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**HIIU-SUUREMÕISA AND KOLGA.
TWO MANOR ENSEMBLES OF THE
DE LA GARDIE AND STENBOCK FAMILIES
IN THE MIRROR OF THE 17TH–18TH CENTURY
NOBLE CULTURE**

Six versts from Heltermaa Harbour lies the proud Suuremõisa (Grossenhof) ensemble. The first time the manor was mentioned was in 1633. Before that, it was known by the parish – Pühalepa (Pühalep), or else Halliku, to mark the multiple springs in the area, which have by today expanded into a large pond. In 1586, the manor belonged to cavalry captain Christoph Stackelberg. In 1620, Gustav II Adolf rented this domain of 254 ploughlands and seven islands for three years to Jacob De la Gardie, who bought it outright in 1624 and bequeathed it together with other manors to his son Axel Julius De la Gardie, from whom it was expropriated by the Swedish government in 1691. Thereafter Hiiumaa (Dagö) went under the rule of the Russian crown, who gave it to its admiralty. In 1755, Axel De la Gardie's niece, duchess Ebba Margaretha Stenbock regained her Hiiumaa manors by the gracious order of empress Catherine [Elizabeth Petrovna – J. M.] and on the command of the senate. In 1755–1760, a luxurious manor house was built in Suuremõisa, which in its forms clearly expresses the charming delicate styles of baroque and rococo. In 1796, count Jacob Pontus Stenbock mortgaged Suuremõisa with its adjacent manors to chamberlain O. Reinhold Ludwig Ungern-Sternberg, who later became

the anti-hero of many scary pirate novels. By using false lights in the lighthouse, he lured ships ashore on the stormy sea. For killing his Swedish skipper Malm, he was exiled to Tobolsk, where he led an orderly life, building a church for the local Lutheran parish with his own money. Since then, Suuremõisa belonged to the Ungern-Sternbergs. From 1909, it was in possession of countess Dorothea von Ungern-Sternberg.
 Wilhelm Siegfried Stavenhagen, 1856.¹

These words by Wilhelm Siegfried Stavenhagen, artist and historian from Kuldiga (Goldingen) in Courland, written in 1856, assemble fragments of memory which history has brought to us about one of Estonia's largest and most well-known noble manors. Later authors have simply repeated his words without questioning the provenance of Stavenhagen's information. Heinz Pirang, in the first volume of his monograph on Baltic manor architecture which was published in Riga in 1926, repeats it almost verbatim. In that volume, he highlights the high Dutch roof crowning the three-storied manor house, its central tall triangular fronton and the symmetrically positioned chimneys on the top of the roof.

The *corps de logis* is adjoined by two wings forming the *cour de honneur*. It was also Pirang who suggested that the wings were completed in 1772.² Helmi Üprus, in her *History of Estonian Architecture* in 1965³, agrees with those statements. Ants Hein associates Suuremõisa with one of the more spectacular palaces of the De la Gardie family – the 1720s built Tullgarn Palace, and its architect the French fortification engineer Joseph Gabriel Destain.⁴ This is however not confirmed by the date of construction, or stylistic analyses. Tullgarn was a grandiose residence, which the De la Gardie family had purchased from the Oxenstiernas during the time of Jacob De la Gardie's spouse and former sweetheart of Gustav II Adolf, Ebba Brahe (1596–1674). The latter's Francophile grandson Magnus Julius De la Gardie (1669–1741) had the

1 Wilhelm Siegfried Stavenhagen, *Neues Album baltischer Ansichten / nach Zeichnungen von Wilhelm Siegfried Stavenhagen*, hrsg. und eingel. von Carl Meissner (Reval: Kluge, 1913), 18–19.

2 Heinz Pirang, *Das baltische Herrenhaus*. Teil 1, Die älteste Zeit bis um 1750 (Riga: Jonck & Poliewsky, 1926), 52.

3 *Eesti arhitektuuri ajalugu*, ed. by Harald Arman, Herman Papp, Uno Kammal, Helmi Üprus (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965), 276.

4 Ants Hein, *Eesti kunsti ajalugu*, 2, 1520–1770 (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2005), 239–240.



FIG. 1. STEEL ENGRAVING OF HIIU-SUUREMÕISA BY WILHELM SIEGFRIED STAVENHAGEN, 1856. WILHELM SIEGFRIED STAVENHAGEN, *NEUES ALBUM BALTISCHER ANSICHTEN*, HRSG. UND EINGEL. VON CARL MEISSNER (REVAL: KLUGE, 1913).

palace rebuilt in the spirit of the French noble palaces (*hotel* in French) of the new era.⁵ Suuremõisa, on the other hand, despite its size and its 62 rooms, is rather a country manor, which is characterised by the baroque voluptuous proportions and expressively decorative form and details common to the Baltic *villa rustica*.

Tullgarn and Suuremõisa are separated by half a century of power struggles, plague and famine, which, true, did not touch Hiiumaa as severely as mainland Estonia, but which cannot be forgotten, nonetheless. Estonia is not Sweden, even though it has been a long-time aspiration. The roots of Estonian noble culture stretch back to the Middle Ages, when under the dictate of the State of the Teutonic Order the Baltic model of colonisation was developed. In the 17th century, Estonia and Livonia became the overseas provinces of the *Tre kronor*

5 Fredric Bedoire, *Svenska slott och herrgardar. En historisk reseguide* ([s.l.]: Bonnier Fakta, 2017), 251.



FIG. 2. COAT OF ARMS OF THE DE LA GARDIE FAMILY, 1830–1850. (COLLECTION OF THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM OF THE ESTONIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY). PHOTO: ESTONIAN HISTORY MUSEUM.

FIG. 3. COAT OF ARMS OF THE STENBOCK FAMILY, 1830–1850. (COLLECTION OF THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM OF THE ESTONIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY). PHOTO: ESTONIAN HISTORY MUSEUM.

(Three Crowns), where the prevalent political structure reduced the local nobility not only to second- but third-class citizens. When they temporarily moved to a province, the Swedish nobility lost their vote in the parliament. 'And when a Swede has manors or property in Livonia or Ingria or other recently obtained or future Swedish lands, they cannot have a say in the matters of our state, as long as they are staying in their manor and are outside of Sweden or Finland.'⁶

For the central power, the overseas province attained importance as a military base and economic backup. According to Aleksander Loit, Estonia was a real colony, where social and cultural processes occurred differently from the centre,⁷ which also impacted the enterprises of

6 *Sveriges regeringsformen 1634–1809*, ed. by Emil Hildenbrand (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1891). Cited: Aleksander Loit, 'Die Baltische Länder im schwedischen Ostseereich', *Die schwedischen Ostseeprovinzen. Estland und Livland im 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Aleksander Loit, Helmut Piirimäe. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Baltica Stockholmiensia, 11 (Stockholm: Centrum för baltiska studier, 1993), 76.

7 Loit, 'Die Baltische Länder im schwedischen Ostseereich', 67.

owners of large estates in Estonia, including the De la Gardie family.⁸ The clocks were slower in the province. When in Sweden the foundations for a modern society and the enlightenment culture were developing, in Estonia and Livonia people were unable to join the zeitgeist.⁹ The provincialisation increased further after the Great Northern War, when the Russian tsar became the ruler of Estonia and Livonia. To secure their political rear, Peter I and his successors reversed the reduction of manors implemented by Charles XI, thus allowing the anachronistic economic and cultural relations to stay in place.

From the 17th century, the history of Kolga (Kolck) and Hiiu-Suuremõisa go hand in hand. They are like two siblings, of whom Kolga is older and more venerable. In the power hierarchy of the province, Kolga played a leading role throughout the times. Suuremõisa was located farther away from larger centres, and the rhythm of life there was quieter and one could even say – more bucolic. During the Great Northern War (1700–1721) Kolga was obtained by the Scottish count Gustaf Otto Douglas (1687–1771), a relation of the De la Gardies, who had been taken prisoner in the Poltava battle and thereafter enrolled in the Russian army. In 1723, Kolga was returned, together with Kõnnu (Kõnda), Loo (Neuenhof) and Kiiu (Kida), to the descendants of Christina Catharina De la Gardie (1632–1704) and her husband field marshal count Gustaf Otto Stenbock (1614–1685),¹⁰ which established the Estonian branch of the Stenbock family. From Otto's son Magnus Stenbock (1664–1717), Kolga was inherited by his son Bengt Ludwig Stenbock (1694–1737), who passed it on to his brother Fredrik Magnus Stenbock (1696–1745). In 1722, Fredrik Magnus married Ebba Margaretha De la Gardie (1704–1776), niece of the former owner of Hiiumaa Axel Julius De la Gardie, which united two powerful families. Kolga and Hiiu-Suuremõisa

8 Stellan Dahlgren, 'Der schwedische Absolutismus am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts und die Integration des Reichs', *Die schwedischen Ostseeprovinzen. Estland und Livland im 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Aleksander Loit, Helmut Piirimäe. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Baltica Stockholmiensia, 11 (Stockholm: Centrum för baltiska studier, 1993), 18ff.

9 Kerstin Sundberg, 'Introduction', *Modernisation and Tradition. European Local and Manorial Societies 1500–1900*, ed. by Kerstin Sundberg, Tomas Germundsson, Kjell Hansen (Riga: Nordic Academic Press, 2004), 13.

10 Gustav Otto Douglas was a son of colonel Gustaf Douglas (1648–1705), governor of Västerbotten, and Beata Margareta Stenbock (1661–1735). His paternal grandfather was the Swedish field marshal Robert Douglas, and his maternal grandfather was field marshal Gustaf Otto Stenbock. *Genealogisches Handbuch der Baltischen Ritterschaften*, Teil 2, Estland (Görlitz: Starke, 1930), 71.

are a testament to the centuries-old connections within the noble culture, which is above states and nations and has thus developed through many heterogeneous impulses and modes of communication, establishing its own 'noble language' (*Adelssprache*) and securing its unchangingly self-centred place in an exceedingly changing world.¹¹

The history of the De la Gardies and Stenbocks in Estonia is an example of the cosmopolitan spirit's self-determination within concrete local-historical frames. Blending with the norms and traditions of the local ruling classes, in their cultural identity the Stenbocks, who had inherited their Estonian properties from the De la Gardies, remained detached from the rest of the nobility, whose world had many connections with Scandinavian and Russian elites, in addition to the Baltic German cultural circles. At the dinner table of the Stenbocks of Kolga, German, Russian, English, French, as well as Swedish were spoken. The Great Theatre of the World (*Theatrum mundi*) and international nobility may be perceived in the personal ego of the Stenbocks, with roots in Renaissance and a high point in the 17th century, i.e. during the birth of the Swedish Empire in its universal political and cultural borders. In order to understand what the world of the Stenbocks was like in the 18th century, when two of the most prominent ensembles of Estonian manorial architecture were built, we have reason to look back. Without doubt, we should begin at the time of their architectural genesis, when the unique *genius loci* of both places started developing.

LIFE STARTED IN KOLGA

Kolga was the ancient home of the De la Gardies, with a history that stretches beyond centuries. It is believed that in the 1220s the son of Waldemar II, vice-regent of Estonia duke Canute had entrusted these lands to the Roma Abbey of Gotland.¹² In the so-called big list of the Danish Census Book (*Liber Census Daniæ*), compiled in 1241, one of the six villages bestowed upon Gotland's monks is Kolga, a.k.a.

11 Wolf Peter Klein, 'Fürst und Wort. Einige Vorüberlegungen zu einer Sprach- und Kommunikationsgeschichte des Adels der frühen Neuzeit', *Von Kotzebue bis Fleming: Literatur-, Kultur- und Sprachkontakt im Baltikum*, hrsg. von Mari Tarvas (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012).

12 Kersti Markus, *Visual Culture and Politics in the Baltic Sea Region, 1100–1250* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 336.

Põdratus (*in Holki Potraeth, alio nomino*), which some have considered to have been a large village community.¹³ Friedrich Georg Bunge points to the Cistercians' properties in the neighbourhood, publishing a document from 1259, according to which 'the king of Danes and Wends Eric V Klipping confirmed the list of villages in Harju and Viru counties donated to Cistercian monks by duke Canute'. Kolga is not directly mentioned, however. Kolga manor or village (both are possible interpretations) is mentioned as *Villa Kolco* in the 1290 list of confirmed domains of the Cistercians of king Eric VI.¹⁴

The beginning was vague and in many ways it remains debated by historians. As the name suggests, it was a periphery or hinterland, where travellers happened rarely, at least initially. It was precisely in those godforsaken, ancient places where the Cistercians preferred to establish their domains. As it turned out later, the location was perfectly chosen. Kolga had an abundance of timber, which was needed both locally and in Tallinn. The location by the big road, where even at the time of the monks there existed a centre of activity (Kiiu), encouraged interactions and development. According to Paul Johansen, the monks built their residence in Kolga as early as the 13th century.¹⁵ Kersti Markus suggests that they were not a subsidiary of the *Roma Abbey* (Swedish: Roma kloster), but a domain that connected the surrounding villages, which were supposed to fulfil the living needs of the granary (*grangium*) established in Kolga. Following the Estonian St. George's Night uprising, the manor's economic functions became considerably extended.¹⁶ The first certain notices

13 Enn Tarvel, *Lahemaa ajalugu* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1983), 21–22.

14 *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, Bd. I, 1093–1300, hrsg. von Friedrich Georg von Bunge (Reval; Dorpat: Kluge und Ströhm, Heinrich Laakmann, 1853), No. 381, 93. The same is also mentioned in: *Est- und livländische Brieflade: Eine Sammlung von Urkunden zur Adels- und Gütergeschichte Est- und Livlands in Uebersetzungen und Auszügen*, Erster Theil, Dänische und Ordenszeit. Erster Band, hrsg. von Friedrich Georg von Bunge, Robert von Toll (Reval: Kluge und Ströhm, 1856), No. 19, 19.

15 Paul Johansen, *Die Estlandliste der Liber Census Daniae* (Kopenhagen; Reval: [s.n.], 1933), 369. According to other sources, the first monastery was located by Kuusalu (Kusal) Church, where the monks of Kolga also established a parish church. (*Ehstlands Geistlichkeit in geordneter Zeit- und Reihenfolge*, zsgest. von Hugo Richard Paucker [Reval: Lindfors Erben, 1849], 21. See also: Jaan Jung, *Muinasajateadus eestlaste maalt: III, Kohalised muinasaja kirjeldused Tallinnamaalt = Ancient History from the Land of Estonians: III, Local Descriptions of Olden Times from Tallinn* [Tallinn: A. Busch'i rmtkpl., 1910], 79.)

16 Kersti Markus, 'Misjonär või mõisnik? Tsitertslaste roll 13. sajandi Eestis', *Acta historica Tallinnensia*, 14 (2009), 20.



FIG. 4. LAYOUT OF WALLS DISCOVERED DURING FIELDWORK. DRAWING BY VILLU KADAKAS. VILLU KADAKAS, 'KOLGA KLOOSTRIMÕISA JÄÄNUSED', *TUTULUS* (2016).

about the manor in Kolga date back to 1298.¹⁷ In 2015, archaeologist Villu Kadakas led an excavation which uncovered ruins of medieval structures in a rectangle (70 × 50 m) in front of the present-day manor house. The finding consisted of former monasterial buildings: a house, a chapel and a cellar in the north-western corner, on top of which there could have stood a square fortified tower.¹⁸

However, today's discoveries do not offer a conclusive answer to the question, what was the character of the monasterial buildings and where were they located? Together with all its outbuildings, the monasterial manor could have covered a large area, incorporating buildings and ponds needed for the Cistercians' fisheries, as well as a hillock that had grown out of an old marshy ground, known in

17 Herbert Ligi, *Eesti Talurahva olukord ja klassivõitlus Liivi sõja algul: 1558–1561* (Tallinn: [Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Ajaloo Instituut], 1961), 327, 331.

18 Villu Kadakas, 'Kolga kloostrimõisa jäänused', *Tutulus* (2016), 36–37.

local folklore as Ghost Hill. Enn Tarvel points to a number of notes on the holy brothers and the bailiff of Kolga in the oldest ledger and census book of Tallinn from 1377–1402, adding that Kolga must have been of central importance to the monks, also including a convent building.¹⁹ The author of this article does not discount that opinion.

In 1519, the Cistercians of Gotland decided to exchange their relatively faraway and secluded property for the lands of the Danish king Christian II in Denmark, which were closer to them. This led to a longwinded quarrel with the Order who considered themselves the lords of this land. They went to court, crossed swords, and other interested parties also became involved in the matter: next to the vassals, the town of Tallinn, who in 1528 bought Kolga monastery's property next to the Dominican monastery on Monk Street (now Russian street). In 1528, Kolga was enfeoffed by king Frederick to Hans Natzmer.²⁰ In 1536, the feudal estate was purchased by Andreas Decker, who was known in Riga as a real estate owner, and from him it was bought by Gottschalck Remmlingrode, known as a merchant and a pirate,²¹ from whom it went in 1551 to Christoph von Münchhausen (Mömminghusen), vassal of the king of Denmark, brother of the bishop of Saaremaa and bailiff of Lääne county.²²

PONTUS DE LA GARDIE – FIELD MARSHAL AND WAR HERO

In the beginning of the Livonian War, in 1558, the troops of Ivan IV, having been forced to retreat from Tallinn, burnt down Kolga manor, imprisoned the estate manager Wrangel and killed a multitude of peasants.²³ In 1581, king John III donated Kolga as a reward for loyal services to the French war hero Pontus De la Gardie (1520–1585), fiancé of his extramarital daughter Sophie von Gyllenhielm. De la Gardie had arrived in Estonia in 1573, risen to the rank of commander

19 Enn Tarvel, *Lahemaa ajalugu* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1983), 41–42.

20 Ligi, *Eesti Talurahva olukord ja klassivõitlus Liivi sõja algul: 1558–1561*, 331.

21 Johansen, *Die Estlandliste der Liber Census Daniae*, 368.

22 Carl Julius Paucker, *Ehstlands Landgüter und deren Besitzer zur Zeit der Schweden-Herrschaft*. 1, Harrien / nach zuverlässigen handschriftlichen Quellen verzeichnet von Carl Julius Paucker (Reval: Gressel, 1847), 62–63.

23 Johann Renner, *Livländische Historien*, hrsg. von Richard Hausmann, Konstantin Höhlbaum (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1876), 208.



