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## GUIDEBOOKS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ART IN THE POLISH LANDS OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** Former guidebooks are an important category of historical source that allows for the reconstruction of many aspects of the history of tourism. The dynamic development of guidebook literature began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when a modern type with descriptions according to routes and containing much practical information was developed. The guidebooks also presented a lot of other information of a general nature, such as geography, ethnology, natural science, as well as descriptions of monuments and works of art. The importance of Polish guidebooks for writing about art is very high yet underestimated. The aim of this paper is to define the role that these publications played in the field of artistic historiography, and to indicate the relationships between the guidebooks and the development of academic research on art. These problems are undoubtedly an interesting area of interdisciplinary relation between the historical development of tourism and academia, with a particular focus on art history in this case.

**Keywords:** travel guidebooks, history of tourism, history of art, 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Tourist guidebooks represent a separate literary genre dating back to ancient times, with the oldest surviving example being the Pausanias' famous *Tēs Hellados periēgēsis* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. In the Middle Ages, the role of guidebooks was played by instructions for pilgrims and descriptions of marvels (*mirabilia*), while in the early modern era, guidebooks were used mainly by aristocrats undertaking educational expeditions within a Grand Tour (Cuddon, 1993, pp. 395-396). The modern form of guidebook, containing not only a description of a given country or city, but also proposals for sight-seeing tours and a great deal of practical information, appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the publishing activity of J. Murray II (1778-1843) and K. Baedeker (1801-1859), followed by others (Palmowski, 2002, p. 109; Zuelow, 2016, p. 78).

Polish guidebooks began to be produced from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest concerned the churches of Kraków, such as *Przewodnik abo kościołów krakowskich krótkie opisanie* [A Guide, or a short description of Kraków's churches] from 1603, which is the oldest Polish work with the word 'guide' in the title

(Duda, 1996, p. 55). An extended version of this work was published in 1647 as *Stołecznego miasta Krakowa kościoły i klejnoty* [Churches and jewels of the capital city of Kraków]. It was reprinted as the *Klejnoty stołecznego miasta Krakowa* [Jewels of the capital city of Kraków] in 1650, 1745 and 1861 (Bieniarzówna, 1974, pp. 12-13; Rożek, 1986, pp. 51-52). Furthermore, a guidebook to Warsaw written in verse by A. Jarzębski was published in 1643 (Jarzębski, 1643; see also the edition with an academic commentary by W. Tomkiewicz: Jarzębski, 1974). Similar to other European countries, a more lively development of Polish guidebook writing took place in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Historians, cultural and tourism researchers are much more likely to study old travel guides than art historians. This seems strange, given that these publications usually contain a lot of information about monuments, museums and works of art, allowing them to be considered in the context of artistic historiography. Consequently, in this approach, art was described in a general way, but only in the appropriate entry published in the *Dictionary of Art* (Freitag, 1996). In works on the

history of art, guidebooks tend to appear occasionally. With a global view of the history of this discipline, references are made only to Pausanias (Kultermann, 1993, p. 3) and J. Burckhardt (1818-1897) whose extensive work *Der Cicerone* (1855) can be treated as a guide to Italian art (Kasperowicz, 2007, p. 305, 2011, p. VII; Kultermann, 1993, pp. 96-97). In Polish writing on art, the only cited guidebooks are those written by A. Grabowski (1782-1868) on Kraków and its surroundings (Bochnak, 1948, pp. 6-7; Górczyński, 1912, p. 47; Małkiewicz, 2005, p. 28). The fact that the authors of the guidebooks were often art researchers tends to be almost unnoticed: first 'antiquity researchers', such as the aforementioned Grabowski in Kraków, F.M. Sobieszczański (1813-1878) in Warsaw, A.H. Kirkor (1818-1886) in Vilnius, or A. Schneider (1828-1880) in Lviv, followed by art historians such as W. Łuszczkiewicz (1828-1900), the author of the best 19<sup>th</sup> century guide to Kraków and its surroundings (Łuszczkiewicz, 1875).

The aim of this paper is to attempt to determine the significance of Polish 19<sup>th</sup> century guides for the artistic historiography of the time, and to indicate the relationship between guidebooks and the development of academic research on art. The basic thesis assumes that Polish guidebooks were not produced in isolation from contemporary art research, but on the contrary they were closely related, thus co-creating the mainstream of writing on art. The focus of the research is on selected guidebooks produced until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Polish lands, i.e. in the area within the pre-partition boundaries. The research covered mainly publications containing a large quantity of historical and artistic information, i.e. those concerning cities, particular monuments and museums (a list of the guidebooks analysed, covering about 60 items, is included in the list of references at the end of this paper).

The basic method used in such research on 19<sup>th</sup> century guides was an analysis of their texts, both in quantitative terms (how often and how much was written on monuments and works of art) and qualitative terms (relating in particular to the method of description, the concepts used, stylistic terminology, etc.). Furthermore, comparative methods were employed, useful in referring various guidebooks to each other, and to a determination of the impact of academic publications (first historical and those concerning antiquity research, then also historical and art publications) on the contents of the guidebooks.

Apart from the research on sources, numerous contemporary academic works on guidebooks (both Polish and foreign) were also used. Although they rarely refer to the importance of guidebooks on the development of writing about art, the information contained in these publications allows a broader context of the problems examined to be outlined. The use of the findings of researchers dealing with the history of artistic histori-

ography is expected to achieve such aims. The general picture of the development of the knowledge they provided about art in the Polish lands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was set against the conclusions drawn from an analysis of the historical and artistic contents included in the guidebooks.

## 2. SOURCE DESCRIPTION

More than 150 Polish guidebooks were produced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, very diverse in their form, content, volume and spatial range. As the survey showed, the vast majority (about 140 publications) concerned the Polish lands. The largest group were travel guides to large cities such as Kraków, Warsaw, Lviv, Vilnius and Poznań (Opaliński, 2013, p. 73). Furthermore, guides to smaller towns (especially health resorts), specific regions (mostly mountainous) and specific sites, especially monuments, had also begun to be produced. Guidebooks in Polish devoted to selected European countries or more often only to cities such as Paris, Vienna, Rome and Prague were also published, although they were not very numerous (Ziarkowski, 2018, p. 30).

