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and Early Modern Times*

1

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CONTENTS

LETIȚIA COSNEAN NISTOR	
Introduction	7
ILEANA BURNICHIOIU	
Historical Residential Architecture under Totalitarian Regimes and After: Romanian Case Study	13
STUDIES AND ARTICLES	
KATARZYNA KURAS	
Ceremony and Space: Contact between the Nobles and the Monarch from the 16 th to the 18 th Century in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth	45
FRANCISZEK SKIBINSKI	
Transformations and Adaptations of Architectural Models in the Residential Architecture of the 17 th Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth	73
ÉRIC HASSLER	
Between Palaces and Castles: The Viennese Aristocracy at Home during the First Half of the 18 th Century	103
IOANA RUS-CACOVEAN	
“SOCIALISM. HAPPINESS.” The “NEW WAY” of the Haller Castle in Coplean after 1950	125
Abstracts	151
List of authors	153

INTRODUCTION

The residences of the elites play an important role in the understanding of the nobility's way of life, as they reflect the social status and political identity of their owners, addressing aspects of power representation in the regional landscape, whether rural or urban. Thus they occupy a central place in the European architectural history, attracting the interest of scholars from the late nineteenth century onwards. Various methodological approaches have been introduced since,¹ starting with the archaeological and architectural inventories, focused on chronological framings and stylistic analysis, continuing with the functional and spatial analysis,² as instruments to seize the changes in society and in the political structure.³ Concepts of social use of space and designed landscapes⁴ in studying noble residence ensembles have brought significant improvements in understanding the complexity of this architectural and archaeological heritage, by analysing not only the architectural features as mere objects, but the whole context that generated them (social, economic, political, etc.), an interpretation that highlighted a more complex system of functions that these complexes had possessed. In this context, the military role of the castles, once considered fundamental in the functioning of the ensembles, had in time fallen to a secondary position by interpreting the fortification system rather as symbol of status than as element of defence.

¹ See Gábor Virágos, *The social archaeology of residential sites. Hungarian noble residences and their social context from the thirteenth through to the sixteenth century: an outline for methodology* (Oxford: BAR International Series, 2006), 89-94 for a complex analysis of various methodological approaches in studying castles, with a focus on Hungarian historiography in comparison mainly with the British school of castle studies. The tendency in researching the building history is to surpass the linear vision relating to a typological approach, more specific to the evolution of biological species, see Matthew Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate: From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 154; Ionuț Costea, *Solam virtutem et nomen bonum. Nobilitate, etnie, regionalism în Transilvania princiară (sec. XVII)* (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2005), 20.

² Referring to the spatial and functional distribution, relation between private and public space, circulation diagrams, access analysis, etc. For a critique of the spatial analysis method, see Virágos, *The social archaeology*, 94-97; and Anika Andersson, "Spatial analysis in time. Hammershus Castle," in *Visions of the Past. Trends and traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology*, eds. Hans Andersson, Peter Carelli, and Lars Ersgård (Stockholm: Central Board of National Antiquities, 1997), 645-70.

³ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Yale: Yale University Press, 1978), 143.

⁴ See Martin Hansson, "The medieval aristocracy and the social use of space," in *Reflections: 50 years of medieval archaeology 1957-2007*, Monographs Volume 30, eds. R. Gilchrist and A. Reynolds, (Leeds: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 2009), 435-452, with bibliography; Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces. Use and the Art of the Plan* (New York, Cambridge, Massachusettes, and London: The MIT Press, 1990).

The literature regarding the noble residences from Central and Eastern Europe did not make an exception, using various new approaches and methodologies,⁵ but it must be mentioned that this methodological shift lacks, in many situations, a thoroughly documented background or research tradition. For example, in Romania there is no solid tradition for the systematic analysis of the architectural details (*i.e.* window and door frames, *spolia*, fireplaces, ornaments, etc.). Many are still preserved *in situ* or spread among various museum collections, but they have not yet been properly catalogued.⁶ The same situation applies to Medieval and Early Modern archaeological excavations, mostly initiated (and conditioned) by restoration projects, severely influenced by the government's poor initiatives and finance, or by a lack of systematic intervention.⁷ Thereafter only few monuments benefit from an archaeological investigation, the noble courts being the most obliterated.⁸ Apart from the poor architectural ruins still surviving,⁹ not enough written evidence has been preserved regarding the ceremonies and the inventories of these residences. The functional analysis in itself has shown its limits, as the archival sources can rarely offer a recognisable description of the spaces, making it difficult to recognise the room that the inventory references.¹⁰

An analysis of the Medieval and Early Modern monuments from the wider geographical area of Central and Eastern Europe has already been approached in the traditional cultural and artistic historiographies. Jan Białostocki offers one of the first syntheses on the artistic heritage of the

⁵ See for example the twelfth number of *Castrum Bene* series, Katarina Predovnik, ed., *The castle as a social space*, *Castrum Bene* 12 (2014) (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete University Press, 2014).

⁶ Art historian Jolán Balogh analysed a corpus of stone frames, coats of arms, funerary monuments, and decorations found in various buildings in the sixteenth century town of Cluj-Napoca, successfully identifying a famous workshop of stonemasons, whose works are spread all over Transylvania, especially in noble residential architecture, see Jolán Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek XVI. század* (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, 1985). Nevertheless, the study is based mainly on archival sources, and the catalogue lacks dimensional information and details of their decoration. A first attempt to catalogue stone frames from Renaissance Transylvania belongs to architect Gheorghe Sebestyén, who published detailed architectural surveys of the most well-known stone doors and window frames, see Gheorghe Sebestyén and Victor Sebestyén, *Arhitectura Renașterii în Transilvania* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1963).

⁷ For a more complex description of this reality, see Rusu, *Castelarea carpatică. Fortificații și cetăți din Transilvania și teritoriile învecinate (sec. XIII-XIV)* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2005), 14-26.

⁸ Ibid., 25. The same situation appears to also be valid in Hungary, see Virágos, *The social archaeology*.

⁹ For Romania, a National Report on built heritage notifies on the imminent loss of the material evidence in case of many noble residences, see *Raportul Comisiei Prezidențiale pentru Patrimoniul Construit, Siturile Istorice și Naturale, Administrația Prezidențială* (București, 2009), 37.

¹⁰ This problem has also been highlighted by traditional works, such as Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, and Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces. Use and the Art of the Plan* (New York, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: The MIT Press, 1990), 10.

historical regions of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, highlighting the common cultural and artistic background of the region during the Medieval and Early Modern periods, based on an intricate system of social and dynastic alliances.¹¹ The collapse of Communism has stimulated several more initiatives of studying the artistic and cultural history of Central and Eastern Europe. The work of Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann is illustrative in its aim at viewing Central Europe as a cultural entity, comprising within its geographical border Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Ukraine, Lithuania and western parts of the Russian Federation.¹² Moreover, scholars from Central Europe have founded the *Castrum Bene International Castellological Association*, bringing together specialists in archaeology, art and architectural history, and documentary history in order to stimulate research on the architecture of castles, manors and fortresses and offer a framework for sharing the results. In 1995 an annual monographic series first issued, by the name of *Castrum Bene*, as a result of the international *castellological* conferences.¹³

During the Communist period, a large number of noble residences from Romania suffered both irreversible damage and significant loss of their structural substance and of their furnishings, due to an irresponsible or even intentional use as agrarian annexes, hospitals, offices, among others. During the past decades several initiatives of saving and promoting the architectural heritage of castles proliferated all over Central and Eastern Europe,¹⁴ aiming to retrieve the history of this architectural heritage, distorted and mutilated by Communist propaganda. A series of inventories using archival sources and specific literature also led to a wider acknowledgement of the noble residences' heritage.¹⁵ Unfortunately,

¹¹ Jan Białostocki, *The Art of Renaissance in Eastern Europe* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1976); Idem, "Borrowing and Originality in the East-Central European Renaissance," in *East-Central Europe in Transition: From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz, and Peter Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1985, 153-166.

¹² Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister & City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450-1800* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹³ For the Romanian representation, we must mention the contribution of historian Adrian Andrei Rusu, whose work *Castelarea carpatică* represents, as the author states, "the first volume of systematic Romanian *castellology*," referring to all types of fortifications in Medieval Transylvania. See Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Castelarea carpatică*.

¹⁴ *The European Castle Institute*, <http://www.deutsche-burgen.org/en/institut/>; *Slovenian Castles*, <http://www.gradovi.net/en/>; *Castrum Bene*, <http://www.castrumbene.hu/erdelyivarak/>; *Castles from Historical Hungary*, <http://www.varak.hu/>; *Castles in Europe*, <http://kastely.ementor.hu/>; *Magyar kastély lexikon*, <http://www.kastelylexikon.hu/>; *Art Historia*, <http://art-historia.blogspot.com/>; *Monumente uitate*, www.monumenteuitate.org/; *Castle in Transylvania*, <http://www.castel.intransilvania.ro/>; *Visiting the Transylvanian nobility*, <http://www.retopolis.ro/about/>; *The Hungarian Virtual Encyclopaedia in Romania*, <http://referinte.transindex.ro/enciclopedie/?link=enciclopedie>, etc. (accessed on 12.06.2017).

¹⁵ *Erdélyi kastélyok, felmérési dokumentáció* (Kolozsvár: 1994) (Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal Tervtára Budapest); István Feld et alii, *Régi magyarországi várkastélyok. Rajzok, grafikák és fényképek*

conservation and restoration works did not develop at the same pace, and apart from a few notable exceptions,¹⁶ the architectural heritage of these residences was preserved in a ruined and derelict state.

The *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* proposes for the next two issues a vast and generous theme on the subject of aristocratic and noble residences from central and eastern regions of Europe during the Medieval and Early Modern periods. The motivation for this theme comes from the need to highlight new research methodologies and to tackle the issue of a discontinuous state of research in Central and Eastern Europe, with results that are often inaccessible in publications and written in languages that are also hardly accessible. The differences between one country and another may be substantial in the way that this architectural and archaeological heritage has been perceived, studied and preserved, and therefore one of our special aims is also to encourage discussions relating to the destiny of these residences during the twentieth century, especially under the totalitarian regimes.

The papers gathered in this volume present an interesting cross section of different approaches and methodologies in the analysis of the residences of the elite and their way of life.

An introductory paper, submitted by art historian Ileana Burnichioiu, presents the fate of Medieval and Early Modern elite residences during the Communist regime in Romania and the following period, continuing with the perspective of present day Romania ("The Historical Residential Architecture under Totalitarian Regimes and After. The Romanian Case"). The author aims to present issues of research and protection of this specific architectural heritage as reflected by the context of the political regimes. The historical elite residences are detected thus as important elements in understanding the relation between architectural heritage and ideology.

Four articles form the core of this first volume. In the first article ("Ceremony and Space: Contact between the Nobles and the Monarch from the 16th to the 18th Century in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth"), Katarzyna

az Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal gyűjteményeiből [cat. exp.] A Sárospataki Rákóczi Múzeum Füzetei 32, (Sárospatak: Rákóczi Múzeum Baráti Köre, 1997); Hilda Horváth, *Régvolt magyar kastélyok* (Budapest: Gemini Budapest, 1998); Hermann Fabini, *Atlas der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirchenburgen und Dorfkirchen*, Band I (Sibiu-Heidelberg: Monumenta Verlag Hermannstadt und AKSL, 2002); Attila Weisz, *Száz erdélyi műemlék* (Kolozsvár: Utilitas, 2007); Ákos Karczag, Tibor Szabó, *Erdély, Partium és a Bánság erődített helyei. Várak, várkastélyok, városfalak, templomvárak, barlangvárak, sáncok és erődítmények a honfoglalástól a 19. század végéig* (Budapest: Semmelweis, 2010); Zoltán Bicsok, Zsolt Orbán, *"Isten segedelmével udvaromat megépítettem..." Történelmi családok kastélyai Erdélyben* (Csíkszereda: Gutenberg, 2012).

¹⁶ For Transylvania see: Bánffy Castle in Bontida; Dániel Castle in Tălișoara; Apafi manor house in Mălâncrav; Mikes Castle in Zăbala etc.

Kuras explores the everyday royal court ceremonial in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in order to analyse the dynamic relationship between nobility and the elected King. Moreover, various other ways of interaction between the monarch and the nobility, the coronation ceremony, informal visits of the monarchs to noble palaces and mansions, and even the death of the king have been investigated. The author emphasises that the court etiquette of the Early Modern Polish court, essentially different from French and Spanish ceremonies, distinguishes itself through having rather simple and unrestricted access to the King, which is also reflected in the spatial layout of the royal castle in Warsaw, where the (often noisy) parliamentary deliberations of the nobles were hosted in the royal state apartment, in the same complex with the King's private apartment. Nevertheless, Kuras suggests that the roots of this tradition can be found in the political system of the Commonwealth, mainly in the reduced power of the elected King. Even more so, the separate analysis of these aspects during various reigns has revealed that the King's personality and preferences have greatly influenced the court etiquette.

Éric Hassler's contribution ("Between Palaces and Castles: the Viennese Aristocracy at Home during the First Half of the 18th Century") aims at investigating the "aristocratic habitus" and social identity of the Viennese aristocracy as reflected by the multiple residences owned simultaneously, urban, suburban or manorial during the first half of the eighteenth century. The regular transfer between one's various residences is interpreted both as a way of imitating the imperial court, but also as a reflection of the nobility's double identity: as courtiers and as landlords. One of the premises of the study lies in the necessity of understanding the residences in their social and geographic context, militating against the "objectification" of the buildings, as their architecture alone cannot testify on the complexity of their social use and significance, or against the "ritualization" of the elite way of life lectured only in the functional reconstitution, ignoring other elements of social identity. Counts Harrach and Questenberg, both owning a residence in Vienna and another in their rural estate (Lower Austria and Moravia respectively), become the subject of this investigation, based on various and well documented sources: architectural forms, iconography and furnishings, but also economical aspects related to the buying, decorating and functioning of the residences in general. This latter aspect brings into discussion a very important dimension, seldom analysed in the traditional art historical studies, in assessing the financial investment and the revenues a residence necessitate, revealing also the symbolic value of the residences.

The article of Franciszek Skibincki ("Transformations and Adaptations of Architectural Models in the Residential Architecture of the 17th Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth") offers a provocative analysis of the architectural

transfer process in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with a focus on residential architecture. In order to investigate the process of reception and adaptation of various European architectural models to the local requirements, the author analyses the spatial configuration patterns of the main reception spaces (the vestibule and the dining room), identifying among the source models the designs of Sebastiano Serlio and the residence Palais du Luxembourg, but also a transfer of architectural models between different layers of society. The paper also introduces a number of literary sources relevant in studying the Polish-Lithuanian Early Modern architecture, for example the first Polish book of architecture (*Krótką nauka budownicza*, 1659), which highlights the importance of acculturation in transfer of architectural models by selectively adapting the foreign architectural models to the local requirements. The importance of the local cultural tradition that emerges from this study has to be noted, reflecting in the observation that “for a Polish or Lithuanian nobleman, a country house, an ancestral seat of his family, was the embodiment of all virtues.” (*Infra*, p. 78).

The last contribution brings to attention an important example of elite residences from Romania, the Haller Castle in Coplean. Once considered emblematic for Transylvanian Baroque and Rococo, it is now condemned to irreversible destruction. This contribution sheds light upon “the life” of the monument in the period after 1950, using mainly the archive of the nowadays Institute of National Heritage. The archive comprises a valuable fond with letters, inventories, photographs and surveys dating from the sixties until eighties of the last century, attesting the state of conservation of a large number of noble residences from Romania and the struggle of the specialists to save them. These documents confess about the repeated requests and claims for protecting and repairing the buildings belonging to the Direction of Historical Monuments and the lack of any practical interventions. The study case of Coplean reflects thus the paradigm of the epoch regarding attitude towards heritage in Romania during and after the Communism period. The inscription still visible today, dating from the sixties, – “Socialism. Happiness” – ironically states a still valid situation of the Romanian heritage.

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I would like to thank, first and foremost, to all the authors of the chapters of this first volume, for their prompt answer and the provocative contributions to this thematic issue. At the same time, warm thanks go to the committee board of *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, and especially to Ileana Burnichioiu, who proposed this initiative and invited me to collaborate.

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THE HISTORICAL RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE UNDER TOTALITARIAN REGIMES AND AFTER. THE ROMANIAN CASE

ILEANA BURNICHIOIU *

Almost any new approach to the residential architecture in the historical provinces of Romania has to deal with the effects of the decisions taken by the authoritarian or totalitarian political regimes installed after 1938. Of all, the ones from the 50s had the most dramatic impact on the built heritage which was in the property of the political, cultural and financial elites of the era – palaces, castles, courts (*curiae*), fortresses, manors or houses,¹ – with consequences that are still visible today. All residences that were still standing, regardless of their age, historical and artistic value, status among historical monuments, province or owner, shared a similar fate.²

On March 6th, 1945, the government headed by Petru Groza was installed and thus began, under Communist leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the process of Stalinisation in Romania, with reforms in all vital domains, with dissolutions and establishments of institutions and various forms of repression (arrest, detention, etc.) towards both real and virtual opponents. In the name of the “class fight”, of the imperious need to liquidate the “exploiting classes” (according to the official propaganda), major social and economic measures were taken, declared as favouring the peasantry and the work class. One of these measures was the agrarian reform adopted in March 23rd, 1945, by which estates were limited to 50 ha and, consequently, 900,000 peasants became land owners (fig. 1). Next, the forced abdication of King Michael I of Romania was followed, on May 27th, 1948, by the confiscation of all goods belonging to the Royal House. At the same time, the Ministry of Internal Affairs began inventorying the agricultural properties which hadn’t been confiscated in 1945 and started making lists of the

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¹ There is no attempt in these pages to evaluate their terminology – a rather complicated problem, which would require further evaluation. Generic or conventional designations will be used, as they are known in the literature or in the List of Historical Monuments.

² General sketches which are somewhat similar to the present one, regarding the fate of the Romanian residences, can also be found in Narcis Dorin Ion, “Destinul unor reședințe aristocratice în primul deceniu al regimului comunist” (paper presented at the International Symposium Monumentul, Iași, Romania, 2009, [www.monumentul.ro/pdfs/Narcis% 20Dorin%20Ion%202009. pdf](http://www.monumentul.ro/pdfs/Narcis%20Dorin%20Ion%202009.pdf), accessed on 12.07.2017): 269-296; András Kovács, “Kastélyrekonstrukciók Erdélyben,” *Korunk* 6, 3 (2013): 3-13 (http://epa.oszk.hu/00400/00458/00593/pdf/EPA00458_korunk_2013_06.pdf, accessed on 15.04.2017). For an overview on monument protection during the Communist regime in Romania, see: Dinu C. Giurescu, *Razing of Romania's Past* (New York: World Monuments Fund, 1989).

rich, sorted according to the administrative unit.

Thus, the land was set for the adoption of Decree 83/1949 during the night of 1st-2nd March regarding the confiscation of estates “along with their entire inventory, living, dead, and buildings.”³ The former owners were imposed house arrest or were even arrested, while on their departure they were only allowed to keep a limited number of goods for personal use.⁴ Later, the former members of the elite (and not only) all over the country were forced to dwell in compulsory residences (in Romanian: Domiciliu Obligatoriu, D.O.) in different places and to keep various jobs for living (figs. 3, 4).



Fig. 1. The distribution of the properties following the agrarian reform. Turnu Măgurele, 1946 (*Comunismul în România*, The National History Museum of Romania, <http://www.comunismulinromania.ro>, accessed on 20.04.2017).

³ According to Nicoleta Ionescu-Gură, for example, since there were no compensations whatsoever, this needs to be considered a “confiscation” and not an “expropriation”. The same author remarks that this measure, similar to the one in Russia, on October 26th/November 8th, 1917, had been anti-constitutional. Nicoleta Ionescu-Gură, *Dimensiunea represiunii din România în regimul comunist. Dislocări de persoane și fixări de domiciliu obligatoriu* (București: Corint, 2010), 15-16. The 1949 Decree was the first step made by the Romanian Labourer’s Party to collectivize agriculture after a Soviet model, which had been declared completed in 1962. For the whole context, see Keith Hitchins, *România: 1866-1947* (București: Humanitas, 2013); Nicoleta Ionescu-Gură, *Stalinizarea României* (București: BIC ALL, 2005); Denis Deletant, *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948-1965* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1999).

⁴ Clothing, shoes, lingerie, and bed sheets. Moreover, the permitted goods were listed in an official table.

After liquidation of the large private properties, on May 4th, 1949 followed the circular through which the inventoried agricultural goods are distributed firstly to the Agricultural Collective Farm (in Romanian: Gospodăriile Agricole de Stat – GAS). The most valuable mobile assets – furniture, paintings, carpets, musical instruments, etc. which decorated the residences of the elites – were allocated, with the prior notification of the Ministry of Arts, to schools, museums, city halls, libraries. The money, gold, silverware and precious stones were given to the State Bank. Some of the more valuable works of art were sent, through the Ministry of Arts which constituted a deposit, to the newly created National Gallery by the Museum of Arts of the Popular Republic (1950). Some goods that were considered less valuable were put up for sale. In the autumn of 1949, after being inventoried, the time came for the 6,317 buildings to be distributed to ministries and other state institutions. Their majority became property of the Ministry of Agriculture – over 5,000 buildings, of which most were turned at first into headquarters for Provisional Committees and mass organisations, community centres, schools, kindergartens and nurseries, maternity wards, human and veterinarian dispensaries, rest houses, hospitals and sanatoriums for tuberculosis, psychiatric, and disabled patients.⁵

By simply consulting the official documents one might get the impression that the passing of the estates from the private to the public sector had been made in a well-organised albeit abusive and unconstitutional manner, with a clear mode of keeping track and proper control of distribution of the built areas and with the centralisation of the most valuable mobile heritage for museum capitalisation. However, when delving deeper into the texts that only started to become available during recent years, one can notice a dysfunctional on-site organisation, havoc and theft, irrecoverable loss of inventory, along with various human abuses. The people involved in the application of the decree and the new administrators have proven to have been unprepared for the on-site situations.⁶

The history of post-1949 residences can only be revealed by compiling thousands of case studies, which requires a thorough study while also considering the general context. Some of the estates were left waiting for too long for their new roles or at least for repairs (already being in a bad condition), subjected to looting by the locals, reaching a state of collapse; others were adapted to their new – and improper – functions, which resulted in interventions completed with materials which were inadequate for old structures, partial demolitions or reconstructions. Others were perpetually redistributed, passing from one incompatible destination to another. Neither the status of historical monument

⁵ Ionescu-Gură, *Stalinizarea*, 495-500.

⁶ Dumitru Șandru, “Decretul 83/1949,” *Arhivele Totalitarismului* 1 (1993): 142; Ionescu-Gură, *Stalinizarea*, 492-494; Ionescu-Gură, *Dimensiunea represiunii*, 19.

which some of them had previously gained,⁷ nor the inclusion in the monuments list adopted in 1955 guaranteed a complete, long-time protection for their majority. Obviously, the exceptional artistic, architectural or documentary value of the residences and their collections, which many specialists have tried to present to the authorities, didn't matter either. A very relevant case for this topic, documented in the archives and reported by Narcis Dorin Ion, is that of the manor in Ciocănești (Dolj County) (fig. 5), which belonged to the important Ghika-Cantacuzino families. The manor, the interior inventory and the park have been devastated and looted, then fell to ruin.⁸

Nevertheless, one must not exaggerate the destructive effects of the liquidation of private property over the estates. A series of problems which caused the degradation or the disappearance of the buildings originated in the past and were tied to the previous agrarian reforms (1921, 1945), to their owner's financial and organisational possibilities regarding reconstructions or estate sales as in the case of Racoșu de Jos/Alsórákos (Brașov County) (fig. 6)⁹ or even building demolitions for exploitation of building materials (e. g. Vlaha/Magyarfenes, Cluj County, figs. 7-8)¹⁰, to seismic activity (the previous devastating earthquake had been in 1940) and other natural causes, fire, but also by requisitions, bombings and other war related interventions (fig. 9).¹¹ However, it cannot be stated that

⁷ Being afraid of certain negative consequences of the expropriations imposed by the agrarian reform in 1945, several landlords asked for the ranking of their buildings and parks (Ion, "Destinul unor reședințe," 285).

⁸ Ion, "Destinul unor reședințe," 276-292.

⁹ For example, the noble residence in Racoșu de Jos built during the 16th-17th centuries had become the property of the local community from 1903. All estate slowly entered into a degradation process and the Knights Hall or some other parts near the street have been demolished. Over time, various parts of the ensemble had different improper functions (e. g. stable and granary, fire station, and others). Furthermore, the earthquake of 1977 had a major impact on the castle. See the history of the castle in András Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz építészet Erdélyben. 1541-1720* (Budapest-Kolozsvár: Polis Könyvkiadó, 2003), 122-124; <http://monumenteuitate.org/en/monument/36/Racos-Suekoesd-Bethlen>, accessed on 21.05.2017.

¹⁰ The locals bought the castle, dismantled it and used the retrieved material to build their own houses. The marble statues were burned into lime, the park was destroyed, and the land was split between the villagers. E. Balogh, *Íratlan történelem* (Kolozsvár: Grafica Ny., 1939), 4.

¹¹ The case of the castle in Treznea (Sălaj County) is more complex, connected with the possible role played by Ferenc Bay in the Horthyst massacre from 1940. The family have left the estate in 1944 (reported by Maria Bucur, "Remembering Wartime Violence in Twentieth-Century Transylvania: A Few Thoughts on Comparative History," *Hungarian Studies* 21, 1-2 (2007): 105) and the local attitude to the continuously looted remnants of the castle seems to be a form of punishment against Bay family. The Cantacuzino Palace in Florești (Prahova County) ("The Little Trianon Palace") was twice destroyed by the German troops (in both World Wars), and by the earthquake in 1940 (Ion, "Destinul unor reședințe," 282-284). In revenge for Miklós Bánffy's actions in Bucharest, German troops plundered and devastated the castle in Bontida/Bonchida at the end of the Second World War (Kovács, "Kastélyrekonstrukciók," 7). A similar fate was shared by other valuable monuments such as

there was generally a major interest of the competent authorities to protect these estates as historical monuments.¹²



Fig. 2. László Barcsay of Bârcea Mare/Nagybarcsa (Hunedoara County), Prefect /supreme commit and his wife, Antónia Bruckenthal (19th c.) (Attila Molnár collection).



Fig. 3. Forced residence (D. O.) in 1976. Basement home for count Haller's family (the last landlords of the Castle of Sânpaul/Kerelőszentpál in Târgu Mureș. Gábor Margittai, *Tiltott kastély* (Budapest: Külső Magyarok Kiadó, 2017, 197).

Lónyai Castle in Medieșu Aurit/Aranyosmeggyes (Satu Mare County), <http://www.castleintransylvania.ro/lonyai-castle-mediesu-aurit-.html>, accessed on 21.05.2017.

¹² For example, in the *Inventory of Public and Historical Monuments in Romania*, 1903, published by the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction, even the courts of Constantin Brâncoveanu, prince of Wallachia (1688-1714), are missing.



Fig. 4. Count Jenő Haller, the last lord of the Castle in Cetatea de Baltă/Küküllővár as a worker (in first standing row, first from right) of ILEFOR company (Count Béla Haller's private collection, via Gábor Margittai).

In the year 1955 a new law of protection and a list of monuments (printed, but for limited use) were submitted, in which some of the former estates appeared with their new functions. Thus we can find a swinery of the People's Council assigned next to the boyar manor in Coșoveni (Dolj County), a storehouse and grain stall at the Banffy Castle in Urmeniș/Mezőörményes/Ermeden (Bistrița-Năsăud County) and the House Alexe Breazovay in Peșteana/Nagypestény (Hunedoara County), a "piglet maternity" at the Radian Cula in Radomiru, etc.¹³ Previously, the Commission for Historical Monuments (that functioned since 1892) was disbanded, which caused plenty of institutional dysfunctions and loss of archival material (surveys, photos). And the subsequent transfer of activities of conservation and restoration from the Department of Cults (1954) to the State Committee for Construction, Architecture and Systematisation (1959), and then to the State Committee and Council for Culture and Socialist Education (1971) brought new fractures of activity and replacement of personnel. Everything culminated with the disbanding of the Direction for Historical Monuments in 1977 (as a result of the 1977 earthquake and in the context of a major urban reorganisation) and its replacement with the Direction for National Heritage, under the Council for Socialist Culture and Education,

¹³ *Lista Monumentelor Istorice de cultură de pe teritoriul R.P.R* (București: Editura Academiei Populare Romîne, 1956).

which had a negative impact as well (maybe the worst in 1950-1989).¹⁴ Many projects of research and restoration which had begun all over the country were stopped, a scenario to which the lack of funding also contributed.

The efforts to inventory the former residences or to research and protect them did exist during the Communist era, but their character wasn't systematic, as they encountered financial, organisational problems and various incoherencies, and depended on the good will, training and influence of the specialists who attempted to continue the tradition of documentation, and to impose the monuments that were more valuable or in a state of pre-collapse as subjects of research or of projects of salvaging and restoration.¹⁵ András Kovács considers the case of the castle in Criș/Keresd/Kreisch (Mureș County) (fig. 10) to be very relevant for the fate of the civil architecture monument in the 20th century and beyond. After it was looted for three days at the end of the Second World War, the Bethlen family continued to inhabit it until 1948. In those days all chambers were still furnished with historic furniture, tapestries, carpets, books, as well as porcelain, glass, crystal, and silver wares. In 1949, large trucks entered the courtyard and the valuable objects were hauled for days. What had not been taken out of the castle was burnt in the courtyard. Until 1976, it hosted the headquarters of the Agricultural Production Cooperative (in Romanian: Cooperativa Agricolă de Producție – CAP), after which there began works of consolidation (with removal of the renderings) and an archaeological investigation (published with errors). When the Direction of Historical Monuments was disbanded in 1977, the restoration works were so advanced that

¹⁴ Virgil Vătășianu, Târgu Mureș report, 1980, in Corina Simion, *Artă și identitate națională în opera lui Virgil Vătășianu* (Cluj-Napoca: Nereamie Napocae, 2002), 191-194; Giurescu, *Razing of Romania's Past*; Oliver Velescu, "Remember: demolările. Reflecții la centenar," *Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice* 3, 4 (1992): 16-20; Cristian Vasile, "Proiecte de reorganizare a Direcției Monumentelor Istorice în anii 1960," *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Artă Plastică*, SN, 3 (47) (2013): 151-155.

¹⁵ The Archive of the National Heritage Institute (in Romanian: Institutul Național al Patrimoniului) hosts a large part of the documents on the restorations in the Communist era, and about 700 surveys and sketches from the archive of the Ion Mincu University in Bucharest, partially published over time, and more recently digitized and gathered in "The Survey Room" (in Romanian: "Camera cu relevee") (<https://relevee.uaum.ro/despre/>), along with specialised publications such as: *Monumente și Muzeu* (1950), *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice* (1970-1973), *Monumente istorice. Studii și lucrări de restaurare*, I-III (București: Editura Tehnică, 1964-1967), *Revista Monumentelor Istorice. Monumente Istorice și de Artă* (1974-1989), *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* (1954-), confess about of all these efforts to save and protect the architectural heritage, that sometimes included the former princely, noble and boyar residences. The lists of restoration works from 1959 to 1969 were published in "Principalele lucrări de restaurare a monumentelor istorice din Republica Socialistă România," *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice* XXXIX, 1 (1970): 73-78. Compared to the first stage of the Communist regime, we can see in this list an increased number of monuments such as houses, mansions, castles and fortifications or fortified churches in Transylvania which benefited from works of restoration. Even so, the religious monuments represent the majority.

only a door with inlays and some exterior renderings were missing. However, left without security, the monument and the park around it turned again into a target for destruction, becoming a ruin. The roofs mostly collapsed, and the artistic components were dislodged and stolen. A new series of consolidations and roof assembly followed, but after a lengthy process of retrocession the castle returned to the Bethlen heirs (2007).¹⁶



Fig. 5. The manor Ghika-Cantacuzino from Ciocănești (Dâmbovița County) in the 1950s (Ion, "Destinul unor reședințe," 294) and 2013 (Photos by Bogdan Costea, <http://www.monumenteuitate.org/en/monument/755/Ciocanesti-Ghika-Cantacuzino>, accessed on 30.07.2017).

¹⁶ Kovács, "Kastélyrekonstrukciók," 8; Radu Oltean, "Castelul de la Criș-Mureș," in <http://art-historia.blogspot.com/2011/03/castelul-de-la-cris-mures.html>, accessed on 12.04.2017. From 2007 the castle is under the administration of Pro Castrum Bethlen.



a



b

Fig. 6. The castle in Racoșu de Jos/Alsórákos (Brașov County) in 2018
(Photos by Ileana Burnichioiu).



Fig. 7. Vlaha/Magyarfenes (Cluj County). Jósika Castle in 1929 (<http://www.kepkonyvtar.hu/?docId=19804>, accessed on 30.05.2017).



Fig. 8. Vlaha/Magyarfenes. Jósika Castle in 1936 (<http://www.kepkonyvtar.hu/?docId=19647>, accessed on 30.05.2017).



a



b



c

Fig. 9. a-c. The Bay Castle in Treznea/Ördöghút at the beginning of the 20th c. (<http://www.fortepan.hu>, Treznea; <http://www.castelintransilvania.ro/castelul-bay-treznea-.html>, accessed on 27.04.2017) and in 2013 (Photo by Mirel Matyas).



c
Fig. 10. The castle of Criș/Keresd/Kreisch (Mureș County). a-b. Details from the interior before 1949 (<http://art-historia.blogspot.com/2011/03/castelul-de-la-cris-mures.html>, accessed on 12.05.2017) and in 2015 (Photo by Ileana Burnichioiu); c. General view of the donjon and loggia in 1991(Photo by Radu Oltean).

Some residences as many other important monuments (e. g. Oradea Nagy-Várád/Großwardein, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg, and Arad fortresses, Collegium Bethlen in Alba Iulia) such as those that had hosted military facilities – like the Princely Palace in Alba Iulia, were as good as inexistent for the official research or protection, the buildings being inaccessible,¹⁷ and the repairs always made by the owners. In 1950, the castle of Făgăraș/Fogaras/Fogarasch (Brașov County) was taken over by the General Directorate of Prisons, becoming a political prison until 1960 when it was turned into a museum.¹⁸ Another very important monument, the castle of Gherla, housed a prison from 1780 until today.¹⁹ Moreover, other estates suffered important destructions during film making (e.g. Bonțida/Bonchida in 1964, Cantacuzino Palace in Florești on several occasions).²⁰

However, certain subjects or archaeological sites related to elite residences have been included in the official research plans, with multiannual funding, according to directions set by the authority and the Academy. This was the case with the 1967 program requested by the Institute of Archaeology, for the systematic inventory of lordly residences in the Seat Fortresses of Wallachia and Moldavia,²¹ or with the syntheses required for various chapters of the history of “Romanian civilisation,” such as the work of Corina Niculescu on “old Romanian houses, manors and palaces.”²²

Simultaneously with the activity coordinated from Bucharest, with the help of specialists, there were also other attempts of inventorying in counties, initiated by the party, including medieval residences (archaeological sites) or pre-modern residences. Such was the case in Hunedoara County in 1975 – an action that probably wasn’t singular –, where the research of the archives revealed, in 2014, a document comprising 26 buildings, sent by the local authorities to the

¹⁷ It is about the two eastern courtyards used as military units over three centuries, from the Habsburgs to the Romanian Army in 2006. Ileana Burnichioiu, “The Princely Palace of Alba Iulia. The beginnings of research,” *Caiete ARA* 8 (2017): 185–186.

¹⁸ Ioan Ciupea, “Făgăraș. Cetatea închisoare (1950–1960),” *ASTRA* 1-2 (2012); Kovács, “Kastélyrekonstrukciók,” 3–4.

¹⁹ Klára P. Kovács, “Cetatea din Gherla, azi penitenciarul Gherla,” <http://enciclopediavirtuala.ro/monument.php?id=367>, accessed on 17.05.2017.

²⁰ See the National Report on built heritage: *Raportul Comisiei Prezidențiale pentru Patrimoniul Construit, Siturile Istorice și Naturale, Administrația Prezidențială* (București, 2009), 18, <http://old.presidency.ro/static/rapoarte/Raport%20CPPCSINR.pdf>, accessed on 18.07.2017; Ion, “Destinul unor reședințe,” 284.

²¹ Tereza Sinigalia, *Arhitectura civilă de zid din Țara Românească în secolele XIV–XVIII* (București: Vremea), 29.

²² The author fell in the trap of autochthonism and generally accomplished much less than the generous title suggests. However, her book was influent since it stimulated the interest in this subject, especially for Wallachia and Moldavia.

Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.²³

Regarding the scientific research, apart from the writings of Corina Nicolescu, other published works dedicated especially to the elite residences were limited geographically, chronologically (to a single reign, era, style) or thematically (to a single category of residential architecture, a single site or monument).²⁴ Some works present unilateral approaches from the point of view of the sources used. Among the most notable ones, still appreciated for their scientific value, are those by Gheorghe Sebestyén and Victor Sebestyén,²⁵ Marianna H. Takács,²⁶ and Margit B. Nagy,²⁷ Géza Entz²⁸ – all about buildings of the medieval and Early Modern Age Transylvanian elite (continuing an older direction of research recorded in Budapest or Transylvania partially connected with the activity of the Monuments Commission until 1918, with the inventory of monuments and the county monographs). All these are rather well reflected by the critical historiographical chapters or by the state of research presented in the post-1989 publications by Tereza Sinigalia²⁹ and Anca Brătuleanu³⁰ (for Wallachia), of Cristian Nicolae Apetrei (for Moldavia and Wallachia),³¹ András

²³ The document named “Note de prezentare a obiectivelor foste conace și castele” refers to 26 residences of the elite of Hunedoara County; their state of conservation was also noted. The inventory has been made in order to familiarise with the elements of the building fund, which through their construction have a particular character, and for this purpose a numerous team was deployed on site, comprising activists, engineers, gymnasium teachers, pedagogues and priests. Dorin Petrescu, <http://zhd.ro/istorii/documente-regasite-comunistii-hunedoreni-au-facut-inventarul-palatelor-de-grofi/>, accessed on 28.09.2017.

²⁴ At the same time, studies on the elite of the Romanian provinces, especially in Transylvania, Banat and Crișana, decreased in number after 1945.

²⁵ Gheorghe Sebestyén and Victor Sebestyén, *Arhitectura Renașterii în Transilvania* (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1963) followed by Gheorghe Sebestyén, “Castelele și curiile Renașterii în Transilvania,” *Acta Musei Napocensis* 22-23 (1985-1986) and the book about Renaissance architecture: *O pagină din istoria arhitecturii din România. Renașterea* (București: Editura Tehnică, 1987).

²⁶ *Magyarországi udvarházak és kastélyok (XVI-XVII. század)* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1970).

²⁷ *Várak, kastélyok, udvarházak, ahogy a régiek látták. XVII-XVIII. századi erdélyi összeírások és leltárak* (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1973).

²⁸ Géza Entz, “Mittelalterliche Edelhöfe in Siebenbürgen,” *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift für Attila T. Szabó und Zsigmond Jakó*, eds. Kálmán Benda et al., *Studia Hungarica. Schriften des Ungarischen Instituts München* 31 (München, 1987): 241-252. The data was then included in the later volumes about medieval Transylvanian architecture: *Erdély építészete a 11-13. században* (Kolozsvár: Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Kiadása, 1994); *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században* (Kolozsvár: Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Kiadása, 1996).

²⁹ *Arhitectura civilă*.

³⁰ *Curți domnești și boierești în România. Valahia veacurilor al XVII-lea și al XVIII-lea* (București, Simetria, 1997).

³¹ *Reședințe boierești din Țara Românească și Moldova în secolele XIV-XVI* (Brăila: Istros, 2009).

Kovács,³² Adrian A. Rusu,³³ Elek Benkő and Attila Székely³⁴ (for Transylvania), etc.

On the other hand, when the investigations (especially the archaeological ones) were planned, the researchers failed to receive the necessary funding, which was mostly directed to prehistoric, Dacian, Roman, or (more rarely) medieval sites, connected to the most ancient, heroic history of Romanian territories, serving the ideology of the age. Some of the obsessions of the national discourse were the demonstration of the earliest ancestors and the continuity of settlement between the Danube, the Black Sea and the Carpathians (if possible, even since prehistory), emphasising anything possibly connected to the heroic past of the Romanians and identifying as many ancient relations of unity between the former historical provinces that made up Romania as possible. It was a legitimating discourse specific to totalitarian regimes, directed towards the surrounding countries (especially Hungary and the Soviet Union), but also towards the citizens. Since the mid-1980s, this propagandistic discourse fuelled by a historiography influenced by party activists, alongside the cult of personality, took on the most aberrant forms.³⁵

The post-1989 period brought more than critical reviews of older documentation and especially new conditions for the former residences that had survived on site. Older problems, many of them inherited from Communist times, had increasingly tumbled and aggravated, while the central and local authorities continued to be unable to guarantee and organise their protection (figs. 11-17). The feeling of “looting”, all the way to the total compromise of any notion of individual property, persisted as long as it has transformed into a feature also of the social-economic “freedom” after 1989. After 1989, the activity of the

³² Kovács, *Késő reneszánsz*, published after a PhD thesis focused on buildings commissioned by Gábor Bethlen Prince of Transylvania (1613-1629).