FIG. 5. TOMBSTONE OF PONTUS DE LA GARDIE AND HIS WIFE SOFIA GYLLENHIELM. DRAWING BY EDUARD PHILIPP KÖRBER. EDUARD PHILIPP KÖRBER, *VATERLÄNDISCHE MERKWÜRDIGKEITEN III: MISCELLANEN DER LIVL. ALTERTHÜMER* (1802). PHOTO: ESTONIAN CULTURAL HISTORY ARCHIVES OF THE ESTONIAN LITERARY MUSEUM.

of the fort of Tallinn and later of the governor general of Estonia and Livonia. Kolga was a desirable property. Next to Ekholmen, which Pontus had acquired earlier and to which he had given a zeitgeisty finish, using Italian masters,²⁴ Kolga with its 101 ploughlands was one of Pontus's largest landed properties. The mere location of the manor – a day's equine journey from Toompea Castle – was quite something. However, it is not very likely that during his couple of years' reign, the field marshal managed to breathe new life into the place. A Gasconian by blood – 'son of the hills', Pontus was a citizen of the world and a traveller, who had been born on the border between France and Spain, where his father Jaques Scopier supposedly owned the Le Gardie and Roussol wine estates. He spent his childhood in a Renaissance palace with balconies and pillars. According to other sources, his father had been a merchant in a

24 Fredric Bedoire, *Guldålder. Slott och politik i 1600-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 2001), 82.

small town, instead.²⁵ Having embarked on his studies in Bologna, Pontus escaped from the monastic school and enrolled in the French cavalry regiment of count Brissac, fought among the troops of Henry II, served in Scotland in the court of Mary of Guise – mother of Mary Stuart, and made it to Denmark after that, where in a battle against Sweden, he was taken prisoner in Skåne, to find a new life in the Swedish royal court at the service of Eric XIV and John III. In 1570, Pontus was knighted. In 1574, the king made Pontus the chief commander of the Swedish army. At the royal court, Pontus helped to maintain relations with the French royals and the Pope. In 1576, he was sent to Rome to organise the matters of religion and inheritance of Catherine Jagiellon, the daughter of Sigismund I and his wife, née Bona Sforza. Caterina de' Medici addressed Pontus by saying, *Chevalier e premier ministre du Roy de Suède et son lieutenant général à Reval et du costé de Livonye*.²⁶

In 1583, the wife of Pontus Sofia Gyllenhielm died at childbirth. A few years later, Pontus followed her, after unfortunately drowning in the river Narva on his way back from negotiations with the Russians. On the king's orders, Arent Passer of the Antwerp Paschen stonemasons made for the married couple a monument consisting of a sarcophagus and a cenotaph.²⁷ Following the general's death, in 1586, a big revision was conducted in the manor, which registered a large ruined stone house (*stort stenhuis*), together with a fortress room (*borgstuga*), storeroom (*fatbur*), watermill (*vattenmölla*), a room above the gate, oat store, brewery, farmyard, stable and barn for oats for horses.²⁸ Kolga offered shelter to couriers and common soldiers who were travelling along the big road, occasionally people of higher class also stopped in the manor, all of whom had to be fed and watered and supplied with horses.²⁹

25 Margus Laidre, *Domus belli: Põhjamaade Saja-aastane sõda Liivimaal 1554–1661* (Tallinn: Argo, 2015), 451.

26 Philippe-Georges Richard, *Pontus de la Gardie. Un languedocien à la conquête de Baltique* (Carcassonne: Association des Amis des Archives de l'Aude, 1974), 21.

27 Juhan Maiste, 'Salvation through Religion. The Rebirth of the Classics in Arent Passer's Oeuvre', *Baltic Journal of Art History*, 8 (2014), 95–102.

28 Sten Karling, 'Jakob och Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', *Svio-Estonica* (Tartu: Akadeemiline Rootsi-Eesti Selts, 1938), 115. (Based on a document, *Kolga 1586/87: Inventering pa Kolks från Hans Jenikow och till Jürgen van der Hoeijen ... 23 february anno 1587*. The document is stored in the De la Gardie fund at the archive of the Lund University.)

29 Arnold Soom, 'Reisimisest ja maanteekõrtsidest Eestis XVII sajandil', *Sõna* (1948), 1–4.

The manor remained in the possession of the De la Gardies for a little over a hundred years. When Pontus died, his eldest son and future baron of Ekholmen Johann De la Gardie (1583–1652) was three, and his youngest son, Tallinn-born future field marshal and governor of Estonia Jacob De la Gardie (1583–1652), was only two years old. The boys were raised in Vääksy manor in Finland by their grandmother Kärin, or Katarina Hannutütar, who as a former sweetheart of king John wished to give her grandsons the best education suitable to their status. In the 17th century, the De la Gardies became the biggest landowners in Sweden and its overseas provinces Estonia and Livonia. Johann owned Raasiku (Rasick) manor in Harju County. The estate of Jacob and his son Magnus De la Gardie stretched over a gigantic territory – in Saaremaa (Ösel), Hiiumaa and on the coast of West Estonia they owned approximately 35 manors, and we can add to that another dozen manors in North Estonia, and 23 in South Estonia.³⁰ In 1624, in accordance with the Norrköping Charter, the king gave to Jacob De la Gardie, as the general governor, the Helme Castle (*Schloss Helmet*) and manor together with Jõgeveste (Beckhof), Hummuli (Hummelshof) and, separated from the latter, Kärstna (Kerstenhof) and Lõve (Lauenhof), to which were added Tarvastu (Schloss Tarwast) and Viljandi castle (Schloss Fellin).

Next to the Oxenstiernas, Banners, Horns, and Gyllenhielms, the De la Gardies were the most prodigious property owners, who had received their benefices straight from the king and were serving the country solemnly, all the while remembering that it was not their ancient heritage, but fiefs, which could always be withdrawn from them. It was wise to think twice before investing in a border province. If you were not seen in the court, you did not exist on the higher strata of social hierarchy. As the later history has shown, the nobility who secured their positions in Sweden, had indeed been right. The reduction, initiated by king Charles XI and supported by the Parliament (*Riksdag*), took away the properties of big landowners. In 1700, the Great Northern War broke out, which proved fatal for Sweden.

30 Gottlieb Ney, 'Ätten De la Gardies godsinnahav i Estland', *Svio-Estonica*, XII (Lund, 1952), 161ff.

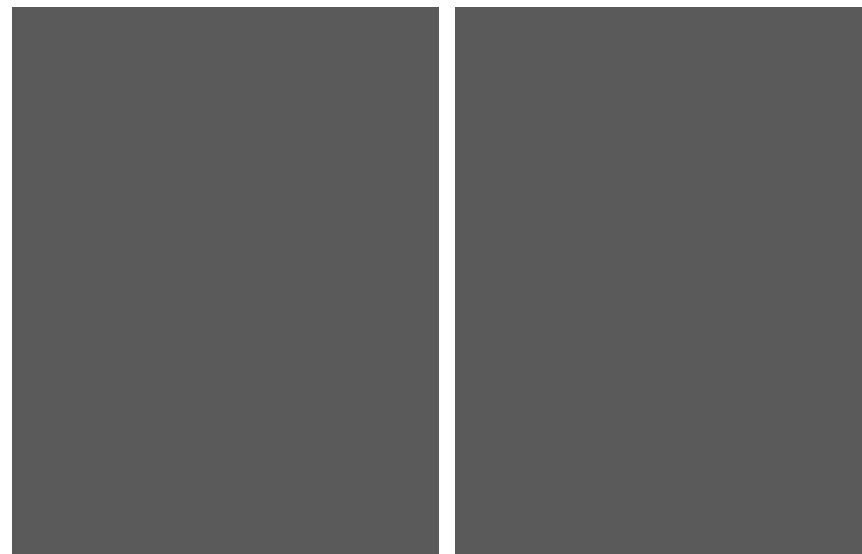


FIG. 6. JACOB DE LA GARDIE (1583–1652). PAINTING BY UNKNOWN AUTHOR FROM 1606 (NATIONALMUSEUM, STOCKHOLM). PHOTOCOPY OF A PAINTING. PHOTO: FOUNDATION OF HAAPSALU AND LÄÄNEMAA MUSEUMS.

FIG. 7. EBBA BRAHE DE LA GARDIE (1596–1674). PAINTING BY UNKNOWN AUTHOR FROM 17TH CENTURY (NATIONALMUSEUM, STOCKHOLM). PHOTOCOPY OF A PAINTING. PHOTO: ESTONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM.

JACOB DE LA GARDIE – ON THE PRECIPICE OF A NEW ERA

In Estonian history, the building undertakings of Jacob De la Gardie and his son Magnus De la Gardie are unique. Professor Sten Karling has studied them thoroughly.³¹ Therefore, we can only add a small number of relevant, thematic details hereunder. In his father's footsteps, Jacob De la Gardie had pursued a career in the military, which was complemented by his diplomatic talent and ability to organise both the state's and his own economic matters. Jacob's rise to one of wealthiest landowners was founded on his marriage to the former sweetheart of king Gustav II Adolf Ebba Brahe, with whom he had seven children, the eldest of whom was baron of Ekholmen, Vormsi-Suuremõisa (Magnushof), Höjentrop (Höyendorff,

31 Sten Karling, *Matthias Holl från Augsburg och hans verksamhet som arkitekt i Magnus Gabriel De la Gardies tjänst i Sverige och Balticum* (Göteborg: Elanders, 1932); Karling, 'Jakob och Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', 117.

Hoyendrop), Helme (Helmet), Käggleholm (Kegleholm), Karlberg (Magnusberg), Mariedal (Mariendahl, Mariædal) and Venngarn (Wennergården). Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622–1686) also obtained the county of Kuressaare (Arensburg) as the confidant of queen Christina, and the youngest son Axel Julius (1637–1710) inherited Hiiumaa from his father. The latter's son, Magnus Julius (1668–1741) is considered the founder of the family's Baltic line.³²

For the young and progressive generation, art and architecture signified a lifestyle which dignified the land inherited from their forefathers, and helped the young state and people step closer to old Europe.³³ From Pontus, Jacob had inherited a bright mind and a vain disposition, to which his years abroad had added fine manners and refined taste. Jacob belonged to the generation for whom architecture had become a passion on which most of their income and war spoils were spent. They lived life to the full and often beyond their means, trying to compensate for the cultural shortcomings owing to centuries of isolation. If at first the young Swedish aristocracy followed the Italian - Polish influences, at around 16th-17th centuries, they turned to the increasingly popular grandiose Renaissance palaces north of the Alps, such as Aschaffenburg, and Belvedere in Prague with their gardens, fountains and grottos.

From his father, Jacob had received Ekholmen manor in Uppland. In 1615, Gustav Adolf gifted him Läckö manor in Västergötland, where comfortable and spacious living quarters were built on the walls of the medieval bishop's castle.³⁴ Hans Jacob Kristler, master

32 Magnus Julius De la Gardie was married to a daughter of his cousin Ebba Margaretha Stenbock, Magdalena Christina Stenbock. Their son Carl Julius De la Gardie (1726–1786) died in Sweden. His widow lived in Pööravere (Pörafer) manor in Pärnu County, their son Jacob Magnus De la Gardie died in 1802. Following the death of the son of the latter, Carl Magnus in 1856, the Livonian line of the De la Gardie family was discontinued. The family's title and name were carried onward by the female line, because Carl Magnus adopted the son of his older sister, Pontus von Brevern, who rose to the rank of cavalry general and general-adjutant, and was made a count by the emperor in 1852, as well as obtaining the honourable name of De la Gardie. (Benjamin Cordt, *Zur Geschichte des Adelsgeschlechts und Familieinarchiv der Grafen De la Gardie* [Dorpat: Druck von Mattiesen, 1892], 8.)

33 Allan Ellenius, 'Visual Culture in Seventeenth-Century Sweden: Images of Power and Knowledge', *The Age of New Sweden*, ed. by Arne Losman, Agneta Lundström, Margareta Revera (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 1988), 41.

34 Ingrid Rosell, *Läckö slottskyrka. Västergötland. Sveriges kyrkor. Konsthistorisk inventarium*, 198 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1985), 12. During the time of Jacob's son Magnus Gabriel, the construction in Läckö was managed by Franz Stimer, who had moved to Sweden from Kuressaare, and Matthias Holl, who had designed the rebuild of the Haapsalu Castle. (Bedoire, *Svenska slott och herrgardar. En historisk reseguide*, 147.)



FIG. 8. LÄCKÖ CASTLE. ENGRAVING FROM ERIK DAHLBERG'S COLLECTION OF ENGRAVINGS *SUECIA ANTIQUA ET HODIERNA*.



FIG. 9. JAKOBSDAL PALACE. ENGRAVING FROM ERIK DAHLBERG'S COLLECTION OF ENGRAVINGS *SUECIA ANTIQUA ET HODIERNA*.



FIG. 10. JACOB DE LA GARDIE'S PALACE 'MAKALÖS'. FAÇADE SCULPTURES IN THE NORDIC MUSEUM IN STOCKHOLM. PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN, [HTTPS://WWW.ALVIN-PORTAL.ORG/ALVIN/IMAGEVIEWER.JSF?DSID=ATTACHMENT-0001&PID=ALVIN-RECORD%3A298410&DSWID=1878](https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageviewer.jsf?dsid=attachment-0001&pid=alvin-record%3A298410&dswid=1878) [ACCESSED 10.12.2021].

builder and inventor (*Baumeister* and *Inventor*), whom De la Gardie had met in Riga as a governor, became Jacob's court architect. The De la Gardie town palace beside the Grand Square of Stockholm, between the royal palace and garden (*Kungsträdgården*), became Kristler's largest undertaking. Later on, the palace was nicknamed – 'Makalös' (Matchless), which aligns it with the royal hunting lodge of the English king Henry VIII known as 'Nonsuch', and the many French palaces named 'Nonpareil' (Incomparable).³⁵ De la Gardie and Kristler signed the contract in 1630.³⁶ Originally, the building's central body measured 46 metres x 26 metres.³⁷ The more time passed, the

35 Göran Axel Nilsson, *Makalös. Fältherren greve Jakob De la Gardies hus i Stockholm* (Stockholm: LiberFörlag, 1984), 69–79. *Makalös* palace was destroyed by a fire in 1825.

36 Göran Alm, 'Arkitekturen', *Signums svenska konsthistoria*, Bd 5: Renässansens konst (Lund: Bokförlaget Signum, 1996), 105.

37 Bedoire, *Guldålder. Slott och politik i 1600-talets Sverige*, 74–76.

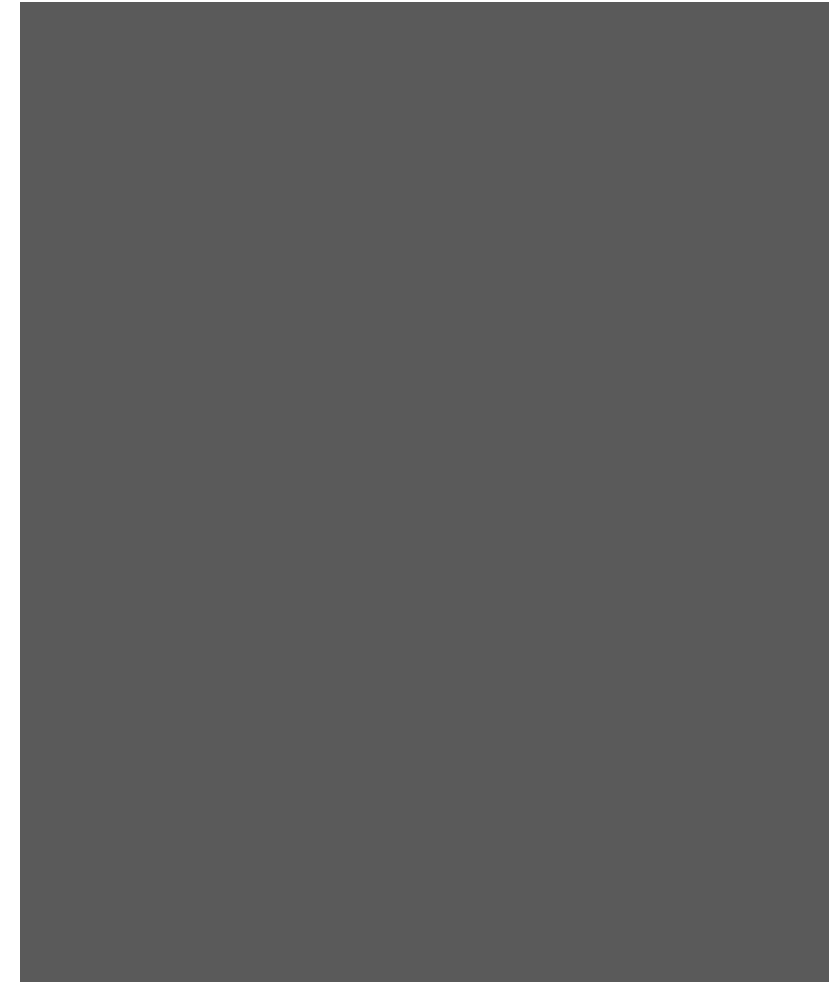


FIG. 11. NOBLE PALACE AFTER SEBASTIANO SERLIO. SEBASTIANO SERLIO, *IL SETTIMO LIBRO D'ARCHITETTURA: NEL QVAL SI TRATTA DI MOLTI ACCIDENTI, CHE POSSONO OCCORRER AL ARCHITETTO: SI COME NELLA SEGUENTE PAGINA SI LEGGE* (VENETIA: APPRESSO FRANCESCO DE FRANCESCHI SENESE, 1584), 33.

more grandiose the building became. From the windows of the De la Gardie palace, from under the loggias, there opened a view to the Three Crowns arms over the portals of the royal palace, and the flags on its towers. Strömmenin stairs descended from the south side of the building, where one could imagine being by the *Canal Grande* in Venice. The statues of Neptune, Mars, Romulus and Remus and Gaius Mucius Scaevola brought to mind the glory of Rome.

The first floor was used for living, the festivities hall was located on the second floor, or *piano nobile*, dance and music rooms were on the third floor, storage and weapon rooms on the fourth and fifth floors. With its restless silhouette, high gable roofs, stairs, galleries and Italian-style arcades and balconies *Makalös* became one of Sweden's most iconic architectural examples. In 1638, under the guidance of Kristler, the first drawings of Jacob's Jakobsdal (Ulriksdal) castle were completed.³⁸ In contrast to *Makalös*, Jakobsdal was a country manor or *villa*, which following the modern architectural treatises of Sebastiano Serlio,³⁹ combined Italian influences with the characteristic details of the French chateau architecture. The symmetry in the ground plan was echoed by the windows perpendicularly rising onto the roof surface, decorative sculpted portals, aediculae frontons and tall chimneys. In his sixth book, Serlio highlights the country houses of Veneto's patricians, which were not meant for the grandiose celebrations of aristocracy but – just like in the case of banker Agostino Chigi's villa Farnesina in Rome, as places for private seclusion and quiet recreation.⁴⁰ Serlio was also one of the first architects to give instructions for rebuilding medieval structures.

