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## Mikołaj Rej's opinions about the Italian fashion for residential developments in Poland

In his *The Mirror* written between 1567 and 1568,<sup>1</sup> Rej referred to the transitions that were taking place in the field of modern residential architecture. In his work, he introduced information which concerned many spheres of the contemporary life, but tailored it in such a way that it befitted the aristocratic custom, by adapting it closely to the Polish reality. Without doubt, his outlook on the contemporary socio-economic phenomena constitutes „a real embodiment of the ‘new’ struggling with the ‘old’”.<sup>2</sup> The bearer of the *Oksza* coat of arms must have observed this lively movement in construction and other crafts very closely, which he manifested in his *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man*.<sup>3</sup> Rej's scepticism about the architectonic Renaissance in the region of Krakow that the writer voiced in *The Mirror*, resulted from the purpose of the work, which was to stigmatise the superfluity of a lazy and thoughtless life.

The residences which could be described as specifically „for show”, dictated by Italian fashion, took up substantial amounts of financial contributions, which limited resources allocated for the construction of strategically vital objects. Rej expected that the lack of military protection would provoke neighbours'

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<sup>1</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Żwierciadło albo kształt, w którym każdy stan snadnie się może swym sprawam, jako we zwierciadle, przypatrzeć*, oprac. Jan Czubek i Jan Łoś, wstęp Ignacy Chrzanowski, t. 1 and t. 2, AU, Kraków 1914 (all quotations are from this edition).

<sup>2</sup> Władysław Tomkiewicz, *Przełom renesansowy w świadomości ówczesnego społeczeństwa polskiego* [in:] *Pałace i wille podmiejskie Krakowa*. Materiały sesji naukowej odbytej 24 kwietnia 2004, pod red. Jana Mariana Małeckiego, Kraków 2007, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] Idem, *Żwierciadło... op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 206; see: Ibid., t. 2, pp. 100-101.

aggression (see: *The Short Speech*).<sup>4</sup> From this point of view, the writer's critique of the Polish architectonic extravaganza seems to be understandable. On the other hand, Rej's stance on the Italian fashion concerning villas appears to be somewhat puzzling in the light of his deliberation on the ideal of rural life. As a frequent guest to magnates' courts, the former royal courtier, and, most importantly, active reformer, Member of Parliament, nobleman and landowner, he must have been sufficiently knowledgeable about the contemporary types of residence, both the humble and „court-like” ones, as well as those which were most costly.

If Rej's dedications were true, it would mean that *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man*, if not the entire *The Mirror*, was written in the famous Renaissance estate of Wawrzyniec Spytek Jordan, situated outside Krakow. The third and last part of *Żywot* was concluded with a clever remark: „[...] All of these here books were written in [...] Mogilany, in the house of His Grace, Lord of Krakow, the known and sagacious Spytko of Melszyn, in the year of our Lord, 1576”.<sup>5</sup> Spytek Jordan accommodated Rej and many other eminent authors in his residence in Mogilany. Among his guests were such personae as Stanisław Orzechowski or Maciej Wirzbięta: „[...] – according to Lelewel *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man* was printed in the palace printing house established by Spytko”.<sup>6</sup> The bearer of the *Oksza* coat of arms also includes some other dedications to the illustrious personae of the contemporary Polish State in his work.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that Rej frequented not only Mogilany, but also other residences. The supposition that he modelled his descriptions on gardens that adjoined villas seems even more likely, when one reads that the author „undoubtedly knew Łobzów and Zwierzyniec as royal gardens”.<sup>8</sup>

The enquiry as to the inspiration which the writer could have drawn from the descriptions of Italian villas for his *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man* has to remain in the sphere of conjecture and speculation, as there are no sources available, Spytko Jordan's palace having been demolished between 1764 and 1796.<sup>9</sup> There has been preserved to this day „no documentation or iconography,

<sup>4</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Przemowa krótka do poćciwego Polaka stanu rycerskiego* [in:] *Ibid.*, t. 2, p. 336.

<sup>5</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Do ućciwego a bacznego Polaka* [in:] *Ibid.*, p. 385.

