



1.

Owner's cabinet in Pope manor house
with document casket and collection
of miniature paintings, 1910.
NSLA, Dep. 5 B II, Nr. 1708

Popės dvaro šeimininkų kabinetas
su dokumentų skrynele
ir miniatiūrinių paveikslų
kolekcija, 1910

SOCIOLOGY OF ART COLLECTION: THE ROLE OF COLLECTIONS IN 19TH CENTURY INTERIOR DESIGN

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The present paper deals with the problem of art collections in wealthy families of Baltic German nobility and officials of Riga. The aim of the author is to open a discussion on a sociological survey and offer a method for the evaluation of the art collections that once existed in the territories of Latvia and part of Lithuania. Studies of the relevant sources and documents reveal the high-quality art by prominent European artists represented in manors and apartments of the nobility, but destroyed through political catastrophes of the 20th century.

KEYWORDS: *sociology of art, art collection, Baltic German nobility, antiquities, Jaungulbene (Neu-Schwanenburg) manor, Paul and Ada von Transehe-Roseneck.*

Up to the agrarian reform of 1920, most of the present-day Baltic territory, including Latvia, was in the hands of large landowners. According to the established feudal principles, the economy was mainly driven by the agricultural output of manor farms, which, since the end of the 18th century and the beginning of capitalist industrial development, was supplemented by small plants that processed local raw materials, agricultural products and also imported raw materials. The manor as a large-scale and autonomous enterprise, located in the country and producing mainly agricultural products, tended to sell them in the markets of nearby towns, or, by the diversification of production, attempted to expand the geography of exchange of goods and conquer its place also in the growing urban manufacturing sector. The socially unequal redistribution that had formed under the circumstances of economic activities and estate privileges resulted in concentration of huge financial resources in the hands of manor owners to be used for the benefit of their economic needs and their personal well-being.

Thus, part of the capital continued to maintain the industrial infrastructure and the development of new forms of production, while the rest of the income was transformed into the externally visible forms of welfare: a representative house, quality education, consumption of culture with a diversity of domestic elements befitting the social status, including collecting historical antiques and objects of art which was well-rooted as a form of accumulation of funds and leisure pursuit. In order to assess the amount of capital of one of the most prominent representatives of the nobility of Courland, the von Behr family, and understanding its amount in correlation with the family members' wishes to

satisfy their artistic interests and needs, we offer the family property assessment by the Courland Credit Union in 1887 in Russian gold roubles, the strongest currency at the time. Thus, the value of all movable and immovable property of the Ēdole (Edwahlen) mansion was estimated at 399 376.80 roubles and the Zlēkas (Schleck) estate value was equivalent to 296 350.40 roubles. For the Ugāle (Ugahlen) estate land, buildings and equipment the Courland Credit Union was ready to vouch for 276.133 roubles, while the Pope (Popen) estate was estimated at the amount of 612.052 roubles. In total, this amounted to 1 million 583 912.20 roubles, which was an astronomical sum at the time.¹ For comparison, the full cost of construction and equipment purchase for the Riga German theatre, the present-day Latvian National Opera building, can be mentioned which, considering the grand size of the building, did not exceed 260 000 roubles.²

For centuries managing considerable land property, the landed gentry of the territory of the present-day Latvia had created around 1200 large and profitable agricultural enterprises – estates – with the infrastructure necessary for production, buildings and equipment. Owing to their architectural and artistic qualities, about 500 manor houses, popularly called “palaces” but named *Herrenhaus* (house of the lord) by the Baltic Germans themselves, have been granted the status of important cultural monuments by the Latvian State. However, the halls and rooms of the manor houses are no longer decorated with the preserved works of art. It is only in written archive records and documents, photos and even in a small number of the published descriptions by the most active collectors that we can today gain an insight into the aristoc-

1 Aus dem Leben und Wirken der Besitzer Edwahlen. – Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv – Staatsarchiv Stade – Dep. 5 B II, Nr. 1485, s. 403.

2 *Riga und seine Bauten*. Hrsg. von Rigaschen Technischen Verein und Rigaschen Architekten-Verein. Riga: Verlag der Buch- und Kunstdruckanstalt des “Rigaer Tageblatt”, 1903, p. 271.

racy contacts in the art market, their knowledge of history, taste and material resources that had once materialized in interior ensembles and specially created collections of paintings, sculpture, graphics, antiques, archaeological artefacts and objects of decorative art.³ The political cataclysms of the 20th century, which started with the 1905 arson attacks of the anarchist social revolutionaries and the devastation of World War I, swept away the household items that had been collected by several generations – furniture, tableware, textiles, as well as an enormous wealth of systematic collection of antiques and objects of contemporary art. The remaining part was devastated by World War II and the Soviet occupation regime with its nihilistic attitude towards the observable manifestation of upper-class property status. From this loss the material heritage of the Baltic States will never be able to recover. The deficit of objects of decorative art and easel-painting representative of bygone styles and culture becomes obvious both in the instances of incomplete and stylistically heterogeneous historical interior reconstruction and in the patchy museum collections.

A few examples characterize the standard of everyday life of the richest gentry family in Courland – the von Behrs.⁴ An integral part of it was art collections and works of art purchased as just interior decor. For almost 400 years the von Behr family was associated with their property in the territory of the present-day Latvia – more precisely from 1561 till 1939. However, this family, their material resources and collection efforts should not be judged in a simplistic way, since the von Behrs were related to the top aristocracy and royal houses of Bohemia, Denmark and Prussia. This

explains the world-class art treasures at the von Behr family estates and their everyday life. From the family-owned inventory at the major family estates – Ēdole, Zlēkas, Pope, Ugāle (Ugahlen) and Vērgale (Wirginahlen) – still surviving to this day there are many excellent items of table and church silver, made by masters of Augsburg, Nuremberg, St. Petersburg, Würzburg, Lübeck, Riga and Kuldīga – Berlin and Meissen porcelain, Bohemian glass and crystal, and sets of pewter dishes.⁵ The family collections, prior to their demise in the arson incidents of 1905, had been rich in tapestries, Baroque furniture and that of later styles. Hermann Friedrich I (1625–1683), a prominent representative of the von Behr family, had a specially designed memorial hall interior at the Ēdole manor displaying this remarkable politician's relics, weapons, flags and trophies, as well as a custom-made travel sundial (1710), which a few years ago was given to the Rundāle (Ruhental) palace museum as a family gift [2 ill.].⁶ On the cylinder-shaped base rests a globe marked with time zones, and time is determined with the help of a visor that features images of the sun and the bear, the heraldic animal from the von Behrs' coat-of-arms. On the back of the animal figurine there is a schematic representation of the Bear constellation. The unique timepiece is a rare astronomical measuring instrument, custom-made for this family. Engraved on it is an inscription that, like a motto, reflects both the efforts of the family and serves as a compliment to the highborn aristocrats:

Ewig müssen deine Strahlen
Diesen hohen Stamm bemahlen.
Und er wie dies Himmelszeichen
Ein beglücktes Ziel erreichen.

3 Wilhelm Neumann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde der vereinigten Sammlungen der Stadt Riga, des Rigaschen Kunstvereins und des weil. Rigaschen Ratsherrn Friedr. Wilh. Brederlo*. Buchdruckerei des "Rigaer Tageblatt" (P. Kerkovius), Riga, 1906, 233 Seiten; Wilhelm Neumann, *Gemäldesammlung v. Transehe – Neu-Schwanenburg*. Druck von Buchdruckerei und photochemigraphischen Kunstanstalt des "Rigaer Tageblatts" (Paul Kerkovius) Riga, 1909, 55 Seiten.



2.

Travel sundial of the von Behr family, 1710.

Photo by

Imants Lancmanis

Kelioninis Von Behrų
šeimos saulės laikrodis,

1710

(Literally: May your (the sun's) rays shine upon this noble family, may this family, according to the stars, reach its happiness-blessed goal.)

This list can be continued by mentioning a large amount (a total number of about 2000 units) of 17th–19th century family portraits, graphic works and drawings which had decorated von Behrs' numerous widely branched properties – at the estates of Ēdole, Pope, Vērgale, Zlēkas and others.⁷

A significant part of them was saved after World War I, and also during the Baltic Germans exodus in 1939 to their places of residence in Denmark and knightage manor of Klein-Heuslingen in Lower Saxony, Germany.

