AGNIESZKA WHELAN

Izabela Czartoryska and the Art of Persuasion in Polish Visual Culture

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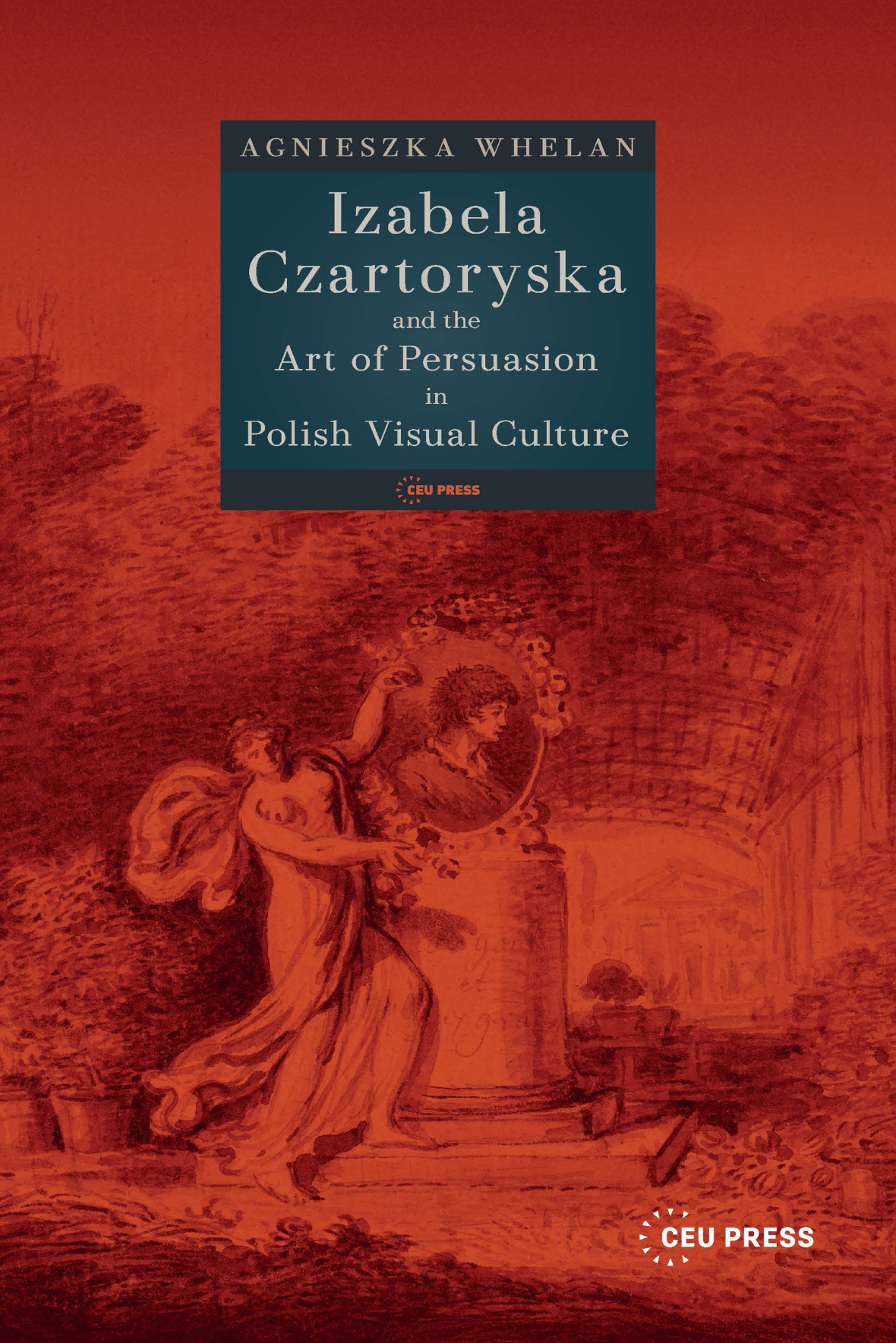

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Abbreviations

1. Persons referred to in the notes

A.J.Cz.	Adam Jerzy Czartoryski
A.K.Cz.	Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski
I.Cz.	Izabela Czartoryska
K.D.	Konstancja Dembowska
M.W.	Maria Wirtemberska

2. Archives and publications

BCz	Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Cracow
BUW	Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw
FHOP	Fundacja Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego
GH	*Garden History*
IS PAN	Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk
JGH	*Journal of Garden History/*
MNP	Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, Poznań
MNK	Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Cracow
MNW	Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warsaw
PSB	*Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności and Polska Akademia Nauk, 1936-.
SHGDL	*Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*

Introduction

On the freezing night of December 7, 1830, Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich sought shelter at the palace of Puławy. Warsaw had risen against Russian domination on November 29, and Konstantin, now the ousted commander-in-chief of the army of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, was granted safe passage from Warsaw 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 as the enemy. 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.[1] In expectation of a fresh disaster, Princess Czartoryska and her daughters sheltered officers' wives and peasant women and children from the neighboring villages.[2] Disdain for Konstantin Pavlovich, however, had to be limited to the presence of revolutionary blue, white, and red cockades. It was but a gesture, but in this house, gesture stood for far more

1 Ludwik Dębicki, *Puławy, 1762–1830; monografia z życia towarzyskiego, politycznego i literackiego na podstawie archiwum ks. Czartoryskich w Krakowie*. 4 vols. (Lwów: Gubrynowicz & Schmidt, 1887–1888), 4:321.

2 Sławomir Pać, "Kartki z dziejów Puław i okolic w latach 1791–1864," in *Puławy dawne i nowe*, ed. Józef Trześniak (Lublin: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1987), 132.

than mere posturing. For decades, it was being perfected as a form of visual and public declaration.

With the Czartoryski family deeply involved in the insurrection effort, no one had any illusions as to the inevitable Russian revenge against the Puławy estate. After Konstantin departed, Princess Czartoryska stayed put, not for the first time trying to protect the domain with her physical presence. Puławy's strategic position at a crossing of the Vistula River had often exposed it to rampaging armies.

Russian units appeared at the gates of the palace at the beginning of February 1831. They were commanded by Prince Adam of Württemberg, Czartoryska's grandson, the only son of her 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 for 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.[3] At first, Adam of Württemberg and his detachment only passed through the estate. He returned two weeks later, on February 24, pursued by Polish units commanded by General Józef Dwernicki, and set up camp outside the palace. He was not invited inside—a gesture of scorn from his grandmother. While encamped, his units fell victim to a surprise attack by a semi-volunteer Polish company, an assault made possible with help from the Puławy peasants, who took the insurgents quietly across the river, provided detailed intelligence, and led them along paths through the extensive garden, by the grottoes, past the classical Temple of the Sibyl, around the Gothic House and the classical orangery, to the palace stables, and, finally, to what was the target of the foray—the arsenal. Forty Russians died in the clash, while 250 dragoons and five officers, along with their commander, were taken prisoner.

Princess Czartoryska watched the battle from the palace windows and afterwards enthusiastically received the hero of the attack, Lieuten-

3 Walenty Zwierkowski, *Rys powstania, walki i działań Polaków 1830 i 1831* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1973), 201. Cf. Józef Dwernicki. *Pamiętniki* (Lwów: L. Plagowski, 1870).



Figure 1. Princess Izabela Czartoryska leaves Puławy during the November Insurrection 1831, Thomas Napoleon, lithography, 1833.

ant-Colonel Jan Małachowski. No Polish reinforcements came, however, and the Poles were pushed back over the river three days later by Württemberg's returning units.[4] He carried the tsar's orders to destroy the palace. His aunt, Zofia Zamoyska, recorded how the women inside faced the artillery "with extraordinary courage" and collected bullets off the floor "fired by the hand of a depraved son and grandson."[5] Württemberg rounded up the informers from the previous skirmish and committed atrocities against the villagers.[6] The next day, he gave orders for the treasures housed in the Temple of the Sibyl and the Gothic House to be transported to St. Petersburg; he had the famous palace library sealed and prepared for the removal of its forty thousand volumes; and he had a list of furnishings compiled. However, two days later, Polish General Dwernicki crossed the Vistula with reinforcements and pushed the Russians back. (Fig. 1.)

4 Waldemar Wojciech Bednarski, *Powiśle Puławskie w Powstaniu Listopadowym 1830/31 r* (Puławy: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Puław, 2000), 161.
5 Dębicki, *Puławy*, 4:321, 328.
6 Pać, "Kartki," 133.

Czartoryska tended to 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 into battle and energized its military audience.[7] There was no garden performance now. When Dwernicki moved on with his units, the Russian General Muravev advanced on Puławy to finish the work begun by Adam of Württemberg. He found the palace deserted by Princess Izabela had left on the night of March 5/6, 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.

Polish units briefly reclaimed the palace on several occasions, holding back the Russians long enough to allow the librarian Karol Sienkiewicz and the museum guide Franciszek Gniewkowski to carry the library's treasures away. Remarkably, all but fifty-seven boxes of manuscripts and books survived in Polish hands. The collection remained intact until the Second World War.

Princess Izabela never returned to Puławy. She died at Wysock on June 17, 1835, at the age of ninety. Her son, Adam Jerzy, fled to France, where he received the news of being sentenced to death *in absentia* by the Russians. The Czartoryski estates in the Russian Empire were confiscated by Puławy, once a place open to the public, a prime site for the display of the Czartoryski presence on the Polish political scene, 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

7 A play written by Polish poet and playwright Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin, secretary to Prince Adam Czartoryski. The play fanned patriotic fervor and obliquely criticized the pro-Russian policy of King Stanisław August Poniatowski. It premiered in the palace of Puławy in 1786 with Izabela Czartoryska in the title role.

hermitages. Without its animator, the vitality and the dynamic vision of Puławy have gone. The absence of Princess Izabela was a catastrophe for the people who knew her: she was the ""soul" of Puławy; she "gave life" to the estate.[8] Without her, the gardens could not carry their intended meanings. Indeed, they seem vacant now in the same way as they appeared empty immediately after her departure.

The gestures of collective disdain and public scorn against Konstantin Pavlovich were typical of Czartoryska's response to historical events, and it was fitting that the last expression of such in her life took place in her garden. Through gestures and visual language, Princess Czartoryska arrayed the world in her own creative visualizations. All her life, she explored the essential values of personal emotion, patriotism, and motherhood and 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.

This book is as much a portrait of the princess as a view into the methods and tactics of physical communication, an inquiry into the complex world of allusions and evocative gestures with the people around her. It is the narrative of a vision by one woman, with an epicentre at Puławy, 100 km from Warsaw, but extending as far as England, France, Austria, Russia, Italy, Switzerland, and even the newly independent United States. Czartoryska gathered around her a vast following, which grew stronger as her life progressed. She lived her life in a vortex of connections, ideas, and historically momentous events, from the networks of her own extended family, their adherents, and local clients to their connections with powerful Polish and Lithuanian magnates to their links with the crowned heads of the European courts, and to their friendships with philosophers, scientists, and artists across Europe. Throughout her long life (1745–1835), she was immersed in two worlds: that of the Enlightenment, in its Western European variety, and that of the Polish universe—a centrally oriented, self-sufficient world focused on its own traditions, and which regarded anything outside its own bor-

8 Sabina z Gostkowskich Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828. Urywek z pamiętnika* (Cracow: F. Kulczycki, 1898), 23.

ders as the peripheries of civilization. Princess Izabela Czartoryska interwove these two worlds when designing her two natural gardens. It is fitting to use theatrical terms right from the outset. This aristocrat, born into the highest circles in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, attempted to engineer the political ambitions of her family and did so for over sixty-five years of her adult life through visual means, of which theatricality and performance were the most effective.

There is no doubt that thousands of people from all backgrounds came within the arc of her influence, a situation that demanded from her deftness in employing the nuances of gesture and imagery of both the culture of the Enlightenment and that of Polish traditionalism.

In Poland, the eighteenth century's preoccupation with the rhetoric of gesture found its contextual place of reference in the phenomenon of the garden. As in Europe, gardens worked within the associative notion of landownership, but this aspect needs to be seen as having been far more emotive and instinctively felt by the Polish nobles in the case of gardens than in that of any of their other physical spaces of social interaction. Within the discourse of social exchange during a time of historical chaos, political drama, and eventual catastrophe, the sense of uniqueness of personal expression proved a new and rich area of exploration.[9] In this context, we need to see the activities that took place in the garden as a constituent part of the art of communication. Visitors to the gardens consistently took an active part and participated in the performances. Even when they were on their own, the gardens populated with statues and personal quotations directed them to a self-conscious examination of their own presence within the natural landscape. In this interpretation, the visitor occupied a privileged place, and the gardens provided him or her with a conceptual environment for structuring a variety of responses. As in every installation, it is the space that is essential for the audience in order to contextualize their own ideas.

Izabella's life and posthumous legacy are intimately connected to her gardens, especially Puławy, which is after all the primary visual re-

9 Cf. Janusz Ryba, *Maskarady oświeconych* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1998).

cord of her life and art that has survived her. She was a controversial figure, and the different differing views on her personality and historical significance have colored and, to a certain extent, distorted the understanding of the form and function of her gardens. Any study of Izabela Czartoryska must come to terms with the strength of her personality. It is evident that she directed her family and her peasants with the unassailable conviction of a moral cause. Her daughter 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 that propelled us into motion and stimulated us to action, to work, to new endeavors, 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!"[10] Not everyone, however, felt a sense of debt to the animating force of her convictions; indeed, both the nature of her views and her manner of foisting them on the spectators, especially her desire to act as the conscience of the Polish nation, polarized not only her contemporaries but also later generations of writers and scholars. Political historians have usually marginalized her and have 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 appear tiresome today. Historian Jerzy Lukowski shares this dismissive attitude, calling her notoriously dissolute and bitchy.[11] More recently, Andrzej Stroynowski, in assessing Czartorys-

10 Letter dated September 1, 1835, in Gabriela Pauszer-Klonowska, *Pani na Puławach. Opowieść o Izabeli z Flemmingów Czartoryskiej* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1978), 405.

11 Jerzy Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly: The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Eighteenth Century, 1697-1795* (London: Routledge, 1991), 220: "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." Lukowski drew on the tradition established by Walerian Kalinka in the 1880s: *Sejm Czteroletni*, 4th [*sic*—5th] (Warsaw: Volumen, 1991), 1, 202–207, and continued by Emanuel Rostworowski, *Ostatni król Rzeczypospolitej. Geneza i upadek Kon-*

ka's standing in politics, still blames her lack of "knowledge," which lay at the basis of her inappropriate or unhelpful behavior before the Great Sejm. However, patriotic gestures, such as the promotion of a national dress, mitigated the misguided or embarrassing events.[12]

At the other end of the spectrum, many historians of art and literature have been captivated by her creative range, literary imagination, horticultural skills, and curatorial methodology. However, with this spellbound absorption in her activities has come an interpretation of her actions along the lines that Czartoryska herself promoted as a high-minded, patriotic, and virtuous public figure.[13]

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*, now and before, which have been particularly evident in the critiques of Czartoryska's theatricals and the varied appraisal of her gardens. The family saw these gardens as part of their clan identity, unlike later historians,

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stytucji 3 maja (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1966), 89, 92, 99–100, 145–46, 170, 255. Note: Rostworowski discerned the performance-based nature of some of her political interventions but considered most of them damaging.

12 Andrzej Stroynowski, "Polityczna rola Izabeli Czartoryskiej," *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 27 (2012): 41–55.

13 Zdzisław Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich. Świątynia Sybilli i Dom Gotycki* (Cracow: Muzeum Narodowe Cracow, 2009). Zdzisław Żygulski writes in the opening paragraphs of his seminal monograph of the Puławy collection: "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, a 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 imitating shepherdesses and nymphs from the paintings by Watteau and Boucher, transformed herself into a fiery patriot, into a freedom fighter, into a "Spartan mother' sending her sons into battle, and most of all, the founder of the pantheon of Polish historical mementoes, the focus of her ambitious political, cultural, and educational plans." This is the first edition of his work in book form. Żygulski published his doctoral thesis in 1962 in a journal publication: Zdzisław Żygulski, "Dzieje zbiorów puławskich (Świątynia Sybilli i Dom Gotycki)," *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie,* 7, 5–265. Cracow, 1962.

for whom the leisurely format of a garden was equated to the otherwise frivolous and sexually uninhibited life of this woman.

After the failure of the November Insurrection in 1831, Russian censorship suppressed all reference to the Czartoryskis in print or image. Only in the latter part of the nineteenth century did some publications of ephemeral memoirs written by visitors to Puławy appear in print in the most liberal portions of the Austrian partition. However, it needs to be stressed that the family themselves participated in a self-imposed censorship. In 1855, Sabina Grzegorzewska, who visited Puławy as a child, informed Adam Zamoyski, grandson of Izabela Czartoryska, about her plans to write and publish the memories of her visit. Zamoyski advised against this, saying that "the present circumstances, which have been continuing for the last thirty years, have not been conducive to revealing 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."[14] At stake was the family's reputation, 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 patriotic heroine of her own play, *The Spartan Mother*. After the loss of Polish independence in 1795, this persona offered a visual framework for promoting the family's patriotic ideology. It was no wonder that the Czartoryskis tried to construct a convincing and coherent portrait of a new Izabela with a distinct separation from the troublesome years of scandals. Mary Berry noted in her memoirs that in 1839, the visiting Władysław Zamoyski, another Czartoryska's grandson, placed great emphasis on his grandmother's patriotic activities, noting how she, "at the age of fifty, gave up all the gallantries and adopted a totally new system of life, interests, and occupations" and devoted herself to the national collection.

14 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828,* 83.

[15] Zamoyski was protecting here his own social standing, as he first served as an aide-de-camp to Grand Duke Constantine and then turned against his commander and took part in the Polish November Insurrection in 1830–31. After that, he relocated to England as the representative of the Polish government-in-exile and its head, his uncle, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. Clearly, managing the memory of her transgressions required a discerning skill in navigating social expectations in the changing times. After all, the first half of her long life was lived in the security of her family's political standing and fortune, where her sexual and emotional experimentations resulted only in street gossip, while later, with both her position and the influence gone, a different mode of behavior—that of an honorable matron—was needed if she still hoped to intervene in the cultural and political scene.

It is fascinating that later biographers accepted and vigorously defended what I call the "myth of sudden transformation," one which continues to make the rounds in the literature even today. Because this attitude has been so pervasive, it is worth citing here some piquant elements of its origin. In 1887, Ludwik Dębicki, the editor-in-chief of the Cracow newspaper *Czas*, produced a four-volume monograph, *Puławy 1762–1830*, in which he showed the Czartoryskis as charismatic and politically well-intentioned.[16] Dębicki was writing when Poland was being eradicated from the map of Europe, and his publication came from the Austrian partition. His influential book placed Izabela's gardening activities at Puławy in the context of her patriotic attitudes, while at the same time setting a great contrast between this garden and her earlier creation in Powązki as an exclusively hedonistic creation. Dębicki's desire was to raise the spirit of the nation by romanticizing its main his-

15 The Berry Papers, v. XXXIII. Mary Berry Journal, July 1838–August 1841, British Library, BM Add. MSS 37758, 73. Mary Berry, *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the Year 1783–1852*, ed. Theresa Lewis, 3, 462-463. London: Longmans, 1865. See also: Armand Louis de Gontaut, *Memoirs of the Duke de Lauzun*, ed. Richard Aldington, Charles Kenneth Scott Moncrieff, and G. Rutherford (London: Routledge, 1928).

16 Dębicki, *Puławy, 1762-1830,* passim.

torical figures, and nothing could be more romantic than a beautiful woman of wealth and influence transforming into a great patriot. This first Czartoryski exaltation, after more than half a century of absence on the printed page (remember, Czartoryska died in 1835), was well received by a nation under partition. Dębicki proclaimed his goal of promoting the national cause in the opening pages of the third volume, where he strongly rebuked the Cracow historian Walerian Kalinka, the confirmed opponent of the glorification of history, for his treatment of the Czartoryskis.

Kalinka had just been in open conflict with the family over his own planned, critical biography of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, husband of Princess Izabela. After the first draft, the family, by then exiled to France, furiously withdrew their commission of the book from Kalinka and accused him of being an enemy of the country: "The man who wants to prove that the origin of our demise lay in each and every one of our own sins, and not in the enmity or cunning of the enemy or the treachery of those 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."[17] And so the Czartoryski family and their supporters continued to cling to a different version of their past and to the preservation of hope for their future. They defended the good name of their house and made sure that the memory of their mother and grandmother was forever enshrined in the persona of the "Spartan mother." The garden of Powązki, in their view, was on the other hand an idyllic Elysium where the Czartoryski children spent the happiest years of their childhood, a garden of contentment but nothing more.[18] It will become clear, however, that the connection between leisure and patriotic edification was too complicated for the clear-cut "branding" of the family if we embark on the notion that Powązki was

17 Jerzy Zdrada, *Zmierzch Czartoryskich* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969), 48–49. Walerian Kalinka, *Ostatnie lata panowania Stanisława Augusta*, vol. 1. (Cracow: Księgarnia Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, 1891).

18 In propagating this image, Dębicki was again to the fore in his *Puławy*, vol. 1. Cf. Zbigniew Kuchowicz, *Wizerunki niepospolitych niewiast staropolskich XVI-XVIII wieku* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1974).

not only the scene of a carefree childhood but was also 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 attention away from a controversial site and focusing it exclusively and simply on the "patriotic" family seat of Puławy instead.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the gardens were fully implicated in the historical rehabilitation of the house. The poet and literary critic Lucjan Siemieński wrote in 1881 of the historical mission of the gardens of Puławy and of their profound views on the purpose of life and their permanent legacy in the land.[19] With this emotive narrative, it became more difficult to separate fact from fiction, especially—what would be of interest to garden historians—when Józef Drege, a garden designer, included Puławy in the 1904 edition of *Wielka Encyklopedyia Powszechna Ilustrowana* [The Great illustrated encyclopedia].[20] In this encyclopedic and factual format, Puławy lost its privileged position and emerged as just one of many gardens viewed with a positivist eye, subjected to chronology and the development of form. Because of this desire for objectivity, Drege changed Dębicki's emotional interpretation into a "scientific" constant. Thus, when the next influential history of gardening in Poland, written by Edmund Jankowski, appeared in 1923, it followed this perspective—presenting viewpoints as facts, even though the author realized that more research was needed before he could construct a consistent narrative. He endorsed Drege's assessment and placed Powązki authoritatively within the sentimental circle of the Petit Trianon.[21]

The study of gardens in Poland has long been dominated by Gerard Ciołek's *Ogrody polskie* [Polish gardens], first published in 1954 and for more than half a century the most important general survey of Polish

19 Lucjan Siemieński, "Ogrody w historii i poezji." *Dzieła*, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1881, quoted in Małgorzata Szafrańska, *Ogród polski w XIX wieku: antologia tekstów* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Ochrony Zabytkowego Krajobrazu, 1998), 91.

20 Józef Drege, "Ogrody w Polsce." In *Wielka Encyklopedya Powszechna Ilustrowana*, ed. Jan Krystyan Gotfryd Joerg and Mikołaj Karyszew (Warsaw: Aleksander Tadeusz, 1904), 4: 906–908.

21 Zygmunt Jankowski, *Dzieje ogrodnictwa w Polsce w zarysie* (Warsaw: K. Kopytkowski, 1923), 74.

garden history.[22] Ciołek styled himself an objective and dispassionate scholar who needed to redress the preconceptions of his predecessors.[23] 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.[24] 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.[25] His pupil, Janusz Bogdanowski, published his own survey of gardens in 1978, titled *Polskie ogrody ozdobne* [Polish ornamental gardens],where he continued on the trajectory set by Ciołek.[26] Bogdanowski was even more focused on the dialectical life of form, which could be studied and visualized like a genealogical tree with branches that grew, reached their potential, and then withered. He categorized Powązki as a *jardin anglo-chinois*, while Puławy—in various stages of its perceived development—first as a *jardin anglo-chinois*, then, in turn, as arcadian, classical, English, and romantic. Significantly though, for the first time in the literature, he did not assign any ethical values to the styles.[27] 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 the two gardens:

22 Gerard Ciołek, *Ogrody polskie: przemiany treści i formy* (Warsaw: Budownictwo i Architektura, 1954). Revised edition issued as Gerard Ciołek and Janusz Bogdanowski, *Ogrody polskie* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1978).

23 Ciołek, *Ogrody polskie: przemiany treści i formy*, 8.

24 Ciołek, *Ogrody polskie: przemiany treści i formy*, 133.

25 The new edition is supplemented with a register of gardens documented since 1954, cf. ref. 23.

26 Janusz Bogdanowski, *Polskie ogrody ozdobne. Historia i problemy rewaloryzacji* (Warsaw: Arkady, 2000). See also Janusz Bogdanowski, "'Myśli różne' i czyny Izabeli ks. Czartoryskiej w przekształceniu ogrodu puławskiego na wzór 'angielski,'" in *Ogród puławski w czasach księżny Izabeli oraz perspektywy jego zachowania przy zmianie funkcji*, ed. Adam Wołk (Puławy: Fundacja Wspierania Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego, 1999), 6–17.

27 Bogdanowski, *Polskie ogrody ozdobne*, 112, 115, 119–23.

> To emphasize the major distinction between the garden of Powązki and the 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 took 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.[28]

Aleksandrowicz, the literary scholar, merged "sibylline meanings" with the pronouncements of garden historians who sought in the garden the romantic and expressive character of nature rather than its emblematic character. The bases of all these observations will be contested in later chapters, but it is important to note here 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.[29]

This view of the uneven merit of the two gardens continued in the pioneering investigation of the archival material by Marek Kwiatkowski and Jolanta Putkowska, who reconstructed the general layout of the Powązki garden and established a chronological framework of its exis-

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28 Alina Aleksandrowicz, "Izabela Czartoryska," in *Pisarze polskiego Oświecenia*, ed. Zbigniew Goliński and Teresa Kostkiewiczowa (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1996), vol. 3, 611. Bogdanowski reaches the same conclusion in "'Myśli różne' i czyny Izabeli ks. Czartoryskiej w przekształceniu ogrodu puławskiego na wzór 'angielski'," as does Grażyna Michalska in "Dzieło księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej w Puławach, czyli 'przeszłość przyszłości'. Świątynia Sybilli i Dom Gotycki," in *Ziemiaństwo na Lubelszczyźnie III. Panie z dworów i pałaców*, ed. Hubert Łaszkiewicz (Lublin: Werset, 2007), 141.

29 Zofia Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*. (Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2000). Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich*.

tence. In their search for ultimate objectivity and detachment based on archival records, they did not engage in discussion of the cultural dynamics in the garden.[30] Even though the scope of the published writing on Czartoryska is far more extensive than mentioned here,[31] it was not until 2014, with my article on the education of the young Czartoryski children, that we had a comprehensive and wide-ranging analysis of the stylistic and compositional make-up of the garden of Powązki, and even more importantly, its formative place in the Polish culture of the Enlightenment.[32] With this article, the derogative attitude toward the culture of leisure was finally put to rest.

Lately, historians of art, education, and theatre studies have embraced these findings, steering research into separate disciplines and focusing on academic arguments rather than on the personality of Czartoryska. Jolanta Skutnik frames Izabela's educational endeavors within the confines of both older and more recent, broadly considered, educational theory,[33] while Teresa Grzybkowska has explored the masonic symbolic sphere of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century gardens in Poland, significantly enlarging our understanding of Czartoryska's circle of aristocrats, who chose to visualize their masonic allegiances in their gardens and who put them in the service of creating museums and collections.[34] This comparative approach is shared by the most recently published work by Aleksandra Knapik, which examines

30 Marek Kwiatkowski, "Powązki," *Rocznik Warszawski,* 9 (1969), 123–61; Jolanta Putkowska, "Warszawska podmiejska rezydencja Izabeli Czartoryskiej w Powązkach," *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki,* 53, 3 (2008), 25–41; Jolanta Putkowska, "Warszawska podmiejska rezydencja Izabeli Czartoryskiej w Powązkach," *Spotkania z Zabytkami*, (2016), 11–12. Cf. Jolanta Putkowska, *Warszawskie rezydencje na przedmieściach i pod miastem w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Warsaw: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2016).

31 See the introduction in: Aleksandra Knapik, *Rola polskich arystokratek w projektowaniu i zakładaniu ogrodów krajobrazowych w II połowie XVIII wieku i I połowie XIX wieku* (Cracow: Historia Hereditas Ecclesia, v. 25, 2024).

32 Agnieszka Whelan, "Powązki: szkoła uczuć i historii. Wychowanie młodych Czartoryskich", *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 39 (2014), 223–48.

33 Jolanta Skutnik, *Czuła pedagogia. Edukacyjny walor dzieł i działań księżnej Izabeli z Flemmingów Czartoryskiej* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice, 2019).

34 Teresa Grzybkowska, *Kobieta wodzem chwalebnego czynu: twórczynie pierwszych polskich muzeów i ogrodów filozoficznych*, Polski Instytut Studiów Nad Sztuką Świata. (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Tako, 2018).

the work of five aristocratic women within Izabela Czartoryska's circle who focused on garden making.[35] The dichotomy of evaluations regarding Czartoryska's personality and her gardens, so paramount up to the end of the twentieth century, has now died down.

The reader will find here a broad approach to writing about the life and gardens of Princess Czartoryska. Historical analysis occupies a prominent place; after all, history and politics were Czartoryska's battlegrounds. The adoption of a chronological order of events in Czartoryska's life reveals the remarkable coherence and continuity of her artistic actions as well as social transgressions. However, this book is not intended as a biography.[36] It brings a focus to some chosen moments from Czartoryska's long life, where the events organized by her carry the strongest element of visual persuasion. The culture she responded to—that of the Polish nobles, aristocracy, small landholders, and peasants—ruled itself with such a rich and complicated set of mythical origins, customs, and visual language that it will be important to show how Izabela navigated both the world of Polish traditions and that of new, cosmopolitan ideas. The historical narrative also allows us to reconstruct those ideological formations, which were not expressed verbatim but were presented to the garden 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. Particularly important are her letters to her daughter Maria Wirtemberska. In the end, however, it is the image that will be fundamental to the unravelling of the public activities of Czartoryska. Several detailed analyses of images have opened possibilities of interpretations that have yet to appear in any historical narrative.

35 Knapik, *Rola polskich arystokratek w projektowaniu i zakładaniu ogrodów krajobrazowych w II połowie XVIII wieku i I połowie XIX wieku*.

36 For the most comprehensive and enriched by new research biography of Princess Czartoryska see Adam Zamoyski's *Izabela the Valiant: The Story of an Indomitable Polish Princess* (William Collins, 2024).

At one level, this work has a tight focus: one patron with a particular concentration on her two gardens. But it is in her gardens that we can find a visual record of the intellectual and political forces that characterized her life and those of her countrymen. In a way, these gardens constituted battlegrounds of history—and not just in Poland.

The reading of associative meanings of Czartoryska's gardens offers rich material for the reconstruction of the owners' political declarations, literary imaginings, or dreams of enduring presence. But rather than examining the literary 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 gardens. Therefore, it is not only the form of the gardens or even their emblematic and associative program, but rather the activity that took place in them which imparts the meaning to Czartoryska's gardens and makes them works of art. In this approach, Czartoryska is the artist; she sets the boundaries of representation, and it is her vision that is under consideration. She takes center stage; she is the main performer. The leitmotif throughout is the persona—or personas—of Izabela Czartoryska and her experimentations with various incarnations, all the time remembering that they had to effectively persuade different social groups of their message. In contrast to the established separation of Czartoryska's legacy into different disciplines of inquiry—literature, politics, gardening, and museology—here the reader will find Czartoryska's works in a unified perspective, in which they all participate together as expressions of one grand, didactic presentation.

Lastly, by way of explanation, the term "Poland" which is used here freely, is essentially a shortcut to the Commonwealth of the Two Nations, Polish and Lithuanian (Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów, Polskiego i Litewskiego, known also as the Crown—Corona Regni Poloniae—and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania).

In the course of writing this work and during my years of interest in the life and gardens of Princess Czartoryska, I have been most fortunate to meet with people who have shared not only my curiosity and have inspired me with their own research but who have also extended

to me countless gestures of generosity. My work would not have been the same without the encouragement and friendship of my PhD supervisor, Professor Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski. I am grateful to the people of Puławy: scholars, local historians, guides, and volunteers who have made the preservation and the continuing accessibility of the Puławy garden their mission. The late Dr. Adam Wołk shared his research materials with me and extended hospitality in his home on many occasions. Dr. Bogumił Rębowski and Dr. Jan Jadczyszyn provided their expert knowledge on the plant material of the garden. Dr. Zbigniew Tałałaj brought many documents to my attention. Similarly, Dr. Euzebiusz Maj and Dr. Mieczysław Kseniak contributed to my understanding of the garden of Puławy. All have encouraged me with their help, hospitality, and friendship. I would also like to acknowledge the late Professor Zdzisław Żygulski, jnr., with whom I worked on the translation of Czartoryska's diary from her tour through England, and Ewa Czepiel, Dorota Dec, and Barbara König of the Czartoryski Museum, who shared with me their vast knowledge of the collection and provided me with the illustrative material from the Prints Department. My thanks go also to Professor Alina Aleksandrowicz, Professor Zofia Gołębiowska, Professor Alison Hilton, Dr. Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, all of whom helped me to clarify my own ideas and encouraged the writing of 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.

The Familia

Izabela Czartoryska was born on March 31, 1745, in Warsaw, the only daughter of Johann Georg Detlev Graf von Flemming (1699–1771) and Antonina Czartoryska (1728–1746). It is worth noting that her date of birth has long been given erroneously, and the incorrect versions still circulate in the literature.[1] 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 shaping the lives and careers of their families. Both Izabela and Elżbieta are versions of the same name, and Izabela Czartoryska used them interchangeably, even in official documents. She spelled "Izabela" mostly—but not always—with one "l," and so others sometimes addressed her in writing with a double "l" as well.

The name repeats itself through the Czartoryski generations. The family observed with great splendor the feast of St. Elizabeth of Hungary on November 19 and fêted their womenfolk: Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn, Izabela Lubomirska née Czartoryska, Izabela Branicka née Poniatowska, and Izabela Czartoryska née Flemming. The Feast of

1 After nearly a century of the erroneous reading of the birth certificate in the Register of Births of the Parish of St. Cross (Świętego Krzyża) in Warsaw, Tadeusz Frączyk finally published the correct date in his *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski: biografia historyczno-literacka na tle przemian ideowych polskiego Oświecenia* (Cracow: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012), 76. See also: https://metryki.genealodzy.pl, place: Warszawa Śródmieście, unit: 114 U-1744-51, year 1744, file 031.jpg

St. Elizabeth was also the traditional day for the Czartoryski and Poniatowski weddings.

