Gesture and Performance:
Princess Izabela Czartoryska and her Gardens, 1770-1831.

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
For Colm
Declaration

I, Agnieszka Whelan confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.
Abstract

This thesis explores the idea of gardens as performance-based works of art, as sites that drew their relevance from the stylized behaviour that was enacted there in the form of arranged spectacles, plays and tableaux vivants. The analysis is based on the study of two gardens created by Princess Izabela Czartoryska: Powązki near Warsaw (1770-1794) and Puławy (1784-1831) near Lublin. These gardens are among the most celebrated ‘English’ landscape gardens in Poland. They are considered here as spaces that reacted to contemporary historical events through the adaptation of the visual imagery of the second half of the eighteenth century and participated in the reinvention of traditional Polish culture. The stylized events in the gardens are shown as forms of social interactions, willingly performed by guests to the gardens. This thesis also investigates the changing roles which Princess Izabela chose for herself and visualized in her gardens and how these personas evolved in the progression from Powązki to Puławy. By reconstructing the designs and the narrative programmes I argue that that the process of interactions did not fundamentally change over the sixty years of Czartoryska’s gardening, that the two gardens shared a remarkable unity of ideas and form, and that the garden-based culture of leisure was paramount in transmitting a variety of social, historical and aesthetic ideas. These ranged from models of education, through the collection of artefacts for her museum, to the promotion of the relationships of attachment as a nationally unifying bond. My analysis substantially alters the established view on the history of these two gardens and proposes a new perspective for them, as works of art based in the rhetoric of land, gesture and performance.
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**List of abbreviations**

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<td>Adam Jerzy Czartoryski</td>
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<td>A.K.Cz.</td>
<td>Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski</td>
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<td>I.Cz.</td>
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<td>Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Cracow</td>
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<td>FKCz</td>
<td>Fundacja Książąt Czartoryskich, Cracow</td>
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<td>GH</td>
<td>Garden History</td>
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<tr>
<td>IS PAN</td>
<td>Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk</td>
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<tr>
<td>JGH</td>
<td>Journal of Garden History</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHGDL</td>
<td>Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSB</td>
<td>Polski Słownik Biograficzny (Cracow and elsewhere: Polska Akademia Umiejętności and other publishers, 1936-)</td>
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Introduction
On the freezing night of 7 December 1830 Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich sought shelter at the palace of Puławy. Warsaw had risen against Russian dominion on 29 November and Konstantin, the commander-in-chief of the army of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, was granted safe passage to the Russian border as a gesture of conciliation to his brother, Tsar Nicholas I. The eighty-five-year-old mistress of Puławy, Princess Izabela Czartoryska greeted her unwelcome guest with contempt. Her family, servants, and peasants from the surrounding villages sported revolutionary blue, white and red cockades. Izabela’s son, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski had just assumed the role of Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the Uprising. Her younger son Konstanty was a general in the revolutionary army, her son-in-law Stanisław Zamoyski headed the new government’s diplomatic efforts, while her four Zamoyski grandsons organized and commanded armed units. The disdain for Konstantin Pavlovich was but a gesture, but in this house gesture stood for far more than mere posturing. For decades Czartoryska practised gesture as a form of visual and public declaration.

No one had any illusions as to the inevitable Russian revenge against the Czartoryski family seat. After Konstantin left, Princess Czartoryska stayed put, not for the first time trying to protect the estate with her physical presence. Puławy’s strategic position at a crossing of the Vistula had often exposed it to rampaging armies. In expectation of a fresh disaster Princess Czartoryska and her daughters sheltered officers’ wives and peasant women and children from the neighbouring villages.

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1 Ludwik Dębicki, Puławy 1762-1830. Monografia z życia towarzyskiego, politycznego i literackiego na podstawie archiwum ks. Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Lwów: Gubrynowicz &

2 Sławomir Pać, ‘Kartki z dziejów Puław i okolic w latach 1791-1864’, in Puławy dawne i
Russian units appeared at the gates of the palace at the beginning of February. They were commanded by Prince Adam of Württemberg, the only son of Izabela’s daughter Maria Wirtemberska. As an infant he had been taken from his mother in a divorce settlement and raised in St Petersburg as a playmate, and later adjutant to his cousin, the future Nicholas I. With the outbreak of the November Rising he deserted from his service to the Kingdom of Poland and placed himself under Russian command. At first Adam of Württemberg and his detachment only passed through the estate. He returned two weeks later, on 24 February, pursued by Polish units commanded by General Józef Dwernicki, and set up camp around the palace. He was not invited inside – a gesture of scorn from his grandmother. While encamped, he was surprised by an attack from a semi-volunteer Polish company. The Puławy peasants helped the insurgents quietly cross the river, provided detailed intelligence and led them along paths through the extensive garden, by the grottoes, past the classical Temple of Sibyl, around the Gothic House and the classical Orangery, to the palace stables and the arsenal – the targets of the assault. Forty Russians died in the clash, while 250 dragoons and five officers with their commander were taken prisoner. Princess Czartoryska watched the battle from the palace windows. The palace enthusiastically received the hero of the attack, Lieutenant-Colonel Jan Małachowski. No Polish reinforcements came, however, and the Poles were pushed back over the river by the returning Württemberg three days later. He carried the Tsar’s orders to destroy the palace. His aunt Zofia Zamoyska recorded how the women inside faced the artillery ‘with an extraordinary courage’ and collected bullets off the floor ‘shot

\[\text{nowe, ed. Józef Trześniak (Lublin: KAW, 1987), 115-163, 132.}\]

\[3\] Walenty Zwierkowski, Rys powstania, walki i działań Polaków 1830 i 1831 roku (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1973), 201.

\[4\] Waldemar Wojciech Bednarski, Powiśle Puławskie w Powstaniu Listopadowym 1830/31 r. (Puławy: TPP, 2000), 161.
by the hand of the depraved son and grandson'.\(^5\) Württemberg rounded up the informers from the previous skirmish and his name was linked to atrocities against the villagers.\(^6\) The next day he gave orders for the treasures housed in the Temple of Sibyl and the Gothic House to be transported to St Peters burg, he had the library sealed, prepared for the removal of its forty thousand volumes and had a list of furnishings made. Two days later General Dwernicki crossed the Vistula with reinforcements and pushed the Russians back. After paying his respects to the princess, Dwernicki wrote: ‘trusting in the military bravery and its rousing force, the Princess was sure that the whole nation could be stirred to conquer the enemy without any foreign support, she did not doubt the successful outcome of the great Rising of 29 November’.\(^7\)

Czartoryska tended the wounded, just as she had done twenty years earlier, when in 1809 she set up a field hospital in the garden orangery for Polish forces. At that time she put on a play for the soldiers *Matka Spartanka* [The Spartan mother] in which as the title character she symbolically sent her sons to battle and energized the audience. There was no garden performance now. When Dwernicki moved away with his units, the Russian General Muravev advanced on Puławy to finish the work begun by Adam of Württemberg. He found the palace deserted. Princess Izabela had left on the night of 5/6 March 1831 on foot, carrying the ‘Royal Casket’ containing the jewels of the Polish kings from her museum. She crossed the Austrian border for the safety of Wysock, the domain of her daughter Maria Wirtemberska. Several times the Polish units briefly reclaimed the palace, pushing back the Russians for long enough to allow the librarian Karol Sienkiewicz and the museum guide Franciszek

\(^{5}\) Dębicki, *Puławy*, vol. 4, 321, 328.

\(^{6}\) Pać, ‘Kartki’, 133.

\(^{7}\) Józef Dwernicki, *Pamiętniki* (Lwów: L. Plagowski, 1870), 46.
Gniewkowski to carry treasures away. Remarkably, all but fifty-seven boxes of manuscripts and books survived. The collection remained intact until the Second World War.

Princess Izabela never returned to Puławy. She died at Wysock on 17 June 1835. Her son Adam Jerzy fled to France where he received the news of being sentenced to death *in absentia*. The Czartoryski estates in the Russian Empire, including Puławy, were confiscated. Once a place open to the public, a prime site for the display of the Czartoryski presence on the Polish political scene, Puławy was turned into a school for young ladies. Later it became an agricultural institute, a function it retains to this day. The garden has largely survived, although its character has changed through commemorative plantings and successive replacements of fallen trees. The pavilions still command the space, but the subtle associations and commentaries have disappeared with the removal of stones, sculptures, altars, model peasant huts and hermitages. Without its animator the vitality and the dynamic vision of Puławy have gone. This was obvious to all visitors to Puławy, although it has not been appreciated today. She was the ‘soul’ of Puławy, she ‘gave life’ to the estate. Without her, the gardens could not carry the intended meanings; they seem vacant now in the same way as they appeared empty immediately after her departure.

The gestures against Konstantin Pavlovich were typical of Czartoryska’s response to historical events and it was fitting that the last great performance of her life was enacted in her garden. In a physical manner, through gesture and visual language, Princess Czartoryska promoted her own and her family’s political agenda, commented on the nature of social relationships, explored the essential values of

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8 Sabina z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828. Urywek z pamiętnika* (Cracow: F. Kulczycki, 1898), 23.
personal emotion, patriotism and motherhood and dressed them in her own creative visualizations. She did it most fully and elaborately in her gardens, not only in Puławy, but also in her first garden – Powązki, near Warsaw, which she established in 1770 but lost to war in 1794. Czartoryska was born into the world of politics and there is no doubt that she tried to make her mark there. But this work proposes the notion that Czartoryska’s preferred medium of persuasion was performance and that her chosen environment was the garden. As a successful performer she made her gardens a platform for communication in a manner that makes it difficult to separate the message from the medium. Her staged rituals, plays, planting, collecting and writings show themselves not as actions leading toward particular and pragmatic outcomes, but as acts of artistic expression. In this viewpoint Czartoryska presents herself as an artist with a life-long desire to motivate and to comment on the contemporary reality through multimedia ‘installations’.

The line of inquiry adopted here came from the desire to explain the visitors’ frequent accounts of artificiality and pose in Czartoryska’s appearances and in her garden arrangements. Indeed this artificiality shows itself as the key to the convention of exchanges that relied on clear rules and visual references. Essentially this meant the process of appropriation of existing visual models and their translation into statues, stones, fountains, inscriptions, gestures, poses, processions and group arrangements. In the process of investigation it has become clear that these presentations referred in equal measure to the ideas of European eighteenth-century sensibility and to the vernacular markers of Polish identity, and that the old themes received a new validation precisely by having been expressed through ‘modern’ art.

The eighteenth century was preoccupied with the rhetoric of gesture and
performance. One of the major propositions of this work is that in Poland at the turn of the eighteenth century gardens occupied a prominent contextual place of reference. They worked within the associative notion of landownership, and their space was far more emotive and instinctively felt by the Polish nobles than any other space of social interactions. Within this discourse the sense of uniqueness of the personal expression proved a new and rich area of exploration.\(^9\)

In all these propositions my work sets itself apart from the established ideas in Polish garden history and offers a new perspective in garden studies. It examines the activities that took place in the garden as a constituent part of the art of gardening. Visitors to the gardens were consistently asked to adopt an active part and to participate in the performances. Even when they were on their own, the gardens populated with statues and personal quotations directed them to the self-conscious examination of their own presence in the natural landscape. In this interpretation the visitor took a privileged place and gardens provided him or her with a conceptual environment for structuring a variety of responses. As in every installation, it is the space which is essential for the audience to contextualize their own ideas.

Every researcher dealing with the legacy of Izabela Czartoryska has to come to terms with the strength of her personality. She directed her family and her peasants with the unassailable conviction of a moral cause. Maria Wirtemberska mourned her passing in a letter to her brother Adam Jerzy: ‘as long as our sweet and dear mother lived, she was always like a steam engine which propelled us into motion, stimulated to action, to work, to new endeavours, unconsciously and sometimes even without our noticing. We cherished things, we worshipped, felt and loved for two. And now this

sweet charm, and as you say – this sixth sense, this second conscience of ours has flown far away!

Indeed, Izabela’s greatest goal was to act as the conscience of the Polish nation. This extreme ambition polarized not only her contemporaries but also later generations of writers and scholars. Political historians have usually marginalized her, and regarded her public appearances in terms of harmful political intrigues and scandals. She certainly lacked diplomatic finesse and her ostentatious patriotism and emotionally overloaded displays can today appear tiresome. The historian Jerzy Lukowski shares this dismissive attitude:

The staging in 1786 of Franciszek Kniaźnin’s *Matka Spartanka* marked the bid to project Puławy as the true centre of genuine Polish patriotism (despite the quaint casting of Adam’s notoriously dissolute and bitchy wife, Izabela, in the title role) and of a revived, established and respectable Sarmatianism, glorying in national dress and republican tradition, in mannered contrast to a supposedly frenchified king and court.

At the other end of the spectrum, many art historians and literary historians have been captivated by her creative range, literary imagination, horticultural skills and curatorial methodology. However, with this absorption in her activities has come the interpretation of her actions along the lines which Czartoryska herself promoted, as a high-minded, patriotic and virtuous public figure. Zdzisław Żygulski writes in the opening paragraphs of his seminal monograph of the Puławy collection:

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In the tragic atmosphere of national defeat, when the overwhelming force of the partitioning powers and the treacherous acts of the Targowica Confederation destroyed any hope of the restoration of the expiring country, Izabela Czartoryska experienced a profound change. This glittering dame of the late rococo, the cosmopolitan socialite navigating with ease the most illustrious salons in Europe, dividing her time between travels, entertainments and love affairs, arranging her sentimental park at Powązki and frittering away her time in the imitation of shepherdesses and nympha from the paintings by Watteau and Boucher, transformed herself into a fiery patriot, into a ‘Spartan mother’ sending her sons to battle, and most of all, the founder of the pantheon of Polish historical mementoes, the centre of her ambitious political, cultural and educational plans.\textsuperscript{12}

This appreciative attitude is easily intelligible if we consider the extraordinarily emotive power of Czartoryska’s letters and their effect on scholars. But it is also indicative of the persistent problems in reconciling the culture of leisure with the themes of national gravitas, which were particularly evident in the critiques of Czartoryska’s gardens. These gardens have rightfully been seen as part of the family’s identity and as such they have been implicated in historians’ critique of the role of the family in the nation’s history. This has affected in turn the readings of the garden features and cultural associations to a profound degree.

After the fall of the November Insurrection in 1831 Russian censorship suppressed all mention of the Czartoryskis in print and image. A large number of ephemeral memoirs written by visitors to Puławy appeared in print only in the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, the family themselves participated in a self-imposed censorship. In 1855 Sabina Grzegorzewska informed Adam Zamoyski, grandson of Izabela Czartoryska, about her plans to write and publish memories of her childhood visit to Puławy. Zamoyski advised against this, saying that ‘the present

\textsuperscript{12} Zdzisław Żygulski, Dzieje zbiorów puławskich. Świątynia Sybilly i Dom Gotycki (Cracow: Fundacja Książąt Czartoryskich, 2009). This is the first edition in a book form. Żygulski published his doctoral thesis in 1962 in a journal publication: idem, Dzieje zbiorów puławskich (Świątynia Sybilly i Dom Gotycki), in Rozprawy i Sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (Cracow, 1962) vol. 7.
circumstances which have been continuing for the last thirty years have not been conducive to reveal to the world the story of her life, which was so full of action, devotion and most noble purpose’ and that ‘there are matters which, considering the times, need to be left to silence. Silence is here more eloquent than words. Abandon for a while your intention (…) to kindle the precious Puławy embers’. At stake was the family’s representation, which the Czartoryskis were careful to cultivate. In particular, Izabela’s popular image as a lightheaded woman seeking instant gratification was found incompatible with her persona as the incarnation of *The Spartan mother*. After the loss of Polish independence in 1795 this persona offered a visual framework to promote the family’s patriotic ideology. It was no wonder that the Czartoryskis tried to construct a convincing and coherent portrait of the new Izabela with a distinct separation from the troublesome years of scandals. Mary Berry noted in her memoirs a visit she received from Władysław Zamoyski in 1839. Berry recalled the emphasis Zamoyski placed on his grandmother’s patriotic activities, how ‘at the age of fifty, she gave up all the gallantries and adopted a totally new system of life, of interests, and of occupations’ and devoted herself to the national collection.

Similarly, later biographers accepted and vigorously defended what I call the ‘myth of sudden transformation’. In 1887 Ludwik Dębicki, the editor-in-chief of the Cracow newspaper *Czas*, produced a four-volume monograph in which he showed the Czartoryskis as charismatic and politically well-intentioned. His book set Izabela’s

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13 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni*, 83.


16 Dębicki, *Puławy, 1762-1830* (n. 1 above).
gardening at Puławy in the context of her patriotic attitudes and contrasted the garden firmly with the pursuit of pleasure at Powązki. Dębicki’s desire was to raise the spirit of the nation by romanticizing its main historical figures. He proclaimed this in the opening pages of the third volume when he rebuked the criticisms of the Cracow historian Walerian Kalinka, the confirmed opponent of the glorification of history. Kalinka had just been in an open conflict with the Czartoryski family over his own planned, critical biography of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. The family withdrew their commission and accused him of being an enemy of the country: ‘the man who wants to prove that the origin of our demise was each and every one of our own sins and not the enmity or cunning of the enemy or the treachery of these few contemptible exceptions in our midst, this man will take away all hope from the nation, he will crush it and degrade it in its own eyes and bring it to despair’. The Czartoryskis clung to the preservation of hope, defended the good names of their house and made sure that the memory of their mother and grandmother was forever enshrined in the persona of the ‘Spartan mother’. Powązki, in their view, was on the other hand the idyllic Elysium where the Czartoryski children spent the happiest years of their childhood, a garden of contentment. It will become clear, however, in the course of this work that Powązki was not only the place of carefree childhood, but was intended to have an impact on wider social exchanges in Poland. Its relegation to the world of innocence was one of the family’s protective measures directing the attention away from a controversial site and instead emphasizing the ‘patriotic’ family

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18 In propagating this image Dębicki was again to the fore in his Pulawy, vol. 1. Cf. Zbigniew Kuchowicz, Wizerunki niepospolitych niewiast staropolskich XVI-XVIII wieku (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1974).
By the end of the nineteenth century the gardens were fully implicated in the historical rehabilitation of the house. Lucjan Siemieński wrote in 1881 of the historical mission of the gardens of Puławy, of their profound views on the purpose of life and their permanent legacy in the land. With this emotive narrative it became more difficult to separate fact from fiction, especially when Józef Drege included Puławy in his 1908 edition of Wielka encyklopedia powszechna ilustrowana [The Great Illustrated Encyclopaedia]. In the factual encyclopaedic format Puławy entered history no longer in its privileged position but as one of many gardens viewed with a positivist eye, subjected to chronology and the development of form. However, Drege looked to Dębicki for the archival material and so its emotional interpretation had changed into a ‘scientific’ constant. Therefore Edmund Jankowski’s influential Dzieje ogrodnictwa w Polsce [History of Gardening in Poland] of 1923 incorporated this perspective, even though the author realized that more research was needed before he could construct a coherent narrative. He endorsed Drege’s assessment, brought in the emotionally infused memoirs of Puławy by Grzegorzewska, and placed Powązki within the sentimental circle of the Petit Trianon.

The study of gardens in Poland has long been dominated by Gerard Ciołek’s Ogrody polskie [Polish Gardens], first published in 1954 and still the most important general survey of Polish garden history. Ciołek styled himself an objective and

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20 Zygmunt Jankowski, Dzieje ogrodnictwa w Polsce w zarysie (Warsaw: K. Kopytkowski, 1923), 74.
dispassionate scholar, who needed to redress the preconceptions of his predecessors.\textsuperscript{22} Despite this proclamation he felt little appreciation for ‘sentimental’ Powązki, again comparing it to the Petit Trianon, while Puławy received high marks for its patriotic theme.\textsuperscript{23} Ciołek’s influence cannot be overstated. For more than half a century generations of garden professionals have relied on his stylistic classifications, on his mechanisms of change from one style to another, and on his moral judgment of cultural attitudes.\textsuperscript{24} His pupil Janusz Bogdanowski brought in his own survey of gardens \textit{Polskie ogrody ozdobne} [Polish ornamental gardens] where he continued on the trajectory set out by Ciołek.\textsuperscript{25} Bogdanowski was even more focused on the dialectic life of form, which could be studied and visualized like a genealogical tree with branches that grew, reached their potential and withered. He categorized Powązki as a \textit{jardin anglo-chinois}, while Puławy – in various stages of its perceived development – as a \textit{jardin anglo-chinois}, then arcadian, classical, English and romantic. Significantly though, for the first time in the literature, he did not assign any ethical values to the styles.\textsuperscript{26} Nevertheless he authoritatively placed Powązki and Puławy into separate periods and therefore, by extension, into different ideological spheres. Alina Aleksandrowicz shares Bogdanowski’s perspective in separating both gardens:

To emphasize the major distinction between the garden of Powązki and the

\textsuperscript{22} Ciołek, \textit{Ogrody}, 8.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 133.
\textsuperscript{24} The new edition is supplemented with a register of gardens documented since 1954, cf. ref.23.
\textsuperscript{26} Bogdanowski, \textit{Polskie ogrody}, 112, 115, 119-123.
later one in Puławy, we need to recollect that the creative model of nature was critically re-examined in 1805 by Czartoryska herself. After 1796 the large expanses of nature with imposing old trees have taken the place of the pleasant groves of Powązki. The wide waters of the Vistula took over artificially formed streams and ponds. The interpretation of the abundant, ‘unrestrained’ habitat of the Vistula merged conceptually with the sibylline meanings and formed the basic ideas of the emotional historicism at Puławy, in a suggestive and synthetic manner.27

Aleksandrowicz, the literary scholar, is merging ‘sibylline meanings’ with the pronouncements of garden historians who looked in the garden for romantic and expressive, rather than emblematic character of nature there. The bases of all these observations will be contested in later chapters, but here is important to note that the axiom of the superior creed and design of Puławy as compared to Powązki has been a powerful and emotive constant in the works of this and other scholars. Certainly Zdzisław Żygulski’s monograph on the Puławy museum – the most important assessment of the collection’s history – and Zofia Gołębiowska’s cultural history of the Czartoryski family in Puławy subscribe to this notion.28

In contrast to Puławy, the body of research on Powązki is very small. Marek Kwiatkowski and Jolanta Putkowska have reconstructed the layout of the garden and established a chronological framework of Powązki’s existence. In their search for ultimate objectivity and detachment they have not engaged in discussion of the cultural dynamics in the garden. The connection to the Petit Trianon has been rejected

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on chronological grounds, but no alternative cultural interpretation has been offered, and therefore the established view on the place of Powązki in the history of Polish gardening has remained unchallenged.²⁹

In trying to understand the nature of Czartoryska’s activity I have adopted a broad approach. Historical analysis occupies a prominent place; after all, history and politics were Czartoryska’s battlegrounds. The adoption of the chronological order of events in Czartoryska’s life reveals for the first time the remarkable coherence and continuity of her artistic actions. It also allows us to reconstruct those ideological formations, which were not expressed verbatim but were presented to the audience in a visual form. Literary sources have been invaluable in understanding Izabela’s intentions and ideas, so too has Izabela’s extensive correspondence with her family and intimate friends. Many of these letters remain unpublished; they are preserved in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow (see the bibliography to this work). Particularly important are her letters to her daughter Maria Wirtemberska. In the end, however, it is the image that has been fundamental to the final conclusions – paintings, drawings and book illustrations, especially those available to Czartoryska as she made her decisions. Several detailed analyses of images have opened possibilities of interpretations which have never so far made it into the historical narratives.

At one level, this work has a tight focus: one patron and her two gardens. But this close examination allows the bringing together of the many intellectual layers from which a garden creation is made. It will become apparent that the garden paths of Powązki and Puławy metaphorically meander all the way from the environs of Paris, Berlin, London, from Scotland and Switzerland, and even from Mount Vernon,

and they wind themselves into the historical reality of the Polish countryside. Not all of these cultural connections could be explored, or even brought to the reader’s attention in the scope of this work. But the fact that both the gardens and their maker were entirely conversant with the dynamics of that cultural and intellectual movement which we usually call the Enlightenment prompts the question of whether a similar understanding of space as a site for performance was more common in the gardens of Europe, including the British Isles, than has been generally recognized hitherto. On a performative, no less than on a formal level, the gardens of Central and Eastern Europe may be written into a common history of European garden landscapes in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. British gardens have been explored as theatres of the mind, and aspects of this approach may be applied more widely.  

The reading of associative meanings offers rich material for the reconstruction of the owners’ political declarations, literary imaginings, classical references, or dreams of enduring presence. But rather than examining the intellectual nature of such enactments, I offer a reading of the gardens as sites involved in the physical engagement of their visitors. Particularly intriguing is the willingness of the audience to engage with and become part of the performance in the garden. Therefore it is not only the form of the gardens or even their emblematic and associative programme, but the activity that took place in them which gives the meaning to Czartoryska’s gardens and makes them works of art. In this approach she is the artist, she sets the boundaries of representation and it is her vision that is under consideration. She takes centre

stage, she is the main performer. The leitmotif throughout is the persona or the personas of Izabela Czartoryska and her experimentations with various incarnations.

In contrast to the established separation of Czartoryska’s legacy into different disciplines of inquiry – literature, politics, gardening and museology – I consider Czartoryska’s works in a unified perspective, in which they all participate together as expressions of one grand, didactic performance. This necessitates an element of biography – performative biography. I have drawn on different viewpoints expressed by scholars from diverse disciplines. Some works have been particularly inspiring in generating ideas for my subject. Certainly this is the case with the literary inquiries into elements of the traditional and the cosmopolitan in later eighteenth-century Polish culture by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, especially her reassessment of vernacular revivals in the last years of Polish statehood. Kostkiewiczowa has recently animated other Polish scholars towards taking a more comprehensive view of the Enlightenment, including the theme of the hitherto neglected or belittled culture of leisure.31 The historian Richard Butterwick has pointed to the overwhelming extent to which varied and competing cultural narratives were embedded in political discourses in late eighteenth-century Poland-Lithuania.32 In learning to read the visual messages of the land I have been energized by the ideas of Stephen Daniels, Tom Williamson and John Dixon Hunt whose different narratives of gardening, from the large scale of geographic maps, to economic matters of estates, to the salon immersion in literature,

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32 See here especially the chapters 4 and 5 of his Polska Rewolucja a Kościół katolicki 1788-1792, trans. Marek Ugniewski (Cracow: Arcana, 2012) and ‘Political discourses of the Polish Revolution, 1788-1792’, English Historical Review, 120 (2005), no. 487, 695-731.
reflected the varied discourses which were essential to the eighteenth-century preoccupation with land.\textsuperscript{33} My reading of the seminal *Civilizing rituals* by Carol Duncan provided a starting point for a reassessment of the viewing experiences in the museum at Puławy.\textsuperscript{34} In trying to understand the fascination with works by Jean-Baptiste Greuze I have looked to Michael Friedman and his ideas of reception.\textsuperscript{35} The latter two scholars have considered the complexities of self-presentation in the eighteenth-century public sphere and in an environment where the presence of a work of art directed the responses to it. The intricacies of all these relationships relate to Czartoryska, who located her public sphere in the garden, situated her museum in two garden pavilions, and took on the role of an active agent of the new visual aesthetics.

The most important written sources I have used to understand the two gardens are in the Czartoryski Archives in Cracow. They contain Izabela Czartoryska’s letters, memoirs, unpublished manuscripts, estate accounts and documents relating to the gardens. Remarkably, the Czartoryski Library established by Adam Kazimierz has survived three fires, and each time has been reconstructed by its librarians. The Czartoryski Museum houses oil paintings and sculptures, while its *Gabinet Rycin* (Prints and Drawings Department) stores a large number of prints bought by the Czartoryskis, maps, plans, albums, and decorative books as well as watercolours, gouaches and drawings made by Izabela and members of the family. These sources have formed the basis of this thesis. The Czartoryski collection fared well during

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\textsuperscript{34} Carol Duncan, *Civilizing rituals: inside public art museums* (New York: Routlege, 1995).

\end{flushright}
upheavals and wars while many other irreplaceable archives perished. This said, some pertinent documents and books are missing. For example there are no plans of the remodelling of Powązki or Puławy. No drawings, reports, notes, bills or letters of the gardener of Puławy James Savage have survived, except for the two successive contracts for his engagement in Puławy. Nevertheless, it has been possible to build from a variety of other sources – memoirs, poems, newspaper articles - a coherent picture of the projects and ideas of Princess Izabela. Most important, however, is the visual evidence, not only accurate depictions of scenery and people, but also its emotive and associative sphere of interpretation. Here I have looked to the imagery commissioned by Izabela from her court painter Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine. Equally, if not more important, have been the images in wide distribution: loose prints or illustrations in the books Izabela was known to possess. Certain images which had entered the popular consciousness, like Poussin’s *Arcadian shepherds* or Gessner’s illustrations to his own poetry have helped me to reconstruct the visual framework of gesture in which a socialite like Czartoryska felt at home.

The image became the resource for the spectators to experiment with and to perform and so the contents of the thesis, the order and theatrical nomenclature of the chapters interpret her life as one long performance.

The opening chapter, *Act I: Wolczyn, 1734-1761*, reconstructs the least known period in Czartoryska’s life – her childhood. The context in which she was raised, that is the social position of various members of her family, the representational function of her residence at Wolczyn and the cultural relationships enacted there can tell us much about the circumstances in which the young Izabela Flemming became aware of her social position. She grew up with her family’s goals, and with their perspectives on the dynamics governing the political and public stage. My new interpretation of
her education shows her early connection to both French and native Polish cultures and her familiarity with these two visual languages of gesture. Significantly, the new reading of her wedding festivities provides a conceptual base for the type of communication that re-emerged forty years later in Puławy.

The second chapter, *Act II: The experimental decade, 1762-1774*, recalls the variety of politically charged events in which Czartoryska participated as a key figure, as a spectator and as an actress. I interpret this decade for the first time as one that allowed Czartoryska to recognize the persuasive power of gesture and theatrical staging on a large scale.

The chapter *Act III: Powązki, 1770-1794* considers the garden of Powązki for the first time as a theatre that visually promoted the family’s political orientation. It was also a place for experimentation with social utopia and a set that showcased Czartoryska’s methods of bringing up her children. This chapter finally puts to rest a notion that continues to pervade Polish garden studies, namely that the culture of leisure carried no other meaning than self-serving indulgence and entertainment.36 During the course of this chapter even the farming at Powązki, an activity dismissed in the existing literature as a mere plaything, presents itself as an integral part of the didactic identification with Polish vernacular culture. I interpret it here as a morally

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36 Popular literature still subscribes to this notion, based on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century attitudes to aristocratic entertainments. Ciołek enshrined it in his *Ogrody* in 1954. The scholarly foray into the topic by Ryba, *Maskarady oświeconych* (1998) has failed to change this perception, mainly because the author did not venture into the significance of eighteenth-century entertainments; his distance to the subject transferred negatively onto its interpretation. Ryba later restated his position in, ‘Dwory przyjmują goścį (o kulturowczej funkcji królewskich odwiedzin)’, in *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, ed. by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Agata Rońko (Warsaw: DiG, 2005), 57-68. The recently published interdisciplinary volume on pleasure, *Przyjemność w kulturze epoki rozumu* (n. 33 above), gives a multifaceted and detailed picture of cultural interchanges in salons, dining halls, boudoirs, gardens and public spaces in Poland at the turn of the eighteenth century.
based exemplum, which functioned as part of the staged activities intended for a larger audience.

The short chapter Act IV: The ‘Spartan mother’, 1786-1789 traces the mechanisms of connecting with crowds in the new setting – the Puławy estate. The play Matka Spartanka, directed and partly authored by Czartoryska, is considered here as the key to the classical rhetoric of persuasion with which she identified herself. During the three eventful years Czartoryska involved herself in active political campaigning on behalf of her family and its allies. I offer an interpretation of Czartoryska’s political activities not as ‘seemingly theatrical’, but quintessentially theatrical and gestural.37

Czartoryska made three extended journeys to England. The design for Powązki was influenced by her stay there in 1768-69 and possibly also by the later trip in 1772-74. However, only her third journey, made in 1789-91 at the time when Puławy was being redesigned, is well documented. Its discussion forms the content of the chapter Intermezzo: England and Scotland, 1789-1791. Scholars have searched this English experience for the design ideas for the garden of Puławy.38 Their search ultimately proved unsatisfactory and instead they concluded that the gardens interpreted the English landscape convention in an original and unique way.39 In this


39 Aleksandrowicz, ‘Izabela Czartoryska’, 615. Gołębiowska also concludes that Puławy did not resemble any single garden in England, and that the ‘Englishness’ of the design was reduced to the ‘concept of the natural landscape garden and some formal features, which in the vernacular
chapter I suggest, however, that the Puławy garden did indeed draw on an English model, but not on the archetypal vision of lawns and mature trees. Instead, Puławy looked to the English rococo garden of the 1770s, which was in tune with the preferences Czartoryska had already established at Powązki.

The subject of planting and design is further explored in a section of the final and longest chapter, *Act V: Puławy, 1786-1831*. The fabric of the garden shows itself as regulating the process of appreciation of nature and the working countryside. I interpret the rituals, which took place in the garden and were also repeatedly performed outside it, as creating and promoting a particular group self-image. Even Czartoryska’s book on gardening can be read as a set of guidelines for the practice of this communal self-image. At the same time her performances in the garden of Puławy reveal themselves as a continuum practiced earlier at Powązki, and indeed they reach back to Czartoryska’s debut in public life. Their success has to do with the clarity of the visual language she employed.

In the course of writing this work and during my years of interest in the gardens of Princess Czartoryska I have been most fortunate to meet with people who have shared not only my curiosity and inspired me with their own research, but who extended to me countless gestures of generosity. My work would not have been the same without the constant encouragement of my supervisor, Dr Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski. I owe to him the greatest debt of gratitude for his deep interest in my work, for his probing questions that have prevented me from making grave errors, and for the lively discussions which have been both inspirational and rewarding. I am grateful to the people of Puławy: scholars, local historians, guides and volunteers who

...environment and within the local needs brought in effect an original creation, distinguished by taste and imagination (...)–.* W kręgu, 129.
have considered the preservation and the continuing accessibility of the Puławy garden their mission. Dr Adam Wolk has been more than generous in providing me with research materials and together with the late Halina Wolk extended hospitality in their home on many occasions. Bogumił Rębowski and Dr Jan Jadczyszyn shared their expert knowledge on the plant material of the garden. Dr Zbigniew Tałalaj and Barbara Tałalaj and the late Dr Józef Gądor, brought many documents to my attention. Similarly Dr Euzebiusz Maj and Dr Mieczysław Kseniak contributed to my understanding of the garden of Puławy. Lastly, I am indebted to the tireless work of the Puławy librarian Antonina Korczyńska. All have encouraged me with their help, hospitality and friendship.

I would also like to acknowledge the help of Professor Zdzisław Żygulski, jnr., with whom I worked on the translation of Czartoryska’s diary from her tour through England, and Ewa Czepiel of the Czartoryski Museum, who provided me with the illustrative material from the Prints Department. Dr Jolanta Polanowska and Dr Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius brought to my attention some British sources. My thanks go also to Professor Alina Aleksandrowicz, Dr Andrzej Baranowski, Dr Zofia Gołębiowska, Professor Alison Hilton, Dr Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, Professor Zbigniew Radacki, Professor Masayuki Sato, Dr Małgorzata Szafrąńska, and Professor Robert Wojtowicz, all of whom helped me to clarify my own ideas and encouraged writing this work in a variety of ways.

This work is for my family. They are not mentioned here by name nor by the countries in which they are all spread out, but their love is on every page. Without their support in more ways than I can count, this work would not have been written. I dedicate it to my husband, my happiness.
Dramatis personae
Izabela Czartoryska was born on 3 March 1746 in Wołczyn, the only daughter of Johann Georg Detlev Graf von Flemming (1699-1771) and Antonina Czartoryska (1728-46). She was baptized Elżbieta Dorota Balbina after her paternal grandmother Dorota Flemming and her maternal great-grandmother Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn, two formidable women who had been a major force in the shaping the lives and careers of their families.\(^{40}\)

Izabela’s father forty-seven years old when she was born, was a prominent minister at the court of King Augustus III. Flemming came from an old Pomeranian military family and had converted to Catholicism to smooth the path to higher honours.\(^{41}\) Shortly after Izabela’s birth he was appointed Treasurer of Lithuania, a position which gave him an unparalleled influence and which he used primarily to support the Czartoryski agenda. His prudent fiscal policies over twenty years’ tenure as treasurer produced a surplus for the Commonwealth and he was equally effective in managing his private estates, encouraging trade and better agricultural practices and settling German Lutheran tenant farmers.

Izabela’s mother was the eldest daughter of one of the most powerful men in the Commonwealth, Michał Fryderyk Czartoryski (1696-1775), who for half a century was Vice-Chancellor and then Grand Chancellor of Lithuania.\(^{42}\) Michał and

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\(^{40}\) Both Izabela and Elżbieta are versions of the same name, and Izabela Czartoryska used them interchangeably, even in official documents. She spelt ‘Izabela’ with one ‘l’, but others sometimes addressed her in writing with a double ‘l’. Lucjan Dębicki popularized the double ‘l’ spelling in his influential monograph *Puławy* in 1887. As well as celebrating birthdays, every year the family observed with great splendour the feast of St Elizabeth (of Hungary) on 19 November and fêted their womenfolk: Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn, Izabela Lubomirska née Czartoryska, Izabela Branicka née Poniatowska and Izabela Czartoryska née Flemming. The Feast of St Elizabeth was also the traditional day for the Czartoryski and Poniatowski weddings.

\(^{41}\) Władysław Konopczyński, ‘Flemming Jan Jerzy Detlev’, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [afterwards *PSB*], vol. 7, 35. The Pomeranian branch changed their spelling to Fleming at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

\(^{42}\) Idem, ‘Czartoryski Michał Fryderyk’, *PSB*, vol. 4, 288-294.
Jan Jerzy, as Flemming was known by his polonized name, had long supported each other in political manoeuvrings in the Commonwealth. As early as 1724 their friendship was strengthened by Michal’s marriage to Flemming’s niece Eleonora Waldstein (1712-1795). Michal pursued his bride and her vast wealth for five years, but she was still only thirteen when he married her. From this union came Izabela’s mother Antonina. Flemming’s marriage to Antonina, who was thirty years his junior, was an arrangement to seal the ongoing alliance.

Flemming’s marriage lasted only two years. Antonina died from smallpox soon after giving birth to Izabela. After a mourning period of a year, Flemming once more married into the Czartoryski family, taking Michal’s middle daughter Konstancja (1729-1749). She, however, died soon after giving birth, again from smallpox, and this time the child did not survive. Flemming never married again but remained close to the house of Czartoryski. He entrusted the care of Izabela to Eleonora, her thirty-five year old grandmother, who just had another child of her own, Antoni.

*Family*

The union between Flemming and the Czartoryskis was only one of many marriages the family arranged in order to acquire the offices of state and amass the fortune without which they could not hope to exert any political or social influence. The


45 Antoni died of smallpox at seven years of age.
Czartoryskis were an old house, tracing their descent from Gediminas, the fourteenth-century Grand Duke of Lithuania. By the seventeenth century they were however no longer among the Commonwealth’s most prominent families. They began their renewed rise in 1693, when Izabela’s great-grandfather, Prince Kazimierz Czartoryski (1674-1741), married Izabela Morsztyn (1671-1758). She has usually been regarded as the brains and the motivating force behind the careers of her husband, children and grandchildren.\footnote{Stanislaw Sidorowicz, ‘Czartoryski Kazimierz’, PSB, vol. 4, 282-283. Idem, ‘Czartoryska Izabela z Morsztynów’, PSB, vol. 4, 241.} She grew up in Paris in the literary circles of her father, the poet and former Crown Treasurer Jan Andrzej Morsztyn and her salonnière mother Lady Catherine Gordon, previously lady-in-waiting to the Polish Queen Louise-Marie Gonzaga. The Morsztyns emigrated to Paris after accusations of treason terminated Jan Andrzej’s career.

Their daughter Izabela had ambitions to return to Poland. In time, together with her husband, she built the foundations of a united political clan, combining the families of the Czartoryskis and the Poniatowskis and known collectively as the Familia. Izabela and Kazimierz’s five children Konstancja, Michał, August, Teodor and Ludwika entered the political scene early and three of them established themselves as dominant figures for decades. Michał was Izabela’s Flemming’s grandfather, August her future father-in-law. Her great-aunt Konstancja (1695-1759) married Stanisław Poniatowski (1676-1762), who successively became Treasurer of Lithuania, Palatine of Mazovia, and Castellan of Cracow. He was the effective leader of the Familia in the 1730s. Poniatowski gradually gave way to Michał Czartoryski,
whose ties with Flemming secured his financial base.

Michał’s brother, August Alexander (1697-1782), Palatine of Ruthenia, also focused on securing financial independence through marriage. In 1731, with the help of his mother, he won the hand of Maria Zofia Sieniawska, widow of Stanisław Denhoff (1699-1771), Field Hetman of Lithuania. Maria Zofia not only inherited her late husband’s fortune but was also the last of the Sieniawski line. She was therefore the sole heiress to their vast wealth and to their historical and political legacy, at the time the richest bride in the Commonwealth.

From this happy union between August and Maria Zofia came two surviving children, Adam Kazimierz (1734-1823) and Izabela (1736-1816). For the girl August Czartoryski chose as husband Stanisław Lubomirski (c. 1720-1783), Grand Marshal of the Crown from 1766, who in 1773 took over the reins of the Familia from the ageing Michał and August.

Konstancja connected the two branches of the family, the Czartoryskis and the Poniatowskis. If the Czartoryskis focused on favourable marriages, the Poniatowski line attended to them with equal care. Konstancja inherited her mother’s political interests and drive for her own eight children, of whom Stanisław Antoni became


49 Jerzy Michalski, ‘Lubomirski Stanisław’, PSB, vol. 18, 53-56. The two younger siblings of Konstancja, Michał and August were given to the Church: Teodor Kazimierz became bishop of Poznań and Ludwika Elżbieta an abbess.
Izabela Flemming was born into a family of formidable men and women, who pursued their collective ambition to control the Polish political landscape. The common goals of the Familia included the reform of the Commonwealth’s institutions. They styled themselves ‘patriots’ and defenders of nobles’ liberties, but the moral labels did not mean that their political methods were in any way ethically superior to those they opposed. Their centre was Wolczyn, only 180 kilometres east of Warsaw, just within the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

**Wolczyn**

Wolczyn had belonged to the extended family since 1710. Although not an age-old Czartoryski seat such as Klewań or Żuków, by the time Izabela was born it was their major center. It was first owned by the Flemmings, then by the Poniatowskis, and from 1744 by the Czartoryskis. They all practised model agriculture and settled German and Dutch colonists, being eager to profit from these religious dissidents’ high-yielding farming.

The palace itself was not especially large or ostentatious. It was a single-storey baroque-style building, built out of larch wood – a typical building material. It had

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sixteen windows and an entrance on its central axis. Inside there were thirty-six rooms, some ‘great’, some ‘official’. They were filled with French furniture and tapestries, which not only reflected the family’s cosmopolitan taste but connected them with the childhood country of Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn. Some rooms were covered with red damask and a large number of paintings by old masters – mostly Italian – decorated the walls. There was also a politically eloquent portrait gallery; in which, as Julian Niemcewicz later recalled, hung full-length royal portraits of Augustus II, Augustus III, his consort Maria Josepha of Austria, Charles XII of Sweden, Stanisław Poniatowski, and his wife Konstancja with one of her young sons.\textsuperscript{54}

The main building extended into two freestanding brick wings. One with fifty-six rooms served as lodgings for visiting nobles, while another building contained the archives and a library of several thousand volumes.\textsuperscript{55} The wings embraced a forty-acre French garden complete with an orangery, a hothouse, a theatre and four garden pavilions decorated with frescos. Through the centre of the garden ran a long canal which terminated at one end with a waterfall and statue of Neptune with his aquatic entourage. The statues came alive at the time of entertainments, as in 1776 when a company of men dressed as tritons and staged a race in the canal. This was a suitably baroque spectacle, one of many in the calendar of lavish feasts, \textit{fêtes} and firework displays.\textsuperscript{56} A game park on the outskirts of the grounds emphasized the status of the

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\textsuperscript{54} Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, \textit{Pamiętniki czasów moich, dzieło pośmiertne} (Leipzig, 1868), 41-42.


\textsuperscript{56} Jerzy Skowronek, \textit{Adam Jerzy Czartoryski: 1770-1861} (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1994), 79.
estate. In Poland-Lithuania, as elsewhere, keeping game was always an elite enterprise, requiring as it did large expanses of fenced land, a great number of keepers, and wild animals which were often brought from afar. Only magnates could afford such an expense and the Czartoryskis carefully cultivated the image.\textsuperscript{57}

Wólczyn had its satellites. Izabela’s father Flemming established his own base in the neighbouring Terespol, his centre for managing local elections in the palatinate of Brześć Litewski. In 1748 he acquired nearby Różanka, a palace within defensive ramparts with an outstanding French garden. This was a residence appropriate for Flemming’s position, where he made a commanding statement about his control of the land and the centrality of his authority.\textsuperscript{58}

Izabela Flemming would have seen the frequent departures of her father, her grandfather and other members of her family to the electoral and parliamentary gatherings. But her home in Wólczyn was also a major centre for political meetings and she would have seen her family at work there. King Stanisław August Poniatowski later wrote in his memoirs that the ideas and plans came from Michał Czartoryski, the decisions came from Konstancja Poniatowska and August Czartoryski, while Stanisław Poniatowski carried them out. The financial backing came from August, and more specifically from his wife Zofia.\textsuperscript{59}

The Czartoryskis continuously hosted both fellow magnates and the less well-


off nobility from the provinces. Wołczyn had to respond visually to all the expectations of the gathering nobles as a representational residence with all the markers of a traditional noble lifestyle. The nobility in Poland-Lithuania (the szlachta) differed from the titled families in the rest of Europe in a number of ways. To understand the complexities of their interactions it is necessary to give here a short overview of the nature of the noble estate in Poland in the middle of the eighteenth century. These were the people to whom Czartoryska addressed her later performances and she used a language they could understand.

*Szlachta*

The Polish nobility – the szlachta - accounted for about seven percent of the population of up to fourteen million (in 1772). This was an unprecedented proportion of the noble estate; in France it did not exceed two percent. The size of the szlachta meant that most nobles were poor, but as a ruling estate – the nation, as it considered itself – it monopolized rights to an extent seen nowhere else in Europe. For centuries nobles held an exclusive right to own landed property, from which they paid no taxes other than those they agreed to levy on themselves and paid no import or export duties. From 1543 they held total control over their peasants, denied them freedom of movement, imposed labour dues and prevented them from appealing to any other jurisdiction than their own seigniorial courts. Izabela would treat noble lordship over

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the peasantry as part of the natural order of things, but she also believed that *noblesse oblige*.

Having secured dominion over their lands and the people who lived on them, the szlachta gradually restricted the extent of the royal prerogatives. From 1505 no new legislation could be imposed by the king without the sanction of the sejm (parliament). These statutes, known as *Nihil Novi*, were extended in the Henrician articles, drawn up in 1573 and named after the first elected king, Henri de Valois. The Henrician articles were always incorporated into the *pacta conventa*, the contract with every prospective candidate for the throne, sealed before he was elected. The king promised to call the sejm every two years, to seek its consent before declaring war or imposing taxes, to preserve the principle of free elections and to accept the right of the nobles to withdraw their allegiance from him if he acted against the interest of the Commonwealth. The szlachta also exacted further promises from each candidate, tailored to the specific set of circumstances at the time.62 For example, in his *pacta conventa* Augustus II was asked to pay at least 5 million thalers of back pay to the Polish and Lithuanian armies.63

The nobles particularly cherished the right to participate in the royal elections in person, *viritim*. This was the public acknowledgement of their self-importance based solely on noble birth and the right to free speech, the *vox libera*. Their ‘support’ was canvassed with an abundant distribution of favours and the szlachta revelled in


this self-serving version of ‘noble democracy’.  

The Czartoryski programme of reform was relatively modest and did not address some key weaknesses in the Polish constitutional structure. At various times it encompassed an expansion of the small tax base, an augmented and reformed army, corrections to the Commonwealth’s creaking court system, and a suspension or limitation of the liberum veto (which in its extreme form allowed a single member of the sejm to curtail its proceedings and nullify everything agreed until that point). Nevertheless, the Familia still faced difficulties in securing a sufficient majority in the sejm. For most of the szlachta the problems addressed by the Czartoryskis’ proposed reforms were not the main issue; many were worried by the concentration of power in the hands of the already powerful Familia, whose proposed reforms were intended to curtail the excesses of the very freedoms they claimed to protect.

The Czartoryskis actively canvassed on a local level, at the sejmiki (dietines or local assemblies), where they engaged with a noble electorate which ranged from other magnates through well-to-do local worthies to the landless golota (‘naked’ szlachta), from the polished and cosmopolitan to the illiterate and primitive, from the rational and restrained to the rowdy, drunken, and mindlessly gloating in their own self-importance. The Czartoryskis cajoled the votes of this varied voting public with promises of favour, offices and money. They made use of their fortune and the power of the offices that they had so assiduously amassed. Michał Czartoryski excelled in his relationship with the szlachta. He relied on his prodigious memory to maintain a relationship with his clients. August however did not posses an easy rapport with the

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64 Lukowski, Liberty’s folly, 10-11.
nobility, he appeared reserved, even aloof, but Michał relied heavily on his younger brother’s judgment, will, determination and money in their common pursuit of reform.66

Wolczyn was the hub for these political activities. Izabela Flemming grew up at the core of all these activities.

**Life in the Czartoryski capital**

In some ways the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had not one capital in Warsaw, but many: the Czartoryskis’ estates at Wolczyn, Puławy and Siedlce, the Branickis’ Białystok, the Radziwiłłs’ Nieśwież and many others took on the role both symbolically and in actuality.67

King Augustus II responded to this geographical discrepancy, already apparent in the later seventeenth century, and made an attempt to raise Warsaw into something resembling a royal Residenzstadt. He laid out geometrically arranged avenues, built the Saxon palace and the large public Saxon Garden, but without the support of his wife (who refused to convert to Catholicism and so was not crowned as Queen of Poland), he was not able to make his court an attractive cultural alternative to the magnates’ provincial residences. For much of the first half of the eighteenth century Warsaw came alive only during royal visits from Dresden for the duration of the sejm. The nobles then descended on the city in large numbers, but they felt threatened by

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the atmosphere of the court. Its elaborate etiquette and its political function, based essentially on providing a forum of competition for royal favours, offended Polish nobles’ sense of *aequalitas* as well as provoking the long-standing cultural opposition of the ‘virtuous country’ to the ‘corrupt court’, an opposition which had its roots in the classical antiquity so beloved of the *szlachta*. Capable German courtiers occupied many positions that nobles felt should be rightfully theirs or reserved for their sons’ advancement. As a result, their antipathy to the German-speaking, frock-coated, silk-stockinged, periwigged and powdered courtiers only contributed to xenophobia as well as religious prejudice. Provincial moralists relegated courtly entertainments, including public masques, to the corrupt ‘foreign’ lifestyle.\(^68\) The exaggerated image of vice-ridden Warsaw contrasted with the idealized perception of the *szlachta* as a country-loving folk who cultivated all the virtues of traditional living.\(^69\) This kind of dichotomy encouraged provincial nobles to pledge their allegiance to provincial centres such as Wolczyn.

It would be misleading to assume that the relative proximity to the capital (ab. 240 km) made Wolczyn in any way dependent on the royal court. Apart from the fact that the atrocious state of the roads placed a real physical barrier for any organized travel (a messenger might have crossed the distance in two days, but a substantial princely convoy took three times longer), Wolczyn, like the estates of other wealthy nobles, was a real and symbolic stronghold of the owner’s independence, considered


as almost a country unto itself. Their owners ruled their own dominions with an almost absolute power, but negotiated their sense of importance with connections to the traditions of the nobles who made their political role possible.

Country residences functioned most of all as political and educational centres, drawing in clients, neighbours, political friends and young aspiring nobles looking for patronage. Nowhere this was more true than in the great Czartoryski houses. The Czartoryskis worked with their clients either in long-term associations, sharing their political goals, or in short periods for economic benefits. Young nobles came to them for an education and introduction to the rudiments of parliamentary and judiciary politics, to culture and the manners of high society. Some would receive sponsorship for further studies and travel abroad, and the lucky ones might even procure a court position thanks to the influence and patronage of the magnate. Either way, the relationships between the magnate’s court and the local nobility was dynamic and composite, involving personal and informal interactions, and their extension into complex obligations between benefactor and client, protector and protégé. Local governance in Lithuania relied on these unofficial bonds and individual contacts. They certainly constituted an ‘uneven friendship’, as Antoni Mączak has put it, but the term did not necessarily carry a negative connotation. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the economy was mainly agricultural; nobles shared a common interest

70 Niemcewicz, Pamiętniki [1868 edn], 43.
against changes to taxes or duties which would affect their export of grain and other produce. Their estates were spread out over large distances, so contacts involved extended hospitality to visiting neighbours. Their personal connections were tightly woven during such visits, and their friendships had strong economic and political foundation.

For most of the eighteenth century Polish-Lithuanian magnates consolidated their position of autonomy within their own domains. Nothing could be more demonstrative – or even persuasive – of their pretences to sovereignty than the presence of cannons and military displays in the courtyards, ramparts and gates fashioned into bastions. The defensive structure of the palace promoted its own rhetoric. The magnates kept ‘armies’ – uniformed and trained militia units, numbering from a hundred to a few thousand men.73 Horse formations and militia units decked out in uniforms specific to a family provided a powerful visual spectacle, designed to impress and to intimidate. These units were used for more than just display; they assured personal protection for the magnates, guarded convoys and ran letters. They afforded defence in the border territories and could be dispatched against disgruntled peasants or to settle a score with a neighbouring magnate. Even the Familia found themselves at the receiving end of Prince Karol Radziwill’s considerable military force, when during the interregnum of 1764 he burned down Flemming’s Terespol.74 Most importantly though, these private armies supported a visual display of status, that could be extended to clients or political friends at the time of funerals or

weddings.\textsuperscript{75} These were the same ‘techniques of domination’ which Chandra Mukerji articulated for the gardens at Versailles and Tom Williamson for the parks in England.\textsuperscript{76} If in Poland they were mediated by the ideal of noble ‘equality’ they were nevertheless equally promoting the control of the \textit{primus inter pares} of local politics, as in the spectacular residence of Jan Klemens Branicki in Białystok, the ‘Podlasian Versailles’\textsuperscript{77}.

The Czartoryskis cultivated that apparent equality with other nobles; they wined and dined from twenty to a hundred people daily, and on their travels they made sure to invite large numbers of local nobles of all ranks to partake of their hospitality.\textsuperscript{78} Within the Commonwealth’s republican political culture all nobles could claim equal legal status, and however great the gulf in wealth or esteem, personal attention and hospitality were an essential part of the rituals that bound the szlachta together. The Czartoryskis needed the support of this mass entourage to make a public statement of their power, while at the same time respecting subtle distinctions of rank through graded variations in the degree of access. At the rising ceremony, for example, the nobles gathered to petition for their interests, some were invited to stay for dinner or supper; others to stay longer, some could come to a theatrical performance or concert.\textsuperscript{79}


\textsuperscript{78} Kuras, \textit{Współpracownicy}, 15-30.

\textsuperscript{79} Maria Bogucka, \textit{Człowiek i świat: studia z dziejów kultury i mentalności XV-XVIII w}
In all their activities the Czartoryskis responded to the well defined identity of the szlachta – a combined world view which by the later eighteenth century had acquired a usually pejorative name: sarmatyzm. In mid-life Izabela Czartoryska would seek to rehabilitate traditional ‘Sarmatian’ values, so it is useful at this point to consider the meanings of the terms sarmatyzm and ‘Sarmatian’.

Essentially, ‘Sarmatian’ culture united the nobles as a separate estate, which in their own view was superior to any other in Europe. It provided them with the foundation for their self-image that over time came to override their differences within the multi-lingual and multi-confessional Polish-Lithuanian nation. To start with, sarmatyzm gave nobles their own unique genealogy. Fifteenth-century chroniclers and historians looking for the theory of the development of nations arrived at a theory of a roaming tribe of Sarmatians who fought victoriously against Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, before taking over the lands of Poland and Lithuania.\(^8^0\) While in 1517 Maciej z Miechowa identified all inhabitants of Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia (Ruś) – including peasants, artisans and townsmen - as the descendants from these warring tribes, by the late seventeenth century the nobles claimed exclusive rights to Sarmatian ancestry.\(^8^1\) The other inhabitants were left to an unspecified, vernacular origin. The purported brush with Roman culture was to be the source of the nobles’ love of Roman republican values: democracy, equality and

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freedom. As the nobles accumulated rights over their elected kings in the course of several centuries, so they came to revere the ancient defenders of republican liberty, especially Brutus, Cato and Cincinnatus. Their spokesmen lauded their rural and provincial lives in terms of Virgilian poetics on the morality of agricultural pursuits. Their homes stood in a countryside that was portrayed as pastoral and idyllic. In poetry at least, their families lived according to simple but strict ethics, and they were always welcoming to visitors with generous, even extravagant hospitality.

In his seminal analysis of sarmatyzm, Tadeusz Ulewicz highlighted the cultural notion of rural time, the unifying element expressed in the cycle of entertainments and ceremonies. These gatherings celebrated the security of noble identity coming from the pattern of repeating events. Time-hallowed rural customs stood above language or religion or social divisions and by the turn of the sixteenth century a Renaissance humanist dimension had coloured them with an optimistic faith in order and harmony of the world. Later baroque poetry developed further this myth of Utopia in the Polish countryside and merged the rich and sensuous particulars of life with the bucolic dream.

The process of self-identification with an alien tribe necessitated some kind of evidence. Therefore it is not surprising that noble ancestral lineages kept getting longer to incorporate the ‘Sarmatian’ past. In the extreme cases, some stretched to the Garden of Eden, to the Tower of Babel, and in the case of the Morsztyn family –

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Izabela’s maternal line – to Noah. Others stopped at republican Rome.84

Predictably the imagery of the republican Rome reflected the szlachta’s love of liberty, but during the reign of King Jan III Sobieski (1674-1696) some of the great magnates shifted the visual source of their pictorial and architectural representation from republican to imperial Rome. Sobieski employed imperial Roman motifs in his residence in Wilanów, emphasizing his position as the modern Caesar Augustus. The same imagery was used by some of the magnates who opposed him; they all were, in the end, almost emperors in their own domains. Mariusz Karpowicz suggested that this change reflected the desire of the magnates to present themselves as ruling personalities, superior to their noble brethren.85 Aristocratic genealogies begun to claim descent directly from Julius Caesar or even Roman divinities. The house of Denhoff claimed descent from Venus, that of Lubomirski from Janus. Both houses later merged with the line of the Czartoryskis.86

In theory, the only princely titles recognized in the Commonwealth were those held by Lithuanian and Ruthenian princely families, such as the Czartoryskis, before the Union of Lublin between Poland and Lithuania in 1569. However, houses with princely titles bestowed by foreign rulers, such as the Radziwiłłs and Lubomirski – princes of the Holy Roman Empire – increasingly sought to elevate themselves above other magnate clans by their choice of visual imagery.87 The subtle shift from

84 Karpowicz, Sztuka, 176-177.
85 Ibid.
republican to imperial imagery, and from ‘Sarmatian’ to Roman genealogy, can be seen as marking the rising tension between the ordinary nobility and the aristocracy at the turn of the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{88} The Commonwealth’s principal families sought to position themselves within the wider European aristocratic elite, but at the same time remained at the head of an idealized ‘Sarmatian nation’.

If ‘Sarmatian’ unity arose from faith in the order and purposefulness of the world, it very soon came under stress. Stanisław Grzybowski has shown how seventy years of wars from the mid-seventeenth century contributed to the increasingly conservative thinking within ‘Sarmatian’ culture.\textsuperscript{89} By concentrating their energies on the exigencies of war and focusing on the security of markets and incomes in those circumstances, the nobility stayed with the old and traditional forms of governance. Rather than adapting to the changing situation they made their rights into an immutable and ceremonial sacrum. For most of the eighteenth century they successfully nullified any kind of reform that might have challenged their privileges. Even though, as Ulewicz argued, sarmatyzm was generally a positive force in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, inclining nobles to compromise for the common good and strengthening social bonds, by the eighteenth century it had become an ideology centred on itself. Consequently any proposals of reform initiated by the great magnates were viewed by the ‘Sarmatian’ nobility with deep suspicion.\textsuperscript{90} The big players in the political arena like the Francophile and Anglophile Familia had to consciously respond to the eighteenth-century version of ‘Sarmatian’ culture.


Gesture formed an important visual part of the ‘Sarmatian’ identity. Nobles’ manners tended to the extravagant, theatrical and public. They moved with gravitas, disdained any fast physical games and only enjoyed the chivalric pursuits - hunting or horse riding.\(^{91}\) Rituals of welcome and leave-taking were effusive and protracted. Men of equal status embraced each other and kissed on the shoulder. Others not so equal kissed the chest, the stomach, bowed to the knees or even prostrated themselves on the ground. Men treated women with chivalry and kissed their hands frequently. At the table they ate with silver utensils, raised prolonged toasts and made highly structured orations. Every house held manuals of etiquette and precedent, the silva rerum, so that no offence could by chance occur and no one could be accused of behaving like a peasant (po chamsku). Indeed manners were sometimes the only denominator of the noble birth in impoverished households. Births, deaths and marriages were the occasions for large gatherings in a choreographed and visually designed framework, always with an affected splendour. Although complicated, prescribed and sometimes stiff, these rituals carried an emotional component that could add an expressive dimension to the nature of conduct and liken it to a theatrical performance.\(^{92}\)

All these points of ‘Sarmatian’ culture were enacted in Wolczyn, the centre for the provincial world and at the same time its window to a wider, cosmopolitan culture. It follows that Izabela Flemming was there equally at home with the vernacular tradition of gesture and with the French roots of her great-grandmother. At Wolczyn she learned the cordiality of interactions and the nuances of the ideal of


\(^{92}\) Bogucka, Człowiek i świat, 36-51.
noble equality, while at the same early stage she discovered her own privileged position as the future inheritor of the family’s ambitions. Her childhood home extended extravagant hospitality to the noble nation, the military units contributed to the splendour of displays, while feasts and fêtes unified guests into one emotionally connected brotherhood. This sphere of identity would become a fixed point of reference for Izabela’s later views.
Act I

Wołczyn, 1746-1761
Scene I

The education of Princess Izabela Czartoryska
Two women directed the upbringing of the young Izabela. Her grandmother Eleonora provided an example of a female head of the family and introduced Izabela to the management of the estate and people living there. The second set of guidance came from the governess Madame Petit and her greatest contribution must be an introduction to a moral interpretation of history. Neither of these women have yet been acknowledged as influential on Izabela’s future views.

