

IMPACT OF COMMERCIAL GARDENING ON CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF THE 19TH — EARLY 20TH CENTURY: THE CASE OF VILNIUS

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By example of Vilnius, this article substantiates the thesis that active involvement of local and foreign commercial gardeners made a decisive impact on turning horticulture and floriculture into a universal phenomenon that prevailed in both residential interiors and public spaces in the 19th and early 20th century. The intensity and peculiarity of commercial gardening are demonstrated by drawing on evidence found in advertisements in the newspapers of the time, plant catalogues, popular horticultural and floricultural publications, archival documents and iconographic sources.

Among many general epithets used to describe the European culture of the 19th century, researchers often mention the term *universal gardening*. The universal character of gardening indicates that the art of gardening, which until the second half of the 18th century remained a privilege of the nobility, in the 19th century was taken up by people from different social classes and became a part of both their private and social lives. Indeed, it was a significant turn in the history of culture; therefore it deserves our special attention.

This article aims at demonstrating that commercial gardeners of the 19th century who bred and grew plants for sale made a significant contribution to turning gardening into a universal fashion. Using every available means to increase their sales, commercial gardeners tried to instil the idea in the minds

of the general population that gardening is a pleasant, easy and affordable type of activity for everyone. Commercial plant sellers targeted their efforts at amateur gardeners, as well as at professional horticulturalists, by offering them potted plants, seedlings, flower bulbs and different plant seeds together with the convenient purchase options and easy maintenance guarantee.

This proposition shall be substantiated by example of the city of Vilnius and drawing on rather interesting material collected as part of the research of the 19th — early 20th century residential interiors of Vilnius¹. Among other things, the research efforts were focused on determining the time when houseplants were introduced in the interiors, how plant keeping and composition patterns evolved over time, what impact did they have on other elements of interiors². The research material revealed

the changes that took place not only in the household interiors, but also in public spaces of the city of Vilnius. It must be emphasised, however, that using Vilnius as an example does not mean its evolution of gardening is in any way distinctive from the rest of Europe. On the contrary, Vilnius is a typical representative of the changing European cultural landscape in the 19th century.

The main sources of information include advertisements published by commercial gardeners in Vilnius newspapers of the 19th and early 20th century, plant catalogues, popular horticultural and floricultural publications, pictures of Vilnius interiors and public spaces, and various documents of Vilnius Gardens Committee. To get a more realistic picture of plant supply in Vilnius, the research focused on plant supply information pertaining to the city of Vilnius only.

The review of dozens of pages of manuscripts, publications and visual information from the 19th — early 20th century revealed that the citizens of Vilnius had a possibility to purchase plants from local gardeners, but the majority and greater variety of plants were

procured from Dresden, Hanover, Königsberg, Lviv, Moscow, Paris, Riga, Stuttgart, Warsaw, Vienna and other locations in Europe. Some foreign gardeners even settled down and set up their commercial gardens in Vilnius. Abundance of supply and a wide geography of gardeners are very important factors proving that commerce had a rather big impact on the global prevalence of gardening. In this context, therefore, even the tiniest piece of information about the sources of supply becomes very significant. To get a more consolidated view of fragmented information, all evidence of supply were put into two tables, dividing all plant suppliers in Vilnius into two chronological groups: plant suppliers in the 1st half of the 19th century, and plant suppliers in 2nd half of the 19th and early 20th century. Personal names are listed here in the form they were found in the original sources; if several original sources contained different versions of personal names, the tables contain all known versions of that name. Also, dates of birth and death of some more prominent gardeners are indicated in the tables to highlight the periods of their activity.

Table 1. Gardeners who operated or traded in Vilnius during the first half of the 19th century

Names and dates	Type and location of activity	The year of being mentioned in the press or commercial directories of Vilnius
Jozef Strumiła (1774–1847) ³	Gardener, florist, beekeeper; Vilnius	First half of the 19th c.
Felix Tarnowski ⁴	Gardener; Vilnius (worked with Strumiła)	1820, 1821
Ronna and Pellorce ⁵	French gardeners from Paris (St. Germaine l'Auxeroix Nr. 68)	1820
Ludwik Jacyna ⁶	Gardener; Vilnius (worked with Strumiła)	1821–1823
Johann Hermann Zigma (J. H. Cygra) ⁷ (1775–1857)	Gardener from Riga, com- mercial garden operated since 1798	1806, 1818, 1820–1822, 1825, 1829, 1830, 1833–1835, 1838–1841

Names and dates	Type and location of activity	The year of being mentioned in the press or commercial directories of Vilnius
The Hoch brothers ⁸	Gardeners from Wittenberg	1821
Jakub Umiński ⁹	Gardener from Vilnius; his garden was located in the vicinity of St. George Church (land plot No. 853) From 1837, only the name of his wife appears in the ads. Apparently, the gardener had died by then. ¹⁰	1817, 1819, 1823, 1825–1831 1837, 1839
Samuel Gerhardt ¹¹	Gardener; Vilnius	1823
Heronim Szreders (Srzöders) ¹²	Gardener; Vilnius (worked with Strumiłła)	1825–1829
Brothers Reyber (Johan, Georg, Friedrich Reiber) ¹³	Gardeners from Wittenberg	1827
Karol Henryk Wagner (Carl Heinrich Wagner) (1785–1860); Karol Wagner ¹⁴	Dynasty of gardeners from Riga; their enterprise was operating from 1816	1820–1823, 1825–1834, 1836–1841, 1846, 1849, 1860–1863, 1868, 1877–1878, 1882–1899, 1914
Kremler ¹⁵	Commercial gardener (origin unknown)	1835
J. Heisler ¹⁶	“Foreign gardener”	1836
Ernst Wilhelm Wagner ¹⁷	Gardener from Dresden	1836, 1838–1839
Jan Wilhelm Milde ¹⁸	“Genuine Dutch flower bulbs” from Lviv	1837
H. Weber ¹⁹	“Royal gardener from Hanover”	1841
Jan Wojciechowicz ²⁰	Gardener from Vilnius; apparently he also worked with Strumiłła	1846
Fr. Weber (former Verkiai Palace gardener) ²¹	Sold seeds of garden plants and flowers from his private house in Vilnius, at No. 1142 Portovaja Street	1846, 1848, 1849, 1863
–	Vegetable seeds from Vienna, sold from the Vienna bookstore located in the brick house of Mrs Olbromskienė, the wife of the elderly, at No. 460 Senatoriaus Street, in front of the Prymasovskij Palace	First half of the 19th c.

