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**Review of the Book: Jacek Żukowski,  
*Pałac królewski w Łobzowie – funkcje  
i przekształcenia w latach 1633–1648,  
"Barok. Historia–Literatura–Sztuka"*  
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Exchanging letters with Władysław Rączka, eminent researcher and aficionado of history of the Royal Palace in Łobzów, Jan Zachwatowicz stated that "it goes (...) without saying that the [Łobzów – author's note] complex should be given the high rank it deserves among Polish cultural heritage, and, in addition to proper monument protection, should regain the full palace and garden essence of a royal residence."<sup>1</sup>

Years passed, the building fell into disrepair, and its remnants were included into the new building of an Austrian military school in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After Poland regained independence, attempts were made to restore the memory of the once famed royal summer residence. Despite the efforts of the researchers, the Palace in Łobzów never gained its proper place in the history of Poland, one of the reasons for this situation being the still insufficient knowledge of all the stages of the rise and the subsequent fall of the palace and garden complex. The lack of a comprehensive discussion of the history and architectural transformations of the royal residence

1. Quoted from: J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja pałacowo-ogrodowa na Łobzowie. Stan Badań i zachowane źródła archiwalne (1585–1655)*, part 2, "Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury" 17 (1983), p. 20, footnote 4.

poses a significant research problem.<sup>2</sup> For that reason, materials on the palace in Łobzów that emerge in expert discussion should contribute to the codification and improvement of knowledge on that site.<sup>3</sup>

The subject of this review is an article by Jacek Żukowski that describes the function and transformations of the Royal Palace in Łobzów in 1633–48. It should be noted that the author defined the scope and chronology of his investigation in its title, which does not find complete reflection in the body of the article. Żukowski opened his text with a description of the destruction of the Palace in Łobzów during the Swedish Deluge (pp. 15–17), and proceeded to the later history of the residence until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (pp. 17–21). After a short description of the prior research (pp. 21–22), he mentioned key political, domestic, and ceremonial events connected to Łobzów (pp. 23–24), and recalled the scope of transformations of the entire complex at the time of Stephen Báthory (Stefan Batory) and Sigismund III Vasa (Zygmunt III Waza). Only the last, extensive section of the article is investigating the scope of renovation and construction works conducted in Łobzów during the reign of Ladislaus IV Vasa (Władysław IV Waza, pp. 27–32), and the reconstruction of the overarching ideas of the palace's design (pp. 33–36). Unfortunately, the order that Żukowski follows in his article is unclear. Moreover, the information the author provided in certain sections generally go beyond the time frame assumed by the author and therefore seem unnecessary (e.g. the description of the palace's decline after the Swedish Deluge and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century).

Żukowski correctly pointed to the important events connected to Łobzów, including the birth of Prince Ladislaus Zygmunt Vasa (Władysław Zygmunt Waza, p. 15),<sup>4</sup> the welcoming of the future royal spouses, Anne and Constance of Habsburg, the display of the coffins of Sigismund III and Constance,<sup>5</sup>

2. Extensive archaeological research, whose results would allow many questions connected to the history of the palace and garden complex in Łobzów to be explained, has long been recommended.
3. The academic circles of the Kraków University of Technology, currently using the building that contains material vestiges of the former Royal Castle, boasts major achievements in this area. See: footnote 41.
4. However, it would be proper to emphasise that a coincidence, namely the fire of the Royal Castle in Wawel, determined the fact that the Prince was born there. See: W. Leitsch, *Der Brand im Wawel am 29. Jänner 1595 (Pożar na Wawelu 29 stycznia 1595 r.)*, in: "Studia do Dziejów Wawelu" (1978), pp. 245–260.
5. Unfortunately, in writing about the display of the Royal coffins Żukowski did not mention an article by Włodzimierz Kaczorowski listing in detail the people who

and the ceremonial "coronation entry of Marie Louise Gonzaga" (pp. 23). Such an approach to the subject certainly makes it possible to understand the reason for the increase in the importance of the residence in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the function of the entire complex in the Vasa time. It should be noted that Żukowski did not limit his description to the Palace only, but equally meticulously presented the function and appearance of the buildings connected to the residence and of the palace garden. In the description of the "communication and representational suite," the author made a reference to the solutions accepted in the Spanish court, thus introducing a new observation into the literature on Łobzów (pp. 33–34) which certainly expanded the knowledge on the residence.