*Rollin’s ‘Histories’*

It is not known exactly when Madeleine Petit left Paris for a career in Poland. By all accounts she was a respected governess and an intelligent, gentle and loving woman. She established a strong emotional bond with Izabela and later took charge of Izabela’s own children. Nevertheless, Madame Petit’s educational efforts have always been critically assessed, not least by her own pupil. Izabela’s regret at her inadequate, ‘rustic’ education gave rise to the dismissal of these early years by all her biographers.

The recollections of Izabela’s youngest daughter Zofia of her own early years with Madame Petit bring interesting insights about the governess’s program and methods of education. With foresight we can say that Izabela would continue the same methods with her own children. Zofia, like Izabela, lamented the limitations of her schooling, having been left behind in Puławy with only Madame Petit and the poet Kajetan Koźmian for company, while her mother travelled abroad. By the 1790s

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94 Excerpts from Zofia Zamoyska’s memoirs published by Aleksandra Borowska in a *Kronika Rodzinna*, (1887), 673-674. Zamoyska’s memoirs were also quoted by Dębicki, *Puławy, 1762-1830*, vol. 4, 281-336. See 284-292 for Zamoyska’s education.
Madame Petit had grown old and infirm, so it is reasonable to assume that the governess relied on the methods she had developed earlier in life. She taught Zofia the simplest rudiments of the Catholic faith, the bare basics of European geography and French without grammar. There were piano and dance lessons, a little arithmetic and a soupçon of English. Zofia read excerpts from the tragedies of Voltaire and Racine, Antoine Galland’s *Arabian nights*, Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* and Arnaud Berquin’s *L’Ami des enfans*. With the exception of the latter, which was published in 1782-83, all the other works could have formed Izabela’s course of education. However, the most telling was the programme of history lessons selected by Madam Petit.

Zofia read the early history of Poland with reference to the genealogy of the Czartoryski family. After that she studied sections of an ‘exceedingly boring’ *Histoire ancienne* by Charles Rollin. Rollin influenced generations of educators with his *Histoire* and with the subsequent *Histoire romaine*.95 He emphasized the ethical qualities of historical characters and interpreted past events as direct outcomes of the personal virtues or vices of individuals. The Greeks and Romans, Rollin wrote, achieved their greatness because of their religious piety as well as because of their love of liberty, attachment to country and the desire for glory. Rollin sometimes selected his subjects more for their moralizing example than for their historical significance, for example Antiochus or Virginia, who remain unknown to most of us today, were singled out with the same emphasis as Socrates or Cicero.

Rollin’s texts became a reference compendium for artists looking for classical

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subjects, but as Peter Walch has noted, artists found the subjects not only in the narrative, but also in the illustrations made by Hubert François Bourguignon, known as Gravelot (1699-1773).\textsuperscript{96} Formally and thematically, Gravelot’s influence can be seen in the works of a variety of artists: Benjamin West, Nathaniel Dance, Charles Moreau, Angelica Kauffman and Jacques-Louis David, all of whom reinterpreted his compositions and made some events famous, like the death of Socrates, the battle of the Horatii and Cuiratii or the death of the heroic enemy of Sparta, Epaminondas (il. 1, 2).\textsuperscript{97}

The influence of the \textit{Histoires} would not only explain Izabela’s belief that the course of history was determined by the character qualities of the main protagonists, but could also be seen as the basis for some of her arranged performances, which would share much of Gravelot’s iconography.

Rollin promoted his concept of history as a didactic, pedagogical example in his earliest work, the highly influential \textit{De la manière d’enseigner et d’étudier les belles-lettres}, known as the \textit{Traité des études}.\textsuperscript{98} This edifying treatise intended for governesses and educators was first published in 1726-32 and continued as a separate publication with advice for the education of girls.\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{96} Peter S. Walch, ‘Charles Rollin and early neoclassicism’, \textit{Art Bulletin}, 49 (1967), no. 2, 123-126. See also a chapter ‘Childhood and early education in the works of Claude Fleury, Charles Rollin and Jean-Pierre de Crousaz’ in Natasha Gill, \textit{Educational philosophy in the French enlightenment from nature to second nature} (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 69-116

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{98} Charles Rollin, \textit{De la manière d’enseigner et d’étudier les belles-lettres, par rapport à l’esprit et au coeur} (Paris: J. Estienne, 1726).


(2) *Death of Epaminondas*, by Benjamin West, 1774, oil on canvas, Royal Collection, London, (image in common domain).
Both compendia explained in a clear and systematic way the objectives of lessons and gave practical subjects of instruction, exercises and explanations of the methods to be employed. Rollin was convinced that the progress of civilization depended on education and especially on the study of history.\textsuperscript{100} Therefore first sacred history should be studied, then the history of the Greeks and Romans, taking the quality of their characters as the measure of the morality of their actions. The Romans provided the richest source of moral inspiration and ethical examples for the young girls and boys to imitate. The program of study charted by Rollin was exactly that which Zofia related in her memoirs.

In her short remembrance Zofia twice mentioned Madame Petit’s sweet disposition, her caring attentions and gentle affection. This was what Rollin encouraged, preceptors should be gentle and kind and especially tender in the time when the child is very young or sick. They needed to extend respect to children and even to become their guardian angels.\textsuperscript{101} Rollin advocated what Natasha Gill calls ‘effortless’ learning through play, reading with flashcards, motivating students through example and visualization.\textsuperscript{102} We can assume that the education that Izabela Czartoryska received was based on Rollin’s modern pedagogical theory, instilling moral examples from Roman history through a gentle and considerate approach.

\textsuperscript{100} Quoted here in English translation: Charles Rollin, \textit{The method of teaching and studying the belles lettres or an introduction to languages, poetry, rhetorick, history, moral philosophy, physicks, &c.} (London: W. Strahan, 1770), vol. 1, 4.

\textsuperscript{101} Rollin, \textit{The method of teaching}, vol. 1, 384-390.

\textsuperscript{102} Natasha Gill, \textit{Educational philosophy}, 79.
Eleonora’s example

Eleonora Czartoryska née Waldstein provided another dimension for Izabela’s education. Eleonora had already brought up her three daughters. She personally attended to their home education and taught them reading and arithmetic. When her son Antoni died at seven years of age, she took the sole charge of Izabela.

(3) Princess Eleonora Czartoryska née Waldstein as the founder of the palace in Wołczyn, unknown painter, oil on canvas, 18th century, Fundacja Książąt Czartoryskich, Gabinet Rycin, Cracow (afterwards FKCz).

Eleonora’s likeness comes from the painting in the Czartoryski Museum, where she is shown as a founder of the family’s primary residence (il. 3). A handwritten inscription reads: ‘Princess Michał Czartoryski with little angels. The front of the palace at Wołczyn, which was built by her, is visible in the background’. 103 The Czartoryski women - Eleonora and Izabela’s future mother-in-law Maria Zofia Czartoryska in

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103 ‘Xiężna Michałowa Czartoryska z aniołkami – w dali widać front pałacu wolięńskiego, przez nią zbudowanego’.
Puławy - acquired a reputation for dictating their own ideas to their architects.\textsuperscript{104} During their husbands’ long absences from home they took all the decisions concerning the running of their estates and were responsible for devising the visual sphere of display.\textsuperscript{105} Both established representational French gardens around their estates and both were concerned with the wellbeing of their peasants.\textsuperscript{106}

Eleonora was known for her charitable works, for good governance of her estates and especially for her compassionate attitude towards peasants in Radzymin after the family moved to Warsaw in 1764.\textsuperscript{107} She must have instilled this sense of duty to the peasants in her granddaughter. In fact, Izabela contracted smallpox in Wolczyn as a result of visiting rural cottages and coming into contact with a very ill infant.\textsuperscript{108}

The education Izabela received from her grandmother referred more to practical than to academic matters, this being the type of instruction typical for Polish noble households. ‘Sarmatian’ educational methods stressed the achievement of emotional maturity through the shaping of character, through early responsibility for work and through social interactions. An important goal was the development of sensitivity to nature, the surrounding world and to works of art.\textsuperscript{109} Baroque literature and poetry often participated in the educational sphere with their distinctly didactic


\textsuperscript{105} Wolczyn records preserved in the Biblioteka Czartoryskich in Cracow relate only to the years 1778-1780, Aftanazy, Dzieje rezydencji, vol. 2, 162.

\textsuperscript{106} ‘Wolczyn’, SGKP, 865-867.

\textsuperscript{107} Cf. Wnuk.

\textsuperscript{108} Czartoryski, Pamiętniki, 78.

\textsuperscript{109} Grzybowski, Sarmatyzm, 10.
tone. Education of girls emphasized the virtues of modesty and humility. These social virtues would allow them to form the least conflicting relationships with their dependents, neighbours and peasants.

Charles Rollin reserved this very model for a mother of a young girl. He devoted a whole chapter to the responsibilities of the mother and made no distinction between the economic running of a household and attending to the appropriate public representation of the family. According to Rollin, ‘this virtue (of domestic duties) preserves the estates of the noble families and supports them with honour and dignity’.  

Education in Poland was affected with another factor, the seven decades of continual warfare on the Commonwealth’s own soil, beginning in 1648. With male members engaged in wars many noble households were led by women. Widows independently managed family affairs, educated children and advanced their careers. Their husbands’ valour in battle, and ultimately their death, began to be regarded as the definitive patriotic act. Its public recognition took the form of extravagant funerals, orations and sermons, while the personal effects of the deceased received the value of relics. Boys were given a model of a distinguished hero to follow. For example, Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski, who had died a hero’s death in battle against the Turks at Cecora in 1620, was presented to his young great-grandsons, Marek and Jan Sobieski, as an exemplar of knightly virtues and family honour. The boys were taught to feel a near religious reverence towards his mementoes, such as his blood-stained coat; they were brought to his tomb to learn from the inscription there: O jakże słodko i przystojnie umrzeć za ojczyznę, the Polish for Dulce et decorum est pro

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patria mori.\textsuperscript{111} Marek Sobieski was slain on the battlefield of Batoh in 1652; his younger brother went on to become King Jan III.

Through the veneration of their husbands’ memories women connected the family’s name with the history of the nation.\textsuperscript{112} This was the widespread reality of noble households, one which formed the ‘Sarmatian’ identity and one with which Izabela must have been implicitly conversant.

How then should we interpret Izabela’s complaint about her neglected, rustic education? She was taught according to the fashionable educational methods, in a caring environment, surrounded by her cosmopolitan family and by deferential ‘Sarmatian’ nobles. Her grandmother provided the role model for her, as did her great-aunt Zofia in Puławy and her great-grandmother Izabela. The young Izabela Flemming had plenty of opportunities to observe them during family gatherings.

The classics and ‘Sarmatian’ culture were the two complementary pillars of her world order. ‘Sarmatian’ culture was rooted in the extended family, in emotional ties with the whole noble estate and in the history of the country, to which the Czartoryskis personally contributed. This was an environment so emotionally significant to Izabela that she and her husband Adam Kazimierz contemplated making Wolczyn their permanent seat after the death of Michał Czartoryski in 1775.

Izabela’s misgivings about her education should be seen instead in the context of the rigorous and structured education her future husband and her sister-in-law had received. These two were given the benefit of the personal attention of their intellectual father August Czartoryski, schooling by excellent tutors and experiences

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 12.

\textsuperscript{112} Grzybkowski, Sarmatyzm, 26-28.
during their travels abroad. Both exuded intellectual confidence in the foremost salons of Europe.\footnote{Gołąbiowska, W kręgu, 48-50.} They were also more than ten years older than Izabela, who for a long time felt overshadowed by them. Izabela had to make her own choices in readings, and she read prodigiously, but it is evident that her own inclination did not lie in scholarly discussions. Indeed, in all her copious correspondence or memoirs she hardly ever engaged in intellectual arguments or art criticism.\footnote{Żygulski summed up this attitude in his analysis of Czartoryska’s museum methodology: ‘Czartoryska’s approach was romantic. She chose from history and the Greco-Roman legend these moments, which most moved her tender imagination’. Żygulski, Dzieje zbiorów, 240.} Her strengths simply lay elsewhere. In any way, her childhood and her education ended at the age of fifteen, when she entered into a marriage with Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski.
Scene II

A prophetic wedding
The wedding of Izabela Flemming and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski was an event for the whole Commonwealth. The Czartoryskis were uniting the inheritors of the two male branches of the family: the only granddaughter of Michał and the only son of August Czartoryski. The spotlight at the time shone on Adam. During the interregnum of 1733 the possibility of August Czartoryski’s candidacy for the throne had been aired, but he declined to pursue the idea, just as he would do during the following interregnum in 1763-64. Instead August focused his efforts on grooming Adam Kazimierz for the throne. Apart from making sure that his son received a rigorous and enlightened education, he sent the young man to the principal European capitals to establish his presence on the international scene. When Prince Adam Kazimierz visited England in 1757 and 1761 he was indeed widely regarded as the next king of Poland. In 1759 he paid an extended visit to St Petersburg.

Biographers have stressed the contrasts between Izabela and Adam Kazimierz: their differing education, polish and age – she was fifteen, he was twenty-seven – but these differences should not be exaggerated. The two cousins grew up in the same family, within the same set of convictions, ideas and political ambitions. It is little known that the plans for the union were made two and a half years before the wedding. Izabela was engaged at thirteen to Adam Kazimierz after the canonical dispensation was granted on 10 April 1759. The scale of the wedding celebrations,

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115 Kuras, Współpracownicy, 22-23.
116 Butterwick, Poland’s last king, 125.
which took place on the traditional family date of the feast of St Elizabeth of Hungary, 19 November 1761, suggests long preparations.

It is possible to piece together the main outline of the wedding celebrations, something that has hitherto not been done. Some information comes from contemporary memoirs, some from archival records, but the most important for the discussion is the surviving painting of the wedding pavilion, which I call the Temple of Profound Friendship (il.4). It will become clear in the course of this chapter that this painting carries the evidence of symbolic associations that would re-emerge forty years later in Puławy.

On the day of the marriage, Izabela was still recovering from smallpox, blighted by scars and blotches, and had to wear a wig.\textsuperscript{119} The marriage contracts were signed the day before. Flemming provided not only a dowry of 800,000 zlotys, approximately twice the value of the Wołczyn estate, but also promised his entire inheritance jointly to the bride and the groom.\textsuperscript{120} Flemming was therefore leaving his whole fortune to the Czartoryskis, rather than only to his daughter. Her life and her property now merged with those of her husband.

Their wedding was scheduled to take place in the evening. The previous morning; however, another and unannounced wedding took place.\textsuperscript{121} With only the witnesses present, Michał Czartoryski gave away his youngest daughter Aleksandra to Michał Kazimierz Ogiński (1730-1800). Aleksandra was thirty-one and a widow; she

\textsuperscript{119} Czartoryski, Pamiętniki, 78-79.


\textsuperscript{121} Matuszewicz, Diariusz, vol. 2, 174-175. Frączyk, Adam Kazimierz, 119.
had just ended her year-long mourning for her late husband, Michał Antoni Sapieha, the Lithuanian Vice-Chancellor. Michał Czartoryski chose for the prospective husband his own protégée, Michał Kazimierz Ogiński, but there was a complication. Aleksandra had already accepted a proposal from Jan Paulin Sanguszko. She had the full backing of her mother Eleonora and the emotional support of her cousin, Izabela Branicka née Poniatowska. Michał however did not see Sanguszko as useful for the Familia and arranged a hurried wedding to avoid litigation for the breach of promise. No one should have had any illusions about the nature of marital unions in the Czartoryski family. This quick and quiet wedding ceremony, hidden from the view of hundreds of guests assembled for the next day, was as different as possible from Aleksandra’s previous nuptials. Then, in 1748, on the feast of St Elizabeth in Warsaw, Michał Czartoryski had thrown a lavish party. King Augustus III had graced the ceremony and the Queen Maria Josepha had placed a wreath of flowers on the bride’s head. The royal blessing fell not only on the Czartoryski house that day, for this was again a double wedding; the Poniatowskis were marrying their daughter Izabela to the elderly Field Hetman of the Crown, Jan Klemens Branicki.¹²²

Now Michał Czartoryski no longer looked for the sanction of the ailing king for the wedding of his granddaughter Izabela and his nephew Adam. Instead he invited Jan Klemens Branicki, now Grand Hetman of the Crown, and Prince Michał Radziwiłł, Grand Hetman of Lithuania, to stand as witnesses. At least in the mind of Michał and August, the chief commanders of the armed forces of the Commonwealth symbolically endorsed the Czartoryskis’ choice for the next king and queen of Poland. The most illustrious dignitaries of the country filled the small, but exquisite baroque

interior of the Wołczyn church. The sermon was delivered by the Jesuit Karol Wyrwicz, historiographer and geographer to the Czartoryskis.\(^{123}\) He impressed on the newlyweds that their lineage was so noble, so high and so magnificent that none equalled it in the whole of Europe; that their line had given Poland eight kings, while another three of its members had sat on the Hungarian throne and three on the Bohemian.\(^{124}\)

This type of genealogical glorification was part of an established ‘Sarmatian’ marriage ritual, but in this case the family’s royal ambitions were also emphasized.\(^{125}\) If the royal lineage elaborated by Wyrwicz in the wedding oration might be difficult to follow in its genealogical twists and turns, the Czartoryski straight line of descent came very close to the origin of the celebrated Władysław Jagiełło, king of Poland and founder of the Jagellonian dynasty that ruled the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1386 till 1572. The Czartoryskis shared their genealogy with Jagiello through his grandfather, Grand Duke Gediminas, and called themselves ‘the sons of Gediminas’.

From this connection came their coat of arms, the Lithuanian Rider – Pogoń Litewska in Polish or the Vytis in Lithuanian – identical to the crest of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania and therefore to the insignia of the Lithuanian state itself. After the Union of Lublin in 1569 the Commonwealth used both the Pogoń and the Polish White Eagle as the joint insignia. As a result the symbolic sphere of the crest was

\(^{123}\) Frączyk, Adam Kazimierz, 119.


open to any number of visual associations between the Commonwealth and the Czartoryskis. The Jagellonian association provided them with the sense of a pivotal presence in the history of the country and the family for generations gave their sons names from their ancestral past, such as Adam, Kazimierz, Jerzy, Michał, August, Aleksander, Konstanty and Antoni. Their women also participated in this pattern of historical self-identification: Aleksandra, Konstancja, Antonina and, from the eighteenth century onwards, they were named Izabela after their matron – Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn.

The traditional ‘Sarmatian’ celebrations usually involved theatricals, heraldic allegories, fortuitous prophesies, balls, ballets and ‘triumphs’ – processional pageants of virtues, love and fortune. Unfortunately no records of those in Wolczyn have survived, but there were certainly elaborate toasts on many tables filling all available rooms. Habitually during these tributes wedding poems were read and one such surviving epithalamium by Father Jan Chrzciciel Albertrandi expressed the hope that the marriage of Adam and Izabela would mark the beginning of a new Golden Age, a theme particularly dear to the ‘Sarmatians’.

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126 See descriptions of typical wedding rituals in Łoziński, Życie polskie, 210-213. He however does not refer to the Wolczyn wedding.

127 Matuszewicz, Diariusz, vol. 2, 174-175.

128 Zofia Gołębiowska, Oświaty i wychowanie w Puławach oraz kluczu końskowolskim w czasach Czartoryskich (Puławy: WTPMO, 2005), 14.
Templum Amicitiae Sacrum

There is only one preserved visual document of the Wołczyn celebrations (il. 4). An inscription identifies is as ‘fireworks organized in Wołczyn on the occasion of the wedding between Prince Adam Czartoryski and Izabela Flemming’, however so far no further recognition of its features has been made.129

(4) Fireworks organized in Wołczyn on the occasion of the wedding between Prince Adam Czartoryski and Izabella Flemming, inscription in pencil, artist unknown, 1761, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw.

The painting represents the tolos temple surrounded by fourteen ionic columns

and standing on a high base with a cave assembled from large boulders. The inscription over the door – *Amicitiae Sacrum* [To Sacred Friendship] – identifies the building as the Temple of Marriage, for in the ‘Sarmatian’ culture marital love was called profound friendship [*głęboka przyjaźń*]. Two figures leave the temple. The inscription under their feet makes clear, if anyone was still in doubt, that these are Orestes and Pylades, two archetypal friends from Euripides’s *Iphigenia in Tauris*, who were ready to give their lives for each other. A blazing cipher in the foreground depicts the union of Adam and Izabela, while dancing fireworks project the excitement of the nightly display.

The large scale of the pavilion would not have surprised anyone attending a magnate’s wedding. However, while most ceremonial structures erected by Polish magnates dazzled with an abundance of sculptures, paintings, decorative ornaments and classical references, the Wołczyn pavilion was an austere copy of the famous classical peripteros, the Temple of Sibyl in Tivoli. The Czartoryski temple was the first of its kind in Poland in a garden setting. The choice of the Temple of Sibyl for the centrepiece of the wedding certainly enabled new associations in addition to the Temple of Marriage and these are worth exploring here in depth.

Tivoli, the ancient Tibur, lies 30 kilometres outside Rome. Two temples stand at the edge of the city on the precipice, one round, and one square, both from the first century BC. They were both known interchangeably as the Temple of Sibyl and the Temple of Vesta. The confusion does not stop there, for the Temple of Vesta in Rome also lent its associations to the Tivolian temple. Both the Vesta and the Sibyl were

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associated with the prophetic texts and sacred objects that played an extraordinary role in the myths of the destiny of Rome.

The Temple of Vesta in Rome housed the hearth with the sacred fire, its constant flame ensured Rome’s fortune, and its extinction was an ill omen for Rome’s future. The temple also functioned as a depository of state documents, legal papers and historical records and held a statue of Palladium, a sacred votum dedicated to Athena. According to Virgil, Aeneas brought the Palladium to Rome. The Temple of Vesta therefore functioned as a sacred repository for Rome’s collective memory and a providential centre of its fortunes.

The Temple of Sibyl in Tivoli was a dwelling of the Tiburian Sibyl, Albunea, one of the ten prophetesses of the ancient world. The building held the Sibylline Books, prophesies of Rome’s destiny. It was believed that the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus had procured them from the Sibyl and placed them in a crypt under the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The Senate held exclusive rights to consult them until General Flavius Stilicho burned them in the early fifth century.\footnote{Eric M. Orlin, *Temples, religion and politics in the Roman Republic* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 1997); Zdzisław Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów*, 2009, 31-33.} Despite this loss, versions of sibylline texts continued to circulate with added Christian references, of which most important was the Sybil’s vision of the Virgin and Child.\footnote{John Floyer, *The Sibylline Oracles* (London: R. Bruges, 1713). Lodovicus de Tovar, *Diuina revelatio Erythree Sibylle cu comentaritis [of Lodovicus de Tovar] in qua a bello Troiano: us addiem iudicij futura predixit* (Senis: per Symeonem filius Nicolai Nardi, 1508).} The images of the Sibyls populated Christian art from the middle ages through the Renaissance, attracting a renewed interest with the formulation of the post-Tridentine visual rhetoric. By the seventeenth century the Polish ‘Sarmatians’
relied on the associative imagery of the now ‘Polish’ Sibyls.\textsuperscript{133}

Equally important was the lower part of the temple, the Sibyl’s cave set among the boulders on the steep escarpment. The Sibyl would appear from the depths of the cave to foretell the coming of the time of prosperity, the glory of Rome, and in Christian interpretations – the victory of the Church over its enemies.\textsuperscript{134} It would not be unreasonable to assume that in Wołczyn such a Sibyl emerged from the cave visible beneath the temple pavilion and prophesised good fortune to the newly married Adam and Izabela.

According to the ‘Sarmatian’ wedding ritual, the guests would be first treated to the theatrical play.\textsuperscript{135} Afterwards the fireworks turned the garden into a festive sphere.\textsuperscript{136} With the materialized temple Wołczyn became Rome itself, visualizing the ‘Sarmatian’ myth of their origin. The Sibyl handed down to the young generation of the Czartoryskis the future of the nation, an act witnessed by the spirits of the ancients – personified by the Roman busts positioned on both sides of the Temple. The heraldic crests symbolized the family ancestry; they were gathered around the Temple on the large sibylline boulders above the cave.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{133} Karpowicz, \textit{Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu}, 139.

\textsuperscript{134} ‘Sibylline leaves containing a prophecy of unknown antiquity, supposed to refer to the year of our Lord MDCLXXV’, (London: T. Evans, 1774).

\textsuperscript{135} Compare the description of the wedding celebrations for the future King Augustus III of Poland and Maria Josepha of Austria in Dresden in 1719 in Mark Laird, \textit{The formal garden: traditions of art and nature} (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 83-84.

\textsuperscript{136} Frączyk, \textit{Adam Kazimierz}, 120.

The Temple must have seemed a supernatural apparition when illuminated on a dark November night. But even during daylight its appearance would have had a strong visual impact on the wedding guests. From the seventeenth century on the area of Tivoli had been known as the location of Horace’s villa.\(^{138}\) The Polish ‘Sarmatian’ identity drew heavily on Horatian and Virgilian verses and many dabbled in translations.\(^{139}\) Thus the appearance of the Temple of Sibyl in Wołczyn changed the meaning of the garden into an abode of Horace, where Polish nobles could feel at home, back in their Roman and pastoral roots. At the same time the circular form of the pavilion brought in the associations with the Sacred Friendship – this was a wedding after all.

The festivities lasted six days in Wołczyn, after which they continued at Klemens Branicki’s Biała in an equally lavish way.\(^{140}\) Izabela’s adult life began therefore with a visual display that brought together old ‘Sarmatian’ festive ceremonies and new sources of classical architecture together with imaginative symbolic associations. This was her first recorded grand *tableau* where she took the centre stage, whence she would be able to judge the effect of the spectacle on the assembled guests, experience their emotional engagement and their willingness to unite into one body of the *szlachta*. The spectators in their traditional Polish costumes displayed themselves in their chosen roles with their perceived liberties, equalities, customs and identities. The literary references belonged to the established rhetoric of Virgil and Horace, but the imagery was new and exciting, opening new possibilities,

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\(^{140}\) Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz*, 126.
merging into the symbols and ideology of her ‘Sarmatian’ heritage at the time when images of classical antiquity made their way north in etchings and engravings.
Act II

The experimental decade, 1762-1774
Scene I

In the National Theatre
The first decade of Izabela and Adam Kazimierz’s married life brought dramatic reversals of fortune for the Czartoryskis and their allies. From the height of their power at the election of their candidate Stanisław Poniatowski as king in 1764 they soon fell to a humiliating low. Within five years Catherine the Great had forced them to abandon all their reforms, sequestered some of their lands and compelled them to pay her homage. Their programme, designed to protect and strengthen the country, had failed, leaving Poland weakened and open to the First Partition in 1772.  

The two old pillars of the Familia, Michał and August Czartoryski lost their privileged position and largely withdrew from politics. In 1771 Jan Jerzy Flemming died and four years later, on the death of Michał Czartoryski, Izabela and Adam Kazimierz found themselves effectively heading a house which retained considerable prestige, but whose actual political significance was greatly diminished. With Flemming’s inheritance, their share in Michał’s estate and Adam’s revenues from his Podolian starostwo they were among the wealthiest magnates in Poland – even before considering the vast inheritance they expected from August Czartoryski. For Adam Kazimierz this proved a particularly difficult time. He had been forced to abandon any prospects as a successful mediator of reform. Disappointed, he welcomed the opportunity to travel with his wife to France and England for extended periods of time. These long sojourns beyond their homeland not only exposed them to new aesthetic and intellectual developments, but also gave them that insight and self-awareness of their own cultural values that come from living within a different

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society. There is no doubt that the political developments during this decade reduced and rearranged the public spheres of influence for the pair, but at the same time they contributed to the opening of new ones – theatre and gardening. For Izabela this was a period when she was able to experience the power of theatrical persuasion on the political scene. For this reason it is helpful firstly to present a concise account of the political events and cultural developments which had a direct bearing on the motifs behind the creation of Izabela’s gardens. Izabela would later respond in her own way both to the ‘enlightened’ satire of sarmatyzm promoted by the new king and his allies in the mid-1760s and to the vigorous defences of traditional ‘Sarmatian’ values that this assault provoked.

**Enter Adam Kazimierz**

At the start of his marriage Adam Kazimierz decided to excuse himself from the role his family had prepared for him since his birth. On 13 June 1762, immediately after Catherine II had indicated a preference for Stanisław Poniatowski as king, Czartoryski ruled himself out of the race, even declaring that he would leave the country if the family pressured him. His decision to renounce any aspirations to the throne earned him scorn from his father and derision from generations of historians. Neither Adam nor Izabela ever revisited the choice, but a feeling of regret at the lost opportunity still lingered among their sympathizers. The usually supportive biographer of the

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Czartoryskis, Ludwik Dębiicki blamed Izabela. The Czartoryski house, he declared, rose on the foundations laid out by their women – Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn and her daughter Konstancja Poniatowska, mother of King Stanisław August. With their deaths before Stanislaw’s accession to the throne, that energizing, constructive force disappeared. Adam’s wife, according to Dębiicki, possessed neither political instinct nor interest in public affairs: ‘politics for a long time belonged to those serious matters, which bored the young, beautiful princess who had immersed herself in entertainments. She avoided politics even when it came to the crown for her husband (…)’. Dębiicki even speculated: ‘Who knows if the precipitous collapse of the national and family politics of the Czartoryskis was not a result of an absence of a woman with that gift, which we might call the political temperament’. He was clearly asking a lot of a sixteen-year old, whose powers of persuasion would have had to exceed those of the most forceful personalities in the country – August and Michał Czartoryski. Adam Kazimierz, for all his talents and scholarly achievements, and in spite of his carefully structured upbringing, lacked ambition and drive. As early as 1759 he confided in the French ambassador to St Petersburg, that he inhabited two personas, that of the son of Prince Czartoryski, constrained by family obligations, and that of Adam Kazimierz himself.

Despite his decision not to seek election as king, Adam Kazimierz assumed a prominent political role in the first few years of married life. He represented his family’s interests and policies at consecutive sejms. In the winter of 1762-63 he

144 Dębiicki, *Pulawy*, vol. 1, 81.

145 Ibid.

worked on the Familia’s programme of constitutional reform, which, with the prospect of one of their own coming to the throne, appeared at last to have a real chance of being implemented.  

While the Familia plotted the dethronement of the ailing King Augustus III, Adam Kazimierz took on the task of persuading the wider audience of the political desirability of a new political programme. He began publishing a one-page newspaper, the Monitor, which presented the need for reform in terms of good citizenship and plain common sense. The Monitor was published only from August to September 1763. On 5 October of that year Augustus III died suddenly in Dresden, and the time came to try to turn the rhetoric of reform into practice.

Adam Kazimierz took charge of the electoral process as the Marshal of the Convocation Sejm (7 May-23 June 1764). This sejm traditionally prepared the nation’s conditions for the incoming king. Because it was held under the aegis of a confederacy (a league of nobles, formed in an emergency – such as an interregnum – to protect the Commonwealth and the liberty of its citizens) the liberum veto could not be exercised and decisions could be taken by majority vote if unanimity was not forthcoming. The Czartoryskis not only used this facility to pass their bills without the fear of them being blocked by a minority, but kept the confederacy in place after the election had been completed, prolonging it until the sejm of 1766. To improve their prospects further they intimidated the szlachta with their own militia, with Russian troops in reserve if needed. In response, the pro-Saxon ‘old republican’ party

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boycotted the proceedings in protest against this effective coup d’État. The Czartoryskis passed their bills: taxes, new tariffs and duties creating new treasury and military commissions, thereby curtailing the abuses of the treasurers and hetmans, a general customs tariff, majority voting for ‘economic matters’ brought forward by the new treasury commissions, and removed local assemblies – the sejmiks – from the scope of the liberum veto altogether.149

Via the general confederacy the Familia not only dominated the sejm, they took control of the government of the country during and following the interregnum. August Czartoryski was the marshal of the confederacy, with Adam Kazimierz as his deputy. They successfully cleared the ground of their political enemies. On 7 September 1764, with seven thousand of Catherine’s troops stationed a few kilometres away, Stanisław Poniatowski was unanimously elected king. He was crowned Stanisław II August on 25 November, the feast of St Catherine of Alexandria, in recognition of his Russian protectress. Adam Kazimierz was showered with honours: the sejm awarded him the Order of the White Eagle and from Russia he received the Order of St Andrew. After the election he worked closely with the king. He took over the newly created Cadet School, an equivalent of the French École Militaire or Frederick the Great’s Berlin Academy, developed its curriculum, recruited the teaching staff and wrote widely on issues of education and on the role of theatre in public improvement.150

The political victory of the Czartoryskis, and the accompanying sense of

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150 Frączyk, Adam Kazimierz, 201-201; Kamilla Mrozowska, Szkoła Rycerska Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego, 1765-1794 (Wrocław, 1961),
progress and optimism, lasted for little more than a year. Catherine had no desire to see a strong and independent Poland on her borders and she ordered her ambassador, Nikolai Vasilevich Repnin, to find ways to reverse those measures that particularly strengthened the Commonwealth’s system of government.\textsuperscript{151}

Repnin focused on the issue of the ‘dissidents’ (dissenters), that is the small number of Protestant and the tiny number of Orthodox Polish nobles, who were denied most of the political rights of their Catholic countrymen.\textsuperscript{152} Since winning the throne in a coup that removed her husband Peter III in 1762, Catherine II had been at pains to stress her support for Russian Orthodoxy. She also craved the applause of ‘enlightened’ Europe for spreading tolérance. In addition she desired to create a ‘dissident’ party in the Commonwealth that would be wholly dependent on herself. The Familia favoured making concessions to the dissidents, especially by extending the practical religious toleration accorded to non-Catholics, but they could not countenance the full political equality demanded by Catherine II. Faced with the deep resentment of the issue among the Catholic \textit{szlachta} they approved the rejection of the Russian demands by their supporters at the Coronation Sejm in 1764.\textsuperscript{153} At Catherine’s insistence, Repnin continued to press for the rights of the dissidents while at the same time Frederick the Great objected to the new general customs approved by the Convocation Sejm. Adam Kazimierz travelled to Berlin to negotiate with Frederick, but his mission proved a failure. At the sejm of 1766, Repnin and the Prussian envoy, Gédeon Benoît, threatened war if their requirements were not met. To

\textsuperscript{151} Lukowski, \textit{Liberty’s folly}, 191-192.

\textsuperscript{152} Ibid.; M. Cecylia Łubieńska, \textit{Sprawa dysydencka, 1764-1766} (Cracow: W.L. Anczyc, 1911).

\textsuperscript{153} Lukowski, \textit{Disorderly liberty}, 94-97.
salvage at least some of the reforms, the envoys – with Adam Kazimierz among them – reneged on the previous legislation and restored the *liberum veto*, but did not concede equality for the dissidents.154 In response Repnin organized confederacies for the Crown and Lithuanian dissidents in Thorn and Słuck, and general confederacies in Radom and Wilno. When united, they combined the dissidents’ demands for political rights with calls for the king’s dethronement. Under the aegis of this united confederacy, an extraordinary sejm opened in the autumn of 1767, under the strict control of the Russian ambassador.

Repnin introduced a reign of terror, with threats of individual retributions as well as the invasion of the country. Four adversaries of the dissidents’ cause – the bishop of Cracow, Kajetan Sołtyk, the bishop of Kiev, Józef Andrzej Załuski, Crown Field Hetman Waclaw Rzewuski and his son Seweryn – were kidnapped in Warsaw and exiled to Kaluga in Russia for six years.155 Faced with these developments Michal and August Czartoryski ordered Adam Kazimierz to co-operate with Repnin. Adam reluctantly joined the confederacy and assisted with the annulment of all the reforms he had enthusiastically advocated three years previously. He finally sealed their reversal with his vote at the sejm of 1767-68.156

The Familia came under intense pressure. Michał and August Czartoryski shrugged off threats of kidnapping, responded to Catherine not only, as hitherto, with assurances of their friendship and loyalty, but also with defiant rebuttals. Michał refused to resign his chancellorship. Finally Catherine played her trump card – the

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156 Waniczkówna,‘Czartoryski Adam Kazimierz ’, 251-252.
sequestration of some of their lands. For the Czartoryskis the sequestration carried even more weight than just the prospect of losing part of their economic base. The great aristocratic houses acted as financial institutions. The estates which had a reputation for being well managed, like the Czartoryskis’, were used as assets for borrowing and lending money on a great scale. A large number of savers, from high ranking nobles to villagers, located their securities with the magnates to draw yearly interest for generations. Confiscation, the next step after sequestration, could have brought a rush of deposit withdrawals, and considering the combined lands of the extended Czartoryski clan, this could have triggered an economic catastrophe on a country-wide scale. Lastly, the Czartoryskis were known for their benevolent treatment of their townsmen of different nationalities, their Jews, Cossacks (who traditionally formed their armed guard) and their peasants, all of whom would face an uncertain future in the event of confiscations. August Czartoryski bribed the Russian envoy Kaspar von Saldern twice, in 1766 and 1771, to release his own sequestered lands as well as those of Michał and his son-in-law, Stanisław Lubomirski.¹⁵⁷ On the home front, the Czartoryskis tried the tactic of repairing their personal rapport with Repnin and turned to Izabela to introduce a cordial note into the tense situation.

Enter Izabela

Izabela was already well acquainted with the social side of political manoeuvring and had just begun to experiment with the primacy of emotion in her personal life. Over the preceding year she had begun an affair with Stanisław August with the full knowledge and co-operation of her husband, who had already had several affairs of his own. Repnin and Saldern repeatedly tried to sow mistrust between the king and his uncles, but given Izabela’s intimate involvement with the king, this proved a difficult and delicate issue. For a while Izabela acted as a link between the king and Repnin, but soon the attentions of the Russian ambassador towards her changed from courtesy to courtship. Her next, future lover, the Duc de Lauzun recorded Czartoryska’s words: ‘The Empress, indignant because her orders had not been carried out, commanded prince Repnine to have the princes arrested and to have their property confiscated. She sent him word that his life would answer for his obedience. The princes were lost, if prince Repnine had not had the generous courage to disobey her. I considered myself the reward of so much tenderness; I shall say more, in giving way to gratitude, I thought that I gave way to love.’

This quotation gives a good insight into the complicated and subjectively charged nature of personal and public interactions.

One event involving Repnin and Izabela, which particularly scandalized Warsaw, took place on Ash Wednesday – 3 March 1767. Repnin rented out the National Theatre, hired a troupe and invited Izabela as his guest. As this was the day of observance, which that year fell on the same day for both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, only the staff of the Russian Embassy attended. With

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Czartoryska at his side Repnin could not have made a more visible gesture of power or expressed better his blatant disregard for the Polish way of life.\footnote{159} It was not only by choosing this particular day and by inviting Izabela that Repnin was able to make such an impact; he also slighted the institution of the National Theatre, the first Polish public stage which King Stanisław August established as one of his primary projects immediately after his coronation.\footnote{160} The National Theatre changed radically the nature of public persuasion in Poland.

The National Theatre was not the beginning of the theatre in Warsaw. King Augustus III sponsored lively theatrical entertainments in his Operalnia in the Saxon Palace, but the audiences for these performances were restricted only to invited circles. For nobles who descended on the capital to participate in the sessions of the sejm, the social world of Warsaw offered a rich variety of masquerades, balls and fêtes, of which theatrical displays, often outdoors and accompanied with fireworks were particularly favoured, but these were sporadic amusements in a populist tone.\footnote{161} Members of the aristocracy gathered for their own theatrical entertainments – the displays de société, where they adapted, staged, directed and performed the parts themselves. For the magnates, acting provided not only a cultural connection with the modern world, but formed their élite sphere of identity. Their private theatricals came from a long tradition of ceremonials in their prime residences. Some magnates’ courts like those at Waclaw Rzewuski’s Podhorce, Urszula Radziwill’s Nieśwież or Jan

Klemens Branicki’s Białystok kept their own troupes of actors, but these were notable exceptions, which only underlined the exclusive, private and personal engagement of the aristocrats in the culture of performing. The households of Michał and August Czartoryski followed the developments on the French stage and transferred the plays to their own palaces.

Izabela participated in the théâtre de société with enthusiasm and success. In 1765 she acted in Dehors tropeurs ou l’homme du jour by de Boissy, directed by Count Alojzy Fryderyk Brühl, and gained a reputation as one of the more talented and popular performers. She had a good voice, similar to a castrato’s, and could take singing parts as well as spoken ones, although some would say that it helped that she was a princess, a Czartoryska, and the wife of Adam Kazimierz.

The performances of the théâtre de société were staged for exclusively aristocratic audiences. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz noticed in his memoirs that in 1778 Warsaw was still divided into the old ‘Sarmatian’ and the fashionable French sets. At the head of the latter stood the king, lords and ladies, who having seen foreign countries and particularly Paris, acquired new attitudes, language and customs. They amused themselves with côteries, amorous courtships and love-making, they met in the evenings, talked French and played French comedies. (…) They played tragedies, comedies and operas, but only the best society was allowed into the audience. That was because the true aristocracy ruled then, nobles – even affluent ones – did not mix with them, but gradually

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164 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, Muzyka na dworze i w teatrze Stanisława Augusta (Warsaw: Arx Regia, 1995), 164.
the [spread of] general enlightenment brought them closer.\footnote{Niemcewicz, Pamiętniki [1868 edn], 45.}

Stanisław August established the National Theatre precisely in order to close that rift between the aristocracy and the nobility. He intended it as a school of morality and manners, a way of disseminating Enlightenment ideas and of directly opposing the most notorious ‘Sarmatian’ dogmas. Indeed, it was at this time that aspects of the traditional culture of the szlachta were caricatured by ‘enlightened’ essayists, poets and dramatists.\footnote{On meanings of ‘enlightened’ and ‘Enlightenment’ see: Richard Butterwick, ‘What is Enlightenment (oświecenie)? Some Polish answers, 1765-1820’, Central Europe, 3 (2005), no. 1, 19-37.} For the theatre’s repertoire the king chose exclusively comedies, reasoning that as a genre they better reflected local customs and traditions than tragedies. As a motto he took the Horatian *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*, or as the playwright and publicist Franciszek Bohomolec put it: ‘The object and sole purpose of a comedy is to improve bad habits through laughter’.\footnote{‘Koniec albowiem komedii i cel właściwy jest na śmiech podając poprawiać złe obyczaje’, quoted after Jan I. J. van der Meer, Literary activities and attitudes in the Stanislavian Age in Poland (1764-1795): A social system? (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002), 225.} The king promoted this public and didactic rationale on the pages of the twice-weekly periodical, the *Monitor*.\footnote{Kott, Teatr Narodowy 1765-1794, 24.} The paper consciously took the title of Adam Czartoryski’s ‘little’ *Monitor* from two years previously, and like its predecessor it drew on the literary techniques of Addison and Steele’s *Spectator* to reach out to a wide audience.\footnote{Elżbieta Aleksandrowska, ‘Monitor’ 1765-1785: wybór (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1976); Kaleta and Klimowicz, *Prekursorzy Oświecenia. Monitor’ z roku 1763 na ile swoich czasów; Jadwiga Rudnicka, ‘Z genealogii „Monitora” z roku 1763’, Pamiętnik Literacki, 46 (1955), no. 1/2, 211-219; Zofia Sinko, ‘Monitor’ wobec angielskiego ‘Spectatora’ (Wrocław, 1956).} The king engaged two principal editors for his publication: Adam
Kazimierz Czartoryski and the royal chaplain Ignacy Krasicki. The latter was a gifted poet, satirist and wit. Soon afterwards he became the prince-bishop of Warmia. In an early issue from July 1765 Krasicki argued the patriotic merits of theatre. He called on the example of Rome, a subject dear to ‘Sarmatian’ mythmaking, and maintained that the Roman theatrical spectacles were a school of citizenship and virtue, the very qualities that made the city eternal. The theme of the didactic role of the theatre recurred frequently in the Monitor and all authors unanimously promoted the enlightening qualities of the stage.

The Monitor propounded views that were easily recognizable as those of the king and the Familia. Likewise, the National Theatre was viewed from the start in political terms, as the king’s sphere of public influence. Attending performances amounted to public support of his programme. In contrast, the opposition to the court was anti-theatrical, and its leaders did not attend the theatre. Nevertheless, recognizing the persuasive impact of the performances, its representatives insistently criticized them in the press.

The king leased the Saxon Operalnia for the site of his National Theatre. The opening play Natręci (Interlopers), although an unremarkable comedy of manners satirizing country nobles at the local sejmik, had the distinction of being the first comedy written in the Polish language. Its author, Józef Bielawski dedicated it not to the nation or to the king, but to Izabela Czartoryska. In his words he committed her name to immortality, for it would forever hence be joined with the opening of the

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Originally, the play was to open on the first anniversary of the king’s reign, 7 September 1765, but organizers experienced great difficulty in recruiting Polish-speaking actors and especially actresses. Adam Kazimierz industriously engaged performers, helping them to master the roles, staging the play and had his hand in the final touches to the text. After the initial delay, the king selected not the next obvious commemorative date, the anniversary of his coronation (25 November), but instead chose 19 November, the feast of St Elizabeth, the name-day of the various Izabelas in the Czartoryski and Poniatowski families. The Warsaw Gazette (Gazeta Warszawska) reported at length the celebrations, the salutations and the sumptuous feast for ‘the three most illustrious persons of the royal house’ – Izabela Czartoryska, Izabella Lubomirska and Izabela Branicka. In the evening the king and his company transferred to the theatre. The Warsaw Gazette declared that the play had commenced the restoration of the arts, the improvement of morals and the enlightenment of the nation. The actors played in Polish costumes and the spectacle was a great success among the royal supporters. The opposition criticized it as an inappropriate public denigration of one’s country.

The king continued to use the theatre to popularize his political decisions. Faced by the dissident crisis in the sejm, the king himself wrote (in large measure) the
comedy Małżeństwo z kalendarza (Marriage from the almanac), which promoted tolerance towards foreigners. The audience applauded vigorously and Repnin loudly hooted his approval from his box. The next day an editorial accused the play of diminishing the nation’s honour.\textsuperscript{176}

For the first time in its history, Poland had a platform of communication that involved the wider public. The \textit{parterre} was packed with minor nobles, city professionals and ordinary town folk, eager to experience the political process in person. The royal experiment however, for all its broad programme, was in effect an exercise of monarchical influence. The emphasis centred on presentation and persuasion, on the orchestration of an emotionally based point of view, which reflected the programme of the king, rather than the views of the street.

Repnin quickly realized the power of the theatre and turned it into his own instrument of control. He used it to express both his favour and his disapproval in Polish politics. He was the first one to honour the king after his election in 1764 with a specially commissioned opera by Gherardie in the large theatre hall in the Ujazdów palace. He combined the performance with a public fireworks display, a feast and dances that lasted until the small hours.\textsuperscript{177} Repnin later used the theatre publicly to humiliate the king in front of his supporters. James Harris wrote how he witnessed the king waiting for an hour in the royal box, with the performance delayed, until Repnin finally arrived.\textsuperscript{178} On 5 February 1769 the \textit{Warsaw Gazette} noted:

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid. 472.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid. 450.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
Last Sunday Repnin gave one more proof of his unyielding despotism: having arrived during the third act of the comedy he ordered it played from the beginning. Certain ladies wished to see the end and stayed, and now, because they did not walk out, they are disgraced.\(^{179}\)

It was in this royal arena of public influence and display of power, that Repnin located his Ash Wednesday demonstration on 3 March 1767. Without Izabela in attendance the performance would have had no resonance. Instead, the stronghold of the king’s support had been symbolically brought to its knees and the Czartoryskis with it. When under pressure from the opposition the king closed the theatre on 25 March 1767, Repnin formally leased it on 17 April and became effectively the master of the forum. His most outrageous demonstration was a performance celebrating the king’s name-day on 8 May 1767. Repnin invited Stanislaw August with the royal entourage and chose for the occasion the ballet production of \textit{Medea and Jason} by Noverre with the famous dancer Vestris in the main role. The ballet contained a scene of a king’s dethronement. Heine, the Prussian spy, reported to Berlin: ‘the Sacra Familia (the Czartoryskis) and the king in the audience could not hide their terror, despite their efforts to conceal it, and their weakness was clear to see’.\(^{180}\)

For Izabela, in her early twenties and already deeply implicated in the process of political persuasion, these events must have been like a drama gathering and involving all as actors.

Theatre was not the only sphere of public influence available to the young Izabela. Another forum was the salon. One would have imagined that Izabela could have gained a significant authority through the organization of a salon of her own. Her great-grandmother Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn had opened the first

\(^{179}\) Ibid. 489-90; Pauszer-Klonowska, \textit{Pani na Puławach}, 32.

aristocratic, as distinct from royal, salon in Warsaw. It functioned from 1736 until 1758. The gatherings there were known for the learned and politically powerful company, for wit and political intrigue. As her husband Kazimierz was effectively retired by 1736, it was through the salon that Czartoryska senior promoted her children and grandchildren. She used it as an outlet for her political temperament as well as for *galanterie* and *bel esprit*.

Given this example, it is interesting to see why Izabela did not choose the salon as her sphere of engagement. To understand why, we need to recall her rather unfortunate experiences in France at the start of her marriage. Czartoryska’s introduction to the world in spring 1762 at least gave her an opportunity to weigh different options for her own public activity. She was then only sixteen years of age. Her own recollections, penned forty years later, are remarkable for holding only to the incidental, the anecdotal and in the end trivial, but precisely because they retained such a long hold on her memory they merit a brief analysis. They concern visits to the Parisian salons of Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin and the Duchesse d’Orléans.

At the salon of Madame Geoffrin, Izabela found the atmosphere cold and the etiquette rigid. She encountered a different problem in the salon of the Duchesse d’Orléans, where conversation was apparently nothing less from flippant and indecorous. One of the guests, Madame Clermont, recounted a letter from her cousin,

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Count d’Adhémar, in which he described seeing Polish peasants living in abysmal conditions, in huts covered for most part of the year with snow, afraid to let their children play outside for fear that they would be eaten by bears. As Izabela knew, peasants by the main thoroughfares were the most exposed to marching soldiers, often lived in a desperate situation, and it was not in their interest to show any sign of possessions if indeed they had anything at all. Nevertheless, she took this account as a slight on the image of Poland. Nothing that made a salon attractive had materialized for Izabela: no lively company, literary readings, musical performances or intimate theatricals. Instead she detected a highly structured ritual in an otherwise unremarkable gathering. It is also possible that she was already beginning to see the patriotic defence of Poland’s reputation as part of her representational role as one of the heads of the Commonwealth’s leading family.

Czartoryska’s early apprehension of the salon did not change with time. She never warmed to Madame Geoffrin. The root of this dislike comes both from the traditional Polish models of Polish social exchanges and from Izabela’s natural inclination towards a more informal type of sociability. Even the highly cultured and well travelled Stanisław Poniatowski initially found the French salons off-putting and the conversations empty of content and self-serving.184

Polish circles mediated the etiquette of the salon with the tradition of noble cordiality. Their interactions were more relaxed than their French equivalents, based on the supposed equality of status among noble citizens. Within this gathering of

supposed equals, the host(ess) took centre stage, and directed her or his guests with authority. In this, the Polish *asambly* or *reuniony* of the eighteenth century were closer to the traditions of the Parisian seventeenth-century gatherings.\(^{185}\) Despite the cordiality of these Polish gatherings, the tensions that were discernible there signalled the differences between the aristocracy and provincial *szlachta*. Petty nobles found even the Polish version of salon culture a challenge, not only personally, but to the whole ‘Sarmatian’ identity.\(^{186}\)

Salon culture did not offer a universal form of communication between the aristocracy and poorer nobles. Despite the embedded cult of *aequalitas* it came to signify separate values for these two groups. The printed reformist rhetoric magnified the differences between them into outright caricature – enlightened reformers on one side and backward provincial nobles on the other. The salon certainly participated in the sharpening of these self-perceptions. In this light Czartoryska’s decision to establish a garden, with different social dynamics than a traditional salon, looks like a choice more conducive to bridging that social separateness and in the end sway a wider public opinion towards the Czartoryskis and their programme. The opportunity to see spatial possibilities for social gatherings came when Izabela went to London for an extended stay in 1768.


Scene II

London 1768-1769 and 1772-1774
Between 1768 and 1774 the Czartoryskis made two prolonged journeys to England. The first voyage had a pretext of a political mission; the second one was made under the excuse of finalizing inheritance issues. Both gave the Czartoryskis an opportunity to remove themselves from the political scene.

The first tour came in the aftermath of the ‘Repnin sejm’. In late May 1768, after the sejm had been dissolved the situation in Poland had rapidly deteriorated into the chaos of the Bar confederacy.187 The Familia charged Adam Kazimierz with bringing the British government onto the side of the king.188 This mission, like his earlier efforts at diplomacy, proved unsuccessful. Adam was unable to present a sufficiently persuasive case in London.189 The journey, a ten-month stay from May 1768 to March 1769 must be regarded as particularly inspirational for Izabela, because a year and a half after her return she acquired an estate at Powązki and began to transform it into a garden. The architect Szymon Bogumił Zug established this English connection in his description of the gardens of Warsaw in 1784. He wrote: ‘a voyage to England helped this lady to develop ideas full of taste; she returned and put them into practice’.190

It would have been unusual for Adam and Izabela, indeed for any visitor to England not to visit gardens as part of the cultural experience. In England travelmania was in full swing, the aesthetic discourse on the merits of the Sublime and the

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187 They left on their journey in late May 1768. Gołębiewska, W kręgu, 51.

188 Eadem, 51; Zofia Libiszowska, Życie polskie w Londynie w XVIII wieku (Warsaw: PAX, 1972), 46-47.

189 Libiszowska, Życie polskie, 47; Gołębiewska, W kręgu, 49-50.

Beautiful as relevant as it was fresh, Walpole’s ideas on gardening permeated the salons, while the British conversed in a language of representation and ownership of land. The gardens, even those easily accessed on the banks of the Thames, impressed on their visitors the possibilities for interpreting natural design in the ideological categories of liberty and classical virtue.\(^{191}\)

Unfortunately we know almost nothing of the Czartoryskis’ experiences on that first trip. However, the mere list of Prince Adam’s acquaintances and contacts in England gives an idea of the primacy of the gardening thought in his circle. He, a confirmed Anglophile, counted among his friends and acquaintances Horace Walpole, David Garrick, Lord Northampton and the Duke of Newcastle.\(^{192}\) Their residences – Strawberry Hill, Syon House, Claremont or Garrick’s Lodge at Twickenham – were situated a short distance from London, as was Woburn Farm near Chertsey in Surrey. The latter residence is particularly interesting as it connects most closely with the ideas implemented later in Powązki. We shall return to it shortly in the chapter on Powązki.

On their return to Poland the Czartoryskis decided to rebuild and enlarge their ‘Blue Palace’ in Warsaw.\(^{193}\) Izabela’s seven rooms had already been remodelled in


\(^{192}\) Butterwick, _Poland’s last king_, 125.

\(^{193}\) Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, ‘Pałac Błękitny w latach 1730-1811’, _Biuletyn Historii Sztuki_, 36 (1964), no. 4, 266-267; Andrzej Rottermund, _Pałac Błękitny_ (Warsaw: PWN, 1970), 30-36. Architectural remodelling and furnishing, as well as work on the small garden at the Blue Palace lasted
the rococo style by Jakub Fontana in 1768 and now Efraim Szreger (the polonized name of Ephraim Schroeder, 1727-1783), built the library for Adam Kazimierz (in October 1770). It closely resembled the library of Prince Adam’s mentor, the Earl of Mansfield, in Kenwood House.  

On 14 January 1770 Izabela gave birth to Adam Jerzy, her third surviving child. Half a year later, on 24 September 1770 the Czartoryskis signed the lease on Powązki. The substantial earthworks and the planting began the following spring in 1771 and Izabela was in Poland for that year of construction. This was also a year of mourning and reassessment. In May, Adam’s mother, Maria Zofia Czartoryska, died. She was followed in December by Jan Jerzy Flemming. Encumbered with debts despite their wealth, the Czartoryskis decided to sell Flemming’s Berkeloo estates in the Netherlands, where the banks were already issuing coins stamped with

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195 Czartoryska had probably 9 children: Karol, Zofia, Teresa, Maria, Adam Jerzy, Konstanty, Gabriela, Zofia and Cecylia. The two eldest ones died as infants in 1763, Gabriela died soon after being born in 1780. For the discovery of the records of the two eldest children see Frączyk, Adam Kazimierz, 155. Zawadzki gives the most probable succession of lovers and children born of these unions: Stanisław August Poniatowski (daughter Maria Anna, later wife of Prince Louis of Württemberg); Repnin (son Adam Jerzy), Duc Armand-Louis de Lauzun (son Konstanty), Ksawery Branicki (daughter Zofia, later wife of Stanisław Zamoyski), Kazimierz Rzewuski (daughter Cecylia, who was not recognized by Prince Adam Kazimierz, and was given the surname Beydale, from Rzewuski’s side). The eldest daughter Teresa was given the paternity of Izabela’s husband. W. H. Zawadzki, A man of honour: Adam Czartoryski as a statesman of Russia and Poland, 1795-1831 (Oxford: OUP, 1993), 18.


Izabela’s likeness. They left for the Netherlands to settle the sales in early spring 1772, but it soon became apparent that the political reality in Poland weighed heavily on Adam and as we shall see, he was eager to go abroad for longer than was strictly necessary.

While Adam Kazimierz dealt with their affairs in the Netherlands, Izabela travelled to London, arriving in March 1772. From there she wrote a letter to her husband on 16 March expressing her vision for the future. Adam contemplated permanent emigration. She, however, made a persuasive case to return home – eventually – and to engage in public service. For Adam Kazimierz the political future had little meaning. Izabela used arguments of an emotional nature. She wrote:

You asked me, my dear friend, if it would be agreeable to me to sell up all we have at home and to establish ourselves here or in France or in some other place and I am saying to you with frankness what I my feelings are in this matter. I have said to you before and I say it once more that by inclination or perhaps by habit I hold on strongly to Poland, and while there is still a shadow of a possibility, it will always be my preference to live there (...) Do it, if not for the country in general, do it for many individuals in particular. It is a blessing to have the means to do so much real good, as it has been through the ages. Do not fear, my friend, your apprehensions, do not yield to them; remember that you have a son and that you could possibly have another one. Forgo the excuses, uphold your house and do not abandon it until it is absolutely necessary […] The world has little to offer and it is best to give ourselves to the service of the country.\(^\text{199}\)

\(^{198}\) Zbigniew Kiełb, ‘Urzędy skarbowe, reforma monetarna i efermeryczne mennictwo w kręgu Familii Czartoryskich’, *Studia Puławskie, Seria A, Zagadnienia społeczno-historyczne* 7 (9) (2003), 85-93. They also needed to attend to a legal suit brought by Starosta Mostowski over his sale of the Pomeranian and Skarszewo starostwa to Flemming, several years previously. Sidorowicz, ‘Czartoryski Kazimierz’, 282-283.

\(^{199}\) I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 31 April 1772, BCz 6030. Extensive fragments were published by Zaleski, *Żywot*, vol. 1, 156-157. See also Gołębiowska, *W kręgu*, 52; Zamoyski, *The last king*, 282.
Whether this letter was instrumental in changing Adam Kazimierz’s mind is not known, but Izabela’s presence in the political life of the family would grow steadily stronger and by 1784 she was regarded as a vocal force in their alliances. Their world, however, was changing around them. Three months after the letter was written, in St Petersburg on 5 August 1772, Russia, Austria and Prussia signed the treaty partitioning the Commonwealth. A year later, on 30 September 1773, the sejm – including the Czartoryskis – ratified the partition.

Adam’s plans to emigrate reflected the climate in which both he and Izabela grew up. Without doubt, the humiliating events associated with Repnin’s rule in Warsaw had contributed to his feeling of hopelessness and futility. Adam saw from a young age the continual failure of his family’s many efforts in the never-ending battles in the sejm, the sejmiks, the tribunals, and in royal and aristocratic cabinets. His own previous five years on the political scene and the events culminating in the First Partition must have further discouraged him. For half a century or more a feeling of pessimism had permeated Polish society; the failure of the Familia’s reform programme and the Partition only amplified this.

In the aftermath of the Great Northern War (1700-21) the theory had taken hold that the Commonwealth’s continued existence depended on its very inability to govern itself; the Commonwealth thus posed no threat to any of its neighbours. The premise that ‘Poland subsists by anarchy’ had a providential dimension that explained the rise and the demise of all nations according to the Divine plan. Many Polish nobles clung to the notion that they were the chosen people, protected by Divine intervention, such as the otherwise ‘inexplicable’ reversal of the Swedish Deluge in
Adam Kazimierz referred to this belief during his speech inaugurating the Convocation Sejm in 1764: ‘our debates have no end, our sejms bring no results, the kingdom is like an open house, an edifice swaying in the winds, a machine rotten to the ground and threatening to collapse, upheld only by Divine Providence’. These providential themes would gain a renewed momentum after the loss of statehood in 1795 and we shall see them developed in Czartoryska’s Temple of Sibyl at Puławy.

Adam Kazimierz joined Izabela in London in September 1772. They had with them their two daughters, Teresa, then seven years old, and Maria, four, as well as their governess Madame Petit. They renewed contacts from their previous visits and made new ones. They were constantly in demand in social circles and Horace Walpole admired Adam and Izabela performing a spirited Cossack dance.

Izabela continued her theatrical and musical interests. An insight into her private operatic engagements is provided by the portrait she commissioned in London from Giuseppe Filippo Liberati Marchi. Izabela presents herself fashionably dressed in a robe à la polonaise, sitting at the clavecin under a draped canopy (il. 5). A variety of descriptive objects fills her space: a painter’s palette, a small harp, a maritime painting reflecting her voyage across the Channel and her interest in Dutch painting. In the background she has placed the forty-four volumes of British Poets, which

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200 A symmetrical sense of Divine protection was felt in England. See Benedict Wagner-Rundell, ‘Liberty, virtue and the chosen people: British and Polish republicanism in the early eighteenth century’, in Britain and Poland-Lithuania: contact and comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795, ed. Richard Unger and Jakub Basista (Leiden i Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), 197-214

201 Waniczkówna, ‘Czartoryski Adam Kazimierz ’, 249-257.

202 Izabela brought also her maid Anastazja Bogdanowicz and her doctor, George Andreas Kürner. Gołębiowska, W kręgu, 51.

formed a major section in her library at Powązki. Marchi succeeded in creating a portrait of a polished and cultured woman in a space suggestive both of her own independent private sphere and of her high status.