Izabela's father was a prominent minister at the court of King Augustus III. Georg Detlev von Flemming came from an old Pomeranian military family and had converted to Catholicism to smooth the path to higher honors.[2] Shortly after Izabela's birth, he was appointed grand 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.[3] Michał and Jan Jerzy, as Flemming was known by his polonized name, had long supported each other in political maneuverings in the Commonwealth. As early as 1724, their friendship was strengthened by Michał's marriage to Flemming's niece Eleonora Waldstein (1712–1795). Michał 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—he was forty-nine by then—Flemming married into the Czartoryski family once more, taking Michał's daughter, Konstancja (1729–1749). She, however, died soon after giving birth, again from smallpox,

2 Władysław Konopczyński, 'Flemming Jan Jerzy Detlev,' *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [afterwards *PSB*], ed. Kazimierz Lepszy, vol. 7, 35–36 (Cracow, Polska Akademia Nauk, 1949–1958). The Pomeranian branch changed their spelling to Fleming at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

3 Władysław Konopczyński, "Czartoryski, Michał Fryderyk," in *PSB,* vol. 4, 288–94.

and this time the child did not survive.[4] Flemming never married again but remained close to the house of Czartoryski.[5] He entrusted the care of Izabela to his niece and her thirty-five-year-old grandmother, Eleonora, who had just had another child of her own, Antoni.[6]

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. They ruthlessly secured marriage ties to produce a net of tightly interwoven relationships of power. Izabela Flemming was therefore born into a family of formidable men and women, who pursued their collective ambition to control the Polish political landscape.[7]

The Czartoryskis were an old family, tracing their descent from Gediminas, a fourteenth-century grand duke of Lithuania. By the seventeenth century, however, they were 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 been regarded as the brains and the motivating force behind the careers of her husband, children, and grandchildren.[8] 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's careers. Their daughter Izabela had ambitions to return to Poland. In time, together with her husband, she built the foundations of a united political clan, which would be known as the Familia. Izabela and Kazimierz's five children entered the political scene early, and

4 Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki i memoriały polityczne 1776–1809*, ed. Jerzy Skowronek (Warsaw: Pax, 1986), 78.

5 Urszula Głowacka-Maksymiuk, *Aleksandra z książąt Czartoryskich Ogińska* (Siedlce: Sigillum, 2003), 31–34; Konopczyński, "Flemming Jan Jerzy Detlev," 35.

6 Antoni died of smallpox at seven years of age.

7 Lukowski, *Liberty's folly*, 153–75.

8 Stanisław Sidorowicz, "Czartoryska Izabela z Morstinówn" in *PSB,* vol. 4, 241; Stanisław Sidorowicz, "Kazimierz Czartoryski" *PSB*, vol. 3, 282–83.

three of them established themselves as dominant figures for decades: Michał—Izabela Flemming's grandfather, August—her father-in-law, and her great-aunt Konstancja (1695–1759), who married the equally ambitious Stanisław Poniatowski (1676–1762), who successively became treasurer of Lithuania, palatine of Mazovia, and castellan of Cracow.[9] 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.[10]

Michał's brother, August Alexander (1697-1782), the future father-in-law of Izabela Flemming, who held the title of the 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), the 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 and, at the time, the richest bride in the Commonwealth.[11] Zofia brought in the Puławy estate, 140 km southeast of Warsaw, which became the second hub of the Familia. Their main center was Wołczyn (Voŭčyn)—today in Belarus, about 240 kilometers east of Warsaw, then just within the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

August and Maria Zofia had two surviving children, Adam Kazimierz (1734-1823), the future husband of Izabela Flemming, and Izabela (1736–1816), who married Stanisław Lubomirski (c. 1720–1783), grand marshal of the crown from 1766, who in 1773 took over the reins of the Familia from the aging Michał and August.[12]

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9 The other two children—Teodor and Ludwika—entered monastic orders.

10 Andrzej K. Link-Lenczowski, "Poniatowski (Ciołek Poniatowski) Stanisław," *PSB*, vol. 27, 471–81; Zofia Zielińska, *Walka 'Familii' o reformę Rzeczpospolitej: 1743-1752 (*Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1983), 14–17.

11 Katarzyna Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich* (Cracow: Historia Iagellonica, 2010), 48. Bożenna Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat Artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej, 1736-1816* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1976), 98.

12 Jerzy Michalski, "Lubomirski Stanisław, herbu Szreniawa," in *PSB,* vol. 28, 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.

Konstancja was the one who connected the two branches of the family, the Czartoryskis and the Poniatowskis. Konstancja inherited her mother's political interests and drive for her own eight children, of whom Stanisław Antoni became king, Michał Jerzy the primate of Poland, and Kazimierz the crown chamberlain.[13]

Izabela Flemming was thus born into a family of formidable men and women, who were tightly linked in pursuit of their collective ambition to control the Polish political landscape.[14] 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.[15]

13 Andrzej K. Link-Lenczowski, "Poniatowska z Czartoryskich Konstancja," in *PSB,* vol.27, 409–411.

14 Lukowski, *Liberty's folly*, 153–75.

15 See Zielińska, *Walka o reformę Rzeczpospolitej: 1743-1752*, *passim*; Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich passim*.

PART I

In the Capitals of the World: Wołczyn, Warsaw, and London, 1745–1774

Wołczyn

In some ways, the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had not one capital in Warsaw, but many: the Czartoryskis' estates in Wołczyn, Puławy, and Siedlce, the Branickis' in Białystok, and the Radziwiłłs' in Nieśwież were de facto capitals of their own principalities.[1]

Wołczyn had belonged to the extended family since 1710. Although not an age-old Czartoryski seat such as Klewań or Żuków (Klevan' and Zhukiv, now in Ukraine), by the time Izabela was born, it was their major center. This was Izabela's formative environment; here she learned to care for her peasants, to interact with the nobles, and gained her ideas on the rules of the family representation, and this is where she entered the world of her peers. This is where she was introduced to the whole of Poland and Lithuania. By the time she left, all her connections, relationships of power, and friendships had been established.

Wołczyn acted as the social and political center of the Familia. Young 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 she would also have seen her family at work there at the estate, as her home was in itself a major center for political meetings.

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1 Aleksander Jankowski and Andrzej Klonder, eds., *Cywilizacja prowincji Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej* (Bydgoszcz: WAB, 2004); Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Agata Roćko, eds., *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku: rola i znaczenie kulturowe* (Warsaw: DiG, 2005).

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. These were people unlike their counterparts in Europe. The nobility in Poland-Lithuania (the *szlachta*), with their complexities of self-image, differed from the titled families elsewhere in many ways. Here in Wołczyn, Princess Izabela learned to navigate this multifaceted world of the Polish nobles. Later, these were the people to whom she addressed her performances, using a language they would understand. To appreciate the obscurities 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.

Sarmatia in Wołczyn

In all their activities, the Czartoryskis responded to the well-defined identity of the Polish nobility—a collective worldview 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" here as an essential underwriting of the Wołczyn celebrations.

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 the 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.[2] While in 1517, Maciej z Miechowa

2 For historic roots of Sarmatians in Poland see: Tadeusz Sulimirski, *Sarmaci* (Warsaw: PWN, 1979), 188–206. Cf. Tadeusz Sulimirski and Jan Chochorowski, *Kim-*

identified all inhabitants of Poland, Lithuania, and Ruthenia (*Ruś*)—including peasants, artisans, and townsmen—as the descendants of these warring tribes, by the late seventeenth century the nobles claimed exclusive rights to Sarmatian ancestry.[3] The other inhabitants were left to an unspecified, vernacular origin. These were viewed as being somehow connected to the "children of Ham," who had been cursed to serve the descendants of the other, more virtuous sons of Noah (Genesis chapter 9). This biblical passage has been used throughout the centuries to justify the subjugation of one people by another in many cultures.

The purported brush with Roman culture was to be the source of the nobles' love of Roman republican values: democracy, equality, and 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.[4] 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 colored them with an optimistic faith in the order and harmony of the world. Later baroque poetry

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merowie, Scytowie, Sarmaci: księga poświęcona pamięci profesora Tadeusza Sulimirskiego (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2004).

3 Beata Biedrońska-Słota, *Sarmatyzm: sen o potędze* (Cracow: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2010), 17–32, (English translation 34–43).

4 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu: antykizacja i klasycyzacja w środowisku warszawskim czasów Jana III*. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), 179; Cf. Janusz Maciejewski, *Sarmatyzm* (Warsaw: Ossolineum, 1974).

developed this myth of utopia in the Polish countryside further and merged the rich and sensuous particulars of life with a bucolic dreamworld.[5]

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 extreme cases, some stretched to the Garden of Eden, to the Tower of Babel, and in the case of the Morsztyn family—Izabela's maternal line—to Noah. Others stopped at Republican Rome.

Predictably, the imagery of Republican Rome reflected the *szlachta*'s love of liberty, but during the reign of King Jan III (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. It has been suggested that this change reflected the desire of the magnates to present themselves as ruling personalities, superior to their noble brethren. Aristocratic genealogies began 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.[6]

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

5 Tadeusz Ulewicz, *Sarmacja. Zagadnienie sarmatyzmu w kulturze i literaturze polskiej* (Cracow: Collegium Columbinum, 2006), 180–81.

6 Karpowicz, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu*, 176–77, 179. On the historical perception of antiquity see: Dariusz Dolański, *Zachód w polskiej myśli historycznej czasów saskich: nurt sarmacko-teologiczny* (Zielona Góra: Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, 2002), 207–212.

imagery.[7] The subtle shift from 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.[8] 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. Scholars have shown how seventy years of wars from the mid-seventeenth century contributed to increasingly conservative thinking within "Sarmatian" culture.[9] By concentrating their energies on the exigencies of war and focusing on the security of markets and incomes in those circumstances, the nobility managed to remain within 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 some 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 centered on itself. Consequently, any proposals of reform initiated by the great magnates were viewed by the "Sarmatian" nobility with deep suspicion.[10] 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 be extravagant, theatrical, and public.

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7 For the discussion of the quasi-royal representation of the nobles see: Tadeusz Bernatowicz, *Mitra i buława: królewskie ambicje książąt w sztuce Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej (1697-1763)* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2011).

8 Robert I. Frost, "The Nobility of Poland-Lithuania", in *The European Nobilities,* ed. H.M. Scott (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 2, 2, 266–310.

9 Stanisław Grzybowski, *Sarmatyzm* (Warsaw: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1996), 4.

10 Ulewicz, *Sarmacja*, *passim*. Jerzy Michalski, "Sarmatyzm a europeizacja Polski w XVIII wieku", in *Studia historyczne,* vol. 2, 7–36.

They moved with *gravitas*, disdained any fast, physical games, and only enjoyed the chivalric pursuits—hunting or horse riding.[11] 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 offense 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 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 splendor. 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.[12]

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

11 For the visual aspect of "Sarmatian' identity see the exhibition catalogue by Biedrońska-Słota, *Sarmatyzm*, 106–84. Cf. Jadwiga Chruszczyńska, *Decorum* życia *Sarmatów w XVII i XVIII wieku* (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 1980).

12 Bogucka, *Człowiek i* świat, 36–51.

the splendor of displays, while feasts and *fêtes* united guests into one emotionally connected brotherhood. This sphere of identity would become a fixed point of reference for Izabela's later views.

The palace and the garden

Wołczyn was first owned by the Flemmings, then by the Poniatowskis, and from 1744 by the Czartoryskis.[13] They all practiced an exceptional model of modern agriculture and settled German and Dutch colonists, being eager to profit from these religious dissidents' high-yield farming.

As it is with many no longer existing or altered residences in the eastern territories, the appearance of the Wołczyn palace can only be reconstructed from paintings or from diary entries.

The imagination of the young Izabela would not have found inspiration in splendid interiors or an abundance of precious works of art in the most up-to-date style. Instead, everything spoke of tradition. The house itself was not especially large or ostentatious. It was a single-story baroque-style building, built out of larch wood—a typical building material. It had 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 connected them with the childhood country of the natron of the family, Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn. Some rooms were bedecked with red damask, a prized and quintessentially Polish wall covering in country residences, and a large number of paintings by old masters—mostly Italian—decorated the walls. There was a portrait gallery of more political than artistic interest. There were full-length royal portraits of Polish kings Augustus II, Augustus III, and his consort Maria Josepha of Austria, Charles XII of Sweden, as well as a member of the Familia—Stanisław Poniatowski—and his wife, Konstancja Czartoryska, with

13 Roman Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej. Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie, Inflanty, Kurlandia]. Województwa brzesko-litewskie, nowogródzkie*, vol. 2. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1992), 157–62.

one of her young sons.[14] The Wettin kings Augustus II and Augustus III portrayed themselves in Polish costume—*kontusz*—with the well-founded desire to align themselves with their subjects.[15] Hence, like in other large noble homes, the Sarmatian context permeated the space, although here the furnishings pointed to personal connections of a French and Italian nature. The gallery thus emphasized the position of the Familia and the designation of the house as an outpost of patriotic service. We will see that Princess Izabela will introduce a similar arrangement to her Powązki garden.

The main building extended into two freestanding brick wings, one with rooms for visitors while the other contained the archives and a library of several thousand volumes.[16] The space hospitality space extended in a large measure into the regular French garden, embraced by the wings of the house: a forty-acre garden complete with an orangery, a hothouse, a theatre, and four garden pavilions decorated with frescos. Through the center of the garden ran a long canal, which terminated at one end with a waterfall and a 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 staged a race in the canal. This was a suitably baroque spectacle, one of many in the calendar of feasts, *fêtes*, and firework displays.[17] This aspect of lavish entertainment was entirely expected by the noble visitors, part of the rituals of hospitality. A game park on the outskirts of the grounds emphasized the status of the 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

14 Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich, dzieło pośmiertne*, ed. Jan Dihm (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1957), 41–42.

15 Jerzy Dygała, "Wizerunek barokowego sarmaty i oświeceniowego Europejczyka, czyli August III Wettyn i Stanisław August Poniatowski," *Wieki Stare i Nowe*, Uniwersytet Śląski, Katowice, 2014, vol. 6 (11), 38–57.

16 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 79; Filip Sulimierski, "Wołczyn", *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich, (SGKP)* ed. Filip Sulimierski, Bronisław Chlebowski, and Władysław Walewski (Warsaw: Sulimierski, Walewski, 1880-1914), 15 vols., vol. 13, 865–67.

17 Jerzy Skowronek, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski: 1770-1861* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1994), 79.

brought from afar. Only magnates could afford such an expense, and the Czartoryskis carefully cultivated the image, though only with deer.[18]

Wołczyn acted as the social and political center, and as such, it had its satellites. Izabela's father, Flemming, established his own base in the neighboring Terespol, his center for managing local elections in the palatinate of Brześć Litewski. In 1748, he acquired the 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. [19]

King Augustus II (on the Polish throne 1697–1706 and 1709–1733) made an attempt to raise Warsaw into something resembling a royal *Residenzstadt*. He laid out geometrically arranged avenues and 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 the atmosphere of the court. Its elaborate etiquette and its political function, based essentially on providing a forum of competition for royal favors, offended the Polish nobles' sense of equality 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 rightfully be theirs or reserved for their sons' advancement. As a result, their antipathy to the

18 As a comparison, in England the hunting grounds were restricted only to the landed rich, one percent of the population in terms of income. Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Małgorzata Szafrańska, "Ogród i las. Naturalistyczne bezdroża XVII-wiecznej sztuki ogrodowej," in *Sztuka XVII wieku w Polsce* (Warsaw: Arx Regia, 1994), 177–90.

19 Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji*, vol. 2, 130–35; Ciołek, *Ogrody*, 74–75; Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich* (Warsaw: PWN, 1957), vol. 1, 50.

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.[20] 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.[21] This kind of dichotomy encouraged provincial nobles to pledge their allegiance to provincial centers such as Wołczyn.

It would be misleading to assume that the relative proximity to the capital made Wołczyn in any way dependent on the royal court, if only due to the fact that the atrocious state of the roads placed a real physical barrier for any organized travel (a messenger might have crossed the 240-kilometer distance to Warsaw in two days, while a substantial princely convoy would have taken three times longer). Wołczyn, like the estates of other wealthy nobles, stood as a real and symbolic stronghold of the owner's independence, considered as almost a country unto itself.[22] 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 which made their political role possible.

Country residences functioned most of all as political and educational centers, drawing in clients, neighbors, political friends, and young aspiring nobles looking for patronage.[23] Nowhere was this more true than in the great Czartoryski houses. The Czartoryskis worked with their client in long-term associations, either for shared political goals or for economic benefits. Young nobles came to them for an education and introduction to the rudiments of parliamentary and judiciary politics, for priming in culture and manners of high society. Some would receive sponsorship for further studies and travel abroad, and the lucky

20 Stanisław Roszak, "Dwór warszawski a dwory prowincji: między konfrontacją a potrzebą adaptacji," in Kostkiewiczowa and Roćko, eds., *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku*, 9–18.

21 Jerzy Michalski, "'Warsaw' czyli o antystołecznych nastrojach w czasach Stanisława Augusta," *Studia historyczne z XVIII i XIX wieku,* vol. 2, (Warsaw: Stentor, 2007) 37–98.

22 Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich, dzieło pośmiertne*, 43.

23 Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich*, 65–85.

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 were dynamic and composite, involving personal and informal interactions, as well as 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," but the term did not necessarily carry a negative connotation.[24] In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the economy was mainly agricultural; nobles shared a common interest 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 neighbors. Their personal connections grew stronger during such visits, and their friendships gained solid economic and political foundations.

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 pretenses 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.[25] Horse formations and militia units decked out in uniforms specific to a family provided a pow-

24 Antoni Mączak, *Klientela: nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i Europie XVI-XVIII w.* (Warsaw: Semper, 1994); Idem, *Nierówna przyjaźń: układy klientalne w perspektywie historycznej*. (Wrocław: Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 2003); Idem, "Patron i klienci w Rzeczypospolitej i Europie," in *Podług nieba i obyczaju polskiego. Studia z historii architektury, sztuki i kultury ofiarowane Adamowi Miłobędzkiemu*, ed. Adam Miłobędzki and Zbigniew Bania (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1988) 614–20; Urszula Augustyniak, "Specyfika patronatu magnackiego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku. Problemy badawcze." *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 109 (2002): 97–110.

25 Jędrzej Kitowicz, and Adam Kaczurba. *Pamiętniki: opis obyczajów i zwyczajów za panowania Augusta III* (Tarnów: Nakładem Wydawcy, 1881), 187–222; another edition: Jędrzej Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, ed. Maria Dernałowicz (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1985); Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich,* 41.

erful 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 secured mail delivery. They afforded defense in the border territories and could be dispatched against disgruntled peasants or settle scores with neighboring magnates. Even the Familia found themselves at the receiving end of Prince Karol Radziwiłł's considerable military force when, during the interregnum of 1764, he burned down Flemming's estate at Terespol.[26] Most importantly, though, these private armies supported a visual display of status that could be extended to clients or political friends during funerals or weddings.[27] These were the same "techniques of domination" articulated for the gardens at Versailles and the parks in England.[28] If in Poland they were mediated by the ideal of noble "equality," they nevertheless equally promoted the control of the *primus inter pares* over local politics, as in the spectacular residences of the magnets.[29]

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. They cultivated this apparent equality; they wined and dined from twenty to a hundred people daily, and on their travels, they made sure to invite large numbers

26 "Terespol", *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich,* ed. Bronisław Chlebowski (Warsaw, Wiek, 1892), vol. 12, 307–308; Janusz Tarasiuk, *500 lat Terespola* (Biała Podlaska: Civitas Christiana, 2002).

27 Maria Bogucka, *The Lost World of the "Sarmatians": Custom as the Regulator of Polish Social Life in Early Modern Times* (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1996), 45; Magdalena Górska, "Dwór i familia. Wizerunek magnaterii w dekoracji okazjonalnej XVIII stulecia", *Dwory magnackie*, 111–38.

28 Cf. Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Williamson, *Polite Landscapes.*

29 Anna Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki "sarmata nowoczesny'. Kreowanie wizerunku poprzez sztukę* (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2011); Anna Oleńska, "Wątki heroiczne w programie dekoracji białostockiej rezydencji Jana Klemensa Branickiego," in Kostkiewiczowa and Roćko, eds., *Dwory magnackie*, 245–62.

of local nobles of all ranks to partake of their hospitality.[30] Therefore, the entertainment element held a paramount place in noble relationships, with their military component and the allegorical classical substance of their visual displays. As such, we will see this enacted in the future Czartoryski centers in Powązki and Puławy.[31]

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 the people living there. The second was her governess, Madame Petit, who instilled in Izabela a moral interpretation of history. How these two women influenced Izabela's future views has never been considered in the literature, but it is likely that it was profound.

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 would later take charge of Izabela's own children. Nevertheless, Madame Petit's educational efforts have not been critically assessed, other than by her own pupil.[32] It seems that whereas Izabela took her governess's gentleness as given, she obliterated the benefits of her education with one short remark, calling it inadequate and "rustic." A few recorded words of disappointment have imprinted themselves on the minds of future biographers and gave rise to the fundamentally misleading dismissal of these early years. It is therefore an interesting

30 Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich*, 15–30.
31 Bogucka, *Człowiek i świat*, 87–97. Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich*, 30–32.
32 Bronisław Zaleski, Żywot *księcia Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego* (Poznań: Żupański, 1881), vol. 1, 158–61.

proposition to look at the formative education of Princess Czartoryska with new eyes.

Although no records documenting Izabela's education have survived, it is reasonable to presume that Madame Petit continued the same methods with the next generation, that is, with Izabela's own children.[33] The recollections of Zofia, Izabela's youngest daughter, of her own early years with the beloved governess offer interesting insights about the program of education. Zofia, like Izabela, bemoaned the limitations of her schooling. The governess taught Zofia the simplest rudiments of the Catholic faith, the bare basics of European geography, and the rudimentary elements of 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 enfants*. With the exception of the latter, which was published in 1782-83, all the other works could have formed Izabela's own course of education. However, the most telling was the program of history lessons selected by Madame Petit.

Zofia studied the early history of Poland with, understandably, reference to the genealogy of the Czartoryski family. After that, she read sections of an "exceedingly boring" *Histoire ancienne* by Charles Rollin. Rollin was acknowledged in his lifetime as an influential voice for generations of educators with his *Histoire* and with his subsequent *Histoire Romaine.*[34] His presentation of history promoted the personal and emotional involvement of the reader. He emphasized the ethical qualities of historical characters and interpreted past events as direct outcomes

33 Fragments of Zofia Zamoyska's memoirs were published by Aleksandra Borowska in: Zofia Zamoyska, "Z pamiętnika Zofii z Czartoryskich Zamoyskiéy." *Kronika Rodzinna* 22, 14 (1887): 673–74. Zamoyska's memoirs were also quoted by Dębicki, *Puławy, 1762-1830*, vol. 4, 281–336. See there pp. 284–292 for Zamoyska's education.

34 Charles Rollin, *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Cartaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Mèdes et des Perses, des Macédoniens, des Grecs*, ed. Jacques Estienne (Paris: Estienne, 1730-38); Charles Rollin, *Histoire romaine depuis la fondation de Rome jusqu'a la bataille d'Actium: c'est à-dire jusqu'à la fin de la République*, ed. Jean Baptiste Louis Crevier (Paris: Estienne, 1738-48).

of the personal virtues or vices of individuals and high ideals. The Greeks and the Romans, Rollin wrote, achieved their greatness because of their religious piety as well as because of their love of liberty, their attachment to country, and their desire for glory. Rollin sometimes selected his subjects more for their moralizing example than for their historical significance; for example, the heroes Antiochus and Virginia, who remain unknown to most of us today, were singled out with the same emphasis as Socrates and Cicero.

What is equally important is that Rollin's texts became a reference compendium for artists looking for classical subjects. Artists found the subjects not only in the narrative but also in the illustrations made by Hubert François Bourguignon, known as Gravelot (1699–1773).[35] It may be astounding to learn that through his book illustrations, formally and thematically, Gravelot influenced a variety of such prominent artists as Benjamin West, Nathaniel Dance, Charles Moreau, Angelica Kauffman, and Jacques-Louis David, all of whom reinterpreted his compositions and made some events famous, such as the death of Socrates, the battle of the Horatii and Curatii, and the death of the heroic enemy of Sparta, Epaminondas.

The presence of the *Histories* in Izabela's formative years would not only explain her belief that the course of history was determined by the personal qualities or character 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.

In his earliest work, the highly influential *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres*, known as the *Traité des études*, Rollin promoted his concept of history as a didactic, pedagogical example.[36] This edifying treatise intended for governesses and educators was first published

35 Peter S. Walch, "Charles Rollin and early neoclassicism," *Art Bulletin,* 49, 2 (1967): 123–26. See also a chapter "Childhood and early education in the works of Claude Fleury, Charles Rollin and Jean-Pierre de Crousaz" in Natasha Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Enlightenment from Nature to Second Nature* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 69–116.

36 Charles Rollin, *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres, par rapport à l'esprit et au coeur* (Paris: J. Estienne, 1726).

in 1726–32 and continued as a separate publication with specific advice for the education of girls.[37]

Both compendia explained in a clear and systematic way the objectives of subsequent lessons and singled out the practical subjects of instruction, described the consequent exercises, and explained the methods to be employed by Rollin was convinced that the progress of civilization depended on education and especially on the study of history.[38] Therefore, firstly, a student should study the history of the Church, 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 young girls and boys to imitate. The program of study charted by Rollin was exactly that which Zofia narrated in her memoirs.

In her short reminiscence, Zofia twice mentioned Madame Petit's sweet disposition, her caring attentions, and her gentle affection. This was what Rollin encouraged: preceptors should be gentle and kind and be especially tender when the child is very young or sick. They needed to extend respect to children and even to become their guardian angels.[39] Rollin advocated what Natasha Gill calls "effortless' learning through play: reading with flashcards and motivating students through example and visualization.[40] We must therefore assume that this radical modern pedagogical theory benefitted Princess Czartoryska. Indeed, the education she received left her without religious bigotry; instead, the moral examples from Roman history instilled in her the reality of a glorified past through a gentle and considerate approach. Lastly, we should not neglect mentioning the piano and dancing lessons, so important in placing a girl in the best salons of Europe.

37 Charles Rollin, Éducation *des filles*, ed. François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon (La Haye: J. Rychoff, 1737).

38 Charles Rollin, *The Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres or an Introduction to Languages, Poetry, Rhetorick, History, Moral Philosophy, Physicks, &c. …* 4 vols. (London: W. Strahan, 1770), vol. 1, 4.

39 Rollin, *The Method of Teaching*, vol. 1, 384–90.

40 Gill, *Educational Philosophy,* 79.



Figure 2. *Princess Eleonora Czartoryska née Waldstein as the founder of the palace in Wołczyn*, unknown painter, oil on canvas, 18th century.

Eleonora's example

Eleonora Czartoryska, née Waldstein, Izabela's young grandmother, provided another dimension of education. Eleonora had already brought up her own three daughters, two of whom died of smallpox in childbirth—one of them was Izabela's mother. 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 sole charge of Izabela.

Eleonora's likeness appears in a painting in the Czartoryski Museum, where she is shown as a founder of the family's primary residence. (fig. 2) 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."[41] The claim of her building the house is not exaggerated: the Czartoryski women acquired a reputation for dictating their own ideas to their architects: Eleonora in

41 "Xiężna Michałowa Czartoryska z aniołkami—w dali widać front pałacu wołczyńskiego, przez nią zbudowanego."

Wołczyn and Zofia in Puławy.[42] During their husbands' long absences from home, they managed political matters, took all the decisions concerning the running of their estates, and were responsible for devising the visual sphere of representation.[43] Both established representational French gardens around their estates, and, as will be especially important for Izabela, both were concerned with the well-being of their peasants.[44]

Eleonora was known for her charitable works, for the good governance of her estates, and especially for her compassionate attitude towards peasants. She must have instilled in her granddaughter this sense of duty to the peasants. In fact, the widely known detail that Izabela contracted smallpox just before her wedding in Wołczyn was the result of her routine visiting of rural cottages and coming into contact with a very ill infant.[45]

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 focused on the attainment 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 works of art.[46] Polish Baroque literature and poetry often participated in the educational sphere with their distinctly didactic tone, emphasizing the virtues of modesty and humility. These two social virtues would allow women to

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42 Samanta Popow, "Meissonierowski salon Franciszka Bielińskiego—historia rokokowej dekoracji dworu magnackiego," in Kostkiewiczowa and Roćko, eds.,*Dwory magnackie,* 314; Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich*, 21, 108–109; Jan Wnuk, *Księżna Eleonora Czartoryska: dziedziczka Radzymina* (Radzymin: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Radzymina, 2008).

43 Wołczyn records preserved in the Biblioteka Czartoryskich in Cracow relate only to the years 1778–1780, Roman Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej. [Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie, Inflanty, Kurlandia]. Województwa brzesko-litewskie, nowogródzkie*, vol. 2. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1992), 162.

44 "Wołczyn", *SGKP,* 865–67.

45 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki i memoriały polityczne 1776-1809,* 78.

46 Grzybowski, *Sarmatyzm*, 10. See also: Dariusz Rolnik, "Obraz 'nowej' i 'dawnej' magnaterii polsko-litewskiej w polskiej literaturze pamiętnikarskiej końca XVIII i początków XIX wieku," *Wieki Stare i Nowe*, Katowice, 6, (11), (2014): 58–84.

form the least conflicting relationships with their dependents, neighbors, and peasants.

Charles Rollin reserved this very model for a mother educating 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 honor and dignity."[47]

In contrast to other countries, education in Poland was affected by one more factor—the seven decades of continual warfare on the Commonwealth's own soil, beginning in 1648. With male members engaged in wars, women took control of many noble households. Widows managed family affairs independently, in addition to educating and advancing the careers of their children. Their husbands' valor in battle, and ultimately their death, began to be regarded as the definitive patriotic act. Their public recognition took the form of extravagant funerals, orations, and sermons, while the personal effects of the deceased received the value of relics. Funerals became frequently enacted ceremonies with familiar rites, a required element in the creation of a noble's identity.

The Polish world came together not just at weddings and birthdays but also at patriotic funerals. Boys were given a model of a distinguished champion 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 as an exemplar of knightly virtues and family honor to his young great-grandsons, Marek and Jan Sobieski. 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 patria mori*. Marek Sobieski was slain on the battlefield of Batoh in 1652; his younger brother went on to become King Jan III.

47 Rollin, *The Method of Teaching*, vol. 1, 81.

The century-long tragedy of wars created a customary veneration of memories of family heroes. By eulogizing their husbands' memories, women connected their family's name with the history of the nation.[48] This was a widespread reality, one which reinforced the "Sarmatian" identity and one with which Izabela must have been implicitly conversant. This aspect of the widow's mourning as part of patriotic remembrance, with the veneration of historical and sacrificial mementoes, will find its way to the garden of Puławy half a century later.

How then should we interpret Izabela's complaint about her neglected, rustic education? She was taught according to then-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 in Wołczyn and visits to Puławy and Warsaw.

For Poles, the classics and the "Sarmatian" culture were the two complementary pillars of their world order. "Sarmatian" culture rooted itself 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 future husband, Adam Kazimierz, contemplated making Wołczyn their permanent seat after the death of Michał Czartoryski in 1775.

Finally, Izabela's misgivings about her education should be seen within the context of the rigorous and structured education her future husband and his sister, Izabela Lubomirska, had received. These two were given the benefit of the personal attention of their intellectual father, August Czartoryski, schooled by excellent tutors and experiences during their travels abroad. Both exuded intellectual confidence in the foremost salons of Europe.[49] They were also more than ten years older than Izabela, who, for a long time, felt overshadowed by them. Izabela

48 Grzybkowski, *Sarmatyzm*, 26–28.
49 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich*, 48–50.

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; indeed, she specifically avoided them in conversations.[50] Her strengths simply lay elsewhere. In any case, both her childhood and her directed education ended at the age of sixteen, when she entered into a marriage with Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski.

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. 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 his son, Adam Kazimierz, for the crown.[51] 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.[52] The spotlight at the time of the wedding shone on Adam.

Biographers have stressed the contrasts between Izabela and Adam Kazimierz: their differing education, refinement, and age—she was six-

50 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.

51 Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich*, 22–23.

52 Richard Butterwick, *Poland's Last King and English Culture: Stanisław August Poniatowski, 1732–1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 125.

teen, he was twenty-seven—but these differences should not be exaggerated.[53] The two cousins grew up in the same family, in the same palaces, and within the same set of principles, ideas, and political ambitions. It is little known that plans for the union were made two and a half years before the wedding. Izabela was engaged to Adam Kazimierz at age fourteen—after the canonical dispensation for marrying a cousin was granted on April 10, 1759.[54] The scale of the wedding celebrations, which took place on the traditional family date of the feast of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, November 19, 1761, suggests long preparations.

It is possible to piece together the main outlines of the wedding celebrations. Some information comes from contemporary memoirs, some from archival records, but the most important for the present discussion is the surviving gouache and watercolor painting of the wedding pavilion, which may be called the Temple of Profound Friendship. It will become clear that this painting carries 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.[55] The young pair signed the marriage contracts the day before. Old Flemming provided not only a dowry of 800,000 złotys, approximately twice the value of the Wołczyn estate, but also promised his entire inheritance jointly to the bride and the groom.[56] Exceptionally, Flemming was therefore leaving his whole fortune to the Czartoryskis, rather than to his daughter only. Her life and her property now merged with those of her husband. We need to take this arrangement as indicating an indissoluble union, where divorce was unthinkable and where the union would carry on the political ambitions of the clan in perpetuity.

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53 Jadwiga Dackiewicz, *Paryż zdradzony czyli Izabela Czartoryska* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1975); Kuchowicz, *Wizerunki niepospolitych niewiast staropolskich*, 378–80; Maria Dernałowicz, *Portret Familii* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974).

54 Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski,* 117.

55 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki i memoriały polityczne 1776-1809,* 78–79.

56 Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji*, vol. 2, 157; Marcin Matuszewicz, *Diariusz* życia *mego 1714–1764*, ed. Bohdan Królikowski and Zofia Zielińska. 2 vols. (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1986), vol. 2, 171, 174–75.

The wedding was scheduled to take place in the evening. The previous morning, however, another and unannounced wedding took place.[57] With only the witnesses present, Michał Czartoryski gave away his youngest daughter, Aleksandra, to Michał Kazimierz Ogiński (1730–1800). Aleksandra was thirty-one and already a widow; she 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 protégé, 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 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, marrying the young woman to the publicly gay Ogiński, 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 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.[58] As well as celebrating birthdays, every year the family observed with great splendor the Feast of St. Elizabeth (of Hungary) on November 19 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.

