Two Cases of Reuse and *spolia* in the Early Modern Danish Architecture of Leisure

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This paper discusses some aspects of the reuse of buildings and building materials in Early Modern Denmark, based on the fate of two Renaissance leisure houses, each of which was reused in a later period, either by being remodelled or incorporated as *spolia*[1] into later buildings in the first two thirds of the eighteenth century, the Royal Country Houses Fredensborg by the architect Johan Cornelius Krieger and Marienlyst by the French-born architect Nicolas-Henri Jardin. This paper examines how this kind of reuse should be understood, and whether it was merely a question of economic necessity or if there were other factors, such as architectural appreciation or symbolic meaning, at play.

The reuse of older buildings and building materials was a widespread and often necessary feature of architecture before the middle of the nineteenth century. It was, to a large extent, an economic issue; reusing building material from older structures saved money. In many cases older buildings were completely demolished, and their masonry was transported to a new site, where it disappeared into the walls of a new construction. This practice was common in Danish architecture, but is not the focus of this paper.

More interesting are the cases where an existing building was not torn down but remodelled to accommodate new architectural or functional standards. Economic concerns probably played a role in such cases as well, but other considerations may be behind the choice of preserving an older structure, even in a transformed state. One factor might be the desirable location of the older building, as was the case when the Danish king Frederik II (1534–1559–1588) reused the strategically situated Medieval castle of Krogen at the Sound; he had it completely rebuilt in the Renaissance style between 1574–1585. In this case Frederik II was not interested in emphasizing the Medieval origin of the palace, allthough he was otherwise very conscious of the importance of history in his patronage. In 1577 the king issued a decree commanding all people henceforth to use the new name of the castle 'Kronborg'. If anyone used the old name, Krogen, he was fined an ox.[2] In other cases Frederik II reused older building complexes by adding his own buildings while preserving most of the extant structures as, for example, at the old castle of Skanderborg in Jutland and the former monastery of Antvorskov in Sealand. Here financial concerns and the historical importance of these sites may have combined to preserve the original buildings.

Yet historic preservation could not be a factor in Frederik's activities in building his leisure houses, which were the first of their kind in Denmark. Frederik II was the first Danish king to introduce pavilions and houses to be used exclusively for royal relaxation, and he seems to have had a deliberate policy of establishing such spaces near each of his large, residential castles and palaces.[3] Frederik II may have been inspired by his brother-in-law, the Elector August of Saxony, who had married Frederik's sister Anna, but he developed quite his own characteristic variations on this building type. These leisure houses took various forms. Some of them were small pavilions, others were intended for hot baths (*Badstuben* in German). [Fig. 1] In many cases the *Lusthäuser*

1 The term *spolia* describes architectural or sculptural fragments from Antiquity, which were reused in later Antiquity or the Middle Ages. Many recent studies have explored the significance of the context of *spolia* use. For the most important discussion of this topic, see: Dale Kinney, Introduction, in: Richard Brilliant – Dale Kinney (eds.), *Reuse Value. Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, Farnham 2011, pp. 1–11. – Biagia Bongiorno, *Spolien in Berlin nach 1945*, Petersberg 2013, pp. 11–18.

2 Poul Grinder-Hansen, *Frederik 2. - Danmarks renæssancekonge*, Copenhagen 2013, pp. 227–235, 252–257.

3 Poul Grinder-Hansen, "Im Grünen". The Types of Informal Space and Their Use in Private, Political and Diplomatic Activities of King Frederik II of Denmark 1559–1588, in: Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen – Konrad Ottenheym (eds.), *Beyond Scylla and Charybdis. European Courts and Court Residences Outside Habsburg and Valois/Bourbon Territories 1500–1700* (= PNM Studies 24), Copenhagen 2015, pp. 170–180.

looked like miniature palaces with towers and cupolas. Often they were built in the Renaissance style inspired by Netherlandish examples with red bricks and bands of sandstone.

The king used the name Sparepenge (money saver) for several of these leisure buildings.[4] Here the king could save money because the parties were small and the servants few. Frederik II built a Sparepenge in each of the palace gardens at Haderslev, Antvorskov and Frederiksborg. The king's bath houses and larger leisure buildings were given other names such as Green House at Skanderborg and Frydenborg at Frederiksborg, but these were used in a similar manner as the Sparepenge; they were secluded locations far away from the formalities of court life.

One common form of leisure building across Europe was designed specifically to provide a good view of the surrounding landscape. However, this was not always easy to achieve in a building with pitched roof. A bold attempt was made at the *Badstube* in Frederiksborg, which had a large, rectangular, wooden roof-top balcony supported by pillars and accessed by a door in the upper storey of the tower.[5] Although this may appear to be an unconventional solution to the problem of combining a pitched roof and a balcony, a similar construction later appeared at Rosenborg Palace in Copenhagen, which was built in the first decades of the seventeenth century; here a wooden balcony ran all along the ridge of the pitched roof.[6]

A more obvious solution was to turn to the model of the Italian villa. The oldest example of this was villa Lundehave (1587), which is located outside of Elsinore and served as a retreat from Kronborg. Lundehave featured an open loggia and balcony, as well as a flat roof encircled by a balustrade, which was originally decorated with statues at each corner. [Fig. 2] As there are no contemporary illustrations of this structure, the plan and facade are only known from later prints and a painting. [Fig. 3] Because the villa was built into a hill the king's chamber on the upper level was accessed by a bridge connecting the hillside to the rear of the villa. The plan was simple; on the upper floor was the king's large room, in the middle the queen's room, and below the *Rustkammer* (a storage room for weapons and armour) and the kitchens.[7] [Fig. 4]

The walls of Frederik's leisure house are preserved behind the wooden panels in the present building. The original walls were made out of brick, but their surface was painted red with white stripes to imitate large, reddish brown ashlars with white joints and horizontal courses of sandstone. [Fig. 5] The colour scheme thus fitted well into the architectural traditions of the Netherlands, and the inspiration for the villa architecture may very well not have come directly from Italy, but from the first version of Mary of Hungary's pavilion Mariemont in present-day Belgium. The architectural patterns and fantasies in the prints of Hans Vredeman de Vries offered inspiration for garden houses and pavilions to many European courts.[8]

Frederik commissioned a bathhouse to be built near Lundehave, so that he could walk directly from one building to the other. In contrast to Lundehave, the bathhouse would have a bed for the king, as well as a privy. The Lundehave pavilion was only equipped for short stays. The tower-like structure would make sense, if it was intended as a place in which to admire a view. The balcony could also be used to view the jousts that took place in the area in front of the pavilion; such events were known to have occurred several times in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Accounts describe the construction of an arena, but there was also an elaborate garden around Lundehave.

The largest of the series of tapestries made for the great hall in Kronborg Palace depicts Frederik standing with his son, the future king Christian IV, in front of a balustrade of the same type as the one at Lundehave. The view behind the figures towards Kronborg Palace is similar to how the view from Lundehave must have appeared. But when the tapestry was made in c. 1584, Lundehave had not yet been built. Classical architectural ideas were clearly present in Denmark; a villa similar to Lundehave can be seen in the print of *Øresund* (the Sound) in Braun and Hogenberg's atlas from 1586. However, this villa was placed on the east side of the Sound, not on the Elsinore

4 J. A. Fridericia, Om Oprindelsen til Navnet 'Sparepenge', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 6, 3. Rk., 1891, pp. 235–236.

5 Hanne Honnens de Lichtenberg, Frederik II's Frederiksborg, in: *Art in Denmark* (= *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 2, 1983), Delft 1984, pp. 37–53.

