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*Image and Text. Southern-Netherlandish Ten  
Commandments panel (tiengebodenbord)  
from St. Jacob's Church in Szczaworyż, Poland*

During a restoration of a 17<sup>th</sup> century painting depicting *Virgin with Child* (from St. Jacob's Church in Szczaworyż) carried at the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków in 2013, a damaged Southern-Netherlandish *Ten Commandments* panel (*tiengebodenbord*) was discovered. The panel in question formed a base on which the catholic image had been stretched and it had been cut off to match its size (104.5×73.5 cm). In this paper the author attempts to reconstruct its historical, artistic and confessional background, iconography and the linguistic analyses of the commandments serving as the main point of reference. Having compared the text with the 16<sup>th</sup> century Dutch translations of the Bible, then, having placed

the work in the context of similar panels depicting Moses (actually, only 6 of them exist), and finding out that both the text and image are in many cases inconsistent with the reformed doctrine, the author comes to conclusion that the discovered painting may be the earliest example of a *tienge-bodenbord* known and can be dated at ca. 1570-1580, i.e. at the time when the Calvinist programme of the church interior decoration was gradually crystallizing in the Netherlands. Moreover, the panel could have come from the Netherlands to Gdańsk, where it was most possibly joined with *Virgin with Child* and the gilded silver clothes and crowns were added in the workshop of Hans Paul Junge in ca. 1660.

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*From the History of a Certain Pledge, or the Deutsch-  
Eylau "Castle" alias Gross-Werder "Manor"*

For years numerous debates were conducted with relation to the existence of a castle or a monastic manor in Hława. The very location of the facility was not as controversial an issue as were the building's shape and form: whether it was merely a manor related to an office (bailiff or prosecutor) or a castle. To date the close vicinity of the parish church has been suggested as the only potentially appropriate location for the building. The relics of the described manor were most likely uncovered in 1907. The structure should be analyzed in the context of the e.g. Dąbrówno, Miłaków or Nowe

layouts. Mediaeval source information on a manor operating in Hława points to its role as an important administrative and economic centre of the Order's estate. Furthermore, the Hława manor satisfied the residential and stately needs of a Teutonic official; it provided appropriate premises for homages and receiving envoys, such as, for example, the visit of the Chełmno Bishop in 1421. Undoubtedly, however, such a building had a major military significance.

Meanwhile, in the light of narrative and document sources, as well as two maps of the southern part of

Jeżiorak Lake (*Geserich-See*) in the collection of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, it has become fact that close to the location town there used to exist yet another building, this one of a defensive and residential character. It was raised on the Isle of Wielkie Żuławie (*Groß Werder*), while the effigies in the collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences allow to reconstruct its form and observe transformations of its architecture. In 1620, the brick structure was made up of two parallel houses of an elongated rectangular shape, at least two-storeyed. The final answer to the question related to its original shape will be provided with an on-site investigation. It seems that originally the building was raised as a defensive structure, most likely following the Second Peace of Thorn of 1466. Its character might have resulted from the war experience, when the residents of Iława had risen against the Teutonic Order, in response to which the latter decided to consolidate its

domination over the town by raising a fortified residence for its representative. On the other hand, however, it cannot be excluded that the structure was built only in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The building which no longer served either its military or residential and stately purposes may have been definitely pulled down after 1706. At that point, following a great fire of Iława which had almost entirely consumed the town, a special order was issued to raise only brick buildings within the city walls.

The above remarks clearly show that in the case of late-mediaeval and early-modern Iława, one is to speak not of a single, but two buildings called a „manor” or even a „castle”. Additionally, they confirm that scholars should not only investigate the existence of large Teutonic or bishop’s castles, but also smaller facilities, castles and manors that mainly served administrative and residential purposes.

