issues of the construction history of the given property. These sources were supplemented by the surviving individual documents, primarily correspondence, contracts, and inspection reports. Based on the latter and the building budgets, we can obtain information about the structure and material usage of the properties, and in some cases, they shed light on the identity of the contractors, suppliers, and craftsmen involved. József Hirschler's notes provide important additions, which are primarily sources of information

on the creation, design, and construction of the Auguszteum and Marianum buildings. It is important to mention a smaller yet significant collection of documents in the state archive, related to the Marianum, which includes correspondence documenting the construction of the building and the first years of the institute's operation.

The reconstruction of the original volume, configuration, and façade designs of the buildings, as well as the evolving and simplifying ideas in some cases, was mainly possible based on the contemporary design plans. The layout of the tenement houses was altered due to the housing shortage and changing market demands, while the school buildings were primarily adapted due to the change in ownership following nationalization. Certain spaces were merged together, while others were divided, and their intended use was changed. The remaining floor plans and sections allow us to determine the original layout of the buildings, the original functions and sizes of individual spaces, and in some cases, information on the materials used and the architectural structures employed.

An extensive and highly informative writing on the Marianum building is the contemporary description by university professor Gusztáv Riegler, which provides us with a wealth of useful information about the school that was under construction at the time. Riegler discusses the property from a health perspective, highlighting its modernity and the application of hygiene requirements considered up-to-date at that time. The presentation starts with an introduction of the school's surroundings and location, defining the size of the plot and its characteristics. Following this, it describes the function of individual spaces in a floor-by-floor breakdown, highlighting numerous details ranging from the building's mechanical systems, through the equipment of the restrooms and baths, to the material of the floor covering.

The inventories made during the expropriation in December 1948 are extremely important sources regarding the interior furnishings of the Auguszteum and the Marianum. Among them, there is one that fortunately lists the furniture according to the function of the given room instead of room number, making it easier to identify the rooms. From the inventories, we can learn which rooms contained what types of furniture, tools, and devotional objects, as well as the material and quantity of these items. Based on the pictures, some of the furniture manufacturers can be identified – such as in the case of the unmistakable Thonet chairs

No. 100 with curved wooden elements – but most of them, due to their simplicity, can only be ascertained through correspondence with the manufacturers.

Among the visual sources, we must mention the archival photographs and postcards, most of which depict the Marianum and the Auguszteum, as well as the façade of the Status houses on the eastern side of the Main Square due to the central location. While most of the latter are panoramic photographs of the apartment buildings, systematic photo series were taken of the two school buildings from their completion until the period between the two World Wars. These photographs are invaluable sources for not only the life of the institution, but also for providing a precise picture of its former puritan furnishings and equipment, as well as the transformation of the spaces over time. Among these sources, the *Emléklapok a Marianum életéből* (Memorial Pages from the Life of the Marianum) and a photo album with the inscription *Marianum, Kolozsvár* containing the photographs of the Joánovics brothers are certainly worth mentioning. From Veress Ferenc's two photo albums of Kolozsvár, we can gather visual information about the precedents of the residential buildings. These images reveal the environment of the old houses, their volume, and facade.

In addition to contemporary visual sources, maps of Kolozsvár provide information on the previous layout of the city and the plans of earlier buildings that were demolished due to subsequent construction projects. Among these, particularly useful are the 1869 Bodányi and 1917 Csányi maps, as well as a few surviving sections of the cadastral map from around 1895, which provide information on the earlier land use and on the buildings demolished due to construction works.

The pages of contemporary newspapers provide numerous useful pieces of information as well. The shorter news reports generally offer only basic information about the construction of a building (year of construction, client, architect), or report on the inauguration ceremony, while in other cases they provide more detailed information about public debates prior to the construction even compared to the minutes of the church council meetings. At times, we can read quite colorful reports about the contemporary assessment of the properties. In addition to the collection of the University Library of Cluj, the databases of Arcanum and Digitéka, as well as the Lexicon Collection of the Art History Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, were of great help. Last but not least, wherever possible, I attempted to use

literary references to make the atmosphere and everyday life of the era more tangible.