Obviously, from the point of view of artistic historiography, the most important were guidebooks to cities, monuments and museums. Chronologically, the earliest Polish 19<sup>th</sup> century guidebook was by J.W. Krasieński (1783-1845), published in 1820 in French, and a year later also in Polish (Fig. 1). It was the only guidebook covering the most important cities of Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland, and also describing the road links between them. The breakthrough of Krasieński's study was that it had a very modern character in terms of its structure and content. The author attempted to ensure the usefulness of his work by publishing much practical information (e.g. about guest houses, theatres, fairs, useful addresses and local newspapers). The study also included characteristics of the most important monuments located in the cities described (Merski, Piotrowski, 2010, pp. 33-34).

Noteworthy among guidebooks to cities are the *baedekers* on Kraków, and this concerns not only their number, but also the early date of the oldest publication. Their production was initiated by the above-mentioned A. Grabowski, who published, in 1822, *Historyczny opis miasta Krakowa i jego okolic* [Historical description of the city of Kraków and its surroundings]. This book was very popular among both the inhabitants of Kraków and visitors, and therefore it was later reprinted several times under the changed title *Kraków i jego okolice* [Kraków and its surroundings].<sup>2</sup> Subsequent editions of Grabowski's publications represented a model for future guidebooks, with authors not only presenting specific information, but also using a common writing struc-

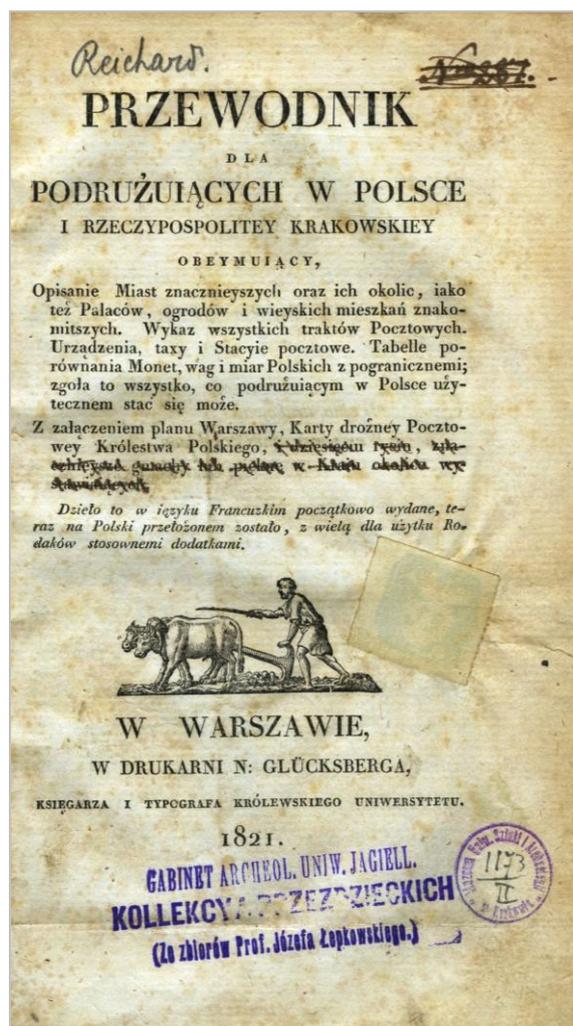


Fig. 1. Title page of *Przewodnik dla podróżujących w Polsce i Rzeczypospolitej Krakowskiej* [Guide for travellers in Poland and the Republic of Kraków] by J. W. Krasieński from 1821. Source: A copy from the collection of Józef Łepkowski, currently in the Library of the Institute of Art History at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków

ture about the city, first reconstructing its history, then describing the most important monuments, and finally the city's surroundings. Other important 19<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks to Kraków include those written by Mączyński (1854), Miltner (1861), Łuszczkiewicz (1875), Bartoszewicz (1882, 1890) and Kleczkowski (1883a, 1883b).

The oldest 19<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks devoted to Warsaw date back to its third decade. *Przewodnik po Warszawie* [Guide to Warsaw] by J. Glücksberg from 1826 is sometimes regarded as the oldest guidebook published, but in this case the title is misleading. A comprehensive work, produced as part of a calendar, gives information for visitors and cannot be considered a guide (Cieplowski, 2001, p. 206). In the same year, *Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny* [New Political Calendar], published a comprehensive *Opis historyczno-statystyczny miasta stołecznego Warszawy* [Historical and statistical

description of the capital city of Warsaw] by Ł. Gołębiowski (1773-1849), containing all the most important elements of a guide. It is worth noting that a year later, an extended version was published in the form of a separate book in a small format consisting of 252 pages (Gołębiowski, 1827). Further guidebooks to the most important city of Congress Poland were published in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Sołtan, 1998, p. 16). The most significant works included those by Sobieszcański (1857), Fryze & Chodorowicz (1873), Gomulicki & Szmideberg (1880), and Czajewski (1892, 1893, 1896). Furthermore, Warsaw guidebooks include *Przewodnik ilustrowany po Warszawie, Łodzi i okolicach fabrycznych* [An illustrated guide to Warsaw, Łódź and its industrial district] from 1897, as it mainly concerned the first of the cities mentioned in the title (fewer than forty out of 401 pages of the text were devoted to Łódź).

Other historical Polish cities became the subject of guides much less frequently. The oldest guidebooks concerning cities other than Kraków and Warsaw were published significantly later. Chronologically, the first to be mentioned is *Obraz miasta Lublina* [Portrait of the City of Lublin] by Sierpiński (1839, second edition: 1843), as well as guidebooks to Vilnius, produced by A.H. Kirkor: the original under the pseudonym Jan ze Śliwina (1856, 1859), and the second under his own name (Kirkor, 1862, 1880, 1889). In Lviv, early guides were produced by Błotnicki & Schneider (1871), Schneider alone (1875) and Kunasiewicz (1874, 1876, 1878). Other guidebooks were published at the end of the century in connection with the Polish General Exhibition in Lviv (Hollender, 1894; *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lwowie...* [The illustrated guide to Lviv...], 1894). Until the end of the century, only a few guides to the historical cities of the region of Greater Poland such as Gniezno and Poznań were written (Antoniewicz, 1882; Gdeczyk, 1877, 1891; Kozłowski, 1893, 1898). Individual guidebooks were also devoted to Częstochowa (Skimborowicz, 1847; Romanowski, 1893), Pelplin (Frydrychowicz, 1895) and Sopot (Radzyński, 1892).