³³ *Castelarea carpatică. Fortificații și cetăți din Transilvania și teritoriile învecinate (sec. XIII-XIV)* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2005), published after a PhD thesis about medieval fortifications and castles, articles as “Donjoane din Transilvania,” *Acta Musei Napocensis* 17 (1980): 177-197 and a bibliographic volume: *Bibliografia fortificațiilor medievale și premoderne din Transilvania și Banat* (Reșița: Banatica, 1996). Next, the author provided a list accompanied by bibliography of the medieval noble courts in Hațeg and Transylvania during the 14th-15th centuries in “Biserica Sfântului Nicolae și curtea nobiliară a Arceștilor de la Densuș (jud. Hunedoara),” *Arheologia Medievală* VII (2008): 170-173. Another book of the author is forthcoming: *Castelul și spada. Cultura materială a elitelor din Transilvania Evului Mediu tardiv*. Some chapters of the volume (7-11) are dealing with residential architecture of the Late Medieval elite (castles, manors houses, donjons, etc.) and its material inventory as reflected by written and archaeological evidence.

³⁴ *Középkori udvarház és nemesség a Székelyföldön* (Budapest: Pap Kiadó), 2008.

³⁵ Robert King, *Minorities under communism: nationalities as a source of tension among Balkan communist states* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973); Katherine Verdery, *National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1991); Alexandru Zub, *Orizont închis. Istoriografia română sub comunism* (Iași: Institutul European, 2000); Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001).

newly recreated national and regional structures of heritage protection started with a great enthusiasm.³⁶ But in two or three years the specialists and the authorities observed that the budget was not sufficient for all open sites and the initial plans had to be let go of. Many historical residential buildings and ensembles were never included in the List of Historical Monuments; some are still unknown in the field. So, at this moment, there is no well-defined strategy for the former residences that have been confiscated, the larger measures always being formal, remaining at a bureaucratic and declarative level, while the onsite control of conservation, restoration, and–rehabilitation is only partial and largely inefficient.³⁷

Important steps have been made in the last two decades regarding research and inventory, thanks to the specialists and young professionals in various institutions (universities, research centres, museums),³⁸ PhD theses,³⁹ NGOs and foundations,⁴⁰ current owners and administrators. A major impact of the on-going projects is directed rather towards popularisation and raising

³⁶ Cezara Mucenic, “Istoria CNMASI-DMASI. 1989-1993,” *Revista Monumentelor Istorice* LXIX, 1-2 (2000): 69-78.

³⁷ Two reports in 2009 and 2014 show the weaknesses of the national protection of culture heritage in Romania: see *Raportul Comisiei Prezidențiale and Strategia de dezvoltare. 20. Protecția monumentelor – Strategia de dezvoltare teritorială a României. Studii de fundamentare. Servicii elaborare studii în vederea implementării activităților proiectului cu titlul „Dezvoltarea de instrumente și modele de planificare strategică teritorială pentru sprijinirea viitoarei perioade de programare post 2013”. Studiul 20. Protecția monumentelor istorice și a patrimoniului construit* (București, 2014), http://sdtr.ro/upload/STUDII/20.%20Raport_Protectia%20monumentelor%20istorice%20si%20a%20Patrimoniului%20construit_.pdf, accessed on 2.10.2018.

³⁸ E. g. “The Survey Room,” <https://relevec.uauim.ro>, and *Documente de arhitectură din România. 2. Curți, mănăstiri și casele lor – Țara Românească*, eds. Irina Calotă, Alexandra Teodor, and Horia Moldovan (București: Editura Universitară Ion Mincu, 2015; *INVENTARIUM*, coordinated by Virgil Pop, Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism in Cluj (<https://fau.utcluj.ro/inventarium.html>), accessed on 07.09.2017.

³⁹ In Romania (Cluj, București) or in Hungary, e. g. Marta Berke, with a PhD thesis about Transylvanian noble residence during 17th-18th (*Erdélyi kastélyok, kúriák és udvarházak nyílászárói a 17-18. században*, Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design, 2010); Andreea Milea about the historical gardens of Transylvania (*Grădini istorice în Transilvania*, Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj, 2011); Letiția Cosnean dealing with Early Modern Noble Residences (*Reședințe nobiliare din Podișul Târnavelor în perioada secolelor XVI-XVII*, National University of Arts, București, 2014), Anca Raluca Majaru about residences in Banat during 19th (*Reședințele nobiliare extraurbane din Banat în secolul al XIX-lea*, Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urbanism, București, 2016), Máté Sárospataki dealing with dendrological gardens in the 19th century (*Dendrológiai kertek a 19. századi magyarországi kertépítészetben*, Corvinus University of Budapest, 2014), Zsuzsanna Kopeczny studying the Late Medieval noble residences (University of Szeged, work in progress), and many others coordinated in Cluj by András Kovács and Nicolae Sabău.

⁴⁰ E. g. Mihai Eminescu Trust for the Apafi manor house in Mălâncrav, Transylvania Trust for Bontida Castle, Kalnoky Conservation Trust for Micloșoara Castle.

awareness of their touristic potential.⁴¹ In fact, this effort should be calibrated to its importance and scale, with multiannual coordinated programmes, in which the data on monuments should be correlated with the archaeological data, undertaken by larger teams which should include archaeologists, architects, historians, art historians, topographers, etc., using modern means of documentation and archiving.



a



b

Fig. 11. The ruins of the medieval court of Cârdești (later Kendeffy) in Râu de Mori (Hunedoara County), 2017 (Photo by Ileana Burnichioiu).

⁴¹ See more about new projects here: the <http://monumenteuitate.org/ro> and <http://www.castleintransylvania.ro/>.



Fig. 12. Neglected ruins of medieval noble court of Mara family in Sălașu de Sus/ Felsőszálláspatak (Hunedoara County), 2009 (Photo by Ileana Burnichioiu).



Fig. 13. Hardly known: Eszterházy manor house with Renaissance window frames in Șard/Kothmarkt (Alba County), 2008 (Photos from “Monumente Uitate,” <http://www.monumenteuitate.org/ro/monument/92/Sard-Eszterhazy>, accessed on 23.05.2017).



a



b

Fig. 14. Hardly known: medieval manor house in Vălenii de Mureș/Disznajó (Mureș County) in 2007 (Photo by Ileana Burnichioiu).



a



b



c

Fig. 15. The Bethlen-Țopa Castle (17th-19th c.) in Boiu (Mureș County) in the 1960s, 2009, and 2016, while the building material was retrieved (Photo by Adrian A. Rusu; <http://monumenteuitate.blogspot.com/2011/12/reconstituim-virtual-un-monumentuitat.html#.XABJNmgaUk>, accessed on 30.07.2017).



Fig. 16. The mansion Cantacuzino-Paşcanu Ceplenița (Iași County) (17th, 19th c.) in the interwar period (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Conacul_din_Cepleni%C5%A3a0.jpg, accessed on 30.08.2017).



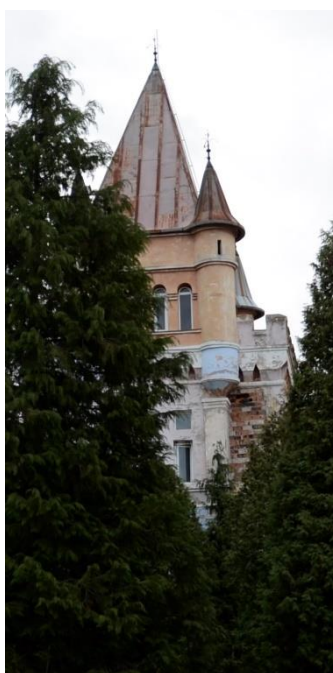
Fig. 17. The mansion Cantacuzino-Paşcanu Ceplenița burnt by fire in 1984 and robbed by the locals after 1989. Photo by Cezar Suceveanu, 2009 (https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conacul_Cantacuzino-Pa%C8%99canu_de_la_Cepleni%C8%9Ba#/media/File:Conacul_din_Cepleni%C5%A3a1.jpg, accessed on 30.08.2017).



a



b

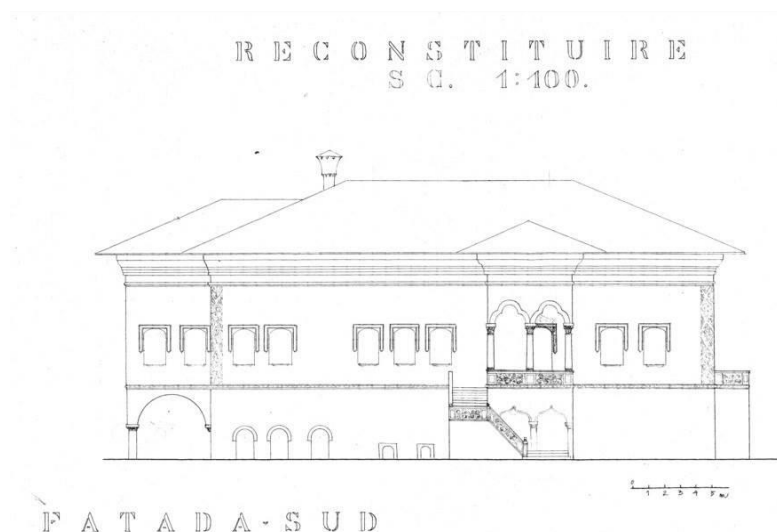


c

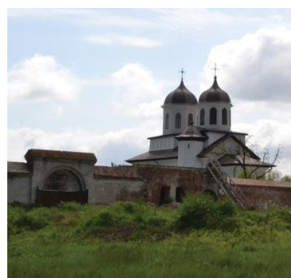
Fig. 18. The Kendeffy castle in Sântămărie Orlea/Óraljaboldogfalva (18th c.) (Hunedoara County) in 2007 and 2018. After an inadequate renovation, nowadays the castle is closed by the owner. The facade and the roofs show very serious degradation) (Photos by Ileana Burnichioiu).



a



b



c

Fig. 19. The ruins of the princely court in Potlogi (17thC., Dâmbovița County):
a. In the archival images from the beginning of the 20th c.; b. Graphical reconstruction of the palace in 1947 (<https://relevec.uauim.ro/m522/>, accessed on 30.07.2017);
c. Images during and after the last restoration works, made with European funds (2014-2015) (Moldovan, “Curtea domnească de la Potlogi”).



a



b

Fig. 20. The medieval castle of Mălăiești/Malajesd (Hunedoara County) before (2010) and after the restoration project (2017) (Photos by Ileana Burnichioiu and Sebastian Manolescu).



a



b



c

Fig. 21. The Károlyi castle in Ardud/Erdőd (Satu Mare County) before (2008, <http://monumenteuitate.org/ro/monument/208/Ardud-Karolyi>, accessed on 20.04.2017) and after the restoration project (<http://www.castelintransilvania.ro/castelul-karolyi-ardud-.html>, accessed on 20.04.2017).



a



b



c

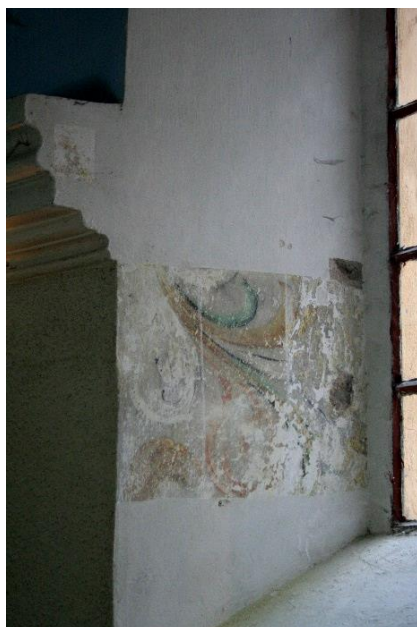
Fig. 22. Castle in Ozd/Magyarózd (Mureș County). General view from 2012 (by Ileana Burnichioiu) and photos during wall research (by Lóránd Kiss).



a



b



c

Fig. 23. Bornemisza Castle in Gurghiu/Görgényszentimre/Görgen (Mureş County).
Photos during wall research (by Lóránd Kiss).



Fig. 24. Count Kalnoky castle from Micloșoara/Miklósvár (Baraolt, Covasna County) before (a-b) and after wall research and restoration works (c) (Photos by Lóránd Kiss, and Ileana Burnichioiu).



a



b

Fig. 25. a. The Gate of the Princely Palace in Alba Iulia (Arthur Bach Collection, 1935);
b. Wall research discovery in 2014 by Lóránd Kiss and his team (Photo by Călin Șuteu).

In addition, largely unprepared to deal with a very rich built heritage, both present day authorities and private owners register major failures (with European or private funds, with projects drafted by architects or just occasional workforce), which revolts the few specialists and every now and then surface to the mass-media, . g. the princely court in Potlogi (Dâmbovița County),⁴² the Transylvanian fortresses of Râșnov/Rozsnyó/Rosenau,⁴³ Rupea/Kőhalom/Reps,⁴⁴ Feldioara/Földvár/Marienburg (Brașov County), Deva/Déva/Diemrich, Mălăiești/Malajesd (Hunedoara County) (fig. 20) or the Károlyi castle in Ardud/Erdőd (Satu Mare County) (fig. 21).⁴⁵ The reconstruction of these monuments can be classified as very aggressive; they annihilated the authenticity and the quality of the ruins as historical evidence. Meanwhile, some of this built heritage is the target for real estate businesses on which the authorities exert no rights (of control or pre-emption) (e. g. the Haller manor house in Saschiz/Szászkézd/Keisd, Mureș County, the unique stone manor of Udriște Năsturel in Herăști, Giurgiu County,⁴⁶ can be found on Artmark) or is simply left to decay, only the land being considered valuable.

The onsite research and the protection of this important heritage are largely problematic, both for the retroceded ones (fig. 18) and for those that are still in administration of the local authorities or objects of lengthy processes of property restitution.⁴⁷

At the same time, the number of specialists in the country that are properly trained for historical building research is very small compared to the needs. This also reflects the manner in which the new discoveries enter the

⁴² Horia Moldovan, "Curtea domnească de la Potlogi," *Arhitectura*, September 12 (2016), http://arhitectura-1906.ro/2016/09/curtea-domneasca-de-la-potlogi/?fbclid=IwAR2n0-Ttqp3aSYbqwCddhPHXvD8zARdCKNxxkubinljc-cD67_2a0DhCsig, accessed on 21.08.2017).

⁴³ "Cetatea din Râșnov din nou în pericol," *Gazeta de Râșnov* March 9, 2009, <http://www.primaria.rasnov.ro/portal/images/pdf/gazeta/gazeta66.pdf>, accessed on 28.04.2017.

⁴⁴ Zoltan Maroși, "Representations of local identity through landmarks: the rehabilitation of Rupea fortress, Romania, territorial identity and development," 2, 1 (Spring 2017): 31-46, http://territorial-identity.ro/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/3_Marosi_TID_1_2017.pdf, accessed on 23.07.2017.

⁴⁵ Vladimir Agrigoroaei, "About the Recent Death of Mălăiești Castle," *Think Outside the Box*, 2014, <https://www.totb.ro/monumentul-manea-despremoartea-recenta-a-cetatii-de-la-malaiesti/>, accessed on 22.07.2017.

⁴⁶ Sebestyén, *O pagină*, 138-143; <http://www.monumenteuitate.org/en/monument/627/Herasti-Nasturel-Herescu>, accessed on 20.05.2017.

⁴⁷ About a general framework of property restitution in Romania, see for example Lavinia Stan, "The Roof over Our Heads: Property Restitution in Romania," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 22, 2 (2006):180-205. The process of restitution of the former residences and estates to the heirs is a very slow process during which nobody can do maintenance works. Meantime, the buildings are falling into ruin (or even disappear), and the restoration costs are growing too much. In other cases, the heirs do not have the ability to properly use and maintain the properties obtained. See various other cases after the fall of communism in "Castle in Transylvania – Strategy and Development Models," 17-35, http://www.castelintransilvania.ro/pdf/STRATEGIA_CIT_EN.pdf, accessed on 21.03.2017).

scientific circuit or the archives, with delay or not at all, data which in the case of Transylvania is especially frequent. For example, the list in the following Annex shows the wall research completed just by a single team of painters from Târgu-Mureș, in the period 2003-2018.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, it is poorly understood that the continuous removal of identity and memory of these residences, which reflects the lifestyle of a significant part from a former society, can only be compensated through detailed research of the monuments – many of them requiring urgent interventions –, of the archives (which in their turn have to be maintained and completed, not only exploited), and of the archaeological sites.

Annex

The following list of Transylvanian estates (palaces, castles, princely and noble courts) where wall research was conducted in the period 2003-2018, was kindly offered to the author by the painting-restorer Lóránd Kiss, who has coordinated his team.⁴⁹ Some of these investigations brought to light paintings and decorative renderings from the 15th to the 18th centuries and were followed by works of conservation-restoration (some of which continue today), others were only verification surveys made at the request of the owners or of the project coordinators, for their emergency rescue or revitalisation interventions.

- The castle in Buia/Bolya/Bell (Sibiu County). Wall research with the discovery of mural paintings from the 15th c. in the chapel and Renaissance paintings from the 17th c. in various areas of the castle;

- Bethlen Castle in Ilia/Marosillye/Elienmarkt – “The Red Bastion” (Hunedoara County). Research and conservation of 16th c. mural paintings fragments;

- Bethlen Castle in Criș/Keresd/Kreisch (Mureș County). Continuation of older wall research and conservation/restoration of Renaissance paintings (medallions) and mural structure;

- Apafi Castle in Mălâncrav/Almakerék/Malmkrog (Sibiu County). Wall research with discoveries of stone fragments and mural paintings from the 17th-19th c.;

- The Castle of Gilău/Gyalu (Cluj County). Wall research with discoveries of mural paintings and architectural fragments originating from the 16th-17th c.;

- Bornemisza Castle in Gurghiu/Görgényszentimre/Görgen (Mureș County). Wall survey, followed by surface stripping with discoveries of medallions of allegorical representations inspired from 16th-17th c. engravings and of mural paintings from the 18th-19th c.; partial conservation;

⁴⁸ While for the Romanian archaeology there is a functional (regulated) tradition that all research is authorised and the authors must present short reports to be published in *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice* (and thus one can easily learn about the newer investigations, for building research or projects of conservation/restoration these obligations are non-existent.

⁴⁹ Our special thanks to Lóránd Kiss who always shares, with exceptional generosity, the novel information discovered in his research, in order to reveal them as soon as possible to the scientific community. The above is ordered by the time of discovery, and the chronological attributions belong to the painting restorer.

- Castle in Ozd/Magyarózd (Mureş County) (fig. 22). Survey and surface selective layer(s) stripping with the discovery of stucco decorations from the end of the 17th c. and of decorative paintings from the 18th-19th centuries; conservation works;

- Bethlen Castle in Bahnea/Szászbonyha/Bahnen (Mureş County) (fig. 23). Wall survey resulting in the discovery of several medallions with 17th century representations;

- Kornis Castle in Mănăstireni/Magyargyerőmonostor/Klosterdorf (Cluj County). Wall survey resulting in identification of fragments of 17th c. mural painting;

- Kemény noble court in Bichiş/Magyarbükkös (Mureş County). Wall research followed by surface selective layer(s) stripping and discovery of Late Renaissance paintings (with inscriptions from the 17th c.) and others datable to the 18th-19th c.; conservation-restoration works;

- Noble court in Turia/Torja/Torian (Covasna County). Discoveries of mural paintings and stucco decorations from the Late Renaissance (17th c.) followed by works of conservation-restoration;

- Kálnoky Castle in Micloşoara/Miklósvár (Covasna County) (fig. 24). Discovery and conservation of stucco decorations from the 17th c. and of decorative paintings from the 19th c.;

- Princely Palace in Alba Iulia Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár/Karlsburg (Alba County) (fig. 25). Research of Renaissance decorative renders from the 16th-17th centuries, and 18th-19th c. paintings;

- Princely Palace in Oradea/Nagyvárad/Großwardein (Bihar County). Research, conservation, and restoration of Renaissance paintings and stucco decorations, 18thC.

Other wall investigations are completed or on-going at more recent castles and manors, which are known to have been built in the 18th-20th c., such as: Toldalagi Castle in Corunca/Coronka (Mureş County) (18th-19th c.), Wesselenyi Castle in Comlod/Komlód (Bistriţa County) (18th c.), Degenfeld Castle in Hodod/Kriegsdorf (Sălaj County) (18th-19th centuries), Haller Castle in Sânpaul/Kerelószentpál/Paulsdorf (Mureş County) (18th c.), Haller Castle in Ogra/Marosugra/Ugern (Mureş County) (18th c.), Bethlen Castle in Arcalia (Bistriţa County) (18th-19th c.), Mikó Castle in Olteni/Oltzem (Covasna County) (18th-19th c.), Máriaffy Castle in Sângeorgiu de Mureş/Marosszentgyörgy (Mureş County) (19th c.), Teleki-Mikó Castle in Ocna Mureş/Marosújvár/Miereschhall (Alba County) (18th-19th c.), Teleki Castle in Gorneşti/Gernyeszeg/Kertzing (Mureş County) (18th c.), Ugron Castle in Filiaşi/Fiatfalva (Harghita County) (18th-19th c.), Ugron Castle in Zau de Câmpie/Mezőzáh/Sannendorf (Mureş County) (beginning of the 20th c.).

CEREMONY AND SPACE: CONTACT BETWEEN THE NOBLES AND THE MONARCH FROM THE 16TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

KATARZYNA KURAS*

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a unique state in Europe in many respects, including the character of its government and political traditions. It was also a state of many paradoxes: citizens with political rights labelled it the “republic of the nobles”. The key idea was the concept of *Rzeczpospolita* (*Res Publica*) - a community of citizens, united by rights, privileges and common responsibilities. In fact, the Commonwealth was a monarchy until its collapse in 1795, with the important difference that the throne was already elective under the reign of the Jagiellonian dynasty (14th-16th centuries). Initially, the king was elected from among the ruling dynasty by a small council, and when the last Jagiellon, Sigismund II Augustus, died in 1572, all nobles were granted the right to elect the monarch in direct elections.¹ There is no doubt that the monarch’s majesty suffered considerably with the death of the last Jagiellon. This is hardly surprising, since the position of Sigismund I the Old and Sigismund II Augustus resembled the status of a hereditary monarch; each of the Jagiellons was, in fact, a hereditary Grand Duke of Lithuania and the election of the king of the Commonwealth was mostly a formality. After 1572 this situation changed radically: every successive ruler of the Republic was not only elected in a free election,² but also forced to swear to respect *the Henrician Articles*, a key document for the existence of the state and the privileges of the political nation. According to this contract, the king renounced all aspirations to transform the elective throne to a hereditary one.³

One of the decisive factors defining the “demand” for contact with the elective monarch and the actual accessibility of the king to his subjects was the unique character of the Polish monarchy, in which the king was a guarantor of the state’s stability, a symbol of its continuity and one of the three parliamentary

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¹ A very good description of the election proceedings in English, including the various stages of the proceedings, is to be found in the book by Jacek Jędruch, “Constitutions, Elections and Legislatures of Poland, 1493-1993,” EJJ Books, <http://info-poland.buffalo.edu/JJ.html> (accessed April 20, 2017). Here one can find detailed information on the royal elections in the Early Modern Age.

² Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Queen Liberty: the concept of freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 9.

³ *Volumina Constitutionum*, ed. Waław Uruszczak and Stanisław Grodziski, vol. II/2 (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2008), 326.

estates (next to the Chamber of Envoys and the Senate). For his subjects he was undoubtedly someone special and thus something divine: *divinum quid* (fig. 1).⁴ This “demand” for direct contact was certainly present in the early modern period. A personal meeting or conversation with the king was a prestigious event in the Commonwealth, as it was in Western Europe; it could also be an opportunity to win his favor. This was particularly important in the context of the only real power the king possessed: he was in charge of assigning central offices (which were the most coveted) and the decisive majority of local offices.⁵ Contact with an elective monarch was mainly an opportunity for nobles to contend for a promotion in the administration hierarchy (for themselves or family members), or to submit a request for help with some other matter. This is why satirists continuously ridiculed the Polish royal court, with the nobles “hanging on” to the king in the hope of receiving vacancies.⁶

Virtually all nobles were entitled to contact the king; in Poland this was a very large group of people, estimated at 8 per cent of the population. In practice, however, there were only a handful of nobles who could have everyday access to the monarch without much trouble. This group included senators residing with the king (the institution was introduced in 1573 in *the Henrician Articles*), ministers and central officials, as well as persons sometimes referred to as royal favorites. They all had contact with the king due to their official state functions (Marshal, Chancellor and Treasurer) and court functions (Court Chamberlain, Master of the Kitchen, Pantler, Cupbearer, Carver, Steward). On the other hand, the quite frequent visits of royal favorites and supporters were due to personal contacts, friendship, or political relations with the monarch (e.g. Adam Kazanowski during the reign of Vladislaus IV Vasa, known as the *éminence grise* of the court, or Jerzy August Mniszech in the time of Augustus III).

The specific position of the monarch in the framework of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth influenced and defined the ceremonial space he possessed. From the end of the 16th century, the Royal Castle in Warsaw was the residence of the king, his chancellery and court. This building, however, was owned both by the king and the Commonwealth, and its official name was: “The residence of the king and of the Commonwealth.” As a result, the castle was not only the residence of the monarch, but also a place for debates of the Parliament and the headquarters of the ministers of the civil and royal administration. During the reign of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (1764-1795), the castle had

⁴ Urszula Augustyniak, *Wazowie i “królowie rodacy”: studium władzy królewskiej w Rzeczypospolitej XVII wieku* (Warszawa: Semper, 1999), 67-79.

⁵ *Volumina Constitutionum*, 2/2, 328.

⁶ Jędrzej Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki, czyli historia polska*, ed. Matuszewska Przemysława (Warszawa: PIW, 1971), 112.

two distinct functions: the role of the royal state apartment was played by the Grand Apartment, and the King's Apartment was the monarch's private residence.⁷ This division into public and private space was a result of the specificity of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and decisively influenced the relations between the king and his subjects. It is for this reason that the everyday life of the royal court in the Commonwealth frequently amazed foreigners, who did not understand the structure of the state. After his arrival in Warsaw, the papal nuncio Visconti wrote that in his opinion the court did not resemble a court... He added:

“It seems more like the court of a wealthy Polish nobleman, because there is hardly anybody attending to His Highness (...). When there is a gathering of noblemen for parliamentary deliberations or another event, then the court becomes noisy and busy (...). Then there are often several dozen [noble-born – KK] valets milling around the king (...). They are all allowed to enter the chamber where the king puts on his robes, so that often they cannot all fit in.”⁸

In terms of the accessibility of the monarch to his subjects, informal factors also played an important role, particularly the monarch's personality. Sigismund I the Old, commonly referred to as the “senatorial king,” was not particularly effusive in his relations with his subjects. This was also true of his son and successor, Sigismund II Augustus. During the short reign of Henry of Valois (1573–1574), it was a common complaint that the king knew neither Polish nor Latin, surrounded himself with foreigners and did not offer access to himself.⁹ Sigismund III Vasa also had a well-known dislike for direct contact with his subjects; during his reign it was difficult for magnates' secretaries and other persons outside the official elite to receive a private audience.¹⁰ One of his successors, August II, divided his time between hereditary Saxony and elective Poland, but this does not fully describe his attitude towards nobles, especially during his stays in Warsaw; he sometimes gave the impression that he neglected

⁷ Andrzej Rottermund, *Zamek Warszawski w epoce Oświecenia. Rezydencja monarsza, funkcje i treści* (Warszawa: Zamek Królewski, 1989), 45.

⁸ *Relacje nuncjusów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690*, vol. 2 (Berlin, Poznań: B. Behr (E. Bock), 1864), 219–20.

⁹ Stanisław Grzybowski, *Henryk Walezy* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1985), 116–17.

¹⁰ Marcin Leśniowski to Krzysztof Radziwiłł 11 January 1589, Grodno; vol. 295, no. 12786, Archiwum Radziwiłłów V; The Central Archive of Historical Records in Warsaw; Ignacy Radzyński to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, 16 January 1618, Warsaw; vol. 179, no. 8365, Archiwum Radziwiłłów V; The Central Archive of Historical Records in Warsaw; Robert I. Frost, “Obsequious Disrespect: the Problem of Royal Power in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth under the Vasas, 1587–1668,” in *The Polish–Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context, c. 1500–1795*, ed. Richard Butterwick (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2001).

the nobles. Elżbieta Sieniawska, wife of the Castellan of Cracow and one of the most well-informed women in Polish society, noted in 1725 that the king was very frequently unseeable for long periods of up to a few weeks. During this time, Augustus II did not formally attend to matters of the Commonwealth and neglected to appoint offices and sign documents.¹¹ This behavior was not a rule, rather a royal extravagance. On the other hand, the monarch was known to hold balls for the all nobles gathered in the capital, especially during carnival period.¹²

Paradoxically, the situation became more transparent during the reign of Augustus III, when the king's lack of contact with his subjects became quite a common complaint. As Jędrzej Kitowicz wrote, "he was not involved in any confidential matters with nobles."¹³ Petitions to the king were submitted during the only time in a day when he appeared in public, while he walked from the royal chambers to the chapel:

"If a more common citizen had a supplication to the king, he submitted it during this walk, bowing low or kneeling on one knee. The king handed the supplication over to the page following him and the page took it to a minister who, at his discretion, either answered on the king's behalf or tossed it away if he thought it was inconsequential or brash."¹⁴

Undoubtedly, Augustus III found a very specific way of conducting contact with nobles, who were completely aware of the time and circumstances under which meetings with the king could occur. When he was going to the chapel in the Royal Castle, a crowd of people surrounded him. This was a unique opportunity to whisper a word in a personal case or ask the king informally for support. After the mass, the king would stop in the Hall of his apartment, where he spent some time walking and freely conversing with those in attendance.¹⁵

This situation proves that everyday contact was obstructed, to a limited extent, by court etiquette, which was rather liberal in the Polish court, particularly in everyday situations. Under the kings of the House of Vasa, there were attempts to follow Spanish etiquette, especially that of the wives of Sigismund III and Vladislaus IV were members of the Habsburg dynasty. Generally, Polish historians emphasize that Spanish etiquette had its roots in the Burgundian pattern and was only partially adopted in the courts of Polish monarchs.¹⁶ Not without significance was the attitude of the nobles, who

¹¹ *Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, eds. Bożena Popiołek, Urszula Kicińska, and Agnieszka Słaby, vol. 1 (Warszawa, Bellerive-sur-Allier: DiG-Edition LaRama, 2016), 492.

¹² *Ibid.*, 2, 45-47.

¹³ Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki*, 110.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Ryszard Skowron, "Znak i liturgia władzy - ceremoniał i etykieta dworu hiszpańskiego," in *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich*, eds. Mariusz Markiewicz and Ryszard

regarded it as a German influence. The etiquette certainly was not so rigid as to excessively obstruct access to the monarch; in this regard, relations were very simple. Naturally, there were some events with very strict protocol, such as parliamentary sessions or important celebrations; however, in the everyday life of the court, stiff etiquette was moderately observed.

Successive monarchs introduced some modifications in ceremonial life. When in 1646 Marie Louise Gonzague de Nevers came to Poland (she first was the wife of Vladislaus IV, and then of the brother of the predecessor John Casimir Vasa in her second marriage), the ceremony of the Polish court was enriched with new elements: engagements of ladies in waiting, banquets and funerals of royal children.¹⁷ During the reign of John III Sobieski (his wife Marie Casimire d'Arquien had come from France), the fascination with Louis XIV and the splendor of Versailles grew, but his impact on the relations between the monarch and his subjects should not be exaggerated. The royal couple concentrated on the expansion of a new model of court festivities, including theatrical spectacles in the royal garden, masquerades and official dinners, none of which were often restrained by excessive rules. The meals of King John III Sobieski are a good illustration of this evolution. The monarch ate his everyday meals alone or with the Queen in their private chambers in Wilanów Palace, which was the beloved residence of the royal couple, who enjoyed spending time there.¹⁸ Guests invited to those dinners, if there were any, were regulars and friends of the court, so the atmosphere was relaxed and not restricted by etiquette. Frequently, the king was very cheerful at the table.¹⁹ On the other hand, the king was able to use the table and ceremonies related to the meals as a political instrument (fig. 2). The presence of high officers of the state and court at the king's dinners and the chance to serve

Skowron (Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 1999), 123-26; Maciej Forycki and Jarosław Pietrzak, "Ceremoniał na dworach francuskim i polskim w epoce nowożytnej. Le cérémonial dans les cours royales française et polonaise à l'époque moderne," in *Wersal Marii Leszczyńskiej. Sztuka dworska we Francji XVIII wieku. L'art à la cour de France au XVIII^e siècle* (Warszawa: Zamek Królewski, 2013), 37-38.

¹⁷ "Ceremoniał na dworach," 42-43.

¹⁸ Unlike Louis XIV, King John III Sobieski resided in a group of palaces and castles; therefore, he, his family and their court were occasionally forced to move. Kazimierz Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki z czasów Jana Sobieskiego. Dziariusz i relacje z lat 1691 - 1696*, ed. Janusz Wolinski (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1958), 23, 34, 46. Forycki and Pietrzak, "Ceremoniał na dworach," 45-46. In the opinion of Konrad Pyzel John III Sobieski was one of the most mobile Polish monarchs: Konrad Pyzel, "Rezydencja wilanowska - Monumentum Sobiescianum," in *Władza i architektura. Rezydencje monarchów i siedziby władz państwowych w Europie - formy i funkcje (XV-XXI w.)*, eds. Anna Czarniecka, Przemysław Deles, and Angela Sołtys (Warszawa: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie - Muzeum, 2016), 243.

¹⁹ Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki* 25, 40, 54, 63.

the monarch personally were considered very prestigious honors. Being invited by John III became a confirmation of position and proof of royal trust.²⁰

During the reign of Augustus II the Strong, the elector of Saxony and the king of Poland (1697-1733), the court etiquette was not reinforced. As a specialist in the field of propaganda of royal power²¹ (fig. 3) and a fan of the rich and sumptuous carnival arrangements in Dresden,²² the king chose simplicity and directness in his dealings with the Polish nobles. Court life was concentrated in the capital of Saxony, where the Polish elites were invited to participate in the theatre of electoral and royal power, which were strongly influenced by the Saxon pattern.²³ They not only observed the king riding on sleighs on the streets of Dresden, but they also assisted in public royal dinners with the Saxon office holders.²⁴ Meetings were frequent especially during balls and firework shows in the gardens of the royal residence in Dresden.²⁵

Although the everyday etiquette of the Polish court was not very strict, there was a group of people who were specifically responsible for organizing the official public ceremonies in which the king and the Parliament participated. At the Polish court – as in England or France – the formal position of *maître de cérémonie* did not exist, but similar duties were fulfilled by successive Grand Marshals, who were sometimes referred as “the masters of all court ceremonies.”²⁶ They had to create the ceremonies’ scenarios on the basis of “precedents” (“precedensy” in Polish), defined as all experiences from the past related to comparable events. The Grand Marshals were obliged to know the course of the analogous ceremonies in other European courts, which was particularly useful

²⁰ Joanna Kodzik, *Ceremoniał polskiego dworu królewskiego w XVII wieku z perspektywy niemieckich uczonych* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2015), 121.

²¹ Bogusław Pfeiffer, *Rex et patria. Temat władcy, narodu i ojczyzny w literaturze i sztuce XVIII stulecia* (Warszawa: DiG, 2012), 28-87; Katrin Keller, “Dwór sasko-polski w Dreźnie. Postacie i inscenizacja,” in *Rzeczpospolita wielu narodów i jej tradycje*, eds. Andrzej K. Link-Lenczowski and Mariusz Markiewicz (Kraków: Historia Jagellonica, 1999), 73-83; Karl Czok, *August der Starke und seine Zeit* (Leipzig: Piper 2010), 123-34.

²² Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden. From Renaissance to Baroque* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2002), 204-12; *Ostatnie wielkie widowisko barokowej Europy. Polskie relacje z uroczystości weselnych Fryderyka Augusta i Marii Józefy w Wiedniu i Dreźnie w 1719 r.*, eds. Katarzyna Kuras and Jolanta Pabian (Kraków: Historia Jagellonica, 2015).

²³ Uta Deppe, *Die Festkultur am Dresdner Hofe Johann Georgs II. von Sachsen (1660-1679)* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2006).

²⁴ The written paper from Dresden 26 January 1718; teka 387/4 s. 251, Archiwum Sanguszków; National Archive in Cracow.

²⁵ Antoni Cichocki to Jakub Dunin 12 August 1719, Dresden; teka 281/1, s. 241-244; Archiwum Sanguszków; National Archive in Cracow.

²⁶ Wojciech Krawczuk, “Kancelaria koronna a ceremoniał dworski,” in *Theatrum ceremoniale*, 183.

for the reception of foreign envoys.²⁷

The safety of the king and his environment was the responsibility of the Court Marshal, who even commanded his own court of law: the Marshal's court. He organized audiences, coronations, weddings, funerals and all other celebrations. He was also the master of the royal court; he took on courtiers and kept registers of them. However, the practical side of organizing private audiences did not lie in the hands of the Court Marshal, but the Court Chamberlain, who looked after the royal chambers and wardrobe and was the head valet. This office ensured permanent access to the king; in fact, it was the Court Chamberlain's duty to be at the monarch's side constantly. The Court Chamberlain knew all the monarch's secrets, which gave him a special position in the court.²⁸

The king had to make sure that the office was held by someone close and trustworthy; it was often given to favorites. This was important, particularly in Poland, where all offices were granted for life and one could get rid of an unwanted official only by formally promoting him in the official hierarchy. The choice of the right person for the post was of utmost importance. The successive Court Chamberlains of Sigismund III were a classic example of cooperation or lack thereof. The first, Marcin Leśniowski, despite initially having the king's complete trust, let him down by contacting anti-royalist factions. After his death, the king kept this important office vacant for fourteen years, and then assigned it to Andrzej Bobola in 1607. This was the only thought-out and calculated choice the king made during his long reign. Each of the next four Court Chamberlains was appointed by Sigismund III after quite a long delay and the king purposefully chose mediocre people with poor health (which implied that the office would be vacant quite soon for natural reasons).²⁹

The official ceremonies

The most common situation in which the political nation (nobility)³⁰ received access to the ruling monarch was private or public audiences. At the

²⁷ Rottermund, *Zamek Warszawski*, 27. The accounts of the ceremonies written by Józef Mniszech (the Grand Marshall in the 1713-1742) and Stanisław Lubomirski (the Grand Marshall in the 1766-1783) have been preserved.

²⁸ Marek Ferenc, *Dwór Zygmunta Augusta. Organizacja i ludzie* (Kraków: Historia Jagellonica, 1998), 29.

²⁹ Edward Opaliński, "Faworycy Zygmunta III a urząd podkomorzego koronnego," in *Faworycy i opozycjoniści. Król a elity polityczne w Rzeczypospolitej XV-XVIII wieku*, eds. Mariusz Markiewicz and Ryszard Skowron (Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2006), 245-59.

³⁰ "(...) irrespective of ethnicity and religion, the nobility nevertheless considered itself from the 16th century onward to be representatives of a single nation. Indeed a "nation", was just one estate of the realm. Joint privileges undoubtedly played a great integrating role, but even more important

latter, which was much more important and took place in the Audience Chamber of the Royal Castle, the king received great delegations from abroad. These audiences had a strict ceremonial script: as a rule, the king was accompanied by the senators and ministers present in the capital. The nobility was numerous only during periods when the Sejm held its deliberations.³¹

On the other hand, during private audiences which took place in the royal chambers, the monarch received diplomats of lower rank: representatives of the Chamber of Envoys and the Senate during parliamentary sessions, and members of the nobility, who applied for a personal meeting with the king. A description of this kind of ceremony is known from 1729: diplomats came to the castle accompanied by two senators. At the carriage they were greeted by the king's valets, then on the stairs by the chamberlains. In the room preceding the cabinet, the Court Chamberlain waited for him, and next the diplomat was introduced to the king's cabinet by the Great Marshall.³² Formally, during the audience the royal entourage was present. In some situations the king was able to create physical distance between himself and his courtiers, which allowed him to speak with envoys at ease and without witnesses. In 1595, when the papal legate Enrico Gaetani came to speak to Sigismund III, "the whole court was stopped at the door so that they could not hear what the king and legate were talking about".³³

The specific rules were characteristic of the nobles' audiences with the king. Their character was ceremonious, but only partly formalized. Sometimes it was difficult to differentiate between a simple meeting of the king with a noble and an official appointment. In 1674, Jan III Sobieski discussed the details of a planned audience with the envoy of the king of Spain, Pedro Ronquillo Briceño and his secretary Bernardo Scagnetti.³⁴ The nobles usually applied for an audience when they wanted to submit a matter, a public or private interest, or an application or supplication. Both oral and written forms were allowed for communicating with the king; the former was dominant when doing unofficial business (e.g. winning the king's support if there was a vacancy for a particular post or church office) and the latter was usually used for official matters, petitions

were the common political rights, the fact that all nobleman were citizens of a single republic." A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Queen liberty*, 7.

³¹ *Dyplomaci w dawnych czasach : relacje staropolskie z XVI-XVIII stulecia*, eds. Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1959), 246-47 (the audience of Claude de Mesmes d'Avaux the envoy of France at the King Vladislaus IV in 1635).

³² Ms no. 334, 190; Polska Akademia Umiejętności in Cracow.