6 Vilhelm Wanscher, *Rosenborg*, Copenhagen 1930, p. 89. – Peter Kristiansen, Christian 4. og det store lysthus i haven, in: Jørgen Hein – Katja Johansen – Peter Kristiansen (eds.), *Christian 4. og Rosenborg*, Copenhagen 2006, p. 19.

7 Lars Bjørn Madsen, "Lysthuszitt wdi Lundehaffue", in: Jan Faye – Hannes Stephensen (eds.), *Marienlyst Slot. Det kongelige Lystanlæg ved Helsingør*, Copenhagen 1988, pp. 53–91. – Bente Lange – Bo Christiansen – Lars Bjørn Madsen, *Marienlyst Slot. Restaurering af tag og facader*, Helsingør 2013.

8 Krista De Jonge, Mariemont, 'Château de chasse' de Marie de Hongrie, *Revue de l'art* 149, 2005, pp. 45–57. – Krista De Jonge, A Netherlandish Model? Reframing the Danish Royal Residences in a European Perspective, in: Michael Andersen – Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen – Hugo Johannsen (eds.), *Reframing the Danish Renaissance. Problems and prospects in a European perspective* (= PNM Studies 16), Copenhagen 2011, pp. 219–233.

coast where Lundehave was actually built. The architectural plans may already have been underway at that time.

The architecture of Lundehave may have been a source of inspiration for the new Sparepenge, which Christian IV (1577–1588–1648) erected at Frederiksborg in 1598–1601, replacing his father's leisure house of the same name. [Fig. 6] Like Lundehave the new Sparepenge consisted of a vaulted basement supporting two stories and a flat roof, which was reached via a tower. The new building was also built into a hill and had red masonry with white stripes. The balcony had sculptures at the four corners, similar to the giants at each corner of the flat roof on the tower at Koldinghus Castle, which Christian had built a few years earlier.

Triangular sandstone reliefs of male and female heads were placed above the windows of the Sparepenge, similar to those found at Frederik II's *Badstube* in Frederiksborg's park [Fig. 1] and again some years later at the palaces of Rosenborg and Frederiksborg [Fig. 7], which were also built under Christian IV. Other works of art were also included. In 1601 the Italian architect Giovanni Nosseni, who may have been involved in the design of the house, arranged for the delivery of a load of alabaster to the Sparepenge, which was used for the finely carved reliefs.[9] [Fig. 8] Sparepenge, which contained rooms for informal dinners as well as a *Kunstkammer* and a *Rustkammer*, was used occasionally by Danish kings throughout the seventeenth century.

In the eighteenth century both of these leisure houses were subject to a large-scale reuse and incorporation into new buildings. By that time, Denmark had become an autocratic country. Frederik IV (1671–1699–1730) was the third Danish absolute monarch, and like his predecessors, his kingdom included Denmark, Norway, Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, large parts of Schleswig-Holstein and some colonies. The royal residence in Copenhagen was still a Medieval castle which was not considered suitable for an important European sovereign, and Frederik IV had been instructed by his ailing father to solve this embarassing problem. Owing to his cousin, the Swedish king Karl XII, the first twenty years of his reign were, however, consumed by long and costly wars, and it was only after the death of Karl XII in December 1718 and the subsequent peace that the financial situation of Denmark improved and Frederik could comply with his father's wish and rebuild Copenhagen Castle.[10] At last he could also execute his long-cherished plans for a new, informal summer residence in North Sealand.

In 1719 it was decided to create a symmetrically planned park with fountains on its axis at Frederiksborg Palace; Sparepenge, which disrupted the symmetry of the plan was demolished. [Fig. 9] At the same time the king took steps to build a new leisure palace ten kilometres to the north-northeast of Frederiksborg on the shore of the idyllic Esrom Lake. The two initiatives had the same architect and were combined, as the materials from Sparepenge were re-used in the new palace, which was given the name Fredensborg, meaning 'the castle of peace'.[11] Construction of the new leisure house demanded skilled artisans, but manual tasks such as digging and towing were done by soldiers for so little money that it became economically feasible to reuse bricks and ashlars from the old building even though they had to be cleaned, and the old mortar had to be removed by hand. During the year 1720 no less than 18,170 wagon loads of building materials from Sparepenge were driven by local peasants to the building site of Fredensborg. Even wooden beams were reused in the floors of the new summer palace.[12] [Fig. 10] Marble from the old palace was sent to the stone mason, Diderik Gercken i Copenhagen, who used it for the fireplaces in the new building. But Frederik IV and his architect did not just recycle bricks, stones and beams as invisible parts of the new palace. The sandstone frontons over the windows of Sparepenge with their Renaissance decorative motifs and heads in high relief were incorporated unchanged into the architecture of the new palace, where they still functioned as window frontons.[13] This type of fronton was obsolete in 1719, and as with other aspects of the building's symbolic function, it is likely that this use of Renaissance frontons as *spolia* was intended as part of the building's representational program.

The architect Johan Cornelius Krieger (1683–1755) was in charge of both the garden and the new building at Fredensborg. But it may have been the king himself, who in c. 1720 made the first drawings for the new building at Esrom Lake. In any case it is interesting to note that triangular window frontons are indicated on both of these

9 Jan Steenberg, *Christian IVs Frederiksborg*, Hillerød 1950, pp. 9–26. – Flemming Beyer, Lysthusene, in: Steffen Heiberg, *Christian 4. og Frederiksborg*, Copenhagen 2006, pp. 200–211.

10 Kristian Hvidt – Svend Ellehøj – Otto Norn, *Christiansborg Slot,* Copenhagen 1975.

11 General works on Fredensborg are Ulla Kjær – Bente Scavenius – Christine Waage Rasmussen, *Fredensborg Slot og slotshave,* Copenhagen 2013. – Jan Steenberg, *Fredensborg Slot. Monumenter og Minder. Tiden 1720–1796,* Copenhagen 1969 and Frederik Weilbach, *Fredensborg Slot,* Hillerød 1928.

12 Steenberg (see note 11), pp. 23.

13 Steenberg (see note 11), pp. 29–32.

somewhat amateurish drawings [Fig. 11] and on Krieger's 1721 design for the final project in which the Sparepenge frontons are clearly recognized by their designs of human heads. [Fig. 12–13]

Like Sparepenge with its villa architecture, the architecture of Fredensborg signalled its role as a country house. Fredensborg has a centralized, Palladian plan, which in Denmark was unusual in secular architecture. In Denmark centralized plans were known from churches such as Vor Frelsers (Our Saviour's) Church at Christianshavn (1682–1696), but no direct contemporary inspiration for Fredensborg can be found on Danish soil. The nearest Danish secular building with a centralized plan is the much older Uranienborg, the astronomer Tycho Brahe's observatory on the isle of Hven between Denmark and Sweden. This was built 1576–1580 but only stood for a few decades, before Christian IV had it demolished shortly after Tycho's death in 1601. At Uranienborg, the central point of the plan was marked not by a hall, as in Fredensborg, but by a fountain at the intersection of two corridors.[14]

Centralized plans were used in many of the recreational villas built in the sixteenth century by Andrea Palladio. The Palladian style spread to northern Europe, where it became especially popular among wealthy citizens. But the French king Louis XIV also chose this style, when in 1679–1686 he built the new palace of Marly near Versailles. The use of the centralized plan indicated the new building's purpose as a place for pleasure, a villa, where the Sun King could escape the rigid ceremony of court life and relax with his mistress and a few select guests.[15] It soon became a special honour to be invited to Marly and see the king in this private setting, and it was implied that those who were admitted felt an increased loyalty to the king.[16]

Many European absolutist regimes looked to France for inspiration, and princes often included the country in their grand tour. In 1692–1693 the Danish crown prince, the future Frederik IV, travelled to Rome and then continued on to France, where he visited Louis XIV and on 31 January 1693 joined the French king at Marly.[17] It seems that Frederik was fascinated by this house, but twenty years passed before he had the possibility of getting a similar retreat. In 1695 Frederik had married Louise of Mecklenburg-Güstrow, but it was only in 1711 that he met the love of his life, the Danish countess Anna Sophie Reventlow. He abducted her from her home and brought her to Copenhagen, where he married her 'to his left hand'. There is evidence to suggest that Fredensborg was meant to be a parallel to Marly as a location where the king could retreat with his mistress and a few guests.[18] The name Fredensborg, 'the castle of peace', refers both to the end of the war with Sweden and the quiet life Frederik sought at this palace.

