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THE STYLE OF ‘REGULAR IRREGULARITIES’
– ROCOCO GARDENS AND THEIR RECEPTION
IN POLISH GARDEN ART OF THE 18TH CENTURY

For many researchers distinguishing the Rococo as an independent style which appears in various fields of art is not an unambiguous matter. The stylish distinction of the Rococo was evidenced in the nineteenth century by the German writer and art historian Anton Springer (1825-1891). Although many researchers accepted this thesis, after the First World War there was a retreat from this view. Many art historians have considered Rococo as the late phase of the Baroque or its variant. Nowadays, most researchers agree that Rococo was not a continuation of Baroque, but it instead took an opposite position. However, one can find many formal elements of the Baroque in the Rococo art¹.

Discussion on the topic, though on a much smaller scale, was also undertaken by researchers of garden art. Rococo gardens appeared and vanished from the works devoted to historic gardens. The Marguerite Charageat (1962) has mentioned

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¹ Similar like Baroque art, used elements of Renaissance or Mannerism, though it held an antagonistic position towards them, v. W. TOMKIEWICZ, *Rokoko*, Warszawa 1988, p. 5; J. BIAŁOSTOCKI, *Rococo: ornament, styl i postawa. Przegląd problematyki badawczej*, [in:] *Rokoko. Studia nad sztuką 1 połowy XVIII w. Materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki zorganizowanej wspólnie z Muzeum Śląskim we Wrocławiu Wrocław, październik 1968*, Warszawa 1970, p. 13; H. SEDLMAYER, H. BAUER, *Rococò*, [in:] *Enciclopedia Unicersale dell'Arte*, vol. 11, split 627, after: J. BIAŁOSTOCKI, op. cit., p. 21.

the Rococo gardens in France in the context of ornamentation, sculptural decorations and English influences². This problem was more widely addressed by Dmitry Likhachov (1982), who concluded that “Rococo as a stylistic form cannot be compared with the great styles and can even be treated as a late of the Baroque, a stage of its complexity and—conventionally saying—‘degradation’, which brought the great ideological content of the Baroque to the level of quite shallow solutions.” At the same time, the author draws attention to the autonomous nature of the Rococo gardens and their historical role in European garden art, as a “link connecting regular Baroque gardens with gardens of the Romanticism”³.

The Rococo, as an autonomous style or even a tendency within great styles in the garden art, does not appear in the works of two of the main researchers of historical gardens in Poland. Both Gerard Ciołek and Longin Majdecki do not distinguish the Rococo gardens as a distinct in style forms, including such creations, either within the Baroque gardens or by classifying them as early landscape gardens⁴.

Until the 1990s, this issue, if it was undertaken by garden art researchers at all, was considered in the context of the previous or the following era⁵. The issue of the stylish diversity of gardens of the first half of the eighteenth century drew the attention of researchers again in the last decade of the twentieth century. The analysis of various aspects of the Rococo gardens in Europe, both in the context of form and its ideological foundations, was undertaken, among others, by May Woods (1996)⁶. The research area covered by the author included Western Europe, to the eastern borders of Germany. Whereas Michael Symes (2005)⁷ attempted to create a comprehensive view of the phenomenon of the Rococo gardens and Roco-

² M. CHARAGEAT, *L'art. des jardins*, Paris 1962, pol. ed. *Sztuka ogrodów*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 191-194.

³ D. LICHACZOW, *Poezja ogrodów. O semantyce stylów ogrodowo-parkowych*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1991, p. 168.

⁴ G. CIOŁEK, *Ogrody polskie. Wznowienie przygotował i uzupełniające rozdziały napisał Janusz Bogdanowski*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 83-114; L. MAJDECKI, *Historia ogrodów. Od starożytności do baroku*, vol. 1, Warszawa 2010, pp. 414-449, cf. IDEM, *Historia ogrodów. Od XVIII wieku do współczesności*, vol. 2, Warszawa 2010, pp. 88-91.

⁵ More in this topic writes Małgorzata Szafrąńska (*Ogrody zielonego cienia. Idea ogrodu we Francji w pierwszej poł. XVIII wieku*, “Ikonotheka. Prace Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego” 1(1990), p. 53).

⁶ M. WOODS, *Visions of Arcadia. European Gardens from Renaissance to Rococo*, London 1996, pp. 159-209.

⁷ M. SYMES, *The English Rococo Garden*, Princes Risborough 2005.

co trends in English garden art. However, the author drew attention to a number of difficulties associated with the definition of the English Rococo gardens⁸.

Among Polish authors, the first attempt at comprehensive analysis of the form and the ideological layer of the French gardens of the Regency and Rococo period was undertaken by Małgorzata Szafrąńska (1990)⁹. The observations made by the author were then clarified and extended to examples of indigenous gardens (1998)¹⁰. This issue was continued by Janusz Bogdanowski (2000)¹¹.

France is considered to be the homeland of the Rococo (although the Rococo ornament was already known by Borromini), and in this country the Rococo gardens reached their complete form and ideological content. The political and social changes which took place there as well as the generated ideas were the starting point for further considerations¹².

During the fifty-four-year period of rule, the King of France, Louis XIV introduced a thriving artistic patronage, which for many years dominated the artistic life in the country and institutionalized French art. The royal monopoly on the art and popularity of the associated classical style began to break down at the end of the monarch's life¹³.

According to Jerzy Łojek, "In this trend, there appeared (though not dominated) epicurean tendencies, and the principle of free and reasonable deciding about the purpose of the existence enabled the believers of these ideas, turning first and foremost to the natural, sensual pleasures of temporal life"¹⁴.

⁸ The author notes that the Rococo term has not been associated with English gardens in the past, and it has been borrowed from art and architecture. The phenomenon of Rococo gardens in England appeared in English studies from the 1970s (including works by J. Haris, v.: IDEM, *Garden of Delight: The Rococo English landscape of Thomas Robins the Elder*, Basilisk 1798).

⁹ M. SZAFRAŃSKA, op. cit., pp. 49-114.

¹⁰ EADEM, *Ogród rokokowy*, [in:] *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, ed. M. Szafrąńska, Warszawa 1998, pp. 151-160.

¹¹ J. BOGDANOWSKI, *Polskie ogrody ozdobne. Historia i problemy rewaloryzacji*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 74-81.

¹² W. TOMKIEWICZ, *Rokoko*, Warszawa 1988, p. 6, cf: M. SZAFRAŃSKA, *Ogrody zielonego cienia*, pp. 50-53.

¹³ M. SKWARCZYŃSKA, *Ogrody króla Stanisława Leszczyńskiego w Lotaryngii w latach 1737-1766*, Warszawa 2005, p. 60, The French cultural and comparative historian Paul Hazard (1878-1944) described the last years of Louis XIV's reign as the "crisis of European consciousness". This complex and multithreaded trend of the new era contained Cartesian rationalism, Jansenist and Protestant opposition, and early economic liberalism, v.: A. LEWICKA-MORAWSKA, J. MROZEK, op. cit., p. 297.

¹⁴ J. ŁOJEK, *Wiek markiza de Sade*, Lublin 1996, pp. 9-10. The French poet, playwright and critic of literature and art Théophile Gautier, described Rococo as "libertine art, which for its ideal,

Under the influence of multidirectional changes in the French State, which intensified in 1715, after the death of Louis XIV, the current model of the court's life was broken, which led to the fall of the political significance of art. Centres for the birth and formation of new ideas have moved to cities, especially Paris, where a new group of independent patrons of art-high state officials, merchants, and financiers was formed. "Aristocracy and the rich bourgeoisie have melted into one layer representing the same habits, the same taste, the same language"¹⁵. The new group of principals, but also the recipients of art, preferred less formal solutions, lighter, sometimes ironic, sometimes sentimental styles¹⁶.

The reflection of these attitudes first manifested in painting, whose subject matter got rid of sublimity, in favour of light and pleasant themes¹⁷. New motifs are especially visible in the works of French artists such as Antoine Watteau, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, Nicolas Lancret, François Boucher, Jacques de Lajoue, Jean-Baptiste Pillement or Hubert Robert. Similar compositions were created in Poland by Jean-Pierre Norblin de La Gourdain (1745-1830)¹⁸. The Arcadian world they presented was then transposed into the gardens. The new ideal of the garden was distinguished above all by a new look at nature. The fall of the Baroque concept is evidenced by the wildly growing plants, overgrown bosquets, covered with moss and creepers garden decorations, architecture absorbed by the green thicket. Scenes of courtship, games, work and leisure are accompanied by damaged sculptural decorations and ruined antique and rural buildings, (known from later land-

chose beauty and for the function decorating small houses of great lords and boudoirs of marchionesses", v.: T. GAUTIER, *Le musée du Louvre*, ed. M.H. Girard, Paris 2011, p. 286, after: A. ROSALES RODRÍGUEZ, "Francuski wiek" i obrazy rokoka w świetle nowoczesnej krytyki i sztuki. *Wizje, rewizje, interpretacje*, Warszawa 2016, p. 213.

¹⁵ M. SZAFRAŃSKA, *Ogrody zielonego cienia*, p. 52.

¹⁶ A. LEWICKA-MORAWSKA, J. MROZEK, op. cit., p. 298.

¹⁷ J. BIAŁOSTOCKI, op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁸ The theme of the Rococo painting was, in particular, *fêtes galantes* – elegant courtly parties, where dressed in fantastic costumes attendees indulge in various pastimes and *fêtes chamêtres* – stylized rural and pastoral parties. These scenes take place in the scenery of freely growing gardens or a wild forest. The entertainers are accompanied by mythical nymphs and cupids. These paintings are full of mystery, understatements and atmospheric depth, interspersed with a hint of melancholy. The repeating themes are also mossy ruins and sculptural decorations, these Baroque elements appearing here as witnesses of the departing epoch, or as a herald of what is to be realized in the garden art of the 18th century, v.: A. LEWICKA-MORAWSKA, J. MROZEK, op. cit., p. 298-299, cf: L. SOKÓL, *Watteau, Marivaux, fêtes galantes, czyli co może się wydarzyć w ogrodzie?*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 63(2001), No. 1-4, pp. 127-130; A. DULEWICZ, *Encyklopedia sztuki francuskiej, artyści, dzieła, pojęcia*, Warszawa 1997, p. 255.

scaper gardens¹⁹). Everything is characteristic of nature the 'grateful disorder' – as Pierre de Marviaux, the writer of the era, called it²⁰.

A different way of arranging gardens is visible on both the ideological layer and spatial composition. New ideas of the 'natural' garden influenced the change of the existing canon of the garden form, which boldly opposed the principles of the classical French garden – the Cartesian rules, geometry, symmetry, parallelism and transparency of the composition. The changes also concerned the scale of the gardens. The formation of Rococo gardens was influenced by the architecture. The new lifestyle resulted in changes in the structure and functional division of households. The layout of the interiors has been fragmented, the rooms have become smaller but more numerous, adapted to the needs of a more intimate family life. Individual interiors have also gained new functions²¹. In their décor, the disintegration of traditional structures becomes visible. The richness of ornaments, *rocaille*, Chinese and Turkish motifs permeate the surfaces, blurring the frames of the traditional division. The Rococo decoration broke with the post-renaissance tradition of classic proportions, rhythmical divisions, symmetries and orders²².

The same tendencies were also visible in the spatial disposition of garden divisions, their proportions and the manner of arrangement. In contrast to the formalized Baroque, the rococo garden has become the area of more free and individualized creations. The lush vegetation gradually emerged from under geometrized forms, and the entire structure of the garden, the bosquets, or the parterres were broken up and fragmented²³.

The Rococo which was *de facto* in opposition to Baroque art introduced a new quality based on the effect of surprise, unconventionality of the idea, naturalness, fantasy and exoticism into the formal scheme of Baroque gardens, as well as the mood of calmness, idyll and carefree.

Rococo arrangements were created keeping the formalism of the Baroque. Therefore, irregular nooks appeared as subsidiary elements, integrated into a tra-

¹⁹ *Cienie i światła. Cztery wieki malarstwa francuskiego*, [exhibition catalogue], ed. P. Mrozowski, Warszawa 2005, pp. 176-177.

²⁰ *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, p. 157.

²¹ A. LEWICKA-MORAWSKA, J. MROZEK, op. cit., p. 302; This tendency is described in Polish literature by Ignacy Krasicki. In the satire "Marnotrawstwo" (Eng. Waste) published in 1779, Krasicki mentions how has changed the layout of the interiors and furnishings of the houses under the influence of the new fashion – four cabinets and two boudoirs were created from the traditional hall, v.: I. KRASICKI, *Satyry*, vol. 1, *Satyra IV – Marnotrawstwo* (63-64), Warszawa 1790, p. 39.

²² A. LEWICKA-MORAWSKA, J. MROZEK, op. cit., pp. 302-304.

²³ *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, p. 152.

ditional, regular scheme. At the same time, there was a tendency to asymmetry, twisting of paths and fragmentation of the form.

What distinguishes the Rococo creations from the Baroque compositions is the fact that in the Baroque gardens all curvatures were attempted to express in a strictly geometrical sense, i.e., with arcs and counter-arcs²⁴. The Rococo introduced into the gardens a free-winding line with an increasingly irregular course. A characteristic feature of the Rococo gardens was also the creation of intimate spaces hidden in a garden thicket, small green cabinets which served meetings or court entertainments. These changes are particularly visible in the fragmentation of garden halls and cabinets and in the complexity of their arrangements. The maximum complexity and disintegration of the Baroque, large-scale arrangement took place in the composition of the bosquets. A winding network of paths lead to the shape of a labyrinth, ripped apart the massifs of the bosquets, filling every undeveloped space. The significant fragmentation of the compositional resulted in the creation of many different views, changing at every step. Individual parts of the garden had lost their importance as complementary compositional elements, in favour of a system of equivalent elements without a clear compositional relation²⁵.

The art of the Rococo was also distinguished by the passion for the exoticism, which was first discovered in the gardens of China. Thanks to travellers and Jesuit missionaries, descriptions of full of plants, exotic birds and oriental architecture Chinese gardens, run into Europe²⁶. Asymmetry and Chinese-inspired decorations were perfectly associated with Rococo ornaments. The term '*sharawadgi*' was used to determine the specificity of Chinese stylistics²⁷.

The décor of the partners also changed. Large and 'rigid' arrangements based on geometric divisions, disintegrated into small and irregular forms. Later in the layout of the parterres also appeared: asymmetry, *rocaille*, and labyrinth forms. The surrounding parterres flower beds – *plates-bandes* were also torn apart and fragmented. The clear boundaries of the parterres were blurred, and their surface and pathways overlapped each other.