When in 1625 Jacob undertook the building of his family residence near Viru Gates in Tallinn (currently the location of the De la Gardie department store), he was faced with the need to connect three tall gable-roofed medieval merchant houses. The De la Gardie palace was supposed to become one of the biggest buildings in the city, competing with the architectural design of the House of the Blackheads on Pikk street, built in 1597–1600 under Arent Passer.⁴¹ Passer was an authority whose workshop produced the lion's share of sculptures decorating private homes, in addition to the gravestones of the nobility. Besides being a sculptor, Passer was also the town builder (*Stadt Baumeister*). In 1590, Passer together

38 Alm, 'Arkitekturen', 98.

39 Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva (Collected Works on Architecture and Perspective)*, published in six parts with two additional issues in 1537–1575.

40 James S. Ackerman, 'Introduction', *Serlio on Domestic Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1997), 13.

41 Juhan Maiste, 'Das Haus der Schwarzhäupter und die Renaissance in der Baukunst Tallinns', *Kunst und Architektur im Baltikum in der Schwedenzeit und andere Studien zur baltischen Kunstgeschichte*: 11th Conference on Baltic Studies in Scandinavia, 12. Homburger Gespräch, Stockholm, 13–16 June 1991, hrsg. von Aleksander Loit, Lars Olof Larsson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993), 115–144.

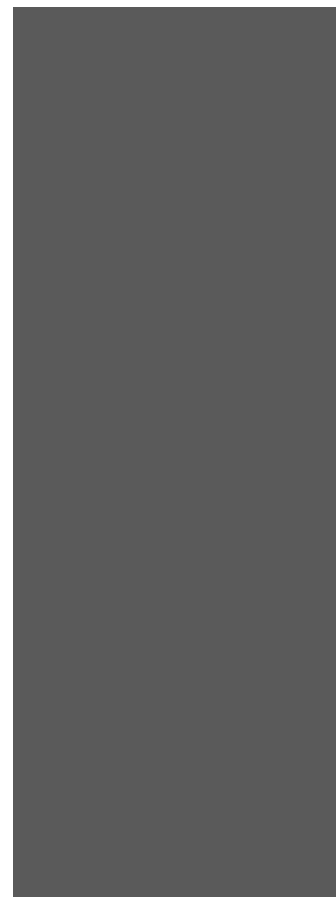


FIG. 12. JACOB DE LA GARDIE'S PALACE ON VIRU STREET 13/15. ENTRANCE STONE WITH THE COAT OF ARMS OF EBBA BRAHE'S FAMILY FROM 1634. WORKSHOP OF ARENT PASSER. DISPLAYED IN THE CELLAR OF THE DE LA GARDIE DEPARTMENT STORE. PHOTO: NATIONAL HERITAGE BOARD'S ARCHIVE.

with stonemason and master builder Hans van Aken were commissioned to tin the spire of the Saint Olav Church in Tallinn. In 1603, he was paid to lead the design (*Schampelun*) and construction work on the city's trenches and bastions.⁴²

We may assume that Passer made the first model of the De la Gardie palace (as he had in the case of the House of the Blackheads), after which his apprentices carved out the necessary details. Among them were the entrance stones with the coats of arms of Jacob and his wife Ebba Brahe (the stone with Ebba Brahe's arms is today exhibited on the cellar floor of the De la Gardie department store⁴³). The construction was trusted in the hands of Zacharias Hoffmann the elder, who was working as a mason (*Mauerer*) at the time. In 1628, i.e. when the walls of the De la Gardie palace were being erected, on Passer's recommendation, Hoffmann was elected master-in-chief of the town builders guild. Passer made a Dutch-influenced model for the De la Gardie palace. The masonry was left to Hoffmann, which was common practice back then. Take for

42 Juhan Maiste, 'Salvation through Religion. The Rebirth of the Classics in Arent Passer's Ouvre', *Baltic Journal of Art History*, 8 (2014), 105–106.

43 At the top part of the entrance stone, below the coat of arms of Ebba Brahe's family, there is the date 1634. Until the beginning of the 19th century, the three-metre decorative stone was standing on the stone terrace in front of the family's town house, thereafter it was used as a tombstone in Kalamaja cemetery. Below the date there is a carving: JÜRRI LEMBERG WAGHER(İK?) KERL ANO 1801 HIER RUHEN IN GOTT MEINE KINDER (the text was documented thus also by Johann Naha in Kalamaja cemetery ca. 60 years ago (Archive of Tallinn Urban Planning Department [Tallinna Linnaplaneerimise Ameti arhiiv, TLPA], no. 10, s. 18, p. 17); in its current location, the text is partially illegible).

example the House of the Blackheads, where according to Passer's instructions, the gable and roof of the house were built by master builder Hans Luttigk, brought in from Tartu.⁴⁴ A few years later, when the St. Michael monastery was being rebuilt as a gymnasium, Passer was responsible for the masonry and stone reliefs, and Hoffmann completed the construction.⁴⁵ About a decade after the works began, Hoffmann was paid the 200 thalers he was owed. A large hall was planned for the first floor of the De la Gardie residence. Kitchen and auxiliary rooms were also there. A staircase rose from a spacious vestibule to the count's living quarters on the second floor.⁴⁶ In 1644 we have the evidence of Hoffmann working in Narva.⁴⁷

In a way, Passer became the De la Gardies' court artist in Estonia. After king Gustav II Adolf had granted to Jacob the Bishop's Castle and the town of Haapsalu, followed by vast estates in Lääne County (Wieck), Passer undertook the rebuilding of the castle. At first, he produced drawings of the castle ruined in the Livonian War, determining the castle's outer and inner walls. The artist added to the plan a clock motif and a nude Muse with a drove chisel and a measuring rod.⁴⁸ Passer remained in Haapsalu until 1628, after which the count's orders were to be filled by Joachim Winter, who also took over the local stonemason's workshop.⁴⁹ In 1633, the count received a report from Haapsalu, 'we have made many beautiful workpieces (*Werkstücke*)'. In 1637, Winter made 200 large reglets, in addition to

44 Juhan Maiste, 'Tallinna Mustpeade hoonete ehitusloost', *Eesti ehitusmälestised. Aastaraamat*, ed. By Tiit Masso (Tallinn: Valgus, 1990), 192 (Tallinn City Archives [Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, TLA], f. 87, 1, 370).

45 Juhan Maiste, 'Das Nonnenkloster St. Michaeli der Zisterzienser in Tallinn: Sieben Jahrhunderte Bau- und Wiedrbaugeschichte', *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte in Estland und Lettland*, Homburger Gespräche 1992 und 1993, Heft 13, hrsg. von Lars Olof Larsson (Kiel: Martin-Carl-Adolf-Böckler-Stiftung, 1995), 109ff.

46 Karling, 'Jakob och Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', 117.

47 In Narva, the construction of St John's Church was completed under Zacharias Hoffmann, the vice-regent Reinhold Wrangel's palace and a dozen stately homes were built by his projects. Sten Karling, *Narva Eine Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Stockholm: Wahltröm & Widstrand, 1936), 159, 204.

48 Sten Karling, *Arent Passer: lisand Tallinna kunstiajaloole* (Tallinn: [s.n.], 1938), 44. Drawings from 1626, signed by Arent Passer are located in the National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm.

49 According to some sources, Joachim Winter was the brother of Martin Winter (jun.), pastor of Noarootsi church and provost of the Western Deanery. Liivi Aarma, *Põhja-Eesti vaimulike lühielulood 1525–1885 = Short biographies of North Estonian clergy 1525–1885* (Tallinn: [G. ja T. Aarma Maja OÜ], 2007), 292.



FIG. 13. ARENT PASSER, REBUILDING PLANS FOR JACOB DE LA GARDIE'S HAAPSALU CASTLE, 1626. PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SWEDEN.

capitals and postaments, which were also transported to the count's palaces in Sweden.⁵⁰ Winter became one of the most prolific masters of the era in Estonia, whose work is attested to by the reliefs on the altar of Haapsalu Town Church, the pulpit (1636) of Pühalepa Church – under the patronage of the De la Gardies, the sculpture with the von Ramm coat of arms in Padise (Padis), the Winter family cenotaph with the family members praying under the Calvary cross and Adam's skull in Noarootsi (Nuckö) Church, christening trays and memorial plates in the churches of West Estonia. The decorative

50 Karling, 'Jakob och Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', 124.

details in Ungru (Linden) and Kiltsi (Weissenfeld) manors⁵¹ and the mantelpiece in Ohtu (Ocht) manor,⁵² etc. have been attributed to him.

In the spring of 1640, Kristler also stayed in Estonia, with an assignment to breathe new life into the count's prolonged construction works in Haapsalu. 'I would like to send you the master builder Hansen (Kristler), who shall remain in Haapsalu for 14 days or three weeks, in order to locally orchestrate the construction process.'⁵³ It is likely that Kristler also visited Kolga manor during that time. The north wing of the Haapsalu Castle received a grand hall and the owner's living quarters also found a place under the castle roof. In the report compiled by the castle's inspector Henrik Knorring in 1652, after the death of Jacob, we are told that the church's fallen beams had been repaired. The 'king's hall' had also been given a new look, as well as the so-called black hall, the masters' dining hall and sleeping hall, the chapel, etc. Under the vaults of the cellar there now was a brewery, a weaving room and servants' quarters. Outside the castle there was a walled orchard.⁵⁴

MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE'S 'CASTLES IN THE AIR' IN HAAPSALU AND KURESSAARE

Jacob's projects were continued by his Tallinn-born son Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622–1686), who had received a status-appropriate upbringing and was moving in the highest spheres of the royal court. Continuing on the path started by his grandfather, Magnus had found his way to art and architecture early on. The De la Gardie library was the largest in Sweden, comprising 4,700 tomes, incl. *Codex Argenteus*, the famous Bible translation from the fourth century.⁵⁵ Next to the collections of Carl Gustav Wrangel,

51 Ants Hein, 'Rootsiaegne mõisaarhitektuur Eestis: hinnanguid ja ümberhinnanguid', *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi*, 9 (1998), 120.

52 Helmi Üprus, '18. ja 19. sajandi mõisaarhitektuur', *Harju rajoonis: kodu-uurijate seminar-kokkutulek 11.–14. juulini 1974*. Artiklite kogumik (Tallinn: Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia. Kodu-uurimise Komisjon, 1974), 288–289.

53 Karling, 'Jakob och Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', 122. (University of Tartu Library, archive of De la Gardies, F. 6, M, l. 285).

54 Carl Russwurm, *Das Schloss zu Hapsal in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: Nachrichten aus Geschichte und Sage* (Reval: F. Kluge, 1877), 59–60.

55 *Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie – samlaren* (Stockholm: Stockholm Kungl. biblioteket, 1966), 69–71.



FIG. 14. VENNGARN CASTLE. ENGRAVING FROM ERIK DAHLBERG'S COLLECTION OF ENGRAVINGS *SUECIA ANTIQUA ET HODIERNA*.

Magnus Gabriel's antique and art collections were the biggest in Sweden. Besides literature on theology, history, medicine, geography, astrology, and the works of Nicolaus Copernicus, Giordano Bruno, Galileo Galilei, tractates on architecture were also found in *Makalös* and Läckö.⁵⁶ During the reign of queen Christina, Magnus Gabriel became the richest man in Sweden, whose income amounted to about 5% of the national revenue. There seemed to be no limit to the man's enterprises. When he returned home from his many trips abroad, he spent his time in the family's town palace, which was known as 'Stora huset' (big house), and which the count had decorated with golden wallpapers and artworks of Italian Renaissance masters. Just a few hours from *Makalös*, there was the Venngarn Castle near Sigtuna, which the family had inherited from the Vasas, and which had been rebuilt by Kristler, Jacob De la Gardie's court architect. The gardens of Jakobsdal with the fountains and grottos were a match for the residences of French aristocracy. The room count alone in Läckö

56 Arne Losman, 'Böcker och manuskript', *Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1980), 69–71.

palace was 248. On quite a few occasions, Magnus Gabriel made the first drafts of the 'Italian style' drawings himself (Höjentorp, Ekolsund), before handing them over for the finishing touches to his favourite architects.

From 1648, De la Gardie held the position of governor general in Riga, where he commissioned Franz Stimer, master builder from Elbing, to thoroughly renovate the old Riga Castle. Queen Christina enfeoffed Magnus Kuressaare County with a dozen manors to it in 1648, which however were repossessed by the state after the queen relinquished her crown, went on a pilgrimage to Rome and stayed there. As a compensation, and to cover his living expenses, Magnus Gabriel was given the Audru (Audern) estate, where he ordered to commence preparations for building a brickworks and a glass studio and growing tea roses.⁵⁷

Magnus Gabriel gave the first orders for designing the garden of Haapsalu Castle in the summer of 1653. Picking up a pen and paper himself, the count sketched the contours of the palace.⁵⁸ A year later, Matthias Holl (1620–1681), son of the famous architect of the Augsburg Renaissance era Elias Holl, arrived in Haapsalu, having been invited together with the specialist landscape gardener Hans Georg Kraus by the count to design the gardens of Jakobsdal. Matthias preferred the romantic, picturesque style customary to South European castles, as used by the architect, decorator and hydraulic engineer from Ulm, author of *Architectura Privata* – one of the most popular tractates on architecture of their time, Joseph Furttenbach.⁵⁹ The decorativeness of mannerism is combined with the imaginary fantasy of early baroque.

By 1644, the castle church had gotten a new roof, which used 10,000 roof tiles, and an organ with silver whistles and painted prospects had been installed. There were plans to sculpt out of stone and paint the coats of arms of the count and his wife, which were supposed to be ordered from Tallinn or else be made on site, where it would have

⁵⁷ Arnold Soom, *Der Herrenhof in Estland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Lund: Skånska Centraltryckeriet, 1954), 229.

⁵⁸ Together with the projects of Matthias Holl, drawings by Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie are stored in the Tessin Collections of the National Museum of Fine Arts in Stockholm.

⁵⁹ Joseph Furttenbach, *Architectura Privata. Das ist: Gründtliche Beschreibung, Neben conterfetischer Vorstellung, inn was Form und Manier, ein gar Irregular, Burgerliches Wohn-Hauß...* (Augsburg: Schultes, 1641).



FIG. 15. MODEL OF MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE'S SHIP GRAF MAGNUS DE LA GARDIE. PHOTO: SAAREMAA MUSEUM.

been twice as cheap as in Livonia.⁶⁰ If the Haapsalu Castle project had materialised, it would have been the most extravagant and probably also the largest castle in the 17th century Sweden. Unfortunately, those dreams were not meant to come true. In 1658, Holl left for Jöjentorp near Jakobsdal, where he overtook the work commenced by Franz Stimer, who had already left Kuressaare for Sweden already some time before. Because of the low costs (*leichten Kosten*) Haapsalu was appreciated mainly for its local building materials, which were supposed to be sent across the sea on the boat called *Graf Magnus De la Gardie*. In 1665, in Haapsalu, specialist in architecture and hydraulics (*arkitektur och*

⁶⁰ Arnold Soom, *Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie kirjavahetus oma balti mõisate ametnike jt 1650–1680. Välja kirjutused Rootis Riigiarhiivi arhivaalidest, Stockholm, vahemikus 1944–1977. (Correspondence of Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie with officials of his Baltic manors 1650–1680. Transcripts from the National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm, in 1944–1977).*



FIG. 16. DRAWING FOR THE REBUILDING OF HAAPSALU CASTLE BY ANDREAS BRETZEL, 1665. NATIONALMUSEUM, STOCKHOLM.

hydraulica) Andreas Bretzel⁶¹ from Stettin took the reins, and made copies of Holl's drawings. Thereafter there was silence again. Bretzel went to Sweden, where De la Gardie had more new projects planned. In 1668 Haapsalu Castle was destroyed by fire.

Almost the same story happened in Kuressaare, where big construction works had begun during the Danish reign⁶² and where

61 Previously, Andreas Bretzel had worked under the Erfurt master Caspar Vogel on the construction of the Wrangelsburg Castle of Carl Gustav von Wrangel in Swedish Pomerania. Active in Sweden from the 1650s. Gerhard Eimer, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel som byggherre i Pommern och Sverige*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 6 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1961), 180.

62 Kuressaare castle had been modernised since the time of Danish duke Magnus (1540–1583). (Garel Püüa, Ragnar Nurk, Tõnu Sepp, *Kastellist kindluseks. Kuressaare linnus-kindluse ehituslugu uute väliuuringute valguses* [Kuressaare: Saaremaa Muuseum; Argo, 2016€, 125.) When Kuressaare was handed over by the Danes to the Swedes, it housed a garrison of 1650 men. (Heinrich von Hagemeister, *Materialien zu einer Geschichte der Landgüter Livlands, Zweiter Theil* [Riga: Eduard Frantzen's Buchhandlung, 1837], 8.)

Magnus Gabriel's utopian ideas in the vein of a new Sforzinda by Antonio Averlino (Filarete) were supposed to combine military and civilian architecture.⁶³ The plan was to turn the old and dark rooms into 'a beautiful, comfortable and joyous castle' (*zu einem zierlichen, bequemen und lustiges Schloss*).⁶⁴ According to the plans of Franz Stimer, the building was going to have arcades, four towers and column-supported open balconies. The castle's courtyard was to have a fountain and in front of it a decorative garden with bosquets, arched alleys and bathhouses, to achieve that, Hartwig Lilienfeld from the estate of Heinrich Matthias Thurn of Audru manor was summoned to Kuressaare.

Gardening was in the blood of the lord of the castle. Earlier in his life, Magnus had been in charge of the reconstruction of the king's gardens. Following the ideas of Simon de Vallée and the French landscape architect André Molle, in 1651, Magnus Gabriel published the *Gardening Guidebook*.⁶⁵ New times anticipated changes in artistic tastes and architectural styles. In the 1660s, the count commissioned the Walloon architect Jean de Vallée to rebuild the castles of Mariedal and Karlberg.⁶⁶ All of a sudden, Stimer's rebuilding project in Kuressaare seemed old-fashioned. The task was trusted to the most prominent architect of the new times in Sweden, a fortification engineer born in Stralsund, Nicodemus Tessin (the elder), who had travelled extensively around Germany and France. The architect's main enterprises, besides the reconstruction of the royal palace, became the Borgholm Castle of Carl Gustav Wrangel and the 1662 Drottningholm palace planned for queen Hedwig Eleonora.

Tessin himself was staying in Rome on the king's stipend while designing Kuressaare. Never visiting the site, the architect compiled a gigantic project – more suitable for the scale of caput mundi, which connected the castle to the city and the piazza-style main square in its centre, where next to the church there stood the town hall, arsenal and hospital, where there was a possibility to set up a market place

63 See: Liivi Künnapu, Juhan Maiste, 'Kuressaare linn rajamisest 20. sajandini', *Saaremaa*. 2, Ajalugu, majandus, kultuur, ed. by Enn Randma (Tallinn: Koolibri, 2007), 849–850.

64 Karling, 'Jakob och Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', 132.

65 Sten Karling, 'Slott och trädgårdar', *Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1980), 33.

66 August Hahr, *Konst och konstnärer vid Magnus Gabriel De la Gardies hof* (Uppsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln; Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1905).