The von Behr family's motivation for attracting valuable objects of interior design to ensure a quality living space from the end of the 16th century had only been the creation of an environment that would suit their estate. It could have never been different, since the von Behr family ancestor of the Courland branch, Ulrich von Behr, was the Piltene (Pilten) Bishop Johann von Munchausen's cousin and, from 1555, the Danish King Friedrich II's appointed manager of the Piltene bishopric in Courland and of the island of Saaremaa (Oesel). On taking this position and recognizing Prince Magnus, brother of the Danish king, as his feudal seigneur, Ulrich von Behr received life liege-land of the big manors at Ēdole, Zlēkas, Ugāle and Pope [1 ill.], as well as other profitable property. In the next generation a significant part of the property – Ēdole and Zlēkas manors – came into the possession of Werner von Behr (1565–1623), who had studied law at the universities of Rostock and Koenigsberg and in 1595 was appointed Ambassador to the court of Rudolf II, King of Bohemia, in Prague.⁸ There he met prominent Bohemian aristocratic families and chose Sibylle von Schleinitz, daughter of a large landowner *Freiherr* Johann von Schleinitz and Anna von Biberstein, as his wife of a befitting background. Both of the above families belonged to the highest noble circles of Saxony

4 The land property of the von Behr family amounted to 125 179 hectares, consisting of about 20 bigger and smaller estates and their agricultural territories. – See: Von Behr – Edwahlen, Alexander Baron. *Der Kurländische Güterbesitz*. Handschrift. Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv – Staatsarchiv Stade. DSHI 190 Kurland, XVI, M 200.

5 Von Behr, Ulrich Baron; Senning Alexander, *Edwahlen und die Behrsche Ecke in Kurland*, Verden-Aller: Verlag Lührs & Röver, 1979, pp. 185–239.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 167, 186.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 240–273.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

and Bohemia, whose members were bishops, the king and the bishop's treasurers, councillors and similar positions in Naumburg, Meissen, Prague, Litomerzice and elsewhere.⁹ After the wedding in Prague, Werner von Behr returned to his Courland estates, which were filled with the applied art objects from his wife Sibylle von Schleinitz's dowry. Art researchers know well the fact of King Rudolph II's obsession with commissioning outstanding works of art from the greatest European masters and his collector's passion affecting the aristocratic families of his court as well. Thus, Werner von Behr and Sibylle von Schleinitz's union was unthinkable without constant cultural contacts with his wife's homeland, her family, and the Bohemian and Saxon art markets and masters. Because 20th century political cataclysms in the Baltic area have devastated several von Behr family estates and their manor houses with all their furnishings as well as obliterated most of the art valuables, one can speak about them as items of purposeful collecting only in terms of theoretical and sociological reconstruction.

But the art objects in the possession of the von Behr family are not the only evidence of the existence of carefully created collections in Latvia's present-day territory. In private talks with Winno von Loewenstern, descendant of the former owners of the Stukmaņi (Stockmannshof) manor, he admitted that after the harsh lesson of manor arsons in 1905 and on the approaching front line of World War II, his ancestors managed to take out from the Stukmaņi manor around 150 paintings by masters of different periods and transport them to Germany. They are safe and preserved by different members of his family.

In all regions of Latvia and in Riga there are also other prominent art collectors and owners of carefully assembled and systematised collections. From the end of the 18th century representatives of the



3.
18th century copy
after Carlo Cigniani
(1628–1719).
“Maria Magdaliētē”.
Alūksne (Marienburg)
Church. Photo by
Vitolds Mašnovskis

Carlo Cigniani
(1628–1719),
Marija Magdaliētē,
XVIII a. kopija,
Alūksnēs (Marienburgo)
bažnyčia

nobility primarily dominated in the field of collection, but from the early and mid-19th century their circle grew at the expense of military aristocracy, civil servants, politicians, merchants, entrepreneurs of the fast-growing industries who also could invest their significant free resources in art collections. Through dealers in objects of art and antiquities, they were trying to obtain world-class works of art, commissioned and purchased their copies, and their collections largely reflected both the supply range of the art market and of the owners' own artistic tastes, interests and collector's passion.

Thus, Otto Hermann von Vietinghoff, landlord of the Alūksne (Marienburg) estate, used his high official position in the court of Empress Catherine II in St. Petersburg and on behalf of the Empress purchased, mainly abroad, originals and copies of Dutch and Flemish, Italian and German painters. He also knew how to use his status of a privy counsellor to his advantage and in the last quarter of the 18th century had purchased a significant number

9 *Neue deutsche Biographie*. Bd. 23 (Schinzel – Schwarz), Berlin: Duncker & Humlot Verlag, 2007, p. 57.

of various artists' paintings and sculptures which in a way reflected the structure of art collection that was created for the needs of the royal court. To this day six paintings have survived in Alūksne that had been transferred from the manor house collection to the newly consecrated (1787) Lutheran church. Copies of works by artists of Italian, Dutch and Flemish schools, such as Giovanni Lanfranco's "Madonna", Palma Vecchio's "Entombment", Paolo Tibaldi's "Angel", Carlo Cigniani's "Mary Magdalene" [3 ill.], Anthonis van Dyck's "Entombment" [4 ill.] were placed on the walls of the church altar space, reminiscent of the location of the paintings in the halls of the manor house, while the biggest painting, Francesco Albani's "Baptism of Christ" is the altar to this day.¹⁰

Proof of the existence of other excellent quality art in the possession of Baltic German landed gentry can be found in information from the Baltic German art historian Alexander von Knorre's. He has been interested in the von der Ropp family collection of paintings and sculptures, whose creation goes back to the period after the French Revolution and the ensuing expropriation of royal and aristocratic art collections in 1792. This opened up art acquisition opportunities for the brothers Ferdinand and Theodor von der Ropp from Courland. In fear of social unrest and reprisal, a number of European members of royal and aristocratic families tried to get rid of excessively accumulated works of art and furniture by selling them off through brokerage services or auction houses. Thus, the Baltic and Russian aristocracy could obtain many valuable works of art and display considerable collections in their estates. In the early 19th century Theodor von der Ropp spent lot of time in different Euro-

pean countries – Italy, France and Germany – and procured paintings there by Dutch, Italian and German artists, as well as sculptures made by the sculptors of the time in the spirit of antiquity and the Renaissance. They ended up in the Pakruojis manor in Lithuania, Schadow, in Biksti (Bixten) and Laukumuiža (Feldhof) off Jaunpils (Neuenburg), in the Jaunauce (Neu-Autz) manor, as well as in two houses in Jelgava (Mitau). It is from Prince Camillo Borghese in Rome that T. von der Ropp may have purchased the pride of his collection, Raphael's painting on an aspen board "Madonna with Jesus and St. Hieronymus and St. Francis" (1502).¹¹ The scope and quality of the collection is demonstrated in the catalogue¹² published in 1828 in Paris and listing 71 paintings with half of them (originals or copies) by Italian artists – Leonardo da Vinci, Fra Bartolomeo, Giulio Romano, Andrea del Sarto. The collection featured 17 works by Flemish and Dutch artists – Rubens, Honthorst, Ruisdael, and Ostade, as well as a significant number of paintings by French artists. According to A. von Knorre, the acquisition had taken place through antique shops in Vienna, Dresden and Brussels, Italian traders of "Galleria Borghese" and "Galleria Altieri", as well as the experts involved in the sale of collections of Palazzo Colonna Giustiniani, Palais Vittori, Palais Buttrigiani, Palais Grimaldi.¹³

Theodor von der Ropp was fortunate enough to make friends with the remarkable Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, who in 1804 was commissioned for marble copies of nine antique busts. With the procurement of B. Thorvaldsen's works T. von der Ropp created the most remarkable collection of classical sculpture in the Baltics and his ambitions stretched up to the acquisition of Antonio Canova's

10 Vitolds Mašnovskis, *Latvijas luterāņu baznīcas*. 1. sējums. Due, Rīgā, 2005, pp. 48–50.

11 Alexander von Knorre, *Der Roppsche Sammlung im Baltikum*. Property of the author of the article, p. 5.

12 *Catalogue des Tableaux, Tous originaux de M. de Ropp*, Paris, 1828.

13 Alexander von Knorre, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9.



4.
 18th century copy
 after Anthony van Dyck
 (1599–1641).
 “The Entombment”.
 Alūksne (Marienburg)
 Church
 Anthony van Dyck
 (1599–1641),
Guldymas į karstą,
 XVIII a. kopija,
 Alūksnēs (Marienburgo)
 bažnyčia

work, but the procurement of this Italian artist’s masterpieces was associated with a very strong competition not only among the landed gentry but also the highest European aristocracy. However, around the same time this did not prevent T. von der Ropp from buying B. Thorvaldsen’s marble relief “Achilles, Agamemnon’s Envoy, Seduces Briseis” (1803) – a sensual scene of mythological content. In 1805 the collection was complemented with the most important addition – B. Thorvaldsen’s 1.6-metre high sculpture “Venus with Apple”, towards the completion of which von der Ropp had contributed the gift of a block of Carrara marble. However, apart from the above-mentioned masterpieces, the von der Ropp sculpture collection included also a number of copies of sculptures and reliefs by Renaissance period artists.