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57 Matuszewicz, *Diariusz* życia *mego,* vol. 2, 174–75. Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski,* 119.

58 Urszula Głowacka-Maksymiuk, *Aleksandra z książąt Czartoryskich Ogińska* (Siedlce: Sigillum, 2003), 37–39.

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 minds of the assembled, the two chief commanders of the armed forces of the Commonwealth—the Crown and the Grand Duchy—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.[59] He impressed on the newlyweds that their lineage was so noble, so exalted, and so magnificent that none equaled 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.[60]

This type of genealogical glorification was part of an established marriage ritual, but in this case the family's royal ambitions shone brightly.[61] 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 until 1572. The Czartoryskis shared their genealogy with Jagiełło's grandfather, Grand Duke Gediminas, and called themselves "the sons of Giedymin."

From this connection came their coat of arms, the Lithuanian horseman—*Pogoń Litewska* in Polish or the *Vytis* in Lithuanian—identi-

59 Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski,* 119.

60 Karol Wyrwicz, *Mowa do* [...] *Adama* [Kazimierza] [...] *i Izabelli z* [...] *Flemingów Czartoryskich w dzień* [...] *ich* ślubu [...] *przez* [...] *w Wołczynie d. 19 listopada roku 1761 miana*, (s.l., 1761) Biblioteka Kórnicka, 33192; Pauszer-Klonowska, *Pani na Puławach*, 9.

61 Barłowska, Maria. "Oddawanie panny z przyganą: frantowskie i nie tylko," in Renarda Ocieczek and Marzena Walińska, eds., *Sarmackie theatrum III. Studia historycznoliterackie* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2006), 97–120; Bogucka, *Człowiek i* świat, 75–82.

cal 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 joint insignia. As a result, the symbolic sphere of the crest was 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, while for generations the family itself had given its sons names from their ancestral past, such as Adam, Kazimierz, Jerzy, Michał, August, Aleksander, Konstanty, and Antoni. The women also participated in this pattern of historical self-identification: Aleksandra, Konstancja, and Antonina, and—from the eighteenth century onwards—they were named Izabela after their matron, Izabela Czartoryska, née Morsztyn.

Templum Amicitiae Sacrum

There is only one preserved visual document of the Wołczyn wedding celebrations. An inscription identifies it as "fireworks organized in Wołczyn on the occasion of the wedding between Prince Adam Czartoryski and Izabela Flemming."[62]

The painting represents a tholos temple surrounded by fourteen Ionic columns and standing on a high base containing a cave assembled from large boulders (fig. 3). 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 nighttime display.

62 The painting is reproduced in: Teresa Sulerzyska and Stanisława Maria Sawicka, *Katalog rysunków z Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie. Miejscowości różne. Rysunki architektoniczne, dekoracyjne, plany i widoki z XVIII i XIX wieku* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969), vol. 2, 219 (no. 959).



FIGURE 3. *Fireworks organized in Wołczyn on the occasion of the wedding between Prince Adam Czartoryski and Izabella Flemming*, artist unknown, 1761.

The large scale of the pavilion would not have surprised anyone attending a magnate's wedding.[63] However, while most festive structures 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 the Sibyl in Tivoli. Extraordinarily, the Czartoryski temple was the first of its kind in Poland in a garden setting. The choice of the Temple of the Sibyl from Tivoli for the centerpiece of the wedding certainly enabled new associations in addition to the Temple of Marriage, and these are worth exploring here in depth.

63 On rituals of nobles' nuptuals see: Andrzej Jerzy Baranowski, "Rola rodzi magnackich w osiemnastowiecznych uroczystościach koronacyjnych na wschodnich terenach Rzeczypospolitej", *Sztuka ziem wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. Jerzy Lileyko (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 2000), 619–32; Władysław Łoziński, Życie *polskie w dawnych wiekach* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1978), 210–13.

Tivoli, the ancient Tibur, lies only 30 kilometers outside Rome, but its significance has overtaken art of the Baroque and the Enlightenment. Two temples stand at the edge of the city on a precipice, one round and one square, from the first century BC, known interchangeably and confusingly as the Temple of the Sibyl and the Temple of Vesta. The confusion does not stop there, for there is a Temple of Vesta in Rome which also lent its associations to the Tivolian temple. Equally, the Sibyl and the Vesta (in Tivoli and in Rome) were associated with prophetic texts and sacred objects that played an extraordinary role in the myths of the destiny of Rome.

In Wołczyn, although the pavilion took the name of *Templum Amicitiae Sacrum*, the complex understanding of the iconographical texts laid bare the "Sarmatian" love of ancient traditions. For us, however, it is helpful to recall that 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 center of its fortunes. This connection to the preservation of the most important documents and sacred vota would re-emerge in the later garden of Puławy, and Czartoryska would be the originator of the idea of housing the collection of national mementoes in a Tiburian tholos.

The Temple of the Sibyl in Tivoli was the dwelling of the Tiburian Sibyl, Albunea, one of the ten prophetesses of the ancient world. The building held the Sibylline Books, prophecies of Rome's destiny. It was believed that the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, had bought 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.[64]

64 Eric M. Orlin, *Temples, Religion and Politics in the Roman Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Zdzisław Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów*, 31–33.

Despite this loss, versions of the Sibylline texts continued to circulate with added Christian references, of which the most important was the Sybil's vision of the Virgin and Child.[65] 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.[66]

Equally important was the lower part of the temple, the Sibyl's cave set among boulders on a 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. It would not be unreasonable to assume that in Wołczyn, during the wedding, such a Sibyl emerged from the cave visible beneath the temple pavilion in the painting and prophesied good fortune to the newly married Adam and Izabela.

According to the "Sarmatian" wedding ritual, during the breaks in the feasting, the guests were first treated to a theatrical play.[67] Afterwards, fireworks turned the garden into a festive sphere.[68] With the materialized temple in the garden, Wołczyn became Rome itself, visualizing the "Sarmatian" myth of their origin. The Sibyl handed down to the younger generation of the Czartoryskis the future of the nation, an act witnessed by the spirits of the ancients—personified by the Roman busts clearly delineated 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 in the garden.[69]

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65 John Floyer, *The Sibylline Oracles* (London: R. Bruges, 1713).

66 Karpowicz, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu*, 139.

67 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, *The Formal Garden: Traditions of Art and Nature* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 83–84.

68 Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski*, 120.

69 Both August and Michał Czartoryski had visited Rome and Florence in 1714–15 on a year-long tour of Europe. Adam Czartoryski had gone there in 1752 and later acquired Piranesi's views of the Temple. Władysław Konopczyński, "Czartoryski, August," in *PSB* vol. 4, 272–75; Idem, "Czartoryski, Michał Fryderyk," in *PSB* vol. 4, 288–94, 289; Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego*

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.[70] The Polish "Sarmatian" identity drew heavily on Horatian and Virgilian verses, and many of its exponents dabbled in translations.[71] Thus, the appearance of the Temple of the 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 notion of sacred friendship—this was a wedding after all.

The festivities lasted six days in Wołczyn, after which they continued at Klemens Branicki's Biała estate in an equally unrestrained way.[72] 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 Roman symbolic associations. This was the first recorded grand *tableau* where Izabela took the center stage, whence she was 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 recited at the tables belonged to the established rhetoric of Virgil and Horace, but the imagery was new and exciting, opening new possibilities, merging into the symbols and ideology of her "Sarmatian" heritage at the time when images of classical antiquity were

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w czasach saskich, 16–17. Helena Waniczkówna, "Czartoryski Adam Kazimierz," in *PSB* vol. 4, 249–57; 249. The Czartoryski Museum holds 60 engravings of *Vedute di Roma* by Piranesi and one large view of *Campo Vaccino* by Giuseppe Vasi.

70 G. H. Hallam and Thomas Ashby, "Horace's Villa at Tivoli," *Journal of Roman Studies,* 4 (1914), 121–38.

71 Cf. Ewa Jolanta Głębicka, ed. *Horacy i polski horacjanizm* (Warsaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne, 1993); Horacy, *Pieśni wszystkie Horacyusza przekładania różnych*, ed. Adam Naruszewicz (Warsaw: M. Gröll, 1773).

72 Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski,* 126.

making their way north, in etchings and engravings. This architectural Sibylline pavilion in a Polish garden with its fluid, complex, and all-embracing iconography pulled on all the right strings of the Sarmatian soul. The sixteen-year-old bride embraced her predetermined and permanent position in the pantheon of Polish politics and culture.

Warsaw

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 program, designed to protect and strengthen the country, had failed, leaving Poland weakened and open to the First Partition in 1772.[73]

After that, the two old pillars of the Familia, Michał and August Czartoryski, lost their privileged positions and largely withdrew from politics. Jan Jerzy Flemming died in 1771, and four years later, in 1775, 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 by 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 ex-

73 Adam Zamoyski, *The Last King of Poland* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), 176–84; Waniczkówna, "Czartoryski Adam Kazimierz," 252.

tended periods of time. These long sojourns beyond their homeland not only exposed them to new aesthetic and intellectual developments; it also gave them that insight and self-awareness of their own cultural values that comes from living within a different society.[74]

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—theater 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 defenses 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 June 13, 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.[75] 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 Czartoryskis, Ludwik Dębicki, blamed Izabela. The Czartoryski house, he declared, rose on the foundations laid out by their women—Izabela Czartoryska, née

74 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich,* 46–52.

75 Zamoyski, *The Last King of Poland,* 79; *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich*, 113.

Morsztyn, and her daughter, Konstancja Poniatowska, mother of King Stanisław August. With their deaths, before Stanisław's accession to the throne, that energizing, constructive force disappeared. Adam's wife, according to Dębicki, 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."[76] Dębicki 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."[77] He was clearly asking a lot of a seventeen-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.[78]

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 worked on the Familia's program 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.[79] 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 program. He began publishing a one-page newspaper, the *Monitor*, which presented

76 Dębicki, *Puławy*, vol. 1, 81.
77 Dębicki, *Puławy*, vol. 1, 81.
78 Cf. Waniczkówna, "Czartoryski Adam Kazimierz"; Butterwick, *Poland's Last King*, 125.
79 Jerzy Michalski, "Plan Czartoryskich naprawy Rzeczypospolitej." In idem, *Studia historyczne*, vol. 1, 11–26.

the need for reform in terms of good citizenship and plain common sense.[80] The *Monitor* was published only from August to September 1763. On October 5 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 (May 7–June 23, 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 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 majority voting for "economic matters" and the removal of local assemblies—the sejmiks—from the scope of the *liberum veto* altogether.[81]

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 September 7, 1764, with seven thousand of Catherine's troops stationed a few kilometers away,

80 Roman Kaleta and Mieczysław Klimowicz, *Prekursorzy Oświecenia. Monitor z roku 1763 na tle swoich czasów* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1953); Jerzy Lukowski, *Disorderly Liberty: the Political Culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Continuum, 2010), 102.

81 Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly*, 186–92; Zofia Zielińska, *Polska w okowach "systemu północnego' 1763-1766* (Cracow: Arcana 2012), 126–60.

Stanisław Poniatowski was unanimously elected king. He was crowned Stanisław II August on November 25, the Feast of St. Catherine of Alexandria, in recognition of his Russian protectress. Adam Kazimierz was showered with honors: 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*, developed its curriculum, recruited the teaching staff, and wrote widely on issues of education and on the role of theater in public improvement.[82]

The political victory of the Czartoryskis, and the accompanying sense of 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.[83]

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.[84] 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 favored 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 on the issue among the Catholic *szlachta*, they approved the rejection of the Russian demands by their supporters at the Coronation Sejm in 1764.[85]

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82 Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski,* 201–201; Kamilla Mrozowska, *Szkoła Rycerska Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego, 1765-1794* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1961).

83 Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly*, 191–92.

84 Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly*, 191–92; M. Cecylia Łubieńska, *Sprawa dysydencka, 1764-1766* (Cracow: W.L. Anczyc, 1911).

85 Lukowski, *Disorderly Liberty*, 94–97.

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 provisions approved by the Convocation Sejm. Adam Kazimierz traveled 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 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.[86] 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 Wacław Rzewuski; and the latter's son, Seweryn—were kidnapped in Warsaw and exiled to Kaluga in Russia for six years.[87] Faced with these developments, Michał and August Czartoryski ordered Adam Kazimierz to cooperate 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.[88]

The Familia came under intense pressure. Michał and August Czartoryski, shrugging 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 sequestration of some of

86 Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly,* 192–96; Zielińska, *Polska w okowach 'systemu północnego,"* 549–665.
87 Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly*, 197.
88 Waniczkówna, "Czartoryski Adam Kazimierz," 251–52.

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, 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.[89] 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 maneuvering 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 cooperation 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, indig-

89 Konopczyński, "Czartoryski August", 4, 272–75.

nant because her orders had not been carried out, commanded Prince Repnin 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 Repnin 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."[90] 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—March 3, 1767. Repnin rented out the National Theater, 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 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.[91] 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 Theater, the first Polish public stage, which King Stanisław August established as one of his primary projects immediately after his coronation.[92] The National Theater radically changed the nature of public persuasion in Poland.

The National Theater was not the beginning of the theater 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 theat-

90 Armand Louis de Gontaut, *Memoirs of the Duc de Lauzun* (New York: Sturgis and Walton Company, 1912), 115–17. See nearly identical version as told by Repnin, ibid., 136–37.

91 Jerzy Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne w gazetach i gazetkach pisanych (1763–1794)," in *Teatr Narodowy 1765-1794*, ed. Jan Kott (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967), 485.

92 See Eugeniusz Szwankowski and Karyna Wierzbicka-Michalska, *200 lat Teatru Narodowego. Lata 1765-1924*. Vol. 1. (Warsaw: Teatr Narodowy, 1965).

rical displays, often outdoors and accompanied with fireworks, were particularly favored, but these were sporadic amusements in a populist tone.[93] 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 also 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 Wacław Rzewuski's Podhorce, Urszula Radziwiłł'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.[94] The households of Michał and August Czartoryski followed the developments on the French stage and transferred the plays to their own palaces. On January 17, 1765—four years after her wedding, Izabela performed at the Warsaw theater of Michal Kazimierz Ogiński in a comedy to celebrate the king's birthday. This performance was accompanied by a cannonade of guns and fireworks. Soon after, she played in a *Comédie Française* to celebrate the feast day of the royal brother, Kazimierz Poniatowski, again with a cannonade and fireworks.[95]

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.[96] She had a good voice, similar to a castrato's, and could take singing parts as well as spo-

93 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie* (Warsaw: Arx Regia, 1997), 60–64.

94 Barbara Judkowiak, "Uwagi nad teatrem i teatromanią w życiu dworów magnackich czasów saskich," in Kostkiewiczowa and Roćko, eds., *Dwory magnackie,* 99–110; Karyna Wierzbicka-Michalska and Julian Krzyżanowski, *Teatr Urszuli Radziwiłłowej* (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1961); Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, "Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego," in Kostkiewiczowa and Roćko, eds., *Dwory magnackie*, 221–44.

95 Kadulska, Irena. "Wielka dama Oświecenia. Księżna Izabela Czartoryska w blasku teatru, teatralizacji i mediów." *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 2 (2021): 89–109.

96 Pauszer-Klonowska, *Pani na Puławach*, 20–21.

ken ones, although some would say that it helped that she was a princess, a Czartoryska, and the wife of Adam Kazimierz.[97]

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 lovemaking; 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 the [spread of] general enlightenment brought them closer.[98]

Stanisław August established the National Theater 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.[99] For the theater'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

97 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze i w teatrze Stanisława Augusta* (Warsaw: Arx Regia, 1995), 164.

98 Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki* [1868 edn], 45.

99 On meanings of "Enlightened' and "Enlightenment' see: Richard Butterwick, "What is Enlightenment (Oświecenie)? Some Polish Answers, 1765–1820." *Central Europe* 3, no. 1 (2005): 19–37.

through laughter."[100] The king promoted this public and didactic rationale on the pages of the twice-weekly periodical, the *Monitor*.[101] 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.[102] 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. In an early issue from July 1765, Krasicki argued the patriotic merits of theater. 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.[103] The theme of the didactic role of the theater 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 Theater was viewed from the start in political terms, as the king's sphere of public influence. Attending performances amounted to public support of his program. In contrast, the opposition to the court was anti-theatrical, and its leaders did not attend the theater. Nevertheless, recognizing the persuasive impact of the performances, its representatives insistently criticized them in the press.[104]

The king leased the Saxon *Operalnia* for the site of his National Theater. The opening play *Natręci* (Interlopers), although an unremarkable

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100 "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 (1764-179): a Social System?* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 225.

101 Jan Kott, *Teatr Narodowy 1765-1794* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967), 24.

102 Elżbieta Aleksandrowska, *Monitor, 1765-1785. Wybór* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1976). Kaleta and Klimowicz, *Prekursorzy Oświecenia. "Monitor' z roku 1763 na tle swoich czasów*; Jadwiga Rudnicka, "Z genealogii 'Monitora' z roku 1763." *Pamiętnik Literacki,* XLVI (1955), 211–19; Zofia Sinko, "'*Monitor' wobec angielskiego 'Spectatora'.*" (Wrocław, Ossolineum, 1956).

103 Ignacy Krasicki, "Pochwała teatru", *Monitor,* 27, 3 July 1765, in: Aleksandrowska, *Monitor*, 25-39.

104 Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 472.

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 National Theater.[105]

Originally, the play was to open on the first anniversary of the king's reign, September 7, 1765, but organizers experienced great difficulty in recruiting Polish-speaking actors and especially actresses.[106] Adam Kazimierz industriously engaged performers, helping them to master the roles, assisted in staging the play, and had his hand in the final touches to the text. After the initial delay, the king selected not the next most obvious commemorative date, the anniversary of his coronation (November 25), but instead chose November 19, 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 on the celebrations, the salutations, and the sumptuous feast for "the three most illustrious persons of the royal house"—Izabela Czartoryska, Izabela Lubomirska, and Izabela Branicka.[107] In the evening, the king and his company transferred to the theater. 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.[108]

The king continued to use the theater 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

105 Jerzy Jackl, "Litteraria". In *Teatr Narodowy 1765-1794*, ed. Jan Kott (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967), 346.

106 Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, *Komedie*, ed. Zofia Zahrajówna (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1955), 22–23.

107 Branicka was not actually present; she hosted her own guests in Białystok. Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 466-469.

108 Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 467–68.

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 honor.[109]

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

Repnin quickly realized the power of the theater and turned it into his own instrument of control. He used it to express both his favor and his disapproval in Polish politics. He was the first one to honor the king after his election in 1764 with a specially commissioned opera by Gherardie in the large theater hall in the Ujazdów palace. He combined the performance with a public fireworks display, a feast, and dances that lasted until the small hours.[110] Repnin later used the theater to publicly 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.[111] On February 5, 1769, the *Warsaw Gazette* noted:

> 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.[112]

109 Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 472.
110 Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 450.
111 Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 450.
112 Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 489–90; Pauszer-Klonowska, *Pani na Puławach*, 32.

It was in this royal arena of public influence and display of power that Repnin staged his Ash Wednesday demonstration on March 3, 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 theater on March 25, 1767, Repnin formally leased it on April 17 and effectively became the master of the forum. His most outrageous demonstration was a performance celebrating the king's name day on May 8, 1767. Repnin invited Stanisław August with the royal entourage and chose for the occasion the ballet production of *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."[113] 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 storm and involving all as actors, and it all took place in a theater.

The Salon

In spring 1762 Izabela and Adam Kazimierz left for Paris. She was then sixteen, but at the same time highly conscious of her privileged position. Her own recollections penned forty years later are remarkable for holding only to the incidental and the anecdotal, 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.[114]

Introductions must have come from Izabela Lubomirska, who stayed in Paris a year previously in 1760, and from Stanisław Poniatowski, who

113 Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 485.

114 I.Cz., 'Mémoires et écrits divers," BCz, 6067, f. 69. Fragments quoted in: Ludwik Dębicki, *Puławy, 1762-1830,* 94–96, v.91. Pauszer-Klonowska, *Pani na Puławach*, 14.

spent several months there in 1753–54. Both formed a particularly close friendship with Madame Geoffrin. But Izabela's visit to Madame Geoffrin was not a success. She felt that her young age and her country education left her at a disadvantage. She found the atmosphere cold and the etiquette rigid. The encounter with the salon culture at the Duchesse d'Orléans' did not go well either. Izabela thought the conversation there was flippant and indecorous, and let herself be known there as an outspoken defender of Poland's good name. Clearly, she had just begun to see her public persona in highly subjective terms and considered a display of her patriotic sentiment part of her representational role. One of the guests, Madame Clermont, recounted a letter from her cousin, count d'Adhemar, 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. Certainly, these observations by Count d'Adhemar agreed with many travelers' accounts, peasants living by the main thoroughfares were the most exposed to marching soldiers, often in a desperate situation and it was not in their interest to show any sign of possessions if indeed they had anything at all. Still, Izabela took the trivial narrative as a slight on the image of Poland. Then there was a game of cards, at which Madame Clermont joked to Izabela that she was playing with her mother, who cheated. Izabela retorted that in the country where bears eat children a disrespectful daughter would be reprimanded severely. Clearly, she had just begun to see her public persona in highly subjective terms and considered a display of her patriotic sentiment part of her representational role. Everything that made a salon attractive had not 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.

One would have imagined that Izabela could have gained significant authority through the organization of a salon of her own. Her garden at Powązki could be seen as an open-air salon, but the comparison missed the essential concept of the intellectual gatherings characteristic to the French scene. Czartoryska's apprehension towards the salon and to the model of the *salonnière* did not change. She never warmed up

to Madame Geoffrin and later complained of the frigid, impersonal and boring social interactions in England. The root of this dislike comes both from the Polish traditional exchanges and from Czartoryska's natural inclination for informal sociability. Even the highly cultured and well-traveled Stanisław Poniatowski found French salon off-putting at first. He wrote:

> The difficulty in making introductions was often for me the greatest difference between our customs and the French ones. I have seen a hundred times, how when a foreigner arrived in Warsaw, he was immediately brought into a palace or any house and introduced to all those assembled by name, and from that moment he became a friend, with the right of entry everywhere, and could be sure that he would be well received and indeed treated with the greatest respect by all, who had seen him but once. In France, every time I heard a name of some noted person, I asked to be introduced, but if I wanted to visit them, no matter how I would argue that we have already dined or taken supper together, that we have talked and that they knew very well who I was, I was always told: "I must first ask without you being present, whether this lord or lady will permit me to let you into their home," and for the invitation I sometimes had to wait for months. I felt as if I were among ghosts in a void, among throngs of people to whom I was a stranger even though they knew very well who I was.[115]

Once he was admitted though Poniatowski found the conversations empty of content and self-serving.[116] So, when he established his own royal salon in 1771 (it ran till 1782) he gave it a discipline of an elite literary and scientific society, with readings and presentations of the recent research and discussions of reformist ideas: on Wednesdays he gathered artists and architects, on Thursdays men of letters, poets,

115 Stanisław Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki króla Stanisława Augusta* (Warsaw: W. Jakowicki, 1915), part 1, 103–105.

116 Poniatowski, *Pamiętniki króla Stanisława Augusta*, 1, part 1, 103–105.

playwrights, historians and scientists. Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski became a frequent guest there.[117]

Izabela never set up a salon, even though her great grandmother Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn opened the first aristocratic, as distinct from the royal, salon which run from 1736 to 1758.[118] She rebuilt her palace at Krakowskie Przedmieście for this purpose and opened it for regular visits.[119] Her salon was known for the learned and politically powerful company, for wit and political intrigue; there she promoted the interests of her husband and her children and used it as an outlet for her political temperament as well as her *galanterie* and *bel esprit*.[120]

The *salonnières* learned their skills of *galanterie* and *bel esprit* from more experienced hostesses, and lineage was an essential trait in the character of any salon. Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn took instruction in the Parisian salon of her mother, Katherine Morsztyn née Gordon, who had in turn practiced the salon etiquette as a lady in waiting to two Polish queens, Luiza Maria Gonzaga de Nevers (consort of Jan II Kazimierz and Władysław IV) and Marie-Casimire d'Arquien (wife of Jan III Sobieski). Gonzaga drew the lineage from the *Chambre bleue* of the Marquise de Rambouillet and then coached Marie-Casimire. Izabela Czartoryska née Morsztyn then hosted the salon of the late seventeenth-century model, where she was able not only to gather around her educated and learned minds, but took an active, even leading part in the discussions, on a par with her guests.

Elena Russo has argued that in the middle of the eighteenth century in France this model of a fully participatory role of the *salonnière* changed into that of a mediating, self-effacing enabler of the spirited

117 Roman Kaleta, "Obiady czwartkowe na dworze Stanisława Augusta," *Warsawa XVIII wieku,* 2, (1973), 9–115.

118 Bożenna Majewska-Maszkowska, "O warszawskiej siedzibie Stanisława Lubomirskiego marszałka wielkiego koronnego. Problem adaptacji barokowego pałacu w dobie Oświecenia," in *Muzeum i Twórca, studia z historii sztuki i kultury ku czci Profesora Doktora Stanisława Lorentza* (1969). 337–415.

119 Majewska-Maszkowska, "O warszawskiej," 388.

120 Stanisław Sidorowicz, "Czartoryska Izabela z Morstinów," in *PSB* vol. 4, 241

and imaginative interactions of her guests.[121] It was Madame Geoffrin who introduced this new model into the culture of the salon; she styled herself a conduit for others and gained a new acceptability for the female presence in public sphere at the expense of her active involvement. By fashioning herself as a maternal figure—Stanisław Poniatowski called her 'maman'—she made herself unthreatening and turned the focus of public attention to the community 'of souls rather than bodies'. Despite this self-effacing persona Madame Geoffrin exercised influence on Poniatowski, but Izabela continued to resent her.[122]

Unlike the eighteenth-century French salons, the Polish circles, no matter how aristocratic, mediated their etiquette with the tradition of noble cordiality. Their interactions were more relaxed, based on the supposed equality of status among all nobles. Within this gathering of equals the host or a hostess took the centre stage and directed her or his guests with authority. In this, the Polish *assamblèes* or *reuniony* of the eighteenth century resembled the traditions of the Parisian seventeenth-century gatherings.[123]

Apart from the king, several men hosted notable salons: Bishop Krasicki opened his palace in Warsaw in 1768, August Czartoryski held regular meetings, later Prince Kazimierz Sapieha kept an open house and Stanisław Małachowski entertained on Tuesdays during the time of the

121 Elena Russo, 'From précieuse to mother figure: sentiment, authority and the eighteenth-century salonnière," *SVEC,* 12, (2001), 179–98.

122 She advised him on purchases of furnishings and paintings and suggested an architect—Victor Louis—for the restoration of the royal castle in Warsaw. In 1766 she even paid him a visit in Warsaw and for her stay Stanisław prepared for her in the royal castle an exact replica of her own apartments at rue Saint-Honoré in Paris. Madame Geoffrin stayed three months, but these were fraught with disagreements with the Czartoryskis. They even contributed to a temporary breakdown between her and the king when August Czartoryski relayed to her that Stanisław thought she had no taste, which he later vigorously denied. Marek Kwiatkowski, *Stanisław August Król-Architekt.* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1983), 22–23. Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat*, 31. Stanisław and Madame Geoffrin sustained an affectionate and personal correspondence for two decades, see: Marie Thérèse Geoffrin, *Correspondance inédite du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et de Madame Geoffrin (1764-1777)* (Paris, 1875).

123 Aleksander Kraushar, *Salony i zebrania literackie warszawskie: na schyłku wieku XVIII-go i w ubiegłem stuleciu* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historyi, 1916), 8-10.

Great Sejm (1788–1792). These gatherings included not only engaging conversation and a dinner or supper, but music, dances and very often—theatre. But despite the cordiality of these gatherings, there were tensions which signaled the differences between the aristocracy and provincial nobility. The petty nobles found the salon culture difficult, challenging and intimidating, not just personally, but for their whole 'Sarmatian' identity.

An eloquent example of this gives Wiridianna Fiszerowa née Radolińska (1761–1826), a well-educated and traveled provincial noblewoman, who left an engaging memoir of her life. At one point in her childhood, she spent time with a group of adolescent girls at the Warsaw court of the great socialite and *salonnière* Princess Marshal Barbara Sanguszko (1718–1791).[124] Young Fiszerowa experienced new customs and manners and saw for herself how threatening they could be to the traditional culture. First, she found the polite culture alluring her young mind was mesmerized with the new ideas:

'Princess Marshal Sanguszko was the most polite of all ladies, the only one able to feel the slightest nuances of words. She was gracious to all and affable to the chosen ones. She was surrounded with a splendid circle of young men and several generations of nymphs from her family, exceedingly beautiful and intelligent.'[125] Wiridianna decided to introduce wat she saw to her provincial home in Great Poland (Wielkopolska), even if these new manners 'would not be to people's liking and could destroy her reputation'. Her mother however took a decisive action and: 'she soon stopped my flights of fancy and did not allow my

124 Agnieszka Jakuboszczak, *Sarmacka dama : Barbara Sanguszkowa (1718-1791) i jej salon towarzyski* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2008); Krystyna Stasiewicz, "Aktywność kulturowa dworu księżnej Barbary z Duninów Sanguszkowej," in Kostkiewiczowa and Roćko, eds., *Dwory magnackie,* 159–72; Władysław Konopczyński, *Kiedy nami rządziły kobiety* (London: Veritas, 1960), 40–52. Barbara Sanguszko eventually published an instruction for her daughter advising her how to extend hospitality to her guests, Barbara Urszula Sanguszkowa, *Uwagi pewney chwalebney matki godney córce swoiey gdy ją za mąż wydawała, na pożegnanie podane* (Kalisz: W Drukarni Jaśnie Oświeconego Xiążęcia Jmci Prymasa, 1783).

125 Wirydianna Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych: wiązanka spraw poważnych ciekawych i błahych* (London: Nakładem Tłumacza, 1975), 126–27.

subtle social nuances to make enemies for myself or for her, and I remained the same as I had been before'.[126]

Salon culture therefore 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. Czartoryska's negative experiences of the salon may account for her decision to establish gardens, with their different social dynamics compared to a traditional salon. In this respect, she chose a vehicle more conducive to bridging that social separateness and, in the end, swaying a wider public opinion towards the Czartoryskis and their program. The opportunity to see spatial possibilities for social gatherings came when Izabela went to London for an extended stay in 1768.

London

Between 1768 and 1774, Adam and Izabela 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 toxic Polish 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, an armed federation directed against the king, the Russian protectorate, and the extension of equal rights to the dissidents, that is, the non-Catholic population. The Familia responded by tasking Adam Kazimierz with bringing the British government onto the side of the king.[127] This mis-

126 Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych,* 126–27.

127 Zofia Libiszowska, Życie *polskie w Londynie w XVIII wieku* (Warsaw: PAX, 1972), 46-47.

sion, like his earlier efforts at diplomacy, proved unsuccessful. Adam was unable to present a sufficiently persuasive case in London.[128]

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, the travel mania was in full swing, the aesthetic discourse on the merits of the sublime and the beautiful as relevant as it was fresh, Walpole's ideas on gardening permeated the salons, while the participants in these salons conversed in a language of representation and ownership of land. The gardens, even those easily accessed on the banks of the Thames, impressed their visitors with the possibilities for interpreting natural design in the ideological categories of liberty and classical virtue.[129]

Unfortunately, we know almost nothing of the Czartoryskis' experiences during that first trip. However, the mere list of Prince Adam's acquaintances and contacts in England brings immediately to mind the primacy of gardening thought in his circle. Adam Kazimierz, a confirmed Anglophile, counted among his friends Horace Walpole, David Garrick, Lord Northampton, and the Duke of Newcastle.[130] Their residences—Strawberry Hill, Syon House, Claremont, and 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 following chapters.

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128 Libiszowska, Życie *polskie w Londynie w XVIII wieku*, 47; Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, 49–50.

129 Another visitor to English gardens was Teofila Konstancja z Radziwiłłów Morawska: eadem, *Diariusz podróży europejskiej w latach 1773–1774,* ed. Bogdan Rok (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002). See, *inter alia*, Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Margaret C. Jacob, "The mental landscape of the public sphere: a European perspective," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 28 (1994), no. 1, 95–113; Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*; Mavis Batey and David Lambert, *The English Garden Tour: a View into the Past* (London: John Murray, 1990), 55–241.

130 Butterwick, *Poland's Last King*, 125.

On their return to Poland in 1769, the Czartoryskis decided to make a statement in the capital and enlarge their "Blue Palace."[131] Izabela's seven rooms had already been remodeled in the rococo style by Jakub Fontana in 1768, and now Efraim (the polonized name of Ephraim Schroeger, 1727–1783) built a library for Adam Kazimierz (in October 1770) which closely resembled the library of Prince Adam's mentor, the Earl of Mansfield, in Kenwood House.[132]

On January 14, 1770, Izabela gave birth to Adam Jerzy, her third surviving child, Teresa being the eldest and Maria the younger daughter. Czartoryska had nine children in all: Karol, Zofia, Teresa, Maria, Adam Jerzy, Konstanty, Gabriela, Zofia, and Cecylia. The two eldest ones died as infants in 1763, probably from the plague; Gabriela died soon after being born in 1780.[133] Zawadzki gives the most probable succession of lovers whose children were born into the house of Czartoryski: King Stanisław August Poniatowski (daughter Maria, later wife of Prince Louis of Württemberg); the Russian ambassador to Warsaw, Nicolai Repnin (son Adam Jerzy); Duc Armand-Louis de Lauzun (son Konstanty); magnate Franciszek Ksawery Branicki (daughter Zofia, later wife of Stanisław Zamoyski); and nobleman Kazimierz Rzewuski (daughter Cecylia, the only child who was not recognized by Prince Adam Kazimierz, and was given the surname Beydale, from Rzewuski's side). The daughter Teresa was always considered the daughter of Adam Kazimierz. On the other hand, Adam Kazimierz had one son, Adam, out of wedlock.

Half a year after the birth of Adam Jerzy, on September 24, 1770, the Czartoryskis signed the lease on the estate of Powązki. The substan-

131 Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, "Pałac Błękitny w latach 1730-1811," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki,* 36 (1964), no. 4, 266–67; Andrzej Rottermund, *Pałac Błękitny* (Warsaw: PWN, 1970), 30–36. Architectural remodeling and furnishing, as well as work on the small garden at the Blue Palace lasted for another six years: Stanisław Lorentz, *Efraim Szreger architekt polski XVIII wieku* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 164–67.

132 The widely admired Kenwood library was designed by Robert Adam in 1767-69. Cf. Geoffrey Beard, *The Work of Robert Adam*, 4th ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 1987), 12–13, 47, plates 109-110, color plate 34.