The sources analyzed come from the aforementioned archives as well as from the Armenian Catholic Collective Archive from Gherla of the Archdiocesan Archives of Alba Iulia, the Budapest City Archives, the Cluj County Branch of the Romanian National Archives, the Art History Institute of the Research Center for Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Manuscript Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and library newspaper collections.

The structure of building descriptions was determined by the system of criteria used in architectural-historical studies compiled as part of monument inventories and monument restoration documentation. Accordingly, using textual and visual documentation tools, I also focused on the historical precedents of the buildings and the transformation of their urban environment. This is followed by a detailed interpretive description of the façades, volumes, spatial configuration, as well as the original functions of the interior spaces. Furthermore, where possible, I took into account the original furnishings and other interior design details, door and window frames, wrought iron elements, which give the properties a unified character and a particular architectural heritage value.

Needless to say, given their different significance and the available sources, different examples allowed for different levels of analysis. During the course of this work, for smaller examples, I found it useful to present a summary of the building's character and particular features, in contrast to larger and more significant properties such as the Status Houses on Szentegyház Street or the building of the Marianum Roman Catholic Girls' School. Given their status as historical monuments and the wealth of available sources, it was essential and justified to document and analyze the details of these buildings thoroughly. I also paid more attention to the building of the Auguszteum Roman Catholic Kindergarten and Girls' School, as well as to the group of tenement houses on Arany János Street, which have not yet been included on the official list of monuments, but clearly deserve legal protection. The description of the buildings follows their "internal logic"; thus, in most chapters, after the location, the presentation of the façades that give the first impression of the building follows. In other cases, such as the Arany János Street tenement houses, for the sake of easier comprehension, I started with the typology of the houses' plan and

volume, and then moved on to the presentation of their specific appearance.

The series of residential houses owned by the Church was enriched with a total of twenty new buildings through six investments over a period of three and a half decades. The list of school buildings has been expanded with three new properties of extremely different character. In addition to the types of buildings examined, in addition to ecclesiastical buildings, a small number of plans were made, both realized and unrealized, for hotel buildings, which were prompted by the rising tourist traffic of the era and the resulting economic interest. Among these, we must mention the building of the Central Hotel, already mentioned several times, which was converted in a historicist style, and the Art Nouveau plan for the Corvinus Hotel, created by Károly Lajos and Sándor Markovits in 1911.

Defining what constitutes a Roman Catholic ecclesiastical building seemed self-evident from the beginning of the research: all ecclesiastical and secular buildings that were built at the request of the Roman Catholic Church, from the Church's financial resources, whether it was from ecclesiastical funds or bank loans. However, it was less clear whether beyond this classification, one could speak of a distinctively ecclesiastical style of residential and/or school architecture. After a thorough examination of the properties, it became clear that we cannot speak of distinctively ecclesiastical residential architecture, beyond the use of certain symbols that refer to the Church as the builder. No specific functions appear; the spatial and volumetric design follows the basic scheme of the tenement house architecture of the era, with external corridors and inner courtyards, adapting to the characteristics of the lot and the surrounding area. Only the buildings on Fördő Street and Arany János Street are exceptions, where due to the size of the lot, the suspended corridor solution was used only in one place, and due to their peripheral location, there was no need for ground floor commercial functions. Details such as lion masks, which can be interpreted as a Christ symbol (at 1 and 9 Unió Street), and façade sculptures (the Status houses), angels holding torches and olive branches (at 1 Unió Street), chalices appearing in the frieze of the stringcourse (at 1 Unió Street), pomegranates symbolizing divine love and immortality (at 3 Unió Street), and stylized crosses appearing in several locations suggest the identity of the client.