<sup>6</sup> Quote: Tadeusz Galarowski, *Mogilany*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1976, p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> See: Anna Kochan, „*Żwierciadło*” *Mikołaja Reja. Studium o utworze*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Wrocław 2003, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> Gerard Ciołek, *Ogrody polskie*, uzupeł. Janusz Bogdanowski, „Arkady”, Warszawa 1978, p. 260.

<sup>9</sup> *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, t. 1. *Województwo Krakowskie*, pod red. Jerzego Szablowskiego, z. 6. *Powiat Krakowski*, oprac. Józef Lepiarczyk, Instytut Sztuki Polskiej PAN, Warszawa 1951, p. 14.

which could indicate the appearance of Spytko's palace: There are only descriptions of the interior, resulting in the form of reports of vetting goods."<sup>10</sup> In any case, „no objects of residential architecture have remained intact” in Poland.<sup>11</sup> It is quite surprising that „gardens, which constituted but one element of the [architectural] wholeness, were identified most accurately”.<sup>12</sup> This fact seems to be non-accidental and significant for our old Polish tradition, which makes it worth researching. Wawrzyniec Spytek Jordan of Zakliczyn (bearer of the *Trąby* coat of arms) was a representative of an affluent family of the Jordans and an influential statesman, Voivode of Sandomierz and then Voivode and Castellan of Krakow. In *The Coat of Arms of the Polish Knighthood* Bartosz Paprocki writes that Spytek was: „a very wise senator, born lover of the country and protector of freedom [...]”.<sup>13</sup> Spytek Jordan was the owner of substantial wealth and an art-lover. In one word, he was the true master of the Renaissance.<sup>14</sup> The charm of Mogilany made him take a decision to settle there after he had acquired the grounds in 1560.<sup>15</sup> Since the 12<sup>th</sup> century Mogilany had been property of the duke, then the king, followed by the Cistercian Order from Ludźmierz. There was a saying that: „one who owns Chrobierz and Mogilany counts among the lords”.<sup>16</sup> The mentioned magnate residence of Spytek Jordan: „was to combine the features of an Italian villa (*villae suburbane*) with the building material which was widely used in Poland at the time, namely wood”.<sup>17</sup> The „term ‘villa’ itself refers, according to the definition of John Loudon from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to a relatively small [...] residential building surrounded by a garden. The relationship between a villa – a detached building – and a garden is a structural one”.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, technically, a villa without a garden would not be considered a villa.

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<sup>10</sup> Tadeusz Galarowski, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Teresa Jakimowicz *Rezydencja w Polsce w wieku XVI. Stan i potrzeby badań*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” t. XXIV (1979), z. 4, pp. 316-317.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 316-317.

<sup>13</sup> Quote: Tadeusz Galarowski, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> Adam Kamiński, *Jordan Spytek Wawrzyniec z Zakliczyna* [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, t. XI, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1964-1965, p. 282.

<sup>15</sup> Roman Marcinek and Zbigniew Myczkowski, *Ogród w Mogilanach koło Krakowa*, „Teki Krakowskie”, II, (1995), p. 128.

<sup>16</sup> Tadeusz Galarowski, *op. cit.*, p. 3 /, „kto ma Chrobierz, Mogilany, ten się liczy między pany”/.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Zbigniew Beiersdorf, *Podmiejskie rezydencje Krakowskie. Zarys problematyki* [in:] *Pałace i wille podmiejskie Krakowa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

It became fundamental for every villa establishment to be situated in an open landscape, most often with a distant, beautiful view. The region of Mogilany proved to be the perfect place for the implementation of such a project. The villa's location on a hill, called „the mountain of Mogilany”, the north edge of the Carpathian Foothills,<sup>19</sup> south of Krakow, made it a magical spot, overlooking the Beskids and the Tatra Mountains. On the other side of the building, one could discern the Vistula River and the wide panorama of Krakow. Indubitably, the landscape background was a sufficient incentive for the construction of a man-made terrace, „from which the view was even more effective”.<sup>20</sup> In Poland, „terracing” of cultivated areas had been known a lot earlier, but it became popular as late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century, under the Italian influence.<sup>21</sup> It seems that the Renaissance art of designing hanging gardens created the possibility to obtain a mystic insight into a different dimension of what was sanctified and real.<sup>22</sup> The epiphanic image of the world of garden residences was obtained among the sites of nature and wildlife, eternity and changeability.<sup>23</sup> In the midst of these symbolic surroundings, somewhere between the divine and the human, the foundations were laid for an old Polish house, constituting the centre of the contemporary human.