³³ *Dyplomaci w dawnych czasach*, 143 (the audience of the papal legate Enrico Gaetani at the king Sigismund III in 1596).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 368-69 (the meeting of the King John III Sobieski with Bernardo Scagnetti in 1674).

or protests.³⁵ The date of audiences was known in advance and they took place in the official royal chambers. An audience with the king was very important in the system of communication, but it was always more of a presentation of a case or petition than a meeting of two sides hoping for the same outcome. This was why even private audiences were not fully satisfactory to subjects. Having personal contact with the king was important, but in many cases the monarch did not give simple resolutions and avoided declaring official support. In 1732, when Stanisław W. Jabłonowski wanted to become the Vice-Chancellor of Poland during a private audience, he tried to convince the king that he would be the best candidate for this office. In reality he had only an occasion to present to the king his readiness to be a vice-chancellor; Augustus the Strong was not interested in giving unambiguous declarations and postponed the issue until the Sejm sessions opened.³⁶

It was an open secret that one could also have access to the king through a “secret door”,³⁷ these informal audiences were organized and supervised by Court Chamberlains. Such entrance to the chambers was reserved mostly to persons with whom the king met on his own initiative on problematic or confidential matters. The unrestricted access of Court Chamberlains to the aforementioned “secret door” to the royal apartments – which in reality allowed them to handle affairs outside the formal order – was generally unaccepted by the nobles, who saw in them an unnecessary barrier to the king. One event in 1635 from the political career of Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, illustrates how influential the official and unofficial power of the Court Chamberlain was: Radziwiłł had an appointed date for an audience with the king, during which he intended to present his proposal regarding the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania. He went to the Court Chamberlain Adam Kazanowski asking him to use his practically unlimited access to the monarch to persuade Vladislaus IV that the candidate supported by Radziwiłł was a worthy choice. “With false dignity he agreed to do so, but it went differently,” wrote the Grand Chancellor. On the appointed day, Radziwiłł came to the castle only to be informed by the Court Chamberlain that the meeting had been postponed due to the king’s illness. The Chancellor’s supposed that the

³⁵ Krawczuk, “Kancelaria koronna a ceremoniał dworski,” 186-87; Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki*, 112.

³⁶ *Od Augusta Mocnego do Augusta III. Doniesienia z Warszawy Andrzeja Cichockiego z lat 1732-1734*, ed. Jerzy Dygdała (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2016), 71. The strategy to postpone decisions concerning vacancies was typical for Augustus the Strong: Antoni Cichocki to Paweł Sanguszkowski 14 March 1726, Warsaw, teka 283/8, s. 315-317; Archiwum Sanguszków; National Archive in Cracow.

³⁷ Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, eds. Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski, vol. 1 (Warszawa: PIW, 1980), 416.

cancellation of the audience was not accidental, so he waited a good while and finally saw the Court Treasurer of Lithuania Piotr Pac, who himself also desired the post of the Vice-Chancellor, leaving the royal chamber. Naturally, the Court Chamberlain ensured him that the Court Treasurer's visit to the king concerned a completely different matter, but the coincidence was too big to deceive the Grand Chancellor, who was experienced in court scheming. Interestingly, on the evening of the same day Adam Kazanowski himself visited Radziwiłł and – trying to dispel the bad impression he had made in the castle – tried to cover up his “cunning” under the mask of “civility.” This shows that the Court Chamberlain, as a minister with constant access to the king, tried to give the impression of objectivity or favoritism towards each party coming for an audience. For Radziwiłł, in turn, this was typical of the “hypocrisy” prevalent at the court, and after momentary agitation he quickly reined in his emotions and decided to work out a frosty agreement with the self-seeking Court Chamberlain. On February 9, he had an audience with the king which “ended in words of kindness, but was fruitless.”³⁸

The king's stateliness was fully displayed on special occasions, which also expanded the group of people who could directly interact with the monarch, or the people who had a (sometimes one-in-a-lifetime) opportunity to see the king in person. This pertained in particular to those who lived outside Warsaw after the court and actual center of the state was moved there in 1596 (fig. 4). People living in Warsaw, Cracow and Wilno were in a privileged position in relation to the province. They witnessed the cuisine, parades, triumphs and all ceremonies of the king (coronations, weddings, funerals). As Jerzy Lileyko wrote, “The chance to see the face of the monarch even far away; each, every passive contact with the Majesty was for most people a source of deep and authentic emotions”.³⁹ Regardless of the place where the ruling monarch appeared, his march-past was signaled by the Marshals – usually by the Marshal of the Crown – and sometimes by the Marshals of the Crown and Lithuania, who carried before him their raised marshal's staffs, which were attributes of their power.⁴⁰

A newly-elected monarch appeared in public for the first time on the election field; he was not king yet, merely king-elect, which meant his contact with the electors was not particularly formalized. In the case of Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki or John III Sobieski, it would be difficult to speak of overly formalized relations since they came from Polish noble families. After the election, there was a coronation, which was the first in a series of celebrations at which the king's grandeur was on full display; the ceremony took place in

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Jerzy Lileyko, *Życie codzienne w Warszawie za Wazów* (Warszawa: PIW, 1984), 42.

⁴⁰ Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki*, 112.

Cracow and was strictly formalized (fig. 5).⁴¹ The coronation of Michael Korybut could serve as an example: it was held on Michaelmas (29 September) and was very lavish, which was to be a good omen of a prosperous rule.⁴² A celebration was held for the residents of Cracow and the nobles who had come for the occasion. On 27 September, the king-elect arrived in the city, where he was welcomed by councilors, who were given the opportunity to kiss his hand. Next he was greeted by professors delegated by the Academy of Cracow. *Via regia*, which in Cracow lead from St Florian's church via the Main Square and Grodzka Street to the Wawel Castle, was a unique opportunity for a large group of residents to see the king and the accompanying entourage, whose route was marked by carefully prepared and richly decorated triumphal arches (fig. 6).⁴³ After the coronation, with the participation of the dignitaries and nobles gathered for the Coronation Parliament, there was a more private part of the celebration: a banquet in the castle in which only invited guests participated. Cracow's burgesses saw their king the day after the coronation, when he received their traditional homage on the Main Square and then watched the fireworks over the city from the windows of the Palace under the Rams.⁴⁴

The coronation ceremony was not always so lavish, as the example of 1669 shows; however, the coronation of Augustus III, which took place in January 1734, was completely different. After the funeral rites over the coffins of John III Sobieski and Augustus II, Augustus III was crowned king by Bishop Jan Lipski of Cracow. The surviving script of the ceremony indicates that it was an exceptionally modest event, but it met the requirements of such rites. The biggest problem was a lack of people for performing various functions during the ceremony: there were barely enough senators to carry the insignia of the King and Queen and the decoration of the Wawel Cathedral was also modest.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Stanisław Kutrzeba, "Ordo coronandi regis Poloniae," *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, 11 (1909-1913): 161-174; Aleksander Gieysztor, "Spektakl i liturgia - polska koronacja królewska," in *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. Bronisław Geremek (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978), 9-24.

⁴² In some opinions, the coronation of Michael Korybut was rather modest compared to previous ceremonies. Adam Przyboś, *Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki 1640-1673* (Kraków: Universitas, 2007), 68. The relation of the ceremonial entry of Sigismund III: Irena Kaniewska, *Diariusze sejmów koronacyjnych Zygmunta III Wazy 1587/1588 roku* (Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2016), 3-5.

⁴³ Juliusz A. Chrościcki, "Przestrzeń ceremonialna w nowożytnym mieście," *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* XLI, no. 2 (1993): 213-24.

⁴⁴ Przyboś, *Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki*, 69.

⁴⁵ "Diariusz prawdziwy wjazdu do stołecznego Krakowa i koronacyi tamże, Fryderyka Augusta Elektora Saskiego wprzód pseudoelektą, a potem przez Sejm pacificationis roku odprawiony, po abdykacyi Stanisława, uznanego od zgromadzonych Stanów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Augusta Króla Polskiego," in *Dwie koronacje Sasów, Augusta II i Augusta III, królów polskich*, ed.

Political circumstances were the cause: in 1733, Stanislaus Leszczyński and Frederick Augustus II of Saxony (the future Augustus III) were elected simultaneously in separate elections held at Praga and Wola near Warsaw. The strategy of the Elector of Saxony proved more effective: in no time he arrived in Cracow and was crowned as king, regardless of the absence of primate Teodor Potocki and other dignitaries who chose to be absent at the ceremony.⁴⁶

The biggest controversies arose around the last coronation in the history of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski was elected in 1764 and not only chose Warsaw for the ceremony, but also intentionally held this event on the name day of his protector the empress of Russia, Catherine II (on 25 November 1764). The ceremony was held in the Cathedral of St John in Warsaw. The rite was completely preserved except for those elements that were inseparably related to the topography of Cracow: i.e. before the coronation Stanislaus Augustus did not visit St Stanislaus Church in Skalka in Cracow and the day after the ceremony he received the keys to the town gates of Warsaw instead of Cracow. The delegates of the Academy of Cracow arrived in the capital to participate in the ceremony⁴⁷ and the king's outfit was widely commented on by observers. Stanislaus Augustus chose the "Spanish" style (a simple black suit), while his predecessors Augustus II and Augustus III appeared in the Polish Sarmatian costume (fig. 7).⁴⁸

The coronation ceremony was an occasion for the people of the Commonwealth to see the monarch. In Cracow, the *via Regia* (route of kings) was created, while in Warsaw the monarch's special ceremonial space was established during the reign of the kings of the house of Wasa (*Via Vasiana*). This route led from the so-called Muscovite Chapel, through the Krakowskie Przedmieście and the Cracow Gate to the Royal Castle.⁴⁹

Władysław Syrokomla (Wilno: 1854), 27-28; Michał Rożek, "Ostatnia koronacja w Krakowie i jej artystyczna oprawa," *Rocznik Krakowski* 44 (1973): 102.

⁴⁶ The elector was supported by the Russian army. See: Jerzy Lukowski, *Liberty's folly: the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Eighteenth Century, 1697-1795* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 159.

⁴⁷ Marcin Matuszewicz, *Diariusz życia mego*, eds. Bohdan Królikowski and Zofia Zielńska, vol. 2 (Warszawa: PIW, 1986), 633.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 614; Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki*, 150-55.

⁴⁹ Chrościcki, "Przestrzeń ceremonialna w nowożytnym mieście," 213-24; Jacek Żukowski, "Ephemeral Architecture in the Service of Vladislaus IV Vasa," in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe. The Iconography of Power*, eds. J.R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti, and Anna-Maria Testaverde (London-New York: Routledge, 2015), 198-99; Frost, "Obsequious Disrespect," 162-63.

Coronations were preceded by the ceremonial arrival in the city (except in the case of Stanislaus Augustus), but monarchs use this ceremony on a lot of different occasions.⁵⁰ One such example relates to the marriage of Sigismund III of Wasa to Princess Constance of Austria in 1605, which was depicted on the famous Stockholm Roll.⁵¹ The young archduchess was accompanied by her mother Maria Anna of Bavaria, her brother Maximilian Ernest, and her sister Maria Magdalena. On 4 December, her cortege was informally introduced at the royal tents at Łobzów (the king's property situated a short distance from Cracow), where the princess was greeted by Sigismund III and numerous prominent officers. After the solemn greeting, Constance was escorted to a carriage and the procession set off to Cracow in a fixed order (fig. 8). The king rode in the company of Archduke Maximilian Ernest, while in the carriage were seated the ladies of the house of Habsburg with Anne of Vasa, the sister of King Sigismund III. In Cracow, all the details of this ceremonial entry to the city were meticulously preserved; as a result, the procession did not enter the city until after dark and some in the crowd were impatient with the prolonged celebration.⁵²

In reality, ceremonial arrivals in cities were exceptionally organized. The private entries of monarchs were more frequent, especially if they travelled a lot through the country or their trips had no special character. This form was even used notoriously by Augustus II; he constantly traveled between the capitals of Saxony and Poland and not only stopped having official arrivals in Warsaw, but also sometimes hid in his beloved residence of the Saxon Palace.⁵³ To avoid redundant meetings even with modest representatives of the nation and the court the king, Augustus II used a lot of crafty strategies. In March 1732, the King arrived at the Saxon Palace through the garden. He was expected by nobody because some time earlier his jester Schmiedel had informed those in attendance

⁵⁰ Kodzik, *Ceremoniał*, 124–28.

⁵¹ The Stockholm Roll (Rolka sztokholmska) or Polish roll (Polski rulon) is actually in the Royal Castle in Warsaw: https://kolekcja.zamek-krolewski.pl/en/obiekt/kolekcja/Drawings/technika/tempera/id/ZKW_1528_1-39 (accessed May 7, 2017).

⁵² Ms no. 350, p. 299–302; Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich in Cracow; *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego, biskupa przemyskiego* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1870), 192; Karolina Targosz, *Królewskie uroczystości weselne w Krakowie i na Wawelu 1512–1605* (Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2007), 26; Michał Rożek, *Uroczystości w barokowym Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1976), 50. The coronation entry of Sigismund III was also very long and finished at ca. 18.00. Kaniewska, *Diariusze sejmu koronacyjnego*, 5.

⁵³ The Saxon Palace built in the 17th century was purchased in 1713 by King Augustus the Strong. It was one of the most distinctive buildings of prewar Warsaw, which was completely destroyed during the Second World War. See: <https://www.warszawa.ap.gov.pl/saska/21222.html> (accessed May 4, 2017).

that the king would ride to the Royal Castle. As a result they waited there for the king, who instead enjoyed complete privacy in his preferred residence.⁵⁴ During his stay in Warsaw, the king apparently divided his public and private activity between the Royal Castle and the Saxon Palace, respectively.⁵⁵

On the first floor of the west wing of the Royal Castle there was a designated space for Parliamentary debates (fig. 9). The envoys gathered and discussed in the Chamber of Deputies and the senators in the Hall of the Senate. The latter was also used for debates of the joint sessions, which were chaired by the king in majesty (sitting on the throne, under a canopy). The senators' chairs were placed in two rows perpendicular to the king in a strictly defined order, so that in the middle of the room there was an aisle leading to the king; behind the senatorial chairs was a place for the benches occupied by envoys.⁵⁶

The role of the king's spokesman at official occasions was always played by the Chancellor, who was responsible for communicating the royal's will to noble society.⁵⁷ At the opening and closing of sessions, feudal homage to the king was paid by kissing his hand;⁵⁸ this was an extraordinary opportunity to have direct contact with the royal majesty and an excellent occasion for political activity. Sometimes envoys from factions opposing the king did not attend this ceremony; on other occasions, the king withdrew his hand to avoid contact with opponents.⁵⁹ The king in full majesty was only visible to senators and envoys elected by district parliaments (*sejmik*) in official sessions in joint chambers, but he also used their presence in the capital to invite them to his apartments and talk to them during private audiences or consultations. Such events, combined with the opportunity to have direct contact with the king, were a memorable experience, particularly for envoys, who often recorded them in their correspondence or diaries.

A very particular moment when access to the king's majesty was possible was his death, especially if it was not sudden and there was an opportunity for a large group of dignitaries to arrive at the place of the king's stay.

⁵⁴ *Od Augusta Mocnego do Augusta III*, 49.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁵⁶ Rottermund, *Zamek Warszawski*, 54-55; Juliusz A. Chrościcki, "Ceremonial space," in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, ed. Allan Ellenius (Oxford-New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), 205-07.

⁵⁷ The prerogatives of the chancellor realized in the name of the king were presented by Krawczuk, "Kancelaria koronna a ceremonial dworski," 188.

⁵⁸ Kodzik, *Ceremoniał*, 129.

⁵⁹ Augustyniak, *Wazowie i "królowie rodacy"*, 112; Krawczuk, "Kancelaria koronna a ceremonial dworski," 190.

This was the case of Sigismund III in 1632 and John III Sobieski in 1696. The agony of the former lasted several days, so there was enough time to organize a farewell ceremony, which took place on 28 April 1632 around 9 o'clock in the evening at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. It was attended by the dignitaries present at the court (more than a dozen people); they approached the king's bed in the order of the offices they held and kissed the hand of Sigismund III.⁶⁰ On the next day, the ceremony of bidding the monarch farewell was repeated, this time in an extended version: "Then, everybody was allowed to kiss the royal hand, both people from the city, lackeys, haiduks, and people of all classes and genders, so that the skin on the king's hands turned white from too many kisses."⁶¹ Apart from this, there was a group of ministers on constant duty at the Royal Castle, ready to take appropriate action when the king died and the interregnum began (the king passed away on 30 April 1632 in their presence).⁶²

The circumstances of John III Sobieski's death in 1696 were less theatrical. He died in his residence in Wilanów, just outside Warsaw, accompanied by his wife, Queen Maria Casimira, a befriended French envoy Melchior de Polignac and a small group of dignitaries including (around ten people in total). Access to the king was much more restricted than in the case of Sigismund III, no farewell ceremony was held⁶³ and the subjects had no contact with Augustus II during his agony in the Saxon Palace. At the end of January, a monarch came to Warsaw under cover of the night and for the rest of his days had very little contact, even with the most important Polish ministers and senators. He was surrounded by Saxon courtiers headed by Heinrich Brühl, known as *intimus consiliarius*. Brühl enjoyed the right to spend time in the royal apartments without any restrictions and was responsible for transmitting messages concerning the royal health to the royal entourage, senators and ministers. It is for this reason that Augustus II died in separation from his subjects (unlike Sigismund III and John III Sobieski).⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, 1, 110.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁶² Walter Leitsch, *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismunds III. von Polen*, vol. II (Wien; Kraków: OAW, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2009), 1041.

⁶³ Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 4 (Lipsk: Breitkopf-Haertel, 1839), 333-34.

⁶⁴ "Relacja śmierci nieśmiertelnej. Pamięci króla Jmci Augusta 2. Die 1ma Februarii A. 1733 w Warszawie zmarłego podczas sejmu ekstraordynaryjnego dwuniedzielnego spisana ręką własną po francusku d'M.L. Abbé A. Ger Main, który króla Jmci in viam aeternitatis dysponował genuine po polsku przetłumaczona;" MSS MNK no. 32, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich in Cracow.



Fig. 1. Romeyn de Hooghe *Triomphe de Jean III Sobieski* [ca. 1700], National Library in Warsaw.



Fig. 2. The banquet in Jaworów in participation of John III Sobieski. Engraving from Józef Łoski *Jan Sobieski, jego rodzina, towarzysze broni i współczesne zabytki*, Warszawa 1883.

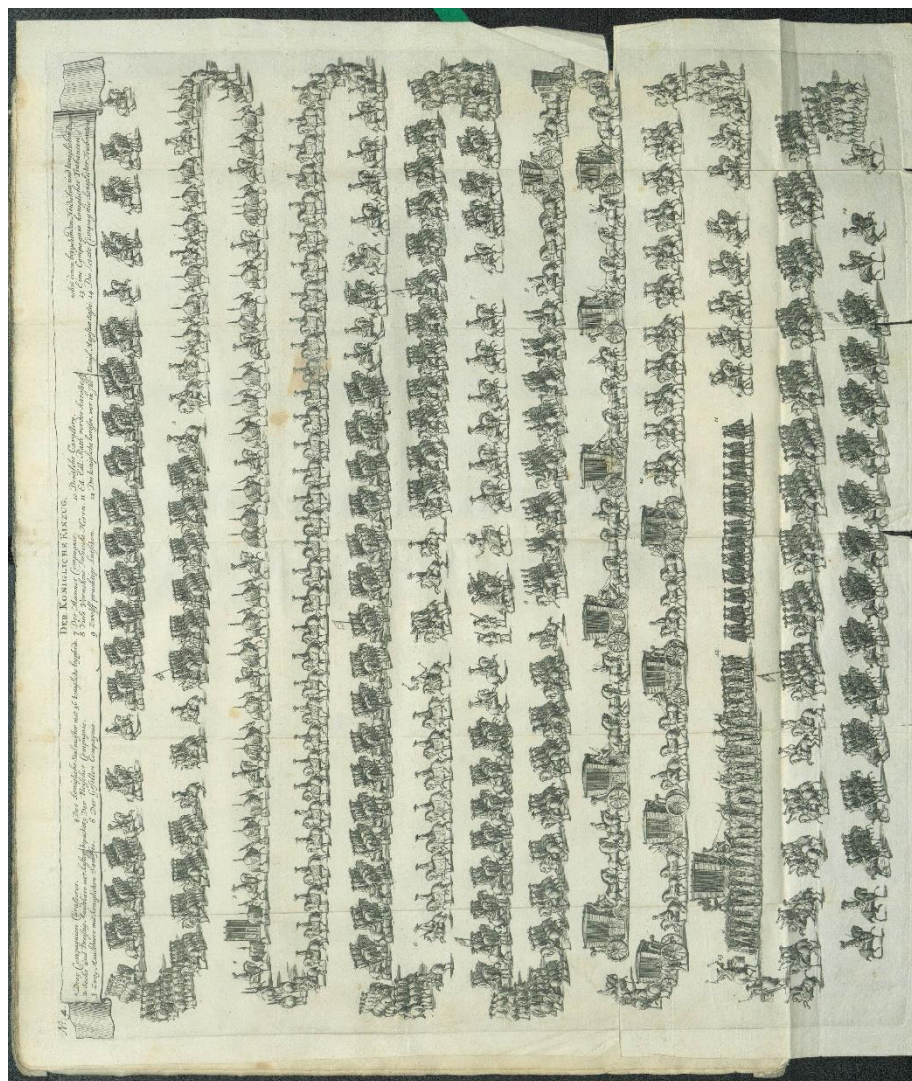


Fig. 3. The ceremonial entrance of Augustus II to Gdańsk in 1698. Engraving from Georg Reinhold Curicke *Freuden=Bezeugung der Stadt Danzig*, Danzig 1698.

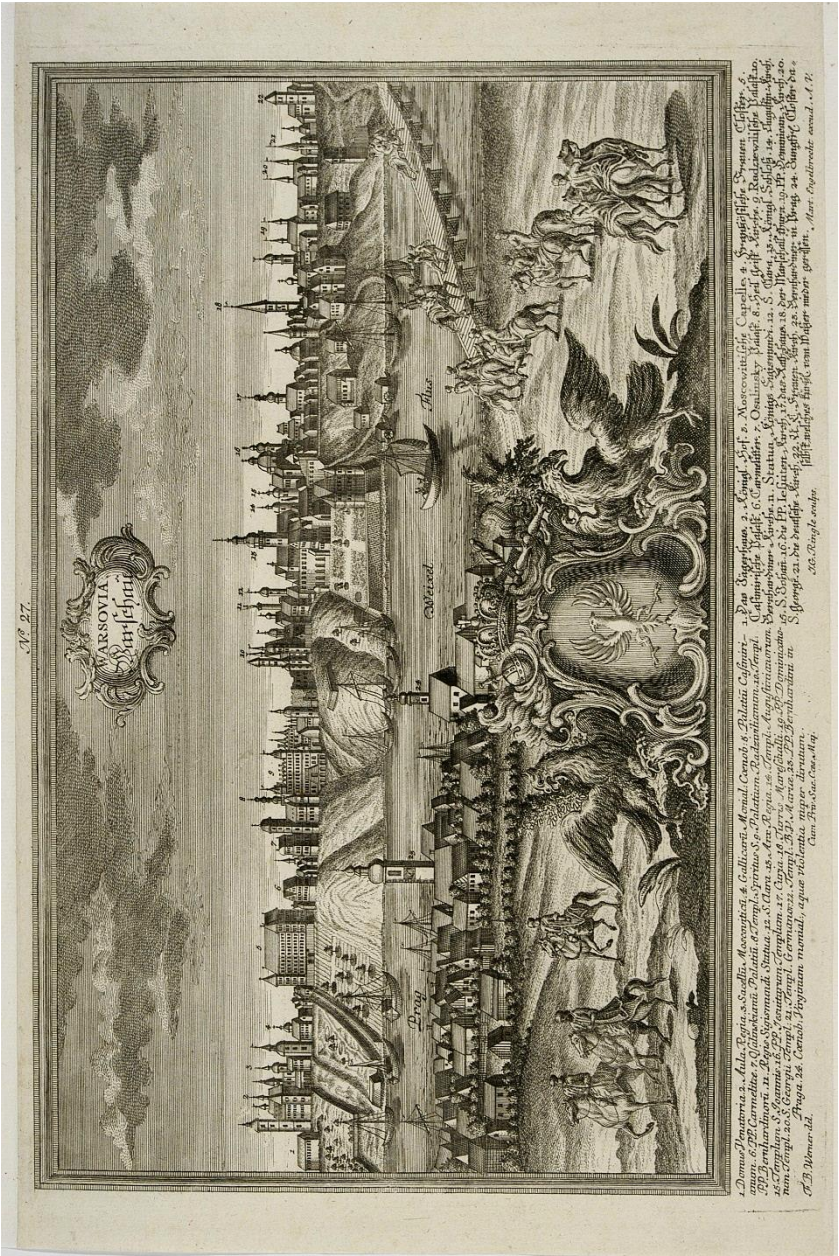


Fig. 4. Warsaw in the middle of the 18th century. Engraving by Johann Georg Ringlin, National Library in Warsaw.

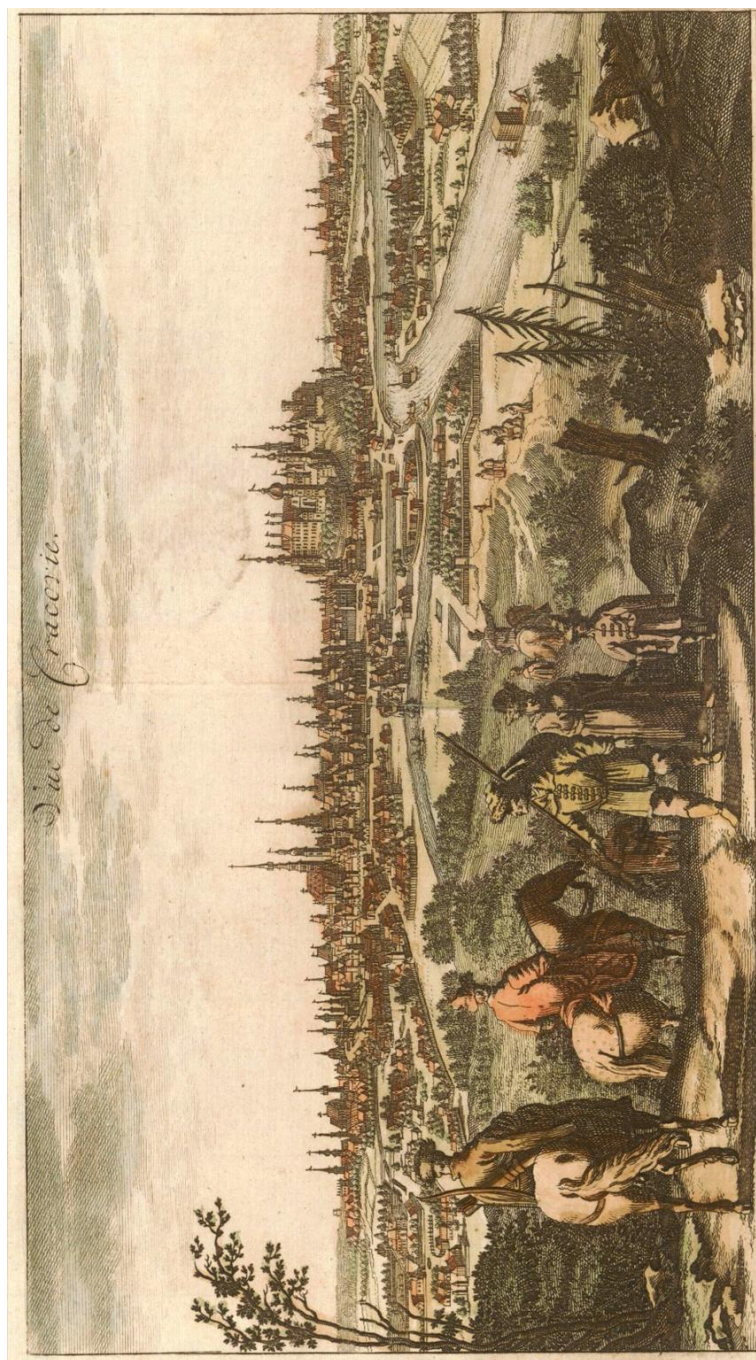


Fig. 5. The view of Cracow in the 18th century. *Carte Des Trois Ordres Qui Composent De La Republique De Pologne: Sçavoir Le Roi, Le Senat Et La Noblesse*, Amsterdam, ca. 1715.



Fig. 6. Wawel Castle in 1617. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. VI, 43.



Fig. 7. Louis de Silvestre, The King Augustus III in Polish costume. Old Master Picture Gallery in Dresden (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister).



Fig. 8. Detail of entry of the wedding procession of Constance of Austria and Sigismund III to Cracow. The Stockholm Roll, The Royal Castle in Warsaw.

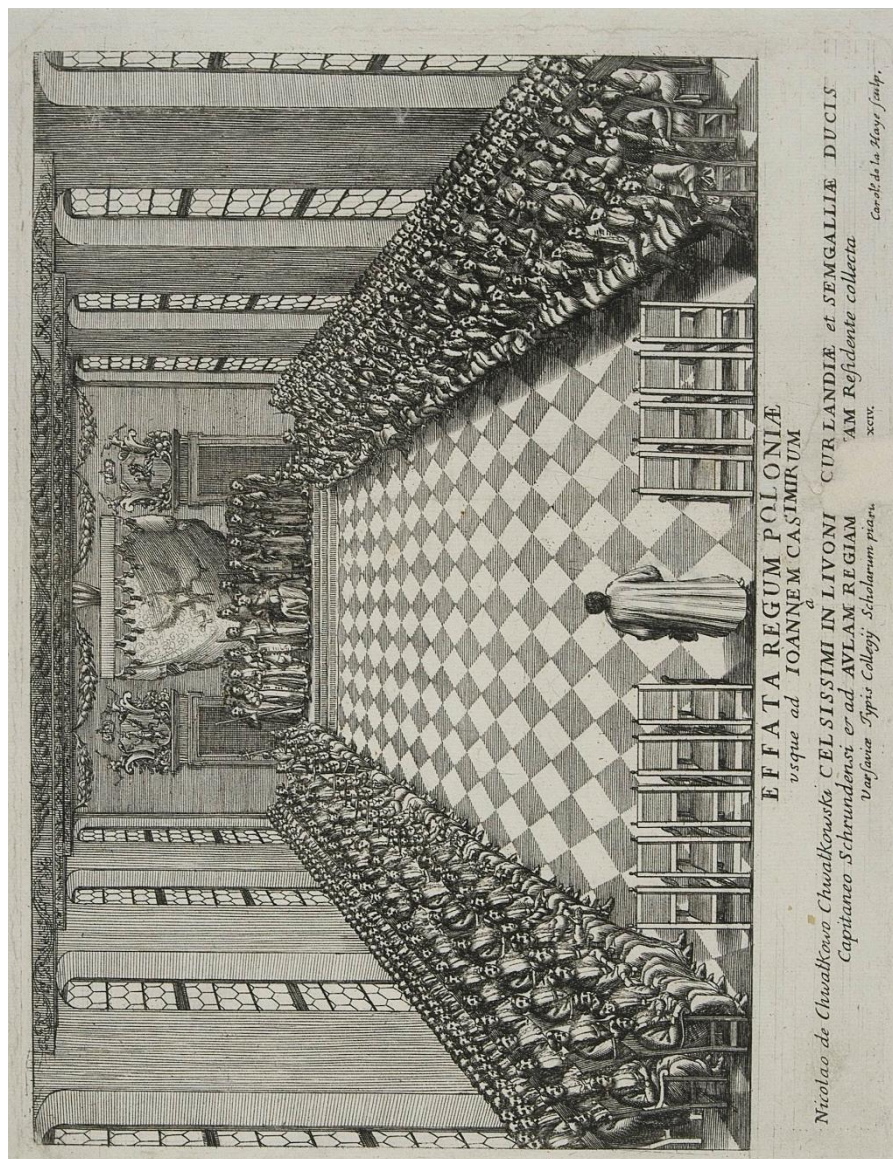


Fig. 9. Polish Sejm during the reign of John III Sobieski. Engraving by Charles de La Haye from Mikotaj Chwałkowski *Effata Regum Poloniae usque ad Iannem Casimirum*, Warsaw 1694.



Fig. 10. Assassination attempt on King Sigismund III in 1620. Figure from
Hiob Ludolf *Allgemeine Schau – Bühne oder Welt*, vol. 1, 1699.

Private meetings of the king with the nobles

Each Polish monarch had to do a lot of travelling around the country.⁶⁵ This was sometimes combined with visiting estates that belonged to the nobility and had a social as well as political aspect. Kings usually visited friends and such meetings were not official. For example, in 1632 Sigismund III Vasa, together with several Crown officials, visited Opacz, located around a mile outside Warsaw. The monarch was reportedly “rather merry,” he had had a few drinks and came back to the capital late, around seven in the evening.⁶⁶ King Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki used the opportunity to visit his subjects for a different reason, namely to visit senators to persuade them to join the regalist camp.

However, most frequently such visits increased the prestige of the noble house, as they represented the king's grace and friendship towards the hosts. Sometimes they were related to serving as a godfather to nobles' children. Such informal visit was paid to the Radziejowski family by Vladislaus IV Vasa shortly after his election. He arrived at Radziejowice in the company of his brothers and sister and the entourage also included the most important ministers and dignitaries in the Commonwealth. The retinue arrived on 22 November, 1632 at around three o'clock in the afternoon and was ceremoniously welcomed by the Voivode of Łęczyca, Stanisław Radziejowski, his adult sons and nobles residing in the Voivodeship, who all cheered, “Vivat! Vivat rex Vladislaus!”. After a short rest at the mansion, the monarch was led to the representative room, where he dined with everybody present (we do not know the exact number of dishes. Then the toasts started: Stanisław Radziejowski raised the first glass, expressing his joy at the king's visit. Having drunk a little, he passed the still full cup to Vladislaus, who in turn passed it on to his younger brothers. The ceremony was repeated by all the participants in the feast. The next day, on 23 November, Radziejowski's son was baptized. The monarch himself was the godfather and the child was called Vladislaus (*Władysław*) in his honor. After the ceremony, the feasting resumed and continued for several days.⁶⁷

The king's visit in 1632 was not the only one in the history of Radziejowice, but it was definitely particularly grand. Less extraordinary royal visits to the estates of friendly nobles were usually much shorter and the monarch was not accompanied by such a large and distinguished entourage. Such visits

⁶⁵ M. Wrede, *Itinerarium króla Stefana Batorego 1576-1586* (Warszawa: 2010); K. Przyboś, “Itinerarium króla Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego 1669-1673,” *Studia historyczno-prawne. Prace dedykowane Profesorowi Janowi Serebyce w siedemdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, eds. Janusz Dorobisz and Włodzimierz Kaczorowski (Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski, 2004), 251-259.

⁶⁶ Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, 1, 106-07.

⁶⁷ Adam Kersten, *Hieronim Radziejowski. Studium władzy i opozycji* (Warszawa: PIW, 1988), 29-30.

were still a rarity in the times of Stephen Bathory, but became more popular in the 17th century.

A revolutionist in the matter of informal contact with his subjects was Stanislaus Augustus. The king not only rejected almost all forms of stiff court etiquette, but - acting as enlightened monarch - he promoted the concept of a ruler as a servant of the people, diminishing the tradition of the king anointed by the grace of God.⁶⁸ The king did not travel a lot, but when he had already embarked on a long journey he did not hesitate to use this opportunity to make contact with his subjects. The descriptions of his journeys written by the excellent poet Adam Naruszewicz are full of accounts of the king's meetings with subjects, which were held on the basis of a relatively standardized scenario. An excellent example is the visit of Stanislaus Augustus to Kozienice (between Warsaw and Lublin) in 1787, when he was on the way to Kaniow to meet the empress Catherine II. The king stopped in Kozienice for a few days due to problems with the weather while crossing the Vistula River. During the stay in the city, the king paid the visits not only at the homes of his subjects, but also at inns, a pharmacy, a doctor's house and newly built stalls. There was a cheerful atmosphere: "The people rejoiced of seeing their Lord, who benevolently talked to them, made joyful cries and played instruments." The monarch ate dinner in the company of local officials and then spent some time with them in talking or playing games.⁶⁹

The reign of Stanislaus Augustus shows that the form and ceremony of contact between Polish monarchs and their subjects completely changed during his reign. These occasions were never completely formalized and visits of the monarch to nobles' mansions were not exceptional events. However, as the ruler establishing the new concept of government, Stanislaus Augustus allowed the loosening all rules impeding his spontaneous and unrestrained contact with his subjects, including not only nobles, but also burghers. The location of these meetings was naturally extended to the streets and people's houses or places of work.

Breaking the rules

When Sigismund III entered St John's church on the morning of Sunday 15 November 1620 with a small entourage, he was ambushed by a noble, Michał Piekarski, armed with a war hammer and hiding in a porch behind the door (fig.

⁶⁸ Richard Butterwick, "The Enlightened Monarchy of Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764-1795)," in *The Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context, c. 1500-1795*, ed. Richard Butterwick (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2001), 198.

⁶⁹ Adam Stanisław Naruszewicz, *Dziennik podróży Króla Jegomości Stanisława Augusta na Ukrainę i do innych Ziem Koronnych Roku 1787 dnia 23 lutego rozpoczęty, a dnia 22 lipca zakończony* (Warszawa: Gröll, 1788), 47.

10). The king sustained only minor injuries to his head and back because Prince Vladislaus, who was accompanying him, slashed the assassin's face while the Court Marshal Łukasz Opaliński snatched his sabre and overpowered him.⁷⁰ The king was helped up from where he fell and was led, dizzy, to the sacristy, where he then recovered and was able to return to the castle. Piekarski's assassination was not part of a larger operation, but the act of a mentally ill man driven by private motives: the attack on the king was intended to be revenge for putting him and his estate under guardianship. Piekarski acted somewhat like Henry IV's French assassin, François Ravaillac. What is the most important aspect of this event is the incredible ease with which Piekarski managed to access the king. His attack had probably not been very well planned, and yet Piekarski had no problem approaching Sigismund III and lightly wounding the monarch. His punishment was terrible: he was publically executed on 27 November in a manner similar to Ravaillac.

An attempt to physically attack the king took place again in 1770 on the initiative of the Bar Confederation, which was opposed to Stanislaus Augustus. He was blamed for the Russian army's invasion of Poland and for his subjection to Catherine II. The confederates attempted to remove Poniatowski from power, even by means of dethronement and assassination. On 3 November 1771, they decided to abduct Stanislaus Augustus. The abductors proved to be exceptionally inept: they lost their way in the dark, scattered, and ultimately only one of the forty kidnappers, Jan Kuźma, remained with the King. During the night they spent in an abandoned house in Warsaw, Stanislaus Augustus convinced Kuźma of the wrongness of his actions and was safely escorted back to Warsaw the following day.⁷¹ All the leaders of the abductors were later punished as "king killers" (although only one sentence was executed), and Kuźma was exiled, probably as a result of the King's personal intervention.⁷²

Both coups against the king stemmed from a reluctance to accept the ruler, but the structure of the space and entourage of the Polish monarch did not pose any restrictions to the killers or abductors. Access was especially easy during the king's private activities: Sigismund III was attacked when he was going to mass and Stanislaus Augustus was going to a ball. It should be emphasized that

⁷⁰ Jerzy Pietrzak, *Po Cecerze i podczas wojny chocimskiej: sejmy z lat 1620-1621* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1983), 66-68; "Piekarski Michał," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Kraków-Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich - Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1981), 73-74.

⁷¹ Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian state, 1386-1795* (Seattle, DC [u.a.]: Univ. of Washington Press, 2001), 272.

⁷² Władysław Konopczyński, *Konfederacja barska*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Volumen, 1991), 576-79; Piotr Ugniewski, "Szkardny występ królobójstwa' w międzynarodowej propagandzie Stanisława Augusta," *Przegląd Historyczny* XLV, 3 (2004): 327-47.

there were no ceremonial or spatial barriers that would hinder the attackers. Their failure resulted either from quick reaction of those accompanying the king (in the 1620 case), or from the ineptitude of the abductors (in the 1770 case).

Conclusions

Access to the monarch was relatively simple and rather unrestricted. Stricter rules applied in this regard during the reign of the Jagiellonian dynasty, when the monarchs' position was distinctly different; however, access to the king was made easier mainly by the labile etiquette at the Polish court in the 16th and 17th centuries, which was very different from the French or Spanish ceremonies. The reasons for this can be traced back to the specific political system of the Commonwealth, in which the king elected by the nobles had no power or way to set himself decisively apart from his electors. Although he was respected as the head of the state and guarantor of its stability, he was not believed to have had power vested in him by God, which could have been an element separating him from the nobility.

Due to the specific position of the Polish monarch, the space at his disposal was divided into public and private, clearly referring to the different types of royal activity. Although the Royal Castle in Warsaw remained the symbol of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the principle seat of its kings from ca. 1596, each monarch chose not to create his own preferred residence. Sigismund III began the building of a manor in Ujazdów, which was continued by his son Vladislaus IV. John III Sobieski bought and enlarged the palace in Wilanów, while Augustus II spend a lot of his time in the Saxon palace and moved to the Royal Castle only during the Sejm's sessions.⁷³ The rules in these residences were not as strict as in official places. Their existence shows that the kings were rather independent in the matter of choosing and creating their own private spaces and this tendency was generally accepted by their subjects. Rigid divisions, especially in the everyday life of the court, did not exist, as illustrated by informal visits of the monarchs to noble palaces and mansions. This does not mean, however, that the king was not guarded in the Commonwealth; the protection in particular included the monarch's honor and majesty. This resulted in special ceremonial proceedings of parliamentary sessions, during which the king occupied a special place, and in the splendor of the king's arrival in cities, which sometimes was the only opportunity for common citizens of the Commonwealth to see the ruling monarch with their own eyes. The most important factor was the creation of public and private spaces of the Polish kings

⁷³ Jolanta Putkowska, *Warszawskie rezydencje na przedmieściach i pod miastem w XVI - XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2016).

which were compatible with their duties as a result of the political structure of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Annexe 1

*List of Polish monarchs (16th-18th centuries)*⁷⁴

Sigismund I the Old (1506-1548)
Sigismund II Augustus (1548-1572)
Henry of Valois (1573-1574)
Stephen Bathory (1576-1586)
Sigismund III Vasa (1587-1632)
Vladislaus IV Vasa (1632-1648)
John II Casimir Vasa (1648-1668)
Michael I Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1669-1673)
John III Sobieski (1674-1696)
Augustus II the Strong (1697-1733)
Augustus III (1733-1763)
Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (1764-1795)

⁷⁴ The list includes the names of the kings mentioned in the text. The history of Stanislaus Leszczyński and his two reigns was skipped. See: Józef Andrzej Gierowski, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the XVIIth century : from anarchy to well-organised state* (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejetności, 1996), 91-93.

TRANSFORMATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS OF ARCHITECTURAL MODELS IN THE RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE 17TH CENTURY POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

FRANCISZEK SKIBINSKI*

In the early modern period the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a multicultural and multiethnic state nonetheless dominated politically and culturally by the Polish nobility (*szlachta*), became a crossroads of various architectural tendencies. The process of adaptation of architectural models arriving there from across the continent is, therefore, illustrative of the mechanisms of cultural transformation taking place in Central and North-Eastern Europe. The recipient culture played a crucial role in that process, as cultural identities determine the acceptance, adaptation or rejection of various architectural solutions. Based on this supposition, I intend to examine the spatial configurations of the residences in the Commonwealth to arrive at a better understanding of the way the various architectural models were adapted to the local requirements. Obviously, given the complexity of the problem, it must perforce be a concentrated summary. For that reason, it will primarily explore the arrangement of the main reception spaces, namely the vestibule (*sien*) and the dining room (*izba* or *sala jadalna*). Focusing on several case studies, I propose to take both a typological and a functional approach, considering the transformations of the architectural layout in relation to the processes of acculturation of foreign models. As such, this study will explore the interaction between the architectural framework and the custom it served.

Functionality and architectural transfer

Before examining individual case studies, however, let us discuss the wider context of architectural transfer as reflected in the sixteenth and seventeenth century discourse. It may be argued that the purpose of architecture is to accommodate various activities that in turn reflect the beliefs, values, attitudes and meanings typical for a given culture. As observed by a modern scholar, "the architectural historian's special task is analysis of the material world as spatially conceived, but that our narratives must necessarily engage with the social/economic/political world in which such works serve as cultural and historical agents".¹ Viewed in this context, transfer of architectural models into a new cultural situation involves above all adapting their spatial dispositions to the

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¹ Dianne Harris, "Social History: Identity, Performance, Politics, and Architectural Histories," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 4 (2005): 421.

requirements of that culture, hence providing a new environment. Needless to say, a change of environment may in turn impact the culture itself.

Selective adaptation of foreign architectural models to a specific cultural context was accentuated in the very first Polish book on architecture, namely *Krótką nauka budownicza* (*A Short Lecture on Building*). Written by an anonymous author, most likely a well-educated amateur and not a professional architect or building master, it was issued in 1659 and probably designed as a practical guide for the fellow noblemen who were rebuilding their residences after the devastating war with Sweden, Russia, and Transylvania in 1655-1660.² Although frequently referred to in scholarly literature, it was usually considered unsophisticated and disregarded by historians desperate to find evidence of a deeper appreciation of a 'proper style'. Despite its naïve language and brevity, however, it presents a coherent set of architectural principles relevant also for the process of architectural transfer and may therefore provide a framework for this study.

The book presents a site-specific, "Polish" ideal of architecture, stressed in its very title: *A Short Lecture on Building, According to Polish Air and Custom*. In the introduction, the author stated that each nation has its own civil architecture that suits the local climate and way of life.³ This issue was in fact often addressed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Responding to the rising importance of the Vitruvian principles and the popularity of the new architectural language developed mostly in Italy, the architects in Transalpine Europe were seeking to adjust them to the cultural and natural requirements of their respective regions. The French, for instance, uphold their building tradition regardless of the popularity of the antique-inspired architectural décor, as witnessed by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau and Philibert de l'Orme.⁴ The latter aimed to promote in his *Le premier tome de l'Architecture* of 1567 – using a phrase by Jean Guillaume – "an architectural style in keeping with the teachings

² Adam Miłobędzki, ed., *Krótką nauka budownicza dworów, pałaców, zamków podług nieba i zwyczaju polskiego* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1957); see also Maria Piwocka, *Polscy teoretycy architektury XVI–XVIII w.* (Warszawa: Instytut Urbanistyki i Architektury, 1952), passim; Adam Małkiewicz, *Teoria architektury w nowożytnym piśmiennictwie polskim* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1976), passim; Joseph Rykwert, "According to Polish Air and Custom," in *The Baroque Villa. Suburban and Country Residences c. 1600-1800*, edited by Barbara Arciszewska (Warszawa: Wilanów Palace Museum, 2009), 13-17; Paweł Migasiewicz, "À la recherche de l'identité architecturale: Les premiers livres d'architecture polonaise," in *Architektur- und Ornamentgraphik in der Frühen Neuzeit: Migrazionsprozesse in Europa*, eds. Sabine Frommel and Eckhard Leuschner (Roma: Campisano Editore, 2014), 229-239.

³ Miłobędzki, *Krótką nauka*, 2.

⁴ Jean Guillaume, "On Philibert de l'Orme. A treatise transcending the rules", in *Paper Palaces. The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatises*, eds. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1998), 219-231; see also Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Philibert De l'Orme. Architecte du roi (1514-1570)* (Paris: Mengès, 2000).

of the ancients, independent [...] of Italian models and tailored to suit the expectations and tastes of the French”.⁵ The preeminence of the indigenous tradition led Sebastiano Serlio, who worked in France, to address regional differences between architecture reflecting the traditions and requirements of each culture.⁶ Focusing on a dialectical relationship between custom and the layout of a building reflecting the local cultural context, he wrote: “I intend in the course of my book to harmonize Italian custom and ornament with the *commodità* of France”.⁷ As observed by Eelco Nagelsmit, Serlio’s use of the word *commodità* indicates that it ‘denotes a way of living (and hence building) that is firmly tied to place and custom’.⁸ In the Low Countries, Hans Vredeman de Vries was also searching for a way of adapting the antique-inspired architecture first developed in Italy to the local customs and climate.⁹ And in England Sir Henry Wotton in his *Elements of Architecture* established the rules for English domestic architecture.

According to Joseph Rykwert, the anonymous author of *Krótką naukę* drew on Wotton’s book, thus following in the footsteps of the writers whose works he may have known.¹⁰ Reconstructing his line of argumentation, we may say that acculturation of architectural models involves above all adaptation of spatial disposition to the requirements of that culture, and thus creating a convenient layout of a building accommodating local custom. Skillful and reasonable arrangement of space, termed *compartitio*, was in fact the most important architectural rule stressed in the book. Describing its principles, the

⁵ Guillaume, “On Philibert del’Orme”, 219.

⁶ Eelco Nagelsmit, “Visualizing Vitruvius: Stylistic Pluralism in Serlio’s Sixth Book on Architecture,” in *The Transformation of Vernacular Expression in Early Modern Arts*, eds. Joost Keizer and Todd M. Richardson (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012), 339-372.

⁷ Nagelsmit, ‘Visualizing Vitruvius’, 352-354.

⁸ Ibid., 354.

⁹ Krista De Jonge and Konrad Ottenheym, “Introduction: Antique vs. Moderne,” in *Unity and Discontinuity. Architectural Relationships between the Southern and Northern Low Countries (1530-1700)*, eds. Krista De Jonge and Konrad Ottenheym (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 89-90; on the codification of the architectural orders see, among others, James Ackerman, “Tuscan/Rustic Order: A Study in the Metaphorical Language of Architecture,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42, no. 1 (1983): 15-34; Christoph Thoenes and Hubertus Günther, “Gli ordini architettionici: rinascita o invenzione,” in *Roma e l’antico nell’arte e nella cultura di Cinquecento* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1985), 261-310; John Onians, “The System of the Orders in Renaissance Architectural Thought,” in *Les Traités d’Architecture de la Renaissance* (De Architectura), ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris: Picard, 1988), 169-178; Ingrid D. Rowland, “Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders,” *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 81-104; Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance. Architectural Invention, Ornament and Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). On the Low Countries, see Krista De Jonge, “Vitruvius, Alberti and Serlio: Architectural Treatises in the Low Countries 1530-1620,” in *Paper Palaces. The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, eds. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1998), 281-296.

¹⁰ Rykwert, “According to Polish”, 15-17.

author relied mostly on Palladio's 'Il Quattro libri', especially the opening paragraphs of the second book.¹¹ There seems also to be a close relation between the principle of *compartitio* and the Vitruvian concepts of *dispositio* and *ordinatio*; in the early seventeenth century the former was translated into Polish as arrangement (*rozłożenie*) and the latter as order (*porządek*), which combined reflect the principle of *compartitio*, defined as a reasonable arrangement of a building.¹² Also, individual elements constituting *compartitio* were derived from Vitruvian principles such as *symmetria* that were thus linked with its ultimately functional sense.

Symmetry was in fact considered the principle guiding the disposition of the entire building and thus a key element of *compartitio*. In that period the new vocabulary concerning architectural principles was only being introduced in Poland-Lithuania; hence, it tends to be rather volatile.¹³ Nonetheless, the first Polish lexicographer to deal with the Vitruvian terminology, Grzegorz Knapiusz, in his "Thesaurus" of 1626 defined *symmetria* as proportion, and for the anonymous author of *Krótką nauka* it is precisely proportion that defines *compartitio* as a perfect disposition of space.¹⁴ This interpretation seems to have found a way to the wider discourse on architecture in that period, as the phrase 'built according to a new proportion' was in fact frequently used in the seventeenth century, for instance in the diary of Sebastian Gawarecki.¹⁵ In a passage from the 1652 edition of *Polonia* referring to the bishop's residence in Kielce, an important building that will be discussed later in greater detail, Szymon Starowolski also stated that it was built according to Italian symmetry (*ad symmetriam italicam*).¹⁶

Architectural functionality embedded in the specific cultural context was the guiding principle of the book. For that reason, the author remained cautious

¹¹ Miłobędzki, *Krótką nauka*, passim.

¹² Grzegorz Knapiusz, *Thesauri polono-latino-graeci Gregorii Cnapii e Societate Iesu, tomus secundus latinopolonicus* [...] (Cracoviae: Francisci Caesarii, 1626), 229, 521, accessed May 7, 2017, https://books.google.pl/books?id=jetLAAAACAAJ&pg=PA8&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false.

¹³ On assimilating architectural vocabulary in Transalpine Europe see, for instance, Krista De Jonge, "Inventing the Vocabulary of Antique Architecture. The Early Translators and Interpreters of Renaissance Architectural Treatises in the Low Countries," in *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Low Countries Studies on the Circulation of Natural Knowledge 3), eds. Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré (Berlin-Zürich-London: LIT-Verlag, 2013), 217-240.

¹⁴ Knapiusz, *Thesaurus*, 740; Miłobędzki, *Krótką nauka*, 11-13.

¹⁵ Sebastian Gawarecki, *Diariusz drogi. Podróż Jana i Marka Sobieskich po Europie 1646-1648*, ed. Marek Kunicki-Goldfinger (Warszawa: Muzeum pałacu króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2013), 124, 127.

¹⁶ Szymon Starowolski, *Polska, albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, trans. and ed. Antoni Piskadło (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1976), 81; on descriptions of architecture in this book see Antoni Piskadło, "Obraz architektury polskiej do połowy XVII w. w *Polonii* Szymona Starowolskiego," in *Sztuka około 1600* (Warszawa: PWN, 1974), 137-152.

about some of the architectural arrangements popular in Europe, like an enfilade described by him as particularly important for the ‘new’ Italian architects, which he considered unsuited to the harsh Polish climate.¹⁷ At the same time, he followed Vitruvius in separating the arrangement and ornamentation, the latter considered by him a less important layer applied on the architectural structure.¹⁸ The author disregarded architectural ornament and censored the use of columns or pilasters on the exterior for social and natural reasons. Thus, *utilitas* became a prerequisite of *venustas*, as the beauty of a building is contingent on the proper ordering of rooms, windows and other elements of practical character, fundamental for architectural functionality.

To conclude, like their contemporaries elsewhere in Europe, recipients of architecture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were interested primarily in proper disposition of space that would accommodate their own custom. Valorization of functionality pervading the first Polish book on architecture thus provides an important context for the assimilation of the foreign architectural models adapted to serve functions typical for the recipient culture.

Main spaces: sień and izba stołowa

For the sake of the present study aimed at exploring the assimilation of architectural models defined as adjusting such models to the requirements imposed by local custom, let us focus on the disposition of the principal rooms characteristic for Polish tradition. Typically, the central part of a residence comprised a large vestibule (*sień*) and a dining room (*izba* or *sala stołowa/jadalna*), usually the main reception space.¹⁹ As reported by the Frenchmen Gaspard de Tende, who arrived in the Commonwealth in the 1660s and stayed there for many years, every manor had a banqueting hall with a large table or tables, a sideboard, and sometimes also a separate place for musicians.²⁰ For the author of the “Krótka Nauka”, *izba stołowa* was indeed the principal part of a residence (*membrum aedificii principale*).²¹ He advised his readers to make both the *sień* and *izba stołowa* larger than the other rooms and provide them with windows on three sides. A dining room could be located either at the center of the building within a central projection, on one end of the building, or be entirely removed from the main corpus into a separate pavilion.²² In another passage he suggested that the main space should be placed in the central part of the building and should have either windows larger than the rest of the building,

¹⁷ Miłobędzki, *Krótka nauka*, 12.

¹⁸ Payne, *Architectural Treatise*, 40–41.

¹⁹ Adam Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska XVII wieku* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980), 72.

²⁰ Gaspard de Tende, *Relacja historyczna o Polsce*, trans. and ed. Tomasz Falkowski (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie, 2013), 270.

²¹ Miłobędzki, *Krótka nauka*, 13.

²² *Ibid.*, 13–14.

or two sets of windows corresponding with the others, in order to harmonize the disposition of the façade.²³

The importance of the *izba* or *sala stołowa* resulted above all from hospitality deeply embedded in the *szlachta* culture. Indeed, the primary function of this room was to receive guests. A nobleman in that period was expected to invite numerous people and to offer them a worthy reception. Meetings of this kind frequently turned into extravagant feasts often criticized for squandering, as illustrated by the prolific poet Wespazjan Kochowski (1633–1700), otherwise a sworn eulogist of the *szlachta* culture. He even devoted one of his satirical poems to the ‘unmatched excess of Polish banquets’ where he flamboyantly compared the smoke rising from a kitchen to that hanging over the burning Troy.²⁴

Apart for feasting, however, rooms of this kind could also serve other purposes, depending on the situation and the socio-political position of the owner. In the major senatorial residences in Warsaw, reception rooms could for instance host assemblies of the leading magnates holding the most important offices. Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, a member of one of the leading noble families in Poland-Lithuania, mentioned in his diaries a dinner taking place during a diet in the residence of the voivode of Vilnius, Krzysztof Radziwiłł.²⁵ Attended by the Polish and Lithuanian senators, meetings of this kind allowed them to participate in high ranking political intercourse.

Quite obviously, reception rooms counted among the most sumptuous spaces within a residence. A persuasive account of such a room was included in a versified panegyric describing an imaginary palace of Bogusław Leszczyński, the future Vice-Chancellor of the Crown, published by Samuel Twardowski in 1643.²⁶ It was a four-wing building with corner towers and a central courtyard, in the type described in *Krótką nauką* as castle (*zamek*) that was still used in the first half of the seventeenth century. The courtyard was lavishly clad in marble and was further decorated with painted and sculpted battle scenes. The main stairs led to a large and well-lit reception hall located on the first floor and described as a *sala*. The entrance was embellished with columns and statues of nymphs holding the Leszczyński coat-of-arms, and the walls were decorated with tapestries and portraits of the family members, accentuating its noble pedigree. It was indeed a dining room (*sala* or *izba stołowa*) with several tables dressed for a reception; Gaspard de Tende reports in fact that tables in Polish manors were

²³ Miłobędzki, *Krótką nauką*, 12.

²⁴ Wespazjan Kochowski, *Utwory poetyckie*, ed. Maria Eustachiewicz (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1991), 135–139.

²⁵ Edward Raczyński, ed., *Pamiętniki Albrychta Stanisława Radziwiłła Kanclerza W. Litewskiego* (Poznań: Bracia Szerk, 1839), 4.

²⁶ Samuel Twardowski, *Pałac Leszczyński*, ed. Roman Krzywy (Warszawa: Neriton, 2002).

usually kept covered with a tablecloth and set.²⁷ What is more, both Twardowski and De Tende describe a separate place for the musicians. The host himself received his guests in another room, also called a *sala*, accessible through the central courtyard and likely followed by a private apartment.

Lacking the objective worth of extant monuments and inventories, descriptions of fictional buildings such as this one may nonetheless bring into view values and meanings embedded in the real edifices.²⁸ Such literary images seem to reflect the common imagination of the *szlachta*, especially the wonder instigated by luxurious architecture. Some of the real residences of the “great” were indeed splendid and surprising places full of exquisite works of art and various curiosities, much like the imaginary palaces described in the sixteenth and seventeenth century literature. Not only Polish *szlachta* from the far-off provinces fell victim to the ambitions of some of the magnates to cross the border between reality and fable. Jean Le Laboureur, who accompanied a French ambassador to Poland in 1646, wrote of the Kazanowski Palace built in Warsaw between ca. 1628 and 1637: “I admit that I was astonished, and it seemed that I had been transferred to an enchanted palace”²⁹ (fig. 1).

A comparison with the *sala* in the Kielce residence indicates that the poetic description of an imaginary reception room reflects the general characteristics of early seventeenth century architecture. A portrait gallery mentioned by Twardowski was a typical feature of such spaces. Presenting the imaginary Leszczyński residence, the poet introduced a series of portraits of his ancestors that provided the author with a possibility to praise their virtue and achievements, and thus to accentuate the respectable pedigree of his patron. The main reception room in Kielce was also embellished with portraits of the founder’s predecessors on the episcopal seat. Marble claddings described in the eulogy were lacking in this case, although it appears in some other buildings created in that period, like the Royal Castle and the Ossoliński residence in Warsaw. Nonetheless, the *sala* in Kielce was embellished with finely carved portals and mantle pieces made of the local limestone according to the latest Italianate trends gaining popularity in the country, and it was in fact described as embellished with marbles in Starowolski’s *Polonia*.³⁰

Reception and adaptation of architectural models

The bishop’s residence in Kielce brings us to a discussion of individual case studies illustrative of the process of reception and adaptation of foreign

²⁷ De Tende, “Relacja,” 270.

²⁸ The importance of fictional architecture was accentuated, for instance, by David Thomson, *Renaissance Architecture. Critics. Patrons. Luxury* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 51–96.

²⁹ Maria Bogucka, *The lost world of the “Sarmatians”. Custom as the regulator of Polish social life in early modern times* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 1996), 95.

³⁰ Starowolski, *Polska*, 81.

models. This process is already visible in the buildings created in the earlier period that were either continuations or alterations of earlier solutions. Nonetheless, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century witnessed a more dynamic introduction of the new architectural forms transmitted by means of the mobility of architects and architectural models, and facilitated by the interest in the new architecture widespread among the members of the higher strata of the nobility.³¹ Łukasz Opaliński in his defense of Poland published in 1648 admitted that architecture had been disregarded here for a long time, but recently a multitude of new luxurious edifices had been created and their plans would certainly be disseminated further.³² Magnates building their residences would refer to edifices created in other countries, as was the case with Krzysztof Ossoliński who modelled his spectacular residence Krzyżtopór (1621-1644) on the Caprarola.³³ Sometimes they would also engage architects working elsewhere in Europe, as witnessed by Vincenzo Scamozzi who created a design for Zbaraski brothers that was included in his *L'idea della architettura universale*.³⁴

It comes as no surprise then that it became a commonplace in that period to describe the newly built residences as having been made according to a foreign art and taste, as indicated by the poem *Gościniec, albo opisanie Warszawy*, an important source of information about architecture in Warsaw published in 1643.³⁵ Written in plain, even naïve verse, the poem is nonetheless an intriguing source, not least because of its author, Adam Jarzębski, who was involved in the royal building industry – he supervised the building of the royal residence in Ujazdów, among other things – and thus had an insider's knowledge of the

³¹ See, for instance, Eckhardt Leuschner, "Transfer oder Migration? Zur Theorie von Motivübernahmen in der frühneuzeitlichen Architekturgraphik," in *Architektur- und Ornamentgraphik in der Frühen Neuzeit: Migratzionprozesse in Europa / Gravures d'architecture et d'ornement au début de l'époque moderne: processus de migration en Europe*, eds. Sabine Frommel and Eckhardt Leuschner (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2014), 175-188.

³² Łukasz Opaliński, "Obrona Polski," in *Wybór pism*, ed. Stanisław Grzeszczuk (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1959), 165-166; see also Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 258-259.

³³ Stanisław Mossakowski, "Orbis Polonus. Krzyżtopór a Caprarola," in *Orbis Polonus. Studia z historii sztuki XVII-XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: DiG, 2002), 23-55.

³⁴ Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale* (Venise, Vincenzo Scamozzi, 1615), 253, access May 10, 2017, <http://architecture.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Notice/Scamozzi1615.asp?param=>; Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 197, 199.

³⁵ Władysław Korotyński, ed., *Adama Jarzębskiego Gościniec, albo opisanie Warszawy, 1643 r.* (Warszawa: Rubieszewski i Wrotnowski, 1909), verses 1025-1654. On the great building projects carried out by the royal court and the country's noble elite in Warsaw in that period see, among others, Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 203-206; Adam Miłobędzki, "Architektura XVII wieku," in *Sztuka Warszawy*, ed. Mariusz Karpowicz (Warszawa: PWN, 1986), 78-83; Wanda Szaniawska, "Zmiany w rozplanowaniu i zabudowie Krakowskiego Przedmieścia do 1733 r.," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 29, no. 3 (1967): 285-316.

contemporary architectural undertakings.³⁶ In the opening part of his description of the aforementioned Kazanowski Palace he referred directly to its foreign character. Also, the Royal Palace in Warsaw, greatly enlarged in the first decade of the seventeenth century, was described by Jarzębski as built according to a foreign art.³⁷

The most important development of a direct consequence for the disposition of the *sień* and *izba* or *sala jadalna* was the introduction of symmetrical plans with the main reception space located on the main axis of a building.³⁸ This kind of arrangement, developed in late fifteenth and sixteenth century Italy by such architects as Giuliano and Antonio da Sangallo (for instance in the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano and a design for the villa Cervini), Sebastiano Serlio, and Andrea Palladio was being gradually introduced in the country in the late sixteenth century.³⁹ One of the earliest examples is the residence in Książ Wielki, built for the bishop of Cracow, Piotr Myszkowski, in 1585-1595 (fig. 2). Its design is usually attributed to Santi Gucci, a Florentine sculptor-architect who settled in Poland in the 1550s.⁴⁰ The symmetrical layout of the *piano nobile* is dominated by the central projection, with two rooms forming the axis of the building, flanked by two symmetrical apartments each comprising four rooms. A regular layout was also introduced elsewhere, for instance in the wooden manor in Ujazdów, built for the royal family.⁴¹

A central space flanked by smaller rooms made according to the principle of axis symmetry gained popularity in Poland-Lithuania, as witnessed by the aforesaid episcopal palace in Kielce. Built for the bishop Jakub Zadzik in 1637-1645, it remains one of the best preserved and well-researched seventeenth

³⁶ On Jarzębski, see above all Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, "Jarzębski (Jarzembski, de Warka, Warka) Adam," in *Słownik architektów i budowniczych środowiska warszawskiego XV-XVIII wieku*, eds. Paweł Migasiewicz, Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, and Jakub Sito (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2016), 218-222.

³⁷ Korotyński, *Adama Jarzębskiego*, verses 801-950.

³⁸ Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 72-75; Tadeusz J. Żuchowski, "Die Anfänge des ländlichen Adelssitzes. Die polnische Architektur der Wasa-Zeit und der adelige Wohnbau im Herzogtum Preußen," in *Im Schatten von Berlin und Warschau. Adelssitze im Herzogtum Preußen und Nordpolen 1650-1850*, eds. Isabella Woldt and Tadeusz J. Żuchowski (Berlin: Reimer 2010), 19-33.

³⁹ On the Sangallos see, among others, Christoph L. Frommel and Nicholas Adams, eds., *The architectural drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and his circle* (Cambridge (Mass.): The MIT Press, 1994); Sabine Frommel, *Giuliano da Sangallo* (Firenze: Edifir Edizioni, 2014); Roberto Marta, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane: architetto, urbanista, archeologo, ingegnere* (Roma: Edizioni Kappa, 2007); on Serlio, see Sabine Frommel, *Sebastiano Serlio architect*, trans. Peter Spring (Milan: Electa, 2003); on Palladio see above all Guido Beltrami and Howard Burns, eds., *Palladio* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008).

⁴⁰ Andrzej Fischinger, *Santi Gucci. Architekt i rzeźbiarz królewski XVI wieku* (Kraków: Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki, 1969), 18-24.

⁴¹ Jolanta Putkowska, "Rezydencja w Ujazzdowie w drugiej połowie XVI i w XVII wieku," *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 22, no. 2 (1977): 89-101; Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 340.

century residences there (fig. 3). Meticulous analysis of the building structure and textual evidence, most importantly some early inventories, conducted in recent years allows for a precise reconstruction of the original layout.⁴²

A large vestibule (*sien*) leading to a stairway was located centrally on the ground floor (fig. 4). The central part of the upper floor, the *piano nobile*, comprised two large rooms, including *sala* and the main reception room called in the inventories *izba stołowa*, embellished with wall paintings and covered by a wooden ceiling with ornamental decoration. It was flanked on both sides by two large apartments. The apartment of the bishop on the southern side of the building comprised four rooms including two antechambers, a chamber that served as a sleeping room, and a cabinet (*alkierzyk*) located in a corner tower.⁴³ The apartment on the other side, called the senatorial apartment, served his distinguished guests and comprised three rooms.⁴⁴ Judging by textual evidence, the bishop's apartment had two possible routes. The first led from the *sala* to a small side-room and then the first antechamber, inaccessible from either of the two central rooms. The second route led directly from the *izba stołowa* to the second antechamber and then to the sleeping room. Most likely, the less grand route was designed for visitors of the lower ranks, while the more splendid one served the distinguished guests.

Thus, symmetrical arrangement of an interior enhanced the importance of the main reception space within the functional programme. The same principle of axis symmetry guides the arrangement of two other buildings created roughly in the same period, namely the manor house of the bishop Henryk Firlej in Czemierniki and the Warsaw residence of the Great Crown Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński. Both were compact buildings based on the villa type going back to the sixteenth century Italian designs.

The villa in Czemierniki, created by an anonymous architect before 1624, was a cubic building with restrained exterior decoration, limited to modest cornices and window frames; only the entrance was framed by lisenas.⁴⁵ On each

⁴² Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 194-197; Janusz Kuczyński, "Kielecka rezydencja biskupów krakowskich," *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach* 15 (1989): 15-52; Marta Pieniążek-Samek, "Apartament biskupi w pałacu biskupów krakowskich w Kielcach – Inwentarze," *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach* 21 (2003): 21-30; Małgorzata Osobińska, "Wnętrza barokowej rezydencji. Charakterystyczne elementy wystroju i wyposażenia w odniesieniu do Pałacu Biskupów Krakowskich w Kielcach," *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach* 28 (2013): 133-147; more generally on the residence see, among others, Nina Miks, "Architektura pałacu biskupiego w Kielcach," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 16, no. 4 (1952): 152-174; Mariusz Karpowicz, *Tomasz Poncino. Architekt pałacu kieleckiego* (Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe, 2002), 17-27.

⁴³ Pieniążek-Samek, "Apartament," 25; Osobińska, "Wnętrza," 142-144.

⁴⁴ Osobińska, "Wnętrza," 144.

⁴⁵ Stanisław Komornicki, "Dwory murowane w Małopolsce z czasów Odrodzenia," *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki* 5 (1930): 95-104; Jerzy Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano Serlio a sztuka polska* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1973), 206-207; Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 150-151; Maria Brykowska, "Czemierniki.

floor, a large room in the center was flanked by three smaller rooms of a more private character. The large space in the ground floor accessible through a loggia may be easily interpreted as a *sien* (vestibule), and the one on the first floor served as the dining room (fig. 5). The layout of the rooms resembled one of the designs presented by Sebastiano Serlio in his Book VI⁴⁶ (fig. 6). It is quite surprising, as the book remained in manuscript form.⁴⁷ It is not necessary to presume a first-hand knowledge of the manuscript, as this kind of arrangement apparently became more popular by that time. A possible point of departure may have been Palladio's ideas diffused by his 'Il Quattro libri', such as the design for a villa of Marco Zeno.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, the similarity between the layout of the Czemierniki manor and the design by Serlio remains striking and invites further research.

The arrangement of the Ossoliński residence in Warsaw, built before 1642, reveals major similarities to another design by Serlio⁴⁹ (figs. 7-8). Here, the layout was different on each floor. On the ground floor the vestibule (*sien*) led to a lateral dining room at the back of the building, adjoined by small chambers located in the corner towers; one of them served as a treasury housing fine goldware and silverware brought into the dining room during receptions.⁵⁰ Like

Pomiędzy tradycją a włoskimi źródłami inspiracji," in *Praxis atque theoria. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Adamowi Małkiewiczowi*, eds. Piotr Krasny and Andrzej Beltej (Kraków: Universitas, 2006), 77-103.

⁴⁶ Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano*, 206-207; Sebastiano Serlio, *Sesto libro d'architettura*, manuscript in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Cod. Icon. 189, fol. 5, accessed May 15, 2017, <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00018617/images/index.html?id=00018617&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=14>.

⁴⁷ On the history of the manuscripts see, among others, William Bell Dinsmoor, "The Literary Remains of Sebastiano Serlio," *The Art Bulletin* 24 (1942): 54-91, 115-154; Marco Rosci, ed., *Il trattato di architettura di Sebastiano Serlio. Il Sesto libro, delle habitationi di tutti li gradi degli homini* (Milan, ITEC Editrice, 1966); Myra Nan Rosenfeld, "Recent Discoveries about Sebastiano Serlio's Life and his Publications," introduction to *Sebastiano Serlio: On Domestic Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1996).

⁴⁸ I refer here to the original edition of Palladio's 'Il Quattro libri', see Andrea Palladio, *Il Quattro Libri dell'Architettura, Il Secondo Libro dell'Architettura* (Venice: Domenico de Francesci, 1570), 49; accessed May 10, 2017, <http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Images/LES1338Index.asp>. Palladian origins of the design were already highlighted by some scholars, most importantly Adam Miłobędzki (Miłobędzki, *Krótką nauka*, ryc. 24-25; Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 150).

⁴⁹ Sebastiano Serlio, *Sesto libro d'architettura* (as note no. 47), Cod. Icon. 189, fol. 3. On the Ossoliński residence see Tadeusz Makowiecki, "Do genezy pałacu zwanego Brühlowskim," *Architektura i Budownictwo* 12, no. 1 (Jan. 1936), s. 14-21; Zbigniew Rewski, "Pałac kanclerza Jerzego Ossolińskiego w Warszawie," *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki. Teoria i Historia* 1, no. 1 (1956): 27-36; Wojciech Kret, "Palatium Libertatis Reipublicae Poloniae. Problematyka artystyczna i ideowa pałacu Jerzego Ossolińskiego w Warszawie," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 27, no. 3 (1965): 173-198; Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 210; Zbigniew Bania, "Architektura," in *Sztuka polska. Wczesny i dojrzały baroku (XVII wiek)* (Warszawa: Arkady, 2013), 53. A comprehensive description of the residence is provided by Korotyński, *Adama Jarzębskiego*, verses 2416-2736 (published *in extenso* in Kret, "Palatium," 193-195).

⁵⁰ Korotyński, *Adama Jarzębskiego*, verses 2495-2500.

that in Czemierniki, the upper floor, accessible through stairs leading from the vestibule, was dominated by a large, centrally located room. According to Jarzębski's description, it was richly embellished with architectural and sculptural detailing made of black and white marble, according to the latest trends gaining popularity in the country. The large reception room was adjoined by a private apartment of the owner, comprising three rooms and a chapel located in the corner tower accessible from a sleeping chamber. Interestingly enough, this chamber was described by Jarzębski as built according to a foreign taste.

The Ossoliński residence was a unique structure combining various architectural traditions. The most unusual solution was the raised pavilion-like roofing made to enlarge the main reception space and provide additional light.⁵¹ It was suggested that it may have been inspired by the designs for the remodeling of the Palazzo della Raggione in Vicenza by Andrea Palladio, that reflected Daniele Barbaro's attempts to reconstruct an ancient basilica.⁵² While the possibility of a Palladian stimulus is likely, given the character of the building a relevant context may also be provided by such edifices as the summerhouse (*Letohrádek*) of Queen Anna at the *Hradčany* in Prague by Paolo della Stella and Bonifatz Wolmut, dating to the mid-sixteenth century.⁵³ Ossoliński may have been in fact familiar with this building, as he probably was with the architecture of Veneto, because he visited Prague as a diplomat and a prominent member of the Habsburg party in the Commonwealth; one of such trips took place in 1636, immediately before he commenced with the building project.⁵⁴

While the overall design of the residence was certainly derived from foreign models, small cabinets in corner towers adjoining belong to a local tradition, as witnessed by the already discussed residence in Kielce, or the Ujazdów residence. Such chambers became popular in Poland as early as the mid-sixteenth century and by the 1630s and 1640s were firmly established as a part of the Polish architectural language. As already mentioned, in the Ossoliński

⁵¹ See the description of that space by Jarzębski, Korotyński, *Adama Jarzębskiego*, verse 2530.

⁵² Rewski, "Pałac," 29-30; Kret, "Palatium," 180-187, 191; the latter brought forward also Palazzo del Comune in Padua and Palazzo della Raggione in Brescia. On the *basilica* see Guido Beltramini, "The Basilica, Vicenza," in Beltramini and Burns, *Palladio*, 80-83, where further reading is to be found. On Barbaro's reconstruction of a basilica see Daniele Barbaro, *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio* (Venice: F. De Franceschi & J. Criegher, 1567), 216-222 (first edition 1556), accessed May 10, 2017, <http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Notice/Barbaro1567it.asp?param=en>.

⁵³ Żuchowski, "Die Anfänge," 26. On the *Letohrádek* see for instance Václav Mencl, "Architektura," in *Pozdně gotické umění v Čechách (1471-1526)*, eds. Jaromír Homolka, Josef Krása, Václav Mencl, and Jaroslav Pešina (Praha: Odeon, 1978), 94-95; Jarmila Krčálová, "Umění renesance v Čechách a na Moravě," in *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění*, II, 1 (Praha: Academia, 1989), 6; Richard Biegel, "Panorama architektury 16. století v Čechách," in *Barokní architektura v Čechách*, eds. Petr Macek, Richard Biegel, and Jakub Bachtík (Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2015), 38.

⁵⁴ Władysław Czapliński, "Ossoliński Jerzy herbu Topór (1595-1650)," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 24, 1 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1979), 403-410.

residence on of the towers housed a treasury on the ground floor and a chapel adjoining the private apartment on the upper one. Also, the polygonal shape of the corner towers was typical for the architecture of the Vasa period.

The residences in Kielce, Czemierniki, and Warsaw discussed above were all adaptations of the type of a concise building arranged symmetrically with the main assembly rooms in the center. Such arrangement of the interior, although derived from foreign models, was appropriate for the local custom, as it allowed the most important reception spaces to be accentuated. However, other models of European architecture were also being adapted for that purpose, as witnessed by the residence in Podhorce (present day Підрипці in Ukraine), a spectacular building located majestically on the top of a hill range overlooking the plains of western Ukraine created for the hetman (commander in chief) Stanisław Koniecpolski between 1635 and 1640⁵⁵ (fig. 9). Like Firlej and Ossoliński, Koniecpolski belonged to the uppermost strata of Polish-Lithuanian society, and was well versed in the current trends of European culture.

Originally, the Podhorce residence comprised two corner pavilions linked by a lower middle part with a central projection.⁵⁶ As such, the silhouette of the palace alluded to late sixteenth and early seventeenth century French models, including some designs by Jacques Androu du Cerceau and Jacques Perret. The French connection becomes even more apparent in the layout of the interior (fig. 10). The apartment located in a large corner pavilion constituting the main functional part of the building particularly evokes French tradition. The general arrangement of space is reminiscent of the Palais du Luxembourg built for Maria de Medici in 1611-1631⁵⁷ (fig. 11). As in Paris, the central part of the building includes a chapel and a stairway, although arranged differently. Of course, the Ukrainian residence is a reduced version of the splendid Palais built for the French queen dowager. In particular, the anonymous architect adjusted the design to the local requirements by introducing only one pair of corner pavilions instead of two.

Some major differences between the functional layout of the Palais du Luxembourg and the Podhorce residence result however from the impulses of the local culture. Whereas in the former the corner pavilions incorporate apartments, in Podhorce one of the two pavilions houses a large space occupying the entire

⁵⁵ Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, "Podhorce," *Sztuki Piękne* 1, no. 4 (Apr. 1924/1925): 149-164; Zbigniew Hornung, "Na śladach działalności artystów francuskich w Polsce," *Teka Komisji Historii Sztuki* 1 (1959): 240-288; Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 74, 201-202; Zbigniew Bania, "Pałac w Podhorcach," *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 13 (1981): 97-170.

⁵⁶ Szyszko-Bohusz, "Podhorce," 149; see also Bania, "Pałac."

⁵⁷ Hornung, "Na śladach," 252-253; Bania, "Pałac," 146-154. On the Palais du Luxembourg see recently Sara Galletti, *Le Palais du Luxembourg de Marie de Médicis 1611-1631* (Paris: Éditions Picard, 2012).

piano nobile that can be identified as the main reception room, *izba stołowa*.⁵⁸ Thus, the corner pavilion was turned into a large and well-lit assembly space, very much in line with the advice offered later in *Krótką nauką*.⁵⁹ Also, the lack of long galleries so dominant in the Palais du Luxembourg was closely linked to the adaptation of the model to the local culture. From the fourteenth century galleries located at the very end of the ceremonial route played a vital role within the functional programme of French court architecture.⁶⁰ They were usually private spaces, accessible only to a very limited number of visitors. This tradition, however, was not adapted in Poland-Lithuania before the mid-seventeenth century, as neither villas nor residences built there in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century are known to have incorporated this element.

The term 'gallery', by the way, was used in Poland before 1650, but its meaning was not precise at that time.⁶¹ Usually, it denoted longitudinal rooms located within the *corps-de-logis* linking apartments rather than a separate part of a building in the French manner. Such was probably the shape of a gallery in the Kazanowski Palace in Warsaw, a large cubic building with corner towers praised by the aforesaid Jean Le Laboureur for its unmatched magnificence.⁶² Describing the residence, Jarzębski mentioned a gallery that was a closed, longitudinal space richly embellished with a multitude of paintings, including portraits of the royal couple and some nudes, as well as fine furniture and even stone sculpture.

Apart from Podhorce, Stanisław Koniecpolski built himself a palace in Warsaw that according to the aforementioned Jarzębski was to surpass all the other residences in the capital, including the nearby Kazanowski Palace.⁶³ The spectacular edifice built in the capital, however, adhered to different models than his Ukrainian abode. Whereas the latter were derived from modern French architecture, the Warsaw palace followed the more traditional ideas disseminated in Poland-Lithuania by Serlio.⁶⁴

That type of arrangement was made popular in Warsaw by the so-called

⁵⁸ See Bania, "Pałac", 107, 120, 126 and Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 202.

⁵⁹ Miłobędzki, *Krótką nauką*, 13-14.

⁶⁰ Wolfram Prinz, *Die Entstehung der Galerie in Frankreich und Italien* (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 1970); Jean Guillaume, "La galerie dans le château français: place et fonction," *Revue de l'Art* 102 (1993): 32-42; Monique Chatenet, *La cour de France au XVI^e siècle. Vie sociale et architecture* (Paris: Picard, 2002); Jean Guillaume, "La galerie en France et en Angleterre du XV^e au XVII^e siècle: emplacement et fonctions," in *Europäische Galeriebauten. Galleries in a comparative European context (ca. 1400 - 1800)*, eds. Elisabeth Kieven and Christina Strunck (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2010): 35-49.

⁶¹ Miłobędzki, *Krótką nauką*, 61-62.

⁶² Bogucka, *The Lost World*, 95.

⁶³ Korotyński, *Adama Jarzębskiego*, verses 1719-1742.

⁶⁴ Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano*, 209-210.