²⁴ An exception may be the innovative layout of the "Garden of Sources" (Fr. *Jardin des Sources*) designed by Le Nôtre for the Grand Trianon garden.

²⁵ *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, p. 154.

²⁶ P. HOBHOUSE, *Historia ogrodów*, Warszawa 2007, p. 342.

²⁷ The term was used for the creations referring to the Chinese style of shaping space. Its basis were winding paths, connecting small squares or lawns, diversifying and staging the walking path, causing the effect of surprise and curiosity, v.: L. IMPELLUSO, *Ogrody i labirynty*, Warszawa 2009, p. 210.

The new style appeared with a break-out line of ornaments, motifs of the cut palmette, or asymmetrical water basins with folded edges. The existing compact form of the parterres has been replaced by the fashion for the 'discontinuity effect' and 'flickering effect' as well as open and asymmetrical compositions. The surface of the lawn has taken up larger and larger areas of the parterres²⁸. There were also parterres with a flanked edge and a labyrinthine structure of the flower beds²⁹.

The introduced changes also concerned the aspect of greenery and shadow, i.e., grass and trees in the garden, and striving to reduce the distance between the human and the nature³⁰. The new intimate style expressed in the projects and theoretical works of the greatest authors and designers of the era: Louis Liger, Jacques-François Blondel or Jean-Baptiste-Alexandre Le Blond³¹. The model of the garden which shaped at that time became a paradigm and determinant of modernity in many European countries. In German, Poland, Italy, Spain or Portugal, Rococo gardens were often created simultaneously, regardless of French concepts or they were their deep metamorphosis leading to completely new creations³².

The Rococo models were provided by printed templates. In 1737 and 1738, it was published in two volumes, the work of Jacques-François Blondel entitled: *De la Distribution des maisons de plaisance et de la décoration des édifices en général...* Apart from ready-made projects of architectural details and interior decoration, this treaty also contained elements of garden art (among others designs of parterres, bosquets, garden pavilions, trellis, fountains, flower pots and sculptural decorations)³³.

Another influential publication was *Œuvres* by François de Cuvilliés and his son, published in Paris between 1738 and 1773. The work was a collection of many

²⁸ M. SZAFRAŃSKA, *Ogrody zielonego cienienia*, pp. 56-59. Until the end of the 1730s, Le Nôtre was imitated in France, although the embroidery parterres had previously been declared untidy. Their place was taken by parterres à l'anglaise. Decorative motifs of individual quarters have gained soft, rounded shapes of shells and volutes. Music themes have also become an inspiration, v.: G. LAMY, *Le jardin du Roi à Trianon de 1688 à nos jours: de la mémoire à l'héritage*, "Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles" 2015, <http://journals.openedition.org/crcv/13374>, DOI: 10.4000/crcv.13374 [access: 2.10.2017].

²⁹ For example, in the design of the Brühl's garden in Brody associated with Knöfl or in the projects of the parterres for Nieborów (ca 1774) and for the Branicki's garden in Warsaw (1775) by S.G. Zug.

³⁰ M. SZAFRAŃSKA, *Ogrody zielonego cienienia*, p. 56-59.

³¹ A. LEWICKA-MORAWSKA, J. MROZEK, op. cit., p. 316.

³² *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, p. 153.

³³ J. BLONDEL, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance et de la décoration des édifices en général*, par Jacques-François Blondel [...], vol. 1-2, Paris 1737-1738.

Rococo projects of architectural objects, such as palaces and garden pavilions, decorations, furnishings as well as garden designs presenting a rich arrangement of bosquets and other elements of the gardens³⁴ (Fig. 1, 2).

In 1753, the Jesuit-Marc-Antoine Laugier published the *Essai sur l'architecture*, a treatise on *de facto* Rococo gardens based on criticism of the Versailles. This work presents the well-balanced in the attempts to look for the nature, and still present cult of the geometry³⁵. Many garden designs and garden details of the new style appeared in the work of Georges-Louis Le Rouge and William Chambers entitled *Detail des nouveaux jardins à la mode...* which appeared in two volumes in Paris in 1776³⁶.

In England, the foundations of a new style were laid by Stephen Switzer and Batty Langley. Switzer proposed combining formal arrangements with the 'naturalness' of serpentine paths, and he put examples of this type of solutions in the three-volume work entitled *Ichnographia rustica; or, The nobleman, gentleman, and gardener's recreation [...] (1715)*³⁷ (Fig. 3). Langley reflected his thoughts in his works: *A Sure Method of Improving Estates [...] (1728)* and *New Principles of Gardening (1728)* (Fig. 4). In the designs of both authors on the canvas of the axial and symmetric layout, appeared irregular labyrinths and bosquets of a tangled network of paths and other so-called-wilderness³⁸ (Fig. 5).

Western theoretical thought, as well as examples of realised gardens, were known to both designers and principals of Polish gardens. This fact can be evidenced not only by examples of foreign publications appearing in the inventories of the palace libraries or marks of French inspirations visible in the projects of Polish

³⁴ M. WOODS, op. cit., p. 160.

³⁵ *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, pp. 154-156.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ S. SWITZER, *Ichnographia rustica [...]*, vol. 1-2, London 1715-1718.

³⁸ P. HOBHOUSE, op. cit., p. 209. The first gardens inspired by new ideas of 'naturalness' began to be created in England in the 1720s. Garden designer Charles Bridgeman (1690-1738) designed the garden at Claremont in Surrey for the Prince of Newcastle and the garden in Kensington. The identification of Rococo gardens in England gives gardeners many difficulties. The influence of the Rococo, so strong on the continent, in many areas of English art remained unnoticeable or insignificant, and the formal architecture that emerged during this period seems to be untouched by it (sometimes Rococo influences are visible in interior decorations). The most expressive manifestations of this style are visible in garden art. The hard opponents of the Baroque gardens was poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744). In his garden at Twickenham, located on the bank of the Thames, he combined formal elements, like symmetrically distributed trees and classicistic architectural elements in the centre with freely shaped and irregularly circumferential parts, v.: M. SYMES, op. cit., pp. 5, 9; D. LI-CHACZOW, op. cit., p. 29.

gardens³⁹. The influence of the foreign dissertations is visible in Polish works such as treaties and pattern books concerning gardening and garden art; however, they usually remained in the form of manuscripts. French inspirations, especially the tendency to introduce irregular and asymmetrical solutions, is particularly visible in garden designs housed in a Polish garden pattern book of unspecified authorship (the original in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow)⁴⁰ (Fig. 5, 6).

Due to the fact that by the end of the eighteenth century, gardening practice in Poland was far ahead of theory, Rococo motifs should be sought rather among realized gardens and their projects than at the theoretical level.

Many gardens with the Rococo features in Poland arose during the Wettin rule, and especially during the reign of Augustus III in the years 1733-1763. These creations were, on the one hand, an expression of new aesthetics and a new lifestyle, and on the other hand, imported fashion. While the Baroque tradition was still alive, the Rococo forms were used interchangeably with the Baroque costume.

Particularly noteworthy are especially projects related to the patronage of the first minister Heinrich von Brühl (1700-1763). Rococo features can be found in several of his gardens. The Brühl garden at Nowy Świat in Warsaw was established in the years 1747-1750. The designers were Joachim Daniel von Jauch, Johann Friedrich Knöbel and Carl Friedrich Pöppelmann⁴¹. The first design was probably made by C.F. Pöppelmann⁴². The next concept was developed by J.D. von Jauch and J.F. Knöbel⁴³ (Fig. 7). Finally, Brühl chose a version similar to the Knöbel's project created in the years 1754-1758⁴⁴.

³⁹ Making the design of parterres for Nieborów S. G. Zug was probably inspired by the project of J.-F. Blondel, v.: IDEM, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance* [...], vol. 2, Paris 1738, pl. 8, p. 10; cf: S.G. ZUG, ca 1774, The project of transforming the garden in Nieborów (fragment 'under the sheet'), Muzeum w Nieborowie i Arkadii, ref. NB5596. On the other hand Carl Georg Knackfuss, used the design of Blonder's parterre for the garden in Rozkosz, v.: T. BERNATOWICZ, *Abrysy i planty ogrodnika warszawskiego Carla Georga Knackfuss*, [in:] *Arx Felicitatis. Księga ku czci profesora Andrzeja Rottermunda w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin od przyjaciół, kolegów i współpracowników*, ed. M. Dłutek, Warszawa 2001, pp. 414-416.

⁴⁰ Numerous designs of garden parterres by Dezallier d'Argenville can be found in this work.

⁴¹ A. DIETRICH, *...von denen schönen Gärten, Barocke Gartenkunst in Polen und Sachsen 1697-1763*, Dresden 1997, p. 50.

⁴² K.F. PÖPPELMAN, *Plan of the H. Brühl's residence in Warsaw, 1747*, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, ref. Schr. VII, F. 91, Nr 17a

⁴³ J. PUTKOWSKA, *Warszawskie rezydencje na przedmieściach i pod miastem w XVI-XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2016, p. 154.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, pp. 158-159.

In addition to the unusual layout of the residence, which was not built in the classical layout of *entre cour et jardin*, but at the end of the parcel near the edge of the Vistula embankment. The attention draws the arrangement of individual parts of the garden. It began with a gate from the side of Nowy Świat street, behind which was a linden alley leading to an oval courtyard, surrounded by two symmetrically placed pavilions. The garden consisted of utility and ornamental parts.

The kitchen garden was divided into regular quarters occupied by a vegetable garden and orchard. The decorative garden was located at the end of the parcel, on the edge of the escarpment⁴⁵. Decorative elements in the form of an oval *boulingrin* and an octagonal bosquet (*bosquet quinconce*) were also introduced in the vegetable garden. Individual parts were separated by trimmed hedgerows. The front part of the palace was decorated with two symmetrical quarter-circular *boulingrins* highlighted by trees.

Noteworthy is the way of arranging the bosquets, which were cut by the straight and winding paths characteristic of the Rococo gardens. They were leading to the cabinets, places for games and leisure. Behind the palace, there was a small garden salon decorated with four *parterres en gazon*, behind which there was a semicircular viewing terrace with descents in the form of ramps. In one of the cabinet in the northern part of the garden, there probably was a merry-go-round, on the opposite side in the southern part—a rectangular *bosquet a la quinconces*.

The implementation of the garden according to Knöbel's⁴⁶ concept is confirmed by the Plan of Warsaw by Pierre R. de Tirregaille from 1762. Famous architect and garden designer Simon Gottlieb Zug described it as follows: "The garden set up in the suburb of Nowy Świat by the departed Countess de Brühl, is decorated quite well in the manner that prevailed at that time; however, it has beautiful shady walkways [...]. Its beautiful location and expanse would make it a wonderful public park if it was not closed because there are many fruit trees in it, the benefits of which the owner wants to gain"⁴⁷.

A much more extensive Rococo composition had another of the Brühl's gardens. In the years 1750-1752, Count Brühl erected a wooden summer palace in the Wola district of Warsaw. The palace was surrounded by a garden. As in the case of the garden at Nowy Świat, the concept of the garden was made by C.F. Pöp-

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 155.

⁴⁶ J.F. KNÖBEL, *Plan of the Brühl's garden at Nowy Świat in Warsaw, 1754-1758*, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, ref. Schr. VII, F. 91, Nr 17c.

⁴⁷ Sz.B. ZUG, *Ogrody w Warszawie*, cit. after: J. PUTKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 156-158.

pelmann⁴⁸ and J.F. Knöbel. It was created after 1753 according to the design of Knöbel⁴⁹. The residence had a classic *entre cour et jardin* layout with a courtyard and a forecourt⁵⁰.

The garden extending behind the palace was divided, similar to the garden at Nowy Świat, into regular quarters. The main axis was accented by a wide avenue. The garden opened with a pair of large, *parterres en gazon* with cabochon motifs (similar parterres were designed by Pöppelmann for the Royal Garden in Grodno) and two smaller ones arranged symmetrically on both sides. The main parterres were surrounded by trellis bowers (*berceaux*).

They were decorated with kiosks in their middle parts and at the ends. The palace side axis was accentuated by two small, semi-circular 'garden saloons' decorated with *parterres en gazon*. They were adjacent to the bosquets. Noteworthy is the complex of bosquets, which were founded symmetrically on both sides of the avenue on the axis of the palace. Although the composition of the garden was based on a clear, geometric division, the wavy alleys inside of the bosquets, irregular and asymmetrical green cabinets formed a sophisticated Rococo arrangement that penetrated and disrupted the geometrized Baroque structure.

The south-western part of the garden was occupied by a large kitchen garden. Due to the irregular shape of the parcel, in the opposite part of the garden only a narrow strip of vegetable beds was located, behind which was the double row alley ended with a garden pavilion (Fig. 8).

Among the interesting, though unrealized, Rococo concepts was the garden design for the main Brühl residence in Warsaw⁵¹. The project from 1761, the author of which could be the construction manager J.J. Jauch⁵², assumed to recompose the existing Baroque, fan-shaped composition into a Rococo arrangement with the richness of forms and spatial elements.

⁴⁸ Original in the collection of the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, ref. Schr. VII, F. 91, Nr 2d.

⁴⁹ A. DIETRICH, op. cit., p. 55; Two identical versions of the garden plan have been preserved. One of it with the handwritten initials of Brühl is in the collection of Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, ref. Schr. VII, F. 91, Nr 2de, second one at Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, Oddział na Wawelu, sign. AK. Pot. 3141.

⁵⁰ W. FIJAŁKOWSKI, *Zapomniane ogrody barokowej Warszawy*, [in:] *Pałac w ogrodzie. Materiały sesji naukowej Warszawa, 21-22 maja 1998*, ed. B. Wierzbicka, Warszawa 1999, p. 136.

⁵¹ *Project of the Brühl's Palace in Warsaw*, unknown author, 1761, photo in the collection of Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa. This project has been published by G. Ciołek, v.: IDEM, *Ogrody polskie*, p. 96.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 95.

Brühl bought the Sanguszko Palace (the former Lubomirski Palace) which was adjacent to Saxon Garden, in 1750. The reconstruction of the palace was commissioned to Johann Christoph Knöffel⁵³, while the garden behind the palace was designed by J.D. Jauch from around 1752⁵⁴. In front of the palace, a narrow, triangular courtyard surrounded by two long outbuildings was shaped. Behind the palace, a semicircular place was created, constituting a point of intersection of seven axes defining the route of roads that divided the space into eight quarters. Behind them, there were six further quarters, occupied by bosquets. The four larger ones were additionally divided by roads and contained round cabinets⁵⁵ (Fig. 9).