Frederik wanted a retreat in a natural setting to share with Anna Sophie. This led him to choose the Palladian style, which was associated with recreation. After the introduction of an absolute monarchy in Denmark in 1660, bourgeois taste dominated society, even in the higher ranks, where Palladianism had become popular.[19] But in 1719 Palladian-inspired architecture was outmoded, so that Frederik's choise of this style at Fredensborg clearly indicated the palace's intended use as a place of leisure. He added, however, a more advanced feature. Fredensborg was, like many Italian villas and Marly, designed with a central hall surrounded by four identical apartments. Frederik added to this an entrance hall and a room opening onto the garden in a manner similar to the *maisons de plaisance*, which from the 1730s became increasingly popular in France. Thus Frederik combined Palladianism, the traditional indicator of a leisure house, with the features of contemporary plans that connected the house directly with the garden. The king also used glass doors to connect these garden rooms to the garden itself in the same manner as he had seen at Charlottenburg in Berlin, so that the boundaries between garden and house were blurred.[20]

Fredensborg was built in one of the most picturesque locations in North Sealand; it stands in the middle of a wood at the shores of Esrom Lake. In 1727 Frederik told the French ambassador to Denmark that it was the

14 See Hugo Johannsen, Arkitektur på papir - og Tychos huse, in: Poul Grinder-Hansen (ed.), *Tycho Brahes verden*, Copenhagen 2006, pp. 95–110.
15 Claudia Hartmann, *Das Schloss Marly. Eine mythologische Kartause* (= Manuskripte der Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft 47), Worms 1995, esp. pp. 19–23 and 242–57.
16 Vincent Maroteaux, *Marly. L'autre Palais du Soleil*, Paris 2002, pp. 45–56.
17 Frederik Weilbach, *Frederik IV.s Italiensrejser*, Copenhagen 1933, pp. 78–79.
18 Ulla Kjær, L'architecture au début de l'absolutisme danois (1675–1725): Fredensborg et Marly, *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles, Sociétés de cour en Europe, XVIe-XIXe siècle – European Court Societies, 16th to 19th Centuries. Marly.* http://crcv.revues.org/11933, 2013.
19 See Søren Kaspersen, Købman Michelbechers palæ og den københavnske Palladianisme, in: Kjeld de Fine Licht (ed.), *Forblommet antik. Klassicismer i dansk arkitektur og havekunst. Studier tilegnet Hakon Lund*, Copenhagen 1988, pp. 9–59.
20 See Steenberg (see note 11), pp. 14–16.

natural surroundings at Fredensborg that made it possible to emulate Marly. Here, nature was quite literally in the centre. The plan of Fredensborg, encompassing the palace, its garden and satellite buildings was a large circle. [Fig. 14] At the centre of the circle is not what might be assumed to be the most important room, the domed, central hall of the palace, but the room opening onto the garden, *havesalen*.

The connection between the palace and Anna Sophie was symbolized in various ways. The new palace was inaugurated on Frederik's birthday in October 1722, two years before it was habitable, but exactly ten years after Anna Sophie's arrival in Copenhagen. The new rooms had stucco monograms celebrating Frederik and Anna Sophie, who after Louise's death in 1721, became queen. Anna Sophie was also present in the palace in the form of a full-length portrait in the king's audience chamber. In 1728 the palace was finished and Frederik allowed Colonel Hans Christopher Lønborg to draw a plan of the house and garden. [see Fig. 12] As can be seen in one of these drawings, at Fredensborg Frederik and Anna Sophie could share meals without any servants present. This occurred with the aid of a table, which by a special mechanism could be raised through the floor from the basement to the dining room, fully covered with dishes and food, and later be removed. Known as hermitage tables, they had been features of Danish residences since the reign of Frederik IV's father. The earliest such table was probably designed by the Danish astronomer and engineer Ole Rømer. Hermitage tables had a central table top which could mechanically be moved up and down from the floor below. [Fig. 15] Often the table top was made out of silver and mounted with silver antlers on which trays and plates could be arranged. A table of this type had been installed at Sparepenge by Frederik's father, and as a matter of fact the silver table top from Sparepenge was reused for the new hermitage table at Fredensborg – another example of continuity between the two buildings.[21]

In 1729, the year before he died, Frederik wrote that he saw Fredensborg as an *'eremitage'* (hermitage), where he and Anna Sophie could live privately and at comparatively little expense. It was in this spirit that the king had Fredensborg built and furnished. He not only recycled materials from Sparepenge but also reused some elements in a way that allowed the viewer to recognize their origin; this highlighted the fact that the second use of the building was the same as the first. Both Sparepenge and Fredensborg, then, were designed to allow the king to live modestly and close to nature.

Fredensborg remained a favourite residence of Danish monarchs, and the complex was expanded on a number of occasions until the 1780s. [Fig. 16] Around 1760, thirty years after the death of Frederik IV, the gardens were renovated in the Neoclassical style, in which form they can be seen today. The architect for this project was the French-born Nicolas-Henri Jardin (1720–1799), who had been summoned to Denmark in 1755 to build the Frederik's Church in Copenhagen and to hold a professorship in architecture at the newly established Academy of Art in Copenhagen.[22] The Frederik's Church was never finished, but Jardin became an important figure in Danish architecture. He introduced Neoclassicism to the country and adapted it to Danish mentality and economic means. He also played a central role in connection with the transformation of Frederik II's villa Lundehave, which was rebuilt for Frederik V (1723–1746–1766), the grandson of Frederik IV.

Frederik V took the same interest in nature as his grandfather. His lord chamberlain Adam Gottlob Moltke, who had been with the king since childhood, was anxious to promote the ruler's authority and was Frederik's closest confidant. With full reverence for the sovereign Moltke was the wirepuller behind all his decisions.[23] In the case of Lundehave, Moltke played a more visible role than usual. Frederik II's old pavilion was a royal property until 1753, when it was sold as it was considered out dated for royal use. But five years later Moltke purchased the estate and ordered the building expanded. The first remodelling project was executed by a master builder, who perhaps at the request of Moltke preserved the original villa, adding Rococo wings on either side. The resulting structure was an odd stylistic mix, and Moltke engaged Jardin to work on the palace. Jardin also preserved most of the Renaissance building, but he turned it into a slightly projecting part of a simple, rectangular building, which, of course, also had to be placed halfway into the slope.[24] [Fig. 17]

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21 See Ulla Kjær et al. (see note 11), fig. p. 50. For the history of the elevation table see Mogens Bencard: Notes on the table in late 17th and early 18th century Denmark, in: Mogens Bencard – Niels-Knud Liebgott (eds.), *Rosenborg Studier,* Copenhagen 2000, pp. 239–256.

22 The most important book on Jardin is Ulla Kjær, *Nicolas-Henri Jardin – en ideologisk nyklassicist,* Copenhagen 2010, with thorough summaries in English and French.

23 For a general description of Moltke and his importance, see: *Moltke. Rigets mægtigste mand,* by Knud J. V. Jespersen et al., Copenhagen 2010.