Villa Regia, a suburban villa built for King Ladislaus Vasa in 1634-1641.⁶⁵ Located on the top of a hill overlooking the Vistula River, the royal villa included a large loggia placed between corner pavilions, offering a pleasant view so much appreciated by the Polish-Lithuanian nobility and considered an important element of a residence. Indeed, the word of choice to describe such a building in the seventeenth century Commonwealth seems to have been 'belvedere' rather than 'villa'. Most accounts of real or imaginary places of this kind from that period give special attention to this aspect. In his poem actually titled "Belvedere", Wacław Potocki (ca. 1625-1696) specified how such a building located in the vicinity of Cracow offers views of the winding banks of the Vistula River, forests and distant mountains.⁶⁶ Setting the stage for his dialogue, the *Discourses of Artakses and Evander* ('*Rozmowy Artaksesa i Ewandra*') first published in 1683, Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski (1642-1702) emphasized the same aspect of the imaginary royal villa, probably modeled after the aforesaid *Villa Regia*.⁶⁷ Finally, Adam Jarzębski in his account of the Kazanowski Palace described an architectural pavilion, called an *altana*, that offered a pleasant view of the river and the lands beyond; it can be seen in the famous print by Erik Dahlberg based on his drawings made in 1655-1660.⁶⁸ The vogue for a beautiful view resulted in such designs as that by the accomplished architect of Roman origin active in Poland-Lithuania Giovanni Battista Gisleni probably for the *Villa Regia*, featuring an illusionistic landscape set in an architectural frame and evoking such works as Peruzzi's famous painting in the Farnesina.⁶⁹

Located between the *Villa Regia* and the Kazanowski Palace, the Warsaw residence of Stanisław Koniecpolski followed the same custom. Designs by Serlio, featuring two projecting corner pavilions linked by a central space with a loggia, offered a convenient point of departure.⁷⁰ The layout of the Koniecpolski residence, known from a drawing made by Giovanni Battista Ghisleni in the mid-

⁶⁵ Jolanta Putkowska, "Królewska rezydencja na pięciu warszawy w XVII wieku," *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 23, no. 4 (1978): 279-301; Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 204; Stanisław Mossakowski, "Galeria przy Villa Regia w Warszawie projektu G. B. Gisleniego," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 57, no. 1-2 (1995): 35-52.

⁶⁶ Wacław Potocki, "Ogroda niewyplewionego część czwarta, 109, Belweder," in *Wiersze wybrane*, ed. Stanisław Grzeszczuk (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im Ossolińskich, 1992), 209-212.

⁶⁷ Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, *Rozmowy Artaksesa i Ewandra*, ed. Justyna Dąbkowska-Kujko (Biblioteka Pisarzy Staropolskich 32) (Warszawa: IBL PAN, 2006), 25.

⁶⁸ Korotyński, *Adama Jarzębskiego*, verses 1025-1654.

⁶⁹ Mossakowski, "Galeria", 44.

⁷⁰ Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano*, 209-210; see Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro... con nove additioni* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1544), 52, accessed May 5, 2017, <http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Notice/Serlio1540.asp?param=en>; Sebastiano Serlio, *Il settimo libro d'architettura* (Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel, Jacopo Strada, 1575), 203, accessed May 5, 2017, <http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Images/Gonse479Index.asp>.

seventeenth century, included in the center large, longitudinal room with a loggia and a terrace⁷¹ (fig. 12). In the *piano nobile* there was a huge reception space. The central part was flanked by two perpendicular pavilions accommodating apartments.

Architectural models of a foreign origin were also being adapted to the wooden architecture that dominated the Commonwealth. Indeed, even the monarchs and the great magnates would build themselves wooden manors, such as the one designed by the accomplished architect of Dutch origin active in Poland-Lithuania Tilman van Gameren for the aforesaid Crown Grand Marshall and prolific writer Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski.⁷² Tilman combined here apartments with corner pavilions characteristic for the Poggio Reale design with the large central space derived from another of Serlio's projects, published in his Book VII.⁷³ As such, it could serve as a large assembly room, in the manner of the traditional *izba stołowa*.

Symmetrical arrangement of the interior, dominated by the centrally located *sień* and the main *izba*, was also adapted to the more modest manor architecture of the lower ranks of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility (*szlachta*). Thus, foreign models were assimilated through the mediation of the country's noble elite. This is an interesting phenomenon, as architecture was an important factor in the formation of identity, indicative of the social and cultural stratification present in the noble society of the period, barely hidden behind the illusion of legal equality. For a Polish or Lithuanian nobleman, a country house, an ancestral seat of his family, was the embodiment of all the virtues, while courts and gardens of the great were usually considered either suspect or openly corrupt.⁷⁴ One of many such accounts is to be found in the late sixteenth century *Countryman* (*Ziemianin*) by Jakub Ponętowski (†1586), who advised fellow noblemen to leave marble palaces and gardens and be satisfied with a humble country house.⁷⁵ The

⁷¹ Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano*, fig. 187; see also Bania, "Architektura," 52-53.

⁷² Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano*, 210; Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 361; Stanisław Mossakowski, *Tylman z Gameren (1632-1706). Działalność architektoniczna w Polsce* (Warszawa-Monachium-Berlin: DiG, 2012), 129-131. On Lubomirski see, among others, Stanisław Mossakowski, "Mecenat artystyczny Stanisława Herakliusza Lubomirskiego," in *Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski. Pisarz – polityk – mecenas*, ed. Wanda Roszkowska (Warszawa-Wrocław-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1982), 51-76; Adam Karpiński, "Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski – moralista i polityk końca XVII wieku," in *Świt i zmierzch baroku*, eds. Mirosława Hanusiewicz, Justyna Dąbkowska, and Adam Karpiński (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2002), 255-280.

⁷³ Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano*, 208-210.

⁷⁴ See, for instance, Adam Karpiński, *Staropolska poezja ideałów ziemiańskich. Próba przekroju* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983); Anna Kochan, "Arkadia Andrzeja Zbylitowskiego. Uwagi do Żywota szlachcica we wsi i Wieśniaka," in *Staropolskie Arkadie. Studia Staropolskie. Seria Nova*, XXIX [LXXXV], eds. Justyna Dąbkowska-Kujko and Joanna Krauze-Karpińska (Warszawa: IBL PAN, 2010), 236-245.

⁷⁵ Jerzy Kowalczyk, "Wille w Polsce w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII stulecia," *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 21, no. 4 (1976): 300.

same idea reappears in the aforesaid poem by Wacław Potocki, who advised fellow noblemen to leave lavish belvederes surrounding Warsaw and Cracow for the great.⁷⁶ Quite interestingly in the present context, such luxurious architecture was associated with foreign models, for instance by the aforementioned poet Wespazjan Kochowski. In the poem *Budynek* he compared the splendid palaces of the great, clad in marble and embellished with rare paintings, to such foreign buildings as El Escorial and set them against the wooden manors of the *szlachta*.⁷⁷ Although the comparison was obviously farfetched, the poem is illustrative of the tension between luxury associated with foreign models, and local cultural values.

Nonetheless, architectural models first adapted by the higher ranks of the nobility were being gradually assimilated by noble society, providing the framework for the social life and eventually evolving into a national architectural style.⁷⁸ Despite the critique directed at the lavish houses of the magnates, opinions of the nobility were shaped mainly by the people in power. Visiting their residences, members of the *szlachta* would become familiar with the new architectural ideas and tastes that would eventually impact their culture. An example is provided by the manor house in Stanin, a masonry building dated to ca. 1670.⁷⁹ There, the *sień* and *izba* were flanked by symmetrical apartments comprising three rooms each, including a chamber in each of the corner pavilions.

An important case study indicative of the further dissemination and transformation of the foreign models of residential architecture is offered by the wooden manor in Kowalewsczyzna, built probably in the 1660s for the Orsetti, a merchant family from Lucca established in Poland⁸⁰ (fig. 13). As such it also illustrates the assimilation of the foreigners into the local culture, of which architecture was an important element. The central part of this one-story building was occupied by a single room with an open porch, identified by Zygmunt Gloger – a historian and ethnographer who documented the building before it was dismantled in 1881 – as a *wielka sień* and, at the same time, a *sala stołowa*. Combining these two functions, it thus represented a reduced type of the full programme typical for the larger residences. The central axis was flanked

⁷⁶ Potocki, "Ogroda," 209-212.

⁷⁷ Kochowski, *Utwory*, 186-188.

⁷⁸ Marta Leśniakowska, "*Polski dwór*." *Wzorce architektoniczne, mit, symbol* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1992); see also Żuchowski, "Die Anfänge," 30-31.

⁷⁹ Władysław Tatarkiewicz, "Trzy dwory podlaskie: Stanin, Jagodne, Sarnów," in *O sztuce polskiej XVII i XVIII wieku. Architektura. Rzeźba* (Warszawa: Państwowe wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), 193-207.

⁸⁰ Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Druk P. Laskauera i W. Babickiego, 1901), 83; Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 341-42; Żuchowski, "Die Anfänge," 30-31.

by a sequence of three room on each side, with additional small rooms (*alkierz*) located in the corner pavilions.

A similar solution was introduced in the *villa nova*, or Wilanów, built a few miles south of Warsaw for King Jan III Sobieski in 1678-1679. Later thoroughly remodeled, it was initially a modest manor house akin to the country houses of the middle ranks of the nobility, despite similarities to the layout of the *Villa Regia*⁸¹ (fig. 14). For a French traveler who visited Wilanów before the villa was extended in the 1680s this humble abode was entirely inappropriate for a king, reminding him rather of the country houses of the Parisian bourgeoisie.⁸² Building such a manor, the king probably sought to emphasize his origins in the world of the Sarmatian culture to win the support of the members of the *szlachta*.⁸³ Its general layout, with its symmetrical design and corner pavilions, was like the aforesaid manor in Kowalewsczyzna, and may have been inspired by the above-mentioned Poggio Reale design by Serlio.⁸⁴ The central space, however, was divided into a *sień* that may have possibly served also as a dining room, and a smaller salon at the back.⁸⁵

The examples of the Orsetti and Lubomirski manors, as well as the early Wilanów, bring attention to the complex issue of the transmission of architectural models between the various layers of society. This exchange runs parallel to the assimilation of foreign models, making that process even more complex and non-linear. Within the cultural and political context of late sixteenth and seventeenth century Poland-Lithuania one of the most important unexplored questions involves in fact the nexus between the processes of assimilation of foreign models and their transmission among the various social classes, namely royalty, higher ranks of nobility, and gentry. Although this issue

⁸¹ On the early Wilanów, see: Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 400; Wojciech Fijałkowski, *Królewski Wilanów* (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami, 1997), 11-13.

⁸² Fijałkowski, *Królewski*, 12-13.

⁸³ See, for instance, Kazimierz Piwarski, *Miedzy Francją a Austrią. Z dziejów polityki Jana III Sobieskiego w latach 1687-1690* (Cracow: Druk. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1933), 85-110; Anna Czarniecka, *Nikt nie słucha mnie za życia... Jan III Sobieski w walce z opozycyjną propagandą (1684-1696)* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2009); Aleksandra Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie – Jakub, Aleksander i Konstanty Sobiescy* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2011); Stanisław Wiliński, "Villa Nova Jana III Sobieskiego," *Studia Wilanowskie* 1 (1977): 63-87; Barbara Arciszewska, "A Golden Age for a Changing Nation: Polish National Identity and the Histories of the Wilanów Residence of King Jan III Sobieski," *Architectural History* 49 (2006): 101-128; Isabella Woldt, "Sobieskis Königsresidenz in Wilanów und Krasińskis Palais in Warschau. Architektur im Spannungsfeld von Antikenrezeption und Sarmatismus im Barock," in *Welche Antike? Konkurrierende Rezeptionen des Altertums im Barock*, I-II, ed. Ulrich Heinen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 406.

⁸⁴ Miłobędzki, *Krótką nauka*, il. 45; Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano*, 198-99; see Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro... con nove additioni* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1544), 52, accessed May 5, 2017, <http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Notice/Serlio1540.asp?param=en>.

⁸⁵ Miłobędzki, *Krótką nauka*, il. 45.

cannot be addressed here in greater detail, it is epitomized by the *villa nova* at Wilanów.

The initial manor was considerably enlarged in the 1680s and given its final shape in 1692-1696 through the addition of a second storey.⁸⁶ The key advisor to King Jan III Sobieski, who was also responsible for much of the design, was the dilettante architect of Italian descent Agostino Locci.⁸⁷ The villa consisted of a main *corps de logis* with corner pavilions and was flanked by two galleries topped by towers. The ground floor was divided into symmetrically arranged apartments, one for the king and the other for the queen, connected by a vestibule located in the central axis. Each apartment comprised two larger rooms, i.e. an antechamber and a chamber, followed by a cabinet and a *garderobe*, the latter located in a corner pavilion facing the garden.

Compared to the earlier design, Sobieski and his architect introduced several architectural elements that underpinned his unique position and referred to the internationally recognized models of court architecture. Perhaps the most important indicator of the villa's royal prestige was the galleries, a unique feature in contemporaneous Poland-Lithuania.⁸⁸ As already observed, they emphasized the significance of Wilanów as a seat of power and a symbol of state.⁸⁹

The royal villa served to assert the king's position within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well as on the European stage. He had to strike a balance between diverse, sometimes contradictory ideals, and to consider his position as an elected monarch. The king attempted to appeal to members of the diverse strata of Polish-Lithuanian society, namely to the magnates and to the *szlachta*. Apart from that, he had to adhere to the royal ceremonial requirements of a European monarch. Thus, Sobieski had to present both a royal and an aristocratic architectural and decorative programme, while he appealed to the wider Polish-Lithuanian nobility. In the unique socio-political situation of the late seventeenth century Poland-Lithuania, his villa was simultaneously a royal retreat, an elitist aristocratic *belvedere*, and a manor of the *szlachta*. The king achieved that by, among other things, integrating various architectural elements

⁸⁶ On the history of Wilanów see, among others, Juliusz Starzyński, *Wilanów. Dzieje budowy pałacu za Jana III* (Warsaw: Druk. W. L. Anczyca i Spółki, 1933); Aleksander Czołowski, *Urządzenie pałacu wilanowskiego za Jana III* (Lwów: Sekcji Historji Sztuki i Kultury, 1937); Wojciech Fijałkowski, *Wnętrza pałacu w Wilanowie* (Warsaw: PWN, 1977); Fijałkowski, "Królewski Wilanów"; Arciszewska, "A Golden Age."

⁸⁷ On Locci see above all Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, "Locci (Locchi, Loccio, Logi, Loki, Loćci) Agostino," in *Słownik architektów i budowniczych środowiska warszawskiego XV-XVIII wieku*, eds. Paweł Migasiewicz, Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, and Jakub Sito (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2016), 278-86.

⁸⁸ On the building history of galleries, see Starzyński, *Wilanów*, 20-23.

⁸⁹ Wojciech Fijałkowski, "Jan III Sobieski's Villa Nova and its Artistic Programme," in *The Baroque Villa. Suburban and Country Residences c. 1600-1800*, ed. Barbara Arciszewska (Warsaw: Wilanów Palace Museum, 2009), 112.

typical for the local tradition, including the corner chambers, yet inspired by the already assimilated foreign models with some elements new to the local context, such as the galleries.

Conclusion

Hoping to shed light on the adaptation of European models of residential architecture in early modern Poland-Lithuania, it has been argued here that assimilation of architectural models is always a transformation, a constructive and selective act that follows the rules and impulses of a specific culture. Embedding the process of architectural transfer in the socio-political perspective offers many avenues of research that the present contribution could only hint at. It seems clear, nonetheless, that people in the period were well aware of that fact that the transfer of such models was conditioned by factors imposed by the cultural identity. This is witnessed by a variety of literary sources, including the very first book on architecture published in the country, which provides in fact a vital context for the assimilation of the foreign architectural models. Most importantly, it shows that the key aspect of architecture was its functionality, defined here as adjusting such models to the requirements imposed by local custom, and that foreign models were judged according to their suitability to the local requirements. Building designs created in Europe, be they Serlio's ideas for palaces and country houses or residences like the Palais du Luxembourg, were thus adapted to serve the local custom and provide an environment for the activities typical for the recipient culture. This could be done by accommodating socially important spaces such as the *sala jadalna*, traditionally the main reception room of a Polish manor. The function of individual compartments within an overall layout would be changed, and some architectural elements, like a gallery or an enfilade rejected altogether due to cultural differences. Sometimes each element of a building could be derived from external models; their combination however reflected local needs and expectations. Nonetheless, the recipient culture was given a new environment that, of course, impacted the culture itself, facilitating a process of a continuous transformation.

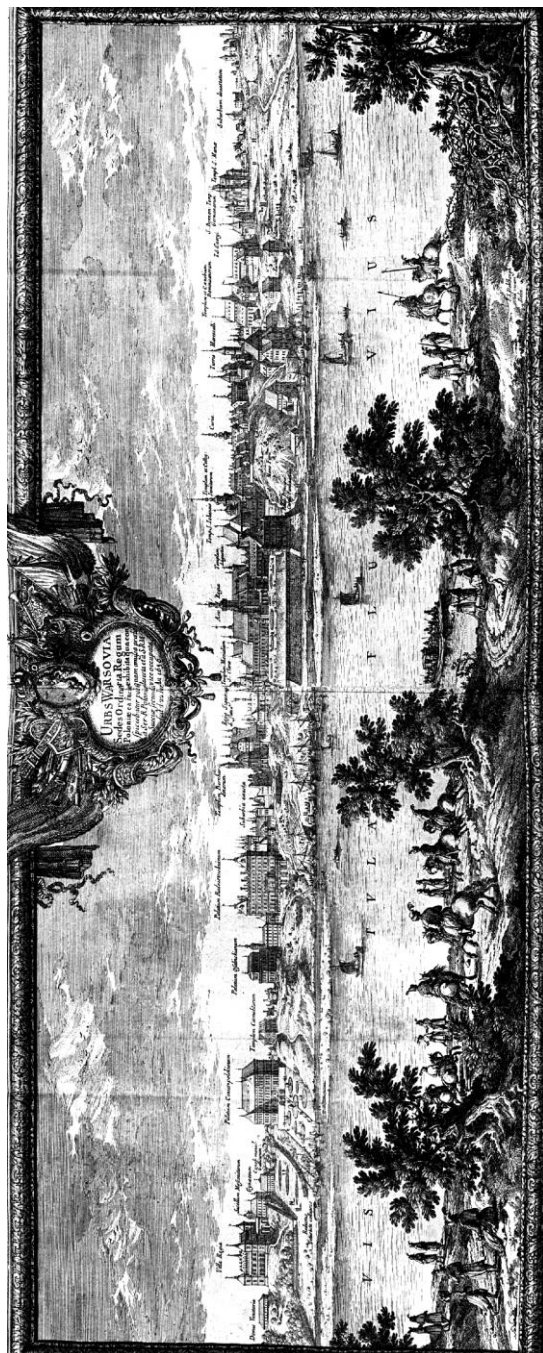


Fig. 1. Gabriel Perelle after Erik Dahlberg, View of Warsaw, engraving, 1656
(Public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Warsaw_in_1656.png, accessed 20.04.2017).

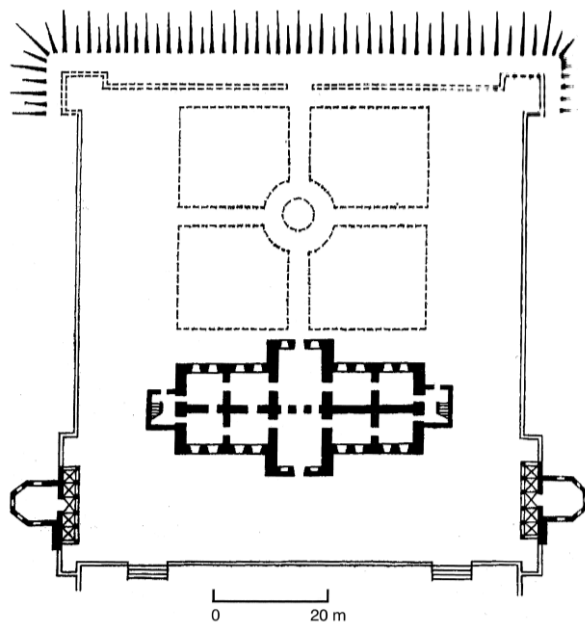


Fig. 2. The Książ residence of the Myszkowski family, 1585-1595, ground plan.
After Mieczysław Zlat, *Sztuka polska. Renesans i manieryzm* (Warszawa:
Arkady, 2008), 190.



Fig. 3. The Kielce residence of the bishop of Cracow, 1637-1645, main façade (foto:
Jakub Hałun, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:20130421_Kielce_Palac_Biskupow_Krakowskich_3127.jpg, accessed on 25.05.2017).

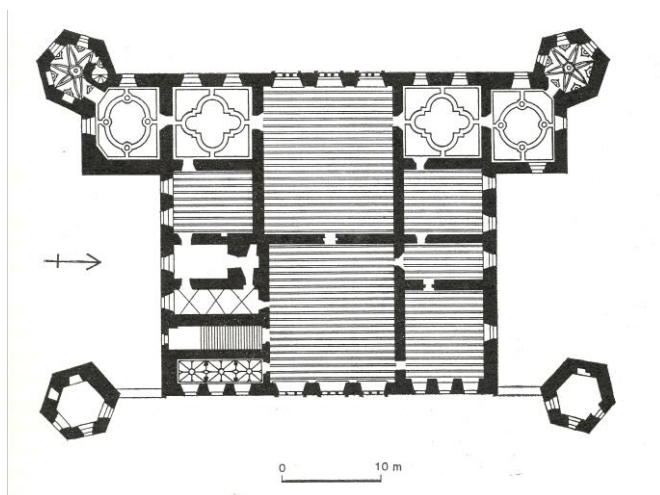


Fig. 4. The Kielce residence of the bishop of Cracow, 1637-1645, ground plan (after Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 195, fig. 69-70).

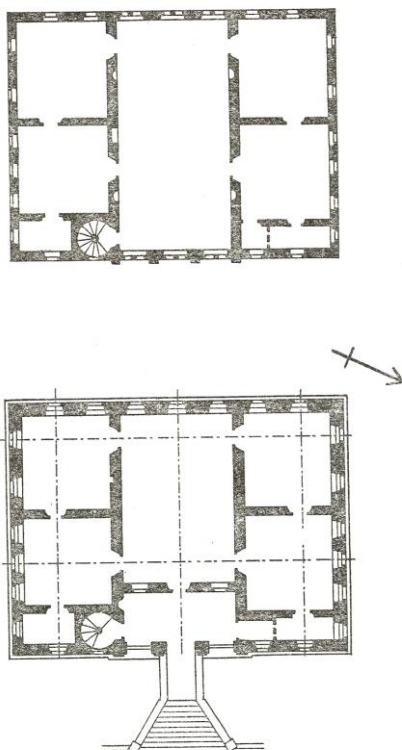


Fig. 5. The Czemierniki villa of Henryk Firlej, before 1624, ground plan (after Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 151, fig. 52-53).

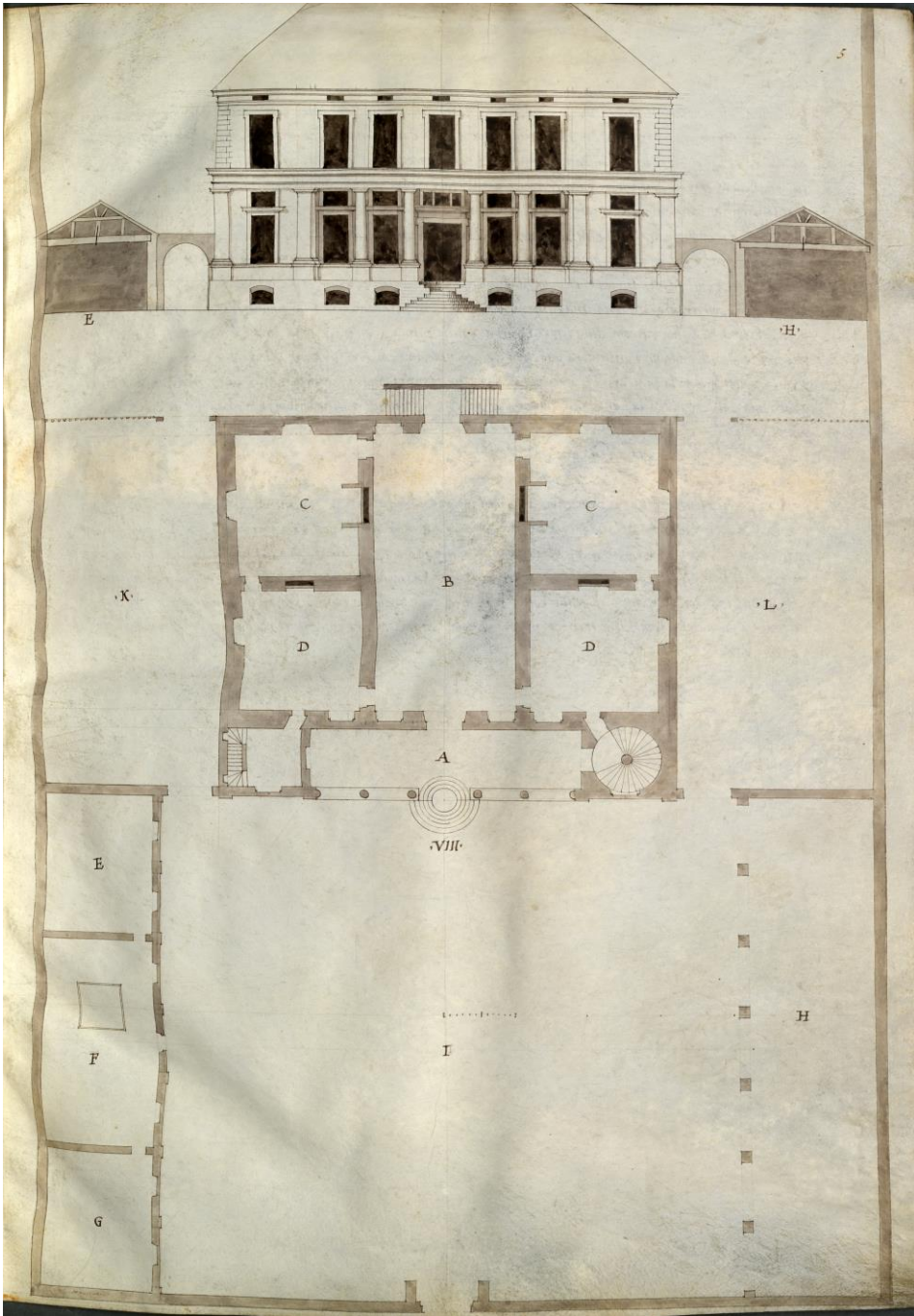


Fig. 6. Sebastiano Serlio, *Sesto libro d'architettura*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Icon. 189, fol. 5, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00018617-3.

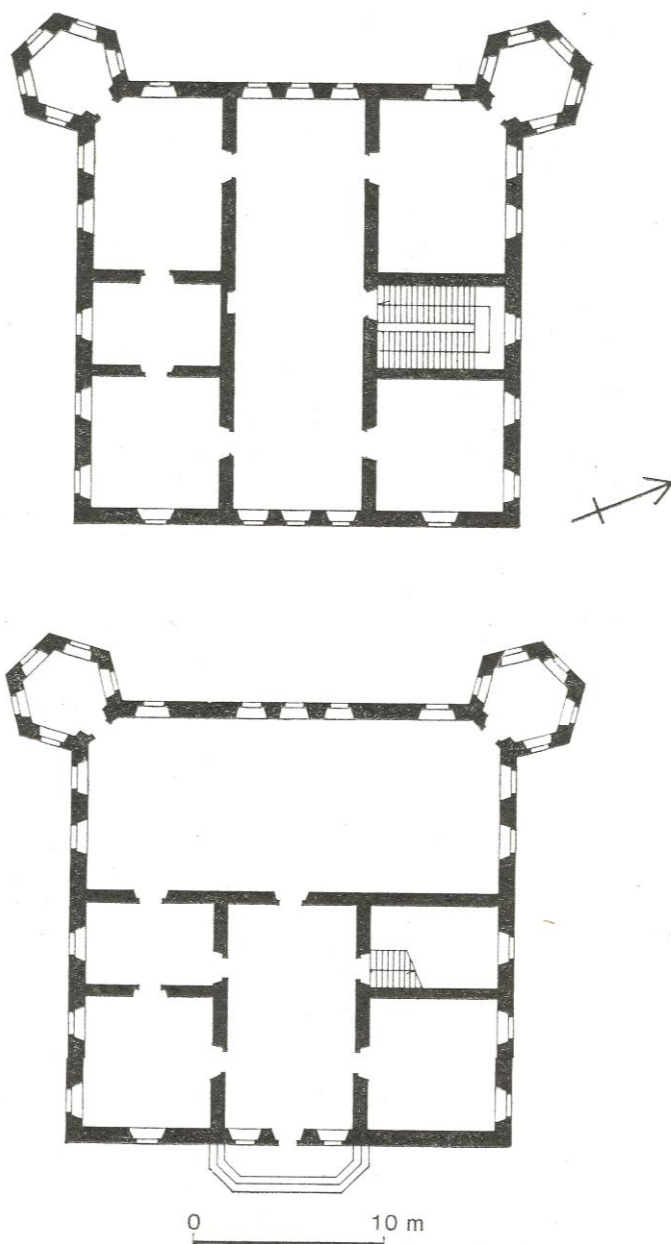


Fig. 7. The Warsaw residence of Jerzy Ossoliński, before 1642, ground plan (after Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 210, fig. 78-79).

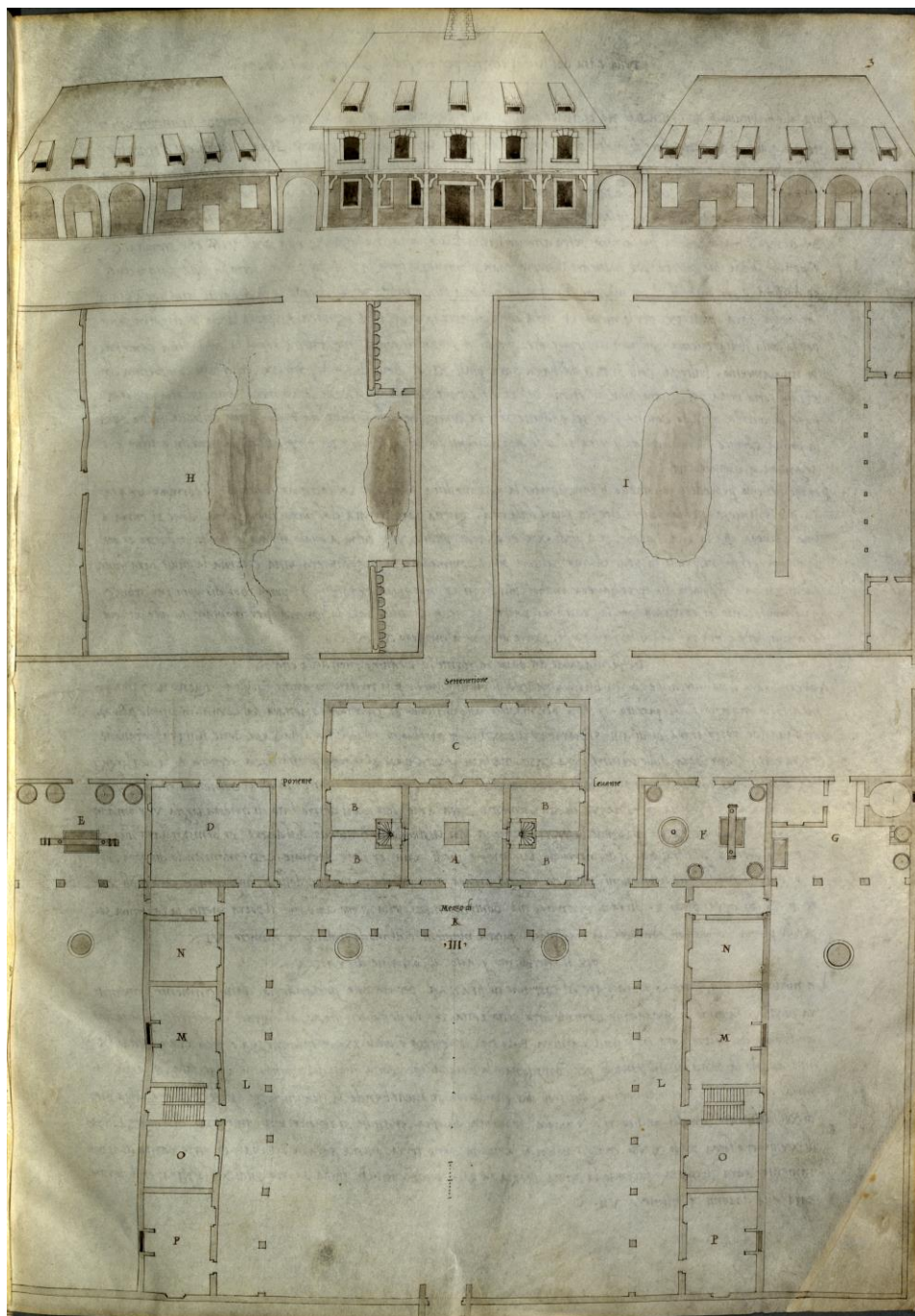


Fig. 8. Sebastiano Serlio, *Sesto libro d'architettura*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Icon. 189, fol. 3, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00018617-3.



Fig. 9. The Podhorce (Підгірці) residence of Stanisław Koniecpolski, 1635-1640
(foto: Franciszek Skibiński).

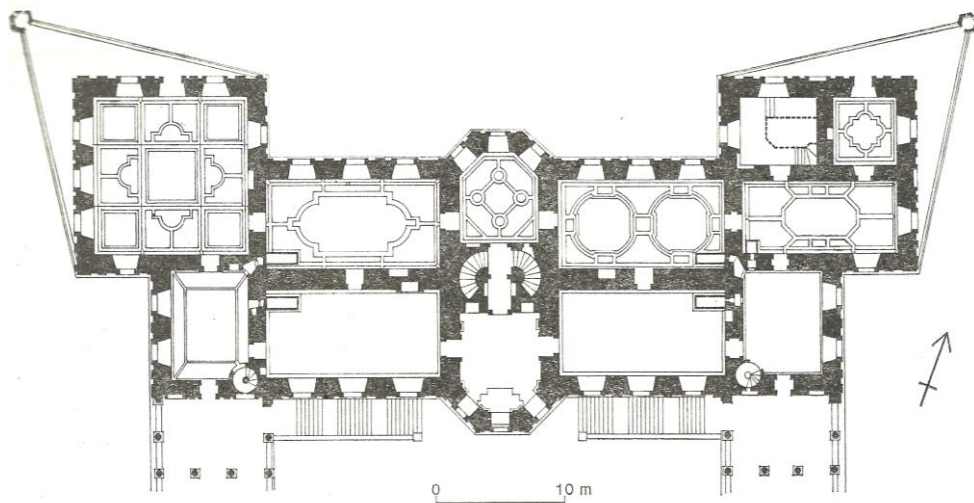


Fig. 10. The Podhorce (Підгірці) residence of Stanisław Koniecpolski, 1635-1640,
ground plan (after Miłobędzki, *Architektura*, 210, fig. 75).

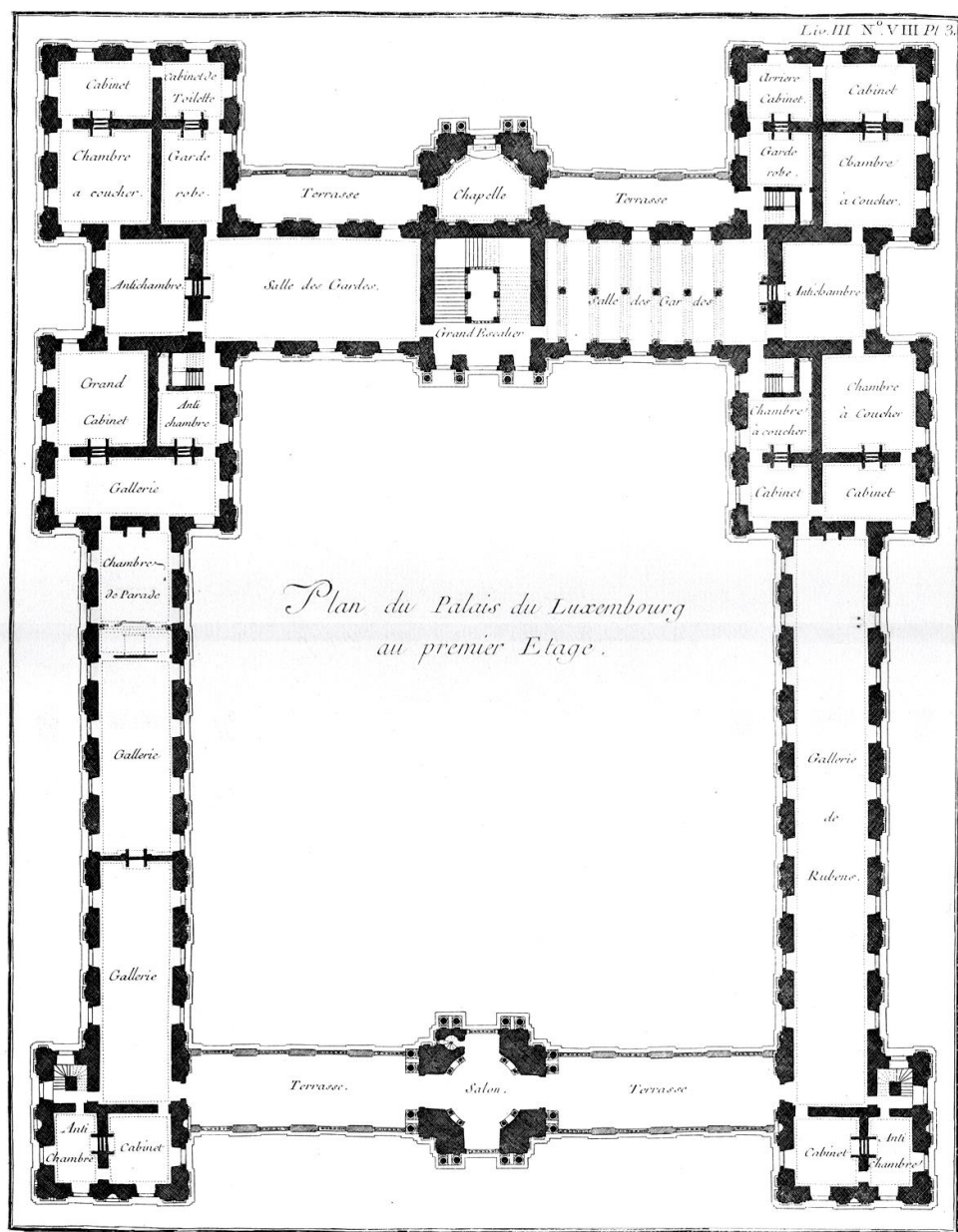


Fig. 11. Palais du Luxembourg in Paris 1611-1631, ground plan, after Jacques-François Blondel, *Architecture Française*, 1750-1756 (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Palais_du_Luxembourg_-_Plan_du_premier_%C3%A9tage_-_Architecture_fran%C3%A7oise_Tome2_Livre3_Ch8_PL3.jpg, accessed on 30.05.2017).

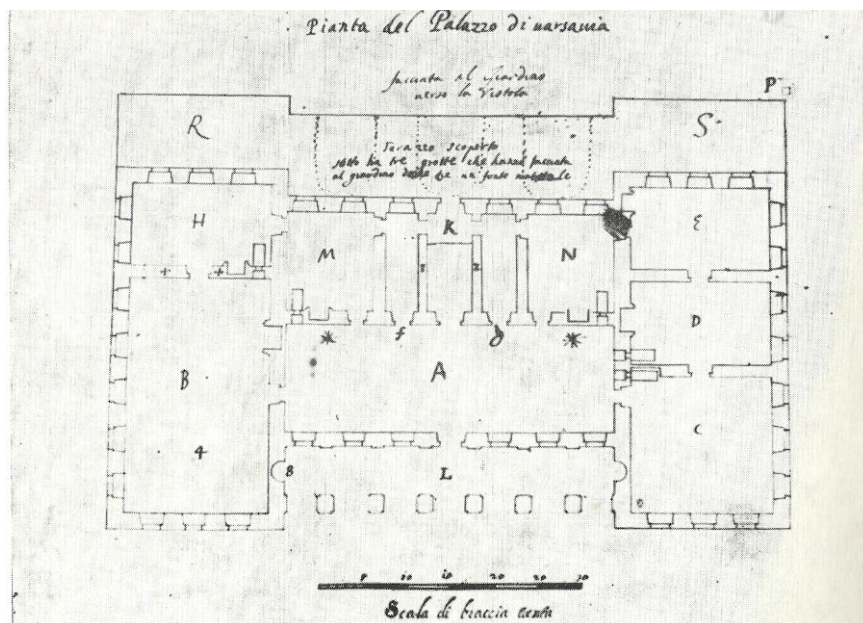


Fig. 12. The Warsaw residence of Stanisław Koniecpolski, 1640-1643, ground plan, drawing by Giovanni Battista Gisleni, mid 17th century (Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano*, pl. 187).