133 For the discovery of the records of the two eldest children see Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski,* 155; W. H. Zawadzki, *A Man of Honour: Adam Czartoryski as a Statesman of Russia and Poland, 1795-1831* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 18.



Figure 4. Double gold ducat, right profile, inscription: Isabella, Princeps, Czartoryska. Verso: Nat. Com. De. Fleming. In. Borklo – 1772

tial earthworks and the planting began the following spring in 1771, and Izabela was in Warsaw for that year of construction.[134] This was also a year of mourning and reassessment. In May, Adam's mother, Maria Zofia Czartoryska, died. She was followed in December by Izabela's father, Jan Jerzy Flemming.[135] 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 Izabela's likeness (fig. 4).[136] 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 traveled to London, arriving in March 1772. From there she

134 Marek Kwiatkowski, *Szymon Bogumił Zug. Architekt polskiego Oświecenia*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971, 76.

135 Głowacka Maksymiuk, *Aleksandra z książąt Czartoryskich Ogińska*, 31-34; Konopczyński," Flemming, Jan Jerzy Detlev", 35.

136 Zbigniew Kiełb, "Urzędy skarbowe, reforma monetarna i efemeryczne mennictwo w kręgu Familii Czartoryskich." *Studia Puławskie, Seria A, Zagadnienia społeczno-historyczne,* 7, no. 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 *starostwo* to Flemming, several years previously. Sidorowicz, "Czartoryski Kazimierz", 282–83.

wrote a letter to her husband on March 16 expressing her vision for the future. Adam contemplated permanent emigration. She, however, made a persuasive case for their return home—eventually—and to engage in public service. For Adam Kazimierz, the political future had little meaning. In a remarkable letter, 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 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.[137]

Eventually, Adam Kazimierz did change his mind, and both returned to live in Poland, but whether this letter was instrumental in it is not known; however, Izabela's presence in the political life of the family would grow steadily stronger, and by 1784 she would be regarded as a vocal force in their alliances. Their world was changing around them with momentous consequences. Three months after the letter was written, in St. Petersburg on August 5, 1772, Russia, Austria, and Prussia signed the treaty partitioning the Commonwealth. A year later, on Sep-

137 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 31 April 1772, BCz 6030. Extensive fragments were published by Zaleski, Żywot, vol. 1, 156–57. See also Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*. 52; Zamoyski, *The Last King of Poland*, 282.

tember 30, 1773, the sejm ratified the partition, with Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski in attendance.

Adam's plans to emigrate reflected the climate in which both he and Izabela grew up. Without a doubt, the humiliating events associated with Repnin's rule in Warsaw had contributed to the feeling of hopelessness and futility. Adam saw from a young age the continuing failure of his family's 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 the previous half a century or more, a feeling of pessimism had permeated Polish society. The failure of the Familia's reform program and the First 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 neighbors. 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 1655.[138] 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."[139] These providential themes would gain a renewed momentum after the loss of statehood in 1795, and we shall see them developed later in Czartoryska's Temple of the Sibyl at Puławy.

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138 A similar 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 and Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), 197–214.

139 Waniczkówna, "Czartoryski Adam Kazimierz", 249–57.



Figure 5. *Portrait of Princess Izabela Czartoryska*, by Giuseppe Filippo Liberati Marchi.

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.[140] 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's spirited performance of a Cossack dance.[141]

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 (fig 5).

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

141 Horace Walpole to Lady Ossory, 17 February 1773, *The Yale edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis. 45 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937-83), vol. 32, 96.

Izabela presents herself in a *robe a la sultana,* a loosely tied, comfortable dress, worn either in the home surroundings or as a masquerade costume *a la Turque*. She is sitting at the harpsichord under a draped canopy. 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 subsequently formed a major section in her library at the garden in Powązki.[142] Marchi succeeded in creating a portrait of a polished and cultured twenty-seven-year-old woman in a space suggestive of her own independent private sphere, her high status, and her many artistic talents. Rather than representing her as a society woman who would be more at ease with the background of a landscape garden, Marchi chose a corner of a small study that resembled the environment of a connoisseur. The choice of medium suggests that Izabela commissioned the mezzotint with the intention to present it as a parting gift to her friends 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 for the harpsichord is rendered so clearly that it can be played. Its simple structure suggests a modest composition, most probably by Izabela herself; she was known to arrange music to her plays. 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, her two closest friends would be enthusiastic collaborators on her musical projects. 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.

142 *The British Poets* was published in Edinburgh in 1773 in 44 volumes: *British Poets.* (Edinburgh: A. Kinkaid, J. Balfour and W. Creech, 1773), BCz Biblioteka Powązkowska, 57297I.

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."[143]

Both friends of Izabela, Elizabeth and Lady Jersey, were witty socialites barely entering their twenties, each one with five small children. They were known for giving primacy to their maternal feelings, while at the same time their scandalous love affairs defined their biographies. Elizabeth Craven went on to write and compose successful comedies and operas. Her *Somnabule*, an adaptation from the French, was published by Horace Walpole in 1778 at his press at Strawberry Hill, and he enjoyed her comedy, the *Miniature Picture*, produced at Garrick's theater, Drury Lane, in May 1780. In their company, Czartoryska established a feminine sphere of interests, centered on children, lovers, music, and theater.[144] She taught her elder daughter Teresa to read Polish, gave both girls lessons on the clavecin, and delighted in their excitement at the prospect of a children's ball. At the time, Elizabeth Craven was involved in a tumultuous and public affair with the French ambassador, the Comte de Guines.[145] Lord Craven placed his wife under house arrest at the small farm of Anecker in the park at Goodwood, on 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."[146] These approving words came from Czartoryska's own lover, the Duc de Lauzun.

143 Elizabeth Craven, *The Beautiful Lady Craven*, ed. A. M. Broadley and Lewis Melville (London: Bodley, 1914), 87. On her visiting King Stanisław August in Warsaw, see: Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, 16 March 1786, *The Yale edition* 25, 632–33, and Craven's travelogue, *A Journey Through the Crimea to Constantinople in a Series of Letters* (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 115–22.

144 Walpole to William Mason, 28 May 1780, *The Yale edition*, vol. 29, 43; Walpole to Horace Mann, 30 October 1785, *The Yale Edition*, 25, 611; Dutton Cook, "Anspach, Elizabeth Berkley," *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen, vol. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1885), 36–37.

145 Violet Powell, *Margaret, Countess of Jersey: A Biography* (London: Heinemann, 1978), 36–37.

146 Gontaut, *Memoirs of the Duc de Lauzun*, 74.

He competed for Izabela's favors with Repnin, who followed her to London. Lauzun met Czartoryska at Lady Harrington's on the day of his arrival to England in 1772.[147]

During her stay in England, Czartoryska took some time to travel. She 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 surroundings."[148] Frances Jersey's residence in Middleton Stoney in Oxfordshire had just been remodeled with a large portico at the end of a mile-long avenue.[149] The environs of Middleton are rich in gardens: the Arcadian garden at Rousham, the gothic garden at Enville, the Greek and Roman garden at Stowe, and the palace gardens at Blenheim. Further north is 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 tours, but we cannot discount the wealth of visual impressions from that time for which the young woman, plucked from her crowded existence in Poland and frequently depressed, would have been grateful.

Izabela's inclination to be "grave and gay by turns" finally gave way to a major bout of melancholy. She wrote her will and penned farewell letters. To distract her, Adam Kazimierz took her to visit Benjamin Franklin, of all people, in Craven Street in London, the American official residence. 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

147 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.

148 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 31 April 1772, BCz 6030, Powell, *Margaret, Countess of Jersey*, 36–37.

149 Powell, *Margaret, Countess of Jersey*, 36–37. Izabela's correspondence with Frances Villiers did not survive.

cured. Indeed, she did feel better and took up his offer of twelve lessons on the harmonica.[150]

On February 15, 1773, Adam Kazimierz left England.[151] His departure from London made the social column in *The Daily Advertiser*. He reached Poland in March, and then on April 9, 1773, he traveled to St. Petersburg to complete the expected homage to Catherine.[152] Izabela left London, followed on to Brussels, The Hague, and Spa, where Repnin, Lauzun, and Ksawery Branicki competed for her boudoir privileges all at the same time, and from there to Paris for an extended stay. Adam Kazimierz joined her there as well as the rest of her merry company of lovers. The princely pair were back in Poland in spring the following year: Izabela returned on May 3 and Adam Kazimierz on May 23.[153]

150 On the effectiveness of Franklin's cure as compared to today's psychiatric techniques see Z. J. Lipowski, "Benjamin Franklin and Princess Czartoryska: an Unknown Therapeutic Encounter," *Pennsylvania History,* 51 (1984), 167–71; Dębicki, *Puławy*, vol. 1, 97.

151 On February 16, 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." Walpole, *The Yale Edition*, vol. 32, 96.

152 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich*, 51; Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski*, 349.

153 Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski,* 351.

PART II

Powązki and the National Audience,

1770–1794

A miserable plot

On September 24, 1770, Izabela and Adam Czartoryski together leased from the Crown one hundred hectares of land adjoining the village of Powązki, just outside Warsaw.[1] Within a year, the site had been 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.[2] The adjoining village of Powązki had languished since the Swedish Deluge in 1655–1656.[3] Its recovery after the destruction had been very slow; the records for 1765 show only six peasants and their families inhabiting the hamlet. Izabela's intended garden would change that, effectively

1 Marek Kwiatkowski, "Powązki," *Rocznik Warszawski,* 9 (1969), 123–61: 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. Sobieszczański mentioned additional grounds acquired from Fryderyk Alojzy Brühl on 19 June 1775 and Żebrowski's plan incorporates this addition, in: Franciszek Maksymilian Sobieszczański, "Ogrody w Warszawie i jej okolicach opisane w 1784 roku przez Szymona Zuga, budowniczego kościoła ewangelickiego w Warszawie," *Kalendarz Powszechny na rok przestępny,* 28, (1848), 444.

2 Kwiatkowski, "Powązki," 125.

3 Aleksander Wejnert, *Starożytności Warszawy* (Warsaw: Józef Unger, 1858), vol. 6, 225–27. Kwiatkowski, "Powązki," 251.

benefitting the whole area.[4] This unpromising introduction lays out the ground for one of the most spectacular and the earliest landscape gardens in Poland.

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, which were later used to form 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 the forty legal agreements Czartoryska's sister-in-law, Izabela Lubomirska, made to assemble the land for her estate at Mokotów by buying, leasing, and exchanging plots.[5] Powązki was also only seven kilometers northeast from the center of Warsaw, conveniently close to attract visitors while far enough to escape the unpleasantness of a summer in the capital.

The rapidly growing Warsaw presented a sorry sight. The city looked like an abandoned building site with churches and palaces in various stages of construction, streets mostly unpaved and unlit, with noxious smells coming from the gutters; poverty was everywhere. 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 Ogińskis, 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."[6]

Undoubtedly in Powązki, the symbolic ruins would be a major theme with a moral and political component. The pleasure grounds were laid out on two islands, created from damming the Rudawka. The

4 Kwiatkowski, "Powązki," 127.

5 Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej 1736–1816*, 159.

6 Nathaniel William Wraxall, *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.



Figure 6. *Plan de Powązki a Madame la Princess Czartoryska*, by M. Żebrowski, watercolor, about 1775

earliest and, at the same time, the most comprehensive description of the garden comes from the architect Szymon Bogumił Zug in his account written in 1783. This description of Powązki is part of a longer essay on contemporaneous gardens of Warsaw and its environs made for C.C.L. Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* in 1785 (fig. 6).[7] Zug

7 Christian Cajus Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (Leipzig: M. G. Weidman und Reich, 1779–1785). Zug's essay was published simultaneously in French as: *Théorie de l'Art des Jardins* (Leipzig: M. G. Weidmann et Reich, 1779–1785). Polish translations: "Opis," *Athenaeum,* III (Wilno, 1845), 74–104. Sobieszczański, "Ogrody w Warszawie," *Kalendarz Powszechny* (Warsaw, 1848). This translation was reprinted half a century later as: "Ogrody w Warszawie i jej okolicach, opisane w roku 1784 przez Szymona Zuga budowniczego kościoła ewangelickiego w Warszawie. Z objaśnieniami F.M. Sobieszczańskiego napisanemi w r. 1847," *Kurjer Niedzielny*, 21-29, (1898). A shorter version in a new translation appeared in: *Ogrodnik Polski. Dwutygodnik poświęcony wszystkim gałęziom ogrodnictwa,* Warsaw, 18, 20, 2 (1890). "Opis," *Athenaeum* III. Wilno, (1845): 74–104. See also: Tadeusz Gro-

wrote: "On a beautiful green hill stands a 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 avenue in a straight line there, only paths, which wind themselves through enchanting groves, over a little rustic bridge, close to an old inn."[8]

This unremarkable rustic bridge over the canal provided the entrance to the garden. The little colony of houses—four to 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 Bonawentura 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. Behind Czartoryska's house, the ground slowly descends. Zug continues: A visitor walks down the length of this gentle hill to a group of old pine trees, which veil the remains of a Roman triumphal arch. The arch, of beautiful proportions, is half buried by earth and greenery. Here a superb lawn spreads itself, which on one side terminates with trees, and on the other extends to the ruins of a Roman amphitheater, at the edge of the water."[9]

Zug's account reads like a list of attractions we come to expect from the early landscape garden but 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

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chowski, *Zarys bibliografji ogrodniczej polskiej* (Cracow: Drukarnia Literacka pod zarz. S. Ziemiańskiego, 1927), 53. Zug announced his intention to publish later a comprehensive narrative on gardens across the whole of Poland in: Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Kleine Gartenbibliothek* (1790); Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, "Gartenkalender: auf das Jahr," *Gartenkalender: auf das Jahr* (1782-1789). This ambition remained unrealized.

8 Zug, "Ogrody w Warszawie i jej okolicach opisane w 1784 roku, *Kalendarz Powszechny*, 444.

9 Zug, "Ogrody w Warszawie," 444.

with two wheels. The mill contained a "nice room" accessible through a little bridge and old-looking external stairs.

The second, larger island we can reconstruct from Żebrowski's plan and from the descriptions by Johann III Bernoulli, Ernst von Lehndorff, and William Coxe. It was laid out entirely as a natural wood, with a profusion of winding paths and one straight avenue on a north-south axis. The network of paths converged at a point where a simple wooden bridge with a central aperture connected both islands. The bridge was later replaced by a single arcade. A terraced house with Moorish and Gothic architectural motifs was erected beside it.

Within this oasis of rustic simplicity, some structures were more ephemeral than others: a little hut on a 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.[10] All these huts, pavilions, and ruins disappeared in a profuse planting of groups of contrasting evergreens and deciduous trees.

Izabela did not look far for her architect, nor could she find a better one for her commission. She awarded the job to Efraim Szreger, who was remodeling her Warsaw palace at the time and who already had extensive experience in architectural and gardening projects.[11] He had just undergone a shift in interest at this time from baroque and rococo designs towards more austere, classical forms. Szreger traveled in 1766–67 on a royal scholarship to see the antiquities of Rome and Naples, and possibly Herculaneum, Pompeii, Paestum, and Sicily.[12]

Szreger later specialized in gardens with water components. Following his work on Powązki, he would have other major commissions for landscape gardens in the Warsaw suburbs, at Mokotów for Izabela Lubomirska in 1772 and 1775–76, and at the derivatively named "Sans

10 Bernoulli, "Obrazy. Powązki," 426.

11 Lorentz, *Efraim Szreger*, 40–41, 47, 164.

12 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.

Gêne" for Adam Poniński at Fawory, in north-central Warsaw, in 1775.[13] He was also in demand when it came to staging public *fêtes*. King Stanisław August commissioned him to supervise large-scale garden entertainments on the model of the *fêtes* held at Versailles.[14] Szreger was also placed in charge of Stanisław's name day celebrations in 1766 and 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 a spectacular bacchanalia supported by the male monastery.[15]

Szreger took on the Powązki project in 1770. Using his skill in large land projects, he dug out the riverbed, diverted the flow into three currents, and between them created three islands out of the excavated soil. The works progressed rapidly, with the main house already erected in March 1771. Prodigious planting followed: they began with bordering the approach avenue with lime trees from the nearby Kampinos Forest. Another 240 large limes and 3,600 young limes were brought in from the forest for the garden in order to fill in the existing alder grove. Zug described 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."[16]

Szreger's contract with the Czartoryskis lasted only 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 rustic and classical structures had been erected.[17] It is possible that af-

13 Szreger had other major commissions for landscape gardens in the Warsaw suburbs, at Mokotów for Izabela Lubomirska 1772 and 1775–76, and for Adam Poniński's "Sans Gêne" at Fawory north of Warsaw, in 1775. Lorentz, *Efraim Szreger*, 172–78, 180–88; Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej,* 159–64.

14 Cf. Jacques-François Blondel, et al. *Fête publique donnée par la ville de Paris, à l'occasion du mariage de Monseigneur le Dauphin, le 13. fevrier 1747*. Paris, 1747.

15 Lorentz, *Efraim Szreger*, 116–18.

16 Zug, "La Pologne," 358.

17 He substantially rebuilt the Czartoryski palace, designed interiors and furniture. Lorentz, *Efraim Szreger*, 164–67; Putkowska, "Warszawska rezydencja w Powązkach." The earliest plan of the estate was made by Żebrowski dated around 1775.

ter 1776, Szymon Bogumił Zug took over.[18] The architectural medieval elements for the garden—the ruined castle, the gothic manor house, and the folly in the shape of a gothic tower—were similar to those he designed for Mokotów in 1791. He probably also rebuilt Czartoryska's house and erected the new triumphal arch about 1785.[19] Zug's greatest strength was in marking the space with architectural features, but in terms of style, there is little to distinguish him from Szreger. These were two exceedingly skilled architects connected to the new trends by similar interests. Just like Szreger, Zug travelled to Rome. [20]

Zug was also a skilled theatrical decorator.[21] Between 1770 and 1780, he established himself as the foremost garden designer in Poland. After Szreger's death in 1783, he dominated the Polish scene in the kingdom.[22] At the same time, 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" Brown.

Garden mania in Warsaw

In the years between 1770 and 1780, many aristocrats competed in the construction of their own gardens. Those who could not manage the prodigious expense involved joined the veritable pilgrimages of Warsaw citizens on Sundays to the new parks emerging on the outskirts of the capital. One can imagine the eager crowds escaping the heat and stink of the summer and traversing all the available enclaves of rustic charm. The residences were open to the public, with a small charge for the gatekeeper. Those who did not open their gates to the public were scorned.

But, when Czartoryska laid out Powązki, there were no comparable estates in the proximity of Warsaw. It was effectively the very first

18 Kwiatkowski, *Zug*, 82. idem, "Powązki," 149.
19 Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej*, 171–73.
20 The first time he traveled in 1754 or 1759, the second time in 1771–1772. The latter visit lasted a little more than six months. On his career see: Kwiatkowski, *Zug*, 45.
21 Kwiatkowski, *Zug*, 31.
22 Patrick Bowe, "Art and Nature: The Polish and Ukrainian Gardens of Denis McClair (1762–1853)," *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 18 (2002): 176–84.

landscape garden in Poland. The term "effectively" needs to be stressed, as having such an *avant-garde* garden was the ambition of King Stanisław August Poniatowski in 1764. Immediately after the accession, he 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 to arrive at a result that was acceptable and finally close to a finished state—the Royal Łazienki.[23] By that time, Zug described nearly thirty new landscape residences springing up around Warsaw, each with its own uses, entertainments, and arrangements. Therefore, the decade 1770–1783, when Zug wrote his description of the Warsaw environs, must be considered a remarkable wholesale embrace of the landscape garden in the capital. They included Czartoryska's sister-in-law Izabela Lubomirska's Mokotów, the King's brother Primate Michał Poniatowski's Jabłonna, and another brother Kazimierz Poniatowski's gardens at Solec, Na Książęcem, and Na Górze.

The question may be asked why so many gardens in one place in such a short amount of time? We need to look at the fact that the king took permanent residence in Warsaw and made it a social and cultural capital. Stanisław August held courtly gatherings all year round, and Warsaw became a lively center. Not surprisingly, therefore, the new gardens were commissioned within the royal circle: the king's siblings, his cousins, his bankers, and their friends, all eager to establish their own spaces of representation.

Zug was the fashionable architect of choice and designed almost all the Warsaw gardens. They were a diverse group reflecting the taste and intentions of his patrons. Some were exclusively pleasure retreats from the courtly circle, like the Belweder or Solec or Sans Gêne, but the rural ideal ran very deep. Lubomirska's Mokotów was a veritable rustic Elysium. Others included an obligatory peasant hut or a mill, and many retreats were simply orchards with a wilderness, with paths and benches

23 Marek Kwiatkowski, *Stanisław August król-architekt* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1983). Cf. Władysław Tatarkiewicz, Łazienki *warszawskie* (Warsaw: Arkady, 1972).

set in them and windows looking out onto the countryside, as in Rozkosz, Marymont, or Służewo.[24]

The list of Zug's works around Warsaw evokes. Therefore, images of stylish pleasure grounds, combining the ideal of repose with sophisticated representation.[25] His approach is most clearly exemplified by his designs for Prince Kazimierz Poniatowski at Na Książęcem and Na Górze on the outskirts of Warsaw. [26]

Zug's idea of a garden showed itself as more akin to a theme park; it invited 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 Powązki authorship when he wrote of it in an uncharacteristically effusive way *in La Pologne*:

> This knowledgeable princess has taken advantage of all the trees and interesting bushes, with each willow and each dead poplar the subject of a metamorphosis. In a word, she has made the most of nature and has not disfigured—through the ill-advised use of art—the objects that nature has afforded her. … Do not expect to hear of

24 "Ogrody w Warszawie," *Kurjer Niedzielny* (1898): 21–29. For the commentary on the development of Zug's gardens see: Anna Oleńska, "Garden Creations by Simon Gottlieb Zug. Between Theoretic Impulses and the Individual Vision," in Über *Gärten im Gespräch: Wechselwirkungen zwischen Landschaftsgärten des 18. und Frühen 19. Jahrhunderts in Mittel- und Ostmitteleuropa*, eds. Andrea Thiele, Jana Kittelmann, Michael Niedermeier (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2023), 131–50. Cf. Marek Kwiatkowski, "Kompozycje krajobrazowe Szymona Bogumila Zuga," *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki. Teoria i historia* (1969), 117–25.

25 In 1776 he began designing for Izabela Lubomirska's Mokotów and around the same time for Fryderyk Alojzy Brühl at Młociny. 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 Skierniewice for the bishops of Gniezno, in Siedlce for Aleksandra Ogińska in late 1770s and from 1775 for Helena Radziwiłłowa in her Arkadia near Nieborów. See: Oleńska, "Garden creations by Simon Gottlieb Zug" and the seminal work by Włodzimierz Piwkowski, *Arkadia Heleny Radziwiłłowej: studium historyczne* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Ochrony Zabytkowego Krajobrazu, 1998).

26 Krystyna Sroczyńska, *Podróże malownicze Zygmunta Vogla* (Warsaw: Auriga, 1980), 76–77.

> palaces and trinkets here; of orangeries or grottos. You will not even see even a shadow of those things which are more suitable for a city.[27]

In contrast to other sub-Varsovian gardens, therefore, Powązki must have conveyed an immersion in nature, despite the fact that it also fully conversed, as it were, in the vocabulary of the theatrical stage.

These two seemingly different attitudes have been the subject of more theoretical discussions. Claude-Henri Watelet, the author of *Essai sur les jardins* of 1774 and owner of Moulin Joli, wrote about them in a passage contrasting natural scenes with theatrical scenery. He wrote:

> Scenes in parks are in themselves the focus of interest, whereas in the theater, 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.[28]

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 individual gardens. The chief merit of the 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

27 Zug, "La Pologne," 358–59.

28 Claude-Henri Watelet, *Essay on Gardens: A Chapter in French Picturesque*, ed. Joseph Disponzio Samuel Danon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 36.

either the French traditional design or the landscape garden, but he noted that the city dwellers voted with their feet in favor of natural spaces and did not frequent the "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 which they have not been able to utilize, and erect a beautiful main building, perhaps in the neighborhood 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 a doubt, one could imagine many things that are lacking here, but where would one find a countryside which wants for nothing?[29]

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 *Essay sur le Jardinage Anglois*. Moszyński adopted the successful format of Thomas Whateley's *Observations on Modern Gardening* and its logical divisions of gardening features into manageable sections.[30] While he offered

29 Translation based on the Polish version of Zug's essay "Ogrody w Warszawie."

30 Agnieszka Morawińska, "Nieznany traktat Augusta Moszyńskiego o ogrodach". In *Myśl o sztuce i sztuka XVII-XVIII wieku,* ed. Jan Białostocki (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), 261–328 Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening, Illustrated by Descriptions to Which are Added, I. An Essay on Design in Gardening. II. Letters … by William Ockenden* (Dublin: John Exshaw, 1770). Moszyński used the French translation: Whately and François de Paule Latapie, *L'Art de former les jardins modernes, ou l'art des jardins anglois, 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); Morawińska, *Augusta Fryderyka Moszyńskiego "Rozprawa o ogrodnictwie angielskim' 1774 roku*; Morawińska, "Eighteenth-Century 'Paysages Moralisés,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 38 (1977), 3, 461–75.

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."[31] 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.[32]

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 did not appear until 1848 and then merely in a Warsaw periodical with a clearly historical flavor.[33] Both architects, however, wrote and worked for a circle of connoisseurs in Warsaw who were already conversant with ideas about gardening, and so the lines of communication were along personal rather than literary lines.

In promoting landscape design for its aesthetic merits, Moszyński and Zug differed markedly from other Polish works on gardening matters. The Polish printing presses issued books concerned with the practical problems of farming and horticulture rather than with ornamental gardens.[34] Works such as Krzysztof Kluk's systematized manuals of horticulture of 1777 and 1785 or Wacław Sierakowski's guide to flower

31 Butterwick, *Poland's Last King*. Butterwick argues in Chapter 9 that the king's taste evolved over time becoming more "natural".

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

33 Zug, "Ogrody w Warszawie."

34 Tadeusz Grochowski, *Zarys bibliografji ogrodniczej polskiej* (Cracow: Drukarnia Literacka pod zarz. S. Ziemiańskiego, 1927).

and fruit gardens of 1795 were addressed to the middling nobility. They couched their design advice firmly in terms of the traditional regular style.[35] Similarly, contributors to the reforming essay-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.[36]

If there was a Polish discussion on the merits of the "natural" landscape design, it was one that was placed 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 gardens of his absurdly rich clientele, incorporated the productive countryside into his group of prized landscaped views around Warsaw. He wrote of August Czartoryski's estates near Wilanów:

> 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 labors 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 always filled his principal places with Germans.[37]

35 Krzysztof Kluk, *Roślin potrzebnych, pożytecznych, wygodnych, osobliwie kraiowych, albo które w kraiu użyteczne być mogą, utrzymanie, rozmnożenie, I zażycie… przez X. Krzysztofa Kluka* (Warsaw: XX. Scholarum Piarum, 1777); Krzysztof Kluk, C. C. Klopsch and Paweł Czenpiński, *Botanika dla szkół narodowych* (Warsaw: Nadworna Jego Królewskiej Mości i Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, Towarzystwo do Ksiąg Elementarnych, 1785); Wacław Sierakowski, *Postać ogrodów, która do dwóch zmysłów smaku w owocach i powonienia w kwiatach szczególniej sciąga się* (Cracow: Szkoły Główney, 1789). See also: Grochowski, *Zarys bibliografji ogrodniczej polskiej*, 6–15, 33–35, 51–55.

36 Małgorzata Szafrańska, "Sztuka ogrodowa w Królestwie Polskim. Teksty teoretyków i ogrodników," In *Architektura i urbanistyka w krajobrazie historycznym Królestwa Polskiego 1815-1914,* ed. Tadeusz Bernatowicz (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Konserwatorów Zabytków, 1992), 95–114. Szafrańska, *Ogród polski w XIX wieku: antologia tekstów.*

37 Zug, "Ogrody w Warszawie," *Kurjer Niedzielny* (1898), 26, 410.

Zug was 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. What's more, he embraced its symbolic visualization, just as his clients did: Izabela Lubomirska farmed with success at Mokotów; she sowed crops and kept cows, sheep, chickens, and bees. The suburban gardens and country parks of Kazimierz Poniatowski, Helena Radziwiłłowa, 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.[38] Indeed, in Zug's description of Warsaw gardens, the Polish ideal of rural life in gardens 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 her family and social circle did.

Farming

In 1774, the first year of the Czartoryskis' residence in Powązki, the 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—the 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.[39] This poetic image was not that far from the truth; Czartoryska used to openly proclaim her

38 Jolanta Polanowska, *Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755-1821) twórczość architekta amatora, przedstawiciela neoklasycyzmu i nurtu picturesque* (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 2009), 95–99.

39 Adam Naruszewicz, "Oda III. Powązki, Folwark Księżny Izabelli Czartoryskiej, Generałowej Ziem Podolskich", in idem, *Poezye*, ed. Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz. 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf et Haertel, 1835), vol. 2, 185–88. Julian Platt dated the poem to 1772: Julian Platt, *Sielanki i poezje sielskie Adama Naruszewicza* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1967).

love of rural occupations.[40] 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, while many would see in Powązki a sentimental pleasure garden, from the outset more than half of this 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.[41] 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 and you hear them everywhere."[42] She 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.[43] The records tell us that far from being regarded as the plaything for a young princess, it is evident that she recreated a small Wołczyn here, ruled by her own hand, where she tended to her peasants like her grandmother taught her, settling the Protestant farmers like her father did, and encouraged farming with the new methods, like her grandfather practiced.

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40 E.g. Georg Forster, "Dziennik podróży po Polsce," in *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, ed. Wacław Zawadzki (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1963), vol. 1., 62–63.

41 Kwiatkowski, "Powązki," 148.

42 I.Cz. to A.J.Cz., Warsaw, 8 May 1785, BCz 6107, 5.

43 I.Cz. to M.W., 13 May (1784), BCz 6137.

Financial accounts for 1785–1790 show both the scale of her investment and the sizable profits from the rents and the sale of produce.[44] There was an increase in productivity following an overhaul of the entire estate after a disastrous flood and fire that destroyed the stables and granaries in March 1784. 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 as well as roof and floor tiles. The archival findings on the management of the estate are particularly revealing of the fact that even after Adam and Izabela inherited their main family seat at Puławy in 1783, Powązki continued both as a productive farm and as an occupied retreat.[45]

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; it was refitted with a new mechanism and two wheels after the flood. 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 a good profit. The estate accounts note the diversified range of crops grown in the fields: millet, rye, barley, and hay, and the plantation of mulberry trees, for the production of silk, was considered both novel and noteworthy, but they also point to the considerable outlay necessary for the success of the enterprise. Zug noted the fact that the ground was enriched yearly with deliveries of different kinds of soil.[46]

These records reflect not only Izabela's interest in good agricultural management but also her determination 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 an independent woman. The Prince-Bishop of Warmia and great connoisseur of gardens, Ignacy Krasicki, praised

44 The administrator J.Ch. Blum proved unreliable and was replaced in 1783. Putkowska, "Warszawska rezydencja w Powązkach," 27.

45 Konstancja Dembowska stayed in Powązki in 1790 when Czartoryska was away in London. I.Cz. to K.D., Bristol, 21 June 1790, BCz 6107.

46 Zug, *Kalendarz Powszechny*, 444.

this combined unity of the beautiful and the useful in Powązki in widely read poems.[47]

Izabela had spent considerable amounts of time in France and England and would have been exposed to the lively gardening discourse there. It is hard to find echoes of pre-1790 French gardens in Powązki, but it is much easier to make visual links with Woburn Farm in Surrey, the most celebrated ornamental farm in England. Woburn would have been an easy destination for Czartoryska during her stay in London, and the experience of the layout would be essential for the acceptance of the plans, but we need to give credit to her talented architects as well. The similarities between Powązki and Woburn are striking, and it is worth recalling one or two. 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; and arable fields entered pleasure grounds.[48] 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. Woburn Farm was known in Europe from the lengthy description by Thomas Whately included in his *Observations on Modern Gardening* of 1770, a book in all self-respecting libraries and obligatory in the library of the Czartoryskis.[49] By 1775, the ideal of rural utility established itself in France, in Claude-Henri Watelet's *Moulin Joli* of 1754 and Marie Antoinette's *Jardin de la Reine* of 1774.[50] The Duc

47 Published in Ignacy Krasicki, *Korespondencja Ignacego Krasickiego 1743-1801: z papierów Ludwika Bernackiego, 1781-1801*, ed. Zbigniew Goliński, Mieczysław Klimowicz, Roman Wołoszyński, and Tadeusz Mikulski. 2 vols. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1958), vol, 1, 255–57.

48 On the development of shrubbery see Mark Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds, 1720-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 102–109.

49 Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening,* 185–90.

50 On the rise of the *ferme ornée* in France see: Dora Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 81–107.

d'Orléans specifically acquired the site for Monceau in 1771 with the ideal of rural repose in mind.[51] In this company, Powązki shows itself as one of the earliest retreats of its kind in Europe.

When recalling the French world of gardens, of which we may or may not speculate that Czartoryska visited them on her frequent travels to Paris, we need to draw on French observations of the national characteristics of their gardens, in which they 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 exclusively to the desire for recreation.[52] 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 élite role-playing and leisure.[53] According to Antoine Nicolas Duchesne, the hamlet and the *ferme ornée* should be seen as two variations on a single rural theme, one French and the other English.

The ideal landowner

Even though the *hameau* enjoyed greater popularity in Europe, ideas of virtuous utility gained in recognition. 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 natural design.[54] If the accent on productivity took on an ethical dimension in Girardin's work, at

51 Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France*, 91.

52 Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France*, 79; Antoine Nicolas Duchesne, *Sur la formation des jardins* (Paris: Dorez, 1775), 57.

53 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 in France*, 100.

54 René Marquis de Girardin, *An Essay on Landscape* (London: J. Dodsley, 1783), 150.

Powązki it was also grounded in the traditional image of exemplary landownership.

How important the rural archetype for the identity of the Polish nobles can be observed in a letter of supplication sent by Tadeusz Kościuszko, the future hero of the wars of independence in Poland and in the United States, to his patron Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, in 1775. The letter contained a large-scale map of an ideal and entirely imaginary representation of his domains.[55] He took private tuition in military subjects; he also enrolled in the Académie des Beaux Arts to develop his drawing skills, necessary for a military engineer.[56] Kosciuszko created an ideal map of Czartorysk (an imaginary settlement, not the original seat of the clan in Volhynia), as a request for financial support by showing off his own considerable representational and cartographic ability and, at the same time, flattering his commandant as a model landowner.[57] This map provided visual recognition of the very matters with which the Czartoryski were most concerned—their land (fig. 7). 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 in relationships of protection and dependency. The key

55 Kościuszko was educated in the royal Knights' School, of which Adam Kazimierz was commandant. In 1769 he was in Paris on a royal scholarship, avoiding the turbulent events surrounding the Confederacy of Bar.

