

## Catalogue or Guidebook? Izabela Czartoryska's *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu gotyckim w Puławach* (Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy)\*

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**Abstract:** The 19th century was a period which was characterized by a strong interest in the cultural heritage, art collection, documentation of historical monuments and their protection. At the same time, tourism had developed on a so far unprecedented scale and one of the most important magnets which attracted tourists were historical cities, monuments and museums. This fusion between cultural heritage and tourism is perfectly well visible in the 19th century tourist guidebooks. The authors and publishers of these publications, including such well-known personages as Karl Baedeker and John Murray, attached great importance to the descriptions of the cultural attractions of the individual countries, cities and areas.

On Polish territories, the fascination with the monuments of the past revealed itself, primarily within the framework of historical research, and also in the organization of exhibitions, compiling lists and inventories of monuments and the popularization of knowledge about the latter, among others through publications appearing in the contemporary press as well as in travel guides. The interest in the cultural heritage was strongly rooted in national history and patriotic sentiment, as in the period under discussion, Poland was deprived of its own statehood which it had lost in the aftermath of the partitions carried out in the course of the latter half of the 18th century. In the year 1801, the oldest Polish museum which was open to the public had been founded in Puławy. Its foundress, Princess Izabela Czartoryska, catalogued her own collections herself and in the year 1828, she published a book entitled *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach* (Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy). In the article, an analysis of this publication was carried out which revealed its links both with catalogues of museum collections that had arisen at a similar time, as well as with tourist guidebooks. It seems that Princess Izabela's publication, which without a doubt occupies an important place in the history of Polish museology, could have successfully fulfilled both these functions.

**Key words:** museology, tourist guidebooks, Izabela Czartoryska, Puławy, 19th century

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## Introduction

In the year 1828 The Polish Bank Printing House in Warsaw published Princess Izabela Czartoryska's *Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy* (fig. 1). The publication numbering a little less than 130 pages, contains a catalogue list of over 1500 items, referring to various exhibits (tombstones, bas-reliefs, paintings, prints, books, manuscripts, arts and crafts objects and various other items), placed on the external walls as well as in the individual rooms of the building mentioned in the book's title; the building itself was erected in 1809, in the vicinity of the famous Temple of the Sybil in the Puławy Park. Apart from a 2-page preface, the booklet by the precursor of Polish museology, contains almost no descriptive elements. The majority of the objects had been merely listed and only in a few cases, additional comments or remarks regarding them had been added. Therefore, undoubtedly, from the literary point of view, the *Collection* is not a particularly interesting oeuvre; nor is it, especially valuable from the point of view of its aesthetic quality and more broadly speaking, from the view point of art historiography. In this respect, it differs considerably from various other texts written by princess Izabela, where she showed herself as a talented and proficient authoress, who is interested in history and the artistic value of the described monuments and works of art<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> On this topic, see: Aleksandrowicz 1998; Kwiatek 2015.

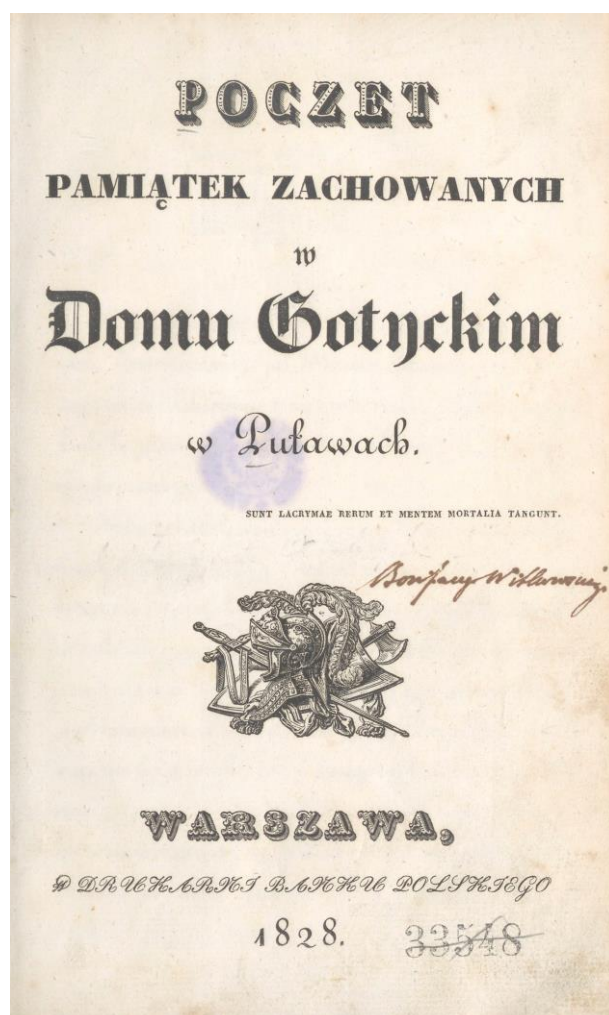


Fig. 1. Title page of Izabela Czartoryska's publication on the collection preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy

Source: Digital National Library Polona

Yet the significance of the above-discussed publication is expressed not so much in its literary and aesthetic qualities, but in its pioneering character, particularly as regards the detailed way in which it lists and records museum collections, when compared with other Polish publications devoted to this issue. In his numerous papers and publications, devoted to the Puławy collections, a renowned Polish museologist, Zdzisław Żygulski, refers to Princess Izabela's publication as "a topographic inventory, and at the same time, a kind of guide to the Gothic House" [Żygulski Jr. 1962, p. 160; Żygulski Jr. 2009, p. 204]; he also refers to it as "the first Polish printed museum catalogue" [Żygulski Jr. 1998, p. 52]. In other publications, princess Izabela's oeuvre is sometimes conceived of as a guide [Powidzki 1956, pp. 5–6], which constitutes the oldest Polish publication of this type that is devoted to museum collections [Opaliński 2013, p. 84]. Such an ambiguous

way in which the booklet in question has been classified seems to be quite intriguing by itself, for it might seem that as a literary genre, a tourist guidebook, has little to do with museum catalogues or inventories.

In the current article, an attempt will be made to shed light on this inhomogenous character of the *Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy*. With this goal in mind, following a synthetic presentation of Izabela Czartoryska's booklet, it will be necessary to present it in a wider and additionally double context. In the first instance, the publication under investigation will be presented against the background of the antiquity lovers' movement, including particularly the fashion for collecting works of art as well as "national memorabilia" and the fashion for drawing up inventories of art works. An important point of reference in this respect will be particularly the earlier activities of Izabela Czartoryska within the scope of documenting the Puławy collections, whose final outcome are the thick manuscript volumes, preserved in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow. In the next phase of the project, the development of the nineteenth century travel guide literature on Polish territories will be taken up, with particular emphasis being laid on the guides to museum collections. An analysis carried out in this way should help one to define the cultural significance of this rather modest publication both for the history of documentation of art collections, as well as for travel guide literature.