The project from 1761 assumed a transformation transparent Baroque composition into a rather irregular and complicated layout of interiors connected by a network of straight and wavy alleys. There was supposed to be a wide avenue crossing the 'garden saloon' on the main axis of the palace—it ending with an oval square at the western boundary of the plot. Radiant alleys connecting individual parts of the garden departed from this square. The original garden salon in scratch framed the two sinuously bent bowers, ended with kiosks.

The area of formal garden was occupied by a two large, *parterres en borderie* with interesting, Rococo decor. Two smaller parterres, decorated with a palmette motif, were located on the side axes designated by the wings of the palace. The rest of the garden was occupied by green saloons and cabinets hidden in the labyrinth of the sheared walls of the bosquets. The South bower was extended towards the West, creating a horseshoe border of the adjacent bosquet. In its interior, a round hall was to be found. Individual halls and cabinets contained gazebos, niches for benches and decorative lawns. Along the border with the Saxon Garden was a wavy path connecting the south-western part of the garden with a small, formal garden in the vicinity of the palace (Fig. 10).

The garden consists of a series of independent interiors enclosed by the walls of the bosquets, which, like the architectural interiors, could only be seen when they were within them. The whole garden was elusive from the eyes from the garden level. The introduction to a relatively small area a dense network of roads gave the impression of a larger space and enabled a wide selection of diverse walking routes.

⁵³ H. MAGIRIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁵⁴ A. DIETRICH, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵⁵ M. KWIATKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 19-20.

The above concept was not implemented. On the basis of the Plan of Warsaw⁵⁶ by Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille from 1762, it can be concluded that the garden was realized in a different, more conservative form. According to this composition, an extended formal garden, composed of three pairs of parterres as well as utility garden were created, which was divided by aisles into triangular quarters. Although the Rococo influences are visible in the arrangement and decoration of the parterres, the whole composition presents quite a conventional arrangement (Fig. 11).

Among the Brühl's residences, an important place was occupied by the property in Brody (German: Pforthen), erected according to the design of J.Ch. Knöffel. Although this residence was built outside the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in Lower Lusatia (which from 1635 was the Saxon fief), but due to the owner and the designer who were associated with the works in Poland⁵⁷, it is an important object in the study on the garden art of the times of the Polish-Saxon Union.

Before the estate was acquired by Brühl, it belonged to the Promnitz family, then it passed into the hands of the Watzdorfs. At the time of Friedrich Karl von Watzdorf⁵⁸, the residence was transformed according to the French fashion. The remains of the former defence system were liquidated, giving the whole the typical *entre cour et jardin* layout. The former Promnitz garden was rearranged in the Rococo style⁵⁹ (Fig. 12).

Count Brühl commissioned the reconstruction of the residence (including also the town development regulations) to Knöffel, who probably collaborated with

⁵⁶ P. RICAUD DE TIRREGAILLE, *Plan de Varsovie dédié à S.M. Auguste III roi de Pologne, électeur de Saxe etc., levé par ordre de S.E.M. le comte Bielinski, grand maréchal de la couronne, par M.P. Ricaud de Tirregaille, lieut.colonel et ingénieur au service du roi et de la république*, Warszawa 1762.

⁵⁷ The author of the garden in Brody J.Ch. Knöffel is mentioned as an author of couple projects in Poland. The first of them was an unrealised project of reconstruction of the Augustus II residence in Kargowa. The name of the architect is also connected by some researchers with the project of the extension of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, v.: J. ŚWIERZEWSKA, *Urban layout of Brody, residence of Henryk Brühl according to the design of Johann Christoph Knöffel*, master thesis, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Faculty of Humanities, Lublin 2010, p. 9. According to H. Magirius, Knöffel also worked for Brühl during the reconstruction of the Sanguszko Palace in Warsaw, v.: IDEM, *Architektura barokowa w Dreźnie w epoce Augustów*, [in:] *Pod jedną koroną – kultura i sztuka w czasach unii polsko-saskiej*, Warszawa 1997, p. 192.

⁵⁸ P. KOTLEWSKI, *Z historii Brodów i okolic*, Brody-Obernhof (Lahn) 2009, p. 46.

⁵⁹ Ibidem.

Knöbel working on the garden design. The works lasted from 1741-1749⁶⁰. A valuable source of information about the gardens is attributed to Knöffel development plan of the town and garden from around 1741⁶¹.

It is interesting to note that the architect replaced irregular alleys inside the bosquets with a more conventional, Baroque composition (Fig. 13). Probably, such solutions were considered to be more appropriate to the formalized garden of the count, in which the king and other noble guests were to be guests. This may explain the stylistic choice that was made in Brody. Based on the analysis of the composition of the gardens that were created at other Brühl residences, one can infer the interchangeability of the stylistic forms, i.e., the Baroque and Rococo, which were adjusted to the object's rank as well as client's requirements and tastes.

Other Rococo creations are associated with the figure of Adam Poniński. The prince possessed, among others property in the village Górcze. 'Plan of the Garden in Górcze' by Adam Olendzki from 1772 has been preserved in the collections of the Warsaw University Library (Fig. 14). It shows both the regular parts of the existing garden and a newly designed part-an irregular part in the form of a 'wilderness' (pl. wild promenade). The garden located behind the main residential building was led by an alley founded on the axis of the villa. The regular garden consisted of four longitudinal quarters. Further on both sides of the alley, there were another two longitudinal, semi-circular ended quarters, reaching to the edge of the pond. The formal garden was surrounded by quarters occupied probably by bosquets.

These bosquets were crossed by wavy alleys, in places irregularly expanding, creating places with also irregularly shaped lawns. From the East, the garden was limited by a simple fence, and from the West by a canal which led out from the pond, ending with a rectangular basin. Behind the channel overspread a vast 'wilderness' beginning with an irregular path with little lawns, analogous to those found in the bosquets. The rich layout of paths and diverse types of plants in the 'wild promenade' takes here the form of a landscape style composition⁶².

According to the description written by Zug, there was an island on the pond with an artificial rock, connected to the mainland by a wooden bridge. At the foot of the rock there were cellars and at its top, a Chinese pavilion. It was possible to

⁶⁰ J. ŚWIERZEWSKA, op. cit., pp. 56-56, 73; J. SEEGER, H.E. KUBACH, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Sorau und der Stadt Forst*, Berlin 1939, p. 351.

⁶¹ Archiwum Państwowe w Zielonej Górze, J.Ch. Knöffel (?), *Wielka Własność Ziemska w Brodach i Zastekach*, ca 1740, sign. 19122.

⁶² J. PUTKOWSKA, op. cit., pp. 453-456.

get to the pavilion via the spiral stairs⁶³. A very similar concept by J.Ch. Kamsetzer is associated by researchers with the gardens of Łazienki or Jabłonna (Fig. 15). In addition, a pavilion in the form of a haystack was erected in the garden by the forest, in which a 'comfortable room' lit up from the top was arranged. In the glades among the 'wilderness', numerous games were organized⁶⁴. Prince Adam Poniński had also the villa at Fawory in Warsaw⁶⁵. It was a residence with a summer villa and garden. This suburban villa in the type of *maison de plaisance* was erected according to the design of Efraim Schröger in 1775⁶⁶. The garden was established on a narrow, longitudinal parcel located at Żyzna street. Its spatial layout presents a project from 1772 preserved in the collections of the Warsaw University Library (Fig. 16).

This garden called 'Sans Gêne' was surrounded by a fence with two gates and two guardhouses. Next, there were two identical, symmetrically erected outbuildings closing the courtyard. The manor was a six-sided shape with three wings attached to it. Behind the palace, on the main axis, an elongated formal garden with a decorative lawn with canals and a pond were created. The most interesting element was the bosquet established at the end of the garden. There were hidden rooms and cabinets, which were connected by sophisticated twisted alleys. In one of the rooms on the main axis, a round basin was created. Water from the basin ran down through a cascade to the lower pool. There were also pavilions and benches arranged in the green room and by the paths. Small bosquets with cabinets were also established next to the manor⁶⁷. Both the semi-circular formal garden and the pool were framed by bowers. The description of the garden was included, by Swiss scholar and philosopher Johann III Bernoulli to report from his journey to Poland⁶⁸.

⁶³ M. KWIATKOWSKI, op. cit., p. 103, Zug's description corresponds to the design of the pavilion with a Chinese pavilion by J.Ch. Kamsetzer (ca1785), associated with the garden in Jabłonna of Primate Michał Poniatowski or with Łazienki (Royal Baths) in Warsaw, the original in the collection Warsaw University Library, inv. no. G.R.281 (Zb. Jeż. 173).

⁶⁴ S.G. ZUG, *Opisanie ogrodów Warszawy*, cit. after: J. PUTKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 456.

⁶⁵ Fawory – from the second half of the seventeenth century, the name of the village of Polików (Polków), which is the area of the present Żoliborz district in Warsaw.

⁶⁶ S. LORENTZ, *Efraim Szreger architekt polski XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1986, p. 181, cf: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, vol. 1, ed. W. Zawadzki, Warszawa 1963, p. 901.

⁶⁷ S. LORENTZ, op. cit., pp. 181-182; J. PUTKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 449.

⁶⁸ According to Bernoulli's description, underneath the palace, below the ground level, there was an artificial cave with two rooms, one of them was decorated with 'expensive shells and sea plants' and had a baths. Above the grotto was a round room decorated with painted landscapes and cut tree trunks, giving the impression of a grove. Above one of the two rooms was a bedroom in the shape of a Turkish tent, over the next one "all lined with mirrors, which were decorated with leaves

Poniński used his estates at Fawory and in Górcze (and also in Młociny, which he bought from the Brühl family) commercially, organizing numerous parties, balls and picnics in them. These events were widely available and enjoyed great popularity⁶⁹. From all of the Poniński's estates, the 'Sans Gêne' was considered to be the most beautiful, while the residence in Górcze was the most popular among the citizens of Warsaw who looked for entertainment outside the city⁷⁰. The gardens at both villas had a regular layout with sophisticated peripheral parts. They were distinguished by a small scale and a less formal character, which favoured the use of new-fashioned Rococo style. One of the most impressive Rococo concepts was associated with the creation of a royal residence in Ujazdów. The newly elected King Stanisław II Augustus, just as his predecessors, had at his disposal royal apartments at the Royal Castle, but he did not have his own residence, suitable for the majesty of the monarch. Compared to Augustus III, Stanisław had less abilities to realize such an affair, but he surpassed his predecessor in terms of ambitions and needs. In 1764, he bought with his own funds Ujazdów Castle along with the Belvedere Palace and the areas in Solec.

The king chose Ujazdów Castle for his headquarters. The vast area bordered on the North with Kałużczyn, on the East with Solec, and on the West with Wola. This area enabled the creation of a residence surpassing the scale and program of the former Wettin's estate. The Vasa's castle with the Baths of Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, the remains of a park and garden designed by Tylman van Gameren, the Royal Canal dug by Augustus II and the regular garden of Count Brühl were to be incorporated and recomposed forming a new royal residence⁷¹.

Along with the expansion of the Ujazdów Castle, the access roads linking the residence with the city were regulated, including the Ujazdowska Avenue. At the intersection of the alley, round squares were created (in 1769 a square called Rozdróż was paved). The concept of the layout included existing roads and avenues, which were supplemented with new routes and planted with trees. This symmetrical composition is illustrated by the so-called Plan from Jabłonna (Fig. 21). It presents an extensive spatial layout that meets the requirements of a Baroque composition that also includes a rich Rococo program. In front of the Castle, a long avenue led straight towards the courtyard, the centre of which was occupied by an

and protected by painted green gratings". The palace was surrounded by a colonnade and a small but carefully maintained garden, v.: J. BERNOULLI, *Podróż po Polsce, 1778*, [in:] *Polska stanisławowska*, pp. 385-386.

⁶⁹ J. PUTKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 447.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 453.

⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 194.

oval basin with waterworks. The continuation of the main axis behind the castle was the Grand Canal beginning with a rectangular basin. The regular ornamental garden was designed on the North side of the castle. This Rococo arrangement consisted of wavy roads connecting green halls. At the foot of the escarpment, the quarters determined by the layout of the existing and planned alleys were also intended for planting with dense hedges covering many squares and green cabinets. Their elements were connected by wavy paths in a typical Rococo convention⁷². The garden presented a very similar layout to the arrangements that Charles Bridgeman designed in England in the 1830s (Fig. 17).

The project maintains the existing water systems and layout implemented by Tylman van Gameren. The Wilanów Road crosswise to the main axis was strongly emphasized. It was also planned to erect new facilities such as: a garden theatre, a brickyard and a royal farm. This project, despite several difficulties resulting from the terrain, was successively implemented. The earliest implemented part was the quarters of the residential district in front of the castle (they were completed in the years 1766-1768). In 1773, the roads were already marked out and planted with limes and chestnut trees. The works were supervised by Fryderyk Moszyński⁷³, who combined with some other researchers in the authorship of the 'Plan from Jabłonna' (Fig. 18). The main works in the garden were conducted in the years 1766-1770. Based on the later measurements⁷⁴, it can be stated that the king managed to introduce, at least in outline, the basic elements of the layout (some of the project's ideas were rejected).

Established from 1771 the gardens in Warsaw were created in accordance with the new landscape concept. Probably this fact and the high costs of the realization forced the king to withdraw from full implementation of the plan. In the end, Stanisław resigned from further work on transforming the surroundings of the Ujazdów Castle and handed it over to the city⁷⁵. The King focused on the Łazienki Palace (The Royal Baths), which he decided to use as a summer palace in 1772. Among the residences located outside the capital, the Rococo costume also gained the garden in Puławy. It was one of the most important headquarters of Elżbieta Sieniawska, which she inherited after the death of her father, Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, in 1702. Four years later, the residence was burnt by the Swedes as

⁷² Ibidem, pp. 198-200.

⁷³ Ibidem, pp. 202-203.

⁷⁴ *Planta Łazienek Królewskich z przyległościami wymierzona geometrycznie przez Imci Panów Kadetów w roku 1787*, original lost, negative in the collection of the PAN Institute of Art. This plan has been published by J. Putkowska, v.: EADEM, op. cit., p. 209.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, pp. 203-208.

revenge by Charles XII on Sieniawski, a supporter of Augustus II⁷⁶. The first Baroque garden was established there in the 1670s. Its authorship is attributed to Tylman van Gameren, who made the project for the palace (erected in 1671-1677)⁷⁷.