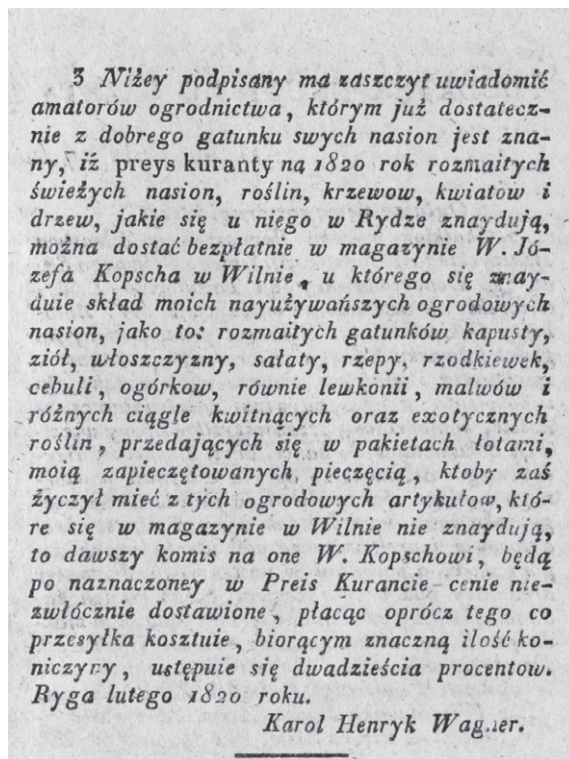


Fig. 1. Advertisement published by gardener Karol Henryk Wagner from Riga in Vilnius newspaper about plants, seeds and flower bulbs sold at the merchant Jozef Kopst's outlet. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1820, 25, p. 2

As Table 1 suggests, at the beginning of the 19th century there were quite a few commercial gardeners who tried to accustom the citizens of Vilnius to the horticulture and floriculture, both indoors and outdoors. The most prominent gardeners are marked in bold, and included the local gardener Jozef Strumiłła (1774–1847), and Johann Hermann Zigra (1775–1857), who had a commercial garden in Riga. The Wagners from Riga and Dresden also deserve to be mentioned separately. The dynasty of Wagners from Riga supplied plants to Vilnius citizens for nearly a century. Researchers came across a number of various ads and plant catalogues dating back from 1816 through to 1914 (Fig. 1).

Information about new plant catalogues issued by the Wagners would appear several times a year, usually in January or February, and then in August or September. The adver-

tisements promised that regular clients would get a copy of the catalogue immediately after its publishing, and new clients could get their free copy without much delay either. Unfortunately, the Wagner ads and catalogues do not indicate the address of their garden, although explorers of the history of Riga claim that the garden was located at No. 22 Charlotte Street²². During the 1st half of the 19th century, the Wagner garden production was distributed in Vilnius by local merchants Jozef Kopst, A. Kreyzer, August F. Zimmermann (A. F. Cymmermann); they consistently emphasised that the same plants could be purchased in Riga, too. J. Kopst was also dealing in plants, flower bulbs and seeds cultivated by J. H. Zigra. In the 1850s–1860s, the Wagner plants were sold at Edward Fechtel's store, a successor of A. F. Cymmermann & Ko business. It appears that at the end of the

19th and in early 20th century the Wagners already had a wide loyal customer base in Vilnius and they were dealing with them directly, as ads in Vilnius newspapers would only

inform about new catalogues of Riga garden plants to be sent to everyone interested free of charge, and wouldn't mention any names of merchants.

Table 2. Gardeners or gardening enterprises that operated or traded in Vilnius during the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century

Names and dates	Type and location of activity	The year of being mentioned in the press or commercial directories of Vilnius
J. D. Ewers ²³	Gardener from Tilsit	1849, 1854
Beker ²⁴	Gardener from Vilnius (?)	1859
M. Grasshof ²⁵	Gardener from Quedlinburg	1860
Giraud ²⁶	Gardener from Paris	1861, 1886
Ziegler ²⁷		1861
Johan Cigler ²⁸	Gardener from Stuttgart	1861
Beuermann ²⁹	Gardener of Benedykt Tyszkiewicz in Raudondvaris	1861
L. G. Tissen ³⁰	Gardener from Kalkonen village near Dynaburg (now Daugavpils)	1861–1862
Wilhelm Weller ³¹	Operated in Vilnius from 1860	1860–1912
Herman Keppe ³²	Gardener from Germany who settled in Vilnius. He had a store at No. 20 Pylimo Street, and a gardening enterprise registered at Naugarduko Street	1880–1914 ³³
V. E. Gračov ³⁴	Owner of the principal seed company "First Class Horticulture" (Pervoklassnoe ogorodnichestvo) in St. Petersburg	1887
I. G. Karlson ³⁵	Gardener from Voronezh	1887–1888, 1890–1891, 1896–1897
Fridrich Gening ³⁶	Gardener from Courland (Gazenpot)	1889
E. Immer and Son ³⁷	Gardening enterprise in Moscow	1889, 1895–1897
E. Späth ³⁸	<i>Baumshule and Rixdorf Berlin</i>	1891–1894
Gustav Šervytis ³⁹	Traded plant seeds in Königsberg (Prussia)	1891