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## *The Tomb of Paweł, Anna, and Wojciech Kryski in Drobin. The Question of the Translocation and Reconstruction of the Original Concept*

The questions of the translocation and the original concept of the Renaissance tomb of the Kryskis in Drobin near Płock, the work of fundamental importance for Polish sculpture of the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, are discussed. The analyzed art piece is actually the first (preserved) sepulchral monument on the Polish territory where seated figures were used. Additionally, it was one of the first works of Santi Gucci Fiorentino in Poland (the dating ascertained by the Author goes back to ca 1563-69). The to-date studies on the discussed work are referred to and the so-far collected source material is analyzed, these being completed with new findings. The most important issue tackled in the article is the reconstruction of the original concept and of the location of the Kryskis’ tomb. The effects of the analysis of the structure of the work are presented, as they have allowed to reconstruct the statue’s original location and the presentation of its original conceptual idea. Additionally, thermal imaging of the interior of the Drobin church

is presented, and so are the sources and photographic documentation demonstrating the conservation of the tomb. The analysis yielded two reconstructions proposed by the Author: these are made of Tomb I with the figures of Paweł and Anna Kryski in the form of an aedicula with two incomplete inscription plates at the bottom and missing plinths for the outermost pilasters, which were flanking the niche, as well as Tomb II in the form of an extensive pedestal with pairs of oval inscription plates on the edges, in the central part forming an avant-corps supporting a sarcophagus with the lying figure of Wojciech Kryski. The form of the statue preserved until today and resulting from the combination of two different tombs reconstructed and planned as two separate ones, also became a kind of a model to be subsequently copied in the tomb of Stanisław, Małgorzata, and Piotr Kryski executed in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and located on the other side of the Drobin church presbytery.

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## *Ideological Contents of the High Altar and Presbitery in the former Cistercian Abbey at Oliwa*

In the Oliwa Cistercian Church (currently the Holy Trinity Cathedral), a sumptuous Baroque high altar, at the time a work unrivalled in Europe north of the Alps, was raised in the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The last conservation works conducted in 2012-13, restored its vivid colour range and the original placement of the symbols, yet first of all from under numerous paint layers they uncovered high-class alabaster fragments of a figural sculpture that had until then been considered to be of stucco. This allowed for a new interpretation of the ideological contents of the altar. The altar retable was founded by Abbot Michał Antoni Hacki (1630-1703), grandson of the famous Gdansk painter Hermann Han (1580-1627), and son of his co-worker, the painter Peter Hacky (d. 1656). As he did not boast a noble title, his election to become Abbot in 1683 was protested against and had to be decided by the Sejm General Assembly. He kept his position thanks to the endorsement of King John III Sobieski, with whom he had cooperated for years, also fulfilling diplomatic missions. Before that Hacki had spent a number of years in Rome as a chaplain of the former Queen of Sweden Christina and had the opportunity to personally see the oeuvre of the most outstanding Baroque artists: G. L. Bernini, F. Borro-mini, Pietro da Cortona, and others. Although the author of the Oliwa altar remains unknown, he unquestionably came from Rome. The model for the dynamic solution of the glory was the "Throne of St Peter" (*Cathedra Petri*) by G.L. Bernini, as well as the painting "Triumph of the Holy Trinity" by Pietro da Cortona in the dome of the Chiesa Nuova (Santa Maria in Vallicella) of the Oratorians. The inspiration for the painting by A. Stech is the three-partite painting *Coronation of Our Lady* by H. Han from the high altar in Pelplin. Abbot Hacki, when preparing a rich theological programme for the high altar, also derived from literary sources and used the vision of *Paradise* in Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Both in the painting and in the glory God is presented as an emanation of light, Our Lady and St Bernard are shown as intermediaries between the Order and God, while Abbot Hacki, just like Dante in his poem, perceived the Divine essence *Empireum* in the illumination. Regrettably, it had earlier remained unnoticed that differentiated heads of the angels spinning around the Eye of Providence represent nine angelic choirs placed in compliance with the treatise

*On the Celestial Hierarchy* by Pseudo-Dionysius Aeropagite and Dante's poem. Today many of them do not reflect the original division into triads, since in the past the destroyed heads were replaced with other ones. Raising such a formally avant-garde altar in a Gothic interior, Abbot Hacki used the elements he found there, founded by his predecessors. He incorporated into the altar's ideological programme panels with the effigies of the convent's benefactors painted in 1613, including mainly Polish kings, and founders from the ducal House of Gryffins who were commemorated in a mausoleum of black marble placed in the oldest western part of the presbitery.