FIG. 17. PLAN FOR THE REBUILDING OF KURESSAARE CASTLE. NICODEMUS TESSIN THE ELDER, 1652. PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SWEDEN.

(*Vormarkt der Stadt*), or in case it was needed, military practice.⁶⁷ In the square in front of the castle there were plans for two round-plan domed buildings (pavilions).⁶⁸

67 Tessin's plan has perished. What remains is the plan's explication under the title 'Kurtzer Unterricht. Auff Ihre Hochgräfl. Excell. Gebew zu Arensburgh, Auff Ösel belegen'. In the National Archives of Sweden, there is a drawing of Kuressaare town and castle from 1652, with comments by Magnus Gabriel written in pencil. National Archives of Sweden [Riksarkivet], SE KrA 0406H:28:002:005.

68 Gerhard Eimer considers the round-plan buildings to be churches. Gerhard Eimer, *Die Stadtplanung im schwedischen Ostseereich 1600–1715. Mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Idealstadt* (Stockholm: Svenska Bokförlaget; Bonniers, 1961), 342.

Kuressaare was a quintessence of the bravest ideas of the era, more like Tommaso Campanella's 'La Città del Sole', than a place that would have suited a province's modest surrounds. Tessin's plan did not keep anything of the old Bishop's Castle. In the style of Roman palazzos, the building was three-storied, reminiscent of Carl Gustav Wrangel's Skokloster Castle by Lake Malar, or his uncle's Põltsamaa (Oberpahlen) Castle in Estonia. The rusticated socle floor was adorned with a blind arcade (*Blindarkaden*), the upper floors with ionic pilasters and, akin to Drottningholm, column-supported open balconies. One wing of the palace housed a grand multi-storied ballroom, and a home chapel which was separated from the ballroom by paired pillars. It also had a domed stairway. The cellar floor accommodated housekeeping and washrooms, incl. a pool with saunas. A dining hall, gallery and the count's audience rooms, a large and a small office, a bedroom and a dressing room were also there. Opposite the count's apartment, there were the countess's rooms, designed to mirror the count's: a large marital bedroom, reception rooms, and a dressing room. From the castle, a gate led out into the garden, adorned by a porticus with eight columns and sculptures in their niches.

Unfortunately, the ideas remained on paper. Nonetheless, the count's drawings for some essential buildings in town were undertaken – the town hall, weighing house, poorhouse and arsenal. To the drawing for the town hall, De la Gardie has added in his own handwriting, '*Radhuset med förfärdiga efter dessein. Torn med klocka. Runt alatan. Sirlig portal*'.⁶⁹ Stimer was summoned from Sweden to oversee the work, the town hall portal was carved under his direction, and decorated with the coats of arms of the count and his wife. Later, it became a model for the castle church portal in Läckö.⁷⁰ In 1663–1664, the weighing house opposite the town hall, near the town church, was completed. Two crucial buildings in the life of a city – one for the weighing of goods and the other of ideas, found a place opposite one another. Soon, De la Gardie left. Kuressaare's star faded for centuries. The decorative gardens in the count's manors in Elme (Magnushof), Maasilinna (Sorenburg) etc. overgrew.

69 Karling, 'Jakob och Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', 34.

70 Krista Kodres, Pia Ehasalu, 'Avalikud hooned – omavalitsuse arhitektuuriline ja kunstiline manifest', *Eesti kunsti ajalugu*. 2, 1520–1770 (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2005), 97.

THE VILLA RUSTICA OF THE DE LA GARDIES

The alternative of a macrocosm is a microcosm. Next to the grand palaces and gigantic projects there was the everyday life, which now and again brought the De la Gardies to their manors, where in the peace and quiet of the countryside they could rest and relax, pick up economic reports, delve into practicalities or have the groom set up their horses and dash with the dogs on a fox or bear hunt. In Kolga and Hiiu-Suuremõisa, the counts had rooms set up where they could spend the night or, as the fashionable villa culture dictated, pass their days in tranquil relaxation.⁷¹ 'Within the walls of the villa there is no need for a toga. Neighbours will not bother you there. ... My business matters do much better there than anywhere else', wrote Pliny the Younger.⁷² In the fifth book of his *Ten Books on Architecture*, Leon Battista Alberti has divided country buildings in three: the first were meant for family members and manor staff, the second for the animals, and the third for the storage of agricultural equipment.⁷³ 'I will do everything in my power to create households who can supply my manor with grain, wood and wine.'⁷⁴

Of course, light years separate the patricians of Florence and Rome from the Baltics, where chattel slavery and out-of-court punishment still existed. Instead of stone walls and portals mimicking triumphal arches, manors here were surrounded by picket fences, as can be seen on a drawing of Kunda manor by Adam Olearius. And yet, even this country milieu could still captivate a narcissistic soul. Haapsalu and Kuressaare bore the stamp of *villa maritima*. The family's Kolga manor corresponded to the country villa – *villa rustica*, as it was described in the contemporary architectural treatises, where one could come and spend the night. In 1615, Dutch envoys on their way from Tallinn to Russia stopped in Kolga. 'We dined in Kolga manor, which belongs to His Majesty mister Jacob De la Gardie. ... There is an old and ruined house in the manor that has a uniquely tall chimney, onto which another building has been attached, which

71 James Ackermann, *The Villa. Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 13ff.

72 Pliny, *Epistles*, V, vi 45.

73 Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, transl. by Robert Rykwert, with Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1988), 141–143.

74 Leon Battista Alberti, *I libri della famiglia* (Bari: G. Laterza, 1960), 194.



FIG. 18. KOLGA MANOR IN A DRAWING BY ANTHONIS GOETEERIS, 1615. PAUL JOHANSEN, *ACHT BILDER AUS ESTLAND 1615* (REVAL: F. WASSERMAN, 1927).

is being constructed on one side,⁷⁵ wrote the embassy's artistically gifted treasurer Anthonis Goeteeris. Next to the ruins, on a sloping hill one can see a small house with three chimneys, two windows and a protruding dansker at the front. A peasant is making his way with a horse-drawn buggy from the manor gate, heading for the Luuba road.⁷⁶ As Armin Tuulse posits, the picture depicts the ruins of a former monastery building.⁷⁷

Among most Estonian manors, which are characterised by a rustical lifestyle,⁷⁸ Kolga is an exception. In 1626, builders arrived from Tallinn, led by master mason and engineer (*Meuermeister und Ingenieur*) Zacharias Hoffmann, who were supposed to tear down the old walls, and begin building the new house according to the

75 Paul Johansen, *Acht Bilder aus Estland 1615* (Reval: F. Wasserman, 1927), 10.

76 Luuba Road was named after the farming manor (Beygut) of the same name.

77 Armin Tuulse, *Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland. Öpetatud Eesti seltsi toimetused XXXIII* (Dorpat: Dorpater Estnischer Verlag, 1942), 287–288.

78 Gustav Ränk, *Die älteren baltischen Herrenhöfe in Estland: eine bauhistorische Studie. Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Gustav Adolfs akademien*, 50 (Uppsala: Kungl. Boktryckeriet, 1971).

drawings (*nach gezeigten Abriss*). For their work they were meant to receive a remarkable sum – 260 state thalers, which was supplemented by daily beer and other payments in kind.⁷⁹ The question is, what was the planned manor house like and who made the drawings for it? As we learned earlier, Passer was in De la Gardie's service. Karling believes it possible that, when visiting Haapsalu in 1640, Hans Kristler also stayed in Kolga.⁸⁰ Kolga could have become a residence, something akin to the De la Gardie palaces in Sweden – Jakobsdal comes to mind as a comparison, whose image was shaped by tall saddle roofs, step gables with mannerist volutes, and a ridge turret crowning the main corpus.⁸¹

Unfortunately, Kristler soon left for Sweden and from there to Novgorod, and Moscow, where he died in 1645. After that, the owner's interest died down and the work was deferred. 12 years later, the building was still in ruins. This time, the count made a contract with mason Hans Lange, who was supposed to measure the old walls, demolish them and produce new drawings based on them, which then had to be sent to the landlord for inspection.⁸² However, it is not clear which building they had in mind? Was it about the old walls of the monastery or the manor house started by Jacob? According to Sten Karling, in 1641 there stood a large walled stone house (*stora murade stenhus*) in Kolga, whose doors were adorned with the owners' coats of arms. In 1686, when Kolga underwent a thorough inventory,⁸³ it boasted a two-storied stone manor house with a board roof and boarded end gables. The revisor notes two manor houses: *The first one was two-storied and stone, and the other mainly made of wood. The main building of Kolga manor measured remarkably large – 75 cubits long and 18 wide (44 × 10.8 m), thus pointing to the stretched, long and narrow building type common in the Nordic countries in the 16th century (cf., e.g. Malmö, Vadstena and Kalmar). Jakobsdal of Jacob's*

79 Sten Karling, *Narva: eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1936), 157.

80 Data from the De la Gardie archive at the Lund University Library. Karling, 'Jakob och Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', 115.

81 See: Drawings for Jakobsdal from 1661. (Bedoire, *Guldålder. Slott och politik i 1600-talets Sverige*, 78).

82 Karling, 'Jakob och Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', 115–116.

83 The protocol was compiled in the 1680s by J. W. Elswick and Isaac Ernest Baumgarten. National Archives of Estonia [Rahvusarhiiv, RA], EAA.1.2.940, 9–17. The author is grateful to Enn Küng for the transcript and translation of the document.

day was also similar. *To the left of the lobby of the manor house there was a room with eight windows and an old, brown tiled stove, from there it was possible to enter a recently built wooden, unarched cellar chamber. The length of the room was 12 cubits (7.2 m). To the left of the lobby there was also a kitchen with a working stove and an oven. A stone staircase of 15 steps led up to the windowless lobby separated by a lattice, and from there a stonework staircase led to the attic. To the left of the lobby, there was a hall with 24 old windows,⁸⁴ which was decorated by two carved coats of arms. In the hall there stood an old, tiled stove and above the door there was a small painting. To the right of the lobby there was a small passage and two small rooms, and one large chamber with four new windows. To the east of the aforementioned rooms, there was a room with three windows, a polished tiled fireplace and an old, black tiled stove with an iron door; a bifurcated wooden staircase of 10 steps and lattice-like banisters led out into the garden. There were also two vaulted cellars beneath that part of the house.*

There was a second large wooden dwelling (57 × 15 cubits = 34.2 × 9 m) on the east side of the manor yard, which, deducing from the document, could be called a manor house. The building was highlighted by a small, pillared gate. In the front room of the house, there was of a kitchen and cellar with a walled-in chimney (mantelpiece – J. M.), and a chamber connected with a staircase. To the right of the lobby there was a 10-windowed room (stuga),⁸⁵ an ashlar fireplace, a brown tiled stove with white borders. Another room in the building was mentioned, too. Next to the room to the right of the lobby, there were another two chambers. The lobby also led to a room with a birch bark and limestone plate roof and four windows, with a trapdoor⁸⁶ to a kitchen and a door into the garden. Opposite the lobby there was a small room with three windows, a green tiled stove and a chamber with 21 broken squares and an old stove, beneath which there was an unarched cellar.

On the south side of the manor there were two connected storehouses in good condition, containing four chests and a carriage shed with double gates and loft stairs. The building was 40 cubits long and 13 cubits wide (24 × 7.8 m). North of the stone manor house, behind it, there was an old log storehouse, which had recently received a new thatched roof. The wooden

84 In general, windows mean windowpanes.

85 Usually, a room signified a heated and a chamber an unheated room, with some exceptions at the discretion of the protocolist.

86 The kitchen was probably partially underground.

staircase, with a dilapidated lattice, which led to the second floor of the storehouse was a deathtrap, however. Between the two manor houses there was a ruined stone house, completely roofless and 20 cubits long and 12 wide (12 × 4.8 m). There was a vaulted cellar beneath the building, with an unarched passage leading into it. Next to the building there was a cellar and above it a storeroom. 7-step stone staircase led to the chambers upstairs. One of them had a decent floor and an inserted ceiling, but no windows. It also had a dilapidated fireplace. In another room, with eight windows, there was a stone tiled fireplace. The second chamber was only being built, and therefore without doors or windows. A vaulted stone staircase (probably mural stairs) rose up to a small wooden jail (fängehus) on the upper floor.

In the west part of the manor yard there was a wooden dwelling, 24 cubits long and 7 cubits wide (12.8 × 4.2 m); near a small spring there was a sauna (45 × 13 cubits = 27 × 7.8 m) with a vaulted chimney, with a part of it meant for use of paid manor staff. By the sauna there was a partially wooden and partially stone brewery, an old summer kitchen and a new summer kitchen with a chamber (16 × 14 cubits), a new stable (28 × 20 cubits) with a thatched roof, 19 stalls and a stable boy's chamber, a farmyard, a couple of coops for geese. The whole manor yard was surrounded by a board fence with double gates on the northside. On the fields, there were two new and two old barn buildings. The fenced lawn garden was to the west of the manor house, 170 paces long and 130 wide. A double-gated archway led to the garden. In the middle of the garden there was a wooden two-storied pavilion, or summerhouse, the bottom floor of which housed a chamber with six windows and 16 broken squares, and on the top floor there was a gallery with an open balcony on supporting pillars and a nine-windowed chamber. The garden was divided into four squares, one of which was devoted to flowers and the other three meant as so-called cabbage patches. The garden was surrounded by lines of currants and roses. Flowers had been arranged into a sundial. In addition, there were three square carp ponds, two of which were 50 paces long and 30 paces wide, and the third one a little smaller at 30 x 20 paces. The first two ponds held carp and the third one had perch and roach. By the gates of the manor there was a well with carved log walls and formwork. All in all, there were 72 fertile apple trees, 11 young apple trees, 218 fertile and 200 young cherry trees, 2 mature and 3 still growing pear trees. To the north of the manor there was a recently established hop-garden, which was surrounded by a 60 paces long and 30 paces wide plank fence. The second and smaller hop-garden surrounded the farmyard on three sides. Only one farmhand was caring for the garden, who

received a ¼ ploughland of land for it in Sõitme village. Bees had been kept in Kolga since time immemorial, the hives yielded a half a ton of honey in 1631 and a quarter ton in 1639/40, and 10 tons of wax.⁸⁷

Compared to an average Estonian manor, Jacob's *villa rustica* was undoubtedly grander. Two manor houses, a grandiose garden and numerous outbuildings make the ensemble quite magnificent. Located near the main road, Kolga could provide overnight lodging to the 'great lords' travelling from Tallinn to Narva. Nonetheless, today, the erstwhile manor buildings are not easy to discern. Now and again historians have searched for traces of the monasterial or Swedish buildings in the walls of the current manor house,⁸⁸ which of course cannot be definitely disregarded. To compare the building of the De la Gardie era to the size of the 18th century manor house, its length is similar to the existing building's central part (without the wings) (14.33 × 13 × 14.25 m = ca. 42.5 m). The width of the 17th century manor house would comprise about a half of the current building on the longitudinal axis: whether 10.39 m to the west or else 9.06 m to the east.

However, there is another potential hypothesis. In its main dimensions, the Swedish era manor house has survived in the cellars of today's estate manager's house. To be sure, the high cellars with exceptionally thick walls (1.6–1.8 m) and cylindrical vaults on the building's south side are clearly distinguishable from the northern rooms whose walls are more than twice as thin (ca. 0.7 m), which is a clear indication of two different building times of the two different parts of the building along the two sides of the longitudinal axis. The measurements of the manor house given in the 1680 revision are an almost one to one match with the measurements of the south part of the current estate manager's house. The older part makes ca. 2/3 of the 42 m long and 15 m wide current building. The cone-shaped, outward narrowing, wide-cheeked windows also point to an earlier building substance. Two magnificent mantle chimneys have survived in the walls of the building. The 2.1 m arched entrance in the centre of the south side also points to the 17th century shapes, which coincides

87 Soom, *Der Herrenhof in Estland im 17. Jahrhundert*, 163.

88 Epp Kangilaski, 'Kolga mõisa ehitusajaloo uurimise probleemidest', *Eesti arhitektuuri ajaloo küsimusi. Arhitektuuriajaloo sekstiooni I sügisseminar, Tallinn, 13.–14. okt. 1981. a.* (Tallinn: Eesti NSV Ehituskomitee, 1981), 67.

with the arched opening of the passage of the servants' house on the opposite side of the square.

The servants' house is, in a way, a twin of the manager's house. In the centre of the building, under an axe-carved principal, a weighty mantel chimney has survived. The building's longitudinal façade is accentuated by a 3.2 m wide passage with an arched gate, which led out to the closed manor yard. The whole building is approximately 40 m long and 15 m wide, and built on the cylindrical vaults of a former socle, which links it with the constructional image of the manager's house. Which, in turn, raises yet another rather intriguing idea. Could the two aforementioned archaic looking buildings (later manor houses) be the former structures surrounding the monastic yard? This idea seems to be supported by another room with cylindrical vaults that has survived in the building's south wing, which was once joined by a semi-circular tower (approx. measurements 4.38 × 15 m).⁸⁹ We can imagine a building on a smoothly rising hillock, in the centre of which there is a seclusion common to monasteries, which during the De la Gardie times was partially rebuilt from ruins, and a hundred years later, during the Stenbocks, integrated into the walls of the baroque ensemble and its backyard-forming *basse-cour*. In that case, the walls dating back to the times of the monastery would comprise a remarkably large structure, which would surpass Padise monastery in its measurements and be instead comparable to Kärkna (Falkenau) monastery.

NEW AGE AND NEW ACTIVITIES

After the death of Jacob, the manor was divided between his two sons – Magnus Gabriel and Axel Julius, who still preferred Sweden as their primary residence – the former chose the castles of Läckö and Tullgarn, the latter the family's properties in Skåne. From Axel Julius, Kolga passed to his sister countess Christina Catharina (1632–1704), who after the death of his first husband Gustaf Adolf Lewenhaupt in 1658 had married the Swedish admiral and field marshal Gustaf Otto Stenbock (1616–1685) – 16 years her senior, born in the Stenbocks' main residence in Torpa, Sweden. The wedding of Gustaf Otto

⁸⁹ The layout of measurements of the first floor of the Kolga manor house. Drawing by A. Kukkur from 1952. Drawings are located in the archive of Estonian National Heritage Board.

and Catharina occurred in Gothenburg with the splendour fitting their status. They decided to settle down in Kolga, which had been left to run by tenants after Jacob's death.