Names and dates	Type and location of activity	The year of being mentioned in the press or commercial directories of Vilnius
Brothers Hosers (Zakład ogrodniczy braci Hoser w Warszawie) ⁴⁰	Gardening enterprise in Warsaw	1892
Haage&Schmidt ⁴¹	Gardening enterprise in Erfurt	1894
Ernst Benary ⁴²	Gardening enterprise in Erfurt, operated from 1843	1894
---	Gardening establishment in Novosiolki ⁴³	1894
---	Gardening enterprise of Counts Zamoiskij ⁴⁴	1894–1895
Leonas Jaško ⁴⁵	Gardener and beekeeper from Oželiai village (near Lida)	1896
Ch. Šoch ⁴⁶	Gardening enterprise in Riga	1897
Jonas Mikolajūnas ⁴⁷	Gardening enterprise in Vilnius	1894, 1897, 1898
J. S. Getner ⁴⁸	Gardener	1897
---	Gardening enterprise A. <i>Bychanova & sons</i> from Lipetsk (Tambov Governorate) ⁴⁹	1898
J. Macevski, former gardening enterprise of V. Turkovski ⁵⁰	Gardening enterprise in Warsaw. Operated from 1879 Silver medal award at the 1900 exhibition of roses and other decorative flowering plants in Warsaw for the collection of multicolour trees and bushes	1900–1901
The Imperial Society of Russian Pomologs, Vilnius chapter (Cesarska Rosyjska Towarzystwo Pomologiczne, Zarząd Wileński) ⁵¹	Vilnius, No. 4 Didžioji Street	1902
Adolf Mikosza ⁵²	Gardening enterprise <i>Flora</i> , No. 22 Šv. Jurgio Street	1909, 1911, 1912, 1914
Jan Maczulak ⁵³	S Gardening enterprise <i>Róża</i> , No. 30 Vilniaus Street	1908, 1909, 1911, 1912
V. Plebanczik ⁵⁴	Vilnius	1914

Table 2 contains even more names of plant traders who operated in Vilnius during the second half of the 19th century. Among them, there is one Wilhelm Weller from Hannover, and Herman Keppe, another gardener who came from an unidentified location in Germany. After several business trips to Vilnius, the two commercial gardeners decided to settle down in Vilnius and created gardens that became famous all over the city. Moreover, in the 1880s, both of them were invited to be experts at Vilnius Gardens Committee; they gave advice as well as supervised the maintenance of public parks and gardens⁵⁵.

Let's now go back to two gardeners mentioned in Table 1, namely Strumiņa and Zigra, merchants from the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. The two of them are of particular interest not only for being among the first traders who offered their clients promotional pricelists of their products, but also for producing a number of popular publications about gardening, which later were republished and translated into other languages. For example, Strumiņa's book *Ogrody północne* was first published in 1820 and republished eight times before the end of the century⁵⁶; and Zigra's book *Der nordische Blumengärtner*, published in 1806, was translated into Polish, Russian and Lithuanian languages. In the foreword, Zigra wrote:

"One of the most pleasant activities that provide respite from serious work is growing beautiful and nicely smelling garden plants. There are not many other activities that could be so useful, enjoyable and giving so much satisfaction at the same time [...].

The splendid blossoms of flowers and their wonderful aromas awaken the hearts of enamoured lads and beautiful lasses to the desire to learn how to plant and take care of these flowers. This desire is immediately obscured by the fear that growing flowers is a complicated and difficult matter, better to be left to the experts. Thus they deprive themselves of the pleasure that could be so eas-

ily gained should they get decent answers to the questions they may have. Hence the purpose of this little book is to meet the desire of flower lovers, to encourage them to take up the activity that is so close to their hearts, and to spread the news about this beautiful and pleasant science as far and wide as possible."⁵⁷

Indeed, the book explains the basics of horticulture and floriculture in very clear and understandable terms. To encourage purchases of plants all around the year, the book contends that there "are good pieces of advice even for those who intend to grow flowers indoors during the seasons when nature is resting and builds up strength for rebirth and renewal"⁵⁸. As a result, commercial gardeners started selling flowers for interiors as a seasonal offer in an attempt to extend the season to last all year round.

In 1816, Strumiņa, who also had a garden in Vilnius, published an article in the daily *Dziennik Wileński* setting out the rules for keeping plants indoors. Apparently, the article was very popular as it was released as a separate publication in 1819⁵⁹. The publication opens with the following statement: "Basic rules for keeping and taking care of beautiful flowers and different plants indoors for those flower lovers who do not own expensive greenhouses". Strumiņa further elaborated this statement by indicating, that plants can be grown not only in orchards or outdoor flower gardens, but also indoors, provided certain rules are observed. For example, if plants are timely planted and replanted, watered and kept in sufficiently warm, bright and regularly dusted rooms, they will thrive and create a little island of nature in the room⁶⁰. During the first half of the 19th century, such oasis of plants would be most often laid out in the drawing and sitting rooms which were heated by stoves and fireplaces, and fitted out with windows that were larger than in other rooms. In the beginning it was recommended to put flowerpots along



Fig. 2. Wincent Dmachowski, *Interior of a Sitting Room*, watercolour, 1840. In: Davidson G. S., F. McCarron-Cates, Ch. Gere. *House Proud: Nineteenth-Century Watercolor Interiors from the Thaw Collection*. New York: Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, 2008, p. 49

the windows (Fig. 2). Later on, the growing experience enabled citizens to use a greater variety of composition techniques matching the purpose of the rooms with specific characteristics of plants. Apart from plants, seeds or flower bulbs, commercial gardeners started offering all sorts of fixtures for making botanical gardens in the rooms or courtyards. For example, the earlier mentioned Weller, who worked in Vilnius during the 2nd half of the 19th century, was selling, among other things, the so-called “indoor fountains”⁶¹ which were matched with the compositions of houseplants and bushes.

It is interesting to note that in the plant pricelists, many of which survived to this day, commercial gardeners would indicate where the plants can be grown (outdoors, greenhouses or indoors), and often noted that plants germinated or grown indoors during winter can be taken outdoors in spring

for decoration of facades, balconies, terraces and courtyards. In this context the so-called “flower calendars” were also of great use, as they contained examples of small botanical gardens that could be kept indoors or taken outdoors. Moreover, many ideas on how to decorate facades with potted plants during the warm seasons of the year were drawn from *Ideen-Magazin für Architekten, Künstler und Handwerker*⁶² (Fig. 3), a popular magazine of that time in Germany and the Russian Empire (it was published in Leipzig from 1833 through to 1842).