24 For a general description of Lundehave and the re-used Lundehave, see Jan Faye – Hannes Stephensen (eds.), *Marienlyst Slot. Det kongelige lystanlæg ved Helsingør*, Copenhagen 1988.

Although work on the new house had begun, in 1760 the king secretly bought the property back. Publically the palace was known as Moltke's Pleasure Garden. It was only after Frederik's death that the real ownership was revealed, and the villa was named Marienlyst after the dowager queen Juliane Marie. In the meantime not even Jardin nor the trustee at Kronborg, V. O. Bartholin, who was responsible for the accounts, knew they were employed by the king. However, in order to ensure that everything related to the construction was above board, even the smallest details of the work at Lundehave were unusually well documented.

Several attempts have been made to explain the strange ownership of Moltke's Pleasure Garden. Some have theorized that the house was intended for a mistress or as a gift for Moltke.[25] But in 1753, when he sold the house, Frederik V had a mistress, and in 1760, when he bought it back, he had none, and there is no reason why the king should keep a gift as a secret in this way. He went hunting in North Sealand and occasionally stayed overnight at Frederik II's old castle Kronborg, which was converted for his use. Some of the materials removed from Kronborg, for example tiles, were taken to Lundehave and reused there.

Between 1753 and 1760 Danish government officials took a new interest in the latest developments in agriculture, and Moltke was among those promoting a new agricultural and industrial journal, published 1757–1764.[26] The coast near Elsinore was an area marked by sand drift, and it seems that Moltke found this area suitable for testing the new methods. He extended the lands around Lundehave to include dozens of fields with poor quality soil, had the grounds cleared of stones, and experimented with using seaweed as a fertilizer. At this time one of the old Lundehave's primary functions thus seems to have been as an experimental farm, where new methods of soil improvement could be tried. These experiments were in the interest of the kingdom and conducted at the king's expense, but in order to protect the king in case the experiments were unsuccessful only Moltke was aware of the source of the financing. [27]

If the primary purpose of Lundehave was agricultural experimentation, the new palace was then intended as a place where the king could rest during his inspection of the farm, but it was not meant to be a residence. Because the old Lundehave was built into a hill, the front and rear facades of the new house, Marienlyst, looked very different. From the front it presented itself as an elegant palace with a ground floor, first and second floor, but in reality, the house actually contains a cellar, a ground floor and a first floor. And as the cellar is half dug into the ground and half of the windows on the ground floor are facing the slope, the upper floor is the only one with a view on all four sides and therefore the only one appropriate for the king's occupancy. [Fig. 18] It meant that Jardin had to alter the course of the staircase, so that he could create a suitable room for the king on the top floor. [Fig. 19] Thus the king could arrive from the rear side, pass through a very modest entrance and then rest and dine on the upper floor, enjoy the view either there or from the roof [Fig. 20], and inspect the soil experiments before returning to Copenhagen.

Jardin was born in the country to a family of limited means, and he appreciated the value of reuse. Accordingly, the windows from the old Lundehave were used in the rear facade of Marienlyst, where no-one paid attention to their aberrant form. But Jardin also recycled the purpose of the property. While preserving parts of the Renaissance building in the innovative design of the Neoclassicist Marienlyst, the architect was also concerned to provide an adequate shelter for the king and maintain the building's usefulness as a lookout point. The spirit and purpose of the old pavilion survived, as symbolized by the obvious appreciation of its architectural vocabulary.

Jardin's Marienlyst is indeed a very sober and straight building. [Fig. 21] Art historians have dismissed it as a mere copy of the Petit Trianon in Versailles, which had been designed by one of the most prominent architects of the period, the French premier architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel.[28] But this interpretation reflect the fact that Denmark had lost much of its international power during the nineteenth century. Its area had

25 See Hanne Raabyemagle in: *Marienlyst Slot* (see note 24), pp. 175–82.

26 *Danmark og Norges Oeconomiske Magazin* 1757–64, ed. Erik Pontoppidan. For the history of the agricultural improvements, see Fridlev Skrubbeltrang, *Det danske Landbosamfund 1500–1800,* Odense 1978, pp. 271–84.

27 See Ulla Kjær (note 22), pp. 386–90.

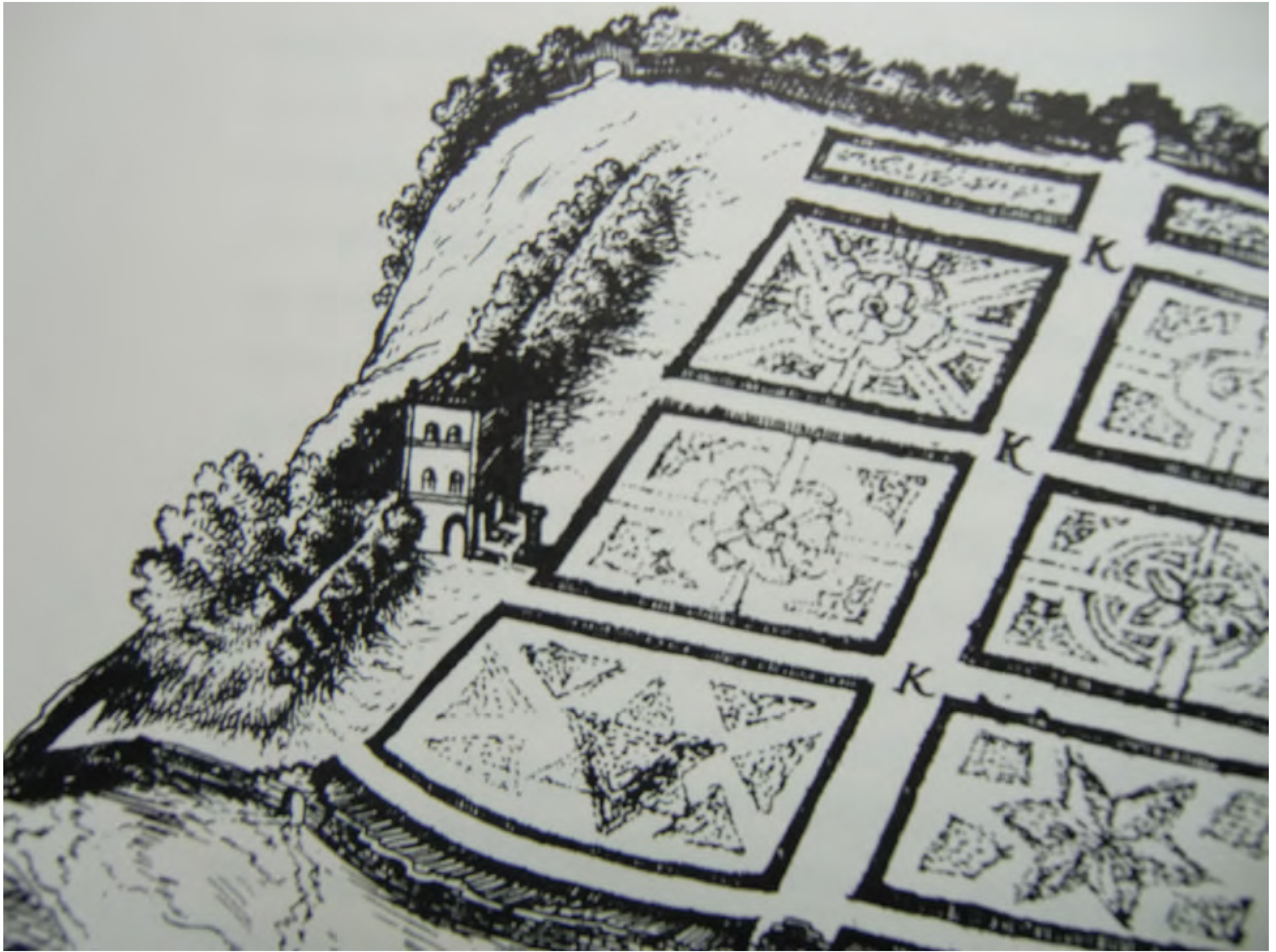
28 Pierre Lespinasse, Les Frères Jardin, *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* XXVIII, juli-dec. 1910, pp. 111–22, 227–38. The theory is repeated in: Laurits Pedersen, *Kronborg Have. Hamlets Have. Marienlyst. Hamlets Grav,* Copenhagen 1920, p. 106 and Frederik Weilbach, Lysthuset i Kronborg Have og Marienlyst Slot, in: Laurits Pedersen (ed.), *Helsingør i Sundtoldstiden 1426–1857*, I, s. l. 1926, pp. 327–336.

been significantly reduced and no-one could imagine this tiny country having played any leading role in style development. However, the conversion of Marienlyst was completed in 1762, the same year that construction on the Petit Trianon began. Consequently, it must have been Gabriel who was inspired by Jardin – if there was any connection between the two buildings.