The programme was completed with the epitaphs of Abbot Kasper Geschkau (d. 1584) and Abbot Dawid Konarski (d. 1616), both of eschatological contents, and with a pulpit standing on Adam rising from his tomb. The altar may have been raised to commemorate the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Cistercians' arrival at Oliwa. However, the turmoil with the election of the Abbot resulted in the fact that in 1686 Hacki had only a new burial crypt built below the whole presbitery, whose surface was symbolically divided into three sections. The part of the crypt where members of the Gryffins were buried corresponded with the effigies of the founders; the Cistercians were buried below three middle spans with the frescoes: *Paradise* and *The Triumph of the Church*; the eastern part, under the altar, was the burial place of the first Cistercians, and in 1703, possibly of Hacki as well.

Various ideological contents can be found in the set of the Holy Trinity Altar and the presbitery of the Cistercian convent church at Oliwa: theological, commemorative and eschatological; historical and political; Hacki's intellectual interests; as well as the glorification of the founder of the altar. A son and grandson of artists, he achieved a high social status thanks to his intellect, reason, and knowledge. A burgher by descent, he became an adviser to kings, appreciated by popes, respected by monastic circles and clergy. Despite his title to become abbot had to be confirmed by the Sejm General Assembly, he handsomely compensated for the suffered humiliation by the fact that his effigy was immortalized in the high altar, and by creating an outstanding work of art as for its intellectual, theological, and artistic qualities.

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*Mysterious Circumstances of the Death of Giovanni Spazzio, Court Architect of Elżbieta Sieniawska Née Lubomirska. Contribution to the Biography*

Circumstances of the death of Giovanni Spazzio (d. 29 July 1762), court architect of the wife of Grand Crown Hetman and Cracow Castellan Elżbieta Sieniawska née Lubomirska (1669-1729) are discussed. Giovanni Spazzio was for a substantial part of his life associated with her court, while she ranked among the most influential individuals, and art decision-makers in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Employed in 1714, Spazzio became Sieniawska's court architect, the main designer, executor, and organizer of artistic and construction works at her court. Most of the time the architect stayed at her main residence in Łubnice, from where he used to travel in order to supervise some dozen of Sieniawska's grand-scale foundations. Spazzio's role cannot be overestimated, not only for his architectural talents, but mainly organizational skills; over a relatively short period of time, the artist who came from the Habsburg Monarchy managed to group around him a circle of his countrymen (e.g. architect Frantz Anton Mayer, sculptors Johann Elias and Heinrich Hoffman, stuccoists Francesco Fumo and Pietro Innocente Comparetti, carpenter Konrad Kotschenreiter, or locksmith Gordyan Mayer) who found employment at the Łubnice court, turning into efficient executors of her numerous artistic projects. From 1720 onwards, Spazzio supervised works conducted on the former royal residence in Wilanów Elżbieta Sieniawska had purchased. It was there that following a long

disease, the spreading foot gangrene, the architect died of Multi Organ Failure. Based on the preserved archival records, the last days of the architect could be partially recreated, and it has been possible to diagnose him "medically", which constitutes a contribution to his biography.