To continue with the topic of commercial gardening it should be emphasised that abundant supply of plants significantly reduced their prices. Apart from private initiatives of planting or decorating private indoor and outdoor spaces with potted flowers, the second half of the 19th century saw a tremendous acceleration and intensification of planting



Fig. 3. Illustration from *Ideen-Magazin für Architekten, Künstler und Handwerker*, 1840s.
 In: LVIA, f. 1282, ap. 1, b. 10144, l. 133

trees and decorative flower compositions in city streets and squares. All the landscaping activity was supervised by Vilnius Gardens Committee, set up for this particular purpose in the 1870s and usually headed by the Chief City Gardener. Analysing documents of that

time, researchers identified eight individuals who served in this position from 1870 until 1897.

Apart from the above-mentioned traders, technical parks and gardens building enterprises began to emerge at the end of the 19th

Table 3. Chief city gardeners of Vilnius during the 1860s–1890s

	Name	Period in office
1.	Eduard Sadowski ⁶³	around 1870
2.	Eduard Rutkowski ⁶⁴	1881
3.	Stanislav Janiszewski ⁶⁵	1882–1884
4.	Liudwig Malecki ⁶⁶	1885–1888
5.	Eduard Leskowski ⁶⁷	1889
6.	Stanislovas Lukša ⁶⁸	1889–1892
7.	S. F. Valskė or Valeks ⁶⁹	1894
8.	Feliks Antonowicz ⁷⁰	1895–1896

century in Vilnius. Not only did they build commercial gardens and sold plants, but also offered tools and machinery for gardening. One of the most prominent enterprises was that of Josef Pawlowicz, which on the title page of its 1909 catalogue stated being a

proud winner of eight prizes (gold and silver medals) awarded at the exhibitions held in Vilnius, Dvinsk, Nizhny Novgorod and St. Petersburg since 1896⁷¹.

Analysing the history of Lukiškės suburb and St. George Avenue in Vilnius, researchers



Fig. 4. Invoice issued by E. Späth garden in Berlin for flowers to be planted in public spaces of Vilnius, 1892. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 2281, p. 101

noted that the most expensive cost element of landscaping was fees for gardeners, while the prices for plants themselves were relatively low⁷². According to the documents of Vilnius Duma and Gardens Committee, the most popular commercial gardeners who supplied plants for the landscaping of public spaces in Vilnius were the earlier mentioned representatives of the Wagner dynasty from Riga, E. Späth from Berlin (Fig. 4) gardeners from Erfurt, and Weller with Keppe, who operated

in Vilnius. The evidence for this statement is found in the accounting books recording the amounts paid for the plants⁷³.

The gardens and squares created in Vilnius throughout the entire 19th century were of great significance for the shaping of the city's landscape. As city sights and scenic spots, they were listed in the city guides of the end of the 19th and early 20th century describing specificity and exclusivity of each green space. Among them, there were the

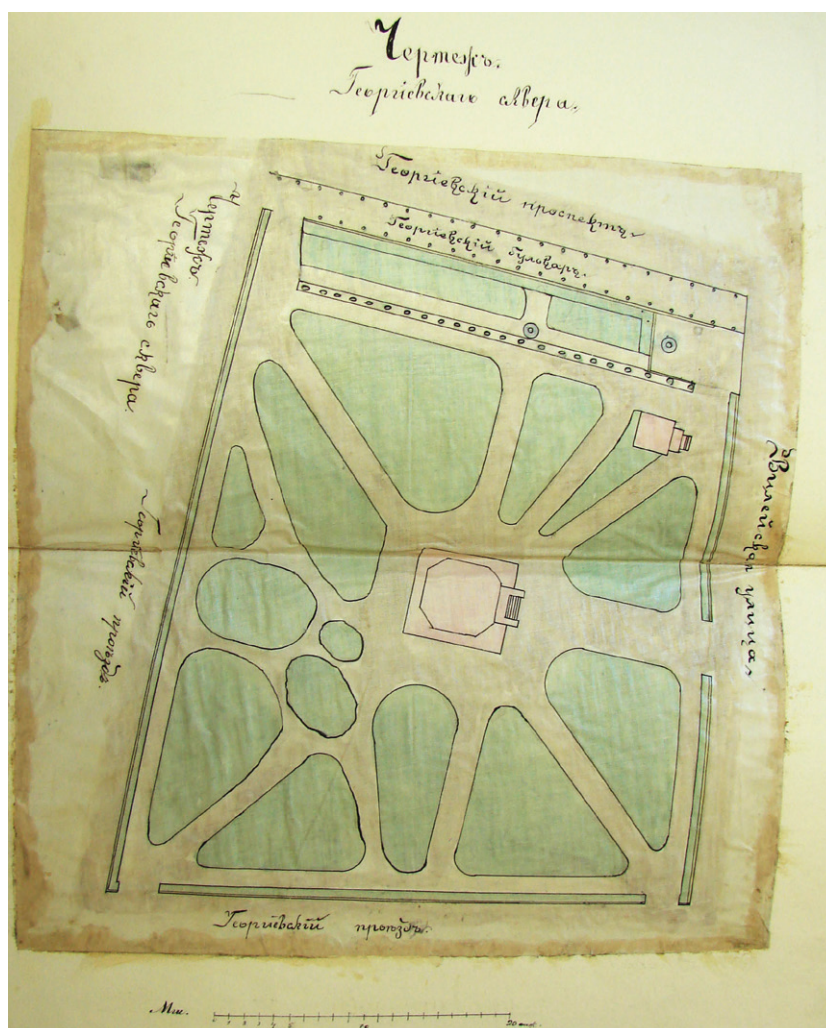


Fig. 5. Landscaping plan for St. George Square, 1895. In: LVIA, 938, ap. 4, b. 2679, p. 110

Botanical Gardens, Nobility Club Gardens, and Bernadine Gardens; Cathedral, St. George (Fig. 5) and Theatre Squares, a square in front of St. Catherine Church, the Embankment Square and small gardens in private estates, such as Arcadia and Swiss Gardens⁷⁴. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, the most frequented public spaces were decorated with green zones and flowerbeds. Starting from parterre of the Railway Station, then following through towards the city centre across the Town Hall Square (known as the Theatre Square from 1845), descending towards the Cathedral and the Castle area, and then along St. George Avenue (also built in the 19th century) towards Lukiškės Square and St. James' Hospital square; or, alternatively, from the Cathedral square along the river Neris or Antakalnis Street towards the suburb of Antakalnis; whichever route you take, the tradition of decorating the city with plants and floral compositions was clearly manifest in all of these spaces, witnessing the universal acceptance of the *garden city* idea and the art of landscaping. First realised in the private estates in the early 19th century, these ideas became more articulate in the middle of the century and spread in to the public spaces, too.