### **The structure and content of the analyzed publication**

The *Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy* is a small format 8° booklet (whose precise dimensions are 150 x 235 mm); the booklet numbers altogether 128 pages. The authorship of Izabela Czartoryska has not been recorded anywhere on the title page, but it is to be found in the section following the preface, where one can see the proper name and surname of the authoress: Elżbieta Czartoryska, right next to the annotation "Puławy, 19 October 1828". The first two pages are taken up by the afore-mentioned preface, while the following part contains a numbered inventory containing altogether 1531 items describing over 3000 exhibits. It is worth noting that every effort was made to make the above inventory as up-to-date as possible, for on the last two pages of the catalogue, one can find an appendix containing memorabilia which arrived at the Gothic House "while the present catalogue was being printed" (the added pages

comprise items beginning with number 1511 and ending with item 1531). The publication was decorated with Józef Richter's lithograph portraying the Gothic House (fig. 2) and placed just before the title page.

In the preface, one may find a handful of very interesting information which should help one to understand the goals that the authoress had set before herself when writing the booklet; the above information also helps define the relations between this booklet and some other works which document the Puławy collections. Already at the very beginning of her book, the princess mentioned the catalogue of the Gothic House which "had been completed already some time ago and whose Manuscript takes up three thick volumes"; she also mentioned other, similar publications concerning the Temple of Sibil, some of whose exhibits had already been described, while descriptions of others were being systematically added. In future, these catalogues were supposed to appear in print, but earlier the authoress decided to publish "a simple inventory of the antiquities contained in both collections; the inventory was not meant to contain any descriptive elements" [Czartoryska 1828, p. 1]. The above statement clearly indicates that a similar publication devoted to the Temple of Sibil was being planned and prepared for print. Yet in the latter case, the work on the publication took a little longer and the outbreak of the November uprising had ultimately stood in the way of the publication [Żygulski Jr. 1962, p. 204].





Fig. 2. The Gothic House in Puławy, Józef Richter's lithography

Source: *Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow*

Coming back to the preface of Izabela Czartoryska's only published work on the Puławy collections, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that the *Collection* was dedicated by the authoress to „the lovers of antiquities visiting Puławy, as well as those who deigned to remember about the noble task of multiplying the local art collections” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 1]. Subsequently, the princess briefly characterized the nature of the Gothic House collection, drawing attention to the fact that in accordance with the original conception, and contrary to the principle adopted in the Temple of Sibil, the exhibits gathered there were to come from foreign countries. Thus, the collection included “many artefacts from France, Italy, Germany, England, numerous antiquities and memorabilia from Egypt, Asia and America”. Yet it was felt that what was lacking were “the most tender, the most meaningful artefacts, namely those that came from Poland”; that is why, in time, the Gothic House collection was enriched with native Polish memorabilia. The Preface ends with an arduous appeal addressed to the Creator: “God willing, in centuries to come,

to these memories of Fame, Bravery, Patriotism and alas, so many national calamities!, our grandchildren may add the inseparable monuments of Glory and Happiness” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 2].

The preface is followed by the main bulk of the publication, that is the catalogue inventory of the Gothic House collection. The inventory had been compiled on the basis of a topographical principle and it consists primarily of a specific type of lapidarium, made up of objects placed in the outside walls of the building. This section includes 274 items. The exhibits had been enumerated in the order corresponding to the individual walls, that is the given sections of the elevation; in turn, the given sections of the elevation were given names corresponding to the memorabilia that were placed on them. Thus, we have in turn, the walls of Kazimierz Wielki, Jan Długosz, the Roman Wall, the Wall of Cid and Chimene, the Gostynin Wall, the Wall of Boguta and Sędziwoj, the Kościuszko Wall, the Lithuanian Wall and the Żółkiewski Wall (fig. 3). The subsequent part of the inventory contains items which refer to the individual rooms on the ground floor (ante-room and ground-floor drawing room), the stairway and the interiors on the first floor (upper hallway, the green room and upstairs study). According to the estimates of Zdzisław Żygulski Jr. [1962, p. 204], the number of exhibits mentioned in princess Czartoryska’s inventory exceeds 3000. It is impossible to quote the precise number of the latter, as one comes across a considerable amount of inventory items which provide imprecise information, particularly as regards some collections of portraits, prints or landscapes<sup>2</sup>. Yet one should add that a decisive majority of inventory positions refer to a single exhibit, otherwise, they contain precise information as to the number of individual items (the latter case concerns particularly the letters).

As regards the manner in which the exhibits are presented, it may indeed be described as “simple and devoid of any descriptive elements”. In the majority of cases, it is only a brief definition of what the exhibit in question constitutes that corresponds to a given inventory number. Sometimes in a smaller print, one may find the name of the person who presented a given object to the Gothic House. Among the donors, one finds among others, the names of Tadeusz Czacki, Jan Śniadecki, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, or general Michał Sokolnicki who acted on princess

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<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Czartoryska 1828, pp. 95–96.

Czartoryska's orders. However, in the majority of cases, such provenance data<sup>3</sup>, is missing, which means that in accordance with the information provided in one of the references in the booklet, a given item had either been acquired by the princess herself, or else that the name of the donor is unknown [Czartoryska 1828, p. 4].

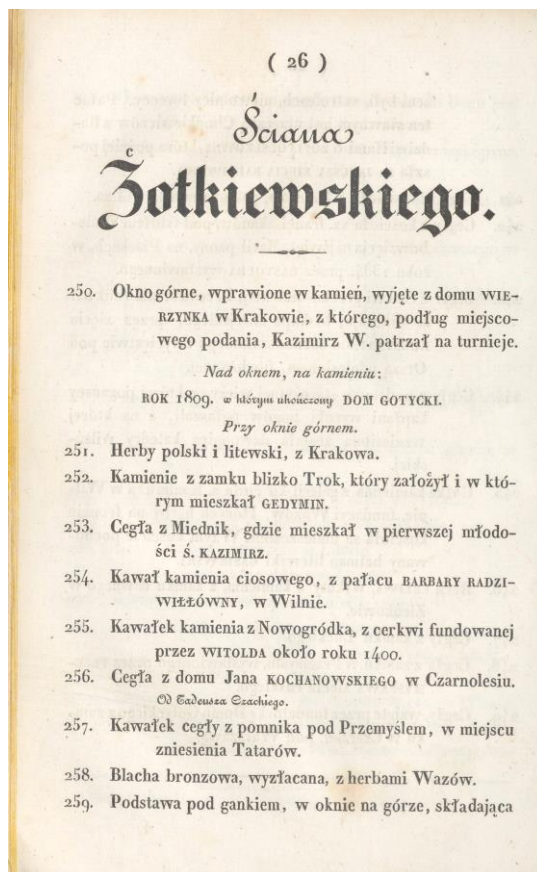


Fig. 3. Fragment of Izabela Czartoryska's publication enumerating the exhibits placed in the so called Żółkiewski Wall

Source: Digital National Library Polona

Yet, one does come across items whose descriptive notes are more extensive and complex. The authoress decided to choose such an option in a few cases. What was especially characteristic was her interest in all kinds of inscriptions which she scrupulously copied. Thus if for instance a given exhibit contained an extensive inscription, it obviously had to find its reflection in the length of the description in the inventory. This concerns particularly the exhibits, such as tombstones, which were embedded in the outside walls of the Gothic House. The most extensive, two-page long description – being an offshoot of a long Latin inscription – occurs in the case of the tombstone of Karol Ferdynand Waza, the duke of Opole

<sup>3</sup> According to Janusz Powidzki's findings, in the case of as many as 75% of the items, the origin of the listed memorabilia is not provided. See: Powidzki 1956, p. 6.



and the bishop of Płock, who was the son of king Sigismund III [Czartoryska 1828, pp. 4–6]. A number of shorter inscriptions had also been copied from a few other tombstones and gravestone carvings localized in the outside walls of the museum building. The authoress had also scrupulously copied the texts found on some objects associated with arts and crafts (clocks, decorative cups etc.). As an example, one could mention here the exhibit placed under position 622: “A pocket knife with a mother-of-pearl handle which was donated by the Knifemakers’ Guild to Napoleon, with the figure of the latter executed in tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl and gold. On the one side of the knife, one finds the inscription: »*To the Saviour of France*«; and on the other side: »*Rewarded merit*«” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 58].