Despite certain correct conclusions, Żukowski failed to avoid the errors that, for the fulfilment of the reviewer's duty, must be mentioned.

Perhaps due to the editorial limitations, the author only listed incomplete literature in his short study of the prior research and emphasised that the studies so far "mostly focused on the time of Santi Gucci" (p. 21). Yet previous researchers also paid a lot of attention to the later transformations of the Palace in the Vasa Times. Even before the outbreak of the Second World War, Witold Kieszkowski pointed to the fundamental sources concerning the residence, including the inventories, visits, and audits from 1595, 1665, 1679, 1692, 1709/1710, 1736, and 1748.<sup>6</sup> The researcher also introduced the existence of royal accounts, recording investments in Łobzów, including those in the days of the Vasa kings, into the field of academic studies.<sup>7</sup> As a side note, it should be born in mind that Żukowski was aware of the significance of Kieszkowski's article, as he recognised it to be "based on the most extensive study of the sources to date" (p. 21).

In turn, based on Kieszkowski's study of the archives, J.W. Rączka published an extensive selection from the aforementioned sources in his article.<sup>8</sup> The joint academic and historical documentation effort of the

stood guard by the coffins of Sigismund III and Constance in Łobzów. See: W. Kaczorowski, *Pompa funebris pary królewskiej – Zygmunta III Wazy i Konstancji w Krakowie*, in: *Wesela, chrzciny i pogrzeby w XVI–XVIII wieku. Kultura życia i śmierci*, ed. H. Suchojad, Warszawa 2001, pp. 261–271.

6. W. Kieszkowski, *Zamek królewski w Łobzowie*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury" 4 (1/1935), pp. 21–22, footnote 13.

7. Ibidem, p. 23, footnotes 35, 40–42.

8. J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja... (1585–1655)*, op. cit., passim. Its author also wrote two articles on the history of Łobzów: idem, *Królewska rezydencja pałacowo-*

former Cadet Institute complex by Bogusław Krasnowolski and J.W. Rączka (1998–99) constituted a particular conclusion of the studies on the history of Łobzów Royal Palace. It listed numerous sources including six inventory books from 1665–1776 (annexes II–III and V–VIII) as well as cartographic, iconographic, and planning materials. It is also worth mentioning the conservation conclusions that the researchers described in chapter VIII. Drawing from the above-mentioned work, Krasnowolski and Rączka published an article in 2007, stressing the fact that it was based on the documentation from 1998–99.<sup>9</sup> Even though Żukowski referred to the aforementioned article, he missed the existence of the academic and historical documentation. It should also be noted that having analysed the inventory books from 1692, 1709/1710, 1733 and 1736, Krasnowolski and Rączka presented reconstructions of the plans of the palace under Stephen Báthory and after the remodelling works commissioned by Sigismund III and Ladislaus IV, which Żukowski unfortunately failed to mention.<sup>10</sup> The existence of such works is of fundamental significance for any attempt to study the complex's history and architectural transformations.

A separate question is the source analysis that the author conducted in order to depict the progressive destruction of the palace following the Swedish Deluge (pp. 15–19), and discuss the modernisation and construction works in the residence in the days of Ladislaus IV (pp. 27–36). The description of the first process raises no doubts as it is largely based on inventory books and audits.<sup>11</sup> It can be noted in passing that in this section Żukowski quotes sources too extensively (pp. 16–19), blurring the article's message and structure. It would have been enough to carry out

*-ogrodowa na Łobzowie. Stan badań i zachowane źródła archiwalne (1367–1586)*, part 1, "Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury" 16 (1982), pp. 17–30; idem, *Królewska rezydencja pałacowo-ogrodowa na Łobzowie. Stan badań i zachowane źródła archiwalne (1655–1980)*, part 3, "Teki Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury" 18 (1984), pp. 47–58.