Conclusion

The enormously abundant and varied supply of plants in the 19th and early 20th century enabled citizens of Vilnius to build and develop their gardening skills on both personal and society levels. The image of Vilnius as a green city was mostly built during the 19th century, and for that we should be grateful to local plant merchants and commercial gardeners from Riga, different cities in Germany, the Netherlands and France. Not only did they manage to occupy a strong position in the market through persuasive advertising campaigns, but also convinced the local citizens that gardening is indeed a pleasant, simple and affordable pastime activity.

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- ³ Jozef Strumiła's advertising campaign was particularly intensive in Vilnius newspapers of the year 1820; popularity of his ideas and garden is evidenced by earlier mentioned publications and catalogues stored at the Rare Books Department of the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science (further referred to as LMAVB RSS).
- ⁴ Felix Tarnowski, a gardener who worked together with Jozef Strumiła. In: *Kurier Litewski*, 1820, 123, p. 7; *Dodatek do gazety Kuriera Litewskiego*, 1821, 6, p. 1.
- ⁵ Advertisement of Ronna and Pellorce, gardeners from Paris. In: *Kurier Litewski*, 1820, 43, p. 4.
- ⁶ Advertisements of plants sold by Strumiła. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuriera Litewskiego*, 1821, 106, p. 3; 109, p. 2; 112, p. 2; 1822, 7, p. 1; 22, p. 4; 25, p. 4; 1823, 5, p. 2; 6, p. 2; 19, p. 3; 23, p. 4; 33, p. 2; 34, p. 4.
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- ⁹ J. Uminski's advertisements of garden plants. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1817, 14, p. 1; 15, p. 5; 16, p. 3. 1819, 48, p. 2; 57, p. 1. 1823, 13, p. 2–3; 15, p. 3–4. 1825, 7, p. 1–2; 11, p. 2; 12, p. 2. 1826, 15, p. 3; 21, p. 4; 23, p. 4. 1827, 4, p. 3–4; 6, p. 3; 8, p. 3–4. 1828, 20, p. 2; 21, p. 2. 1829, 17, p. 2; 18, p. 2; 20, p. 2. 1830, 19, p. 3; 22, p. 3; 23, p. 2; 35, p. 3; 36, p. 3; 37, p. 1. 1831, 22, p. 4; 23, p. 4; 24, p. 4.
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- ¹³ Advertisement of flower seeds and bulbs sold by brothers Reiber, gardeners from Wittenberg. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1827, 127, p. 4.
- ¹⁴ The name of Carl Wagner, a gardener from Riga, can be found in the press and archived documents of Vilnius almost throughout the entire 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. It seems that several members of the same family of gardeners went under the same name. It is rather complicated to identify those few individuals out of many, thus their data are presented by one entry in Table ¹.
- Advertisements of Karol Henryk Wagner, a gardener from Riga. In: *Kuryer Litewski*, 1820, 18, p. 4; 19, p. 4; 24, p. 4; 29, p. 4; 93, p. 4; 117, p. 4; 119, p. 4; 121, p. 4; 122, p. 4; 123, p. 4. 1822, 20, p. 4. *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1821, 11, p. 1–2; 18, p. 3; 24, p. 2; 115, p. 1; 116, p. 4; 117, p. 3; 125, p. 2; 126, p. 1; 132, p. 1–2. 1822, 12, p. 1–2; 14, p. 2; 36, p. 4; 105, p. 2; 106, p. 4; 107, p. 4; 114, p. 2; 118, p. 1; 121, p. 2. 1823, 5, p. 3–4; 109, p. 2. 1825, 21, p. 1–2; 22, p. 1–2; 24, p. 1–2. 1826, 25–27, p. 2–3. 1827, 12, p. 1–2; 20, p. 1–3; 21, p. 1–3. 1828, 13, p. 3; 14, p. 3–4; 15, p. 3–4; 127–129, p. 1–2. 1829, 9, p. 2–3; 11, p. 3–4; 12, p. 3–4. 1830, 12, p. 2–3; 13, p. 2–3; 14, p. 3–4. 1831, 23, p. 3–4; 24, p. 3–4; 25, p. 3–4. 1832, 15, p. 3–4. 1833, 7, p. 3–4. 1834, 33, p. 116–117; 56, p. 209; 75, p. 269; 79, p. 286. 1836, 19, p. 83–84. 1837, 12, p. 26; 104, p. 292. 1838, 10, p. 38; 15, p. 52; 21, p. 70; 61, p. 168; 71, p. 196; 75, p. 204; 88, p. 236. 1839, 16, pages not numbered.; 31, p. 82; 42, p. 111; 69, p. 184; 72, p. 198; 218, p. 658; 220, p. 663; 228, p. 678. 1840, 3, p. 6; 34, p. 74; 41, p. 90. 1841, 12, p. 24; 15, p. 30; 19,

p. 38. 1846, 7, p. 32; 9, p. 42; 12, p. 52. 1849, 10, p. 38; 11, p. 42. *Kuryer Litewski*, 1860, 16, p. 168; 18, p. 184; 20, p. 200. 1861, 22, p. 202; 23, p. 214; 27, p. 258; 68, p. 676; 69, p. 684; 71, p. 702. 1862, 72, p. 580. 1863, 26, p. 6; 100, p. 6; 101, p. 4; 102, p. 8. *Illustrierter Katalog von Carl Heinrich Wagner in Riga=Catalogue illustré de Charles Henri Wagner à Riga. 1877–1878*.