The Italian *villa suburbana* in Mogilany was probably made of wood and sat on an underpinned stone socle, decorated with small cornices. On both sides of the building, there were towers covered in metal sheets, crowned with small domes. Although, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, these courtly accessories „had already lost their military functions, they long constituted features of a noble seat in North European residences, along with decorative fortifications, thus evoking knightly, feudal traditions of the Polish nobility”.<sup>24</sup> It has been established that: „On the north façade there was the main entrance with stairs and a small porch overlooking Krakow. The porch had a stone balustrade, covered with sculpted

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<sup>19</sup> Tadeusz Galarowski, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Roman Marcinek and Zbigniew Myczkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>21</sup> *Historia sztuki polskiej*, t. 2. *Sztuka nowożytna* pod red. Tadeusz Dobrowolski and Władysław Tatarkiewicz, Wyd. Literackie, Kraków 1965, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> See: Mircea Eliade, *Sacrum- mit - historia*. Wybór esejów, wybór i wstęp Marcin Czerwiński, przeł. Anna Tatarkiewicz, PIW, Warszawa 1974, p. 83.

<sup>23</sup> See: Nature and wildlife can be placed at the antipodes of thinking about the world, as the corresponding: eternity and volatility – Adam Karpiński, *Staropolska poezja idealów ziemiańskich. Próba przekroju*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1983, p. 92. See: Jakub Burckhardt, *Kultura Odrodzenia we Włoszech. Próba ujęcia*, przeł. Maria Kreczkowska, wstęp Mieczysław Brahmmer, „Czytelnik”, Warszawa 1961, p. 90.

<sup>24</sup> Adam Miłobędzki, *Tradycja średniowieczna w polskiej rezydencji nowożytnej*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” t. XIV (1979), z.4, pp. 339-340.

reliefs, vases and cupids. A similar porch was located on the south wall of the palace. The courtyard driveway was enclosed with ashlar poles. It is not certain whether this large building had one floor, we do know, however, that it featured many rooms, for its expansiveness earned it the designation of a palace.<sup>25</sup> On the east side, there was an extensive orchard with utility buildings. The walls were decorated with polychromed wooden panelling and the chambers were profusely ornamented with beautiful tapestry<sup>26</sup> and paintings.

The scarcity of the sources makes the whole villa complex somewhat enigmatic. The outline of Mogilany's architectonic structure evokes images of proud Renaissance villa projects from Italy, which could have been the inspiration for Francesco Colonna's poetic descriptions in his *Hypnerotomachii Poliphila* (published in 1499), namely the Florentine gardens adjoining the Palazzo Medici on via Larga (1444) or the verdant surroundings of the Pienza palace (1458-1464).<sup>27</sup> The vital part of Rej's reception of these model villas and *viridaria* was his reading of Palingenius' *Zodiacus vitae*, although a fair share was drawn from autopsy, as he had numerous occasions to observe such constructions. One instance of such occasions was Krakow the cradle of „the Italian garden” in Poland. „Here and in the area, an indigenous form of an ‘Italian garden’ was shaped,<sup>28</sup> and the Mogilany villa became its standard realisation. Spytek Jordan decided to create a prototype of a geometric, classical garden *in modo Italiano*: „The man-made terrace on the ridge of a towering hill was divided into a set of flat quarters. Two sides of a hornbeam avenue, bound together from the slope side by a stone balustrade with sculptures, create a monumental frame for a magnificent mountainous landscape, with the Tatras on the horizon. On the transverse axis, four orchards enclosed with rectangle hedge walls were divided by shorter wings of tree rows. The perfect connection between the garden and the palace allows us to assign the authorship [of this design] to one Bartolomeo Ridolfi [...], a son-in-law and collaborator of the famous architect Falconetto, a creator of a number of garden villas, such as the Palazzo Giustiniani in Padua”.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See: Łukasz Gołębiowski, *Domy i dwory* [...], Druk N. Glücksberga, Warszawa 1930, pp. 6-7. (palace od *palatium*, that magnificent building, which the Romans erected”, *ibid.*, p. 8).