9. The authors wrote in the first footnote that their article "is based on: B. Krasnowolski, J.W. Rączka, *Dawny pałac królewski w Łobzowie, późniejszy Instytut Kadetów, dokumentacja naukowo-historyczna*, computer printout, 1998–1999, archive of the Zarząd Rewaloryzacji Zespołów Zabytkowych Krakowa. B. Krasnowolski, J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja w Łobzowie*, in: *Pałace i wille podmiejskie Krakowa. Materiały sesji naukowej odbytej 24 kwietnia 2004 roku*, ed. J.M. Małecki, Kraków 2007, p. 79".
10. B. Krasnowolski, J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja...*, op. cit., fig. 10–11. (B. Krasnowolski reconstructed the arrangement of the rooms).
11. J. Żukowski used the sources from 1665, 1692, 1709/1710, 1733 and 1736.

a synthesis and state that war destructions and the loss of the majority of representational functions by the palace initiated the gradual process of the entire complex's devastation.

The section concerning the works carried out in Łobzów Palace during the reign of Ladislaus IV calls for a separate treatment, especially as a handful of inaccuracies (pp. 24–26) can already be found in the paragraph preceding that section (pp. 24–26). For example, the author wrote that "around 1585, Łobzów Palace consisted of the main building and three loggias" (p. 24). In fact, on 8 July 1585, Stephen Báthory concluded an agreement in Niepołomice in which Santi Gucci undertook to build a two-storey Palace in Łobzów in the western part of the property, and galleries connecting it to the "old tower" in the eastern end, that is the remnant of a Gothic castle from the time of Casimir the Great (Kazimierz III Wielki).<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, the author mentions the existence of the latter part, which was architecturally and functionally connected to the new palace in the days of Báthory, only when discussing the extension and transformation of the eastern wing in the early days of Sigismund III, which significantly distorts the picture of the complex's development.

Later, Żukowski wrote that "the Łobzów residence (...) was extended in 1594–95, and the transformations had been completed before 1602, when a single-bay wing was added to the Renaissance gallery which obscured it, creating a loggia that opened to the courtyard" (p. 24). A new wing was indeed added in 1594–95 to the part built by Casimir the Great ("the old reformed house") and remodelled in the days of Báthory, but these works were basically completed in 1595. The appearance of the interiors was recorded in the inventory book, most of which was republished by Andrzej Fischinger in 1969.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, there are no grounds to believe that the works were conducted in 1602 or that they lagged on until that

12. W. Kieszkowski, *Zamek królewski...*, op. cit., pp. 24–25; A. Fischinger, *Santi Gucci. Architekt i rzeźbiarz królewski XVI wieku*, Kraków 1969, pp. 142–143; J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja... (1585–1655)*, op. cit., p. 25.

13. See: A. Fischinger, *Santi Gucci...*, op. cit., pp. 151–154. I included the remaining part of the inventory published by A. Fischinger, and concerning mostly the royal kitchen and bath, and the remaining non-residential buildings in the annex to my MA dissertation. See: P.J. Janowski, *Pałac królewski w Łobzowie w okresie nowożytnym. Architektura, funkcje dworskie i gospodarcze*, Kraków 2018, MA thesis written under the supervision of Professor Kazimierz Kuczman at the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków, annex 4, pp. 154–157.

time.<sup>14</sup> Sources do not justify the use of that date as the final one. The inventory book of 1 August 1595 only notes that installation of the floor was not completed in one of the rooms, and that the chapel was not finished, while the remaining rooms were ready.<sup>15</sup>

Another question that requires a comment is that of the authorship of the construction of the southern, representational wing of the palace early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the supervision of works in the time of Ladislaus IV, which Żukowski mentions. He considered that "the following phase of transformation occurred in 1603–05 (...) At the time the royal commission was carried out by Giovanni Battista Trevano the Elder (sic!) From Lugano" (p. 26).<sup>16</sup> The figure of Giovanni Trevano "the elder" was introduced into the literature on the subject by Mariusz Karpowicz, who once misread the architect's family connections and stated that "the only way out from the tangle is the assumption that there were two Giovanni Trevanos in Kraków, probably father and son (...). Moreover, it is highly likely that both were architects, and royal ones at that."<sup>17</sup> The dubious justification of the hypothesis and its impact on academic research were noted as early as in 1994 by Adam Małkiewicz, who recognised that "that complex hypothesis [of M. Karpowicz – author's note] was enough to have the term 'the elder' used next to the name Trevano in the works of some Warsaw historians of architecture."<sup>18</sup> The research by the author of this review allows the conclusion