The residence was rebuilt after the damage done by the Swedes. The works were continued by Elżbieta's daughter Zofia, who in 1729 attempted to reconstruction according to the plan by Johann Sigmund Deybel. Works in the garden began in 1731. At that time, the new parterres were established, the hedgerows and espaliers were maintained, the orchard was established as well as new buildings erected next to the palace. The garden had a regular, Baroque layout, although there were no clear messages about its form.

The concept of the garden was presented in the model made by Franciszek Mayer in 1735⁷⁸. From the 1730s to the 1770s, the composition of the garden was based on two perpendicular axes. The garden from this period is now known mainly from the reconstruction by Gerard Ciołek, who made it on the basis of a non-existent plan from the collections of the Zamoyski's Library in Warsaw⁷⁹. Along the main axis he created the main access road, the gate, two courtyards, the palace's body and terraces on the slope of the Vistula embankment. The main ornamental garden was located on the transverse axis, at the south-eastern side of the palace. The formal garden surrounded by a wall was divided into regular quarters occupied by parterres and bosquets. The lower garden, located at the foot of the escarpment, formed a complex of quarters occupied by the bosquets, there was a circular square at the roads crossings and a semi-circular basin on the main axis of the palace (Fig.19).

In 1754 this garden was already neglected, and another attempt at restoration was made by August and Zofia Czartoryski in the 1970s. The modernization was

⁷⁶ R. NESTOROW, op. cit., p. 183.

⁷⁷ S. MOSSAKOWSKI, op. cit., p. 53; *Rewaloryzacja zespołu pałacowo-ogrodowego z okresu działalności księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej, Ogród Puławski*, Nr 5, ed. G. Hołubowicz-Kliza, Puławy 2006, p. 11.

⁷⁸ This plan has been published by Irena Malinowska. v.: EADEM, *Przebudowa pałacu w Puławach przez architekta Jana Zygmunta Deybla*, [in:] *Teka Konserwatorska*, Nr 5: *Puławy*, ed. S. Lorentz, Warszawa 1962, p. 37, fig. 24, original in collection of The State Hermitage Museum in Petersburg, a collection of interior drawings of J.A. Meissonier.

⁷⁹ G. Ciołek reconstructed the plan of Puławy residence according to the previous perspective drawing, which he made based on the plan of residence from the Library of Zamoyski Ordinances in Warsaw (reference number 150.598.IV), which was burnt in the shelter in the Krasieński Library during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, v.: IDEM, *Nieznaný plan rezydencji puławskiej*, [in:] *Teka Konserwatorska*, Nr 5, *Puławy*, p. 59.

based on an anonymous plan – 'Plan von Pulaw'⁸⁰ from 1770 (Fig. 21), as well as an earlier project from 1760 ('General Plan de Pulaw')⁸¹ signed by J.Z. Deybel (the younger)⁸² (Fig. 20).

In the 1770s, the garden in Puławy maintained its regular form, gaining a full program of a Baroque garden with the Rococo decorations. Individual parts of the garden have also received a more autonomous character, and the whole garden has been extended with new utility gardens. The regular arrangement of quarters with a similar area was replaced with a composition consisting of more diverse and internally divided elements. The formal garden consisted of four longitudinal *parterre en broderie* and two smaller ones ('beveled' by the rounding crown of the escarpment). The parterres were adjoined by a group of bosquets, which included *bosquets marmanteaux* and *bosquets quinconces*. There was a garden theatre in the largest of them.

The individual elements of the garden were related to each other both in terms of composition and functionality by a system of ramps and stairs. The so-called Roman Gate connecting ornamental and kitchen gardens and the ramp stairs leading from the formal garden to the lower garden. In the place of the natural ravine, the English stairs were created connecting the side farmyard with a utilitarian garden in the lower garden. In addition, new pavilions were erected, the Pink Arbor, semi-open pavilion with colonnade and Chinese Pavilion.

Around 1770, the 'wilderness' was established at the southern end of the garden⁸³. In its layout, both linear elements (for example triple avenue in the type of *patte d'oie*) and winding, Rococo paths connecting squares and garden follies are visible⁸⁴. Later, the garden in Puławy was transformed into a landscape garden by Izabela Czartoryska. From 1785, this residence became the headquarters of the Duchess and her husband Adam Czartoryski⁸⁵.

A representative example of a Rococo garden was established in Terespol (Fig. 22). This estate belonged to Pocij family, and at the end of the century, it passed into the hands of Słuszka. At that time, it received the name Terespol in

⁸⁰ Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, *Plan von Pulaw*, ca 1770, sign. Rr 1814.

⁸¹ Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, *General Plan de Pulaw*, 1760, J. Deybel (jr.), sign. Rr 477.

⁸² Apart from a few new details and the Rococo design of the parterres, the plan from 1770 precisely repeats the concept from 1760. According to M. Lisowska and R. Stańczyk, confirmation of the implementation of the above concept are the elements of the system preserved to this day and archaeological research, v.: *Rewaloryzacja zespołu pałacowo-ogrodowego*, pp. 12-13.

⁸³ *Rewaloryzacja zespołu pałacowo-ogrodowego*, op. cit., p. 13.

⁸⁴ Elements of Rococo compositions can also be found in the garden in Międzyrzec Podlaski. Sieniawska inherited the estate after Opaliński in 1705, v.: R. NESTOROW, op. cit., p. 185.

⁸⁵ *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, p. 265.

honor of Teresa Gosiewska. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, the residence along with other Pocięj's properties was purchased by Jan Jerzy Flemming, who made it his main residence. The preserved plan of the palace and its surroundings comes from this period⁸⁶. This axial, asymmetrical garden was surrounded by a canal modelled on the Dutch Baroque gardens⁸⁷. In the nearest neighbourhood of the palace, two *parterres en gazon* (*parterres à l'angloise*) were established (marked on the plan quite schematically). Behind them, two longitudinal, separated by a narrow channel (?) bosquets were designed, covering wavy paths and numerous, small garden cabinets. At the end of the bosquets on the left was a square green hall connected to many small cabinets. Similarly, on the opposite side of the channel there was the bosquet a smaller *bosquet quinconces* inside⁸⁸. Next, there was another elongated bosquet with five, small, asymmetrically arranged cabinets joined by wavy paths. Two vegetable beds and an impressive utility garden consisting of eight quarters located around a square basin adjoined the bosquets.

In the garden, there were also farm buildings, cold frames, greenhouses and asparagus beds. The palace and garden were devastated during the Bar Confederation, and later the garden was transformed as well⁸⁹. The stage of the garden from the middle of the eighteenth century presents the asymmetrical layout with the original characteristics for the Rococo composition. The Rococo tendency to fragmentation and complexity of the form is visible especially in the arrangement of bosquets.

Interesting Rococo gardens were also created in Wolbórz, Laszki Murowane or Otwock Wielki. A garden of Jan Mikołaj Chodkiewicz in Młynów in Volhynia also had Rococo features. The knowledge of Polish gardens of the Baroque and Rococo period is supplemented by a set of plans from the Radziwiłł's collection in Nieśwież (Nesvizh), found in St. Petersburg. Especially the gardens in Rozkosz and Lipiczna by Carl Georg Knackfuss which stand out among the Rococo garden projects⁹⁰.

⁸⁶ BCzart., National Museum in Cracow, *Plan zespołu pałacowo-ogrodowego w Terespolu, pol. XVIII w.*, tef. No. MNK-XV-Rr.2353.

⁸⁷ *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, p. 164.

⁸⁸ Such a solution is known, e.g., from the Paris garden of 'Hermitage' of the Marquise de Pompadour, cf: *Plan de l'Ermitage et des jardins de madame de Pompadour à Versailles*, Wersal, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, ref. No. INV Dessins 685; MV7290.

⁸⁹ *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, p. 164.

⁹⁰ The designer and his works was presented by Tadeusz Bernatowicz in his research, v.: IDEM, *Abrysy i plany ogrodnika warszawskiego Carla Georga Knackfuss, [in:] Arx Felicitatis. Księga ku czci profesora Andrzeja Rottermunda w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin od przyjaciół, kolegów i współpracowników*, ed. M. Dłutek, Warszawa 2001, pp. 411-423.

As in the case of Louis XV gardens, the Polish garden was shaped by the new consciousness, sensualism and, above all, fashion. The changes that have occurred in the garden art since the 90s of the seventeenth century corresponded to the evolution of palace interiors, from monumental to cosy. Following the spatial conception of the palace, the garden was at the same time a model reflecting the philosophical and artistic climate of the era. Eighteenth-century gardens only seemingly reflected the Cartesian concept of the *universum*. In the composition of the garden, the change of scale expressed new awareness and a new attitude to nature. Rococo gardens present a completely different concept of the order and proportion⁹¹.

The Rococo was shaped first of all in France, from where it was transferred to Central Europe. It developed mainly in Germany and Poland, where the French influence was particularly strong. The modelling effect of France during the times of the king, John III Sobieski was noticed by Forst de Battaglia: “Versailles became for him a *le château enchanté* (an enchanted castle). French customs and education were for him the ideal of human perfection, and the art of war and the legal order of the French state—a model of perfection”⁹².

French concepts of interior design spread in Poland during the reign of Augustus II, and especially Augustus III. They consisted mainly in raising the splendour of the apartments intended for the royal ceremonials⁹³. The same tendencies can be observed in the way of arranging gardens.

It is characteristic that Rococo creations were created mostly in less formal, satellite residences. In the case of headquarters or those of a representative character, rather a more conventional Baroque style was chosen. This tendency is visible in the case of the Brühl’s residence—in both the residence adjacent to the Royal Palace in Warsaw and visited by the King residence in Brody, a formal Baroque style dominated. In the remaining less formal, supporting residences, innovative, freer Rococo solutions were chosen.

In other European countries, for example in Spain, Portugal or Italy, the Rococo style was limited to individual elements of decor and motifs in the garden decoration. In Italy, the Rococo garden was designed by Roman architect Giovanni

⁹¹ A. LEWICKA-MORAWSKA, J. MROZEK, op. cit., p. 316.

⁹² O. FORST DE BATTAGLIA, *Jean Sobieski, König von Polen*, Zurich 1946, p. 14, after: J. BORM, *Zainteresowanie Polską i Litwą w epoce nowożytnej – opinie Pierre’a des Noyers i Jean-Hrançois Regnarda na temat Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów*, [in:] *Rzeczpospolita w oczach podróżników z Francji i Niemiec*, ed. A. Mikołajewska, W. Zientara, Warszawa 2014, p. 35.

⁹³ R. NESTOROW, *Pro domo et nomine suo*, Warszawa 2016, p. 213.

Ruggeri by at the castle in Brignano d'Adda (now Castello Visconti)⁹⁴. In 1721, a Rococo-style garden at Villa Valguarnera was built in Bagheria near Palermo⁹⁵.

Rococo motifs did not arouse much interest on the Iberian Peninsula, where Baroque forms prevailed. In Spain, the gimps of this style can be found in the garden of La Granja de San Ildefonso. New-style gardens were created mainly in the province of Galicia, where the garden of Pazo de Oca near Santiago de Compostela was laid. In the Royal Gardens of Queluz, Portugal, the formal layout of the garden was accentuated with Rococo figures and fountains of playing children, monkeys, dogs and sphinxes⁹⁶.

In England, a few gardens received Rococo features, but these were also quickly transformed under the influence of the landscape style. Interesting examples of English Rococo creations were the gardens at Bramham Park and Marston, Hushmells, Castle Howard and Chiswick. The last one belonged to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington (about 1716, the garden was worked by Charles Bridgeman)⁹⁷.

According to May Woods, one of the reasons for the reluctance to use Rococo in England was the fact that this style had no intellectual message that would integrate the diverse, visual aspects of the garden into a whole. At the same time, the author supposes that the lack of Rococo's intellectual authority contributed to the

⁹⁴ M. WOODS, op. cit., p. 193.

⁹⁵ This residence was built by Pietro Valguarner, and the author of the project was one of the most famous architects of that time, Tommaso Maria Napoli, v.: S. DI MATTEO, *Storia della Sicilia. Dalla preistoria ai nostri giorni*, Palermo 2006, p. 324.

⁹⁶ M. WOODS, op. cit., pp. 204-205. In the garden sculpture created in different parts of Europe, the same themes appeared. The Baroque gods of war were driven by pastoral and naturalistic mythology. The gardens were decorated with sculptures of Ceres and Pomona, Diana and hunters, Bacchus, Satyrs and Flora, personifications of the seasons, shepherds, children, gardeners, peasants, people playing, as well as *amorini* motifs (playful cupids and putti), ibidem, p. 167, cf: M. SYMES, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

⁹⁷ M. WOODS, op. cit., pp. 143, 166; P. HOBHOUSE, op. cit., p. 208. The views of several Rococo gardens were illustrated by Jan Kip (in cooperation with Leonard Knijff) in the *Britannia Illustrata [...] (1707-1709)*, as well as in the *Vitruvius Britannicus [...] (1715-1725)* by Colen Campbell. Valuable source of information about Rococo gardens in England are drawings made by Thomas Robins. His most interesting illustrations include two views of Woodside in Old Windsor, Berkshire (ca 1750). Robins also made illustrations of Pan's Lodge in Coldbourne Grove, Gloucestershire. In 1748, he illustrated the garden at Painswick near Stroud, Gloucestershire and Hampton Court House, located opposite Hampton Court Palace, v.: M. SYMES, op. cit., pp. 36, 69-72, cf: C. CAMPBELL, *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British architect, containing the plans, elevations, and sections of the regular buildings, both public and private in Great Britain, with variety of new designs, written by Colen Campbell*, vol. 4, London 1739, pp. 69-70.

popularity of this style on the mainland Europe. It enabled the conflict-free combination of elements from different areas and traditions, such as *chinoiseries*.

The impressive Rococo gardens were created in German countries. The garden of Weikersheim from around 1710 is one of the most interesting gardens created in this period. From the years 1700-1780 comes the garden in Veitshöchheim and about 1740 the garden of margrave Wilhelmina von Bayreuth in Sanspareil was established. From about 1774, other interesting gardens were created in Würzburg⁹⁸. The glimpses of Rococo also occurred in the imperial residence of Schönbrunn near Vienna in Austria. This palace and garden, modelled after the Versailles, was erected in the years 1685-1700. The author of the garden design was an architect Johann Ferdinand Hetzendorf von Hohenberg (1733-1816)⁹⁹.