<sup>26</sup> Tadeusz Galarowski, *op. cit.*, p. 26. See: Roman Marcinek and Zbigniew Myczkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Józef Konopka, *Wieś Mogilany*, Kraków 1885, p. 28.

<sup>27</sup> Małgorzata Szafrńska, *Ogrody humanistów* [in:] *Ogród- symbol- marzenie*, pod red. Małgorzata Szafrńska, Kat. Wyst. Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 18 grudnia 1998 - 28 lutego, Warszawa 1999, p. 81.

<sup>28</sup> Gerard Ciołek, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.



It is worth considering which parts of the architectonic design employed in the Mogilany villa could raise interest in Rej sufficiently to occupy his creation process for longer. The universal model of a hero, developed by the bearer of the *Oksza* coat of arms in *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man* referred to an area, which „is designated by a register of household activities”.<sup>30</sup> In reality, Rej had at his disposal at least twelve farmsteads, not to mention his leased archbishop’s goods in Kurzelów, with five farmsteads mentioned in sources dated at 1512.<sup>31</sup> The writer became known as a „stout householder” who managed his property wisely. His attention, therefore, must have been drawn to *villa suburbana* and *villa rustica* type objects, situated on the outskirts and in rural areas. However, it would be futile to seek a description of a noble household in *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man*. Although the reader of *The Mirror* is constantly visiting courts and estates, the particular character of farm objects seems to remain somewhat transparent in its obviousness. Thus, we read of a „houselet”, in which a nobleman „can indulge in his many comely [...] pleasures”,<sup>32</sup> another part speaks of a „comely houselet”, built „according to one’s own concept”.<sup>33</sup> The lack of any comments on architectonic details seems to be intentional, for it is worth mentioning that Rej was well acquainted with carpentry. His knowledge is manifested in the epigram entitled *Budowanie (Building)* (CLXIII) from *Zwierzyniec (The Bestiary)*, although practical construction advice served mainly as a metaphor for the frailty of human existence.<sup>34</sup>

The omission of useful information pertaining to house building could have resulted from the sensitive nature of this matter. To be sure, rich and sumptuous residences became an object of envy and rivalry among noblemen. Meanwhile, the bearer of the *Oksza* coat of arms propagated the golden rule to confine oneself to something small, but one’s own. This is why the features of the honest man’s house assumed a universal nature: „one built according to one’s own concept”.<sup>35</sup> It is evident that the most humble corner of a room, even „[...] in such a palace that is thatched on top”<sup>36</sup> seems most magnificent to the one who owns it. A series of other epigrams included in *Apoftegmaty: Na dom*

<sup>30</sup> Adam Karpiński, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>31</sup> Jerzy Topolski, *Działalność gospodarcza Mikołaja Reja* [in:] *Mikołaj Rej w czterechsetlecie śmierci*. Praca zbiorowa pod red. Tadeusza Bieńkowskiego, Janusza Pelca i Krystyny Pisarkowej, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, PAN, Wrocław 1971, p. 26.

<sup>32</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] *Idem, op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 111.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, t. 2, p. 129.

<sup>34</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Zwierzyniec*, oprac. Wilhelm Bruchnalski, BPP nr 30, Kraków 1895, pp. 281. See: *Pisarze polskiego Odrodzenia o sztuce*, oprac. Władysław Tomkiewicz, Wrocław 1955, p. 67.

<sup>35</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] *Idem, op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 129.