One of the first things the Stenbocks undertook in Kolga, was to order a new altar for the Kuusalu (Kusal) church, which was probably made in the workshop of the leading master Elert Thiele. The altar and the pulpit made earlier by Adam Pampe⁹⁰ formed an ensemble whose baroque style invoked the era's characteristic openness to evangelistic teaching, which facilitated the coexistence of spirituality and power more broadly than before. Local pastor Johann Wolfgang Böckler dedicated to Christina Catharina and her three daughters his spiritual 'Morning songs' and other odes to celestial bliss.⁹¹ A book on Estonian customs and religious traditions was compiled, ready for publishing.⁹² Kolga became the main estate of the Stenbocks' Estonian branch, a residence whose second floor was adorned with portraits of their ancient ancestors next to kings of Sweden – beside Gustav Vasa was his



FIG. 19. CHRISTINA CATHARINA DE LA GARDIE (STENBOCK, 1632–1704). COPY OF THE PAINTING BY DAVID KLÖCKER EHRENSTAHL. (ORIGINAL IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAN). PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ESTONIA.

⁹⁰ Sten Karling, *Holzschnitzerei und Tischlerkunst der Renaissance und de Barocks in Estland* (Dorpat: Õpetatud Eesti Selts, 1943), 162, 222.

⁹¹ Paul Ariste, 'P. J. W. Boecleri eestikeelsed laulud 1678. aastast', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 4/5 (1958), 259–274.

⁹² *Der Einfältigen Ehsten Abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten*. Because of censorship, the book was left unpublished at the time, and was only printed for the first time in 1848. See: *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon der Provinzen Livland, Ehstland und Kurland*. Bd. 1, Nachträge A - K: Nachträge und Fortsetzungen, unter Mitwirkungen von Karl Eduard von Napiersky, bearbeitet von Theodor Beise (Mitau: Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1859), 597.



FIG. 20. VIEW OF KOLGA PALACE. PHOTO: JUHAN MAISTE (2020).

third wife, young Catherine Stenbock,⁹³ whose eyes supposedly mysteriously followed her children when they traversed the endless rooms of the palace in the still of the night.⁹⁴ Kolga, with 50,000 ha of land around it, was the centre of the Stenbocks' world, where its own society developed, which could be compared to a small German principality in its size.⁹⁵ Until the end of their reign in Estonia, the Stenbocks remained connected to Sweden in their mindset, which was also coloured by their cosmopolitan connections to European

93 In addition to the aforementioned, the gallery also included portraits of Jacob De la Gardie's wife Ebba Brahe, Gustav Otto Stenbock (1614–1685) – baron of Torpa and state admiral of count Bogesund, state councillor and field marshal Gustav Otto Stenbock (1664–1717), Ebba Margaretha Stenbock (née De la Gardie), Carl Magnus Stenbock (1725–1798), etc. At present, 30 portraits of the Stenbocks collection are in the National Museum in Poznań (Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu). Anne Lõugas, 'Baltisakslaste kunstivara Poznańi rahvusmuuseumis. Peatükk ühe rahvusgrupi ajaloo kohta', *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi*, 9 (1998), 200.

94 Walter von Wistingausen, *Aus meiner näheren Umwelt. Eine estländische Kindheit vor 100 Jahren* (Tallinn: Avita, 1995), 25–26.

95 Karl Montan, *Kolk/Kolga. Stenbocksgodset i Estland som speglar Östersjöhistoria* (Stockholm: LTAB Linköpings Tryckeri, 1994), 15.

aristocracy, which in its deeper essence was never in service of any nation or state.

After the death of her husband, Christina spent many years as a widow, leaving the governing duties of the estate in the hands of officials. In 1699, it was decided to turn Kolga into a fideicommissum.⁹⁶ After the death of the lady, the manor was pillaged by Russians. According to the data from 1712, Kolga was in a miserable state. The only building that was kind of satisfactory was the estate manager's wooden house, where renovations had commenced. Winter frosts had destroyed all apple trees in the manor garden. The plank fences surrounding the manor were also dilapidated.⁹⁷ In 1723, Peter I returned Kolga, with all its affiliated manors, to the Stenbocks. Just a year later, the first of them to move from Sweden to Kolga was Oberleutnant Bengt Ludwig Stenbock (1698–1737). Following his death, Kolga was inherited by his younger brother Fredrick Magnus (1696–1745), who lay the foundation for the new rise of the family. However, 150 years had to pass before August Wilhelm Hupel, the author of Estonian and Livonian *Topographical Announcements*, could write about the beautifully finished manor ensemble of Kolga.⁹⁸ Entertainment was provided in Kolga at middays, evenings and on Sundays by an orchestra of chattel slaves.⁹⁹

HIIU-SUUREMÕISA OF THE DE LA GARDIES

Getting from Kolga to Hiiu-Suuremõisa took quite a few days of travelling by road as well as the sea, which means that one needed a good excuse to undertake the journey. There were almost no fellow nobility around in Suuremõisa. Before the Livonian War there had been a bishop's official manor in Alliksaare and a 'beautiful stone house' on the Order's property by the sea in Valipe.¹⁰⁰ There were

96 RA EAA.858.2.2799.

97 Estonian History Museum [Eesti Ajaloomuuseum, AM], 1.1.20, 7–8.

98 August Wilhelm Hupel, *Topographische Nachrichten von Lief- Ehst- und Kurland*, Bd. I (Riga: J. F. Hartknoch, 1777), 352.

99 Johann Chritoph Petri, *Ehstland und die Ehsten, oder historisch- geographisch- statistisches Gemälde von Ehstland*, Erster Theil. Mit vier Kupfern. Gotha, in der Ettingerschen Buchhandlung 1802 (Gotha: K. W. Ettinger, 1802), 373.

100 August Wilhelm Hupel, *Topographische Nachrichten von Lief- und Ehstland*, Erster Band (Riga: J. F. Hartknoch, 1774), 393–394.



FIG. 21. HIIU-SUUREMÕISA PALACE. PHOTO: JUHAN MAISTE (2018).

only two private manors on the island – Lauka (Lauck) and Saulepa (Saulep).¹⁰¹ During John III, the entire Hiiumaa went under the governance of the bailiff of Tallinn. Pühalepa, or Suuremõisa, as it became known later, developed within the estate of Hans Wachtmeister after the Livonian War. In 1620, Gustav II Adolf donated 165 ploughlands (ca. 65% of the whole island) to a friend of his youth and war comrade Jacob De la Gardie, who in 1624 bought the entire island for 30,000 state thalers.¹⁰²

Jacob became the uncrowned king of Hiiumaa, the island became his ‘private colony’.¹⁰³ Under Jacob’s leadership, horse and cow breeds were brought to the island from Germany, who were reared on the island and whose offspring were transported to Sweden on the

101 Andres Adamson, ‘Piiskopi ja ordu aeg ning Liivi sõda 1227–1583’, *Hiiumaa: loodus, aeg, inimene* (Kärdla: Hiiumaa Teabekapital, 2015), 267.

102 Benjamin Cordt, *Zur Geschichte der Adelsgeschlechts und Familienarchivs der Grafen De la Gardie* (Dorpat: Druck von Mattiesen, 1892).

103 Marten Seppel, ‘Rootsi aeg 1563–1710’, *Hiiumaa: loodus, aeg, inimene* (Kärdla: Hiiumaa Teabekapital, 2015), 282.

owner’s ships. On his land in Kõrgessaare (Hohenholm), De la Gardie built a glass workshop (*Glashütte*), where in addition to window panes, laboratory dishes were made, as well as glass for pharmacies and medicine, cologne bottles, spirits, measuring and eye wash glasses.¹⁰⁴ Besides grain, cured rinds, ham rolls, syrup, honey and spice-cured rabbit meat, peas, groats, and good ‘Wismar’ beer also travelled toward Sweden. In addition to the small cargo sailboats, which were called lighters (*Schute*), larger ships were also built in Hiiumaa, which were used to transport oak logs for shipbuilding, timber, stones and bubble glass window panes for the count’s castles. The lord of the manor is said to have also transported beams, boards and other cut sawn timber for a glass workshop across the ice to Muhu island.¹⁰⁵ Maritime traffic was also busy between Saaremaa, Hiiumaa, Haapsalu, Pärnu and Riga, for which the lord had built a ship called *Pärnu*.¹⁰⁶

The lord of the manor himself was rarely seen on the island, the managers were tasked with keeping the economy under control and the export functioning. Compared to Kolga, Suuremõisa was valued primarily for its economic potential. After Jacob, the island of Hiiumaa was inherited by the baron of Ekholmen and Tullgarn, field marshal Axel Julius De la Gardie (1637–1710), who preferred to spend time in the capital, closer to high society and culture. The manor was governed by specifically appointed officials, among them the bookkeeper of Pühalepa (Pühalep) manor Joachim Transehe, manager Hans Becker, the count’s personal bookkeeper Erasmus Jacobsson Bloedysel and after the latter’s death his widow and sons-in-law.¹⁰⁷ The buildings in the manor were also rather modest. In 1691, when Suuremõisa was nationalised, an inventory was conducted.¹⁰⁸ *In the manor, there stood an old one-storied manor house (16 × 5 fathoms = ca. 28.5 × 9 m) with two chimneys and a board roof, onto which a new*

104 Einbolckfolke, *oder Die Schweden an der Küsten Ehtland und auf Runö: eine historisch-etnographische von der Kaisrelichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg mit einem demidowschen Preise gekrönte Untersuchung, Erster Theil* (Hannover-Döhren: Hirschheydt, 1969), 89.

105 Maks Roosma, *Hüti klaasikoda Hiiumaal. Jooni klaasimanufaktuuri tegevusest Eestis XVII sajandil* (Tallinn: Kunst, 1966), 15ff.

106 Soom, *Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie kirjavahetus oma balti mõisate ametnike jt 1650–1680*.

107 Vello Kaskor, ‘Mõisad ja mõisnikud’, *Hiiumaa: loodus, aeg, inimene* (Kärdla: Hiiumaa Teabekapital, 2015), 344.

108 RA EAA.1.2.941.

part of the house had been built (4×3 fathoms = ca. 7×5.3 m), with a board roof. A lobby led down to the kitchen beneath the mantel chimney, and from there a stone staircase led to the cellar. To the right of the lobby there was a living room with a green tiled stove, pine dining table, a bed and 12 red canvas-covered chairs, where guests could be received. To the left of the lobby there was a room with a green tiled stove, from where one could also access the cellar through a trapdoor. Behind the rooms there were chambers without a heat source. The left one of those contained a small pine table and two benches by the wall. The right chamber had a latticed door that led to the garden. The new building housed a nursery and a chamber with a brick fireplace, a summer chamber without a grate, and a small food chamber with a lattice door.

In addition to the large house, there was also a small building in the manor, it too was covered with a board roof, at the end of which there was a tower with a rod and a weathercock. To the left of the lobby in the centre of the house there was a room with a green tiled stove, bed, table and two benches. Next to this room, there was a chamber with a brick stove, plus two other chambers with doors opening to a toilet and the yard. Beneath the house there was a spacious cellar with two entrances. On the right side of the yard there stood an old bakery with a sod roof. Next to it there was a kitchen with a chimney and an oven, and a milk room with a chimney and an oven. The old brewery with a board roof had recently received a new chimney, a copper brewing cauldron, three 8-vat brewing barrels and a flour box. Some rooms in the brewery had been reserved for pigs. The manor also had a small building with a sod roof, a 16-stall stable with a thatched roof, a stable chamber and a carriage shed, and a coop for geese and turkeys attached to the building. Opposite the big stable there was another, 11-stall stable. There were four storehouses in the manor yard, one of them (7×4 fathoms = ca. 12.5×7 m) under a well-worn sod roof, in the second one-storied storehouse (4×4 fathoms = ca. 7×7 m), according to the inspection report, in addition to the first floor, the space beneath the attic was also used. The third storehouse was a square (4×4 fathoms = 7×7 m). The fourth storehouse (4×3 fathoms = 7×5.3 m) was used for storing victuals. The manor yard also included a peasant prison with a tower and a door that was closed with a hasp and an iron bar. The smithy with a board roof was built of stone, probably for fire safety; the building contained a forge bellows and an anvil, shoeing hooks, 3 pairs of pliers, 5 hammers, a sledgehammer, screw anvil, hoof pliers, scissors and a drove chisel. The largest building in the manor was the cowshed around the closed courtyard with a big gate and a wicket.

The manor garden, surrounded by a wooden plank fence, was divided in two: one part was 116 fathoms long and 76 fathoms wide (ca. 206.5×135 m), for fruit trees, and the other, measuring 150×57 fathoms (267×101.5 m), was separated into 8 squares by four trails – three lengthwise and one crosswise, for berry bushes. It was estimated that the garden had 147 apple, 55 cherry and 6 plum trees. Above the double gates leading into the garden there was a cheese room, decorated with an iron weathercock. A sundial was placed between the dwelling and the garden. The garden, manor yard and the roads were kept by a good gardener with two assistants. The manor was surrounded by moats (the so-called *aha* trenches), which helped to keep the cattle outside the manor yard. A distance away from the heart of the manor there were 4 sheds, 2 barns, flour and wood mills; at the harbour there were two storehouses, a boat shed, grain barn and limekiln, and a sod-roofed tavern.

Soon almost the whole island was owned by the De la Gardies: besides the fields and pastures, they had forests, fishing spots by the lakes and rivers, the sea shore and harbours. In 1688, there were two manor houses in Putkaste (Putkas) (Kolga also had two manor houses at the time!) – both of which looked rustically simple.¹⁰⁹ The old manor house (10×4 fathoms) with a large mantel chimney was covered by a sod roof, the new one – was used as a dwelling. To the right of the lobby there was a room with 3 doors and 3 windows, with 2 benches by the walls – one meant for sitting and the other for sleeping. The protocol also mentioned a large closet in there, a brick stove and a fireplace. Beneath the building there was a cellar, which was accessible by a staircase from the lobby. Everything they needed, they tried to source locally. In addition to field crops, they also grew vegetables in the garden: cabbages, peas, turnips, carrots, parsley, cucumbers, onions.¹¹⁰

By the tsar's order in 1715, Hiiumaa and Vormsi (Swedish: Ormsö, German: Worms) crown manors were given to the Russian admiralty, whose first task was to harvest quality timber for St Petersburg from local forests.¹¹¹ The manor was tended by tenants – during the war it was someone named major Lucius, from 1712 Oberstleutnant Johan Gustav von der Osten-Sacken, after whom the reins were handed

109 According to the revision of 1686, there were also two manor houses in the Kolga manor. RA EAA.1.2.940, 9–17.

110 Soom, *Der Herrenhof in Estland im 17. Jahrhundert*, 161.

111 In 1696–1735, Suuremõisa is recorded as a reduced property. Estonian Museum of Architecture [Eesti Arhitektuurimuseum, EAM], 134.1.412.

to major Fabian Gustav von Aderkass. From 1720, Pühalepa, Partsi (Pardas), Putkaste and Kõrgessaare were rented by Fabian Ernst von Ungern-Sternberg. From 1740, the tenant was Nikolaus von Korff. The De la Gardies themselves resided in Sweden, where the heir of Kolga and Suuremõisa, granddaughter of former owner of Hiiumaa Axel Julius De la Gardie, Ebba Margaretha De la Gardie (1704–1775) had married Fredrik (Friedrich) Magnus Stenbock (1696–1745), almost twenty years her senior. At first, they settled in Vapnö, a demesne of Stenbocks, but when it became destroyed by fire in 1733,¹¹² they moved into their family palace in Riddarholm (it is known as the Stenbocks' palace [*Stenbockska palatset*] to this day). As the building was being reconstructed at the time by the designs of architect Carl Hårleman, they travelled to Estonia, the land of their forefathers, where they settled down in Kolga.

In 1744, the head of the family, who was a district magistrate, issued a plea to the senate on behalf of his wife to return the estate to the De la Gardies. A decade passed before the plea was looked at in the power corridors of St Petersburg and empress Elizabeth Petrovna in 1755 officially effected the restitution. In Hiiumaa, four manor estates went to Ebba Margaretha: besides Suuremõisa, also Kõrgessaare, Putkaste and Hiiesaaire. An inventory of manorial property was conducted the same year.¹¹³ *At the time, the main building of the manor was stone, two-storied, and remarkably large (length 19.5 and width 7 fathoms = ca. 40 × 15 m), which makes it ca. ¼ longer and 1/3 wider than the manor house described in 1691. Thus, the building corresponded to the current manager's house of Kolga manor. Suuremõisa manor house, which was referred to as 'old', was standing on a basement (Fundament) and was covered with a board roof. The building had three chimneys and four cellars. The bottom floor had a large hall and seven rooms, a lobby, a kitchen with a so-called Swedish mantel chimney and a smoker. The top floor had two chambers. The whole house was reported to have 92 windows (it is probable that some of them were windowpanes), and four brown tiled stoves which were still in pretty good condition. Doors in the house were supplied with iron hinges, handles and 15 locks.*

112 In 1750, Georg Bogislaus Stael von Holstein (1685–1763), born in Narva as a son of engineer and architect Johann Stael von Holstein, acquired the property. During his time, a new mansion was built in Vapnö.

113 AM.104.1.41. Transcript by O. M. von Stackelberg from 1911 (compiled in Suuremõisa). EAA.1423.1.280.

A cluster of outbuildings surrounded the main building. Opposite the manor house there was a small dwelling (9 × 4.5 fathoms = 16 × 8 m) with a chimney and a sod roof, in a rather bad state. The building had a sauna, entrance hall and three chambers, one of which had a limestone stove and seven windows. The hinges, handles and two door locks were made of iron. A creamery, built of boards, was also right there. In the old sod-roofed manager's residence (10.5 × 4.5 fathoms = 19 × 8 m) there was a lobby with a gap (Lücke), one room to the left of the lobby and four chambers. The building had 15 small windows, a new unglazed pot stove and one limestone stove. Hinges, handles and 3 locks were made of iron. The manor also had an old three-part storehouse (13 × 5 fathoms = 23 × 9 m) with a part-sod, part-thatched roof, which was still usable, and three connected victual storehouses (10 × 4.5 fathoms = 18 × 8 m) with a carriage shed in the centre. A small cavalier house (5 × 4.5 fathoms = 9 × 8 m) with a hideaway (davor) was covered by a shingle roof (Staken) and its doors had iron hinges, handles and block locks.

The thatched-roof horse stable (12 × 7 fathoms = 21.5 × 12.5 m) had 26 stalls, and chambers at both ends (Ecken). The building had four windows. Other outbuildings also had sod and thatched roofs, among them a carriage shed (5.5 × 4.5 fathoms = 9.5 × 8 m), an old stone storehouse, a small cavalier house (3 × 2 fathoms = 5.34 × 3.8 m), and a stone-walled jailhouse. An old brewery (8.5 × 4.5 fathoms = 15 × 8 m) with a chimney and an old board roof stood by the spring well. In the vicinity there were 4 old pigsties with dilapidated roofs and an old sod-roofed one-chambered distillery (9.5 × 4.5 fathoms = 17 × 8 m). A 12-stall usable cowshed (Vieburg) and a bull stable had been built in a square around the courtyard, covered with thatched roofs. The farmyard was accessible through a gate with iron hinges and block locks. The smithy (5 × 3.5 fathoms = 9 × 6 m) with a sod roof, two windows and a chamber had iron-hinged double doors and a block lock. On the fields there was a usable double shed (27.5 × 7 fathoms = 50 × 12.5 m) with a shingle roof (Röte Dach), two grain storerooms, a simple barn building (23 × 7 fathoms = 41 × 12.5 m) with a threshing room, a stove, a peasants' windmill with bare essentials, and another barn.