Why did eighteenth-century kings and their architects choose to reuse older leisure palaces or their materials in new buildings? Certainly building costs could be reduced, but there were other factors at play. The classical villa style was associated with leisure, making the retention of Palladian design features valuable in a rural setting, especially in a period when it grew increasingly urgent to emphasize one's roots. Further, the reuse of materials from older buildings incorporated their history into the new structure. Both Fredensborg and Marienlyst are exemplary works of art in their own right, but the use of *spolia* from older royal buildings or the re-use of the buildings themselves deliberately added a layer of meaning which could be appreciated by the attentive observer without disrupting the new style of the house or its artistic quality.

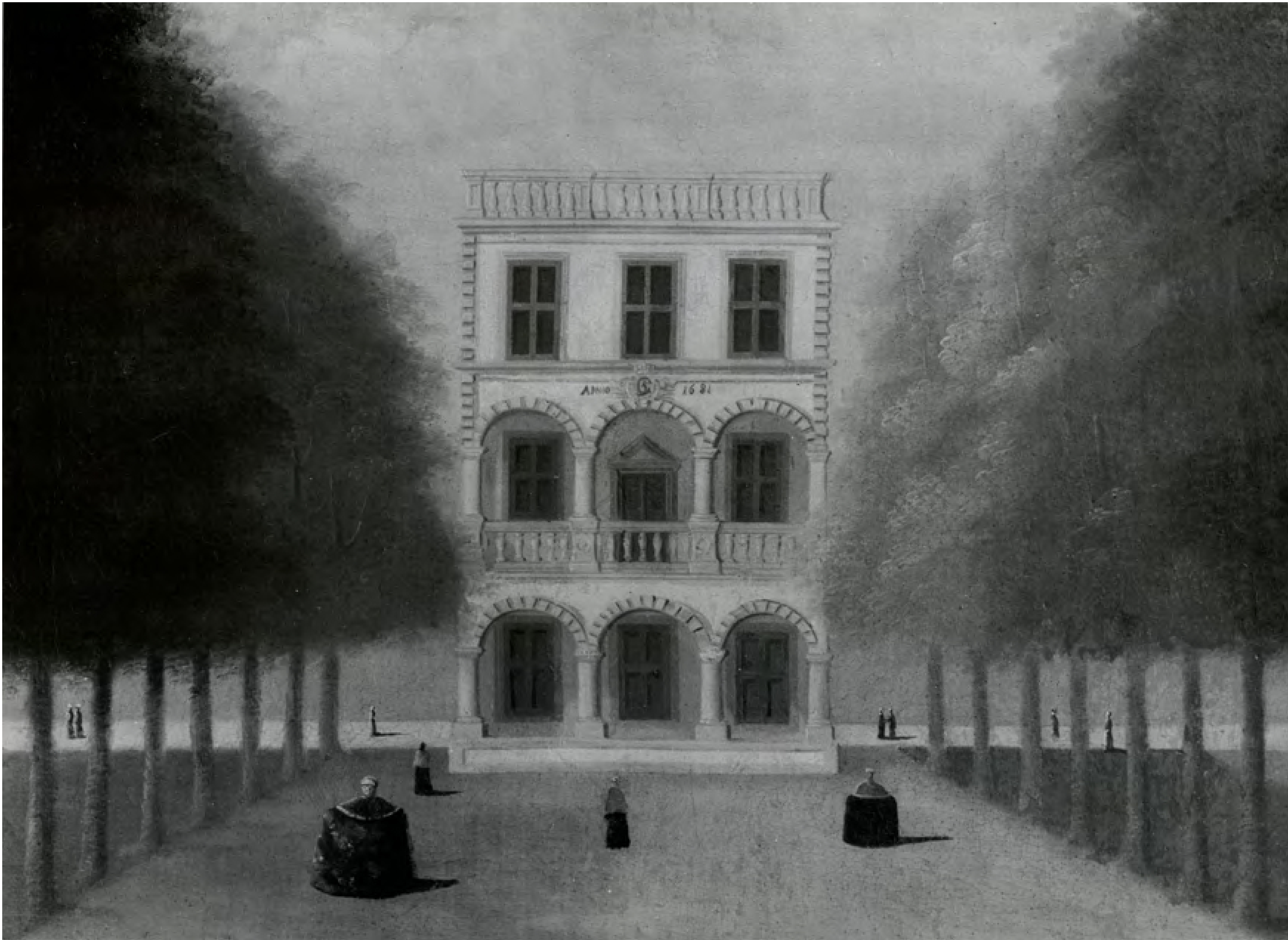
1. Frederik II's Bath House from 1580 near Frederiksborg Palace. The red brick walls with white bands of sandstone and the triangular frontons with human heads are typical of Danish Renaissance architecture, inspired by the Netherlands.