The above-cited example of the knife which at one time used to belong to Napoleon, and which was placed in a separate casket with other miscellaneous memorabilia associated with the emperor, constitutes a description of an exhibit which conveys certain additional information – in this case relating to the very appearance of the object and the way in which Napoleon had come into its possession. Recalling the connection between a historical figure and a given exhibit is a devise which is frequently resorted to in the publication and which in a sense constitutes a natural consequence of the fact that a large part of the Gothic House collection was made up of memorabilia associated with well-known historical personages [Żygulski Jr. 1998, pp. 73–78]. In most cases, it was an ownership type of relation, although the authoress of the *Collection* defined it in a much more terse and laconic way. The majority of the remaining memorabilia associated with Napoleon, as well as the letters of various well-known figures or for instance Shakespeare’s chair, had been treated precisely in this manner.

Against the background of this dry listing of historical artefacts, it is the items which include some additional information relating in most cases to well-known figures, or some historical data, or more rarely to the appearance of a given exhibit, that appear to be much more interesting. For example, the bricks from Jan Karol Chodkiewicz’s palace in Vilnius, which were embedded in the Lithuanian Wall of the Gothic House, had served as a pretext for the princess, to write a few words about the above-mentioned residence; namely, she wrote that: “On the now ruined façade of this palace, one could see the images of Turkish slaves burdened with war spoils and trophies. The palace is famous for the conflict which at one time flared up between the Chodkiewicz and the Radziwiłł families over Zofia Olekówna who

subsequently married Prince Janusz Radziwiłł” [Czartoryska 1828, pp. 24–25]. Information relating to well-known figures and personages was sometimes introduced while presenting exhibits that were associated with them but indirectly. In this context, one should mention certain paintings, for example “A View of the Ruined Castle in which the English king Richard had been imprisoned”, or “A View of the Pau Castle, in which the French king Henry IV was born” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 31]. An even more interesting example of such an intrusion is princess Czartoryska’s comment on the embedding of a window in the Żółkiewski Wall of the Gothic House; supposedly, the window had come “from Wierzynek’s house in Krakow; as legend would have it; it was through this very window that king Casimir the Great had watched the tournaments outside” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 26].

Associating a piece of the masonry with the person of the last representative of the Piast dynasty by means of a thin thread of the local legend, may in all likelihood be interpreted in the categories of a specific cult of this ruler, which dated back to the end of the 18th century and the publications of bishop Naruszewicz’s texts that presented Casimir the Great as a model monarch whom Stanisław August Poniatowski was supposed to emulate [Przekora 2005, pp. 219–221]. Another, even more expressive example of this cult, was the phenomenon of referring to one of the walls by the king’s name, a pretext for which was the placing on this wall of an eagle from the Łobzów castle that had once been founded by Casimir the Great [Żygulski Jr. 1998, p. 72].

Due to the accepted formula of the publication, it is in vain that one should look in it for many comments and remarks on the artistic side of the exhibits. The most frequent remarks are those which refer to the authors of the individual art works, particularly paintings and sporadically, also representatives of other disciplines of art, as is the case with the bronze bas-relief “authored by Benvenuto Cellini” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 48]<sup>4</sup>. The *Portrait of a Young Man* by Raphael, which went missing during World War II, had been laconically and rather tersely described as “Raphael’s portrait, painted by none other than the master himself” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 105]. A little more information could be found next to Leonardo’s only painting in the Polish collections. In accordance with the contemporary state of knowledge, the painting was described by the authoress as “A painting of a woman

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<sup>4</sup> Yet, one should bear in mind that, similarly to many others, the above attribution, is quite doubtful. Cf. Powidzki 1956, p. 8.

known as La Belle Ferronière, a mistress of the French king Francis I, painted by Leonardo da Vinci” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 40]. However, it was but rarely that the princess decided to comment on or evaluate the artistic value of the individual art works in the above publication. Yet a few of the exhibits had been distinguished in this way; among them, the ancient shield: „The beautiful bas-relief on the shield presents a battle at city defensive walls; the battle takes place in the presence of the Gods of Olympus” [Czartoryska 1828, pp. 32–33], or else one of the chamber altars “which had been beautifully painted on a copper plate in Dresden in 1738” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 102]. Moreover, she also commented on the painting of Christ which came from the castle chapel in Lublin, by referring to it as “exceedingly beautiful and exquisite in its antiquity” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 106].

### **The *Collection*, the development of the ancient historical movement and the early attempts to document the museum collections**

The ancient historical movement, understood as a new interest in collecting and gathering information relating to the legacy of the past, emerged at the turn of the 18th century and quickly became an almost general European phenomenon. The country where the interest in the so called historical monuments appeared relatively early was France<sup>5</sup>. It was there that a systematic stocktaking of historical monuments, conducted on the basis of a pioneering inventory-count procedure of 1793, was launched already during the period of the French Revolution. Similar tendencies quickly appeared also in other countries, including the Polish territories [Walicki 1931, p. 18]. The origins of the native historical movement should be looked for in the historicism of the Stanisław August Poniatowski period and the contemporary passion for collecting artefacts of the past [Kowalczyk 1981, p. 157]. Following the partitions of Poland, carried out by the three partitioning powers, namely: Austria, Prussia and Russia, towards the end of the 18th century, the historical movement constituted a form of sustaining the national identity and an expression of patriotic feelings. The interest in historical monuments was also referred to as archeology or national archeology, while researchers exploring historical monuments were characterized by a wide range of interests, comprising, apart from art, also other elements of culture [Polanowska 1995, p. 22].

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<sup>5</sup> The term “historical monument” (*monument historique*) was coined by Aubin-Louis Millin about 1790. See: Bakoš 2004, pp. 83–85.

The historical movement revealed itself primarily in four major aspects: collecting, knowledge of art, inventory taking and care of historical monuments [Ślesięski 1956, p. 258]. The activity of princess Izabela Czartoryska undoubtedly fits into all of the above-mentioned categories, yet due to the topic of the present article, one should draw special attention to the problem of inventorying historic monuments. The first postulates in this respect had appeared already towards the end of the 18th century, in the form of a specific inventory-count procedure prepared in the year 1786 by Rev. Xawery Zubowski. Yet the conception created by him had never been taken advantage of in the inventory-taking practise [Walicki 1931, pp. 34–36].