Following the death of Giovanni Spazzio in 1726, the bonds between her artists and Elżbieta Sieniawska visibly loosened. The lack of the court architect supervising the run construction sites as well the smaller than before commitment of Sieniawska herself to artistic projects, did not only slow their pace, but even stopped them altogether. The key caesurae is to be found in 1726 due to the death of Adam Mikolaj Sieniawski. His wife was preoccupied by the preparations for the lavish funeral, but first of all with the overwhelming burden of running the huge estate. Some artists abandoned their court positions, others, taking advantage of the momentary disruption, undertook some commissions of their own accord. They were trying to win a better financial status and certain independence. The process climaxed in 1729 when Elżbieta Sieniawska passed away. After her death, her daughter Maria Zofia Denhoff began to establish her own group of artists, this formed by representatives of the subsequent generation of artists who represented a new stylistic formation. The decisive turning point in this respect can be seen in the marriage of Maria Zofia to August Aleksander Czartoryski in 1731.

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## *Powązki: “Un Jardin de Plaisance, à la Mode Ou Coutume Anglaise”*

The summer residence of Prince and Princess Czartoryski: Podolia General Adam Kazimierz (1734-1823) and Izabela née Flemming (1746-1835), both being writers and patrons, founded in the suburbs of Warsaw on the border between the current districts of Żoliborz and Wola, served as a centre of literary life (so-called “Powązki poetry” trend) as well as social of the Princess (renown *fêtes galantes* and *fêtes champêtres*). Despite Powązki having been investigated by art historians before, certain topics are tackled by the Author, namely the facility chronology, contribution of the Prince and Princess, the residence’s artistic genesis and its impact. Moreover, sources demonstrate that there were actually two different and subsequent gardens: the pastoral one of the Prince (1771-73) and the rustic one of the Princess (1774-83).

Prince Adam Kazimierz, raised in the family’s cultural cosmopolitanism, completed a *Grand Tour* (1752-53), and prepared for his political activity in England (1757-58) supervised by the lawyer Lord Mansfield of Kenwood House near London. After their marriage, the Prince and Princess made a trip to Paris and London (1768-69), seeking models for their Warsaw *maison de plaisance*. In 1770-71, they purchased some land near the village of Powązki, about 4 km from their palace (Pałac Błękitny). The completion of the residence spanning 1771-83 included earthworks and house construction supervised by the architect Efraim Schroeder in 1771-72. In the spring of 1772, the owners legally took over the property (Latin *intromission*), i.e. the garden named “Princess Czartoryska’s Farm”. In the summer of 1772, due to the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the owners left for England and France.

The Princess returned in the autumn of 1773, while the Prince was back in the spring of 1774 together with the painter Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdain. The furnishing of the residence began in 1774, for which also the French translation of Thomasa Whately’s treatise *Observations on Modern Gardening* (London 1770) was used, this translated by François de Paule Latapie as *L’art de former les Jardins Modernes, ou l’art des Jardins Anglois. Traduit de l’Anglois. ... & une Description détaillée des Jardins de Stowe, accompagnée du Plan* (Paris 1771). Count August Fryderyk Moszyński presented the King with its adaptation, i.e. *Essay sur le Jardinage Anglois*

*Varsovie M.DCC.LXXIV* (dated: 17 January 1744; manuscript Kraków Princes Czartoryski Library, signature MNK 118), featuring drawings of the architect Szymon Bogumił Zug. Following this, the latter architect continued works at Powązki (extended in 1775), soon renamed “Olszyna” (Alder Forest). The following were executed: rich interior decoration of the Prince and Princess’s residence (1774); decoration in the form of artificial antiquitized ruins (1775); and *hameau* houses (1775-76?). Following this, visitors to the residence recorded: ruins of the triumphal arch and fragments of an antiquitizing colonnade (Johann Bernoulli, before 1778?); arbours, pavilions, ruins, also a stable in a ruined amphitheatre, as well as a “Chinese” bridge (William Coxe, 1778). Szymon Bogumił Zug also enumerated (1784) in his description the following: castle ruins, “an old tower”, “an arch bridge”, a Neo-Gothic cow house with a “round tower”. Around 1780, the house of the Prince and Princess was altered to become a “Saxon manor”.