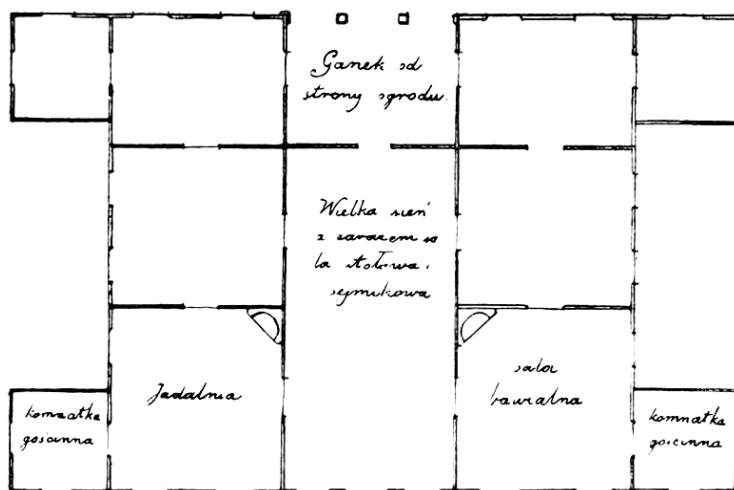


Fig. 13. The Kowalwyszczyn manor of the Orsetti family, 1660s, ground plan after a drawing by Zygmunt Gloger (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plan_dworu_w_Kowalewsczy%C5%BAnie_z_wieku_XVII.jpg, accessed on 30.05.2017).

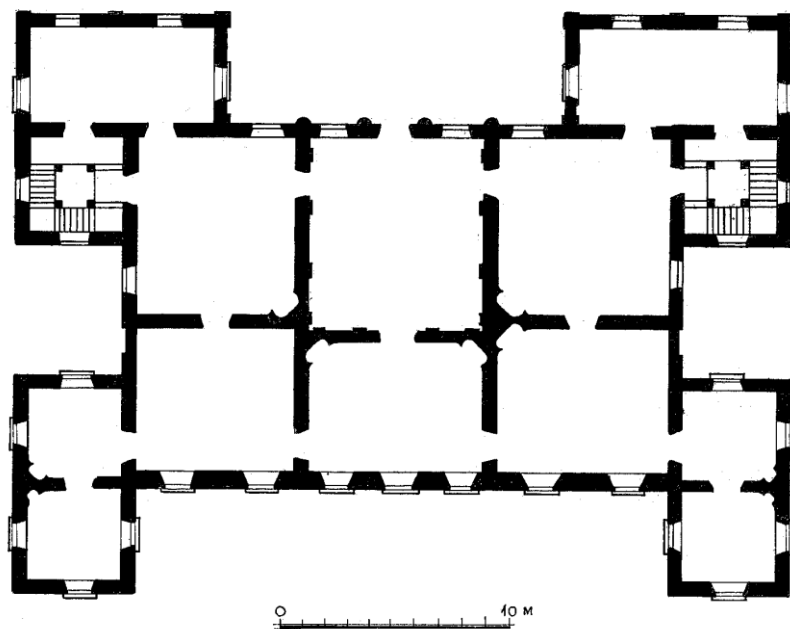


Fig. 14. The royal villa at Wilanów, 1678-1679, ground plan (Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano*, 197, fig. 15).

BETWEEN PALACES AND CASTLES: THE VIENNESE ARISTOCRACY AT HOME DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

ÉRIC HASSLER*

The way the noble elite from the Habsburg monarchy dwells in several mansions reflects the plural social belongings of this high-ranking group during early modern times. The Habsburg princes managed to ensure their loyalty, at least for a while, but these elite are the owners of a seigniorial authority that they are keen to go on displaying publicly, all the more as the monarchy has difficulties to assert its own power.¹ This tension in the spatial organization between the court and the provinces results in a compulsory ubiquity that can be clearly read in the dual nature of this aristocracy's residences.² Can one consider urban palaces and seigniorial castles as a reflection of the self-identifying discourse of these elite?

The history of noble housing has already been the subject of numerous studies that have taken different stances. One approach, already quite old, influenced by Norbert Elias, is to try and construe the housing in a formal way, trying to read the politics from the architectural forms.³ More recently, anthropology has inspired a more functionalist approach: its aim is to find in the household function the key to understanding the elite way-of-life, particularly in a process of ritualization.⁴ Both these interpretations have brought many insights, but they do tend to cut the housing from its local and social context.

I would like in this paper to take the counterpoint of this objectification of the housing, by re-placing the aristocratic dwellings within the residential network of which they are part. My starting point is that these dwellings, independently from their own attributions and chronologies, work as a coherent

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¹ James Van Horn Melton, "The Nobility in the Bohemian and Austrian Lands, 1620-1780," in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, H. M. Scott ed., 2: Northern, Central and Eastern Europe (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1995).

² Éric Hassler, *La Cour de Vienne, 1680-1740. Service de l'empereur et stratégies spatiales des élites nobiliaires dans la monarchie des Habsbourg* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2013).

³ See this synthese study: Ulrich Fürst, *Die lebendige und sichtbare Historie. Programatische Themen in der Sakralarchitektur des Barock* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2002).

⁴ See: Monique Chatenet and Krista De Jonge, eds., *Le prince, la princesse et leurs logis: manières d'habiter dans l'élite aristocratique européenne, 1400-1700* (Paris: Picard, 2014).

network created by the presence of their owners. They fulfil, at a certain moment, specific demands that can vary in time and that are expressed by the lineage or by the individuals, depending on the social, local or political strategies those individuals build. By studying these dwellings in relation to one another, my aim is to shed a new light on the aristocratic practices they contribute to build, but that also build them in return. I also wish to contribute to the historiography of the aristocratic *habitus*, and to the history of identity - or collective affiliation building.⁵

This paper will fall into three parts that allow weighing the importance of these aristocratic dwellings: (1) how they represent a financial investment; (2) how they are the setting off a specific sociability; (3), how they gain a symbolic dimension. My study is limited to a few well-documented houses belonging, during the first half of the 18th century, to a small group of lineages very well introduced in court, and I will not deal with suburban Viennese houses for the sake of concision.

Prologue: the poly-residency, an ordinary way of dwelling

In the first place, the question of multiple aristocratic residencies must be dealt with in order to shed light on the way the dwellings function as a system. The simultaneous ownership of several dwellings, urban, suburban and manorial, is quite common amongst the noble elite of the Viennese court during early modern times, especially after the second siege of the imperial residence in 1683. This can be explained by the superposition of seigniorial, regional and courtly functions, but also by the diversification of the noble property within the different territories of the monarchy. When studying the mobility of the nobility, one can observe a very dynamic circulation between the houses.⁶ As a result, one must nuance Zdeněk Hojda's hypothesis that, because of the way the noble elite is integrated to court, a downgrading of the castle as a mere complement of the urban palace takes place.⁷ The distinction between the figure of the courtier that would be fulfilled by the head of the family and the figure of the rural lord, devolved to the younger sons, does not seem to be relevant.

As they belong to a complete residential network, these houses must not be considered independently, but within their local and patrimonial environment. There were about 130 aristocratic urban palaces, unevenly scattered within Vienna old town, most of them near the Hofburg, and with very variable surfaces, depending on the size of the available plot. The palace often is a masterpiece of the familial real estate legacy, and can include several urban dwellings, that can be used and shared between several branches or members of

⁵ Anne Perrin-Khelissa, *Gênes au 18^e siècle. Le décor d'un palais* (Paris: CTHS-IHNA, 2013).

⁶ Hassler, *La Cour de Vienne*, VI.

⁷ Zdeněk Hojda, "Rezidencečeskéšlechty v baroku," in *Život na šlechtickém sídle v 16.-18. století*, ed. Lenka Bobková (Ústí nad labem, 1992), 164.

the family if needed. However, contrary to what exists in other European towns, the aristocratic palace is seldom a family housing, and most of the time the owner is the sole occupant, whether he is the head of the family or the owner of a courtly charge.

On the other hand, the castle must be integrated within the seigniorial microcosm of which it is the neural centre.⁸ The aristocratic dwelling in this case frequently acquires a mock-urban dimension, imitating, to a lower scale, the princely towns which are then thriving within the Empire. The residence of the counts Kaunitz-Rietberg in Slavkov/Austerlitz (Moravia) is thus organised according to a regular plan that is supposed to reflect the social order. The castle, usually of vast proportions, sits at the heart of an aristocratic residential complex, commanding the other seigniorial installations: the service quarters, the administrative buildings, the urban centre, the productive structures, whether agricultural or proto-industrial.

1. *Financial investment: how to measure the lineage implication through the residence?*

1.1. *To buy and to build: the elaboration of a courtly identity*

The size of the real estate owned by noble families varies during early modern times, but the ownership of lordships remains a constant feature for these lineages, a number of which date back to medieval times. Being a landlord contributes to their seigniorial identity. On the other hand, in-town ownership is not as evident. It is rather a matter of conjuncture, closely linked to the self-aggregation of the courtly society. Acquiring an urban dwelling, and paying for the consequent building works is a particularly heavy financial burden. This sheds light upon the new importance of the palace in the process of building a courtly identity. To settle a lineage within the courtly society, hence gaining visibility, is a very expensive investment. The few transaction prices that we know about show not only that prices are very high, but also that they undergo a steep increase during the first half of the 18th century. At the beginning of the 17th century, the value of a residence can be around 10 000 gulden;⁹ it doubles or triples at the end of the 17th century; and some houses reach 90 000 gulden as early as in the 1720's.¹⁰ These sums are colossal compared to the income of the aristocrats: during the first half of the 18th century, they seldom earn more than

⁸ Friedrich B. Polleross, "Adelige Repräsentation in Architektur und bildender Kunst vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert in Österreich. Literatur- und Forschungsüberblick," *Opera historica* 2 (1992), 52.

⁹ Sales contract a house located in the Kärntnertor between Georg Blottler and Carl v Harrach zu Rohrau, 5th May 1601, K 764, Familienarchiv Harrach, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna.

¹⁰ Average from sales of six houses (1680-1700), K 761 and 764, Familienarchiv Harrach; K 64 Inv. 556, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců Slavkov, Moravský zemský archiv v Brně.

200 000 gulden per year, and their lavish lifestyle leaves them little in terms of available income.¹¹ The acquisition price is then increased by the cost of building works, if needed. After they have bought and united several plots of land, the Counts Harrach of Freyung spend probably between 55 000 and 60 000 gulden, nearly three times what they have spent to buy the land, to build a palace on it.¹² In some cases, the cost of the building works proves to be too high for the new owner. Count Dominik Andreas Kaunitz (1655-1705) is nearly bankrupt when, in 1694, he sells to Prince Johann Adam Liechtenstein (1657-1712) the large palace he has started to build three years earlier and that is still far from completion.¹³ Building works in Vienna are more expensive than in the seigniorial lands. A comparison between the building accounts of the Viennese palace of the Count Harrach and those of the Harrach castle in Bruck and der Leitha shows an important discrepancy between the prices asked by the artisans in the two places.¹⁴

To save some money, these building works can be limited to cosmetic interventions, dealing only with the visible parts of the palace, and especially the front. During early 18th century, Count Johann Adam Questenberg (1678-1752) uses this technique for his palace, which consists of two patrician townhouses. The fusion is broadly limited to the front of the house, hence the keeping of two different entrances, leading to two separate courtyards. On the side nearest to the street, the architect has managed to design a series of adjoining rooms, but the back of the buildings stays Daedalus-like. After the filing of a lawsuit, the Count is also required to maintain a passageway to allow for access to an independent house located on his property.¹⁵ Last but not least, the works over the facade are also hindered by the cautious willingness of the municipal authorities or of neighbours to make sure that facades are aligned and that there is no overstepping over the “public” domain.¹⁶ The first lawsuit, that escalates as soon as the works

¹¹ Andreas Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre. Der höfische Adel am Kaiserhof Karls VI. (1711-1740)* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), 110.

¹² Payment advices (1689-1696), K 762, Familienarchiv Harrach.

¹³ Grete Klingenstein, *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Kaunitz: Studien zur Herkunft und Bildung des Staatskanzlers Wenzel Anton* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975), 61-63: the house under construction, gained an added value because it is sold for the outrageous sum of 115000 gulden. The Count Kaunitz paid the parcel “only,” 30000 gulden.

¹⁴ Payment advices for the house Harrach (1689-1696), K 762 and Payment advices about 31494 gulden for the restoration of the Castle of Prugg during the period 1706-1713 K 760, Familienarchiv Harrach.

¹⁵ Lawsuits, 1723-1726, K. 784 Inv. 6381 f°33, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

¹⁶ K 775 Inv. 6217, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců: the neighbour Count Corbelli protests in a letter (20th may 1698) against reconstruction of a party wall. See also the protestations of Harrach’s neighbours during September 1689 when the Count Harrach

start during winter 1701, results in the order issued by the town magistrate to the builders' corporation to boycott the works at the palace.¹⁷

Besides the front, works mainly concern the inside layout, especially regarding the apartments decoration and furniture. However, even in this case, works can be a heavy burden for the owner's finances. Count Questenberg has to face numerous lawsuits filed by several artisans because he has not paid what he owes them for the successive works to amend the layout of his palace.¹⁸

Count Questenberg's example testifies to the motivation the aristocrat needs when he is the owner of an urban palace, and thus highlights the importance given to the elaboration of a courtly identity, that superposes itself over the seigniorial identity. Still, to be able to sustain the comparison with the other courtiers, an aristocrat has to have a residence meeting his own expectations.

1.2. *Places for consumption and luxury*

The money spent on designing, furnishing and maintaining the residences is a good sign of how important they are, on a practical level as well as on a symbolic one. If the furniture fulfils some practical purposes, it also has a symbolic function linked to its luxury or ostentatious value, which comes from the money its owner has invested by the owner. Furniture is a statement of rank, aiming at impressing the visitor, as Lady Montagu testifies:¹⁹

"(...) nothing can be more surprisingly magnificent than the Apartments. They are commonly a suite of 8 or 10 large rooms, all inlaid, the doors and windows richly carved and gilt, and the furniture such as is seldom seen in the Palaces of sovereign Princes in other Countries: the Hangings the finest Tapestry of Brussels, prodigious large looking glasses in silver frames, fine Japan Tables, the Beds, Chairs, Canopies and window Curtains of the richest Genoa Damask or Velvet, almost covered with gold Lace or Embroidery - the whole made gay by pictures and vast jars of Japan china, and almost in every room large lustres of rock crystal."

The rare inventories that have been preserved confirm this enthusiastic description, in particular those of the palaces Collalto (1713), Questenberg (1740) and Harrach (1750).²⁰ Unfortunately, we have only few testimonies of these

began to line the new-bought parcels up in order to build his new house located in the Freyung (K 761 Familienarchiv Harrach).

¹⁷ Peter Fidler, *Zur Bauaufgabe in der Barockarchitektur. Das Palais Questenberg. Ergänzende Forschungen zu einer Prandtauer Monographie* (Innsbruck: Selbstverlag, 1985), 16.

¹⁸ K 783-785, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

¹⁹ Lady Montagu to Lady Mar, 8 Sept. 1716, *The Complete letters of lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband, t. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 260.

²⁰ Collalto House: Inventaria Mobilium An. 1713 in domo Collaltiana viennensis reperibilium, qua omnia sub cura, Inspectione at Consignatione Dm Antony Josephi

aristocratic interiors, mostly destroyed today.²¹ So, these inventories allow taking a glimpse at the internal layout of these residences at a precise moment. One has to be aware, however, that the inner layouts must have been constantly changing.

The general impression one gets of these inventories is of excessively numerous, luxurious and colourful pieces of furniture, whose dominant hues are gold, silver and red. Rooms are cumbersomely full of numerous chairs and armchairs, guerdons, small tables, and some more imposing pieces of furniture. Hanging on the walls are Flanders tapestries, coloured taffetas, as well as numerous paintings or large mirrors (or french « trumeaux ») surmounting chimneys. It is not before the 1760's that the use of mural woodpaneling becomes common, following the French example.²² Artificial light is provided by candelabra and chandeliers of rock crystal. Some pieces of furniture are of an outstanding luxury: *pietra dura* tables (those belonging to the Harrach family display their coat of arms) with golden and carved foot, large lacquered or inlaid cabinets, or ceremonial beds with luxury textiles. Engravings as well as the rare rooms that have been preserved in their original state show that the ceilings are *a minima* ornate with stucco, and quite frequently painted, at least in their central part. A comparison between the different inventories shows however differences in the richness of the furniture: those belonging to Count Questenberg seem

Villagtuno temporis in eadem Domo habitantissuêse. 28f. G 169 II 292, Rodinný archiv Collaltů Brtnice, Moravský zemský archiv v Brně; Questenberg House: Inventarium über bey dem Wiener Herrschaften Hauss befunderen Mobilien dem 3 Juny 1740 et f° 14-15 Consignatio derren heurigen in dem... Graf Questenbergischen Hauss... K 775 Inv. 6219, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců; Harrach House: Haupt Inventarium über all- dasjenige was an Mobilien und Geraths dem Königl: Franzosischen Herrn Pottschafftern Marquis de Hautefort.../Inventaire des Meubles et Effet appartenans à M. le Comte de Harrach et lesquel sont resté dans l'hotel [Freÿ- und Majorat Hauß auf der Freÿung allhier in Wienn] qu'il a loué à S. E. M. le Marquis de Hautefort...le 28 août 1750, K 763, Familienarchiv Harrach.

²¹ Wolfgang Pircher, *Verwüstung und Verschwendung. Adeliges Bauen nach der Zweiten Türkenbelagerung* (Vienna: Deuticke, 1984), 76; Hellmut Lorenz, "Zur repräsentativen Raumfolge und Ausstattung der barocken Stadtpaläste Wiens, in *Barock regional – international*, eds. Götz Pochat and Brigitte Wagner (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1993), 295. For comparison, see also the engraving plans and views of the interiors of Prince Eugen of Savoye's Palaces in Vienna: S. Kleiner, *Résidences mémorables de l'incomparable Héros de notre siècle. Représentation exacte des Edifices et Jardins de son altesse Serenissime Monseigneur le Prince Eugène François, duc de Savoye et de Piemont...*, Augsburg, 1731.

²² Among few conserved examples, see the paneling of the Paar palace in the Metropolitan Museum of New York: http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database/european_sculpture_and_decorative_arts/boiserie_from_the_palais_paar_30_wollzeile_vienna_isidor_canevale/objectview.aspx?collID=12&OID=120018474 (accessed in 30.06.2017).

slightly less opulent than the two others, because there are few exceptional pieces in the inventory.

The seigniorial apartments, from what we know of them, do not seem to be very different.²³ They display the same taste in decoration. Letters exchanged between Adam Questenberg and his intendant Georg Adam Hoffmann show that some pieces of furniture – even if we do not know exactly which ones – move between the different residencies, following the presence of the owner.²⁴ The inventory of the castle of Count Questenberg in Jaroměřice, a few years later, gives a glimpse of furniture slightly richer in the castle than in the palace: lacquer furniture, clocks and more luminaries (in particular golden candelabums and torches) than in the inventory of the Viennese palace.²⁵ This imbalance reflects the fact that the count prefers to stay in the countryside at the time of these inventories: he inhabits the castle between 200 and 250 days per year.²⁶

There are, however, certain rooms that allow to differentiate between the rural and the urban palaces, specific spaces that are emblematic of the luxury displayed by the reigning dynasty, and, in imitation, by the aristocracy. From what we can gather, these rooms are distributed between urban palaces and seigniorial residencies: in town one can mainly find painting galleries and libraries, although china or mirrors cabinets seem to be more frequent in the countryside.

Even if there is evidence of “painting rooms” in numerous seigniorial residencies, the collections are most of the time preferentially preserved in the urban palaces, be it paintings or sculptures, and especially antiques. This setting facilitates access for the general public and amateurs, as can be seen in travellers’ descriptions, touring guides, or publicity material.²⁷ Counts Harrach’s Viennese

²³ Historical visual sources are also rare: See for example Uta Hasekamp, *Die Schlösser und Gärten des Lothar Franz von Schönborn: das Stichwerk nach Salomon Kleiner; Schloss Favorite bei Mainz, Schloss Weissenstein in Pommersfelden, Schloss Gaibach, Schloss Seehof bei Bamberg* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005).

²⁴ Correspondence between Count Johann Adam Questenberg and his intendant Georg Adam Hoffmann, 1729-1738, K 446 Inv. 6133, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

²⁵ Inventory of the Castle Jaroměřice, 10th January 1753, K 737 Inv. 6126, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

²⁶ Rostislav Smíšek, “Jan Adam Questenberk mezi Vídní a Jaroměřicemi,” in *Šlechta v habsburské monarchii a císařský dvůr (1526-1740)*, eds. Václav Bůžek and Pavel Král (České Budějovice: Opera historica 10, 2003), 331-354.

²⁷ See in particular Antoine Bormastino, *Historische Beschreibung von der kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wienn und ihren Vor-Städten/Description historique...* (Vienna, 1719); Johann Valentin, *Vienna curiosa & gratiosa oder das anjetzo lebende Wienn*, 3 vol. (Vienna, 1720); Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserl. Hofe* (Hanover, 1730); Johann Georg Keyßler, *Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland* (Hanover, 1740-1751).

palace displays hundreds of paintings, collected by the counts during the 17th and 18th centuries. Some amongst the best are presented in a gallery especially designed to this effect: red damas tapestry, with an *al-fresco* ceiling, it presents in 1750 51 paintings by the masters Guido Reni, Luca Giordano, Ribera, Rembrandt, van Dyck, Poussin, Holbein; some Caravaggio followers and numerous replicas of opus from Rubens, Véronese, Domenichino or Rafaello. The bulk of the collection is however relegated to the ground floor, where several rooms contain almost 300 paintings of diverse quality and sometimes of dubious attribution. These collections cannot, however, compete with those of the Liechtenstein princes, which are more diverse: besides the paintings, they expose bronzes, antic marbles, semi-precious stones vases, rare marbles or *pietra dura* tables, the latter evaluated by Johann Georg Keißler to the extravagant price of 14 000 gulden.²⁸

Libraries are another luxurious feature of these palaces: several outstanding libraries: travel guides list several libraries, especially those of Princes Schwarzenberg, or of Counts Sinzendorf, Kinsky or Oedt.²⁹ They can display tens of thousands books, but also scientific instruments, as can be seen in Count Hartig's library in Prague.³⁰ They occupy one or several rooms of the palace, and specific furniture, such as large wardrobes, is needed. These rooms are apparently semi-public, and allow their owner to be celebrated *urbi et orbi*, thanks to the descriptions that are published and distributed.

However, seigniorial residencies have their luxurious rooms as well. Few examples of china or mirrors cabinets have been preserved amongst the examples that are known of. The Chinese cabinet of the Jaroměřice castle is an exception: at the rear end to the Count's apartment, the cabinet is with Chinese silk inserted in wood panels imitating laque. The parquet floor is a delicate interlacing of 32 different rare wood essences figuring Chinese scenery. The furniture is luxurious.³¹ Other very opulent settings appear from time to time. Count Questenberg installs a space dedicated to bathing on the castle ground floor: a large *sala terrena* whose vaulting is painted with lattices of Virginia creeper and comfortably furnished,³² serves as the antechamber to a room designed as a

²⁸ Keyßler, *Neuste Reisen*, 938.

²⁹ Bormastino, *Historische Beschreibung*, 170.

³⁰ Claire Madl, "Tous les goûts à la fois". *Les engagements d'un aristocrate éclairé de Bohême* (Geneva: Droz, 2015), 83-88.

³¹ Inventory of the Castle Jaroměřice, 10th January 1753, f°8, K 737 Inv. 6126, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců: a golden sofa covered with white tapestry and leather cushions, six stools covered with blue tapestry, a table with porcelain pieces, seven Indian lacquered pedestal tables, two precious lacquered cabinets, three great mirrors with golden frame and three lacquered furniture items.

³² Inventory of the Castle Jaroměřice, 10th January 1753, f° 15, K 737 Inv. 6126, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců: six armchairs, one *chaise de commodité*, twelve leather

baroque grotto with two pools, probably to allow bathing either in hot or cold water.

1.3. *The residency, a source for revenues*

Building, furnishing and keeping those residencies is very expensive, and thus requests substantial revenues. The analysis of the finances of some Viennese aristocrats sheds light over the central role played by the revenues coming from these very same residencies, and by the self-financing methods stemming from them, be it seigniorial income or the yield of the urban investments.³³

The seigniorial residency thus fulfils a fundamental role in allowing the aristocrats to invest in sumptuary, the most significant mark of wealth and social status being precisely the residencies themselves. The way the aristocratic lineages have managed to add properties to one another in the different Crowns of the Monarchy, by taking advantage of the religion-related confiscations, of the lineages disappearances or by getting a share in inheritances has made it possible to build quite large estates.³⁴ This domination over the landed property has been strengthened by the steadiness, or even the reinforcement of seigniorial authority that has sometimes been called neo-feudalism,³⁵ or even seigniorial absolutism (*Herrschaftliches Absolutismus*).³⁶ This has been implemented through the increase of the burden of the seigniorial taxes, and sometimes through the return of serfdom, particularly in the countries of the Bohemian Crown. The aristocrats develop not only agricultural activities, but also proto-industrial ones (textile manufactories, crystal- or metal-producing units) that are particularly profitable and provide them with a steep increase of their revenue.³⁷ The wealth of these

armchairs, one billard table and a gamin table, one occasional table and two old tables (*schlechte Tisch*) and eight odd seats.

³³ Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre*, 103-126.

³⁴ Winkelbauer, "Krise der Aristokratie?," 344: Princes Liechtenstein and Dietrichstein own one quarter of the Moravia at the end of the 17th Century, generally Nobility and Clergy 90%. See also: Václav Buzek and Petr Mat'a, "Wandlungen des Adels in Böhmen und Mähren im Zeitalter des Absolutismus (1620-1740)," in *Der europäische Adel im Ancien Regime*, ed. Ronald G. Asch (Vienna: Böhlau, 2001), 295, footnote 16.

³⁵ Van Horn Melton, "The Nobility in the Bohemian and Austrian Lands," 127. Local studies have qualified these conclusions, in particular about the limitation of the judicial power of the nobility: Jaroslav Cechura, *Cernínové versus Kysibelský* (Prague: Dokořán, 2003).

³⁶ Thomas Winkelbauer, "Sozialdisziplinierung und Konfessionalisierung durch Grundherren in den österreichischen und böhmischen Ländern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 19 (1992): 338.

³⁷ Markus Cerman, "Proto-industrial development in Austria," in *European proto-industrialization*, eds. Sheilagh C. Ogilvie and Markus Cerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 181 sqq.; Milan Myska, "Proto-industrialization in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia," *European proto-industrialization*, 201-202. See also: Klingenstein, *Der Aufstieg des Hauses Kaunitz*, 62 sqq.

estates can thus explain the exceptional architectural development one can observe in numerous seigniorial residencies and in their inner layouts.

Urban palaces also are a considerable source of income. Beyond their sheer patrimonial dimension, and the financial investment they represent, they also provide a solution for the ever-increasing demand of lodgings from the court and from the urban dwellers. The lists of court and administrative staff published in the court almanacs show an increasing number of people resolving to rent, even among the personnel coming from the aristocracy.³⁸ At first, they are a minority, but the 1720's are a turning point: at this time, the number of tenants listed in the almanac becomes more important than the number of owners, reaching two-thirds of those listed.³⁹ Even if the imperial administration has its own service in charge of allocating lodgings,⁴⁰ an increasing number of aristocrats prefer to resort to private renting, as it offers them greater comfort. The property-owners meet this demand by progressively opening their urban palaces to lodgers, on a relatively large scale. About 30 palaces are available on average for renting during the 1730's. This opening results from a slow mutation of the aristocratic urban dwelling status. At first, the building was used only by the family, but it progressively becomes an investment property, as can be seen from the new habit of doubling the *piano nobile*. This allows offering for rent some luxury apartments in line with their tenants' status, whether they are younger sons of property-owners or aristocrats not willing or not able to buy a house in Vienna. Soon after the building completion in 1702, the Questenberg palace offers 2 to 3 luxury apartments for rent. The rent contracts signed by Count Questenberg at the beginning of the 1720's show that the tenant occupies the main apartment together with numerous other spaces in order to provide lodgings for his household, that can amount to 50 persons.⁴¹ A kitchen and some stables are also on offer. The palace does not cater only for aristocratic guests. Lists of tenants of the Questenberg palace name about 50 persons of various, usually lower, social levels. Their presence shows that the owner is willing to

³⁸ *Kaiserlicher, Königlicher und Erzherzoglicher Staats- und Standeskalender*, then *Kaiserlichen und Königlichen/wie auch Erz-Herzoglichen/und dero Residenz-Stadt/Wien Staats und Stands-kalender*, années consultées: 1702-1740.

³⁹ Éric Hassler, "Une cour sans empereur? Les chambellans de l'empereur dans l'espace résidentiel. Vienne 1683-1740" (PhD diss. Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2010), 360-363.

⁴⁰ John P. Spielman, *The City & the Crown: Vienna and the Imperial court, 1600-1740* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1993).

⁴¹ Lease between Count Questenberg and Count Peter Emanuel Attalaja 1721-1722; lease between Count Questenberg and Count Johann Franz Gottfried Dietrichstein 1720-1723, G 436 Inv. 6218, Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

make profit from every available space in the house, even if it means it is overcrowded,⁴² as Lady Montagu bitterly regrets;⁴³

“and, what is inconveniency much more intolerable, in my opinion, there is no house that has so few as five or six families in it. The apartments of the greatest ladies, and even of the ministers of state, are divided, but by a partition, from that of a tailor or shoemaker; and I know no body that has above two floors in any house, one for their own use, and one higher for their servants. Those that have houses of their own, let out the rest of them to whoever will take them; and thus the great stairs, (which are all of stone) are as common and as dirty as the street.”

These rental habits seem quite well-rooted, as subletting is possible.⁴⁴ They ensure the owner quite substantial complementary income: for the Questenberg palace, more than 6000 gulden per year during the 1700's, and 7500 gulden during the 1720's.⁴⁵ Rents increase steeply, following the prices on the housing market, to alleviate the intense housing pressure. They also allow a property owner to make up for the expenses related to his urban dwelling in about 15 years.

The level of heavy investment both in castles and in urban palaces shows that aristocrats pay a relatively balanced attention to both. The increase of renting suggests however that their presence in Vienna was structurally fragile. This sheds light over the growing, if not constant, reluctance of the aristocrats regarding the town where the Emperor and the court dwell.

2. *Spaces of sociability*

Research today very commonly uses a spatial approach to shed light upon sociability and the ritual aspects of the noble elite everyday life.⁴⁶ Studying the house as a setting for aristocratic sociability allows evaluating its importance in the building of aristocratic identities.

2.1. *Places to live in*

Despite the alteration of the inner configuration of the aristocratic houses over time, one can get an idea of how the rooms were distributed thanks to the

⁴² Specification: Deren in denen hochgräfllich Excellenz Questenbergischen in der Johannes gassen an einander liegenden beeden freyhäusern Innen wohnende Partheyen, K 775 Inv. 6218, G 436, Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

⁴³ Lady Montagu to Lady Mar, 8 Sept. 1716, *The Complete letters*, 260.

⁴⁴ Sublease contract between Count Michael Wenzel Althann and Count Leopold Joseph Lamberg, 1697, K 775 Inv. 6218, G 436, Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

⁴⁵ K 775 Inv. 7218-7219, G 436, Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

⁴⁶ See Marcello Fantoni, Georg Gorce and Malcolm Smuts, eds., *The Politics of Space: European Courts ca. 1600-1750* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2009); Chatenet, De Jonge, *Le prince, la princesse*; Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastian Derks, eds., *The Key to Power? The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400-1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

floor plans that have been preserved.⁴⁷ Whatever the layout of the plot over which the house is built, common traits are to be found. At the entrance, an antechamber leads directly to the inner courtyard and to stairs, the latter either in the same axis or on the side. This massive entrance takes up to a quarter, or even a third of the total built surface and is designed with considerable care, allowing for perspectives or a subtle way of distributing light. On the *piano nobile* one finds a series of adjoining rooms, difficult to identify sometimes, all the more as their function has been subject to changes over time. Even if the principle of the adjoining rooms is universally used, the layout of the apartments can vary, depending on the form of the plot. Some palaces display apartments with a single series of rooms,⁴⁸ but in the majority of them the distribution is more complex, dissociating the reception rooms from the private apartments over two different series. However, one can observe some constant features. Coming in the parade apartment, the visitor walks through an antechamber, then through 2 or 3 rooms, large enough to cater for numerous guests, 300 to 400 in the Strattmann palace for example. The trilogy antechamber/bedroom/dressing room is found rather systematically and is often signalled by a difference in the shape of the rooms, when the general layout of the palace allows it: the antechamber is longer, the bedroom is larger, and the dressing room is smaller⁴⁹.

Some dwellings have a more complex layout. The Harrach palace displays four different series of adjoining rooms distributed around the courtyard: a sociability apartment, a ceremony apartment, and the two apartments of the spouses.⁵⁰ These last two display the aforementioned sequence antechamber/bedroom/dressing room, but with two antechambers and other private rooms as a surplus, so that their total scale is increased. Even before entering the apartments, the visitor's course is made longer as he has to go through another series of rooms: the society rooms to reach the count's apartment, the ceremony rooms to reach the countess'. The society rooms are of

⁴⁷ Batthyany, Caprara, Daun, Harrach, Liechtenstein, Rabutin-Kinsky, Schwarzenberg, Strattmann, Trautson.

⁴⁸ For example at the Questenberg house: an antechamber (also known as dining room), a great room (*Zimmer*), another "red" room, a little antechamber, the parade room and the "ordinary" room, *Consignatio derren heurigen in dem... Graf Questenbergischen Hauss...* K 775 Inv. 6219, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

⁴⁹ For comparison, see the most important architectural treatise: Jean-François Blondel, *De la distribution des maison de plaisance et de la décoration des édifices en général* (Paris, 1737-38), I, 22-48. For the Holy Roman Empire, see: Paul Decker, *Fürstlicher Baumeister, oder Architectura civilis...*, 1713.

⁵⁰ Éric Hassler, "Dans l'ombre de la cour impériale: les palais aristocratiques viennois. Distribution, ameublements intérieurs et collections, 1683-1750," *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles* [En ligne], Articles et études, mis en ligne le 06 septembre 2011, URL: <http://crcv.revues.org/11542>.

variable size, doubled by the paintings gallery, and serve for the family and friends circle, or for the everyday life of the count Harrach, as can be seen from the non-differentiated armchairs. These pieces of furniture show that all the attendants are treated on the same footing. At the end of the 17th century, the diary of Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach mentions numerous members of the entourage paying a visit throughout the day, for various reasons: meals, ministerial conferences, entertainment such as billiard...⁵¹ The ceremony rooms, of a slightly larger surface, are however only used for specific occasions, as suggested by the greater variety of sitting furniture (armchairs, chairs, stools), and by the exceptional setting made of tapestry, lustres, candelabra, large mirrors and side tables in *pietra dura* bearing the count's coat of arms, in order to impress the attendance.

In seigniorial residences, the distribution of the apartments is not much different. The Jaromeřice castle inventory distinguished two series of adjoining rooms: on one side the Count Questenberg apartment with an antechamber, a living room, a dressing room, the bedroom, the Chinese room and other little rooms beside, on the other side the reception rooms, the great hall (or ancestry room), the ballroom, the paintings cabinet, the yellow salon and a gallery.⁵² Other apartments intended for the Countess and for guests display the antechamber/bedroom/dressing room format. The Slavkov castle has a relatively similar organisation: in the central building of the castle, the state rooms, the ballroom and the ancestors' room could be found. On its left and right sides, it leads towards apartments comprising adjoining rooms, from the most open ones (antechamber and hall) to the most private ones (bedroom and dressing room).

The very presence of a "parade" room, as well as the attention paid to the entrance spaces tell of the important role played by ceremony in aristocratic dwellings. The search for visual majesty and magnificence clearly aims at materializing the owner's rank, particularly at a time when lineages compete ostentatiously. Because of the distinguished position of their occupants, especially as they hold courtly or political office, these aristocratic palaces have progressively become part of the courtly ceremonial space. The rooms' magnificence also confirms that they are considered as the theatre on which scene the diplomatic and monarchical ceremonials can be held, elaborating on the political role the occupant intends to play. They can accommodate aristocratic ceremonials modelled on those of the monarchy, even if the

⁵¹ "Diarium vita Ferdinandi Bonaventura Comititis ab Harrach 1697-1698", Hs 134, Familienarchiv Harrach.

⁵² Consignatio derren heurigen in dem...Graf Questenbergischen Hauss..., K 775 Inv. 6219, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

sovereign does not attend, as well as diplomatic gatherings.⁵³ It is indeed customary that ambassadors newly appointed to the imperial siege pay a visit to the most important ministers of the sovereign. It is the reason why the stairs often take an imperial form. In the seigniorial residencies, the fact that the entrance spaces are less magnificent show that they do not serve the same purposes in terms of reception, and that, far away from the court, the ceremonial is lighter.

2.2. *Entertainment places: aristocratic events*

The owners commission specific facilities bearing witness of the organisation of exceptional events. These events apparently occur more frequently in the seigniorial residencies than in the urban dwellings, the latter being in direct concurrence with the court. The Jaromeřice residence thus comprises a ballroom and a theatre, that both testify to Count Questenberg's reputation as an aesthete. The very large ballroom, occupying an entire wing of the castle, must have accommodated aristocratic entertainments similar to those organised in town and that we know of through the sources.⁵⁴ An engraving depicts a ball in the great hall of the Strattmann palace: the public stands along the walls with the ladies sitting, so as to leave the centre of the room to the dancers.⁵⁵ The musicians play on a stage that must have been installed for the occasion.

This kind of entertainment requires the periodic or permanent hiring of musicians, either instrumentalists or singers. The permanent instrumentalists can be part of the aristocratic household. Count Questenberg pays 4 musicians who probably follow him when he travels to and from Vienna and Jaromeřice.⁵⁶ However, the instrumentalists serving the Count must be much more numerous, as the castle inventory, compiled in 1753, mentions enough music instruments to accommodate an orchestra of around 30 musicians, comprising not only strings, but also woodwind and brass. Such a number of musicians allows the Count to offer operas in the castle, in particular the *Origine di Jaromeriz in Moravia*, composed in 1730 by the Count's Kapellmeister František Václav Miča (1694-

⁵³ 9. «Mémoire instructif sur le Cérémonial des ambassadeurs près les Empereurs, Rois de Hongrie et de Bohême », f°43, f°50, *Mémoires et documents*, Autriche, 4, Archives des Affaires Étrangères (Paris): the ambassador or the embassy noblemen are received by their host in the staircase, then proceed either towards the canopy room if they are noblemen, or towards a private cabinet if the guest is an ambassador or a plenipotentiary envoy.

⁵⁴ For example in the Vienna gazette, the *Wienerische Diarium* that was first published in 1703.

⁵⁵ Hellmut, "Zur repräsentativen Raumfolge," 296.

⁵⁶ Consignatio derren heurigen in dem...Graf Questenbergischen Hauss... K 775 Inv. 6219, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

1744).⁵⁷ The stage upon which this opera premiered has not been preserved, contrary to some found in other Bohemian seigniorial residences (Cesky Krumlov, Litomyšl, Valtice, Duchcov ou Kozel) or in the Hungarian Esterhaza. These performance halls have limited capacity: they can accommodate a hundred spectators in Litomyšl, about 400 in Esterhaza. All of them have some stage devices such as a fly system or a proscenium, but the most elaborate also have Italian-style galleries or even private boxes for honourable guests, as could be found in the theatres at court.⁵⁸ These rooms are tastefully decorated: pilasters and faked draperies in Litomyšl, panelling and painted ceilings in Cesky Krumlov. A testimony of the taste the aristocrats have for theatre or music, these theatres also are tools through which the aristocracy illustrates itself: the performances are commented on even in Vienna.⁵⁹

Theatre and opera, or the design of lavish spaces replicate some of the ways of the monarchy in the seigniorial properties. There is however a difference in scale: the sovereignty, in the latter case, is exerted at a local level. These displays are essentially aimed at the family circle, friends or neighbours accustomed to visit the seigniorial residence, illustrating a patriarchal tradition that can be found in the seigniorial lands management treaties.⁶⁰ These books insist on the necessity of maintaining a timeless social order in which the nobleman should act like a *paterfamilias* for his seigniorial domain. However, these displays of power lack the monarchical ceremonial that would accompany them in court and has pervaded the urban dwellings of the aristocracy, as mentioned earlier. These complementarities in the functions shed light upon a final dimension of the aristocratic dwellings: the symbolic dimension.

3. *The symbolic function: glorifying the aristocratic household*

The aristocratic residences have a truly symbolic dimension, because they provide a masterful medium both to display courtly and seigniorial identities and to convey the discourse crafted by the noble elite in order to deal with the divided space they live in.

⁵⁷ Inventory of the Castle Jaroměřice, 10th January 1753, f°16: 8 violins, 1 viola, 2 celos, 5 horns, 6 trompets, 1 flute, 2 trombones, 2 bassoons, 1 contrebassoon, 1 oboe, 2 flutes, 1 theorbo, 1 bandoneon, 1 little organ, K 737 Inv. 6126, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

⁵⁸ The Cesky Krumlov theatre was built by Prince Johann Christian I Eggenberg between 1680 and 1682, and then renovated by Prince Joseph Adam Schwarzenberg in 1765-66. The Litomyšl theatre was built at the end of 17th century by Counts Trauttmansdorff, and then modified several times during the 18th century. The current state (1798) was created under the Counts Waldstein.

⁵⁹ Letters between Count Johann Adam Questenberg and his intendant Georg Adam Hoffmann (1729-1738), f° 31; f° 253, K 446 Inv.6133, G 436 Rodinný archiv Kouniců.

⁶⁰ Wolf Helmhardt von Hohberg, *Georgica curiosa oder Adeliges Land- und Feldleben*, I-II (Nuremberg, 1682).