Photo: Poul Grinder-Hansen



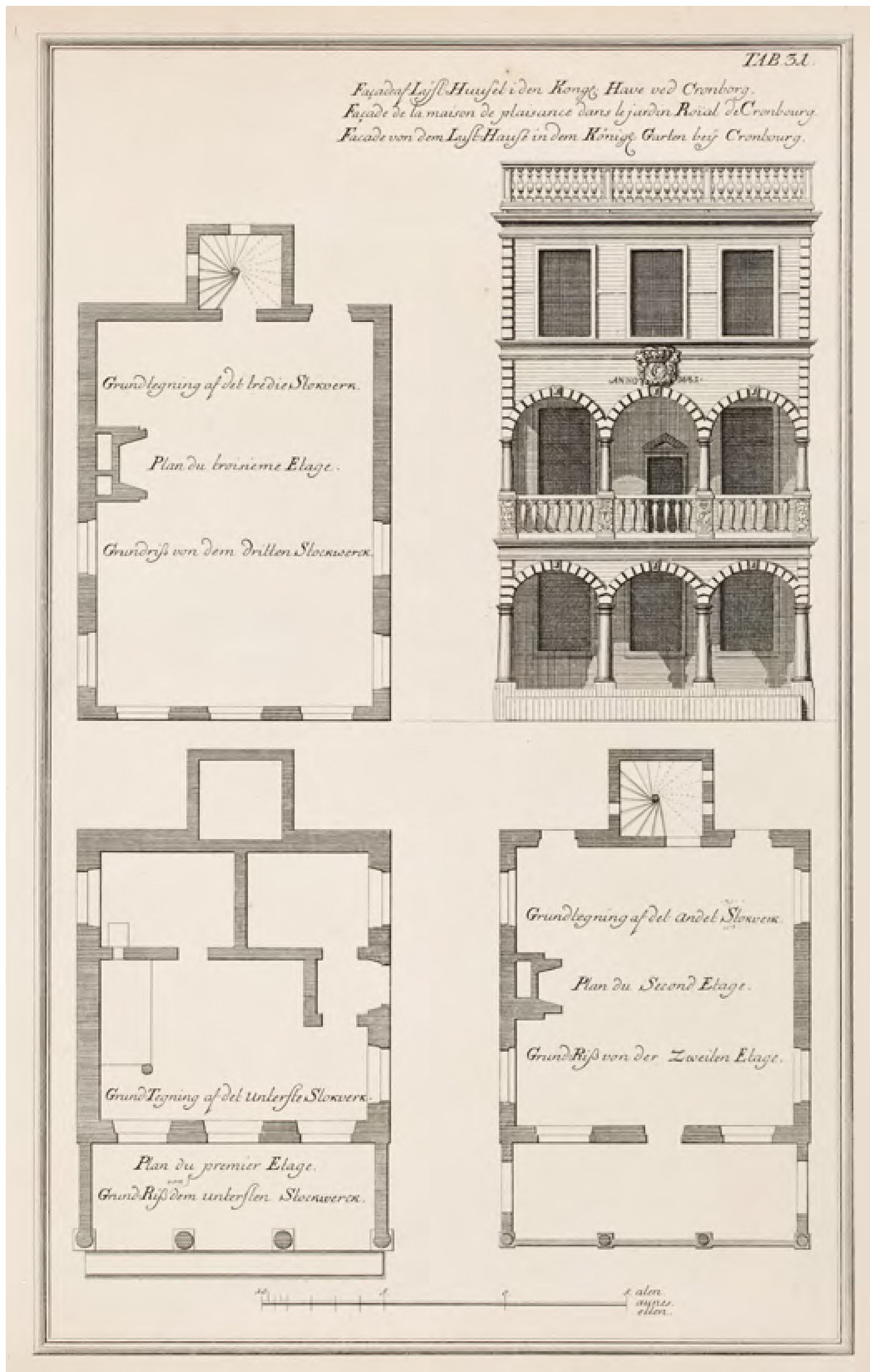
2. Frederik II's pavilion Lundehave from 1587–88 in a primitive, yet instructive depiction from c. 1680 for the so-called Resen's Atlas.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, The National Museum of Denmark



3. Lundehave as it appears in a painting from c. 1730 by Johannes Rach and Hans Heinrich Eegberg. The incription on the facade informs us that the pavilion had been restored in 1681.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, The National Museum of Denmark

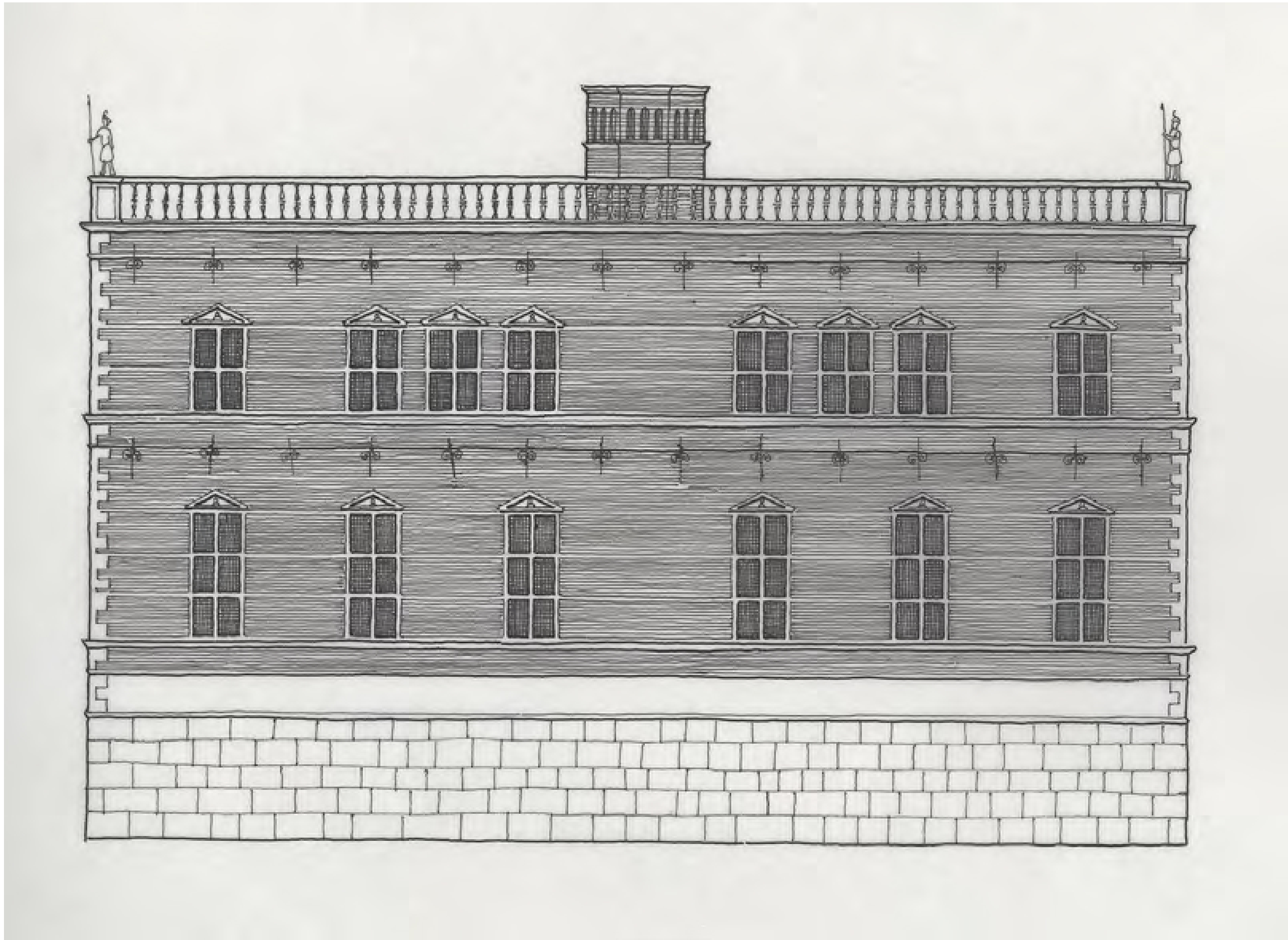


4. Plans and facade of Lundehave as measured by the architect Laurids de Thurah, 1746.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, The National Museum of Denmark

5. The original outer walls of Lundehave with their red and white paint are still preserved behind panels in the rebuilt house.

Photo: Poul Grinder-Hansen



6. The leisure house Sparepenge at Frederiksborg. Modern reconstruction drawn by the architect Kjeld de Fine Licht, 1987.