In around 1781, the estate, considered to be completed, was documented by Marian Żebrowski in the inventory *Plan de Powązki à Madame la Princesse Czartoryska*. The plan shows its complex form of a concentric property “grown” around the house where the Prince and Princess lived: the residential part (including the houses of the children and some courtiers), forming a type of a village (*hameau*), was surrounded by the forest and meadow section decorated with pavilions. All together they constituted the “ornamental fragment” whose development was completed in 1783. In 1784, the Prince and Princess moved their major residence from Warsaw to Puławy which from then on became the major focus of the Princess’s interest in gardens. In 1784-96, reconstruction works were conducted in Powązki, these including e.g. renovation of the house which might have then gained the Gothic-Oriental (“Moorish”) façade (1788-89). In 1789-91, the Princess travelled to England and Scotland with her son Adam Jerzy, where, among others, she employed the gardener James Sauvage to transform Puławy. In the 1790 contract with him, she included the formula: “*Un jardin de plaisance, à la mode ou coutume anglaise*”, which was summing up her Powązki experience. During the Kościuszko Insurrection battles (1794) *Olszyna* was destroyed, following which the

estate was sold in 1796. Used as a commercial farm, it soon fell into decay.

Marian Żebrowski's *Plan de Powązki à Madame la Princesse Czartoryska* shows the estate (ca 112 ha) diagonally divided by the sprawling Rudawka with three islands in the centre, the dwelling part from the west, and the garden of parterre de compartiments, with the whole enclosed within belts of forests, meadows, and farming plots. The road from the west across the bridge led to the clearing on a hill: a kind of an irregular courtyard, closed on the axis with the house of the Prince and Princess. From the outside the house resembled a low cottage. In 1774, a poet described it as a "jewel set in a wooden box", with richly furnished rooms: "The outside akin to a cottage, the inside to a temple". Subsequently, the house was altered to form a compact "Saxon manor", a bungalow (with usable basement and attic), on a rectangular layout (ca 31 x 10 m), with a five-axial eastern façade. The last alterations on the house bestowed a Gothic-Oriental ("Moorish") façade of a palace upon it. The interior housed, among others, a bedroom, a study, and two other rooms, most likely drawing-rooms. There was a lift in the (?) bedroom, which allowed to lower an armchair to the bathroom in the basement. The décor with gilded architectural decoration was lavish. The interiors were dominated by paintings, mainly by Norblin, featuring scenes of rural games; a Cracovian regional wedding; harvest festival; and the bonfires on the Midsummer Night's; the side drawing room featured the triptych *Three Times of the Day* (1758) with the *fêtes galantes* scenes: *Breakfast in the Park*, *Fair in the Park*, and *A Concert in the Park*; as well as the paintings: *Swimming in the Park* and *A Party Going to the Lake*. What visitors marvelled at most was the bathroom (William Coxe's description), covered with golden tiles, with a bath hidden under a sofa. There existed a library with richly bound books featuring the bookplate reading: "I.C., *Bibliothèque de Powązki*".

The houses of the children and courtiers formed an irregular settlement (*hameau*): wooden bungalows, with thatched roofs, of different layouts, with gardens, were adorned with emblems painted by Norblin, in which he actually followed Princess's ideas. On the edge of the island there was an antiquized ruin of an amphitheatre (Colosseum), housing stables, while along the path leading to it, there were similar ruins: a corner of a Doric colonnade and a triumphal arch. The garden statues were later, literature-inspired: *Tancred and Clorinda* after Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and *Pamela* after Samuel Richardson; a commemorative rock of daughter Teresa. A pyramid was planned to honour the poets of pastoral poetry, described in a letter to Jacques

Delille (1783), who sent in the inscription: "Les dieux des champs aux dieux des arts", though he criticized the very idea which remained unaccomplished.