The Rococo gardens have been divested of Baroque monumentalism and lofty rhetoric. The new society focused on intimate parties and carefree pleasures. In the innermost corners of the garden, in the cabinets hidden in the thicket of bosquets, take place the coquettish games and amorous meetings. Garden sculpture, architecture, as well as vegetation was deprived of its previous narration and symbolism. The golden fruits of citrus trees—a symbol of Baroque splendour has been reduced to the role of theatrical decoration. The overgrown bosquets, the ruined architecture, as well as the acceptance of the ruin (constituting a denial of classical beauty), as an element of the gardens, heralded the triumph of the English concept of 'picturesque'.

Rococo was often perceived by art critics as a 'feminine' style (opposing sublime and serious art—and therefore 'masculine'). The 'masculine' Baroque was characterized by predictability and conformism and was intended to encourage emotional reactions, while the Rococo culture sought pleasure and carefree¹⁰⁰.

As a style in the garden art Rococo was expressed primarily in an intricate, serpentine and spiral line, elaborate ornamentation, asymmetry, 'grateful disorder' as well as a specific mood, a sense of lightness and frolic.

⁹⁸ *Ogród. Forma – Symbol – Marzenie*, p. 153; M. WOODS, op. cit., p. 166, 194; Z. BANIA, *Barok i rokoko w Europie środkowo-wschodniej*, [in:] *Sztuka Świata*, vol. 7, Warszawa 2009, pp. 335, 337; M. CHARAGEAT, op. cit., p. 191. Rococo features appeared also in the garden in Schwetzingen. This magnificent palace and garden complex, located near Heidelberg, was built in 1753-1770. Rococo motifs are visible in several compositional elements, v.: L. MAJDECKI, *Historia ogrodów. Od starożytności do baroku*, vol. 1, Warszawa 2010, pp. 262-264; M. WOODS, op. cit., p. 193.

⁹⁹ L. MAJDECKI, op. cit., pp. 365-367.

¹⁰⁰ M. WOODS, op. cit., p. 159.

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THE STYLE OF 'REGULAR IRREGULARITIES' – ROCOCO GARDENS
AND THEIR RECEPTION IN POLISH GARDEN ART OF THE 18TH CENTURY

S u m m a r y

The stylish difference of the Rococo in the garden art is still the topic of the researchers' discussion. The Rococo, which was in opposition to the formal and rhetorical art of the Baroque, brought

a new value to the eighteenth-century gardens. This value was expressed primarily in the elements of the composition, asymmetry, irregularity, wavy line, fragmentation of form and ornamentation, as well as in relation to nature and specific mood.

France is considered to be the fatherland of the Rococo style, from where this new, light style has spread to other European countries. The dissemination of new ideas was favored by print theoretical dissertations and collections of projects. The works by authors such as L. Liger, J-F. Blondel, J-B-A. le Blond, F. de Cuvilliés, M-A. Laugier, G-L. Le Rouge, W. Chambers, S. Switzer and B. Langley enjoyed particular popularity.

Many impressive gardens with Rococo features were created especially in Germany and Poland. Their special flourishing in Poland fell on the times of the Polish-Saxon Union, and especially during the reign of Augustus III in the years 1733-1763.

Special attention should be paid to the projects related to the patronage of the first minister H. Brühl. Rococo features can be found in several of his gardens, such as garden at Nowy Świat in Warsaw, garden in Wola, the unfinished garden project for the former Sanguszko palace or a garden in Brody (Pforten). Rococo compositions were also created in the gardens of Prince Adam Poniński at Żyzna street in Warsaw and in Górcze. In 1966, the concept of a magnificent royal garden at the Ujazdów Castle was created. Noteworthy is also the arrangement of gardens in Puławy from the times of Zofia and August Czartoryski as well as Flemming in Terespol. The designers of many Polish gardens of that period were Saxon architects, such as: J.D. von Jauch, J.F. Knöbel, C.F. Pöppelmann, E. Schröger or J.Ch. Knöffel. From the 1770s, Rococo creations in Poland began to give way to landscape concepts.

Keywords: Rococo; Baroque; nature; gardens; Poland; Saxony.

STYL „REGULARNYCH NIEREGULARNOŚCI” – ROKOKOWE OGRODY I ICH RECEPCJA W POLSKIEJ SZTUCE OGRODOWEJ XVIII W.

Streszczenie

Odrębność stylowa rokoka w sztuce ogrodowej wciąż pozostaje tematem dyskusji badaczy. Stojące w opozycji do formalnej i retorycznej sztuki baroku rokoko wniosło do XVIII-wiecznych ogrodów nową jakość. Wyrażała się ona przede wszystkim w elementach kompozycji: asymetrii, nieregularności i falistej linii, rozdrobnieniu formy i ornamentyce, a także w zbliżeniu do natury oraz specyficznym nastroju.

Za ojczyznę rokoka uznaje się Francję, skąd moda na nowy, lekki styl rozprzestrzeniła się na inne kraje europejskie. Upowszechnianiu nowych wzorców sprzyjały ukazujące się drukiem rozprawy teoretyczne i zbiory projektów. Szczególną popularnością cieszyły się prace takich autorów, jak: L. Liger, J-F. Blondel, J-B-A. le Blond, F. de Cuvilliés, M-A. Laugier, G-L. Le Rouge, W. Chambers oraz S. Switzer i B. Langley.

Wiele okazałych ogrodów o cechach rokokowych powstało zwłaszcza w Niemczech i w Polsce. Ich szczególny rozkwit w Polsce przypada na czasy unii polsko-saskiej, a zwłaszcza w latach 1733-1763, za panowania Augusta III.

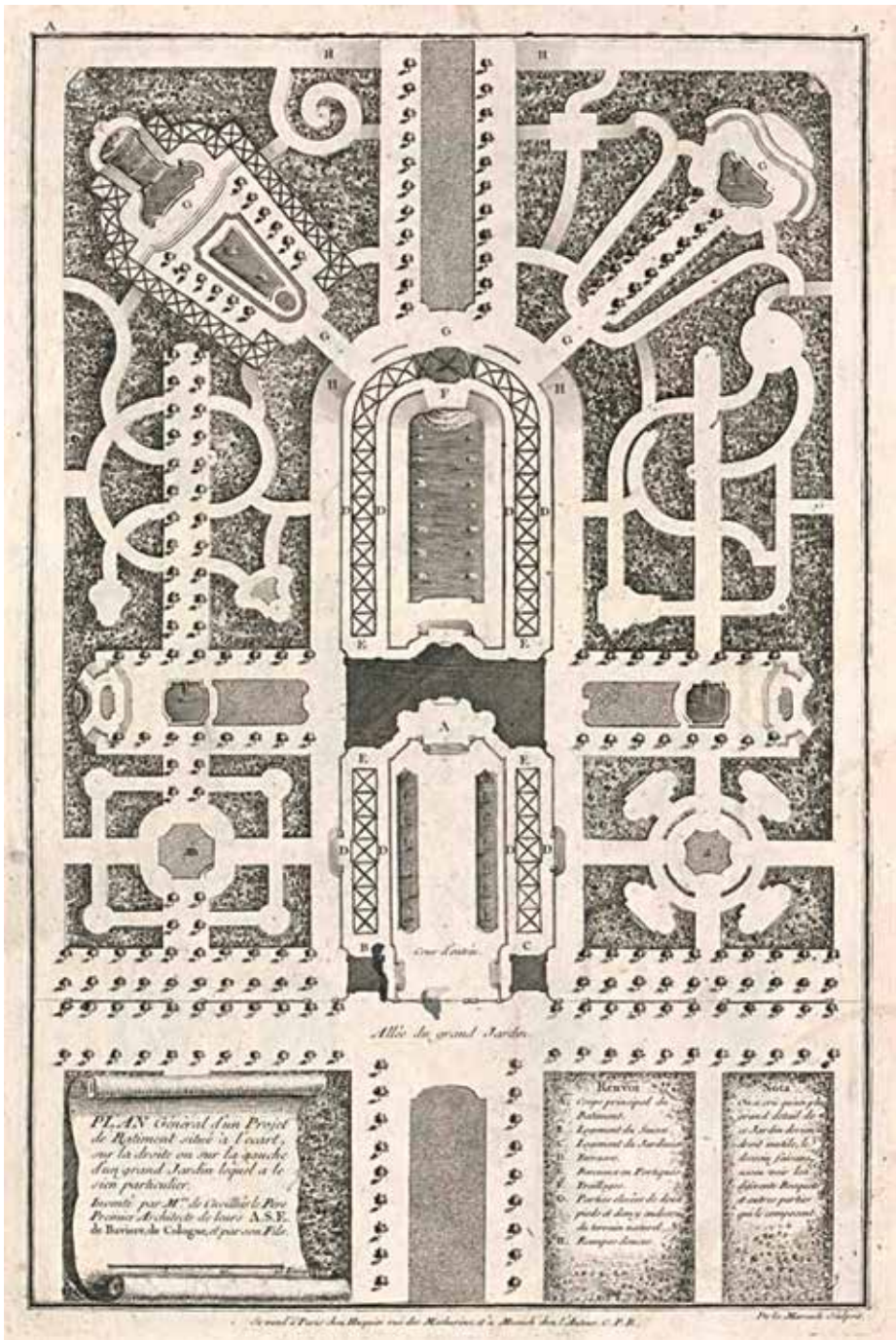
Na szczególną uwagę zasługują realizacje związane z mecenatem pierwszego ministra Henryka Brühla. Cech rokoka dopatrywać się można w kilku z nich, np.: w ogrodzie przy Nowym Świecie

w Warszawie, ogrodzie na Woli, w niezrealizowanym projekcie ogrodu przy dawnym pałacu Sanguszków czy ogrodu w Brodach (niem. Pforten). Rokokowe kompozycje powstały także w ogrodach księcia Adama Ponińskiego – przy ul. Żyznej w Warszawie i w Górcach. Około 1966 r. powstała koncepcja okazałego ogrodu królewskiego przy Zamku Ujazdowskim. Na uwagę zasługuje także aranżacja ogrodów w Puławach z czasów Zofii i Augusta Czartoryskich, a także Flemmingów w Terespolu. Projektantami wielu polskich ogrodów tego okresu byli architekci sascy, tacy jak: J.D. von Jauch, J.F. Knöbel, C.F. Pöppelmann, E. Schröger czy J.Ch. Knöffel. Od lat 70. XVIII wieku kreacje rokokowe w Polsce ustępować zaczęły koncepcjom krajobrazowym.

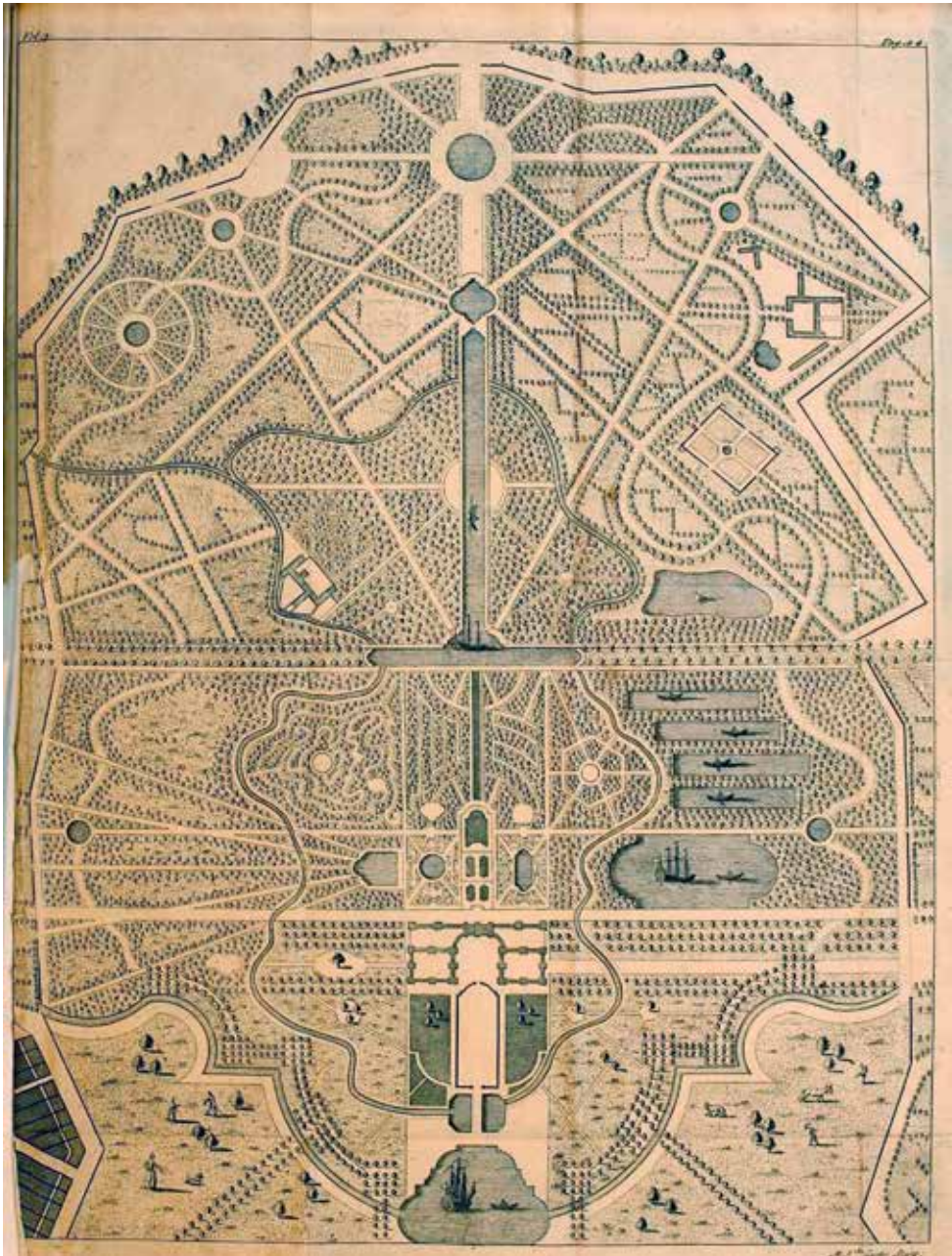
Słowa kluczowe: rokoko; barok, natura; ogrody; Polska, Saksonia.