14. However, 1602 can be considered the start of the construction season during which Giovanni Trevano began to build the southern wing. More on the subject, see: P.J. Janowski, *Pałac królewski...*, op. cit., p. 90.
15. "In that chamber (...) half of the floor has been laid" and "chapel over that chamber (...) has no membrane or windows, nor the doors in stone jambs" A. Fischinger, *Santi Gucci...*, op. cit., p. 152.
16. J. Żukowski uses the adjective *starszy* (elder) to denote Giovanni Trevano twice (p. 27).
17. A. Małkiewicz, *Krakowski kościół Św. Piotra i Pawła: Trevano czy Castello? Kilka uwag na marginesie referatu Mariusza Karpowicza*, in: *Sztuka XVII wieku w Polsce. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia historyków Sztuki Kraków, grudzień 1993*, Warszawa 1994, p. 321.
18. A. Małkiewicz, op. cit., p. 321. See: P.J. Janowski, *Rezydencja królewska w Łobzowie w epoce Wazów 1597–1668*, in: *Residentiae tempore belli et pacis. Materiały do badań i ochrony założeń rezydencjonalnych i obronnych*, Warszawa 2019, p. 58. After the submission of the article, the author found a source that mentions Trevano's son with the first name Jan, which is why the claim that "there was only one Jan Trevano, and not two, as Mariusz Karpowicz wanted it" lost its grounds. Nonetheless, in no way does this change the fact that only the Jan Trevano who died in 1642 was a royal architect.

to be made that indeed there was "the younger" Giovanni Trevano, son of Giovanni, but at the moment of his father's death in 1642 he was still a child and not an architect.<sup>19</sup>

Further on in the article Żukowski stated that Trevano "worked in Poland at least since 1601" (p. 27). However, it was enough to refer to a source published in 1961 by Olga Solarz which allowed the researcher to prove that Giovanni Trevano was active in Wawel at least since 1599.<sup>20</sup> Żukowski noted that Trevano was "called (...) 'The architect of Łobzów Castle' in the sources from 1642/43" (p. 27). However, Trevano died in 1643, therefore authorship or supervision of the works carried out in Łobzów after December 1642 should only be attributed to him with much caution.<sup>21</sup>

Another issue that requires a comment is the reconstruction of the appearance, arrangement, and functions of the palace interiors from the days of King Ladislaus (also partially ceremonial) proposed by Żukowski, which the author of the article based in the most part on the inventories from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It has to be emphasised that the sources used by Żukowski record the state of the palace after the completion of the southern wing early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the remodelling conducted during the reign of Ladislaus IV. The work by Krasnowolski and Rączka already noted that "the sources do not allow a precise definition of the scope [of works from the time of King Ladislaus IV – author's note] or a clear-cut differentiation of the contemporary works from the previous phase, but they are proof of intensive works guided by architect Giovanni who was identified with Trevano. The works should perhaps be treated as a type of *major renovation*."<sup>22</sup> It should also be emphasised that beginning from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Łobzów estates were often leased.<sup>23</sup> On 20 June 1692, King John III Sobieski signed a three-year lease agreement with Jan

19. See: P.J. Janowski, *Inwentarz pośmiertny ruchomości architekta królewskiego Jana Trevana z r. 1642*, (submitted, list of sources therein).

20. See: O. Solarz, *Nieznane źródło do historii przebudowy pałacu wawelskiego za panowania Zygmunta III Wazy*, "Studia do Dziejów Wawelu" 2 (1961), pp. 455–461. See: K. Kuczman, *Przełom wawelski*, in: *Sztuka XVII wieku w Polsce. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia historyków Sztuki Kraków, grudzień 1993*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 163–176.

21. See: P.J. Janowski, *Rezydencja królewska...*, op. cit., pp. 58–59.

22. B. Krasnowolski, J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja...*, op. cit., p. 99.

23. Besides these contracts, other late 17<sup>th</sup> century tenants of Łobzów can also be named. In 1678 it was Jan Pernus, and after his death the estate was taken over by Izaak Helmer who was referred to as "the builder of the Łobzów castle". See: J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja... (1655–1980)*, op. cit., p. 50, footnote 17.