<sup>36</sup> Quote: Adam Karpiński, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

(*About a house*) discusses the exceptional significance and consecrated symbolism that Rej ascribed to property.<sup>37</sup> The construction of a „master's house” surely constituted a serious financial investment the implementation of which must have lasted for years. Thus, it was common to consider it a building which: „Formed slowly, emerged and grew [...]. Had its own biography, like a man [...] No sooner had it been ready than it contained in its walls three generations”.<sup>38</sup> Rej's warning not to evaluate anyone or anything based on appearance formed yet another sententious message that could be derived from the mentioned epigram. In *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man* home was not only compared to its owner, but also equated with him.<sup>39</sup> In other parts of his work the bearer of the *Oksza* coat of arms speaks of the frailty of all that is human: „for home, infant, wife [...] trinkets and [...] wealth, all this is but a spider web [...]”.<sup>40</sup> Even the most monumental and historic buildings will perish, which perhaps makes it futile to set a goal which constitutes but a means of attaining eternal values.<sup>41</sup>

The emotional marking of all elements pertaining to the sphere of dwelling is visible in *The Mirror* in numerous diminutives, such as „a comely houselet”<sup>42</sup> or „little home”.<sup>43</sup> Rej often used the adjective *chędogi*<sup>44</sup> (tidy) when referring to an abode.<sup>45</sup> Indubitably, the writer did not consider the epithet „more amply’ as something better than „good”. His vivid descriptions of a place whose owner consumed scrumptious meals must have referred to „the main and most

<sup>37</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Apoftegmata albo wirszyki na gmachy, także też i na ine rzeczy, jako kto sobie obierze* [in:] Idem, *Żwierciadło...*, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 298.

<sup>38</sup> Władysław Łoziński, *Życie polskie w dawnych wiekach*, Wyd. Literackie, Kraków 1974, p. 81; Leszek Kajzer says: „that the number of brick mansions built in the sixteenth century ethnographic Polish Crown lands could be about 550 [...]”, see: Leszek Kajzer, *Uwagi o rezydencji rodziny Rejów w Oksie* [in:] *Mikołaj Rej z Nagłowic. Sylwetka-twórczość-epoka*, pod red. Maria Garbaczowa, Kielce 1997, p. 92.

<sup>39</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] Idem, *op. cit.*, t. 2, pp. 128- 129 („Aż ty nie masz czym tego przyczerniałego domku swego, tej starości swojej, zachędożyć a nadobnie zafarbować?”).

<sup>40</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] *Ibid.*, t. 2, p. 77.

<sup>41</sup> Idem, *Apoftegmata albo wirszyki na gmachy, także też i na ine rzeczy, jako kto sobie obierze* [in:] *Ibid.*, t. 2, pp. 298-299.

<sup>42</sup> Idem, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] *Ibid.*, t. 2, p. 129.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, t. 1, p. 111.(np.: „Już przyszedłszy do domeczku, ano chędogo, ano wszystko miło”)

<sup>44</sup> *Słownik polszczyzny XVI w.*, pod red. Maria Renata Mayenowa, t. XIX, IBL PAN, Wrocław 1990, pp. 536-538; *Mikołaj Rej z Nagłowic. Sylwetka- twórczość- epoka*, pod red. Maria Garbaczowa, Kieleckie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Kielce 1997, pp. 536-538.

<sup>45</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] Idem, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 111.

spacious mead-hall”<sup>46</sup> situated on the master’s side. The last part of *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man*, devoted to the ageing process, contains information on one of the most important possessions of a man, namely one’s own bed: „Now then, a comely bedding is made for your repose”. One can also read a book having settled comfortably under a tree „amongst diverse, beautiful and fragrant little flowers”. But when the cold comes and breaks old bones, it is most comfortable in a „comely” and „blissful bedding”.<sup>47</sup> These pieces of advice also assume the characteristics of a metaphor for wealth and comfort that should conclude a good life.

Apart from the bed chamber, every „master’s house” had to contain „inferior” rooms, such as „snugs, halls, chambers, rooms, closets, side rooms, compartments”,<sup>48</sup> whose presence in *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man* is purely conjectural, since Rej does not refer to them directly. The author does not provide us with any detailed information pertaining to the appearance both of the outside of the building and to its internal structure, which leaves the question of „tidiness”<sup>49</sup> entirely to the reader. He does happen to mention numerous farming facilities of a nobleman, such as: a garden, orchards, beehives, animal enclosures, ponds, household facilities, fields, meadows, forests, villages, etc.