56 Alex Storożyński, *The Peasant Prince: Thaddeus Kosciuszko and the Age of Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009), 12.

57 Agnieszka Whelan, "Izabela Czartoryska and the Designed Landscape in Poland 1772–1831," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes,* 28 (2008), 281–302.



Figure 7. Ideal map of Czartorysk, by Tadeusz Kościuszko, watercolour, 1775

element of the survival of this idyll is the fortress of Czartorysk.[58] This map is in a way a paradigm of "Sarmatian" thinking—a happy land under the benevolent hand of the owner. Powązki referred to that same ideal of utopian identity in A well-managed and happy countryside.

The "Sarmatian" estate

Zug must shoulder much of the blame for the enduring misperception that Powązki was solely a refined pleasure ground. By focusing on the decorative architectural elements in the estate that he himself built, he made it look like an exclusive framework for an aristocratic taste. The analysis of the plan tells a different story. A visitor approaching from

58 Andrzej Michałowski, "New Planning Concepts in the Cartographic Sketch of Czartorysk by Tadeusz Kościuszko," in *Ogrody Czartoryskich* (Warsaw: The Centre for the Preservation of Historic Landscape, 2001), 15–24.

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. 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 to the garden over the small bridge; to reach this point he would have traversed nearly two kilometers along the straight, doubly planted avenue bordering the estate, with the last five hundred-meter stretch resembling an axial, baroque approach, leading straight onto the bridge. The visitor to Powązki was then first presented not with hints of the pleasures that awaited him but with fields, plantations, and peasants—together forming a reassuring image of the traditional residence where industriousness and plenty reigned. If that was not enough, the visitors would witness re-enactments of scenes of plenty, like fishing in the garden lake. The successful entertainment value would come from drawing heavy nets of fish, something that required good preparation but never disappointed.[59] The customary decorum of the noble residence in the countryside was thus preserved.

Powązki lay nestled within the boundaries of a doubly planted avenue, but Czartoryska managed to connect the approach with the open surroundings. The road bent itself sharply into four sections, allowing for changing views, accentuated with four viewing bays. Poets readily acknowledged this expansion into the geographical and historical dimension. Stanisław Trembecki, for example, linked Powązki to royal elections on the fields of Wola and to the forest of Kampinos, visible from the avenue.[60] Adam Naruszewicz evoked associations with Polish kings in the panorama of Warsaw to the north.[61] Within the gar-

59 Konrad Niemira brings in similar entertainments organized by the Warsaw banker Piotr Tepper in: Konrad Niemira, *Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine (1745-1830): katalog obrazów/catalogue of paintings* (Warsaw: 2023), cat. no 90, 198.

60 It was from here in 1771 that the abducted King Stanisław August safely returned to Warsaw.

61 Naruszewicz, "Oda III, Powązki," *Poezye*, vol. 2, 186; Stanisław Trembecki, "Powązki," in *Dzieła poetyckie Stanisława Trembeckiego* (Wrocław: Bogumił Korn, 1828), vol. 1, 31-40.

den, the ancient castle, the medieval tower, and the gothic manor house added to this historicizing external landscape.[62]

The fact that Czartoryska decided to create this residence in relative proximity to the Royal Castle should also be seen as an evident effort to establish her own counterbalance to the king's presence. Stanisław August rightly perceived the need to create his own emblematic Warsaw estate at Łazienki in response to the display of power in the provincial domains of the magnates. Some of the aristocratic residences, such as Białystok, certainly far exceeded the royal representation in scale and magnificence.

Hunting grounds or game parks particularly epitomized "Sarmatian" values. They aimed to recapture the Arcadian dream of the Golden Age, where nature was in its most abundant form, where the forests were open to pleasant and undirected walks, and where the proximity of wandering deer and fowl gave an illusion of a mythical carefree existence. As a contrast to the artifice of a formal garden, the game park evoked the moral dimension of living in harmony with nature.[63] Nevertheless, what the Polish Sarmatians claimed as an exclusive part of their identity required justification on firmly economic grounds. Tom Williamson has demonstrated the variety of benefits ensuing from the economic management of the deer park and its consequences for the English landscape. We should expect similar productivity in Polish estates, but these matters still await their research.[64]

With imagery based in land and hunting, Polish kings immersed themselves in the vernacular identity of the Polish nobles. Some of them, like Jan III Sobieski (ruled 1674–1696), 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.[65] Physical work did not bring dishonor to the crowned heads;

62 Stanisław Trembecki, "Do Xiężney Jenerałowey Czartoryskiey. Wyjeżdżającey z Warszawy na lato do Powązek," in Trembecki, *Dzieła poetyckie Stanisława Trembeckiego*, vol. 1, 79–83.

63 Szafrańska, "Ogród i las," *passim*.

64 Williamson, *Polite Landscapes,* 22–24.

65 Grzybowski, *Sarmatyzm*, 30.

on the contrary, the king had to place himself within the ethos of land ownership. When Sobieski built his own Italian villa in Wilanów near Warsaw, he included there a 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 ideal "Sarmatian" preoccupations.

How should we see these markers of royal representation in a small estate created by a woman? The allusion to the Czartoryski royal ambitions never waned in the minds of the nobles, and having a spirited woman heading an agricultural estate was nothing unusual in the country which still remembered the ravages of the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century wars. We need to recall that when the men left to fight, women took over the management of the domains and all matters of education of children, and this attitude showed itself particularly clearly in the Czartoryski family, where women's presence was very strong.

Here, however, in Powązki begins the articulation of Izabela's separate sphere of pragmatic independence, something promoted and supported by her husband, who always praised and acknowledged his wife's achievements as her own. Even though the act of purchase of Powązki was signed by both, the estate came to be associated with the princess. Adam visited the place, while Izabela spent long summer months there with their children. The deer wandering into the painted views made by the Czartoryski painter, Jean Pierre Norblin, must be connected not just to the mythology of Diana but to the whole symbolic Sarmatian universe.

While King Jan III Sobieski built his own country seat in Wilanów, just outside Warsaw, other kings, unable to throw massive expense into their landed estates near the capital, could choose to rent from the most powerful nobles.[66]

66 Tadeusz Bernatowicz, "Ogrody do zabaw myśliwskich. Królewskie zwierzyńce czasów saskich wokół Warszawy," in *Królewskie ogrody w Polsce*, ed. Małgorzata Szafrańska (Warsaw: Biblioteka Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami, 2001), 265–87; Tatarkiewicz, Łazienki *warszawskie*, 90–94; Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II*, 229.

This brings us to the extraordinary relationship of power in visual terms: both the royal and noble residences around Warsaw were engaged not only in a complementary relationship but also in an optical system of checks and balances, where leading nobles were ever vigilant at displaying their constitutional watch over the king. Once Izabela Czartoryska had positioned Powązki within that system of scrutinizing the monarchy, she joined the power game and was ready to entertain, educate, and moralize on a grand scale.

Young shepherds of their nation

> When I ask myself what 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 scenes from rural poetry for each other, that is, my mother for her children and we for her. There were seldom visits from others, and life was a true period of an unending eclogue.[67]

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 his 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.

67 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 81–82.

The idyll

Czartoryska organized the children's activities into an "effortless" and pleasurable mixture of play and work appropriate to their age.[68] All the residents of Powązki would get up early and 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 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.[69]

They all lived in a little *hameau* on the main island. Every child had a rustic hut. Over the doors hung painted signboard that expressed the characters of the inhabitants in the poetic rhetoric of antiquity. Adam Jerzy had an oak branch with the inscription *Stałość* [Constancy]; his sister Maria had a finch with the motto *Wesołość* [Gaiety], and the eldest child Teresa had a basket of white roses and the word *Dobroć* [Goodness]. The adult residents painted their own signs: the administrator Wolski chose bees with the motto *Pracowitość* [Diligence]. Wolski's motto certainly recalled Virgil's *Georgics*, which were known in Powązki via Jacques Delille's extremely popular translation.[70] 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.

68 Cf. similar attitudes shown by Gill, *Educational Philosophy*, 79.

69 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 81–82.

70 Publius Vergilius Maro and others, Vergilius Maro, Publius., *Les Géorgiques de Virgile, traduction nouvelle en vers François, enrichies de notes & de figures; par M. Delille*, ed. Jacques Delille, Paris: C. Bleuet, 1770. On rustic huts read: Tadeusz Bernatowicz, "Sentymentalne idee I wiejskie chatki w ogrodach 'picturesque' czasów stanisławowskich," in *Obraz I przyroda. Materiały z konferencji "Obraz I przyroda,"* ed. Małgorzata Mazurczak, Jowita Patyra, and Małgorzata Żak (Lublin: KUL, 2003), 117–55.

As the only creatures apart from humans endowed with the divine spark, they worked together for the common good, with their hive structure resembling the Polish parliamentary ideal (if not the reality). Moreover, they exhibited love for their patria and strove for glory, regenerating continuously and spontaneously.[71] Wolski then not only presented himself as a diligent administrator but also as a representative of the "Sarmatian" estate in its best tradition.

Madame Petit handed over the painting of her own mural to Jean-Pierre Norblin and decided on an antique sarcophagus with a loyal dog resting beside it, at the edge of a lake (fig. 8).[72] Izabela explained the presence of the tomb in the place of idyllic pursuits: "She called this mural *Spoczynek* [Repose], for at the end of her life she enjoyed it among us, and after death she hoped to find it with the Creator."[73] 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 of its kind in Poland. Madame Petit bequeathed this painting to Izabela, who placed it as a treasure in the Gothic House in Puławy.

Czartoryska's own mural 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, her 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 May 10 and stayed until September 23.[74]

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71 Marek Nalepa, "'Pszczoły wergiliańskie—pszczoły napoleońskie—pszczoły złajdaczone' w poezji porozbiorowej," in *Rok 1809 w literaturze i sztuce*, ed. Barbara Czwórnóg-Jadczak and Małgorzata Chachaj (Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2011), 34–36.

72 See: Nemira, "Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine," cat no 129; 258. On works by Norblin, see: Paweł Ignaczak "Nieznany nauczyciel Jana Piotra Norblina—Jacques Philippe Caresme (1743–1796)," in *Francusko-polskie relacje artystyczne w epoce nowożytnej*, ed. Andrzej Pieńkos and Agnieszka Rosales Rodriguez (Warsaw: Neriton, 2010), 139–146. Idem, "Grafika Norblina—ucieczka od Akademii," in *Jan Piotr Norblin. Sentymentalny reporter: grafika I malarstwo*, ed. Marta Zdańkowska (Warsaw: Arx Regia. Wydawnictwo ZKW-Muzeum, 2022), 57–74.

73 Dębicki, *Puławy*, vol. 1, 110.

74 Putkowska, "Warszawska rezydencja w Powązkach," 27.



Figure 8. *Spoczynek*, by Jean Piere Norblin, oil on copper, n.d.

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 unfavorable portrait of their family life in 1793, 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 Adam Kazimierz and Izabela ran off in pursuit of their own lovers.[75]

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.[76] In this, life at Powązki resembled to a remarkable degree the ideas promoted by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, especially in his *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse.* This book changed the image of motherhood like no other in the eighteenth century.[77] Czartoryska bought an early edition of the book on her first journey to Paris in 1762.[78] It is important to note that her

75 Fryderyk [Friedrich] Schulz, "Podróże Inflandczyka z Rygi do Warszawy i po Polsce w latach 1791-1793," in *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, ed. Wacław Zawadzki, vol. 2. (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1963), 483–89.

76 Carol Duncan showed the similar developments in art, in her "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in Eighteenth-Century French Art," in *The Aesthetics of Power: Essays in Critical Art History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3–26. Cf. Lesley H. Walker, *A Mother's Love: Crafting Feminine Virtue in Enlightenment France* (Lewisburg PA: BUP, 2008); Gill, *Educational Philosophy*; Jennifer J. Popiel, "Making Mothers: The Advice Genre and the Domestic Ideal, 1760-1830," *Journal of Family History* 29, 4 (2004): 339–50.

77 Cf. Jennifer J. Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France* (Durham, N.H.: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008).

78 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

introduction to *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was not through the text, which she had not yet read, but through the book's images that centered on the theme of motherhood and which circulated independently from the bound text.[79] Izabela commissioned an unnamed artist to paint for her two scenes from the novel.[80] 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 (Part IV, Letter XVII) and a scene known later as *L'Amour maternel*, Julie saving her child from drowning (Part VI, Letter IX). Both images brought the theme of motherhood to the most dramatic point: in one, Julie's thoughts go to her children at a 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 until the end. The theme of children might have been on Czartoryska's mind: she was expecting her first child, and on October 9, 1762, she gave birth to Karol Aleksander Jerzy.[81]

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 precisely according to Rousseau's directions suggests that he might have been Gravelot, the illustrator of Rollin's history books.

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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*, ed. Ewa Rzadkowsk. (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).

79 Ann-Marie Thornton, "A gift from Jean-Jacques Rousseau to George Simon Harcourt: Etchings and Proofs of the Illustrations to his Works," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction,* 14 (2002): 441–63. For the list of books illustrated by Gravelot see: Vera Salomons, *Gravelot, Illustrated with 21 Photogravures from Negatives by the Author* (London: J. & E. Bumpus, 1911), 37–78.

80 Dębicki, *Puławy*, 1, 95. Neither image has survived.

81 A year later on 2 September 1763 she had a daughter Zofia. Zofia died on November 3, 1763, Karol died on December 27, 1763, probably of an epidemic in Warsaw, when both their parents were away in Ruthenia. Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski*, 155.

Gravelot worked with Rousseau on the first edition of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* according to the author's specific guidelines regarding 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*.[82] 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.[83] 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.[84] 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 Puławy.

Julie, played by Izabela

The Julie of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* inspired a consciously emotional attitude toward the upbringing of children. For Julie, motherhood was a con-

82 Jo-Ann E. McEachern, *Bibliography of the Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau to 1800. Julie, ou, La Nouvelle Héloïse* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1993), 18B.

83 I.Cz., "Mémoires et écrits divers," BCz 6067, ff. 47-48; Alina Aleksandrowicz, "Odkrycie nowej natury i literatury (nieznana Podróż Izabeli Czartoryskiej do Anglii i Szkocji)," in *Z problemów preromantyzmu i romantyzmu. Studia i szkice,* ed. Alina Aleksandrowicz (Lublin: UMCS, 1991), 15–20; Pauszer-Klonowska, *Pani na Puławach*, 13.

84 I.Cz., "Mémoires et écrits divers," BCz 6067, ff. 47-48. Aleksandrowicz, "Odkrycie nowej natury," 15–20; Pauszer-Klonowska, *Pani na Puławach*, 13.

stant delight; she drew total fulfillment 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 any distinction among them. When another ward of hers, Zofia Kicka, née Matuszewicz, died in 1822, Czartoryska signed herself as her mother on a memorial tablet.[85]

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 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

85 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 Matuszewiczwas was buried in the Czartoryski crypt in the church of Holy Cross in Warsaw [Bazylika Świętego Krzyża]. The inscription reads: "Zofia z Tad: Matuszewicza Min: Skar: K: Pol:, i Maryanny z Przebendowskich roku 1796 D:, 21 grudnia zrodzona Lud: Kickiego Pół:Woj:, Pol: od roku 1819 małżonka zpośród zaczętego, ledwie szczęścia domowego wkwiecie wieku, zpośród *łez* rodziny i przyjaciół na uwieńczenie pełnego cnót *życia* w R-u1822 D: 5-go, listopada do Boga Wezwana, tu, od przysposobioney a nieukojoney w *żalu*, Matki Izab. z Fleming: Xię: Czartoryskiey, obok iey córki wspólnym grobie złożona, spoczywa 1822 list:'. The tablet is still in situ.

self, lay entirely within the sphere of Rousseau's views.[86] 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 cooperative way.

If Czartoryska gave primacy to her own feelings, she subjected her children to the dynastic ambitions of the family. She arranged the politically highly desirable but 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.[87]

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 on 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.[88] A drawing in the Czartoryski Museum, which has not hitherto been identified, may be the record of this grotto.

Two further poplars gave an "extremely picturesque" appearance to Aleksandra's cabin, and the large lilac under the window of Miss Kon-

86 See, among the most recent contributions to the large literature on Rousseau and women: Rosanne Terese Kennedy, *Rousseau in Drag: Deconstructing Gender* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), esp. the chapter "Julie, or the New Heloise," 93–102.

87 Zawadzki, *A Man of Honour*, 275.

88 I.Cz. to M.W., 18 March 1784 BCz 6137.

stancja's house made for a "truly wondrous sight."[89] 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."[90] Later in Puławy she would continue the associations of plants with family and friends. Czartoryska's children learned emotional language through planting as Julie's children in the *New Heloise* learned the nuances of sensibility in her garden. Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne (1735–1814) took these ideas further. In his work on European gardens, which contained a 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, or caballing courtiers.[91]

For de Ligne, work in the garden promoted every virtue. It produced faithful husbands, law-abiding citizens, patriotic taxpayers, and happy laborers 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 capitulated

89 I.Cz. to M.W., 19 April 1784.
90 I.Cz. to M.W., 13 May (1784?).
91 Charles-Joseph de Ligne, *Coup d'oeil at Beloeil and a Great Number of European Gardens*, edited and translated by Basil Guy (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 153.

and fell under the spell of Powązki. He pitched his own tent beside the boy's house.[92]

Izabela's educational program at Powązki sought to give the children an entry into a world founded on the land. They would, after all, inherit the vast Czartoryski estates. The agricultural area that merged into the pleasure grounds provided that connection. Here converged all the aspects of 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.[93] Julie established a blissful garden on the most inhospitable site—an uncultivated wilderness. She 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."[94]

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 feeling and virtuous hand. Virtue was the prerequisite for a good design.[95] At Clarens, virtue ruled supreme: the combination of Julie's fidelity, her devo-

92 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki i memoriały polityczne 1776–1809*, 82.

93 Morawińska and Putkowska note the connections between Clarens and Powązki, but they do not pursue the theme. Morawińska, *Augusta Fryderyka Moszyńskiego 'Rozprawa o ogrodnictwie angielskim' 1774*; passim, see also Putkowska, "Warszawska rezydencja w Powązkach."

94 Ligne, *Coup d'oeil*, transl. Guy, 178.

95 Rousseau contrasts the design of Stowe with the simplicity of Elysium, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Eloisa or, a Series of Original Letters,* 4 vols. Vol. 3. London: R. Griffiths, etc., 1761, 139. For critiques of Rousseau's views on English landscape gardens see: Hermand Jost, "Rousseau, Goethe: their influence on larger advocates of the nature garden," in *Nature and Ideology. Natural Garden Design in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), 36–37.

tion 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."[96]

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, and Salomon Gessner, and 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.

Enter the young shepherds

When writing his memoirs, Adam Jerzy particularly remembered the small private performances of "scenes from rural poetry". These enjoyable activities took place in informal settings. One of them, a rustic structure covered with a thatched roof, can be identified in one of Norblin's drawings. 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.[97]

Much of the material for the poetic visualizations certainly came from the poetic volumes in the Powązki library, but the work of Salomon Gessner most likely also provided some inspiration. A visitor to

96 Rousseau, *Eloisa*, vol. 3, 142.

97 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 84. We need to point to the presence of the puppet theater in the children's lives, the evidence of which remains in the charming painterly sketches by Norblin: Marta Zdańkowska, "Norblin—poetycki malarz w Powązkach Czartoryskich," in *JanPiotr Norblin, sentymentalny reporter*, ed. Wojciech Fałkowski (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 2022), 31–34; Konrad Niemira, *Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine (1745-1830): katalog obrazów/catalogue of paintings*, ebook (Warsaw 2023), 170–73.

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."[98]

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 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 displays of gratitude with bouquets of flowers. Trees and myrtles grow into verdant temples, which Gessner drew himself. Gessner's verses taught not only attachment to the land and filial piety but also presented exemplars of rituals and appropriate verbal expressions to communicate these attitudes.[99]

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 moreover 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.[100]

98 John Hibberd, *His Creative Achievement and Influence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Lehndorff, "Dzienniki," in *Polska stanisławowska*, vol. 2, 35–39; Bernhard von Waldkirch, *Salomon Gessner - Idyllen in gesperrter Landschaft* (Zürich: Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft, 2010), 33.

99 Salomon Gessner, *New Idylles* (London: S. Hooper & G. Robinson, 1776), 43–44.

100 Salomon Gessner, *Daphnis a Poetical, Pastoral Novel* (London: J. Dodsley, 1768), V-VI.

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 young people of both sexes and for girls in particular.[101]

An example of Gessner's ideal of landscape-inspiring virtuous living 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 until they married and then took in another one. At the time he was raising his fourth orphan 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."[102] 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 the 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 the representation of pastoral poetry.[103]

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

101 Gessner, *Daphnis,* XLVII-XLVIII.

102 I.Cz. to M.W., 19 April 1784, BCz 6137. There is no knowing whether she employed him.

103 Gessner's essay was printed in 1770 as part of the preface to the third volume of: Johann Caspar Füssli, *Geschichte der besten Künstler in der Schweitz: Nebst ihren Bildnissen*. Vol. 3. (Zurich: Orell, Geßner, Füesslin, 1770). He appended the essay to the 1772 edition of his *Idyllen:* Salomon Gessner and Denis Diderot, *Moralische Erzaehlungen und Idyllen* (Zurich: Orell, Gessner, Füesslin, 1772).

dignity and truth and discovered a nature which was gentle, surprising, and varied; he found figures with a noble air and a firm attitude.[104] Most importantly, however, he emphasized poetry rather than paintings as his source of visual inspiration. Poetry should inform artists in the creation of a painting, and in turn, their paintings should be interpreted through passages drawn from the 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."[105]

Individual visualization based on poetic feeling 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 *La Nouvelle Héloïse* with the inscription: "We have represented the author of *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."[106]

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 the 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 colors, which were known only to him.[107]

104 Gessner, *New Idylles*, 97.
105 Gessner, *New Idylles*, 97, 102.
106 Appeared in the 1764 edition (Neuchâtel: Duchesne, 1764). Translation by Denis Hollier in: Denis Hollier and R. Howard Bloch, *A New History of French Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 517.
107 Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*, 148.

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

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. These were small, 10x8 cm colored copper prints by Johann Ludwig Wernhard Fäsch (ca. 1738–1778).[108] For the young Czartoryskis and their companions, therefore, theater was their intimate space, and the transmission of emotions through gesture, as a model for their own behavior, was at all times before their eyes.

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.[109] 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

108 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=7c5c0b32-31c3-4230-824d-f55f734bc7ec.

109 Stéphanie Félicité Genlis, *Théatre a l'usage des jeunes personnes par Madame la Comtesse de Genlis* (Dublin: Luc White, 1781).

> 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 in us through everything we had been learning, seeing, and hearing.[110]

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 (fig. 9). 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 harbor enmity to Russia.

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 and military victories with the 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."[111] Romans did the same, equally engaging themselves in military service, civic duties, and tilling the land, following the illustrious example of Cincinnatus.[112] 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

110 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki i memoriały polityczne 1776-1809*, 110.

111 Charles Rollin, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians, and Grecians*. 6 vols. (London: J. Rivington, 1768), vol. 5, 558–59.

112 Rollin, *The Roman History from the Foundation of Rome to the Battle of Actium, that is, to the End of the Commonwealth*. 16 vols. (London: John and Paul Knapton, 1739), vol. 1, VI-VII.



Figure 9. *Hannibal at the age of nine swears enmity to Rome*, H.-F. Gravelot

of their manners, their benevolent inclination, humanity to strangers; the other, on the contrary, generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality, and irreligion."[113]

113 Rollin, *The Ancient History*, vol. 5, 531.

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 theater, involved himself in the production of his plays, and promoted them as a medium for 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.[114] 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.[115] Franciszek Bohomolec claimed that this decade was the golden age of Polish theater.[116] In 1782, Adam Kazimierz started publishing his own series of pamphlets on the education of boys and girls entitled *Letters of Doświadczyński.*[117] The 1787 letter connected the social aspects of education with artistic creativity and the 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 splendor and fire; it visualizes and animates the subject and attaches itself to it with affection, as the contentment of stirred emotions always joins

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

115 Czartoryski, *Komedie*, 33.

116 Fr Franciszek Bohomolec (1720–1784) was a Jesuit, dramatist, essayist, linguist, theatrical reformer and the director of the National Theatre. Barbara Kryda, "Franciszek Bohomolec," in *Pisarze polskiego Oświecenia*, ed. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1992), 3, 216–45.

117 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).

with learning."[118] The power of imagination then promoted learning, while visualization and expression helped children to identify themselves with ideas and concepts.

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.[119] But in diametrical opposition to Rousseau, Czartoryski saw spectators as an audience receptive to the emotional representations of morals, capable of internalizing them and adopting the message for life outside the theater. For Rousseau, theater desensitized emotions and contributed to the alienation of society; it was a frame through which spectators could watch in safety and even take pleasure in someone's misfortune or suffering.[120] In his *Considerations on the Government of Poland*, written in 1772, Rousseau strongly advises against theater for Polish youth.[121] Czartoryski, however, considered that while *amour propre* [*miłość własna*] prevents us from taking advice from friends, priests, and books, in the theater "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."[122] For Czartoryski, comedies worked with vernacular settings and national costumes, with music and dance, and with laughter and tears.

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118 Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, *List Mikołaja Doświadczyńskiego pisany do Teodora Weichardta do Tulczyna radząc Jemu aby ożenił się z Nipuanką* (Warsaw, 1787). Maryan Szyjkowski, *Myśl Jana Jakóba Rousseau w Polsce XVIII wieku* (Cracow: AU, 1913), 227–28. See also Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*, 149–50.

119 Dębicki, *Puławy*, vol. 2, 339. See also Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*, 144; Szyjkowski, *Myśl*, 6.

120 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *J.J. Rousseau citoyen de Genève, a Mr. d'Alembert … : sur son article Genève dans le VIIme volume de l'Encyclope et particuliere-ement sur le projet d'établir un théatre de comédie en cette ville* (Amsterdam: Chez Marc Michel Rey, 1758). On Rousseau's attitudes to theatre see Jérôme Brillaud, "If You Please! Theater, Verisimilitude, and Freedom in the Letter to d'Alembert," in *Rousseau and Freedom*, ed. Christie McDonald and Stanley Hoffmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 77–91.

121 Jerzy Lukowski, "Recasting Utopia: Montesquieu, Rousseau and the Polish Constitution of 3 May 1791", *Historical Journal,* 37 (1994), 65–87.

122 Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, "List o dramatyce". In *Kawa,* Warsaw, 1779, 120. Idem, *Komedie*, 39.

Even though Czartoryski wrote only comedies, he valued tragedies most highly, 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 his 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.[123]

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 the shepherd's bagpipes, and the girls played the harpsichord.[124] 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.

Theatricals outside the garden

The theatrical lifestyle thus took over the Czartoryski family. The mother performed in society theaters, while the father devoted his time and pen to the education of Poland's most promising youth through theater. Izabela organized impromptu *fêtes* or *surpryzy* at her Blue Palace in Warsaw. Her two girls, Teresa and Maria, accompanied by their childhood friends Aleksandra and Konstancja Narbutt, her two girls, Teresa and Maria, accompanied by their childhood friends Aleksandra and Konstancja Narbutt, entertained their guests by singing to the accompaniment of music and by acting along with their

123 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki i memoriały polityczne 1776-1809*, 79.

124 William Coxe, *Travels into Poland Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, Interspersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries*. 1st edition (Dublin: S. Price, 1784), vol. 1, 181.



Figure 10. *Marinne dans la Colonie, représenté par Md la Princesse Generale de la Podolie*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, 1778 or 1779

mother at gatherings of friends. Jean-Pierre Norblin painted theatrical scenery and designed costumes, Patoire directed the music, and d'Auvigny choreographed the movement.[125] One of the more notable society events was the production of *La Colonie* in 1778, where Czartoryska played the role of the gardener Marianne (fig. 10), but by then, at thirty-four, Izabela was an experienced actress.[126] This highly popular opera, Nicholas Etienne Framery's parody of Antonio Sacchini's

125 Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and Alexander I, *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski and His Correspondence with Alexander I*, ed. Adam Gielgud (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Rare Reprints, 2000), 21–22.

126 Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze i w teatrze Stanisława Augusta*, 164. More on this production see in: Kadulska, "Wielka Dama Oświecenia", 94–95.

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.[127] In this way too she merged the narrative of the performance with real life. Her appearances always drew notable crowds. In 1782 and 1783, she performed weekly in society comedies at the Royal Castle. The plays sold two hundred tickets each time.[128] On March 3, 1783, the king announced a new program of comedies and operas at the castle, in which Izabela and Anna Sanguszko were singled out as major attractions among the cast of "the most honorable ladies and gentlemen."[129]

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 the 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 Powązki. All this in full view of the visiting public.

Later, at Puławy, Czartoryska intended to honor Rousseau by having his name engraved on a pyramid dedicated to writers who depicted

127 Barbara Król-Kaczorowska, "Budynki teatrów, dekoracje i kostiumy w Warszawie XVIII stulecia," in *Teatr Narodowy 1765-1794*, ed. Jan Kott (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967), 880.

128 Kaczorowska, "Budynki teatrów," 538.

129 Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 539.

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.[130] 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. Printed views of the Marquis de Girardin's monument to four pastoral poets—Virgil, Theocritus, James Thomson, and Solomon Gessner—popularized the subject, as seen in one of the paintings representing two women by a fountain with a tomb and a pyramid in the background.[131] However, we need to be careful connecting certain works of Norblin with views of Powązki. It has been shown decisively that some paintings are successful copies of compositions by Watteau and Fragonard. Nevertheless, whether they are truthful topographical records or not, he indicates that they may have been included in the visual program of the house.[132] Certainly, we see that the paintings wish to transmit the beauty of the garden, the seductive play of sunshine through the leaves of the trees, and the intimate green interiors with graceful arrangements of figures.

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 lin-

130 Dorota Suchocka, Catalogue entry for the painting by J. P. Norblin, *A View on the Monument of the Pastoral Poetry with the Sarcophagus and a Pyramid* in: *Ogród: forma-symbol-marzenie* (Warsaw: Arx Regia, 1998), 288–289, cat. 186.

131 For example, see: *A View on the Monument of the Pastoral Poetry with the Sarcophagus and a Pyramid*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, oil, paper on canvas, ab. 1780, Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań, Mp 27. See the discussion of the attribution of the painting by Niemira, *Jean Pierre Norblin* cat. nos 86-1, 86-2, 86-3, 194-195 and cat. nos 108, 239-240.

132 Niemira, *Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine.*

gered, 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.[133]

Death in the garden

The idyll at Powązki lasted six years, until the tragic death of the Czartoryskis' eldest daughter, Teresa, on Thursday, January 13, 1780. She died of burns after her dress accidentally caught fire in the family's Warsaw palace. Princess Izabela was at the time in labor 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 solemn observances feature frequently in her letters until the very end.[134]

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.[135] Over the door to the hut she placed a dedication resembling *et in Arcadia ego*: *Teressa* żyła *też z nami* [Teressa also lived with us].[136] A drawing by Jean-Pierre Norblin shows an arrangement around the large memorial stone near the hut (fig. 11).[137] 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

133 On her acquisitions of Rousseau memorabilia see: Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*, 139–52. 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.

134 The feast day St Teresa is celebrated in the Catholic Church on October 15. I.Cz., 15 October 1817, BCz 6140. See also Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki Pamiętniki i memoriały polityczne 1776-1809*, 83.

135 Ligne, *Coup d'oeil*, 178.

136 Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin, "Oda I, Powązki". In *Dzieła*, ed. Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz (Leipzig: Breitkopf et Haertel, 1837), vol. 1, 151.

137 For the identification of the painting and its discussion see Whelan, "Powązki: szkoła uczuć i historii."



Figure 11. *Decoration of Teresa's Monument in Powązki*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, n.d, pen and ink on paper

garlands. The oldest girl there is possibly their companion, Konstancja Narbutt.[138] 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 record of her own public presentation of mourning.[139] 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 Teresa was now also laid to rest. But even there, Czartoryska's written tribute to her daughter

138 The suggestion is tenuous, based on the fact that Konstancja was Czartoryska's favorite. Her sister Aleksandra was lame.

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

took the form of a highly personal remembrance.[140] 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 members are not depicted at prayer; 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 the communal nature of their grief. They focus entirely on their own private recollections; their thoughts go to the earthly past and towards the examination of their own feelings.[141]

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.[142] Norblin skillfully 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 resem-

140 The inscription: "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 księżniczka Czartoryska Generałówna Ziem Podolskich, zeszła 13 stycznia 1780 w 15 a (sic) swego. *Wypis z Xięgi Kościoła* świętego *Krzyża w Warszawie, Nagrobków w sklepie, gdzie Xiążęta Czartoryscy są pochowani*. BCz 6153.

141 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 brèvité 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: Melina Esse, "Performing sentiment; or, how to do things with tears," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture,* 14 (2010), 1–21; Desirée Henderson, "The imperfect dead: mourning women in eighteenth-century oratory and fiction," *Early American Literature,* 39 (2004), 3, 487–509; Sylvia Lavin, "Sacrifice and the garden: Watelet's 'Essai sur les jardins' and the space of the Picturesque," *Assemblage,* 28 (1995), 16–33.

142 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki Pamiętniki i memoriały polityczne 1776-1809*, 83.

bling a theatrical *tableau*. Here the mourners turn themselves towards the monument, withdrawing 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 or her ability to draw on their own experiences and their own imaginative sphere of visualization and association.[143] 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 the touching of stone. Norblin's drawing is in effect a 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 method which would be best to elicit a response to her tears could not rely on real-life representation. Diderot observed the difference of effect between a 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.[144]

The true presentation of emotions, according to Diderot, must preserve the dignity of character, even under the greatest agony of mind.

143 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: University of California Press, 1980).

144 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.

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 the study of human nature. Czartoryska's tears are therefore performed tears, styled to elicit the greatest empathy from others and from herself when viewing 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.[145]

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.[146] 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."[147]

145 Ligne, *Coup d'oeil*, 178.
146 Letter from the Prince de Ligne to Rousseau, in: *Historical and Literary Memoirs*, vol. 3, 44–46.
147 Ligne, *Coup d'oeil*, 178.