Just as we may admire the von der Ropp family art collection, we find the story of its fragmentation and destruction equally banal. As has been characteristic of collectors, brothers Ferdinand and Theodor von der Ropp exchanged, bought and sold the works of their collection to replenish the stocks and satisfy their collector’s passion. The Baltic German art historian Alexander von Knorre writes that with the help of Wilhelm von Humboldt, Raphael’s painting “Madonna with Jesus and St. Hieronimus and St. Francis” on the eve of 1830 was sold to King of Prussia “Alte Museum” collection in Berlin and the proceeds invested in Pakruojis manor construction. Among the works of art that filled the 48 rooms of the manor the central place was allotted to B. Thorvaldsen’s “Venus with the Apple”.¹⁴ For the descendants of the von der Ropp family in the late

14 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

19th century, collecting works of art was an active process and, with the Cologne antique shops as mediators, some paintings were sold to supplement collections in Milan and Rome, while some ended up in Berlin museums. Prior to World War I most of the collection was still in place in the von der Ropp estates, and even before the departure of Baltic Germans the Pakruojis manor housed 27 works of art – paintings and B. Thorvaldsen's studio-produced copies of Roman sculptures. After the Soviet occupation in 1940 they were taken to the Art Museum in Kaunas, but what with the destruction and artwork requisition actions during World War II the von der Ropp collection is considered lost. Such was A. von Knorre's conclusion in his manuscript of 1999¹⁵ on the basis of the information provided by Baron Joachim von der Ropp in 1951.

As early as the mid-19th century Riga witnessed examples of philanthropic actions: well-heeled residents of Riga donated valuable collections of paintings to the city or the Riga Art Society. Among them the first to be mentioned is Giovanni Domenico de Robbiani, Private Secretary of Filippo Paulucci, Governor-General of Vidzeme (Livland) and Courland. G. de Robbiani became known as a picture restorer and art dealer. His collection of paintings in Riga was the first art gallery for public viewing, part of which the city of Riga acquired for public needs in 1866 – specifically, for the City Art Gallery. Towards the end of his life, in 1878, G. de Robbiani donated three paintings to the City Art Gallery,

thus offering an example of selfless deed to other residents of Riga who were also art collectors.¹⁶ His example was followed by the mayors of Riga Carl Christoph Gross and Ludwig Wilhelm Kerkovius, who worked selflessly for the growing metropolitan administration and who, they themselves or their family members, left to Riga significant collections of paintings. Thus Burgomaster Carl Christoph Gross's sister, Amalie Gertrude Gross, in 1873 bequeathed 12 paintings to the city; the city mayor Ludwig Wilhelm Kerkovius in his will left to the city 26 paintings by masters of the Düsseldorf and Munich schools that complemented the collection of the City Art Gallery that had been opened in 1904. James Armitstead, merchant of the Big Guild, in 1880 bequeathed 17 works of art to the City Art Gallery.¹⁷ The City Art Gallery was growing, and so was its artistic value as well as its quality. Resident of Riga Philip Reinhold Schilling in April of 1868 donated to the City Art Gallery his collection of 30 paintings, as well as a valuable collection of drawings and copper engravings.¹⁸

Riga merchant and town councillor Friedrich Wilhelm Brederlo, being a well-known philanthropist and art lover, bequeathed 238 paintings from his private collection to the city of Riga for public display and viewing and 109 paintings to the Riga Art Society.¹⁹ Among the pictures there were many works by 17th century Dutch artists and a considerable number of Italian, German, Russian and French artists' paintings, works by Baltic Germans, as well

15 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

16 "Locales. Unsere staedtischen Gallerie", in: *Rigasche Zeitung*, 1878, Nr. 132.

17 Ingrida Raudsepa, *Gleznu kolekcijas Rīgas pilsētai. Karla GrKristoga Grosa, Džeimsa Armitsteda, Ludviga Vilhelma Kerkoviusa gleznu kolekcijas. Katalogs*. Rīga: Latvijas Mākslas muzeju apvienības izdevums, 1997, p. 7.

18 Wilhelm Neumann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde der vereinigten Sammlungen der Stadt Riga, des Rigaschen Kunstvereins und des weil. op. cit.*, p. IV.

19 Quotation: "Wenn aber der fall einträte, daß dereinst keiner der im 4ten Punkte bezeichneten Nachkommen unserer Töchter die Erhaltung dieser Gemälde Sammlung übernehmen wollte oder könnte, soll dieselbe der Stadt Riga soferne diese zur Aufstellung der Gemälde ein passendes Local einräumt, unentgeltlich zu unveräußerlichem Eigenthume übergeben werden", in: Friedrich Wilhelm Brederlo, *Sein letzter Wille*, Königstein: Bearb. Von Werner von Sengbusch, t. I, 2011, p. 3.

as the first academically educated Latvian painters. The authors, artistic value and aesthetic qualities of the latter were appraised by Wilhelm Neumann, the first professional critic, Baltic German architect and art historian, in his voluminous 1906 catalogue.²⁰ Among the remarkable masterpieces of the collection, many works are noteworthy, but there are some “peaks” that are indicative of the wealthy collectors’ financial ability to acquire world-class masterpieces even being far from the traditional centres of commerce and art academies. The item of Friedrich Wilhelm Brederlo collection’s “golden fund”, Utrecht painter Jacob’s, also known as Jacob from Lübeck, painting of Lübeck councillor Hinrich Kerkring’s home altar (c. 1520), is an early Northern Renaissance artwork. After 28 February 1943, the then Riga military commandant Hugo Wittrock voluntarily removed the altar from the Riga City Art Museum’s collection and gave it to Lübeck as “moral compensation” for losses caused by the Allied air bombardments.²¹ The second greatest work of art among those bequeathed to Riga by Friedrich Wilhelm Brederlo was “Raphael and the Fornarina”, painted by the outstanding French school painter Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres in Rome in 1813.²² The valuable painting went missing during World War II and is likely to have become one of the warring parties’ acquisitions in art theft that was organized by special unit experts from both the Nazis and the Red Army.

The burgeoning 19th century industrial society was accompanied by dynamic urban development, the emergence of rural industrial enterprises, and international redistribution of raw materials and

goods that contributed to an extensive boom in economic, political and cultural cross-border ties. All this contributed to the expansion and internationalization of the art market. The side effect of this process was a huge demand for works of art and interest in collecting both for fun and for purposes of monetary gain. How their passion for collecting works of art at this time was motivated by the Baltic German civil and aristocratic circles can be inferred from the philosophical part of the catalogue of art works, published in 1862 by Biriņi (Koltzen) landlord August von Pistohlkors. The preface is a kind of behest to his family heirs, as well as to art lovers with interests similar to those that have guided the creator of this collection: an enlightened idealist’s and a true art friend’s unshakable confidence in the unstoppable progress of society and belief in a certain code of spiritual, ethical and aesthetic values in the individual’s consciousness. Confident about the good in man, August von Pistohlkors considers beauty in life in the following remarkable words: “It is man’s divine propensity to create something that cannot be hindered by any despicable intentions and greed of exploitation. The useful will multiply itself, but the beautiful must be particularly fostered because only a few are capable of it while everybody needs it.”²³ To a large extent these words generalize the collecting ethics of an enlightened aristocracy; the content of the collection, however, was determined by art lovers’ practical actions and considerable material resources.

This public gesture – publishing a catalogue of his art collection – for August von Pistohlkors was an important part of the self-affirmation process that

20 Wilhelm Neumann, *op. cit.*, 233 Seiten.

21 *Friдриha Vilhelma Brederlo kolekcija*. Ārzejmu mākslas muzejs, Riga: Neputns, 2000, pp. 38–40. At present H. Kerkring’s altar as the property of the heirs of the Brederlo (von Sengbusch) family is deposited in St. Ann’s museum in Lübeck, Inv. Nr. 19430486.