Rather than representing her as a society woman who would be more at ease with the background of a landscape, Marchi chose a corner of a small study that resembled the environment of a connoisseur. The choice of medium suggests that Izabela

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204 The British poets were printed in Edinburgh by Balfour and Creek in 1773. BCz Biblioteka Powązkowska, 57297I.
commissioned a mezzotint with an intention to present it as a parting gift to her friends and guests and wished to disseminate an image of herself as a woman of the arts. Indeed, in her image she included a musical gift for her friends – the music displayed on the clavecin is rendered so clearly that it can be played. Its simple structure suggests an amateur composition, most probably by Izabela herself. The second set of music that is opened on Izabela’s lap is a full operatic score. She is then showing herself preparing for an operatic performance, probably under her own direction.

In London she would have found enthusiastic collaborators on her musical projects in her two closest friends. These were Elizabeth (1750-1828) wife of William, the second Lord Craven, later known as the Margravine von Anspach, and Frances (1753-1821), wife of George Villiers, the fourth Earl of Jersey. Elizabeth Craven remembered Czartoryska thus: ‘She was one of the few women whose talents and manners suited me: her talents were very superior, and her manners without affectation. She was a perfect musician, and a fine painter; danced inimitably; was knowledgeable without pedantry, and never displayed her learning with ostentation. I was much younger than she, and I had a very great respect for her sentiments, for, like myself, she was grave and gay by turns.’ 205

Both friends of Izabela, Elizabeth Craven and Frances Villiers, Lady Jersey, were witty socialites barely entering their twenties, each with five small children. Both were known for giving primacy to their maternal feelings, while at the same time their scandalous love affairs defined their biographies. In their company

Czartoryska established a feminine sphere of interests, centred on children, lovers, music and theatre. Izabela taught her elder daughter Teresa to read Polish, gave both girls lessons on the clavecin and delighted in their excitement at a prospect of a children’s ball. At the time Elizabeth Craven involved herself in a tumultuous and public affair with the French ambassador, the Comte de Guines. Lord Craven placed his wife under house arrest at the small farm of Anecker in the park at Goodwood, the estate of the Duke of Richmond. Izabela, however, ‘had the courage to go down and force the door of her retreat and to dictate her course of action, the sole method of saving her as well as her lover’. These approving words came from Czartoryska’s own lover, the Duc de Lauzun. He competed for Izabela’s favours with Repnin, who followed her to London. Lauzun met Czartoryska at Lady Harrington’s on the day of his arrival to England in 1772.

During her stay in England, Czartoryska took some time to travel. Izabela wrote of her plans to Adam Kazimierz: ‘Lady Gersey [sic], whom you know, is the woman with whom I am most happy. She is charming and likes me a lot, I will travel with her to her house in the country and after that I will make my tour of the

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208 Gontaut, Memoirs, 74.

209 Caroline Fitzroy, d.1784, eldest daughter of the 2nd Duke of Grafton, married William Stanhope, 2nd Earl of Harrington, in 1746. For Lauzun’s first impressions see his Memoirs, 74.
Frances Jersey’s residence in Middleton Stoney in Oxfordshire had just been remodelled with a large portico at the end of a mile-long avenue. The environs of Middleton are rich in gardens, the arcadian Rousham or the gothic Enville, the Greek and Roman Stowe and the victorious Blenheim. Further north are Lord Lyttelton’s Hagley and Shenstone’s ferme ornée – The Leasowes, not far from Elizabeth Craven’s Benham Park in Berkshire, which had just acquired a new architectural form and whose grounds were landscaped by ‘Capability’ Brown. Unfortunately we know nothing of Czartoryska’s tour.

Izabela’s inclination to be ‘grave and gay by turns’ finally gave way to melancholy. She fell into depression, wrote her will and farewell letters. To distract her Adam Kazimierz took her to visit Benjamin Franklin in Craven Street. Franklin took pity on her and taking her by the hand, gently led her to his living room where he opened his ‘glass armonica’, an instrument of his own invention, and played for her for a long time. Izabela was moved to tears and Franklin declared that she was now cured. Indeed, she did feel better and took up his offer of twelve lessons on harmonica. She fondly remembered Franklin all her life.

On 15 February 1773 Adam Kazimierz left England. He reached Poland in

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210 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 31 April 1772, BCz 6030, Powell, Margaret, Countess of Jersey, 36-37.

211 Powell, Margaret, Countess of Jersey, 36-37. Izabela’s correspondence with Frances Villiers did not survive.


213 On 16 February 1773 The Daily Advertiser reported: ‘a Polish nobleman who has been some time in this kingdom, having previously taken leave of His Majesty, set out on his return home’. The Yale Edition, vol. 32, 96.
March and then on 9 April 1773 he travelled to St Petersburg to complete the expected homage to Catherine.\footnote{Gołębiowska, W kręgu, 51. Frączyk, Adam Kazimierz, 349.} Izabela followed on to Brussels, The Hague and Spa, where Repnin, Lauzun and Ksawery Branicki competed for her attentions, and from there to Paris for an extended stay. Adam Kazimierz joined her there. They were back in Poland in spring following year: Izabela returned on 3 May and Adam Kazimierz on 23 May 1774.\footnote{Frączyk, Adam Kazimierz, 351.}
Act III

Powązki 1770-1794
Scene I

Planting

(6) Izabela Czartoryska at the time of residence at Powązki, frontispiece in: Sabina z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewska, Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828. (Cracow: 1898), (image in common domain).
On 24 September 1770 Izabela and Adam Czartoryski leased from the Crown one hundred hectares of land adjoining the village of Powązki, just outside Warsaw.\textsuperscript{216} Within a year the site was transformed into a green oasis that could sustain long summers of residence. The appearance of this green Elysium in the environs of Warsaw seemed almost miraculous. Before Izabela took over, this was a waterlogged, miserable plot, an infertile site which only supported a coppice of alders. The location promised little either in terms of picturesque scenery or economic development. The fields had lain fallow for decades and were only used by the royal gamekeepers for hunting fowl.\textsuperscript{217} The adjoining village of Powązki had languished since the Swedish Deluge in 1655-1656.\textsuperscript{218} Its recovery after the destruction had been very slow; the records for 1765 show only six peasants and their families inhabited the hamlet. Izabela’s garden would change that and effectively benefit the whole area.\textsuperscript{219}

Despite its poor situation the site did have advantages. Most importantly Powązki enjoyed the most precious commodity around Warsaw – water. The small river Rudawka flowed across the plot and a profusion of underground springs resulted later in several fountains and ornamental pools. Secondly, the simple lease from the Crown was an easy solution to the complicated ownership of lands around Warsaw, especially if we consider forty legal agreements Czartoryska’s sister-in-law, Izabela

\textsuperscript{216} Marek Kwiatkowski, ‘Powązki’, Rocznik Warszawski, 9 (1969), 123-161 (125). His measurements correspond to the scale of Żebrowski’s plan of Powązki of 1775 Plan de Powązki a Madame la Princesse Czartoryska Dessinee par M. Żebrowski, BCz Rr.478. Sobieszczanski mentioned additional grounds acquired from Fryderyk Alojzy Brühl on 19 June 1775 and Żebrowski’s plan incorporates this addition, in: Franciszek Maksymilian Sobieszczanski, ‘Ogrady w Warszawie i jej okolicach opisane w 1784 roku przez Szymona Zug, budowniczego kościoła ewangelickiego w Warszawie’, Kalendarz Powszechny na rok przestępnny, 28, (1848), 444.

\textsuperscript{217} Kwiatkowski, ‘Powązki’, 125.

\textsuperscript{218} Aleksander Wejnert, Starożytności Warszawy (Warsaw, 1858), vol. 6, 225-227. Kwiatkowski, ‘Powązki’, 251.

\textsuperscript{219} Kwiatkowski, ‘Powązki’, 127.
Lubomirska, made to assemble the land for her estate at Mokotów on the south-eastern side of Warsaw, buying, leasing and exchanging plots.\textsuperscript{220} Powązki was also only seven kilometres north-east from the centre of Warsaw, conveniently close to attract visitors and far enough into the fresh air of the country to escape the unpleasantness of a summer in the capital.

The rapidly growing Warsaw presented a sorry sight at this time. The streets were mostly unpaved and unlit, with noxious smells from the gutters, and it was dotted with churches and palaces in various stages of construction. Nathaniel Wraxall wrote following his visit in 1778: ‘I never beheld so many objects of horror or compassion, as present themselves in the streets: many of these are a disgrace to humanity, as well as a reproach to the national police’. And yet, ‘in the palaces of the Oginskis, Czartoryiskis, and numerous others, is still to be found every display of refinement, hospitality, and magnificence. Many of the great families continue to live in a style almost royal, amidst the ruins of their expiring country’.\textsuperscript{221} Undoubtedly the country residences were the extension of the splendours of the palaces, but in Powązki the symbolic ruins of the country would be a major part of the ethics of leisure with a moral and political component.

The pleasure grounds were laid out on two islands, created from damming Rudawka. In 1783 Szymon Bogumił Zug gave the earliest and the most comprehensive description of the garden for C.C.L. Hirschfeld’s \textit{Theorie der Gartenkunst} in 1785.\textsuperscript{222} In his essay Zug wrote: ‘on a beautiful green hill stands a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{220} Majewska-Maszkowska, \textit{Mecenat}, 159.
\item \textsuperscript{221} Nathaniel William Wraxall, \textit{Memoirs of the courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna in the years 1777, 1778, and 1779} (London: A. Strahan (etc.), 1800), vol. 2, 7-8.
\item \textsuperscript{222} Christian Cajus Lorenz Hirschfeld, \textit{Theorie der Gartenkunst} (Leipzig: M. G. Weidmann und Reich, 1779-1785). It was published simultaneously in French as: \textit{Théorie de l’Art des Jardins} (Leipzig: M. G. Weidmann et Reich, 1779-1785). Polish translations: ‘Opis’, \textit{Athenaeum}, III (Wilno,
group of small houses of a rustic and cheerful appearance, each one of a different shape and character, each with a charming little garden bordered with a small fence. There is no road or an avenue in a straight line there, only paths, which wind themselves through enchanting groves, over a little rustic bridge, close to an old inn’. This unremarkable rustic bridge over the canal provided the entrance to the garden. The little colony of houses – four the right and two to the left – belonged to the Czartoryski children, their governess Madame Petit, their young companions Aleksandra and Konstancja Narbutt, the administrator Woyna and his wife. Each house had a little garden of its own with four geometric beds and they all clustered around the main, thatched, log house belonging to Izabela Czartoryska herself (il. 7).

Behind Czartoryska’s house the ground slowly descended. Zug continues: ‘a visitor walks down the length of this gentle hill to the group of old pine trees, which veil the remains of the Roman triumphal arch. The arch, of beautiful proportions, is half buried by earth and greenery (il. 8). Here a superb lawn spreads itself, which on one side terminates with trees, and on the other extends to the ruins of a Roman amphitheatre, at the edge of the water.’


223 Kalendarz Powszechny, 444.
224 The Woynas are known from their surname only.
225 Ibid.
(7) *Triumphal arch at Powązki*, by Zygmunt Vogel, before 1785, bistre drawing, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Gabinet Rycin, Warsaw. The triumphal arch is on the left and Izabela’s hut is on the right.

(8) *Triumphal arch at Powązki*, by Zygmunt Vogel, before 1785, bistre drawing, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Gabinet Rycin, Warsaw. The drawing is dated by the Museum as about 1800. The arch was however replaced by a sturdier structure around 1785.
To one side a view opened between the shrubberies onto a little cottage on a hill, while to the other stretched the expanse of the lake. From there the path led to a small cabin on a small island and further to the Roman amphitheatre, the largest building in the garden. On the opposite shore of the lake that was spanned by a floating bridge, was a farm with a gothic building. A Swiss man looked after the livestock there. This building known later as the Red Manor House (Czerwony Dwór) carried a false date – 1639 – placed there by Czartoryska.\footnote{226} The view of grazing cattle provided an animated picture while the lake swarmed with an, unusual variety of waterfowl and a family of swans.

(9) \emph{Lake at Powązki}, after Maria Wirtemberska, published in \textit{Kłosy} 1871 no 294. IS PAN, Warsaw. This is an inaccurate view of the lake at Powązki with the folly of the ancient castle, the Roman ruin and the panorama of Warsaw in the background.

\footnote{226}{Nothing is known of the relevance of this date. Kwiatkowski, ‘Powązki’, 139-140. Putkowska, ‘Warszawska rezydencja w Powązkach’, 38.}
Zug’s account included only the areas of the main island as far as the natural ridge of small hills to the north. He described there a small thicket with ‘various pretty rustic cabins built from tree bark and moss covered branches’ and mentioned a dam regulating the flow of the river into the lake. The dam was arranged with trapped logs and formed a picturesque cascade, on top of which stood a working mill with two wheels. The mill contained a ‘nice room’ accessible though a little bridge and old-looking external stairs.

(10) Plan de Powązki a Madame la Princess Czartoryska, by M. Żebrowski, watercolour, about 1775, FKCz, XV-Rr.478. This is the earliest surviving plan of Powązki.

Another cascade nearby flowed over a grotto, while little further on stood an exemplary peasant hut complete with all manner of tools, all ‘perfectly functional and
of good quality'. From there the view opened up towards the northern hillocks that were crowned with follies in the shape of an ancient castle and an old tower (il. 9). These could be reached by passing over a ruined arched bridge. Below them nestled several cabins framing an open lawn and forming ‘an agreeable composition in the manner of a theatrical decoration’. The walk ended in the wood close to the exit on the bank of the canal, at the doors of the hermitage, whose inhabitant was in charge of the visits to the garden.

The second, larger island, visible on Żebrowski’s plan and known from descriptions by Johann Bernoulli, Ernst von Lehndorff and William Coxe, was laid out entirely as a natural wood, with a profusion of winding paths and one straight avenue on the north-south axis (il. 10).

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The network of paths converged at the point where a simple wooden bridge with the central opening part connected both islands. Later the bridge was replaced by a single arcade. A terraced house with Moorish or gothic architectural motifs was erected beside it (il. 11, 12).

(12) *A house at Powązki on the larger island*, after Maria Wirtemberska, in *Kłosy* 1871 no 294, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow.

Within this oasis of rustic simplicity, some structures were more ephemeral than others: a little hut on the third small island, an open thatched pavilion with a flowerbed inside, a room made of a large old tree trunk with a door and a window, furnished inside with a pleated wooden seat and a birdcage made of dry branches. All these huts, pavilions and ruins were immersed in profuse planting, in groups of contrasting evergreens and deciduous trees, underplanted and partly obscured by shrubs.

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Powązki was effectively the first landscape garden in Poland. The term ‘effectively’ needs to be stressed, as immediately after his accession in 1764 King Stanisław August acquired the Lubomirskis’ former ‘bath house’ (Łazienka) and surrounding land on the southern outskirts of Warsaw. However, it took him over twenty years to overcome problems with drainage and finally to arrive at a summer palace and park that were acceptably close to a finished state – Royal Łazienki. By that time, Zug described nearly thirty new landscape residences laid out around Warsaw, each with its own purposes and messages. They included Izabela Lubomirska’s Mokotów, Michał Poniatowski’s Jabłonna and Kazimierz Poniatowski’s gardens at Solec, Na Książęcem and Na Górze. Together these gardens presented a very diverse group; some were exclusively pleasure retreats from the courtly circle like the Belweder or Solec or Sans Gêne, but the rural ideal ran very deep. Mokotów was a veritable rural Elysium, others included a peasant hut or a mill and many retreats mentioned by Zug were simply orchards with a wilderness, with paths and benches in them and windows onto the countryside, as in Rozkosz, Marymont or Służewo.

Izabela did not look far for her planner. She awarded the commission to Efraim Szreger who was at the time remodelling her Warsaw palace and who already had an extensive experience in architectural and gardening projects. Stanisław Lorentz established that at just this time the architect markedly shifted his interest from baroque and rococo designs towards more austere, classical forms. Szreger travelled in 1766-67 on a royal scholarship to see the antiquities of Rome and Naples.


230 ‘Ogrody w Warszawie’, Kurjer Niedzielny, 21-29 (1898).

231 Lorentz, Efraim Szreger, 40-41, 47, 164.
and possibly Herculaneum, Pompeii, Paestum and Sicily. Curious, independent and anxious to see as much as possible at each of his stops across Europe, he passed through Paris on his way back to Poland.

Szreger later specialized in gardens with water components: Mokotów for Izabela Lubomirska 1772 and 1775-76 and the derivatively named ‘Sans Gène’ at Fawory for Adam Poniński 1775. He was particularly in demand when it came to stage the public fêtes. Three years after the Wołczyn wedding King Stanisław August commissioned him to supervise large-scale garden entertainments on the model of the fêtes held at Versailles. Szreger was also placed in charge of Stanisław’s name-day celebrations in 1766 and of the extravagant Pentecost fête that year at Bielany, just outside Warsaw, which drew many inhabitants of the capital and long remained in the popular memory as spectacular bacchanalia.

In late 1770 Szreger took on the Powązki project. Documentation is scant but the extant records show the synchronized progress of the early works. It is particularly important to realize the large outlay of work and money that went into making the place habitable. Szreger first had to stop the muddy sprawl of the river Rudawka. He dug out its bed, diverted the flow into three currents and between them created three islands out of the excavated soil. The works progressed rapidly; the main house was

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232 He met there with Franciszek Smuglewicz, a notable neo-classical painter with antiquarian interests, whose work Terme di Tito Szreger later promoted in Warsaw. Lorentz, Efraim Szreger, 120.

233 He even declined the company of Victor Louis (1731-1800), who was returning from Poland to France from his commission to design the interiors of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, ibid, 119.

234 Lorentz, Efraim Szreger, 172-178, 180-188; Majewska-Maszkowska, Mecenat, 159-164.

235 Lorentz, Efraim Szreger, 118.


237 Lorentz, Efraim Szreger, 116-117.
erected in March 1771. Planting began with the bordering of the approach avenue with lime trees from the nearby Kampinos Forest. Another 240 large limes and 3600 young limes were brought in from the forest for the garden to fill in the existing alder grove. Zug describes the remarkable transformation: ‘The mistress of this place made it conform to her vision and overcame all obstacles with the force of expense and repeated efforts over many years’.  

Szreger’s contract with the Czartoryskis lasted until 1776. We can therefore expect that he worked in Powązki until that year, by which time the inhabitants had moved in, and all the most important structures had been erected. It is possible, as it has been proposed, that after 1776 his place took Szymon Bogumił Zug. If so, we should agree that most likely his were the medieval elements for the garden - the ruined castle, the gothic manor house, and the folly in the shape of a gothic tower similar to those he designed for Izabela Lubomirska at Mokotów in 1791. He probably also rebuilt Czartoryska’s house and erected the new triumphal arch about 1785. Zug’s greatest strength was in marking the space with architectural features, but essentially the stylistic difference between him and Szreger is difficult to ascertain.

Like Szreger, Zug travelled to Rome, the first time in 1754 or 1759, the second in 1771-1772. The latter visit lasted a little more than six months. His skill as a theatrical decorator opened him the doors of the best patrons in Poland (with the

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239 He substantially rebuilt the Czartoryski palace, designed interiors and furniture. Lorentz, Efraim Szreger, 164-167. Por.: Pątkowska, ‘Warszawska rezydencja w Powązkach’. The earliest plan of the estate was made by Žebrowski dated around 1775.

240 Kwiatkowski, Zug, 82. idem, ‘Powązki’, 149.

241 Majewska-Maszkowska, Mecenat, 171-173.

242 On his career see: Kwiatkowski, Zug, 45.
exception of the king) and resulted in his ennoblement in 1768.\footnote{Ibid., 31.}

Between 1770 and 1780 Zug established himself as the foremost garden designer in Poland. After Szreger’s death in 1783 he dominated the Polish scene in the Kingdom, while far away from the capital, in the distant Ukrainian provinces it was the Irish gardener Denis McClair (known as ‘Mikler’) who acquired a reputation as the Polish ‘Capability’.\footnote{Patrick Bowe, ‘Art and nature: the Polish and Ukrainian gardens of Denis McClair (1762-1853), \textit{Irish Arts Review Yearbook}, 18 (2002), 176-184.}

\textit{A park scene, a theatre scene}

The list of Zug’s works around Warsaw evokes images of stylish pleasure grounds, combining the ideal of repose with sophisticated representation.\footnote{In 1776 he began designing for Izabela Lubomirska’s Mokotów and around the same time for Fryderyk Aloży Brühl at Mlociny. Primate Michał Poniatowski asked for his landscaping services at his residence at Jabłonna from 1778, Marcello Bacciarelli, the royal painter, turned to him for the designs of a garden pavilion, and possibly so did Primate Gabriel Podoski at Wawrzyszew. Outside the capital Zug worked in Dęba near Skiermiewice for the bishops of Gniezno, in Siedlce for Aleksandra Ogńska in late 1770s and from 1775 for Helena Radziwiłłowa in her Arkadia near Nieborów. Marek Kwiatkowski, ‘Kompozycje krajobrazowe Szymona Bogumiła Zuga’, \textit{Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki. Teoria i historia}, 2 (1969), 117-125; Kwiatkowski, Zug, 45-103; Włodzimierz Piwkowski, \textit{Arkadia Heleny Radziwiłłowej. Studium historyczne} (Warsaw: OOZK, 1998), 31 nn; Jolanta Putkowska, ‘Warszawska podmiejska rezydencja Kazimierza Poniatowskiego na Solcu’, \textit{Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki}, 54 (2009), 1, 3-20; Jolanta Putkowska, ‘Warszawskie podmiejskie rezydencje Kazimierza Poniatowskiego przy ulicy Książęcej’, \textit{Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki}, 54 (2009), 2, 17-39.} His approach is most clearly exemplified by his designs for Prince Kazimierz Poniatowski at Na Książecem and Na Górze on the outskirts of Warsaw. Here Zug focused on architectural structures as the points of interest and punctuated the space with pavilions and sparsely planted trees, displaying them as if on a stage. The result, seen in the painting by Zygmunt Vogel, presented an odd vision of a natural garden (il.}
The artist Vogel was known for his exceptionally sensitive brush, able to transmit the picturesque and evocative qualities of landscape. Here though, he presented the thirteen-year old garden as bare as could be.

(13) A view of the gardens of Prince Kazimierz Poniatowski at Na Książęcem and Na Górze, by Zygmunt Vogel, sepia, 1785 or 1786, Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, Inw.181 896

Zug’s idea of a garden showed itself as more akin to a theme park; it invited a progress across the garden with the purpose of reaching one of the exotic architectural destinations: a mosque, a minaret, a Chinese pavilion, a grotto sumptuously furnished inside. It seems that Zug distanced himself from his designs for Prince Kazimierz when he wrote of Powazki in an uncharacteristically effusive way in La Pologne: ‘do not expect to hear of palaces and trinkets here; of orangeries or grottos, you will not

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see even a shadow of those things which are more suitable for a city (...) every willow and every dead poplar offered this Princess connoisseur the subject of a metamorphosis; in a word she became part of nature and disfigured nothing with misplaced art, but employed only objects which nature presented to her'. In contrast to other sub-Varsovian gardens, therefore, Powązki must have conveyed an immersion in nature, despite the fact that it was also fully conversant with the vocabulary of the theatrical stage.

Claude-Henri Watelet, the author of *Essai sur les jardins* of 1774 and owner of Moulin Joli, wrote about these two different attitudes. In a passage contrasting natural scenes with theatrical scenery he wrote:

scenes in parks are in themselves the main focus of interest, whereas in the theatre, scenes are only one element of a whole, because the goal of a play is to engage and sustain the interest of the eye, the mind and the heart simultaneously. This difference, although we may not realize it, has a far greater influence than we may think on the effect of the scenes arranged in modern parks.248

Zug privileged the presence of an actor in the natural space, therefore his designs promoted the stimulating and entertaining environment of a theatrical play. Izabela Czartoryska must have therefore softened the artificiality of arrangements in Powązki and immersed Szreger’s and Zug’s structures in nature to such a degree that they became ‘park scenes’ rather than ‘theatre scenes’. Nevertheless, the concept of theatricality, as we shall see, was an essential principle of life in Powązki.

Zug, writing in ‘La Pologne’, approached garden design with an eye characteristic of an urban planner. He was more interested in the large-scale


improvements of public spaces, rather than in interpreting the significance of the individual gardens. The chief merit of gardens around Warsaw lay, according to Zug, in their accessibility to the inhabitants of the city. Zug made no indication of his own preference for either the French traditional design or the landscape garden, but he noted that the city dwellers voted with their feet in favour of natural spaces and did not frequent ‘French’ gardens. Zug proposed a large-scale improvement of the environs of Warsaw in establishing a green belt surrounding the capital:

it is easy to see that the region could be turned into a superb English park. One would only need to connect the parts which are now spread out, to attend to several places still neglected and the ones they have not been able to utilize, and erect a beautiful main building, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Mariemont (Marymont) or between it and Powonsk (Powązki), on some empty hill. This building when seen from the city would create a beautiful scene and embellish the whole countryside. Without doubt one could imagine many things that are lacking here, but where would one find a countryside, which wants for nothing?\footnote{Ogrody w Warszawie i jej okolicach opisane w r. 1784 z cennemi przypiskami F.M. Sobieszczańskiego’, Kalendarz Powszechny, (Warsaw, 1848).}

The second most important source for ideas on natural gardening at this early stage in Poland was written by the ex-supervisor of the works at Royal Łazienki, August Moszyński. Zug collaborated with Moszyński in 1774 when he drew a plan of an ideal garden for Moszyński’s \textit{Essay sur le Jardinage Anglois}. Moszyński adopted the successful format of Thomas Whateley’s \textit{Observations on Modern Gardening} and its logical divisions of gardening features into manageable sections.\footnote{Agnieszka Morawińska, ‘Nieznany traktat Augusta Moszyńskiego o ogrodach’, in Myśl o sztuce i sztuka XVII-XVIII wieku ed. by Jan Białostocki (Warsaw: PWN, 1970), 261-328. Moszyński used the French translation: Thomas Whately, \textit{L’Art de former les jardins modernes, ou l’art des jardins anglais, trad. de l’anglois, [par François-de-Paule Latapie], à quoi le trad. a ajouté un Discours préliminaire sur l’origine de l’art, des Notes sur le texte, et une description détaillée des Jardins de Stowe, accompagnée du Plan} (Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1771). Agnieszka}
offered guidance on the use of the English style for informal retreats, he thought the French style continued to suit Polish demands for social representation. In accordance with the king’s views, he felt that established ceremonial rituals should be enacted in their recognizable, vernacular setting. After all, the king created Łazienki in a mixed manner, which consciously responded to the traditional regular garden which was still popular in the countryside. Łazienki retained a network of radial avenues and clear vistas, ready to receive large numbers of strolling citizens and visitors from the provinces. The king’s memoirs from his visit to Stowe in 1754 record his abhorrence of the intolerant tendencies demonstrated by supporters of the natural style, and his reflection that it would be ‘a pity to relinquish a straight line in the garden paths or outlines of ponds’. Not surprisingly his ex-architect Moszyński praised regular gardens as places dedicated to enjoyment and relaxation in opposition to the English taste for melancholy and moral texts.

Both Moszyński and Zug’s texts remained available only to an exclusive audience: the king never published Essay sur le Jardinage Anglois and the Polish translation of Zug’s essay appeared as late as 1848 and then merely in a Warsaw periodical. Both architects however wrote and worked for a circle of connoisseurs who were already conversant with ideas about gardening.

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252 Resistance towards a reflective or melancholic mood, called ‘the English Malady’ appears frequently in Polish writing at this time.

253 ‘Ogrody w Warszawie i jej okolicach opisane w r. 1784 z cennemi przypiskami F.M. Sobieszczańskiego’.

It has not fully been appreciated that in promoting landscape design for its aesthetic merits Moszyński and Zug differed markedly from other Polish output on gardening matters. Firstly the Polish printing presses issued books concerned with the practical problems of farming and horticulture rather than with ornamental gardens. Works such as Jan Kluk’s systematized manuals of horticulture of 1777 and 1785, or Waclaw Sierakowski’s guide to flower and fruit gardens of 1795 were addressed to the middling nobility. They couched their design advice firmly in terms of the traditional regular style. Similarly, contributors to the reforming periodical Monitor concentrated on encouraging diligent farming, but by presenting husbandry as an ancient virtue of a Polish nobleman and gardening as its extension, they referred implicitly to the traditional format and did little to promote knowledge of new trends in gardening.

Therefore, if there were to be a Polish discussion on the merits of the ‘natural’ landscape design, it had to be conducted within the framework of social propriety and economic profitability as well as social identity. Even Zug, who never had to worry about the yield from a garden, incorporated productive countryside into his group of prized landscaped views around Warsaw. He wrote of August Czartoryski’s estates near Wilanów:

254 Grochowski, Zarys bibliografji ogrodniczej polskiej.
This fortunate countryside, just like other vast possessions of the Czartoryski house, distinguishes itself from other rural areas of this country. These are good villages, admirable fields, pastures and avenues, and one finds everywhere the signs of wise administration and the happy fruits of the indefatigable labours of the late Prince, for encouraging order and abundance among his subjects. This success comes from a rare combination of a genuinely momentous princely grandeur, and good management. To this effect, the late Prince had always filled his principal places with Germans.  

Zug was therefore entirely in agreement with Hirschfeld on the issue of the revenue that could be expected from a well-tended landscape. He equated the prosperous countryside with the essence of a landscape garden. He embraced its symbolic visualization, just as his clients did: Izabela Lubomirska farmed with success at Mokotów, she sowed crops, kept cows, sheep, chickens and bees. The suburban gardens and country parks of Kazimierz Poniatowski, Helena Radziwiłł, Aleksandra Ogińska, Stanisław Kostka Potocki and others incorporated elements of rural life: water mills, cow sheds, exemplary peasant huts, chicken coops, orchards, pastures and ponds. Indeed in Zug’s description of Warsaw gardens, the Polish ideal of rural life far outweighed the Chinese, Turkish or classical motifs, which Moszyński proposed as equally valid alternatives. This was the rural ideal that Izabela Czartoryska fully explored. She not only gardened at Powązki and shared in the common vocabulary of form, she also farmed, just as did her family and social circle.

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257 ‘Ogrody w Warszawie’, Kurjer Niedzielny (1898), 26, 410.
258 Jolanta Polanowska, Stanislaw Kostka Potocki (1755-1821) twórczość architekta amatora, przedstawiciela neoklasycyzmu i nurtu picturesque (Warsaw: PAN, 2009), 95-99.
Scene II

Farming
In 1774, the first year of the Czartoryskis’ residence in Powązki, poet and historian Adam Naruszewicz wrote verses in praise of the family. He pictured Izabela standing in an abundant field, a living personification of bread-giving Ceres – goddess of agriculture, grains, fertility and motherhood. With a crown of corn on her head and a golden sickle in her hand she surveyed the abundant harvest – a hundred young women reapers setting the stacks of corn and a hundred men ploughing the fields for the next year’s crop. This poetic image was not that far from the truth, Czartoryska used to openly proclaim her love of rural occupations. But this image extends her representation further, into the world of the classically inspired sentimental idyll and into the vernacular, ‘Sarmatian’ paradigm of rural happiness.

Remarkably, from the outset more than half of this pleasure retreat was given over to productive agricultural use. In 1779 Czartoryska advertised the availability of land for farming in the Protestant church in Warsaw and encouraged dissident farmers - from families who had more or less recently migrated to Poland from further west - to settle at Powązki. In this she followed the practices established by her father Jerzy Flemming, her grandfather Michał and her father-in-law August Czartoryski. The Powązki records reveal eight colonists renting fields in 1790. These were probably dissidents, as they were able to raise a variety of crops in the inhospitable sands and used a new type of scythe, which caught Czartoryska’s attention: ‘there is a fashion here for scythes which make a swishing noise, you cannot but take one step

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and you hear them everywhere'.

Czartoryska also settled her own peasants on the Powązki estate. In her ordered universe they received her every attention and care. She personally dispensed permission for them to marry, and in 1789 she erected a model peasant settlement, called Izabelin. Located on the eastern peripheries of the estate, it consisted of five houses, each with glass windows and a chimney – features that were highly unusual in peasant dwellings.

After a disastrous flood and a fire that destroyed stables and granaries in March 1784, Czartoryska ordered an overhaul of the whole estate. Accounts for 1785-1790 show both the scale of her investment and profits from the rents and sale of produce. Three inns, renovated and furnished by Czartoryska, provided rooms for guests to Powązki and served meals. A clay manufactory positioned on the outskirts of the estate produced bricks and roof and floor tiles. The archival findings on the management of estate made by Jolanta Putkowska are particularly revealing of the fact that in 1789, that is seven years after Adam and Izabela inherited their family seat at Puławy, Powązki continued both as a productive farm and as an occupied retreat.

The Prince-Bishop of Warmia and great connoisseur of gardens, Ignacy Krasicki praised this combined unity of the beautiful and the useful in Powązki.

The productive activity was not confined to the agricultural area, but continued in the pleasure grounds. The ornamental mill over the log cascade was leased out; after the flood it was refitted with a new mechanism and two wheels.

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262 I.Cz. to A.J.Cz., Warsaw, 8 May 1785, BCz 6107, 5.
263 I.Cz. to M.W., 13 May (1784), BCz 6137.
264 The administrator J.Ch. Blum proved unreliable and was replaced in 1783. Putkowska, ‘Warszawska rezydencja w Powązkach’, 27.
265 Konstancja Dembowska stayed in Powązki in 1790 when Czartoryska was away in London. I.Cz. to K.D., Bristol, 21 June 1790, BCz 6107.
266 Published in Ignacy Krasicki, Korespondencja, vol, 1, 255-257.
Vegetables came from the ‘Italian’ garden, honey from two dozen beehives in the
*potager*, fruit from the orchards and fish from the pond. All were sold for good money
(il. 14). The estate accounts note the diversified range of crops grown in the fields:
millet, rye, barley and hay, but they also point to the considerable outlay necessary for
the success of the enterprise. Zug thought the plantation of mulberry trees noteworthy,
as well as the fact that the ground was enriched yearly with transports of different
kinds of soil.\(^{267}\)

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(14) Fishing in Powązki, Jean-Pierre Norblin, drawing, after 1785 (image in common
domain).

These records reflect not only Izabela’s interest in good agricultural
management, but also her determination for it to continue in the following years. The
listing of the farm animals and proceeds from sales complete the image of a model
estate, run, as many Polish households, we should note, by a woman.

\(^{267}\) *Kalendarz Powszechny*, 444.
When thinking of the possible European connections with Powązki it is difficult not to make visual links with Woburn Farm in Surrey, the most celebrated ornamental farm in England. There are no archival documents that would indeed prove the connection; Woburn however would have been an easy destination for Czartoryska during her stay in London. The similarities are striking. As in Powązki, the entrance to Philip Southcote’s garden led over a stream across a small bridge, bands of water wound themselves over the level estate; shrubbery abounded, arable fields entered pleasure grounds.²⁶⁸ Woburn’s attraction lay both in the aesthetic appreciation of the agricultural pursuits and in the acknowledgment of the historicity of the countryside. The high plateau on which Woburn was positioned allowed for wide views of the Thames, the outlines of Walpole’s and Pope’s Twickenham and even the towers of Windsor on a good day. As in Powązki, classical and gothic structures peppered the grounds. Southcote placed a Greek Seat for leisurely viewing of the panorama and, as its counterpart, a gothic tower with a dairy inside. Woburn Farm was known in Europe from the lengthy description by Thomas Whately included in his Observations on modern gardening of 1770.²⁶⁹ By 1775 the ideal of rural utility became popular in France, in Claude-Henri Watelet’s Moulin Joli of 1754 or Marie Antoinette’s Jardin de la Reine of 1774.²⁷⁰ The Duc d’Orléans knew about it when he acquired the site for Monceau in 1771.²⁷¹ Powązki shows itself as one of the earliest retreats of its kind in Europe.

²⁶⁹ Thomas Whately, Observations on modern gardening, (Dublin: John Exshaw, 1770), 185-190.
²⁷¹ Ibid., 91.
The French noticed in their own gardens a much stronger accent on theatricality and carefree leisure than in England. Antoine Nicolas Duchesne wrote in 1775 in his essay *Sur la formation des jardins*, that while the *ferme ornée* denoted a new type among modern gardens with its specific associations to the ‘rustic life of our virtuous ancestors’, the rising popularity of the *hameau* answered the desire for recreation. The *hameau*, a hamlet with little cottages each with their own garden, humble on the outside but richly painted and furnished inside, was devoted to exclusive role-playing and leisure. According to Duchesne the hamlet and the *ferme ornée* were two different variations on a single rural theme.

**Ideal landowner**

Even though the *hameau* enjoyed greater popularity, ideas of virtuous utility gained in recognition. They are worth exploring here shortly with the final perspective set at Powązki. The Marquis de Girardin experimented with farming at Ermenonville, which he laid out along the principles of William Shenstone’s *ferme ornée* The Leasowes. In his *De la composition des paysages* published in 1777 Girardin emphasized the economic and moral benefits of the natural design. If the accent on productivity took on an ethical dimension in Girardin’s work, at Powązki it was also grounded in the traditional image of exemplary landownership.

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273 As in that model for all hamlets, Louis Joseph, Prince of Condé’s *Hameau de Chantilly*, inaugurated in April 1775. For problems in dating Chantilly see Wiebenson, *The Picturesque garden*, 100.

Tadeusz Kościuszko referred to this archetype in 1775, when he sent Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski an ideal, entirely imaginary map of his domains (il. 15). Kościuszko was educated in the royal Knights’ School, of which Adam Kazimierz was commandant, but during the turbulent events of the Confederacy of Bar he took leave and in 1769 went to Paris on the royal scholarship to continue his studies. He took private tuition in military subjects; he also enrolled in the Academie des Beaux Arts to develop his drawing skills, necessary as a military engineer. The ideal map of Czartorysk (not the original seat of the clan in Volhynia, but an imaginary settlement) was a gift promoting his own considerable representational and cartographic ability and at the same time flattering his commandant as a model.

landowner.\textsuperscript{276} This map provided visual recognition of the very matters with which Czartoryski was most concerned.

The map represents a rich and fertile territory: two rivers water the plains and wind their way in the proximity of three estates laid out as regular gardens with parterres, bosques and a network of planted avenues. Each estate is accompanied by a cluster of village houses, each with its own garden. All the country roads, avenues and winding rivers run towards a star-shaped fortress called Czartorysk, set at the mouth of the estuary. The villages look content in the shadow of the great estates, and their names express their happy condition: Bel Air, Belle Vue, Nulle Crainte and Sans Faste. The two rivers nurturing this ideal country are called Porte Richesses and Sans Gêne. This is an image of abundance: an ordered countryside ruled by a rational mind. Society here has an ordered unity, connected together in relationships of protection and dependency. The key element of the survival of this idyll is the fortress of Czartorysk.\textsuperscript{277} Powązki referred to that same ideal of identity represented in the well managed and happy countryside.

\textit{The ‘Sarmatian’ estate}

Zug must shoulder much of the blame for the enduring misperception that Powązki was solely a refined pleasure ground. The analysis of the plan tells a different story. A visitor approaching from the city along the southern boundaries of Powązki would have recognized the unmistakable signs of a traditional Polish estate,


not a retreat in a newly fashionable style. Continuing his progress, he would have first seen the farm in the distance, then an orderly village with two inns, followed by agricultural fields, wooded areas, plantations of hops and mulberries and lastly orchards. He would not have been fooled by the unremarkable entrance over the small bridge: to reach this point he would have traversed nearly two kilometres along the straight segments of the avenue and the last five hundred-metre stretch resembled an axial, baroque approach. The visitor to Powązki was first presented not with hints of the pleasures that awaited him, but with fields, plantations and peasants – together forming a reassuring image of industriousness and plenty. The traditional decorum of the noble residence in the country was then preserved.

Powązki nestled within the clear boundaries of the doubly planted avenue, but Czartoryska connected it visually with the open surrounding areas. The approach bent itself sharply into four sections, allowing for changing views which were even marked out with four viewing bays. Poets readily acknowledged this expansion into the geographical and historical dimensions. Stanisław Trembecki, for example, linked Powązki to royal elections on the fields of Wola and to the forest of Kampinos. Adam Naruszewicz evoked associations with Polish kings in the panorama of Warsaw visible to the north. Within the garden, the ancient castle, the medieval tower and the gothic manor house also referred to this historicizing external landscape.

The fact that Czartoryska decided to create this symbolic residence in relative proximity to the Royal Castle should also be seen as an effort to establish her own

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278 It was from here in 1771 that the abducted King Stanisław August safely returned to Warsaw.
counterbalance to the royal presence in the Warsaw environs. The king needed to create his own emblematic country estate at Łazienki on the edge of Warsaw in response to the display of power in the provincial palaces and estates of the magnates. Some of the aristocratic residences, such as Białystok, certainly exceeded the royal representation in scale and magnificence. Hunting grounds or a game park particularly epitomized ‘Sarmatian’ hunting values. They aimed to recapture the dream of the Golden Age, where nature was in its most abundant forms, where forest was open to pleasant and undirected walks, and where the proximity of wandering deer and fowl gave an illusion of an arcadian carefree existence. As a contrast to the artifice of a formal garden, the game park referred to the moral dimension of living in harmony with nature.\textsuperscript{281} What the Polish Sarmatians claimed as the exclusive part of their identity certainly had to have more concrete economic bases. Tom Williamson had shown the variety of benefits of the economic management of the deer park and its consequence for the English landscape. We should expect similar productivity on Polish estates, but these matters still await their research.\textsuperscript{282}

With imagery based in land and hunting, Polish kings connected to the vernacular identity of the Polish nobles. Some of them, like Jan III Sobieski publicly took the plough in their hands and tilled the land, danced with peasant women at village weddings, and visually acted as a unifying and sacred element in the countryside.\textsuperscript{283} Ceremonies that celebrated the monarch working with peasants unified that connection. Physical work did not bring dishonour; on the contrary, the king had to place himself within the ethos of land ownership. When King Sobieski built his

\textsuperscript{281} Szafranśka, ‘Ogród i las’, passim.


\textsuperscript{283} Grzybowski, \textit{Sarmatyzm}, 30.
own Italian villa in Wilanów near Warsaw, he included there the hunting ground and arable fields and farmed them himself, like a Polish Cincinnatus, first attending to the affairs of the state, before returning to what really mattered, the land. The king as the father of his nation had to show that his imagery included all ‘Sarmatian’ preoccupations. 284

Sobieski built his own country seat, but other kings, if unable to do likewise, rented estates from the most powerful nobles. 285 We can conclude from this that both the royal and noble residences around Warsaw were engaged not only in a complementary relationship, but also in a visual system of checks, where leading nobles were ever vigilant in displaying their constitutional watch over the king. Once Izabela Czartoryska had positioned Powązki within that system which scrutinized the monarchy, she was ready to entertain, educate and moralize on a grand scale.

284 Ibid., 46.

Scene III

Young shepherds of their nation

When I ask myself, which was the happiest time of my life, I think that the days I spent in Powązki were the most joyous of all. (...) Strangers rarely came to stay, but this was not the reason why we would not perform to each other – that is – my mother to children and we to her, the scenes from rural poetry. There were seldom visits from others and the life was a true period of an unending eclogue.\textsuperscript{286}

In penning this memory, Adam Jerzy Czartoryski situated his time in Powązki within the bucolic sphere of a Virgilian poem, one that was lived, experienced and enacted. There, an ideal childhood enacted itself in proximity to the mother and the small-scale performances on the theme of classical idylls only added to the charm. From the position of a child, this must have felt entirely natural; eight decades later when Adam Jerzy remembered, it seemed a world of lost simplicity. From the position of an adult, however, this childhood in the garden was from the outset the means of placing the children in the public sphere. As soon as Powązki opened to the visiting public Czartoryska’s motherhood acquired a performative and didactic, public character.

\textit{The idyll}

Czartoryska organized the children’s activities into an ‘effortless’ and pleasurable mixture of play and work appropriate to their age.\textsuperscript{287} All the residents of Powązki would get up early, take breakfast with Izabela or at the administrator’s house in the agricultural part of the estate. Afterwards the children dispersed to work in their gardens until lunchtime. The meal arrived every day from Warsaw in two baskets on the back of a donkey. Izabela chose a different location for their daily picnic, ringing

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{286} Czartoryski, \textit{Pamiętniki}, 81-82.
\item\textsuperscript{287} Cf. similar attitudes shown by Gill, \textit{Educational philosophy}, 79.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
a Chinese gong to call everyone. Next the company visited the farms. Adam Jerzy remembered feeding chickens and pigeons with delicious morsels. The family went out together daily, the children riding on donkeys and on Sundays they all rode out to Mass at nearby Wawrzyszew.288

They all lived in a little *hameau* on the main island. Every child had a rustic hut. Over the doors hung painted emblems that expressed the characters of the inhabitants in the poetic rhetoric of antiquity. Adam Jerzy had an oak branch with the inscription *Stalość* [Constancy]; his sister Maria had a finch with the motto *Wesołość* [Gaiety], the eldest child Teresa had a basket of white roses and the word *Dobrość* [Goodness]. The adult residents painted their own emblems: the administrator Wolski chose bees with the motto *Pracowitość* [Diligence]. Wolski’s device certainly recalled Virgil’s *Georgics*, which were known in Powązki via Jacques Delille’s extremely popular translation.289 But in Poland bees had long been connected with the ‘Sarmatian’ symbolism of community living. In poems and fables from the Renaissance through the eighteenth century, bees came to symbolize the virtues of the nobility. As the only creatures apart from humans endowed with the divine spark, they worked together for the common good, their hive structure resembled the Polish parliamentary ideal (if not the reality), they exhibited love for their country and strove for glory, regenerating continuously and spontaneously.290 Wolski then not only presented himself as a diligent administrator, but also as a representative of ‘Sarmatian’ estate in its best tradition.

Madame Petit handed over the painting of her own sign to Jean-Pierre Norblin and decided on an antique sarcophagus with a loyal dog resting beside, at the edge of a lake (il. 17). Izabela explained the presence of the tomb in the place of idyllic pursuits: ‘she called this sign Spoczynek [Rest], at the end of her life she enjoyed it among us, after death she hoped to find it with the Creator’. Unfortunately Norblin’s painting is undated, but if it was indeed painted around 1774, the depiction of the personal tomb in the landscape with Madam Petit’s likeness in profile would be among the first ones in Poland.

291 Dębicki, Puławy, vol. 1, 110.
Czartoryska’s own emblem on her house, a hen with her chickens, announced the space of her domain as that of model motherhood. Her brood was growing: in October 1774 the second son Konstanty was born. Adam Jerzy was then four, Maria was seven, and Teresa was nine. The year 1774 was their first summer in Powązki. After returning from England the family moved in on 10 May and stayed until 23 September. We may assume that subsequent seasons at Powązki lasted for similar lengths of time. Two other girls came to stay as companions to the children – Aleksandra and Konstancja Narbutt. Both continued their close relationship with Izabela throughout their lives, and both married men from the Puławy circle.

Performing motherhood

This style of living, with its complete focus on children, could only be possible in an exclusive space, removed from the distractions of the world. In country residences the custom was for a mother to take sole charge of their children. Indeed, the praise of maternal virtues formed a constant refrain in Polish moralizing literature. The reality however, all too often fell short of the ideal. The same visitors who extolled Czartoryska’s perfect motherhood in Powązki reported that Polish parents were at best indifferent to their offspring; at worst they totally abandoned their children to the cares of ill prepared governesses, at least until the sons were old enough to be sent to schools run by the Piarist or Jesuit orders. Even the Czartoryskis fitted this model during their winter seasons in Warsaw. The writer Friedrich Schulz, who did not visit Powązki, left a distinctly unfavourable portrait of their family life in 1793,

293 Cf. footnote 291.
reminiscent of William Hogarth’s moral tale *Marriage à la Mode*. In an extended critique of their manners and family relationships, he described the children as left to their own devices while the Adam Kazimierz and Izabela run off in pursuit of their own lovers.\(^{294}\)

The difference between Czartoryska’s motherhood in Powązki and the traditional model lay in the emphatic promotion of the emotional enjoyment of children as the moral force in establishing relationships.\(^{295}\) In this life at Powazki resembled to a remarkable degree the ideas promoted by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, especially in his *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. This book changed the image of motherhood like no other in the eighteenth century.\(^{296}\)


Meeting with Rousseau

Czartoryska bought an early edition of the book on her first journey to Paris in 1762. It is important to note that her introduction to the *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was not through the text, which she had not yet read, but through the images that centred on the theme of motherhood. Izabela commissioned an unnamed artist to paint for her two scenes from the novel. The painter suggested two events not illustrated in the first edition of prints: the storm scene on a lake where Julie, in a sinking boat, despairs at the prospect of not seeing her children again (Letter XVII p. IV), and a scene known later as *L’Amour maternel*, Julie saving her child from drowning (Letter IX Part VI) (il. 18). Both images brought the theme of motherhood to the most dramatic point: in one, Julie’s thoughts go to her children in the moment of danger, in the other she throws herself into the water without hesitation and saves her son. Julie later dies from the resulting cold but does not regret her action and remains fulfilled and serene till the end.

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297 The illustrations for the first Amsterdam edition were released as a separate imprint with a guide to the corresponding pages of this edition. The original edition issued by Marc-Michel Rey in Amsterdam in 1761, as well as the first, cheaper Parisian imprint by Robin, sold out entirely already in February 1761, but the presses around the country at once begun producing many authorized and unauthorized editions. More than seventy of those appeared till the end of the century, some were illustrated by Cochin, Clément-Pierre Marillier and Daniel-Nicolas Chodowiecki. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Nowa Heloiza* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1962), p. LI. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettres de deux amans, habitans d'une petite ville au pied des Alpes* (Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1761).


299 Dębicki, *Pulawy*, 1, 95. Neither image has survived.

The theme of children might have been on Czartoryska’s mind: she was expecting her first child and on 9 October 1762 she gave birth to Karol Aleksander Jerzy.\(^{300}\)

The commission soon led to a meeting with Rousseau himself in Paris. The artist consulted Rousseau about the composition and the philosopher invited the Czartoryskis to visit him. The fact that the artist felt the need to interpret the scenes

\(^{300}\) A year later on 2 September 1763 she had a daughter Zofia. Zofia died on 3 November 1763, Karol died on 27 December 1763, probably of an epidemic in Warsaw, when both their parents were away in Ruthenia. Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz*, 155.
precisely according to Rousseau’s directions suggests that he might have been Gravelot, the illustrator of Rollin’s history books. Gravelot worked with Rousseau on the first edition of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* to the author’s specific guidelines on the visualization of all characters, which were appended by Rousseau to the subsequent editions. For the 1764 edition Gravelot added the very scene *L’Amour maternel*.\(^\text{301}\) The boating scene, however, was not included, presumably because it did not gain Rousseau’s approval, but after his death it became a very popular image and was rendered by the variety of artists.

The Czartoryski visit turned out to be a somewhat undignified and disappointing encounter – Rousseau’s uncouth, fat housekeeper-wife received them in an apron and a large bonnet, while the philosopher himself turned out to be an ugly man in an oversized wig, who sat on the bed in front of a table covered with papers and shouted, as if he was deaf.\(^\text{302}\) Izabela did not speak at all, afraid to show her ignorance. After Rousseau had expounded a metaphysical theory, which Izabela did not understand and which irritated Adam, the guests got up and left.\(^\text{303}\) Although the image of Rousseau Izabela left for future readers was highly unflattering, she nevertheless added that she subsequently became his avid reader. In particular, she adored *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. The striking parallels with Rousseau’s heroine, Julie, in Izabela’s approaches to motherhood and gardening, are worth exploring at some length, involving occasional ventures into later manifestations at Pulawy.


Julie, played by Izabela

The Julie of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* inspired a consciously emotional attitude to the upbringing of children. For Julie motherhood was a constant delight; she drew total fulfilment from interacting with her own two children and with Henriette, their little companion, making no distinction among the three of them. Izabela herself drew on this model in London with her female friends and later raised two girls of Tadeusz Narbutt with her own children. Like Julie, she did not make distinctions among them. When another ward of hers, Zofia Kicka née Matuszewicz, died in 1822, Czartoryska signed herself as her mother on a memorial tablet. \(^{304}\)

In her personal emotional life Czartoryska followed her own feelings. If her love affairs in Powązki with Kazimierz Rzewuski and the Duc de Lauzun contrasted with the didactic example of Julie’s chaste conduct, they still implied a primacy of emotion as a guiding principle in Czartoryska’s life. She continued to shape herself as an individual and carried this emotional persona into the position assigned to her by her birth. However, this independence in emotional matters did not ultimately translate into a decision-making position in the family. Like Julie, Czartoryska not only submitted to but supported her family’s patriarchal structure. Even though she was a driving force in the family, she always deferred to her husband in major

\(^{304}\) Tadeusz Narbutt in a patriotic gesture did not sign the ratification of the First Partition. The older girl, Aleksandra married Stanisław Ciesielski, governor of Adam Jerzy and an inhabitant of Powązki, the younger Konstancja married Józef Dembowski and became Czartoryska’s confidante. Zofia Kicka née Matuszewicz was buried in the Czartoryski crypt in the church of Holy Cross in Warsaw [Bazylika Świętego Krzyża]. The inscription reads: ‘Zofia z Tad: Matuszewica Min: Skar: K: Pol:; i Maryanny z Przebendowskich roku 1796 D:; 21 grudnia zrodzona Lud: Kickiego Pół:Woj:; Pol: od roku 1819 małżonka zpośród zaczętgo, ledwie szczęścia domowego wkwiecie wieku, zpośród leż rodziny i przyjaciół na uwięńczenie pełnego cnót życia w R-u1822 D: 5-go, listopada do Boga Wezwana, tu, od przysposobionej a nieukojoney w żalu, Matki Izab. z Fleming: Xię: Czartoryskiego, obok iey corki wspólnym grobie złożona, spoczywa 1822 list:.’ The tablet is still in situ.
decisions relating to the children, travels or political representation. Her individual dynamic initiatives and projects were highly visible but always endorsed the family interests. This strange duality in Czartoryska’s outlook, her deference to her husband’s authority while recognizing her own emotional self, lay entirely within the sphere of Rousseau’s views.\footnote{See, among the most recent contributions to the large literature on Rousseau and women:: Rosanne Terese Kennedy, \textit{Rousseau in drag: deconstructing gender} (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), esp. the chapter ‘Julie, or the New Heloise’, 93-102.} Adam Kazimierz, for his part, gave his name to all but one of his wife’s children and supported her public activities. Their relationship continued in Powązki, as ever, in a harmonious and co-operative way.

If Czartoryska gave primacy to her own feelings, she subjected her children to the dynastic ambitions of the family. She arranged a politically highly desirable, but the ultimately disastrous marriage of her daughter Maria to Ludwig von Württemberg (1756-1817), nephew of Frederick the Great and brother-in-law of two future emperors, Paul I and Francis II (I). She later bitterly regretted her decision and procured a divorce for Maria, but not before Ludwig deserted to the enemy in the war of 1794 and thus humiliated the family. Even Adam Jerzy’s choices were almost equally subjected to his mother’s will. She finally consented to Adam Jerzy’s decision to marry Anna Sapieha, when she lost any hope of him marrying at all – he was forty-seven years old at the time.\footnote{Zawadzki, \textit{A man of honour}, 275.}
**Planting with feeling**

At Powązki Czartoryska focused on the children. With them in mind she engaged in emotional planting. She wrote to Maria after the floods of 1784, reporting her improvements of the younger children’s spaces: in March she planted a white poplar behind Aleksandra’s cabin near the river, in April she planted two huge poplars and added many shrubs on top of Aleksandra’s grotto.307

![Illustration](image)

(19) *Sachot l’aime*, drawing after Princess Maria Wirtemberska of 1789, pen and ink, n.d. FKCz, XV-Rr.75.

A drawing in the Czartoryski Museum, which has not hitherto been identified, may be the record of this grotto (il. 19). Two further poplars gave an ‘extremely picturesque’ appearance to Aleksandra’s cabin, and the large lilac under the window of Miss

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307 I.Cz. to M.W., 18 March 1784 BCz 6137.
Konstancja’s house made for a ‘truly wondrous sight’. In May 1784 Powązki blossomed and Izabela wrote to Maria of weeping willows, white poplars, green poplars and apple trees, all planted with the thought of its now grown-up inhabitants: ‘all this moves me greatly’. Later in Puławy she would continue the associations of plants with family and friends. Czartoryska’s children learned emotional language through planting and Julie’s children learned the nuances of sensibility in the garden. Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne (1735-1814) took these ideas further. In his work on European gardens, which contained the description of his visit to Powązki, he saw gardening as an opportunity to inspire the young with moral and civic virtues:

Fathers of families, inspire gardenomania in your children! They will only be the better for it. Let the other arts be cultivated only to embellish the one I preach. When our thoughts are full of shading a dell or damming a brook in its course, we are too busy to become dangerous citizens, scheming generals, caballing courtiers.

For de Ligne, work in the garden promoted every virtue. It produced faithful husbands, law-abiding citizens, patriotic tax payers, and happy labourers contented with their station, steering clear of revolutionary sentiments. Indeed in Powązki the children planted and dug the ground of their own little gardens. Their education in Powązki reflected these concerns, encouraging an emotional involvement with nature and instilling in the children a sense of virtue even in preference to a more structured education. Adam Jerzy’s tutor Colonel Ciesielski objected to the amount of time his charge spent in the garden rather than at his studies in the palace, but in the end he

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308 Ibid., 19 April 1784.
309 Ibid., 13 May (1784?).
capitulated and fell under the spell of Powązki. He pitched his own tent beside the boy’s house.\(^{311}\)

Izabela’s educational programme at Powązki sought to give the children an entry into a world founded on the land. They would after all inherit the vast Czatoryski estates. The agricultural area that merged into the pleasure grounds provided that connection. Here converged all the aspects of the model motherhood, which was as equally conversant with traditional Polish values as with the example of the emotionally saturated *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Similar themes came together in Julie’s garden in Clarens.\(^{312}\) Julie established a blissful garden on the most inhospitable site – an uncultivated wilderness, planted it herself, cared for it over many years and had complete control over it. It was her own domain. The unsophisticated charm of the place drew eulogies from Saint-Preux, Julie’s former lover. Prince de Ligne quoted Saint-Preux almost verbatim when he visited Powązki in 1780: ‘the glory of this site is the perfect image of Nature, who is not thwarted here’.\(^{313}\)

Unlike Powązki, however, the design of Julie’s Elysium at Clarens was supposed to be so close to a natural field and grove as to lose any semblance of a garden. Rousseau, in his highly critical opinion of English gardens, and especially in his long harangue against Stowe, claimed that the true art of gardening depended not on imitating nature or hiding art but on shaping natural forms with an instinctive

\(^{311}\) Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 82.

\(^{312}\) Morawińska and Putkowska note the connections between Clarens and Powązki, but they do not pursue the theme. Morawińska, *Rozprawa o ogrodnictwie*; Putkowska, ‘Warszawska rezydencja w Powązkach’.

feeling and virtuous hand. Virtue was the prerequisite for a good design.\textsuperscript{314} At Clarens virtue ruled supreme: the combination of Julie’s fidelity, her devotion to children and her affinity with free and unrestrained nature led Saint-Preux to exclaim: ‘I thought I beheld the image of virtue where I expected to find that of pleasure’.\textsuperscript{315}

It is important to note, that for all his stress on artless nature, Rousseau’s imagery of the Elysium in Clarens was in fact only fractionally removed from the designs for operatic sets. The description of winding vines as if negligently scattered from one tree to the next could have been equally appropriate for a decoration of a salon as they were used for filling in the backgrounds of harvest scenes in many paintings. In the eighteenth century they formed a basic visual motif for pastoral paintings by Watteau, Fragonard, Greuze, Salomon Gessner or by Czartoryska’s painter Jean-Pierre Norblin. Izabela Czartoryska herself introduced garlands to Powązki and later in Puławy and adorned trees and architecture with them.


\textsuperscript{315} Rousseau, \textit{Eloisa}, vol. 3, 142.
Enter the young shepherds

Writing his memoirs, Adam Jerzy particularly remembered the small private performances of ‘scenes from rural poetry’: ‘my mother to [her] children and we to her’. These enjoyable activities took place in informal settings. One of them, a rustic structure covered with thatched roof, can be identified in Norblin’s drawing (il. 50). Adam Jerzy recalls a play staged in a sheepfold, where a friend and cousin of the family, Princess Maria Teresa Tyszkiewiczowa, the king’s niece, staged L’Amoureux de 15 ans, as a gesture of gratitude for Czartoryska’s hospitality.\textsuperscript{316}

\footnotesize{(20) Title page of \textit{Idyllen}, by Salomon Gessner, Zurich, 1756, AN196280001© Trustees of the British Museum.}

\textsuperscript{316} Czartoryski, \textit{Pamiętniki}, 84.
Much of the material for the poetic visualizations certainly came from the poetic volumes in the Powązki library, but most probably the work of Salomon Gessner also provided some inspiration (il. 20). A visitor to Powązki, Ernst von Lehndorff remarked: ‘Gessner is highly valued in the house, which should not be a surprise, for here homage is paid to everything that is lofty and imaginative.’


Gessner’s poems correspond remarkably to the activities recorded by Jean-Pierre Norblin in his paintings and by visitors to Powązki. In Gessner’s verses shepherds

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plant little gardens around their houses, they place statues of Pan and Amor there, make offerings to love with garlands of flowers, discuss the virtues of charity and tender affection and perform simple shows of gratitude with bouquets of flowers. Trees and myrtles grow into verdant temples, which Gessner drew himself (il. 21). Gessner’s verses taught not only attachment to land and filial piety, but presented exemplars of rituals and appropriate verbal expressions to communicate these attitudes.\(^\text{318}\)

The children of Powązki had that image of posterity before their eyes. They were the inheritors of the abundant countryside that their mother had created. They were furthermore conscious of what by the 1770s had become a cliché:

Kings and heroes have been herdsmen and shepherds, and princes have been often called, by way of eminence, both with regard to their name and office, the shepherds of their people. In these happy days of innocence and simplicity, when pasturage was the chief business and concern of life, the various charms of nature that adorn each rural landscape, the singing of birds, the murmuring of fountains, peace and leisure, solitude and meditation, but especially youth and love, would soon inspire the inhabitants of the plains with poetry and music.\(^\text{319}\)

The author of these words, Charlotte Butler, translator of Gessner’s *Daphne*, concluded that the poem afforded instruction and entertainment for all, but it seemed especially beneficial for the young people of both sexes, and for girls in particular.\(^\text{320}\)

An example of Gessner’s ideal of landscape inspiring virtuous living actually took place at Powązki. In 1784 Czartoryska found out about a man named Pesche living in the garden of her manager Wolski. Pesche fostered orphans one at a time


\(^{319}\) Salomon Gessner, *Daphnis, a poetical, pastoral novel* (London: J. Dodsley (etc.), 1768), V-VI.