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 a mossy tomb among cypresses; and shepherds wandered in the meadows among tombs adorned with garlands.[148] Tombs were lessons in morality, improving the mind and spirit and encouraging reflections on virtue and the laws of nature.[149]

In her memoirs, Czartoryska never mentions any visual models for her representations; Norblin, however, makes an unmistakable connection to that archetype of all scenes with a tomb, Nicolas Poussin's *Arcadian Shepherds* of 1635-36. 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 rigor but for the idea it represented—death in a pastoral landscape.[150] Its real 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 the 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.[151]

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148 Salomon Gessner, *Idyllen von dem Verfasser des Daphnis* (Zürich: Bei Gessner, 1756). Cited here: Gessner, *Daphnis a poetical, pastoral novel*, 42; Salomon Gessner, *The Death of Abel* (London: R. Dodsley (etc.), 1761), 191, 237.

149 See Virgil's lament over Daphne in Eclogue V.

150 Margaret Fields Denton, "Death in French Arcady: Nicolas Poussin's *The Arcadian Shepherds* and burial reform in France c. 1800," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 36 (2003), 2, 195–216: 196.

151 See the example of the heroine of Thomas Amory's novel, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain Interspersed with Literary Reflexions, and Accounts of Antiquities and Curious Things. In Several Letters* (London: John Noon, 1755); J. David Macey, Jr., "Et in Arcadia ego? Thomas Amory, Mary Hamilton and the (re)construction of Arcadia," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* 31 (2002): 191–214.

Czartoryska certainly subscribed to this version when in 1816 she saw two crosses marking the graves of young suitors who dueled over a girl, who also died soon after. They reminded her of Poussin's *Et in Arcadia ego*.[152] 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 Radziwiłłowa's *Arkadia*. 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 this elegiac theme.

Hirschfeld's voice added weight to the rising burial debate, aimed at reforming the state of public cemeteries. Hirschfeld recommended that families who were lucky enough to possess a suitable garden or a wood should establish their burial plots there.[153] He also suggested 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.[154] Czartoryska's staged and affected pose emerges then as a choice that sets itself on the side of the new discourse on mourning.

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152 Izabela Elżbieta Czartoryska, *Dyliżansem przez Śląsk. Dziennik podróży do Cieplic w roku 1816*, ed. Jadwiga Bujańska (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1968).

153 Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994),160–61; Denton, "Antoine-Jean Gros," 114–15.

154 Travelers 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 a 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 Jouis-Philippe-Joseph, Duc de Chartres. Czartoryska had been acquainted with the Duc de Chartres since her first visit to Paris in 1762.[155] 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.[156] Carmontelle not only claimed that landscape gardening had nothing to do with the natural; he asserted that it had everything to do with the artificial and wished for the garden to return to 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."[157]

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.

At the time of Teresa's death, the most visually compelling model of commemoration in a garden setting came from Ermenonville. When Girardin decided on Rousseau's burial on the Île des Peupliers in 1778,

155 Sandra Berresford, *Italian Memorial Sculpture, 1820-1940: A Legacy of Love* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2004), 17.

156 Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden*, 96; Natalie Coural, *Les Patel: Pierre Patel (1605-1676) et ses fils: le paysage de ruines à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Arthena, 2001), 233–34. See also: Susan Crabtree and Peter Beudert, *Scenic Art for the Theatre: History, Tools, and Techniques* (Boston, MA: Focal Press, 2005), 386–87.

157 Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden*, 97.

he followed William Shenstone's project of a tomb for a young female friend from twenty years before, never realized in The Leasowes.[158] Hubert Robert, the designer of Rousseau's tomb, incorporated on one side a bas-relief of mothers teaching their daughters.[159] 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.[160]

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. 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 the theme of pleasure and as the site of spectacles.[161] These preoccupied Czartoryska in her last decade at Powązki.

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158 Girardin visited the Leasowes in 1760s, after Shenstone's death. The design of Ermenonville pays tribute to Shenstone's ornamental farming. Peter De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 104–150; Christopher Gallagher, "The Leasowes: A History of the Landscape," *Garden History* 24, no. 2 (1996): 201–20. On the grave of the painter Georg Friedrich Meyer in Ermenonville see Denton, "Antoine-Jean Gros," 115. On other burials see Berresford, *Italian Memorial Sculpture*, 18–19.

159 *A Tour to Ermenonville Containing, Besides an Account of the Palace, Gardens, and Curiosities of Chantilly … A Particular Description of the Tomb of J.J. Rousseau* (London: T. Becket, 1785). Reprinted in *Monthly Review*, 1786, vol. 74, 132.

160 Forster, "Dziennik," 54.

161 On the popularity of the motif of a tomb in education of children see: Dymitr Tadeusz Krajewski, *Woyciech Zdarzyński, życie i przypadki swoie opisuiący* (Warsaw, 1785); Szyjkowski, *Myśl*, 299.

A visit to Powązki

In 1778, Powązki was on the obligatory circuit of any tourist or provincial visitor to Warsaw.[162] The eager sightseer needed to obtain a ticket from the palace, but not all did so. Thus, for example, the scientist Johann Bernoulli had a ticket, while Bishop Krasicki let himself in without one. On the other hand, the writer Friedrick Schulz objected to having to have one and wrote that he did not consider Powązki a public garden, as the tickets excluded impromptu visitors.[163] Powązki was not the only garden issuing tickets; Izabela Lubomiska introduced them for Mokotów.[164]

The king and other leading members of polite society were the honored 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 take part in winter ice skating. 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 program of public presentation of Powązki began with an emphasis on Czartoryska's and her family's position in 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

162 *Monitor*, 22 April 1778, no. 32, reprinted in: Jackl, "Teatr i życie teatralne," 375–76.

163 Friedrich Schulz, *Podróże Inflantczyka z Rygi do Warszawy i po Polsce w latach 1791-1793*, ed. Józef Ignacy Kraszewski and Wacław Zawadzki (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1956), 548.

164 Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat Artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej, 1736-1816*, 164.

the greatest impact. To see it, 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 the 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."[165] William Coxe thought that there were at least three thousand of them there and estimated that they cost three Dresden ducats each.[166] The outrageous expenditure on the bath must have been a favorite anecdote for the guide (otherwise doubling as the hermit) for the tiles figure in all visitors' accounts.

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. There was also a library of rustic poets in French and English, as well as Chinese and Turkish luxury objects.[167]

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.[168] The third cabinet, which connected with the bedroom, was the preserve of the feminine space of pleasure.

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 and replaced by an elegant pavilion with plastered exterior walls. It resembled a simplified and scaled-down version

165 Bernoulli, "Obrazy. Powązki," 426.
166 William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, Interspersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries* (London, 1802), vol. 1, 179.
167 Trembecki, "Powązki," in *Dzieła poetyckie Stanisława Trembeckiego*, vol. 1, 31–39.
168 Bernoulli, "Obrazy. Powązki," 426.

of the Petit Trianon. However, in 1785, Norblin painted a set of rustic scenes for the new house, and these have survived.[169]

None of the experts of Norblin's work have identified Czartoryska on the Powązki paintings. And yet, in all of Norblin's *panneaux*, the same person with the features of Czartoryska, with her figure and the right age, is singled out by a spot of soft light and is always accompanied by a white Pomeranian.[170] A succession of little white dogs accompanied her throughout her life. 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 center stage (fig. 12). These three *panneaux* concentrate on the elegant themes of motherhood, amiable company, and refined pastime. The fourth, a somewhat smaller painting, shows the draft of the nets on the lake and is also connected with Powązki. Lastly, a painting which needs to be included in the Powązki themes of love and private enjoyment is a scene which may be easily taken as an allegorical representation of graces bathing in a fresh, flowing spring. In fact, the main nymph sin-

169 These 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 *Kąpiel w parku* (Bathing in the park) 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. Aleksandra Bernatowicz, "Norblin de la Gourdaine Jan Piotr," *Słownik artystów polskich I w Polsce działających*, v. 6, (Warsaw: IS PAN), 110–127; Idem, *Malarze w Warszawie czasów Stanisława Augusta. Status—aspiracje—twórczość* (Warsaw: IS PAN, 2016); Idem, "Malowanie poetyczne. *Fêtes galantes* Jana Piotra Norblina I ich kulturowy kontekst," *Francusko-polskie relacje artystyczne w epoce nowożytnej*, eds, Andrzej Pieńkos, Agnieszka Rosales Rodriguez (Warsaw: Neriton), 133–38; Tadeusz Bernatowicz, "Sentymentalne idee i wiejskie chatki w ogrodach 'picturesque' czasów stanisławowskich," in *Obraz i przyroda. Materiały z konferencji, Obraz I przyroda*," eds. Małgorzata Mazurczak, Jowita Patyra, Małgorzata Żak (Lublin: KUL), 117–55.

170 A Pomeranian was a favorite breed at the court of Marie Antoinette. In earlier Norblin's paintings before 1785, the scenes frequently show a spotty phalène, a beloved dog 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. It is recorded for example 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.



FIGURE 12. *Concert in the Park with the Children*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, oil on canvas, 1785

gled out with light assumes Czartoryska's familiar features. This semi-allegorical representation references the private sphere in Powązki, and it has been suggested that it hung in the bedroom or in the bathroom famous for its extravagant decoration of porcelain tiles (fig. 13).[171]

The *panneaux* room adjoined Czartoryska's bedroom. This one was decorated with miniatures by the Polish artist Zeig.[172] A visitor leaving the hut to take a walk in the grounds would now take these associations with him or her and project them onto the green space—the multiple

171 Niemira, *Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine,* cat. no 105, 231–35.
172 Bernoulli, "Obrazy. Powązki," 426.



Figure 13. *Bath Time in the Park*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, oil on canvas, 1785

associations of the family's power, Poussin's classical world, and the private world of pleasures. This composite paradigm of exclusivity continued in other interiors around the garden: in the children's thatched huts, in the two well-furnished rooms in the Roman amphitheater, and in the half-ruined mill, whose walls were covered with tiles painted to imitate precious porcelain and hung with three very large prints by Valentine Green, Jean-Joseph Balechou, and Lucio Massari.[173] Even in the unpre-

173 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.

possessing 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."[174]

The richness and extravagance of the interiors were 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.[175] 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.[176] 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.[177] 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 *Powązki*) first compared Czartoryska's hut to the house of Philemon and Baucis, the mythical married couple whose house was transformed into a palace after their death. Later, he presented a 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.[178] 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 labor of the enslaved people. Trembecki was referring here to the virtuous Republican Rome, contrasting it with

174 Coxe, *Travels into Poland*, vol. 1, 179.
175 Trembecki, "Powązki," in idem, *Dzieła poetyckie Stanisława Trembeckiego*, vol. 1, 31–39. Naruszewicz, "Oda III. Powązki, Folwark Księżny Izabelli Czartoryskiej, Generałowej Ziem Podolskich," in idem, *Poezye*, vol. 2, 185–89.
176 Zug, "Ogrody w Warszawie," 443.
177 I.Cz. to M.W., 19 June 1784, BCz 6137.
178 Naruszewicz, "Oda III. Powązki," *Poezye*, vol. 2, 186.

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 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," rested on carpets in a tent - one of the battle spoils won from the Turks—and looked upon an ancient amphitheater. With the evening light fading, they followed on to an illuminated arched bridge and paused to admire the effect of flickering lights upon the water. During their progress, they listened to music coming from secluded spots. This feast for the eyes and the ears enhanced a collation, served in an open pavilion entwined with garlands and twisted festoons of flowers, where "all kinds of delicacies, with the priciest wines, and every species of fruit which art or nature could furnish."[179] From there they watched another set of illuminations brighten 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?"[180] Bernoulli, like all visitors,

179 Coxe, *Travels into Poland*, vol. 1, 180.
180 Coxe, *Travels into Poland*, vol. 1, 180.

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."[181] No centerpiece was singled out in the 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.

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 arranged spot, with the statue of Virtue, the Medici vase, or an elegant fountain. Further on stood the statue of Diana the Hunter with real deer roaming around.[182] The presence of deer not only added to Diana's environment but was a point of contact 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 to the viewing of fishing nets being drawn 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 theater, Czartoryska set the scene anew for each activity. She replanted greenery, 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

181 Bernoulli, "Powązki," 428.

182 See Éloquence, fig. 9 in the second volume of Hubert François Gravelot, Charles Nicolas Cochin, and Charles Étienne Gaucher. *Iconologie par figures; ou, Traité complet des allégories, emblêmes, etc. Ouvrage utile aux artistes, aux amateurs, et peuvent servir à l'éducation des jeunes personnes* (Paris: Lattré graveur, 1789). For deer in Powązki see: Naruszewicz, "Oda III. Powązki," in idem, *Poezye*, vol. 2, 187.

from her fellow gardener, Princess Helena Radziwiłłowa.[183] The princess also helped in borrowing a marble Amor from the king.[184] Czartoryski erected the altar to the Faun in a secluded place and arranged the Amor in a myrtle grove, continuously wishing for a better effect.[185] The spring floods that year had done much damage, and Czartoryska made a further profuse planting 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.[186] Her gardener, Bauer, helped her with the digging.[187] Izabela then wrote to Maria requesting a transport of portraits from Puławy and a loan of a rose bush from Konstancja Narbutt "to have a tremendous show here." When the resultant "coffee party" was over, all items were returned to 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 seemed the centerpiece of Izabela's displays. Statues served as static *tableaux* encouraging and privileging gestural responses. They gave a poetic and mythological meaning to spaces, a stimulus which was needed to add interest to the natural arrangements. Trees surrounded them, roses entwined them, they conversed with tombs, and watched over the residents gathering flowers, over their intimate embraces, and their dancing. As the inhabitants touched them, as in Norblin's paintings, the continuity of ancient virtues from antiquity to modern times received tangible proof. The fact that Izabela had a statue of Virtue in her garden should come as no surprise at all.[188] That same statue reap-

183 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.

184 I.Cz. to M.W., 19 April 1784, BCz 6137.

185 I.Cz. to M.W., 19 April 1784, BCz 6137.

186 Czartoryska to M.W., 7 February 1784, BCz 6137.

187 I.Cz. to M.W., 18 March 1784, BCz 6137.

188 On problems of interpretation associated with the Powązki statue of Virtue see Hanna Małachowicz in: *Ogród: forma-symbol-marzenie*, 290. Konrad Niemira dismisses any connection with Powązki, claiming that the painting repeats conventional elements of a garden, in: Niemira, *Jean Pierre Norblin* cat. no 108, 239–40.



FIGURE 14. *Society Gathering under the Statue of Virtue,* by Jean-Pierre Norblin, oil on canvas, c. 1785

peared in another of Norblin's views, this time standing at the edge of the water in the garden of Puławy.

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 (fig. 14).[189] In

189 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, Cochin, and Gaucher, *Iconologie par figures*.

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 antiquity would have been even greater.

Rome in Powązki

Accounts left by visitors to Powązki focused on the geniality of the reception and the splendor 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 (fig. 15). Further to the north, stood the



Figure 15. *View of the Ruins in Powązki*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, before 1785.

largest structure in Powązki, described variously as a circus, an amphitheater, or a coliseum. Adam Jerzy did not explain the significance of these ruins.[190]

In describing this edifice, Ludwik Dębicki noted: "In the midst of the park were caves, streams, artificial ruins, public lavatories, and a temple supported on Corinthian columns to a mysterious god and beside it was an obligatory cowshed as fashion dictated, so that the shepherds and shepherdesses would never be far from their goats, cows, and lambs."[191] This interpretation was responsible for the relegation of Powązki into the sphere of playfulness bordering on the ridiculous. The imagery, however, tells 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.

The ruins feature prominently in Norblin's paintings, in contrast to written accounts. 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.

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 was visualized in Stowe, Chiswick, or Stourhead.

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

190 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki*, 81.

191 Ludwik Dębicki, "Powązki i Puławy," *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki,* 9 (1886), 12; Dębicki, *Puławy*, vol. 1, 111. More on the provenance of the paintings see: Niemira, *Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine,* 246–48.

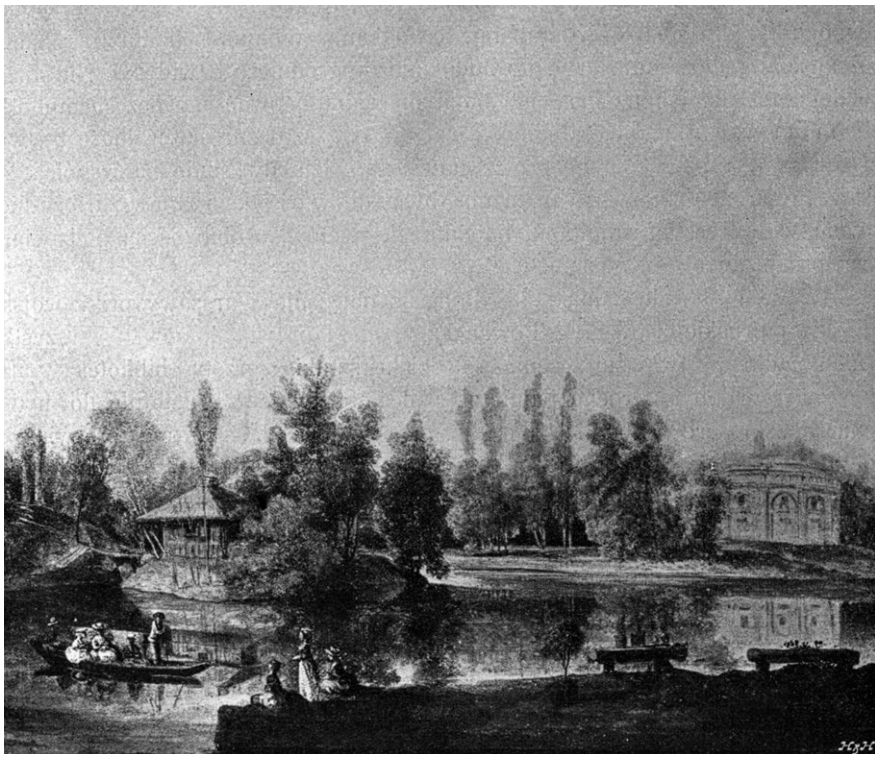

Figure 16. *View of the Amphitheatre in Powązki*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin (?)

in 1727.[192] Exceptionally again, the Powązki ruins visualized Rome in archeologically and topographically accurate detail.

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. The originals lay buried in meters of earth from successive landslides of the high escarpment of the Campidoglio, which explains the squatty proportions of the Powązki ruins, sitting in mounds of earth, with scattered architec-

192 Batty Langley, *New Principles of Gardening or, The Laying Out and Planting Parterres, Groves, Wildernesses, Labyrinths, Avenues, Parks, &c. After a More Grand and Rural Manner, Than Has Been Done Before* (London: A. Bettesworth, 1727).

tural pieces around and with the nearby sublime enclosure arranged with boulders and fallen trees.

The second Roman landmark was the Theater of Marcellus (fig. 16). 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 theater and contained lodgings; thus, 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 traveled 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 Adam Jerzy 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.[193] 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.

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.[194] Martial's epigrams proved a popular source of references for writers and illustrators of Rome's antiquities, as was Giuseppe Vasi's widely collected *Delle magnificenze di Roma*, published from 1747 to 1761. One of Vasi's most accomplished compositions was a view of the Forum, presenting the half-buried arch of Septimius Severus, the solitary column, and the barely visible Temple of Vespasian and Titus buried deeply in rubble, of which he made in two versions.[195] Adam Kazimierz acquired a large

193 Izabela Czartoryska, *Listy księżny Izabelli z hr. Flemmingów Czartoryskiej do starszego syna księcia Adama* (Cracow: G. Gebethner i Spółka, 1891), 41, 45, 50, 52, 54.

194 Marcus Valerius Martialis, *Marka Valeryusza Marcyalisa xięga widoków rzymskich Domicyana cesarza; tudzież epigrammata wybrane z xiąg iego XII* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Litteratów [...], 1766). First edition 1759.

195 Giuseppe Vasi and Giuseppe Bianchini, *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna... dedicate alla sacra Real Maestà di Carlo: infante di Spagna rè delle Due Sicilie* (Rome: Chracas, 1747–61); Luisa Scalabroni, *Giuseppe Vasi (1710– 1782)* (Rome: Multigrafica editrice, 1981), pl. 374, 375. James Tice and James G. Harper, *Giuseppe Vasi's Rome:*

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 the Roman ruins.[196]

By the 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 the 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 then known.[197] The views reiterated what many travelers had recorded in their memoirs: a melancholy meditation on the passing of civilizations. In the place where the 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 (fig. 17). 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.[198]

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lasting impressions from the age of the Grand Tour (Eugene, OR: Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, 2010).

196 I thank Ewa Czepiel for this information. Giambattista Piranesi, "Illustrations de Antichita Romanae" (1748). Cara D. and others Denison, *Exploring Rome: Piranesi and his contemporaries*. (New York; Cambridge, MA: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1993).

197 For August Moszyński's impressions of the Campo Vaccino and the Theatre of Marcellus see: August Moszyński, *Dziennik podróży do Francji i Włoch* (Cracow: WLK, 1970), 250–51, 338–39. Moszyński travelled with a guidebook to Rome written by Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande, *Voyage d'un François en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 & 1766* (Venice: Desaint, 1769), vol.5, 207.

198 I.Cz. to M.W., 19 April 1784, BCz 6137.

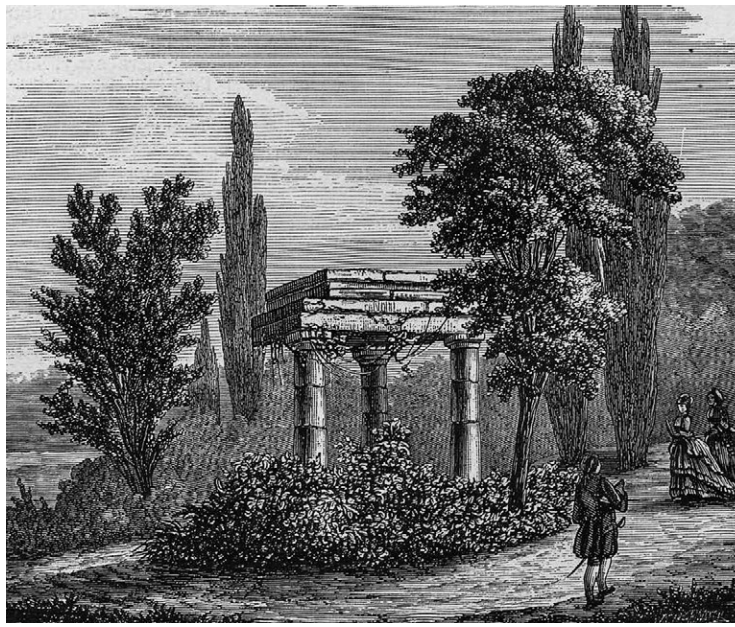

FIGURE 17. *Temple of Jove Tonante at Powązki*, after Maria Wirtemberska

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 Theater of Marcellus with shrubs, large poplars, and pines in a manner which most resembles Gessnerian illustrations, with their festoons of vines and roses and blossoming shrubs.

Poland's greatness had passed, and 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.[199]

199 Trembecki, "Powązki," *Dzieła poetyckie Stanisława Trembeckiego* vol. 1, 39.

In Trembecki's 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.[200] Although Trembecki could read the meaningful aspect 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, townspeople, and the neighborhood peasants. Norblin depicted the well-attended fireworks display at Powązki in 1792. The visitors were afterward able to roam the garden and see the structures.

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 the ruins in the background, nor at the large amphitheater, which unmistakably announced the primacy of theater 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 drawing (fig. 18).

It is important to recall that these open-air theaters, or *sub Jove* as they were called, were connected to the ancient tradition of equality. Juvenal and Ovid lamented the construction of the Theater of Marcellus, for there would be no more mixing of the high and low, adults and

200 Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives in Six Volumes: Translated from the Greek. With Notes, Explanatory and Critical, from Dacier and Others. To Which Is Prefix'd the Life of Plutarch, Written by Dryden*. 6 vols. (London: J. and R. Tonsond, 1758), vol. 5, 192–93.



FIGURE 18. *Pavilion in Powązki*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin (?) drawing, n.d.

children, and that the 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 theaters as makeshift wooden constructions and recalled that when Pompey the Great built the first stone amphitheater, 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 the present occasion and in ancient times standing only on the ground."[201] The Powązki theatre *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, but they also played the spectators, Republican Romans sitting together on grass in communal equality.

201 Basil Kennett, *Romae antiquae notitia: or the antiquities of Rome...,* (London: C. Bathurst 1769), 43–44.

This Republican *exposé* should be seen in opposition to the visual program promoted by the king. According to Jerzy Axer, the decorations of the public rooms in the Warsaw Castle—the Senatorial Antechamber (*Sala Rycerska*) and the Throne Room (*Sala Tronowa*)—developed the king's image as a new Octavian Augustus, whose reform program aimed at transforming the Polish republic into a constitutional monarchy, a new Imperial Rome.[202]

Tableau vivant

One of the performances in the open-air theater in Powązki was called *Pokój Chocimski* [The peace of Chocim/Khotyn].[203] This was not quite a play but more of a pageant, a sequence of composed "living pictures" with gestures and possibly music and words. Its title suggests a 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 on one side and the Ottoman pasha on the other, both backed by their own large followings.[204] The display must have dazzled with costumes, horses, banners, and armor, perhaps even a splendid procession, one of those sketched by Norblin during the Czartoryski journey to the eastern borders of Poland in 1783 or the one which dazzled Warsaw in 1777 when the Turkish embassy, complete with camels, arrived at the Royal Castle.[205] *Pokój Chocimski* visualized ideas essential for the Czartoryskis in order to establish themselves as patriotic leaders. One of the partici-

202 Jerzy Axer, "Stanisław August jako Oktawian August. Funkcja inskrypcji łacińskich w programie politycznym króla," in Łacina *jako język elit*, ed. Jerzy Axer (Warsaw: OBTA, DiG, 2004), 251–58. See also: Butterwick, *Polska Rewolucja,* 229.

203 No precise date can be assigned to this performance.

204 Czartoryski, *Pamiętniki i memoriały polityczne 1776– 1809*, 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—Baciarrelli's model—as Astronomy). Kwiatkowski, *Stanisław August*, 176–83.

205 Anna Berdecka and Irena Turnau, *Życie codzienne w Warszawie okresu okresu Oświecenia* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1969), 288.

pating 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 armor 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.[206]

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 foreign examples."[207] 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.[208]

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206 The play *Kantata w dzień inauguraci statui króla Jana III, dnia 14 września roku 1788* was written by Adam Naruszewicz with music by Maciej Kamieński, 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: Irena Kadulska, ed., *Teatr jezuicki w XVIII i XIX wieku w Polsce* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1997), 21, 40, 42.

207 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.

208 Czartoryski, *Panna na wydaniu: komedya we dwóch aktach*, 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 center for patriotic visualization, gathering the citizens and sitting them down together on the lawn in the open-air theater like virtuous Romans. But the format of the display did not take on the traditional format of a tragedy but that of 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 theater 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 preeminent, and the space of the garden and the theater 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 theater. 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.[209] 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 Kazim-

209 Karl Heinrich von Heyking, "Wspomnienia z ostatnich lat Polski i Kurlandii, 1752– 1796," in *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, ed. Wacław Zawadzki, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1963), 62–63.

ierz wrote of the negative influence of the aristocratic houses on middling nobility, he must have excluded himself:

> I divide the houses in Poland into two classes: those of the aristocracy and those 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 the disregard of everything .... The contagion moves from these houses to the nobles, from the capital to the villages.[210]

His own house, however, shone with the edifying example of Izabela, who, if one were to believe a moralizing article printed in the February 1785 issue of *Monitor*, organized unusual gatherings at her Powązki residence.[211] The article has not been discussed in the literature, though its content is nothing if not a revelation of Izabela's methods of reaching out to a wide audience. It was entitled *The Presentation of Society from Powązki Hall*, and in its content it paraphrased Juvenal's *Third Satire on Rome*. The anonymous author took from the *Satire* a motto: *Quid Romae faciam?... Mentiri nescio*...[What can I do in Rome? I cannot lie] and pressed the message of a corrupt Rome—in this case, Warsaw. An old soldier advised a young man to leave Warsaw and "go to the country and sow buckwheat," essentially to make an honorable living as a farmer.[212] 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

210 Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, *Listy JMci Pana Doświadczyńskiego. II. O edukacyi córek*, 11, quoted after Czartoryski, *Komedie*, 57.

211 *Monitor*, no. 16, 23 February 1785, "Prezentacja towarzystwa z sali Powązkowej", in Aleksandrowska, *Monitor*, 575–82.

212 George Gilbert Ramsay, ed., *Juvenal and Persius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969).

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 those which need to be observed for the benefit of order in society."[213]

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 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 *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, at a feast given in honor of her dependents and farmers.[214] Rousseau remarked that Julie's farm workers would once "have borne arms and known 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 a play of social cohesion. They were exposed to ideas of a high-minded 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, *Pyszнoskąpski* and *Kawa*, written in 1777 and 1779, respectively. Rather than criticizing the vices of the provincial nobility, he satirized the ruinous lifestyles of social climbers and concentrated on the promotion of attachment to the land, conscientious public service, and improvement of character. The small, country domain was now framed as the preserve of old traditional values within a reemerging "Sarmatian" identity.

As in Czartoryski's theory of tragedy, the "Sarmatian" ethos moved towards its seventeenth-century imaginings, safely removed into a dis-

213 Aleksandrowska, ed., *Monitor,* 575–76.
214 Rousseau, *Julie, or, the New Heloise*, 498. Letter VII, part V.

tant 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 of "enlightened Sarmatism" in their cultural patronage.[215] Here, in Powązki, they showed themselves as the cocreators of a *neo-sarmatyzm*, a Romanized and romanticized version of the traditional culture. They would later promote a similar attitude at Puławy.[216]

Rousseau's "Spectacles"

That mixed company of enlightened Sarmatians appeared in reality at Powązki as well. There were market fairs—Czartoryska's favorite 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 real itinerant travelers, 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 *panneaux* in the Czartoryski Museum give a good impression of the scale of these fairs (fig. 19).

The fairs had no narrative; they could not therefore be 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 setup positioned the market fairs in the convention of *tableaux vivants*. Czartoryska's enjoyment of these fairs suggests their particular relevance for her program of social visualizations, which privileged scenes based in the most common, real, and unstaged situations. The public seemed to

215 Karpowicz, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu*, 183.
216 Zamoyski, *The Last King*, 282.



Figure 19. Fair in the Park with Czartoryska, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, gouache, ink on paper, 1787

have enjoyed the exchanging of their titles and their public personas for the communal unity of a market in an atmosphere of relaxed play.

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*.[217] D'Alembert was convinced of the beneficial influence of the theater on society, especially when it promoted the rise "of taste and delicate feeling [and] learning without encouraging libertinism." Through their combined effects, he forecast that "Geneva would become the center of Spartan wisdom and Athenian urbanity."

Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski shared these ideas and developed them in his introductory essays to the plays *Panna na wydaniu* and *Kawa*. Rousseau, however, condemned theater as desensitizing and mollifying and the source of social indifference. He offered a comprehensive critique not just of the theater, but of the theatricality of all social relationships. For him, acting in the social sphere starts once people become

217 The article *Genève* appeared in December 1757. For useful analysis of Rousseau's *Letter* see: Margaret Kohn, "Homo Spectator: Public Space in the Age of the Spectacle," *Philosophy and Social Criticism,* 34, no. 5 (2008): 467–86; David Marshall, "Rousseau and the State of Theater," *Representations* (1986), 84–114.

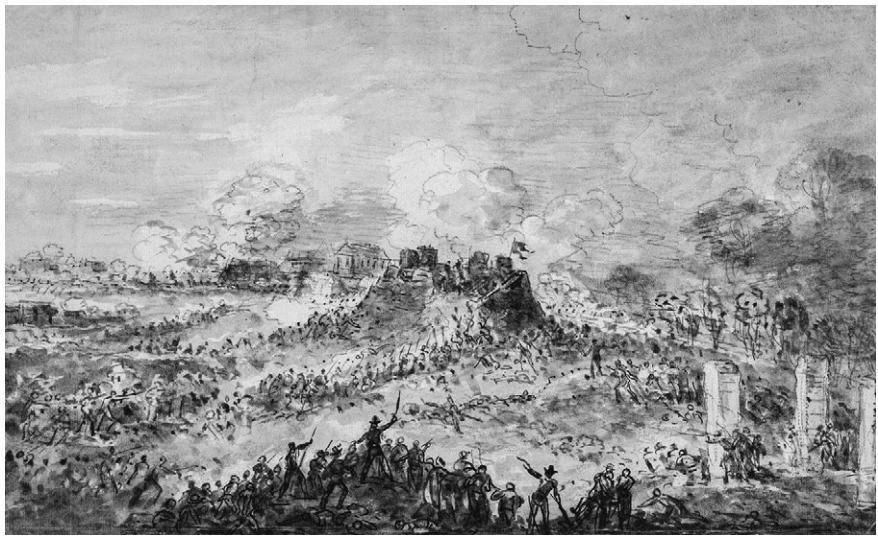

FIGURE 20. *Battle of Powązki, Skalszczyzna the defensive earthwork*, Jean Pierre Norblin, 1794, MNK. The white chimneys in the foreground show the burned village while Czartoryska's house remains standing on the hill in the background.

aware of the value of public appreciation and begin to perform those qualities which will advance their worth in the eyes of others. The desire to satisfy *amour propre*, self-worth in the eyes of others, is an inborn human trait and, though undesirable, is unavoidable. Rousseau proposed a new type of performance, one which would place *amour propre* in the open, so that people would present themselves as they really are; they would become actors and spectators simultaneously. He advised that people "erect a maypole in the middle of a square and crown it with flowers, and [that] this shall be called a festival." There, under the scrutiny of the assembled citizens, the community would perform their dances and games, but devoid of any narrative—"Wherever liberty and affluence reign, there is the seat of true happiness." The purpose of these unscripted though supervised festivals of community would be "to feast on the contemplation of your happiness."[218] These festivals would be

218 All quotes from *A letter from M. Rousseau*, 172.

an opportunity for conscious self-presentations, acknowledged by others in the arranged communal settings of marketplaces or country fairs.

In Rousseau's perspective, Powązki would therefore be 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.

Summers in Powązki continued intermittently, but Czartoryska's attention turned to Puławy as a political center. On August 28, 1794, in the war with Prussia, Powązki was completely destroyed when generals Jan Henryk Dabrowski and Tadeusz Kosciuszko dug defensive earthworks through the oasis, which provided the basis for a victorious battle (fig. 20). Soon after, the Czartoryskis sold the property. The white chimneys in the foreground show the burned village while Czartoryska's house remains standing on the hill in the background.