City guidebooks are closely linked to works with a narrower thematic scope, focused on selected monuments (or historical complexes) and museums. This group is much less numerous since it includes only a dozen or so items published by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most of them were devoted to Wawel Castle (Milkowski, 1881; Polkowski, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1887; *Przewodnik po katedrze...* [Guide to the Cathedral...], 1863, 1870), and individual works were about Jasna Góra Monastery (Lompa, 1860), Poznań Cathedral (Dorszewski, 1886), Powązki Cemetery in Warsaw (Zieliński, 1889), Wilanów Palace (Czajewski, 1893), as well as the museum collections of the Czartoryski family in Puławy (Czartoryska, 1828) and the Dzieduszycki family in Lviv (Dzieduszycki, 1895).

An important place among the 19<sup>th</sup> century Polish guidebooks was occupied by quite numerous regional and health resort publications. The former concentrated mainly on mountainous areas, especially on the Tatras and Podhale. Szczawnica and Krynica were the most frequently described health resorts, but other Carpathian spas (Iwonicz, Rabka, Żegiestów) and villages located in Congress Poland (Busko, Naęczów, Ojców) were also the subject of single works. Due to the much smaller amount of information on art, these guides will not be discussed in detail.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. HISTORICAL AND ARTISTIC CONTENT IN GUIDEBOOKS

Information about works of architecture and art represents an inherent part of 19<sup>th</sup> century travel guides, often having a dominant role in their content. Specific schemes for describing cities and monuments were gradually extended by a richer and richer historical and artistic terminology (especially stylistic phrases), and attempts were made to overcome the initially dominant perception of monuments almost only in the context of historical evidence. The guides also imposed specific artistic tastes, containing evaluations of individual works and entire artistic periods, whereas their wide social impact made them an important factor in the process of shaping the canons of national monuments.

In the case of the dominating city guidebooks, there is a noticeable evolution in the method of presenting their monuments. The thematic structure of the oldest publications first presenting the history, then describing monuments thematically (for example, churches, Orthodox churches, palaces, etc.), and finally describing the city's surroundings. Sometimes particularly important areas, monuments or institutions were discussed in separate chapters. A. Grabowski, among others, adopted such a structure in his guides to Kraków. In the following chapters, the author produced an overall description of the history of the city, followed by a general topographical description and one for Kraków Academy, Wawel Royal Castle (Fig. 2), a huge number of churches and the bishop's palace. In the final part there was information about the surroundings of Kraków. This structure, already adopted in the oldest publication (Grabowski, 1822), was then repeated in other, increasingly extensive, editions. The oldest guides to other cities were produced based on a similar approach concerning, among others, Ł. Gołębiowski's works on Warsaw and S.Z. Sierpiński's on Lublin.

An alternative solution was to create descriptions according to proposed tour routes which undoubtedly



Fig. 2. Wawel Royal Castle, east view, woodcut  
Source: Grabowski (1866)

made it easier for the user to explore a given city or area. This type of narration was initiated partly by Krasieński (1821) who described the routes between particular towns and villages included in his guide. However, the descriptions of the cities themselves were of a thematic nature. In the case of more important locations, such as Kraków and Warsaw, they included a list of important monuments (secular and sacred), practical information (concerning options for accommodation and other services), and eventually a description of the surroundings. In the case of smaller towns, the descriptions were much more perfunctory and limited to what was worth seeing according to the author.

Guides to Polish cities, in which a description of monuments according to sightseeing routes was made, started to appear from the beginning of the second half of the century. The earliest example is Mączyński's *Kraków dawny i teraźniejszy* [Kraków of yesterday and today] (1854), in which the author, after providing a handful of preliminary pieces of information, suggested visiting the square, then the surrounding streets, and then a walk towards Wawel Hill, finally describing the remaining districts of the city and its surroundings. Similar guidance for the reader using proposed routes was used by Kirkor in his oldest guidebooks concerning Vilnius (Jan ze Śliwin, 1856, 1859). Interestingly, in his later works, the author withdrew from this arrangement, opting for a more traditional thematic structure. In Kraków, numerous guidebooks were published according to this more modern layout, initiated by Mączyński. Miltner's (1861), and especially Łuszczkiewicz's (1875), works became important models in this respect. Occasionally, however, the thematic layout was continued for a long time, perhaps sanctified by the authority of Grabowski. This is evidenced by the guidebook written by Dąbrowski (1899), in which the monuments listed in a separate chapter were described in alphabetical order.

In addition to Kraków, Lviv was undoubtedly one of the pioneers in the introduction of a more guidebook-like system for the description of monuments. In this context, *Przechadzki archeologiczne po Lwowie* [Archaeological walks around Lviv] by Kunasiewicz (1874, 1876), was arranged, as suggested by the title, according to proposed routes, and some later works, such as *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lwowie* [An illustrated guide to Lviv] (1894), are worth mentioning.

In cities outside Galicia, changes in this field were slower. Consequently, the conventional thematic structure was maintained for almost the entire 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was the case, among others, in Warsaw. Considered to be the first modern guide to the city, Sobieszcański's work from 1857 had such a structure, whereas its 'modernity' was marked mainly by the multitude of practical information that the author presented at the very beginning. The creators of other guidebooks to the capital followed this course. A certain breakthrough was marked only by a guidebook produced by the publishing house of 'Wędrowiec' (*Ilustrowany przewodnik po Warszawie...* [An illustrated guide to Warsaw...], 1893). Although the description of the city was divided according to districts, the text in each guidebook 'guided' the reader along a specific route and not according to thematic concept.<sup>4</sup> Fewer guides were published in Poznań and therefore it is unsurprising that they did not adapt new solutions to the narration but consistently followed a thematic layout.<sup>5</sup>

From the standpoint of artistic historiography, however, the order of the description of monuments and works of art is not the most important issue to be addressed. The important point is that the 19<sup>th</sup> century guides contained a great deal of historical and artistic content. What is also important is the way in which buildings and artistic works were described and what was paid special attention to when describing their characteristics. This shows very clearly how architecture and art were perceived at the time and what was considered particularly attractive for tourists. The analysis of descriptions of monuments and works of art can also be a source of information about the issues the authors of guidebooks had related to writing about art, evaluation of individual works of art, and choice of appropriate terms, especially stylistic. Focusing on these issues also makes it possible, as in the case of the layout of the description, to see a certain evolution, expressed in the gradual reduction of historical information in favour of improving descriptions and introducing more professional terms. In this process, specific items of guidebooks with breakthrough significance can be indicated. Importantly, their authors were most often the art researchers of those days.