22 Wilhelm Neumann, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–161.

23 August von Pistohlkors, *Verzeichniss der Kunst-Gegenstände im Schlosse Koltzen, nebst Bemerkungen über den Bau und einige Eigentümlichkeiten desselben*, Riga: Gedruckt in der Müllerschen Buchdruckerei, 1862, p. 8.

concluded the family's 200-year path to "building a good and substantial residential building, which would ensure a long-term home and haven for the growing children".²⁴ With the completion of this important mission, the Neo-Gothic style manor house²⁵, designed by St. Petersburg architect Friedrich Wilhelm Hess and built in 1857–1860, became also a depository for Augusta von Pistohlkors's passionately assembled art collection of 300 noteworthy items, as shown by the catalogue entries and records. This estate builder and art collector has stressed his family's special mission to cover a long, varied and legitimate way towards the formation of such a sizeable and high-quality collection. A. von Pistohlkors indicates that this catalogue never even mentioned the family portraits because their value is of a mostly genealogical and legal nature, which was different from the value of consciously collected works of art. They have come into the family's possession through both inheritance and gifts, "and the builder of the new palace has been collecting them with great care in his travels so that they could occupy their due space in the palace".²⁶

The author of the catalogue text leads us to understand that the palace layout and the placement of sculptures, paintings and graphic works constitute his part of the concept, which had been carefully thought out and coordinated with the architect. This is why family portraits are located in the "Heraldry salon", while all the other works of art, mainly paintings, most of which according to A. von Pistohlkors are originals, are displayed in the palace rooms not by age, school or any other hierarchical principle, but according to the arrangement of space and lighting. In an attempt to secure the visual compatibility of art works in the Biriņi manor, both new and old paintings have been

exhibited in random order. The collection owner's liberal distribution of the paintings in the palace premises has relieved him from the need to respect a certain catalogue principle, recognizing that over time the works of art can change their location. The catalogue has several sections: the introduction is followed by the description of the first one hundred works of art that are listed according to the owner's chosen order or viewing route. In the middle part of the catalogue, after the description of the first one hundred works of art, there is a thematic break by inserting the chapter "Description of the Palace Chapel" with the details of Count Ludwig August Mellyn's life and linking it to the manor park mausoleum as well as L. A. Mellyn's and his wife's tombstones as if they were part of A. von Pistohlkors' collection. The second caesura refers to the description of the painter Ary Scheffer's career and his painting displayed in the Saulkrasti (*Peterskapelle*) church altar. These descriptions are followed by another 18 annotations of works of art, among which there are a number of woodcut reliefs, a bust, an urn with a medallion, marquetry, as well as several paintings. The rest of the almost two hundred paintings, graphics and sculptures could have been located in the rooms that followed the house chapel. It can be assumed that one of the halls might have been dedicated to the exhibition of graphics since catalogue descriptions from No. 249 to No. 278 are exclusively devoted to records of graphic works. However, descriptions from Nr. 279 to Nr. 300 deal only with sculpture. Following the glyptothek example of royal residences, sculpture in the Biriņi palace was assigned to the larger rooms and in this context the catalogue makes mention of the Dancing Hall, the staircase and the Dining-room. Hypothetically modelling the concept

24 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

25 Wilhelm Neumann, *Lexikon Baltischer Künstler*. Riga: Verlag von Jonck & Poliewsky, 1908, p. 66.

26 August von Pistohlkors, *op. cit.*, 1862, p. 5.

of the Biriņi owner's collection, the motivation for such a list might have been the desire to present the catalogue as a 'total' inventory of the artwork within the owner's territory.

The catalogue pages contain a number of erudite art connoisseur's references that allow the attribution of a work of art to a particular region, style, chronology or school. A. von Pistohlkors uses designations like "Old German school", "German school" and "New German school". The school characteristics that he uses – Rubens's school, Le Brun's school, Rembrandt's School, as well as references to Italian, French, Dutch, Russian schools – are indicative of the generally-sought quality of the collection. Listed in total are 132 works whose chronological range embraces the period from the 16th to the 19th century.²⁷ However, no comments provide any clue as to the possible annotations complementing the art works on the palace walls with the artist's name or school. Then again, they might have been labelled with visible or hidden catalogue numbering. We might concede to the idea that during the collection owner's lifetime, which is also the time when the catalogue was compiled, A. von Pistohlkors did not consider annotation of artworks to be an important task, so that they could be identified after his death, but he took it for granted that the whole family had sufficient knowledge of the composition of the collection. Only the family portraits as documents of a possible legal value were given a certain annotation, indicating on the reverse of the paintings the depicted person's name, date of birth, title, and a list

of the property they owned. At the end of the catalogue introduction A. von Pistohlkors, in a paternal didactic tone, expresses his testamentary will and ethical wish, strongly admonishing future owners that this document requires never to disperse the collection; it demands that they should "strive to increase it and make it more beautiful so that it would adorn the Biriņi palace as a constant adornment. Departure from this wish is treated as distortion of the father's will".²⁸ The emotional and noble and, at the same time, dictatorial words fit the traditional patriarchal family upbringing of the Baltic nobility, based on inheritance rights and father's authority, and demanding of the progeny an unconditional obligation to respect and honour these wishes.

After a glimpse at the principles of the development of art collections, another important task of this article is to provide further insight into the sociology of a Vidzeme (Livland's) aristocratic family art collection, the methods and techniques of which become obvious in the analysis of a wealth of illustrative material concerning the art collection that was located in the Jaungulbene (Neu-Schwanenburg) manor house [5 ill.]. Its owners in the late 19th and early 20th century were the representatives of Baltic German nobility Paul von Transehe-Roseneck and his wife Ada von Transehe-Roseneck. The architect and art historian Wilhelm Neumann examined the collection, assessed its quality and, on its owners' proposal, published the collection catalogue "Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung v. Transehe – Neu-Schwanenburg" in 1909.²⁹ Out of the whole

27 The classification of the represented artists by origin or school yields convincing results that, dominating A. von Pistohlkors's collection were artworks of German origin (72), the second largest group (17) consisted of French works of art, 15 artists have been mentioned in association with Flemish and Dutch schools, while 13 artists' names refer to the works that had been created in the traditions of Italian art. In addition, there were eight artists of British extraction, five Russian artists, one Danish and one Hungarian artist. In this way the statistics provide an idea of the composition of the collection, its owner's taste and the market of artworks, which was a decisive factor in the acquisition of famous artists' works of art.

28 August von Pistohlkors, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

29 Wilhelm Neumann, *Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung v. Transehe – Neu-Schwanenburg*. Riga: Kunstanstalt des Rigaer Tageblatts (Paul Kerkovius), 1909, 55 Seiten.

sizeable collection W. Neumann had chosen to describe merely 70 paintings attributed to Italian, German, Dutch and Flemish schools as found to be the most valuable items. No one today can obtain complete information on a number of works of art representing easel painting and applied arts, as well as those of interior decoration and furnishings that had extremely densely filled the representation and the private rooms of the Jaungulbene manor house. The turmoil of World War I and the social changes brought about by Bolshevik anarchy, as well as expropriation of manor property in 1917–1919 shattered the economic mechanism that the Baltic nobility had been creating and successfully running for centuries. The fragile layer of aristocratic culture and art was also irrevocably destroyed.

For future sociological and cultural studies the Latvian State Historical Archives has retained a tragically funny testimony of the era – minutes of an 18 November 1917 meeting of the Jaungulbene Landless Deputies Control Committee which presents an argument of a turbulent war situation of the recent years, threat of the army looting, global food shortages, and the local people's self-government efforts in an ambiguous situation "to protect, manage the estate inventory so that everything, including all food products, were not strained".³⁰ Given the historical situation in which the mansion owners, fleeing from war and danger of looting, abandoned their estate, it is entirely understandable that the attention of the Control Committee was principally focused on the ownerless mansion's property inventory and records of food stocks, which was recorded in a survey of manor ancillary buildings and occupied most of the minutes. However, among the several hundred items listed, with full responsibil-

ity and accuracy the members of the Committee recorded 165 entries pertaining to a huge number of manor household equipment: furniture, lighting fixtures, mirrors, textiles, clocks, silver cutlery and hunting trophies, stuffed animals and birds, a pair of elephant tusks and several globes, metal sculptures, pianos, "two large and two small framed paintings" and 54 empty picture frames of different sizes.³¹ The owners had apparently tried to save the valuable canvases and managed to take them out. The fate of the Jaungulbene manor house artistically valuable inventory is somewhat vague, but it is not hard to imagine. In 1928, preparing the description of the Jaungulbene manor house, experts of the Board for Monuments Protection received information from the local people that the Galgauska (Golgowsky) senior forester Ķiploks had come into possession of some of the manor furniture, as well as about some sculptures and chairs in the possession of the school administrator Krūmiņš. Apparently there had been an auction of the manor's movable property – objects of interior design and tools, and this was how the local intelligentsia had acquired both practical as well as artistic items. According to the recorded information of the Board for Monuments Protection, on the basis of what was said by Ore, a resident of Jaungulbene, the sculptures had been bought for 60 to 70 santims per piece, and chairs had been valued at five lats per piece.³²

In this concise story of Paul von Transehe-Roseneck's collection there are several stages that explain the formation of the collection and its fate in the tragic social change of the early 20th century. It was Paul von Transehe-Roseneck who was most enthusiastic about filling the manor house (renovated in Tudor Gothic forms in 1878) with paintings of

30 Protokols Jaun-Gulbenes pag. Besemnieku Deputātu Kontrol-Komitejas 18. novembrī 1917.g., in: LVVA, 624–1–13a, lp. 4.

31 LVVA, 624–1–13a, 6, 7 lp.

32 VKPAI (Valsts Kultūras pieminekļu inspekcijas arhīvs), Pieminekļu Valdes lieta „Jaungulbenes pils”. Pieminekļa apraksta lapa 1928.gada 13. augustā.