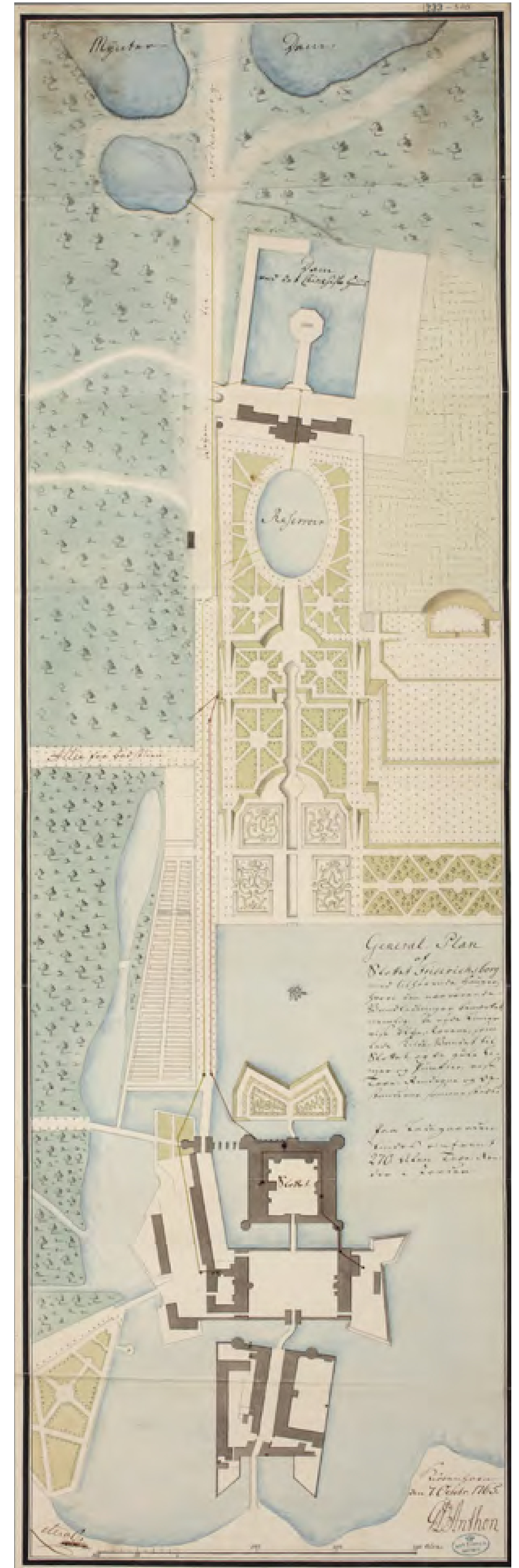
Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, The National Museum of Denmark

7. Frederiksborg Palace as seen from the spot where once Sparepenge stood.

Photo: Poul Grinder-Hansen

8. Stone fragments from Sparepenge, now kept in the basement under Fredensborg Palace.

Photo: Lennart Larsen 1964, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

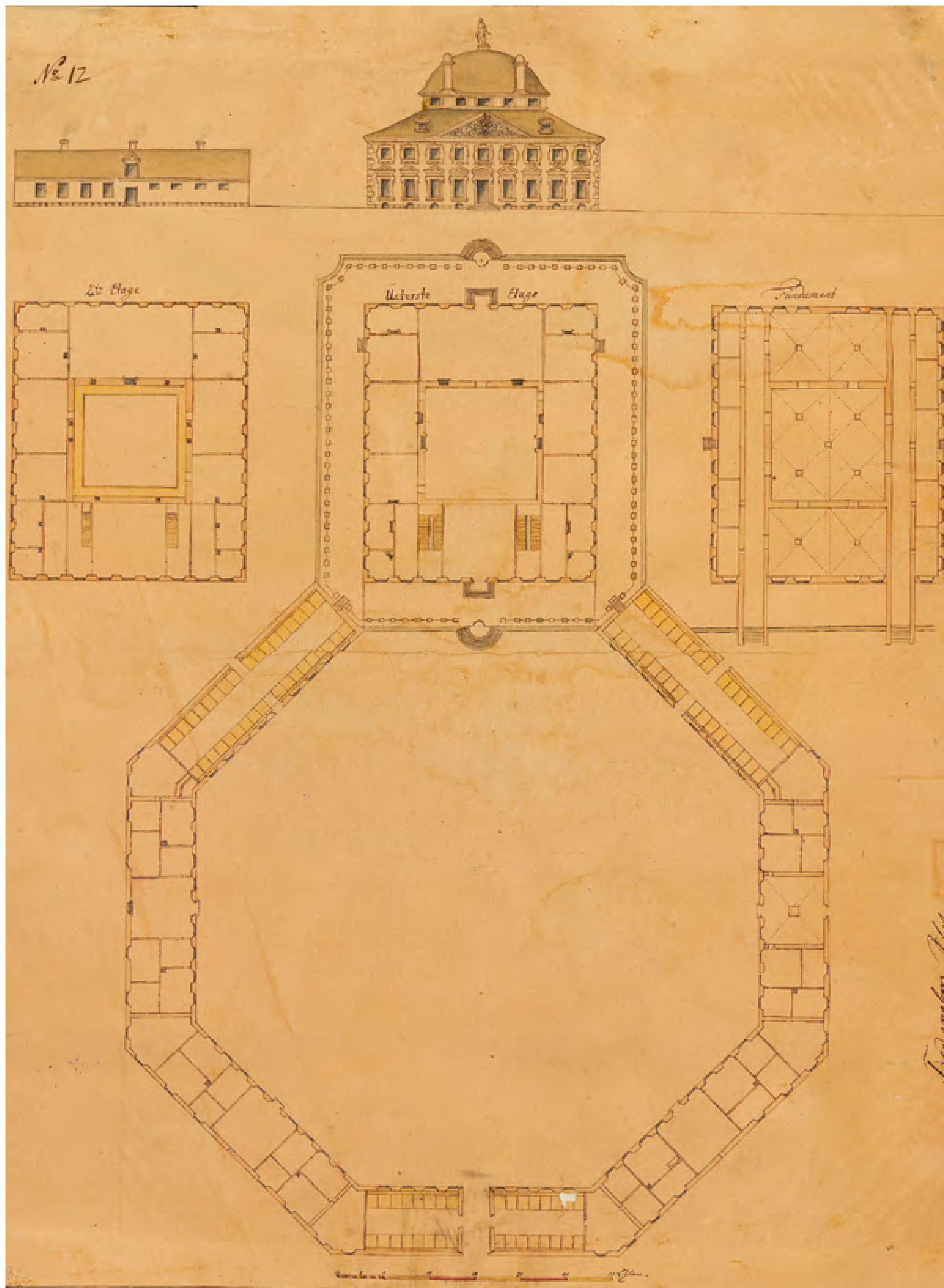


9. Plan of Frederiksborg Palace and its baroque garden, from 1765. Until 1719–20 Sparepenge was situated opposite the palace near the lake, yet not in the main axis through the palace.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

10. Recycled boards and beams from Sparepenge with renaissance ornaments, uncovered in floors at Fredensborg Palace.

Photo: Lennart Larsen 1964, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark



11. The first known, anonymous project for Fredensborg Palace, from 1720.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark.