\(^{320}\) Ibid., XLVII-XLVIII.
until they married, and then took in another one. At the time he was raising his fourth orphans despite his extremely dire situation. In a letter to Maria, Czartoryska lamented that ‘Providence has not arranged for him to be the gardener at Powonski [sic] or at your place either (...) This is all so moving’. At Powązki the children enacted, absorbed and built on the visualizations of virtue. They learned their poses from their mother – the consummate actress – and she taught them same way she was taught, staging the scenes from moralizing texts. Gessner’s illustrations retain a perceptible and consciously pursued naïveté, a quality which harmonized with the simplicity of his poems and which became his most sought-after trait. But his style came from a long period of exploration and study of other painters. Interestingly he related at length his inspirations and his self-taught education in an essay that was frequently reprinted with his Idylls. Czartoryska therefore knew his ideas on the most appropriate models for representation of pastoral poetry.  

**Learning gestures**

Gessner most admired Claude Lorrain and both Poussins – Nicolas and his adopted son Gaspard Dughet. In the work of these artists he found dignity and truth, and discovered a nature which was gentle, surprising and varied, he found figures with a

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321 ICz. to M.W., 19 April 1784, BCz 6137. There is no knowing whether she employed him.

322 Gessner’s essay was printed in 1770 as part of the preface to the third volume of Füssli’s Geschichte der besten Künstler in der Schweiz: Johann Caspar Füssli, Geschichte der besten Künstler in der Schweiz: Nebst ihren Bildnissen 3 (Zürich: Orell, Geßner, Fueßlin, 1770); He appended the essay to the 1772 edition of his Idylls: Salomon Gessner and Denis Diderot, Moralische Erzaehlungen und Idyllen (Zurich: Orell, Gessner, Füesslin 1772).
noble air and a firm attitude.\textsuperscript{323} Most importantly however, he emphasized poetry rather than paintings as his source of visual inspiration—poetry should inform artists in constructing a painting, and in turn, their paintings should be interpreted through the passages drawn from poets. ‘Must we read that we may paint?’ he asked. ‘I pity the unfeeling landscape painter, whom the sublime pictures of Tomson [sic] cannot inspire. In reading the description of that great master, we seem to see the paintings of our most famous artists’.\textsuperscript{324}

Individual visualization based on poetic feelings was therefore the basis of Gessner’s inspiration. In turn, Rousseau’s prose was compared to paintings. Charles-Nicolas Cochin le Jeune, regarded by Gessner as one of the greatest living painters, provided an allegorical rendering of Rousseau in the frontispiece to \textit{La Nouvelle Héloïse} with an inscription: ‘We have represented the author of \textit{La Nouvelle Héloïse} under the emblem of a Painter inspired by the fire of Genius and of Love, and who, in imitating Nature, paints her much larger and more beautiful than she is’ (il. 22).\textsuperscript{325}

\textsuperscript{323} Gessner, \textit{New idylles}, 97.
\textsuperscript{324} Ibid, 97, 102.
Czartoryska herself noticed the same painterly quality of Rousseau’s narratives. She wrote in a short essay on Rousseau:

His style is so beautiful that it has no imitators so far and cannot be compared because it is unique. When he talks about duties to humanity, of principles essential for our happiness, he talks with a power of a soul totally committed to these principles. And when he paints human feelings, he paints them with this charm of attachment, with this fire and this graceful composition of nuances of colours, which were only known to him.  

326 Aleksandrowicz, Izabela Czartoryska, 148.
Painting, poetry and prose merged then into a source of inspirations available to Izabela Czartoryska for creating theatrical performances and for blurring the line between reality, fiction and emotional life – especially blissful motherhood.

(23) Mr. Garrick as Richard III, by Johann Ludwig Fäsch, drawing, print study, AN328721001© The Trustees of the British Museum.

The children at Powązki had another model before their eyes: engravings representing Garrick and other performers from Drury Lane, which Czartoryska brought from England and hung in their rustic huts (il. 23). These were small, 10 x 8 cm coloured copper prints, by Johann Ludwig Wernhard Fäsch (ca. 1738-1778). For the young Czartoryskis and their companions, therefore, theatre was their intimate space and the transmission of emotions through gesture, as a model for their own behaviour, was at all times before their eyes.

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Fäsch, a Swiss working in Paris and London was one of the very first artists who had drawn actors directly from actual staged performances and vignettes achieved the height of popularity just when Czartoryska was in London. Images of Garrick and other actors were engraved for Robert Sayer and John Smith in London and sold both as separate pieces and as bound volumes. Maria Ines Aliverti, ‘The miniatures of Jean Louis Faesch and their printed versions. A theatrical paper museum’, Acting Archives Essays, http://www.actingarchives.unior.it/Essays/RivistaIframe.aspx?ID=7c5e0b32-31c3-4230-824d-f55f734bc7ec>.
Classical poses

For Czartoryska the models for staging would almost certainly have been Rollin’s illustrations from the books Madame Petit used to teach the children. Rollin’s technique of visualizing historical events in small theatricals had now received a second wave of popularity with an endorsement from Madame de Genlis. Adam Jerzy described his education in terms of total immersion in examples from Greek, Roman and Polish history:

Our upbringing was entirely Polish and republican. History, classical literature and Polish writings made up the sum of our learning. We dreamed of Greek and Roman virtues and imagined how to use them to advantage in state matters, in the manner of our grandfathers. Later learning about freedom, taken from England and France corrected our understanding, but did not cool our feelings. The love of our country, her glory, her laws and her freedom was instilled to us through everything we had been learning, seeing and hearing.

One of the illustrations by Gravelot in Rollin’s Ancient history relates to the shaping of a great character from an early age. It is the image of nine-year old Hannibal swearing eternal enmity to Rome (il. 24).

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328 Stéphanie Félicité Genlis, Théâtre a l’usage des jeunes personnes par Madame la Comtesse de Genlis (Dublin: Luc White, 1781).

329 Czartoryski, Pamiętniki, 110.

A depiction of this theme hung in Adam Jerzy and Konstanty’s room in the palace at Puławy and contributed to the perception of the boys’ upbringing as the two Hannibals, who would forever harbour enmity to Russia.\(^\text{330}\)

\(^{330}\) For the continuation of this subject see the chapter: ‘Tableau I: the Spartan Mother’ below.
Czartoryska certainly engaged all the senses in her visualizations as she sought to educate her children. Rollin persuasively combined the themes of political greatness with agrarian concerns, military victories with cultivation of the arts. His emotive prose, didactic choice of historical events and their edifying interpretation in terms of personal virtues and vices all lent themselves to the educational goals in Powązki. And so Philopemen, ‘the last of the Greeks’ who styled himself on Epaminondas, in his free moments from armed service, took time to ‘go with his vine-dresser, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peasants’. Romans did the same, equally engaging themselves in military service, civic duties and tilling the land, following the illustrious example of Cincinnatus. As for the arts, Rollin attributed to them the role of shaping human character. Music or its absence was responsible for the difference between the two peoples of Arcadia – the one ‘infinitely beloved and esteemed for the elegance of their manners, their benevolent inclination, humanity to strangers; the other on the contrary, generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality and irreligion’.

**Performing morality**

Czartoryska’s method of education through performance and visualization was energized by her husband’s wide ranging theatrical activity: in the decade between 1770 and 1780 Adam Kazimierz wrote six comedies and several essays on theatre, involved himself in the production of his plays and promoted them as a medium for

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332 Idem, *The Roman history from the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium that is, to the end of the Commonwealth* (London: John and Paul Knapton, 1739), vol. 1, VI-VII.

the improvement of character, especially for the young cadets of the Knights’ School: ‘every mind and particularly a young one, will eagerly accept morality dressed in a pleasant form’ he professed. In the absence of a national stage between 1768 and 1774 the Knights’ School performances became events for the whole city. Adam Kazimierz attended to the choreography of movement and gesture, while Izabela, together with her sister-in-law Izabela Lubomirska, prepared the cadets for the female roles. Franciszek Bohomolec claimed that this decade was the golden age of Polish theatre. In 1782 Adam Kazimierz started publishing a series of his own pamphlets on education of boys and girls entitled Letters of Doświadczyński. The 1787 letter connected the social aspects of education with artistic creativity and expressive value of poetry, no doubt recalling Izabela’s experiments in Powązki. In it he wrote against the ossifying rule of reason: ‘We like expressive articulation, which abounds in lively and tender representation, for it gives our imaginings splendour and fire, it visualizes and animates the subject and attaches itself to it with affection, as the contentment of stirred emotions always joins with learning’. The power of imagination then promoted learning, while visualization and expression helped the children to identify themselves with the ideas and concepts.

334 His other comedies are Gracz (1774) and Bliznięta (1775), both adapted from Jean-François Regnard (Le Jouer, 1696, and Menechmes, 1705), Mniejszy concept jak przysługa known as Pysznoskąpski (1777) and Kawa (1779).

335 Czartoryski, Komedie, 33.


337 Adam Kazimierz Joachim Ambroży Marek Czartoryski, Listy JMci Pana Doświadczyńskiego (Warsaw, 1782). The title alluded to the well known, pioneering novel by Ignacy Krasicki, Mikołaja Doświadczyńskiego przypadki (Warsaw: Michał Gröll, 1776).

Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski was known for disliking Rousseau’s works, but unlike most of the Polish readership, who called on Rousseau’s authority without actually following his advice, Czartoryski’s views reflected the concepts of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Émile* much more than he wished to admit. But in a diametrical opposition to Rousseau, Czartoryski saw the spectators as an audience receptive to the emotional representations of morals, capable of internalizing them and adopting the message for the life outside the theatre. For Rousseau, theatre desensitized emotions and contributed to alienation of the society, it was a frame through which spectators could watch in safety and even take pleasure in someone’s misfortune or suffering. In the *Considerations on the government of Poland* written in 1772 he strongly advises against theatre for Polish youth. Czartoryski, however, considered that while *amour propre* [*miłość własna*] prevents us from taking advice from friends, priests and books, in the theatre ‘a rogue (in the parterre) sheds a tear over this wickedness he was ready to perpetrate, he feels anger at the mirror of his own character’. For him comedies worked with vernacular settings and national costumes, with music and dance, laughter and tears.

Even though Czartoryski wrote only comedies, he most highly valued tragedies, especially those by French authors. He would have supported his wife’s


choice of Racine’s tragedy in five acts *Mithridate* as a suitable learning example for their eldest son. Adam Jerzy recalled a painful memory, when he failed to learn a long passage from the play in which the title hero reveals to his sons defensive strategy against the Romans. Izabela first read the passage to Adam Jerzy, but when he did not apply himself, she left him behind at Różanka, where they were staying, while the rest of the company went for a picnic to the nearby village of Rymczai. Czartoryska arranged there a picturesque spot near a spring and Adam Jerzy never forgot the disappointment. He was six at the time.\(^{343}\)


The children in Powązki grew up then as inheritors of ancient virtues. The girls performed Polish and Cossack dances in Greek clothes for visitors. According to Rollin’s dictum they also played music, Adam Jerzy played shepherd’s bagpipes, the

\(^{343}\) Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 79.
girls played the clavcin. They followed both the didactic patriotism of their mother and their father’s theatrical ideology. Adam Jerzy returned in later years to the pastoral pleasures of these years, when in a drawing he represented perhaps himself, playing bagpipes in a landscape (il. 25).

_Theatricals outside the garden_

The theatrical lifestyle thus took over the Czartoryski family. The mother performed in society theatres, the father devoted his time and pen to the education of Poland’s most promising youth through theatre. Izabela organized impromptu _fêtes or surpżyzy_ at her Blue Palace in Warsaw. Her two girls Teresa and Maria, accompanied by their childhood friends Aleksandra and Konstancja Narbutt, entertained their guests singing, accompanying with music and acting with their mother to the gathering of friends. Jean-Pierre Norblin painted theatrical scenery and designed costumes, Patoire directed the music and d’Auvigny choreographed the movement. One of the more notable society events was the production of _La Colonie_ in 1778 where Czartoryska played the role of a gardener Marianne (il. 26).

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344 William Coxe, _Travels into Poland Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, interspersed with historical relations and political inquiries_ (Dublin: S. Price (etc.), 1784), vol. 1, 181.

345 Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and Alexander I, _Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski and his correspondence with Alexander I_ ([S. l]: Kessinger Publishing’s Rare Reprints, 2000), 21-22.

346 Żórawska-Witkowska, _Muzyka na dworze i w teatrze Stanisława Augusta_, 164.
(26) *Marinne dans la Colonie, représenté par Mdl la Princesse Generale de la Podolie*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, sign. NB f1778 (or 1779) W (Varsovie), watercolour, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Gabinet Rycin, Warsaw, T.33, nr 71 (teka ‘Potraits Femmes de qualité’).

This highly popular opera, Nicholas Etienne Framery’s parody of Antonio Sacchini’s *L’Isola d’Amore* (1766) received huge acclaim when it was first staged in Paris in 1775. It was even compared to Giovanni Battista Pergolesi’s *La Serva Padrona*. Norblin made a telling record of Czartoryska as Marianne. She chose a dress that resembled an everyday outfit more than a theatrical costume.347 In this way too she merged the narrative of the performance with real life. Her appearances always drew notable crowds. 1782 and 1783 she played weekly in society comedies in the Royal

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Castle. The plays sold two hundred tickets each time.\textsuperscript{348} On 3 March 1783 the king announced the new program of comedies and operas in the castle, in which Izabela and Anna Sanguszko were singled out as major attractions among the cast of ‘the most honourable ladies and gentlemen’.\textsuperscript{349}

The Powązki period brings the fresh and exciting realization that performance may merge reality and ideas into one deeply felt experience. The narratives performed in the garden came not just from the books of poetry, epistolary novels or illustrations and paintings. In this new interpretation the vicissitudes of fate brought a new theme and Czartoryska gave it an unconventional, and for all the layers of nostalgia, in some ways a very modern form. The children grew up in an idyllic environment learning an emotional connection to land. They learned the values of working the land through play. They were the young shepherds of their nation who would in time turn into the virtuous heroes from the pages of ancient history. Their mother made sure that her patriotic teachings were rooted in sentimental sensibility, in music, dance and pleasurable make-believe. At the same time she took on the persona of Rousseau’s Julie, the virtuous mother whose emotional sensitivity allowed nature to spread her beauties in Powazki. All this in full view of the visiting public.

Later, at Puławy, Czartoryska intended to honour Rousseau by having his name engraved on a pyramid dedicated to writers who depicted sensibility and nature. The idea of commemoration may have already been present in Powązki. A small painting preserved in the National Museum in Poznań shows a view from a secluded spot onto a small hillock where a pyramid stands beside a half-buried antique tomb.

\textsuperscript{348} Ibid. 538.
\textsuperscript{349} Jackl, ‘Teatr i życie teatralne’, 539.
The painting is undated, but it is reasonable to think that Czartoryska’s idea had already been tried in Powązki, especially if we consider that the pyramids were being erected around European gardens. Views of the Marquis de Girardin’s monument to four pastoral poets: Virgil, Theocritus, James Thomson and Solomon Gessner popularized the subject.

In 1789 Czartoryska visited Clarens, Vevey and Meillerie in Switzerland, the setting of the La Nouvelle Héloïse narrative. There she procured mementoes of Rousseau: his letters, musical manuscripts in his hand, his christening clothes, dried moss and herbs from his botanical collection, his portrait and a view of his house in Moliers-Travers, even his chair. These she displayed in the Gothic House at Puławy. She wrote a descriptive essay about Rousseau for the catalogue of the Gothic House but something of that first uncomfortable encounter still lingered and she explained Rousseau’s difficult character as an excess of sensibility and philosophical vanity as well as a result of his dark and burning imagination.\(^\text{351}\)

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\(^{351}\) On her acquisitions of Rousseau memorabilia see: Aleksandrowicz, Izabela Czartoryska, 139-152. See also Czartoryska’s own recollections in her description of the collected mementoes in I.Cz., ‘Szkatułka w niej pamiątki Jana Jakuba Rousseau’, in: ‘Katalog pamiątek złożonych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach’, BCz II-2917, vol. 2, f. 181.
Scene IV

Death in the garden

The idyll at Powązki lasted six years, until the tragic death of the Czartoryskis’ eldest daughter Teresa, on Thursday 13 January 1780. She died of burns after her dress accidentally caught fire in the family’s Warsaw palace. Princess Izabela was at the time in labour with her youngest daughter Gabriela – who did not live. Teresa’s death affected the whole family profoundly. Izabela suffered paralysis and for a long time moved about on crutches. Electric therapy restored her health, but for the rest of her life she dedicated Thursdays to religious meditation and to charitable deeds in Teresa’s memory. Her observances feature frequently in her letters until the very end.  

Izabela moved Teresa’s hut to a secluded spot in the northern part of the garden and arranged there ‘sad inscriptions’ and planted cypresses and roses. Over the door to the hut she placed a dedication resembling *et in Arcadia ego: Teresa żyła też z nami* [Teresa also lived with us]. A hitherto unidentified drawing by Jean-Pierre Norblin shows an arrangement around the large memorial stone near the hut (il. 27). The drawing is the only record of this monument. Czartoryska weeps at the foot of a large memorial stone while her four children festoon the monument with garlands. The oldest girl there is possibly their companion, Konstancja Narbutt. The drawing presents an image of the ritual of grief that had no precedent in Poland. Even more importantly, the picture needs to be regarded as Czartoryska’s commissioned

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352 The feast of St Teresa 15 October was also celebrated as a solemn observance. I.Cz., 15 October 1817, BCz 6140. See also Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 83.


355 The suggestion is tenuous, based on the fact that Konstancja was Czartoryska’s favourite. Her sister Aleksandra was lame.
record of her own public presentation of mourning. The drawing conspicuously omits any imagery associated with Christian death. Polish funerals relied on the elaborate public ceremonials associated with *pompa funebris*. Such events were rich in accumulated allegories of *vanitas* and the earthly accomplishments of the deceased.

In the decade preceding Teresa’s death the Czartoryskis buried three members of their family with traditionally ostentatious rites: Jerzy Flemming, Maria Zofia Czartoryska and Michał Czartoryski. They were interred in the most prestigious sacred space in Warsaw, the Church of the Holy Cross, where now Teresa was also laid to rest. But even there Czartoryska’s written tribute to her daughter took the form of highly personal remembrance. In Norblin’s drawing the girl’s attributes of her accomplishments – her harp, books of poetry and painting brushes – lie scattered on the ground, but no detail suggests her or her family’s Christianity. The family are not depicted at prayer, but instead Czartoryska weeps inconsolably, touching the stone, while the children are preoccupied with adorning it with garlands. All are immersed in their own loss. This prominent shift away from the rituals of the Church points to the presentation of the personal, rather than communal nature of their grief. They focus entirely on their private recollections; their thoughts go to the earthly past and towards examinations of their own feelings.

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356 Later Norblin made several representations of illusory garden statuary for Puławy and Arkadia.

357 The inscription there read: ‘Ô ma Thérèse reçois l’hommage de ta mère il est fait d’après ton cœur, c’est honorer ton souvenir, que de chercher à consoler les Fortunés c’est le moment que j’élève à ta mémoire; et les pleurs quelle connaissance fera couler, sont les fleurs dont je veux orner ton tombeau’ – Theressa książęczka Czartoryska Generałówna Ziem Podolskich, zeszła 13 stycznia 1780 w 15 a (sic) swego. Wypis z Księgi Kościoła świętego Krzyża w Warszawie, Nagrobków w sklepie, gdzie Xiążęta Czartoryscy są pochowani. BCz 6153.

358 See the point of religious neutrality persuasively argued by Margaret Fields Denton, ‘Antoine-Jean Gros’ „Portrait de Christine Boyer” and Jean-Frédéric Schall’s „Pensée sur la brévité de la vie”: private grief and public rhetoric in post-revolutionary French painting’, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 128 (1996), 103-120. Other papers to which I am indebted in this reading of Norblin’s image are:
The mourning tableau

Czartoryska chose to show herself in her exclusive role as a mother surrounded by her other children, teaching them the ritual of mourning. Adam Kazimierz is noticeably absent, even though his grief at the loss of his daughter was well known. Norblin skilfully sketched the sensitive nature of the scene but at the same time the drawing makes a strong impression of a reserved but self-conscious performance resembling a theatrical tableau. Here the mourners turn themselves towards the monument, withdraw their connection with the viewer, and their internalized emotions can only be judged from their poses. To access the meaningful space the viewer needs to engage in an empathetic response. The evocation of sympathy has therefore been transferred from the figures in the scene onto the viewer and to his ability to draw on his or her own experiences and his or her own imaginative sphere of visualization and association. The Polish viewer had to accept the new sphere of sincere sentiments and the new representation of mourning, the language of flowers and garlands, the classical memorial with no grave, the weeping and touching the stone. Norblin’s drawing is in effect the record of the performance of grief so that others could participate in it, and so that Czartoryska could visualize herself in the process of mourning. But the manner which would best to elicit a response to her tears could not rely on real-life representation. Diderot observed the difference of effect between a


Czartoryski, Pamiętniki, 83.

I am indebted here to the analysis of absorptive qualities of eighteenth-century paintings by Michael Fried, Absorption and theatricality: painting and beholder in the Age of Diderot (Berkeley, CA: UCP, 1980).
real event and its stylized version:

A woman who is unhappy, truly unhappy, weeps and it happens, that she does not affect you; nay, worse, some trifling circumstance which disfigures her, disposes you to laugh. It is that the accent which is natural to her, has a dissonant sound to your ears, it is, that some movement which is habitual to her in her grief, gives her, to you, a very awkward appearance. The fact is that real passion has almost always certain grimaces and contortions peculiar to itself; and these the artist without taste copies servilely, while the artist of real genius carefully avoids them.361

The true presentation of emotions according to Diderot must preserve the dignity of character, even under the greatest agony of mind. He stressed the study of emotions, repeated performances and isolation of those features which are most universal. Actors who act from the soul give uneven performances, those who move their audiences play from imitation, memory, reflection and studying human nature. Czartoryska’s tears are therefore performed tears, styled to elicit the greatest empathy from others and from herself when she views the image later.

Powązki’s elegiac theme must have had a quality of a staged and choreographed set. The Prince de Ligne gave this impression in his description of Powązki in 1780, he even expected a change of successive scenes and moods in a theatrical manner. He equated Powązki with Rousseau’s intermède, the one-act opera Le Devin du village of 1752. Czartoryska’s hut prompted de Ligne to write:

I think they used to gather to make love; now it is only to weep. I was tempted to do so myself on seeing in this same spot the intriguing and unfortunate beauty of the princess. I am like Love in Le Devin du village, who expects both laughter and tears; but I hope I am never bored.362

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361 Denis Diderot, ‘Observations upon a pamphlet, entitled Garrick, or the English actors’, in Historical and literary memoirs and anecdotes, (London: Henry Colburn, 1815), vol. 3, 64-65.

362 Ligne, Coup d’œil, 178.
This connoisseur of gardens followed a pattern of viewing in which the picturesque variety of views and moods needed a constant succession to keep the viewer engaged. It is revealing that de Ligne thought of Rousseau in Powązki. In 1770 he offered Rousseau refuge in his own garden at Beloeil, a house in a secluded spot surrounded with sheep and beehives in a place he would name the Temple of Virtue. De Ligne continued with his theatrical reveries in allegorical and mythological mode. He saw the whole estate of Powązki as the Temple of Regrets, where ‘each day the tears of Princess Czartoryjska water the garden of the little house, (...and where) the graces and the god who follows in their train will never be consoled’.

Among the tombs of the ancients

For Gessner, tombs both consoled and inspired, they were reminders of past virtues and motivated the living to emulate the dead. The shedding of tears was only one part of the ritual of remembrance. Phyllis in Gessner’s poem Daphnis went daily to the tomb of her father and wept, Adam and Eve mourned their son in the Death of Abel at the mossy tomb among cypresses, and shepherds wandered in the meadows among the tombs adorned with garlands. Tombs were lessons in morality, improving the

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364 Ligne, Coup d’œil, 178.

mind and spirit, encouraging reflections on virtue and the laws of nature.366

(28) Le souvenir de la mort au milieu des prosperitez de la vie (Et in Arcadia ego), Bernard Picart after Nicolas Poussin, engraving, 1688-1733, published by Étienne Picart (?) AN562272001© The Trustees of the British Museum.

Czartoryska never mentions any visual models for her representations in her memoirs; Norblin, however, makes an unmistakable connection to that archetype of all scenes with a tomb, Nicolas Poussin’s Arcadian Shepherds of 1635-36 (il. 28). The painting came into the Versailles collection in 1685 and was soon afterwards put on public view. It was admired not so much for its enigmatic solemnity and stylistic rigour, but for the idea it represented – death in a pastoral landscape.367 Its real

366 See Virgil’s lament over Daphne in Eclogue V.

popular appeal came when artists reinterpreted the stark background of the original into a pastoral landscape and softened the severe form of the tomb with garlands of roses. Poussin’s theme then lent itself to more sentimental interpretive readings of shepherds’ lost loves, of the death of a young girl, of meditation on brevity of life.

By 1755 this reinvented version had become a suitable subject for copying even by amateur artists and by discerning and sensitive women. Czartoryska certainly subscribed to this version when in 1816 she saw two crosses marking the graves of young suitors who duelled over a girl, who also died soon after. They reminded her of Poussin’s *Et in Arcadia Ego*. Norblin’s narrative similarly echoes not so much the original, as its many copies, pastiches and creative adaptations, which had proliferated in the eighteenth century. He referred to them when he made an imaginary representation of his own tomb in Helena Radziwiłł’s Arkadia (il. 29). It is striking, however, that Zug did not mention the monument to Teresa in his essay on Polish gardens, nor did he point to the elegiac group of a tomb and a pyramid known from Norblin’s painting. In fact he did not mention a single tomb in the environs of Warsaw, even though Hirschfeld devoted long passages to the desirability of the elegiac theme.

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The title page of the *Arkadia* album with Norblin's self portrait, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, watercolour, 1817, FKCz, XV-Rr.514.

Hirschfeld’s voice added weight to the rising burial debate, aimed at reforming the state of public cemeteries. Hirschfeld recommended that families lucky to possess a suitable garden or a wood should establish their burial plots there. He also suggested and an appropriate styling of the emotive conversation with the dead: with a hand on the tomb or leaning against a weeping willow or an old tree, in the light of the moon. By the time his book went into print in 1785 this kind of ritual had become a convention. The staged and affected pose of Czartoryska’s emerges then as a choice that sets itself on the side of the new discourse on mourning.

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371 Travellers to Greece confirmed that the ancient practices were still carried out after two thousand years, modern Greeks still walked among the tombs of their dead, visited them often and shed tears in their memory. Quoted here English edition: Pierre-Augustin Guys, *A sentimental journey through Greece in a series of letters* (Dublin: J. Milliken, 1773), vol. 1, 315. Original edition 1771. See also: Denton, ‘Death in French Arcady’, 204.
Among the tombs of the moderns

The desire to set the new aesthetic convention emerged a few years earlier, in the elegiac Bois des Tombeaux in the garden of Monceau in Paris, designed by Louis Carrogis Carmontelle for Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duc de Chartres. Czartoryska had been acquainted with the Duc de Chartres since her first visit to Paris in 1762. The Bois des Tombeaux was arranged with cenotaphs, urns and pyramids set among natural vegetation. Carmontelle, in his guide to the garden *Jardin de Monceau*, published in 1779, expressly linked the type of reception of his Bois de Tombeaux to watching a theatrical performance and he had a particular one in mind, the still fresh in cultural memory opera *Pyrame et Thisbé* produced in Paris in 1726 and arranged by the greatest eighteenth century stage designer Giovanni Niccolo Servandoni. Carmontelle not only claimed that landscape gardening had nothing to do with the natural but everything to do with the artificial and wished for the garden to return to the grand operatic themes, like the one in the scene with a tomb in *Pyramus and Thisbe*: ‘our gardens should transport us through the scenes of an Opera, we should create the illusion of a reality from what the best Painters can offer as decorations’.

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It is important to stress that his new funerary garden openly took on the role of a stage, where a variety of illusory effects stimulated all the senses and where the experience had the clear boundaries of a convention. In this context the remarks of the Prince de Ligne in Powązki should be read as an acceptance of that particular genre. His remarks are also more informative of the representation in Powązki rather than of his own liking, of which he himself said: ‘I do not have a preference between Kent or
Le Nôtre’. At the time of Teresa’s death the most visually compelling model of commemoration in the garden came certainly from Ermenonville (il. 30). When Girardin decided on Rousseau’s burial on the Île des Peupliers in 1778, he followed William Shenstone’s project of a tomb for a young female friend from twenty years before, never finally realized in The Leasowes. Hubert Robert, the designer of Rousseau’s tomb incorporated on one side a bas-relief of mothers teaching their daughters. This privileged presence of mothers and children certainly connects to the similar emphasis on motherhood in Czartoryska’s self-presentation at the memorial stone to Teresa.

For spectators unwilling to share in the sentimental aesthetics, Czartoryska’s expression of internalized emotions appeared as an affected pose that gave rise to gossip. It was even claimed that in Teresa’s memory Izabela established a festival of tears, at which every peasant woman was to shed one tear into a well of remembrance.

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375 That is between the English landscape gardens or the French geometric design. Letter from Prince de Ligne to Rousseau, in *Historical and literary memoirs and anecdotes*, vol. 3, 44-46.


The penseroso in Powązki did not last. After the period of mourning it lost its dominant voice. A painting by Norblin dated tentatively around 1780 shows tombs present in Powązki (il. 31). This time, however, the elegiac scene does not draw tears. Instead it emerges as an aesthetic composition rather than a personalized object of
grief. Powązki had moved on, tombs were now a part of the arcadian landscape, a background to a carefree conversation. Madame Petit freely announced her sepulchral motto on her hut. The garden continued on the theme of pleasure and as the site of the spectacles.\(^{379}\) These preoccupied Czartoryska in her last decade at Powązki.

\(^{379}\) On the popularity of the motif of a tomb in education of children see: Dymitr Tadeusz Krajewski, \textit{Wojciech Zdarzyński, życie i przypadki swoie opisujący} (Warsaw, 1785); Szyjkowski, \textit{Myśl}, 299.
Scene V

Spectacles
In 1778 Powązki was on the obligatory circuit of any tourist or provincial visitor to Warsaw. The eager sightseer needed to obtain a ticket from the palace, but not all did so. So, for example, scientist Johann Bernoulli had one, Bishop Krasicki let himself in without one, writer Friedrick Schulz objected to having one and wrote that he did not consider Powązki a public garden, as the tickets excluded impromptu visitors. Powązki was not the only garden issuing tickets; Izabela Lubomiska introduced them for Mokotów.

(32) Entertainment on ice, Dediée a son Excellence Monsieur le comte Rzewusky. Representation de la fête donnée à Powąsky par Monsieur le comte Rzewuski pour sa Royauté à la Princesse Md Czartoryska, et a la Princesse Radziwill le 10 Fevrier 1782, by Jan Piotr Norblin, gouache, 1782. FKCz, XV-Rr.2073.

381 Schulz, ‘Podróże inflanctzyka’, 548.
382 Majewska-Maszkowska, Mecenat, 164.
The king and other leading members of polite society were the honoured guests at the most exclusive gatherings but a surprisingly large number of visitors from all social classes came to view fireworks, enjoy the fêtes and winter ice skating (il. 32).

The only comprehensive descriptions of the garden we have today were written by some of the more prominent visitors who were personally entertained by Czartoryska herself. Two issues stand out in these accounts. The first relates to the manner in which Czartoryska maintained princely decorum in a place dedicated to rustic simplicity, the other relates to the mechanisms she used to sustain the visitors’ interest in viewing.

*Czartoryska’s hut – a revolving scene*

The programme of public presentation of Powązki began with an emphasis on Czartoryska’s and her family’s position in the Polish society. Before the visitors took the circuit around the garden, they were brought into Czartoryska’s rustic hut. The furniture inside was ‘exceedingly refined’, elegant and unique, although the bath on the lower level always made the greatest impact. To see it the visitors descended in a lift from the last room in the house. The bathroom was decorated with frescoes of garlands on the ceiling, the basin had a covering of precious material and walls were laid out with Dresden porcelain tiles, each with a green sprig and rimmed with gold. Bernoulli counted the tiles – six hundred ‘and each single tile cost a ducat, which is easy to imagine’. 383 William Coxe thought that there were at least three thousand of

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them there and estimated that they cost three Dresden ducats each.\textsuperscript{384} The outrageous expenditure on the bath must have been a favourite anecdote for the guide (otherwise doubling as the hermit) for the tiles figure in all visitors’ accounts.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Pastoral landscape, J. Mason after Claude Lorrain, engraving, 1744, album Landscapes from Claude Lorrain, Gaspard Poussin, London 1741-1744, published by Ar. Pond, FKCz, XV-R.15.048A.}
\end{figure}

The interiors of the house visualized the privileged status of the owner and successively admitted the visitors to the more intimate areas. The first room was decorated with Dutch maritime landscapes and with copperplate prints on a pastoral theme, presumably those of Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain which Czartoryska brought in large numbers from her trips to England (il. 33). There was also a library of

\textsuperscript{384} William Coxe, \textit{Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, interspersed with historical relations and political inquiries} (London, 1802), vol. 1, 179.
rustic poets in French and English, as well as Chinese and Turkish luxury objects.\textsuperscript{385} The next room displayed a gallery of portraits, visually defining the dynastic and political position of the family in a manner that recalled the Wołczyn gallery of portraits.\textsuperscript{386} The third cabinet which connected with the bedroom was the preserve of the feminine space of pleasure.

\textit{breakfast in the park}, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, oil on canvas, n.d., FKCz, XII-444.

We do not know any details of the ‘rustic scenes’ Bernoulli saw depicted on the wallpaper in 1778, since around 1785 Czartoryska’s log cabin was pulled down

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{386} Bernoulli, ‘Obrazy. Powązki.’, 426.
\end{thebibliography}
and replaced by an elegant pavilion with plastered exterior walls. It resembled a simplified and scaled down version of the Petit Trianon (il. 33). However in 1785 Norblin painted a set of rustic scenes for the new house and these have survived. 387

In all of Norblin’s panneaux Czartoryska is singled out by a spot of soft light and accompanied by her white Pomeranian. 388 Music fills the atmospheric evenings, love blossoms amid the lush verdure and of course there are also the children. In the concert scene Czartoryska’s three oldest children take centre stage (il. 35).

These four panneaux concentrate on the elegant themes of motherhood, amiable company and refined pastime. The fifth, small panneau shows a scene which added a particular flavour to the intimate nature of her private space. A scene which may be easily taken as an allegorical representation of graces bathing in a fresh flowing spring shows in fact the actual Powązki spot and the main nymph singled out with a spot of light assumed the familiar features of Czartoryska’s. 389

387 These five are: Kiermasz w parku (Market fair in the park) 2,20 x 3,23m, Śniadanie w parku (Breakfast in the park) 2,25x1,24m, Koncert w parku (Concert in the park) 2,24 x 1,42, all in the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, and Nimfy używające kąpiel (Nymphs bathing) 2,17 x 1,28, Towarzystwo pod posągiem cnoty (A company under the monument of Virtue) 0,67 x 0,51. The last two belong to the National Museum in Warsaw.

388 A Pomeranian was a favourite at the court of Marie Antoinette. In earlier Norblin’s paintings before 1785, the scenes frequent a spotty phalène, a favourite breed of Maria Theresa. Later in England Maria Cosway portrayed Czartoryska with a similar dog and the Earl of Carlisle presented her with two dogs of her choice, as a memento of her visit to Castle Howard.

389 It is recorded in another painting Towarzystwo w parku, by Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine, ab. 1785, nr. inw, 73 100. Reproduced in Ogród: forma-symbol-marzenie, 275, pl.XLIII, cat.no 185.
The panneaux room adjoined Czartoryska’s bedroom. This one was decorated with miniatures by Polish artist Zeig.\textsuperscript{390} A visitor leaving the hut to take a walk in the grounds would now take these associations with him and project them onto the green space – the multiple associations of the family’s power, Poussin’s classical world, and the private world of pleasures. This composite paradigm of exclusivity was continued in other interiors around the garden: in the children’s thatched huts, in the two well-furnished rooms in the Roman amphitheatre, and in the half-ruined mill, in which the walls were covered with tiles painted to imitate precious porcelain, and hung with

\textsuperscript{390} Bernoulli, ‘Obrazy. Powązki’, 426.
three very large prints by Valentine Green, Jean-Joseph Balechou and Lucio Massari.\textsuperscript{391} Even in the unprepossessing rustic mill the visitor connected with the cosmopolitan world of art and ideas. William Coxe wrote: ‘everything on the outside gives one the idea of a happy peasant’s family; within all its costliness and taste: I never saw such a contrast of simplicity and magnificence’.\textsuperscript{392}

The richness and extravagance of the interiors was essential within the larger context of the goals of the family. However, if one poet (Trembecki) compared the hut to a wooden box containing a jewel, another (Naruszewicz) saw only simple household furniture inside.\textsuperscript{393} The similarly pragmatic Zug noted that the interiors provided all the comforts of life but no extravagance, their chief adornment being the pictures and of course the bath.\textsuperscript{394} The differences of opinions probably resulted from the custom of bringing in furnishings from Warsaw and Puławy according to the occasion, and then sending them back afterwards.\textsuperscript{395} Therefore the two stylizations – the one as a representative family seat and the other as an abode of pastoral simplicity – need to be seen together.

The poets tried to reconcile the contrasts in a wider context than simply the manifestation of taste and status. Stanisław Trembecki (in \textit{Powązki}) first compared Czartoryska’s hut to the house of Philemon and Baucis, the mythical married couple

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{391} Valentine Green (1739-1813) was a successful mezzotint engraver of Reynolds, Jean-Joseph Balechou (1716-1764) was French engraver of Claude-Joseph Vernet, while Lucio Massari (1569-1633) was a pastoral and allegorical painter in the classicizing stream of the Baroque.
\item\textsuperscript{392} Coxe, \textit{Travels into Poland}, vol. 1, 179.
\item\textsuperscript{394} Szymon Bogumił Zug, ‘Ogrody w Warszawie i jej okolicach’, \textit{Kurjer Niedzielny}, 21-29 (1898), 443.
\item\textsuperscript{395} I.Cz. to M.W., 19 June 1784, BCz 6137.
\end{itemize}
whose house was transformed into a palace after their death. Later he presented the second interpretation of the hut as a moral visualization of the changes of fate – from riches to poverty and the reverse.

Naruszewicz, on the other hand (in Oda III, Powązki), stressed the modesty of the house as the proof of the moral principles of its inhabitants. According to Trembecki, the Czartoryskis’ hut was built in that style of the ancients which was employed before pride, as he put it, erected opulent palaces with the labour of the enslaved people. Trembecki was referring here to the virtuous Republican Rome and contrasted it with the customs of the later Empire. The Czartoryskis (according to the poet) followed the customs of their mythical, we might add – republican, forbearers and their home gatherings displayed simplicity of rural life, straightforward personal interactions, joyful and intimate conversations, unostentatious learning and respectful treatment of all their guests.

**Progress through the garden**

After the tour of the house and the lesson in the morality of its inhabitants, the visitors followed on a circuit of ever changing delights. If they were in Czartoryska’s company they first took tea near the house in a grassed enclosure of sublime appearance, in Zug’s words ‘surrounded with large blocks of granite heaped one upon another, and fallen trees placed in the most natural and picturesque shapes’. Then they walked over bridges ‘rudely composed of the trunks and bent branches of trees’, they rested on carpets in the tent, one of battle spoils won on Turks, and viewed the ancient

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amphitheatre, and with the evening light fading, they followed on to the illuminated arched bridge and paused to admire effects of flickering lights in the water. During their progress they listened to music coming from secluded spots. This feast for eyes and ears enhanced a collation, served in an open pavilion entwined with garlands and twisted festoons of flowers, where ‘all kinds of delicacies, with the most costly wines, and every species of fruit which art or nature could furnish’. From there they watched another set of illuminations brightening up the night garden in a magical way and listened to musicians hidden in different places, playing pastoral wind instruments. Afterwards they enjoyed dances and entertainments featuring the Czartoryski children until the early hours of the morning. Coxe wrote of his visit: ‘the evening was delightful, the scenery picturesque, the fare delicious; the company in good spirits; for who could be otherwise when every circumstance, which the taste and ingenuity of our fair hostess could invent, conspired to heighten the entertainment?’ Bernoulli, like all visitors came away enthralled not only with the garden but with the show of grace from his hostess: ‘I have to say that I returned enchanted from this place, which I cannot compare to anything I have ever seen and I am full of admiration for the taste, abilities and inclinations of this eminent owner.’ No centrepiece was singled out in memoirs and the party walked from one spot to another, focusing on the changing of scenery and on the fleeting nature of their own impressions.

397 Coxe, *Travels into Poland*, vol. 1, 180.
398 Ibid.
(36) *Society gathering with Izabela Czartoryska under the statue of Diana,* by Jean-Pierre Norblin, oil on wood, 1779, Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, nr. inw. MP 322, MNW.

This element of constant change and movement is reflected in Norblin’s depictions of Powązki. Each painting shows a company congregating in a different area of the garden, around fountains and sculptures, or sitting down as if only for a moment before moving on to the next experience, to another an arranged spot, with the statue of Virtue, the Medici vase and what I call the fountain of Eloquence. Further on stood the statue of Diana the Hunter and real deer roamed around (il. 36).\(^{400}\) The presence of deer not only added to Diana’s environment, but connected with the traditional ‘Sarmatian’ inclusion of a deer park.

Bernoulli’s and Coxe’s visits were privileged experiences in a very small company. Norblin’s paintings often show such intimate gatherings, ranging from

picnics to concerts and viewing drawing fishing nets on the lake. The variety and constant change enlivened an otherwise quiet lifestyle. Excitement in this bucolic place could only come from a continuous change of venue and from an element of surprise.

**Stage props**

As in the theatre, Czartoryska set the scene anew for each activity. She replanted, added altars and moved statues. When in 1784 she decided to give a coffee party for Princess Barbara Dorota Czartoryska, she borrowed props for her sets, including a small antique statue of a Faun from her fellow gardener Princess Helena Radziwill. Princess Radziwill also helped in borrowing a marble Amor from the king.\(^{401}\) She erected an altar to the Faun in a secluded placet and arranged the Amor in a myrtle grove, continuously wishing for a better effect.\(^{402}\) The spring floods that year had done much damage and Czartoryska again planted profusely with mature shrubs, large weeping willows, and Italian and white poplars. She filled the empty spaces in the native alder grove with lilacs and brought in a large rose bush.\(^{403}\) Her gardener Bauer helped her with the digging.\(^{404}\) Izabela then wrote to Maria requesting a transport of portraits from Pulawy and a loan of a rose bush from Konstancja Narbutt ‘to have a tremendous show here’.\(^{405}\) When the coffee party was over, all items were returned to

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\(^{401}\) I.Cz. to M.W., 19 April 1784, BCz 6137.

\(^{402}\) Ibid.

\(^{403}\) Czartoryska to M.W., 7 February 1784, BCz 6137.

\(^{404}\) I.Cz. to M.W., 18 March 1784, BCz 6137.

\(^{405}\) Barbara Dorota Czartoryska, was the wife of Izabela and Adam Kazimierz’s cousin, Prince Józef Klemens Czartoryski, steward (stolnik) of Lithuania (1740-1810), who had just opened the first Polish porcelain factory in Korzec. I.Cz. to M.W., 19 April 1784, BCz 6137.
their owners. The record of the preparations shows a piecemeal approach to arranging the grounds, with small sections singled out for improvement, then the next ones, depending on the element of surprise.

Statuary was the centrepiece of Izabela’s displays. Statues served as static tableaux encouraging and privileging gestural response. They gave a poetic and mythological meaning to the spaces, a stimulus which was needed to add interest to the natural arrangements. Trees surrounded them, roses entwined them, they conversed with tombs, watched over the inhabitants gathering flowers, over their intimate embraces and dancing. As the inhabitants touched them, as in Norblin’s paintings, the continuity of ancient virtues from antiquity to modern times received a tangible proof. The fact that Izabela had in the garden a statue of Virtue should come as no surprise at all.\footnote{On problems of interpretation associated with the Powązki statue of Virtue see Hanna Małachowicz in: \textit{Ogród: forma-symbol-marzenie}, 290.}

The Gessnerian view of pastoral living informed by love was entirely in agreement with the ethos of Powązki. The figure of Virtue watches over the shepherds in Powązki and the small Amor at her feet encourages the inhabitants of Powązki to search for love (il. 37).\footnote{Another interpretation of the statue of Virtue suggests the allegorical compendium by Gravelot and Cochin. The statue could be Calliope, muse of eloquence and heroic poetry. The muse’s other attributes are books of Virgil, Milton, Tasso and Voltaire. All four were highly valued by Czartoryska. However, the common interpretation of the statue as Virtue carries all associations important in Powązki.}
In Norblin’s paintings the Powązki dancing company differed little in costume from Claude Lorrain’s shepherds. Norblin painted them in simple, pastoral dresses, but when the fashion for dressing à la antique made its way to Puławy, even this distinction disappeared and the similarity with the shepherds of the antiquity would have been even greater (il. 38, 39).

**Rome in Powązki**

Accounts left by visitors to Powązki focused on the affability of the receptions and the splendours of the interiors, but hardly ever touched on the most prominent architectural element of the garden, the Roman ruins. One set, clearly visible from the windows of the house comprised a classical arch, a group of three columns joined with an architrave and a solitary column (il. 40). Further to the north stood the largest structure in Powązki, described variously as a circus, an amphitheatre or a Coliseum (il. 40). Adam Jerzy did not explain the significance of these ruins.  


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408 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 81.
Ludwik Dębicki described the three joined columns as: a ‘temple to a mysterious god and beside it was an obligatory cowshed as fashion commanded, so that the shepherds and shepherdesses could never be far from their goats, cows and lambs’. This interpretation was responsible for the relegation of Powązki into the sphere of playfulness bordering on the ridiculous. Images, however, tell a different story. The interpretation proposed here introduces Powązki as an essay in ‘Sarmatian’ identity and a presentation of the Czartoryskis as supporters of republican ideals.

(41) View of the amphitheatre in Powązki, by Jean-Pierre Norblin (?), Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warsaw, neg. nr 47061.

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In contrast to written accounts, in Norblin’s paintings the ruins feature prominently. His many images allow us to establish that between 1780 and 1785 the original, graceful and picturesquely ruinous triumphal arch was replaced with a much sturdier and imposing structure, to which was added a building resembling an Italian rural house with a single sloped roof (il. 42).

The ruins in fact presented a vision of the Eternal City, but in the state in which Rome appeared in 1770, before the excavations began. The Forum Romanum was then half buried in debris. It was not Rome as it once might have been, at the height of its glory, as it was visualized in Stowe, Chiswick or Stourhead.

(42) *The new triumphal arch in Powązki*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, oil on canvas, ab. 1785, Lviv Gallery of Art, (image in common domain).
It was not even a Rome imaginatively excavated to show the original proportions of columns as in Desgodetz’s engravings. Nevertheless, the structures were still appropriate to imaginatively furnish the gardens, as in Batty Langley’s depiction of the Arch of Septimius Severus in 1727 (il. 43).410 Exceptionally again, the Powązki ruins visualized Rome in archeologically and topographically accurate detail.

(43) View of Ruine, after the Roman manner, for the Termination of Walks, Avenues, etc.’, in Batty Langley, New principles of gardening, 1727, (image in common domain).

The first group of ruins on the lawn, in plain view of Czartoryska’s house, represented the northern corner of the Forum Romanum: the Arch of Septimius Severus, the single column now known as the column of Phocas and the remains of the Temple of Vespasian and Titus, thought at the time to be the Temple of Jove Tonante (il. 40, 44). The originals lay buried in metres of earth from successive landslides of the high escarpment of the Campidoglio, which explains the squatty

410 Batty Langley, New principles of gardening (London: A. Bettesworth, 1727).
proportions of the Powązki ruins, sitting in mounds of earth, with scattered architectural pieces around and with the nearby sublime enclosure arranged with boulders and fallen trees.

(44) *Veduta di Campo Vaccino*, by Giovanni Battista Piranesi 1752, AN00278036© The Trustees of the British Museum.

The second Roman landmark was the Theatre of Marcellus (il. 41, 45). In Powązki it stood near the edge of the water as did the original. In the eighteenth century the Roman counterpart no longer functioned as a theatre and contained lodgings, so in Powązki it housed stables and two well-appointed rooms. The exact arrangement in Powązki suggests a good knowledge of the original. Efraim Szreger would have been able to provide the correct spatial arrangement after his travels to Rome.
Izabela Czartoryska never travelled to Italy. She did not appear to have been very eager to see Rome for herself, for only twice did she express a desire to go there. The first occasion was in 1800, when she wished to visit Adam Jerzy who towards the end of the reign of Tsar Paul I, was in a virtual exile in Rome and Naples from the court of St. Petersburg. The second came in 1816, after Izabela had read Maria’s enthusiastic letters from her voyage.\textsuperscript{411} She nevertheless eagerly sought the news of artistic life in Rome from the painter Franciszek Smuglewicz, when he returned to Warsaw in 1784.\textsuperscript{412} For Izabela, Rome was a cultural memory, an idea so complete in its relevance to Powązki, that she felt no need to reassess it in reality.

\textsuperscript{411} Izabela Czartoryska, \textit{Listy księżnej Izabelli z hr. Flemmingów Czartoryskiej do starszego syna księcia Adama} (Cracow: G. Gebethner i Spółka, 1891), 41, 45, 50, 52, 54.

\textsuperscript{412} I.Cz. to M.W., Warsaw, 1 March 1784, BCz 6137.
Adam Kazimierz, on the other hand, did see Rome as part of his youthful education. On his return to Poland in 1759 he published the poetry of Martial in Józef Minasowicz’s translation.\textsuperscript{413} Martial’s epigrams proved a popular source of references for writers and illustrators of Rome’s antiquities, as for the widely read Giuseppe Vasi’s \textit{Delle magnificenze di Roma} published from 1747 to 1761. One of Vasi’s most accomplished compositions was the view of the Forum, presenting the half-buried arch of Septimius Severus, the solitary column and the just visible Temple of Vespasian and Titus deeply buried in rubble, which he made in two versions.\textsuperscript{414} Adam Kazimierz acquired a large view of the Campo Vaccino by Vasi, he also had sixty views of Rome by Giovanni Battista Piranesi and collected Hubert Robert’s views of ruins (il. 46).\textsuperscript{415}

\textsuperscript{413} Marcus Valerius Martialis, \textit{Marka Valeryusza Marcyálisa xięga widoków rzymskich Domicyana cesarza; tudzież epigrammata wybrane z xięga XII} (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Litteratów […], 1766). First edition 1759.


By 1770s a new representation of imperial Rome had taken over in European art. If Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin presented the remnants of the Roman Empire in their classical dignity, Panini, Boucher, Vernet, Robert and Servandoni promoted a picturesque and antiquarian spectacle of ruins. The panoramas always included tourists and native vagabonds, cowherds and shepherds ushering their animals through the Campo Vaccino – the cow field, as the Forum was known.  

416 For August Moszyński’s impressions of the Campo Vaccino and the Theatre of Marcellus see: August Moszyński, Dziennik podróży do Francji i Włoch (Cracow, 1970), 250-251, 338-339. Moszyński travelled with a guidebook to Rome written by Joseph Jérôme Le Français de
The views reiterated what many travellers had recorded in their memoirs, a melancholy meditation on the passing of civilizations. In the place where Romans once made their laws and celebrated their victories, now cows grazed and shepherds tended their sheep.

The views of Powązki show what has escaped garden historians and literary scholars alike. Metaphorically Powązki was in effect Rome in ruins: once great, now returning to her pastoral origins. Polish antiquities added a vernacular accent to this vision of ruin: fragments of stones with inscriptions and floral patterns from the renaissance castle at Kazimierz near Puławy lay scattered around the columns of the Powązki Jove Tonante (il. 40). Izabela asked Maria and Aleksandra Narbutt to procure the stones, but at the same time she also lamented that the castle which should have been left as a national monument was being dismantled for profit.\(^{417}\)

The views made by Norblin and by Maria Wirtemberska show Powązki answering to its own vision of Rome. The Polish ruins were not beautiful, as in Claude Lorrain’s paintings, nor sublime, as in Piranesi’s visions, nor antiquated, as in Robert’s paintings. Czartoryska let the vines grow over the architrave of the Temple of Jove Tonante and surrounded the Marcellus theatre with shrubs, large poplars and pines in a manner which most resembles Gessnerian illustrations, with their festoons of vines and roses, and blossoming shrubs (il. 47, 48).

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\(^{417}\) Lalande, *Voyage d’un François en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 & 1766* (Venice: Desaint, 1769), vol.5, 207.

\(^{417}\) I.Cz. to M.W., 19 April 1784, BCz 6137.

(48) Powązki, in Kłosy 1871, nr 294, s. 100), Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warsaw.
Poland’s greatness had passed, and so now it was time to return to farming and virtuous living, to the sound of the verses of Ovid, Virgil and Gessner. These visual associations were certainly clear to the pastoral poets frequenting Powązki. Stanisław Trembecki saw the garden as an essay in morality; certainly a morality which was obscured by the costly mantle of entertainment, but which was discernible to those willing to engage in reflection.418

In his poem Powązki the garden became a metaphor of changing fortunes. Czartoryska’s hut was such a symbol – even if, as the poet says, this ethical lesson brought some to tears of laughter. Here, the poet continued, the sight of rustic sheepcotes built on ruins had a sobering effect on the rich and encouraged the poor. The poem compared the Czartoryskis to the descendants of Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Aemilianus, land reformers who attached an emotional value to landownership.419 Although Trembecki could read the meaningful sphere of Powązki he admitted in the last verse that he much preferred just to enjoy himself, rather than spend his time contemplating an edifying tutorial.


Spectators as actors

What exposure would these associations have? Huge crowds descended on the garden on special occasions: nobles, townsmen, and the neighbourhood peasants. Norblin depicted the well attended fireworks display at Powązki in 1792 (il. 49). The visitors were then able to roam the garden and see the structures.

(49) Fireworks in Powązki, by Jan Piotr Norblin, pen and ink, 1792, FKCz, XV-Rr.139.

More interesting seem the occasions of elaborate spectacles, which drew the crowds from Warsaw. It is important to realize that the performances did not take place with ruins in the background, nor at the large amphitheatre, which unmistakably announced the primacy of theatre in the life of the inhabitants. Instead, they were shown on the wide lawn backed by hills, with a mock ancient castle and a group of rustic cabins forming a stage set. Smaller arrangements took place on the wooden stage shown in a hitherto unidentified drawing (il. 50).
It is important to recall that these open air theatres, or as they were called sub Jove, connected to the ancient tradition of equality. Juvenal and Ovid lamented the building of Marcellus’s theatre, for there would be no more mixing of the high and low, adults and children, and that simplicity and artlessness of performances would disappear. This view was promoted by Basil Kennett in his popular history of Roman culture, which Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski had in his library. Kennett described traditional Roman theatres as makeshift wooden constructions and recalled that when Pompey the Great built the first stone amphitheatre he was, according to Tacitus, ‘severely reprehended for introducing a custom so different from that of their forefathers, who were contented to see the like performances, in seats built only for

(50) Pavilion in Powązki, by Jean-Pierre Norblin (?) drawing, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.65.
the present occasion, and in ancient times standing only on the ground.\textsuperscript{420} The Powązki theatre \textit{sub Jove} represented the return to the Roman time of simple customs and true moral greatness – the period of the Republic. The audience then not only took their places as spectators, they played the spectators, republican Romans sitting together on grass in communal equality.

This republican \textit{exposé} should be seen in opposition to the visual programme promoted by the king. According to Jerzy Axer, the decorations of the public rooms in the Warsaw Castle – the Senatorial Antechamber (\textit{Sala Rycerska}) and the Throne Room (\textit{Sala Tronowa}) – developed the king’s image as a new Octavian Augustus, whose reform programme aimed at transforming the Polish republic into constitutional monarchy, a new imperial Rome.\textsuperscript{421}

\textbf{Tableau vivant}

One of the performances in the open-air theatre in Powązki was called \textit{Pokój Chocimski} [The Peace of Chocim/Khotyn].\textsuperscript{422} This was not quite a play, more of a pageant, a sequence of composed ‘living pictures’ with gestures and possibly music and words. Its title suggests the focus on the actual act of signing the treaty of 1621, a static scene giving little scope for action. It showed the Crown hetman Stanisław Lubomirski to one side, to the other the Ottoman pasha, both backed by their own

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{420} Basil Kennett, \textit{Romae antiquae notitia: or, the antiquities of Rome} (London: C. Bathurst (etc.), 1769), 43-44.
  \item \textsuperscript{422} No precise date can be assigned to this performance.
\end{itemize}
large followings.\textsuperscript{423} The display must have dazzled with costumes, horses, banners and armour, perhaps even a splendid procession, one of those sketched by Norblin during the Czartoryski journey to the eastern borders of Poland in 1783 or one which dazzled Warsaw in 1777 when the Turkish embassy complete with camels arrived at the Royal Castle.\textsuperscript{424} *Pokój Chocimski* visualized ideas essential for the Czartoryskis to establish themselves as patriotic leaders. One of the participating figures in the Chocim siege of 1673 was the Czartoryski’s ancestor, Hetman Mikołaj Hieronim Sieniawski, whose tent, one of the spoils from the victory over the Turks at Vienna in 1683, was pitched for visitors in Powązki. Sieniawski’s rich treasury of armour and Turkish trophies was used later in Puławy for processional displays. The performance of *Pokój Chocimski* may be connected with the celebrations of the centenary of Sobieski’s victory at Vienna, particularly as a response to the unveiling of the equestrian monument to Jan III Sobieski in the royal Łazienki. During the occasion shepherds and shepherdesses praised the king as the successor to Sobieski’s wisdom and martial prowess. In contrast, in Powązki the Czartoryskis were the actual descendants of those who took part in the victory.\textsuperscript{425}

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\textsuperscript{423} Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 82. *Pokój Chocimski* was also the subject of one of Marcello Baciarelli’s paintings for Sala Rycerska in the Warsaw Castle, created in 1783. It is worth mentioning that a painting in this hall representing the founding of the Cracow Academy features Izabela Czartoryska as the Muse of History (as well as Helena Radziwiłł as Poetry and Mrs. Rudnicka – Baciarelli’s model – as Astronomy). Kwiatkowski, *Stanisław August*, 176-183.


\textsuperscript{425} The play *Kantata w dzień inauguraci statui króla Jana III, dnia 14 września roku 1788* was written by Adam Naruszewicz with music by Maciej Kamieniecki, in: *Wiersze polityczne Sejmu Czteroletniego. Część pierwsza 1788-1789*, ed. Krystyna Maksimowicz (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1998), 90-97. It is worth investigating a connection to the visionary and prophetic poem, featuring all main military personae, by Ignacy Krasicki *Wojna Chocimska* [The Chocim War] published in 1780. Providential and supernatural effects formed a major part in Jesuit performances before the order was dissolved by Clement XIV on 21 July 1773. See: *Teatr jezuicki w XVIII i XIX wieku w Polsce* (Gdańsk: WUG, 1997), 21, 40, 42.
The type of display performed in Powązki relied on combining two theatrical conventions: tragedy and the *tableau vivant*. Adam Kazimierz most esteemed the Aristotelian unities of action, place and time. He encouraged playwrights to look to classical and French tragedies for inspiration, but suggested that their subject matter should engage with Polish history, for ‘the great people from our past will move us and attach us much more than the foreign examples’. \footnote{Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, *Panna na wydaniu: komedya we dwóch aktach* (Warsaw: w Drukarni J.K.Mci y Rzeczypospolitey, 1771), 62. Quoted after Czartoryski, *Komedie*, 30.} He further advised them to choose heroic characters from the distant past, as then they would not be subject to the weaknesses of ordinary people and their virtues would shine more clearly. \footnote{Czartoryski, *Panna na wydaniu*, 61. Czartoryski, *Komedie*, 30.}

The static manner of the *Pokój Chocimski* and its historicizing theme certainly conformed to Czartoryski’s requirements for an enlightening performance. Here Izabela promoted her house as a centre for patriotic visualization, gathering the citizens, sitting them down together on the lawn in the open-air theatre like virtuous Romans. But the format of the display took on not the traditional format of a tragedy, but a relatively new type of representation – the *tableau vivant*, an arrangement of situations relying on gesture rather than on word, often entirely silent and motionless, but in some cases also including an element of slow and repetitive movement. With the display of *Pokój Chocimski* the actors, who were undoubtedly major society figures, re-enacted their past to their noble brothers in a format which relied on gesture – a key to Polish noble culture. The city theatre audiences notoriously preferred gesture-based ballets over plays; they had yet to develop the taste for the spoken word, especially in the Polish language. Adam Kazimierz wrote his comedies in Polish to promote the native culture, but on many occasions they did not sell. In
Powązki gesture was pre-eminent and the space of the garden and the theatre lawn enabled the integration of all, who were accepted here as worthy citizens and inheritors of the common past.

Home for the ‘Sarmatians’

As a rule, city audiences did not mix, either in the salons or in the public theatre. The only public space which all groups of society could enjoy together was the municipal Saxon Garden. Its masked balls brought ‘together different classes, though they did not mix them altogether’ as one of the participants noted. In Powązki, however, at the appointed times the nation came together in the context of old-Polish manorial hospitality. There the Czartoryskis staged themselves as patriots and as an edifying contrast to other families. When Adam Kazimierz wrote of the negative influence of the aristocratic houses on middling nobility he must have excluded himself:

I divide houses in Poland into two classes: those of the aristocracy and of the nobility. The first ones surpass the others in reputation and greater income, but rarely in knowledge and enlightenment, instead they lead in the corruption of manners, in the way of thinking and in disregard of everything (...). The contagion moves from these houses to the nobles, from the capital to the villages.