The oldest 19<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks provided readers with historical information about the monuments,

often enriched with admiration for the past and the importance of national heritage. The publication of J.W. Krasieński contains, for example, the following sentence on Kraków's cathedral on Wawel Hill:

Like the Capitoline Hill for the Romans or the Pantheon for the French, this sacred sanctuary was important to the hearts of Poles, with a composition of the most expensive and glorious relics of the happiness, greatness and glory of the Nation (Krasieński, 1821, p. 3).

What is striking in these oldest guidebooks is the almost complete lack of description of the appearance of the buildings and the furnishings. The description of a given monument was usually limited to information on its historical value, or mentioning its 'antique' features, and finally to the addition of positive epithets. A lot of such perfunctory information about the monuments of Kraków can be found in the guidebooks of Ambroży Grabowski, who wrote about the *Sukiennice* [Cloth Hall]: "This antique and noteworthy building, with a Gothic structure" (Grabowski, 1822, p. 53). The researcher focused almost entirely on the presentation of the history of the described monuments. Similar tendencies can be found in other early guidebooks, such as the description of Warsaw by Gołębiowski<sup>6</sup>, or the oldest guide to Lublin by Sierpiński. In the latter, some descriptive parts did appear, especially concerning the cathedral. The author wrote:

This building would decorate the best capitals of Europe, six huge columns of the Doric order carrying a large gallery, and above them, two high towers looming majestically. The inner walls with semi-columns in the Ionic order, decorated with masterpieces by Józef Majer in 1757 in the taste of the Italian fresco (Sierpiński, 1839, p. 38).

In general, the quotations mentioned above exhaust the unimpressive collection of stylistic terms appearing in guidebooks of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. 'Gothic structure' (Grabowski)<sup>7</sup> or 'Gothic taste', and less often 'Italian taste' were the terms used occasionally at that time (Krasieński, 1821, p. 23). The names of the Greek orders were also known, which, apart from the quoted part from Sierpiński's guidebook, had already appeared in Gołębiowski's work (1827, p. 99, 108 and p. 130). However, the old buildings and other monuments were mostly referred to by the universal term 'antique'. Another characteristic feature of these guidebooks was the desire to enumerate as many elements of the furnishings of churches and palaces as possible, often with an indication of the artist or founder but, as in the case of architecture, without a detailed description. The attention of some authors (including Grabowski and Gołębiowski, and a little later Mączyński and Kirkor) was also drawn to inscriptions on tombstones

(often presented in guides), and coats of arms, with identification attempted.

The characteristics indicated so far remained in many 19<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks until the end of the century. For example, Gdeczyk (1877, 1891) in his guidebook devoted mainly to the cathedral (Fig. 3) continued to focus on historical information, while enumerating the ‘monuments’ that adorned churches, and quoting inscriptions. The author of the guide to Poznań which was published at the end of the century, uses the term ‘antique’ occasionally, mentioning for example a “noteworthy antique holy water basin in the Romanesque style” in the former-Dominican church (Kozłowski, 1893, p. 16).

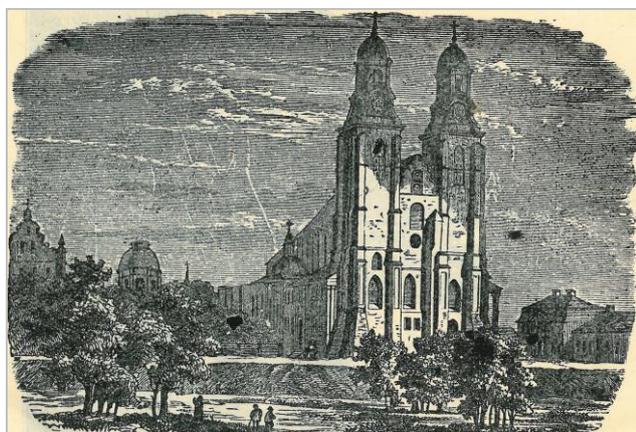


Fig. 3. Gniezno Cathedral, woodcut  
Source: Gdeczyk (1877)

Gradually, however, new elements appeared in the methods used to describe monuments and their styles. As far as the first of these aspects is concerned, it is worth noting the early attempts made by Kirkor in his *Przechadzki po Wilnie* [Walks around Vilnius] to describe the most important monuments in an accurate and relatively comprehensive manner. Particularly noteworthy is the description of the cathedral (Fig. 4), which was very clearly structured, first encompassing the general layout of the building, then its dimensions given in ells, a detailed description of the façade (called by the author “facyata”), and its divisions into interiors, vaults, and finally, furnishings (Jan ze Śliwina, 1856, pp. 16-19). It is also important to note that Kirkor used many specialist terms, such as ‘pillars, or square poles’, pilasters, columns, cornices and mouldings. In turn, altars, tombstones, sculptures and paintings were not described by Kirkor in more detail, but only enumerated. The author used hardly any stylistic terms at all (he gradually introduced them in his later guides), which distinguishes his publications from contemporary ones for Kraków and Warsaw.