It is certain that „the element of permanent residence and the connection with farming distinguished ‘master’s house’ in the rural area from a suburban villa”.<sup>50</sup> Professional old Polish instructions as to where and how a court should be established appeared a dozen or so years later. Characteristically, Anzelm Gostomski’s *Gospodarstwo (Household)*, issued in 1580, is considered a supplement to Rej’s vision of a nobleman’s farmhouse.<sup>51</sup> In Poland, an indispensable household manual available from the Middle Ages was Piotr Krescentyn’s treaty, *Ruralium Commodorum librii XII*. It constituted „the basic source of professional knowledge about the shape of garden compositions, adjoined to a nobleman’s residence”.<sup>52</sup> The Polish translation of the manual appeared in

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<sup>46</sup> Władysław Łoziński, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>47</sup> Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] *Idem, op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 129.

<sup>48</sup> Władysław Łoziński, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>49</sup> See: *Pisarze polskiego Odrodzenia o sztuce...*, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>50</sup> Teresa Jakimowicz, „*Dom pański jako ma być postawion*” [in:] *Renesans. Sztuka i ideologia*, pod red. Tadeusz Jaroszewski, PWN, Warszawa 1976, p. 432.

<sup>51</sup> See: *Ibid.*, p. 426.

<sup>52</sup> Anna Mitkowska, *Ogrody rezydencji podmiejskich Krakowa* [in:] *Pałace i wille podmiejskie Krakowa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 73.



Krakow in editions from 1549 and 1571,<sup>53</sup> playing an important role in the reception of the ancient culture.<sup>54</sup> The indigenous version of *Księgi o gospodarstwie* [...] <sup>55</sup> (*Books on household*) is attributed to Jędrzej Trzeciecki, but it could also be a work written by Rej.<sup>56</sup> The entire descriptive part concerning practical gardening instructions in *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man* seems to have been „copied from Krestecyn's book”.<sup>57</sup>

The garden, and even the whole nature according to Rej should be harmonious with court buildings, which is actually manifested in the old Polish meaning of the word „court” as a seat of a nobleman and a manor.<sup>58</sup> In the days of yore, a „garden” or a „croft” was an enclosed space with an orchard, and a vegetable farm.<sup>59</sup> Similarly as in Roman records, it constituted a fixed form, connected to the whole villa complex.<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile, the interior of Spytko Jordan's Renaissance garden assumed the form of an open space: „One-level terrace in Mogilany [...] had earth slopes, crowned with a stone balustrade, and was divided into over a dozen parts with a central fountain on the palace axis”.<sup>61</sup> The composition was completed with the distant landscape of the Beskid and the Tatra Mountains, closing off the perspective of the *viridarium's* main alleys.<sup>62</sup> The division of this large space into parts allowed one to discern such elements as: retaining walls, walls, stairs, gazebos, cascades, ponds etc. Decorative plants were arranged in „quarters decorated with geometric patterns, rows of rare flowers”.<sup>63</sup> The upper terrace was enclosed by rows of trees and

<sup>53</sup> Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1896, part. 3, t. XXXI, pp. 361-372.

<sup>54</sup> See: Teresa Jakimowicz, „Dom pański jako ma być postawion” [in:] *Renesans. Sztuka i ideologia...*, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

<sup>55</sup> *Księgi o gospodarstwie i o opatrzeniu rozmnożenia rozlicznych pożytków każdemu stanowi potrzebne* (1549) the question of authorship is unresolved, sometimes attributed to Andrew Glaber of Kobylin treaty.

<sup>56</sup> See: Tadeusz Witczak, *Studia nad twórczością Mikołaja Reja*, PWN, Warszawa 1975, p. 112.

<sup>57</sup> Edmund Jankowski, *Dzieje ogrodnictwa w Polsce w zarysie*, Nakładem Banku dla Handlu i Przemysłu, Warszawa 1923, p. 16.

<sup>58</sup> *Słownik polszczyzny XVI w.*, pod red. Maria Renata Mayenowy, t. VI, IBL PAN, Wrocław 1972, p. 247.