On the eastern river bank there were farming premises: practical and decorative gardens; pavilions in historicizing costumes: a windmill, a ruined castle (kitchen?), a tower and a bridge ruin; Neo-Gothic cowhouse on a steel square layout, with a keep featuring the date "1639". The discussed pavilions made the English landscape garden look like a picturesque one. On the southern forested island there was a deer-park. The edges were covered with forest, meadows, and fields among which farming buildings were located: the house of the vicestaroost (*Maison de Podstaroste*) with a home farm, and an inn at the entrance (*Cabaret*), which made the estate look like a *ferme ornée*. The "ornamented" surroundings were formed by beautiful houses, farm buildings, and gardens of courtiers, e.g. Jan Piotr Norblin, Paris and Izabelin colonies, and a villa of Doctor John.

When analyzing the artistic genesis of Powązki, the influence of its owners has to be pointed to. Among his ancestors, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski could name some personalities boasting outstanding literary and artistic education, poets and amateur architects: Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski (owner of the Ujazdów residence near Warsaw with a Shepherd's Cottage in Arcadia), Łukasz Opaliński, and Jan Andrzej Morsztyn. His parents' family's residences also included Raj (*Paradise*) near Brzeżany, whose name defining location alluded to the *lugo di delizie* (paradise of earthly delights) with the antique topos of *locus amoenus*. The location of Powązki complied with the requirements for a traditional suburban villa. The name: "Princess Czartoryska's Farm" referred to the 16<sup>th</sup>-century tradition of a "farm" – "lord's house in the countryside", particularly a house of a humanist and patron. Prince Czartoryski, member ("shepherd") of the Roman Academy of Arcadia, founded Société Littéraire du Prince Adam (1770-72), a group of writers following pastoral literature, e.g. in his adaptation of Salomon Genssner's idyll *En attendant à Daphne*, Adam Naruszewicz presented the Prince as the shepherd called Dafnis, while Franciszek Kniaźnin showed the Princess as nymph Temira.

In the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the *goût français* was in vogue, also the architects of the Saxon court active in Warsaw complied with it while designing *maisons de plaisance* as regular and geometric layouts. The Prince and Princess Czartoryski, seeking fashionable models for their new estate in France (1768-69), visited residences of the royal court and artistic elites, shaped already

in the way reflecting the transformations in the court life, namely this aspiration to privacy, or *dans le goût champêtre*. The Czartoryskis visited: the Versailles Petit Trianon of Louis XV with a model farm *L'Hermitage* (1749) and *Le Hameau* used by Madame de Pompadour. The Petit Trianon Palace may have served as the model for the Czartoryskis' house's disposition: ground floor, *piano nobile*, *mezzanine*, and basement with the bathroom and the lift.

The layout and location of Powązki point out to the analogies with Le Moulin Joli belonging to the amateur painter and writer Claude-Henri Watelet, located in Colombes (near Paris) on islands on the Seine, referred to in the play titled *La Maison de campagne à la mode, ou la comédie d'après nature* [...], *composée en 1777*, and which was visited by the fashionable society: among others, Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne (in ca 1786 Prince de Ligne visited Powązki, which he described in *Coup d'œil sur Belœil et sur une grande partie des jardins de l'Europe*, 1786). The Czartoryskis may have met Watelet and visited Le Moulin Joli, which also resembled Powązki in the fact of incorporating farms and fields.

The *hameau* form stemmed from La Chartreuse in Lunéville belonging to Stanisław Leszczyński (1737-66), which, in its turn, stemmed from the Château de Marly of Louis XIV. That created on the island of La Chartreuse constituted a set of houses, of which the main one: *Le Tréfle*, was surrounded by small houses with gardens meant to provide court entertainment. In Powązki the Chartreuse model was applied, though with blurred geometricity, as the complex was located amidst a landscape garden. As for the *hameau* type, Powązki constitutes an intermediate link between Leszczyński's La Chartreuse and Mary Antoinette's Hameau de la Reine (from 1774).