Behind the manor house there was a large orchard surrounded by a wooden palisade which had two gates and was 157 fathoms long and 57 fathoms wide (279.5 × 101.5 m), probably located exactly where it had been more than half a century before. The garden was still divided in eight parts by trails – one crosswise and three lengthwise. The roads were lined by short-trimmed currants and barberry bushes. All in all, the orchard contained

147 young and mature apple trees, 55 cherry trees and 6 plum trees. In the northern part of the yard there was an old hop-garden. Even though the yard had run wild compared to half a century before, a new plank fence had been built around it (Staketen Planck). There were three ponds in the garden.¹¹⁴ Straight in front of the garden there was a timepiece on a large boulder, or a sundial (*Grosse Stunden Block oder Sonnenuhr*), which was surrounded by a lath fence with two gates.

The manor's implements were also described in detail, incl. the big copper cauldron and five so-called chilling vats in the brewery, butter churners, beekeeping equipment, the sheds on the fields with thatched roofs, taverns, limekilns and a new storehouse of 10 x 5 fathoms with a thatched roof, and a smaller storehouse (4 x 4 fathoms) at the harbour. The manor herd was not very large – 112 goats, 29 sheep, 14 piglets and three swine.

EBBA MARGARETHA'S HOME.

A COMITAL CASTLE OR A BALTIC MANOR HOUSE?

On 13 May 1755, Suuremõisa with Kõrgessaare and Putkaste were assigned 'forever and for good' to Ebba Maria Stenbock.¹¹⁵ For a while, the manor was still rented by major Lilienfeld. Until one day the widow arrived in Suuremõisa with her younger children. She left Kolga to her eldest son Karl Magnus (1725–1798), who had become a state councillor by then. When Catherine II arrived on her first visit to the Baltic states in 1764, she decided to stop in Kolga. On 20 June, she started her journey from St Petersburg in a 'golden carriage' with eight horses and a sizeable entourage. Having arrived in Estonia, they were put up by Carl von Sivers in his recently finished manor house in Laagna (Alt-Waiwara) manor, where the empress was greeted early in the morning by the song and dance of peasants. They dined at the Stenbocks'.¹¹⁶ The building was in scaffolding (the manor house was finished in 1768). Thus, the guests had no option but to pack their bags and continue travelling towards Tallinn, which they reached at midnight of 25 June. Church bells were ringing and gunshots

114 Later on, an English style park was created around the ponds. Kristiina Hellström, 'Suuremõisa park Hiiumaal', *Eesti parkide almanahh*, 4 (2016), 26.

115 AM.104.1.41.

116 Dr. Bertram, *Wagien: Baltische Studien und Erinnerungen* (Dorpat: W. Gläser, 1868).

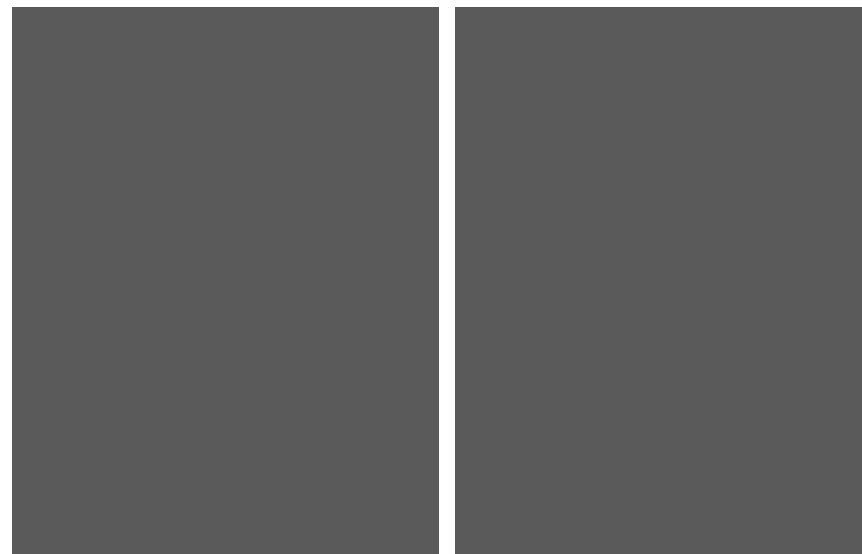


FIG. 22. EBBA MARGARETHA STENBOCK (1704–1776). COPY OF THE PAINTING BY OLAF ARENIUS (?). (ORIGINAL IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAN). PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ESTONIA.

FIG. 23. CARL MAGNUS STENBOCK (1725–1798). COPY OF THE PAINTING BY FRIEDRICH HARTMANN BARISIEN. (ORIGINAL IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAN). PHOTO: ESTONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM.

saluted the arrivals. After spending the night at Kadriorg palace, where the empress felt a bit chilly, she ordered the windows to be double-glazed.

We do not know why the widow decided to move to Hiiumaa. One reason could have been her wish to give her eldest son space to live and work. Of course, the island's idyllic pastoral nature was also irresistible and inviting. Indeed, even the local peasants were cast in a different mould. They were god-fearing, quiet and obedient, wrote August Wilhelm Hupel. 'Because they are not oppressed, they have many children, among whom there are all kinds of craftsmen: weavers, shoemakers, tailors, masons and carpenters.' The men of Hiiumaa were respected as lime burners and masons, they were invited to work on construction sites on the mainland. According to Hupel, local men were also known since time immemorial as builders of small



FIG. 24. THE GRAND STAIRCASE OF HIIU-SUUREMÕISA. PHOTO FROM 1937. PHOTO: FOUNDATION MUSEUM OF HIIUMAA.

ships and windmills, which were offered to customers ready-made.¹¹⁷ There was a carpentry workshop and a smithy in Kõrgessaare, which continued working even after the manor was acquired in 1781 by Reinhold Ludwig von Ungern-Sternberg. German carpenter Rode and Estonian men Andreas, Jaak and Peeter, blacksmiths Toomas and Pavel were all employed by the manor. The local men were able to build larger and smaller watercraft without any drawings or professional preparation. In 1788, a large packet boat (*Post Schute*) was built in Kõrgessaare.¹¹⁸

In 1785, Ungern-Sternberg, with his characteristic business acumen, serialised the production, which he announced in a weekly paper *Revalische Wöchentliche Nachrichten: There is a smithy and a*

117 August Wilhelm Hupel, *Die gegenwärtige Verfassung der Rigischen und der Revalischen Statthalterschaft. Zur Ergänzung der topographischen Nachrichten von Lief- und Ehistland* (Riga: J. F. Hartknoch, 1789), 698.

118 In Suuremõisa and Kõrgessaare, both Swede Johann Malm and Englishman James Dowel were employed as captains. RA EAA.1423.1.19, 7–56.

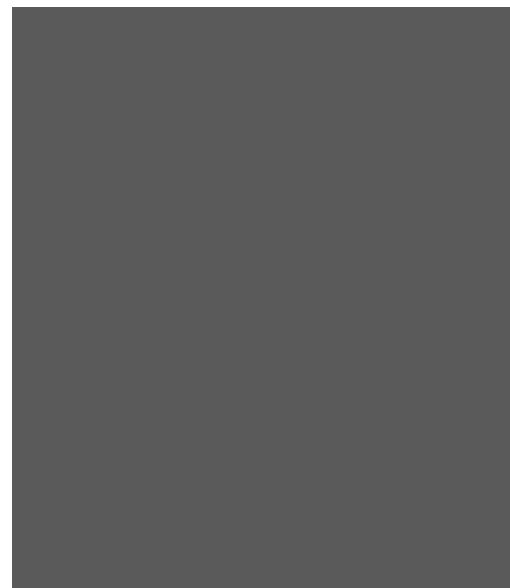


FIG. 25. DECORATIVE DETAILS ON THE GRAND STAIRS OF KOLGA MANOR. KOLGA MUSEUM. PHOTO: ULVI MEIER.

*locksmithery workshop in Kõrgessaare, where young men can go and learn the trades, and be prepared according to the newest models (Modellen) to do all kinds of blacksmith jobs for carriages, carts and horse equipment. It is also possible to learn a carpenter's trade right there, and, by the way, men will be taught to produce both smooth and shaped things, incl. doors, window frames, panels, tables, chairs, wardrobes, and chests of drawers. They also offered opportunities to train as turners, potters, and coachmakers.*¹¹⁹ In 1791,

the vice-regent of Tallinn Jacob Pontus De la Gardie gave permission to establish a factory in Hiiumaa to work with iron and brass and to make carriages and droshkies.¹²⁰ Thus, skilful men were always at hand, and the fruits of their labour can be admired to this day in Suuremõisa – in the uniquely decorated main entrance and the voluptuously baroque balusters of the main staircase. (Next to the carpentry in Ääsmäe, Suuremõisa offers the best examples of 18th-century woodcarving in Estonian manors).¹²¹ The work of Suuremõisa masters was probably also used in Kolga, which is attested to by the decorative orbs that used to crown the wooden main staircase, currently in Kolga museum. A rarity in its own right is also a piano from the 18th century, also held in the museum, with eye-

119 *Revalische Wöchentliche Nachrichten*, 4 (27 January 1785).

120 Helve Russak, 'Vene keisririigi aeg 1710–1917', *Hiiumaa: loodus, aeg, inimene* (Kärdla: Hiiumaa Teabekapital, 2015), 306.

121 Juhan Maiste, 'Tislerikunstist Harjumaa 18. sajandi II poole mõisamajades', *Kunstiteadus. Kunstikriitika*, 4 (Tallinn: Kunst, 1981), 177–193.

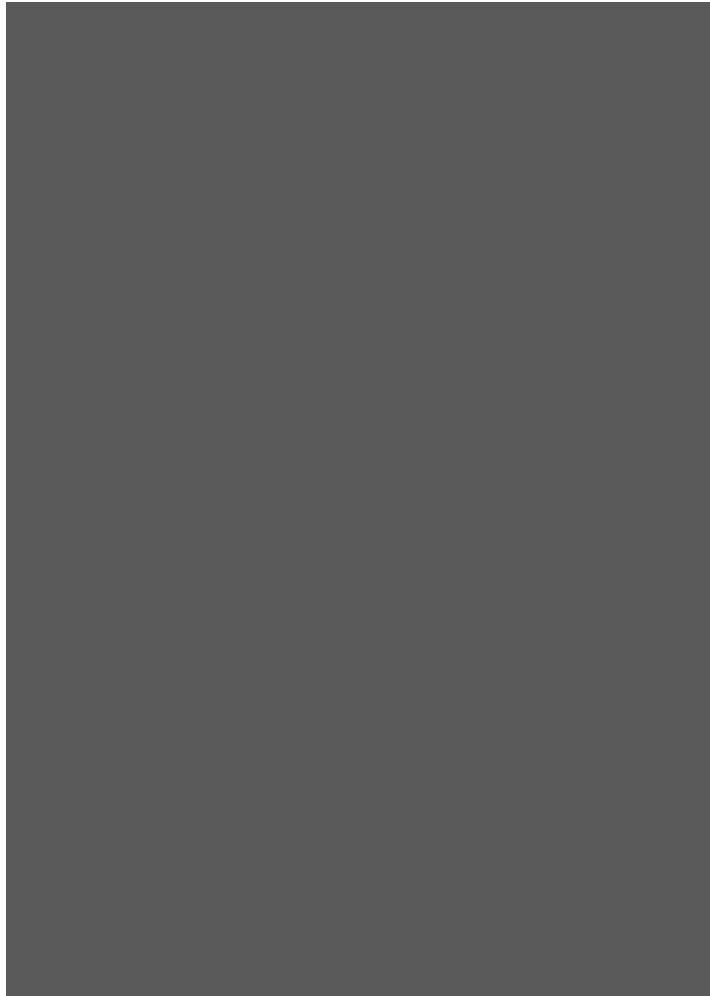


FIG. 26. DRAWING OF THE DOOR AND GRAND STAIRS OF HIIU-SUUREMÕISA. JUHAN MAISTE, *EESTIMAA MÕISAD* (TALLINN: KUNST, 1996).

pleasing points of connection in the decoration of its corpus and the façade.¹²²

Clearly, one of the first concerns for Ebba Margaretha was to commission a project which would fit her family's needs and which with its *interior and exterior would comply with the owner's status*. If at

¹²² Another work by the Suuremõisa masters is possibly the so-called Danzig style cupboard, which used to adorn Kolga manor house, but went missing in the 1980s.

*all possible, the dwelling should be built of bricks, and its walls, considering the northern climate, should be at least 2 to 2.5 feet (ca. 70–90 cm) thick. In order to offer spaciousness, the country house should be two-storied.*¹²³ Compared to most of its contemporary manor houses, Suuremõisa was actually larger and more luxurious, rather a palace than a modest noble house. As sources of its architectural inspiration, we might emphasise the residences of French-origin high aristocracy, which, carried by the ideas of Jules Mansard and Francois Blondel, were followed by the popular architectural magazines of the era. Besides Blondel, in Germany, publications by Nikolai Goldmann and his student Leonhard Christoph Sturm were also popular, *The courts of kings and princes are modelled on the Roman senator house and the Greek yard ... The more floors, the more the nobility can feel comfortable and use as much of the space as they wish. When you think about it, a room gives one a sense of the importance of the person using it. ... Usually, there are three floors. It would be appropriate to build the bottom floor in the earth, and it could be used by the servants. The height of the first floor could be 12–17 feet (ca. 3.5–5 m). From there, one should be able to access the garden behind the house. The two main floors, where the nobility lives, should be at least 16–20 feet (ca. 5–6 m) tall and well illuminated. ... The palace chapel could be on the first floor and rise through two or three floors.*¹²⁴ *It should also be positioned so that without using the stairs or going through the yard, the palace residents could easily find their seats. When designing the chapel, the architect must consider a location where, at the event of the owner's death, one could place the commemorative Castrum Doloris [the funeral podium – J. M.].*

¹²³ August Wilhelm Hupel, *Oekonomisches Handbuch für Lief- und Ehtländische Gutsherren, wie auch für deren Disponenten; darinn zugleich Ergänzungen zu Fischers Landwirthschaftbuche geliefert, auch für auswärtige Liebhaber die Liefländischen Verfahrungsarten hinlänglich dargestellt werden*, Erster Theil (Riga: J. F. Hartknoch, 1796), 208.

¹²⁴ The tradition of castle chapels was widespread in the 17th–18th century Sweden. According to some sources, there was also a home chapel on the first floor of Hiiu-Suuremõisa manor. (Marta Hermat, *Suuremõisa hoonete kompleks Hiiumaa rajoonis*. Historical correction [Tallinn, 1972], 71. Manuscript in the archive of Estonian National Heritage Board.) The same has been claimed about Kolga manor, where the home church was located in the north wing of the building. (Helmi Üprus, *Kolga loss*, Historical correction (Tallinn, 1956), 1, 22. Manuscript in the archive of Estonian National Heritage Board). In Russia, Catherine II forbade the construction of home churches. In the family's memories, there is no mention of the so-called church room in Kolga. The room could have been used as a mortuary or a waste room, as needed. (*Lahemaa Rahvusparki Kolga mõisa mööbli arvele võtmine* [Tallinn, 1977]. Manuscript in Kolga Museum). It is probable that the large room, which stretches through two floors, was initially used as a ballroom, as it seemed to include a music balcony (?), which was customary in the larger noble manors of Russia. During the ownership of the eccentric Eric Stenbock (1860–1895), in the 19th century, it could have also been a place for religious rituals, which gave rise to corresponding local folklore.

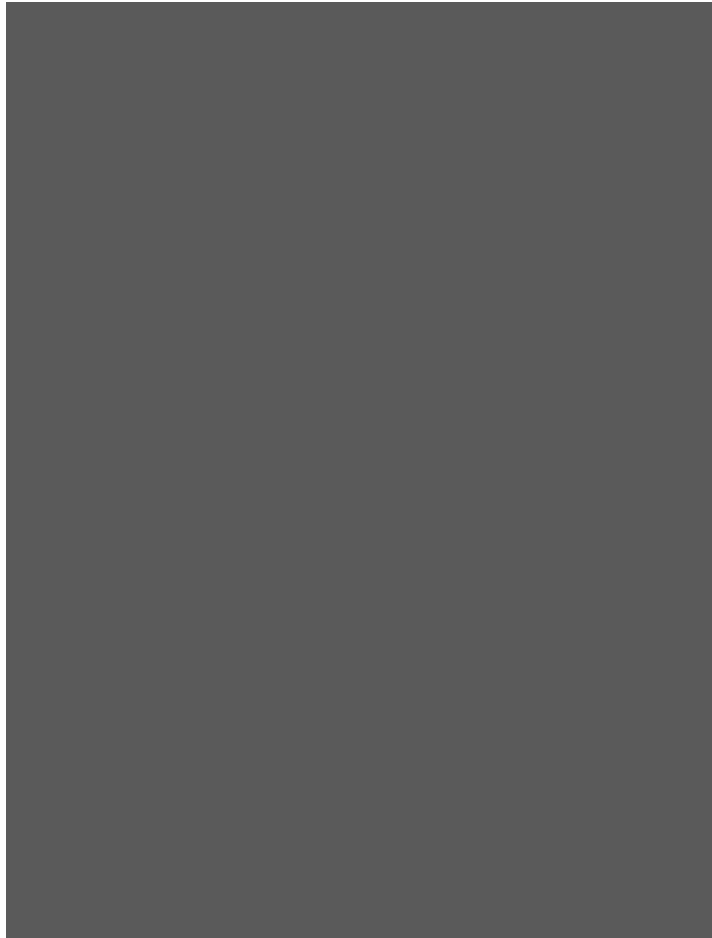


FIG. 27. NOBLE PALACE AFTER LEONHARD CHRISTOPH STURM. LEONHARD CHRISTOPH STURM, VOLLSTÄNDIGE ANWEISUNG, GROSSER HERREN PALLÄSTE STARCK, BEQUEM, NACH DEN REGULN DER ANTIQUEN ARCHITECTUR UNTADELICH, UND NACH DEM HEUTIGEN GUSTO SCHÖN UND PRÄCHTIG ANZUGEBEN (AUGSPURG: JEREMIAE WOLFFENS, 1752).