Another Wagner (W. Karol Wagner) advertised flower bulbs in 1836. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1836, 249, p. 860; 251, p. 866.

Karol Wagner, who could be a descendant or a relative of Karol Henryk Wagner, was offering plants from Riga to the citizens of Vilnius in the 2nd half of the 19th century. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1868, 168, p. 4. 1885, 187, p. 4. 1886, 10, p. 4; 16, p. 4; 22, p. 4; 177, p. 4; 183, p. 4; 188, p. 4; 193, p. 4. 1887, 13, p. 4; 19, p. 4; 25, p. 4; 30, p. 4; 172, p. 4; 177, p. 4; 183, p. 4; 189, p. 4. 1888, 3, p. 4; 8, p. 4; 14, p. 4; 20, p. 4; 172, p. 4; 177, p. 4; 183, p. 4; 187, p. 4. 1889, 10, p. 4; 16, p. 4; 22, p. 4; 176, p. 4; 181, p. 4; 187, p. 4; 191, p. 4. 1890, 7, p. 4; 8, p. 4; 13, p. 4; 19, p. 4; 25, p. 4; 178, p. 4; 181, p. 4; 195, p. 4. 1891, 10, p. 4; 22, p. 4; 27, p. 4; 172, p. 4; 177, p. 4; 183, p. 4; 189, p. 4. 1894, 16, p. 4; 27, p. 4; 175, p. 4; 180, p. 4. 1895, 11, p. 4; 17, p. 4; 23, p. 4; 176, p. 4. 1896, 19, p. 4; 30, p. 4; 175, p. 4; 181, p. 4; 186, p. 4; 194, p. 4. 1897, 28, p. 4; 34, p. 4; 182, p. 4; 187, p. 4. 1898, 13, p. 4; 19, p. 4; 25, p. 4; 30, p. 4; 186, p. 4. 1899, 24, p. 4; 29, p. 4; 187, p. 4; 199, p. 4; 203, p. 4. 1914, 3183, p. 4; 3188, p. 4; 3189, p. 4; 3194, p. 4. According to the archived documents, Karl Wagner was supplying plants for the city gardens, squares, piazzas and avenues. See in: Office of the Chief Archivist of Lithuania (further referred to as LVIA), f. 938,

ap. 4: b. 648, l. 101; b. 968, l. 3, 6, 18, 84; b. 1284, l. 78, 91, 103; b. 1764, l. 41, 62; b. 2141, l. 101–101v, 114; b. 2281, l. 90v, 107; b. 2410, l. 32–33, 62v, 81; b. 2525, l. 8; b. 2679, l. 239, 240; b. 2931, l. 47–47v.

¹⁵ Advertisements by Kremler, the trading gardener. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1835, 65, p. 296; 67, p. 306; 70, p. 318.

¹⁶ Advertisements by J. Heysler, the gardener from abroad. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1836, 62, p. 242; 64, p. 248; 67, p. 256.

¹⁷ Catalogues of flower seeds by Ernst Wilhelm Wagner, a gardener from Dresden, years 1836, 1838–1839 and no year indicated. In: LMAVB RSS, Fine Prints Division, 1837 [pages not numbered].

¹⁸ Advertisement of the Dutch flower bulbs by Jan Wilhelm Milde from Lviv (Spis cebul kwiatowych holenderskich prawdziwych, które w Handlu korzennym Jana Wilhelma Mildego we Lwowie od początku Listopada dostać można). In: LMAVB RSS, Fine Prints Division, 1837 (pages not numbered).

¹⁹ Advertisements by H. Weber, a gardener from Hanover. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1841, 195, p. 390; 198, p. 394; 199, p. 396.

²⁰ Advertisement of J. Strumiłła's catalogue of garden plants. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1846, 16, p. 66.

²¹ Advertisements of plants sold by Fr. Weber, the former gardener of Verkiai Palace. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1846, 117, p. 404; 1849, 6, p. 24. Rok 1848. *Katalog nasion ogrodowych i kwiatow u Fr. Webera byłego Ogrodnika w Werkach (Year 1848. Former Verkiai Palace Gardener F. Weber's Catalogue of Vegetable and Flower Seeds)*. In: LMAVB RSS, Fine Prints Division, 1837 (pages not numbered); in his advertisement Fryderyk Weber claims that everyone willing

can get a free copy of his catalogue No. 24. The number of the catalogue implies that he had been trading for many years. Usually commercial gardeners would issue one or maximum two catalogues a year. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1863, 141, p. 6; 142, p. 6; 143, p. 6.

- ²² The Wagners and their garden on Charlotte Street in Riga were mentioned in the Latvian TV programme: <https://replay.lsm.lv/lv/ieraksts/ltv/132259/ielas-garuma-sarlotes-annas-a-briana-ielas>. Seen 9 October 2019.

Thanks to Sandra Leikartē for reference.

- ²³ Advertisements of plants sold by J. D. Ewers, a gardener from Tilsit. In: *Dodatek do gazety Kuryera Litewskiego*, 1849, 79, p. 336. 1854, 8, p. 22; 10, p. 26; 11, p. 34.
- ²⁴ Advertisements by gardener Beker. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1859, 98, p. 1132; 99, p. 1144.
- ²⁵ Advertisements by M. Grasshof, a gardener from Quedlinburg. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1860, 28, p. 282; 30, p. 300; 34, p. 338.
- ²⁶ Advertisements by Giraud, a gardener from Paris. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1861, 34, p. 336; 35, p. 346; 36, p. 360. *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1886, 94, p. 4.
- ²⁷ Gardener Ziegler's advertisements. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1861, 17, p. 154; 19, p. 170.
- ²⁸ Advertisements of Johan Cigler, a gardener from Stuttgart. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1861, 25, p. 234; 26, p. 244; 27, p. 258.
- ²⁹ Advertisement of plants sold by Bauermann, the gardener of Benedykt Tyszkiewicz in Raudondvaris. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1861, 98, p. 944.
- ³⁰ Advertisements by L. G. Tissen, a gardener from Kalkonen village near Dynaburg. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1861, 76, p. 756; 82, p. 806. 1862, 70, p. 564.
- ³¹ When he first came to Vilnius from Hanover, Weller advertised as a representative

of the company *Krako i Weller (Krakke i Wohler, Krakke i Woehler)*. In: *Kuryer Wileński*, 1861, 18, p. 162; 19, p. 170; 20, p. 182; 39, p. 393; 41, p. 414; 42, p. 424; 75, p. 746; 76, p. 756. 1862, 53, p. 428. 1863, 26, p. 6; 100, p. 6; 101, p. 4; 102, p. 8. 1866, 73, p. 2.