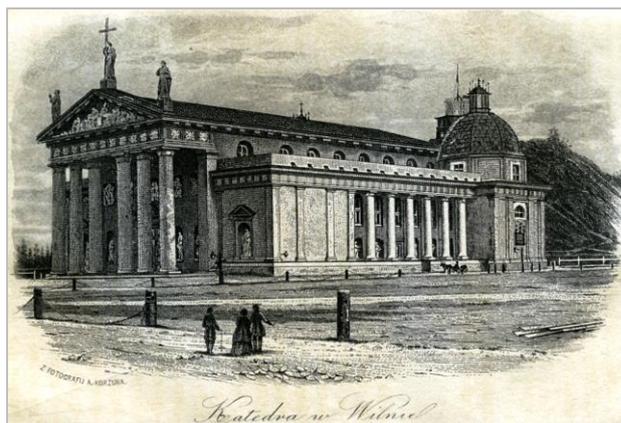


Fig. 4. Vilnius Cathedral, lithograph  
Source: Kirkor (1862)

The earliest guidebooks to use stylistic terms on a larger scale include the works of Mączyński and Sobieszczański. They introduced a number of new terms in addition to the previously used ‘Gothic’. Mączyński’s guide to Kraków contained, among others, an early example of using the Romanesque style (identified with the Byzantine), which appeared during the description of the church of St. Andrew with a rather insightful enumeration of its characteristics. The author found that this monument

[...] preserved the characteristic of its distant antiquity, because we can see the signs of the pre-Gothic style called Byzantine or Romanesque in the towers or in the windows, supported by thin pillars through the vault, or in such a finishing of the church that there are small semi-circular arcades under the hemispherical cornice (Mączyński, 1854, p. 44).

Renaissance works were described as made to Italian taste, in Renaissance style or, most often, in ‘Sigismund style’. The latter, as the author explained, was to be the Polish equivalent of the Renaissance, and owes its name to the architecture and decoration of Sigismund Chapel (Mączyński, 1854, p. 155). ‘Sigismund style’ was also used by Mączyński to define later works such as the tombstone of King Stephen Báthory, made by the sculptor S. Gucci, a Kraków burgher (Mączyński, 1854, p. 146). Works dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were most often perceived as having been produced during the period of the collapse of art. This is illustrated, among others, by a fragment of the description of the chapel of Bishop Konarski, in which “Konarski has a tombstone in the beautiful Sigismund style, while Szaniawski’s tombstone is in a spoiled 18<sup>th</sup> century style” (Mączyński, 1854, p. 153).

Many stylistic terms appeared in Sobieszczański’s guide to Warsaw from 1857, and especially in his chapter on the monuments of the city, published in Fryze & Cho-

dorowicz's guide. Sobieszczański used such terms as *ostrolukowy* (pointed-arch) style, which he identified with Gothic, and the style or taste of the Renaissance (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 4). Interestingly, the latter term was also used to refer to neo-classical Baroque buildings, such as the church of the Benedictine Nuns of the Blessed Sacrament, which was supposed to represent the Tuscan style similar to the Church of the Transfiguration of Christ (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 7). In addition, Sobieszczański used the term 'classical style', which included some buildings from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Holy Cross Church) and much later, e.g. a palace in Łazienki Park (Fig. 5). The names of the great historical styles were also used to describe 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings such as the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity in the Renaissance style (Sobieszczański, 1857, p. 10), in the classic style (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 15), or the Church of St. Stanislaus the Martyr in the Romanesque style (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 14). Interestingly, Sobieszczański avoided the terms Baroque and Rococo, although he undoubtedly knew them, as evidenced by individual examples of their use. About the Church of St. Joseph Protection (Visitandines), this author wrote that "it belongs to the Rococo" (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 12), while the parish church in Wilanów was described as "Italian Renaissance", but "falling somewhat into Baroque" (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 97).



Fig. 5. Palace in Łazienki Park, steel engraving  
Source: Sobieszczański (1857)

A publication by Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, concerning Kraków and its surroundings, was of great importance to Polish guidebook literature. This well-known painter and art researcher made many supplements and corrections to the information provided by previous authors. Although his descriptions of the most important monuments are overall, they are also comprehensive and very professional. They abound in numerous stylistic terms, including 'barocco', which is synonymous

with the degradation of art, an example of which can be found, among others, in the description of the interior of Wawel's Vasa Dynasty Chapel, a glaring "bad taste of ornaments in the taste of barocco" (Łuszczkiewicz, 1875, p. 52). It should be emphasized that Łuszczkiewicz's guide became a model for later publications of this type, similar to Sobieszczański's texts that inspired authors of guides to Warsaw.

This ensured a relatively high level of quality for the guides to these cities, especially because some of their writers were professionally or, more often than not, only amateurishly interested in arts. The best example in this respect is *Przewodnik po Krakowie i okolicy* [Guide to Kraków and its surroundings] (1891), a co-authored work edited by J. Rostafiński, in which descriptions of monuments and a chapter entitled "On the styles of Kraków's monuments" were prepared by an art historian W. Demetrykiewicz (1859-1937).<sup>8</sup> In Warsaw, the conceptual apparatus developed by Sobieszczański was taken over and enriched by W. Czajewski (1857-1922), who additionally undertook to classify the paintings in the Wilanów gallery. Each of them was accompanied by a letter marking its school: Bologna, French, Flemish, Florence, Dutch, Spanish, German, Old German, Neapolitan, Roman, Italian or Venetian (Czajewski, 1893, p. 108 and further).

In guides to other cities, the development of the description of monuments and works of art was somewhat slower, but a gradual evolution can also be seen, especially in the use of stylistic terms. In the guide to Lviv by Schneider from the mid-1870s, such terms were quite often found. The term Byzantine was particularly frequently used because the author used it both to characterize orthodox church architecture, for example, a Wallachian orthodox church or an Armenian cathedral (in the latter case, as a mixed Armenian-Byzantine style; Schneider, 1875, p. 66), and as a synonym for the Romanesque. In a short description of the church of Our Lady of the Snows, it is stated that it is "the oldest monument of the buildings in Lviv, erected around 1342 in a half Byzantine, half Gothic style" (Schneider, 1875, p. 68). The works of modern architecture, regardless of the time of their creation, were usually described as produced in the Italian style, although, for example, the Jesuit church from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was considered to have been erected in the Renaissance style (Schneider, 1875, p. 65).

Guidebooks published at the end of the century were usually characterized by an extensive conceptual apparatus, which, it can be assumed, was adopted not only from previous guidebooks, but from academic works such as monographs on individual cities or monuments. These issues will be discussed in more detail later in this paper.

#### 4. GUIDEBOOKS IN LIGHT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART RESEARCH

The findings made so far lead to an overall reconstruction, based on the literature on the subject, of the development of art research in Poland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Using this background, it will be possible to demonstrate the extent to which travel guides kept pace with the development of historical and art research and to attempt to determine the relationships between such research and the content of guidebooks.