When in France, the Czartoryskis also came across the growing Anglomania, e.g. the reception of the English landscape garden (*jardin à la anglaise*) as a new phenomenon (i.e. new or modern gardening), formed around 1750. It was yielded as an effort of two generations of estate owners (being at the same time amateur architects, occasionally also writers) and professional architects, garden designers, and painters. They created the "canon" of the layouts visited on the English Garden Tour: Lord Burlington's Chiswick House, Alexandre Pope's *villa* in Twickenham, Horace Walpole's mock Gothic Strawberry Hill, the royal Richmond Park and Kew Garden, as well as: Stowe, Blenheim, and Rousham near Oxford. Thomas Whately described these accomplishments in *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770). The residences were also visited by the Family members. Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski paid a

visit to Stowe (1757), met Horace Walpole, and studied the work of Edmund Burke called *A philosophical Inquiry in the Origin of our Idea of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757). In 1768, both the Prince and Princess were visiting London, possibly Kew Garden, where they may have seen the Cottage of Queen Caroline (1754-71) as well as Stowe. During her stay in London (1772-73), Izabela Czartoryska came across the fashion among the aristocracy, inspired by Rousseau's ideas of "natural" education; moreover, she made friends with individuals from among Horace Walpole's circle, eventually becoming a lover of Alexander Pope's poetry. It can be supposed that the Prince too was an adherent of landscape gardening, which seems to be demonstrated by Tadeusz Kościuszko's work *A Fabulous Layout of Czartorysk* (ca. 1774-75) dedicated to the Prince.

Of major importance for Powązki's layout was also Thomas Whateley's study *Observations on Modern Gardening, illustrated by descriptions...* (1770), containing the description of almost 20 gardens, and adapted by August Fryderyk Moszyński (1774). Both texts comprise a number of solutions similar to the facilities found in Powązki. Moszyński mentioned, among other things, historicizing pavilions and recommended the owner's house to remain like "the castle in Amboise or Olesko". The mention of Olesko can be related to the castle at Powązki, while that of Amboise may apply to the cow house. This confirms the adoption of the picturesque landscape garden model. Powązki's set of decorations inspired by the ruins of ancient Rome are as follows: the motif of three corner columns referred to the Temple of Vespasian and Titus at the Roman Forum; the Amphitheatre echoed the Roman Theatre of Marcellus; while the ruins of the triumphal arch might have referred to the arch designed by William Chambers for Kew Gardens. The pavilions on the eastern edge of the estate drew inspiration from modern facilities: the ruined castle from the castle in Olesko near Lvov; both ranked among little fortified castles with a square tower. The alteration conducted on the Czartoryskis' house to bestow Gothic and Oriental style ("Moorish") upon it may have been related to Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill's circle, also through the person of the architect: Johann Heinrich Müntz, brought over by the Prince's nephew Stanisław Poniatowski, a supposed author of his "Moorish" palace in Korsuń in the Kiev Region, the latter actually showing some affinity with the Powązki House. The Powązki historicizing pavilions made the residence be perceived as an English landscape garden. Their architect, Szymon Bogumił Zug, drew from his experience as a stage

designer, similarly as e.g. William Kent, Hubert Robert, Johann Heinrich Müntz. In order to give it the general character of a *jardin paysager*, possibly the painter Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdain was also asked to cooperate.

At Powązki, apart from the pastoral “Arcadian” garden of the Prince, there also appeared innovatory in Poland types of spatial layout: landscape layout of the idyllic countryside surroundings and a garden village (*hameau*); both palace costumes: the one of a poor cottage and the Oriental-Gothic one; historicizing costumes of the pavilions and decorations with artificial antiquitizing ruins.