<sup>59</sup> Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, wstęp Julian Krzyżanowski, Warszawa 1989, t. 3, p. 281; see: Edmund Jankowski, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Władysław Łoziński, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>60</sup> Małgorzata Szafrąńska, *Ogród renesansowy...*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>61</sup> Gerard Ciołek, *Sztuka ogrodowa* [in:] *Historia sztuki polskiej*, t. II..., p. 38.

<sup>62</sup> Barbara Stępniewska, *Rozwój historyczny średniowiecznych i renesansowych ogrodów Krakowa*, „Studia Historyczne” R. XIV (1971), z. 1, p. 67.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

shrubs: they closed off its interior from three sides, opening it to the south”.<sup>64</sup> At the foot of the terrace there were ponds.

It seems that in old Poland, among the whole wealth and diversity of Renaissance *viridaria*, „the most significant was its most traditional form which later became an Italian garden *par excellence*”.<sup>65</sup> In *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man* Rej concentrated on these simple, square, vegetable and decorative gardens (here: a herb garden) differently from that in *Wizerunk (The Image)*. They were connected by planting pear, apple, prune and cherry trees by the alleys.<sup>66</sup> Rej also mentioned the necessity to monitor and graft fruit trees.<sup>67</sup> In his descriptions, a flower and herbal garden adjoined orchards with beehives. Usually on the opposite side of the *viridarium*, somewhere in the back side of the garden, a lime and maple grove was planted, surrounded by a fence with adjoining „fish ponds for keeping fish”.<sup>68</sup> Thickets of trees or grapevines were called gazebos, because sometimes they formed a similar shaded structure.<sup>69</sup>

Of course, it is hard to determine which parts of *The Life of a Kind-Hearted Man* Rej modelled on the Mogilany residence. A much more rewarding material for this type of comparisons can be found in *Wizerunk*<sup>70</sup> (*The Image*), where he speaks of such Italian, „sumptuous”, objects as: a royal garden, floors covered in silver sheets, ebony mouldings, alabaster, equipment made of cypress wood or ivory, etc. What poses a certain problem here, is the fact that the work had been created before Spytek Jordan bought Mogilany, which means that Rej must have drawn his inspiration from elsewhere. The scarcity and general nature of information on the appearance of a rustic villa included in *The Mirror* seems understandable. The term „suburban residential architecture [...] in the age of Renaissance was ambiguous, both in its assumption and form”.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Gerard Ciołek, *op. cit.*, p. 37 (Rej, *Wizerunk*; quote: G. Ciołek)

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Zygmunt Gloger, *op. cit.*, p. 283

<sup>67</sup> See: Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] Idem, *op. cit.*, t. 1, pp. 298-299.

<sup>68</sup> Zygmunt Gloger, *op. cit.*, p. 283; see: Małgorzata Szafrąńska, *Ogród renesansowy. Antologia tekstów*, „Arx Regia” Ośrodek Wydawniczy Zamku Królewskiego, Warszawa 1998, p. 338; Edmund Jankowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-25; see: Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] Idem, *op. cit.*, t. 1, pp. 301-302.

<sup>69</sup> Zygmunt Gloger, *op. cit.*, p. 283; see: Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* [in:] Ibid., t. 1, p. 299.

<sup>70</sup> See: Mikołaj Rej, *Wizerunk własny żywota człowieka poczciwego*, part. I, oprac. Władysław Kuraszkiwicz, BPP, Seria B, nr 19, Wrocław 1971, p.145-149; see: Łukasz Gołębiowski, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>71</sup> Maria Dayczak-Domasiewicz, *Architektura dworów biskupów krakowskich na Prądniku Białym na tle rozwoju nowożytnego budownictwa rezydencjonalnego okolic Krakowa* [in:] *Pałace i wille podmiejskie Krakowa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Residences belonging to noblemen, „apart from the obvious prestigious significance for their owners, constituted a centre of a rural farmstead”.<sup>72</sup> The indigenous type of a villa estate was yet to be shaped.