In Poland, the development of research on old art was severely hampered by the political situation and the partitions that divided the country. Nevertheless, in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century already, the 'antiquity research' movement began to develop, with its origins stemming from the historicism of the Stanisław II Augustus period and the collecting passions of the time (Kowalczyk, 1981, p. 157). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 'antiquity research' was also referred to as archaeology or national archaeology, whereas the researchers were characterized by a wide range of interests including, apart from the arts, other manifestations of culture (Polanowska, 1995, p. 22 and p. 37). A particularly characteristic feature of 'antiquity research' was the approach to monuments primarily in terms of historical documents. This was in line with the postulate of the eminent scholar J. Lelewel (1786-1861) who divided historical sources into three categories: oral accounts, written accounts and 'memorials' (*pomniki*), which he sometimes alternately called 'monuments' (*zabytki*) (Polanowska, 1995, p. 48). Ż. Pauli (1814-1895) wrote about the subordinating of 'antiquity research' to history in 1840:

Antiquity, as the first attitude in the history of every nation, is undeniably one of the most interesting and important academic subjects. It familiarizes the researcher with many interesting details of the past and provides the writer or the artist with faithful image of the home and public life of his ancestors (Pauli, 1840, foreword).

The most important 'antiquity works' are maintained in this spirit, with the dominant contribution being historical information about monuments. These include comprehensive monographs, such as the two-volume *Opis starożytnej Polski* [Description of ancient Poland] by Święcki (1816, second edition: 1828), *Starożytna Polska* [Ancient Poland] by Baliński & Lipiński (three volumes published in 1843-1846) or the work by Wiślicki (vols 1-2: 1850; vol. 3: 1853).

Obviously, more detailed works were also written produced by historians, philologists, aestheticians and geographers interested in art. In Kraków, Grabowski, a self-taught historian, already mentioned many times, made the greatest contribution in this field. Other partic-

ularly active historians included J.S. Bandkie (1768-1833) and J. Muczkowski (1795-1858). The theory of art and the issues of preparing a record of monuments were explored by K. Kremer (1812-1860), an architect and brother of the well-known scholar, J. Kremer (1806-1875), who taught aesthetics and history of art at the School of Fine Arts. Also worth mentioning is the geographer and traveller W. Pol (1807-1872) (Ślewiński, 1956, pp. 267-270).

Warsaw 'antiquity researchers' around the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were also strong including A. Przewdziecki (1814-1871), E. Rastawiecki (1804-1874), J. Bartoszewicz (1821-1870), B. Podczaszyński (1822-1876), K. Stronczyński (1809-1896) and F.M. Sobieszczański (Kowalczyk, 1981, p. 166). It is worth mentioning that Stronczyński became famous as the head of the delegation responsible for recording the monuments of the Kingdom of Poland conducted in 1844-1855.<sup>9</sup> Sobieszczański, a key figure also in the context of Warsaw travel guides, prepared the first overall view of Polish art, published in two volumes in the 1840s (Sobieszczański, 1847, 1849).

'Antiquity research' developed in the region of Greater Poland as well, and an important body of texts on monuments was in the magazine "*Przyjaciel Ludu*" [Friend of the People] published from 1839 to 1849. Authors whose articles were published in this journal included historian J. Moraczewski (1802-1855), founder of the Society of National Antiquity Collectors in Szamotuły (it operated in 1840-1846), and initiator of the publication of a two-volume encyclopaedia *Starożytności polskie* [Polish Antiquities] (1842-1852). It is also worth mentioning Count E. Raczyński (1786-1845), author of *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski* [Memories of Greater Poland] (1842), which contained descriptions and drawings of monuments from that region, and his protégé, historian J. Łukaszewicz (1799-1873), dealing with the history of Poznań and churches from its diocese. In Poznań, K. Żupański's bookstore operated dynamically, publishing, among others, Lelewel's work on medieval doors in Płock and Gniezno (1857). In the year of publication of this work, the Poznań Society of Friends of Science was also established which in its yearbook published texts on art monuments (Karłowska-Kamzowa, 1996).

A significant problem in 'antiquity research' was that it mostly did not treat monuments and works of art as autonomous objects of research, concentrating rather, as mentioned earlier, on the reconstruction of their history. Attempts were sometimes made to make art the main subject of academic work but their authors had to struggle with the lack of methodology for historical-artistic research and the insufficiency of professional terminology in Polish. A very early example is the work *O sztuce u dawnych, czyli Winkelman polski* [On art in the past: a Polish Winkelman], published in 1815 by S.K. Potocki (1755-1821), which already shows the

source of its inspiration in the title. However, it is difficult to consider this author an art historian, although such ideas are sometimes put forward (cf. Ekielska-Mardal 2012, p. 44; Gregorowicz-Metz [Rucinska] 2012, p. 47).

There is no doubt that monographic works contributed to the development of art research, such as the overall view of Sobieszczański's Polish art, Rastawiecki's *Słownik malarzów polskich* [Dictionary of Polish painters] in three volumes published in 1850-1857, and *Wzory sztuki średniowiecznej i z epoki Odrodzenia w dawnej Polsce* [Patterns of Medieval and Renaissance art in former Poland] by Rastawiecki & Przedziecki (1853-1862). Nevertheless, these works were still largely rooted in antiquity traditions, attempts were made to overcome this by making comparisons with other works of art or by introducing a few stylistic terms. For example, in *Wiadomości historyczne o sztukach pięknych w dawnej Polsce* [Historical news on fine arts in former Poland], Sobieszczański identified the Romanesque style with the Byzantine one, called Gothic or Germanic, and considered all modern art to be Renaissance (Kowalczyk, 1981, p. 170). In fact, scholars themselves often emphasized their focus on the historical aspect of art research, for instance E. Rastawiecki who in his foreword to the first volume of his *Słownik malarzów* [Dictionary of painters] admitted that its elaboration was more "historical than critical", adding further: "I tried to accumulate as much detailed information as I could, being more economical in the judgements" (Rastawiecki, 1850, p. II).