During the period of the partitions, the actions and publications which had a typically inventorying character, were made difficult, due to a lack of institutional support, as well as a well worked out methodology in this respect. An early example of a successful activity in this field, is the publication in the 20s of the 19th century of a few issues of *Monumenta Regum Poloniae Cracoviensia*, presenting a series of images of the tombstones, sarcophagi and coffins of the Polish kings and queens, who had been buried in the Wawel cathedral. The publication came into existence from the initiative of Stanisław Kostka Potocki and it contained the engravings of Fryderyk Krzysztof Dietrich, which had been executed on the basis of the drawings of Michał Stachowicz [Banach 1976, p. 144]. Unfortunately, it was only the engravings that found their way to the publication, in spite of the fact that there were also plans to incorporate in it a descriptive part [Ptaszyk 1985, p. 381].

During the first half of the 19th century, initiatives aimed at inventorying historic monuments in the terrain, were undertaken in all of the partitioned sectors, yet in practice few of the planned activities had been realized. The greatest number of inventorying tasks had been carried out on the territory of the Kingdom of Poland, where the very first inventorying action – linked to the order issued by tsar Nickolas I on 31 December 1826 concerning the task of describing and securing the monuments of the past on the territory of Russia – was executed already towards the end of the 20s. Yet the collected materials, stored in the Government War Commission, had been destroyed (only the preliminary reports from the Płock and Krakow voivodships had been preserved) and that is why it is very difficult to define precisely the scope of the undertaken activities. In turn, the second inventorying action organized on the territory of the Kingdom of Poland was carried out in the

years 1844–1855 by a delegation under the supervision of Kazimierz Stronczyński. Altogether five volumes of handwritten descriptions as well as seven atlases with watercolour representations of selected monuments had been collected. The gathered materials were subsequently stored in the Library of the Warsaw University and have appeared in print together with a scientific commentary only in recent years [see: Kowalczyk 2009].

Attempts to inventory historic monuments in the other partitioned sectors of Poland, brought about much more modest results. In Wielkopolska, it was the Society of Collectors of Native Antiquities with the headquarters in Szamotuły that tried to act in this field, but in the year 1846, the Prussian authorities liquidated this organization (merely 6 years after it had been called to life) [Karlowska-Kamzowa 1996, p. 76]. In Galicia, preparations to launch an organized inventorying action were first initiated by Karol Kremer, an architect and monument conservationist; in the year 1850, the latter one appointed a special committee and prepared a suitable instruction whose role was to implement inventorying activities [Walicki 1931, pp. 98–101]. However, the ambitious plans had never been implemented and that is why, it was Józef Łepkowski who became the first real cataloguer of historic monuments from the vicinity of Krakow; the latter one described the results of his research in a manuscript which was published only in 1863 [Łepkowski 1863].

The above-described undertakings aimed at inventorying historic monuments in the provinces, create a certain wider context for the publication of princess Izabela Czartoryska which constitutes the main subject-matter of our discussion here, yet what is even more important are the catalogues of museum collections as well as exhibition catalogues. Against the background of these types of publications, the book published by the guardian of the Puławy collections, constitutes one of the earliest and most illustrious examples of inventorying work<sup>6</sup>. As regards what one may refer to exclusively as art collections, it is the catalogue to Wincenty Potocki's collections, compiled by his librarian Henri Amiet, that is a much earlier work; the latter one dates back to the year 1780. In fact there appeared two catalogues in the French language – both bearing a similar and extremely extended

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<sup>6</sup> The inventorying work on the early publications documenting the Polish museum collections, was carried out by a team of researchers from the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, under the supervision of Professor Dr. Tomasz F. de Rosset; the above team realized the project within the National Program of Development of the Humanities. The individual reports can be found on the project's website: [muzeumpamieci.umk.pl](http://muzeumpamieci.umk.pl) [29.09.2021].



title, beginning with the words *Museum Potocianum*; undoubtedly, the above title constituted an allusion to Michał Mniszech's conception of Museum Polonicum [Rottermund 1987, p.152]. Yet contrary to the suggestion contained in its title, the first one comprises exclusively books and maps (fig.4). Whereas the second publication was devoted exclusively to art collections, and especially to the paintings which were to be found in Potocki's Warsaw art collection<sup>7</sup>. Yet, unlike in the case of the above-discussed publication of princess Izabela Czartoryska, this catalogue does not have a preface, whereas the presentation of the individual exhibits is broken down into major schools of painting: e.g. the Italian, Flemish, Dutch, German and French. Within each school of painting, the author of the catalogue resorted to the alphabetical order of presentation, determined by the names of the artists. The catalogue entries themselves also differ from the ones to be found in the *Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy*, as besides the description of the content of a given painting, they contain data relating to the applied technique, as well as the materials used and the dimensions of the painting.

The successive catalogues of the Polish museum collections came into existence already in the 19th century. The ones which had appeared before the publication of Izabela Czartoryska's booklet, can hardly be compared with it, as they concern collections of an entirely different nature. The oldest one of them, refers to a part of the ornithological collection of the Royal University of Warsaw [Jarocki 1819]. Its author, Feliks Paweł Jarocki, preceded the publication with a dedication addressed to Stanisław Kostka Potocki as well as with a preface addressed to the readers; the purpose of the latter was to make it easier for the readers to make use of the catalogue. The catalogue itself has a sectional layout (subdivided into rows and types), and differs in this respect from the publication devoted to the Gothic House collection. A typological layout also characterizes the two-volume catalogue of the National Archives of the Kingdom of Poland, published in Krakow in the years

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<sup>7</sup> Its full title is: *Musaeum Potocianum, ou Catalogue des dessins, tableaux, miniatures, estampes, marbres, porcelaines, instrument de physique et de mathématique, et autres curiosité's. Contenues Dans le Cabinet de S. E. Mr. le Comte VINCENT POTOCKI, Duc de Zbaraz, Seigneur de Brody, Leszniow, Stanisławczyk, Radziwilow, Otenia, Oboduwka, Niemirow, et autres Lieux. Grand Chambellan de Pologne, Lieutenant Général des Armées et premier Colonel des Gardes du Corps a cheval de S. M. Staroste Gouverneur de Lublin, Krempiec, Chrzczonow, Zemborzyce, Piotrkow, etc. Chevalier des ordres de l'Aigle Blanc, et de St. Stanislas. Mis en ordre par HENRI AMIET, son Secrétaire & Bibliothécaire en sa Bibliothèque à Varsovie. A Varsovie. Chez P. Dufour Imprimeur du Roi & de la République. M. DCC. LXXX.*

1824–1825 [Powstański 1824; Powstański 1825]. In this case, it is worth adding that the inventories of the individual file types were accompanied by extremely elaborate descriptions, characterizing the resources themselves and facilitating the process of using the documents.