The emergence of individual versions of the implementation of the architectural concept was shaped by many different factors, but at the same time certain permanent rules were readily consolidated.<sup>73</sup> The design of noblemen's residences *in modo polacco* assumed a servient role of the development's shape with relation to the garden composition,<sup>74</sup> which is visible in Rej's writing. It is also hard to agree with the opinion that our perception of „Italianism” referred only to its superficial layer, considering the fact that it was profoundly based on the ancient culture. Having come into contact with the Renaissance Italy, Poland „adopted the form and content which corresponded to its heritage, was well received and complied with the Polish reality [...]”,<sup>75</sup> as Władysław Tatarkiewicz remarks. Without a doubt, the *viridarium* turned out to be the heart of a nobleman's abode. „[It] assumed the form of an eternal trope of Eden, whose symbol and paradigm was the secular garden, ‘a private *Paradisus terrestris*’”<sup>76</sup> of every nobleman. [...] So whereas – as noted by Gerard Ciolek – „Some people, looking at ‘earthly delights’, were writing in elation that [...] one finds no more pleasure in the Garden of Eden than in the garden grove,” and others warned that resting in a garden should be »fair« and decent, because [...] we are not born for frolic and farce [...], the moralists of that time recommended a garden as a subject for pondering upon insignificance of human life”.<sup>77</sup> However, the Counter-Reformation ideas could not eliminate the fascination of the Polish gentry with the garden art, which proved to be immortal and survived the centuries.

Undoubtedly, at the beginning of the philosophical transformations of the Italian Renaissance a new model of life was spreading among the intellectual society of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Poland. Those conceptual changes became remarkably visible in the field of architectural developments. The idea of a suburban or rural villa (*villa suburbana* or *villa rustica*,<sup>78</sup> respectively)

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<sup>72</sup> Zob. Anna Mitkowska, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>75</sup> See: Jan Białostocki, *Renesans polski i renesans europejski* [w:] *Renesans. Sztuka i ideologia...*, s. 180; see: Władysław Tatarkiewicz, *Sprecyzowanie pojęcia udziału Renesansu polskiego w sztuce europejskiej i jego odrębności* [w:] *Odrodzenie w Polsce. Materiały Sesji Naukowej PAN* [bm.] 1958, t.5, s.179-182.

<sup>76</sup> Zbigniew Beiersdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> Gerard Ciołek, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>78</sup> Maria Dayczak- Domanasiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

assumed proportions of a symbol. This fashionable type of housing became popular in Poland, where it met with a favorable response. „The first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century brought about an increase in the villa buildings near Krakow”,<sup>79</sup> which was duly noted and manifested in the works of Mikołaj Rej, a bright observant and a reasonable critic and commentator of his times.

OPINIE MIKOŁAJA REJA NA TEMAT WŁOSKIEJ MODY  
NA ZABUDOWĘ REZYDENCJALNĄ W POLSCE

Streszczenie

U progu światopoglądowych przemian renesansu włoskiego rozpowszechnił się w XVI-wiecznej Polsce nowy model życia elit intelektualnych. Obszarem niezwyklej konkretyzacji tych ideowych metamorfoz stały się osiągnięcia architektoniczne. Willa podmiejska urosła do roli symbolu. Modny typ budowli znalazł w Polsce podatny grunt do rozwoju, gdzie szczególne nasilenie ruchu willowego widoczne było w najbliższych okolicach Krakowa. Świadcstwo tego architektonicznego odrodzenia odnotował także Mikołaj Rej – zarówno bystry świadek, jak i komentator swojej epoki. Zapewne bardzo uważnie obserwował on ten ożywiony ruch w budownictwie oraz innych rzemiosłach, czemu dał wyraz w *Żwierciadle* [...]. Pisarz starał się krytycznie odnieść do przeobrażeń, jakie wówczas dokonywały się w sferze nowożytnej architektury rezydencjalnej, tyle że skroił je na miarę szlacheckiego obyczaju, ściśle dopasowując do warunków „nieba polskiego”. Poglądy Mikołaja Reja na temat obserwowanych społecznych i ekonomicznych zjawisk bez wątpienia stanowiły jedyny w swoim rodzaju zapis ścierania się najnowszych trendów ze „starymi” stylami i normami.

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<sup>79</sup> Anna Mitkowska, *op. cit.*, p. 74.