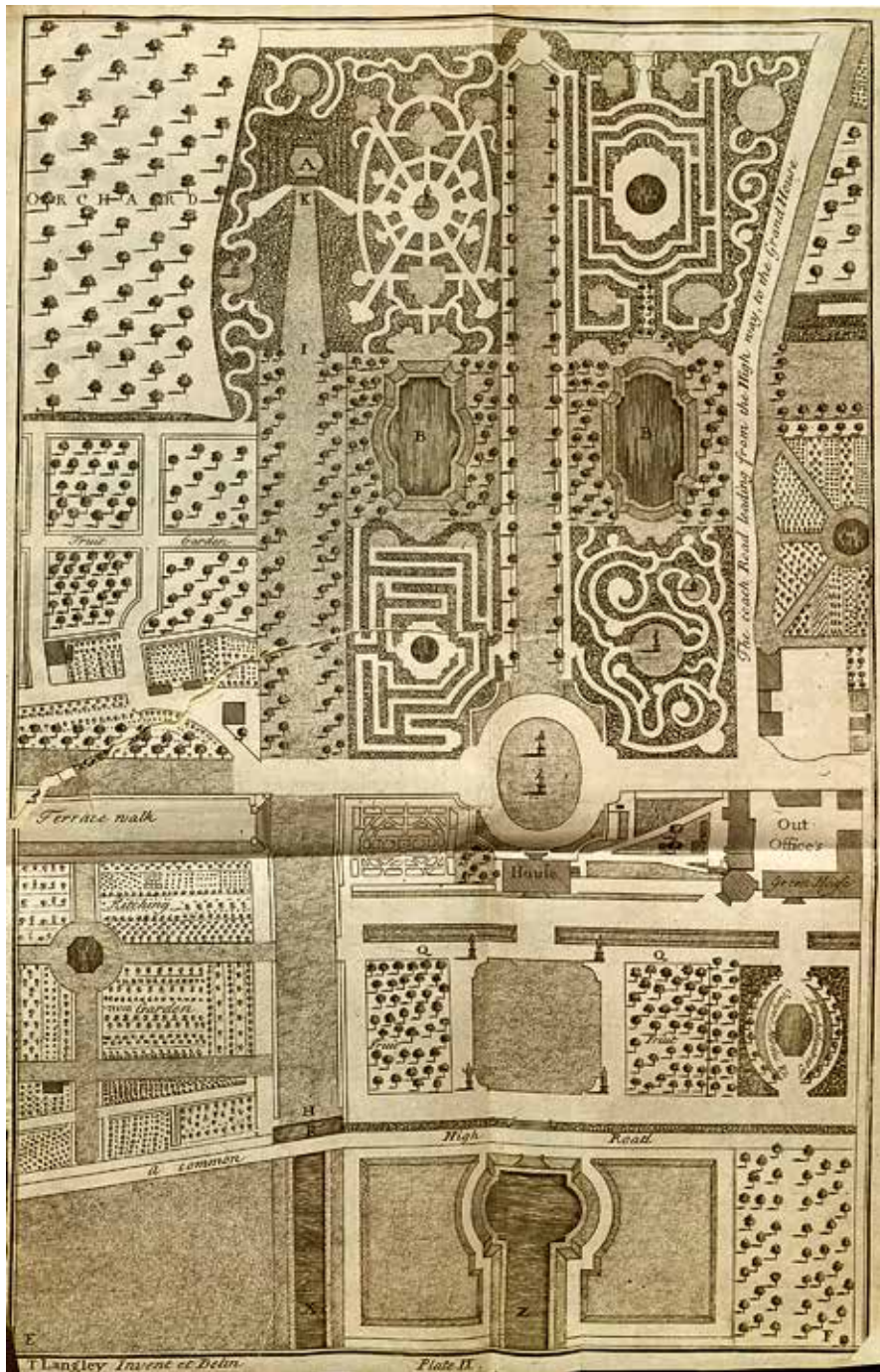
1. A Rococo vision of a fantastic garden, one of the designs of the *panneau* decoration from *Œuvres* by F. de Cuvilliers, Munich, ca 1772, s.p.



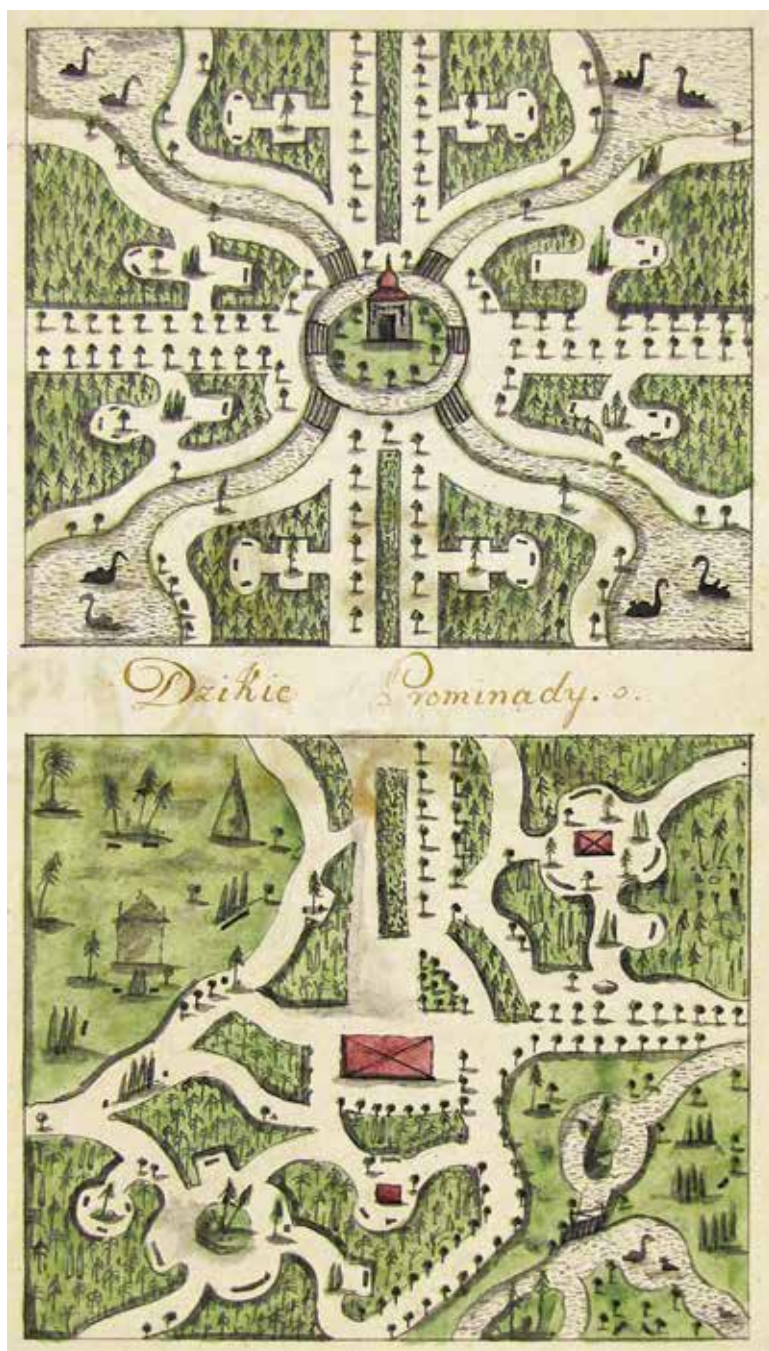
2. Design of the Rococo garden from *Oeuvres* by F. de Cuvilliers, Munich 1773, s.p.



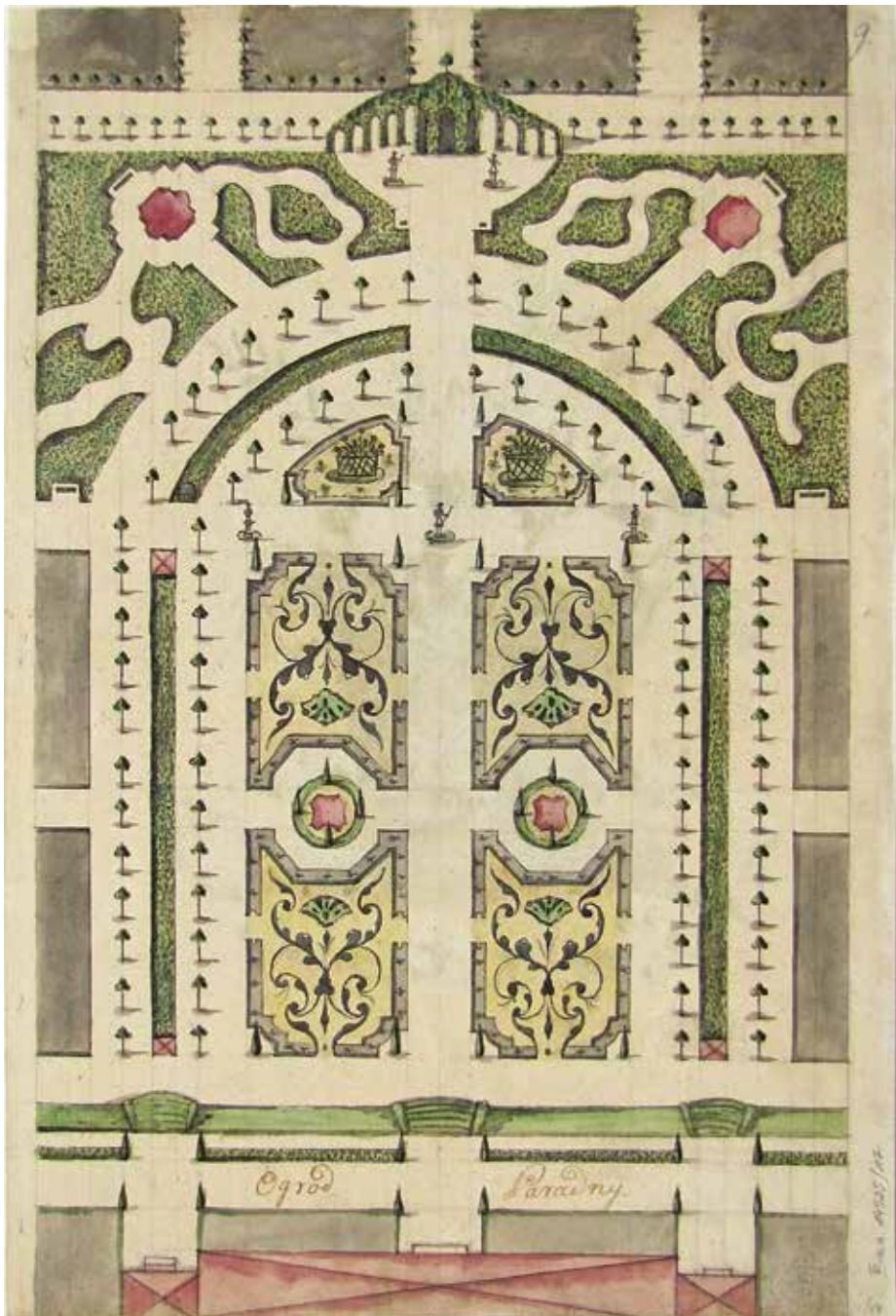
3. S. Switzer, Project of the ideal garden combining linear elements with 'wilderness', illustration from the *Ichnographia rustica* ..., vol. III, London 1718, p. 44/45



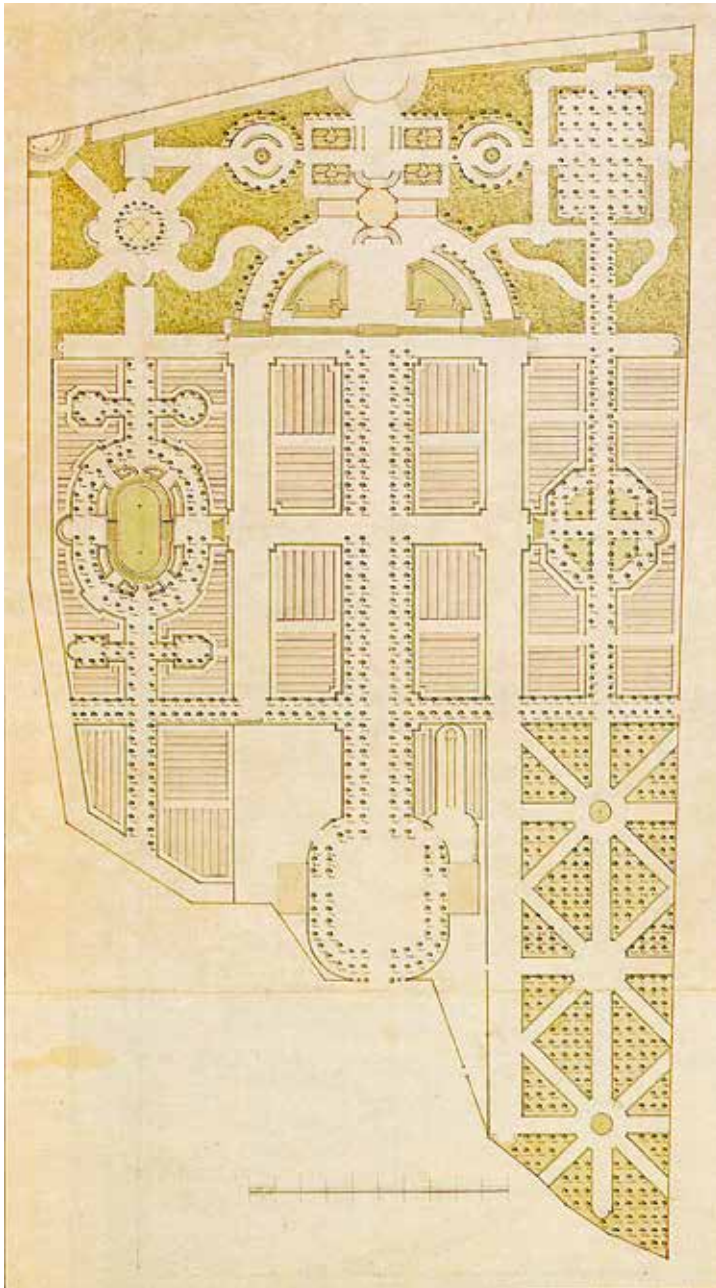
4. Garden design from B. Langley's *New principles of Gardening*, 1740, pl. IX