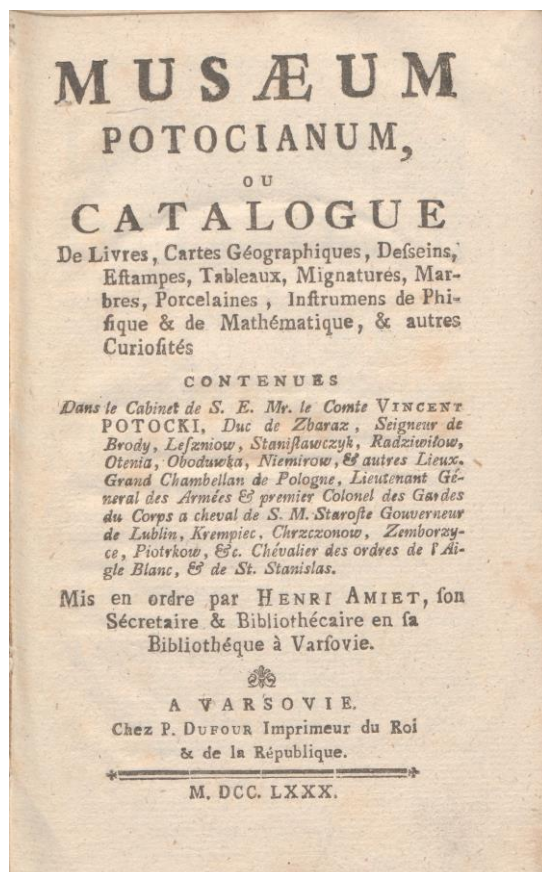


Fig. 4. Title page of the first volume of the *Musaeum Potocianum* catalogue of 1780  
Source: Digital National Library Polona

Starting from the turn of the second and third decade of the 19th century, there also began to appear catalogues from art exhibitions; the latter ones are also worth recalling in the context of the above-discussed publication of Izabela Czartoryska. The earliest publications of this type concern fundamentally almost exclusively the exhibitions organized at the University of Warsaw (other Warsaw exhibitions, as well as exhibitions held in other Polish cities, such as Krakow or Poznań, acquired catalogues already after the publication of the booklet devoted to the exhibits presented in the Gothic House in Puławy). The above-mentioned earliest Warsaw exhibition catalogues tended to be rather small-format and their volume did not as a rule exceed a dozen or so pages. In most cases, they did not contain a preface, but consisted chiefly of a numbered list of a hundred and several dozen artefacts presented at each of the exhibitions. In the majority of cases, a catalogue entry

comprised the name of a given artefact, the technique of its execution, the name of the artist who had executed it and not infrequently, information as to whose pupil the artist was. In the case of the presented copies of works executed by other artists, this fact was also brought to the attention of the readers of the catalogue.

The order in which the individual artefacts were presented in the oldest published exhibition catalogue dating back to the year 1819, seems accidental, although the arrangement may have been such, so as to facilitate the process of visiting the exhibition; however there is no information which would confirm this fact in the publication itself. The decisive majority of paintings, in comparison with other artefacts, had been interspersed here with drawings, sculptures and exhibits representing craftwork [*Dziela sztuk pięknych...* 1819]. The later publications of this type are already divided into sections – e.g. the catalogue dating back to 1821 is divided into paintings, engravings and sculptures [*Dziela sztuk pięknych...* 1821], while the catalogue which appeared two years later introduces a division into painting, drawings of the students of the Department of Painting of Warsaw University, sculpture and architectural projects [*Dziela sztuk pięknych...* 1823]. A similar arrangement is to be found in the later publications of this type; the only difference concerns the number of different sections, depending on the nature of a given exposition. For example, in the catalogue dating back to 1828, besides the works of the students of Warsaw University, one may also find the drawings of the students attending the Polytechnic school [*Dziela sztuk pięknych...* 1828]. Thus, the paradigm which had been used in the above-mentioned exhibition catalogues is significantly different from the one used in the publication devoted to the Gothic House, where the arrangement corresponded to the visiting sequence. Although the solution selected by princess Izabela was applied in some 19th century exhibition catalogues, yet these catalogues were later publications, compared to the one which is the subject of the current presentation<sup>8</sup>.

Undoubtedly the passion associated with collecting, inventorying and documenting, so characteristic of the historical movement and so close to Izabela Czartoryska's heart, had played a leading role in her activity, including also the one associated with the publication of the *Collection of Memorabilia Preserved*

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<sup>8</sup> The authoresses of the article devoted to 19th century exhibition catalogues refer to such an arrangement as a „chamber” one; according to them, the earliest example of such an arrangement is to be found in the catalogue of the „Królikarnia” painting gallery, published in Warsaw in 1835. See: Piechocka, Kida-Bosek 2017, p. 273.

*in the Gothic House in Puławy*. The earlier catalogue publications, not only Polish, but also foreign ones, could also have played a certain role in this respect. As is generally known, the princess travelled extensively visiting various European museums; she also maintained contacts with numerous museologists. Among them, with Alexandre Lenoir, the creator of the Museum of French Monuments and the author of its catalogue [Lenoir 1800–1806]. The princess kept a copy of this catalogue in Puławy and undoubtedly, she consulted this publication while compiling catalogues of her own collections [Kwiatek 2013, pp. 100–101].

In this way, we come to yet another very important issue, namely to the earlier attempts to catalogue the collections gathered in Puławy by princess Izabela Czartoryska. For one ought to bear in mind that before the appearance of the publication which is the subject-matter of the current article, there arose numerous catalogues, devoted both to the Temple of Sibil and the Gothic House. In the prevailing majority of cases, their authoress was the proprietress of the collection of monuments and works of art. It is therefore very important to be able to establish the relation between the princess' only published work devoted to the subject of the Gothic House collection and her earlier, manuscript texts devoted to this collection.

In his book devoted to the Puławy collections, all of the preserved Gothic House catalogues had been briefly discussed by Zdzisław Żygulski Jr. who distinguished among them five major manuscript works [Żygulski Jr . 2009, pp. 204–207]. The oldest volume, written down in its entirety with the hand of Izabela Czartoryska in the French language, is stored in the Princes Czartoryski Library in Krakow [BCz, Rkps 3035 III]. This extensive annotated catalogue, numbering over 500 pages (although not all of them filled in), is very important, as it constitutes a reference point for all subsequent editions, constituting its abbreviated or extended versions. The authoress tried to present the individual exhibits topographically; she also tried to enrich the presentation by including numerous, sometimes quite complex and extended historical essays. This way of interpreting the exhibits from the Gothic House collection was also characteristic of the subsequent publications.

Out of the remaining manuscript catalogues, the most important one is undoubtedly the most extensive, 3-volume one, preserved, likewise the remaining ones, in the Czartoryski Library in Krakow (fig. 5) [BCz, Rkps 2917]. It is worth stressing here that the above manuscript was mentioned in the preface to the 1828

publication as “having been completed a long time ago”, which bids one to rectify its date of completion, defined by Żygulski Jr. as occurring in the 1820–1830 time bracket [Żygulski Jr. 2009, p. 206]; similarly, the year 1828 as an approximate time of completion of the manuscript, given in the catalogue of the Princes Czartoryski Library in Krakow, appears to be somewhat belated. Yet undoubtedly it was princess Izabela’s intention to publish the above catalogue, whereas the *Collection* was to have constituted its highly abbreviated version.