It can therefore be said that the Warsaw community has made a step towards the education of academic art history, but after the defeat of the January Uprising, the role of this community decreased dramatically (Białostocki, 1987, pp. 676-677). Therefore, further development of this discipline was attributable to Kraków, where the Academy of Learning established a Commission on Art History (1873), and M. Sokołowski (1839-1911) became the head of the university's Art History Department established in 1882. He was the first Polish researcher to receive a postdoctoral degree (habilitation) in art history from the Jagiellonian University, after previous work in Paris and Vienna where he studied law and history but also had the opportunity to meet art historians (Kalinowski, 1990, pp. 17-18; Kunińska, 2014, pp. 45-50; Małkiewicz, 2005, p. 68). It is Sokołowski who, together with W. Łuszczkiewicz, who was older than him, are considered to be the creators of the Kraków school of art history and in general the precursors of this new discipline at that time (Muthesius, 2012, p. 93).

Obviously, the establishment of a Commission on Art History at the Academy of Learning did not mean the extinction of 'antiquity research' for the benefit of modern art history. As noted by Kalinowski, there was no one among the founding members of the Commission with an education in art history. Instead, there

were representatives of other academic disciplines such as the philosopher J. Kremer, professor of medieval archaeology, J. Łepkowski (1826-1894), heritage conservationist of monuments, P. Popiel (1807-1892), and literary historian and critic, L. Siemieński (1807-1877). W. Łuszczkiewicz, a professor of painting and drawing at the School of Fine Arts, was most closely associated with art history (Kalinowski, 1996, pp. 25-26). In the *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce* [Reports of the Commission for the Study of Art History in Poland], typical 'antiquity works' were published, but the methodology of research gradually evolved towards art history, which was mainly attributable to M. Sokołowski. It is also worth noting that the Committee on Art History played a significant role in the academic life of the entire country, as it invited scholars from the other partitions to its meetings, as well as organizing academic trips in the other direction (Kalinowski, 1996, p. 38). As a result, around 1900, art history was already a well-established academic discipline in the Polish lands, taught at universities in Kraków, and Lviv where the Department of Art History was established in 1893 (Małkiewicz, 1996, p. 64). There is no doubt that the activities and achievements of the Art History Committee of the Academy of Learning radiated into the territory of the Prussian and Russian Partitions.

In general, the development of research on art in the Polish lands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was based on the evolution of the approach to monuments and works of art, from treating them only in terms of the categories of historical sources towards greater interest in form, artistic genesis, relationships with other works of art produced in a given period, etc. This forced the creation of more elaborate descriptions of buildings, sculptures and paintings, and the use of professional terminology, especially the growing repertoire of stylistic terms. While attempting to analyse the development of art writing in 19<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks, we can easily see that certain phenomena occurred simultaneously with progress in historical and artistic research.

It is worth noting that the oldest guidebooks written in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of its second had a remarkable 'antiquity character'. They are dominated by historical information about monuments, with a frequent lack of an attempt to describe them or the limitation of the characteristics of a given building to a statement of its antiquity or the appearance of antique attributes. The authors of these guides were also fond of transcribing inscriptions, identifying coats of arms, and, in the case of paintings, they tried to explore the subject, but failed to describe the paintings themselves.

This close relationship between guidebooks and the mainstream of 'antiquity research' is not surprising if one mentions that the authors of the most important

guidebooks were the 'antiquity researchers' of that time, such as A. Grabowski, Ł. Gołębiowski, J. Mączyński, A.H. Kirkor and F.M. Sobieszcański. Some of their guidebooks had a more academic than popular character, such as Grabowski's guidebooks, whose text was supported by numerous footnotes. Other authors instead of making footnotes reported the opinions of other researchers in the text. For example, in his guides to Vilnius, Kirkor repeatedly referred to the works of M. Baliński and J.I. Kraszewski.

The first author to make a fairly clear distinction between an academic study and a more popular form of guidebook was Mączyński. In 1845, he published a three-volume *Pamiętka z Krakowa* [Memorials from Kraków], an academic work with numerous footnotes, widely discussing the history and monuments of the city. Nine years later, a more overall guidebook was published, with a layout that made it easier to move around the city. In the foreword, the author made a very interesting statement:

[...] in order to satisfy the presented need to publish a book that could serve the countrymen to get to know this dear city, I re-edited *Pamiętka z Krakowa*, multiplying it with recently acquired information, indicating public companies, private collections and a review of the surroundings, and shortening it to make a summary of history and old descriptions, all of this according to the idea that I have of a book meeting the above-mentioned goal (Mączyński, 1854, p. XIII).

Using the described procedure, it was possible to develop a guidebook with a high level of content, while providing visitors with a lot of practical information and maintaining a handy format.

However, even after the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, guidebooks were not only simplified versions of academic works, but they also became a place for the development of the method of description of monuments and works of art. Interesting in this respect is the case of Sobieszcański, who, as mentioned before, used stylistic terms quite sparingly in his synthesis of Polish art, but developed its resources in his guidebook descriptions of Warsaw. Therefore, one can propose a thesis that in the case of this researcher, travel guidebooks somehow stimulated the evolution and enrichment of the conceptual apparatus which was later overtaken by other authors of guides to Warsaw. Some of them, such as W. Czajewski and W. Gomulicki in particular, tried to expand this apparatus, introducing terms most likely derived from other works.

The development of professional research in the field of art history, which progressed in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, contributed to the final 'transition' of guidebook literature from the position of works co-creating the academic (antique) trend of writing on art

to popular works, drawing on the achievements of academic work but not always following them. This contrast between the publication of academic guidebooks, emphasized for the first time by J. Mączyński, appeared very clearly in the foreword to another guide to Kraków written by W. Łuszczkiewicz. The author admitted that he was more satisfied with academic works, whereas "The form of a guide does not allow for the elaboration on information about Kraków, because it hates the quotations and polemics inherent in critical work" (Łuszczkiewicz, 1875, p. VI). It is probably no coincidence that one of the first Polish art historians formulated such a statement.