Nowadays people do not build large halls as much any more, nor are they as big as they used to be (Sturm gives the Versailles as an example). Still, they are needed for funeral obsequies, birthdays and other ceremonies. It would be fitting to position the hall on the top floor, while also considering that guests must be able to reach it without passing through the rooms of household members. The hall must have cloakrooms nearby. The hall must also include a balcony for trumpeters and drummers. Likewise, it is necessary that the hall has a large, beautiful chandelier, around which

people may dance during a ball, and strike lovely poses (*Ordonnancen*). It would also be nice if the architect included machines to entertain the guests – with spouting water, fireworks and other noble spectacles.¹²⁵ With the same thoroughness, Sturm also describes all the rooms on all the floors of the house, paying attention to the master's office, audience room and the lady's boudoir, which should be decorated with silk wallpaper. Describing the library and the adjacent hall of art and models, and a room for rarities, Sturm notes that they should not be too tall, to facilitate access to the tomes on the top shelves of the 'repository'. The library should be accessible by a secret staircase, to make it more comfortable for the owner to use it.

At the very end, Sturm describes the palace garden, which the windows should overlook. *Certainly, it was not only the ancient Romans that had gardens, but the kings of Persia, which are described in the Bible. The Roman emperors built their gardens in the suburbs. According to Pliny, he had gardens (Lustgarten) in his two country manors. Residential palaces included a large pond, a zoo and everything else to entertain people.* Of his contemporary gardens Sturm praises Versailles and Marly, which were created with profound expertise and a sense of innovation. In general, there are many gardens owned by nobility in both Italy and France, which have influenced the German princes, especially, for instance, through the designs of Heidelberg. Behind the quadrangle flowerbeds in the garden, at the end of the park, a wide tree-lined street begins, which is great for long walks.¹²⁶

At the end of the 18th century, Friedrich Christian Schmidt became one of the most popular authors, whose 'Civil Architecture' (*Bürgerliche Baukunst*) took a retrospective look at historical inspirations for town palaces and noble manors, *The Greeks who lived under the blissful celestial freshness brought arts and sciences to their customary perfection. ... Italians or Romans learnt from the Greeks. Thereafter, building as an artform faded into oblivion for a long time, until Palladio, Serlio, Scamozzi, Vignola, Bramante Peruzzi, Michelangelo, Goldmann started learning from the*

125 Leonhard Christoph Sturm, *Vollständige Anweisung, grosser Herren Palläste starck, bequem, nach den Reguln der antiken Architectur untadelich, und nach dem heutigen Gusto schön und prächtig anzugeben* (Augsburg: Jeremiae Wolffens, 1752), 10–18.

126 Sturm, *Vollständige Anweisung, grosser Herren Palläste starck...*, 54–55.

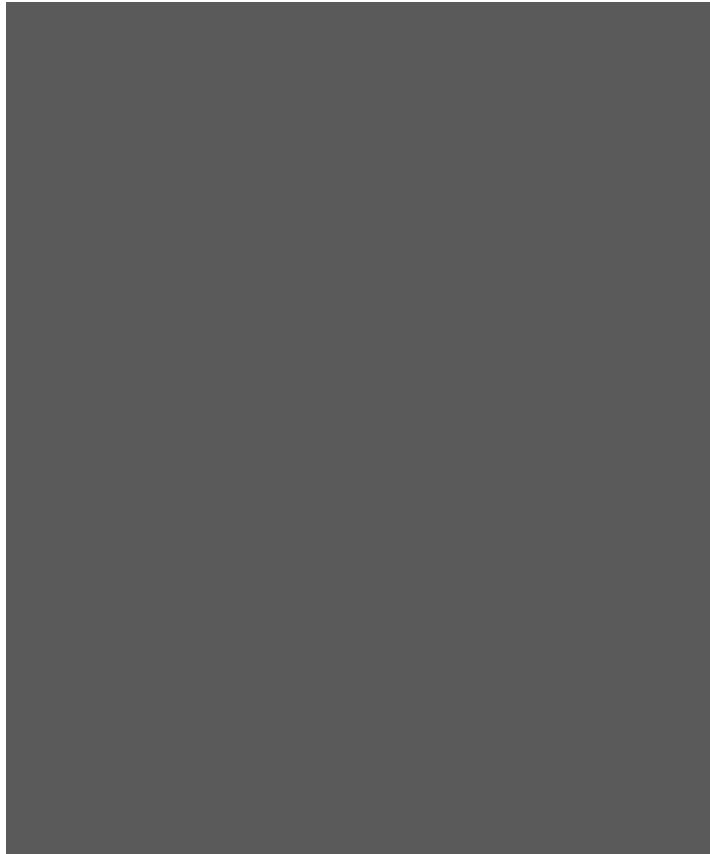


FIG. 28. GROUND PLANS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND FLOOR OF A NOBLE PALACE. FRIEDRICH CHRISTIAN SCHMIDT, *DER BÜRGERLICHE BAUMEISTER, ODER VERSUCH EINES UNTERRICHTS FÜR BAULUSTIGE: WELCHER IM 1. ABSCHNITT DIE ANLAGE DER ZWISCHEN ANDERN HÄUSERN EINGESCHLOSSENEN STEINERNEN BÜRGERLICHEN WOHNGEBÄUDE LEHRT, UND IM 2. ABSCHNITT PLÄNE ZU KLEINERN UND GRÖßERN FREYSTEHENDEN LANDHÄUSERN LIEFERT* (GOTHA: REYHERSCHEN SCHRIFTEN GEDRUCKT, 1794).

architecture of Rome again.¹²⁷ The houses they built offer a blueprint for today's builders. /---/ The Greeks were probably also the first to build private residences (Privatgebäude), focusing not only on necessities, but also on splendour and comfort. /--/ They appropriated architectural rules of the past, encouraging respect for true beauty (wahre Schönheit), simplicity (Einfalt) and worthiness (Würde).

127 Friedrich Christian Schmidt, *Der bürgerliche Baumeister, oder Versuch eines Unterrichts für Baulustige, welcher sie durch eine grosse Anzahl ganz verschiedener Plane in den Stand setzt, die Einrichtung ihrer Wohngebäude selbst zu entwerfen, und ihnen alles lehrt, was sie vor, während und nach einem Bau zu wissen nöthig haben* (Gotha: Selbstverlag 1790), 3.

The façade, or the front of the house is similar to a human face. It is the first thing we notice as we approach a building and most definitely also the first sign of the whole. ... As such, it speaks of the character of the owner of the house. The room structure of the whole building reflects the façade and vice versa: the interiors are echoed in the façade. The front of a manor house has to conform to rules, it must not have many windows or embellishments. The rooms in the house must be reasonably tall, without being too tall for the Nordic climate. If at all possible, the rooms must be heated from outside. Every room should have access to a hall or other passable rooms, which are interconnected (an allusion to the enfilade system – J. M.) Besides, it must be stressed that all rooms ought to be suitably decorated and furnished. The staircase must be immediately noticeable from the entrance, appropriately illuminated and capacious. The doors, windows and stoves must go well together, be symmetrically positioned and wide enough to accommodate passage by the windows. /---/

The cellars are the first to be built. The deeper the cellar, the colder it will be in the summer and the less damage winters will do. It is recommended to dig holes in the corners of the cellar, in order to drain water out of the house. It would be good to cover the cellars with vaults, cylindrical vaults would be ideal. The best way to find a place for a cellar stair is to position it under the main staircase. The tops of the vaults must have iron hooks with rings where supports and chains can be placed, for hanging fruit and other foodstuffs in baskets. Regarding the rooms on the first floor, we can look to Italians, whom the German architectural tradition follows, but we must consider local conditions and climate. Columns and all kinds of other decorations need taller rooms, which is why I recommend: the best height for the rooms is 11 feet. The main room of the house will be on the second floor, which is a little higher than the first one, which is different from all other parts of the house and is therefore called *bel étage*. The hall must be tallest of the rest of the rooms. The recommended height for a hall is 16 and width 20 feet. The decorations of the dining hall and main hall (salon) must differ from all other rooms, and the main rule is – the hall must be more festive than all other rooms, heavily decorated and emphasising the clean and pleasant symmetry of the walls. The walls must be covered with marble and divided in panels (Feldern) or else decorated with pilasters (Wandpfeilern).¹²⁸

128 Schmidt, *Der bürgerliche Baumeister, oder Versuch eines Unterrichts für Baulustige...*, Chapter 3–9, 22–139.

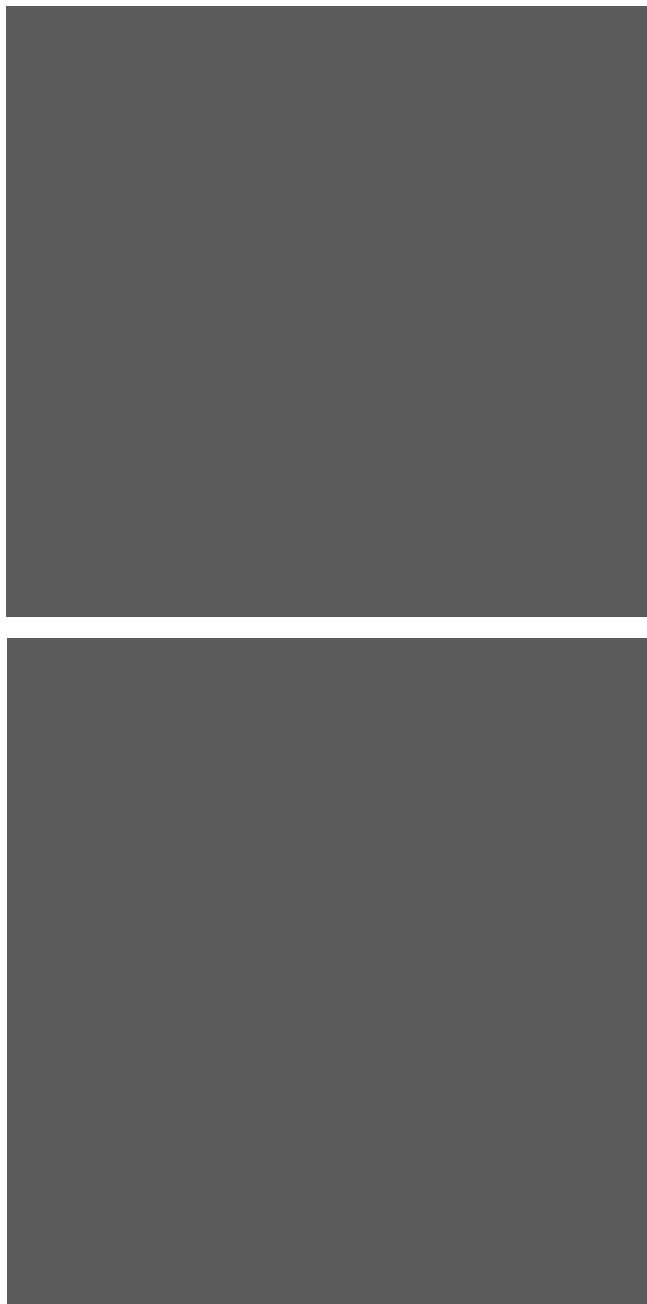


FIG. 29. GROUND PLANS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND FLOOR OF KOLGA PALACE. FROM THE RECONSTRUCTION PROJECT OF KOLGA PARK BY TORBJÖRN SUNESON AND JARL STENBOCK IN 1999. PHOTO: KOLGA MUSEUM.

FIG. 30. GROUND PLAN OF THE FIRST FLOOR OF HIIU-SUUREMÕISA PALACE. JUHAN MAISTE, *EESTIMAA MÕISAD* (TALLINN: KUNST, 1996).

A status-compatible home required considering representational as well as everyday needs, it had to be the family's calling card and home, which in the French tradition is known as *maison de plaisir*, and in German usually as a castle (*Schloss*). The principles of Suuremõisa architecture have their origins in the legacy of Palladio, which were rehearsed by Sturm and his disciples in popular architectural tractates. While the first wave of Palladianism brought with it influences of the Netherlands and Sweden, from the 18th century, the influence of North German early classicism deepens, accompanied by fashionable words from the French architectural lexicon – *commodité* and *bon gout*. Kolga and Suuremõisa were largely completed at the same time. Both houses made use of the previous structures. There was no need to demolish the old buildings with their impressive cellars and walls; a wise builder utilises existing parts of a building. In its ground plan, Suuremõisa manor house exceeds by mere metres the building described in the revision dossier of 1755.

When examining the two examples, we can notice similarities in their façade structure and plan, which, of course, is expected of palaces whose owners happened to be close relatives. Skilful builders from Hiiumaa, whose workmanship was well known all over Estonia, could have found work in Kolga. True, Kolga is longer than Suuremõisa by the two axled annexes, which makes the total length of the building 60.76 m. The length of Suuremõisa is 44.67 m.¹²⁹ The width of the building in Kolga is 23.96 m. In Suuremõisa it is 16.63 m. The façade articulation is aspiring to absolute symmetry – characteristic of the era, which renders an axled rhythm along the length of the building: 2 + 4 + 3 + 4 + 2 in Kolga, and 1 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 1 in Suuremõisa. Both in Kolga and Suuremõisa, in the centre of the building there is a stair hall (*Treppenhall*) through two floors, which, following the German baroque traditions, had become almost obligatory in the Baltic manor architecture.¹³⁰ The width of the vestibule in Kolga is 13 and in Suuremõisa 11.30 m.

Next to their stylistic similarities, we can also acknowledge the differences between the two stately palaces. Take the cellars, for

129 Measurement layout for Hiiu-Suuremõisa. Compiled in 1954–1955. Stored in the archive of Estonian National Heritage Board.

130 Juhan Maiste, '18. sajandi mõismaja tüübist Eestis', *Eesti arhitektuuri ajaloo küsimusi. Arhitektuuriajaloo sekstiooni I sügisseminar, Tallinn, 13.–14. okt. 1981. a.* (Tallinn: Eesti NSV Ehituskomitee, 1981), 71–80.

example, which either did not exist in Kolga or had been integrated as fragments in the body of the later building. Conversely, in Suuremõisa, beneath the first floor there is also an underground floor (*sous terrain* or *souterrin*). In Kolga, the rooms on both the first and second floor are separated by a central corridor, which back then occurred rarely in the Baltic manorial architecture, and does not exist in Suuremõisa. In Kolga, characteristic of the era, there are the two corner avant-corps protruding at the front by a couple of metres, which gives an impression of the *cour d'honneur* of the 18th-century architecture. In Suuremõisa, there is a four-metre central avant-corps protruding onto the garden façade. Kolga also lacks the balustrade- and sculpture-framed terrasses, which are part of Suuremõisa's passion for grand taste.

In both buildings, the architect has paid tribute to the ideas of the French early neoclassicists Claude Perrault, Germain Boffrand and Jacques-François Blondel,¹³¹ following the stylistic approach of the time, which exerted widespread influence on local tastes and architectural language.¹³² In Sweden, it was followed by Carl Harleman, Carl Frederick Adelcrantz and Jean Eric Rehn.¹³³ Since 1755, new solutions were offered by tractates and drawings of Carl Winbladh, which dealt with both town and country houses and their gardens.¹³⁴ In parallel to style, which determined a building's universal frames, there was also a place for the special term 'character', which allowed aberrations from the norm and relative approaches, giving the nobility architecture its local personality.

The historical parallel to Suuremõisa is the large country house (*Landschloss*), developed in Prussian and German nobility architecture in the 17th–18th century, which was characterised by the symmetrical layout of the façade, a central *avant-corps* with a triangular fronton, and a laconically simple façade decoration. In the first decades of the 18th century, in German speaking countries baroque still remained in vogue, making the country house homelier and friendlier. As stylistic parallels, we could mention the manor houses of Schleck

131 Jacques-François Blondel, Pierre Patte, *Cours d'architecture* (Paris: Desaint, 1771–1776). The volumes are also available in the Library of the University of Tartu.

132 Krista Kodres, 'Kõneleva arhitektuuri ideest', *Akadeemia*, 8 (1999), 1618.

133 Alm Göran, *Svensk klassicism*. Böcker om konst 11 (Lund: Signum, 1986).

134 Carl Wijnblad, *Ritningar på fyratio wåningshus af sten och trettio af träd samt åtskilliga lusthus etc.* (Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1755, 1756).

in Courland¹³⁵ and Schlodien in Prussia.¹³⁶ In Livonia, the new style was introduced in the middle of the 18th century when Aiskraukle (Asheraden), Liepupe (Pernigel) and Kirbizu (Kirbis) etc. manor houses were built by Andreas Johann Haberland from Riga. The more grandiose examples of the style are Ozolmuiza in Latvia (Lappier) and Tuhala (Toal) in Estonia, designed for count Georg Johan Mellin and his brother Ludwig August Mellin by Christoph Haberland, son of Johann. Concurrently, a three-storied baroque house, one of the most prominent palaces of its time, was being built in Valmiera (Wolmar) for the prince of Schleswig Holstein Peter August Friedrich.¹³⁷ With its high mansard roof, elegant forms and a voluptuously rich décor the building displays ambitions we can also trace in Suuremõisa.

According to Carl Meissner, Suuremõisa palace was completed in 1760. There is no reason to doubt that. Arriving in Hiiumaa, the enterprising lady needed a stately abode. In the manor staff, she had a workforce who, according to the local lore, were collected from all over the island,¹³⁸ which helped to keep the costs down. What was now really needed, was an experienced specialist, an architect, i.e. a master builder, who could complete the task. The building took several years. After about a decade, the owner found the building to be too small. Two wings to frame the *cour d'honneur* were added to the building, which are called pavilions on the plans. By a happy discovery in the archives of the Estonian History Museum, the drawings of Suuremõisa have been uncovered.¹³⁹ The set includes the façades of two annexes, and floor plans. Similarly to the main building, the wings are covered with a mansard roof, here and there the windows are accentuated by wide plaster frames with corner extensions. *The annexe on the right had a lobby, two weaving rooms, two handicraft rooms, and a kitchen. Four rooms in that annexe had been set*

135 Ojars Späritis, 'Beziehungen zwishen der Familie von Behr und der Praeger Hof von Rudolph II und deren Auswirkungen auf die kultur Kurlands', *Schlösser und Herrenhäuser der Ostseeregion. Bausteine einer europäischen Kulturlandschaft*, hrsg. von Kilian Heck, Sabine Bock, Jana Olschewski (Schwerin: Thomas Helms Verlag, 2017), 114.

136 Carl von Lorck, *Landschlösser Ost- und Westpreussen* (Frankfurt am Main: Weidlich, 1974), 50–51.

137 Imants Lancmanis, *Architectur Livländischer Gutshäuser* (Riga: Rundales pils muzejs 2015), 109.

138 RA EAA.1098.1.910, 88.

139 RA EAA.1423.1.279. The drawings for the *corps de logis* have not survived. The set includes drawings for the neo-Renaissance style rebuild of the Suuremõisa facade.



FIG. 31. FAÇADE DRAWINGS FOR HIIU-SUUREMÕISA. COPY OF THE 18TH CENTURY PROJECT. PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ESTONIA.