3.1. *Expressing the glory of the lineage: present times*

The main facade of Viennese palaces, just as the Italian ones, overlooks the street. It is a showcase exposing the lineage glory, through a meaningful architectural language using for example the layout of volumes or iconographic tools.⁶¹ Of course, this architectural language evolves over time, following the evolution of taste: after the late mannerism of the 1660's,⁶² a more dignified architecture imposes itself around 1690-1700, in which the influence of Roman Baroque can easily be seen, for example in the Harrach or Questenberg palaces.⁶³ The monumental Corinthian order is then considered as a metaphor for power. Statues, flaming urns at the attic, balustrades and monumental window frames enhance the facade monumentality. Particular care is taken for the gate: it displays the family coat of arms, accompanied by key attributes, coronets or decorations, e.g. the collar of the Golden Fleece, underlining the owner's rank.

By the turn of the century, a third architectural trend, conveyed by Austrian architects, is verging on the overflow. From then on, the previously rigorous monumental facades are overwhelmed by a highly diversified vocabulary of signs using sophisticated allegories. The facades of the Battyany and Daun palaces, built respectively for the Feldmarshalls Count Adam Batthyany (1662-1703) and Count Wirich Philipp Daun (1668-1741), are constructed as large trophies, with numerous statues and bas-relief referring to the cardinal virtues, the military gods Hercules and Mars and mythological episodes. The owner's coat of arms takes the centre of the facade, topped by a coronet and surrounded by the Golden Fleece collar. The coronets inserted in the capitals of the Daun palace facade also evoke other reasons for glory: the promotion of the Count Thiano to prince (1709), and the fact that he twice took up the Naples viceroyalty (1708, 1713-1719). This discreet allusion to the princely dignity is openly displayed in the facade of the garden palace Trautson. The sole purpose of the entire facade is to glorify the recent promotion of Count Johann Leopold Donat Trautson (1659-1724), grandmaster of Emperor Joseph I court, to the dignity of Prince of the Holy Empire (1711). The central protruding main building accumulates on its façade all possible architectural ornamentation: statues, bas-relief, medallions. The whole layout intends to commemorate the

⁶¹ Charles L. Dibble, *Architecture and ethos: the culture of aristocratic urbanization in early modern Vienna* (Michigan: University Microfilms Int., 1993).

⁶² Wolfgang Wilhelm Praemer, *Ehren-Preis der Kayserlichen Residentz: und Nieder Oesterreichischen Haupt-Statt Wien* (Vienna, 1678).

⁶³ Hellmut Lorenz, *Domenico Martinelli und die österreichische Barockarchitektur* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991). Domenico Martinelli, a disciple of the Roman architect Fontana, built several of these facades. On the other hand, the Questenberg palace facade is one of the first attributed to an Austrian architect, Prandtauer or Hildebrandt.

newly acquired status of the family. In the centre, an allegory brandishes a gilded princely crown that is the only element of colour of the whole façade.

This glorification of the courtier, displayed on the façades, echoes with the iconographic themes used in the entertainment and reception rooms of these urban palaces. The small number of those that have been preserved are quite explicit. In the Daun palace, the monumental trophy of the façade can be paralleled with the glorification of the hero on the great staircase ceiling. This scene is the centre of the entire iconographic program displayed over the walls of the public rooms.⁶⁴ The hero is crowned by Glory and acclaimed by Olympian gods amongst a host of trumpet-bearers brandishing laurel wreaths, he is supported by Virtue and Magnanimity, and honoured by Immortality. To the right, Prudence and Victory bring the princely crown, and Hercules tames the Furies. To the left, Victory and Peace are weaving wreaths for the hero. Painting and Architecture relate to the spreading the glory through the building of the palace. Other series of paintings convey similar messages. Prince Johann Adam Liechtenstein and Count Gundacker Althann (1665-1747) both put emphasis on aristocratic patronage. The prince commissions a series of frescoes singing the praises of the everlasting fame of his lineage;⁶⁵ the count is the director of the Imperial Academy for Painting and Sculpture. Count Aloys Thomas Harrach (1669-1742) commissions for his palace's galleries a glorification of his lineage that also serves as praise for his role as a courtier.⁶⁶ He also commissions the *modello* of a ceiling fresco probably made by Bartolomeo Altomonte for the garden palace Harrach in the 1720-1730's, praising the *Felicity of the Governement of the Harrach Family in Naples*.⁶⁷

3.2. Conveying the antiquity of the lineage: past times

Echoing this courtly discourse, the seigniorial residences have the specific function to glorify the antiquity of the lineage. Their mission is to testify of the historical legitimacy of the lineage, in order to strengthen its political ambitions in the present times. Referring to the past appears indispensable to a social group for whom birth is a cardinal element of its integration and antiquity the first medium for glory. Engraving the past in the stone is a way to maintain the status of the lineage and to give substance to the myths of origins that are always trying

⁶⁴ Franz Matsche, "Mythologische Heldenapotheosen in Deckengemälden der Wiener Adelspaläste des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," *Ex Fumo lucem. Baroque studies in Honour of Klára Garas*, I-II (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 2, 342.

⁶⁵ Matthias Reuß, *Antonio Belluccis Gemäldefolge für das Stadtpalais Liechtenstein in Wien* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1998), 124.

⁶⁶ Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, "Das Palais Harrach auf der Freyung," in *Geschichte, Revitalisierung und Restaurierung des Hauses an der Freyung in Wien Palais Harrach* (Vienna: Universitätsverlag R. Trauner, 1995), 27.

⁶⁷ Rizzi, "Das Palais Harrach," 28. Count Harrach is viceroy in Naples from 1728 to 1733.

to find earlier evidence of the lineage birth in history, or even in mythology. Such practices become all the more crucial during the 17th century, when the ancient nobility of the different Crowns of the monarchy is joined by successive waves of newly promoted aristocrats. As a result, it is looking for ways to establish internal distinctions within the nobility.

The mansion can testify to this antiquity, be it a castle conveying the ideas of chivalry and antiquity of the local anchorage for the owner's lineage, or a Viennese palace suggesting an early presence at court. However, two contradictory aesthetics are in conflict in this situation; and it is difficult to reconcile their opposing logics. On the one hand, a modern architecture is sought after because it reflects the current rank of the owner. On the other hand the antiquity of the seigniorial residence suggests the seniority of the lineage over the others. How can both be reconciled? The answers vary.

Some choose to preserve the old mansion without changing anything: it is the case, quite isolated, for the Princes Trautson who decide to keep one of their Viennese residences completely unchanged. This house, located on the Herrengasse, right next to the Landhaus, retains its medieval aspect throughout early modern times, until Prince Johann Wilhelm sells it to the Emperor to accommodate the Italy and Netherlands chancery in 1734.⁶⁸ This house is part of a plan to reactivate and enhance the Viennese anchorage of the lineage, relying both on the proximity with the political power (the Hofburg and the Landhaus) and on the seniority over concurrent lineages. Other means are also used, such as tombstones: by founding multiple sepulchral chapels in the Viennese churches and transferring the remains of the ancestors responsible for the progression of the lineage in court,⁶⁹ the courtly identity of the lineage is reinforced. It enriches itself with a partly factitious urban and courtly past.

This policy of historical reconstruction would not be complete if it was not supported in parallel on a seigniorial and provincial level by the numerous castles and fortresses located in the Austrian archduchies that are actively traded during the 17th and 18th centuries.⁷⁰ Out of the 482 large seigniorial houses listed

⁶⁸ Paul Harrer, *Wien, seine Häuser, Menschen und Kultur* (Vienna, 1951-1958), 103.

⁶⁹ Mark Hengerer, "Zur symbolischen Dimension eines sozialen Phänomens: Adelsgräber in der Residenz Wien im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Wien im Dreissigjährigen Krieg. Bevölkerung, Gesellschaft, Kultur, Konfession*, ed. Andreas Weigl (Vienna: Böhlau, 2001), 290.

⁷⁰ Taillies found of Georg Dehio, *Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs, Kärnten* (Vienna: Schnell & Steiner, 1976); *Burgenland* (Vienna: Schnell & Steiner, 1976); *Graz* (Vienna: Schnell & Steiner, 1979); *Tirol* (Vienna: Schnell & Steiner, 1980); *Steiermark (ohne Graz)* (Vienna: Schnell & Steiner, 1982); *Vorarlberg* (Vienna: Schnell & Steiner, 1983); *Salzburg, Stadt und Land* (Vienna: Schnell & Steiner, 1986); *Niederösterreich, nördlich der Donau* (Vienna: Schnell & Steiner, 1990); *Niederösterreich, südlich der Donau*, 2 (Vienna: Schnell & Steiner, 2003).

in the Austrian lands, almost half changes hands during this period. Transfers of fortresses and ruins are also clearly increasing: one counts about 30 of those between the end of 17th century and the 1750's. When changing hands, the seigniorial mansion can be architecturally updated, but some interventions aim at preserving an illustrious past. Some new owners want to maintain, or even to reconstruct the moat or some other elements of the medieval setting. The northern wing of the H-shaped main building of the Jaroměřice castle follows the floor plan of the 15th century castle, which explains why asymmetrical wings are kept, whereas the two other baroque wings overlooking the courtyard are rigorously parallel, but bordered with a moat. Moreover, Count Johann Adam Questenberg who commissions the rebuilding of the castle from 1700 strictly follows the layout of the inner fortress: the church is rebuilt on the same plot, although it is not possible to reuse the foundations, as the new shrine is a large 50-meter long baroque church, with a large cupola and two bell towers.

Others are bolder still in preserving the medieval spirit of their dwellings. When Count Aloys Thomas Harrach begins the baroque transformation (1707-1711) of the Prugg castle (Lower Austria), that his family owns since 1625 only,⁷¹ he chooses to keep the 13th century dungeon untouched whereas the other facades of the Renaissance building are covered by up-to-date pilasters, cornices and *chainages* by the fashionable architect Hildebrandt. The etchings of views by the famous artist Salomon Kleiner at the request of Count Harrach put into relief the vertical statement this medieval relic represents. It is echoes by the moat following the previous layout of the old fortress, by the ramparts and the corner towers that have been kept on the side overlooking the town. Moreover, the restoration of the rough, undressed stones and of the dungeon crenellations⁷² creates a stark dissymmetry and a clear disruption of the building aesthetics, which comes as a shock to the intendant in charge of taking care of the works.⁷³ This dungeon has a highly symbolic value, as can also be seen elsewhere, for example in the Princes Esterhazy castle in Pottendorf (Lower Austria) or in Counts Althann castle in Vranov (Moravia).⁷⁴ The presence of a tower is an argument to defend the seniority of the political authority claimed by the

⁷¹ Christa Harlander, *Schloss Prugg: Von der (Kastell-)Burg zum Wohnschloss. Die Baugeschichte des Schlosses vom 13.-19. Jahrhundert* (PhD. diss. University Vienna, 2012), 153; bill of sale: 16th January 1625. Harrachs own it as a fiefdom since 1560.

⁷² Ibid., 70 sqq.

⁷³ Correspondence between Harrach and the "Kammerdiener" Friedrich Koch, K. 83, Familienarchiv Harrach.

⁷⁴ Built during the 12th Century, Pottendorf is a moated castle (Wasserschloss) rebuilt in baroque style in 1737-38. But both donjon and tower of entrance were maintained in their original aspect.

owner,⁷⁵ who is willing to assert his political and seigniorial power. The lineages thus reclaim this power by pitching themselves as successors of the previous lineages, while repossessing the external signs of a partly fictitious seigniorial identity.⁷⁶

Just like in the imperial residence Vienna, the iconographic programs in the seigniorial residences revive the political discourse displayed in the architecture. They are to be found mainly in the ancestors' room. This room is a universal feature in the seigniorial dwellings of Central Europe, whereas it is non-existent in the urban palaces.⁷⁷ It is both an entertainment space and a place devoted to the celebration of the dynasty, aiming at producing a collective glorification of the lineage through the fame gained by its most illustrious members. The room decor lavishly combines portraits of the patron ancestors, mythological or biblical allegories, references to the cardinal virtues and to the good seigniorial government. During the 1730's, Count Johann Adam Questenberg draws a symbolic connection between the 10 family portraits hanging on the walls of the Jaroměřice castle ancestors' room, including his own in the place of honour, and the ceiling fresco celebrating the good government. This fresco links an allegory of Jaroměřice land with the different seigniorial attributes: fishing (Amphitrite), hunting (Diane), agriculture (Ceres), theatre (Polyhymnia) and music (Thalia). Apollo, surrounded by the Zodiac, illuminates the scene: this is a direct (and quite frequent in these compositions) allusion to the good seigniorial order and to Counter-Reformation. This view of aristocratic domination is echoes by the libretto of the opera composed by Frantisek Vaclav Miča for Count Questenberg:⁷⁸ "through this monumental work [the construction of Jaroměřice] my name will be eternally written in gilded letters. Accompanied by the praise of a considerable glory, it will shine forever with pure splendour" says the prince of Moravia, bursting into cascades of coloratura when

⁷⁵ Matthias Müller, *Das Schloss als Bild des Fürsten. Herrschaftliche Metaphorik in der Residenzarchitektur des Alten Reich (1470-1618)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 125-134.

⁷⁶ See in particular Arno Strohmeyer, "Die Disziplinierung der Vergangenheit: Das « alte Herkommen » im politischen Denken der niederösterreichischen Stände im Zeitalter der Konfessionskonflikte (ca. 1570 bis 1630)," in *Die Konstruktion der Vergangenheit. Geschichtsdenken, Traditionsbildung und Selbstdarstellung im frühneuzeitlichen Ostmitteleuropa*, eds. Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeyer (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2002), 99-127.

⁷⁷ É. Hassler, "Stemmata quid faciunt? Représentations et idéologies familiales des maisons aristocratiques entre cour et provinces austro-bohêmes," *Revue historique* 643 (2007) : 595-621.

⁷⁸ František Václav Mica et Nicodemo Blinoni, *L'Origine di Jaromeriz in Moravia*, Acte I, scène 3: « Quest'alta impresa [the construction of Jaroměřice] viver eterno, sarà il mio nome in cifre d'or. Cinto di fama d'immense lodi, avrà perenne puro splendor. »

he discovers Jaromeřice land. The figure of the prince is used to glorify its successor, Count Questenberg.

The iconography of the ancestors' room of Vranov castle (circa 1690), elaborated by Michael Johann Althann and Johann Baptist Rottmayr, goes even further in glorifying their patron. They use a monarchical iconography at the service of the Count lineage. Over a sky where numerous trumpet-bearers praise the glory of the family, their instruments ornate with banners bearing the Althann coat of arms, Apollo on a chariot also bearing the coat of arms is flanked by two allegories symbolising sovereignty (with a sceptre and a crown) and fertility (with a wheat sheaf). The god illuminates the scene with a torch and tames Gorgon (Discord) and Fury (Unbelief). The fresco asserts the complete sovereignty of the family through the exaltation of the ancestral values of the Count family ("Virtutum exercitias untiter ad honorem" and "Heroum merita sunt gradus ad gloriam").⁷⁹ Contrary to other families, Count Althann decides to fulfil the spiritual dimension of this lineage temple by adding a sepulchral dimension to it. By settling the new pantheon of the family in Vranov, in the new baroque chapel of which the architecture clearly contrasts with the adjacent medieval barbican, he thus chooses to summarize the history of his lineage.

The symbolic and functional roles of the castle and the palace are thus interwoven in a common objective: the aristocrat wants to glorify himself, both as a landlord, heir to an antique lineage, and as a courtier, distinguished by the monarch's favour. These are also the two core gravitational centres of the residential patterns used by the noble elite of the Habsburg monarchy. They contribute to shaping different identities that are not conflicting but complementary. Whether it is urban or seigniorial, the noble dwelling reflects, or even accommodates an ambivalent aristocratic *habitus*.

Without any doubt, one can observe during the 18th century a progressive swing in favour of a more urban lifestyle, at least for some lineages. However, this does not result in a disengagement of these families from their plurality of affiliations: during the whole century, they keep their landowner anchorage. The architectural fashions fade away, while the ancient stones stand solid. Today, the baroque pilasters of the Prugg castle have been replaced by Neo-Gothic gables, but the dungeon is still standing.

⁷⁹ See the allegorical interpretation in Friedrich B. Polleross "Der Tugendtempel des Hauses Althann," in *Ahnensaal des Schlosses in Frain an der Thaya* (Brno: Nationale Institut für Denkmalpflege, regionale Arbeitsstelle in Brünn, 2003), 43-50.

“SOCIALISM. HAPPINESS.” THE “NEW WAY” OF THE HALLER CASTLE IN COPLEAN AFTER 1950

IOANA RUS-CACOVEAN*

Introduction

Regarded today as one of the most spectacular manor houses in Transylvania, the Castle in Coplean was built by the Haller family, mentioned as owner of the *Kapplan* (*Kapjon*) domain since the beginning of the 17th century. The Baroque and Rococo building replaced a previous castle surrounded by a precinct with stone walls, corner towers and a moat filled with water from the nearby Cășeiu River, described in an *Inventory* drawn in 1729. It is believed that this first building was incorporated in the structure of the present sometime before 1771, the year when painter Mathias Veress signed and dated its interior decorations.¹ The 18th century ensemble included the castle with a quadrilateral and rather unique compact layout, a manège, vaulted stables and several annexes, a precinct with towers and a wrought iron gate, along with a garden planted with poplar, chestnut, oak and willow trees.²

The main façade of the castle, the only still standing today, is marked by the presence of a loggia-terrace supported by four monolithic columns, with tall bases and Ionic capitals, preceding the stone staircase and an *à vela* vaulted portico from where one could access the ground floor rooms. The loggia used to be protected by a canopy with wooden shingles, independent from the great Baroque roof structure covering the castle until 1920s when it was destroyed by fire (figs. 1-2).³

The building is surrounded by a two meter tall base, made from massive stone slabs and four corner stones decorated with volutes. The austere appearance of the ground floor, decorated only with pilaster strips *in rustica*, enhances the richness of the piano nobile, where large decoration schemes are grouped around the windows that used to have wooden shutters. For their stone frames, the sculptor envisioned a complex ornamentation with vegetal motifs and *rocaille*, surmounted by garlands, ribbons and huge concave shells carved from one single block of stone. Above these, the very imposing curved cornice supports

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¹ Nicolae Sabău, “Castelul Haller din Coplean (județul Cluj)” [The Haller Castle of Coplean (Cluj County)], *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monumente istorice și de artă* XIV, 2 (1983): 80-81.

² Ionuț Julean, “Coplean – destinul unei familii, destinul unui castel [O istorie radiografiată] [Coplean – the Destiny of a Family, the Destiny of a Castle [A Radiographed History],” *logiA* 13 (2010): 12.

³ Sabău, “Castelul Haller,” 81.

alternatively figures of Turks and laurel buds. The pilasters have elegant capitals with zoomorphic motifs, true hunting trophies, reuniting in a composition supported by acanthus leaves, different animals in unique postures: on the back of a hound shown in profile sits a large eagle with its wings and beak open, flanked by a pair of griffins holding their heads high to support the curved abacus.⁴



Fig. 1. The castle with Baroque roof in the 19th century (Kádár, Tagányi, Réthy, *Szolnok-Doboka*, IV, 203).



Fig. 2. The castle in the 1950s with a simple roof (<http://monumenteuitate.org/ro/monument/287/Coplean-Haller>, accessed on 12th 2017).

⁴ Ibid., 81-83; Julean, "Coplean," 18.

Due to the similarities between the Toldalgi Palace in Târgu Mureş and the Haller Castle in Coplean, Nicolae Sabău attributes these sculptural decorations to one of the main artists working in Transylvania at that time, Anton Schuchbauer, but cannot accurately identify the ensemble’s architect.⁵

Even more spectacular must have been the interior decoration of the castle, which could be reconstituted due to a valuable manuscript named *Descriptio castelli Kapjonensis*,⁶ an inventory written in 1795 on the occasion of Haller János’s death and the presentation of his will.

This document clearly describes the rooms, their decoration and furniture. The doors made from limewood (*Tilia*) were covered with pearly lacquer, had moulded decorations, semi-circular tympani above and brass plaques below, 6 turning joints, brass locks with keys, all of French origin. The latches of the windows were shaped as flower buttons. The rooms were heated by white terracotta stoves, one of which was in the form of a steeple, decorated with flowers and supported by four legs. The walls and the ceiling stuccos were painted various colours (figs. 3-4), while the floors were made of fir wood. All these formed a suitable context for the allegorical paintings made with great artistry by Mathias Veress (1748-1809) from Cluj, in 1771. The scenes were painted on rectangular canvases of 1.20/1.00 meters, each of them placed between *rocailles* and foliage stucco, to decorate Csáki Borbála’s room, the mother of Haller János. Three of the walls in this room used to be animated by characters and landscapes that used, according to the late Baroque and Rococo artistic principles, an encoded language, a symbolic and allegorical representation of the five senses: Taste, Smell, Sound, Sight and Touch.⁷ Unfortunately, no visual record of the paintings has been preserved, our only source of information being the *Descriptio* mentioned above.

In the first scene, Taste (*GUSTUS*) was envisioned as a man dressed in a Louis XV costume, with a wide-brimmed hat, a velvet tunic *à la française*, a vest, *coulottes*⁸ and shoes with large metal buckles, preparing to drink from a water basin. In the second painting, representing Smell (*OLFACTUS*), two elegantly dressed travellers, placed in a complex landscape marked by tall trees with carefully drawn foliage, exchanged a tobacco snuff box. The third scene symbolizing Sound (*AUDITUS*) used to portray two characters lowering their ears to the ground, to hear the riders and their galloping horses that could have been seen at a distance.⁹ In the fourth image dedicated to the allegory of Sight

⁵ Sabău, “Castelul Haller,” 86.

⁶ The now lost manuscript was read, partially transcribed and translated in Romanian by Nicolae Sabău, “Castelul Haller,” 83-85.

⁷ Ibid., 84.

⁸ *Coulottes* (Fr.) are a type of tight trousers ending just below the knee.

⁹ Sabău, “Castelul Haller,” 84.

(*VISUS*), a man dressed according to the latest fashion drew the viewer's attention towards a beautifully carved stone monument, on which one could have read: *Math. Veress Pinxit Anno 1771*.¹⁰

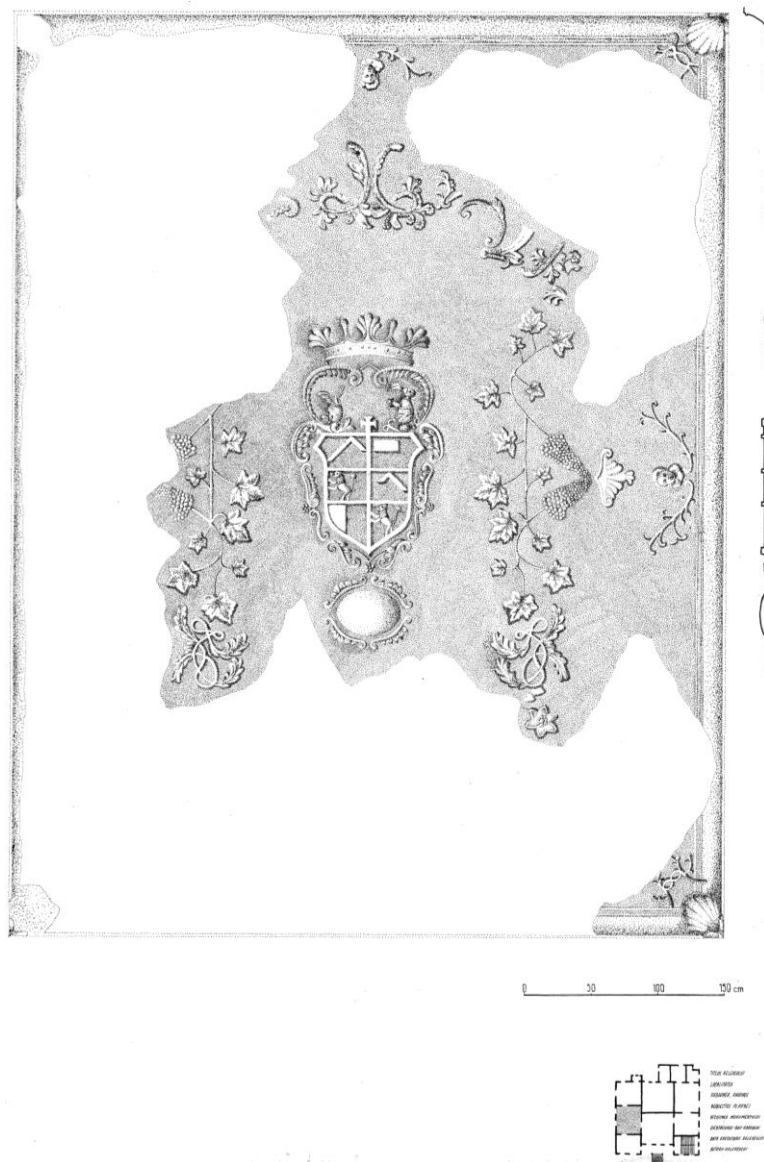


Fig. 3. Stucco ceiling decoration. “Camera cu relevee” [“The Survey Room”], <https://relevee.uauiim.ro/m320/>, accessed on October 10th, 2017.

¹⁰ József Kádár, Károly Tagányi, and László Réthy, *Szolnok-Doboka vármegye Monographiája* [Szolnok-Doboka County Monograph], IV (Dej: Históriaantik Kiadó, 1901), 204.

“SOCIALISM. HAPPINESS.” The “NEW WAY” of the Haller Castle

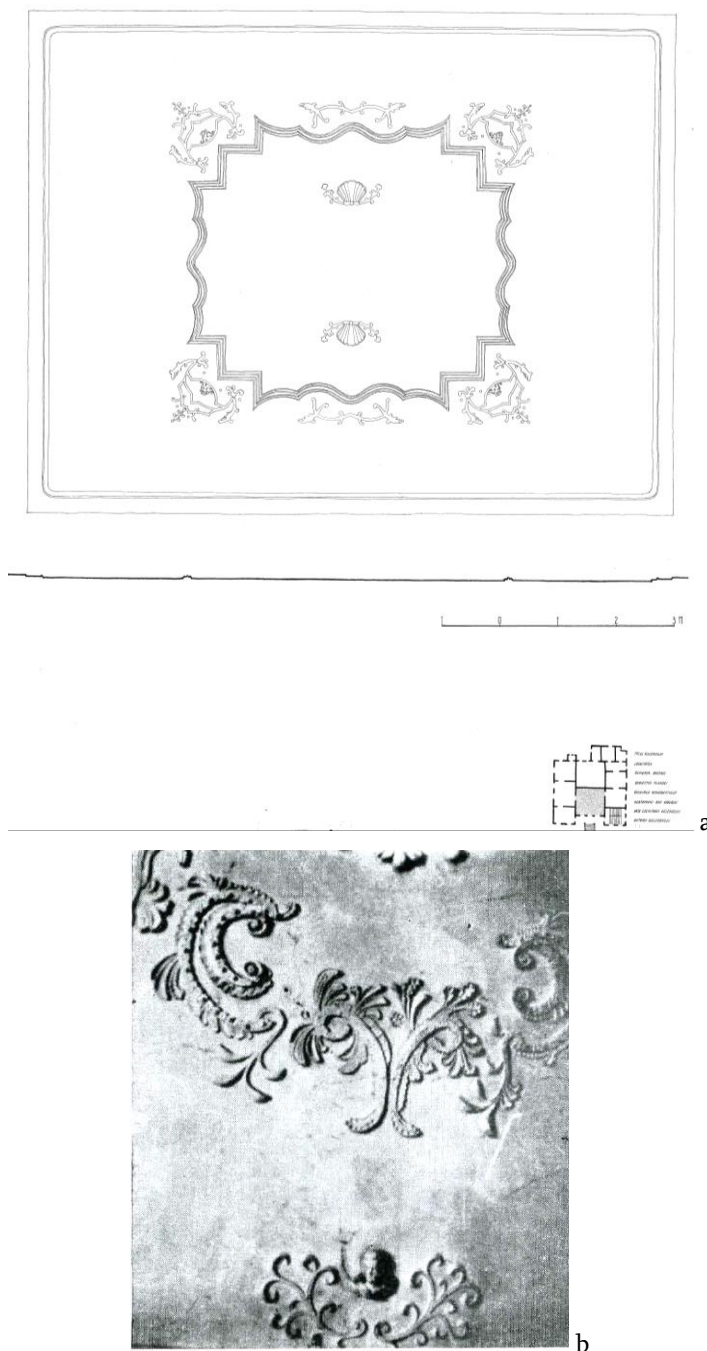


Fig. 4. a. “Camera cu relevee”, <https://relevec.uauim.ro/m320/>, accessed on October 10th, 2017; b. Detail of stucco ceiling decoration, Sabău, “Castelul Haller,” fig. 15.

The last one representing Touch (*TACTUS*) had two characters in a surrounding landscape with tall trees and wonderfully detailed foliage which seemed to discuss the quality of the material from which their tunics had been tailored.¹¹

Due to all of these unique artistic elements, the Haller Castle in Coplean has been the subject of various extended studies since the beginning of the 20th century, that document the evolution of its construction and transformation phases between the 17th century and the interwar period, together with detailed analysis of its paintings, sculptures and architecture.¹² Still, none of these numerous studies go beyond the 1930s, the recent history of the ensemble usually standing for a short conclusion, as the inevitable end, often being said that the castle slowly degraded after 1960, when due to lack of security the villagers extracted building material from it, or more recently, as a lamentation regarding the castle's present poor state of conservation, aiming to bring to attention the need for urgent intervention to save whatever remains from what used to be a very impressive Rococo edifice.

Having proof that the situation in which the castle may be found today was an act of neglect and systematic aggression, which went on for several decades since World War II, our study aims to reconstruct the ensemble's recent history, after its confiscation by the State in 1950 and up until 1986. Thus, we shall discuss the attitude of the villagers and the Cooperative of Agricultural Production (CAP)¹³ towards confiscated monuments, the efforts made by the

¹¹ Sabău, "Castelul Haller," 84.

¹² Kádár, Tagányi, Réthy, *Szolnok-Doboka*, IV, 198-207; József Bíró, *Erdély művészete* [Transylvanian Art] (Budapest: Singer És Wolfner Kiadó, 1941); Grigore Ionescu, *Istoria arhitecturii în România* [History of architecture in Romania], vol. II (București: Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1965), 251-252; Margit B. Nagy, *Reneszánsz és barokk Erdélyben* [Renaissance and Baroque in Transylvania] (București: Kriterion, 1970); Eadem, *Várak, kastélyok, udvarházak. Ahogy a régiek látták. XVII-XVIII* [Fortresses, castles, manor houses. As seen in the past. The 17-18th centuries] (București: Kriterion, 1973); Nicolae Sabău, "Teme iconografice în sculptura figurativă laică din Transilvania în perioada barocă" [Iconographic themes in the secular figurative sculpture of Transylvania during the Baroque period], *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Monumente Istorice și de Artă* 1 (1977); Idem, "Prolegomena la iconografia sculpturii baroce din Transilvania" [Prolegomenon to the iconography of the Baroque sculpture in Transylvania], in *Studii de istoria artei* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1982), ...; Idem, "Castelul Haller," 80-87; József Bíró, "Erdélyi kastélyok (VIII)" [Transylvanian castles (VIII)], *Erdélyi Művészet*, 1 (26) (Odorheiu Secuiesc: Könyvkiadó, 2007); Nicolae Sabău, *Metamorfoze ale barocului transilvan. Sculptura* [Metamorphoses of the Transylvanian Baroque. Sculpture], vol. I (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 2002), passim; Nicolae Sabău, *Metamorfoze ale barocului transilvan. Pictura*, vol. II [Metamorphoses of the Transylvanian Baroque. Painting] (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2005), 77-101; Julean, "Coplean"; Zoltán Bicsok and Zsolt Orbán, *„Isten segédelmével udvaromat megépítettem...”*, *Történelmi családok kastélyai Erdélyben* ["With God's help I built my manor house..."]. The castles of Transylvanian historical families] (Miercurea Ciuc: Gutenberg Kiadó, 2012), 249-262; Cristina Chira, "Coplean – Haller," *Monumente uitate*, <http://monumenteuitate.org/ro/monument/287/> Coplean-Haller, accessed on October 9th, 2017.

¹³ In Romanian: Cooperativa Agricolă de Producție (CAP).

Direction of Historical Monuments (DHM)¹⁴ to save them, the funding of monument restoration and the methods of research and intervention specific to those times, based on the case of Coplean. The study is structured in a series of chapters whose titles were inspired by various citations extracted from old photographs and documents found in the archives, presenting the most tragic decades in the history of the Haller Castle, generally ignored by other studies.¹⁵

Transylvanian castles for the “New Man”

In the 20th century, the aristocratic residence as an architectural programme lost its base for maintenance. In 1921, the Romanian government passed a law for the agrarian reform¹⁶ that expropriated the great landowners up to 50 hectares, and thus affected to a large extent the Hungarian nobility which represented the majority among landlords, together with the Saxons and various institutions, such as the Church, which had their domains, economic power, social and cultural activity drastically diminished.¹⁷ The fate of many manor houses was then sealed, and as they became unsustainable, they were dismantled, used as construction material or simply abandoned.¹⁸

After the Second World War, the abolition of monarchy, and the proclamation of the People’s Republic of Romania (PRR),¹⁹ the country’s orientation suddenly became focused towards the East.²⁰ Private property rights and the people that benefited from them represented not only the theoretical

¹⁴ In Romanian: Direcția Monumentelor Istorice (DMI). It is the generic name of the main institution in Romania that was responsible for the research and design of monument conservation, approval of projects, inventorying and restoring monuments, conducting their own monument restoration sites, between 1952 and 1989 always changing its official name: The General Direction of Historical Monuments (1952-1959), The Direction of Historical Monuments and The Direction of Historical and Artistic Monuments (1959-1974), The Direction of National Cultural Heritage (1974-1977). After dissolution of this Direction, in 1977, was created The Direction of Economy and of National Cultural Heritage (1978-1989). See “Istoricul INP” [The History of INP], *Institutul Național al Patrimoniului* [National Institute of Heritage], <https://patrimoniu.gov.ro/ro/utile/item/27-istoricul-inp>, accessed on September 15th, 2017.

¹⁵ A succinct synthesis of this data appears for the first time in Ioana Rus, *Conservarea monumentelor în Transilvania în perioada 1945-1977* [Conservation of monuments in Transylvania in 1945-1977] (PhD thesis, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, 2012).

¹⁶ “Lege din 30 iulie 1921 pentru reforma agrară din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș” [July 30th, 1921 Law for the agrarian reform in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș], *Monitorul Oficial*, July 30, 1921, ...

¹⁷ Keith Hitchins, *România: 1866-1947* (București: Humanitas, 2013), 347.

¹⁸ András Kovács, “Kastélyrekonstrukciók Erdélyben [Castle Reconstruction in Transylvania],” *Korunk*, 6 (2013): 3.

¹⁹ In Romanian: Republica Populară Română (RPR). It was the official name of the country after the forced abdication of King Michael I in 1947, until the adoption of the 1965 Constitution which proclaimed The Socialist Republic of Romania.

²⁰ Hitchins, *România*, 494.

source of all social shortcomings according to the Communist doctrine,²¹ but also the greatest enemy of the “battles” for the construction of a Communist society. The voices against land and factory owners became increasingly loud, with the government organizing a violent press campaign intended to discredit them, confiscate their wealth and divide it among the members of the working class.²²

A new Agrarian Reform started in 1945, being followed by the 1948 Nationalization Law of all “industrial, banking, insurance, mining and transport enterprises,”²³ representing a targeted attack against the “bourgeois-landowners,” who had to be removed from public life, imprisoned and impoverished, all made in the name of the “class struggle” and the “fight against Anglo-American imperialism.” Although the laws provided certain conditions for compensation, these were at the State’s free will, meaning that it was not a proper nationalization law, but in fact a confiscation of private property.²⁴ To avoid any complications, harsh sanctions were given to those who opposed it, such as 5 to 10 years of imprisonment along with confiscation of their entire propriety.

According to “The Plan for The Liquidation of Landowners’ Property,” discussed by the Secretary of the Central Committee of P.M.R. in two successive sessions, in February 15th-17th and 21th, 1949,²⁵ Decree no. 92 from 1950 gave the final blow, by extending the State’s control over cinemas, healthcare houses, pharmacies, chemical enterprises and all economic and social-cultural units, as well as confiscating a large number of private residences

“...for the strengthening and development of the socialist sector in the economy of the RPR, in order to ensure a good management of the housing stock subject to degradation due to the sabotage of the large bourgeoisie and the exploiters who own a large number of buildings, to take away from the handful of exploiters an important means of exploitation, such as buildings belonging to former industrialists, [...] bankers, merchants and other elements of the big bourgeoisie, [...] hotels with their whole inventory, constructions built for the purpose of exploitation which have been abandoned by their owners as well as

²¹ Emanuel-Mihail Socaciu, “Despre naționalizarea comunistă a imobilelor și clauzele constituționale ale exproprierilor [On Communist nationalization of buildings and constitutional clauses of expropriations],” *Sfera politică. Raportul Tismăneanu: ecouri* 126-127 (2007): 31.

²² Narcis Dorin Ion, “Destinul unor reședințe aristocratice în primul deceniu al regimului comunist (1945-1955)” [The Destiny of Several Aristocratic Manor Houses during the First Decade of the Communist Regime (1945-1955)] (paper presented at the International Symposium Monumentul, Iași, Romania, 2009): 269, www.monumentul.ro/pdfs/Narcis%20Dorin%20Ion%202009.pdf. accessed on August 10th, 2017.

²³ “Legea nr. 119 din 11 iunie 1948 pentru naționalizarea întreprinderilor industriale, bancare, de asigurări, miniere și de transporturi” [Law nr. 119 from June 11th, 1948 for the nationalisation of industrial, banking, mining and transport enterprises], *Monitorul Oficial*, 133 bis, June 11, 1948, ...

²⁴ Socaciu, “Despre naționalizarea comunistă,” 39-43.

²⁵ Nicoleta Ionescu-Gură, *Stalinizarea României. Republica Populară Română: 1948-1950. Transformări instituționale* [Romania’s Stalinization. The Romanian People’s Republic: 1948-1950. Institutional transformations] (București: ALL, 2005), 486.

any of their building materials stored in their vicinity [...], buildings that have been damaged or destroyed by earthquake or war built for the purpose of exploitation and whose owners have not taken care of their repair or reconstruction.”²⁶

After their confiscation, during a meeting held on October 18th, 1949, the Central Committee of PMR discussed the distribution of manor houses to various ministries and institutions. Thus, the Ministry of Agriculture was assigned about 5.000 mansions and buildings, which were transformed into CAPs. The remaining 1.317 were distributed or transformed as follows: 377 buildings to the Provisional Committees, 132 to cultural establishments, 86 to schools, 50 to kindergartens and nurseries, 20 to maternities, 90 to human and veterinary clinics, 31 became nursing homes, 33 tuberculosis hospitals and sanatoriums, 320 establishments for political mass organisations, and 178 received other functions, such as centres of Professional Rehabilitation for beggars and prostitutes²⁷ or even headquarters of the Securitate.²⁸

The cultural assets of these former aristocratic mansions were inventoried and since they were now all in the ownership of the State were redistributed to various institutions. The agricultural goods together with all household items, common furniture, paintings and carpets were left on the premises for use, while more valuable items such as musical instruments, works of art, tapestries and antique pieces of furniture were given to local institutions such as museums and cultural establishments. Books were sorted by completely unprepared or uneducated people, who set fire to the anti-democratic ones and recovered the acceptable ones to be handed over to libraries. Money, gold and silverware were handed out to the National Bank. Although various committees for the inventorying of the cultural goods and works of art found in these manor houses appeared, innumerable heritage valuables were lost in the process, as many of them were either destroyed on the spot, willingly alienated or even stolen by the very members of these commissions.²⁹

In the end, thousands of estates and mansions were seized while their landlords were driven out of their homes, forced to go into exile or thrown into prison sometimes for the rest of their lives.³⁰ The extermination of the old political and economic class, usually accused of “repressive activity against the revolutionary movement and the working class in Romania” or of being “the

²⁶ “Decret nr. 92 din 19 aprilie 1950 pentru naționalizarea unor imobile” [Decree nr. 92 from April 19th, 1950 for the nationalisation of several buildings], *Buletinul Oficial* 36, April 20, 1950.

²⁷ Ionescu-Gură, *Stalinizarea*, 498.

²⁸ Dennis Deletant, *România sub regimul comunist* [Romania under the Communist regime] (București: Fundația Academia Civică, 1997), 88. The Securitate was the generic term for the Department of State Security, the secret police agency of Romania during the Communist regime.

²⁹ Ionescu-Gură, *Stalinizarea*, 495-497.

³⁰ Ion, “Destinul unor reședințe,” 270.

servants of imperialism who seek by all means [...] to prevent the construction of socialism,³¹ condemned as retrograde, decadent and hostile”³² had as purpose the annihilation of national identity, the erasure of the natural connection with the past and traditional values. These had to be removed from the collective memory and replaced as quickly as possible by the “new man”³³ recruited from the working, “deserving” employees that had distinguished themselves by “showing relentless hatred against the exploiters.”³⁴

Praised by the official policy, this “new man” represented, in fact, the “nouveau riche,” “the new aristocracy of the regime’s opportunists”³⁵ who was rewarded for his loyalty with many of the confiscated buildings and their household goods: cupboards, cabinets, stoves, lingerie, footwear and clothing, bed sheets, tablecloths, curtains, shirts and so on.³⁶ The beneficiaries, generally individuals who were uneducated or of low social status, thus came to inhabit or work in foreign houses, often excelling in indifference and laziness, systematically refusing to do any repair works, ruthlessly destroying the furniture³⁷ or cutting down the secular trees and rare species from the historical gardens for heating purposes.³⁸

Therefore, few years after the manor houses became public property – meaning in fact the property of no one – many of them became unrecognizable,³⁹ destroyed by the country’s own government, in an attempt to homogenize the national cultural experience and to eliminate the history of the nation.⁴⁰

“SOCIALISM. HAPPINESS”. The “NEW WAY” of the Haller Castle in Coplean after 1950

Like many other Transylvanian manor houses after the confiscation of the private property, the Haller Castle in Coplean bought by the Elekes family at the beginning of the 20th century, was assigned in 1950 to the Cășeu CAP which occupied its ground floor rooms and used the sheds and warehouses that surrounded its courtyard for storage, while the park was ploughed for cultivation.⁴¹ Although there is no official record of the CAP becoming the new

³¹ Dorin-Liviu Bîțfoi, *Așa s-a născut omul nou. În România anilor '50* [This is how the new man was born. Romania during the '50s] (București: Compania, 2012), 61–62.