Later on he settled in Vilnius and started introducing himself as gardener W. Weller. He advertised in the official newspapers of the city, in all Vilnius city guides that were known at the time, and in commercial catalogues. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1890, 26, p. 4. 1896, 201, p. 4; 206, p. 3; 208, p. 4; 211, p. 4; 212, p. 3. 1897, 277, p. 1. 1899, 235, p. 4. *Putevoditel po Vilnie i eja okresnostiam. S planom goroda*. Vilna: Tipografija A. G. Syrkina, 1890, c. 15; *Torgovo-promyshlennyj adres-kalendar Graca na 1894*, Vilna, 1893.

Moreover, some archive documents refer to a gardening enterprise run by Weller in Vilnius (*Sadovoje zavedenije*. V. Veler. Vilna); the enterprise supplied plants for the public gardens and squares of the city. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4: b. 648 (1882–1884), l. 76, 101, 117, 133, b. 1284 (1887–1888), l. 2, 3, 112; b. 2141 (1891), l. 115v; b. 2931 (1896), l. 16; b. 3086 (1897), l. 78.

- ³² References to Hermann Keppe's gardening enterprise are found in the Vilnius city gardens and squares maintenance files for 1880–1897. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4: b. 408 (1880), l. 35, 36; b. 648 (1882–1884), l. 117v, 136; b. 968 (1885), l. 24–25; b. 1284 (1887–1888), l. 4, 5; b. 2281 (1892–1893), l. 144; b. 2525 (1894–1895), l. 6, 10, 123v, 127, 189; b. 2931 (1896), l. 101; b. 3086 (1897), l. 172, 173.

Advertisements of Hermann Keppe's gardening enterprise. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1897, 61, p. 1; 62, p. 1. 1914, 3182, p. 4; 3188, p. 4; Nr. 3194, p. 4.

- Putevoditel po Vilnie i eja okresnostiam. S planom goroda*, Vilna: Tipografija A. G. Syrkina, 1890; *Księga pamiątkowa wystawy urządzeń mieszkań i ogrodniczej*, Wilno: Drukarnia J. Zawadzkiego, 1909; *Spravochnaja knižhka o telefonnom soobščenii na 1910 god i illiustrirovanyj sputnik-spravochnik po g. Vilny*, Vilno: I. I. Luckeviča, 1910, p. 14; *Vsia Vilna. Adresnaja i spravochnaja kniga na 1911 god*, Vilna vtoroi god izdaniija, 1911; *Vsia Vilna v karmanie*, Vilna, 1912, p. 172.
- Year 1911 Catalogue of Hermann Keppe's gardening enterprise: *Cennik nasion warzywnych, kwiatowych i polnych, cebulek Georgin et cet. Karoliny Keppe pod firmą "Zakład ogrodn. "Hermann Keppe w Wilnie"*.
- ³³ It appears that at least from 1910 Hermann Keppe's gardening enterprise was run by his wife Karoline Keppe; in the title page of the Year 1911 Catalogue she indicated that the enterprise had been in operation since 1842. This fact evidences that the family had taken over an already existing garden or a functioning enterprise, as they settled in Vilnius only at the end of the seventies of the 19th century.
- ³⁴ Invoice issued by V. E. Gračiov to Vilnius city gardener L. Maleckij, 1887. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 1284, l. 25.
- ³⁵ Advertisements by I. G. Karlson, a gardener from Voronezh. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1887, 196, p. 4. 1888, 17, p. 4; 207, p. 4. 1890, 209, p. 4. 1891, 37, p. 4. 1896, 27, p. 4; 30, p. 4. 1897, 28, p. 4; 211, p. 4.
- ³⁶ Advertisement by Fridrich Gening, a gardener from Courland. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1889, 52, p. 4.
- ³⁷ Advertisements and invoices issued by E. Immer and Son, a gardening enterprise from Moscow. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1889, 17, p. 4; 19, p. 4; 21, p. 4; 23, p. 4; 24, p. 4; 25, p. 4; 27, p. 4; 31, p. 4; 33, p. 4; 35, p. 4, 37, p. 4; Vilnius city gardens and squares maintenance files for 1895–1897. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 2679 l. 28, 29, 51, 57; b. 2931, l. 7; b. 3086, l. 69.
- ³⁸ Vilnius city gardens and squares maintenance files, 1891–1893. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 2141; b. 2281; b. 2410, l. 17, 110 v; b. 2525, l. 18–19.
- ³⁹ Advertisements of plant seeds by Gustav Šervytis from Königsberg. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1891, 61, p. 4; 69, p. 4; 77, p. 4.
- ⁴⁰ Vilnius city gardens and squares maintenance files, 1892–1893. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 2281, l. 127.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., 1894. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 2525, l. 123, 129.
- ⁴² Ibid., l. 147.
- ⁴³ Advertisements by a gardening enterprise from Novosiolki. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1894, 43, p. 4; 47, p. 4.
- ⁴⁴ Advertisements by Counts Zamoiski gardening enterprise. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1894, 183, p. 1; 1895, 219, p. 1.
- ⁴⁵ Advertisement by Leonas Jaško, gardener and beekeeper from Oželiai village (near Lida). In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1896, 82, p. 4.
- ⁴⁶ Vilnius city gardens and squares maintenance files, 1897. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 3086, l. 99, 174.
- ⁴⁷ References to Jonas Mikolajūnas gardening enterprise in Vilnius. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1894, 107, p. 4; 1897, 82, p. 4; 83, p. 4; 1898, 14, p. 1; Vilnius city gardens and squares maintenance files, 1897. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 3086, l. 186–187v.
- ⁴⁸ Vilnius city gardens and squares maintenance files, 1897. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 3086, l. 125, 155, 160, 165–168, 215, 216, 218, 219, 225–228, 232.
- ⁴⁹ Advertisements of the gardening enterprise A. Bychanova & sons from Lipetsk (Tambov Governorate). In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1898, 58, p. 4; 61, p. 4.