5.
Manor house Jaungulbene
(Neu-Schwanenburg),
about 1909. Post card

Jaungulbenēs
(Neu-Schwanenburg)
dvaras, apie 1909,
atvirukas

Italian, Dutch, Flemish and Austrian schools and other art objects. On his travels, and with the help of intermediaries mostly from Venice between 1880 and 1900, he assiduously purchased works of art and personally designed the interior of the manor house. However, it would be biased to say that the collection contained just the art of Western Europe. It was also enriched with local artefacts of Baltic history and culture whose origins were associated with Riga, Tallinn (Reval) and Dorpat. But it was not just to satisfy the collector's instinct that fed Paul von Transehe-Roseneck's passion. This representative of a Vidzeme wealthy gentry family was also an altruistic patron of the arts who in 1884 donated to the Riga German Art Society German artist Emil Ferdinand Heinrich Volker's painting "In the Circus Stable" (1868), which today is preserved in the "Riga Bourse" branch of the Latvian National Museum. On the opening of the Riga City

Art Museum P. von Transehe-Roseneck donated 19 paintings to the museum. Also, on 2 April 1915, P. von Transehe-Roseneck committed the Austrian artist Heinrich von Angeli's painting "Girl's Head" (1879) to the care of the museum. Furthermore, after a few years of brimming chaos, on 3 June 1918, P. von Transehe-Roseneck made a deposit of 51 paintings to the museum.³³ Following different diplomatic and even criminal peripeteias in the 1920s, in which the von Transehe-Roseneck family as the former owners of the paintings turned out the losers, a number of these paintings have been identified in St. Petersburg and Moscow art collections, while 14 paintings were returned to the museum and today belong to the "Riga Bourse" stock.

The archive materials, W. Neumann's catalogue of paintings, the works of art that are preserved in museum collections and historic photographs today help to reconstruct the Jaungulbene manor owners'

33 Paula fon Tranzē lieta. 1918. gada 3. jūnijs, in: VMM (tagad Latvijas Nacionālais mākslas muzejs) arhīva lieta Nr. 26–27.



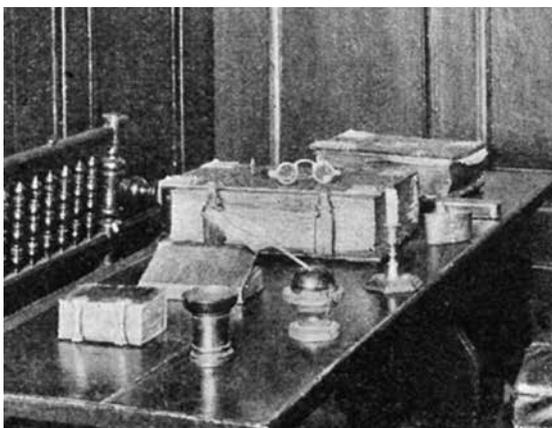
6.

Medieval room in the manor house Jaungulbene (Neu-Schwanenburg)

Jaungulbenēs (Neu-Schwanenburgo) dvaro rūmų Viduramžiu kambarys

7.

Still life with glasses, books and desk set in Medieval room of Jaungulbene (Neu-Schwanenburg) manor



Natiurmortas su taurėmis, knygomis ir stalais Jaungulbenēs (Neu-Schwanenburgo) dvaro rūmų Viduramžiu kambaryje

unusual collection in terms of its artistic values, personalities, and quality. This is the traditional task of museum professionals and compilers of annotated catalogues. Another, much more attractive option is to try and create a sociological sketch and model the interior décor designer's train of thought, striving to understand the "staging" and context of

the works of art in the premises, to restore the intellectual atmosphere of the bygone era and to try to re-assemble the fragments of the interior creator's intended message for guests and art lovers. This task is possible with the help of a series of six photos of the mansion interior, which, along with reproductions of 40 paintings, have been issued in only one copy of a romantic album (1909–1910) under an untranslatable title "Lichtbilder Halkyonischen Tage im Neu-Schwanenburger 'Tusculum'", the meaning of which lies in associations with ancient culture.³⁴ Considering the range of problems to be covered in this article, the manor house interior photos, which unfortunately are so few, appear the most helpful. The owners, Paul and Ada von Transehe-Rose-necks, had not deemed documenting all the interiors either in a large panoramic or detailed scope to be necessary; however, after the agrarian reform in Latvia, nationalization of the estate and the auction

34 LNMM Rīgas Birža, Inv. Nr. 2509.



8.

Johann Koken
von Grünblatt and Family.
Painted by S. Faujart
epitaph, 1653,
Museum of Riga History
and Navigation.
Inventory Number
VRVM – 56382

Rygos miesto tarybos
nario Johanno Kokeno
von Grünblatto šeimos
epitafija, tapė S. Faujart'as,
1653, Rygos istorijos ir
laivininkystės muziejus

of its inventory when the building was adapted to the needs of a school in the 1920s, nothing of its interiors had remained to document. Thus, the Jaungulbene manor house premises can be construed on the basis of the album photographs. The conclusion is that the interior is fully in line with

the aesthetics of 19th century eclectic style, typical of the residence-museum concept.

The album-inspired associations are generated by the Jaungulbene manor house interior, its museum-like ambience, which created a syncretic ensemble with its polysemantic eclectic architecture,

its extensive park, which was saturated with architectural and sculptural citations from treatises by landscaping theorists as well as clichés of antiquity. The term "Halkyonische Tage" in the album title is an allusion to the master and lady of the house welcoming every art lover and connoisseur to join in conversation and exchange thoughts on "antique themes". They would reach out to distant countries and events, like the associations of Chalkidiki peninsula far away in the Aegean Sea, which excites every classically educated intellectual's imagination with the nature, history and culture of its three peninsulas Pallene, Sithonia and Acte. The topos "Tusculum" is another key word for the perception of creative atmosphere, and it is understood that the time spent at the Jaungulbene manor is comparable to the "Tusculan Disputations" – scientific debate in which Cicero's guests spiritually enriched themselves at his country estate Tusculum, today called Frascati, near Rome. The author of this article has adopted these rules of the game and tried to follow the visible and perceptible indications posted in the premises of his manor by Paul von Transehe-Roseneck, an excellent connoisseur of culture.

The interiors of the Jaungulbene manor house were arranged and decorated almost "according to science" – following the scientific principle of chronological sequence of the exhibition halls at the Berlin Museumsinsel and Old Pinakothek in Munich. By following this order it was possible for the visitor to take part in a staged journey through several centuries and countries with different cultures. It begins in a small study with a checkerboard black-and-white tiled floor where the focal point is occupied by a Gothic credence – a hybrid of a chest and a cabinet on the stand [6 ill.]. It is likely that the arrangement of this room was inspired by the idea of the advent of German merchant culture to the Baltic, based on a romantic legend of "sailing

down the Duna". It is possible that the decoration of this remarkably luxurious credence was just an eclectic combination of 19th century neo-Gothic forms. However, this piece of furniture, just like the wooden panelling on the walls of the room, the simple and massive table, the bench, and the town councillor Johann von Koken von Grünblatt's family epitaph (painted with tempera on wood in 1653 by the painter S. Faujart and displayed in the Riga Dom, [8 ill.]),³⁵ outlined the stylized medieval merchant's environment. One can only imagine the difficulties that P. von Transehe-Roseneck faced to create, conceptually and in practice, the environment of the bygone time and to obtain a few but specific components to be combined in a stylistically coherent ensemble.

However, the staging of the exhibition of the collection, as I would like to call it, testifies to the noteworthy experience of creating sufficiently considered *mise en scènes* and groups of objects, even if on the basis of watching still life compositions. The diversity of forms leads to the assumption that the tin and stoneware vessels on the shelves along the perimeter of the room were mostly 16th and 17th century originals. However, the typical 19th century Historicist passion for replicas of historical trophies could also mislead viewers by recently created copies of earlier prototypes. The globe on the lid of the elevated credence, along with a map and a tin jug and dishes on the shelf, form a comprehensive thematic group that lends to the room an air of a medieval Riga and a Hansa merchant's office. An association with the still life composition of navigation instruments and a globe in the Hans Holbein Jr. painting "Ambassadors" (1533) in the British Museum in London may be just the fruit of the author's imagination, but this similarity reflects the Jaungulbene landlord's eventual study materials – works of art – wherein to search and find inspiration for the

35 *Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation*, Riga: Liesma, 1990, Picture 162.

thematic arrangement of groups of objects in the manor interior. Another carefully artful thematic staging in the same room appeared on the table where a museum-type decorative composition illustrated the world of things of a medieval humanist – a civil servant, a writer, a theologian or a scientist. The thick leather-bound books with magnificent fittings, a candlestick, writing utensils, an ink bottle and a sand jar, and spectacles as the most important humanist's attribute – all of this conveyed an unmistakable message of the arrangement's direct link to the Reformation and the early German Renaissance spiritual world [7 ill.]. In addition, it was important for the Baltic nobility, both politically and ideologically, to position themselves as puritanical and principled followers of Martin Luther's doctrine.