Zasiecki (Zasiedzki). The contract included a clause stating that "*In quantum* should they [the Zasieckis — author's note] append something, or should there be a need to renovate something in the manorial estate, and also in the palace and the garden, then our Treasury is to *refundere* such an *expense*."<sup>24</sup> As *Reparatio Pałacu Króla Jmci na Łobzowie* demonstrates, it was at that time that "a small room and a stable were attached to the wall and covered with new roof shingles for the gardener."<sup>25</sup> In turn, in 1704 King Augustus II the Strong (August II Mocny) signed another contract concerning Łobzów, this time with the higher supervisor Jan Bliwernitz who "shall hold, possess, and use Łobzów with full supervision over our castle, buildings, and granges."<sup>26</sup> That means that inventories from 1709/1710, 1733, and 1736 may, and probably do, account for the still insufficiently investigated transformations of the palace and its surroundings in the time of its lease. All this suggests that Żukowski did not take the above circumstances into consideration when analysing the sources and describing the royal palace in Łobzów in 1633–48.

Pursuing the identification of the scope of works in the palace under Ladislaus IV, one needs to discuss the location of the "room in Łobzów, newly built" proposed by the author of the discussed article. Sources are clear that the room was basically completed in the summer of 1644, and destroyed during the Swedish Deluge as mentioned by the auditors in 1665: "By that castle, there was a gallery with beautiful paintings and marble items, which is wholly despoiled."<sup>27</sup> Żukowski stated that "at the time [that is, in 1644 — author's note] a new annex was appended to the south-eastern corner of the building

24. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [Central Archives of Historical Records, hereinafter referred to as AGAD], Metryka Koronna [hereinafter referred to as MK], *Lustracje*, dz. XVIII, 79, k. 7–7v. By the way of signing the contract, "Inventory of that property, palace and garden" was made "so that it were in writing *pro meliori ordine* and signed (...) That one copy stays with the Zasieckis, man and wife of noble birth. And the other with the Kraków Governor of noble birth". The existence of two duplicates of the inventory was mentioned by W. Kieszkowski. See: W. Kieszkowski, *Zamek królewski...*, op. cit., p. 21, footnote 13. See: P.J. Janowski, *Pałac królewski...*, op. cit. p. 127.
25. A complete duplicate of *Reparatio Pałacu Króla Jmci na Łobzowie*, mentioned for the first time by W. Kieszkowski, *Zamek królewski...*, op. cit., p. 24, footnote 44. A copy of the document is found in: B. Krasnowolski, J.W. Rączka, *Dawny pałac...*, op. cit., annex IV.
26. AGAD, MK, *Lustracje*, dz. XVIII, 80, k. 1. See: P.J. Janowski, *Pałac królewski...*, op. cit., p. 128. Franciszek Hołdyński was likely a tenant of Łobzów before Bliwernitz.
27. J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja... (1585–1655)*, op. cit., pp. 37, 40, annex 3.



consisting mostly of the 'Sala' (i.e. Hall), whose remnants are documented in a drawing by Michał Stachowicz." He further states that "it was the most impressive palace interior, probably decorated with paintings on the ceiling and with precious fabrics, perhaps a dining room occasionally earmarked to royal events with concert dance and ballet performances." The inventory from 1733 uses the term "*Sala ku Kaplicy*" (i.e. Hall by the Chapel, p. 29) for that interior.<sup>28</sup> The location proposed by Żukowski for the structure built at the time of Ladislaus IV finds no corroboration in sources or archaeological research. Moreover, it is inconsistent with the statement made at the opening of this article that "the Łobzów residence ('next to the castle') boasted among others, a collection of art extended by Ladislaus IV (...) – probably presented in a glazed gallery connecting the side wings of the palace" (p. 15). Based on what Żukowski claims, it is hard to say whether there were two different buildings built in the 1640s or just one. Instead of systematising the prior research on the Ladislaus's construction projects in Łobzów, the author introduced chaos. Moreover, he justified his hypothesis with a quote from the 1733 inventory and an iconographic material from the 1920s.