His own house, however, shone with an edifying example of Izabela who, if to believe a moralizing article printed in the February 1785 issue of Monitor, organized unusual

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429 Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, Listy JMci Pana Doświadczyńskiego. II. O edukacy ciórek (Warsaw, 1781), 11, quoted after Czartoryski, Komedia, 57.
gatherings at her Powązki residence.\footnote{‘Monitor’, no. 16, 23 February 1785, ‘Prezentacja towarzystwa z sali Powązkowej’, in: Aleksandrowska (ed.), ‘Monitor’, 575-582.} The article has so far escaped the attention of scholars, though its content is nothing if not a revelation of Izabela’s methods of reaching out to the wide audience. It was entitled \textit{Presentation of the society from the Powązki Hall} and in its content it paraphrased Juvenal’s \textit{III Satire on Rome}. The anonymous author took from the \textit{Satire} a motto: \textit{Quid Romae faciam?...Mentiri nescio}...[What can I do in Rome? I cannot lie] and pressed the message of the corrupt Rome – in this case Warsaw. An old soldier advised a young man to leave Warsaw and to ‘go to the country and sow buckwheat’, essentially to make an honourable living as a farmer.\footnote{George Gilbert Ramsay, \textit{Juvenal and Persius}, (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1969).} The exchange between the soldier and the youth took place at a gathering in Czartoryska’s house in Powązki, where at several tables the aristocracy sat together with shopkeepers, poor nobility, craftsmen and their whole families. Each group behaved in an admirable way – the nobles were polite without mockery and considerate without pretension while the craftsmen displayed modesty, respect and good manners. ‘Thank God, I told myself’, wrote the narrator, ‘people are coming together, they are getting to know each other; soon we will not see any differences between them, only these which need to be observed for the benefit of the order in the society’.

This unusual clientele added a needed social component to that country of Princess Czartoryska. She showed herself as associated with the body of citizenry, as a ‘Sarmatian’ hostess who entertained with the traditional hospitality all people from her villages and her towns. We need to note as well that the scene in Czartoryska’s house shows an uncanny resemblance to Julie’s reception in \textit{La Nouvelle Héloïse}, a
feast given in honour of her dependants and farmers. Rousseau remarked that Julie’s farm workers would once ‘have borne arms and knew how to handle a sword and musket as well as a pruning-knife and hoe’. This was one more rephrasing of the Cincinnatus example. In Powązki, the old soldier who handled a sword and a musket - that wise sage - praised the sowing of buckwheat in the country as a virtuous and patriotic way of life. The meetings at Powązki must have been a remarkable event, if they found a way into a moralizing narrative of a circulating periodical. The guests in Czartoryska’s hut then turned into unsuspecting actors, who performed the play of social cohesion. They were exposed to ideas of the highminded return to ‘Sarmatian’ values with the Czartoryski family as their sponsors.

This moral tale echoed the leitmotifs of Adam Kazimierz’s own writings and especially his last two comedies, Pysznoskapski and Kawa, written in 1777 and 1779 respectively. Rather than criticizing vices of the provincial nobility he satirized the ruinous lifestyles of social climbers; concentrated on promotion of attachment to land, conscientious public service and improvement of character. The small country domain was now framed as the preserve of old traditional values within the re-emerging ‘Sarmatian’ identity.

As in Czartoryski’s theory of tragedy, the ‘Sarmatian’ ethos moved towards its seventeenth-century imaginings, safely removed into a distant time, so that the virtues of men would shine more clearly. Mariusz Karpowicz has suggested the term ‘enlightened Sarmatism’ for the most progressive magnates of the late seventeenth century, who valued both the ‘Sarmatian’ and the nascent Enlightenment cultures. Moreover, he identified Izabela and her husband Adam Czartoryski as the inheritors

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433 Rousseau, Julie, or, the new Heloise, 498. Letter VII, part V.
of ‘enlightened Sarmatism’ in their cultural patronage. Here in Powązki they showed themselves as the co-creators of a neo-sarmatyzm, a Romanized and romanticised version of the traditional culture. They would later promote a similar attitude at Pulawy.

**Rousseau’s ‘Spectacles’**

That mixed company appeared in reality at Powązki as well. There were market fairs – Czartoryska’s favourite entertainment, in which she engaged often and with abandon until the last weeks of her life. Society ladies, dressed as traders, sold food and souvenirs for charity at the market stalls. The crowds mixed among the ruins, engaged with the real itinerant travellers, gypsies and fortune tellers who parked their picturesque wagons at the foot of the triumphal arch. Many of Norblin’s drawings show these scenes and the Powązki panneau in the Czartoryski Museum gives a good impression of the scale of these fairs (il. 51).

The fairs had no narrative; they could not be therefore considered theatrical representations. But the very discernible and conscious self-presentation of their participants, wavering between social reality and make-believe in the open air of Powązki, made them more than the continuation of the old baroque entertainments. Their static set up positioned the market fairs in the convention of tableaux vivants. Czartoryska’s enjoyment of these fairs suggests their particular relevance for her programme of social visualizations, which privileged scenes based in the most

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common, real, un-theatrical situations. The public seemed to have enjoyed the exchanging of their titles and their public personas for the communal unity of a market in an atmosphere of relaxed play.

(51) *Fair in the park with Czartoryska*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, oil on canvas, n.d. FKCz, XII-443.

Rousseau’s theory of social cohesion which he developed in the *Letter on spectacles* is particularly interesting in the context of the Powązki fairs. His *Letter* came as a reply to Jean d’Alembert, who in an article on Geneva for the seventh volume of the *Encyclopédie* proposed that the city should establish a théâtre de comédie.436 D’Alembert was convinced of the beneficial influence of the theatre on

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the society, especially when it promoted the rise ‘of taste and delicate feeling, learning without encouraging libertinism, and [then] Geneva would become the centre of Spartan wisdom and Athenian urbanity’. 437

Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski’s shared these ideas and developed them in his introductory essays to plays Panna na wydaniu and Kawa. Rousseau, however, condemned theatre as desensitizing and mollifying and the source of social indifference. He offered a comprehensive critique not just of the theatre, but of the theatricality of all social relationships. For him the acting in the social sphere starts once people become aware of the value of public appreciation and begin to perform the qualities which would advance their worth in the eyes of others. The desire to satisfy the _amour propre_, the self-worth in the eyes of others, is an inborn human trait and, though undesirable, it is unavoidable. Rousseau proposed a new type of performance which would place _amour propre_ in the open, so that people would act themselves as they really are; they would become actors and spectators simultaneously. He advised to ‘erect a maypole in the middle of a square and crown it with flowers, and this shall be called a festival’. There under the scrutiny of the assembled citizens, the community would perform their dances and games, but in terms of the narrative – ‘nothing if you will. Wherever liberty and affluence reign, there is the seat of true happiness’. The purpose of these unscripted though surveyed festivals of community would be ‘to feast on the contemplation of your happiness’. 438

These festivals would be an opportunity for conscious self-presentations,

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438 All quotes from _A letter from M. Rousseau_, 172.
acknowledged by others in the arranged communal settings of market places or country fairs.

In Rousseau’s perspective, Powązki would be therefore a space for a rehearsal of social relationships. In Czartoryska’s perspective these relationships would bypass the constraints of the salons and allow people to reframe their *amour propre* under the authority and scrutiny of Izabela herself.
Act IV

The Spartan Mother 1786-1789
The years 1784-1790 brought Izabela many opportunities to engage in the visual interpretation of political events. She invested much effort in the elections to the 1786 sejm, and two years later she redoubled them. Perhaps the peak of her visible political and public activity came during the first months of the parliament that would become known as the Great Sejm of 1788-1792.

*Self-portrait*

With this rising public activity came self-reflection - Czartoryska wrote a short a self-portrait, which was meant to redress the balance between her private persona and the public perceptions. The sketch, addressed ‘To Friendship’, was intended to be a true image and at the same time a confession of shortcomings, all entrusted to forgiving friendship. Izabela admitted to taking pleasure in being admired but tried to stay in control:

I have brought to this world much *amour propre* and wide acclaim, and the tributes I have received could not diminish it; but my inborn tact was my defence and it never allowed me to put myself at risk when I was not sure of a victory. That same tact directed me in all circumstances, so that rarely have I made a step which would not be pleasing or highly engaging. I have always had a talent to show my qualities and never had a woman more subtle charm.  

Social scene was Czartoryska’s battleground and her victories showed themselves in the successful manipulations to her advantage. Czartoryska identified this quality as *amour propre*, an emotion in which one’s self-esteem relies on public opinion. The eighteenth-century preoccupation with public self-expression gained so much

\footnote{This and all subsequent quotations are from: Zaleski, *Żywot*, vol. 1, 158-161.}
currency that Rousseau in his *Second Discourse* brought *amour propre* into the critique of social inequality, where he blamed it for the rise of discrimination based on talent and education.\(^{440}\)

Simply by the frequent use of the expression *amour propre* in her private correspondence, Czartoryska acknowledged the limitations it placed on the projection of an accurate image of herself. Therefore in the second part of her *Portrait* she dealt with her personal emotions: ‘my feelings are true; friendship to my loved ones is living, tender and unchanging’. She considered herself loyal, affectionate and committed to those who entrusted their feelings to her. She had limitless capacity for empathy and sensitivity to others’ sorrows. She was a good mother; indeed her overriding feeling was the happiness which she drew from closeness to her children and to her husband. She closed this self-examination with a short but fully developed paragraph:

> The most imperative feeling in me is the love of my country, to her I have tied my whole future which I have planned for myself, my husband, children; my own feelings and my character make this objective nearly a religion so essential and dear, that nothing can tear me away from her.

This affirmation reveals how strongly her sense of identity and belonging were grounded in personal emotion. Emotion was the ethical validation for her public actions. So when Wirydianna Fiszerowa condemned Izabela’s pronouncements of ‘patriotism, heroism or sentiment’ or of later ‘choking on her own emotion’, she reacted to the staged, theatrical and artificial public displays with which Czartoryska

 impersonated the natural emotion.\textsuperscript{441}

\textit{Acting technique}

Fiszerowa had a chance to observe Czartoryska in 1784 at the Berlin court of Frederick II. She left an unflattering image of Izabela, nevertheless marvelling at her ‘unmatched reputation which was a kind of phenomenon – perhaps understandable in Warsaw but difficult to explain in Paris, London and all capitals of Europe, where she made herself an object of desire for countless admirers’. This veritable Armida ‘was surrounded with an atmosphere of soft sighs and humble declarations of love, and she did not discourage tributes’.\textsuperscript{442} Let us consider these observations by Fiszerowa on the enchantment Czartoryska worked in the salons:

\begin{quote}
She would begin with apparent simplicity, as if uneasy to join in the company until they welcomed her openly. Then, as if by chance, she would disclose one of her countless talents. Unexpectedly she would reveal another one and make herself most dazzling. In the moment when most fully admired, she would withdraw from the scene, only to shine with equal brilliance on another one, having left behind only memories and regret. (…) Her remarks, alternating from pleasant, to profound, to witty, about patriotism, heroism or emotion, were all like keys of an instrument, with which she limited herself skilfully to play only small preludes and left the audience to imagine something more than what she had revealed. She never allowed the performance completely to play out, but would quickly alter the tonality, from the well chosen one but already articulated, to a different one. It was as difficult to guess her reactions as to emulate them.\textsuperscript{443}
\end{quote}

Without doubt Czartoryska had an autocratic air. Her entrance into a salon resembled

\textsuperscript{441} Armida was Czartoryska’s widely used nickname denoting the Saracen sorceress from Tasso’s \textit{Gerusalemme Libertata}. Fiszerowa, \textit{Dzieje moje własne}, 120.

\textsuperscript{442} Ibid., 120.

\textsuperscript{443} Ibid.
a triumphal ingress; she exacted attention and admiration from all. Fiszerowa wrote:

Only she could dress like this, only she could walk like this, it was her exclusive prerogative. Imitating her would be too risky, even though I did see hilarious parodies of her mannerisms made behind her back. After all, the princess had the advantage that she was a very grand lady. But then she did not need it to overshadow all women of her time.\footnote{Ibid.}

Czartoryska’s presence had such formidable force, that according to Fiszerowa ‘judging her behaviour harshly, withdrawing applause would be synonymous with swimming against the current.’ While Izabela’s social behaviour seemed choreographed and intentional, she was determined to relax the stiff etiquette of the Prussian court. Without waiting for an invitation, she wished to organize small soirées at which she could display her talents and volunteered to perform figure dances in order to be excused from wearing ceremonial dress à panier. The king however categorically forbade this dissent. Frederick held a notoriously negative view of women’s destabilizing role in politics and Czartoryska would certainly undermine the visual parameters of control that he had established in Berlin.\footnote{See Thomas Biskup, ‘The hidden queen: Elisabeth Christine of Prussia’, in Queenship in Europe 1660-1815, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 300-321.} Nevertheless, her lively interest in arts resulted in the award of honorary life membership (\textit{Ehrenmitglied}) of the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin.\footnote{Kronika Emigracyi Polskiey (Paris: U. Pinard, 1836), 4, 183. The information is confirmed in the Academy’s Matrikel of Members, kindly checked by Dr. Ulrike Möhlenbeck.}

\footnote{Ibid.}
The Wörlitz connection

We know that Izabela enjoyed springtime picnics with the Prussians in Friedriechsfelde and Rheinsberg, meeting with Berlin society and ‘running around’ to see what she had not seen the first time. One of the places she visited in the spring of 1785 was Wörlitz. This essay in the management of nature and people, in the landscape of improvement and reform was designed by Prince Franz of Anhalt-Dessau. Wörlitz was created not just within the aesthetics of the English garden, but, as Maiken Umbach has pointed out, at its base was its owner’s faith in the positive outcome of progress, one which took its example from English technology and constitutional liberties. Whether the political, federalist meanings of the garden were clear to visitors in visual terms is however difficult to establish. Nevertheless the garden imagery in Wörlitz worked within an historical and fictional set of associations, and was open to a wide range of interpretations. The visual impact certainly was that of a model enlightened principality which encouraged rather than prescribed economic, political and moral improvements and so displayed their benefits in practice. It was also known to all that the prince engaged personally in farming and horticulture and his fruit trees were famed throughout Europe.

447 L.Cz. to M.W., 2 (?) 1785, 6 (?), BCz 6136.

448 Surprisingly she did not mention the visit in her daily letters to Maria. Czartoryska’s visit is recorded by her signature in the visitors’ book and it was discovered by Zdzisław Żygulski. Idem, Marek Rostworowski and Adam Zamoyski, The Princes Czartoryski Museum: a history of the collections (Cracow: National Museum in Cracow, 2001), 38.


Czartoryska later procured plants from Wörlitz for Puławy.\textsuperscript{451}

Two buildings at Wörlitz – the synagogue modelled on the Temple of Sibyl in Tivoli and the Pantheon – had not yet been built when Czartoryska visited it, but Prince Franz had already acknowledged his debt to Rousseau and to Ermenonville with his own Island of Poplars. He also placed an exceptional library in the Gothic House and opened his gardens to all as an example to follow.\textsuperscript{452} At the same time Wörlitz was a place of leisure; Bishop Krasicki was lavishly entertained there by the prince for a week in 1794 with hunting, feasting and fêtes.\textsuperscript{453}

Izabela was at Frederick II’s court in another capacity than that of a visiting guest. In 1784 the Czartoryskis successfully finalized a union between their daughter Maria and Prince Ludwig von Württemberg.\textsuperscript{454} After Maria moved to Treptow and Belgard in Pomerania where her husband was stationed, Czartoryska visited her several times.\textsuperscript{455} Czartoryska appeared then in Berlin as a new member of the extended Prussian house. She also tried (unsuccessfully) to gain Frederick’s support for Adam Kazimierz, who had just been drawn into the scandalous ‘Dogrumowa affair’.\textsuperscript{456} This sorry affair, a case of attempted extortion by a small-time charlatan,

\textsuperscript{451} I.Cz. to M.W. c. 1796, BCz 6137, letter requesting a purchase of unspecified plants.


\textsuperscript{453} Krasicki came away with the highest praise of this ‘veritable country of the most wondrous beauty on the river Elbe’. Ignacy Krasicki to Antoni Krasicki, 1 September 1794, in Krasicki, \textit{Korespondencja}, vol. 2, 645-646.

\textsuperscript{454} The wedding took place on 27 October 1784 in Siedlce, the residence of Aleksandra Ogińska.

\textsuperscript{455} On the disastrous marriage between Maria and Ludwig see Alina Aleksandrowicz, \textit{Różne drogi do wolności. Puławy Czartoryskich na przełomie XVII i XIX wieku. Literatura i obyczaj} (Puławy: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Puław, 2011), 71-106.

\textsuperscript{456} Adam Danilczyk, \textit{W kręgu afery Dogrumowej: sejm 1786 roku} (Warsaw: Neriton,
turned into a political storm which eventually filled the sails of Izabela Czartoryska’s visual performances.

In 1784 an adventuress of no standing, Maria Teresa Dogrunowa came (not for the first time) to the court of King Stanisław August with information that Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski planned to poison the king. Having been turned away, she switched sides and maintained that the king’s trusted chamberlain, Franciszek Ryx and his adjutant, General Jan Komarzewski, were conspiring to poison Czartoryski. The emotional if bizarre nature of the accusations polarized the positions of both sides, fuelled intrigues and had a bearing on political developments for the next five years. The opposition to the king rallied around Crown Grand Hetman Ksawery Branicki who, once implicated in the affair, saw it as the way for the opposition to gain support in St. Petersburg. Married to Grigorii Potemkin’s favourite niece, he was very well connected to Catherine II.457 Another major player was also Szczęsny Potocki, who rejoiced in the sobriquets ‘father of the country’ and a ‘model patriot’ after funding an artillery division and twenty-four cannons in 1784.458 Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski had effectively removed himself from the leadership of the ‘new Familia’, which would have been his by right after the death of his brother-in-law Stanisław Lubomirski in 1782. Adam Danilczyk interprets Czartoryski’s position in terms of disillusionment with the political battles for which he had no inclination

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anyway. Instead, Lubomirski’s son-in-law Ignacy Potocki gradually assumed the day-to-day leadership of the Familia.

The premiere

Energized by the Dogrumowa affair during the election season before the 1786 sejm, the opposition organized crowded summits in the Potockis’ Humań, the Ogiński’s Siedlce and the Czartoryskis’ Puławy. The women of the opposition – Aleksandra Ogińska, Elżbieta Sapieha (Branicki’s sister) and Izabela Czartoryska – took on leading roles in the campaign. In Puławy on 14 June 1786 in front of five hundred supporters Czartoryska presented a new opera, Matka Spartanka [The Spartan mother]. She and her court poet Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin had been working on it since the winter. The libretto was liberally strewn with well known quotes from Plutarch on Spartan principles, especially the martial virtues of Spartan women. Kniaźnin’s version combined two historical accounts of the sieges of Sparta by Epaminondas, as related by Plutarch and disseminated in histories like Rollin’s Histoire ancienne. Teona the Spartan mother sends her son Likanor to fight for their country. In the crucial moment of the battle Likanor returns to the city for reinforcements, but Teona derides his lack of courage and sends him straight back to the battlefield. Likanor, fortified with his mother’s indomitable spirit, rallies the

459 Danilezyk, W kręgu afery, 186.

460 Emanuel Rostworowski, Sprawa aukcji wojska na tle sytuacji politycznej przed Sejmem Czteroletnim (Warsaw: PWN, 1957), 123.

461 Butterwick, Polska Rewolucja, 227.

462 The most comprehensive account of the performance of Matka Spartanka is given Aleksandrowicz, ‘Sejm Czteroletni’. 
troops, wins the battle and comes back victorious. Kniaźnin explained in the 1787 printed edition of the play that his purpose was to present models for patriotic attitudes for men and women, old and young, who were endowed with ‘the noble spirit of liberty and who desired glory for their nation’. 463

Czartoryska played the main part herself. Adam Jerzy was Likanor, his siblings performed other roles, while prominent figures from the Puławy circle participated in the choirs of mothers, priests, citizens, peasants, boys, girls and slaves. Together there were sixty performers on the stage. All delivered dialogues interspersed with recitatives set by the Puławy court composer Wincenty Lessel. The spectacular production scenery accentuated the high tone of the performance. It represented a colonnade receding to the Temple of Mars in background, similar to the theatrical designs made by the royal architects Jan Christian Kamsetzer and Jan Bogumił Plersch for large-scale Warsaw performances. 464 In the foreground sat girls weaving flower wreaths, while the main actors and the choirs of different social groups positioned themselves in separate groups before the colonnade.

Czartoryska dedicated Matka Spartanka to Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki. Potocki felt gratified. He wrote to Seweryn Rzewuski: ‘everything there was endowed with the chivalric spirit and the love of the fatherland, all in a refined taste. This truly national entertainment inspired the citizens and excited their fervour’. 465 Alina Aleksandrowicz interprets the play in terms of conflict between the royal policy of


appeasing Russia and the opposition’s idea of ‘action’. However unfair this characterization may have been to Stanisław August, and however much the opposition magnates sought – via the Branickis – to ‘trump’ the king in St Petersburg, this was the way in which Czartoryska appealed to noble opinion. She positioned herself as the main force propelling the country to heroic battles and to subsequent victories. After all she was on her own ground in Pulawy and, drawing authority from her ‘country’ (państwo) as she called her estate, she identified herself to the assembled noble nation as its guiding agency.466

*The Spartan mother* was a performance with little action, a static arrangement and a descriptive narrative intoned by the choirs. Yet it elicited a strong emotional response from the spectators and was received with great enthusiasm. This reaction may be explained by the fact that it was in effect a huge *tableau*, requiring from the audience an added imaginative and emotional involvement. With this engagement the audience participated in the creation of the communal feeling of togetherness, fuelled by the Izabela’s double role as the host and the personification of the Spartan spirit.

This performance has hitherto been considered as a theatrical event that was novel in every way. However, if we consider that Czartoryska had already experimented with Greek costume in Powązki and with a static format of the display then *Matka Spartanka* shows itself as a continuation in her patriotic didacticism, not as a new departure. She had educated her children to identify with and to emulate classical heroes, so for Adam Jerzy his role as Likanor must have seemed a natural extension of his childhood. Adam’s early letters to Izabela contain many references to Spartan ideals, like this one from 1786, when he was sixteen years old: ‘If I achieve

466 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni*, 27.
any glory, I will say, like in Sparta: Mother, I have reached for glory because of you. Szczęsny Potocki, in the same letter in which he praised Matka Spartanka announced that his entire large family would adopt Czartoryska’s educational methods. The Russian ambassador Otto Stackelberg was alarmed at the enthusiasm the play aroused, even more so, when he discovered that Adam Jerzy and Konstanty’s room contained a painting of Hannibal swearing eternal enmity to Rome. Years later, when Adam Jerzy and Konstany were sent to St. Petersburg as the guarantors of their family’s loyalty after the collapse of the Kościuszko Insurrection in 1794, Catherine II wrote to Nikolai Repnin: ‘Whether this is true or not, I do not know, but news circulates that the mother of the Princes Czartoryski made her sons swear an eternal enmity to Russia, like the one that Hamilkar made his eight-year-old Hannibal swear’. Indeed Repnin himself was horrified when he saw Adam Jerzy’s and Konstanty’s short haircuts à la Brutus; he did not let them proceed to St. Petersburg until their hair had grown. Czartoryska also cut her hair in this republican style (il. 52).

467 Quoted after Marceli Handelsman, Adam Czartoryski (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1948), vol. 1, 22.

468 Aleksandrowicz, ‘Sejm Czteroletni’, 199.

469 The painting has not survived; it may have been destroyed by fire during the 1794 insurrection. Danilczyk, W kręgu aftery, 76.

470 Quoted after Handelsman, Adam Czartoryski, vol. 1, 30.

471 Zamoyski, The last king, 437.

472 With thanks to Ewa Czepiel from Gabinet Rycin, Czartoryski Museum.
The Spartan mother was performed many times and Czartoryska always played the lead as Teona. However, the play was never shown in Warsaw, not even during the Great Sejm. Evidently the comedy Powrót posła [Return of the envoy] by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz was considered a more relevant and a more communicative work dealing with the Polish provincial realities rather than with the Greek parable. Nevertheless, Matka Spartanka solidified Czartoryska’s image as a mother who actively involved herself with political developments. The family began to promote this model as the example for Polish women and the Puławy poets began to build on this stylization. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa notes that Kniaźnin never referred to the Czartoryski women in a light-hearted or familiar manner, and the same applies to

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many anonymous occasional tributes preserved in the Czartoryski Library. In the copious flattering poetry written on the occasion of name days, birthdays and weddings, the Czartoryski women are praised for their wisdom and virtue, for the education of their children, for their discernment and participation in political events, and for the enlightened management of their estates and people. Although the model of a woman as a responsible mother had long roots in Polish literature, here the Czartoryski women were shown as the inheritors of a cultural legacy ‘going as far back as the Greeks’. They were the ones who promoted the arts and preserved traditions. Kostkiewiczowa observes that Kniaźnin conferred on Izabela still more: the qualities associated with male heroism and stoic perseverance in the times of adversity, bravery and prudence, softened with ‘sacred tenderness’. These merits resounded in many, often anonymous verses, reflecting the successful transference of Czartoryska’s identity as the ‘Spartan mother’ onto the popular consciousness.

Not all were enthralled with the message of The Spartan mother or indeed with Czartoryska’s assumed position as the energizing force of the opposition. A long anonymous poem, Spartanka, satirized everything about Czartoryska – her patriotic evocations, her upbringing of children, her worship of military valour – and spiced it up with pornographic innuendoes. A copy of the poem (probably by the royal court poet Stanisław Trembecki), was buried in the Czartoryski Archives and did not see the light of day for a hundred and fifty years.475

474 Ibid., 82-83.

Choreography of the electoral campaigns

After the première of Matka Spartanka, Czartoryska mobilized her family and children in an effort to secure the Podolian sejmik (dietine) for Adam Kazimierz in the 1786 sejm. The French agent Joseph Aubert reported how during the election campaign

she presented herself to the nobles in the costume of old Sarmatians and talked only about virtue, fatherland and of her own efforts to bring her children up as the future leaders of the country. These children having been educated in France, England and all countries of Europe will now be educated according to Spartan rules. However, this good mother, this Spartan mother as she is represented in numerous paintings and many theatrical plays, for eighteen years had corrupted her country with the most licentious of morals.\footnote{Quoted after Rostworowski, Sprawa aukcji, 125-126.}

Despite ardent campaigning the Czartoryskis were unable to carry their Podolian stronghold. The sejmik was controversially split, and the election of opposition candidates was declared void by the sejm. Despite their greatly increased efforts compared to 1784, the opposition was unable to elect many envoys.\footnote{Danilczyk, W kręgu afery, 98-101.} Instead they resorted to public demonstrations of unity. At the 1786 Sejm they mounted several large scale cavalcades of three hundred horsemen, one of them specifically in honour of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski.\footnote{Rostworowski, Sprawa aukcji, 122.}

After the 1786 Sejm the Czartoryski supporters descended on Puławy to engage in communal spirit-raising and at the same time to celebrate Izabela’s name day. She played Matka Spartanka for them once again. The emotions of 1786
continued to energize the opposition leaders for the next two years and Czartoryska emerged as one of their principal activists, who was able to coax large numbers of the local nobility to their side. At the same time she cultivated contacts at the court of Vienna and even travelled to Paris in 1787, where she met with Marie-Antoinette.\textsuperscript{479}

She returned to continue the preparations for the sejmiks of 1788.\textsuperscript{480} In July 1788 she hosted a summit of the opposition leaders in Pulawy in the absence of Adam Kazimierz, and together with other main personalities of the opposition – Szczęsny Potocki, Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Branicki, and Crown Field Hetman Rzewuski – declared readiness to join in a confederacy. It should be emphasized that this planned confederacy was dependent on Russian support. Six months previously the young Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, under the direction of his tutor Scipione Piattoli, had drawn up plans for a secret organization, the Quattuorvirate, which would coordinate the efforts to rally votes for the opposition. The plans for the Quattuorvirate included a detailed manifesto of reforms and charted the subsequent stages of action which included a confederacy in the provinces and the creation of an armed militia. Methods of influencing the nobles consisted of an ardent appeal to patriotism as well as massive buy-out of votes and intimidation.\textsuperscript{481} One of the four people of the Quattuorvirate directing the operations was to be Adam Kazimierz, but in reality he would have acted under Izabela’s influence and would have delegated some activities

\textsuperscript{479} She met with Marie-Antoinette in the Petit Trianon, primarily to deliver to her letters from Joseph II. In Paris she visited her son Adam Jerzy, who was staying with his aunt Izabela Lubomirska.


\textsuperscript{481} Michalski, ‘Sejmiki’, 223.
Piattoli presented the plan first to Czartoryska, afterwards to Hetman Rzewuski, and wrote that in these two ‘tota incumbit Respublica’. In his complimentary zeal he further figuratively placed Czartoryska in the company of the women who liberated Rome from the ‘tyrants’.483

In the provinces Czartoryska performed the role of national liberator not in Roman or Greek dress, but in the traditional national costume. She also brought Adam Jerzy back from France to join the 1788 campaign and dressed him in the kontusz. In many letters to him she impressed the necessity of wearing the traditional ‘Sarmatian’ overcoat, the kontusz and behaving with all the markers of the traditional gesture:

if the Polish dress is badly made and worn casually, they will say that you are reluctant to wear it and do it only out of necessity [...], if you are lively, talkative, if you are good humoured and well dressed, if you embrace one and tell something to another then you will win over them all.484

Emanuel Rostworowski argued that Czartoryska was conducting a new method of influencing the middling nobility. She was making a conscious effort to meet their political and cultural tastes.485 But we need to recognize that she had already begun to do this in Powązki. Moreover, in the 1776 election campaign which Jerzy Michalski connects with the first establishment of the anti-royal opposition, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski donned Polish costume to win the votes – he who never wore anything else but the uniform of the Cadet School. His ‘masquerades’ have been widely regarded as the work of his wife but he himself promoted the moral and patriotic

482 The other three were to be Szczęsný and Ignacy Potocki, and Branicki. Rostworowski, Sprawa aukcji, 205-206.

483 Ibid., 209.

484 Ibid., 126.

485 Ibid.
values of the national costume in his comedy *Kawa* in 1779.\textsuperscript{486}

**Costumes for the Great Sejm**

The *kontusz*, that visual connection to the ‘Sarmatian’ values, was paramount in the last royal election in 1764, when all the Czartoryskis had worn traditional dress. The matter of the national costume took a new urgency in August 1788 when some sejmiks demanded that all those engaged in public life wear Polish costume. The Lublin sejmik, the closest to Puławy, issued ‘a common demand’ that all citizens in the Crown wear national dress and shave their heads.\textsuperscript{487} The sejmik elected all six of the opposition candidates, led by Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski himself. Podolia was Izabela’s own battleground. She was the major force behind the opposition’s victory there. Elżbieta Sapieha congratulated her: ‘the princess, the dear Spartan (...) who most diligently attended to it in the absence of the prince’.\textsuperscript{488}

On 6 October 1788 the Sejm began its sessions in an atmosphere of exhilaration and patriotic fervour, with prolific outpourings of literary commentaries, plays, *fêtes*, balls and visualizations. Encouraged by Prussia to break with Russia, during its first months the Sejm abolished institutions associated with Russian control and royal influence and took full power over the Commonwealth.\textsuperscript{489} Many envoys to

\textsuperscript{486} Jerzy Michalski, ‘„Warszawa” czyli o antystołecznych nastrojach w czasach Stanisława Augusta’, in *Studia historyczne*, 2, 37-98 (85-86).

\textsuperscript{487} Quoted after: Michalski, ‘Sarmatyzm’, 26.

\textsuperscript{488} Quoted after: Michalski, ‘Sejmiki’, 239.

the sejm, especially among the opposition, arrived at the debates in national
costume. Warsaw and its surroundings had become a large public scene of
contesting points of view. Czartoryska operated with the use of traditional markers of
noble identity: hospitality, conviviality and that most potent visual symbol – the
national costume.

The question of dress received its most conspicuous visualization in the
context of the military reform. Unsurprisingly it involved Izabela. On 20 October
1788 the Sejm acclaimed an increase of the army to one hundred thousand men. On
27 November 1788 the Lithuanian Marshal of the Sejm Confederacy, Kazimierz
Sapieha proposed the national costume as the uniform for the troops and justified it
with the quasi-rational argument that it would be more practical in battle. That same
day he himself shed his French coat in a public display according to Izabela’s
scenario. At a ceremonial breakfast in the Czartoryski palace she cut Sapieha’s long
hair to fanfares played on drums and horns. Her idea of linking the reformed army
to the national past by dressing them in the national costume was greeted by a shower
of anonymous satire. The scene in the palace came to be remembered in literature
as trivial, as an ineffectual demonstration of patriotism and one of Czartoryska’s more
extreme displays. One author called Czartoryska’s display ‘an infantile scene’ made
by a woman otherwise known for her reason and a daring heart.

490 Kostkiewiczowa, Polski wiek światel, 50.

491 ‘Książę Marszałek Sapieha przebierający się po polsku’, in Wiersze polityczne Sejmu
Czteroletniego... 1788-1789, 65. See also: Urszula Tarnowska, Wspomnienia damy polskiej z XVIII
wiekę (Poznań, 1869), vol. 1, 16.

492 As in the poems ‘Hej panowie moi mili’ and ‘Kontusz’. Wiersze polityczne Sejmu
Czteroletniego... 1788-1789, 67-72.

493 Ibid. 65.
Certainly Izabela employed costume as gestural show of unity and recourse to populist patriotism. By 1788 the dichotomy of the foreign periwig (peruka) and the native whiskers (wąsy) had received more nuanced associations during the previous debate in the 1760s. If the theatre of that time had promoted the improvement of manners by satirizing the dress of the provincial nobility – the szlachta kontuszowa, very quickly the division ‘according to the wardrobe’ turned in favour of the vernacular, especially in the comedies by Bohomolec, while the previous contrast between the two – the frak [frock coat] and the kontusz – had lost its edge. The proponents of both symbolic dress codes considered themselves good and patriotic citizens. In 1780s the public presence of the national costume was the sign of its domestication within the culture of the Enlightenment and at the same time the beginning of the ‘neo-Sarmatian’ revival. The nostalgic look at the traditional culture was epitomized in the poetic sensation Oda do wąsów [Ode to Whiskers], written in 1783 by Kniaźnin. He himself always wore a kontusz and cut a characteristic figure in Czartoryska’s gardens. In humorous verses Kniaźnin praised a nobleman’s moustache as a traditional attribute of a handsome hero, of his victories in the field and conquests over the fairer sex. Oda do wąsów was published in the collected volume of Kniaźnin’s poetry in 1787 but by then it was widely known through ephemeral printings in no less than three versions.

During the Great Sejm the rhetoric of costume continued in a plethora of ephemeral writing and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz advanced the reform programme of the patriotic party by skilfully referring to the kontusz in his comedy Powrót Posła of 1790.

494 For the seminal evaluation of the frak and kontusz discourse see Kostkiewiczowa, Polski wiek światel, 46-54.
Even though *Matka Spartanka* was not played during the Great Sejm in Warsaw, Izabela still managed to show herself to the capital in the role of the patriotic Polish woman. She took on the leading part in the celebrations of the name day for the Marshal of the Sejm, Stanisław Małachowski.\(^{495}\) In the main moment of the theatrical *fête* in the Krasiński palace Izabela recited a poem in which she declared the gratitude of Polish women to the Marshal for his work as a citizen.\(^{496}\) The poem, written either by her or by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, contained motifs of commemoration which were later important in Puławy – transmitting the history from the past to the future and placing it in the temple of memory. In the words of the poem the Marshal’s works had earned the place of honour in the temple and opened the new era of glory. Czartoryska, wearing a ‘citizen’s’ crown with a wreath of roses, assured the Marshal that women knew the value of virtue and that they were raising their sons for the time of battle and sacrifice. Eight of the most notable ladies in ‘citizens’ crowns performed a dance with wreaths and encircled the Marshal with a long ‘citizen’s’ garland, the most appropriate gift of gratitude from the free nation. The ceremony was followed by a supper for a few hundred with the otherwise marginalized King Stanisław August presiding. After the meal the celebrations moved to the garden of the former Krasiński Palace (known as the Palace of the Commonwealth since its purchase as the seat of state offices and commissions), illuminated for the occasion with twenty-three thousand lights. Four thousand inhabitants of Warsaw admired the centrepiece of decorations – the triumphal arch designed by the royal architect

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495 Stanisław Małachowski was Marshal of the Sejm and Marshal of the Crown Confederacy. Kazimierz Sapieha was Marshal of the Lithuanian Confederacy.

Dominik Merlini, on which the two main painted panneaux on either facade by Franciszek Smuglewicz reflected the theatricals which had just taken place in the palace. One showed a personification of the Commonwealth tying a citizen’s garland around the Marshal; another showed the Marshal supporting ‘fragile liberty’ as Izabela described it.\footnote{I.Cz.to M.W., Puławy, 17 May 1789, BCz 6137.} Several uplifting inscriptions on the arch completed the visual message.

Izabela took literally her poetic promise to Małachowski to watch over the nation’s liberties by observing the proceedings of the Sejm from the public gallery. Now reinvigorated by the new Prussian alliance she applauded loudly every mention of defiance against Catherine II, shouted ‘bravo’, waved her shawl and clapped her hands, accompanied in these gestures by other ladies. The women tried to influence decisions by sending messages to the envoys and by miming their appreciation or frowning their disapproval. At the end of the day’s proceedings they presented the men with wreaths and garlands. This type of agitation was reproved by royalists, led by Izabela’s cousin Primate Michal Poniatowski, and has never met with approval by historians.\footnote{Kalinka, \textit{Sejm Czteroletni}, vol. 1, 202-207; Rostworowski, \textit{Ostatni król}, 170; Butterwick, \textit{Polska Rewolucja}, 294-296.} The fact that very few satirical poems were directed at Czartoryska during the Great Sejm does not necessarily indicate that the public endorsed her actions, as Aleksandrowicz thought, but may have had everything to do with the fact that Izabela was present at the debates only in the first year of the Sejm.\footnote{Zagadki \textit{Sejmu Czteroletniego}, ed. Bernard Krakowski, Edmund Rabowicz and Jerzy Kowecki (Warsaw: Kancelaria Sejmu, 1996), 100, 137, 163, 164, 187. Cf. Aleksandrowicz, ‘Sejm Czteroletni’, 223.}

Despite the long preparations before the Sejm, the opposition coalition rapidly
fragmented and alliances shifted, while their views changed as the session progressed. Izabela’s ardent agitation and pro-Prussian enthusiasm led the king to suspect that she was planning to place her daughter and son-in-law on the Polish throne, after he had been eliminated. By the spring of 1789 it seemed to Adam Kazimierz that Izabela’s strident and divisive theatricality lost him more support than it gained. As the first feelers were made that summer between the opposition leaders and the monarch, Czartoryski decided to remove both her and their son from the scene and send them to England. As could be expected, Izabela was reluctant to go and frequently voiced her disappointment at having to withdraw from a drama in which she had such an intense emotional involvement.


501 See Zagadki. An anonymous satire accused her of inflaming the nation to revel with her and for her.

Intermezzo

England and Scotland 1790-1791
'I swear to you', Izabela wrote to Konstancja Dembowska, ‘that there isn’t a single thing in the world that I would not do for my husband, but perhaps there are circumstances or ideas which make my husband prefer that I should be absent’. In May 1789 Warsaw was already full of gossip and speculations about the purpose of Czartoryska’s journey to England. Ostensibly she was to accompany her eldest son, to further and complete his education. Indeed Adam Kazimierz devised a detailed and rigorous program for his son to follow. Adam Jerzy was to gather in England everything that could be useful to his native land, so that in time he could ‘repay his debt to the position to which he was born’.

Izabela left for England with high expectations. Her family of Anglophiles encouraged her in the view that everything progressive, desirable and inspirational awaited her on this, her third visit to England, especially on the planned tour of the country. She wrote of this opportunity just before she began the tour:

I am leaving to see the country and its charming prospects where its affluence is the fruit of industry, industry is the fruit of freedom and freedom is the fruit of the government. I will see delightful landscapes, where Nature spreads itself in all her beauty.

The association of charming prospects with freedoms and liberal government did not only reflect the views of Adam Kazimierz. By 1790 that connection had taken

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503 Konstancja Dembowska née Narbutt grew up in Powązki as a companion to Izabela’s children, I.Cz. to K.D., Manchester, 17 August (1790), BCz 6107.

504 I.Cz.to K.D., BCz 6107, no.4.


a firm root in English and French writing on gardens. There was no reason for Czartoryska to expect anything else but the diffusion of ethical values onto the landscape. The journey however proved to be a mirror, through which British ideas on industrial development, the management of dependant peasants, and gardening were reflected onto the Polish context and were found wanting. To some extent the most interesting feature of the stay in England was the influence it did not have. Czartoryska was horrified by the human cost of industrialization and the Highland clearings and this tempered any desire she might have had to see the traditional system of master and serf reformed. More surprising is her lack of enthusiasm for the gardens she saw and her laconic notes indicate that she was not receptive to their aesthetics. Ultimately the gardens she liked or approved of fitted her well established preferences.

**English malady**

Izabela, Adam Jerzy and their small entourage left Poland on 26 September 1789. A melancholy mood descended almost immediately and Izabela acutely longed to be back at home. During the progress through Switzerland she felt again her youthful fascination with *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Czartoryska went to Clarens, the rocks of the Meillerie and Vevay, and the house of Madame de Warens, Rousseau’s first lover. She procured a letter from Rousseau to Madame de Warens, her portrait, and later

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508 They travelled with Major Sebastian Orlowski, Franciszek Kozłowski, both from the Czartoryski court, her maid Konstancja and Kazio, Izabela’s favourite young Cossack servant.
added to them Rousseau’s botanical specimens and his chair. \(^{509}\) However, every sight brought back memories of Puławy and she devoted many more of her letters to the life she had left behind than to her experiences of wild nature. \(^{510}\) In Paris Czartoryska she met her old flame, the Duc de Lauzun. News of the encounter trickled back to Poland and provoked an uncharacteristically angry letter from Adam Kazimierz. Izabela was quick to reassure him that she had decided not to rekindle the relationship. \(^{511}\)

The company of Polish travellers arrived finally in London on 10 January 1790. Czartoryska very quickly set up a learning routine for herself in London, taking English, music and embroidery lessons. \(^{512}\) The theatre scene, however, proved disappointing. \(^{513}\) Izabela was particularly frustrated that Sarah Siddons was not performing for most of the year. When Siddons returned to stage on 7 December 1790 she enthralled the audiences only six times that season and Czartoryska wrote personally to her requesting a ticket. \(^{514}\) There is no doubt that Czartoryska would have found things in common with this famous actress, who brought the sense of theatrical

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\(^{510}\) Aleksandrowicz, Izabela Czartoryska, 145. Eadem, ‘Odkrycie nowej natury’.

\(^{511}\) I.Cz. to K.D., 24 December (1790), BCz 6107, no 21; I.Cz. to M.W., Paris, 4 January 1790, BCz 6137.

\(^{512}\) Walker also gave lessons to Adam Jerzy. The Puławy library contains three books by Walker on the English language and elocution, purchased by Adam Kazimierz and Adam Jerzy. On her purchases see: Gąłbiowska, W kręgu, 55-56.

\(^{513}\) I.Cz. to K.D., 18 January 1790, London, BCz 6107, no. 10.

\(^{514}\) There is no knowing whether Czartoryska really did see Siddons perform, however, Czartoryska kept a letter from Siddons dated 1824 concerning the Puławy museum collection. Gąłbiowska, W kręgu, 116.
sensibility into the presentations of womanhood in the public sphere and increased the respectability of her profession.  

Invitations to balls flowed in and Izabela was definitely in demand, but she found the society ‘devastatingly boring, cold and monotonous’. In her own house at Dover Street she did away with formality and introduced an atmosphere of Polish affability, but even her imaginative receptions did nothing to diminish her misery:

I feel sad here, the climate contributes and my imagination does nothing to diminish my melancholy. If amour propre would suffice I would be satisfied here, but, my dear friend, it is a long time since this thing held any joy for me and really my heart is dead among all of it here. When people say the most flattering things to me my imagination goes to Warsaw and to Puławy.  

She suffered continuous headaches, lost weight and her depression came to the point where she claimed that she did not recognize those around her. As early as April Czartoryska formed judgments on the British character; in unison with many visitors she maligned the weather and the manners:

I can't get used to it here, not because I am blind to the beauties and charms of this country. On the contrary, I see them and admire them, but there are two things which I will never be able to accustom myself to, it is the climate and the people. One is humid to the extreme and the other is unspeakably cold, one is bad for my health, the other is damaging to my soul.  

Her critique extended to the whole way of life of the British aristocracy:

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517 I.Cz. to M.W., 9 February (1790), BCz 6137.

We, the others, lack some of these [advantages] but we have more joy in life, more gaiety, a much better climate and above all happiness in all, happiness which shows itself in our character and our sense of humour. Here boredom haunts the temperament, the lack of gaiety is very common, but once again Providence makes use of its secret (ways) and the English do not realize that they are often bored. She gives them the national pride to believe that all is well as it is.\footnote{I.Cz. to K.D., London, 25 May 1790, London, BCz 6107, f. 26.}

Czartoryska continually noted that there is ‘nothing like Poland’, where happiness is ‘a measure of enjoyment and gaiety, sweet intimacy, natural ease, and that which one might call the secret of good company’.\footnote{I.Cz. to K.D., London, 4 June 1790, BCz 6107, no. 14.} The feeling preceded her arrival; she wrote that in England she would be ‘of no interest to anyone’, ‘far from all that gives interest to life’.\footnote{I.Cz. to M.W., Vienna, 6 October (1789), BCz 6137.} Throughout her stay in England Izabela wrote repeatedly to Adam Kazimierz for permission to come back, but deferred to his judgment.

Polish developments preoccupied her constantly. Franciszek Rzewuski informed her of the progress of the Sejm and Czartoryska tried to rally support for the reforms.\footnote{I.Cz. to K.D., 6 June 1790, London, BCz 6107, no.14.} Still, she considered her absence as a necessary development, even as a sacrifice on her part in the interest of the country.\footnote{I.Cz. to M.W., n.d., Middleton, BCz 6137.}

Retreating from the world of London society she attached herself to Lady Duncannon, sister of the Duchess of Devonshire, renewed her friendship with Frances Jersey, and formed a new bond with the artist Maria Cosway.\footnote{She spent most of her time between the London houses of the latter two. I.Cz. to M.W., London, 4 January 1790, 9 January 1790, London, BCz 6137. Frances, Countess Jersey, wife of George Bussy the 4th Earl Jersey, was soon to involve herself in a scandalous affair with the Prince of Wales. See: Powell, Margaret, Countess of Jersey. Cosway was a close friend of Izabela Lubomirska. On the connections between Cosway and Lubomirska in Paris see: Gerald Barnett, Richard and Maria Cosway: a biography (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1995), 100-104. On Lubomirska’s salon activities in Paris over her stays there see: Majewska-Maszkowska, Mecenat, 22-23, 64-65.} Cosway painted a
portrait of Izabela, an unusual work for her *oeuvre*, simplified to the point of austerity but at the same time with a quality of a delicate miniature (il. 53).

(53) *Portrait of Izabela Czartoryska*, by Maria Cecilia Cosway, oil on canvas, 1790, FKCz.

Czartoryska, very thin and dressed in a semi-medieval gown touches a classical marble, resembling a sarcophagus. Beside is the ever present dog. The curious gothic frame refers to Izabela’s antiquarian and collecting passion, her interest
in Shakespeare, Mary Stuart, Ossian and Cromwell.\textsuperscript{525} Richard Cosway, Maria’s husband, a highly respected miniature painter, adapted the portrait for an engraving, which was executed by Gaetano Testolini (il. 54). The engraving became an official image for Czartoryska and she used it for decades as a parting gift for her guests.\textsuperscript{526}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Izabella Czartoryska, Gaetano Testolini after Richard Cosway, engraving, 1790-1791, FKCz, XV-R.3582a.}
\end{figure}

It was reworked in 1830 to give more pronounced patriotic associations (il. 55).

\textsuperscript{525} I.Cz. to K.D., London, 3 April 1790, BCz 6107, f. 22.

\textsuperscript{526} Angela Soltys, \textit{Opat z San Michele: Grand Tour prymasa Poniatowskiego i jego kolekcje} (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski, 2008), 127-128.
Frances Jersey invited Czartoryska to spend a week at her home at Middleton. Izabela found in Lady Jersey a companion with whom she could relate.\textsuperscript{527} Like her, Lady Jersey followed emotions in her personal life disregarding social mores and soon afterwards involved herself in a long affair with the Prince of Wales. There, having for company only Lady Jersey’s daughters, they occupied themselves with walks and embroidering; Czartoryska played music for them and focused all her invention on entertaining her female hosts with ‘a thousand things in this style which is new here and which pleases them’.\textsuperscript{528} She painted the interior of a pavilion in the park with arabesques and placed an Altar to Friendship there, which most probably


\textsuperscript{528} I.Cz. to M.W., n.d., Middleton, BCz 6137.
acted as a prop for an arranged performance. In response to this gift Lady Jersey wrote a poem on the wall of the pavilion. In the poem she called Czartoryska and her son ‘the two great Eagles of the North’. The verses reflected the melancholy mood in Middleton and ended with the reflection on beauty of Izabela’s painting, comparable to a Raphael, and with the realization of its inevitable destruction.  

(Fig. 56) *Pope's Villa, Twickenham*, attributed to Robert Marris, after Samuel Scott (?), watercolour, 1750-1760, AN213184 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Frequent walks in the environs of London gave Czartoryska the greatest pleasure. In January and February she trekked the gardens in the vicinity of the capital. In May she regularly went to Richmond ‘which often figures in romances’ for a change of mood and for the beautiful panoramas of St. Paul’s, and then followed on to Twickenham, to Alexander Pope’s garden (il. 56). 

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529 ‘An inscription for a room painted by the Princess Czartoriska in a garden at Middleton park, where she had placed an Altar to Friendship 1790’, Biblioteka Kórnicka, 01367, f. 102.

There she sat under the willow, meditated on the poet’s spirit, wept moved by
sensations and then drew consolation from the reveries on his poetry. However, when
she made public this pensive attitude, she find to her dismay that the London salons
considered her emotionalism ‘an excellent joke’.\(^531\) Her friend the Earl of Carlisle was
more understanding and presented her with a casket specially made for her out of the
original willow planted by Pope himself.\(^532\) Czartoryska secured her own memorabilia
as well: a chip from the stump of the original willow, which was stored in the grotto,
and several live willow twigs. Other items followed later. The live twigs from Pope’s
garden were sent to Puławy.\(^533\)

\textit{James Savage, gardener}

Izabela scoured London nurseries looking for plants for Puławy. She was particularly
interested in exotics. In March she not only purchased a consignment of shrubs for
herself and Maria, but succeeded in hiring James Savage, an ‘excellent’ gardener
skilled in cultivating foreign plants, to come to Puławy for three years.\(^534\) He took
charge of Czartoryska’s plants over the cold months, dispatched some of them
through the post and left for Poland with the rest of the collection on 6 June 1790.\(^535\)
Czartoryska sent ahead instructions for Savage’s reception, rightly anxious about the

\(^{531}\) I.Cz. to M.W., London, 26 May 1790, BCz 6137.

\(^{532}\) Katalog pamiątek złożonych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach’, BCz II-2917, vol.1, ff.
189, 459. It is interesting to note that Czartoryska not only admired Pope’s poetry, but in her note on
him (f. 189) she extolled him as virtuous, a good friend, tender towards the poor, attached to his
relations and generous to those who served him.

\(^{533}\) I.Cz. to M.W., Diverses, BCz 6137. She took a piece of wood from the stump near his
grotto and later placed it in the Gothic House.

\(^{534}\) Gołębiowska, \textit{W kręgu}, 86, gives his full name as James Philip Savage.

\(^{535}\) I.Cz. to M.W., London, 16 April 1790, BCz 6137. ‘I have engaged him just as I had
resentment the new gardener might cause, especially that he was replacing Rychter who had been with the Czartoryskis for twenty years:

I wish that he will bring the art of the English garden to us by multiplying all my plants, and that he will make a tree nursery. The place will be more beautiful if I make this expense once rather than continuously patch and not according to one idea. Principally he is to propagate the plants. [...] I have thought considerably about plants, but these are unknown to me and they could perish, simply from (my) lack of knowledge or from the heat. This is what he will teach us. I would like him to have all comforts; he left a good place for me.  

It is not however possible to say exactly which London nursery Savage came from or where he did his apprenticeship. Although Savage’s horticultural expertise was supposedly the main reason for bringing him to Poland, his contract, drafted in London on 19 March 1790, states in the very first point that he would trace or design a fashionable pleasure garden in the English style. His skill would primarily relate to giving the place a uniformity of style in planting. In the second point of the contract Czartoryska asked specifically for American plants. Savage would train the native gardeners and show them how to care for the exotics. His duties involved the management, propagation and care of the plants and the transmission of ‘the science of Gardening in general as best as his knowledge would allow’. With this in mind Savage took to Poland the freshly issued fourth edition of the *Philosophia Botanica*.

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by Linnaeus.\textsuperscript{539} The opportunity to spend time in Poland would have been quite advantageous for the young gardener, who was probably of Irish extraction.\textsuperscript{540} He was to be paid seventy pounds a year, three times more than nursery wages in London.\textsuperscript{541} In Polish terms this would translate into 2800 zlotys per annum. By contrast, the Pulawy gardener Popp received half that amount, 1266 zlotys 20 groszy yearly.\textsuperscript{542} Savage would also have full board, lodgings, candles and fire, free passage to Poland and back whenever necessary, free return home if he changed his mind, but most importantly he would be accountable only to the Princess. Izabela advanced him a year’s pay and promised him to reward him well if she was satisfied. His first assignment was to make a ‘\textit{boulingrin [bowling green] à l’angloise}’ in front of the palace of Marynki, lay the path and sow the grass around. As far as Czartoryska was concerned, ‘nothing could be easier’ (il. 57).\textsuperscript{543}

\textsuperscript{539} Carl Linnaeus, \textit{An Introduction to botany}. (London: J. F. and C. Rivington, 1788). Inscription inside: Jos. Savage 1790. BCz 55213 II.

\textsuperscript{540} According to George Burnett, who visited Pulawy in 1807, Savage was ‘an Englishman – who is an Irishman’. George Burnett, \textit{View of the present state of Poland} (London: Longman, 1807), 191.

\textsuperscript{541} In the Vineyard nursery their weekly pay was less than 12 shillings, and all over Middlesex men were hired for 12 shillings a week in summer and 9 shillings in winter. Willson, \textit{James Lee}, 15.

\textsuperscript{542} Popp received this sum from 1777 yearly, BCz Ew.480, 489, 492.

\textsuperscript{543} I.Cz. to M.W., Manchester, 17 August 1790, BCz 6137.
The English were after all renowned specialists in laying out turf. Even the secret mossy paths came from the islands and Julie in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* procured it for her garden from her English friend Lord B--.\(^{544}\)

*‘Tour through England’*

The Czartoryskis’ keenly anticipated tour of the English and Scottish countryside began on 9 June and lasted until 28 August 1790. The travelling party of four – Izabela, Adam Jerzy, his current tutor L’Huillier and his former tutor Richard d’Oraison – crossed three thousand kilometres and visited industrial sites as well as

over thirty gardens and places known for their picturesque locations. Notable omissions from the list of visited gardens are Rousham, Wilton, Wrest Park and Bowood. She may have seen the latter three previously, as they were associated with the Czartoryskis’ contacts and Adam Jerzy’s schooling in London.

It was a journey rich in experiences. The travellers found it highly rewarding despite the exceptionally wet summer, crowded inns, unpleasant innkeepers and dishonest guides. Both Adam Jerzy and Izabela kept diaries on their travels. His account is lost; hers, written mostly in French but entitled in English Tour through England, is a pacy, personal aide-mémoire. Izabela intended to develop these notes into an ordered and evocative record, but the project remained unfinished and the diary has never been published in full.

During the tour Adam Jerzy introduced himself as a future leading statesman of Poland to all the most important personalities of British industry, visited an impressive number of factories, foundries, educational and social institutions and turned into an Anglophile like his father. Izabela was almost equally interested, and she recorded industrial techniques, processes and profits in some detail. The company visited William Herschel at Slough and saw his revolutionary telescopes, they met with Samuel Galton in Birmingham and visited his gun factory, at Soho they were hosted by Mathew Boulton, in Dudley they saw coal mines and lime quarries, at Tipton a soap factory belonging to James Keir, and at Bradley a forge of Thomas

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Wilkinson. In Coalbrookdale the manager of the works, Richard Reynolds, led them around the Darbys’ foundries, Charles Taylor showed them his successful Turkey Red dyeing factory in Blackley outside Manchester, and one of the Philips brothers took them around their tape-weaving factory. They saw Josiah Wedgwood’s Etruria, took a ride on the Bridgewater canal and met with the most influential industrialists in Liverpool.

Although in every way remarkable, this part of the trip needs to be seen in perspective: in nearly three months travelling only two weeks were devoted to industrial inquiries; for the rest of the time the travellers visited gardens and residences. The focus on the designed landscape (and not on introductions to earls and dukes, as they were mostly absent in the country) must have reflected Adam Kazimierz’s perception of estates as a source of power, and the design of their gardens as the cultural language his son had to learn.

The party took the well trodden track of the picturesque tour, as defined by the travelogues of William Gilpin and John Byng, along a fairly well trodden route with established inns, post houses and a network of guides. We do not know if the travellers took with them a ‘Claude glass’ or Gilpin’s guides to picturesque viewing, but five titles of Gilpin’s works in later editions (from 1792-1794) found their way into the Czartoryski library. The volumes provided tourists with a manner of selecting the scenes from a wide natural panorama, including scenes with


particularly appealing contrasts of form, light and shadow. The language of the picturesque was easy to learn, as Gilpin’s illustrations visualized the experience awaiting a discerning traveller. By 1790 Gilpin’s mode of viewing had translated itself into an established network of viewing spots and points of interest and therefore into the general tourist experience.\footnote{Literature on travels around England is extensive. The dependence on literary sources, both in creating and reading the eighteenth century gardens, is stressed in Müllenbrock, ‘The “Englishness” of the English landscape garden’.

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‘The most beautiful countryside in the world’

The first encounters Czartoryska recorded on the Isle of Wight give us an insight into her preferences and way of constructing visual narratives. She penned two vignettes, one describing a woman with six children sitting on the side of the road under a lime tree, another of a woman drying legs of her husband, while the children played on the side of a stream – both ‘living pictures’.\footnote{I.Cz, ‘Tour’, Isle of Wight, 15 June 1790.} Both were a clear proof of the truth in the pastoral and tranquil depictions of the rural poor – these were indeed seemingly happy families, devoted to each other, caught in a moment of repose.

The first encountered garden, the famous estate of General Conway at Park Place, predictably met with Czartoryska’s approval. Predictably, because the arrangement of ruins, vines, and an aviary fell perfectly within the ideas already known to Czartoryska at Powązki.\footnote{One contemporary, John Britton noted ‘a grand colonnade, representing a Roman amphitheatre falling into decay, and majestic even in ruin. This is executed in a manner far superior to most ornaments of this kind; and its secluded situation, and mouldering ivy-crowned walls, render it peculiarly picturesque’ John Britton and E. W. Brayley, The beauties of England and Wales (London: Thomas Maiden, 1801), vol. 1, 187-188. See also: Archibald Robertson, A topographical survey of the

\footnote{552}} The combination of planting, festoons of vines
over evergreens and classical ruins made for a sentimental image, while a celebrated location on a hill over the Thames, enlivened by river traffic, resembled the situation at Pulawy.

The next stop on the picturesque trail, William Shenstone’s The Leasowes - that haunt of nymphs in Gessnerian vogue - could not fail to charm, even if by that time it was already neglected.\textsuperscript{553} Still, it continued to emanate the classical and the poetic air as Czartoryska noted, after all a volume of Shenstone’s poetry graced the Powązki library for the previous decade and a half.\textsuperscript{554}

Again predictably, Stourhead pleased with its classically informed gardens. According to Czartoryska it was ‘superbly situated and brilliantly designed’ (19 June). There is no indication that she followed or understood Henry Hoare’s ideological programme; nevertheless, the visual effects of the Pantheon and the Temple of Flora with their white forms accentuating the green masses were not lost on her (il. 58). Particularly the Temple of Apollo, perched on the high hill, drew the expanse of the garden under its rule. It is unfortunate that she wrote nothing more about the garden; instead, as she would do repeatedly, she recorded the paintings inside the house. It is worth remembering that Stourhead was composed according to the paintings of Gaspard Dughet and within these Roman references the English vernacular elements - the Bristol Cross, Alfred’s Tower, the commemorative military landmark, the church and the village - all sat comfortably and merged into an image of an ideal, be it in the
\textsuperscript{553} Robert Dodsley, The poetical works of Robert Dodsley (London: Cooke, 1797), 76-77.
\textsuperscript{554} This volume also contained Shenstone’s Unconnected thoughts on gardening, which laid out the laws of the landscape garden. William Shenstone, Select works of W. Shenstone, Esq. (Edinburgh: J. Balfour and W. Creek, 1773), 105-122.


These three major gardens had already provided her with ‘a thousand ideas for Pulawy’\footnote{The same she repeated in the letter to K.D., 21 June 1790, Bristol, BCz 6107, no.15. Fragment published in: Aleksandrowicz, \textit{Izabela Czartoryska}, 197.} and inspired more general reflections:

I have seen the most beautiful countryside in the world. (…) Nature is so beautiful, so calm; it doesn’t have great effects but satisfies us with a charming progress. This nature is made for a sensitive soul; these are views which calm, which console, engage and which from time to time embrace a sweet
melancholy. This is what everyone desires from that piece of earth where they live or where they would love to live.557

Clearly the qualities of gentle affectation and serene reliance on nature situated these places within the Burkean category of the Beautiful. This preference however cannot be connected to any discernible intellectual analysis even though Adam Kazimierz had in his library an early edition of *A philosophical inquiry into the origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*.558 It can only be assumed that the lack of references to the aesthetic theory of any kind came from Czartoryska’s programmatic disengagement from this type of discourse, but it did not prevent her from making judgments. There were also negative impressions. Again predictably, she disliked Blenheim and Stowe, which she saw on 11 and 12 June 1790. Of Stowe she wrote:

> The garden has been long regarded as beautiful. It is not well kept, however. There is an excess of bad temples. The one of Friendship bores me; the one of the Lady disgusts me.559 The best one is the Temple of Peace and Concord.560 There is also a monument dedicated to the great men of England. Rather mean columns for such good men.561

Even though Czartoryska had little interest in the intricacies of the British politics of the 1730s and 1740s, the propriety of representation seems of the paramount concern in the place which failed to entice the pleasures of imagination. This indignation points to the value she attached to the expression of political ideas in a garden sphere. We might also add that later Puławy referenced the similar presence of the medieval association - the Gothic Temple - and integrated it into a classical landscape.