FIG. 32. BUILDING OUTLINES FOR ANNEXES OF HIIU-SUUREMÕISA. GROUND PLAN. PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ESTONIA.

aside for a doctor, including a room, a chamber, a living room (Comodität), and a larder. In the left wing there were two lobbies, a carpentry room, two maids' rooms (Domestiquen Stube), and a bookkeeper's room. The inspector (responsible for seafaring and harbour?) was allocated a kitchen, a chamber, three rooms and a larder.¹⁴⁰

A front hall (Vorhaus) is located in the cellars (souterrain), as well as a kitchen, kitchen chamber, cellar for storing firewood, a fish cellar. There is also a storeroom for household equipment, one vaulted cellar (Kellergewölbe), wine cellar, honey house (Wurrkeller), larder, milk cellar, butter cellar, another front chamber, bread bakery and chicken room (Hühnenkammer). The first floor, highlighted as bel étage, housed a front hall (Vorhaus), great hall, front room, bedroom, office and beside it a maid's room (Mägdezimmer) and a passageway (Durchgang), the lady's boudoir (Kramzimmer), miss's room (Mamsel Stube), dining room, billiard room, two guest rooms, the lord's writing room, library and the lords' smoking room. On the top floor there was a vestibule, two school rooms, a hall, the lord's private dressing room (Kramzimmer), six guest rooms, one cold chamber, the lady's dressing room (Kramenkammer der Frau), and stairs to the attic.

140 RA EAA.1423.1.279, 6.

The rooms in the building were in an enfilade and passable. Both in Kolga and Suuremõisa, the impression of a grandiose space was created by a roomy vestibule (*Treppenhalle*) which stretched up to the third floor. Housekeeping rooms were located on the cellar floor in Suuremõisa. In Kolga, where no cellar existed, those were located on the first floor. *In the right wing of the Kolga manor house there were the manager's and scribe's living and work rooms, servants' rooms and two saunas for the manor staff. The left wing housed a kitchen, larders, washroom and the coachman's living quarters. All the aforementioned rooms were also separately accessible from the ends of the building. On the main floor of the manor house, to the south of the vestibule there was the countess's red and the count's green room, at the end of the building, behind the Venetian window, there was the count's office and, attached to it, a floor to ceiling filled library. Across the corridor from the lord and lady's living rooms there were bedrooms, a small maid's room, and a bathroom. In the north wing of the building there was a dining room, accessible through a central hall (also known as the gallery of ancestors), followed by a smoking room and finally a ballroom, stretching through two floors, which is described as a waste room and former chapel on the plan. On the other side of the corridor there were four guest rooms, the building's north-end buffet, and a wine chamber next to the vestibule.*¹⁴¹

Together with the main building, a grandiose ensemble was completed, beginning with alleys leading to the *cour d'honneur*, opening to a rondel framed by outbuildings, and a French style park. In Kolga, the regular-style park area with trimmed bosquets, lawn and flowerbeds, was in front of the manor house, in Suuremõisa it was mainly behind the building. The whole ensemble was subjected to the rules of symmetry and mathematical order, thus nurturing harmony and the zeitgeisty aspiration towards absolute order, which favoured the dictate of reason and the logic of numbers.

Cogito ergo sum. I think therefore I am. There are no limits to the imagination of high aristocracy. Despite the costs, Ebba Margaretha had the ceilings covered with ornamental stucco décor and the floors with parquet. Like a pebble thrown into water, in Suuremõisa, the axes beginning from the living quarters spread out into the landscape,

141 This is based on information from Liidia Randma, who worked as a maid in Kolga manor in 1920–1926, and in Tsite manor in 1926–1936. (*Lahemaa Rahvuspargi Kolga mõisa mööbli arvele võtmine* [Tallinn, 1977]. Manuscript in Kolga Museum.) The author thanks the director of the museum Ulvi Meier for the opportunity to study the material.



FIG. 33. SITE PLAN OF KOLGA MANOR FROM 1833. PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SWEDEN.



FIG. 34. SITE PLAN OF HIIU-SUUREMÕISA, 1875–1877. PHOTO: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ESTONIA.

encompassing the ensemble's core, the park, and connecting the main road passing the manor, the church and churchyard. Similarly to the manor house, in Suuremõisa the outbuildings were also covered with mansard roofs and positioned beside the manor house.¹⁴² In Kolga, the core of the ensemble was behind the manor house, the composition of which to this day evokes associations with the former monasterial courtyard, as it could have existed in the Middle Ages.¹⁴³ The court in front of the manor house was framed by storehouses and a stable with carriage sheds. Opposite the building there were two long rectangular ponds, where the coachman could wash the horses' hooves and clean the cart wheels before taking them into the stable. A bridge with iron handrails bent across the ponds. There was a pavilion on the Ghost Hill. From between the ponds, one could make a way towards a regular-style baroque park, built on a one-time marshy ground, whose geometrical patterns are still available to witness on a manor plan from 1833 in the National Archives of Sweden.¹⁴⁴ The manor aestheticized nature over kilometres. The palace at the epicentre of the ensemble rendered measurements and proportions to its surrounding microcosm, subjecting single elements to the whole and the latter to the rules of geometry.

EPILOGUE

Ebba Margaretha died in 1775 and was buried in the family crypt by the Pühalepa church. According to her testament, which came into effect on 1 June 1776, her sons divided the Hiiumaa estate. Suuremõisa, estimated at 40,000 roubles, went to the youngest of the brothers Jacob Pontus. Kõrgessaare, at 24,000 roubles, to Carl Magnus, and Putkaste, at 20,000 roubles, to Johann. Friedrich Ulrich, who had been living with his brother in Kolga, inherited 4,000 roubles. The manors were supposed to remain in their old borders, but the horses, distilleries as well as servants had to be divided – in

142 The manor plan of Hiiu-Suuremõisa in 1875–1877. RA EAA.3724.4.748, 2.

143 The manor plan of Kolga manor from 1903. RA EAA.3724.4.111.

144 SE KrA 720784:0008:00001. Contrary to the later plans of the ensemble, the main road arrived in the manor from the direction of the Luuba farming manor in the west. The otherwise relatively detailed map does not include the two symbols of Kolga manor – the two gate buildings, nor the greenhouses. The former Luuba road, now a grassy path, is distinguishable in nature to this day.

Suuremõisa alone there were 60 of them.¹⁴⁵ Jacob Pontus (1744–1824), who received Hiiu-Suuremõisa, was the youngest, born just a year before his father's death. At the age of ten, Pontus was sent to study in Uppsala. The army became the man's vocation, and Pontus served in His Royal Majesty's horse regiment, soon rising to the ranks of cavalry captain and colonel. In the beginning of July 1764 – even before he turned twenty, Stenbock married Sarah Eleanora, daughter of a Russian general, at the time already a senator and governor of Smolensk William Fermor. Following the death of his first wife, he married Yekaterina, daughter of chief public prosecutor Aleksey Afanasyevich Dyakov. The Russian intelligentsia used to meet at the Dyakov house on Vasiliyevsky Island. A sister-in-law of Pontus was married to the famous Russian architect Nikolay Lvov, another sister-in-law to the poet Gavrila Derzhavin.¹⁴⁶

In 1781, Pontus bought Putkaste in the neighbourhood from his brother for 45,000 roubles.¹⁴⁷ Thanks to his connections in the royal court, Pontus undertook the relocation of Estonian Swedish yeomen, living on Kõrgessaare lands, to Crimea (officially the relocation was organised by his older brother Johann). They started their journey from Ristimäe (Cross Hill). After months of hardship, barely half of the thousand men, women and children reached their destination, where they founded a settlement called Gammalveskby. The biggest enterprise for Pontus became the building of offices (a courthouse) in Tallinn, having won the procurement for it in 1786. The project for one of the largest and most modern buildings of the era was made by Johann Caspar Mohr (1746–1788), who had arrived in Tallinn in search of work from the Hessen–Darmstadt region, and who had developed into one of the most prolific architects in Estonia.¹⁴⁸ Owing to the ongoing Russo-Turkish War, the construction of the government building was dragging on. Stenbock mortgaged his Hiiumaa estate: Putkaste, Hiiesaare, and also the 1783 founded

145 RA EAA.1423.1.265, 1–4. (On 24 March, the contract was ratified by the vice-governor Joachim von Sievers in Tallinn, with seven witnesses present. RA EAA.1423.1.265, 5–11.)

146 Ants Hein, 'Krahv Jakob Pontus Stenbock', *Riigikantselei webpage*. See: <https://riigikantselei.ee/stenbocki-maja/stenbocki-maja/krahv-jakob-pontus-stenbock> [accessed 10.12.2021].

147 RA EAA.858.1.1501.

148 Juhani Maiste, 'Kubermangulinn Tallinn', *Eesti kunsti ajalugu*, 3, 1770–1830 (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2017), 360–363.

Vilivalla (Williwalla) and Loja. Eventually, using his high-level connections in St Petersburg, Stenbock managed to turn things to his advantage. After construction, the palace on Toompea Hill was turned into the property of the Stenbock family – the building is known to this day as the Stenbock Palace. It might be worth mentioning that Jacob Pontus eventually died under the roof of the house which he as a skilful landlord and entrepreneur had acquired.¹⁴⁹

However, in Hiiumaa, not everything went according to Stenbock's plans. The cards were being shuffled by newcomer Otto Reinhold Ludwig von Ungern-Sternberg (1744–1811), whom history remembers as a restless soul. His father Reinhold Gustav had been a Herrnhuter and a count Zinzendorf sympathiser, who had bestowed on his son a determination to get ahead in life on his own. Reinhold Ludwig had spent his childhood in Vana-Kuuste (Alt-Kusthof) manor in Tartu County. In his youth, he went to study at the university of Leipzig, travelled the seas and made it to India as a member of an English expedition, where he was arrested and deported on suspicion of espionage. Having arrived back in Europe, he served in the court of king of Poland Stanislaw Poniatowski, from where the ambitious man moved on to St Petersburg. Having attained the title of chamberlain, Ungern-Sternberg married Magdalene Charlotte von der Pahlen of the Pahlens of Palmse.

In 1781, Ungern-Sternberg purchased Kõrgessaare manor from count Carl Magnus Stenbock.¹⁵⁰ Whether it was card game debts, as it is rumoured, or else a life lived larger than means allowed, in any case, at one stage Pontus Stenbock was forced to mortgage his family's domain in Suuremõisa to his one-time friend Ungern-Sternberg. Stenbock only kept for himself 60 male and 47 female souls.¹⁵¹ The mortgage was colossal – 156,000 silver roubles, which back then could have bought quite a few nice manors. This convinced Stenbock to turn to the emperor on the last day of that same year with a plea to have the whole deal looked at again by the supreme court.¹⁵²

149 In the 1795 list of Toompea real estate, the 'former courthouse' is assigned to Pontus Stenbock. (Krepost-Buch für den Dom und für der Domvorstadt zu Reval 1647–1848. TLA, f 230, 1, 696.

150 RA EAA.854.2.2236.

151 RA EAA.858.1.2317.

152 EAM.280.1.43, 23–27.



FIG. 35. OUTBUILDINGS OF HIIU-SUUREMÕISA. PHOTO: FRIEDRICH VON WOLFF-LETTIN, 1923. PHOTO: ART-HISTORICAL PHOTO COLLECTION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU LIBRARY.

Nonetheless, the deal was not overturned and the decision remained final. Having renovated Kõrgessaare Harbour and Suursadam (Great Harbour), which belonged to Suuremõisa, Ungern-Sternberg set up a coastguard for saving the shipwrecked, which helped bring both people and goods ashore from ships stranded on the rocks or shallows. After which the storehouses of Suuremõisa had supposedly grown considerably. In the local lore, the 'Ungru lord' is known as a man who used to hide the spoils from the sea in a purpose-built abitory between the second and third floor of the manor house.¹⁵³ Unfortunately, the adventurous life came to a sad end with a tale of the Swedish skipper Carl Johann Malm, whom Ungern-Sternberg, either by accident or in a fit of rage, shot to death. Stenbock, bitter for the loss of his home, took advantage of the event and, using his father-in-law's connections, got tsar Paul I to agree to compile a commission to investigate the situation. The court decided to banish

153 Mihkel Aitsam, *Hiiu lossist – Siberisse. Ajalooline romaan legendaarseist Hiiu mereröövleist* (Tallinn: Tallinna Eesti Kirjastus-Ühisus, 1937), 144.

the lord of Suuremõisa to Tobolsk in Siberia, where he died a few years later.

Proud and lonely, Suuremõisa stood amidst the juniper fields, rye fields and a few sluggish barn houses. The natural springs here gave birth to a river which flowed into the sea, wrote the county's land surveyor Samuel Doberman at the turn of the 18th–19th century.¹⁵⁴ *On the plain by the river there is the heart of the manor: a manor house and five mansions, a riding stable (Reitstall), horse stable, carriage shed, storehouse (Speicher) and another storeroom (Kleete), distillery and brewery, two cowsheds, two Dutch windmills, two grain thrashers (Kornriege), hop barn, and a smithy. All of the buildings mentioned were of stone. Only one grain storehouse, two saunas and two barns were made of wood. The manor also had a linen weaving factory (Leinweberei), which produced enough for own use, a brick shed and a stone pit. Building bricks and roof tiles were burnt for sale. Lime was shipped to Pärnu and Vyborg.*

Suuremõisa has the resilience of crystal and veins of glass. When Reinhold Ludwig died in 1805, his widow inherited the manor, and thereafter his sons became some of the richest people in Estonia, acquiring ever more manors and building ever larger houses. Peter Ludwig Konstantin von Ungern-Sternberg (1779–1836), son of Reinhold Ludwig, was the first to have the wisdom to start rearing the lucrative merino sheep in Estonia, after the economic decline following the Napoleonic wars. For a few years, a wool factory operated in the hall on the second floor of the Suuremõisa manor house. Soon, new factories were built in the neighbouring village Kärddla (Kerdel). To this day, the family's town palace on Toompea Hill crowns the old Hanseatic city of Tallinn. One of the last representatives of the family in Estonia was Ewald Adam Gustav Paul Konstantin von Ungern-Sternberg (1863–1909), who built a glorious house with Renaissance gables near Rohuküla Harbour, which as matter of fact was never finished, but is enchanting even today in the beauty of its ruins, evoking visions of the most grandiose mirages in the mirror of nobility.

Kolga palace, full of dignity and pride is one of the most outstanding monuments of the noble culture in Estonia. According to the date carved into the stair lattice on the second floor of the vestibule, the house was completed in 1768. In the 19th century, in

154 EAM.70.1.4a, 99–101.

observance of the new imperial style, the mansion was embellished with an impressive four-columned portico.¹⁵⁵ An extra floor was added to the wings of the building, which now, inspired by the zeitgeist, were accented by Venetian windows, which had become popular in the architectural preferences of Russian aristocracy. Heinz Pirang has dated the great rebuild of Kolga to the 1820s.¹⁵⁶ Family tradition links the rebuild years in Kolga with 1800–1803, when the manor had gone into the hands of Georg Gustav Magnus (1780–1816), who was barely over twenty at the time. The works were carried out by peasants, which is why they had supposedly only cost 300 golden roubles, incl. the architect's fee.¹⁵⁷ Who was the architect of Kolga, is not known. Just as with Suuremõisa and most other grand noble palaces in Estonia, history guards its secrets. We can draw parallels with Kolga and quite a few other largest noble palaces of the time (Valtu (Waldau), Järvakandi (Jerwaknat), Riisipere (Riesenberg), etc.). Just a couple of dozen kilometres from Kolga there is Aaspere (Kattentack) manor, which until 1798 belonged to Georg Friedrich Veldten (1730–1801) – one of the star figures of St Petersburg classicism. We may even contemplate whether Veldten is indeed the architect of Kolga, who, having joined the Stenbocks for an afternoon tea one fine day, took out pencil and paper and sketched the contours of the future building.¹⁵⁸ An attentive observer will not miss the similarity between the colonnade of the front façade in Kolga and of the back façade portico in Aaspere. In a way, Aaspere and Kolga are both connected by an aspiration to global power and sublime spirituality. In Suuremõisa, which remained in its baroque-Palladian shape, that ambition is absent.

155 The rebuild of the house is also attested to by the measurement layout for Kolga palace, compiled by Teddy Böckler in 1954. The roof construction clearly delineates two different building stages. (In the archive of the Estonian National Heritage Board.)

156 In the history of architecture, the great rebuild of Kolga has been dated to the 1820s. See: Heinz Pirang, *Das Baltische Herrenhaus*, Teil II, Die Blütezeit um 1800 (Riga: Jonck & Oiliewsky, 1928), 34.

157 The family tradition also supports the earlier dating by associating the reconstruction with the years 1800–1803. See: Jimmy Norrman, Torbjörn Suneson, Jarl Stenbock, *Vårdprogram för parkanläggningen vid Kolk herrgård, Estland. Conservation Program for the Park of Kolga Mansion, Estonia* (Uppsala: Institutionen för landskapsplanering Ultuna SLU Sveriges Lantbruksuniversitet, 1999), 13.

158 Juhani Maiste, 'Balti mõisapanteon', *Eesti kunsti ajalugu*, 3, 1770–1840 (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2017), 263.

JUHAN MAISTE: HIIU-SUUREMÕISA AND KOLGA. TWO MANOR ENSEMBLES OF THE DE LA GARDIE AND STENBOCK FAMILIES IN THE MIRROR OF THE 17TH–18TH CENTURY NOBLE CULTURE

KEYWORDS: NOBILITY AND THE BALTIC *VILLA RUSTICA*; KOLGA AND HIIU-SUUREMÕISA MANORS OF THE DE LA GARDIE AND STENBOCK FAMILIES; NORTH EUROPEAN INFLUENCE AND ARCHITECTURAL TREATISES; LOCAL TASTE AND BUILDING ACTIVITIES

SUMMARY

Kolga (Kolck) and Hiiu-Suuremõisa (Dagö-Grossenhof) are two of the most prominent manor ensembles in Estonia. Belonging to the De la Gardie and Stenbock families, their architectural histories have been thoroughly studied both in Sweden and Estonia. In the 1930s, Professor Sten Karling compiled a survey of Jacob and Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie's projects for the castles of Haapsalu and Kuressaare (Arensburg). Based on unpublished archival materials, the primary aim of this article is to introduce new data about the ambitions and main trends of the Baltic high nobility in their faraway Estonian estates. The second and even more important task of the essay is to offer a new outlook on the building activities regarding the Baltic *villa rustica* in its golden age within the Baltic aristocratic architecture. Beside the patrons of both manor ensembles – the De la Gardies and Stenbocks, the author has studied multiple sources of international and local architectural development in tandem with the archival findings and comparative art-historical research, to shine a new light on the main trends of the Baltic cultural history of the Enlightenment period.

CV

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