The construction of the aforementioned "hall" is confirmed in the sources, but situating it by the south-eastern corner of the Palace would result in the covering of existing window openings. Moreover, that place was a site, probably dating back to Báthory's (and perhaps earlier) times, of a pond which was pictured for example in the panorama of Kraków included in *Civitates orbis terrarum* from 1617.<sup>29</sup> Its presence is also validated by the Kołłątajowski Plan from 1785 and later iconography, including the paintings by Zygmunt Vogel (early 19<sup>th</sup> century), Józef Brodowski (1818), and Michał Stachowicz (1820) to which the author makes references (p. 22, 29). Małgorzata Hryniewicz, who analysed the aforementioned drawing of Stachowicz in her doctoral dissertation remarked that "the relic of the wall surrounding it [Łobzów Palace – author's note], extending to the cornice over the first storey is clearly legible, and as can be gleaned from other drawings, it bends by

28. The location of the building proposed by Żukowski is supposedly recorded in M. Stachowicz's drawing (fig. 4, p. 22). The author provided the illustration in the article with a caption "a drawing portraying remnants of the room added by Ladislaus IV to the south-eastern corner of the building" (p. 22). The "room by the Chapel" was correctly identified by B. Krasnowolski (no. 44 on the plan). See: B. Krasnowolski, J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja...*, op. cit., fig. 11.

29. See: J. Banach, *Dawne widoki Krakowa*, Kraków 1983, pp. 48–77.

the pond to meet a small, single-storey building, partially preserved, whose location is also included in the Kołłątajowski Plan from 1785.<sup>30</sup> It is worth emphasising that the "small, single-storey" building she mentions was appended to the north-eastern corner of the Palace probably around 1692.<sup>31</sup>

Where, then, was the "hall" built under Ladislaus IV that seems to be a freestanding building rather than a lean-to attached to Łobzów Palace? It could have been situated in the northern section of the complex (as Żukowski initially stated on p. 15), and could have provided a connection between the two wings of the palace. It cannot be ruled out that it was built to the north of the palace, in the gardens.<sup>32</sup> The lack of any traces on the northern side was aptly explained by Hryniewicz, who – making a reference to Stachowicz's drawing – wrote: "a cluster of tall greenery is visible in the place of the former courtyard, which can mean that the northern side of the whole complex remained devastated for a longer period. The purported northern wing, or rather a gallery closing that courtyard, must have been demolished earlier, perhaps back in the days of King Jan Sobieski who allegedly transferred some marble columns from Łobzów to the Palace in Wilanów."<sup>33</sup> The lavishness of the materials used for the construction of the Ladislaus "hall" suggests, to a degree, that the structure was designed for exhibition purposes that could "add to the splendour of the residence and fulfil the collector's and artistic passions of the king," however one should be very cautious when drawing such a conclusion; something that Żukowski failed to do.<sup>34</sup>

The article also discusses the decoration of the chapel, which was situated in the south-eastern corner of the Palace. Żukowski stated that "it was under Ladislaus IV that 'a vaulted chapel decorated with stucco works' on the second floor (in the walls of the Casimir the Great's *fortalitium*) was probably finished." He also went on to write that "as far as we can guess, the author of that stucco decoration was Giovanni Battista Falconi and his

30. M. Hryniewicz, *Królewska rezydencja w Łobzowie. Od palacu Santi Gucciego do malowniczej ruiny XIX wiecznej. Przekształcenia obiektu na podstawie źródeł ikonograficznych*, doctoral dissertation written under the supervision of Professor Klaudia Stala, Kraków 2017, p. 118.

31. "In that Garden, a small room and a stable were attached to the wall, and covered with new roof shingles for the gardener". B. Krasnowolski, J.W. Rączka, *Dawny pałac...*, op. cit., annex IV.

32. More on the subject: P.J. Janowski, *Rezydencja królewska...*, op. cit., pp. 61, 65.

33. M. Hryniewicz, *Królewska rezydencja...*, op. cit., p. 117.

34. See: P.J. Janowski, *Rezydencja królewska...*, op. cit., p. 65.

workshop. After Tencalla, from 1646, the works in the castle were directed by the royal architect and sculptor of His Majesty, Sebastian Sala" (p. 31). It is hard to guess on what grounds Żukowski suspected that the palace chapel was finished precisely during the reign of Ladislaus IV, for its existence was recorded back in the inventory from 1595, and it should be assumed that it was built at that very time as an initiative of the pious Sigismund III during the extension and reconstruction of the eastern wing. In the light of the entries in the inventory, its interior had not been fully finished by 1595 but it is hard to believe that the process lasted over the following decades until the reign of Ladislaus IV. And that would be necessary to support Żukowski's hypothesis. It seems impossible for the palace to lack a private royal chapel in its heyday under the first king of the Vasa dynasty. In this context, its decoration should rather be connected to the person of Giovanni Trevano and the reconstruction of the Palace early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. By that token, one could try to look for analogies to its interior in the stucco works in the Royal Chapel of Sigismund III in Wawel.