The context of the sociological narrative of an art collection in a distinctively designed interior takes us to the chronologically next thematic ensemble, analysing the overall image of the German Renaissance citations-rich interior of the salon, Heraldry Hall [9 ill.]. Its compositional centre is accentuated with "the Beautiful Melusine" – a woodcut mermaid body within an impressive Renaissance ornament suspended on a wrought iron chain from a stylized beamed ceiling. Under certain circumstances it might have also served as a lighting fixture. The Renaissance taste of the densely filled room came from the rustication of the doors, a set of armour, a cabinet, tapestry, a column-shaped pedestal with a figure of a lion, a Renaissance-style buffet and three heavy door-crowning cornices, cluttered with carved wood heraldic compositions and plastic mouldings [10 ill.]. These German cultural clichés of the interior might have had their ideological mission, especially in the period when the external image of the Jaungulbene manor still preserved the eclectic Tudor Gothic forms and its retrospective-rich interior could have been a sign of von Transehe-Roseneck family's ancient origin and



9.
Heraldry Hall in the manor house Jaungulbene (Neu-Schwanenburg)
Jaungulbenēs (Neu-Schwanenburg) dvaro rūmų Heraldikos salē



10.
An interior arrangement with set of armour, tapestry and paintings in Heraldry Hall of Jaungulbene (Neu-Schwanenburg) manor
Jaungulbenēs (Neu-Schwanenburg) dvaro rūmų Heraldikos salēs interjero kompozīcija su šarvais, gobelēnais ir tapybos kūriniais

presence in the Vidzeme political processes. Around 1909, when the photographs in question might have been taken, the castle exterior image had been altered in the massive geometric forms of late Art Nouveau, thus increasing the contrast between the semantic message of the outer image of the building and the very much different museum-told story of the Vidzeme Knighthood. Given that the premises of the manor house were also residential quarters, an inevitable element of comfort in the interior that claimed purity of period and style were the accessories of the second half of the 19th century salon: upholstered furniture, carpets, mats, and two rows of paintings on the tapestry.

11.

Italian Hall
in the manor house
Jaungulbene
(Neu-Schwanenburg)

Jaungulbenēs
(Neu-Schwanenburgo)
dvaro rūmų
Itališkoji salė



12.

Giovanni Battista Tiepolo.
“Madonna with the
Infant Jesus”.
Mid 18th century,
Italian Hall
of Jaungulbene
(Neu-Schwanenburg)
manor

Giovanni Battista Tiepolo,
Madona su kūdikiu,
XVIII a. vid.,
Jaungulbenēs
(Neu-Schwanenburgo)
dvaro rūmų
Itališkoji salė



In the central hall, which can be rightly called “Italian hall”, paintings by prominent Italian Renaissance and Baroque masters lent the room of delicate hues a rich content of Mediterranean nature and culture, as well as topics of a “Grand Tour” [11 ill.]. In this hall the spirit of a museum exhibition dominated, with its perimetric arrangement of silk-upholstered chairs, a console table, a small cabinet, girandoles with crystal pendants and a chandelier of considerable size. The character of the room was enhanced by large porcelain vases on pedestals. On the walls, arranged in two rows, were paintings by artists of the Venetian, Bolognese, Parmesan, Roman and Milanese schools that reflected the collection owner’s particular affection for Italian art and outlined a wide geographical range. The pride of P. von Transehe-Roseneck’s collection was a portrait of the Venetian admiral Vincenzo Capello by Titian or an artist of his school (c. 1535), Vincenzo di Biagio Catenà’s painting on poplar boards “Mary with Two Saints”, Sebastiano Ricci’s religious scene “The Vision of St. Ludwig”, Francesco Albani’s painting on a mythological subject “Triumph of Galatea”, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo’s mid-18th century painting “Madonna with the Infant Jesus” and many other works [12 ill.].³⁶ In the late 19th century the owner of the collection had taken particular care of an effective outfit for his treasures by ordering frames for many paintings, richly decorated with Renaissance and Baroque ornamentation, carved wood columns, cornices and fluting. G. B. Tiepolo’s painting “Madonna with the Infant Jesus” stood out with its massive Baroque wooden frame, the frame rectangle complemented by a broken architectonic cornice and scrolls. The painting was placed on the long wall opposite the windows, and a gilded carved wood table with vases and a miniature sculpture

36 Wilhelm Neumann, *Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung v. Transehe – Neu-Schwanenburg*. Riga: Kunstanstalt des Rigaer Tageblatts (Paul Kerkovius), 1909, pp. 5, 18, 40, 43, 45–47.



on it highlighted the picture among the rest of the works no less than its impressive frame.

The following room, which deserves special consideration, was a salon with a range of furniture, paintings and objects of decorative art that corresponded to the traditional notion of an Artist's studio, or gave the impression that the host himself was involved in painting or restoration [13 ill.]. This association is fully justified by the fact that Paul von Transehe-Roseneck was a great admirer of the Austrian painter Hans Makart's artwork and had purchased a number of large-format pictures on mythological subjects, portraits and still lifes on sale after the artist's death in Vienna, 1885. Of these preserved to our day in the museum collections in Latvia are nine pictures. In aristocratic Vienna, Hans Makart was also known as a master of applied arts, designer of luxurious festivities and choreographer of pompously decorated shows. This reputation was further spread by those clients who commissioned paintings in the artist's studio, full of theatrical accessories. Thus, it is no wonder that P. von Transehe-Roseneck's own taste in interior decoration is largely consistent with his beloved



painter's artistic vision, which inspired his search for stage-specific means of expression. This was how the Jaungulbene manor collection of paintings was replenished with several paintings from Hans Makart's legacy on scenes from Richard Wagner's operas "Das Rheingold" and "The Nibelung Ring", but the manor house interiors were enriched with quotations from the Austrian painter's theatrical productions. The room under discussion, saturated with Dutch and Flemish paintings and Baroque elements, was like such a production. It included an easel, Dutch landscapes, Chinese bronze sculptures, figurines by European sculptors and typical objects in an artist's work space, which conformed to the 19th century romantic clichés of the middle-class and nobility of a wealthy merchant's or even an artist's home in the 17th century Dutch and Flemish "golden age". Several Dutch landscapes, marines, pastoral and genre paintings in black frames, dark furniture, luxury boxes, and an easel in the room seemed to quote the detail-rich atmosphere as seen in the famous Vermeer paintings.³⁷

The spacious Dining room [14 ill.] was a longitudinally elongated rectangular room with a

37 The author describes the room with its Netherlandic and Flemish Baroque ambience of an improvised artist's studio. Exhibited in it were paintings by famous masters, such as "Village Landscape" by Cornelis Decker, "Canal Scene" by Jan van Goyen, "Young Mother" by Jacob van Loo, "Winter Landscape" by Klaes Molenaer, "Village Fertility" by Isaac van Ostade, "Amusement on the Ice" by Adrian van de Velde and others. – Wilhelm Neumann, *Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung*, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22, 26, 30, 33, 34, 48.

13.
"Artists Studio"
with elements of Dutch
and Flemish art in the
manor house Jaungulbene
(Neu-Schwanenburg)

Jaungulbenēs
(Neu-Schwanenburgo)
dvaro rūmų „Menininku
studija“ su olandų ir
flamandų meno
elementais

14.
Dining Room
in the manor house
Jaungulbene
(Neu-Schwanenburg)
Jaungulbenēs
(Neu-Schwanenburgo)
dvaro rūmų valgomasis

15.

A set of windows
in the Dining Room
of the manor house
Jaungulbene
(Neu-Schwanenburg)

Jaungulbenēs
(Neu-Schwanburgo)
dvaro rūmų
valgomojo langai



dark-coloured and Gothic-style profiled beam ceiling, wall panels heavily decorated with the family coat-of-arms and Baroque ornamentation, chequered parquet floors, dark-brown doors, jambs and a set of furniture matching the heavy tonality: cabinets, showcases, tables, chairs and stools. The dining room was designed both for the family's everyday meals and the reception of a large number of guests. Therefore, on the one side there was a large dining table with eight Baroque armchairs, while the rest of the room was arranged like a club with three small tables facing the windows. The room was filled with accessories typical of Baltic culture, emphasizing the links of the Baltic nobility with the large landowners of Prussia, with traders and dealers in agricultural produce in Danzig, and with the arts and crafts traditions established in the culture of German port cities. The end wall of the dining room was decorated with the so-called "Danzig wardrobe" of heavy forms and rich wood-carvings, whose cornice was complemented with porcelain vases and a large stoneware jug. The cornice above the door and the showcase at the door was filled with painted plates and a crockery collection. The alliance coats-of-arms in the carved wood panels reflected the genealogy of the von Transehe-Roseneck family, and the photograph shows bright areas above the wall panels with an

unknown 18th century French artist's canvases with allegories of Music and Moderation in octagonal frames, as well as the Neapolitan painter Fedele Fischetti's large painting "Wedding of Cupid and Psyche" in an ambitiously lavish Baroque frame. An important character-building component of the Jaungulbene manor dining hall interior certainly was a remarkably large range of textiles. The huge dining table was covered with a richly decorated rug, the chair seats and backs are upholstered with tapestry-like patterned fabric, while the three small tables were covered with soft-fringed tablecloths.