However, in the ideological programme of Powązki, which constituted a complex of intricate and varying structures, the following stable ideas can be pointed to, namely: the cult of nature, physiocracy, and harbingers of historicism. The cult of nature, inspired by literary and painterly works, transformed from the concept of *natura naturata* to *natura naturans*. Moreover, of major importance was the Princess’s fascination with the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau recommending “natural” education of children. The further evolution of her concepts occurred on the grounds of poetry. Initially, Powązki echoed the tradition of “pastoral gardens”, in the spirit of Salomon Gessner’s oeuvre and his ideal of *l’homme tendre* assuming the stylization for a family land and friendly idyll. Subsequently, the Princess enthused about the poem of Jacques Delille titled *Les Jardins, ou l’art d’embellir les paysages* (1782), to the extent of commissioning its translation, and began corresponding with the author (1783). Influenced by Delille’s ideal of *l’homme des champs*, the owners gave the *fêtes champêtres* salon appearance to Powązki. Additionally, Delille’s poetry allowed for the departure from the model of created nature. This tendency was consolidated by yet the third trip the Princess made to England and Scotland, and when becoming acquainted with nature in those countries, she confessed in a letter: “Nature works with most taste. [...] Art should only preserve what Nature creates.” It is in this spirit, of the cult of *natura naturans*, that she transformed Puławy and presented her experience in the work *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów* [Miscellaneous Thoughts on Laying Out Gardens] (published in 1805), with the following motto: “To build, to plant, whatever you intend [...] let Nature never be forgot”, which was the quote from Alexandre Pope’s epistle to Lord Burlington her husband had pointed out to her.

Additional content was given to this programme by the decoration and costume of the Powązki functional pavilions. The individualized ruins of the castle echo the Olesko one, the birthplace of John III

Sobieski (1629). According to the old yet erroneous tradition, the castle was also the birthplace of King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (mistakenly in 1639), which may have been alluded to by the date “1639” featured on the cow house. This was both the “golden and black legend” of Olesko, which was echoed also by Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski in his work *Suum cuique* (1772) in which he condemned Korybut. This could constitute the updating of the thought of good and bad governance and the expression of the cult of John III in the spirit of the Czartoryskis’ reverence for Wilanów and of Moszyński’s recommendations. The idea may have been inspired by the British Worthies monument at Stowe. The Powązki historicizing pavilions bore testimony to the knowledge August Fryderyk Moszyński and Szymon Bogumił Zug had of the old architecture and, next to the decoration of Kazimierz Poniatowski (from 1773) at Solec, ranked among the earliest in Warsaw.

The forms of *ferme ornée* and care for good farming were related to physiocracy of the Prince and Princess: at Powązki the “process of transforming the noblemen into landowners” began.

On the whole, the developing of the “tasteful thought” of the Princess yielded the French *hameau* placed in the English landscape garden, initially set in the Gessner-and-Delille-idyllic tonality: a sentimental garden with pavilions representing the *pictoresque* style. Powązki, *maison de plaisance*, close to the urban palace of the Prince and Princess, played the role of the summer “green” literary and artistic drawing room. Its hosts followed the Paris and London novelties, and they “transferred” the Enlightenment ideas they also adopted in Powązki. They held *fêtes galantes*, *fêtes champêtres*, and shows of the *théâtre de société* where the operas: *L’amoureux de quinze ans* by Jean Paul Martini and *La Colonie*, with the Princess starring the gardener Marianna as the main character, by Antonio Maria Sacchini may have been staged. There also existed a “green theatre” and a bowling alley, while the pond occasionally turned into a skating rink, with Turkish tents around.

Apart from formal solutions coming from Paris, what dominated were English inspirations from the first stage of the development of the landscape garden when (this in compliance with Rudolf Wittkower’s understanding of the English garden), the Enlightenment ideals were blended with the ideals of freedom, the combination regarded as the harbinger of Romanticism, in Poland defined as pre-Romanticism. The formula coined by Izabela Czartoryska in 1790 of *un jardin de plaisance, à la mode ou coutume anglaise*, summing up her Powązki experience, combined the native Renaissance tradition of a villa, French vogue,



and English praxis, as her own attempt to combine the residential function, recreation, and farming. At the same time Powązki ideologically and artistically differed from the French and English gardens of the

time; additionally, the estate also introduced an interesting approach to the tackled motifs from Polish history.

*Translated by Magdalena Iwińska*