Continuing the subject of the first Vasa king's reign, it is worth investigating Żukowski's words that already at that time "the Báthory wing of the building quickly lost its representative function; it contained cellars, storerooms and small rooms (...) the Grand Kitchen of His Majesty, a spacious Kitchen Room (...) and the Bakers' Room" (p. 26). Such a statement, based on an inventory made nearly a hundred years later (from 1692) is hard to agree with. Moreover, the source that the author used does not include the term "Grand Kitchen of His Majesty," but only "a kitchen."<sup>35</sup> Indeed, the first and last building that could be described as "the Kitchen of His Majesty" was the wooden kitchen built back in the days of Stephen Báthory in front of the palace, by the Royal Millbrook (Młynówka Królewska).<sup>36</sup> However, the building situated there burnt down during the Swedish Deluge.<sup>37</sup> This

35. The qualification of the kitchen as "royal" is also missing from the other copy of the aforementioned inventory. See: B. Krasnowolski, J.W. Rączka, *Dawny pałac...*, op. cit., annex III.

36. The author of this review discussed more extensively the building of the royal kitchen and bath, and presented variant reconstructions of their functional arrangement in his master's dissertation. See: P.J. Janowski, *Pałac królewski...*, op. cit., pp. 68–71, fig. 7–13.

37. The kitchen building is visible for example in the panorama of Kraków in *Civitates orbis terrarum*. In turn, in 1665 auditors wrote: "There was a kitchen close to that castle; also burnt down, it only has a damaged solid chimney standing".

is the reason for the suggestion that the ground floor of the western wing took over all the non-residential functions only after 1657, and not back in the days of Sigismund III as Żukowski posits. It seems that after Giovanni Trevano added the southern wing – and there is no doubt that it took over the representational functions – early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the premises of the former *piano nobile* of the Báthory Palace were divided, acquiring a quality of cosiness in the process.<sup>38</sup> Their garden facing location certainly contributed to “the contemplation of the greenery of the palace garden and the landscape in the distance.” If this were really so, it “cannot be excluded that this is an example of reception of the model that Sigismund III accepted in Wawel, where early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century a range of small rooms were introduced within the three storey tower situated by the north-eastern corner of the castle.”<sup>39</sup>

In the context of the reign of Ladislaus IV, the author of the article also mentions a grange building “built with wattle and daub, in the Prussian style” supposedly raised by the Kraków governor Hieronim Wierzbowski (p. 32). However, he only took his post under King John Casimir (Jan II Kazimierz) in 1657, so his efforts to renovate the Royal Palace in Łobzów, and primarily the construction of the new non-residential buildings, occurred during the reign of the last of the Vasas and not his brother.<sup>40</sup>

One should also pay attention to the sources the author uses, as well as the construction of the footnotes. Reading Żukowski one has the impression that his work was based on extensive research in the archives, especially the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw and the Czartoryski Princes Library in Kraków, which emerges as a personal achievement of the author. Yet plenty of the archival materials that Żukowski refers to were known and accessible earlier, and used by previous researchers.<sup>41</sup> For

J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja... (1585–1655)*, op. cit., p. 40, annex 3. See: P.J. Janowski, *Pałac królewski...*, op. cit., p. 122.