12. Fredensborg Palace painted by H. C. Lønborg in 1728.

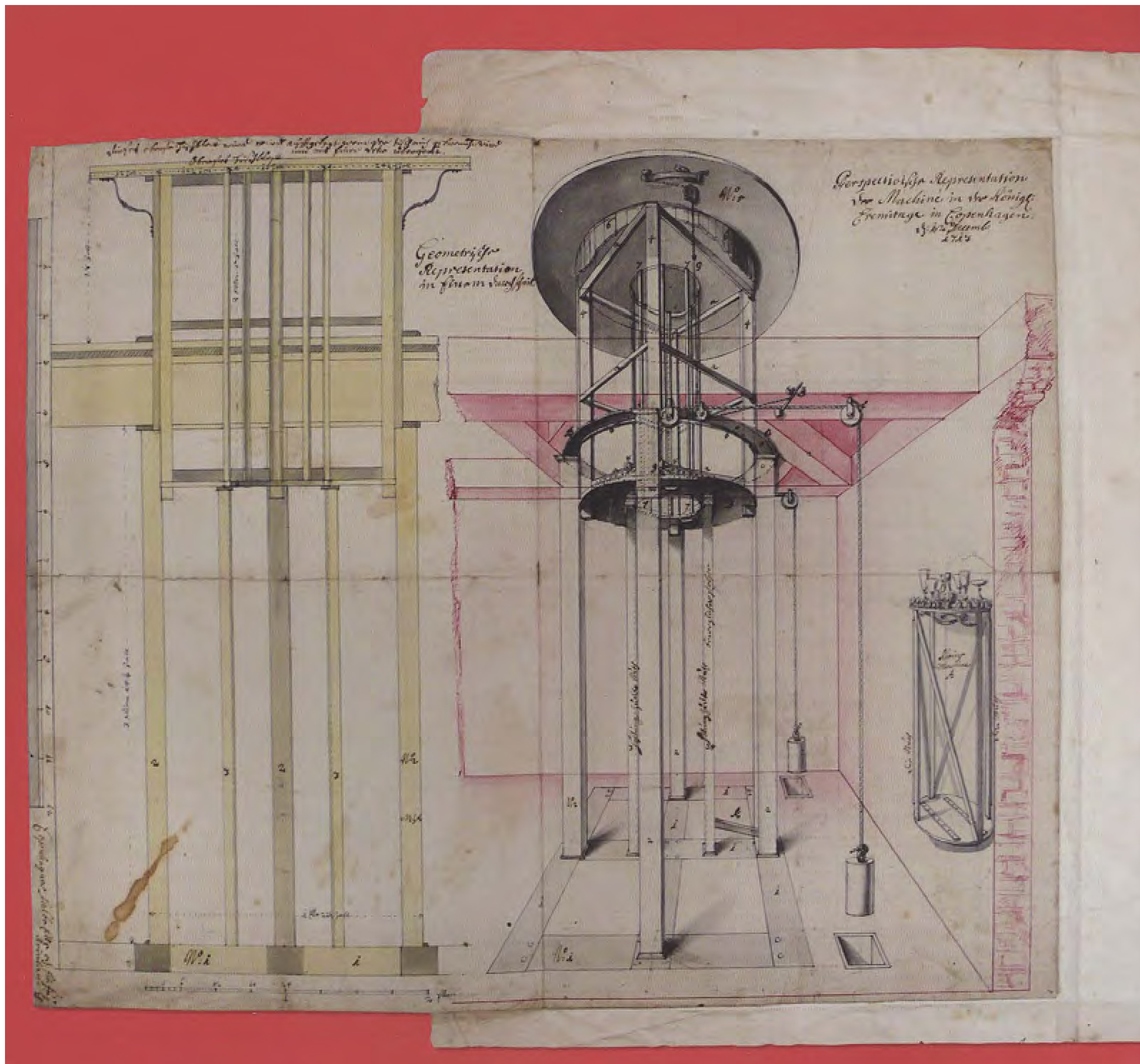
Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv,
National Museum of Denmark.

13. Fredensborg Palace seen from the eastern courtyard.
The triangular frontons with humans heads from Sparepenge were reused once more when the architect Nicolai Eigtved in 1753–55 added some short wings to the main building.

Photo: Jan Steenberg 1967, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

14. Aerial photo of Fredensborg Palace and its park.

Photo: S. A. Rasmussen 2014.



15. Drawing of a Danish 'hermitage table' from 1713, in Dresden, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen: Plansammlung.

From M. Bencard: Eremitageborde i København og Dresden, in: Jutta Kappel Claudia Brink Jørgen Hein et. al. (eds.), Tro, styrke, kærlighed. Danmarks og Sachsen – ægteskaber, politiske og kulturelle forbindelser (1548–1709), Copenhagen 2010, p. 286

16. Fredensborg Palace.

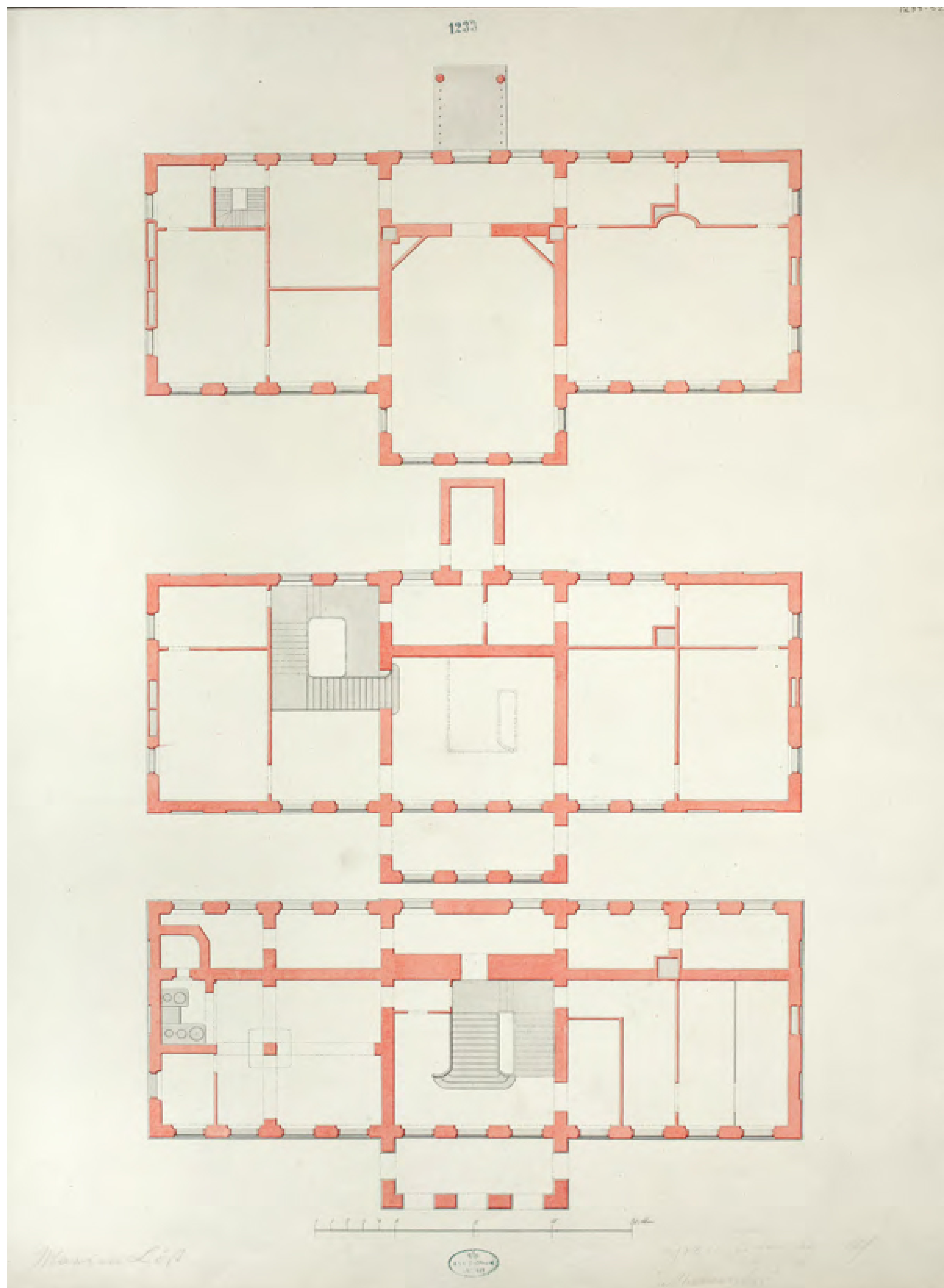
Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv,
National Museum of Denmark

17. Marienlyst Palace.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

18. Marienlyst Palace is built into a slope, as clearly seen on this photo.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark



19. Marienlyst. Unsigned plans of the stories, probably from the eighteenth century.

Photo: Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

20. The entrance to the upper, official story of Marienlyst on the back of the palace. In the background a view of the Sound.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark

21. Marienlyst Palace.

Photo: Roberto Fortuna 2007, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv, National Museum of Denmark