Łuszczkiewicz was also the last important art researcher in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to write a travel guidebook, which in a way symbolizes the fact that academic literature on art had separated from guidebook publications. The authors of subsequent guidebooks repeated the information about monuments included in earlier guidebooks, but also used works written by art historians and older 'antiquity works'. This is indicated in the lists of references included in some guides. One example is the railway guidebook to Galicia, which contains a surprisingly large amount of historical and artistic information. The oldest publication of this kind, published in 1886, contains an extensive chapter on Lviv (almost 120 pages), and the list of sources includes not only guidebooks by Kunasiewicz and Schneider & Dzie duszycki, but also numerous 'antiquity research' works (including those by Baliński & Lipiński, Święcki & Moraczewski) (*Przewodnik z Krakowa do Lwowa...* [Guide from Kraków to Lviv...], 1886, p. III). Even more interesting in this respect is G. Smólski's guide (1844-1911), in which the most important of the previous guides to the city (including Łuszczkiewicz and K. Bartoszewicz) were used to describe Kraków, as well as Tomasz Święcki's *Opis starożytnej Polski* [Description of Ancient Poland] and M. Sokołowski's work on the Czartoryski Museum (Smólski, 1893, p. 100).

## 5. CONCLUSION

The analysis of Polish travel guidebooks from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although selective from necessity due to the vast amount of material, demonstrated that these publications should be treated as an important element of 19<sup>th</sup> century artistic historiography. The information about monuments and works of art published in the guidebooks reflects the progressing development of historical and artistic research, expressed in more and more professional descriptions which became full of stylistic terms. Obviously, not all guidebooks were equally focused on art since this was mainly the

domain of publications on historical urban centres discussed in the article. It is worth noting, however, that historical and artistic contents were sometimes also published in guidebooks to health resorts, e.g. in the description of a proposed trip.<sup>10</sup>

Guides to cities describing numerous churches, palaces and other monuments, also adapted the way of valuing particular works of art and entire stylistic epochs. This is particularly evident in the critical attitude towards the Baroque, which was consistently presented by W. Łuszczkiewicz, but also by some other authors of other guides, such as W. Czajewski, who wrote about the “era of the exaggerated Baroque” (Czajewski, 1892, p. 21) with reference to the statues from the Saxon Garden in Warsaw, or M. Dąbrowski, who regretted that a large part of the Kraków’s St. Andrew Church was “disfigured by the Baroque” (Dąbrowski, 1899, pp. 47-48). Obviously, such a perception of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century art was not specifically Polish, but it reflected universal European trends. They were expressed, among others, by J. Burckhardt, who in his famous book *Der Cicerone* (1855) described the Baroque not very flatteringly as a ‘feral renaissance’ (Bałus, Krasny, 2007, p. 21).

It is worth noting that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, guidebooks were publications with much greater ambitions than today, often written with the participation of art experts. This statement applies not only to Polish works, but also to more recognized publishing houses such as Murray and Baedeker at the time, who employed cultural history researchers to write selected chapters in their guidebooks. For Baedeker, the texts were written by such art historians as C. Gurlitt (1850-1938) and A. Springer (1825-1891), and the historian T. Mommsen (1817-1903) (Koszar, 1998, pp. 332-333). Other researchers worth mentioning include R. Kekulé (1839-1911) who wrote an introductory article on ancient Greek art (*Griechenland*, 1893), and the historian and architect E. Freeman (1823-1892), whose introduction to the history of English architecture was included in a guide to Great Britain of 1897 (Bruce, 2010, p. 99). One of the authors collaborating with Murray’s publishing house was a well-known researcher of the past, F. Palgrave (1788-1861), who developed a guide to northern Italy published in 1842 (Palmowski, 2002, p. 114; Parsons, 2007, p. 191). The creation of guidebooks by the numerous Polish art researchers mentioned in this article, was therefore part of a more general tendency in this field.

In the context of the importance of Polish guidebooks published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century for artistic historiography, it seems particularly important to note that the oldest guidebooks constituted the mainstream of the art writing of those days, while the guidebooks produced at the end of the century were based to a much greater extent

on the popularization of knowledge on art history. The progressive specialization in art research was of great importance to the guidebooks, in a way relegating them to the margins of the mainstream of historical and artistic literature. Undoubtedly, guidebooks continued to provide information about monuments and works of art, but more and more based on the secondary popularization of the findings of art historians. This does not mean, however, that these later guidebooks are not interesting for the writing of the history of art. Their significance consisted in acquiring historical and artistic knowledge and making it accessible to a large audience. Therefore, it can be concluded that in general, 19<sup>th</sup> century guidebooks are an interesting subject of research from the standpoint of the artistic historiography, whereas their role in this respect deserves greater appreciation.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written as part of the grant awarded to the author by the National Science Centre (research project no. 2017/25/B/HS3/00041).

<sup>2</sup> Five editions were published during the author's lifetime, the last in 1866. The next edition was published at the end of the century, in 1900.

<sup>3</sup> The characterization of mountain guides was provided in the following studies devoted to these areas: Kolbuszewski (1981, 1990); Staff (1990). For more information about spa guides, see Opaliński (2008, pp. 533-536); Ziarkowski (2016, p. 273).

<sup>4</sup> This fact is noteworthy, especially in the context of the opinion expressed by S. Ciepłowski that ready-made scenarios of trips appeared in Warsaw guidebooks only at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. See: Ciepłowski (2001, p. 212).

<sup>5</sup> A very similar division into a large number of chapters was used in each guidebook, among which the most extensive were those devoted to churches and secular buildings. See: Antoniewicz (1882); Kozłowski (1893, 1898).

<sup>6</sup> In this case, the description of the St. John the Evangelist Cathedral is interesting, with historical information and the list of church’s furnishing (altars, paintings, tombstones, etc.) but without attempting to characterise them. See Gołębiowski (1827, pp. 73-75).

<sup>7</sup> It is worth mentioning that in his later guides, Grabowski, although with considerable resistance, also adapted other stylistic terms, using e.g. *renaissance* to describe the Sigismund’s Chapel on the Wawel Hill. See Gołębiowski (1866, p. 87).

<sup>8</sup> Information was contained in the foreword of the guide, see Rostański (1891, p. IV).

<sup>9</sup> For more details see Walicki (1931), and, among more recent studies: Kowalczyk (2009); Ziarkowski (2013).

<sup>10</sup> The guides to Szczawnica usually described the nearby castles in Czorsztyń and Niedzica. The historical and artistic contents were particularly abundant in guides to the surroundings of Ojców, which at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries served as a health resort. More details see Ziarkowski (2009).

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