³² Ibid., 173.

³³ Ionescu-Gură, *Stalinizarea*, 443–454.

³⁴ Ibid., 171.

³⁵ Neagu Djuvara, *Amintiri din pribegie* [Memories from wandering times] (București: Humanitas, 2012), 566.

³⁶ Ionescu-Gură, *Stalinizarea*, 499.

³⁷ Bîțfoi, *Așa s-a născut*, 41–42.

³⁸ Ion, “Destinul unor reședințe,” 281.

³⁹ Kovács, “Kastélyrekonstrukciók,” 3–4.

⁴⁰ Marilyn Pery, Bonnie Burnham, and Terry B. Morton, “Foreword,” Dinu C. Giurescu, *Razing of Romania’s Past* (New York: World Monuments Fund, 1989).

⁴¹ Julean, “Coplean,” 12.

owner or beneficiary of the castle, UAUIM archives preserve several images that illustrate various aspects of the CAP activity and use of the architectural ensemble for at least 13 years, as well as the vast correspondence and documentation found in the archives of The National Heritage Institute (NHI) that has not been published yet.

In one photograph (fig. 2) showing the edifice from the north-eastern side, a woman is pictured inscribing a series of socialist slogans just below the castle's ground floor windows and on the base of the portico's columns, where there can be read “SOCIALISM. HAPPINESS” on the left side of the façade, and “NEW WAY” and possibly “LONG LIVE SOCIALIST ROMANIA” on its right side.

Probably uninhabited for a few years, since the end of the Second World War or even before that, it is fair to say that the castle was not in its very best shape, as there were a couple of areas where the plaster was already missing, while the sheds and warehouses that surrounded the courtyard along with the towers of the precinct were deserted. Most of all, the wings that had been later attached to the rear façade were damaged and nearly beginning to crumble, while the roof built after a fire in the 1920s that had completely destroyed the original Baroque one was made anew.⁴² The roof built afterwards did not follow the original shape, but had a simpler one, using a hipped structure to cover a U-shaped plan which was not specific to the building, and from which a series of problems arose. The independent roof above the terrace had not been rebuilt, leaving it partially unprotected, along with a number of rooms at the back of the castle due to the new U-shaped plan of the hipped roof. Instead of the original wooden shingle it was now covered with the much heavier tiles. Another consequence of these changes was an alteration of the castle's general appearance, losing its monumentality due to the gentler slopes of the new roof.

By the time that this photograph was taken, the interior must have already lost most of its belongings, such as its furniture and other pieces of interior decoration, probably shortly after the war, as had happened with many other Transylvanian manor houses. Unfortunately there are no images that record the state of the castle's rooms shortly after its nationalization.

Nevertheless, it is very important to note that the photograph presents the castle occupied by the CAP still well-preserved, with all its carpentry, wooden shutters, door and window frames and all the statues above the windows intact, along with the solid new roof. Other images found in the same archives show that the precinct wall was still in place, while the round towers also preserved their straw covered cone roofs.

Furthermore, in 1955 the edifice was enlisted as a Historical Monument, becoming at least in theory protected by law. According to Article 7 of the

⁴² Sabău, “Castelul Haller,” 82.

Decision of the Ministers Council 661/April 22th, 1955 for The Preservation and Use of Cultural Monuments from PRR,

“the safeguarding, protection, conservation and restoration of cultural monuments, their appropriate scenery and area of protection is a permanent task of the People’s Councils on whose territories these monuments are to be found, except for those cultural monuments belonging to other individuals, for which this task rests with those persons”.⁴³

Needless to say that the CAP who was, as shown above, using the ensemble and therefore responsible for its preservation, together with the People’s Council of Cășeiu which was its legal owner after the castle’s confiscation, never carried any maintenance works, all the more protection and repair interventions to the castle, regardless of its severe state of degradation. One may almost say they set to destroy it with the unrestricted “help” of the villagers, making no efforts for its preservation, moving from room to room as the rest began to decay.

As proof to this recklessness and malevolence stands a survey conducted in 1956 by a team of architecture students from the Ion Mincu Institute of Architecture in Bucharest which records its poor state of conservation, just six years after the castle’s confiscation (figs. 3-4, 5-7).⁴⁴ Surely connected to the new status of the castle as a historical monument and its severe situation, the very professional and detailed survey of the ensemble includes numerous general views, façades, sections, plans and details of vaults and ceilings with stuccos, together with carpentry (doors and windows) or metal details, window and door stone frames, portico columns and so on in their preservation state at that time. The survey already reports the rather poor state of the roof above the southern wing, as well as missing or cracked pieces of the cornice that had already begun to fall (fig. 7). The degraded cornice is particularly noticeable on the southern and northern façades, while the western one was already in such a precarious state that the side building attached to it had its roof structure entirely missing its tiles and the plaster fallen off large surfaces. All of these elements, together with the fact that in the 1930s the roof hadn’t been properly rebuilt, must be taken responsible for the subsequent loss of significant stucco decorations and painted vaults, already represented here in a fragmentary state, especially in the

⁴³ Letter sent by the DHM to The Local Council of Cășeiu (July 31, 1973), “Dosar privind lucrările de reparații-conservare la castelul Elekes din localitatea Coplean” [File regarding the reparation-conservation works at the Elekes Castle in Coplean] (July 1964), DHM Fund, file no. 3799 referring to the Haller Elekes Castle in Coplean village, Cășeiu commune, Cluj County, NHI Archives, București (for further citations: DHM Fund). The People’s Councils (in Romanian: Consiliul Popular) was the official name of local organs of state power in Communist Romania, which managed the local economy, cultural affairs, social security, local utilities, education, and public health within the enterprises, organizations, and institutions located within its territory.

⁴⁴ Ion Mincu University in Bucharest (or published over time or digitized and gathered in “Camera cu relevee” [“The Survey Room”], <https://relevee.uaum.ro/m320/>, accessed on October 10th, 2017.

“SOCIALISM. HAPPINESS.” The “NEW WAY” of the Haller Castle
 case of the ceiling with the Haller family’s coat of arms (fig. 3).

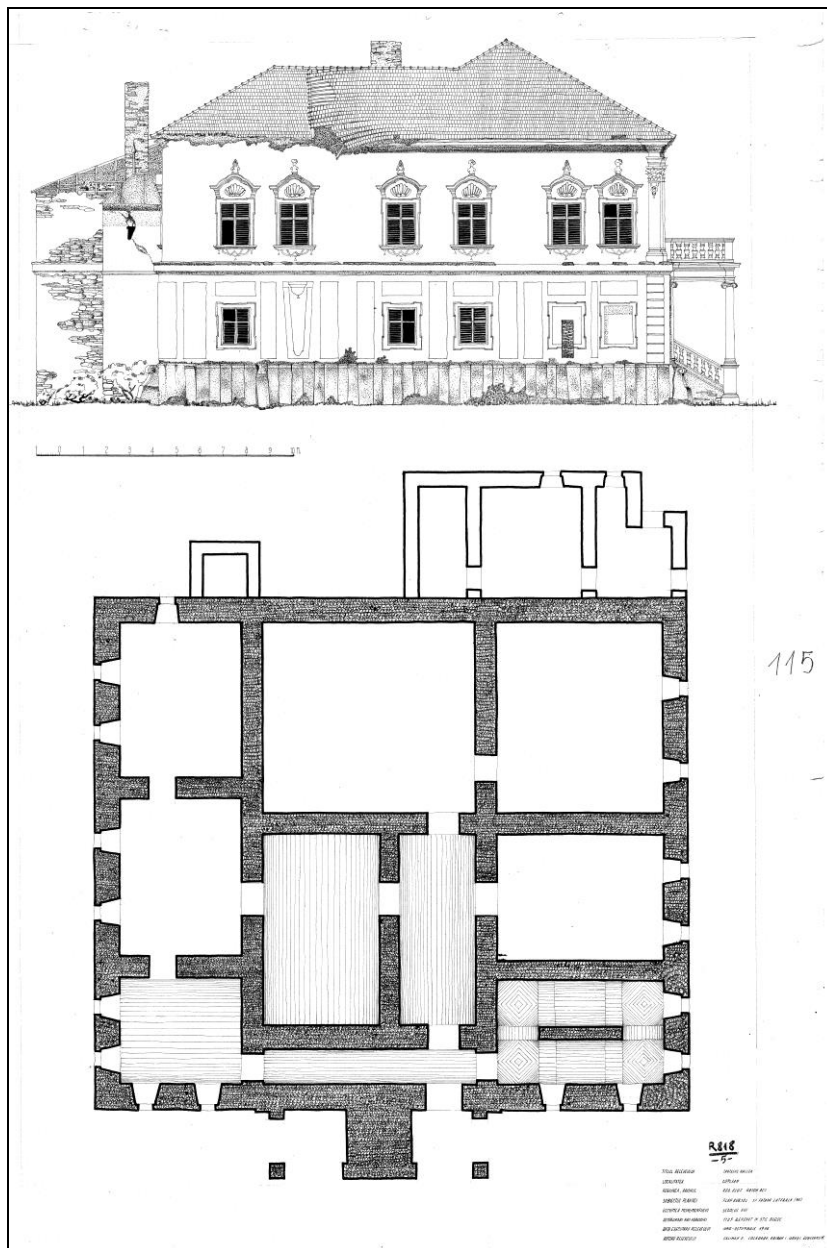


Fig. 5. The survey in 1956, Rv. 350, Ion Mincu Institute of Architecture in Bucharest.
 The Southern façade and the basement layout (“Camera cu relevee,”
<https://relevee.uauim.ro/m320/>, accessed on October 10th, 2017).

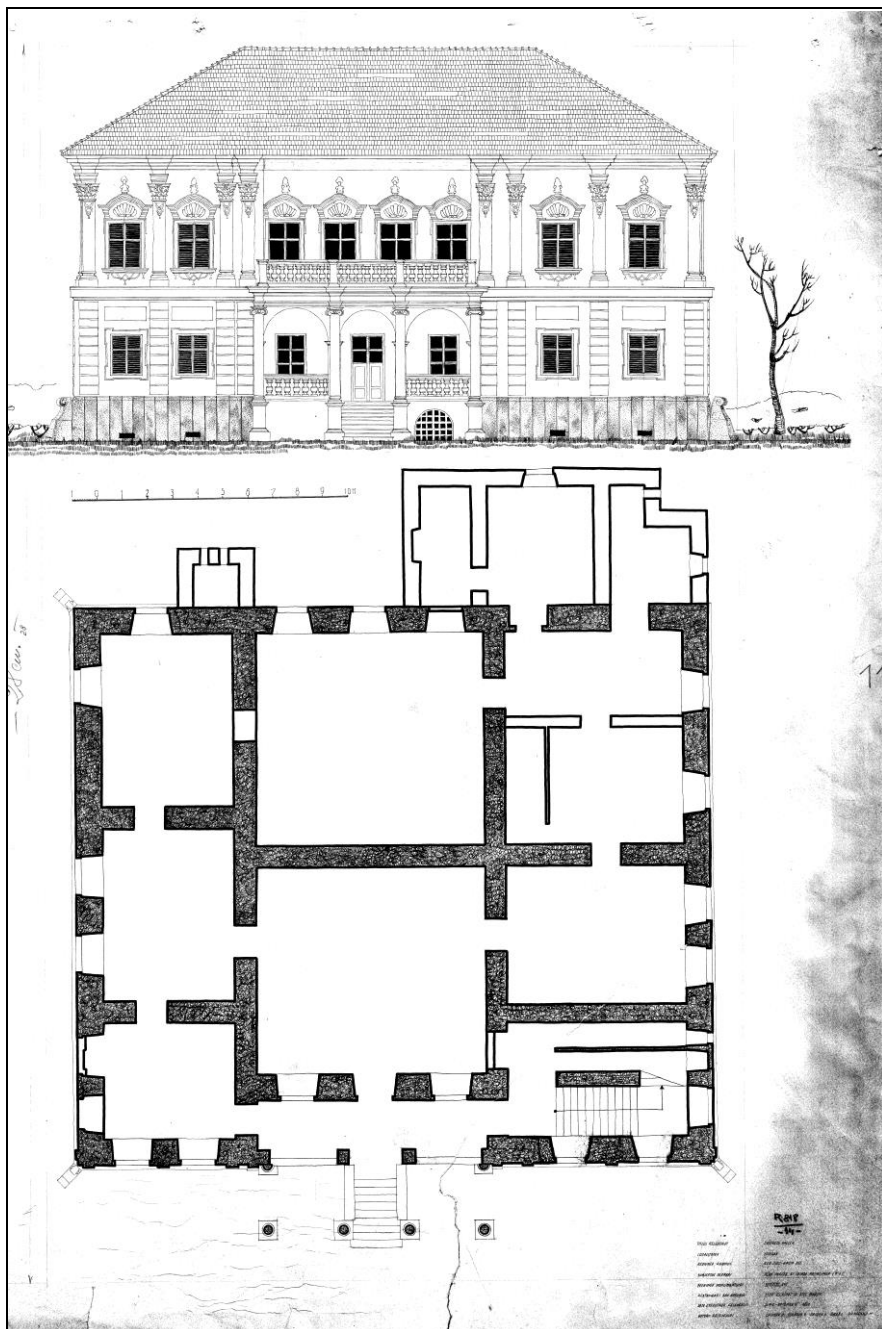


Fig. 6. The survey in 1956, Rv. 350, Ion Mincu Institute of Architecture in Bucharest. The main façade and the first floor layout ("Camera cu relevee," <https://relevee.uauim.ro/m320/>, accessed on October 10th, 2017).

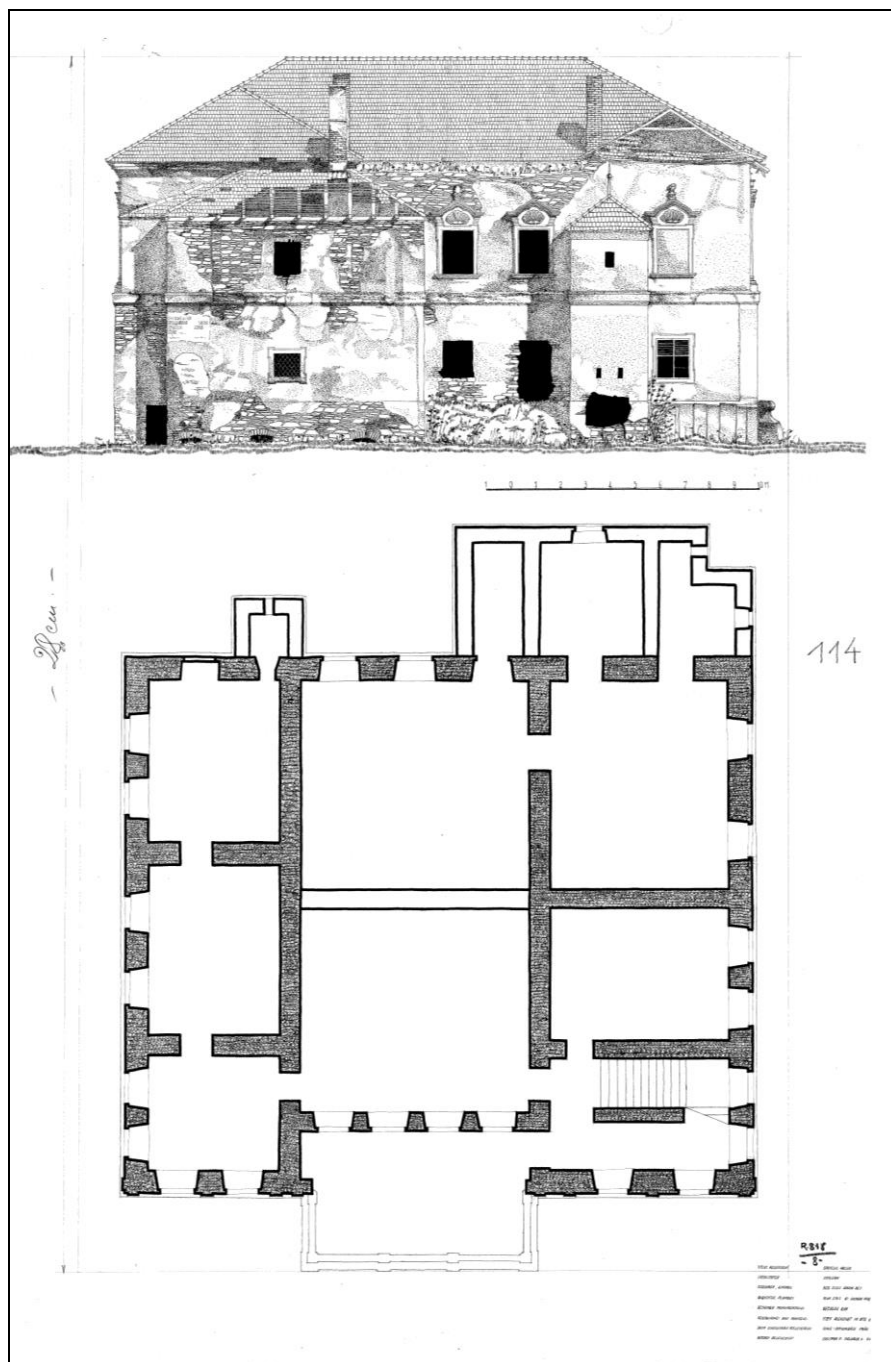


Fig. 7. The survey in 1956, Rv. 350, Ion Mincu Institute of Architecture in Bucharest. The back façade and the second floor layout (“Camera cu relevee,” <https://relevec.uauim.ro/m320/>, accessed on October 10th, 2017).



Fig. 8. The castle in 1955 (*Monumente uitate*).



Fig. 9. The castle in 1963, Vasile Mitrea, DHM Fund, File no. 801/1955 (*Monumente uitate*).

The photographs in the NHI archives support the information presented in the survey (fig. 8). By then, the sheds and warehouses had already been abandoned, along with the round towers of the precinct from which blocks of stone were already missing, having been removed and stolen. The wooden shutters and even the joinery of the windows were gradually lost, while the large stone slabs that used to cover the base of the castle, together with the cornerstones decorated with volutes also began to detach.

An event that accelerated the neglected castle's decay, visible in a few photographs taken in 1963 (fig. 9) and also recorded in later documents was the

loss of the roof above the southern wing. The situation is not documented by the survey, so it must have happened sometime after 1956. We do not know what caused this, but its consequences were extremely serious. Shortly after that, a part of the western façade that used to have three window frames decorated with rococo stone shells and statuettes collapsed, together with the buildings adjoining it and the ceiling of the rooms placed in the centre of the ground and first floors.

The result was a great pile of rubble, which certainly benefited from a “helping hand” from the locals, who were looking for cheap building material and seriously affected the stability of the castle’s southern and northern wings.

Revealing for the local authorities’ attitude towards this monument is a tragicomic story told by two art historians who visited the site in those times and remember seeing a large stone shell looted from the castle placed in the centre of Coplean and used as a bulletin board for displaying public messages as well as the leading figures of the village.⁴⁵

Vehement reactions followed the partial collapse, which eventually led, in July 1964, to the drafting of a project for emergency interventions on the castle.

The project signed by architect M. Mocanu from the Systematization and Architecture Service (SSA)⁴⁶ in Dej included a short description of the castle and its already severe state of decay, “the advanced degradation threatening its very existence”, as well as a series of suggested interventions along with a survey and a list of required materials, that headed up to 37.000 lei. Stressing the monument’s poor condition and the danger of collapse of the western wing, along various repair works and clearing of rubble, the documentation suggested the partial dismantling of this wing’s masonry (40 cm), which had already been affected by water infiltration, and its subsequent reconstruction, in order to support a reinforced concrete belt that was supposed to reconnect it to the main body of the castle.⁴⁷ Using new and old stone recovered from the dismantled walls and the rubble near the castle, the works would have been implemented by The Institute for Regional Management in Dej (IRM),⁴⁸ while the costs would have been provided in 1964 by the Regional People’s Council in Cluj.⁴⁹

On September 26th, 1964 the DHM gave The Directorate for Systematization, Architecture and Buildings Design (DSABD)⁵⁰ its approval for the documentation regarding the repair works to be executed during that year at Coplean, requesting the estimated date for their beginning and ending.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Information provided by Nicolae Sabău and Marius Porumb, November, 2017.

⁴⁶ In Romanian: Serviciul de Sistemizare și Arhitectură (SSA).

⁴⁷ “Memoriu justificativ” [Justification report], July 1964, DHM Fund. The Institute for Regional Management in Dej is Intreprinderea de Gospodărire Raională (IGR) in Romanian.

⁴⁸ “Memoriu justificativ,” July, 1964, DHM Fund.

⁴⁹ Letter sent by DSABD Cluj to the DHM, September 4, 1964, DHM Fund.

⁵⁰ In Romanian: Direcția de Sistemizare, Arhitectură și Proiectarea Construcțiilor (DSAPC).

⁵¹ Letter sent by DHM to DSABD Cluj, September 26, 1964, DHM Fund.

Unfortunately the answer never came, and obviously, no intervention works followed, possibly due to the lack of funds, though no justification is recorded in the documents.

“Patriotic work” – the devastation of the castle in the early 1970s

Only after another seven years, in 1971, the ever more severe situation of the castle was brought up again, in a series of letters sent by the DHM and the People’s Council of Cluj County to the County Union of the CAP (CUCAP),⁵² asking them to take the necessary measures for the urgent elaboration of the technical-economic documentation and to provide the necessary funds for implementing the consolidation and protection works as soon as possible, in order to avoid the collapse of the building. For the preservation of the detached and fallen stone pieces (statuettes, pillars, window frames and balusters), they suggested gathering and storing them in one of the castle’s rooms. CUCAP was given 30 days to present the measures taken according to these requirements.⁵³

The answer came on January 3rd, 1972, in the form of a letter that had in its attachment the minutes drawn in Coplean by a committee of delegates from the local authorities, the CAP leadership and a delegate from CUCAP Cluj, which after an on-site visit made on December 27th, 1971 agreed on the castle’s severe state of degradation and the risk of injury it presented to anyone approaching the monument. A decision for the display of warning signs around the castle and its immediate enclosure was taken, for which The Communal Council would provide wire and pillars while the board of the Cășeu CAP would carry on the works until January 31th, 1972. Also, the gathering of the ornamental pieces lying around the castle and their storage in one of its rooms would be ensured by January 15th, 1972 by the villagers and children of Coplean through *patriotic work*.⁵⁴

Therefore none of these measures addressed the real problems of the castle, such as the consolidation works needed in order to avoid its collapse. Moreover, probably for fear of being compelled to pay for the castle’s restoration, the CAP evacuated the rooms used for storage, abandoning the ensemble overnight and denying any responsibility.

It was useless for the DHM to hold the People’s Council of Cășeu directly responsible for the poor state of the castle’s maintenance and to remind them of the obligations under Article 7 of HCM 661/1955 mentioned above. This shows that the monument, despite being used by the Coplean CAP, did not benefit from any necessary repairs, and had its building elements devastated, its carpentry and wooden floors dismantled, its sculpted stone elements of the main staircase and

⁵² In Romanian: Uniunea Județeană a Cooperativelor Agricole de Producție (UJCAP).

⁵³ Various letters sent in 1971 by the DHM and the People’s Council of Cluj County to CUCAP Cluj, DHM Fund.

⁵⁴ “Minutes,” December 27, 1971, DHM Fund.

window frames broken due to lack of security and the keeping and grazing of livestock in its vicinity. The following answer given by the sly CAP was almost bewildering, stating that they were not the beneficiary of the building and had not used it, since for years there had been a danger of injury, and no possessions belonging to the CAP had been found in the castle at the time of the on-site visit. Also, that the Cășeiu CAP had no further need for the castle, leaving it entirely in the care of the Institute of Historical Monuments (*sic!*), who was invited to draft the technical documentation and carry on with the necessary renovation and consolidation works.⁵⁵

After this sudden evacuation, the castle was left open, ensuring the uncontrolled access in the ensemble. It is needless to say that no fencing was made, and the recovery of the decorated stone elements through *patriotic work* was also abandoned. Thus, the degradation of the building continued freely, the stone pillars, balusters and statuettes broke, as stated by a letter from the DSABD to the DHM after an on-site visit on February 16, 1972.⁵⁶

On April 20th, 1972 the DHM sent another letter to the Cluj Council and the Cluj County Culture and Education Committee, appealing to the provisions of Article 360 of the Criminal and Civil Codes (“the destruction under any form of monuments or constructions, which have artistic, historical, archaeological etc. value, is considered a criminal offense and sanctioned. In addition to criminal liability, those found guilty are also bound to bear the cost of repairing the damage and restoring the previous situation”) and asking the People’s Council of Cluj County to file a criminal complaint and set the costs of the damage that had been made.⁵⁷ But the final answer on this matter came on June 18th, 1978, when the DSABD stated that the DHM’s requests could not be met, as there were no grounds for a court action and that the building required *their* intervention to provide the necessary funds for repair and consolidation works to avoid the further collapse of the *abandoned* building.⁵⁸

The Council for Culture and Socialist Education – provider of funds for urgent interventions on historical monuments

After realising that, in spite of all the evidence that the CAP and the Local Council were responsible for the state of the castle, they would not support its much needed restoration, the DHM resignedly sent a letter on December 26, 1972 to the People’s Council of Cluj, stating that although the DHM would not be able to begin a complete restoration intervention at Coplean sooner than 1975, it would ensure the necessary funds for the urgent intervention and temporary

⁵⁵ “Minutes,” December 27, 1971, DHM Fund.

⁵⁶ Letter sent by the DSABD to the DHM, February 25, 1972, DHM Fund.

⁵⁷ Letter sent by the DHM to the Cluj Council and the Cluj County Culture and Education Committee, April 20, 1972, DHM Fund.

⁵⁸ Letter sent by the DSABD to the DHM, June 18, 1978, DHM Fund.

protection works, provided that the People's Council of Cluj County ensured their design and implementation. The DHM also asked them to decide upon the future destination of the castle (social, cultural or sanitary), and the possible beneficiaries who would be willing to move into the monument without damaging it.⁵⁹ On January 31st, 1973, after another on-site visit during which they found the poorer and poorer conservation of the castle, the DHM addressed the People's Council of Cășeu, asking them once again to ensure the monument's security until the beginning of the repair works.⁶⁰

On April 16th, 1973, the People's Council of Cluj announced the DHM that they would ensure the design of the interventions through The Institute for Building Study and Design in Cluj⁶¹ and their implementation through The Institute for Communal and Local Management in Dej,⁶² that it had ordered the County Council of Cășeu to take the necessary measures to forbid access into the castle and to get the visitors warned through panels, as well as ensuring the security in order to avoid the castle's further destruction and alienation of materials,⁶³ as well as the fact that the School Inspectorate had informed them on January 18th, 1973, that it had agreed to take charge of the building after its restoration, in order to transform it into an orphanage or a school for children with special needs.⁶⁴

Finally, on June 4th, 1973 the "Design theme for emergency intervention works for the protection and conservation of the architectural monument Haller-Elekes Castle in Coplean village, Cășeu commune, Cluj County" was finished, drafted by the People's Council of Cluj County through the Department of Systematization, Architecture and Building Control, signed by Crăciun Horia and sent for approval to the DHM. The design theme included a short history referring to the former Renaissance castle and its later reconstruction in Baroque style, along with a detailed description of the monument in its state of conservation at that time.

The survey presented the by then U-shaped plan of the castle (resulted after the collapse of the rear façade and rooms, along with the western annexes), the wall fragments, a roof structure lacking most of its tiles, the portico and terrace exposed to infiltrations due to a lack of roofing, with numerous dislocated decorative stone elements (window and door frames, statuettes). Also, the design theme showed that due to the castle's lack of maintenance and the negligence shown by the CAP, the main building had been abandoned, which led to an even more rapid destruction of the building.

⁵⁹ Letter sent by DHM to the People's Council of Cluj, December 26, 1972, DHM Fund.

⁶⁰ Letter sent by DHM to the People's Council of Cășeu, January 31, 1973, DHM Fund.

⁶¹ In Romanian: Institutul de Studii și Proiectări în Construcții (ISPC).

⁶² In Romanian: Întreprinderea de Gospodărire Comunală Locală (IGCL).

⁶³ Letter sent by the People's Council of Cluj to the DHM, April 16, 1973, DHM Fund.

⁶⁴ Letter sent by The Local Council in Cluj to the DHM, March 5, 1973, DHM Fund.

Until complete restoration works funded by the DHM would be made sometime after 1975, a series of emergency interventions were suggested, in order to ensure the survival of the building: the review and consolidation of the foundations and base of the building; the temporary reinforcement of the portico, terrace, decorative frames and stone elements, or the numbering and dismantling for their storage and preservation in one of the castle's rooms until further restoration; the reinforcement of the cracked vaults; the repair of the roof structure and its completion with rain gutters; the building of a pavement around the building to protect its base and foundation; the removal of debris around the building, while recovering the carved stone elements for their preservation; the temporary closing of windows and doors and fencing of the ensemble.⁶⁵

On June 26th, 1973, the DHM gives its approval for this design theme, also recommending the castle's transformation into an orphanage, as this would allow the monument to be conveniently visited, while a school for children with special needs would not permit the same. Thus, on September 1973, the DHM sends a letter to the Institute of Building Design in Cluj, asking them to include Coplean in their design plan for the following year, mentioning (after various efforts made to supplement the funding) that the payment will be made in 1974 by the DHM.⁶⁶

Suddenly though, on January 15th, 1974, the DHM announced the People's Council of Cluj County that from that year on, the funding for emergency interventions on historical monuments became the responsibility of the Council of Culture and Socialist Education, leaving Coplean out; thus it became impossible to finance the design and the implementation of the urgent consolidation of the castle.⁶⁷ Needless to say that due to this change in the distribution of funding the DHM had to abandon the project once again, for another 8 years.

“The scrapping proposal” – a request for the castle's demolition in 1981

On March 30th, 1981 the People's Council of Cășeiu came with a new “solution”, requesting approval for the castle's demolition, which due to its 255 years of age was in an advanced state of degradation and presented a danger of injury to those around it, “as in the castle's courtyard there still functioned the zoo-technical farm of the Cășeiu CAP”. The problem of renovating the castle had been addressed ten years before, but the project was abandoned in the end, as it required great expenses. The proposal of scrapping the castle from official records

⁶⁵ “Tema de proiectare pentru lucrări de intervenție urgentă în vederea protejării și conservării monumentului de arhitectură <Castelul Haller-Elekes> din satul Coplean, comuna Cășeiu județul Cluj” [Design theme for emergency intervention works for the protection and conservation of the architectural monument Haller-Elekes Castle in Coplean village, Cășeiu Village, Cluj County], June 4, 1973, DHM Fund.

⁶⁶ Letter sent by DHM to the Institute of Building Design in Cluj, September, 1973, DHM Fund.

⁶⁷ Letter sent by DHM to the People's Council of Cluj County, January 15, 1974, DHM Fund.

was based on the fact that by then the castle had surpassed its “legal norm” of 100 years, and was in such a state that it could have been repaired only with “unjustified expenses.”⁶⁸

By this request, the Cășeu CAP unwillingly and unconsciously admits its previous lies, that the castle had not been inscribed in its records and also that it was not using it. Asking for approval to scrap it from the official records meant that it was the legal owner of the castle and was still using its courtyard and former garden for storage at the least.

Obviously, on August 8th, 1981, the representatives of the History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj informed the People’s Council of Cluj County that they did not approve of the castle’s demolition, highlighting once again its status as historical monument, its value and significance and insisting on the need for its urgent consolidation, prior to finding a proper destination and implementing complex restoration works.⁶⁹

A consolidation that had “never been made” – the mysterious intervention of the 1980s

Even though there is no written record of finally carrying on an intervention on the castle, there are a number of photographs in the NHI archives (fig. 10) and in those of the Department for Art History in Cluj (figs. 11-12) that prove a consolidation was made sometime after the scrapping proposal. Therefore, this chapter in the castle’s history can be documented only through image analysis, and the *in situ* documentation of the monument, but cannot yet be supported by any written data.

Probably determined by the very demolition request, which justifies the hurry in which it was made and the manner of dealing with the monument, the photographs taken in the 1980s show a different situation for the former roofless castle (fig. 10). Here we can see a hipped roof, covered with new tiles, placed over the existing U-shaped plan of castle, whose walls were only partially consolidated with a massive reinforced concrete belt. Due to the fact that this consolidation was probably hastily undertaken, we suspect that it was not preceded by a thorough analysis of the castle’s existing situation, which must have been really unstable by then. It was either a very unwitting attitude, or a desperate attempt to avoid the previous situation, when studies and design projects, carried out at great effort or costs, were eventually abandoned due to lack of funding.

Needless to say that after almost two decades of neglect and destruction, the castle was far from being in the same conservation state as in 1964, especially the upper part of the walls which were already crumbling.

⁶⁸ Letter sent by the People’s Council of Cășeu to the People’s Council of Cluj County, who forwarded it to the History Museum of Transylvania, March 30, 1981, DHM Fund.

⁶⁹ Letter sent by the History Museum of Transylvania to the People’s Council of Cluj County, August 8, 1981, DHM Fund.

“SOCIALISM. HAPPINESS.” The “NEW WAY” of the Haller Castle



Fig. 10. The castle in 1982 (*Monumente uitate*).



Fig. 11. The castle after 1982, Nicolae Sabău (Archives of the Art History Department in Cluj).

Therefore, the placing of an only partially reinforced concrete belt to keep the structure in place and the covering of the roof with heavy tiles must have been a mistake, as neither the walls nor the very tall chimneys were as stable as they had been 20 years earlier. Due to the lack of funds necessary to reconstruct the western façade and maybe the misunderstanding of the importance of a compact plan in this case, the intervention also preserved the “unnatural” U-shaped plan of the hipped roof, even though there were several old images and the survey from 1956 that clearly presented the original layout of the building. Just by looking at the pictures (figs. 10-11), one may see that without a complete

restoration, in spite of all the efforts to partially consolidate it, the castle was already too unstable and vulnerable to resist through time.



Fig. 12. The castle after 1982, Nicolae Sabău (Archives of the Art History Department in Cluj).



Fig. 13. The castle in 1982, Nicolae Sabău (Archives of the Art History Department in Cluj).



Fig. 14. The castle in 1986, DHM Fund, File no. 801/1955 (*Monumente uitate*).

Again, there is no written record of this, but sometime between 1982 and 1986 the central part of the roof collapsed, surely affecting the western walls, the ceilings and vaults of the first floor rooms (fig. 14). Obviously, this event caused the evacuation of the castle and the entire ensemble, finally leaving it uninhabited. Still, it is hard to understand how this event did not cause a more powerful reaction, as there is no news or record of the collapse, only a few very faint and contradictory memories of those who knew or visited the castle afterwards. This silence determined a gap or a misinterpretation of the castle's recent history, as every study dedicated to Coplean reports an improper use by the CAP, poor maintenance, thievery of the villagers, but not an unsuccessful restoration, that placed a partial reinforced concrete belt above some extensively degraded walls, while others were left without consolidation, to support the heavy tiles of the roof.

Conclusions: "WAIT! DANGER OF COLLAPSE"

As unbridled looting followed, the only reaction connected to this collapse came from the representatives of The History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj underlying the degradation that threatened the castle's very existence. Due to the fact that important decoration elements were permanently detached and stolen without any permission, on August 30th, 1986 they addressed their colleagues in Dej, urging an intervention in order to save some of the remaining pieces (the Turks' heads, urns, window frames), by their careful transportation to

the History Museum (fig. 13).⁷⁰ So, instead of the “HAPPINESS” brought by the “NEW WAY” of Socialism, the words “WAIT! DANGER OF COLLAPSE” and “KEEP AWAY” appeared on the columns (fig. 11), marking the end of more than 30 years of useless efforts made by the DHM to save the monument from destruction.

The castle suffered immense loss, being systematically mistreated by its owners and the villagers, going through fire, confiscation, improper use as CAP, lack of maintenance, looting, poor consolidation interventions and finally collapse, most of which strikingly happened just after it received its status of historical monument.

Stubbornly, the Haller Castle in Coplean still stands today in spite of its ruinous state, as if to remind us of the very dark times it has gone through during the 20th century.



Fig. 15. Aerial view of the castle. Cristina Beligăr, [http://transilvaniareporter.ro/clujul- din-nori/clujul-din-nori-castelul-haller-din-coplean/](http://transilvaniareporter.ro/clujul-din-nori/clujul-din-nori-castelul-haller-din-coplean/), accessed on August 5th, 2018.

⁷⁰ Letter sent by The History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj to the History Museum in Dej, August 30th, 1986, DHM Fund.

KATARZYNA KURAS, Ceremony and Space: Contact between the Nobles and the Monarch from the 16th to the 18th Century in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The aim of this article is a presentation of the role and importance of contacts of Polish nobles and monarchs in the vast context of the ceremonial used in the everyday life at the court and the organisation of the space of the Royal Castle of Warsaw (and other residences). It seems that due to a lack of clear factors sacralising the power of the Polish elective king, access to the monarch was relatively simple and not very restricted mainly by the labile etiquette at the Polish court in the 16th and 17th centuries, much different from the French or Spanish ceremonial. On the other hand the organisation of the space in the Royal residences had to emphasize the position of the king by creating some barriers separating the monarch and the nobles.

Key-words: Royal Castle of Warsaw, Polish court, Polish nobles, Early Modern Age.

FRANCISZEK SKIBIŃSKI, Poland Transformations and Adaptations of Architectural Models in the Residential Architecture of the 17th Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

In the early modern period, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, comprising parts of present day Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Belarus, became a crossroad of the various architectural tendencies. The process of adaptation of the architectural models arriving there from across the continent is, therefore, illustrative of the mechanisms of the cultural transformation taking place in early modern Europe. The recipient culture plays a crucial role in that process, as cultural identities condition receiving, adapting, or rejecting various architectural solutions. It may be argued, therefore, that adaptation of architectural models is always a transformation, a constructive and selective act that follows the rules and impulses of a specific culture.

Based on that assumption, this contribution intends to examine spatial settings of the residences in the Commonwealth in their European context to arrive at a better understanding of the way the various architectural models were being adapted to the local functional requirements. As such, it will explore the interaction between architectural framework and the ceremonial it served. Focusing on several case studies, including the residences in Kielce, Warsaw, Czemierniki, and Podhorce (Підгірці in Ukraine), it thus hopes to shed light on the process of a 'cultural translation' involving transformation of the architectural models in Central and North-Eastern Europe.

Key-words: Kielce, Warsaw, Czemierniki, Podhorce, Early Modern Age.

ÉRIC HASSLER, Between Palaces and Castles: The Viennese Aristocracy at Home during the First Half of the 18th Century

This contribution shows how the study of urban and seigniorial houses of the Viennese Aristocracy could throw light on the residential options of this social group between the end of the 17th Century and the middle of the 18th Century. As a matter of fact, these elites often owned two residences at least, which correspond to their dual functions: lord and courtier. Thus, their residential customs are part of this permanent tension between the proximity of the prince and the exercise of their seigniorial domination. To analyse

architectural forms, iconographical cycles, furniture inventories, but also financial investments is a way to assess the importance, or even the priority, attached to one of these residences. Moreover, these residences contribute to elaborate a proper identity which aims to produce a social distinction among the Court and the Nobility. This paper is based in particular on two well-documented cases among others: the counts of Harrach and Questenberg who owned each a Viennese palace and a seigniorial castle, one in Lower Austria, the other in Moravia.

Key-words: Urban and seigniorial houses, Counts of Harrach and Questenberg, Vienna.

IOANA RUS-CACOVEAN, "SOCIALISM. HAPPINESS." The "NEW WAY" of the Haller Castle in Coplean after 1950

The State's confiscation of castles and mansions after 1948 and their transformation into offices for the Cooperative of Agricultural Production (CAP) had severe consequences on the conservation of these historical residences, that were stripped of their heritage (looted or systematically destroyed), while the remaining architecture was at best neglected, or rather abused for decades on end.

The title of this study was inspired by an old photograph showing the northern façade of the Coplean Haller Castle in the '60s, where the words "SOCIALISM. HAPPINESS" and "NEW WAY" can be seen under the ground floor windows. Thus, the paper aims at presenting the "new" and "happy" fate of one of the most remarkable Transylvanian mansions during the totalitarian regime of the 20th century, that may be reconstructed on the basis of the vast correspondence held by Dej's Regional Council with The Directorate of Historical Monuments from 1964 to 1982, claiming urgent reparation and conservation works, that were unfortunately always delayed and rejected for various reasons, like the lack of funds, lack of function for the edifice or its old age.

Key-words: Protection of Monuments, Transylvania, 1950s-80s, Communist Regime.

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