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557 I.Cz., ‘Tour’.
559 The Queen’s Temple.
560 The Temple of Concord and Victory.
Blenheim, a garden largely stripped of architectural fabric, found no more favourable reception. Brownian parks dispersed pavilions into their vast acreages, in which the aesthetics of the land predominated. Czartoryska saw her first creation by Brown at Blenheim on 11 June. It made her feel uneasy. It was beautiful, but sad and melancholic and its vast expanse bore no signs of human presence. It was not a natural park, for its art was all too visible. Brownian clumps of trees and areas of water, his proverbial commas and full stops, ruled in their over-refined form and exemplified the aesthetics in decline. This is what Adam Jerzy had in mind when he recalled there Winckelmann’s theory of the development of arts:

There is a great difference between the works made before the perfection of the arts and those created in the time of decadence. The former, though rough and inexperienced, are not clumsy and do not offend the eye. There is passion and genius in them, but during the later periods the scenes become cold, mannered, showing proficiency but no genius at all.\(^{562}\)

This well known pronouncement by Winckelmann was entirely new to Czartoryska and so much so, that she thought it was Adam’s own and recorded it in her diary.\(^{563}\) It is in this same context that we should consider Czartoryska’s visit to Castle Howard on 20 July. Czartoryska described the palace as beautiful and noble; the park, however, lacked variety despite its extent. This is an odd comment, as the fields and wooded areas presented themselves as an inheritance at once ancestral and classical and should have found an appreciative eye with one of the largest landowners in Poland. The large-scale Temple of Venus, Temple of Four Winds and the Roman pyramid underscored the monumentality of the design and there is no doubt that the

\(^{562}\) Ibid., ‘Czula dusza, 41.

\(^{563}\) I.Cz, ‘Tour’, 11 June 1790.
landscape of Castle Howard drew its masculinity in a large part from the family mausoleum.\textsuperscript{564} Positioned like a beacon in a vast expanse of fields, it announced the family’s lasting presence, their Catholic allegiance and their classically rooted cultural orientation.\textsuperscript{565} As a faithful copy of the Temple of Vesta it must be considered as one of the visual prototypes for the Temple at Pulawy.\textsuperscript{566} Over the two days there Czartoryska took rides around the estate, but rather than mentioning the wooden sculptures from Ovid’s \textit{Metamorphoses} and jasmine-infused secluded spots in Wray Wood, she preferred to remember in her diary the charming vegetable gardens as well as the warm reception and a gift of two dogs. She spent her time in the room with portraits of the court of Francis I and Henry II, and imagined herself conversing with them. Before her departure she carved her name on the ‘Czartoryski tree’ and thus began a tradition for the next three generations of her family who visited Castle Howard (il. 59).\textsuperscript{567} She left Castle Howard ‘weighed down with compliments and courtesies’\textsuperscript{568}.

\textsuperscript{564} This mausoleum for the recusant Earls of Carlisle came straight from the pages of Andrea Palladio’s \textit{Four books of architecture}. Giacomo Leoni, \textit{The architecture of A. Palladio} (London: A. Ward, etc., 1742), Temple of Vesta, pl. LXIX and LXX.


\textsuperscript{566} Zofia Gołębiewska lists the rotundas of Castle Howard, Stowe and Stourhead as possible prototypes. Gołębiewska, \textit{W kręgu}, 120.

\textsuperscript{567} When Jadwiga Zamoyska, Izabela’s great-grand-daughter visited Castle Howard with her husband Władysław Zamoyski in 1858, Lord Howard showed them ‘a magnificent oak bearing the cut names of Prince Adam Czartoryski General of Podolia and Izabella Czartoryska cut about 1785, below it the names of Stanisław Zamoyski and his wife Zofia née Czartoryska from 1805, then the names of Prince Adam and Konstanty Czartoryski, the names of my husband and other names of our family from 1832. Lord Howard begun to cut our names and the date.’ Jadwiga Zamoyska, \textit{Wspomnienia} (London: B. Świderski, 1961), 297. The tree no loger exists. [Note the confusion: it should be 1790 rather than 1785 and Adam Jerzy rather than Adam Kazimierz].

\textsuperscript{568} I.Cz, ‘Tour.
The Sublime

If gentle landscapes had already received a confirmed appreciation in the course of the tour, the most developed and evocative passages in Czartoryska’s diary refer to the delights of the Sublime aesthetic of viewing. However, her first encounter with the Sublime came not though the creative force of nature, but in man-made industrial effects, in Coalbrookdale. On 1 July she wrote:
The valley is beautiful at night. The Severn River flows at the bottom of the valley. From all sides we see the mountains and huge fires blazing forges from stones that burned. At night this gave the impression of volcanoes. The night we arrived the moon in all its beauty joined in the tableau and all was embellished by its gentle light.\textsuperscript{569}

Unfortunately this dynamic, volcanic vision of industry disappointed on the following morning: ‘Coalbrookdale loses its beauty in the cold light of the day. The mountains are ravaged, all burnt’.\textsuperscript{570} Industrial sites provided more Sublime encounters: on 4 July Izabela took a boat ride on Wedgwood’s underground canal, where only a few candles relieved the absolute darkness, On 15 July at Worsley she entered a coal mine in a small boat on the Bridgewater canal and then climbed into the tunnels on all fours. The dark passages sharpened her perception and her imagination drew metaphors from mythology. These underlined the real horror of seeing the ‘infernal’ working conditions of the miners, the living ‘Cyclopes’. Moved by their situation she eased the moment of their work in the practical way she knew best – she sang to the miners: ‘this gave them pleasure.’\textsuperscript{571} On 19 August she experienced another type of the geological Sublime, but this time one constructed entirely by nature, in the Peak Cavern, known alternatively as the Devil’s Arse Cave in the Peak District (il. 60).

\textsuperscript{569} Whelan, ‘Czuła dusza’, 41.
\textsuperscript{570} Ibid., 44.
\textsuperscript{571} I.Cz, ‘Tour’, 15 July 1790.
Visitors could expect there the most complete vocabulary of the Burkean Sublime: dark, uncertain recesses induced terror, great cavities brought about the feeling of vastness, the privations of darkness, the nothingness. Solitude and silence mortified to the extreme, and the subterranean passages which no candle could illuminate were the home of infinity. Lastly, the cave was safe, an indispensable condition for the enjoyment of terrors, a point stressed by visitors like William Bray: ‘the celebrated
cavern well deserves to be seen, and is visited without danger and with much less trouble than may be imagined by those who have not gone into it'.

The approach to the cave could not have been more promising of the awaiting thrills – a narrow pass through high rocks suddenly revealed a fertile valley with fields of corn, pastures and the town of Castleton, but over this idyllic landscape towered a gigantic, shaggy cave, with trees at its mouth in the high escarpment topped by Peveril castle. The entrance to the cave housed rope makers, who wound the twines along the length of the natural hall. Again Czartoryska focused first on the people living there: ‘at the bottom of the gorge is a house in which for many years a family had lived, slept and passed their lives’.

The appearance of the cave and its ‘vulgar’ name encouraged expectations of the primitive, the rude and an experience steeped in folklore. The guides capitalized on the multiple opportunities the vast dark caves provided and staged light and sound effects to heighten the experience. Czartoryska’s emotional engagement shows itself in the choice of words: immense, elevated, gigantic, astonishing, amazing; she lists the size of the cavernous openings and mentions the natural process of water erosion, which created the recesses. She must have been unlucky with her guide – he did not arrange for her any of the spectacular displays which other travellers experienced. The guide only described to her some of the presentations: ‘sometimes they put lights


574 The most widely read were William Bray, who published the accounts of the cave in 1777, Karl Philipp Moritz in 1782, and David Peter Davies in 1811. Karl Philipp Moritz, *Travels, chiefly on foot, through several parts of England, in 1782* (London: Printed for G.G. and J. Robinson, 1795), 214-229. David Peter Davies, *A new historical and descriptive view of Derbyshire, from the remotest period to the present time* (Belper: S. Mason, 1811), 698.
there and children come to sing which makes a charming effect. The flowing water reminds one of the Styx and Charon’.  

Although Czartoryska was not treated to the full repertoire of the Sublime inside the Peak Cave, the re-entry into the world of the living never failed to produce an effect which was, by all accounts, beyond description. The frightening and uncontrollable processes of nature transcended into affirmations of religious gratitude. On leaving the grotto Czartoryska saw the moon and as she wrote: ‘the beauty of it all elevated my soul to the Maker of this masterpiece’.  

This common association of the Sublime with the Divine creation showed itself in other sites on the tour, this time above ground.  

At Aysgarth (23 July) the travellers saw the spectacular four cataracts on a narrow stretch of the river Ure (il. 61). Czartoryska gave a detailed account of each cataract, described the colours and types of rocks. The celebrated falls formed different effects, but their real power relied on the contrast with the peaceful habitation of a small village in the immediate proximity of violent nature. The wet summer provided a good volume of water and assured a perfect Sublime experience.

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576 Ibid.
From Aysgarth the Polish company moved in a day to Hackfall, the estate of William Aislabie. Hackfall functioned purely as an isolated retreat and the Sublime pleasure grounds. It enjoyed a very privileged situation, hidden in the fissure of the plateau, naturally wooded and decorated with a fountain, pavilions, streams and cascades of the river Ure (il. 62).\footnote{Cf. Edward S. Harwood, ‘William Aislabie's garden at Hackfall’, \textit{JGH} (1987), 307-411.}
Even in this, a much more mysterious and confused arboreal space than in the gardens of Wiltshire, Czartoryska was able to construct viewing perspectives in accordance with the principles of landscape painting. She wrote on 21 July:

there is no house there, but Nature surpasses herself in embellishing the place. The hills are in a great style. Fierce rocks and immense woods crown the elevations. Here and there are ruins, below flow rapid torrents. All this makes a delightful place for the painter, for the man of taste and for my sensitive heart. 578

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Here she sketched in the diary a pavilion which can be identified as the Rustic Temple from Hackfall (il. 63).

Czartoryska enjoyed these natural surroundings much more than Aislabie’s second garden, Studley Royal, famous for its exquisitely laid out grounds. She noted there ‘the imperfections of taste, but (there are) magnificent trees there and the well preserved ruins of an abbey’ (21 July). Aislabie purchased the adjoining ruins of Fountains Abbey and made them the visual centrepiece of his garden (il. 64). This was the focus of Czartoryska’s attention, rather than the celebrated garden pavilions and vistas.

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579 Ibid.
After seeing these sites Czartoryska wrote to Konstancja Dembowska:

I have felt strongly during this voyage, especially in the last three places I have seen, that Nature only works in the grand style and that works of man are insignificant in comparison. And I will tell you that when I look at all these lovely surroundings that I have seen till now, I am drawn to the conclusion that they cannot achieve what Nature can produce in a morning. I have seen a river precipitate through four cataracts, each one so finely designed that the most accomplished painter could not imagine such strong effects and such occurrences on such a grand scale. (...) The voyage has been an extreme pleasure; each step brings surprises and new subjects for me.\footnote{580}

Here the emphasis in the design had shifted in favour of nature. These places were not, however, entirely wild, untouched, natural reserves. Here the viewing of a landscape as picture, which Gilpin did so much to establish, provided a conventional

\footnote{580} The quoted fragment is published in: Aleksandrowicz, Izabela Czartoryska, 190.
framework but the figures in the landscape were real, living their lives in the village, wandering about the gothic abbey, scaling down with difficulty the ravine of Hackfall. In these situations, the emotive power of associations had a very different, physical quality than in the classically and poetically inspired landscape gardens of southern England.

Although these three sites must have formed Czartoryska’s idea of the Sublime, nothing would have prepared her for the experiences of Dunkeld in Perthshire (2 August). This park, positioned on a high, naturally wooded range of hills over the river Bran, received the most spirited and critically complete description in Izabela’s diary (il. 65). 581

Izabela marvelled at the spectacular theatricality of the rising approach in this ‘most beautiful park she has ever seen’. Nothing compared though to the sublime effects in the park pavilion, Ossian’s Hall on the precipice over the Falls of Bruar. The internal wall adorned with a painting of Ossian suddenly opened and exposed the visitors to the amplified roar of the falls below. 582 Czartoryska wrote that the volume of water was enormous, the noise overpowering and the manner in which it was presented miraculous. The mirrors set in the room reflected everything in a thousand different ways. She referred again to the convention of painting: ‘at every step in this country one sees views which are like the most beautiful paintings that you have ever admired’. 583

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582 Painting by Charles Steuart. It hung on a sliding door, and when this opened, it revealed the next oblong room designed as an amplifying chamber for the noise of rapids of Black Lynn Falls. Andrews, The search, 216.

She pointed, however, to faults in this pictorial composition: this Sublime spectacle around Ossian’s Hall was under planted with small flower beds in regular style and even made their way into the ruins of the gothic church in the valley.\textsuperscript{584} Here nature acquired a sacred quality and planting had to be seen as a ritual of gratitude.

For all its power, the Dunkeld Sublime was beginning to elicit ridicule towards the end of the eighteenth century. Czartoryska had already experienced signs

\textsuperscript{584} These incongruities were a remainder of the original idea by the Third Duke of Atholl, when he started the works in 1757. Dingwall, ‘Gardens in the wild’, 133-156, 143-147.
of change in the emotional response when the London society failed to empathize with her tearful reveries in Twickenham.\textsuperscript{585}

The emotional engagement which the Sublime provided seems the key to its appreciation by Czartoryska. She maintained this reverential attitude throughout the Ossianic trail, which led through the natural wilderness of Scotland and ended at Killin. There Izabela picked flowers from the reputed tomb of Fingal, a tribute that consciously acknowledged the potency of local oral traditions and legends in preserving cultural identity (il. 66).

(66) \textit{Fingal's tumulus}, by William Henry Pyne, watercolour, 1790, FKCz, XV-Rr.1916.

\textsuperscript{585} Andrews, \textit{The search}, 213-217; Thomas Pennant, \textit{A tour in Scotland}; (Warrington: Printed by W. Eyres, 1774), 81.
The cost of progress

Czartoryska followed the circuit traversed by tourists in search of Ossian, although some said that the Bard’s mythical presence had already disappeared, dispersed by human greed, taxation and enclosures. From then on the theme of economic transformations and their implications for ordinary people became dominant in Czartoryska’s reflections.

The expanses of gardens often necessitated the removal of vernacular incidentals and even, as in Stourhead and Castle Howard, whole villages. The traditional contact between the owner and tenants and villagers was visually affected and even eliminated, while the practice of enclosures, intensified in the 1780s and 1790s, eroded the rural system of support. When William Kent, in Horace Walpole’s words, ‘jumped over the garden fence and saw that all nature was a garden’, he left for the next generation the dilemma of the economic transformation taking place beyond the fence. One solution could be to erase local people from the painterly or literary imagery altogether. Another choice would involve turning social reality into an aesthetic quality; assimilate places of work into composed scenes. Enclosures marked with hedges and trees now signified an artificial division of landscape, which was particularly visible in Scotland. Tenants faced either

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resettlement in clearances or else, weighed down with higher rents and rise in the price of goods, introduction of machinery and cheap labour, migrated to towns. Theories of self reliance and the free market resulted in fields lying fallow and widespread rural poverty.

Nothing prepared Czartoryska for the sight of misery in Scotland. Her diary from this part of tour becomes a series of laconic notes: On 1 August: ‘we have arrived at Perth in the evening having travelled through a horrible countryside where misery reigns supreme’; on 2 August: ‘we passed through deserts and misery’; on 4 August: ‘we pass through a country made horrible by greed’.\(^589\) This barren landscape was anathema to Czartoryska. She was raised to take personal responsibility for the tens of thousands of serfs owned by her family. She also genuinely enjoyed interactions with peasants. If meeting poor peasants on the picturesque tour troubled some tourists, for her the encounters were an opportunity to return to her role as a benevolent mistress. When she met Scottish Highlanders on the road she joined them at their meal and even praised the simple food. Afterwards she listened to their Ossianic songs. Scotsmen appeared to her exceedingly hospitable and generous despite their hardships. They were also proud and loyal to the memory of their Catholic kings.\(^590\) The memories of hospitality lived on and years later she would write that she would choose Scotland for her country had she not had her own.\(^591\)

Her major problem in appreciating the English countryside lay in the fact that it was changing not only in agrarian terms, for in the landscape now appeared manufactures, forges and chemical factories. Tourists had to incorporate them within

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\(^589\) Whelan, ‘Czuła dusza’, 42.

\(^590\) Ibid.

\(^591\) ‘Katalog pamiątek złożonych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach’, BCz II-2917, vol. 1, 111. Gołębiowska, \(W kregu\), 70.
their aesthetic judgment. Izabela described the manufacturing processes with far greater precision than her accounts of gardens. At the beginning of her journey she had only words of admiration for industrial landscapes. They did not stand in opposition to natural ones; on the contrary, they enriched them. Around Halifax she saw ‘the most beautiful corner of the world: hills, plains, plantations, valleys. Numerous manufactures of textiles enrich the country’ (16 July). The next day she repeated: ‘from Halifax we go to Leeds. Again a beautiful countryside and plenty of factories.’ On 23 July once more: ‘on to Newcastle upon Tyne. Beautiful sights, excellent landscape, coal mines everywhere’. Here the natural countryside was at the same time the landscape of work and the aesthetics of seeing was certainly influenced by promise of economic benefit. Machines did not pose a threat at this stage; they increased the wealth of the country. She wrote from Birmingham to her daughter Maria on 26 June: ‘we made a tour of the factories. This is a charming thing and this is almost a miracle how much has been achieved by industry and mechanics’.

However, by the time she arrived at Coalbrookdale and Worsley Czartoryska was faced with the industrial devastation of nature and with inhuman conditions in the mines. Travelling further and seeing the poverty of Scotland she began to record difficult facts which underlay the picturesque imagery. Near Glasgow she was taken by the quaint sight of working women: ‘after dinner we went for a walk around the town through charming meadows and by embankments on the side of the river. The view is incomparable and embellished further by the three hundred women who

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593 I.Cz.to M.W., Birmingham, 26 June 1790, BCz 6137.
bleach linen there every day’ (11 August).\footnote{Whelan, ‘Czula dusza’, 43.} This image had a quality of a picture in which the women functioned as a decorative fragment enlivening the composition. There was no danger though that the primacy of formal aesthetics would lead to desensitization towards scenes of poverty or hardship.\footnote{See on this subject Orestano, ‘The Revd William Gilpin’, 174.} For Czartoryska the realities proved incontestable and in the next sentence she noted that wages were very low and the men stoking the fires for bleaching earned only three shillings a day. This followed to a more general conclusion that ‘in the main, where there are manufactures of wool and cotton the people are rich, and where they make luxury goods the people tend to be poor’ (21 August).\footnote{Ibid.} Similarly the miners of the Bridgewater canal earned only eighteen shillings a week and had to bring their own candles.

The stresses of industrialization were already manifesting themselves. Not only had the industrial process dehumanized its workers, but unethical sales of products tainted the idea of progress. In a letter to Adam Kazimierz, Izabela concluded that both urban and rural poverty resulted from excessive mechanization. She could support only moderate improvement: ‘excess in anything is dangerous. In our place, if we have no farmers the machines will bring nothing. I hope to have many things which would be useful for our country, especially in the manufacture of wool and cloth’.\footnote{Whelan, ‘Czula dusza’, 48. Partly quoted in Gołębiowska, W kręgu, 66.}
Taking stock of travels

Most importantly for this thesis, Izabela reaffirmed her preference for a well peopled rural landscape. In Poland wealth was measured by the number of hearths rather than acreage, so the sight of satisfied villagers in the fields reflected the thriving economy as well as good relationships between the lord and the serfs. In England the new productivity of the land imposed a disjunction between beauty and economy, but most importantly it severed that link of social coexistence. In November 1790 Czartoryska rejected wholesale the landscape practices indiscriminately: ‘I am strongly against the English countryside, it is beautiful but infinitely sad, and this because of extreme isolation. There is much planting and trees, but you will not see a living soul.’

There were certainly aesthetic gains from Czartoryska’s journey – the Mausoleum of Castle Howard became one of the unmistakable visual sources for the Temple of Sibyl at Puławy. The symbolic nature of the structure built for the recusant family, preserving and protecting their identity in a Protestant country, could not have been lost on Czartoryska, especially after Poland had been partitioned completely in 1795. More notes in the diary regard concepts to avoid rather than follow. She found Stowe’s monuments ‘mean’ or ‘indecent’, and she reassessed her attitude towards the neglected or ruinous pavilions that characterized Powązki. At Puławy she would build complete copies of the antique originals, the Temple of Sibyl and the Pantheon, while the only ruined structure, the triumphal arch, was erected in a polished and refined form in 1828. Landscape gardens confirmed to her the potential for visualizing a wide-ranging programme in a garden space. A small, one might


599 This view is shared by Zofia Gołębiowska, W kręgu, 120.
imagine, point of Izabela’s irritation by gardens closed to the public, might be seen as a lesson for Puławy, which was always open to the visitors.\textsuperscript{600}

Czartoryska hoped that after the tour they would return to Poland. Adam Jerzy was eager to join the Polish army.\textsuperscript{601} However in August 1790 Izabela received a categorical instruction from her husband to keep Adam Jerzy abroad, well away from the coming elections to the Sejm and from the impending war.\textsuperscript{602} Still, her activities after returning to London have the hallmark of tidying up their last engagements.

\textit{An eye for collections}

On 17 January 1791 Czartoryska finally managed to see Horace Walpole’s residence in Strawberry Hill (il. 67).\textsuperscript{603} Although her sister-in-law Izabela Lubomirska had twice breakfasted with Walpole in Strawberry Hill, Izabela Czartoryska had tried three times to gain admission and each time had been turned away.\textsuperscript{604}

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{600} Goldeney Hall was notoriously difficult to see and as such a subject of wide spread derision. Bray, \textit{Sketch of a tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire}, 256. R. Savage, ‘Natural history of the Goldney garden grotto, Clifton, Bristol’, \textit{GH}, 17 (1989), 1, 1-40. Batey and Lambert, \textit{The English garden tour}, 195-199.
\item \textsuperscript{601} A.J.Cz. to A.K.Cz., London, 4 May 1789, BCz 6032. I.Cz. to K.D., Liverpool, 6 July (1790), BCz 6107, no 16.
\item \textsuperscript{602} I.Cz. to K.D., no 19, August 1790, BCz 6107. These elections, held in November 1790, were to double the number of envoys, as the existing ones remained.
\item \textsuperscript{603} Soltys, \textit{Opat}, 126.
\item \textsuperscript{604} On Lubomirska dining with Walpole see H. Walpole to Conway, 17 June 1787, in Walpole, \textit{The Yale edition}, vol. 39, 447-448. For I.Cz.’s letter to Walpole dated 1791 see ibid., vol. 42, 307-308.
\end{itemize}
Making one last attempt, she wrote to Walpole, who in a doubly exceptional gesture allowed her to visit his place out of season and when he was not in residence. Czartoryska therefore was able to see the most important space there – the room of treasures, called variously by Walpole the Tribune (after the Tribune of the Medicis), the Chapel, or the Cabinet. In a quatrefoil vaulted space Walpole amassed paintings, drawings, sculptures, enamels and small objects of art – 362 of them in all (il. 68).  

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The space had a sacred feel - light filtered through large oriel windows and from above, through an alabaster star. In one of the niches to the right of the entrance Walpole placed a black semi-altar, where he kept most of his precious objects, available to only very select visitors for examination. Despite the bitter cold inside, Czartoryska spent an ‘exceedingly long time, inspecting every miniature, stained glass and thousands of trinkets’ to the annoyance of her companion, Primate
The house conveyed an extraordinarily tangible sense of history, brought to life not through any comprehensive or systematic reconstruction of any period, but through a myriad of separate imaginings of the past. Walpole’s construction could be seen as a space of many mental crossings. Each object, a window pane, an enamel or small statue involved a new personal journey. The discovery of an unlikely object in this place imaginatively transported the visitor to the time and place from where the object originated. Each acted as a temporal axis around which the history moved. People came to life and events re-enacted themselves, as in the cabinet of drawings in Castle Howard, where a visitor might converse with long dead kings. The most striking in Strawberry Hill was not the quality of objects, but the intention to provide an environment for reveries. The visitor’s responses gave meaning to the objects; the visitor was the main investigator of his own reactions. It was exactly the space in which Czartoryska could measure the impact of a fragmentary history on the visitor. The interior, both elegant and fragile, mediated between the desire for an exclusive taste and a refined appreciation of the past. It is difficult not to see a connection between Strawberry Hill and her own Gothic House, in the same personalized accumulation of incomplete histories and a sophisticated way of accessing their texts.

If Walpole gathered his objects of memory into a gothic frame, Garrick brought his into classical temple, a miniature Pantheon in his garden at Hampton (il. 69).

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606 Soltys, Opat, 126.

Czartoryska’s diary laconically records that she visited Hampton, which was about three quarters of an hour from Strawberry Hill and but a short ride from Pope’s garden at Twickenham. In his shrine to Shakespeare Garrick placed a statue of the playwright by sculptor Louis-François Roubiliac and surrounded it with many memorabilia, of which ‘Shakespeare’s chair’, made from the mulberry tree from New Place, took pride of place.

Czartoryska acquired her own, ‘real’ Shakespeare’s chair from Stratford, where it was inserted into the wall of the fireplace in the poet’s kitchen (il. 70). During her tour around England she visited Shekespeare’s house, where she sat in the famous chair for a long time lost in contemplation. This affected attitude made such
an impression on the owner, Mrs Heart, that subsequent visitors were treated to the anecdote as part of their tour.\textsuperscript{608}

(70) \textit{Kitchen of the House in which Shakespeare was born}, in: Samuel Ireland, \textit{Picturesque views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon}, (London: R. Faulder, 1795), (image in common domain).

Izabela attempted to purchase the chair, but an emotional display from a young girl, supposedly a distant descendant of Shakespeare’s, stopped her from buying it on the spot, but she left a handsome gratuity. Two months later she dispatched Orlowski to buy the chair for twenty guineas and to procure a certificate of authenticity from Mrs. Heart. Over the next twenty years that shrewd lady sold another sixteen of them.

\textsuperscript{608} Samuel Ireland, \textit{Picturesque views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon} (London: R. Faulder, T. Egerton, 1795), 189.
Czartoryska described the event in her Catalogue of the Gothic House at Puławy, and Samuel Ireland confirmed the story in 1795.609

Having delayed her departure, waiting for better weather in the Channel, Izabela finally made her farewells. She went to Middleton in December, while on 20 January 1791 the Polish minister in London, Franciszek Bukaty, hosted a reception in Czartoryska’s honour, and she presented all assembled with her portrait engraved by Testolini (il. 54).610 Two weeks later she went for the last time to Castle Howard.611 On the way back to Poland, she stayed in Paris where she met Abbé Jacques Delille.612 Delille, the ‘French Virgil’ established his reputation as the translator of Georgics (1770) and as the author of Les Jardins (1782). Czartoryska was his long-time correspondent and in time provided him with a description of Puławy, which Delille included in the second edition of Les Jardins in 1801.613 Izabela and Adam Jerzy returned to Poland in April.614

Czartoryska’s experience of Great Britain must have been a much more significant one than her two earlier visits. Even though Powązki came about as the

609 Ireland, Picturesque views, 189. The description of the highly emotional and alarming display of attachment to the chair by the young girl was published by Zdzisław Żygulski, ‘Shakespeare’s Chair’, 392-397.

610 I.Cz. to K.D., no 18, Manchester, 17 August (1790), BCz 6107.

611 The Times, 8 December, 31 December 1791. I thank Dr Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius for this information.

612 Soltys, Opat, 115-116.


614 Gołębiowska, W kręgu, 68.
result of the first two encounters, the third one has been rightly seen as inspirational for the rest of her life. She chose her English gardener, established a good source of exotics for her garden, started collecting historical memorabilia, experienced a large number of landscapes and gardens and developed a sharp ethical perspective through which to view economic developments. However, the reader of her persuasive acclamations on the superiority of free nature might be excused if he or she gained the impression that these would be guiding principles in Puławy. Instead, nature there would return to the archetype of the English rococo garden, the antithesis of both Brownian lawns and the Scottish Sublime.
Act V

Pulawy, 1786-1831
Scene I

Planting for the Golden Age

(71) Idyllic image of transporting a tree, by Maria Wirtemberska, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.511/5 recto.
According to generations of scholars, Puławy was not only romantic, vernacular, patriotic, thoroughly original and modern, but in all these qualifications it differed diametrically from Powązki. This chapter reconstructs the planting and compositional ideas of Puławy and in the process questions the difference between the two gardens. Firstly though, to understand the premise of the argument, which was so persuasive over more than a century it is necessary to shortly present the most enduring views.

(72) Puławy palace and gardens (Nowa Aleksandria), 1845 r., sygn 16. Archiwum Państwowe, Radom. No working plans by Savage have survived. This is the earliest preserved administrative plan of remodelled Puławy. Scale is provided in Russian measurements; in reality the length of the Lower Garden along the garden river Łacha equals 900m.
In 1954 Gerard Ciołek endorsed the 1887 pronouncements of Lucjan Dębicki on the intrinsically ‘Polish’ character of Puławy. Dębicki held that Czartoryska turned away from cosmopolitan tastes and their ‘rigid conventional forms, instead she recognized the vitality of the [national] past, the [vigour] of tradition and the [beauty] of the vernacular environment (...). By breaking with one school and style and moving towards the new form she exceeded her time’. 615 According to Ciołek, this essential novelty lay in the two-tier composition, an internal one in the Upper Garden and an external one, opening wide-ranging views onto the arable fields, villages and the hilly retreat called Parchatka. Unlike Powązki – one of those ‘sentimental and mawkish idylls’ – Puławy offered ‘romantic, serious and monumental landscape design, where the Sibyl from Arkadia [the garden of Helena Radziwiłł] gives way to the Spartan mother’. 616 Ciołek concluded that Czartoryska was ‘less puritanical’ in her practice than she claimed in her book and so the baroque elements of axial avenues and the cour d’honneur did not enter the ‘experimental’ process of design.

Janusz Bogdanowski attempted a more developed definition of a romantic park. He distinguished it from what he called the arcadian park, that is, the French rendition of the jardin anglo-chinois. According to Bogdanowski the environment of a romantic park presents an active stance, where it is possible to draw from the national history ‘an encouragement to action, an impulse to oppose the drama of the partitions and the loss of independence’. Arcadian park, in contrast, embodies a passive attitude of a classical idyll. 617 As an example of this distinction Bogdanowski cited the examples of the Gothic House in Puławy and the Temple of Diana in

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615 Ciołek, Ogrody, 159.

616 Ibid.

Arkadia. For him, (neo)gothic architecture was the key to the visual and literary associations, and so the ‘gothic’ literature of Horace Walpole should be seen as a parallel development to the poetry of Polish romantic bards, Juliusz Słowacki, Adam Mickiewicz and Zygmunt Krasiński. The classical Temple of Sibyl in Puławy, although not gothic, fulfils the associative romantic function as it contains national historical artefacts.\footnote{Ibid, 131.} The romantic park is ‘a mirror of history’, and so the vernacular nature emphasises the park’s connection to local and national history. Bogdanowski further distinguishes three types of a romantic park in Poland: the Polish, the English and the arcadian.

The Polish type presents a direct connection with national history with its central historicizing or memorializing pavilion, while its natural layout may well include eighteenth-century elements of the *jardin anglo-chinois* as well as purely naturalistic composition. This is the style he attributes to Puławy.

The English romantic park differs only in the lack of historical pavilions.

The third type, the arcadian park contains historical markers but its layout is a simplified composition of the French *jardin anglo-chinois*.\footnote{Ibid, 131-135.}

The consequence of this system is that the rise of the romantic park, according to Bogdanowski, begins as early as the first landscape gardens in Poland created by Szymon Bogumił Zug, but Powązki is excused from the group. The type incorporates a variety of design and continues until the late nineteenth century in three subsequent phases.

Another scholar Alina Aleksandrowicz assigns Puławy to a pre-romantic category. She considers Puławy a design that singularly respects the existing
configurations of land and its living nature, especially trees. Mature trees – the ‘temples of nature’ rule the space, making Puławy an ‘arboreal garden’. Not only the venerable trees elicit emotional responses, as is evident in Czartoryska’s writings all nature is ‘freed from the rigours of proportion and order’, ‘boundless’, and the garden and the landscape are one. The historicizing component is omnipresent: the association of free nature with national freedom makes Puławy the gardens of liberty. Aleksandrowicz proposes the name ‘Sibylline gardens’ as she considers the meaningful sphere to be their defining aspect. At the same time she interprets the divergent characters of the pleasure grounds, arable fields and villages as representing ‘different sides of disharmonious reality’.

All these scholars consider Puławy as thoroughly modern and ahead of its time. Bogdanowski sees its modernity not only in the introduction of the patriotic theme, but also in the shifting of an accent onto the views of the distant hills, pastures and ruined castles from the monumental architecture of the Temple of Sibyl in the Upper Garden. The vernacular quality of the design of Puławy is explained as drawing on the typically Polish delight in unmediated nature as expressed in poetry since the fifteenth century.

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620 Alina Aleksandrowicz, ‘Puławskie ogrody jako królestwo drzew (wybrane zagadnienia)’, in Ogród puławski w czasach księży Izabeli, 1, 18-35.

621 Ibid, 25. Czartoryska wrote to Jacques Delille in 1800 that the principal adornments of Puławy were the trees Delille included Czartoryska’s description of Puławy in his second edition of Les jardins, ou, L’art d’embellir les paysages: poëme (Paris: Levroult, 1801).


623 Bogdanowski, Polskie ogrody, 135.

624 Janusz Bogdanowski, „Myśli różne” i czyny Izabeli ks. Czartoryskiej w przekształcaniu ogrodu puławskiego na wzór „angielski”, in Ogród puławski w czasach księży Izabeli, 6-17, (6-9).
Thus the romantic design of Puławy has been fully implicated in the patriotic validation of the activities of its owner and her emotional affinity with nature, while formally it displays the romantic distant panoramas and strong contrasts of different spaces.

In my view, however, this abstract and axiomatically ideological approach misses essential qualities of the design and misconstrues the intended interactions between visitors and the gardens. Furthermore, it is misleading to present Puławy purely from a post-partition perspective, as solely ‘Sibylline’ gardens. It is important to appreciate that the design and planting of the garden began at a far more optimistic moment in Polish history, when the Czartoryskis were reaching for leadership one more time.

‘We are all with the Englishman now’

Puławy had been in the Czartoryskis’ possession since 1731, when Maria Zofia, the wife of August Czartoryski, brought it into the family. She inherited it from her mother Elżbieta Sieniawska, who had herself taken over from her father, Stanisław Hieronim Lubomirski. All these strong personalities had gardened at Puławy. Maria Zofia Czartoryska hoped that Izabela would continue her gardening work: ‘Let Puławy go to Izabela, she will not neglect what I have with such care adorned and perhaps she will embellish it further in my memory.’

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626 Gołębiowska, Oświata i wychowanie, 15. Izabela and Maria Wirtemberska did cultivate the memory of ‘the great mother’ but only in a secluded, dedicated space, I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy (to Pilica), 30 October 1823, BCz 6141.
Izabela Czartoryska inherited an old regular garden with ageing trees. The plans of the estate show it incorporating the baroque palace, the village of Puławy to the north, gardens to the south and an axial double-planted avenue that stretched eleven kilometres (il. 73). The palace made the most of its advantageous position on the high promontory of the right bank of Vistula, with extensive views onto the wide, slow-moving river. The Upper Garden was shaped into terraces on different levels, adorned with bowers, boxed alcoves, radiating hedges, fountains, pavilions and an open-air theatre. Below lay the narrow Lower Garden with fountains and grottoes cut into the escarpment. Visually the garden extended across the river Łacha onto the arable island called Kępa. The Upper and Lower Gardens connected to the south with a

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627 It is a copy of an earlier Plan of Puławy, by F. S. Deybel, watercolour, 1760, Muzeum Czartoryskich, Gabinet Rycin, Cracow, XV-Rr.477.
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Adam Kazimierz and Izabela extended the palace, added a double staircase to the front and joined the outbuildings with the main building to provide a frame for the avant cour and the cour d’honneur (il. 74). They did not however entirely erase old architectural features nor did they fill the old moat. The residence consciously retained associations with the ‘Sarmatian’ past while it also proclaimed the modernity of its inhabitants.

Before engaging the Englishman James Savage as head gardener, Izabela made some piecemeal improvements and localized embellishments. In January 1786 she made preparations for plantations, created a new garden path leading to her
apartments, erected a bridge over the Łacha, made several hermitages and ‘here and there’ placed stones with inscriptions (il. 75).628

(75) Avenue in the Lower Garden in Puławy, by Emma Potocka, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.27.

In May 1786 she levelled the grounds nearest the palace, planted ‘thousands of trees and masses of flowers’, tidied up the Elysian Fields – the wilderness – and established Parchatka, a retreat in the hills bordering the Vistula, a short distance from Puławy (il. 76).629

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628 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 25 January (1786), BCz 6137.
629 I.Cz. to Konstancja Dembowska., no 2, 26 May (1786), no 3, 8 May (1786), BCz 6107, ff. 4, 5-6.
(76) Parchatka near Puławy, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.1.

The first garden pavilion was built in 1788 by the palace architect Chrystian Piotr Aigner. This was the Domek Grecki [the Greek House] that doubled as an orangery (il. 77).\textsuperscript{630} It was used for entertainments while the adjoining horticultural gardens added utility.\textsuperscript{631}

\textsuperscript{630} Aigner is regarded as the architect of the main structures, while Joachim Hempel (d. 1810), who had been engaged since 1783, directed building works and took charge of all other buildings in the estate. Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, ‘Puławy w okresie klasyzmu’, in Puławy, ed. Lorentz, 64-86 (67).

\textsuperscript{631} Ibid., 68.
Above the entrance to the orangery, a modified verse from Virgil’s *Eclogue IV* announced the delights of rural gardening: *Hic omnes arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae* [Orchards and humble tamarisks give delight to all]. But the quotation may be read in the context of the whole Eclogue. The poem opens with Cumaean Sibyl foretelling the coming of the Golden Age, the new era in the cyclical turn of the four ages: the Golden, the Silver, the Bronze and the Iron Age. In the new era Justice will return, the golden race will take over the land, there will be no more work and toil. In this perspective Puławy was the site for the coming of the Golden Age, a hopeful change from the didactic musing on the fall of Rome in Powązki while continuing the promise of pastoral life. In a way that first Puławy Greek temple to flowers continued the Powązki ethos. We need to read the changes introduced by Savage within this ethos of the Virgilian new era, twelve years before the new symbolic temple would
rise at the other end of the connecting avenue. The political optimism the Czartoryskis entertained before the sejm of 1788 was transferred onto the space of the garden.

Savage arrived in Puławy in July 1790 and set out to work. While Izabela’s attention was engaged with fêtes and pageants during 1791, Savage ripped, cut, levelled and dug. He ‘turned the garden upside down’, took out old poplars, limes, cut down hedges, dug the ground and shifted earth. The poet Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin watched the dramatic changes and recorded them in his comic opera Trzy Gody [Three weddings] 1790-1792. By 1792 the grounds resembled a gardener’s battlefield. Savage’s ideas brought alarm and dismay, the relegated ‘German’ head gardener known only as Popp expected disastrous results from the newcomer. Instead, as Kniaźnin wrote, Savage’s improvements surprised everyone. The cleared areas revealed wide views onto the Vistula, the surrounding villages and towns. The garden suddenly changed into a variety of spaces, each inviting curiosity and rewarding with pleasure, delighting with changes of shadows, colours and reflections of water. No longer did the natural ‘miracles of beauty’, as Kniaźnin called them, shelter behind enclosed hedges, they now looked out onto the surrounding fields, waters and forests (il. 78).

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632 Zofia Gołębiowska brought the poem to attention and connected it with Puławy, in eadem, W kręgu, 125. Dzieła Franciszka Dyonizego Kniaźnina (Warsaw: F. S. Dmochowski, 1828), 71-149.
Jan, one of the characters of Kniaźnin’s opera, expressed the general approbation of Savage’s work: ‘we are all with the Englishman now’. Although a peasant, Jan understood the need to remove old trees. He explained that the point of creating a garden lies in exposing the individual characters of oaks, poplars or ‘smiling birches’, and that here Savage allowed the trees to ‘come out to freedom’. The cost and labour involved in the liberation of nature were, as he said, entirely justified.\[^{633}\] The great gardens of Maria Zofia Czartoryska were completely remodelled. Izabela had in general no sympathy for regular compositions: ‘ugly gardens’ she called them, ‘costly and boring, full of mistakes, sad, indifferent, always the same in all hours of the day and in all seasons, a triumph of the convention over

\[^{633}\] Dziela Franciszka Dyonizego Kniaźnina, 88-90.
natural preference. Radical measures were needed to let nature in, trees clipped for generations were only suitable for ‘replanting into the fireplace’. Even mature trees, if they unbalanced the natural flow of the views, had to be removed. The overall design took precedence over the single specimens.

Savage was by no means the first foreigner, or indeed Englishman, at the Puławy estate, but he was unique in that he had to deal with a large number of local people, gardeners and hired hands. We can conclude that Savage established a good rapport, both with his staff and with Czartoryska, who developed a great respect for him. Over the years no complaints were filed against him, in contrast to his successor, Jakub Filip Heinz, who was said to have beaten and maimed his workers without cause. Izabela approved of nearly all Savage’s planting schemes. Only once in his twenty-five years’ service did she lament that he had ruined her favourite passage through the Wild Promenade, but, she wrote: ‘because that thing can no longer be made good, I will not talk about it anymore’. Not surprisingly, at the end of Savage’s contract in 1793 Czartoryska offered him another six-year engagement, and after that Savage decided to settle in Puławy permanently.

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634 Izabela Czartoryska, Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów (Wrocław: Wilhelm Bogumił Korn, 1805), IV-VII.
635 Czartoryska, Myśli, 4.
636 Gołębiowska, W kregu, writes extensively on English residents and guests at Puławy. The palace was furnished with a large number of objects from England, imported by the Czartoryskis or purchased in Warsaw at a Jewish dealer. Ibid., 124.
637 Savage’s entitlements record the Czartoryski Archives, Teka Dwór, 1792, BCz 6027. BCz Ew. 480. Gosp.1509 IV. Etat 1793 Roku, BCz n.n. See also Gołębiowska, W kregu, 87.
638 Ibid., 89.
639 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy 26 April 1815, I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy 28 April 1815, BCz 6140.
640 ‘Ogród Puławski, Contrat Entre S.A. le Prince Adam Czartoryski General de Podolie et le Sr. Jacques Savage’. Signed in Sieniawa, 26 November 1793 (text in French and in Polish, with a copy), BCz 6027.
receive 70 pounds per annum, with a guaranteed bonus of 50 zlotys. He managed all the gardens belonging to the estate and all gardeners and hands reported to him. He was to embellish and keep order in the market gardens, introduce different varieties of fruit trees and take charge of the weeding hands. He cast his designer’s eye across the countryside and planted roads and streets leading to different villages (il. 79).

(79) Road to Kazimierz with three crosses on the hill and the castle tower in the distance, by Armand Cassagne after Barbara Czernoff, lithography, FKCz, R.13.484a/24.

He was also permitted to take ‘the fifth or the sixth part’ of the propagated exotics for himself, after informing the Princess about what he had chosen. How much Savage was actually able to do during his first years, before Puławy and the

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641 He married Margaret Bingham, had two children and settled in the house the Czartoryskis specially obtained for him in 1805. His children were Elżbieta Zofia, born in 1804, and Jakub Karol Jan, who was born in 1810 but died six years later. Gołębiowska, W kręgu, 87.
garden were twice severely damaged during military operations in 1792 and 1794, is not known, but in 1797, a year after the Czartoryskis returned to their ruined Puławy, the garden was already ‘incomparably beautiful’ (il. 80).\textsuperscript{642}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image80}
\caption{The palace gothic orangery with the entrance to the garden, view from inside of the Upper Garden. Czartoryska’s own private garden is to the far left, beside her apartments, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.19.}
\end{figure}

For all his dramatic improvements, Savage worked within the general structure of the original design. The straight avenues, around which he introduced profuse planting, are still discernible today, as are the different levels of original parterres. The old bower was still in place in 1804 (il. 81). Czartoryska endorsed these cost-effective measures in her book.

\textsuperscript{642} According to one visitor, Krystyna Potocka, quoted after Gołębiowska, \textit{W kręgu}, 129.
Savage deserves more credit than he has received. Puławy should be seen as the fortuitous coming together of two complementary visual imaginations. Unfortunately nothing is known of his previous experience in design, but he managed to transform Puławy in a remarkable manner. Not only did Savage ‘free the trees’ and concentrate on presenting single specimens of exotics in spaces of their own, he filled the cleared areas with the new hallmark of Czartoryska’s gardens – large clumps, ordered compositions combining trees, shrubs and flowers in a pyramidal succession. They were later drawn and published in Izabela’s book Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów [Various Thoughts on the Manner of Laying out Gardens]. Czartoryska began writing Myśli in 1801 with the support of her family and friends.
In 1805 the finished work was published by Wilhelm Korn of Breslau (Wrocław), who was known for his high quality output, with good paper and beautiful type. In 1807 he issued a luxury edition with hand-coloured plates and in 1808 printed the third edition. Czartoryska asked Jan Zachariasz Frey to engrave the illustrations.

(82) Title page, Izabela Czartoryska, Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów, 1808, (image in common domain).

Frey studied with Benjamin West in London, but his illustrations to Myśli and his separate views of Puławy are indebted in composition and style not to West but to that father of British picturesque topography, Paul Sandby. In Frey’s views clumps

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643 ‘My husband is convinced that the book is both good and full of charm’, Czartoryska, Listy księży Izabelli, 51.
gave a garden an appearance of a botanical collection rather than the space commonly associated with an English park (il. 83).


**Clumps**

A clump – *klómb* – Czartoryska explained in her book, was an English word, used to describe a group of trees planted together. Even though she briefly discussed the planting of woody clumps, far greater attention was devoted to arrangements combining both trees and flowers.\(^{644}\) She provided two detailed diagrams for clumps and as many as five views showing clumps for large spaces, for small gardens, for villages, for those who had only native plants and for those with access to exotics.

\(^{644}\) The chapter on clumps comprises two sections on creating two clumps from vernacular plants, two sections on exotics, a mixed clump, a different clump, a clump made with poplars with a tomb, a clump out of shrubs, out of trees, near the wall or houses, on laying out paths around clumps and climbers suitable for clumps. Czartoryska, *Myśli*, 12-32.
Clumps were clearly the underlying principle of the planting at Puławy, noticeably marked on the plan of 1845, where the Upper Garden is filled by oval or elongated clumps (il. 84).  

When Woronicz wrote in 1811 his long poem ‘Puławy’, he described not a park based on arrangements of trees, but on clumps. They were graduated into ‘a thousand levels’. Paths winding among them allowed for multitude of new and

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645 Gołębiewska, W kręgu, il.14.
surprising views. The principle of constant change, the progress from one view to another arrested by the admiration of horticultural details was part of the essential theatricality of the garden (il. 85).

(85) Clumps for a small garden made out of trees and shrubs, by Jan Frey in: Izabela Czartoryska, Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów, 1805, (image in common domain).

The clumps invited a passer-by to investigate their beauty in close proximity. Each plant was accessible to the touch and smell in an emotional and personal way. Czartoryska even involved her family and friends in the design of the clumps. Adam Jerzy drew a sketch of a tree-based clump (il. 86), while Magdalena Morska, a neighbour from Zarzecze, provided a detailed drawing of the colour scheme for a flower clump (il. 87).

646 Jan Paweł Woronicz, Sybilla. Poema historyczne we czterech pieśniach (Lwów: W. Niehylski, 1818).

647 Izabela wrote to Adam Jerzy to Italy with instructions on the drawing in early 1800, in: Czartoryska, Listy księży Izabell, 48.
(86) *Ornamental clump*, by Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.108.

The large scale of the clumps in Puławy spoke of the privileged status of the garden. Their displays dazzled with new varieties and the blossom of shrubs and flowers from spring to autumn. If thirty trees, as shown in Czartoryska’s arrangements, make a substantial group and in practice constitute a large mass, we need to remember that each of the trees was of a different variety, with contrasting textures, colours and forms, all offering an opportunity for botanical classification. Apart from being an organizing principle, the clumps engendered a scientific approach. Her catalogue of plants directed the manner of thinking about the private garden collection (il. 88).

(88) Catalogue of plants, in Izabela Czartoryska, Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów, 1805, (image in common domain).

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648 Czartoryska, Myśli, 14.
Czartoryska took instruction from the greatest authority in Poland, Reverend Stanisław Bogumił Jundziłł (1761-1847), professor of botany at Vilna University who met Czartoryska in Vienna. Most of her knowledge, however, she ‘acquired in practice’. Izabela praised Adam Jerzy in 1800 for learning botany and was exceptionally proud of her husband for experimenting with Primula auriculata. Adam Kazimierz continued to acquire English gardening books for his library.

Czartoryska was pleased with her family sharing in her interests for a good reason. By 1800 botany had established itself as part of the rational understanding of the world. Primula auriculata has been for a long time a symbol of scientific intervention into the world of nature, the power of man to manipulate the genetic material. It was also at the centre of the new aesthetics of display, in the ‘theatres’ – rising benches for individual exhibits. Among the very few preserved drawings in

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650 Czartoryska, Listy księżnej Izabelli, 64. For A.K. Cz. see I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., Puławy, 24 May 1815, BCz 6030, f. 221.

651 Ibid.


654 Mark Laird, The flowering, 204-207.
Czartoryska’s hand, one shows a potted *Primula auriculata* (il. 89). Izabela left also a drawing of her favourite Weymouth pines (il. 90).

(89) *Primula in a pot*, by Izabela Czartoryska, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.5181.

(90) *Study of the Weymouth pines*, by Izabela Czartoryska, pencil on paper, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.5184.

Rousseau’s *Lettres sur la botanique*, written in 1771-1773, and published

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posthumously in his collected works in 1782, urged the reader to walk the environs and learn from ‘the book of nature’. In the manner he advocated Czartoryska taught her youngest charge in Puławy, Zofia Matuszewicz, and gave her instruction in botany in her little garden (il. 91).

(91) A view of Izabela Czartoryska’s private garden with an altar and a commemorative stone Bogu za moje dzieci [To God for my children], Waclaw Potocki, sepia, ‘Album z widokami Puław’, Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw.

But even here the emotional imperative was present. The garden itself was a

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656 The Lettres achieved great popularity especially after Pierre Joseph Redouté added sixty-five colour plates to the 1805 edition, which since has been known as La Botanique. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, La Botanique de J. J. Rousseau, ornée de soixante-cinq planches, imprimées en couleurs d’après les peintures de P. J. Redouté (Paris, 1805).


658 It is not surprising that Czartoryska left a tribute to the founder of the system, Linnaeus, in her Great Catalogue to the Gothic House, emphasising his patriotism and his charitable nature at least as much as his scientific agreements. I.Cz., ‘Portret Linneusza’, ‘Katalog Domu Gotyckiego’, BCz II-2917, vol. 2, f.527.
gift of gratitude, as a stone inscription announced: *To God for my children.*

By 1805 botany as an activity involved in scientific dissemination and rituals of generosity spread to the far provinces of the former Commonwealth. When Czartoryska travelled east on her survey of lands she sought out the botanist Waclaw Boreyko of Samostrzel in Volhynia, a noble of modest means, who proudly showed off his daughters: ‘the eldest among them was no more than ten years old and they knew all the names, characteristics and provenance of all plants’. 659 If his collection connected him to the intellectual developments in Europe, for Czartoryska his most admirable quality remained his hospitality and generosity, with which he presented her with a large number of the choicest specimens. Similarly Czartoryska gave generously to her family, her neighbours, peasants and administration of Lublin for planting a public park there. 660

In this context the scientific and emotional format of clumps in Puławy seemed to have answered a variety of expectations. Moreover, as Czartoryska claimed, it was practical and could incorporate the practical necessities of a small estate. Izabela published in *Myśli* her own plan for the use of clumps in garden at Pożóg, an estate she rented out to Konstancja Dembowska (il. 92). In this plan she illustrated the practicality of ornamental planting within the traditional layout of a small Polish estate, which included a straight, planted approach avenue and a circular walk around a green. 661

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659 I.Cz., ‘Mémoires et écrits divers’, p. 97, BCz 6067. I.Cz. to Konstancja Dembowska, Połonna, 26 August (1805), BCz 6107, no 45, p.96.

660 Teka ‘Ogród Puławski’, BCz 6027. I.Cz. to M.W., 30 September 1823, BCz 6141.

661 Janusz Bogdanowski sees in it a futuristic design characteristic of later developments in his ‘Myśli róże’, 12. Czartoryska praised Dembowska in her book for enriching the garden through
The aesthetics of clumps, which Savage was so skilled in implementing, came from the longstanding, even pre-seventeenth century English horticultural practice of arranging plants in a pyramidal composition. The most famous of gardens combining trees and flowers into clumps was the flower garden at Nuneham Courtenay, near Abingdon in Oxfordshire, the work of William Mason for Lord Harcourt (il. 93, 94).
View of the garden at Nuneham Courtney from the Temple of Flora towards the statue of Hebe, The Copperplate magazine or monthly treasure for the admirers of the imitative art, (1778), (image in common domain).

View of the Flower Garden at Nuneham, from the Temple of Flora to the Statue of Hebe, William Wittes after Paul Sandby, 1777, in A collection of one hundred and fifty views in England, Scotland and Ireland, pl. 46. AN902476001 © The Trustees of the British Museum.
Although there is no mention of either Czartoryska or Savage visiting Nuneham, the information about the garden was widely disseminated. Mason published precise instructions on compositions of flowery clumps and Sandby popularized Nuneham Courtenay through his celebrated prints. Two of them are strikingly similar to Jan Frey’s illustrations for Czartoryska’s *Myśli*.  

(95) *View of the New Church at Nuneham in Oxfordshire/The Virtuosi’s Museum*, James Fittler after Paul Sandby, 1780. AN1047018001 © The Trustees of the British Museum.

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Sandby’s views, printed collectively in 1778, contained a view of the Temple Church at Nuneham, built by James ‘Athenian’ Stuart (il. 95). As was the case with the church at Pulawy, the Pantheon combined classical references with Christian symbolism. Nuneham promoted to an unusual degree the emotional engagement of visitors with the place, a theme which Mason developed in his description of the garden in Book IV of his The English garden. Nuneham drew extensively on the ideas of virtue and pleasure straight from the pages of La Nouvelle Héloïse. Flower clumps were particularly advantageous to visualize the ideas Rousseau had in mind when he wrote of Julie’s Elysium in Claresns. One of the lines from the novel greeted the visitor at the entrance at Nuneham and Rousseau’s bust visualized the spiritual presence of the philosopher. Rousseau himself signalled his approbation for the flower garden; he also presented Harcourt with the set of original Héloïse illustrations.

It is worth mentioning that Mason designed also another feature at Nuneham, the Brown’s Walk, where natural ‘peepholes’ opened views onto the river. This device proved so successful that in the 1780s he repeated the design as the Stromboli Walk in Middleton Park, the estate of Czartoryska’s friend Frances Jersey.

The motif of clumps came, therefore, to Poland with an established viewing mode, especially if we consider that it was also favoured by that great friend of both

665 The Copperplate magazine or monthly treasure for the admirers of the imitative art (1778), n.p.
667 See an extensive analysis in Laird, The flowering, 350-360.
Mason and Lord Harcourt, Horace Walpole himself. The garden at Strawberry Hill took much from Nuneham Courtney: its plant material, its flowery arrangements in clumps and even its gardener. Walpole had honeysuckles trailing in garlands from trees and strongly contrasting planting in clumps. His garden was to be an antithesis of gothic gloom and he enjoyed himself there with pastoral music hidden in the woods or in the cloister. Czartoryska endorsed and illustrated in her book that same composition of a larch and a weeping willow preferred by Walpole.

(96) *The fountain of the god Pan in Puławy*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.3.

Clumps in Puławy, however, were only rarely the centrepoint of painted and engraved views, a fact that has contributed to the understanding of Puławy as an English landscape park. Norblin’s drawings privilege large open spaces – airy lawns sparsely planted with tall young trees and solitary specimens. Where Norblin did paint clumps,

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671 Ibid.
he situated them in an enclosed private area, such as around the fountain of the god Pan, and bordered them with potted plants (il. 96, 97, 98).

(97)  *A clump by the wooden bridge in Pulawy*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.6.

In the 1790s Puławy was an airy and spacious young garden, straight from the vocabulary of the English flower and horticultural practice. However, Charles Burnett, who saw Puławy in 1806, dismissed the grounds as lacking any picturesque beauty. Burnett admired Adam Kazimierz for his excellent command of English and his regard for Swift, Addison, Steele and ‘those men’, but he thought the gardens were only ‘susceptible of being converted into a sort of Kensington Garden. The vistas perhaps may be omitted to advantage’. In Poland, whose landscape he considered devoid of natural beauty - the spectator must be embowered in shady groves and deep forests to enjoy the face of nature; and the imagination alone must be
permitted to excurse into the environs, which may then by happily decked with fancied beauty and romantic embellishment.672

(98) *Mature garden with the view towards the Greek House in Puławy*, by Armand Cassagne after Barbara Czernof, coloured lithography, FKCz, XV-R.13.484a/12.

This opinion was certainly at odds with the continuing in England popularity of flower gardening, as Mark Laird and John Harvey have established.673 Nevertheless, Burnett’s poor opinion of Puławy was disseminated to the English audience through the works of John Claudius Loudon, the leading authority on gardening matters (il. 99).

672 Burnett, *View*, 198.

673 Cf. Laird and Harvey, ‘Our equally favorite hobby horse’.

Loudon made a journey across Europe as far as St Petersburg, arrived in Warsaw in 1813, but fell ill there and never reached Puławy. Without seeing it, he criticized Czartoryska’s clumps and the Polish fashion for them: ‘detached clumps are more frequent in these gardens than would be admitted by a good taste in England (…). Thus, clumps in Poland may be as much esteemed as groups are in England, on the same principle that, in a wild country, butcher-meat is more esteemed than game, because the latter is the common food’.

Nevertheless, the clumps quickly spread around Poland, especially to those estates connected socially with the Czartoryskis, precisely as a mark of the Englishness of the design. It is clear from the above analysis that the grounds of the Puławy gardens were organized not, as the previous scholars have maintained, along
the notion of free nature, kingdom of trees and boundless views. The principle was rather planting in clumps. These invited passers-by to form individual relationships with the trees, shrubs and flowers. The clumps parted their curtains to reveal endlessly new views and the mood must have been cheerful and engaging, as Czartoryska often wrote of her garden. This was an ornamental space in every sense; not only in the pleasure grounds but everywhere where the clumps were planted, in the villages, in small and large estates, and in any place where a Rousseauesque sensibility was invoked. It is not difficult to see why this type of planting offered by Savage was so enthusiastically embraced by Izabela. It provided a unified solution to the piecemeal ideas she had already tried at Powązki. Her little green interiors there combined a variety of shrubs, flowers and trees and encouraged an emotional encounter with them. A contemporary visitor to both gardens, Stanisław Kostka Potocki, who was one of Poland’s foremost authorities on aesthetics, thought that the difference between Powązki and Puławy lay not in the planting, but in the nature of architectural structures, which made Puławy ‘grand and magnificent’ in contrast to ‘pleasant’ Powązki.674 It may come as a surprise that the Puławy pleasure grounds stretched over only 20 hectares within the boundaries of the Upper and the Lower Gardens and the wilderness, less than half the area of the 50 hectares of pleasure grounds at Powązki.675 Only by including other green spaces – the farms at Żulinki and Mokratki together with the adjoining palace of Marynki (30 hectares), the arable ground of Kępa (300 hectares) and woods and villages of Włostowice, Parchatka and Bochotnica (300 hectares) did the designed spaces comprise an impressive 650

674 Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Pochwały, mowy i rozprawy (Warsaw: Zawadzki i Węcki, 1816), vol. 2, 661-662.

675 The calculations were made by Michał Strzemski, quoted by Alina Aleksandrowicz, ‘Z symboliki puławskich przestrzeni ogrodowych’, in Ogród Puławski, 22-29.
hectares. The garden at Puławy was designed as a progression of spaces, of views opening onto the wide countryside, but it is and feels, quite small.

It is understandable then that the garden which sported the aesthetics of the 1770s would be out of fashion by the time romanticism was in full force. No wonder that the Polish romantics preferred in 1820s the evocative Zofiówka park in the Ukraine, an essay in the Sublime configuration of boulders. Puławy had begun as a sequel to the sentimental Powązki, with its views onto the countryside, inclusion of arable fields and village settlements, a Golden Age rising from the ruins of Rome. W. H. Clark’s recollections from his travels around Poland in 1862-63 underline the point. Clark classified Puławy as a jardin anglais, resembling an old-fashioned wilderness: ‘This was the garden of our ancestors, charming and decorative’. ⁶⁷⁶

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Scene II

Fields of Virtue 1791-1795
While Savage planted the garden Czartoryska was again preoccupied with political matters. On the wave of enthusiasm that followed the proclamation of the Constitution of 3 May 1791, she staged a great spectacle at Puławy. In June 1791 the sejm ordained manoeuvres for the newly expanded army of the Commonwealth. One of the three divisions, that of the Province of Little Poland (Małopolska), exercised for four weeks at Gołąb on the Vistula, only ten kilometres north of Puławy. Besides its topographical advantages, Gołąb was symbolically important – a Polish force, led by Stefan Czarniecki, had won a victory here over the Swedes in 1655. The Czartoryskis had just purchased command of the division for their son-in-law Ludwig von Württemberg and with the manoeuvres at their doostep the Czartoryskis seized the opportunity to perform their role as the Commonwealth’s leading patriots and place themselves again in the continuum of Polish victorious history.