38. On the functions of these spaces at the time of Báthory, see: A. Gruszecki, *Apartamenty królewskie pałacu Stefana Batorego*, in: *Architektura dawna a współczesność*, “Materiały do teorii i historii architektury i urbanistyki” 16 (1982).
39. See: P.J. Janowski, *Rezydencja królewska...*, op. cit., p. 61.
40. More on the subject: J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja... (1655–1980)*, op. cit., p. 52; P.J. Janowski, *Pałac królewski...*, op. cit., pp. 121–123. O wielkorządcach krakowskich see: F. Leśniak, *Wielkorządcy krakowscy XVI–XVIII wieku. Gospodarze zamku wawelskiego i majątku wielkorządowego*, Kraków 1996, passim.
41. One should also address Żukowski's statement that only “The latest archaeological and conservation works, and also the revival (...) of the gardens around

unexplained reasons, the author glosses over the information of who was the first to introduce the sources he makes use of into academic circulation and when. Referring to individual inventory books, Żukowski only points to their source location (footnotes 4, 5 and 6 on p. 17; footnote 7 on p. 18; footnotes 8 and 9 on p. 19; footnote 46 on p. 29, and footnote 74 on p. 36) failing to mention that the first to use them was Kieszkowski, followed by other researchers.<sup>42</sup> The same manner is applied to quoting other sources, for example, the royal accounts (footnote 20 on p. 24; footnote 31 on p. 26; footnote 39 on p. 27; footnotes 42 and 44 on p. 29; footnotes 48, 50, and 53 on p. 30; footnote 64 on p. 32; and footnote 73 on p. 36). One should also point to two paragraphs devoted to the later history of the Łobzów residence (pp. 20–21) that were furnished with no footnotes, and yet one could point at least to the article by Rączka from 1984.<sup>43</sup>

Embarking on academic research is justified by the presence of a significant gap in the prior research among other factors, and the task of an academic is to conduct valid research precisely to fill in the previously identified gap. Unfortunately, in the case of the reviewed article it must be stat-

the former royal palace (...) slightly invigorated the research torpor" (p. 22). The view expressed by the author seems to be especially hurtful to the circles of the Kraków University of Technology. Only in the last decade the following articles have been published: K. Stala, *Królewska rezydencja Zygmunta III Wazy w Łobzowie. Próba rekonstrukcji*, "Wiadomości Konserwatorskie" 42 (2015); K. Stala, *Najstarszy widok łobzowskiego castellum Kazimierza Wielkiego z 1536/1537 roku*, "Wiadomości Konserwatorskie" 46 (2016); M. Szpyt, P. Pikulski, *Niezbadane losy Pałacu w Łobzowie za czasów Jana III Sobieskiego. Próba komputerowej rekonstrukcji na podstawie analizy historii pałacu od roku 1655 do połowy XIX wieku*, "Wiadomości Konserwatorskie" 48 (2016); A. Fitta-Spelina, B. Dendura, A. Derlatka, M. Kapłonka, E. Waryś, *Rezydencja królewska w Łobzowie – rekonstrukcja renesansowego pałacu*, in: *Krowodrza. Przestrzeń i tożsamość*, ed. D. Strojnowska, Kraków 2017; A.A. Kantarek, J. Gyurkovich, A. Zachariasz, *Królewska rezydencja w Łobzowie we współczesnej strukturze miasta*, Kraków 2018; K. Stala, *Wyniki badań archeologicznych w południowo-wschodnim skrzydle budynku tzw. Podchorążówki (dawnej letniej rezydencji królewskiej w Łobzowie)*, "Wiadomości Konserwatorskie" 56 (2018); M. Hryniewicz, *Royal residence in Lobzow. Transformations from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century against the background of the research state analysis in chronological order*, "Technical Transactions" 10 (2018); M. Szpyt, P. Pikulski, *Próba jednoznacznego ustalenia położenia łobzowskiego fortalitium Kazimierza Wielkiego na Panoramicznej Krakowa z 1536/1537 roku*, "Wiadomości Konserwatorskie" 59 (2019). The academic value of some of these papers, such as the ones by Piotr Pikulski, is a separate matter.

42. Such a form of a footnote is only justified for quoting excerpts from a source.

43. J.W. Rączka, *Królewska rezydencja pałacowo... (1655–1980)*, op. cit., passim.

ed that it fails to meet the assumed objective. The author investigated and used the available literature on the subject to an insufficient extent. Another failure in the research work of Żukowski is his superficial manner of analysing the sources and, as a consequence, drawing excessively far-reaching conclusions whose truthfulness is supposedly validated precisely by the sources that were mis-selected and mis-collated. Apart from methodological errors, a major drawback of the reviewed article is in its incorrect manner of constructing footnotes. Summing up, Żukowski's research seems to have been unnecessary as its results do not lead to expanding the knowledge on the Łobzów residence at the time of Ladislaus IV.