When it comes to school buildings, the picture is somewhat more complex than this. In addition to the

religious symbols that infiltrated the decorative program, we also find distinctly religious functional spaces in the Auguszteum and Marianum buildings. In the case of the Auguszteum, it was precisely the existence of the former chapel that made it suitable for the institution reorganized by the Notre Name school sisters to operate in it. During the reconstruction, a housing for the nuns was also created within the complex (although there was no assembly hall or gymnasium, as it was an elementary school), and the niche decorating the façade of the school building was adorned with a statue of the Virgin Mary, as a reference to the nuns. As we have seen, its spatial and volumetric shaping shows the influence of the established patterns of the era, however, due to the smaller scale, the spatial organization leaves something to be desired. Of all, the “ecclesiastical program” of the Marianum is the most complex. The multifunctional hall/gymnasium created under its roof was complemented with the function of a prayer room, and accordingly, its walls were decorated with elegant decorative painting. The chapel created specifically for the nuns is even more ornate, with walls adorned with rich, colourful religious symbols. In addition to the Virgin Mary statues placed in the corridors, however, the spatial organization and decorative program of the building reflect the characteristics of the boarding schools for girls of the time period.

Proceeding in chronological order, the first two apartment houses were essentially born out of necessity. As the old, dilapidated residential buildings could no longer be renovated from a technical point of view, the Roman Catholic committee decided to demolish them and build two new apartment buildings. In the early 1880s, in the spirit of an economical and not overly daring approach characteristic of the time, the client initially envisaged a one-floor house to be built on the site of the building located at the corner of Kötő Street, which, understandably due to the central location of the lot, was not permitted by the city administration. Although architects proposed a two-story plan for both buildings, the client quickly rejected both options. Besides financial reasons, another argument was to conform to the immediate environment consisting of single-story houses. A similar short-sighted approach was applied during the construction of the twin houses on Libucgát Street. Despite the ongoing regulation of the area, the church did not consider the peripheral lot of land, which was used for agricultural purposes, particularly valuable. Therefore, they had small, single-story houses built on

it, and gave up the lost strip of land resulting from the street regulation without compensation. The design of the first three buildings, or building complexes, was entrusted to the builder who offered the most favorable bid, indicating that the investment was not viewed as a matter of prestige. The first signs of a change in mentality can be observed with the construction of the apartment building complex on the eastern side of the Main Square, although its source was not necessarily the progressive views of the members of the Catholic committee. At first, the initiator of the investment, church warden Gusztáv Groisz, followed the earlier practice and contacted local craftsmen to prepare the plans. Ironically, the local professionals themselves suggested to the client that they commission a “better architect from the capital” to design their large new building, so the choice fell on Ignác Alpár, who was overseeing the construction of the county hall being built at the time in Kolozsvár.

The circumstances of Ferenc Papp’s appointment to design the unremarkable elementary school on Kőkert Street are not known, but the investment in this case was also made out of necessity: if the old property and lot on the northern side of the street had not been purchased by the state due to the expansion of the clinics, it is unlikely that the construction of the new school would have taken place. When designing the apartment building at 3 Unió Street in the early 20th century, it was no longer a question that the new multi-story building to be built in the vicinity of the one-story properties erected by the church two decades earlier on the same street should be multi-story as well. Likely, practicality was also the primary concern when selecting the designer here, although commissioning Sándor Pápai, an architect who fulfilled the role of the engineer of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status, meant some progress in this area as well.

Taking on the reorganization, reconstruction, and modernization of the Auguszteum on the outskirts of the city demonstrates József Hirschler’s innovative approach, given the realities of suburban school conditions at the time. It is from this “experimental ground” that the Marianum later grew. The foundation of the girls’ institute also meant the realization and acceptance that in 1910, the issue of Catholic female education could no longer be solved by further expansion of the Auguszteum in such an important school city. The process of developing the “empty lot” on Fördő Street depicts the transformation of attitudes towards this

issue. While in 1907, Sándor Pápai's plan envisioned the construction of three new one-story residential buildings, two years later the committee, following some hesitation, considered the construction of twelve two-story new apartment buildings and the demolition of the old one-story houses. The fact that only eight were built is due to subsequent historical developments.