PART III

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 self-portrait, which was meant to redress the balance between her private persona and public perceptions. The sketch entitled "To Friendship" was intended to be a true image and, at the same time, a confession of shortcomings, all entrusted to the forgiving nature of 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 defense, 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 tal-

> ent for showing my qualities and never had a woman more subtle charm. [1]

The 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*.[2] The eighteenth-century preoccupation with *amour propre* gained so much currency that it became a lens through which to conduct public self-expression. With the frequent use of the expression in her private correspondence, Czartoryska acknowledged the multiple limitations it placed on the projection of an accurate image of herself. Therefore, in the second part of her self-portrait, she moved on to the examination of 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 a 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 eloquent paragraph:

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

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1 This and all subsequent quotations are from: Zaleski, Żywot *księcia Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego.* vol. 1, 158– 161. Fety, jarmarki i armour propre," in *Słynne kobiety w Rzeczpospolitej XVIII wieku"*, ed. Magdalena Górska and Agata Roćko (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences, Museum of King Jan III in Wilanów and the Polish Society of Eighteenth Century Studies, 2017), 259–74.

2 Michael Locke McLendon, "Rousseau, amour propre, and intellectual celebrity," *Journal of Politics*, 71 (2009), 2, 506–519.

This affirmation reveals how strongly her sense of identity and belonging were grounded in personal emotion. Emotion needs to be seen as the ethical validation for her public actions.

Acting technique

We have a first-hand account on Czartoryska's acting, left by Wiridianna Fiszerowa, the provincial noblewoman and the spirited diarist from Great Poland, whose mother "protected" her from the ill effects of the exposure to the culture of politeness at the court of Barbara Sanguszko.[3]

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 the 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."[4]

Let us consider these observations by Fiszerowa on the enchantment Czartoryska worked in the salons:

> 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. At 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 skillfully to play only small preludes and left the audi-

3 See Chapter 8 'The Salon'.
4 Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych*, 120.

> ence to imagine something more than what she had revealed. She never allowed the performance to completely play out but would quickly alter the tonality, from a well-chosen but already articulated one to one that was different. It was as difficult to guess her reactions as to emulate them.[5]

Without a doubt, Czartoryska had an autocratic air. Her entrance into a salon resembled 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 the women of her time.[6]

Czartoryska's presence had such formidable force that, according to Fiszerowa, "judging her behavior harshly, withdrawing applause would be synonymous with swimming against the current." When she condemned Izabela's pronouncements of "patriotism, heroism, or sentiment" or of later "choking on her own emotion," she was reacting to the staged, theatrical, and artificial public displays with which Czartoryska impersonated natural emotion.[7]

While Izabela's public behavior 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.

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5 Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych*, 120.

6 Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych*, 120. Armida was Czartoryska's widely used nickname denoting the Saracen sorceress from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Libertata*..

7 Fiszerowa, *Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych*, 120.

Frederick held a notoriously negative view of the destabilizing role of women in politics, and Czartoryska would certainly undermine the visual parameters of control that he had established in Berlin.[8] Nevertheless, her lively interest in the arts resulted in the award of honorary life membership (*Ehrenmitglied*) in the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin.[9]

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.[10] One of the places she visited in the spring of 1785 was Wörlitz.[11] 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 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.[12] Whether the political, federalist meanings of the garden were clear to visitors in visual terms is, however, difficult to estab-

8 See Thomas Biskup, "The Hidden Queen: Elisabeth Christine of Prussia," in *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815"*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 300–21.

9 *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.

10 I.Cz. to M.W., 2 (?) 1785, 6 (?), BCz 6136.

11 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; Ingo Pfeifer, "Osteuropäische Besucher im Luisium," in Über *Gärten im Gespräch: Wechselwirkungen zwischen Landschaftsgärten des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts in Mittel- und Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Andrea Thiele, Jana Kittelmann, Michael Niedermeier (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2023), 116–28; Ingo Pfeifer, "Duke Leopold III of Anhalt-Dessau and Ignacy Krasicki," *Studia Wilanowskie*, XXIX (2022): 375–84.

12 Maiken Umbach, *Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany, 1740–1806* (London: Hambledon, 2000), 192.

lish. Nevertheless, the garden imagery in Wörlitz worked within a historical and fictional set of associations and was open to a wide range of interpretations.[13] 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. Czartoryska later procured plants from Wörlitz for Puławy.[14]

Two buildings at Wörlitz—the synagogue modeled on the Temple of the 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.[15] 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*.[16]

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.[17] After Maria moved to Treptow and Belgard in Pomerania, where her husband was stationed, Czartoryska visited her several times.[18] 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

13 Umbach, *Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany*, 104-101-105, 126– 27, 193.

14 I.Cz. to M.W. c. 1796, BCz 6137, letter requesting a purchase of unspecified plants.

15 Ludwig Trauzettel, "Wörlitz: England in Germany." *Garden History,* 24 (1996), 221–36.

16 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, *Korespondencja*, vol. 2, 645– 46.

17 The wedding took place on 27 October 1784 in Siedlce, the residence of Aleksandra Ogińska.

18 On the disastrous marriage between Maria and Ludwig see Alina Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi do wolności. Puławy Czartoryskich na przełomie XVII i XIX wieku. Literatura i obyczaj* (Puławy: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Puław, 2011), 71–106.

"Dogrumowa affair."[19] This sorry affair, a case of attempted extortion by a small-time charlatan, had turned into a political storm and would eventually fill the sails of Izabela Czartoryska's visual performances.

In 1784, an adventuress of no standing, Maria Teresa Dogrumowa, came (not for the first time) to the court of King Stanisław August with information that Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski was planning 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, fueled 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 a way for the opposition to gain support in St. Petersburg. Married to Grigorii Potemkin's favorite niece, he was very well connected to Catherine II.[20] Another major player was 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.[21] Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski had effectively removed himself from the leadership of the "new Familia," which should 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 anyway.[22] Instead, Lubomirski's son-in-law Ignacy Potocki gradually assumed the day-to-day leadership of the Familia.

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19 Adam Danilczyk, *W kręgu afery Dogrumowej: sejm 1786 roku* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2010), 37–38.

20 Richard Butterwick, *Polska Rewolucja a Kościół katolicki*. Translated by Marek Ugniewski. (Cracow: Arcana, 2012), 226–27. Danilczyk, *W kręgu afery Dogrumowej: sejm 1786 roku*, 41.

21 Potocki, although a convinced Russophile, spoke at the 1784 sejm on the need for total independence and a strong army. Alina Aleksandrowicz, "Sejm Czteroletni i Konstytucja 3 Maja w kręgu Puław." In *Rok monarchii konstytucyjnej. Piśmiennictwo polskie lat 1791-1792 wobec Konstytucji 3 Maja*, ed. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, 195–249. (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1992), 198.

22 Danilczyk, *W kręgu afery Dogrumowej: sejm 1786 roku*, 186.

The premiere

Energized by the Dogrumowa affair during the election season before the 1786 sejm, the opposition organized crowded summits at the Potockis' Humań, the Ogińskis' Siedlce, and the Czartoryskis' Puławy.[23] The women of the opposition—Aleksandra Ogińska, Elżbieta Sapieha (Branicki's sister), and Izabela Czartoryska—took on leading roles in the campaign.[24]

In Puławy on June 14, 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.[25] 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 such as 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 by his mother's indomitable spirit, rallies the 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."[26]

Czartoryska played the main part herself. Adam Jerzy was Likanor, and 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. Altogether there were sixty perform-

23 Emanuel Rostworowski, *Sprawa aukcji wojska na tle sytuacji politycznej przed Sejmem Czteroletnim* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1957), 123.

24 Butterwick, *Polska Rewolucja a Kościół katolicki*, 227.

25 The most comprehensive account of the performance of *Matka Spartanka* is given Aleksandrowicz, "Sejm Czteroletni."

26 Aleksandrowicz, "Sejm Czteroletni," 200.

ers 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 depicted a colonnade receding to the Temple of Mars in the background, similar to the theatrical designs made by the royal architects Jan Christian Kamsetzer and Jan Bogumił Plersch for large-scale Warsaw performances.[27] 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 love of the fatherland, all in a refined taste. This truly national entertainment inspired citizens and excited their fervor."[28] Alina Aleksandrowicz interprets the play in terms of the 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 Puławy, and, drawing authority from her "country" (*państwo*), as she called her estate, she identified herself to the assembled noble nation as its guiding agency.[29]

The Spartan Mother was a performance with little action, having 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,

27 Barbara Król-Kaczorowska, *Teatr dawnej Polski. Budynki, dekoracje, kostiumy* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971), il. 15–18.

28 Aleksandrowicz, "Sejm Czteroletni," 199. Czartoryska wrote an equally eulogizing description, I.Cz.to M.W., Puławy, 14 June 1786, BCz 6137.

29 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828*, 27.

the audience participated in the creation of a communal feeling of togetherness, fueled by 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 costumes in Powązki and with static formats of display, then *Matka Spartanka* shows itself as a continuation of 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 any glory, I will say, like in Sparta: Mother, I have reached for glory because of you."[30]

Szczęsny Potocki, in the same letter in which he praised *Matka Spartanka*, announced that his entire large family would adopt Czartoryska's educational methods.[31] 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.[32] Years later, when Adam Jerzy and Konstanty 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."[33] Indeed, Repnin himself was horrified when he saw Adam Jerzy's and Konstanty's short Republican haircuts *à la Titus*; he did not let them pro-

30 Quoted after Marceli Handelsman, *Adam Czartoryski*. 4 vols. (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1948), vol. 1, 22.

31 Aleksandrowicz, "Sejm Czteroletni," 199.

32 The painting has not survived; it may have been destroyed by fire during the 1794 insurrection. Danilczyk, *W kręgu afery Dogrumowej: sejm 1786 roku*, 76.

33 Quoted after Handelsman, *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. 1, 30.



Figure 21. *Portrait of Izabela Czartoryska*, Potocka, 1803

ceed to St. Petersburg until their hair had grown.[34] Czartoryska also cut her hair in this republican style, sometimes called the *coiffure à la guillotine*. Hers is a variation called *en porc-épic*, or porcupine with spiky strands, fashionable in France in 1795-1799 (fig. 21).

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 historical examples. 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 an example for Polish women, and the Puławy poets began to build on this stylization. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa

34 Zamoyski, *The last king*, 437. The hair style was identified by Barbara König.

notes that Kniaźnin never referred to the Czartoryski women in a lighthearted or familiar manner,[35] and the same applies to many anonymous occasional tributes preserved in the Czartoryski Library. In the copious amount of 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, the Czartoryski women were depicted here 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."[36] These merits resounded in many, often anonymous verses, reflecting the successful transference of Czartoryska's identity as the "Spartan mother" onto 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 valor—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.[37]

35 Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, "Kobiety w liryce Kniaźnina." In *Kobieta epok dawych w literaturze, kulturze i społeczeństwie*, ed. Iwona Maciejewska and Krystyna Stasiewicz, 75–88 (Olsztyn: Littera, 2008), 81–85.

36 Kostkiewiczowa, "Kobiety w liryce Kniaźnina," 82–83.

37 Aleksandrowicz, "Sejm Czteroletni", 208; Roman Kaleta, "'Spartanka'. Nieznany poemat Stanisława Trembeckiego", *Oświeceni i sentymentalni. Studia nad literaturą i* życiem *w Polsce w okresie trzech rozbiorów*. Wrocław: Ossolineum 1971, 413–49.

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 the old Sarmatians and talked only about virtue, fatherland, and 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 the 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.[38]

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 delegates.[39] 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 honor of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski.[40]

After the 1786 Sejm, the Czartoryski supporters descended on Puławy to engage in an exercise of 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

38 Quoted after Rostworowski, *Sprawa aukcji wojska na tle sytuacji politycznej przed Sejmem Czteroletnim*, 125–26.
39 Danilczyk, *W kręgu afery Dogrumowej: sejm 1786 roku*, 98–101.
40 Rostworowski, *Sprawa aukcji wojska na tle sytuacji politycznej przed Sejmem Czteroletnim*, 122.

one of their principal activists, someone 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 traveled to Paris in 1787, where she met with Marie-Antoinette.[41] She returned to continue the preparations for the sejmiks of 1788.[42] In July 1788, she hosted a summit of the opposition leaders in Puławy 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 her 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. The methods for influencing the nobles consisted of an ardent appeal to patriotism as well as a massive buyout of votes and intimidation.[43] 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 of his activities to her.[44] Piattoli presented the plan first to Czartoryska and afterwards to Hetman Rzewuski and wrote that "*tota incumbit Respublica*" (the whole republic rests) with these two. In his complimentary zeal, he further placed Czartoryska figuratively in the company of the women who liberated Rome from the "tyrants."[45]

41 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.

42 Jerzy Michalski, "Sejmiki poselskie 1788 roku." In "Sejmiki poselskie 1788 roku," in *Studia historyczne z XVIII i XIX wieku*, ed. Jerzy Michalski, Michalski, 217–84 (Warsaw: Stentor, 2007), 293.

43 Michalski, "Sejmiki poselskie 1788 roku," 223.

44 The other three were to be Szczęsny and Ignacy Potocki, and Branicki. Rostworowski, *Sprawa aukcji wojska na tle sytuacji politycznej przed Sejmem Czteroletnim*, 205–206.

45 Rostworowski, *Sprawa aukcji wojska*, 209.

In the provinces, Czartoryska performed the role of national liberator not in Roman or Greek dress, but in the traditional Polish 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 on him the necessity of wearing the traditional "Sarmatian" overcoat and behaving with all the markers of 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 and talkative, if you are good-humored and well-dressed, if you embrace one person and tell something to another, then you will win over them all.[46]

Historian 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.[47] 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 an anti-royal opposition, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski donned Polish costume to win 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 values of the national costume in his comedy *Kawa* in 1779.[48]

Costumes for the Great Sejm

The *kontusz*, that visual connection to "Sarmatian" values, was ubiquitous during the last royal election in 1764, when all the Czartoryskis wore traditional dress. The matter of the national costume took on a new urgency in August 1788, when some sejmiks demanded that all those

46 Rostworowski, *Sprawa aukcji wojska*, 126.
47 Rostworowski, *Sprawa aukcji wojska*, 126.
48 Michalski, "„Warsaw" czyli o antystołecznych nastrojach w czasach Stanisława Augusta," 85–86.

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.[49] 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, addressing her as "the princess, the dear Spartan … who most diligently attended to it in the absence of the prince."[50]

On October 6, 1788, the Sejm began its sessions in an atmosphere of exhilaration and patriotic fervor, 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.[51] Many delegates to the sejm, especially among the opposition, arrived at the debates in national costume.[52] 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 October 20, 1788, the Sejm acclaimed an increase of the army to one hundred thousand men. On November 27, 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 pal-

49 Quoted after: Jerzy Michalski, "Sarmatyzm a europeizacja Polski w XVIII wieku," in *Studia historyczne z XVIII i XIX wieku,* 7–36 (Warsaw: Stentor, 2007), 26.

50 Quoted after: Michalski, "Sejmiki poselskie 1788 roku," 239.

51 The standard history of the Sejm, fiercely critical of Izabela's role, remains Walerian Kalinka's *Sejm Czteroletni*. On literary ephemera see Maksimowicz, *Wiersze polityczne Sejmu Czteroletniego. Część pierwsza 1788–1789*, 11–20.

52 Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, *Polski wiek* świateł*: obszary swoistości* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002), 50.

ace, she cut Sapieha's long hair to fanfares played on drums and horns.[53] 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.[54] 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."[55]

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 than during the previous debate in the 1760s. If the theater of that time had promoted the improvement of manners by satirizing the dress of the provincial nobility—the *szlachta kontuszowa*—the division "according to wardrobe" very quickly turned in favor 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.[56] In the 1780s, the public presence of the national costume was a 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 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 distinctive figure in Czartoryska's gardens. In humorous verses, Kniaźnin praised the nobleman's moustache as a traditional attribute of a handsome hero, of his victories in the field, and of his conquests

53 "Książę Marszałek Sapieha przebierający się po polsku," in Maksimowicz, *Wiersze polityczne Sejmu Czteroletniego. Część pierwsza 1788–1789*, 65. See also: Urszula Tarnowska, *Wspomnienia damy polskiej z XVIII wieku*, ed. W. Tarnowski. Archiwum Wróblewieckie 1. (Poznań: J. I. Kraszewski, 1869), vol. 1, 16.

54 As in the poems "Hej panowie moi mili" and "Kontusz" Maksimowicz, *Wiersze polityczne Sejmu Czteroletniego 1788–1789*, 67–72.

55 Maksimowicz, *Wiersze polityczne Sejmu Czteroletniego 1788–1789*, 65.

56 For the seminal evaluation of the *frak* and *kontusz* discourse see Kostkiewiczowa, *Polski wiek świateł*, 46–54.

over the fairer sex. *Oda do wąsów* was published in a collected volume of Kniaźnin's poetry in 1787, but it was already widely known in print in no less than three versions by then.

During the Great Sejm, the rhetoric of costume continued in a plethora of ephemeral writings, and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz advanced the reform program of the patriotic party by skillfully referring to the *kontusz* in his comedy *Powrót Posła* of 1790. 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 a patriotic Polish woman. She took on the leading part in the name day celebrations for the marshal of the Sejm, Stanisław Małachowski, on May 14, 1789.[57] 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.[58] The poem, written either by her or by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, contained motifs of commemoration which were later important in Puławy—transmitting 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 a place of honor in the temple and opened a 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 a 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, then the Palace of the Commonwealth, illuminated for the occasion with twenty-three thousand lights. Four thousand inhabitants of Warsaw ad-

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

58 For the poem Czartoryska recited see: "Od Polek do Marszałka Sejmowego i Konfederacji Koronnej przy publicznym obchodzie święta jego." Krystyna Maksimowicz assignes the authorship to Niemcewicz, in: Maksimowicz, *Wiersze polityczne Sejmu Czteroletniego 1788–1789*, 276.

mired the centerpiece of the decorations—a triumphal arch designed by the royal architect Dominik Merlini, on which the two painted panneaux on either side 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; the other showed the marshal supporting "fragile liberty" as Izabela described it.[59] 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 delegates 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 the royalists, led by Izabela's cousin, Primate Michał Poniatowski, and has never met with approval by historians.[60] 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.[61]

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

59 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 17 May 1789, BCz 6137.

60 Kalinka, *Sejm Czteroletni*, vol. 1, 202–207; Rostworowski, *Ostatni król Rzeczypospolitej. Geneza i upadek Konstytucji 3 maja*, 170; Butterwick, *Polska Rewolucja a Kościół katolicki*, 294–96.

61 *Zagadki Sejmu Czteroletniego*, ed. Bernard Krakowski, Edmund Rabowicz and Jerzy Kowecki (Warsaw: Kancelaria Sejmu, 1996), 100, 137, 163, 164, 187. Cf. Aleksandrowicz, "Sejm Czteroletni," 223.

been eliminated.[62] By the spring of 1789, it seemed to Adam Kazimierz that Izabela's strident and divisive theatricality had lost him more support than it had gained.[63] As the first feelers were made that summer between the opposition leaders and the monarch,[64] 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.

62 Jerzy, Michalski, "Opozycja magnacka i jej cele w początkach Sejmu Czteroletniego." In *Sejm Czteroletni i jego tradycje*, ed. Jerzy Kowecki, 50–62. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1991).

63 See *Zagadki Sejmu Czteroletniego.* An anonymous satire accused her of inflaming the nation to revel with her and for her.

64 Rostworowski, *Ostatni król Rzeczypospolitej. Geneza i upadek Konstytucji 3 maja*, 168–173. Butterwick, *Polska Rewolucja a Kościół katolicki*, 460–463.

PART IV

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."[1] In May 1789, Warsaw was already full of gossip and speculation about the purpose of Czartoryska's journey to England.[2] 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 for the position to which he had been born."[3]

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:

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1 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.

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

3 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, 53. For discussion of the journey to England and Scotland see: Zofia Gołębiowska, "Podróż Izabeli i Adama Jerzego Czartoryskich do Wielkiej Brytanii (1789–1791)", *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, Sectio FF Philologiae* 38–39, no. 8, (1984): 129–45.

> 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 herself in all her beauty.[4]

The association of charming prospects with freedoms and liberal government did not reflect the views of Adam Kazimierz alone. By 1790, that connection had taken firm root in English and French writing on gardens.[5] There was no reason for Czartoryska to expect anything other than 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 dependent peasants, and gardening were reflected onto the Polish context and were found wanting. 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 reform. 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 fit her well-established preferences.

English malady

Izabela, Adam Jerzy, and their small entourage left Poland on September 26, 1789.[6] A melancholy mood descended almost immediately, and Izabela acutely longed to be back at home. During the progress through

4 Agnieszka Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu. Dziennik podróży Izabeli Czartoryskiej po Anglii i Szkocji." In *Ogród puławski w czasach księżny Izabeli oraz perspektywy jego zachowania przy zmianie funkcji,* ed. Adam Wołk (Puławy: Fundacja Wspierania Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego, Instytut Uprawy Nawożenia i Gleboznawstwa, 1999), 36.

5 For the association of gardens with liberty and national characteristics see H.-J. Müllenbrock, "The 'Englishness' of the English landscape garden and the generic role of literature: a reassessment," *Journal of Garden History*, 8 (1988), 97–103.

6 They travelled with Major Sebastian Orłowski, Franciszek Kozłowski, both from the Czartoryski court, her maid Konstancja and Kazio, Izabela's favourite young Cossack servant.

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 and her portrait and later added to them Rousseau's botanical specimens and his chair.[7] 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.[8] In Paris, Czartoryska 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.[9]

The company of Polish travelers finally arrived in London on January 10, 1790. Czartoryska very quickly set up a learning routine for herself in London, taking English, music, and embroidery lessons.[10] The theater scene, however, proved disappointing.[11] Izabela was particularly frustrated that Sarah Siddons was not performing for most of the year. When Siddons returned to the stage on December 7, 1790, she enthralled the audiences only six times that season, and Czartoryska wrote personally to her requesting a ticket.[12] There is no doubt that Czartoryska would have found things in common with this famous actress, who brought the sense of theatrical sensibility into presentations

7 "Katalog pamiątek złożonych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach," BCz II-2917, vol. 2, 181. On the time in Switzerland see: Alina Aleksandrowicz, "Dwór Czartoryskich na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku", *Annales Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej*, Sectio FF Philologiae 8, no. 2 (1990): 21–37; 24–25.

8 Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*, 145. Eadem, "Odkrycie nowej natury'.

9 I.Cz.to K.D., 24 December (1790), BCz 6107, no 21; I.Cz. to M.W., Paris, 4 January 1790, BCz 6137.

10 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: Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, 55–56.

11 I.Cz. to K.D., 18 January 1790, London, BCz 6107, no. 10.

12 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. Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, 116.

of womanhood in the public sphere and increased the respectability of her profession.[13]

Invitations to balls flowed in, and Izabela was in demand, but she found the society "devastatingly boring, cold, and monotonous."[14] 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.[15]

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 accus-

13 In the Gothic House she displayed a letter from Siddons. I.Cz. to K.D., 4 June 1790, London, BCz 6107, no. 14. See Gołębiowska, *W kręgu*, 56. Shearer West, "The public and private roles of Sarah Siddons." In *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and her Portraitists*, ed. Robyn Asleson, 1–40 (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999), 1–5.

14 Konstancja accompanied Maria Wirtemberska to Belgard and Treptow in Pomerania in the first year of Maria's marriage. Konstancja and her husband Józef Dembowski settled near Puławy in Pożóg and then in 1798 Bronice and Klementowice. Leon Dembowski, *Moje wspomnienia*. Petersburg: K. Grendyszyński, 1898, vol. 1, 9–14; Jan Pachoński, Jan Zbigniew, "Dembowski Józef," in *PSB* vol. 5, 92–93. On the correspondence with Lavater see: Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, 57.

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

> tom myself to: the climate and the people. One is humid to the extreme, and the other is unspeakably cold; one is bad for my health, and the other is damaging to my soul.[16]

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

> 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 humor. 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.[17]

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."[18] The feeling preceded her arrival; she wrote that in England she would be "of no interest to anyone" and would be "far from all that gives interest to life."[19] 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.[20] Still, she considered her absence as a necessary development, even as a sacrifice on her part in the interest of the country.[21]

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16 I.Cz. to K.D., London, 3 April 1790, BCz 6107, f. 24. I.Cz. to M.W., 26 March 1790, 10–11 October, London, BCz 6137.
17 I.Cz. to K.D., London, 25 May 1790, London, BCz 6107, f. 26.
18 I.Cz. to K.D., London, 4 June 1790, BCz 6107, no. 14.
19 I.Cz.to M.W., Vienna, 6 October (1789), BCz 6137.
20 I.Cz. to K.D., 6 June 1790, London, BCz 6107, no.14.
21 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.[22] 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 (fig. 22).

Czartoryska, very thin and dressed in a semi-medieval gown, touches a classical marble, resembling a sarcophagus. Beside her 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.[23] Richard Cosway, Maria's husband, a highly respected miniature painter, adapted the portrait for an engraving, which was executed by Gaetano Testolini. The engraving became an official image for Czartoryska, and she used it for decades as a parting gift for her guests.[24]

Frances Jersey invited Czartoryska to spend a week at her home at Middleton. In Lady Jersey, Izabela found a companion with whom she could relate.[25] 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

22 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 artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej 1736-1816*. 22-23, 64–65.

23 I.Cz. to K.D., London, 3 April 1790, BCz 6107, f. 22.

24 Angela Sołtys, *Opat z San Michele: Grand Tour prymasa Poniatowskiego i jego kolekcje* (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski, 2008), 127–28.

25 I.Cz. to M.W., n.d., Middleton, BCz 6137. Czartoryska later placed letters from Lady Jersey in the Gothic House, "Katalog Domu Gotyckiego," BCz II-2917, vol. 2, f. 570.



Figure 22. *Portrait of Izabela Czartoryska*, by Maria Cecilia Cosway, 1790

this style which is new here and which pleases them."[26] She painted the interior of a pavilion in the park with arabesques and placed an altar to friendship there, which most probably 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 the beauty of Iz-

26 I.Cz. to M.W., n.d., Middleton, BCz 6137.

abela's painting, comparable to a Raphael, and with the realization of its inevitable destruction.[27]

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.[28]

There she sat under the willow, meditated on the poet's spirit, wept, was moved by sensations, and then drew consolation from the reveries on his poetry. However, when she made public this pensive attitude, she found to her dismay that the London salons considered her emotionalism "an excellent joke."[29] 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.[30] 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.[31]

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 also succeeded in

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

28 On the state of the Pope's grotto at the time of Czartoryska's visit see: Anthony Beckles Willson, "Alexander Pope's Grotto in Twickenham", *Garden History,* 28 (1998), 31–59.

29 I.Cz. to M.W., London, 26 May 1790, BCz 6137.

30 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.

31 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.

hiring James Savage, an "excellent" gardener skilled in cultivating foreign plants, to come to Puławy for three years.[32] 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 June 6, 1790.[33] Czartoryska sent instructions ahead for Savage's reception, rightly anxious about the resentment the new gardener might cause, especially since 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 patching things 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.[34]

It is not, however, possible to say exactly which London nursery Savage came from or where he did his apprenticeship.[35] Although Savage's horticultural expertise was supposedly the main reason for bringing him to Poland, his contract, drafted in London on March 19, 1790, states in the very first point that he would trace or design a fashionable

32 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, 86, gives his full name as James Philip Savage.

33 I.Cz. to M.W., London, 16 April 1790, BCz 6137. "I have engaged him just as I had arrived, for three years," I.Cz. to K.D., London, 4 June 1790, London, BCz 6107, no.13.

34 I.Cz. to K.D., London, 4 June 1790, BCz 6107, no.13.

35 Linnaeus's *Philosophia Botanica* was translated by James Lee, an owner of the Vineyard Nursery in Hammersmith See: E. J. Willson, *West London nursery gardens: the nursery gardens of Chelsea, Fulham, Hammersmith, Kensington and a Part of Westminster, founded before 1900* (London: Fulham and Hammersmith Historical Society, 1982), 8–58; idem, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery, Hammersmith* (London: Hammersmith Local History Group, 1961), 38, 47.

pleasure garden in the English style.[36] 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* by Linnaeus.[37] The opportunity to spend time in Poland would have been quite advantageous for the young gardener, who was probably of Irish extraction.[38] He was to be paid seventy pounds a year, three times more than nursery wages in London.[39] In Polish terms, this would translate into 2800 złotys per annum. By contrast, the Puławy gardener Popp received half that amount, 1266 złotys 20 groszy yearly.[40] Savage would also have full board, lodgings, candles, and fire; free passage to Poland and back whenever necessary; and 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 to reward him well if she was satisfied. His first assignment was to make a *boulingrin* [bowling green] *à l'angloise* in front of the palace of Marynki, lay a path, and sow the grass around. As far as Czartoryska was concerned, "nothing could be easier."[41] The English were, after all, renowned specialists in laying out turf.

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36 "Agreement made between Her Highness the Princess Czartoryska and Mr. James Savage, London 19 March 1790'. Contract drawn in English. "Ogród Puławski," BCz 6027.

37 Carl Linnaeus, *An Introduction to Botany. Containing an Explanation of the Theory of that Science.* London: J. F. and C. Rivington, 1788. Inscription inside: Jos. Savage 1790. BCz 55213 II.

38 According to George Burnett, who visited Puławy in 1807, Savage was "an Englishman—who is an Irishman." George Burnett, *View of the present state of Poland* (London: Longman, 1807), 191.

39 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, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery*, 15.

40 Popp received this sum from 1777 yearly, BCz Ew.480, 489, 492.

41 I.Cz. to M.W., Manchester, 17 August 1790, BCz 6137.

"Tour through England"

The Czartoryskis' keenly anticipated tour of the English and Scottish countryside began on June 9 and lasted until August 28, 1790. The traveling party of four—Izabela, Adam Jerzy, his then tutor L'Huillier, and his former tutor Richard d'Oraison—crossed three thousand kilometers and visited industrial sites as well as over thirty gardens and places known for their picturesque locations.[42] Notable omissions from the list of visited gardens were 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.[43]

It was a journey rich in experiences. The travelers found it highly rewarding despite the exceptionally wet summer, crowded inns, unpleasant innkeepers, and dishonest guides. Both Adam Jerzy and Izabela kept diaries of their travels. His account is lost; hers, written mostly in French but entitled in English *Tour through England*, is a pacy, personal *aide-mémoire*.[44] Izabela intended to develop these notes into an ordered and evocative record, but the project remained unfinished.[45]

During the tour, Adam Jerzy introduced himself as a future leading statesman of Poland to all the most important personalities of Brit-

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42 On their travels see: Whelan, "Czuła w krajobrazie postępu. Dziennik podróży Izabeli Czartoryskiej po Anglii i Szkocji."; Aleksandrowicz, "Odkrycie nowej natury'; Eadem, "Figura kamienia w kulturze polskiej przełomu XVIII i XIX wieku (nieznana podróż Izabeli Czartoryskiej)", *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, 31 (1991), 213–28; Zdzisław Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich (*Świątynia *Sybilli i Dom Gotycki).* Idem, "Szkockie inspiracje ogrodowe Izabeli Czartoryskiej." In *Sztuka a natura,* materiały XXXVIII Sesji Naukowej Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, ed. Ewa Chojecka (Katowice: Oddział Górnośląski Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki 1991), 321–28.

43 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu*, 56–57, 66–67.

44 I.Cz, "Tour through England," BCz 6066, written in French with fragments in Polish and English.

45 Izabela Czartoryska, neé Flemming, *Tour Through England. Diary of the journey around England and Scotland in 1790*, edited with an introductory essay by Agnieszka Whelan, "In Search of Delightful Prospects, Industry and Good Government." Translation of the diary by Agnieszka Whelan and Zdzisław Żygulski jnr. Issued in English. (Warsaw: Tako and Polish Institute for World Art Studies, 2015).

ish 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 gathering 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 they visited a soap factory belonging to James Keir; and at Bradley they inspected a forge of Thomas 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 of traveling, only two weeks were devoted to industrial inquiries; for the rest of the time, the travelers visited gardens and residences. The focus on designed landscapes (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 well-frequented route with established inns, post houses, and a network of guides. We do not know if the travelers took with them a "Claude glass"[46] or Gilpin's guides to picturesque viewing, but five titles of Gilpin's works in later editions (from 1792-1794) found their way

46 A "Claude glass' was a dark convex mirror first used by Claude Lorrain, an indispensable tool for landscape connoisseurs and artists, who could abstract encountered views into painterly compositions. Cf. Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1989), 67–73.

into the Czartoryski library.[47] The volumes provided tourists with a manner of selecting 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 experiences awaiting the discerning traveler. 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.[48]

"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 the legs of her husband while the children played on the side of a stream—both "living pictures."[49] Both were honest, straightforward depictions of the reality of the rural poor—these were indeed seemingly happy families, devoted to each other, caught in a moment of repose.

The first garden they encountered, 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.[50]

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47 "Skazówka Biblioteki Puławskiej obejmująca same książki obce," BCz Ew. XVII 2461. On the readership of Gilpin see: Francesca Orestano, "The Revd. William Gilpin and the Picturesque; or, Who's Afraid of Doctor Syntax?", *Garden History,* 31 (2003), 163–79.

48 Literature on travels around England is extensive. The dependence on literary sources, both in creating and reading the eighteenth-century gardens, is stressed in H.-J. Müllenbrock, "The 'Englishness' of the English Landscape Garden and the Generic Role of Literature: a Reassessment," *Journal of Garden History,* 8 (1988), 97–103.

49 I.Cz, *Tour through England: Diary of the Journey around England and Scotland in 1790*, Isle of Wight, 15 June 1790.

50 One contemporary, John Britton noted "a grand colonnade, representing a Roman amphitheater 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

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

The next stop on the picturesque trail, William Shenstone's The Leasowes—that haunt of Gessnerian vogue—could not fail to charm, even if by that time it was already neglected.[51] Still, it continued to emanate a classical and poetic air, as Czartoryska noted; after all, a volume of Shenstone's poetry graced the Powązki library for the previous decade and a half.[52]

Again predictably, Stourhead pleased with its classically informed gardens. As Czartoryska noted on June 19, it was "superbly situated and brilliantly designed." There is no indication that she followed or understood Henry Hoare's ideological program; 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. The Temple of Apollo, in particular, perched on a 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 Wiltshire countryside.[53]

Maiden, 1801), vol. 1, 187–88. See also: Archibald Robertson, *A topographical survey of the great road from London to Bath and Bristol* (London: Robertson, 1792). Barbara Mildred Jones, *Follies and Grottoes* (London: Constable, 1974), 237–38. John Claudius Loudon, *In Search of English Gardens: The Travels of John Claudius Loudon and his wife Jane* (London: Century, 1990), 101–102.