- 50 1900–1901 Catalogue of decorative shrubs and trees published by J. Mac-evskij's (former V. Turkovskij's) gardening enterprise from Warsaw. In: LMAVB RSS, Fine Prints Division, 1837 (pages not numbered).
- 51 A catalogue of fruit trees offered for sale by The Imperial Society of Russian Pomologs, Vilnius chapter, 1902. In: LMAVB RSS, Fine Prints Division, 1837 (pages not numbered).
- 52 *Księga pamiątkowa wystawy urządzeń mieszkań i ogrodniczej*, Wilno: Drukarnia J. Zawadzkiego, 1909; *Vsia Vilna. Adresnaja i spravocznaja kniga na 1911 god.* Vilna, vtoroi god izdanija, 1911; *Vsia Vilna v karmanie*, Vilna, 1912 p. 172; Advertisement by the gardening enterprise Flora. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1914, 3242, p. 4.
- 53 *Księga pamiątkowa wystawy urządzeń mieszkań i ogrodniczej*, Wilno: Drukarnia J. Zawadzkiego, 1909; *Vsia Vilna. Adresnaja i spravocznaja kniga na 1911 god.* Vilna, vtoroi god izdanija, 1911; *Vsia Vilna v karmanie*, Vilna, 1912 p. 172; Advertisement by the gardening enterprise Rožė. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1914, 3242, p. 4.
- 54 Advertisements of V. Plebanczik plant catalogue. In: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1914, 3182, p. 4; 3188, p. 4.
- 55 Documents of Vilnius City Duma. List of the Gardens Committee members 1880. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 384, l. 12. Thank you to Dainius Labeckis for the reference.
- 56 Jozef Strumiła's book *Ogrody północne* (Gardens of the North) was first published in 1820 and later republished in 1823, 1834, 1844, 1850 1862, 1880–1883 and 1890.
- 57 Johann Hermann Zigra, *Der nordische Blumengärtner*, Riga, 1806, p. V–XI.
- 58 Ibid., p. V–XI.
- 59 [Jozef Strumiła] *Ogólne prawidła o utrzymaniu roślin kwiatowych w pokojach*. Wilno, 1819.
- 60 "Ogólne prawidła dla amatorów i amatorów kwiatów, którzy w niedostatku kosztownego treybhauzu, piękne kwiaty i rozmaite rośliny mieć i utrzymywać mogą w pokojach". In: [Jozef Strumiła] *Ogólne prawidła o utrzymaniu roślin kwiatowych w pokojach*. Wilno, 1819.
- 61 Advertisement of the indoor fountains. in: *Vilenskij vestnik*, 1897, 277, p. 1.
- 62 *Ideen-Magazin für Architekten, Künstler und Handwerker*. Hrsg. Johann Gotfried Grohman. Leipzig: Baumgärtner's Buchhandlung, 1833–1842.
- 63 12 October 1870 decision by the City Duma regarding St. Jacob's Hospital Square (LVIA, f. 937, ap. 2, b. 2087, l. 3). In: Vytautas Jogėla, Elmantas Meilus. *Lukiškės: nuo priemiesčio iki centro (XV a. — XX a. pradžia)* (Lukiškės: from Suburb to City Centre (15th — early 20th century)), Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla, 2008, p. 127–128.
- 64 Vilnius city gardens and squares maintenance files, 1881. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 547.
- 65 Ibid., 1882–1884. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 648.
- 66 Ibid., 1885–1888. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4: b. 968; b. 1284.
- 67 Ibid., 1889–1891. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4: b. 1764; b. 2141.
- 68 Ibid., 1889–1893. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 1764; b. 2281.
- 69 Ibid., 1894, In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 2525.
- 70 Ibid., 1895. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4: b. 2679; b. 2931.
- 71 Data about Józef Pawłowicz's enterprise: Vilnius city gardens and parks maintenance files for 1897. In: LVIA, f. 938, ap. 4, b. 3086, l. 186, 187; *Cennik nasion biur technicznego zarządzania parków i ogrodów Józefa Pawłowicza na 1909*.
- 72 Vytautas Jogėla, Elmantas Meilus, Virgilijus Pugačiauskas, *Lukiškės: nuo priemiesčio iki centro (XV a. — XX a.*

pradžia) (Lukiškės: from Suburb to City Centre (15th– early 20th century)), Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla, 2008, p. 127.

⁷³ Gardeners' invoices for plants to be planted in Vilnius gardens and squares. In: LVIA, f. 938 ap. 4: b. 648, l. 101, 133; b. 968, l. 6, 17, 84; b. 1284, l. 31, 103, 104, 112; b. 1764, l. 62, 83, 95; b. 2141, l. 7, 114, 115v; b. 2281, l. 101, 107, 148; b. 2410, p. 17, 81; b. 2525, l. 8,

19, 127, 129, 129v, 130, 132; b. 2679, l. 240; b. 2931, l. 21, 49, 104; b. 3086, p. 69, 78, 99, 172, 187.

⁷⁴ *Putevoditel po Vilnie i jejo okresnostiam. S planom goroda*. Vilna: Tipografija A. G. Syrkina, 1890; Vinogradov A. A. *Putevoditel po gorodu Vilnie i ego okresnostiam*. Vilna, 1904.

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KOMERCIĀLĀS DĀRZKOPIBAS IETEKME UZ 19.–20. GS. SĀKUMA KULTŪRAINAVU: VIĻŅAS PIEMĒRS

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Atslēgvārdi: *Viļņa, komerciālā dārzkopība, pilsētas dārznieki, interjeri, pilsētas parki un skvēri*

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