The Dining-room, with its separately placed tables, can be described as saturated with bronze, brass and silver items of the crockery collection, complemented with large-sized bronze ware [15 ill.]. The cornice above the door and the *étagère* over the showcase in the corner were filled with metal and porcelain plates, vases and pitchers. The narrow parts of the wall between the windows were covered with wooden panels, like the rest of the dining room. The historical photograph shows that the panels were separated by twisted columns with a wide ledge on them. The same decorating technique was used at the end of the dining room with the Danzig wardrobe with the similarly designed wall panels on both its sides. The wide wooden ledges served to hold 17th and 18th century silver "thaler tankards", characteristic of German applied arts, but the free space above the wall panels were filled with chased and ornamented brass candle-light reflectors. In the window apertures there were striking large-size bronze candlesticks that created a particular shape-and-material harmony with the twisted columns. What was so special about the wall panel design with the columns that they deserve attention? They present the remains of a 17th century altar fence in St. Peter's church in Riga which, on the architect Johann Daniel Felsko's recommendation, was removed in 1850 and pre-

served by the church. A quarter of a century later, in 1878, when the church was in need of funds for painting the portal of the church and repairing the façade, the columns were put up for sale and P. von Transehe-Roseneck purchased at least ten of them. As 16th/17th century work by the Riga bronze-casting master Hans Meyer and evidence of the Baroque period, they were successfully integrated in the dining room interior of the Jaungulbene manor house.³⁸ This quote of Riga's applied arts in the dining-room design again testified to P. von Transehe-Roseneck's true interest in the preservation of historical relics as a Baltic cultural artefact collector.

In terms of the artistic solution for the family, the portrait gallery was peculiar: in the Jaungulbene manor as it was given a typical 19th century "second Rococo" interior. It was also known as the "Baroness's room" and, perhaps, in arranging the space Ada von Transehe-Roseneck's tastes and personal involvement had to be considered (16 ill.). Based on a sample of modern interior design encountered in very wealthy villas, castles or spacious apartments of German and English aristocracy, P. von Transehe-Roseneck had renounced the heavy Baroque or even the Enlightenment period pomposity of an ancestral gallery and opted for a spacious though cosy salon, where to visually and emotionally communicate with the ancestors in marble busts and paintings. The picture gallery was turned into a salon by the wallpapers in saturated dark hues, a dark fireplace by the Riga ceramic company "Zelm & Boehm", a large upholstered sofa with a round table and several smaller tables, a marquetry-decorated escritoire and several chairs with graceful backs. White marble portraits on dark marble pedestals stood on either side of the sofa.



Just above the sofa was a fine carved frame with a portrait of a lady holding a book, which could have been "Damenportrait" by the Viennese painter Heinrich von Angeli that on 18 August 1920 was deposited at the Riga City Art Museum, as indicated in the list of paintings.³⁹ For the painting's attribution to the work of H. von Angeli speaks the fact that this Vienna portrait painter followed H. Makart's theatrical productions and his paintings were very popular in the courts and aristocratic circles of Vienna, London and St. Petersburg.

The oval portraits in rich Baroque frames to the right of the fireplace have survived until the present day. They are Jānis Stanislavs Rose's portrait of August Wilhelm Otto Leopold von Transehe-Roseneck (1880), and the portrait of his wife, Maria von Transehe-Roseneck, which was painted in 1882 by the Italian artist Guglielmo de Sanctis. Seen in the photo to the left of the fireplace is a double portrait of two girls, one of who – to the left – is P. von Transehe-Roseneck's wife Ada von Pistohlkors as a child. On the right of the portrait is her sister Lulla von Pistohlkors. This was the Berlin painter Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Krueger's portrait of the children commissioned in 1858 by the von Pistohlkors

16.

Portrait gallery or so called "Baroness Room" in the manor house Jaungulbene (Neu-Schwanenburg)

Jaungulbenēs (Neu-Schwanenburgo) dvaro rūmū Portretu galerija, arba vadinamasis Baronienēs kambarys

38 Gunārs Zirnis, *Pētera baznīca*, Rīga: Zinātne, 1984, pp. 102–103; Johann Christoph Schwartz, "Die Altarschranke der Petrikerche zu Riga", in: *Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschtums*, 1994, Bd. XLI, Lueneburg/Muenchen, 1993, p. 40.

39 Paula fon Tranzē lieta. 1918. gada 3. jūnijs, in: VMM (tagad Latvijas Nacionālais mākslas muzejs) arhīva lieta Nr. 26–27.

17.
The Sculpture Hall
in the manor house
Jaungulbene
(Neu-Schwanenburg)

Jaungulbenēs
(Neu-Schwanenburg)
dvaro rūmų
Skulptūru salė



family. Ada von Transehe-Roseneck had placed the portrait as a sentimental childhood keepsake in the salon where she loved to stay.

The Baroness's room or portrait-gallery salon had been something of a hybrid – a mixed form of interior culture that simultaneously represented both the ancestral portrait gallery, which was so important to maintain family prestige, and, with its domestic, even intimate character performed the role of a cosy lady's boudoir in a large aristocratic residence. Its emotional appeal had been achieved with the stylistic means of the “second Rococo” in mid-19th century interior culture, whose artistic standards for luxury finish and fittings, comfortable and typologically diverse furniture, and a wide range of objects of applied arts and souvenirs were easily met by the early mass production of the in-

dustrial era. This was how it was demonstrated to the visitors of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry in London (1851). By using internationally available magazines of professional information, catalogues and advertising materials, architects in the second half of the 19th century could provide the moneyed Baltic nobility with domestic culture of the highest quality.

The Sculpture hall, which consisted of two adjoining rooms in the left wing of the Jaungulbene manor house, from the point of view of function and style also represented a hybrid [17 ill.]. There was a fireplace, soft upholstered or covered furniture, luxurious carpets and hangings, and paintings and pedestals, like a comfortable boudoir, with a heavy theatre salon-like atmosphere that absorbed every noise. The deep twilight and many textiles made the

space comparable to the Schwerin palace interiors of Grand Duke Friedrich Franz II's of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in Germany, where the semi-darkness of the room could be broken only by modern light fixtures to brighten up the object or work of art with a purposefully directed beam of light. Among the furniture there were palms, girandoles, kerosene lamps on pedestals and yet more house-plants, as if contradicted one another: light fixtures tended to turn the space into a salon, while the big plants and sculptures at various levels suggested the light mood of a conservatory. All interior furniture and household objects in the room served the sole purpose of wrapping the richly represented sculpture in a cotton-soft and feminine atmosphere.

The structure of the Jaungulbene landlord P. von Transehe-Roseneck's collection shows that he had a passion for collecting paintings of famous artists, which had prevailed over the success in sculpture acquisition, as the Jaungulbenes manor photos show mostly replicas of Greek and Roman as well as classical period sculptures. Of course, the photo in the album "Lichtbilder Halkyonischen der Tage im Neu-Schwanenburger Tusculum" shows a marble copy of the sculpture of Aphrodite of Knidos on the left side of the mantelpiece, a life-size marble head of a mythological image in the centre of the wall between the windows, a pair of bronze figurines of athletes on the left and right of the room, placed opposite each other on pedestals and reduced to the size of chamber-style artwork. Their plastic perfection and grace in the salon interior were contested by a number of banal sculptures of *putti* on flower pot stands. In this salon, full of decidedly feminine taste and mood, and containing more sculptures than any other room in the Jaungulbene manor house, the marble copy of Antonio Canova's famous sculpture "Paolina Borghese as *Venus Victrix*" (Victorious

Venus, the original 1804–1808) metonymically reminded guests of happiness, joy and love of the eternal presence in the secular life of Ada and Paul von Transehe-Rosenecks. Such an idea was suggested by a deliberately staged *mise en scène* in the sculpture salon, on the table just below the pedestal of Paolina Borghese's sculpture, involving the "bridal cup" (Jungfernbecher), a characteristic element of German domestic culture and sometimes also known as the wedding cup on the table. This is a popular silversmiths' masterpiece of Renaissance and Baroque art, which incorporates a stylized figure of a woman in skirts, holding in her raised hands a miniature tipping cup.⁴⁰ The masterful use of the cup is rooted in German culture along with other Renaissance period traditions, and on the wedding day the groom and the bride must demonstrate it by emptying the cup both at the same time without spilling a single drop of wine. The young man's task is to drink the largest amount of the liquid from the inverted silver female figurine, while the bride should try and drink her portion of the beverage from the small cup in the hands of the figurine.