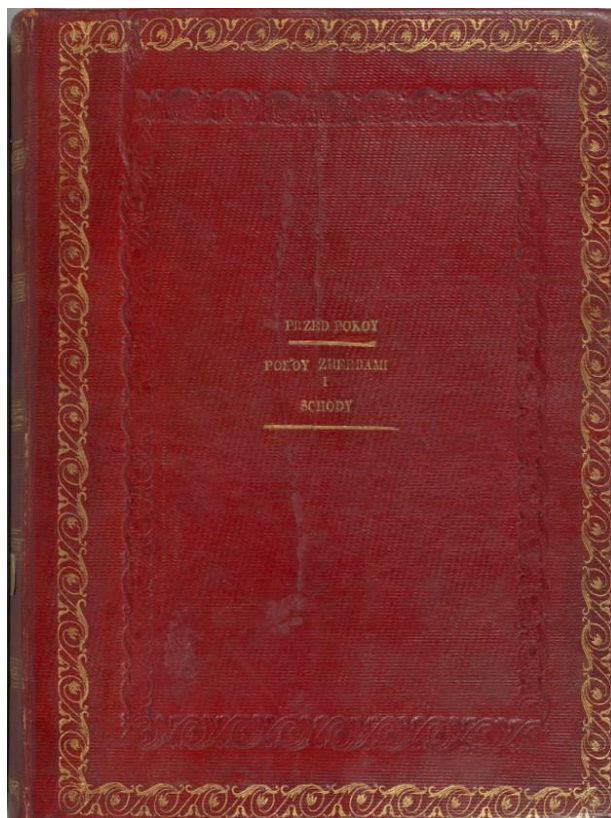


Fig. 5. The binding of the first manuscript volume of the Gothic House catalogue in Puławy authored by Izabela Czartoryska

Source: The Princes Czartoryski Library

Indeed the most obvious and striking difference between the 1828 publication and the above-mentioned catalogue is the sheer volume. The *Collection* looks very modest when confronted with the three volumes in the *folio* format, each of which consists of a few hundred pages filled tightly with fine writing (the total number of pages for the three volumes amounts to 1705). Similarly as in the earlier French version, each exhibit in the catalogue constituted, as it were, a pretext to write a little essay containing aesthetic, historiosophical, or biographical reflections or simply impressions associated with the authoress’ own experiences [Kwiattek 2013, p. 101]. Princess Czartoryska was especially interested in the well-known historical figures



and that is why right after mentioning an exhibit associated with such a figure, what followed was a very extensive biographical note; for example, such was the case with Newton, Mazarin, Racine, Moliere, Shakespeare, Copernicus and many others. Apart from kings, authors, philosophers and scientists, it was also eminent artists, such as Leonardo da Vinci, or Raphael who deserved longer biographical notes. The author of *The Lady with an Ermine*, was referred to as a “famous painter” and also “a man of many talents” [BCz, Rkps 2917, vol. 2, p. 187]. Yet, Princess Izabela must have clearly valued Raphael’s artistic achievement higher than that of Leonardo; this found its expression not only in the much more extended biographical note, but also in the words with which she started the description of his life’s achievement: “For a long time everyone has known that Raphael was the most consummate Painter and his works are the most exquisite reflection of beautiful Nature” (fig. 6) [BCz, Rkps 2917, vol. 3, s. 1].



Fig. 6. Fragment of the catalogue to the Gothic House collection in Puławy with information on Raphael

Source: *The Princes Czartoryski Library*

Generally speaking, one should emphasize here that the extensive descriptions incorporated into the catalogue under consideration, tell the reader much more about the historical interests, the artistic and the aesthetic taste of the guardian of the Puławy collection, than the *Collection* which is deprived of such and similar descriptive elements. The latter ones also point to the princess’ romantic soul which

is revealed particularly in her numerous citations concerning Cid and Chimene, the love of Abelard and Heloise or else Romeo and Juliet.

Yet in spite of everything, one may still point to certain features of the 1828 publication which were evidently borrowed from the earlier, three-volume catalogue. The most obvious borrowing is the almost word for word citation from the final fragment of the preface to the catalogue which had been incorporated into the publication under consideration in a slightly modified version. What seems even more important, is the topographical key to the presentation of the individual exhibits; the latter one to a large extent repeats the same pattern as the one adopted in the catalogue. However minor differences do occur, such as a slightly different sequence of the presentation of the individual external walls, which in the catalogue have no names of their own, taken over from the most important exhibits, but are characterized by their location, for example “on the side facing the Palace” [BCz, Rkps 2917, vol. 1, p. 17]. In the catalogue, a separate numbering system was used within each of the different sections of the exposition, whereas in the publication a continuous numbering system was applied. As regards the exhibits themselves which, apart from some exceptions, were also placed in the same order, it is worth noting the fact that in the publication one may notice a considerable number of items which were not taken into consideration in the catalogue; evidently, they must have been incorporated into the Gothic House collection already after its completion.

Apart from taking over, with some minor corrections, the same sequence of the presentation of the Gothic House collection, it is worth noting that the *Collection* also repeats the same way of describing the exhibits, quoting the name of the donor of a given object. Moreover, the above-mentioned features, such as some additional information accompanying certain entries, as well as certain evaluating comments concerning some artefacts, had also been borrowed from the catalogue (although one has to note that there are many more of such elements in the catalogue).

In conclusion, one may say that the *Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy*, owes a lot to the earlier extensive catalogue, yet it does not simply constitute its abbreviated version. A comparison of these two works shows that the authoress continually looked for the optimal manner and sequence of presenting the collection and she did not merely limit herself to simply copying the earlier inventorying methods. She also updated the description of the collection

by taking into account the changes in the location of certain exhibits (for example, those placed in the numerous cabinets in the green room which had not been taken into account in the earlier catalogues), and also introduced new acquisitions and gifts into the inventory. Yet, this does not change the fact that it was precisely this extensive catalogue, mentioned in the preface to the 1828 publication, that exerted the greatest impact on the ultimate shape of the above work, and most certainly on the very conception of its publication.

### **Izabela Czartoryska's publication against the background of the early 19th century guidebooks**

Guidebooks constitute a part of widely understood travel literature which comprises, among others, travel accounts, journals, reports, essays, diaries, and even examples of belles-lettres relating to travel [Bepler 1994, p. 184]. The contemporary definitions usually define a guidebook in a very general way, as "a book designed to help travellers" [Cuddon 1993, p. 395] or else as: "A compilation of information in printed form for the purpose of guiding travelers to places of interest" [Freitag 1996, 807]. This genre is by its very nature very eclectic and may contain in it "elements of the travel accounts, atlas, geographical survey, art-history guide, restaurant and hotel guide, tourist brochure and address book" [Koshar 1998, p. 326].