As we can see, in all cases the initiator of the construction of the tenement houses was the church warden and the committee's professional body, since the economic aspect was usually the primary consideration. In contrast, besides the Kőkert Street school, which had to be rebuilt due to the relocation, the main supporter of school buildings and education was the parish priest, József Hirschler. Following his appointment in 1906, he quickly lived up to the expectations placed upon him. During the first period of his three-decade-long tenure, which lasted until World War I, he was responsible for the establishment and organization of two significant girls' schools. Just six months after his inauguration, he initiated the reestablishment of the Auguszteum, and emboldened by its success, he planned to create a completely new girls' educational institution. The Marianum, built on Ferenc József Street, became one of the most important institutions for girls' education in Kolozsvár, and its building can be considered one of the most outstanding examples of school architecture of the era.

Regarding the relationship between the buildings and their surroundings, the character of the Bel-Monostor Street apartment houses was determined by the horizontal street and urban landscape inherited from the early modern period, and the two new buildings essentially preserved this. It is also important to emphasize that during the design of the building located at the corner of Bel-Monostor and Kötő streets, as a result of the dialogue with the city initiated by the client, the possibility arose to widen the northern section of the side street. This criterion was also applied in the design of the Status houses, but the "street opening", that is, the extension of Szentegyház Street to the Main Square, had a completely different urban impact: one of the longest, alley-like historic streets of the city center was "opened up". In the previous decades, two-story residential and hotel buildings, which were becoming increasingly common, had already paved the way for the building masses crowned with two-story, dome-shaped roof structures. Even though it may seem an

exaggeration to say that the building had a shaping force on its environment in this sense, it is clear that in the first two decades of the 20th century the main square of the city "rose up". In the years preceding the war, four-story buildings appeared on the southern row of the square, among which the building of the First Hungarian General Insurance Company took the place of a quickly depreciated building erected only two decades earlier.

The suburban construction projects, in contrast to those in the city center, were carried out according to the contemporary practice with free layout. The proximity to the Sétatér (Promenade) was particularly significant in the case of the lots near the Fördő or Arany János Street, making it a natural choice to create a villa district-like layout. The layout of the Auguszteum complex located along Kül-Monostor Street was determined by the configuration inherited from the last century, partly preserved, the spacious lot, and also the suburban location. Its inner courtyard, converted into a green area, has become a thing of the past, and similarly the once unified horizontal street view of the side street. In the case of Marianum located on Ferenc József Street, one can observe the interaction between the urban space and the investment. The organization of one of the city's most important radial roads took place just a few decades earlier, and its significance naturally also determined the vertical nature of its construction. The Marianum's front courtyard, which was unusual in the context of Kolozsvár, also had a novel effect in this environment.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the small-scale ecclesiastical constructions of the 1880s and the first half of the 1890s demonstrated a lag even compared to the investments taking place on the urban level. Later, from the turn of the century, this phenomenon seems to have changed, and the design and construction of Status houses, the Marianum, and the Arany János Street apartment buildings already reveal a completely new approach in line with the era. These buildings have a shaping effect on their environment; they were designed taking into account the latest technological achievements and citizens' expectations of the era. The tenement house at 3 Unió Street and the Auguszteum also reflect this change in approach to some extent, but the former is not a particularly innovative building due to the constraints of the lot, while the school can be seen as a kind of experimental field where financial constraints were still strongly limiting.

As we have seen, in the absence of basic research in the history of architecture, comparisons with other Transylvanian cities (primarily with the other municipality, Marosvásárhely) can only be made by comparing observable trends at the urban level, and this does not apply to ecclesiastical architecture. In the future, it would be worthwhile to examine the history of the two churches and the Central Hotel built during the period in the form of shorter studies, as well as to provide a more detailed analysis of the visually

stunning but unrealized plan of the Corvinus Hotel. A more thorough examination of the buildings of the main secondary schools commissioned by the Status, as well as a comparative analysis following a detailed examination of the buildings commissioned by other churches in Kolozsvár, would also provide useful insights and further nuances to the overall picture. Furthermore, from a socio-historical perspective, it would be useful to examine the social background of the residential communities.