Having presented an illustrative insight into the sociological characterization of some historical collections, the author of the present article expresses his gratification to the international audience of specialists that both civil and aristocratic circles living in the Baltic territory in the 19th century possessed serious and significant collections of works of art. With the assistance of organized cross-border sale of antiquities, while travelling, through contacts with European museums and experts representing them, families who sold their collections, as well as with the help of art galleries, academies and brokers, the representatives of the wealthy class could acquire either works by famous artists or copies of their works. Heterogeneous collections that included

40 "Jungfernbecher", in: *Lexikon der Kunst*, Bd. II, VEB E. A. Leipzig: Seemann Verlag, 1971, p. 492.

both originals and replicas were an inevitable result of the art market and collecting process – an inexorable companion of any collector’s passion. Another aspect of collecting has been associated with the task to preserve and exhibit works of art, and the inevitability of the situation led to either the development of early public exhibitions, public galleries and museums, or stimulated the construction of spacious palaces or manor houses, or the purchase of large apartments and their expansion by adding rooms – salons, galleries, pavilions, conservatories, etc. – for exhibiting the collections to a limited circle of family members and closest friends. Collecting facilitated the adaptation of secular interiors to art exhibitions and urged the art lover community to think of suitable space for the storage of paintings, sculptures, graphics and items of decorative art. Considering that the average Baltic wealthy civil and aristocratic society was largely focused on agricultural production, its efforts to collect and exhibit a large amount of artwork was usually associated with an increase of residential space, filling it with furniture and works of art as a decorative garnish, complementary to the emotional and aesthetic ambience, and, of course, as an accumulation of potential material values of the works of art.

European spiritual culture is characterized by a particularly reverent attitude to historical evidence, cultural heritage and traditions of the past, which also include aestheticization and idealization of the achievements of material culture – the crafts and decorative art. In light of the criteria of socially motivated values it is the works by talented masters that merit special recognition and acclaim and become collection items. Their high artistic and technical performance, which is the result of a gifted individual’s talent, acquires a value that can be measured both in terms of money and the

uniqueness and rarity of the product. This is where the axiological relationships are formed among the creator of a work of art, the autonomous and inherent value of a finished masterpiece and the art collector. Susan M. Pearce, professor of Museum Studies of the University of Leicester, identifies a highly developed and coordinated interaction between the collector as an individual and his collection as a universe of material objects. This interaction results in “a certain relationship with the world of objects in which people and views are materialized, and objects, if not quite divinized, then certainly humanised”.⁴¹ The cultural environment of the Baltic past can boast of a number of outstanding examples of success of individually motivated joy of collecting and creation of collections. To highlight some of the brightest as objects of sociological study and to provide an insight in the quality, fates and perceptual aspects of these collections has been the task of this article.

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MENO KOLEKCIJOS SOCIOLOGIJA: KOLEKCIJŲ VAIDMUO XIX A. INTERJERO DEKORE

Ojars Sparitis

REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: meno sociologija, meno kolekcija, Baltijos vokiečių didikai, senienos, Jaungulbenės (Neu-Schwanenburg) dvaras, Paulas ir Ada von Transehe-Roseneckai.

SANTRAUKA

Šiame straipsnyje nagrinėjama meno kolekcijų problema ir sparčiai augantis meno kolekcionavimo judėjimas Rygoje ir dabartinės Latvijos ir Lietuvos teritorijose XIX a. – XX a. pradžioje. Dėl skirtingos ekonominės galios, padėties diduomenės hierarchijoje ir išsilavinimo lygio XVII–XVIII a. tik kelios šeimos buvo pajėgios kolekcionuoti taikomojo ir vaizduojamojo meno kūrinius. Tarp jų kaip meno kolekcininkus galima paminėti von Behrų, von der Osten-Sackenų, von der Recke, von Hahnų ir kelias kitas šeimas. Naudodami iš žemės ūkio, vedybų, verslo kelionių ir naudingų asmeninių ryšių gaunamas pajamas, sėkmingos politinės karjeros laikotarpiu negausūs diduomenės atstovai sąmoningai kolekcionavo meno kūrinius interjero puošybai, kasdieniam ir šventiniam naudojimui. Vis dėlto matyti gana kontrastingas tokių diduomenės kolekcijų pobūdis, kai šeimos sidabras, baldai, kai kurie egzotiški artefaktai ir šeimos portretai buvo svarbiausi kaip interjero detalės ar memorialiniai objektai.

XIX a. – XX a. pradžioje Rygos verslininkai, valdininkai ir miesto vadovai bei turtinga visos šalies diduomenė naudojos savo ekonomine galia ir asmeniniais ryšiais su meno pirkliais, kaupdami didžiules tapybos, grafikos ir skulptūros

kolekcijas. Jie elgėsi pagal šiuolaikines taisykles ir užsakinėdavo jiems patikusius meno kūrinius per aukcionus, galerijas, pirkdavo skulptūras ir tapybos darbus tiesiogiai iš menininkų studijų, meno mugėse ir kt.

Tarp garsiausių meno kolekcininkų minėtinas Otto Hermannas von Vietinghoffas, Alūksnės (Marienburgo) dvaro šeimininkas, kuris buvo sukaupęs didžiulę baroko laikotarpio italų, flamandų ir olandų menininkų tapybos darbų kolekciją. Kai kurių iš šių paveikslų kopijos išliko Alūksnės bažnyčios saugykloje: Giovanni Lanfranco *Madona*, Palma Vecchio *Guldymas į kapą*, Paolo Tibaldi *Angelas* ir kt. Von der Roppų šeima, valdžiusi Pakruojo, Šeduvos, Bikščio, Feldhofo, Neuenburgo ir Neu-Autzo dvarus, bičiuliavosi su skulptoriumi Berteliu Thorvaldsenu ir buvo įsigijusi nemažai šio garsaus Neoklasicizmo epochos menininko marmuro skulptūrų.

Sociologiniam diskursui apie meno kūrinių kolekcionavimą yra labai svarbus Livonijos didikas Augustas von Pistohlkorsas ir jo kolekcionavimo bei kolekcijos aprašymo atvejis. Savo didžiulės meno kolekcijos kataloge jis atskleidžia savo kolekcionavimo motyvus ir aistrą bei pateikia profesionalius 300 meno objektų aprašus; jie buvo eksponuojami specialiai tuo tikslu pastatytame prabangiame didžiuliame Koltzeno (Biriņi) dvare. Remiantis aprašais, tapybos kolekciją sudarė vokiečių, olandų, prancūzų, italų ir rusų mokyklų menininkų darbai, tačiau apskritai ją būtų galima apibūdinti kaip eklektišką.

Jaungulbenės (Neu-Schwanenburgo) dvaro savininkas Paulas von Transehe-Roseneckas kolekcionavimo meną puoselėjo visiškai priešingai – siekdamas eksponuoti vertingiausių meno kūrinius vidinėse savo dvaro rūmų erdvėse, jis juos išdėstė labai kvalifikuotai ir profesionaliai, pagal scenografijos principus, imituodamas kunstkameras ar „natiurmortus“. Meno kūrinių

ir spalvingomis interjero detalėmis jis nuosekliai kūrė ypatingas kompozicijas gyvenamojoje dvaro rūmų erdvėje, remdamasis stilistiniais, epochų ir regionų išdėstymo principais, kurie buvo naudojami Miuncheno Senojoje Pinakotekoje ar Berlyno Muziejų saloje.

Keletas iš daugelio Jaungulbenės dvaro rūmų kambarių buvo įrengti specialiai, siekiant atskleisti šeimininko palankumą Hanzos miesto Rygos istorijai ir kultūrai bei išdėstant meno kūrinius ir baldus pagal vokiečių ar italų Renesanso ir Baroko epochų skonį – antai studija buvo dekoruota olandų ir flamandų stiliumi, o baronienės kambarys – „antrojo rokoko“ stiliumi. Įrenginėdami Skulptūrų salę, šeimininkas ir jo žmona rėmėsi austrų tapytojo Hanso Makarto „laukinio“ stiliaus su gausiomis dekoratyvinėmis detalėmis principais. Barono polinkis siekti teatriško efekto gyvenamuosiuose kambariuose, garsių tapytojų meno kūrinių gausa bei aukšta meninė vertė ir visas puošnus ir detalių nestokojantis Jaungulbenės dvaro rūmų interjero ansamblis jį pavertė įspūdinga medžiaga sociologinei studijai, o išvados leidžia apibūdinti tipiškiausius meno kolekcionavimo Baltijos regione bruožus.