Studies of old guidebooks usually pose many difficulties associated with the fact that this type of literature underwent considerable evolutionary changes over time. The beginnings of this type of literature go back to the ancient times; it is Pausanias who is regarded as the precursor of the genre. In the 2 century AD, the latter one wrote his *Descriptions of Greece (Helládos Periēgēsis)*, a book that is considered to be the oldest example of a travel book which has been preserved intact in its entirety [Herndon 2007, p. 15]. In the Middle Ages and in the modern era, books for pilgrims, as well as accounts from travels to places of worship, such as the Holy Land, Rome, or Santiago de Compostela, were written. Many of these accounts contained elements characteristic of guidebooks, particularly advice for other pilgrims. That is precisely why it is often difficult to introduce a clear-cut demarcation line that would enable one to differentiate between the two genres [Mączak 1978, p. 32]. A similar character, however with a strongly emphasized element of the author's own experiences, is borne by modern guidebooks which had

been written in connection with educational travels undertaken by the aristocracy and gentry in the 17th and 18th centuries, within the so called *Grand Tour* [Ziarkowski 2017, p. 212].

For many centuries, the guidebook type of literature did almost totally without giving the readers any practical information or tips concerning itineraries which constitute such a characteristic element of contemporary travel guides. The first travel guides which put greater emphasis on practical advice and tips that would be of use to travellers during their journey and stay in a given place, appeared only towards the end of 18th century. An important role in this respect was played by Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard, who published his *Handbuch für Reisende aus allen Ständen* in the year 1784. The above-mentioned guidebook was subsequently rereleased a dozen or so times in French as *Guide des voyageurs en Europe*, right until the end of the first quarter of 19th century [Parsons 2007, p. 179]. Yet a genuine breakthrough took place in the 19th century together with the popularization of tourism. It was then that there arose publishing houses which specialized specifically in the “production” of guidebooks. Such was, for example the publishing house of Karl Baedeker in Germany or that of John Murray in England. Beginning with the second quarter of the 19th century, they began to serially publish their guidebooks, working out their layout and way of conveying information, which was subsequently adopted by other authors and publishers. Despite the partitions, a considerable number of guidebooks were written also on Polish territories in the analyzed period. But an even greater number of them were published in the second half of the 19th century, when there appeared publications modelled directly on the achievements of Baedeker and Murray [Ziarkowski 2019, p. 125–130].

Yet from the point of view of the topic of the present article, it is the earliest Polish nineteenth century guidebooks which began to appear in the third decade of this century, that are of greatest significance. Thus, it is Józef Wawrzyniec Krasiński's *Przewodnik dla podróżujących w Polsce i Rzeczpospolitej Krakowskiej* (Guidebook for Travelling in Poland and the Cracow Commonwealth), published in Warsaw in 1821 and a year earlier in the French language, that is regarded as the oldest Polish guidebook. Its publication in French clearly indicates that it was also targeted at foreign readers [Opaliński 2002, p. 15]. However, it is not only the early date of this publication that testifies to its pioneering role, but also the fact that its construction and content had a very modern character. The text acquaints

the reader with the biggest Polish cities (beginning with Krakow) and it provides tips as to the best way of reaching them. Moreover, the guidebook contains a lot of practical information, among others, relating to guest houses and inns, theatres, fairs, useful addresses and the local press. As the author himself admits in the introduction [Krasiński 1821, p. XI], its arrangement and layout were modelled on the afore-mentioned Reichard's publications. It is also worth mentioning that Krasiński's was the only 19th century guidebook which comprised Polish territories lying in different partitions.

The successive early Polish guidebooks concerned almost exclusively the cities, particularly Krakow and Warsaw. Merely a year after the publication of the Polish version of Krasiński's guidebook, there appeared Ambroży Grabowski's [1822] *Historyczny opis miasta Krakowa i jego okolic* (Historical Description of the City of Krakow and its Vicinities); subsequently, the guidebook was rereleased several times under the title *Krakow i jego okolice* (Krakow and its Surroundings) [Grabowski 1830, 1836, 1844, 1866]. In the year 1826, on the pages of "Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny" (The New Political Calendar), there appeared the oldest 19th century guidebook to Warsaw [Gołębiowski 1826]; a year later, the same guidebook appeared in the form of an autonomous publication [Gołębiowski 1827]. The above-mentioned publications had a more traditional character, reminiscent of a historical monography, with a thematic division into chapters and a relatively small amount of practical information.

Izabela Czartoryska's *Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy* constitutes chronologically-speaking the fifth successive 19th century Polish language guidebook-type publication and is definitely the earliest example of this type of work devoted to a museum collection [Ziarkowski 2021, p. 116]. Recognizing princess Izabela's publication as a guidebook, may raise certain doubts, if only due to the fact that it lacks practical information and guidelines for visitors. Yet, this may be explained by the relatively early date of its appearance and also by the fact that its subject-matter is limited to a single building (information concerning communication, accommodation, catering services etc. was characteristic chiefly of guidebooks encompassing a bigger surface area, e.g. that of a city or region). What seems more important in this case, is the authoress' main intention, expressed in the preface to the publication, that the book had been created with a view to reach out to the "lovers of antiquities visiting Puławy". Moreover, it is the sequence



of the presentation of content and in some cases also providing information as to the precise location of exhibits, such as e.g. “on the other side of the door leading to the office” [Czartoryska 1828, p.60], “on the table in front of the couch” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 117] or “on the shelves under the little altar” [Czartoryska 1828, p. 119], that constitute features characteristic of guidebook-type of literature. Such features, no doubt facilitate the very process of sightseeing. There can be no doubt that Izabela Czartoryska made every effort to make it easier for the visitor to the Gothic House to find his or her way around the collection with book in hand.

And although the successive Polish museum guides arose much later than princess Izabela’s publication, yet they took over from her the same formula of the catalogue which listed chronologically the exhibits placed in the individual rooms. The guide to an exhibition of antiquities held in Lviv in 1861, had precisely such a character. The arrangement which was used in it followed the sequence of the five rooms which accommodated the exhibition. Additionally, the numbers of the cabinets and glass cases which contained the exhibits had been placed along the guide’s margin [*Przewodnik wystawy starożytniczej...* 1861]. Rev. Ignacy Polkowski’s guide to the treasury of the Krakow cathedral, published for the first time in 1881, also followed a similar pattern, presenting an inventory of exhibits contained in the individual cabinets [Polkowski 1881]. Similarly as in the case of Izabela Czartoryska’s publication concerning the Puławy collection, the arrangement of the guide’s content corresponds to the order of sightseeing, which in turn is determined by the localization of the exhibits stored in the treasury.

At this point, it is also worth recalling here Wiktor Czajewski’s guide to Wilanów published in 1893; compared to the above-mentioned guides, the latter one is far more elaborate; it contains an extensive description of the local gallery of paintings and is enriched by numerous illustrations (fig. 7). Every catalogue entry contains the title or topic of the painting and sometimes it also mentions the name of the artist, the work’s localization within the palace and a brief description of the painting school which a given work had been ascribed to. Similarly as in the case of the earlier museum guides, the inventory of paintings had been divided according to their localization in the individual palace interiors. However, what is particularly interesting is the fact that the above inventory of paintings had been compiled, as the author himself admitted in the preface to his guide, “in accordance with the local palace inventory” [Czajewski 1893, p. 6]. In this context, one is struck

by the obvious similarity to the *Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy*, published 65 years earlier, which had also to a large extent been based on the earlier, unpublished catalogues of the Puławy collection.