_Citizens bring poems and garlands for the knights_

Izabela arranged the reception of the 5000-strong detachment of cavalry and infantry as they arrived in Gołąb. On 12 September 1791 she walked out to greet them leading a large crowd of ladies and notable citizens from Warsaw. With enthusiastic displays of ‘joy, admiration and gratitude’ the crowds welcomed the troops by handing them poetic verses written for the occasion by Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin and other, anonymous authors from the Puławy circle.\(^{677}\) The poems, styled as Ossianic revelations, addressed the soldiers as a newly resurrected generation of knights.\(^ {678}\)

\(^{677}\) Aleksandrowicz, _Różne drogi_, 78-88. The analysis of poetic output during the Gołąb manoeuvres was previously published in eadem, ‘Sejm Czteroletni’, 227-242.

\(^{678}\) On the cult of Ossian in Puławy see Aleksandrowicz, ‘Nie czas napelniać konchy’. 
Through the verses, the ‘holy ashes’ of the Gołąb battlefield radiated to the young soldiers the strength and the heroic virtues of the warriors of old, from Czarniecki all the way back to the medieval king Władysław II Jagiełło (Jogaila). The historical allusions to the ancestral lineage of the Czartoryskis have now materialized in the person of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, who served in the Little Poland division. His presence at Gołąb visibly accentuated the family’s continuum in Poland’s martial history. In the uplifting atmosphere of rattling armour, drum beats and military splendour Izabela brought the fervent salutations to a point with the song *Hej hej rycerze* [Welcome to the knights] which she had written and composed herself.679 The daughters Maria and Zofia accompanied her and led the choir of ‘the most beautiful young women in the neighbourhood’ in support of their heroes.680 Czartoryska styled her female line as the main force mobilizing Polish women in the newly emerging ideal of a sacrifice for the country, and to that end she and her daughters wore the costumes of camp followers. The celebrations continued for three days. Afterwards, between 15 and 17 September the troops took part in a solemn and uplifting ceremony which included a field Mass, the blessing of the standards and a patriotic oration by the notable pedagogue and parish priest, Grzegorz Piramowicz.681 Next Czartoryska treated them to a performance of *Matka Spartanka*. The work had never been staged in Warsaw, but now the whole division and the invited guests from Warsaw – the symbolically assembled and united nation – received her in the title role, taking a suit

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681 Piramowicz, the key figure in the Commission for National Education’s Society for Textbooks, had been presented to the nearby parishes of Kurów and Końskowola by the Czartoryskis.
of Greek armour from the hands of the choir of elders and handing it to Likanor, who was played, again, by Adam Jerzy. She was the one who spurred Likanor to battle in his moment of weakness and so she was responsible for his victory. The message could not be clearer; Czartoryska as a mother was the driving force urging the sons of the nation to preserve the country’s liberty, and demanding either victory or sacrifice. The events made a great impression on the public and were reported in detail in the Warsaw newspaper *Gazeta Narodowa i Obca* [National and Foreign Gazette].

The balls, *fêtes* and feasts continued, hosted by the Czartoryskis in the palace at Puławy and in return by the officers in the camp at Gołąb. And yet Izabela’s youngest daughter Zofia recalled this time with dismay:

Entertainment seemed then the first obligation; they expected everything to be engaging and full of variety without end. This was their most overwhelming concern. They attached so much importance to it that it really seemed that the only purpose of life was pleasure and enjoyment. They in a way forgot about those serious matters which would cloud entertainment and admit worry and painful anxiety.

The manoeuvres did indeed resemble one long *fête*: the troops trained for only ten days during their stay of four weeks. Undeniably though, the Gołąb gathering impressed on the large crowds of spectators and soldiers the connection between virtue and sensibility, military bravery and sociability. Czartoryska effectively styled the troops as enlightened heroes, for whom the most appropriate gifts were poems and songs. It seemed as if in Puławy the soldiers did understand the emotional language of garlands, wreaths and flowers of gratitude. They participated in theatre and polite

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entertainments, they walked the gardens and felt at home in the palace. For a moment a princess could be a camp follower, soldiers could be Greek heroes and they had an opportunity to experience their roles in tangible ways, roles presented in the aesthetics which had been around for forty years. But this stylization was possible only because it referred to the deeply ingrained ‘Sarmatian’ sentiment of fighting for honour, laws and freedom. It is noteworthy that sentimental sensitivity was now the passport for the common soldiers to join in the ethos of the martial values which had until then been the exclusive preserve of the nobility. As in Powązki, so at Puławy a rather static visualization was the paramount method of expression and the unifying element for its communal reception.

The audience, on the other hand, were not passive spectators. As was typical for Czartoryska’s arrangements, they had an active part to play: they were the poets, the prophetic Ossians igniting the patriotic spirit. Some idea of the underlying significance of the pageant can be found in an unpublished essay written in 1808 by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski on the history of knighthood. In the chapter on chivalric literature he stressed the essential role of poets in raising patriotic spirit. And so, as Czartoryski recounted, Edward I in his conquest of Wales first killed the poets to break the basis of Welsh spiritual strength: ‘Considering, as Hume says, that nothing fires the military fervour and the desire for ancient glory as much as the poetry of the people, which, sustained with the power of music and enlivened with the jollity of feasts, left a deep impression in the minds of the youths, the king gathered all the

684 The connection between sensibility and bravery was highlighted by Aleksandrowicz, Różne drogi, 81.

685 On ‘Sarmatian’ attitudes to military service in the early eighteenth century see Michalski, ‘Sarmatyzm’, 11.
Welsh bards together and led by terrible though not unintelligible politics, ordered them to be executed’.  

The pervasive element of pleasure and exultation, though criticized by Zofia Zamoyska, brought the assembled citizens and troops into the old Sarmatian world of traditional hospitality, jollity, fraternization. The introduction of the field mass into the military ceremonies confirmed the Polish allegiance to both freedom and Catholicism. This grand *tableau* of Puławy was far more traditional that we might think, for it returned to the original inclusiveness of the ‘Sarmatian’ culture of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when the estate included also the town dwellers, merchants and craftsmen. Now their descendants in military uniforms subscribed to the ‘Sarmatian’ community.

In this prolonged pageant Czartoryska was able to connect the geographies of history with the landscape of Puławy. The garden now extended symbolically to the camp of Gołąb. James Savage’s planting and landscaping had opened windows in greenery onto other nearby historical sites: to the medieval castles of Janowiec and Kazimierz. Unlike the artificial follies that proliferated in gardens, the significance of these eye-catchers lay in the reality of history. The Kazimierz castle was built by King Kazimierz the Great (1333-1370), the last of the Piast dynasty, and the associations there centred on his reform of law and his building programme (il. 100).

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686 Quoted after Aleksandrowicz, ‘Nie czas napelniać konchy’, 78-79.
Czartoryska brought ornamental pieces from the Kazimierz castle to Powązki, and made this ‘king of the peasants’ the model of the reciprocal relationships in her educational books *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu* written expressly for villagers.\(^{687}\)

The demonstrations at Gołąb marked the high point for Czartoryska in the popularity of her displays. The general elation at the proclamation of the Constitution of 3 May 1791 and the national celebrations on the anniversary of the Constitution a year later, were followed by a long succession of disasters on the national and personal scale: the Russian aggression of 1792, the Second Partition in 1793, the defeat of the Kościuszko Insurrection, the destruction of Puławy and the total and

irreversible destruction of Powązki in 1794, and finally the Third Partition in 1795. All these developments forced Czartoryska to focus all her efforts to protect the gardens, the palace and her peasants. At the same time she used every opportunity to demonstrate in a visual manner the leading position of her family, with herself, as usual, in the principal role. Zofia Zamoyska remembered a strange, feverish mood at the outbreak of 1792 war:

everything was grim and threatening around us, in the whole country, but then, as always, they could intoxicate themselves, connect an extremely impassioned patriotism with a strange recklessness, create illusions of all kinds and neglect everything that reason and caution directed.\(^\text{688}\)

The feelings swayed from an impassioned admiration of ‘heroes and patriots’ to a hatred of those who stood against them. The festivities continued; in fact there was a ‘multitude of plays and entertainments’ on a variety of themes, from the vernacular or classical to gothic, historicizing and inspired by English travels. Zofia remembered how she collected alms for the poor at the royal court on Maundy Thursday dressed by her mother as Mary Stewart, in fact wearing a medal struck by Izabela for the occasion. Mary Stewart fascinated Izabela’s imagination, the unhappy queen personified the type of femininity entangled in struggles for power, in the end humiliated, imprisoned and executed.\(^\text{689}\) During her tour of England and Scotland Czartoryska searched out the places connected with the life of the Queen of Scots and collected her mementoes.\(^\text{690}\) Later Czartoryska devoted a long passage in the Large

\(^{688}\) Zamoyska, ‘Z pamiętnika’, 710.

\(^{689}\) Alina Aleksandrowicz, ‘„Gotycka” Maria Stuart’, *Annales UMCS, XVII* (1999), 47-60 (51).

\(^{690}\) I.Cz., ‘Tour’.
Catalogue sympathizing with the unfortunate circumstances of Mary’s life.  

At another ‘particularly enchanting’ fête Zofia played a gypsy to Izabela’s ‘graceful’ text and arrangement. Zofia considered wearing the costume of the Scottish queen a useless display, but did not recognize that her mother styled her as the faithful queen of a beleaguered nation, a visionary if tragic leader endowed with the capacity for passionate love.

Zofia’s performance as a gypsy brought an analogous set of associations. In 1786 Izabela motivated Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin to write a comic opera in three acts Cyganie (Gypsies) to which her uncle Michal Kleofas Oginski wrote the music. The play premiered in the Oginski’s Siedlce that same year of 1786 with Izabela in the leading role of a gypsy woman Jawnuta. The name Jawnuta (or Jewnota) was the Polish form of Jaunutis, one of seven sons of the fourteenth-century Grand Duke of Lithuania, Gediminas, the original ancestor of the Czartoryskis. The male historical Jaunutis was to inherit Vilnius, but his brother Kęstutis (Kiejstut) dispossessed him and banished him from the country. The gypsies from Kniaźnin’s opera led similarly a life of exiles, but this time the text emphasized the contemporary circumstances of the influx of gypsies to Poland – the result of Austrian settlement orders of 1782 and Russian ones of 1783. The female Jawnuta from Kniaźnin’s opera inherited not only her namesake’s bravery; she was also wise, knew the medicinal

691 Reproduced in full in Aleksandrowicz, ‘„Gotycka” Maria Stuart’, 52-53.

692 On one side the medallion had an inscription: Sophia Czartoryska cum annum aetatis ageret XIII Matris dono tulit (Zofia Czartoryska when she was thirteen years of age, received this as her mother’s gift). On the other side it said: Solesque Patriae serenos vere meo nituisse vidi V nonas Mai MDCCXCI (I saw a serene sun of my country shining in the spring of my life on 5 May 1791).

properties of plants, could foretell the future and cared for her people with devotion. This visionary woman guarded her nation’s traditions and heritage and transmitted them to her adopted children, especially to her daughter. The role of Jawnuta’s daughter was played by the young Zofia Zamoyska. Izabela then in a colourful, engaging and entertaining way presented her own daughter to the public as the next prophetic leader of her country.  

Zofia’s instruction for her own daughter on the latter’s marriage in 1825 contains the same imperative of devotion to Fatherland and family. Compared to Izabela, Zofia’s view of a woman’s life was however entirely joyless, in the spirit of sacrifice, humility and religious devotion, a frame of mind which cannot be simply explained by her prolonged illness, but needs to be seen as a general change in the perception of women’s social roles in the third decade of the nineteenth century.

Czartoryska was widely regarded as a prominent force during the Kościuszko Insurrection, aiding it financially and encouraging her peasants to join the insurgency. Adam Jerzy distinguished himself in combat and was decorated with Poland’s highest military decoration, the Virtuti Militari, becoming the second person ever to receive it after Prince Józef Poniatowski (in 1792). However, his brother-in-law Ludwig von Württemberg deserted his command during the Rising. Czartoryska now had no hesitation in proceeding with a divorce for her eldest daughter Maria, who had languished in the unhappy marriage for eleven years. In 1795 the Czartoryski

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696 I.Cz. ‘Mémoires et écrits divers’, BCz 6067, f.81.
estates in the lands annexed by Russia were sequestered in retribution. In order to retrieve these lands the Czartoryski sons Adam Jerzy and Konstanty were sent to the imperial court at St Petersburg, effectively as hostages in order to guarantee the family’s loyalty.
Scene III

A guide to contentment
Puławy suffered extensive damage to as a result of military operations during the Insurrection of 1794. Originally Czartoryska remained in the palace trying to protect the estate. Nevertheless crops growing in fields were either mowed or trampled, the nursery was entirely dug up, and the losses were ‘over 400,000’ zlotys. Only the Pożóg estate had survived, according to Czartoryska, ‘because of her courage’. 697

Eventually however, she left Puławy for two years. In the meantime the Commonwealth was completely dismembered by Russia, Austria and Prussia in the Third Partition of 1795. Puławy, like many other Czartoryski estates, now lay in the Habsburg Monarchy. Returning home on 21 June 1796, Izabela found her garden once again destroyed and the palace a burned-out shell.698 In the middle of the courtyard was a heap of rubble including broken furniture, pieces of marble statues, broken porcelain, crystals, bronzes, mahogany, ebony pieces, split violins and shattered harpsichords. Natural disasters followed the destruction wrought by war. The hard winter of 1798 claimed many trees, especially around her daughter’s villa, Marynki.699 Next year the Vistula flooded and the whole lower garden with the adjoining terrain was submerged.700 Nevertheless, restoration works proceeded apace. Czartoryska’s divided her efforts between writing the book which would summarize her philosophy of gardening and building the large structures of the Temple of Sibyl, the Gothic House and the palace church. While the Temple of Sibyl has always received most attention in the literature, here it is more useful to first consider the gardening ideas that were intended to express the nature of Polish social relationships.

697 I.Cz. to K.D., 2 August 179(?), no. 23, BCz 6107.
699 I.Cz. to M.W., 27 April 1799, BCz 6137.
700 I.Cz. to M.W., 15 April (1800), BCz 6137.
The pleasant place

The first years after the destruction of the Commonwealth were permeated with a profound sense of loss. Indeed the motto Czartoryska placed over the entrance to the garden *Ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae* [The sweet forgetting of the life’s cares] may be read as promising the benefits of the Letheian water.

However, the quotation (from Horace’s *Satire IV*) had already been used in another notable garden; it appeared on the gate of King Jan III Sobieski’s Wilanów. The Czartoryskis made the most of their associations with Poland’s most ‘Sarmatian’ king, and in 1786 Izabela Czartoryska a little belatedly celebrated the centenary of the battle of Vienna of 1683 at Puławy. Writer Stanisław Wodzicki drew on this connection when he placed Izabela’s gardening efforts alongside those of Jan III, who had ‘planted with a victorious hand’ at Wilanów, Żółkiew and Wysock.

The readings of the *Satire* provide another clue to the meaning of the motto. The quote appears in the middle of the passage which praises the simple virtues of living in self-sufficiency and frugal comfort, in the easy company of friends. Horace’s poetic visitors in the *Satire* to his estate near Tivoli were both statesmen and simple farmers; all enjoyed a cup of wine and an evening conversation on the nature of happiness, virtue and friendship.

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702 After the death of August Czartoryski in 1782 Wilanów went to his daughter Izabela Lubomirska while Wysock went to Adam Kazimierz. Stanisław Wodzicki, *O chodowaniu, użytku, mnożeniu, i poznawaniu drzew, krzewów, roślin i ziół celnieszych: ku ozdobie ogrodów przy zastosowaniu do naszej strefy* (Cracow: Józef Matecki, 1824-1828), vol. 1, 11.

Accordingly, the visitor to Puławy was welcomed at the gate to the garden as a ‘Sarmatian’ friend. He or she could expect a heartfelt reception, simple manners, good conversation during which rural matters were raised to the level of not only virtue, but also of pleasure. Certainly Czartoryska tried to emulate this ideal. Her personal notes are full of small vignettes on happiness, taking meals in different parts of the garden with friends, neighbours or the parish priest, meeting peasants, taking a moonlit meal. One such recollection is worth bringing here: ‘the moon shone clearly on our little table and on many farmers with their wives who were resting nearby. It’s been a long time since I had such a good evening. We walked back slowly and steadily in the moonlight as far as the Gothic House. There we sat until half past eleven, and after this we went to bed happy and tranquil’.  

Czartoryska developed this view of happiness in the productive and aesthetic landscape in her next great project, designed to influence the largest audience – her book *Myśli o sposobie zakładania ogrodów* [Thoughts on the manner of laying out gardens]. She began writing it in 1800 and published it in 1805. *Myśli* occupies an unusual place in Polish garden writing. In 1816 Stanisław Kostka Potocki pronounced it one of the most important books in the liberal arts in Poland.  

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704 I.Cz. to M.W., (Puławy, c. 15 May 1813), BCz 6140.  
Nature, the destiny of man

In 1801 appeared Ignacy Krasicki’s brief account of the history of gardening Listy o ogrodach [Letters on gardens]. In the introduction he defended the new natural style against the most commonly levied criticisms. Krasicki framed his arguments in a way likely to be acceptable to most nobles, that is in terms of the greater potential for profitability. Czartoryska’s book stressed this point as well. But if her Myśli was principally a set of precepts on how to arrange the main elements of a rural estate, it should be more correctly called a guide to happiness and an emphatic commendation of country life. Czartoryska admitted no debt to any treatises on gardening; rather it is poetry that is frequently quoted (though not readily acknowledged): John Milton’s Allegro, Alexander Pope’s Epistle VI and Jacques Dellile’s Les Jardins. Some expressions point to William Mason’s The English garden, James Thomson’s The seasons and Pope’s An essay on man as well as Marquis de Girardin’s De la composition des paysages. All these were possessed by the Czartoryskis in multiple editions and some were heavily annotated by Adam Kazimierz. The language of the Myśli is easy and poetic, sometimes colloquial and ribald, a conversation between the author and her reader. Izabela stated her aim in the opening pages:

I am not writing about gardens in a way a gardener would write. I am not giving advice that a thousand other books give. My goal is completely different: it is the result of my attachment to my country, the desire to multiply the taste to such gardens, which without disturbing the husbandry, were an amusement and recreation, and by bringing happiness to rural habitations, increase our own contentment.

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706 Ignacy Krasicki, Xięcia biskupa warmińskiego listy o ogrodach, ed. Janusz Bogdanowski, Roman Marcinek, (Cracow: Kultura i Natura, 2001), on which see Marcin Cieński, ‘Dwór i ogród: myśli różne o sztuce ogrodniczej i literaturze w polskim oświecieniu’, in Dwory magnackie, 87-98.

707 Czartoryska, Myśli, V-VI.
For the frontispiece Czartoryska chose a pastoral image of three ages of man by Jan Frey, along with Adam Kazimierz’s motto assuring happiness in nature: ‘From childhood to old age life in nature is the destiny of man’ (il. 99).\textsuperscript{708}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{frontispiece}
\caption{From childhood to old age, man’s destiny is happiness in nature, frontispiece from: Izabela Czartoryska, \textit{Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów}, 1805, (image in common domain).}
\end{figure}

The division of the book into chapters on trees, clumps, fences, accidental adornments, prospects, monuments, orchards and flowers reflected the long-established and indeed the most practical way of writing on gardens. Izabela added to the text a comprehensive catalogue of plants with their Latin and Polish names, their provenance and the degrees of hardiness. The listing accompanied a descriptive

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\textsuperscript{708} ‘W całym Życiu z dzieciństwa do późnego wieku / Szczęście obok Natury przeznaczone Czleku.’ The manuscript version in A.K.’s writing is found in BK 01367.3, k. 343.
division of plants into groups of large and spreading trees, tall shrubs and climbers. The motto to the book announced an aesthetic approach to designed nature. Czartoryska chose it from Adam Kazimierz’s prose translation of Alexander Pope’s *IV Epistle to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, of the use of riches*. The English original reads:

To build, to plant whatever you intend,
To rear the Column, or the Arch to bend
To swell the Terrass, or to sink the Grot,
In all let Nature never be forgot
But treat the Goddess like a modest fair,
Nor over dress, nor leave her wholly bare.  

Pope’s principle ‘to consult the genius of the place in all’ repeats itself in a variety of versions on many pages of the book. For Czartoryska the garden was a retreat to a moment out of time, away from the contemporary disasters, a return to closeness to nature and work on the land. In the introduction she explained her position:

Gardens, trees, shrubs and their planting have sweetened many of my days. Many times, walking in their shade, my sorrow and my worries were diminished, and among blossoming flowers my life seemed brighter. Having lost even my country and my hope, all other amusements and distractions have shed their charms and glamour; this one alone has been constant in pleasing and abating my unhappy memories.

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709 The Polish published version: ‘Cokolwiek zamyślasz sadzić, lub budować, czyli wzniesać Kolumny, czy sklepienia; wzdęty kształcić Terras, albo Groć kować; nigdy z oka nie spuszczać Natury. Obchódź się z tą Boginią, iak z skromną Dziewicą; ani tą strój zbytcocznie, ani nadto obnaży’. For Adam Kazimierz’s two other less successful versions see BK 01367.1.k.112, BK 01367.3, k. 343. See also Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich*, 130.

710 Czartoryska, *Mysli*, XII. See also Whelan, ‘The rebirth of Poland and the growth of trees.’
The assumption was that all shared the sense of loss and Czartoryska responded in bringing guidance on how to improve the quality of life. Her remedy was:

to love the countryside, farm and gardens, this is the way. All are united together; all are useful and amusing to the owner, pleasing to the neighbours, an embellishment for the country, a way of living for the poor and a memorial for those who will come after us.  

_Insider’s view_

*Myśli* centred on the squire: his habits, his economical priorities and constraints. A garden, according to Czartoryska, was to be as wide as the countryside, a space socially and emotionally united with the people living there. Beauty did not respect the boundaries of property. A neighbour’s meadow, a wood in the distance, a winding road, a village itself with all its inhabitants can be a garden for someone who can see and manages to plant a tree to frame a view, ‘and it will be more pleasing than those many others created with much expense’. So someone who did not own even the smallest orchard could acquire the whole landscape as his own. This was a more radical statement than it sounds, for it involved an insider, who had consciously to change his perspective to that of seeing the same surroundings all year round. But that ownership did not come from the traditional idea of establishing a commanding viewpoint whence the domineering eye could take possession. Instead, in the chapter *On prospects* Czartoryska advised the placing of the house within a leafy enclave, close to a village or wood, rather than in the traditional elevated location. She pressed

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712 This was a similar kind of sensibility to that promoted by the Marquis de Girardin. Cf. Girardin, *Essay on landscape*, 145-150.

713 Czartoryska, *Myśli*, 34.
the argument only in aesthetic terms, but the implications were wider, establishing the relationship of association rather than domination.

Here it is helpful to draw on the theory of disinterestedness proposed by Stephen Bourassa.\textsuperscript{714} In high locations, where subjectivity and emotional involvement are irrelevant, the multitude of human relationships with the land is pushed into the far distance and the meaning of being a part of landscape dissolves in the haze. Czartoryska’s aesthetics can be seen as that of an insider who experienced her prospects from ground level and continued her familiar relationship with the land she encountered on her daily walks. The values of the insiders are different from those of visitors and outsiders. The beauty of the place comes for the inhabitants from the symbolic continuity and the sense of security, what she called ‘a way of living’.\textsuperscript{715} This change of level to one close to the earth, below the towering trees, diminishes the self-importance of an owner; it makes him an insider by choice. His relationship with Nature comes from accepting his status and working within it.

The chapter \textit{On orchards} gave more advice on the beautiful and useful, but ultimately revealed Czartoryska’s old aesthetic preferences dating back to her encounter with \textit{La Nouvelle Héloïse}. In fact it reads like a quotation from Rousseau’s account of Julie’s garden and a recreation of one of Gessner’s paintings. In an orchard all the greatest treasures of spring and summer were gathered in one spot – fruit trees, flowers and a green glade. Orchards planted with peaches, apricots and vine were beautiful in themselves, yet Lombardy poplars could be added with garlands of caprifolium and clematis strung between them and twining roses grafted with


\textsuperscript{715} Ibid., 82.
centifolia varieties. An orchard was the best place for an apiary. The main feature in an orchard should be a well, made of stone, with good buckets ready to use, all surrounded with poplars, lilacs, white acacia and potted flowers. From there the owner could at a glance survey his workers and take pleasure in rural existence:

in a pleasant evening, after a hot day, when sun lets its rays slip low between the branches; or after plentiful rain, when heavy drops still cling to the leaves and flowers spread their fragrance, an orchard so dressed should delight his owner, even his guest. Sitting at the well, or on his favourite bench, he sees bountiful trees, delicious fruit, flowering paths, blossoming roses, bees, grass and clear sky.\textsuperscript{716}

As the book progresses, the main subject becomes the squire. He walks from one village to another, through multiplying vignettes of gratitude. The sets change, but the mood remains bucolic, reassuring and encouraging. It is a pastoral with a happy ending in a landscape populated with people. Czartoryska stresses the nobleman’s obligations towards his peasants. He should keep the villages tidy, plant the yards with Italian poplars, plant the roads profusely with yet more Italian poplars and with fruit trees, place benches along the roads and in this way create avenues which would lead from one green working space to another. Especially fruit trees had the potential to create emotional bonds between the owner and his subjects:

and if a hand of the poor or a weary farmer sometimes reaches for the freshly coloured plums, let this not be a cause of the lord's anger, rather, let him rejoice in the sweet feeling that he had created something that spreads a thousand delights. The lord should then place a comfortable bench there, and he will be blessed a thousand-fold by all.\textsuperscript{717}

\textsuperscript{716} Czartoryska, Myśli, 36.

\textsuperscript{717} Ibid., 35.
This promotion of attachment to land needs to be seen not only as emotional sensibility put through a filter of profitability. The landscape design was implicated in the political changes affecting Poland. It was as much about survival as it was an ideological or aesthetic view. When the book came out in 1805 it struck a chord with her compatriots, who had to adjust their attitudes to the new post-partition reality. Most nobles wanted peace and concentrated on their land. A kind of Poland could still exist in their country estates: it was an entity no longer formally defined yet real enough. Under foreign rule, which showed itself hostile to the numerous unlettered and landless szlachta, a new class established itself among those nobles who had both landed estates and recognition of their status – the ziemiaństwo [landowners]. In 1825 John Claudius Loudon characterized the new type:

these proprietors are now a different and very superior class of men to what they were fifty or sixty years ago. They have mostly been officers in the French army, and with it traversed the great part of Europe; better educated than many of the French, and more engaging in their manners than the Germans, they may be considered the first gentlemen of the Continent.

They took advantage both of changing political conditions and of the difficulty experienced by the grandest families in holding on to their land. Although within this group distinctions of wealth were clearly divisive, these landowners were united in their detachment from the ‘old’ aristocracy, as well as from the ‘grey rabbit’ nobility with no land to their title. They were neither powerful, nor very rich in the old sense,

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718  For further analysis of post-partition gardening see Whelan, ‘Izabela Czartoryska’, 287-290.

719  Magdalena Morska counted 500 gardens in the former Polish territories: Zbiór rysunków wyobrażających celniesze budynki wsi Zarzecza w Galicji w obwodzie Przemyskim leżącej (Vienna: Drukiem wdowy po Antonim Straussie, 1836). See chapter 3.

but they made use of the security of their private spaces and established private
libraries and historical collections.  

Much has been said about the novel nature of the *Myśli*. Certainly it was the
first book in Polish language which explained with clarity the principles of natural
gardening. But this was not the primary reason for its popularity. There were other
authors, such as Franciszek Giżycki and Stanisław Wodzicki, who hoped as much for
a profound transformation of the rural landscape. They were looking to generate an
interest in the surrounding landscape as an area consciously acknowledged and
emotionally acquired through everyday work on the land. Their works contained a
wealth of information on good gardening practices – unlike *Myśli*. Czartoryska,
however, tapped into Polish landowners’ emotional sense of identity. The presence of
this sumptuous folio in their drawing rooms was a symbolic declaration of their
allegiance to an idealized past. Herein lay its true popularity. New principles of
gardening were deployed in support of the old order. It was a romanticized vision in
which ‘feudal’ stresses could only be relieved by the benevolence of an owner.

Czartoryska’s roseate vision of benevolent patriarchy (and matriarchy) did not
in the end blossom in Poland, certainly not in the way she advocated, but it is possible
to argue that her work, both written and planted, enhanced awareness of the land in
terms of the cultural identities it conveyed.

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721 Zbigniew Stankiewicz, ‘Szlachta – ziemiańce w świetle ankiety włościanskiej 1814 r.’, in *Ziemiaństwo polskie*, 85-120 (86).


Scene IV

Rituals of gratitude

(102) L'Offrande à l'Amour, Charles François Adrien Macret after Jean Baptiste Greuze, etching, 1778, AN158585001 © The Trustees of the British Museum.
At this point it is necessary to leave Puławy and follow Czartoryska on a two-month journey to Volhynia, Podolia and the Ukraine from late July to September 1805. It involved a long delayed survey of the lands in the eastern territories. But it is not the economic management that is of interest here. Czartoryska’s letters and journal notes bring the extended descriptions of the rituals of gratitude in the form of *tableaux vivants*, which were so characteristic of Puławy and which were performed on the journey as a visual tribute to the culture of Puławy. Moreover, Czartoryska recorded these rituals for posterity as a proof of the living ‘Sarmatian’ tradition, which with her interpretation acquired threads of the eighteenth-century sensibility and lend itself to the expression through the medium of the *tableau*, now a forty-year-old genre.

The route took her from Lwów all the way east to Granów near Humań in the Ukraine, where the Czartoryskis had studs and from where they recruited their personal guard of Cossacks. Thousands of Italian poplars at Granów and elsewhere caught Czartoryska’s attention; they were no longer a rarity as they had been at Powązki thirty years earlier. The overseers complained of drought, but Czartoryska was amazed: ‘the fields are like huge armies that one thinks one sees from afar, there are so many haystacks. Well, this is a promised land and the most beautiful country on earth’. Czartoryska reported the findings to Adam Kazimierz. She found the

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724 I.Cz. ‘Mémoires et écrits divers’, BCz 6030, f. 97.

725 In spirited letters Czartoryska relayed her observations to Adam Kazimierz, but she did not want to commit some information to paper as she deemed it too sensitive I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 16 September 1805, BCz 6030, ff. 9, 21. She travelled with the Puławy resident Major Orlowski, her doctor Jan Goltz, her two young charges Emma Potocka and Zofia Matuszewicz, and on the way they were joined by the owner of Tuczyn, Adam Walewski, and his equerry and an expert in stud management Elsner. See: Agnieszka Whelan, *Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności w podróży księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej na Wołyń, Podole i Ukrainę*, in *Ziemianstwo na Lubelszczyźnie. Ziemianie w podróżach*, ed. Hubert Łaszkiewicz (Lublin: Werset, 2010), vol. 4, 359-380.

726 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 16 September 1805, BCz 6030, f. 21.
estates in a very good shape, considering that their management followed old traditional methods.\textsuperscript{727}

\textit{The true Poles}

Izabela’s appearance in these distant lands after nearly twenty years’ absence prompted gatherings of many nobles eager to renew their social ties with the Czartoryskis, with lavish entertainments, balls, concerts and theatrical displays, but also with the type of tributes and gifts which would most flatter the image Izabela had established for herself. So as a ‘tender mother’ she was hosted at Mizocz to a concert which exclusively featured the compositions of her daughter, Maria Wirtemberska.\textsuperscript{728} General Witt gave a ball, during which he presented Izabela with a sword of King Władysław II Jagiełło (with which he had knighted squires) and a ring of King Władysław IV.\textsuperscript{729} Although the Temple of Sibyl had not yet opened, Czartoryska already styled herself as the guardian of Polish history. Surrounded by hospitality, jollity and the spectacle of large, colourful crowds of provincial nobles, she found herself not only in the ‘most beautiful country in the world’, but in the ‘Sarmatian’ Poland of the past, where ‘the greatest hospitality and the most courteous attentions’, the ‘truly old Polish customs and a way of life’ were still alive and where her family

\textsuperscript{727} I.Cz., ‘Mémoires et écrites divers’, BCz 6030, f. 97. On Adam Kazimierz’s lack of interest in agricultural improvement and on an unsuccessul venture to settle Alexander Davidson in Puławy see: Gołębiowska, \textit{W kregu}, 99.

\textsuperscript{728} ‘Mémoires et écrits divers’, BCz 6067, f. 97.

still occupied an honoured and privileged position. Indeed, she thoroughly enjoyed all the places where she stopped, whether for a night or a week:

Well, I have to say that in my life I have never seen a more beautiful country, better houses, or a people more affectionate or more impressive than here, but what I find better still is that which here, ceaselessly and with an inexpressible pleasure repeated a thousand times: ‘you will not believe, Princess, how happy we are here!’ This phrase is so sweet, so precious, I have not heard it for such a long time.

Later she recorded these outpourings of hospitality in her open diary as a lasting tribute of gratitude. Economic matters retreated into the background; instead, Czartoryska described in vivid and emotional passages the world of rituals and country traditions, still cultivated in the provinces. She directed her words of the memoir to the recipients of this public homage, such as Prince Stanisław Jabłonowski and committed the memories to posterity.

**Gratitude**

Czartoryska left not only written offerings of gratitude. She brought new form of exchanging gifts to these south-easterly provinces – the performance of an idiosyncratic tableau, which she had herself pioneered at Powązki and Puławy. She devoted long passages to one performance in two parts, relaying it in her letters to Adam Kazimierz and then in her Mémoires. These performances indicate how she

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730 Czartoryska, ‘Mémoires et écrits divers’, BCz 6067, f. 97.

731 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., Mizocz, (1805) BCz 6030, f. 9.

created a feeling of attachment based on personal emotion, and showed herself as an expert stage director.

In Mizocz, a ‘charming place with an English freshness in its verdure and in its trees’, the Karwicki family – ‘true Poles’ received her with an ‘honest kindness full of gentleness’.733 She stayed there for more than a week and her hosts projected an image of an ideal household drawing on timeless order:

it was sweet living there, for it seemed that every happiness reigned there. The husband, his wife and children love each other dearly. People are faithful and happy. The house is most orderly, the service excellent. The place is beautiful, the house cheerful, neighbours affectionate.734

To express her gratitude for the continuing expressions of hospitality Izabela devised a tableau vivant in Mizocz. She wrote:

Overwhelmed, I wished to express my gratitude to my hosts. I have chosen my room, which proved quite adequate for the purpose, and decorated it with shawls and flowers. Among them stood an altar, beside which Love and Friendship wove flowers into garlands. Emma Potocka in a white tunic with a gold sash personified beautiful and comely Friendship, while little Zosia Matuszewicówna played Love. Behind them stood an old man appropriately dressed, holding a scythe and seemingly in motion, who handed flowers to Friendship and Love and scattered some around. In the middle lay a stone with a carved inscription: May Love and Friendship weave the thread of your life and may passing Time shower it with flowers.735

After this display Czartoryska left to survey her estates, but on the way back she again stopped at Mizocz – ‘friendship and gratitude brought me back’, she wrote. A surprise

733 Ibid., 360.
734 Ibid., 361.
735 Ibid., 362.
response to her earlier tableau awaited her at the end of her second stay. It began with the traditional display of fireworks – ‘the illumination so rich and extensive that the whole country seemed on fire’. Afterwards Izabela and other guests took a nocturnal walk in the garden. There without a guide she followed a ‘most alluring light’, passed with difficulty through a passage cut in rocks and came to a small hut made of bark. Inside sat a hermit who, as if inspired, ‘prophesied the future and sustained his visions with recollections of the past’ in the most flattering and courteous manner. He then took Izabela by the hand and led her to the bank of the river where she saw a sight she would ‘never forget’. Her hostess with a group of women in white waited on a small hill among the trees where wreaths of flowers formed a circle inside which lay the stone inscribed by Czartoryska on her previous visit. The old man Time:

seemed to destroy it with his scythe, but the Karwicki children, astonishingly charming in their young age, defended the stone, tore it away from Time, and pushed him away with their little hands, and shielded from him this, my expression of gratitude to their parents.736

Even if their format clearly relied on the archetypes of representation typical of Boucher’s engravings and Greuze’s paintings, both performances were striking in their homemade, amateur production. The explicit naïveté of the spectacle only served to emphasize the real subject of the display, which was not its artistic merit, but its emotional intention. Therefore, the actor acted out not a script, but his true feelings and the viewer felt obliged to respond to them in equal or greater measure. The viewer in this sense became a participant in the display, because without his approbation and empathy the performance could not function. She was clearly aware of her own role in the spectacle, which was to match her emotional response to the intentions of the

736 Ibid., 363.
performers. Izabela wrote:

Let everyone judge for himself how I felt. Tears ran down my face, I could not articulate my feelings; my mind and my heart were overpowered. I do not know if I was then able to convey what I felt, let this description testify to my gratitude, perhaps it will move the reader and in the future it will become a memento of this day I will never forget.\(^{737}\)

Later, on the pages of her memoir Czartoryska encouraged the reader to react as if he or she was viewing the performance, to continue with affectation and the shedding of tears, and share in the intimacy between the viewer and the performer. However, the reader was not allowed any critical or independent judgment of the event, because to do so would equal the rejection of intentions; even more importantly, it would mean the denunciation of the social order that these displays primarily reinforced. By participating in the tableau the whole Karwicki household renewed their allegiance to everything that the Czartoryskis stood for. By having the tableau in their garden, they symbolically included into this allegiance all the social relationships of the countryside. The more amateurish the tableau, the more honest and true it felt on the part of the player. Its naïveté only emphasized personal and intimate involvement in the social sphere. The format of the tableau vivant therefore lent itself as a convention in which the aristocracy and the ziemiaństwo could find an illusion of mutual connection, one which drew on the old ‘Sarmatian’ myth of equality among nobles. At the same time peasants and servants were joined into a harmonious nation, whose basis was an emotional acceptance of the social order.\(^{738}\)

\(^{737}\) Ibid.

\(^{738}\) Czartoryska continued with rituals of gratitude all her life. Czartoryska, Dylizansem przez Śląsk, 113.
‘Understanding emotion with only eyes to assist’

The static, contemplative nature of a tableau certainly places the form within the type of visual reception, which Michael Fried called the primacy of absorption. Fried’s analysis, based on readings of Diderot’s art criticism, provides several useful pointers to Czartoryska’s emotional exchanges. Particularly helpful is his notion of the exclusion of the viewer from the quiet and contemplative world of the painters of small scenes, Jean-Pierre Chardin or Jean-Baptiste Greuze, whose sitters are shown preoccupied with their own thoughts, feelings or actions. To overcome this exclusion, Fried argued, the viewer was faced with a choice – either to enter into an emotional empathy with the sitter or – as Diderot encouraged – to imagine that he had physically entered inside the painting and participated in it. Fried pointed to the lesser genres – pastorals, landscapes with figures, and ruins that did not represent dramatic events, or extremes of passion. The role of the figures was not to communicate their own personality, but to enhance the themes of solitude, gratitude or innocence, and thus to focus the viewer’s attention on the natural landscape, which was the main subject carrying the emotional potential. It was precisely the smaller scale of these works and detailed rendering which encouraged the viewer to spend more time investigating them. The observer had to take an active role, read the painting empathetically, feel the represented situation; even lose his own personality in the landscape of emotion. Diderot encouraged viewers to connect with paintings in this manner, to leave their critical faculties behind and erase the distance with which he viewed the works hitherto. If the tableaux in the gardens of Pulawy or Mizocz were to be viewed as framed paintings, then, according to the theory of absorption, the viewer would need

to enter into an emotional union and immerse himself in the scene.\footnote{740}

Czartoryska admired Greuze’s heads in London, so his aesthetics of internalization must have reflected her own taste. But also her first stay in Paris coincided with the moment of the great popularity of Greuze’s \textit{L’Accordée de village}, which directly influenced the rise of the \textit{tableau vivant} (il. 103). Greuze’s painting was staged in 1761 with actors during the scene of wedding festivities in the ballet \textit{Les Noces d’Arlequin}, performed in the Comédie Italienne in Paris. The enthusiastic reception of this \textit{tableau} contributed to the fame of the play, which ran for eighteen years.\footnote{741} The spectators even demanded a different \textit{tableau} at the end of each act. The novelty of \textit{L’Accordée de village} depended on focusing on the simple, unaffected and real emotions of a modest but not destitute peasant family, with a caring father able to provide the bride with a dowry, a loving mother, a bride in love with her husband, siblings and servants sharing affection for each other. The theme and the formal treatment of the painting resulted from intellectual debates in the salon of Madame Geoffrin and the desire to see a utopian alternative to fashionable society, in which virtue could indeed be reconciled with the accumulation of wealth.\footnote{742}


\footnote{741} See: Louise Pelletier, \textit{Architecture in words: theatre, language and the sensuous space of architecture} (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2006).

Sarah Siddons based her acting method in the aesthetics of internalized emotions; she could touch audiences with the semblance of the inner life with a well chosen gesture. Emma, Lady Hamilton, however, with her ‘attitudes’ took the idiom of gesture to the level of unspoken allusion (il. 104).
She remained the unmatched performer of silent poses, having the advantage of modelling for classicizing artists, but even though her imitators never achieved the same perfection of movement, such ‘attitudes’ spread through Europe to every kind of entertainment, and Czartoryska knew them well. Moreover, within the philosophical context images were considered superior to poetry and the written word, because they engaged the senses without the mediation of words. Ideally the

743 In 1816 Czartoryska described a pitiful exhibition organized in a small hall by a woman who was desperate to earn some money for her sick husband. Czartoryska, Dyližansem przez Śląsk, 90.

contemplation of represented scenes, both living and painted, should become a wordless emotional experience. It is therefore no surprise that Ksawery Prek (1801-1863), the deaf and dumb protégé of the Czartoryskis, specialized in designing and taking part in *tableaux vivants* in Puławy and Sieniawa. His diary became cult reading, much praised for the honesty of his observations. Adam Rościszewski, a Galician cultural advocate wrote to Prek in a letter:

> your tender heart was fully able to understand the emotion with only eyes to assist, and to read in facial expressions these truths, which, when often coloured with sweetly sounding words, lose their appearance of truth for the reason that many false and ill-meaning people also use them to deceive others.  

Prek, fascinated with his access to the true feelings of people, used his talent in his drawings, paintings and performances. He grew up with the *tableau*. His mother was highly conversant with the classical arrangements of a purposefully sentimental character, which proliferated in eighteenth-century art particularly through the etchings of Francesco Bartolozzi, the master of the classical pastoral in an emotional edition (il. 105).

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A sacrifice to Cupid, a popular matrix for staging tableaux vivants, by Francesco Bartolozzi after Giovanni Battista Cipriani, etching, 1783, published by William Palmer, AN750297001© The Trustees of the British Museum.

Prek’s mother staged a scene at their house in Nostrze when Izabela visited them in winter of 1812. Prek was then eleven. She placed the boy of ‘alabaster white’ on a column, his sisters handed him flowers and poems which he offered to Czartoryska.⁷⁴⁶

Memoirs from the Czartoryski circle record the huge popularity of the tableau vivant. Ksawery Prek left particularly rich descriptions of many enactments involving members of the household, guests, children, servants and peasants, in which the theme

of gratitude frequently appeared, especially as a form of thanks on the last day of a
visit.\textsuperscript{747} They continued among the ziemiaństwo until the First World War.\textsuperscript{748}

Czartoryska returned from this journey fully gratified. The one-sided vision of
Poland she recorded in her memoirs mirrored her own universe in Puławy. The
tributes she received could only strengthen her self-perception that she still occupied
the central position in Polish society, still the central axis of national sentiment and
the motivating force for patriotic acts. The gifts of historical mementoes for the
Temple of Sibyl associated Czartoryska with the new patriotic purpose. Puławy
would now be the source of the patriotic ideas and of ritualized behaviour, the place to which
bring one’s children on a pilgrimage. The large provincial audience was eagerly
awaiting her upcoming book on landscape gardening. They would find there precisely
that continuation of the national myth of traditional management, based in the
goodwill of the owner and in his sensibility to nature.

\textsuperscript{747} Prek, \textit{Czasy i ludzie}, 44-45, passim. Aleksandra z Tańskich Tarczewska, \textit{Historia mego
59.

\textsuperscript{748} Małgorzata Komza, \textit{Żywe obrazy. Między sceną, obrazem i książką} (Wrocław: WUW,
87-88, 263-264.
Scene V

The Temple of Sibyl

(106) Temple of Sibyl in Puławy, artist unknown, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.22
Czartoryska returned from the Ukraine in haste, in order to prepare for the arrival of Tsar Alexander I on 30 September 1805. Alexander was received with great honours both as an emperor and as the friend of Adam Jerzy; he visited the Temple of Sibyl and signed the visitor’s book. During that year only distinguished guests visited the collection, which was opened to the general public in 1806 (il.107).

(107) *The Temple of Sibyl in Puławy*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, pen and ink, about 1802, FKCz, XV-Rr.9.

Puławy began its renewed existence as the centre of Polish patriotic life with the opening of the Temple. By 1800 the use of classical temples for commemorative purposes had already been well established in European gardens. Czartoryska had been able to assess its suitability during her travels in England. Garrick’s Temple in

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749 He stayed for two weeks until 16 October. Alina Aleksandrowicz, ‘Z problematyki nowego wieku (wokół Świątyni Sybilly)’, *Wiek Oświecenia*, 16 (2000), 9-32 (19).

750 Ibid., 19-20.
Twickenham, the Tribune in Strawberry Hill and the family chapel in Castle Howard were all commemorative spaces arranged on a central plan, while the motif of the Temple of Sibyl from Tivoli had become very familiar, not least from the prints illustrating Marquis de Girardin’s the Temple of Philosophy in Ermenonville (il. 108).

(108) L’Autel de la reverie, in J. Mérigot and Stanislas Girardin, Promenade ou itinéraire des jardins d’Ermenonville (1788), (image in common domain). The Temple of Philosophy is visible in the the background.

The popularity of the Temple of Sibyl was also well established in Polish circles. The royal artists Jan Christian Kamsetzer and Franciszek Smuglewicz brought back multiple views of Tivoli from Rome. Smuglewicz studied in the Academy of St Luke as the protégé of King Stanislaw August and stayed in Rome in 1764-1784. One of his views of Tivoli has been preserved in the Royal collection (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Gabinet Rycin, 1818, Zbiór Stanisława Augusta, T. 175, no 23).
Adam Wolk points out local examples of the Temple of Sibyl. They included the small pavilion of Vesta, built in the early 1780s by Kamsetzer for the royal painter Marcello Baciarelli in his garden on the outskirts of Warsaw.\textsuperscript{752}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{temple_of_sibyl}
\caption{The Temple of Sibyl, 1771, by Giovanni Piranesi, \textit{Antichite Romane}, Volume XVII, \textit{Vedute di Roma} II. Pl. 57, (image in common domain).}
\end{figure}

The theme of a providential plan for Poland, which had been prevalent in various forms throughout the eighteenth century, became a key component of the discourse of

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\textsuperscript{752} Adam Wolk, ‘Świątynia Sybilli i amfiteatr grecki w Puławach w świetle opisów podróży do Włoch Stanisława Staszica’, in \textit{Ogród puławski}, 124-129 (127).
the Great Sejm of 1788-92. Besides its frequent expression in pamphlets, speeches and sermons, not to mention the commencement of a votive church dedicated to Divine Providence in Warsaw, the theme was also performed more domestically.\footnote{Butterwick, Polska Rewolucja, passim.}

Aleksandra Ogińska organized a fête for the name day of her husband hetman Michał Kazimierz Ogiński on 29 September 1791. The fête in the palace at Siedlce involved a series of tableaux vivants, lasting one and a half hours, on the theme of the visionary visualizations of the future. The prophesying Sibyl, four Vestal Virgins and twelve knights were arranged in a variety of poses, each one outlined and illuminated in its own picture frame.\footnote{Katarzyna Kossakowska to Pelagia Potocka, Siedlce, 20 September 1791, in Listy Katarzyny z Potockich Kossakowskiej, kasztelanowej kamieński, 1754-1800, ed. Kazimierz Waliszewski (Poznań: J.K. Żupański, 1883), 237-239.} Although no one came from Puławy for the occasion, the display showed the wider relevance both of the themes preferred by the Czartoryski circle and the tableau format.

In Puławy most of the collection in the Temple of Sibyl focused on objects connected to significant events in Polish history, although some objects were of wider European significance. There were two swords sent by the Teutonic Knights to King Władysław Jagiełło before the battle of Grunwald-Tannenberg in 1410, banners won by Jan Sobieski at Vienna in 1683, armour, Turkish tents, and personal items such as a silver pen of King Stefan Batory and a golden chain of his queen, Anna Jagiellonka.\footnote{Aleksandrowicz, ‘Wokół Świątyni Sybilli’, 18. For issues of the collection see: Żygulski, Dzieje zbiorów; Idem, Zbiory Czartoryskich. Pamiątki puławskie (Cracow: MNK, 1960); Idem, Jubileuszowa wystawa puław ska 1809-1959. Świątynia Sybilli i Dom Gotycki (Cracow: Muzeum Narodowe, 1959).} In time the temple would house thousands of objects, most of them associated with Polish leaders, poets and kings, including some of the crown jewels.
The arrangement inside paralleled that of a sacred space: in the central niche on a red and gold background hung Sobieski’s ‘prophetic’ shield which he had received as a good omen before the battle of Vienna. Two semi-circular cabinets housed many smaller objects; on the top shelf were miniature sarcophagi with relics of men of letters and learning, hetmans and kings. All formed a background to an altar on which Izabela placed a casket with the most precious jewels of the Polish kings. Under the motto *Przeszłość Przyszłości* [the Past bequeath to the Future] they presented a disjointed, non-linear view of history, of time seen from outside, from the perspective of Providence. Originally the museum was called the Temple of Memory, later it received an almost messianic sacralization as the Church of Memory. Finally, in 1827 the title of the visitors’ book called the building the Temple of National Mementoes (il. 110).\(^{756}\)

The small space of the Temple of Sibyl could not house all of the rapidly growing collection and so in 1811 Czartoryska transferred the European section to the Gothic House (il. 111). There in her cabinet she put Shakespeare’s and Rousseau’s chairs, hung Leonardo da Vinci’s *Lady with an ermine*, Rembrandt’s *Landscape with the good Samaritan* and Raphael’s *Portrait of a young man*, but they all ceded precedence to portraits of the Czartoryski dynasty. The presence of a gothic building in a garden was well known to Czartoryska from Wörlitz or Stowe, but also her own imaginative preferences leaned towards medieval associations.

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(110) *Cross-section of the Temple of Sibyl in Pulawy*, by Chrystian Piotr Aigner, FWHOP.

(111) *The Gothic House in Pulawy*, by Willibald Richter, pen and ink, about 1840, FKCz, XV Rr 2233.
Czartoryska’s Gothic House was encrusted with hundreds of inscribed fragments taken from historical castles, churches and houses, in a manner more reminiscent of a shell house or an ark that had survived a deluge and carried with it the signs of a long journey. Reverend Jan Paweł Woronicz evoked this image in 1810 when he compared Poland to a broken pot smashed by God the Great Potter, but whose pieces were now collected on the walls of the Puławy Gothic House. The analogy of the broken pot had been used in the early seventeenth century by the Jesuit Piotr Skarga in his political warnings to the Commonwealth’s elite. His jeremiad sermons aroused renewed interest in the last decade before the Third Partition and Woronicz referred to them in his poem. Woronicz subscribed to the idea that the destruction of Poland was her punishment for past sins, but penance could lead to a radical renewal. He ended another poem, on the Puławy museum entitled Świątynia Sybilli [The Temple of Sybil] with the prophetic words of the Sybil: ‘this tomb will not bring your family to an end; Troy fell so that Rome could rise’. Now came the time of waiting, although only Providence knew how long, and - as Czartoryska often wrote - ‘Providence has its plan’. According to her Poland was experiencing a period of trials and for the moment national survival was possible only in the sphere of culture.

Zygmunt Vogel provided a remarkable drawing for Woronicz’s poem. It shows the Temple of Sibyl as it appears in its ruined form in Tivoli. Even the Puławy

757 All the architectural structures were built by the native of Puławy Piotr Chystian Aigner. Jan Paweł Woronicz, ‘Hymn do Boga. O dobrodziejstwach Opatrzności, narodowi polskiemu świadczenych po upadku Polski’, in Woronicz, Dzieła poetyczne wierszem i prozą (Leipzig: Librarie étrangère, 1853), vol. 1; 3, 10.

758 Piotr Skarga, Kazania sejmowe, także wzywanie do pokuty obywatelów Korony Polskiej (Cracow: WBP, 1857), 106.

759 Jan Paweł Woronicz, Sybilla. Poema historyczne we czterech pieśniach (Lwów: W. Niebylski, 1818).
promontory had changed into the precipice shaped by the river Anio (il. 112). He presented an alternative to Czartoryska’s concept of a repository outside of time. In his interpretation Puławy was only a vision, to which he added verses of Book VI, the most prophetic of all books of the *Aeneid*.

(112) *The Temple of Sibyl in Puławy*, Johann Gottlob Schumann after Zygmun Vogel, aquatint, 1807, FWHOP.

Although the collection itself is not the subject of this work, it is worth remembering that the believed authenticity of the objects was the paramount qualification for their inclusion in the collection. Each object was accompanied by
proof of provenance and the description of the acquisition often was phrased in the form of an emotional and personal reminiscence. Czartoryska made all curatorial decisions and many objects received an poignant justification in her unpublished three volumes of the ‘Great Catalogue of the Gothic House’. The museum was the repository of memory, which in many instances was the memory of the curator herself. Such a layout imitated human memory in a more natural manner than an intellectually logical system. It did not isolate the viewer with a structured methodology; instead it registered a traumatic event not in a rational narrative of causes and effects, or even in a chronological sequence, but in the objects connected to actual people and actual events. At Puławy Czartoryska did not want linear time and so she rejected the chronological catalogue made in 1825 by her librarian Łukasz Gołębiowski. Emotional understanding, personal memory and subjective experience were the real matter of the displays.

As in Gravelot’s representation of Memory, the experience of remembrance relied on the physicality of reception (il. 113). Whereas most of today’s museums deny the fragmentary nature of collections and construct narratives as complete wholes, here the concept of the fragmentary was paramount. Instead of living and vibrant environments relevant to our modern-day culture, at Puławy death and the past were the dominant themes.

In the Temple of Sibyl Czartoryska approached her subject in a way not unlike those employed in present memorials to genocide. It is no coincidence that those contemporary museums that undertake the aesthetics of the fragmentary are those that deal with death on an unthinkable scale. Izabela’s temple responded to the public recognition of defeat. Here the Sibyl spoke in prophetic terms, assigning to Poland a
messianic and sacrificial role until her penance was fulfilled. Many artefacts came from the treasury of the Czartoryskis, and so the presentation of the Polish history had a distinctive bias towards the role of the family, both in the past and in the future, as custodians of national heritage.

(113) Mémoire, by Hubert François Gravelot, in ‘Iconologie par figure’s; Paris 1789), 3-063, (image in common domain). Memory is represented in the company of muses, at a round temple, drawing the images of the five senses involved in the act of remembrance.

The museum was visited by large numbers of people from all three parts of
partitioned Poland: aristocracy, nobility, men of letters, soldiers, townsmen, schoolchildren and even peasants – exactly the type of audience Czartoryska had earlier tried to bring to Powązki.

The idea of creating a national museum came to Czartoryska, according to her own account, in 1793. Poland had lost her war with Russia in 1792, and in 1793 the Second Partition inflicted far worse losses than the first. The Kościuszko Insurrection was still to come in 1794 as was the Third and final Partition in 1795, but the feeling of loss must have been so profound that Czartoryska turned to the idea of creating a memorial for the nation’s history. She wrote in her memoirs:

In the year 1793 Poland died! A few centuries had prepared these circumstances that slowly shaped this sad and terrible age. Neither bravery nor courage could reverse time. (...) Our youth died there! The graduates of the Knights’ School brought glory to themselves and to the one who instilled in them the code of virtue and heroism. There the soldiers and civilians shed their blood; each Pole thought himself the happiest dying for this good cause. Every Pole felt how strong were our bonds with the country, with this earth where we were born, where our grandfathers and great-grandfathers rest, where our children grow, where there is friendship, gratitude and trust. Could we be indifferent to this land? Here everything connects us, language, customs, the place, the past, mementoes, hope! This earth was soaked in blood, destroyed with fire and sword. (...) At that moment in time an idea came to me to collect Polish mementoes, which I bequeath to posterity.  

While this passage referred to the duties of men, the following paragraph pinpointed the obligations for women:

Providence did not allow our sex to share in this ministry; we were left with only wishes, prayers and tears in the time of sorrow and despair. When one loses a mother, a child or a friend, one is attracted to the smallest mementoes bearing their memories. Every little thing becomes dear and treasured, and though they bring sadness, they surely bring relief. We bring the same feelings to these Polish mementoes that are

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760 Aleksandrowicz, Różne drogi, 109.
still ours.\textsuperscript{761}

For the first time Czartoryska set out in writing her view on women’s roles. Hitherto a woman’s position in Poland had offered many possibilities, especially for ladies from powerful families, and Czartoryska had taken advantage of these opportunities. Now she explicitly constructed the female role as that of a patriotic woman, a mother and a guardian of culture and history, in an atmosphere of helplessness. In this context collecting for posterity was the only positive action available to women, but at its heart lay the sensibility of mourning.

This was the position Izabela assigned to both of her surviving daughters. Subordinate and sacrificial patriotic women would carry the memory of the nation’s history. This role reached out to the traditional model of seventeenth-century women carrying on the family’s identity in the realities of war, but in the post-partition reality women’s public role was styled within the aesthetics of the supportive gesture, raising the next generation of future patriots. For herself Izabela still preserved the role of the spirited animator, the capable camp follower from Gołąb, the wise Jawnuta from the comic opera Cyganie, and the Spartan mother from opera seria. In her static operas virtue was victorious, bravery was rewarded and death for one’s country had a unique value. In her museum the objects on display were like props in a large tableau arranged to convey the same message.

Despite the fact that The Temple of Sibyl was opened in 1806, Czartoryska officially promoted the date of 1800 or 1801 as its inauguration, which, as Alina Aleksandrowicz suggests, connected it with the symbolism of the coming of the new.

\textsuperscript{761} I.Cz., ‘Mémoires et écrits divers’, BCz 6067, f. 65.
century. Several ceremonies took place to mark different stages of inauguration. At the laying of the corner stone in May 1798 Izabela singled out her daughter Zofia who ‘followed her mother’s tender gesture’ to begin the ritual. The ceremony had a distinctly sacral nature and took place to the accompaniment of providential verses from the Pulawy court poets and to the applause of assembled crowds.

The next stage – the ingress of trophies, swords and jewels was planned for 1804, a slow procession through the garden with young maidens dressed in white, carrying the objects along the path strewn with flowers. Julian Niemcewicz poetically framed the planned procession in the liturgical form of communal supplications to God to restore Poland’s independence. Unfortunately he left for America before seeing the performance and recorded only the planning stage.

In May 1806 the ceremony of the dedication of the ‘Church of the Sibyl’ took place. The procession of invited guests moved slowly across the garden towards the building. They were greeted by young women dressed in white veils. Izabela’s ward, Zofia Matuszewicz led them out of the temple. She was the only one dressed in red and carried a red cushion embroidered with gold. On it lay the key to the Sibyl, which Zofia offered to Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. One witness, Leon Dembowski, noted the sentimentality of the scene:

This music, this sight of collected Polish mementoes, the thought of the future, the gravity of the ritual and the solemn silence after the music stopped, had in it something sublime and at the same time something tender and piteous. Tears

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762 Jan Paweł Woronicz’s poem Świątynia Sybilly was supposedly written in 1801, but in fact it was written after 1811 or even as late as 1818.


764 Ibid., 18-19.
rushed from the eyes of many, they wept thinking about the past. The Prince was deeply moved and they all returned in a troubled and melancholy mood.\textsuperscript{765}

All these performances took the form of a moving \textit{tableau} and all involved the new generation of the Czartoryski women who were styled as the keepers of the collection.\textsuperscript{766} These \textit{tableaux} combined the sensibility of the tender heart with the element that had all the markers of the Sublime emotion – the overwhelming encounter with forces beyond human understanding. In the processional event Czartoryska attempted to communicate this experience to the audience. This communication, however, presupposed again the willing empathy of the audience with the content of the display. Only a few years earlier the revolutionary Parisian Festivals choreographed by Jacques-Louis David referred to the same emotional aesthetics of the Sublime in an effort to assimilate the overwhelming changes taking place in the society. The merging of the familiar and the new allowed the viewers to experience what Noel Parker called a ‘rehearsal of a self-image of the community’.\textsuperscript{767}

That self-image referred in Puławy only to the aesthetics of sanctification and mourning. By presenting the female line as the keepers of Polish history they avoided the conflicting visualizations that, for example, helped to bring down Robespierre after the Festival of the Supreme Being. The patriotic demonstrations at Puławy demanded only an emotional connection to the widely framed idea of the national loss. Three years later, in 1809 Czartoryska seized another opportunity to stage patriotic displays in Puławy. After the treaty of Tilsit in 1807 Prince Józef Poniatowski took command of the Polish army of the Duchy of Warsaw and during

\textsuperscript{765} Ibid., 20.

\textsuperscript{766} These ceremonies have been reconstructed by Alina Aleksandrowicz in ‘Wokół Świątyni Sybilli’.

\textsuperscript{767} Parker, \textit{Portrayals of revolution}, 66.
the course of the Franco-Austrian war of 1809 his forces liberated large parts of Austrian-ruled Galicia – including Puławy. On 29 June 1809 he arrived with a 12,000-strong army. Czartoryska staged a welcome procession for her liberator. It was a memorable event recalled in several memoirs: a dozen cavalrymen in armour from the Temple of Sibyl were in the lead, after them marched nearly a hundred citizens representing the recently freed Polish lands. They carried banners won from the Turks, Swedes and Tatars, and swords and batons that had once belonged to the Polish kings. Behind them walked a row of young women dressed in white and carrying royal attributes. Then came Princess Izabela, carrying a cushion with the key to the Temple of Sibyl. Behind her followed Adam Kazimierz, Adam Jerzy and Maria Wirtemberska, and in the next row Zofia Zamoyska with her own four sons. When the procession arrived at the military camp, the soldiers passed through the specially erected triumphal arch and the princess solemnly handed the key of the museum to Poniatowski (il. 114). She then addressed the assembled units in a rousing speech, received their communal oath of honour and finished with a song of her own composition, which glorified the valiant soldiers. After a field Mass in which all the troops took communion, the units were treated to a feast and to a theatrical performance of *The Spartan mother*, with Izabela as usual in the title role.