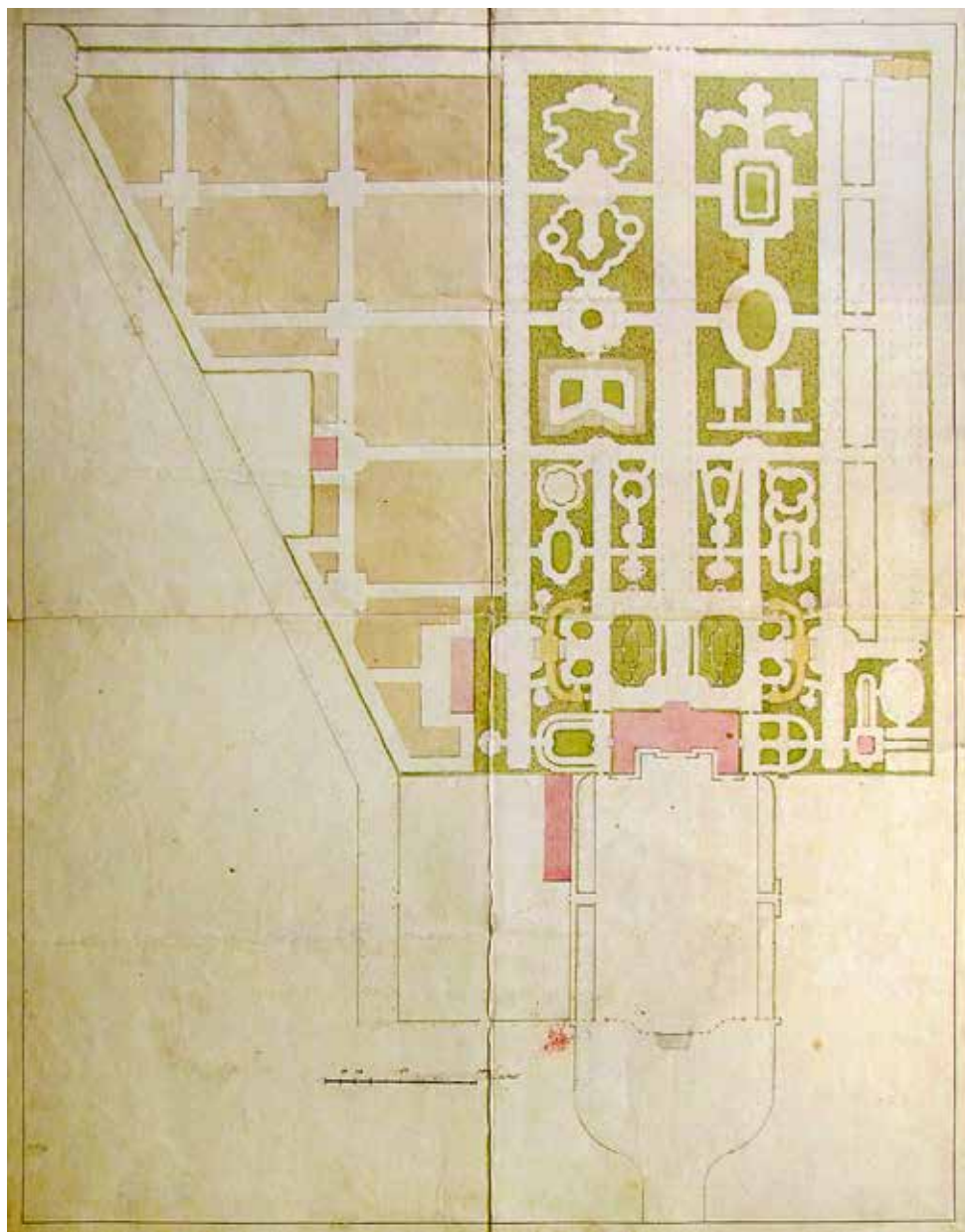
5. Examples of 'wilderness' in the Polish 18th century garden design book; National Museum in Cracow, inv. no. III-R.A. 14.525 / 1-4, pl. 22; photo by S. Malawski



6. 'The Elegant Garden' from the Polish garden design book, 18th c. manuscript; National Museum in Cracow, inv. no. III-R.A. 14.525 / 1-4, pl. 9; photo by S. Malawski

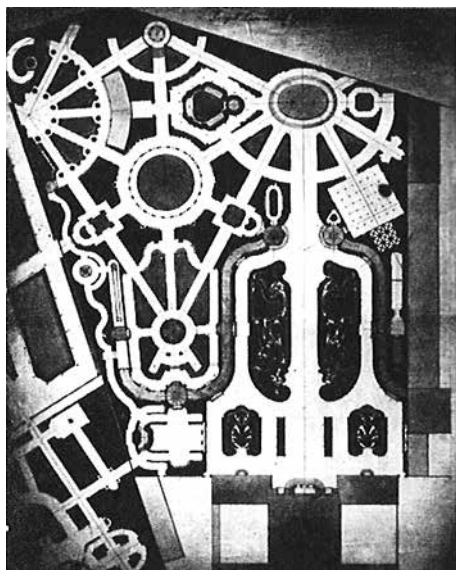


7. J.F. Knöbel, the Plan of the Brühl's Garden at Nowy Świat in Warsaw, 1754-1758; Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, inv. no. Schr. VII, F. 91, no. 17c; photo by Photographic workshop of the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden



8. J.F. Knöbel, the Plan of the Brühl's palace in Wola, Warsaw, ca 1750; National Archives in Cracow, Branch in Wawel, ref. no. AK.Pot. 3141; photo by S. Malawski

9. The Brühl's garden in Warsaw, fragment of the Situational Plan of the Saxon Palace in Warsaw, project by M.D. Pöppelman, Z. Longuelune and J.K. Naumann, after 1726; Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dreazono, inv. no. VII , 84, Nr. 11 b; photo by Photographic workshop of the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden



10. Garden design of the Brühl Palace in Warsaw, author unknown, 1761; repr. after: G. Ciołek, *Ogrody polskie*, Warsaw 1978, p. 96



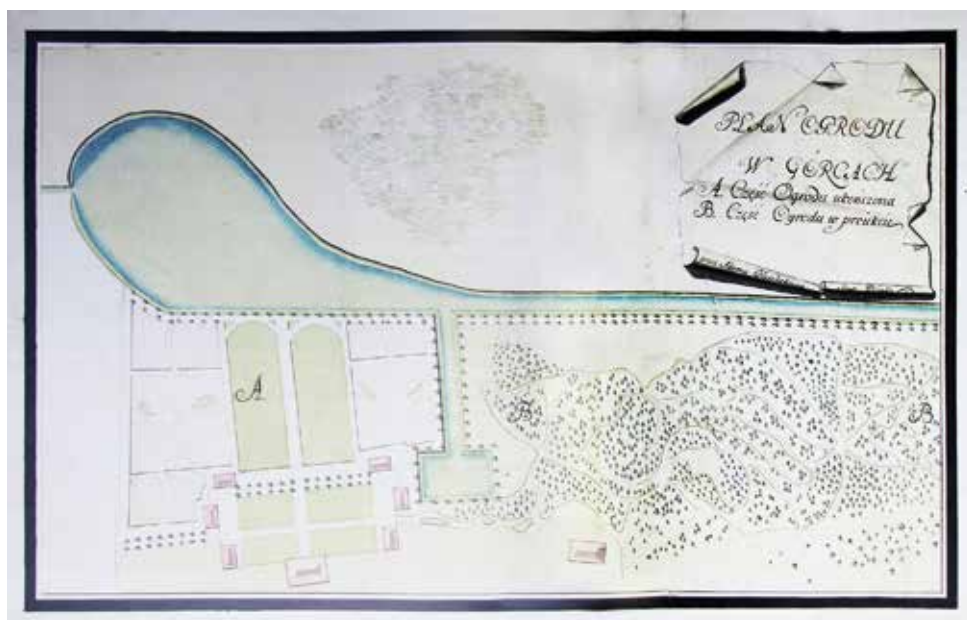
11. P. Ricaud de Tirregaille, The Plan of Warsaw, 1762 (fragment); National Library in Warsaw, inv. no. ZZK 36,590



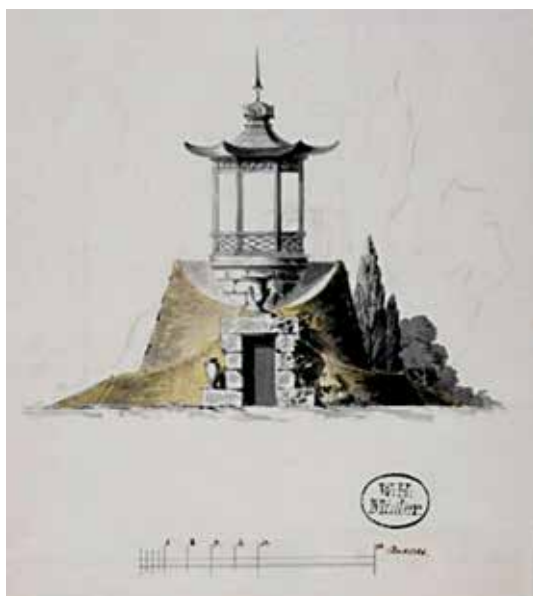
12. Ch.C. Franken, Brody. Plan of the town with a palace and garden, 1740, original unknown; repr. after: J. Seeger, H.E. Kubach, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Sorau und der Stadt Forst*, Berlin 1939; Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Cypriana Norwida w Zielonej Górze (en. Provincial and Municipal Cyprian Norwid Public Library in Zielona Góra), ref. no. Reg. III 50079, p. 337, fig. 411



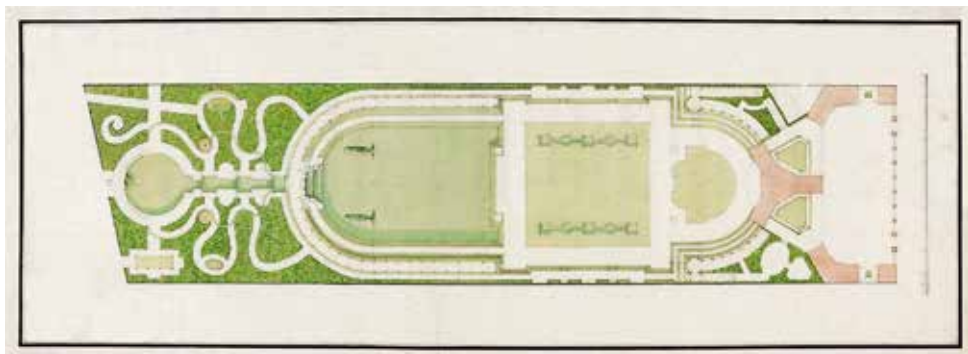
13. J.Ch. Knöffel (?), Plan of the garden in Brody (fragment), Great property in Brody, ca 1740; State Archives in Zielona Góra, with headquarters in Stary Kisielin, ref. no. 19122; photo by Photographic workshop of the State Archives in Zielona Góra



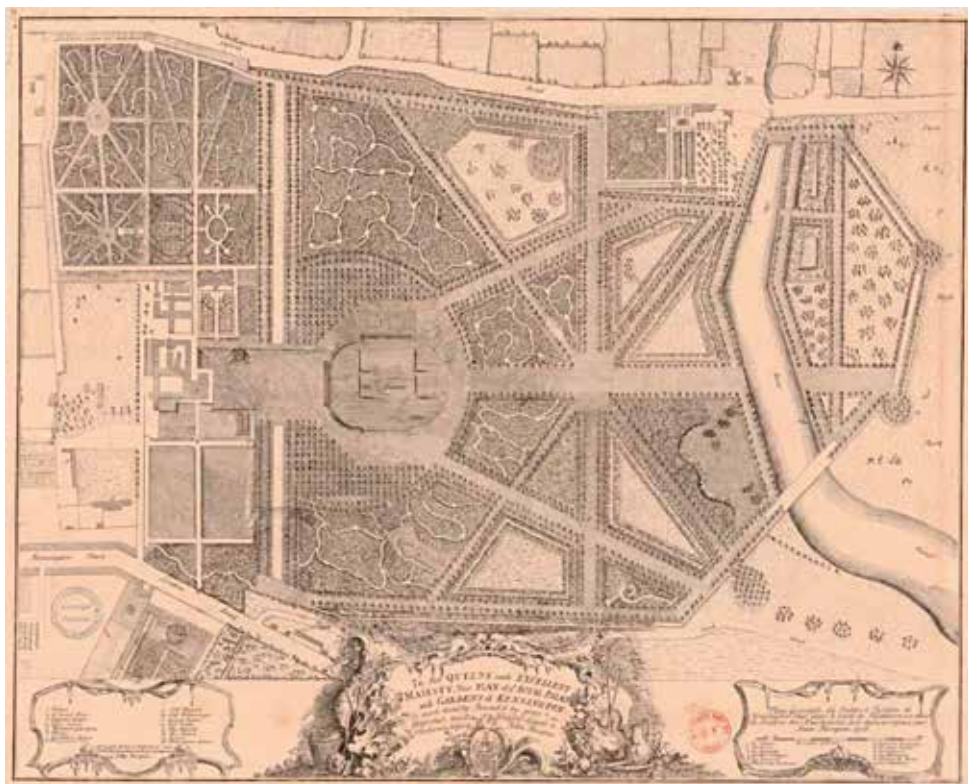
14. A. Olendzki, Plan of the garden in Górcze; orig. in the collection of Warsaw University Library, inv. no. Inw. Zb. D. 9133



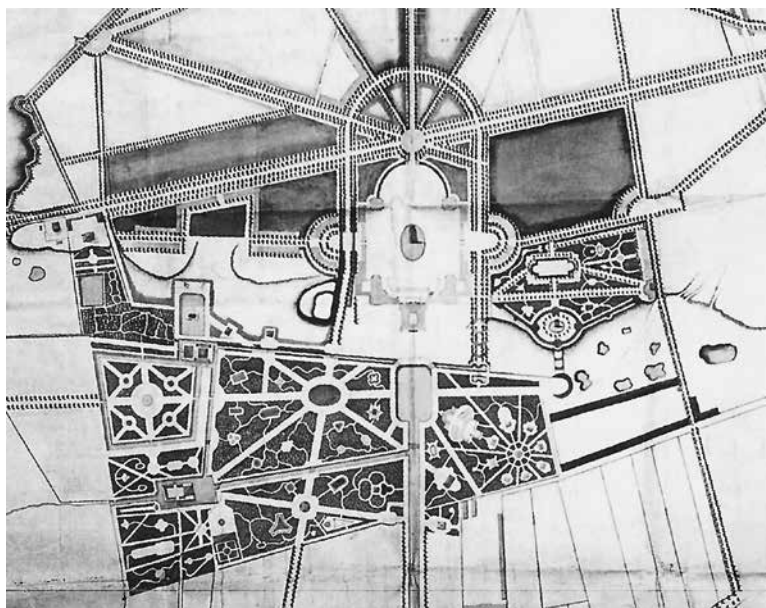
15. J.Ch. Kamsetzer (?), Design of a Chinese pavilion over a grotto; orig. in the collection of Warsaw University Library, inv. no. Inw. G.R. 281 (Zb. Hedgehog 173)