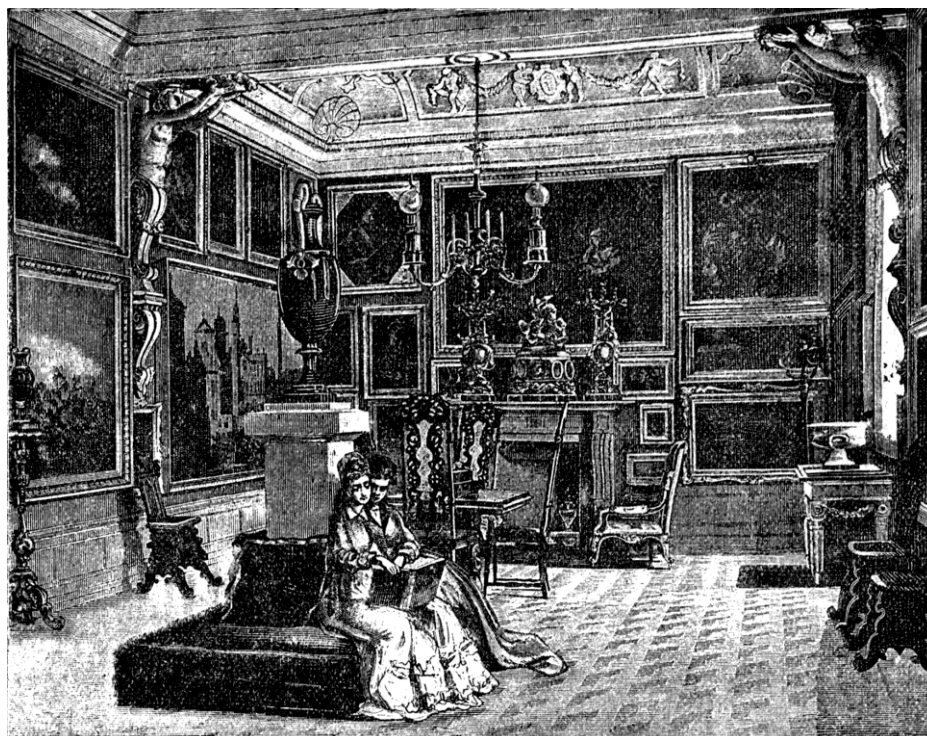


Fig. 7. One of the gallery interiors in the Wilanów palace, a wood engraving enclosed in Wiktor Czajewski's guidebook [1893]

Source: University of Warsaw Library

Therefore one may generally conclude that when publishing her *Collection*, Izabela Czartoryska created a certain model of a guide to museum collections which consisted of a descriptive part (preface) and a catalogue of artefacts, compiled in accordance with the order of sightseeing. Nearly all later publications basically repeated the same pattern, occasionally extending the first part by adding certain historical facts or some practical information which may be observed in the case of the above-mentioned Czajewski's guide, as well as in the case of Wojciech Dzieduszycki's publication on the Dzieduszycki Museum in Lviv that appeared two years later. In the preface to this unique 19th century Polish guide to natural history collections, the author wrote that he had wished to create "a booklet that would be small and would take up little space, so that it would fit in any pocket and be able to replace a human guide who is not always available" [Dzieduszycki 1895, p. V]. It seems that similarly as the other above-mentioned authors of 19th century guides, Izabela Czartoryska set out similar objectives to her own publication.

## Conclusions

The conducted analysis has proved that the discussed publication by Izabela Czartoryska, takes up an important place, both among the oldest printed Polish catalogues and inventories as well as among guides to museum collections. Without a shadow of a doubt, what constituted the main motif behind the preparation of a guide to the Puławy collection, was for princess Izabela the wish to create a complete inventory of the collection and in this context the *Collection of Memorabilia Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy* looms to one as merely a small fragment of a much more extensive work; it is, as it were, an updated excerpt from the reservoir of the earlier, much more extensive catalogues. Yet its main significance lies in the fact that, contrary to the catalogues, which remained in the form of manuscripts, this one had been published which ensured to it a much wider social reception.

Comparing Izabela Czartoryska's only publication devoted to the Puławy collection with other printed catalogues, reveals a certain dissimilarity of her publication, consisting in the fact that Izabela's collection is presented in a topographical, rather than a sectional manner. This feature, derived most probably from Lenoir's catalogue, was also very useful and desirable from the point of view of making use of the publication during the actual process of visiting the Puławy collections. This aspect must have been very important for the princess as while tracing the successive catalogues of the Gothic House, one may observe various attempts to optimize the manner of presenting the collection. Thus, the 3-volume catalogue may pride itself on a much more informed order of juxtaposing the exhibits as well as more precise information than the earlier catalogues, in which the location of a given exhibit was not always indicated. As was shown in the article, the method of presenting the exhibits in the *Collection*, was still a little different while the amount of useful information conveyed to the visitors was broadened. Thanks to this, the publication may be regarded at the same time as a catalogue, as well as a tourist guide which constitutes the oldest Polish guidebook-type publication devoted to museum collections.

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## **Katalog czy przewodnik? Izabeli Czartoryskiej *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu gotyckim w Puławach***

**Abstrakt:** XIX wiek był okresem, w którym zaznaczyło się silne zainteresowanie dziedzictwem kulturowym, kolekcjonerstwem dzieł sztuki, dokumentacją zabytków oraz ich ochroną. Jednocześnie na niespotykaną wcześniej skalę rozwijała się turystyka, a jednym z najważniejszych magnesów przyciągających turystów stały się miasta historyczne, zabytki i muzea. Owo zespolenie dziedzictwa kulturowego z turystyką jest doskonale widoczne w dziewiętnastowiecznych przewodnikach turystycznych. Autorzy i wydawcy tych publikacji, w tym tak uznani jak Karl Baedeker oraz John Murray, dużą wagę przykładali do opisywania kulturowych atrakcji poszczególnych krajów, miast i obszarów.

Na ziemiach polskich fascynacje zabytkami przeszłości realizowały się przede wszystkim w ramach badań historycznych, a także poprzez organizację wystaw, inwentaryzację zabytków oraz popularyzację wiedzy o nich, dokonywaną m.in. na łamach ówczesnej prasy oraz przewodników turystycznych. Zainteresowanie spuścizną kulturową miało głęboką podbudowę narodową, gdyż w omawianym okresie Polska nie miała własnej państwowości, którą utraciła w wyniku rozbiorów dokonanych w ciągu drugiej połowy XVIII wieku. W 1801 roku w Puławach powstało najstarsze polskie muzeum udostępnione do publicznego zwiedzania. Jego założycielką była księżna Izabela Czartoryska, która samodzielnie zajmowała się katalogowaniem własnych zbiorów, a w 1828 roku wydała książkę zatytułowaną *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach*. W artykule przeprowadzona została analiza tego opracowania, która wykazała jego powiązania zarówno z powstającymi w podobnym czasie katalogami zbiorów muzealnych, jak i z przewodnikami turystycznymi. Wydaje się, że publikacja księżnej Izabeli, która bez wątpienia zajmuje ważne miejsce w dziejach polskiego muzealnictwa, mogła z powodzeniem spełniać obie te funkcje.

**Słowa kluczowe:** muzealnictwo, przewodniki turystyczne, Izabela Czartoryska, Puławy, XIX wiek