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768 Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi*, 151.
Triumphal arch erected in 1828, in place of the temporary triumphal arch of 1809, Puławy, photograph by Grzegorz Hałaś.

The pinnacle of the celebrations was Poniatowski’s visit to the Temple of Sibyl. This was an epic tableau in its own right, the image of a living legend surrounded by the attributes of his predecessors (Poniatowski’s paternal grandmother Konstancja had been sister to Izabela’s maternal grandfather Michał Czartoryski). Czartoryska then symbolically opened the second museum building, the Gothic House, although it did not yet contain its collection. The motto over the entrance, *Oby zwycięstwa nasze mogły zatrzeć pamięć klęsk doznanych* [May our victories erase the memory of defeats], referred to the optimism of the moment. Izabela presented herself as a second Dido rescuing the family treasures and continuing the nation’s existence in Carthage. This is what inscription on the key to Gothic House implied:

769 Ibid., 151.
Dux Femina Facti [The woman is the leader of the deed], taken from Virgil’s *Aeneid*.\(^{770}\) Poniatowski ordered his officers to single out the most valiant soldiers and allow them to visit the Temple of Sibyl – all were singled out. Czartoryska personally explained to them the meaning of each object.\(^{771}\) Entertainments and *fêtes* followed and the villagers were encouraged to support the troops with food (il. 113).

(115) *The column in front of the palace of Marynki with an inscription commemorating the visit of Prince Józef Poniatowski: Tu Woysko Polskie obozem stało MDCCCIXr. Pod dowództwem Xięcia Józefa Poniatowskiego* by I. Cegliński after A. Lerne, lithography, 1857, Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw, 8746B.

Poniatowski left Puławy on 3 July with most of his units, but over a hundred

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\(^{770}\) The real inauguration of the Gothic House took place on 25 March 1811, the birthday of Maria Wirtemberska, when Adam Kazimierz solemnly opened the building before the assembled crowds.

\(^{771}\) Ibid., 153.
wounded soldiers continued to receive care in the Greek Orangery, the makeshift infirmary organized by the palace doctor Kittel.\textsuperscript{772} Less severely injured men recuperated in villagers’ homes. All but two recovered.\textsuperscript{773} But the performances involving the military did not end with Poniatowski’s departure. For Czartoryska’s name day on 15 November 1809 large crowds again descended on Puławy: two hundred ‘first-rank officers and citizens’, members of the Duchy’s government, the battalion of Konstanty Czartoryski and the units of General Sokolnicki. After a votive Mass and orations gratefully lauding Izabela for her support of military widows and orphans, the troops were given a personal tour of the Temple of Sibyl. Following the ‘cheerful feast’ all gathered at the altar of Virtue placed in front of the palace. General Sokolnicki commenced the ‘offering of fire’ and with the cry ‘an offering from the army for the best of all Polish women’ the whole military contingent performed the ritual. The crowds then transferred to the garden where the soldiers lit torches on their bayonets and marched along the banks of the Vistula in the garden. Kajetan Koźmian wrote: ‘it was a miraculous sight to see a thousand burning bayonets walking to the sounds of the Dąbrowski Mazurka’.\textsuperscript{774}

The pleasures and entertainments that followed changed the solemn theme diametrically. The progressing illuminations in the garden introduced an element of aesthetic wonder, and the palace turned into an oasis of traditional ‘Sarmatian’

\textsuperscript{772} A few dozen carts brought the wounded from Sandomierz. Gracyan Wereżynski, ‘Opis historyczny Puław, dziś Nowo-Aleksandry i rys krótki, biograficzno-historyczny oraz rodowód J.O. Xiążąt Czartoryskich na podstawie dzieł historycznych polskich ułożony przez Gracyana Wereżynskiego, b. Rejenta Lubartowskiego w r. 1893 w Lublinie’. BCz III 3978.


\textsuperscript{774} Aleksandrowicz, \textit{Różne drogi}, 159. Dąbrowski’s Mazurka, the marching song of the Polish legions formed in Italy in 1797, with words by Józef Wybicki, had acquired wide popularity by 1809. In the twentieth century it became Poland’s national anthem.
hospitality. Soldiers were entertained there to a lavish feast hosted by six Vestal Virgins.

(116) *Polish soldiers in the garden of Puławy*, artist unknown, pen and ink, 1809, FKCz.

This continuous change of themes, moods and formats, with an underlying constant of traditional customs, points to the continuation of the aesthetics, which Czartoryska had first developed at Powazki. The new element introduced at Puławy was the combination of chivalric courage and sensibility. Soldiers at Puławy were not only styled as knights and endowed with the emotional response of the heart. They actively responded: they lit the altar of virtue, received wreaths of flowers, listened to performed verses and music, mingled with the assembled nobility and peasants. Soldiers knew the language of the *tableau* and could participate in it. A proof of it is a

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drawing commissioned by those who were nursed to health by Czartoryska in her orangery as a leaving gift of gratitude (il. 116). An anonymous artist showed them in a moving tableau in front of the orangery laying down crutches under an imaginary statue of Flora. A small detail was added as a personal touch: one of Izabela’s dogs jumps at the statue having recognized the likeness of his mistress. In 1816 Czartoryska met a soldier who had taken part in the 1809 displays. He told her: ‘you embraced me then, gave me money and three shirts, you fed me and gave me drink’. Czartoryska then remembered that ‘most singular moment in my life; we took all illusions as reality, our misfortunes were to end and lead to the most glorious future, we were to stand with other nations; I saw again that moment when I completely lost my head from joy and happiness and then another moment of so much bitterness and disappointment.’ Moved to tears, she gave the soldier a ducat and the two wept together.776

Their common hopes of Poland’s full restoration had been dashed in 1812/13. But as a result of the negotiations at Vienna, in 1815 a small Kingdom of Poland had been re-established, with Tsar Alexander I as its king. Adam Jerzy Czartoryski helped to write its relatively liberal constitution. Unfortunately that constitution would repeatedly be breached, both under Alexander and his much less sympathetic brother, Nicholas I. Many of the hopes associated with the ‘Congress Kingdom’ would end in disenchantment and ultimately, despair, but for the next fifteen years, until the Polish Rising of 1830-31, Puławy remained within a state whose day to day government was in the hands of Poles, and which afforded wide opportunities for cultural and

776 I.Cz., Dylizansem przez Śląsk, 37.
economic growth. For Pulawy these were years of stability.\textsuperscript{777}

Contemporary diaries relate two ways the space at Pulawy was experienced: as a guest of the Czartoryski family and as a tourist. The palace provided a guide and for many years Franciszek Gniewkowski, member of the household, carried out this function.\textsuperscript{778} He embodied the romanticized vision of the old ‘Sarmatian’ past: tall, dressed in the national costume, with his moustache and shaven head, he would open the doors of the Temple of Sibyl with a large ornamental key, stand at the casket with the royal jewels, point to the objects and emphasize the historically significant events and their connection to the artefacts in the narrative written by the Pulawy librarian.\textsuperscript{779} In the Temple of Sibyl, in a space charged with emotion, the passionate rhetoric of the guide glorified the national past and family chronicles, and melded them into a providential myth of national identity. By placing the museum in the private space of the garden, the repository assumed the character of an ark of the covenant, contracted between the nation and the Czartoryskis, guardians of Poland’s heritage.

After 1813, the reverential attitude continued in the lower of the two levels of the Temple. In the crypt below, in mysterious darkness, laid a sarcophagus devoted to the memory of Prince Józef Poniatowski. His last stand had been at the battle of Leipzig in 1813, where he died defending Napoleon’s retreat. His body was brought to Warsaw in 1815 and was interred in Cracow in the royal necropolis in Wawel Cathedral, amidst mass patriotic demonstrations. For Izabela, however, Puławy was

\textsuperscript{777} Zawadzki, \textit{A man of honour}, chs. 10-12.

\textsuperscript{778} Gniewkowski recited texts written by poet Jan Kruszyński and by the Pulawy librarian Łukasz Gołębiowski. Neither text has survived. See: Żygulski, \textit{Dzieje zbiorów}, 227. An interpretation of the collection can be reconstructed from the remaining in manuscript descriptions made by I.Cz. and members of the household: F. Morawski, M.W., K. z Tańskich Hoffmanowa, D. and A.E. Koźmian.

\textsuperscript{779} None of the two versions of the tour have survived.
his symbolic home. His memorial in the lower Temple, lit with six large torches, introduced a visionary, mystical atmosphere permeated with legends of sleeping knights.

Passing through darkness and death, before coming out into the light, resembled an initiation ceremony. All visitors, no matter their social standing, were admitted to this revelation, and then released into the world as keepers of the mystery of Polish resurrection. Large number of visitors travelled to have this experience: nobles, soldiers, schoolchildren brought for a lesson of patriotism, families, city dwellers and the upper stratum of villagers from the Czartoryski estates.780 A thorough tour of both buildings lasted at least three hours, physically and emotionally exhausting hosts and guests alike. Visitors subscribed to the vision of history presented to them and attested their loyalty by signing the visitors’ book.781 Carol Duncan has argued that a museum space has the power to define the relative standing of individuals within a community: those best prepared to perform the ritual, those most able to respond to its various cues are also those whose identities the museum ritual most fully confirms.782 Here the visitors subscribed to the identity of the cultural inheritors of the heroic past, but when they put their signature in the visitors’ book, in the hermitage, among the stones devoted to the memory of the faithful friends, where an old hermit associatively brought them back from the Sublime to the world of the Sentimental, they underwrote their allegiance to the Czartoryski version of the order

780 For example, 204 people signed their names in the Temple of Sibyl in August 1816: BCz 6141. See also: I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 29 August 1823.

781 See: Żygulski, Dzieje zbiorów, 227-233.

782 Duncan, Civilizing Rituals, 8.
of reality (il. 117).  

(117) *The hermitage near the grottoes in the Lower Garden in Puławy*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.11verso.

Czartoryska’s private guests had to wait for most of their stay for the privilege to enter the museum, anticipating the revelations. But if their attitude was insufficiently deferential, Czartoryska manipulated the time in such a way that they were never admitted. As a special favour she would take her guests around herself and

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welcomed recitations of heroic poetry. In a way, those who were allowed to participate in the sibylline mythology were conscious of their submission both to the concept of history and to the controlling will of their hostess. The Upper Garden was a public space, where the emotional constructions left no space for a personal, analytical reflection in any sense. All was a visionary message, as recorded by a female visitor: ‘the whole past of a great nation, with its memories, victories, glory, knights, hetmans, scientists, artists, as if a phantasmagoria passed before us and we kept blessing the hands of her, who collected these precious mementoes and arranged them in a harmonious and sequential whole’. 

For all its historical content, the whole museum experience could be seen as one great ritual of gratitude. Czartoryska presented her offering to the nation and the nation was expected to respond and enter into the cycle of exchanges based on emotional involvement. As in the tableaux of gratitude staged in the Ukraine in 1805, here it was the intention that mattered: objects of the historical value mingled with the flowers picked on the grave of Fingal, letters from friends and objects donated by ordinary soldiers. They were there as reciprocal expressions of gratitude.

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784 Klaudyna Działyńska once recited ‘Zółkiewski pod Cecorą’ by Julian Niemcewicz, who was present at the tour. Grzegorzewska, Dziesięć dni, 76-77.

785 Ibid., 74.
It is interesting though, that none of these large tableaux have been recorded in paintings or drawings, in a family with good drawing skills. The only surviving visual records relate to entertainments of social and relaxing nature, the ones which are mentioned in many memoirs, as incessant amusements invented by the indefatigable Czartoryska. These however should not be dismissed as irrelevant in the presence of the patriotic theme. The Temple of Sibyl towered over all of them, as a classical prop, whether visible from the garden open air theatre (il.118), where spectators sat on the grassy amphitheatre of the escarpment, or as a destination of the sentimental tributes. In an anonymous portrait a veritable nymph Zofia Matuszewicz, Izabela’s ward, is shown bringing flowers to the Temple, undoubtedly in a gesture of gratitude (il. 119).

786 Wolk, ‘Świątynia Sybili’, 128-129.
(119) Zofia Matuszewicz carrying flowers to the temple of Sibyl, artist unknown, n.d., in Zofia Kicka, Ze zwierzeń dziewczęcych, 1910), (image in common domain).

In another ink drawing, this time by Norblin, nymphs and satyrs mill about the Temple, entertaining themselves during a great classical fête given on the occasion of the visit of the Prussian Princess Louisa in 1803. The drawing shows them descending from the Upper Garden to the bank of the river. Another group emerges from the grottoes to burn incense on the altar to Friendship and Love (il. 120).
Entertainment with nymphs and satyrs at the Puławy grotto staged in 1803 in honour of Princess Louisa, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, sepia, Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe.

The choreography of those classical re-enactments repeats the painterly compositions of arcadian themes, one of which can be pinpointed as coming from Czartoryska’s personal encounter with Maria Cosway in London. From 1793 Czartoryska regularly staged a very successful tableau with a pantomime to Cosway’s design, *The hours going from Aurora to Night*. It represented dancing nymphs who personified the fleeting charms of nature to the verses of *Ode on the Spring* by Thomas Gray (il. 121).787

787 The composition was engraved by Francesco Bartolozzi in April 1788 and received unreserved praise from Cosway’s friend Jacques-Louis David: ‘one could not make poetry more ingenious and more natural’. Maria Cosway met David in the salons of Izabela Lubomirska and the
There were games in the Upper Garden, fêtes on the island of Kępa, and races and battles on the river Łacha (il. 122). The splendid moving tableau of the Turkish embassy paraded up and down the Deep Road near the Greek House to the amusement of the picnicking company.\textsuperscript{788} All of them involved an element of progress in the landscape as the defining constituent taking place of the narrative. All anglophile Duc D’Orleans and David seriously contemplated travelling to London on the Cosways’ invitation. Philippe Bordes, ‘Jacques-Louis David’s Anglophilia on the Eve of the French revolution’, \textit{The Burlington Magazine}, 134/1073 (1992), 482-490 (485).

\textsuperscript{788} Janusz Ryba, \textit{Maskarady oświeconych} (Katowice: WUŚ, 1998), 32-33.
revolved in the shadow of the Temple of Sibyl. Its monumental scale in the limited space of the Upper Garden could not be dismissed when a variety of entertainments took place in its proximity, not all of them of solemn ethos.

(122) View of the Marynki palace in Puławy, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, watercolour, n.d., FWHOP, XV-Rr.5.

The conclusion must be that the temple functioned as an essential element of the stage design to a variety of scenarios. In the same way we should see the renditions of the Temple of Sibyl in other structures associated with Czartoryska: her estate opposite Puławy called Góra, Magdalena Morska’s palace at Zarzecze of 1817 and Stanisław Kostka Potocki’s Morysinek of 1811, all built by Czartoryskis’ architect, Piotr Chrystian Aigner (il.123).789

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789 Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, Palac w Zarzeczu i grupa palace z rotundą w narożu

Scene VI

Walking among the monuments

(124) *A stone with an inscription ‘il est bien doux de posseder ce qu'on aime, Cecile’* [it is sweet to own what we love, Cecile], by Cecylia Dembowska (?), drawing FKCz, Cracow, XV-Rr.135.
In the chapter of her *Myśli* devoted to monuments Czartoryska’s first piece of advice was: don’t. She continued with a list of common mistakes: warped wooden vases fallen over and remaining half-buried in muck, oil-painted metal vases, pealing, rusting, blown by wind, monuments made of plaster, brick or concrete splitting, chipping, flaking, crumbling. ‘Surely,’ she argued, ‘a garden may be beautiful without an urn, a pyramid or a vase’. However, she agreed that sometimes there was space for an appropriate dedication to filial piety, friendship, an achievement, as long as the main principle was fulfilled, to remain true to one’s motives:

he, who wishes to place a monument, needs first honestly to examine whether the memento will remain always pleasant and needed, and also let him deliberate, whether indeed he places this souvenir truly for himself, for his own sentiment, or whether he acts out of a vain desire to flaunt it to others. This sentiment not only validated the intention and content of a monument, but as we read, it privileged the conceptual idea over the artistic form: ‘a monument of the simplest form will be most engaging, if it comes from true tenderness’.

Such monuments existed, therefore, mainly in intentions, memories and associations. A visitor to Puławy, especially a stranger, had to negotiate the private and the public messages transmitted through the monuments. The two largest ones in the garden were the sarcophagus to the memory of Maria Zofia and August

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792 Ibid.
Czartoryski and Francesco Lazzarini’s sculpture of Tancred and Clorinda. It could not have been accidental that in 1800 Czartoryska erected in the Elysian Fields a copy of the sarcophagus of Scipio Africanus (il. 125).

(125) Sarcophagus of August and Maria Czartoryskis in Puławy, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.21.

The tomb of Scipio had only been discovered in 1780, but it immediately


794 The sarcophagus was ordered in Rome by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski in 1799. Czartoryska, Listy księży Izabelli, 49.
entered into republican discourse on the nature of citizenship and its connection to land. Scipio, the ‘Roman Hannibal’, exemplified a military hero as well as a model citizen-farmer. He and his opponent Hannibal held each other in mutual respect. His daughter Cornelia was mother of the Gracchi brothers, who unsuccessfully tried to prevent the ruin of Rome by introducing land reforms. The visual themes of Scipio and Cornelia were known from works by Nicolas Poussin, and at the end of the eighteenth century enjoyed a renewed interest through paintings by Joshua Reynolds and Angelica Kauffman (il. 126).

(127) *Cornelia Mother of the Gracchi presenting her sons as her treasures*, Francesco Bartolozzi after Angelica Kauffman, etching, 1788, AN762884001© The Trustees of the British Museum.
The connection between Scipio and Hannibal must be seen as particularly rich in associations in Puławy. Only a few years earlier Adam Jerzy and Konstanty Czartoryski, the two Hannibals as Suvorov called them, left for exile in St Petersburg. The Puławy sarcophagus was dedicated to the memory of August and Maria Zofia Czartoryski, for whom the priority was the land. The persistent legend that the sarcophagus contained August Czartoryski’s sword may have referred to the Spartan practice of burying an effigy of a king.\(^{795}\)

(127) Tancred and Clorinda, marble, by Francesco Lazzarini, photograph by Łukasz Komsta.

Another monument, the statue of Tancred and Clorinda, came from Stanislaw August’s collection in Warsaw (il. 127). Prince Jabłonowski purchased it in the sale

of the statuary from Łazienki in August 1806 as a surprise gift for Izabela. The statue marked the central axis of the vista from the main windows of the palace. Tancred, the crusading hero of Torquatto Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata*, tragically wounded in battle his beloved Clorinda, the heroic Muslim defender. Dying in Tancred’s embrace, she converted to Christianity.  

This engaging and valuable marble sculpture was also problematic for the visitor. It demanded of the viewer not only acquaintance with the story, but also the ability to move in multiple levels of rich allusions. After a persuasive lesson in Polish patriotism, a visitor to Puławy could feel at a loss looking for connections to messages which hitherto had remained coherent. Sabina Grzegorzewska preferred to see in this place ‘some kind of a scene from the national history, like the death of Ludgarda, which would present an equally tragic effect’. The Czartoryskis however repeatedly played *Gerusalemme Liberata* in their theatrical gatherings, emulating the gestures of the statues and domesticating chivalric attitudes and ideals. In Puławy Tancred’s virtues transferred associatively onto their cousin Prince Józef Poniatowski, ‘the first among Polish knights’. Even his own soldiers referred to him as Tancred. Literary studies by Alina Aleksandrowicz have shown that the poets of Puławy further linked the mythology of Tancred to the battles of Grunwald in 1410 and Vienna in 1683, victories in which the Czartoryskis’ forebears had taken part. The chivalric theme connected both the medieval and the classical associations.

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797 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni*, 76. Ludgarda was the wife of Przemysł II, and was supposedly murdered on his orders before he became king of Poland. The story of her murder was popularized in poems and tragedies by Adam Naruszewicz and Franciszek Karpiński.

The monuments in the Lower Garden continued the classical theme. Marble monuments punctuated the walk: the statue of Virtue from Powązki, the sleeping puma at the entrance to the natural grottoes set in the promontory wall, a pyramid, an urn, and a cube (il. 128). The last two are most interesting. While undoubtedly connecting with the theme of aristocratic representation, their smaller scale encouraged a change in reception, a more personal and individualized approach.


Here the object of reflection was a personal sentiment but directed to a more general conclusion: ‘let him set an inscription, not a several dozen verses, but a few words only or one word, in which he expresses a feeling or intention. Such a stone

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799 The statue of Virtue appeared also in Norblin’s painting on the pedestal before the Temple of Sibyl before 1804. On 23 February 1800 Izabela wrote to Adam Jerzy asking for a sculpture of a faun or a panther of a good size for an outdoor display, but not too expensive, because she was concentrating on the building of the Temple of Sibyl. She also thanked him for the sarcophagus of Scipio and the obelisk (pyramid), later used as the commemorative stone for Grzegorz Piramowicz, in: Czartoryska, *Listy księży Izabelli*, 49.
will for centuries in the future immortalize the aim of the person who placed it there’ and ‘here many will share the feelings of the author’. The creation of the monument and the viewing were described from the standpoint of the owner. In effect the owner, her taste, her memory was the object of concern.

Another monument, in the abstract form of the cube, received an alternative meaning in two drawings by Norblin. In the first drawing the cube, about a metre high with an inscription Przeszłość (the Past), was clearly connected with the discourse of the Temple of Sibyl above (il. 129). The young sapling planted beside it directed the associations towards the future.


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Another drawing on the theme of the past and the future shows a small baby asleep at the foot of the monument (il. 130).

(130) *A child asleep at the monument to the Past*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, pen and ink, n.d., FKCz, Rr.30.

Izabela added an explanation to the scene at the bottom: ‘In the year 1800 a village woman brought breakfast to her husband. While they were eating on the bank of the Łacha, she placed her child under the monument to the Past. The tired baby fell asleep, and the cornflowers fell out of his hands. It seemed that the Future was asleep under the Past’.\(^{801}\) There were always peasants in the garden. Twenty-three to thirty

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\(^{801}\) Whelan, ‘On the statuary’, 64.
people worked in the pleasure grounds in spring and summer months, fourteen to seventeen in autumn, and eight in December. They were paid to clean the garden, weed and dig. Mowing the grass counted as part of their pańszczyzna (labour services). These were mostly women, while men dug the ground for planting and worked on the banks of the Łacha, which needed continuous attention as it was prone to silting.

On the one hand, this scene was an opportunity to visualize the same idea of time as was performed above in the Temple of Sibyl; on the other, the drawing articulated Izabela’s desire to interpret everyday events in providential terms. The child and his parents here endorsed the vision and the role of their princess, as their guardian and guide from the past into the future. The setting of this monument indicated another way of negotiating the classical with the homemade pastoral.

The pervasive theme of continuity is also shown in a drawing by Maria Wirtemberska, depicting the planting of a young tree beside the old one, in a manner with suggests a personal and reverential ceremony (il. 131).

The essential motive for establishing a monument was therefore the sincerity of feeling. The monuments ranged from inscriptions cut in stones, to those cut in tree bark. At least thirty were recorded, but there were more; one author admiringly called

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802 As an example in the first week of June 1793 there were 23 people in the garden. Fifteen of those were women, they earned 3 zlotys for a week. Eight men earned 6 zlotys each, ‘Ogród Puławski’, Regestr robiących Ludzi w Ogrodzie Puławskim 3 Junii przez 6 dni 1793, BCz 6027.

803 These were good wages, twice as high as other vegetable gardens could offer. The gardener at Włostowice complained to Prince Adam Kazimierz that he had difficulties in recruiting labour for weeding, digging and watering his garden because he could not compete with the rates in the palace gardens. There they enjoyed 25 groszy and even 1 zloty, while he could offer them only 10 groszy a day. Even his own undergardener did not want to stay with him for 15 groszy a day. Therefore he implored the palace administration to divert the labour to his garden, ‘Ogród Puławski’, 13 April 1792, BCz 6027.
their accumulation a virtual labyrinth.\textsuperscript{804}

(131) \textit{Planting a tree}, Maria Wirtemberska, n.d., Muzeum Czartoryskich, FKCz, XV-Rr.510/7 recto.

Czartoryska warned about hazards of accumulation: ‘the most tender sentiment and the most noble feeling might be lost, when the completion is flawed and carried without taste. Here reason is needed to remedy this.'\textsuperscript{805} And so a single word \textit{Kiedyś}

\textsuperscript{804} Antoni Amborski (1803-1869) was an alumnus of the Pulawy Palace Institute for School Teachers and Organists. On graduation, he became headmaster of the elementary school in Włostowice near Pulawy.

\textsuperscript{805} Czartoryska, \textit{Myśli}, 52.
(once) accompanied the vase on a tall pedestal (il. 132).


In her book Czartoryska attached emotional significance to an urn she had seen in England:

in a famous place in England, called Mount Edgecombe, situated on a high cliff over the sea, there is an urn placed among old dark firs; the sea thrashes and sprays the rock below. This urn set to commemorate a lost friend entices [us] to reflect. The whole inscription comes to one phrase only: *I lived*. The longest poems, the most splendid invocations would not awaken such feeling as this word, in such a well chosen place.\footnote{Czartoryska, *Myśli*, 54. Mount Edgecumbe in is the only place mentioned in the *Thoughts*}
Czartoryska’s most important advice for laying out stones concerned the location:

it needs to be well chosen and appropriate. Never place a monument in clear view, never so exposed that it becomes disagreeable before we know what it means. Such mementoes need to be graced with silence, mystery, curiosity and the desire to find them, or with astonishment from those who do not know about them […] Place a smooth stone in the centre of a few Italian poplars, or under an old oak. Carve in it not several dozen verses, but an inscription in a few words, or just one word expressing a feeling or intention. […] The stone will not deteriorate, it will soon cloak itself with moss, flowers will envelop it, trees will shade it; and everyone will admit that its view is more charming, than monuments made of wood, tin or plaster, which are pretentious and not beautiful, costly and not durable; their decay is disgusting, not sad.\textsuperscript{807}

Willows, poplars, birches, and dark enclosures complemented the stones and were particularly suitable for elegiac memories (il. 133). Uplifting sentiments of gratitude or hope needed an accompaniment of fresh colours, clear water, flowers and flowering trees. In this setting, where there was no guide, visitors wandered on their own along narrow paths, finding stones by chance, yielding to the mood of nature and inscribed memories.

\textsuperscript{807} Ibid.

Unlike the advice in the book recommending general invocations, in Puławy they often pointed to particular, individual relationship: ‘Good Pole, faithful friend, noble, good-natured, gentle in manner, such was Bona Woyna’ (Bonawentura Woyna), or: ‘In Gratitude for Friendship of Józef Koblański, I.X.C.’ (Izabela Xiężna Czartoryska). Koblański had been the parish priest from nearby Końskowola, a prominent
spokesman for national education, while Woyna had been a *major domus*; both had been close companions of Czartoryska in her everyday work (il. 134).

(134) The only surviving stone. It is devoted to the memory of Bonawentura Woyna, photograph by A. Whelan.

In this respect, stones expressed an individual and immutable relationship. If visitors were inclined to contemplate the nature of their own gratitude or friendship, they could never forget who placed this monument there, just as Czartoryska wrote in her book: ‘Such a stone will for centuries in the future immortalize the aim of the person who placed it there’.

The stone would be a visible embrace of the memory, or coming to terms with feelings. Drawings from the Czartoryski Archives show some attitudes to stones exhibited in Puławy.

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*Czartoryska, Myśli, 54.*
Several of them presented views of a particularly large stone with an inscription: ‘This way I am going to my dear Maria’ (il. 135).

(135) A stone with an inscription Tędy idę do mojej Marysi, by Pierre-Simon-Benjamin Duvivier after Maria Wirtemberska, aquatint, FKCz, XV R. 10.048.

It must have been placed somewhere along the path leading towards Marynki, the small palace of Maria Wirtemberska. The size of the monuments conferred the intention of the owner, didactically articulating an appropriate type of sensibility. By embracing the stone, the visitor accepted all the contextual relationships with it, entered the private work of realized ideal relationships and saw them in the context of the towering Temple of Sibyl.
Scene VII

A pastoral with peasants

(136) A sunset or landscape with Argus guarding Io, J. Wood after Claude Lorrain, 1746, engraving, album *Landscapes from Claude Lorrain, Gaspard Poussin, London*
No one could deny that Princess Izabela had a genuine affection for her peasants. She herself wrote:

to put it simply, I like and respect our peasants; I would like to use all my powers to lead them to a better life, enlighten them in their errors and amuse them in their moments of rest. They, who toil their whole lives for our benefit, who are always bent towards the earth, soak it with their sweat, they, though themselves deprived and destitute feed us and are the source of our comforts. For this reason they are worthy of our respect and gratitude.809

After she died, a memorial eulogy called her the Princess of Peasants, the female counterpart of King Kazimierz the Great:

she mixed with peasants, protected their property, encouraged their honesty and motivated them to work, supported them in their misfortunes and incessantly cared for their wellbeing. She devoted to them the most beautiful part of the garden and specially designed it for their entertainment.810

*Aria: I am happy to be a serf*

After all the commendations of the Puławy rustic idyll, underscored by the innumerable poetic expressions of gratitude by peasants preserved in the Czartoryski Archives, comes the inescapable reflection that these fellow men at Puławy were still serfs. The Czartoryskis freed some, but only selectively.811

The endowments of liberty were ceremonial occasions and took the format of a *tableau*, stylized in an appropriate simplicity. Czartoryska recorded one of those

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809 Czartoryska, Pielgrzym w Dobromilu, p. VII. See also her letter to M.W., Puławy, 10 July 1815, BCz 6140.

810 Kronika Emigracyi Polskiey, vol. 4, 182.

811 On peasant reform thought see Michalski, ‘,,Wolność’” i „własność” chłopska’.
during her travels to the Ukraine in 1805. Prince Stanisław Jabłonowski arranged a performance of a village wedding as a spectacle of gratitude to his aristocratic guest. In Poland aristocratic fêtes traditionally incorporated the spectacle of a peasant marriage as a display of benevolent generosity and a colourful recognition of landowning obligations. Sometimes these peasant weddings would be only theatrical entertainments played by the peasants or by the guests and members of the household. The one Jabłonowski arranged for Czartoryska was real. Izabela described the moving tableau in her memoir:

we sat down to a meal among the most beautiful trees, on the fresh green, among the hanging garlands of flowers, wreaths of roses, cornflowers, myrtles, various poppies. Suddenly we heard country songs and soon afterwards we saw a crowd of country folk coming our way. When they came closer it appeared that there were two wedding parties among them. Both couples, so young and fresh with smiles and happiness in their faces drew towards me and told everyone that in memory of my visit the Prince Jabłonowski had granted them freedom in perpetuity and bestowed land and a farm on them. With it he also waved all obligations for a quarter [of a year] in all his villages. This day and this reception have engrained itself in my heart forever. I will never know how to repay him!\footnote{Whelan, ‘Tableau vivant’, 367.}

Prince Jabłonowski’s gesture may seem as one of emotional benevolence. In reality he had tried to abolish serfdom in his estates two decades earlier, but the experiment had failed. The peasants abandoned themselves to drink and squalor, and the prince was forced to reverse the reforms. This time he proceeded with caution, freeing only select and promising peasants. The Czartoryskis adopted a similar method in their own domains, and the tableau visualized both the selective nature of the process and the total control of the owner. Jabłonowski changed these people’s lives in a private
gesture of friendship and gratitude to Czartoryska, as a gift between two aristocrats who shared the same ideas. He did it in a form that was purposefully artless, in the garden, which here stood for nature. The language of the tableau did not require sophisticated culture and therefore in theory could form a mode of communication with peasants. In reality Czartoryska’s tableaux demanded from her peasants an approval of their enserfed state if they were to perform their roles in visual terms. The extent of the success of this emotional coercion is shown by the example of an old Cossack from Granów, who in gratitude to Czartoryska refused to be freed by her: ‘I have been a serf and I have been happy. I do not want to change my station, because I have an attachment for it and I want that my children will be as faithful to the Czartoryskis as I have been.’

The problems relating to freeing peasants were multiple. The number of peasants working on the land was the measure of its return, and productivity was specified in terms of the numbers of hearths rather than in acreage. The survival of the estates was not possible without peasant labour services. There were several experiments in the Czartoryski circle to change the corvée (pańszczyzna) into rent. One of them, by the Grand Chancellor of the Crown Andrzej Zamoyski in his estates near Kutno in 1767, ended in disaster. In the 1770s Adam Kazimierz worked unsuccessfully for rural reform, although the sejm of 1767-68 at least forbade landowners to sentence their villagers to death. The enserfed peasants’ legal situation remained little better than outright slavery. The proposals made by Andrzej Zamoyski and his team of codifiers in 1778 for changing the peasants’ legal status were not accepted. The Constitution 3 May 1791 finally took the peasants under the care of law

813 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 16 September (1805?), BCz 6030.
and government, but little changed in practice, while in 1794 Tadeusz Kościuszko promised them personal freedom, but with the Partitions these reforms were not implemented.\textsuperscript{814}

In 1795 Puławy became part of the Habsburg Monarchy. Although the late Emperor Joseph II had been forced to revoke most of his planned revolutionary changes in agrarian relations, he had succeeded in restricting the corvée, granting peasants access to state courts, and in abolishing the more demeaning aspects of personal servitude. These reforms remained in place, but were only partially extended to the newly acquired Polish territories in 1799.\textsuperscript{815} In 1809 Puławy was incorporated into the Duchy of Warsaw following its expansion after the Austrian Empire’s defeat at the hands of Napoleonic France and its Polish allies. The constitution of the Duchy, whose first draft was dictated by Napoleon himself, declared freedom and equality under the law for all citizens, including the peasants. However, the government decreed in December 1807 that all the land that was used by peasants, including their buildings, livestock and tools, belonged to the landowners. Peasants therefore could be removed from the land they cultivated at six months’ notice. Given changing agrarian methods, this meant expulsions on a large scale. If peasants were to stay, their situation was exploited and they were faced with growing obligations and hardship. In 1815 Puławy came under the rule of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, which endorsed the December 1807 decree on the ownership of land. The peasants now found themselves between eviction and exploitation. If they stayed they


continued to fulfil the *corvée* obligations and were effectively tied to the land.\(^{816}\) Grand gestures such as the granting of relatively generous and secure tenancies to the peasants of Końskowola by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski were rarely copied by less wealthy landowners.\(^{817}\) Within this context Czartoryska’s essentially conservative concept of lordship can be viewed as a refuge from the abuses encountered elsewhere.\(^{818}\)

The selective freeing of peasants continued as part of the rituals accompanying major events, even national occasions such as the commemoration of the visit of the new ‘King of Poland’, Tsar Alexander I, in 1815 to Warsaw. The government of the Congress Kingdom proposed freeing a few exemplary peasants from each province. They were to be singled out and recommended by their masters and endowed with land, house, horses, oxen and tools. Czartoryska approved of this measure which would free only fifty ‘happy peasants who could appreciate the source of their happiness’. At the same time in 1815 she endorsed the planned peasant reforms which followed her husband and eldest son’s recommendations on freedom of movement: ‘as long as the peasant lives on land, he should be obliged to fulfil his obligations, but if he wishes to leave, he should be allowed to do so.’\(^{819}\) These reforms were not implemented.\(^{820}\)


\(^{817}\) Zawadzki, *A man of honour*, 265-266.

\(^{818}\) For the economic bases of the gardening movement in different partitions see: Whelan, ‘Izabela Czartoryska’, 287-290.

\(^{819}\) I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 1815, BCz 6030.

\(^{820}\) Zawadzki, *A man of honour*, 266.
In the absence of suitable laws and structures of social support, the most practical measure seemed a gradual introduction of peasants to self-sufficiency.\textsuperscript{821} Stanisław Zamoyski, Czartoryska’s son-in-law, devised a plan for his estates, whereby the award of freedom would follow a long period of education and training.\textsuperscript{822}

Mass education was the key to progress. Both Adam Kazimierz and Adam Jerzy devoted themselves to the cause of national education between the 1760s and 1820s, while Izabela Czartoryska created three schools in her estate in Włostowice. There was also an Institute for Village Teachers and Organists established in the palace at Puławy. In 1816 Czartoryski founded the support framework for his peasants, the Benevolence Fund and a Merchant, Building and Cloth Fund. It was used by the inhabitants of Puławy and Końskowola, and later also by people of Kazimierz and Wąwolnica.\textsuperscript{823}

Some of the Puławy peasants were able to read and write, but not in the numbers that might be expected from Czartoryska’s efforts.\textsuperscript{824} Villagers were however more polite and more confident in their interactions than were commonly encountered elsewhere in the central Polish lands, and showed higher levels of historical and social awareness.\textsuperscript{825} Antoni Amborski, himself an alumnus of the


\textsuperscript{822} Burnett, \textit{View}, 111.

\textsuperscript{823} Gracyan Wereżyński, ‘Opis historyczny Puław’, BCz III 3978.

\textsuperscript{824} Gołębiowska, \textit{Oświata i wychowanie}, 86.

\textsuperscript{825} Ibid.
School of Organists took charge of education in Włostowice, while the parish priests Józef Koblański and his predecessor Grzegorz Piramowicz were prominent educational reformers in the highest circles. They made sure, however, that the children not only learned to read and write, but were also instructed in the reciprocal relationships of gratitude. In 1820 Izabela wrote to Maria of the spectacle the village boys had prepared for the end of the school year, dedicated to her ‘honour and glory’ and called Wdzięczni właścianie [The grateful villagers]: ‘They sang very well and the whole arrangement moved me’.

Amborski himself wrote a description of Puławy as a gift of gratitude in 1829, but the developments of the November Insurrection of 1830 prevented it from being published.

Izabela wrote a book with prayers for her village children Książka do pacierzy dla dzieci wiejskich in 1815, and in 1818/1821 completed a two-volume school textbook called Pielgrzym w Dobromilu [Pilgrim in Dobromil]. Elżbieta Cesarz has shown that although Pielgrzym went into nineteen editions (the last one in 1889) and was adopted as an official textbook for schools in the Congress Kingdom between 1818-1824, its relatively moderate price (6 złotys 16 groszy) was still absurdly high for any peasant family. It was nevertheless used by the teachers’ institutes, certainly until 1830, and was endorsed by the prolific historian Joachim Lelewel.

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826 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 4 May 1820, BCz 6141. The school in Włostowice was rebuilt in 1823. I.Cz. to M.W. 30 September 1823, BCz 6141.

827 Antoni Amborski, ‘Opis Puławy’.

828 The Czartoryskis had their printing presses in Dobromil. Izabela Czartoryska, Książka do pacierzy dla dzieci wiejskich, 1815; Eadem, Pielgrzym; Eadem, Pielgrzym w Dobromilu czyli Dalszy ciąg nauk.

829 Elżbieta Cesarz, Chłopi w polskiej myśli historycznej doby porozbiorowej 1795-1864. Syntezy, paraosyntezy i podręczniki dziejów ojczyźny (Rzeszów: WSP, 1999), 104.

830 Ibid.
contained a simple account of Polish history with an emphasis on cult personalities and their victories, but also gave practical advice on good husbandry, cleanliness and duties to parents and masters. Czartoryska emphasized to the peasants the need to be happy in their assigned station in life, to be obedient without coercion and to work willingly and with goodwill according to the wishes of their masters. Indeed she advocated an emotional attachment towards their lords. In the fragment relating to the rule of the ‘king of the peasants’, ‘the best of kings for the Polish nation’ Kazimierz the Great, Czartoryska framed his legal reforms in his fatherly feelings towards the most oppressed and asked the peasants to preserve his memory with respectful gratitude. She certainly intended to raise the national consciousness of the peasants with her historical anecdotes, as she put it: ‘every Pole should know something about his country’, ‘you should love this land that bore you over anything else’, but nothing in Pielgrzym points to crossing the divide which would make the peasants citizens of the nation.

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831 Ibid., 102-103.
832 Ibid., 102. Cesarz shares the same perspective.
Enter grateful and deserving villagers

The part of the garden with peasants was the island of Kępa. The Temple of Sibyl towered over it like the Italian original over the Horatian landscape; the statue of Virtue from Powązki stood facing it at the edge of the garden river and a semi-circular bridge, inspired by the one at Powązki, provided the entrance. Kępa had always formed a visual extension of the pleasure grounds, but it was principally an agricultural area and became Czartoryska’s space for rural engagements. In 1800 she announced: ‘I am going to be a farmer. I am immersed in husbandry. I sow wheat, rye and other grain. I make various experiments’. \(^{833}\) She did not, in fact, seriously engage in experimental agriculture, but her letters do show some practical knowledge of farming and livestock management.

After the death of Adam Kazimierz in 1823 Izabela spent a good deal more time on Kępa. She made roads, and built a farm.\(^{834}\) The gardener at Kępa was the local peasant Białas. Pastures became recognized as a particularly Polish part of the landscape, with the ‘idyllic sight’ of cattle, not sheep (il. 137).\(^{835}\)

\(^{833}\) I.Cz. to M.W., Pulawy, 14 July 1800, BCz 6137. I.Cz. to K.D., Lubień, 12 August (1815?), BCz 6137, no. 42, f. 90.

\(^{834}\) I.Cz. to M.W., 30 July 1818, 29 August 1823, 30 September 1823, BCz 6141.

\(^{835}\) Giżycki, O przyozdobieniu, vol. 1, 25.
Izabela had her own house on Kępa, modest on the outside but comfortably furnished inside (il. 138). In a way this too continued ideas from Powązki. Although she was surrounded with real peasants and not poetically inspired shepherds, her interactions with them nevertheless carried the markers of similar staged rituals. The Georgic concept of virtuous living drawing its strength from work on the land was exemplified by old and ‘deserving’ peasants who lived on the island in the grace and favour cottages. Others worked on the land, in the dairy and in the deer park. Every Sunday and on feast days peasants came to dance and amuse themselves on the swings and carousels (il. 139). Izabela placed a commemorative stone with an inscription *I tu dobrze* [it is good here], apparently after a peasant had said this when he rested on the
grass. Czartoryska often met her peasants on her walks, listened to their life stories and then remembered the encounters when passing through the same places. Kępa can be seen as the area where sensibility and idealized relationships merged. Not quite a village, not really a garden, a meeting place for two groups united by the virtue of working on land, this was an area of apparently relaxed behaviour for nobles and peasants alike.

(138) Izabela Czartoryska’s house on Kępa with the tree called The Protector, by Armand Cassagne after Barbara Czernof, coloured lithography, FKCz, XV-R.13.484a/5.

836 ‘Podróż po Kępie Puławskiej. (Opisana w r. 1828)’ in Pokłosie. Zbieranka na korzyść sierot (Leszno, Ernest Gunther, 1853), 32.

837 I.Cz., ‘Mémoires et écrits divers’, BCz 6067, f. 3.
Many visitors reported that the peasants were contented, healthy, clean and generally well taken care of (il. 140). However, Ksavery Prek had noticed that the Puławy peasants were exceptionally dependent and helpless. In the meantime though, under the benevolent patroness, the land blossomed; the spaces designed by Czartoryska reflected her aesthetic preferences and the people responded to the modes of conduct she arranged for them.
(140) Village yard, by A.C. (Adam Jerzy Czartoryski?), watercolour, FKCz, XV-Rr.143.

On the occasions of Izabela’s name day (17 November) and birthday (3 March) more affluent peasants, townspeople and lesser noblemen from the Czartoryski dependencies made a journey to pay homage to their protectoress. On the Feast of the Assumption (15 August), the traditional harvest festival, Izabela held an annual ceremony of honouring the most industrious and charitable peasants. On these days prizes were awarded, the parish priest said open-air mass; a feast was served for all the peasants, and dances and merriment continued until sunset.

The rural guests were perfectly conversant with the sentimental expression of feelings and carved their names on trees, grateful invocations on window frames, shutters and doors of Czartoryska’s house and wrote inscriptions on large stones,
which were later fixed by masons. Izabela responded: she erected a monument to the people of Przemyśl, a stone arcade with an urn and another one, a cut cube with a cupid on top holding a tablet with a gilded inscription: ‘Tender gratitude dedicates this memento to the land of Przemyśl.’


She was particularly fond of the inhabitants from the county of Przemyśl, it was a lifelong relationship based on the affection for the province, where another important Czartoryski family seat, Sieniawa, was situated. In return, the peasants from Przemyśl

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838 Carving in bark of trees had a tradition in the family circle: four generations of Czartoryskis (and the Zamoyski line) carved their names on an oak in Castle Howard. The tree is no longer there. Zamoyska, *Wspomnienia*, 297. Izabela left an account of an inscription dedicated to her and carved into a poplar tree by Marshal (Ignacy?) Potocki. The words *To Polka* [She is a Pole] were a pun on the name of the tree: *topola*. In: I.Cz., ‘Mémoires et écrits divers’, BCz 6067, 98.
placed a stone, assuring the Princess of their eternal gratitude. Both monuments conversed with each other forever (il. 141).\textsuperscript{839}

It was within this peasant-centred universe that Czartoryska situated her own affection for her daughters. In 1823 Izabela erected a marble cross for her elder daughter, Maria, while in 1826 Zofia placed a statue of the Madonna in the curiously bent boughs of an old willow (il. 142).\textsuperscript{840}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image}
\caption{Maria's cross, by Maria Wirtemberska, watercolour, n.d., FKCz, XV-Rr.510/2 recto.}
\end{figure}

In the Upper Garden references to religion were scant, alluding only to

\textsuperscript{839} They stood not far from the English Stairs leading from the palace to the Lower Garden.

\textsuperscript{840} Prek, \textit{Czasy i ludzie}, 44.
Providence or to the Highest Being. On Kępa, however, an open invocation to God indicated a simple and programmatically naïve spirituality of people in the natural order. The rose trailed willow had previously been used for theatricals involving nymphs, old peasants intoning songs and arrangements of love and gratitude around the statue of a Faun from Powązki.\footnote{Ibid. 45.} Now the Virgin Mary extended her hands to peasants as a protective mother, as the inscription announced: ‘To the Good Mother from her grateful children’.\footnote{Gracyan Wereżyński, ‘Opis historyczny Puław’, BCz III 3978.} The peasants hung wooden tablets with grateful verses to Izabela on the tree; they laid flowers, walked in processions and sang. Maria’s cross was also a centre for displays. Contemporary accounts relate the charming and apparently spontaneous \textit{tableaux vivants} around the cross: an old peasant sometimes was seen bent in prayer (obviously in Czartoryska’s intention), women placed flowers there in gratitude for their benefactress, and even a friend of the palace dressed her daughters in white and arranged them in thankful prayers for the Princess. The language of the sentimental \textit{tableau} was clear to all social groups.\footnote{‘Podróż po Kępie Puławskiej’, 26.}

So far, these were acts of individual sensibility and sentimental dialogue on a small scale. But the peasants were able to produce collectively something more permanent. When the palace doctor Kittel left a bequest of 3000 złotys for the village hospital for the peasants and invalids and established a fund yielding 300 złotys yearly to award prizes to the most diligent schoolboys in Włostowice, the peasants responded.\footnote{I.Cz. to M.W., Sieniawa, 18 January 1818, BCz 6141.} All the ‘beings of Puławy’, the villagers, domestic servants, peasants
and labourers made a collection to raise a monument to him. This must have been the first public monument sponsored by the peasants. They later placed a stone for the poet Kajetan Koźmian. They planted white lilies and ivy around it and added the inscription: ‘Grateful villagers to Kajetan Koźmian, author of Ziemiaństwo’. This stone was arranged close to another one, which had been already in place for twenty-five years, a memorial to Abbé Delille. Delille enjoyed the patronage of Izabela Czartoryska and incorporated her description of Puławy in his second edition of Les Jardins. The two stones, separated by the fallen poplar that had been converted into a seat, conversed about the beauty of this particular place and its connection with the life of villagers. Czartoryska also intended to encourage peasants to plant commemorative trees, especially in memory of poets who wrote on the delights of rural life.

There were many small monuments scattered around the island, mostly commemorative stones, recording friends and family or acknowledging Izabela’s intellectual debt to Virgil, Pope, Delille and Rousseau. Here peasants performed simple plays set for them by the school teacher; they mostly expressed their happiness.

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845 Ibid.

846 ‘Wdzięczni włościanie Kajetanowi Koźmianowi, autorowi Ziemiaństwa’. Koźmian was the author of a long, idyllic poem praising the virtues of rural life.


848 Aleksandrowicz, Izabela Czartoryska, 32. Delille, Les Jardins, Song 1.

and loyalty to the Princess. The palace society reciprocated: they played *La Rosière de Salency*, the 1774 pastoral by André Grétry or the first Polish opera by Wojciech Bogusławski, *Krakowiacy i Górale* of 1794. Both dealt with an idealized, sentimental vision of country life and rural fêtes.

This idyllic life at Kępa found a visual closure in the village graveyard. Izabela ordered an opening cut through the island to connect it with the new peasant cemetery at Włostowice, established in 1800 outside the habitations. She planted the graveyard with trees and put into practice Nicolas Poussin’s ideal of the tomb in a landscape, with views opening onto the panorama of working fields. The paternal hand extended from birth, through christenings, marriages, to death, in an order which was as natural as it was divinely sanctioned, just as the invocation over the gate announced: ‘According to Thy will, they lived in toil, let them rest in eternity’. 850

The Church had a particular place in Polish rural life, weighing heavily on the peasant's observance of religious practices and placing fines on their owners if they failed to mobilize their community. This zeal lasted until the end of the eighteenth century and by then it succeeded in establishing the concept of rural identity based in the Catholic rituals. 851 Czartoryska’s emotional and programmatically unquestioning spirituality extended easily into the religious rites of the peasants, especially when they were connected with the rituals of gratitude. On her nameday, the day of her own feast, she went to hear mass at Włostowice and ‘found a spectacle’, which moved her. The villagers decorated the unused altar in front of her pew with geraniums and

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850 Amborski, ‘Opis Puław.’, np.
twenty bouquets of flowers, and lit candles before the rather amateurish painting of St Elizabeth. All the small schoolchildren were on their knees before it and Czartoryska broke down in tears. Wojciech, her domestic, attached a card with painted flowers to the image of the Virgin with an inscription: ‘Ubogi ale przywiązany’ [Poor but faithful]:

> How remote are these Viennese fêtes from Wojciech’s offering, from the gatherings of all these kings to the handful of those children kneeling in front of this altar. I would not exchange my feelings for these worldly amusements. [...] Thank you very much for the bulbs, send them to Savage to Puławy, he will plant them in my little garden.852

Some of these offerings were symbolic, some were practical, but all were equally valued. A village musician, Szmeigler, left in his testament a gift of gratitude to Izabela and to her son Konstanty in the form of 6000 złotys for the school at Włostowice and 100 złotys for the new organ in the church, all that he had earned from the Czartoryskis through his life. Now he gave it back in thankfulness. Czartoryska remembered him as a ‘highly estimable man, our companion at our fêtes, good days have passed away together with him’. She also learned that Szmeigler was an orphan, until the age of 28 he worked to earn 50 złotys for his funeral and he kept it until the end. ‘This would make a good chapter for a sentimental journey’, she wrote to Maria.853

The degree of stage-management and theatricality in Czartoryska’s engagement with village life must have been discernible to anybody who cared to

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852 I.Cz. to M.W., Sieniawa 22 November 1814, BCz 6140. She repeated the words in a letter to Ludwik Kropiński dated Sieniawa, 20 December 1814, BCz 6106.

853 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 20 September 1816, BCz 6140.
look. Indisputably, she saw life in theatrical terms, at once natural and artificial. In 1815 Czartoryska penned a charming description of the harvest in Puławy. It could have come straight from *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Letter VII, part 5, or from verses from Thomson’s *Seasons* or from the finale of a pastoral opera: the ‘happy folk’ reaping ears of corn, she feasting on butter, cream and fruit together with the lively villagers, joyful songs, children with poppies in golden hair and cornflowers in their hands, old possessors approving of the hard work which brings ‘abundance and prosperity’. All were apparently united in the feeling of closeness in the time of loss:

Nobody remembered in that moment that so many misfortunes destroyed the country, that foreign neighbours tore apart our belongings leaving only poverty and oppression. All we felt was contentment and joy, and that this kind of happiness cannot be taken away from us by the Masters of the World.  

Czartoryska undeniably cared for her peasants’ wellbeing, built their homes, planted their gardens with roses and orchards. One street, doubly planted with trees, was called Grateful [ulica Wdzięczna], reflecting the peasants’ (expected) appreciation; another street was called the New World. One peasant, called Kowalik, surrounded his house with roses and acacias, planted a lot of trees ‘and was very happy’. He also built houses for the next generations of his family, all members apparently known for their virtue, diligence and devotion to the Czartoryskis.

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854 I.Cz. ‘Mémoires et écrits divers’, 8 August 1815, BCz 6067, f. 163.
856 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 26 April 1815, BCz 6140. I.Cz. to L. Kropiński, Sieniawa, 20 December 1814, BCz 6106.
857 Prek, *Czasy i ludzie*, 428.
the ‘New World’, the villagers enjoyed open views onto the surrounding countryside, with their historical markers, which were, according to Antoni Amborski headmaster of the Włostowice school, instrumental in creating historical consciousness among the peasants.\textsuperscript{858} When one peasant applied to Izabela to grant him a house on Kępa, he showed off his knowledge of history from Czartoryska’s book: ‘I would like to ask for the little cottage at Kępa. I am happy whenever I can be there if it is only for a moment and I dream that I am living in the old Poland, at the time of Kazimierz or Zygmunt’.\textsuperscript{859} He did not forget either to enclose his own poem on the charms of the Vistula.

Not all observers of Czartoryska’s emotional relationship with her peasants fell under the spell. Ksawery Prek kept a certain distance from what he saw in Pulawy:

how charming was the sight of the Princess visiting her villagers, recalling everyone’s name, disposition and even family relationships. And even though this was for her an entertaining distraction lasting fifty years, surely such an amusement is worthy of imitation.\textsuperscript{860}

Certainly this kind of arrangement had advantages for both sides: peasants found protection in the Czartoryskis lands. For the Czartoryskis, the display of healthy, strong, contented peasants, right at the entry to the estate for all to see, was a proof of good management of the lands, and so an economic viability of the financial house, and a visible sign of the security of investments and credits for the Czartoryski clients.

\textsuperscript{858} Whelan, ‘Czy Puławy były sławne? ’, 36.

\textsuperscript{859} Letter from a peasant from Piotrowice to I.Cz., Piotrowice, 11 July 1828, BCz 6105, f.53.

\textsuperscript{860} Prek, \textit{Czasy i ludzie}, 428.
Nevertheless this universe of benevolent care ended with the November Insurrection in 1830. Adam Jerzy’s involvement as the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the Uprising brought destruction to the palace and eventually the sequestration of the estate at Puławy. The protective structure created by Izabela collapsed. With Czartoryska’s departure her helpless peasants suffered hunger and disease and several of her schools closed. The nostalgic memory of the daily tableau at the palace courtyard with Czartoryska dispensing advice, charity and permissions for weddings remained with the locals for a very long time and, as a visitor noted in 1847, the very mention of Izabela brought tears to their eyes.861

(143) *Cross with roses in Wysock*, by Princess Maria Wirtemberska, watercolour, n.d. (1831), FKCz, XV-Rr.510/7 verso.
After the fall of Puławy Izabela took refuge at Wysock in Galicia, where Maria Wirtemberska gardened, on a smaller scale, in the English style. Even though they were in their own estate, the family considered themselves exiles. They continued to receive visitors and written tributes from peasants, soldiers and sympathizers.862 The Austrian authorities issued an order of eviction, commanding Izabela to leave for France, but she did not comply and stayed put.

Czartoryska never stopped gardening, performing and entertaining. At the age of eighty-nine she built in Wysock a new summer house in the shade of trees planted a century and a half before by King Jan III Sobieski. She laid out a path, bordered it with clumps of flowers and in a secluded spot under a birch fence she placed a stone with an inscription of thankfulness:

Even if my life was the longest it would not be long enough to express my gratitude to my daughter Maryja, for so many tokens of her tender affection and for her days and hours devoted solely to me – God bless her, let her be happy as much as her Mother loved her. Elżbieta Czartoryiska beginning the ninetieth year of her life. Wysock, 25 March 1832.863

In August 1833 she prepared a feast for Maria, dressed herself and her granddaughters and great-granddaughters in folk costumes, and entertained the company to a village theme. Another time she arranged her favourite market tableau, dressed as a travelling salesman, drew on a moustache and put on a Tyrolian hat. Smoking a pipe she opened a stall with male toiletries in the palace hall. Her disguise was so effective that her doctor, after being told who this person was, took snuff, spat it out, crossed himself

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862  Alexander Józef Braunhelder to I.Cz., 1832, BCz 6105, f.373.

863  ‘Opis Wysocka przez Władysława Paszkiewicza w Wysocku dnia 15 sierpnia 1833 r. (egzemplarz po Śp. Marija Wirtemberska)’, BCz 6153, f.43-47.
and said: ‘a few days ago she was failing; today she is having fun again’.\textsuperscript{864}

Izabela Czartoryska fell ill in the first days of June 1835, improved a week later, but at noon on 17 June she died, surrounded by her daughter Maria and two of her granddaughters: Celina Działyńska and Jadwiga Sapieha.\textsuperscript{865} She was buried at nearby Moszczany ten days later in the simplest of ceremonies.\textsuperscript{866}

Izabela’s departure from Puławy marked not only the end of the Czartoryski presence there, but an end of an epoch. In the aftermath of the Insurrection Adam Jerzy received a death sentence \textit{in absentia} and joined the exodus of the Polish intellectual elite: eleven thousand politicians, officers, nobles and professionals fled west. Puławy was seized by the Russian authorities. Tsar Nicholas I renamed it New Alexandria in honour of his wife. The estate became home to a variety of educational institutions. In 1876 Adam Jerzy’s son Władysław moved the family collections to the safe haven of the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, where they have been preserved to this day.

In the end Czartoryska’s public activity brought few tangible successes, yet visitors to Puławy claimed in a common refrain that in the gardens ‘our customs, our visions, souls, hearts and minds were shaped’.\textsuperscript{867} Certainly Izabela created a visual and socially inclusive framework in which to think of the state of the country – in Powązki ancient Rome in ruins, in Puławy the Elysium of the Golden Age. She rooted

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\textsuperscript{864} Prek, \textit{Czasy i ludzie}, 431.
\textsuperscript{865} Dymowski to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, 9 July 1835, document preserved at the Czartoryski Archives, copy for the IUNG library made by Henryk Czech.
\textsuperscript{866} Today her coffin is in the family vault at Sieniawa.
\textsuperscript{867} Grzegorzewska, \textit{Dziesięć dni}, 67.
\end{flushleft}
Polish history in Spartan and ‘Sarmatian’ ideology and emphasized its most uplifting moments. There were also social commentaries, presentations of model motherhood, of an ideal estate, profitable but benevolent. But the question remains why the gardens resonated so strongly with her contemporaries.

Czartoryska’s visual language was highly stylized and demanded an understanding of current pictorial and theatrical trends. And so, as visitors noted, the gardens were emblematic and allegorical, they presented everywhere ‘an old French sentime nellity, the spirit of vis uality and metaphor’, and ‘despite their modern clumps and groves, one felt the same impression as after reading poetry by Delille, Florian, Madame de Genlis or Jean-Jacques Rousseau’. The format was nothing if not an antithesis of the natural, and yet the rituals performed there gave way to tears, gratitude and attachment. It was a demanding environment to encounter and to experience. In the process of writing this thesis it has become evident that the gardens were much more than the sum of their parts, even the sum of the interpretative findings and methodologies. To restore the meaning it is necessary to return to the experiences the gardens offered.

Czartoryska’s gardens, with their botanical interests, sculptural narratives and museum ethos, were essentially settings waiting for the enactment of ideal relationships. The idea was astonishing in itself, but still more astounding was the fact that this grand narrative found thousands of willing participators prepared to take part in the performance, ready to take on an aesthetic format in which to express their self-reflection. The success of Izabela’s undertaking depended on shifting the emphasis onto the viewer, who was given the freedom to interpret these moralizing essays

868 Ibid.
according to his or her own sensibility. His or her engagement needed the time necessary to reflect in a space removed from the mundane. A passage through the gardens involved an emotional journey: all the stones, memorial inscriptions, carved remembrances, ‘allusions to romances, obelisks, columns, soft and shaded seats, these silent witnesses to amorous sighs, poetic ardour or melancholic reflections’ created a highly dynamic experience, essentially an encounter with oneself.\(^{869}\)

Czartoryska’s physical presence was paramount, even in the context of her collection. One visitor exclaimed in 1828: ‘The national museum is a collection of talking mementoes, but these are only mementoes, the Princess however is a living image, a living expression of these mementoes, she is also their guardian!’\(^{870}\) The role of Czartoryska as an animator was clear to all; she was ‘the soul of Puławy’.\(^{871}\) In effect, she was an essential constituent of the expression of the gardens.

Czartoryska made her art within and through a living landscape. She drove the message with conviction. She was not the only Polish aristocrat to garden on a grand scale but few had her incessant energy, still fewer wished to make themselves available as performing artists, and almost none could mobilize the visitors to submit to their visions. Here gesture and performance were an essential part of the garden and this recognition offers a new perspective for future studies in garden history.

The theme of the slow processions proved particularly evocative and was practised in elegiac patriotic pageants and mournful demonstrations under the rule of the partitioning powers, while tableaux vivants were at the peak of popularity at the

\(^{869}\) Ibid.

\(^{870}\) Ibid., 76.

\(^{871}\) Ibid., 23.
end of the nineteenth century. Both are still practised today, especially in Polish émigré communities. The painter Jacek Malczewski and the visual artist and dramatist Stanisław Wyspiański (in his play Wesele – ‘The Wedding’, 1901) both used the theme of solemn processions to visualize what Gene Ray called the assimilation of the miss, that is, not dealing with the issues of the traumatic experience, ‘preferring the comforts of the enchantment’ or retreating into the pathos of loss. In Teofil Kwiatkowski’s painting Chopin’s polonaise the ballroom is filled with historical, current and mythical figures, overwhelmed and traumatized, processing in a useless display to the cadences played by Fryderyk Chopin. The main figure in the painting is the elderly Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, one who once walked behind his mother in Puławy (il. 144).

![Chopin's polonaise - a ball in Hôtel Lambert in Paris, Teofil Kwiatkowski, oil, 1849 -1860, Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań, (image in common domain).](image)


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