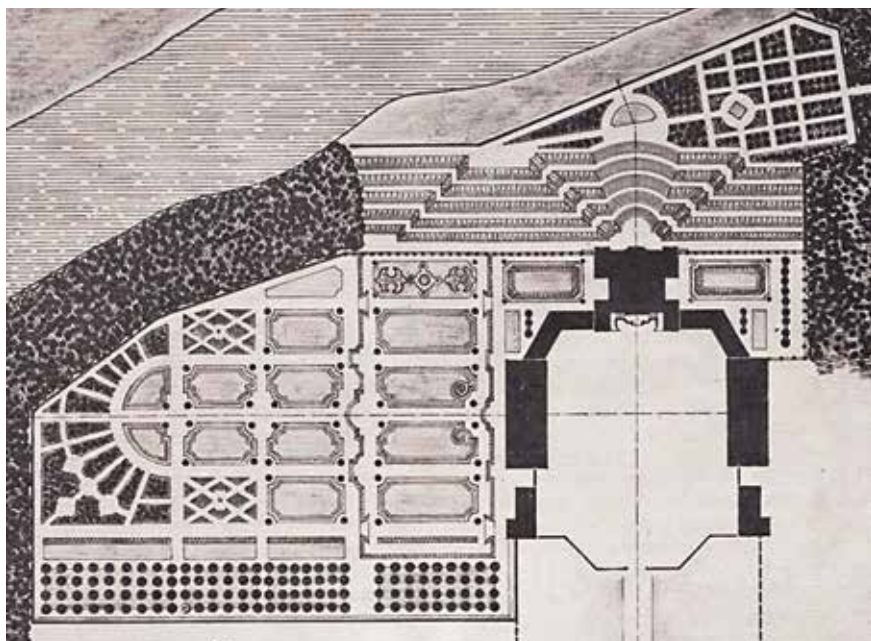
16. E. Schröger, Fawory, residence of Adam Poniński, 1772; orig. in the collections of Warsaw University Library, inv. no. Inw. G.R. 2516



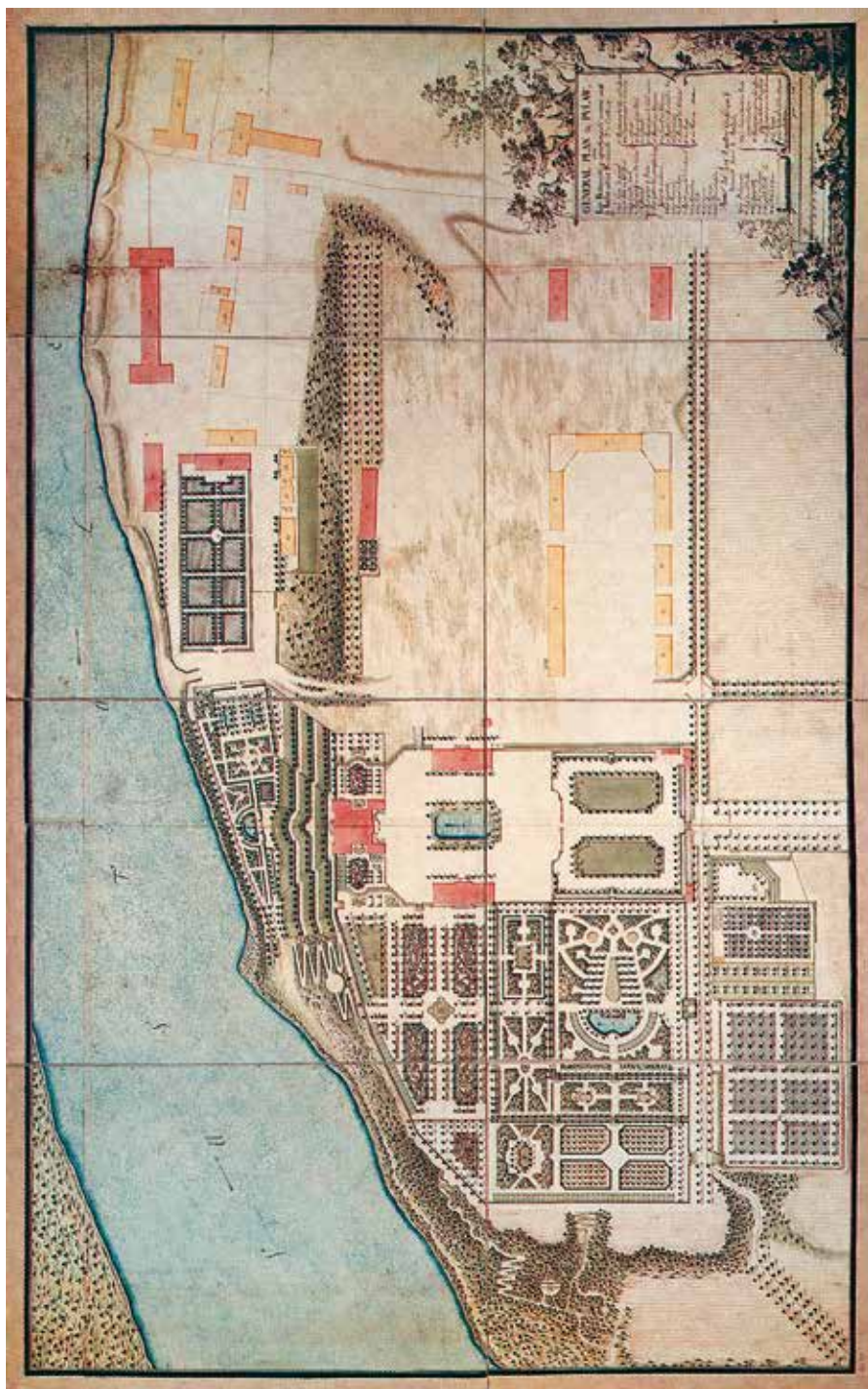
17. Plan of the Kensington Palace, J. Rocque (engraver), *Plan général du Palais & Jardins de Kensington situé dans le Conté de Middlesex à 2 miles de Londres / très exactement levé, dessiéé et gravé par Jean Rocque*, London 1736; Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, inv. no. GE DD-2987 (2229 B); photo by Photographic workshop of the Bibliothèque nationale de France



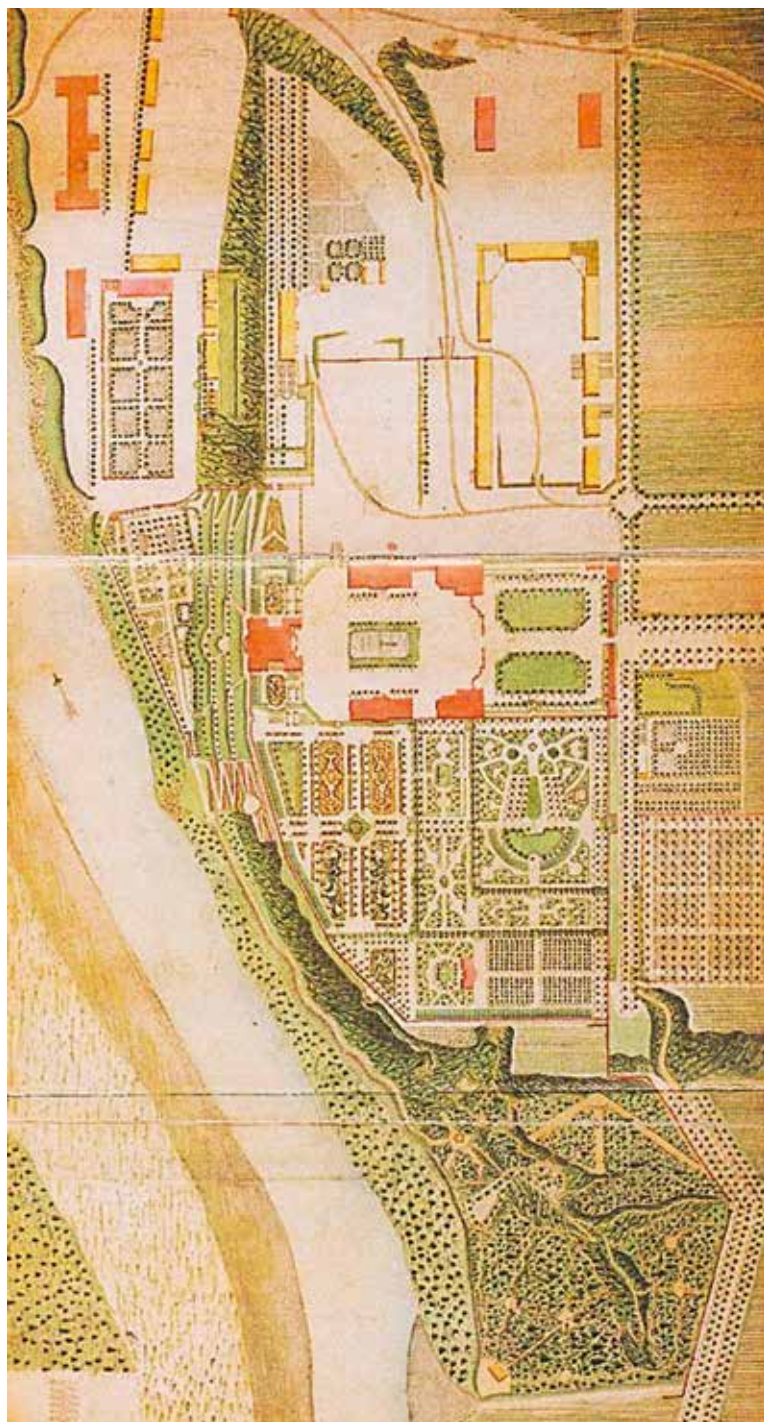
18. Anonymus, design of the royal residence in Ujazdów, 1766; orig. lost, negative in the collections of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of Art



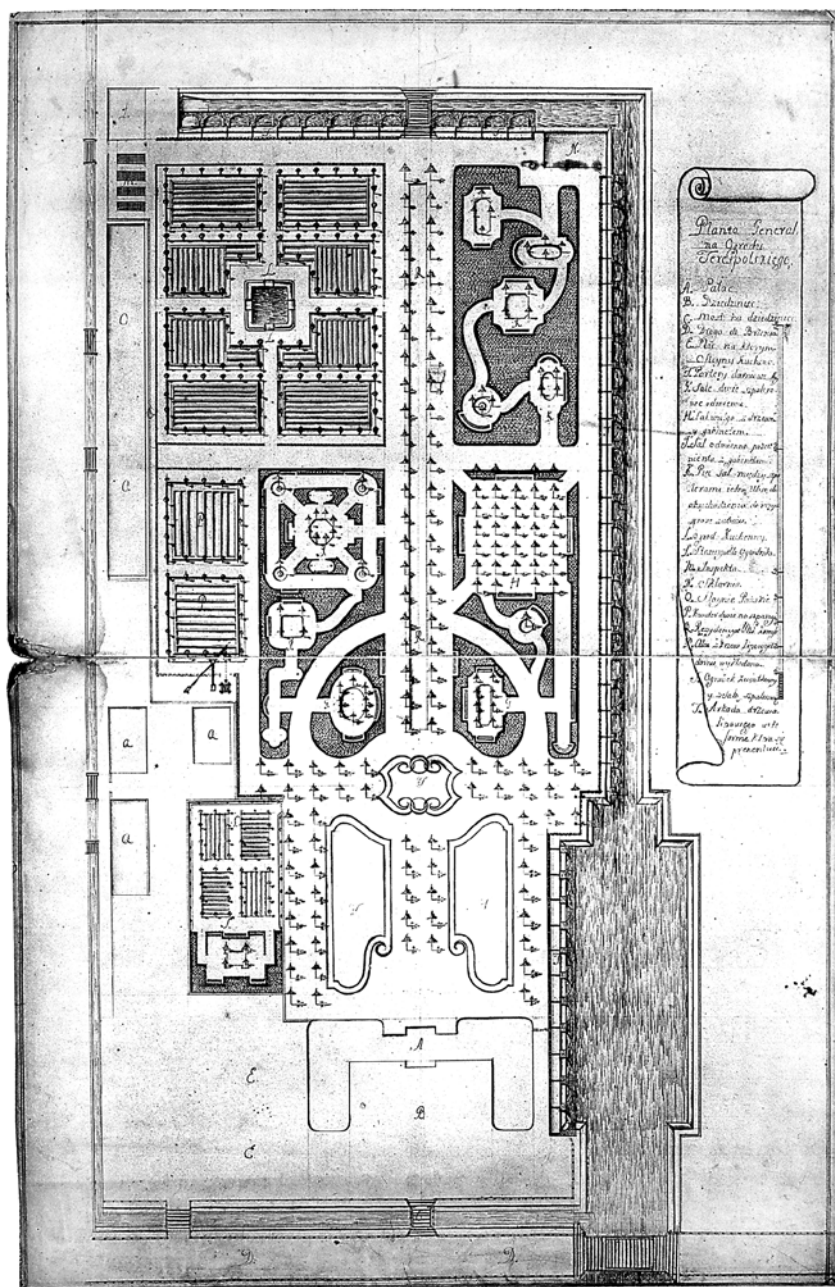
19. G. Ciołek, Reconstruction of the garden in Puławy, 1960; repr. after: G. Ciołek, *Nieznany plan rezydencji puławskiej*, p. 59, fig. 2



20. J.Z. Deybel, Plan of the Palace and Gardens (General Plan of Puławy), 1760, watercolor, quill in gray tone, ribbed paper; The Czartoryski Museum – National Museum in Cracow, inv. no.: MNK XV-Rr-477; photo by Photographic workshop of the National Museum in Cracow



21. Anonymus, Puławy, Plan of Lubomirski residence (later Czartoryski), 1770, watercolor, quill in gray tone, ribbed paper; The Czartoryski Museum – National Museum in Cracow, inv. no.: MNK XV-Rr.1814; photo by Photographic Studio of the National Museum in Cracow



22. Anonymous, Plan of the palace and garden in Terespol, mid-18th century, quill in gray tone on a pencil sketch, ribbed paper; The Czartoryski Museum – National Museum in Cracow, inv. no.: MNK XV-Rr.2353; photo by Photographic workshop of the National Museum in Cracow