51 Robert Dodsley, *The Poetical Works of Robert Dodsley. With the Life of the Author. Embellished with Superb Engravings* (London: Cooke, 1797), 76–77.

52 This volume also contained *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), 105–22.

53 Michael Charlesworth, "On Meeting Hercules in Stourhead Garden," *Journal of Garden History* 9, no. 2 (1989): 71–75. Woodbridge, "Stourhead in 1768. Extracts

These three major gardens had already provided her with "a thousand ideas for Puławy"[54] and inspired more general reflections:

> I have seen the most beautiful countryside in the world.... The 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, which 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.[55]

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*.[56] It can only be assumed that the lack of references to an 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 June 11 and 12, 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.[57] The best one is the Tem-

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from an unpublished journal by Sir John Parnell", 59-70. Idem, *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead, 1718 to 1838* (London: Clarendon Press, 1970). Idem, *The Stourhead Landscape* (London: National Trust, 1971).

54 The same she repeated in the letter to K.D., 21 June 1790, Bristol, BCz 6107, no.15. Fragment published in: Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*, 197.

55 I.Cz., "Tour'.

56 Edmund Burke, *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1757). BCz 52847 II.

57 The Queen's Temple.

> ple of Peace and Concord.[58] There is also a monument dedicated to the great men of England. Rather mean columns for such good men.[59]

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

Blenheim, a garden largely stripped of architectural fabric, found no more favorable 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 June 11. 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 overrefined form and exemplified 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 and mannered, showing proficiency but no genius at all.[60]

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58 The Temple of Concord and Victory.

59 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu. Dziennik podróży Izabeli Czartoryskiej po Anglii i Szkocji," 40.

60 Ibid., "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu. Dziennik podróży Izabeli Czartoryskiej po Anglii i Szkocji." 41.

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.[61] It is in this same context that we should consider Czartoryska's visit to Castle Howard on July 20. 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, the Temple of Four Winds, and the Roman pyramid underscored the monumentality of the design, and there is no doubt that the landscape of Castle Howard drew its force in large part from the family mausoleum.[62] 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.[63] As a faithful copy of the Temple of Vesta, it must be considered as one of the visual prototypes for the Temple at Puławy.[64] Over the two days there, Czartoryska took rides around the estate, but rather than mentioning the wooden sculptures from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the 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 the gift of two dogs. She spent her time in the room with portraits from 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

61 I.Cz, "Tour", 11 June 1790.

62 This mausoleum for the recusant Earls of Carlisle came straight from the pages of Andrea Palladio's *Four books of architecture*. Giacomo Leoni, *The architecture of A. Palladio* (London: A. Ward, etc., 1742), Temple of Vesta, pl. LXIX and LXX.

63 Batey and Lambert, *The English Garden Tour: A View into the Past,* 126–30; John Dixon Hunt, "Castle Howard Revisited," in *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the history of landscape architecture (*Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992), 19–48.

64 Zofia Gołębiowska lists the rotundas of Castle Howard, Stowe and Stourhead as possible prototypes. Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich,* 120.

visited Castle Howard.[65] She left Castle Howard "weighed down with compliments and courtesies."[66]

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 through the creative force of nature but in man-made industrial effects, in Coalbrookdale. On July 1, 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 the huge fires of the blazing forges from the stones that were burning. At night, this gave the impression of volcanoes. On the night we arrived, the moon in all its beauty had joined in the tableau, and all was embellished by its gentle light.[67]

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 is burned."[68] Industrial sites provided more sublime encounters: on July 4, Izabela took a boat ride on Wedgwood's underground canal, where only a few

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65 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, *Wspomnienia* (London: B. Świderski, 1961), 297. The tree no longer exists. [Note the confusion: it should be 1790 rather than 1785 and Adam Jerzy rather than Adam Kazimierz].

66 I.Cz, *Tour through England: Diary of the Journey around England and Scotland in 1790*.

67 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu. Dziennik podróży Izabeli Czartoryskiej po Anglii i Szkocji." 41.

68 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu," 44.

candles relieved the absolute darkness. On July 15, 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," she noted.[69] On August 19, 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.

Visitors could expect there the most complete vocabulary of the Burkean sublime: the dark, uncertain recesses induced terror; the great cavities brought about the feeling of vastness; and the privations of darkness evoked 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."[70]

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."[71]

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69 I.Cz, "Tour," 15 July 1790.

70 William Bray, *Sketch of a tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire* (London: B. White, 1783), 1st ed., 1777, 196.

71 I.Cz., *Tour through England*, 19 August 1790.

The appearance of the cave and its "vulgar" name encouraged expectations of both the primitive and 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, and 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 travelers experienced.[72] The guide only described to her some of the presentations: "Sometimes they put lights there and children come to sing, which makes a charming effect. The flowing water reminds one of the Styx and Charon."[73]

Although Czartoryska was not treated to the full repertoire of the sublime inside the Peak Cave, the reentry 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."[74] This common association of the sublime with the divine creation showed itself in other sites on the tour, this time above ground.

At Aysgarth, on July 23, the travelers saw the spectacular four cataracts on a narrow stretch of the river Ure. Czartoryska gave a detailed account of each cataract, describing the colors 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

72 The most widely read were William Bray, in: Bray, *Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire*, 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.

73 I.Cz., *Tour through England*, 19 August 1790.

74 I.Cz., *Tour through England*, 19 August 1790.

volume of water and assured a perfect sublime experience. From Aysgarth, the Polish company moved in a day to Hackfall, the estate of William Aislabie. Hackfall functioned purely as an isolated retreat and a sublime pleasure ground. It enjoyed a very privileged situation, hidden in the fissure of a plateau, naturally wooded and decorated with a fountain, pavilions, streams, and cascades of the river Ure.[75]

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 July 21:

> 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.[76]

Here she sketched in her diary a pavilion which can be identified as the Rustic Temple from Hackfall.

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 she also remarked on July 21 that there are "magnificent trees there and the well-preserved ruins of an abbey."[77] Aislabie purchased the adjoining ruins of Fountains Abbey and made them the visual centerpiece of his garden. This was the focus of Czartoryska's attention, rather than the celebrated garden pavilions and vistas. 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

75 Cf. Edward S. Harwood, "William Aislabie's Garden at Hackfall", *Journal of Garden History,* 7, 4 (1987), 307-411.
76 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu," 48.
77 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu," 48.

> 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 until 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.[78]

Here the emphasis in design had shifted in favor of nature. These places were not, however, entirely wild, untouched, natural reserves. Here the viewing of a landscape as a picture, which Gilpin did so much to establish, provided a conventional framework, but the figures in the landscape were real beings, living their lives in a 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 helped form Czartoryska's idea of the sublime, nothing would have prepared her for the experiences of Dunkeld in Perthshire on August 2. 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.[79]

Izabela marveled 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, located on a 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.[80] Czartoryska wrote that the vol-

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78 The quoted fragment is published in: Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*, 190.

79 I.Cz, *Tour through England: Diary of the Journey around England and Scotland in 1790*; Cf. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 213-217; Christopher Dingwall, "Gardens in the wild," *Garden History,* 22 (1994), 2, 133-157.

80 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



Figure 23. *Scotland, Fingal's Tomb*, by Wiliam Henry Pyne, 1790

ume of water was enormous, the noise overpowering, and the manner in which it was presented miraculous. 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."[81]

Nevertheless, she pointed out faults in this pictorial composition: this sublime spectacle around Ossian's Hall was underplanted with small flower beds in regular style, which even made their way into the ruins of the gothic church in the valley.[82] Here nature acquired a sacred quality, and the planting should have been 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

of rapids of Black Lynn Falls. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 216.

81 I.Cz, *Tour through England*, 2 August 1790.

82 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.

experienced signs of change in the emotional response when the London society failed to empathize with her tearful reveries in Twickenham.[83]

The emotional engagement which the sublime provided seems to have been 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, and she purchased two landscapes by William Henry Pyne, one of which still survives in the Czartoryski collection (fig. 23).

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.[84] 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 on the one side and the tenants and villagers on the other was visually affected and even eliminated, while the practice of enclosures, intensified in the 1780s and 1790s, eroded the rural system of support.[85] When William Kent, in Horace Walpole's words, "jumped over the garden fence and saw that

83 Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque,* 213-17; Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland; (*Warrington: Printed by W. Eyres, 1774), 81.

84 Alina Aleksandrowicz, "'Nie czas napełniać konchy…' (Z dziejów kultu Osjana w Polsce)". In *W krainie pamiątek,* ed. Jacek Kolbuszowski (Wrocław: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Polonistyki Wrocławskiej, 1996), 73-87.

85 On aspects of the scale of gardens see: Edward S. Harwood, "Personal Identity and the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape Garden." *The Journal of Garden History* 13, 1–2 (1993): 36–48. Tom Williamson, "The Landscape Part: Economics, Art and Ideology," *Journal of Garden History,* 13 (1993), 49-55. Idem, *Polite landscapes*, passim.

all nature was a garden," he left for the next generation the dilemma of the economic transformation taking place beyond the fence.[86] One solution could have been to erase local people from the painterly or literary imagery altogether. Another choice would have involved turning social reality into an aesthetic quality, assimilating places of work into composed scenes. Enclosures marked with hedges and trees now signified an artificial division of the landscape, one which was particularly visible in Scotland. Tenants faced either resettlement in clearances or else, weighed down by higher rents and the rise in the price of goods, the introduction of machinery, and the prevalence of cheap labor, migrated to the 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 the tour becomes a series of laconic notes: On August 1: "We have arrived at Perth in the evening, having traveled through a horrible countryside where misery reigns supreme"; on August 2: "We passed through deserts and misery"; on August 4: "We passed through a country made horrible by greed."[87] 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 the 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

86 On different attitudes towards industrialization, agrarian improvements and social change see: John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730-1840*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Nigel Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994); Elizabeth K. Helsinger, *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain, 1815-1850* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

87 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu," 42.

to the memory of their Catholic kings.[88] 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.[89]

Her major problem in appreciating the English countryside lay in the fact that it was changing—and not only in agrarian terms; in the landscape now appeared manufactories, forges, and chemical factories. Tourists had to incorporate them within 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, on July 16, she saw "the most beautiful corner of the world: hills, plains, plantations, valleys. Numerous manufactories of textiles enrich the country." The next day she repeated: "From Halifax we go to Leeds. Again, a beautiful countryside and plenty of factories." On July 23, once more: "On to Newcastle upon Tyne. Beautiful sights, excellent landscape, coal mines everywhere."[90] Here the natural countryside was at the same time a landscape of work, and the aesthetics of seeing was certainly influenced by the 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 June 26: "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.[91]

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. Traveling further and seeing the poverty of Scotland, she began to record difficult facts which underlay the picturesque imagery. On August 11, near Glasgow, she was taken by the quaint sight of working women: "After dinner we went

88 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu," 42.
89 "Katalog pamiątek złożonych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach," BCz II-2917, vol. 1, 111. Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich*, 70.
90 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu," 42-43.
91 I.Cz.to M.W., Birmingham, 26 June 1790, BCz 6137.

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 bleach linen there every day."[92] 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.[93] 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 led to a more general conclusion the next day that "in the main, where there are manufactories of wool and cotton, the people are rich, and where they make luxury goods, the people tend to be poor."[94] Similarly, the miners of the Bridgewater Canal earned only eighteen shillings a week and had to supply 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: "An 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."[95]

Taking stock of her travels

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 thriv-

92 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu," 43.
93 See on this subject Orestano, The Revd. William Gilpin and the Picturesque, 174.
94 Orestano, The Revd. William Gilpin and the Picturesque, 174.
95 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu," 48. Partly quoted in Gołębiowska, *W kręgu*, 66.

ing 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 is because of extreme isolation. There is much planting and trees, but you will not see a living soul."[96]

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 the Sibyl at Puławy.[97] 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" and "indecent," and she reassessed her attitude towards the neglected and ruinous pavilions that characterized Powązki. At Puławy, she would build complete copies of antique originals, the Temple of the 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 program in a garden space. A small, one might imagine, point of Izabela's irritation regarding gardens closed to the public might be seen as a lesson for Puławy, which was always open to the visitors.[98]

Czartoryska hoped that after the tour they would return to Poland. Adam Jerzy was eager to join the Polish army.[99] However, in August

96 Whelan, "Czuła dusza w krajobrazie postępu," 49. See also on similar responses in Stephen Copley, "William Gilpin and the Black-Lead Mine". In *The Politics of the Picturesque*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, 42–61 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

97 This view is shared by Zofia Gołębiowska, *W kręgu*, 120.

98 Goldeney Hall was notoriously difficult to see and as such a subject of widespread derision. Bray, *Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire*, 256. R. Savage, "Natural History of the Goldney Garden Grotto, Clifton, Bristol", *Garden History,* 17 (1989), 1, 1-40. Batey and Lambert, *The English Garden Tour*, 195-99.

99 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.

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.[100] Still, her activities after returning to London have the hallmark of tidying up their last engagements.

An eye for collections

On January 17, 1791, Czartoryska finally managed to see Horace Walpole's residence at Strawberry Hill.[101] Although her sister-in-law Izabela Lubomirska had twice breakfasted with Walpole at Strawberry Hill, Izabela Czartoryska had tried three times to gain admission, and each time had been turned away.[102]

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 (fig. 24).[103]

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 Poniatowski.[104]

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100 I.Cz. to K.D., no 19, August 1790, BCz 6107. These elections, held in November 1790, were to double the number of envoys.

101 Sołtys, *Opat z San Michele,* 126.

102 On Lubomirska dining with Walpole see H. Walpole to Conway, 17 June 1787, in Walpole, *The Yale Edition*, vol. 39, 447-48. For I.Cz.'s letter to Walpole dated 1791 see: Ibid., vol. 42, 307-308.

103 Anna Chalcraft and Judith Viscardi, *Strawberry Hill: Horace Walpole's Gothic Castle* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2007), 97.

104 Sołtys, *Opat z San Michele,* 126.



FIGURE 24. *Cabinet at Strawberry Hill*, by E.E. [Edward Edwards]

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 intellectual connections. Each object, be it a windowpane, an enamel, or a 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 history came to life and events reenacted themselves, as in the cabinet of drawings in Castle Howard, where a visitor might converse with long-dead kings. The most striking thing at 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.[105] 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 a classical temple, a miniature Pantheon in his garden at Hampton.

Czartoryska's diary records laconically 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. During her tour around England, she visited Shakespeare'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.[106]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 Orłowski to buy the chair for twenty guineas and to procure a certificate of authenticity from Mrs. Heart. Over

105 Michael Snodin and Cynthia E. Roman, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole (*Twickenham: Strawberry-Hill: Printed by Thomas Kirkgate, 1786).

106 Samuel Ireland, *Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon, (etc.) (*London: R. Faulder, T. Egerton, 1795), 189.

the next twenty years, that shrewd lady sold another sixteen of them. Czartoryska described the event in her Catalogue of the Gothic House at Puławy, and Samuel Ireland confirmed the story in 1795.[107]

Having delayed her departure, waiting for better weather in the Channel, Izabela finally made her farewells. She went to Middleton in December, while on January 20, 1791, the Polish minister in London, Franciszek Bukaty, hosted a reception in Czartoryska's honor, and she presented all assembled with her portrait engraved by Testolini.[108] Two weeks later, she went for the last time to Castle Howard.[109] On the way back to Poland, she stayed in Paris, where she met Abbé Jacques Delille.[110] 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.[111]Izabela and Adam Jerzy returned to Poland in April.[112]

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 result of the first two encounters, the third one has

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107 Ireland, *Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon*, 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 and the Romantic Journey of Isabel Czartoryska", *Apollo Magazine*, 11 (1965), 392-97.

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

109 *The Times*, 8 December, 31 December 1791.

110 Sołtys, *Opat z San Michele*, 115-16.

111 Jacques Delille, *Les Jardins, ou, l'art d'embellir les paysages: poëme*. Paris: Levroult, 1801. Alina Aleksandrowicz, "Jacques Delille w ogrodach puławskich." *Annales Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej,* Sectio FF Philologiae 4, no. 4 (1986): 55–90. Jacques Delille included a description of the Puławy delights in his *Les Jardins* and anointed it as a Virgilian ideal. The long passage came as a result of correspondence in 1799, in which Delille petitioned for help. He needed financial support for the publication of his next edition of *Les Jardins* and asked for an advance, which Czartoryska quite enthusiastically provided. In return she asked for a portrayal of her garden. Delille's works continued to be widely read until the 1830s and received many translations into Polish, with the greatest number of those in the years 1815-1821. Cf. Apolonja Załuska, "Poezja opisowa Delille'a w Polsce," in *Prace Historyczno-Literackie*, Cracow, 44, 1934, 21.

112 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, 68.

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 the 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.

PART V

Puławy, Tableaux of Loss, Prospects of Hope 1786–1831

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 has been so persuasive for more than a century, it is necessary to present in brief the most enduring interpretations.

In 1954, Gerard Ciołek endorsed the 1887 pronouncements of Ludwik 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 [vigor] of tradition, and the [beauty] of the vernacular environment.... By breaking with one school and style and moving towards a new form, she exceeded her time."[1] 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."[2] Ciołek concluded that Czartoryska was "less puritan-

1 Ciołek, *Ogrody,* 159.
2 Ciołek, *Ogrody,* 159.

ical" 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 national history "an encouragement to action, an impulse to oppose the drama of the partitions and the loss of independence." An Arcadian park, in contrast, embodies the passive attitude of a classical idyll.[3] As an example of this distinction, Bogdanowski cited the examples of the Gothic House in Puławy and the Temple of Diana in 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 the Sibyl in Puławy, although not gothic, fulfills the associative romantic function as it contains national historical artefacts.[4] The romantic park is "a mirror of history," and so the vernacular nature emphasizes 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 through 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 compositions. 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*.[5] The consequence of this system is that

3 Bogdanowski, *Polskie ogrody ozdobne,* 125.
4 Bogdanowski, *Polskie ogrody ozdobne,* 131.
5 Bogdanowski, *Polskie ogrody ozdobne,* 131-35.

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 excluded 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.[6] Mature trees—the "temples of nature"—rule the space, making Puławy an "arboreal garden."[7] It is not only the venerable trees that elicit emotional responses; as is evident in Czartoryska's writings, all nature is "freed from the rigors of proportion and order"—the "boundless," 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, the arable fields, and the villages as representing "different sides of dissonant reality."[8]

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 the Sibyl in the Upper Garden.[9] The vernacular quality of the design of Puławy is explained as drawing

6 Alina Aleksandrowicz, "Puławskie ogrody jako królestwo drzew (wybrane zagadnienia)". In *Ogród puławski w czasach księżny Izabeli oraz perspektywy jego zachowania przy zmianie funkcji*, ed. Adam Wołk (Puławy: Fundacja Wspierania Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego, 1999), 1, 18-35.

7 Aleksandrowicz, "Puławskie ogrody jako królestwo drzew, 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).

8 Aleksandrowicz, "Puławskie ogrody jako królestwo drzew (wybrane zagadnienia)". 21. Eadem, "Oryginalność puławskiego ogrodu", 73-79, esp. 75, *Izabela Czartoryska. Polskość i europejskość*. (Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1998).

9 Bogdanowski, *Polskie ogrody ozdobne*, 135.

on the typically Polish delight in unmediated nature as expressed in poetry since the fifteenth century.[10] 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 distant romantic 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 a "Sibylline" garden. 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.

Planting for the Golden Age 1786-1800

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 been willed it by her father, Stanisław Hieronim Lubomirski. All these strong personalities had gardened at Puławy.[11] 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."[12]

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10 Janusz Bogdanowski, "'Myśli różne' i czyny Izabeli ks. Czartoryskiej w przekształceniu ogrodu puławskiego na wzór 'angielski.'" In *Ogród puławski w czasach księżny Izabeli oraz perspektywy jego zachowania przy zmianie funkcji*, ed. Adam Wołk, 6–17. (Puławy: Fundacja Wspierania Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego, 1999), 6-9.

11 Marek Kwiatkowski, "Pałac puławski w XVII wieku," in *Puławy*, ed. Stanisław Lorentz (Warsaw: Arkady, 1962), 11-27 (11, 24).

12 Zofia Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie w Puławach oraz kluczu końskowolskim w czasach Czartoryskich*. Puławy: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Muzeum Oświatowego, 2005, 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 aging 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 for eleven kilometers. The palace made the most of its advantageous position on the high promontory of the right bank of the 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 theater. 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 grove, the typical Polish baroque escape from the demands of the representational space. 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*. They did not, however, entirely erase the old architectural features, nor did they fill in the old moat. The residence consciously retained associations with the "Sarmatian" past while it also proclaimed the modernity of its inhabitants (fig. 25)



Figure 25. Teacup with the view of Puławy, after Josef Richter, porcelain and gold



FIGURE 26. *Parchatka near Puławy*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, 1804

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.[13] In May 1786, she leveled 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 (fig. 26).[14]

The first garden pavilion was built in 1788 by the palace architect Chrystian Piotr Aigner. This was the *Dom Grecki* [the Greek House] that doubled as an orangery (fig. 27).[15] It was used for entertainments while

13 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 25 January (1786), BCz 6137.

14 I.Cz. to Konstancja Dembowska., no 2, 26 May (1786), no 3, 8 May (1786), BCz 6107, ff. 4, 5-6.

15 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

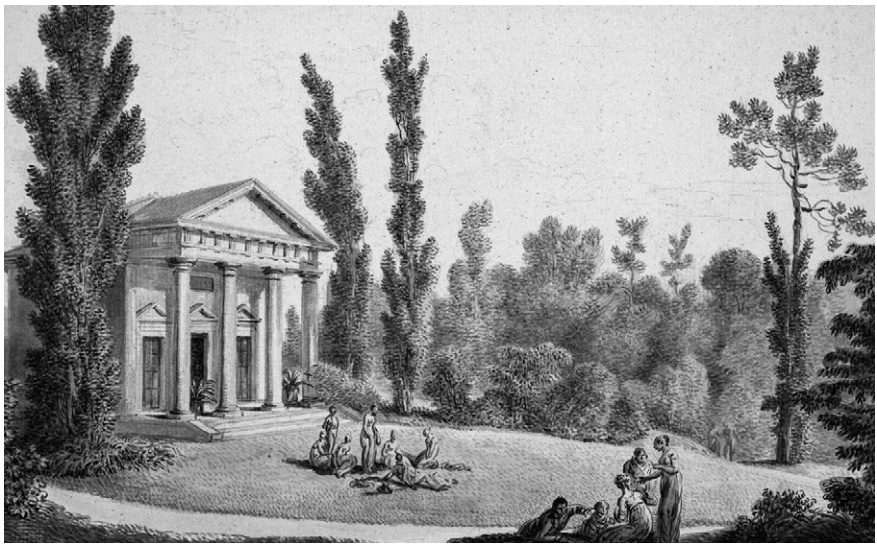

Figure 27. *The Greek House in Puławy*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, 1800-1804

the adjoining horticultural gardens added utility.[16]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 the 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, and 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 a pastoral life. This 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

charge of all other buildings in the estate. Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, "Puławy w okresie klasycyzmu." In *Puławy*, ed. Stanisław Lorentz, 64–86. (Warsaw: Arkady, 1962), 67.

16 Jaroszewski, "Puławy w okresie klasycyzmu," 68.

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.

"We are all with the Englishman now"

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, leveled, and dug. He "turned the garden upside down," took out old poplars and 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.[17] 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, colors, 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.

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 "emerge into freedom." The cost and labor involved in the liberation of nature were, as he said, entirely justi-

17 Zofia Gołębiowska brought the poem to attention and connected it with Puławy, in Eadem, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, 125. *Dzieła Franciszka Dyonizego Kniaźnina* (Warsaw: F. S. Dmochowski, 1828), 71-149.

fied.[18] The great gardens of Maria Zofia Czartoryska were completely remodeled. Izabela had in general no sympathy for regular compositions. They were "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 convention over natural preference."[19] 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.[20] The overall design took precedence over single specimens.

Savage was by no means the first foreigner, or indeed the first 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.[21] We can conclude that Savage established a good rapport, both with his staff and with Czartoryska, who developed a great respect for him.[22] 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.[23] Izabela approved nearly all of Savage's planting schemes. Only once in his twenty-five years of service did she lament that he had ruined her favorite passage through the Wild Promenade, but, as she wrote: "Because that thing can no longer be made good, I will not talk about it anymore."[24] 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 perma-

18 *Dzieła Franciszka Dyonizego Kniaźnina*, (Warsaw: F. S. Dmochowski, 1828), 88-90.

19 Izabela Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów* (Wrocław: Wilhelm Bogumił Korn, 1805), IV-VII.

20 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów,* 4.

21 Gołębiowska 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: *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku,* 124.

22 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 kręgu*, 87.

23 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu*, 89.

24 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy 26 April 1815, I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy 28 April 1815, BCz 6140.



FIGURE 28. *Glory Adorning the Imaginary Monument to Izabela Czartoryska* "Elle m'a Conduit, pour embellir Puławy"/ "Ona mię sprowadziła ku Puław ozdobie", by Jean Pierre Norblin, n.d.

nently.[25] Savage continued to receive 70 pounds per annum, with a guaranteed bonus of 50 złotys. 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.

He was also permitted to take "the fifth or the sixth part" of the propagated exotics for himself after informing the princess about what

25 '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.

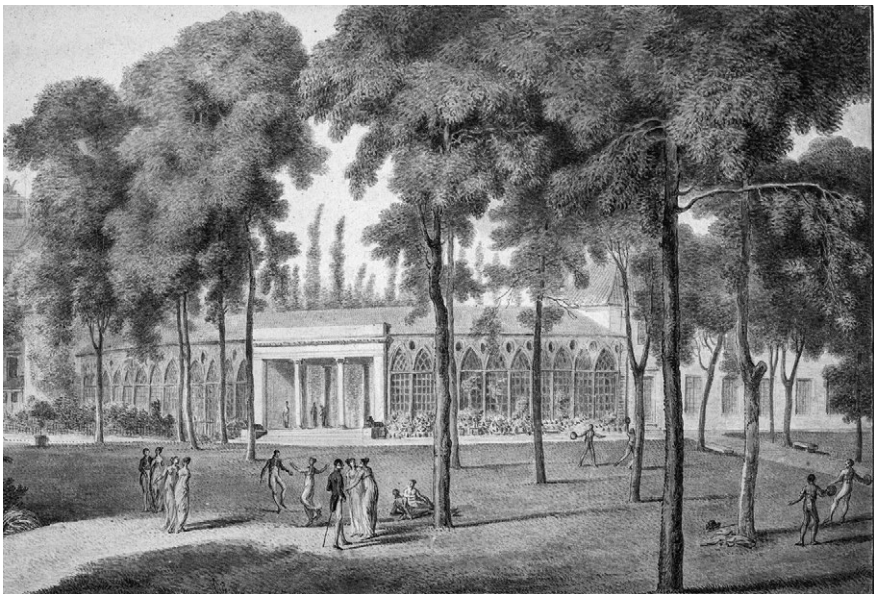

Figure 29. *The Palace Gothic Orangery with the entrance to the garden, view from inside of the Upper Garden*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, 1804

he had chosen.[26] The new Gothic Orangery was built with the entrance to the garden, where Savage displayed the masterpieces of horticulture. (fig. 29). How much Savage was able to do during his first years, before Puławy and the 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".[27] Glory had returned to Puławy, exemplified by the highly laudatory drawing by Jean-Pierre Norblin entitled 'She brought me to adorn Puławy'. Glory upholds Czartoryska's portrait on the plinth, with the view of the bower in the Upper Garden and the Greek House in the distance (fig. 28).

26 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 Czartoryskich:* 87.

27 According to one visitor, Krystyna Potocka, quoted after Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich*, 129.

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. Czartoryska endorsed these cost-effective measures in her book.

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, that is, 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.[28] 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-colored plates, and in 1808 he printed a third edition. Czartoryska asked Jan Zachariasz Frey to engrave the illustrations.

Frey studied with Benjamin West in London, but his illustrations for *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 gave the garden the appearance of a botanical collection rather than a space commonly associated with an English park.

28 "My husband is convinced that the book is both good and full of charm," Izabela Czartoryska, *Listy księżny Izabelli z hr. Flemmingów Czartoryskiej do starszego syna księcia Adama*, ed. Seweryna Duchińska (Cracow: G. Gebethner i Spółka, 1891), 51.

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.[29] 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.

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 (fig. 30).[30]



Figure 30. *Puławy Palace and Gardens (Nowa Aleksandria)*, 1845 r

29 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 różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 12-32.

30 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich*, il.14.

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 a multitude of new and surprising views.[31] 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.

The clumps invited a passerby to investigate their beauty in close proximity. Each plant was accessible to 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, while Magdalena Morska, a neighbor from Zarzecze, provided a detailed drawing of the color scheme for a flower clump (fig. 31).[32] The large scale of the clumps in Puławy spoke of the privileged status of the garden. Their displays dazzled with new varieties and the blossoming of shrubs and flowers from spring to autumn.[33] 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, colors, and forms, all offering an opportunity for botanical classification. Apart from being an organizing principle, the clumps engendered a scientific approach. Czartoryska's catalogue of plants directed the manner of thinking about the private garden collection.

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.[34] Most of her

31 Jan Paweł Woronicz, *Sybilla. Poema historyczne we czterech pieśniach* (Lwów: W. Niebylski, 1818).

32 Izabela wrote to Adam Jerzy to Italy with instructions on the drawing in early 1800, in: Czartoryska, *Listy księżny Izabelli z hr. Flemmingów Czartoryskiej do starszego syna księcia Adama*, 48.

33 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 14.

34 In 1792 Jundziłł travelled to Vienna on a scholarship from the Commission of National Education and met there with Czartoryska. X. Stanisław Jundziłł, *Opisanie roślin w prowincyi W.X.L. naturalnie rosnących według układu Linneusza*. (Wilno: W drukarni I.K. Mci i Rzplitey u XX: Piarów, 1791); Kluk, Klopsch, and Czenpiński, *Botanika dla szkół narodowych*; Piotr Köhler, "Herbarium of Józef Jundziłł (1794-



Figure 31. *Large Clump* by Jan Frey

knowledge, however, she "acquired in practice."[35] Izabela praised Adam Jerzy in 1800 for learning botany and was exceptionally proud of her husband for experimenting with *Primula auriculata*.[36] Adam Kazimierz continued to acquire English gardening books for his library.[37] Czartoryska was pleased with her family sharing in her interests for good rea-

1877)," *Taxon,* 46 (1997), vol. 2, 365-66. See also: Jan Dębowski, *Przyroda w programach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej i poglądach uczonych na Podlasiu w XVIII i XIX wieku* (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2000). On his return from travels to Vienna, Bohemia, Hungry and Saxony, Jundziłł created at Wilno University a botanical garden with a collection comparable to those at the Krzemieniec school and Cracow University. Janusz Bogdanowski, *Parki i ogrody Krakowa w obrębie Plant z Plantami i Wawelem* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Ochrony Zabytkowego Krajobrazu, 1997); Wanda Grebecka, "Badania szaty roślinnej w ośrodku wileńskim i krzemienieckim". In *Wkład wileńskiego ośrodka naukowego w przyrodnicze poznanie kraju, 1781-1842,* ed. Józef Babicz and Wanda Grebecka. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1988), 115-25.

35 Czartoryska, *Listy księżny Izabelli*, 64. For A.K.Cz. see I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., Puławy, 24 May 1815, BCz 6030, f. 221.

36 Ibid.

37 Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden. A Poem in Two Parts. Part I. Containing the Economy of Vegetation. Part II. The Loves of the Plants. With philosophical notes*. (London: J. Johnson, 1795). In the Czartoryski collection: BCz 61573 III.





FIGURE 32. *Primula in a Pot with Red and Yellow Flowers and Green Leaves*, by Izabela Czartoryska

FIGURE 33. *Two Pines*, by Izabela Czartoryska

son. By 1800, botany had established itself as part of the rational understanding of the world.[38] *Primula auriculata* had been for a long time a symbol of scientific intervention into the world of nature, the power of man to manipulate the genetic material.[39] It was also at the centre of the new aesthetics of display, in the "theaters"—rising benches for individual exhibits. Among the very few preserved drawings in Czartoryska's hand, one shows a potted *Primula auriculata*. Izabela also left a drawing of her favorite Weymouth pines (figs. 32 and 33).[40]

Rousseau's *Lettres sur la botanique*, written in 1771-1773 and published posthumously in his collected works in 1782, urged the reader to walk

38 On botany in Puławy see: "O sztuce i praktyce sadzenia roślin w ogrodach Izabeli Czartoryskiej". In *Ogród puławski—przeszłość przyszłości*, ed. Adam Wołk, 51-69 (Puławy: Fundacja Wspierania Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego, Instytut Uprawy Nawożenia i Gleboznawstwa, 2003).

39 Laird, *The Flowering of the English Landscape Garden,* 204-207.

40 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828*, 15.

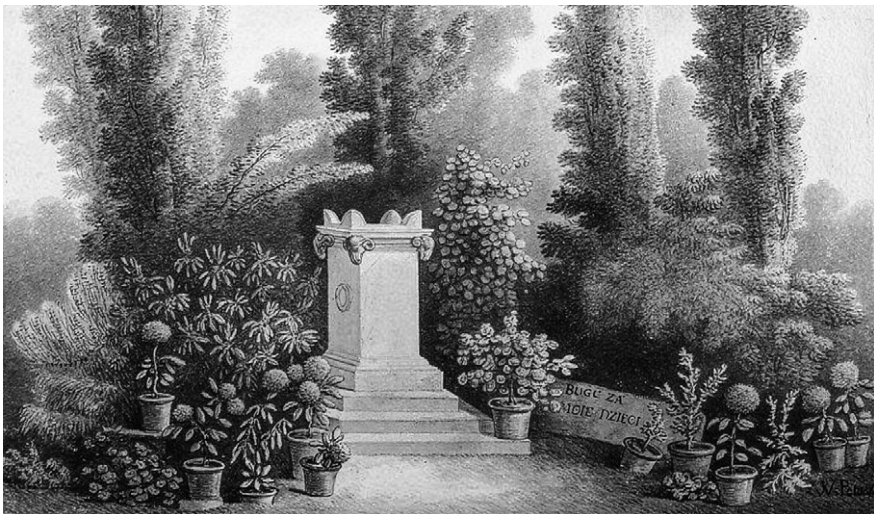

Figure 34. *A View of Izabela Czartoryska's Private Garden with an Altar and a Commemorative Stone* "Bogu za moje dzieci" (To God for my children)

the environs and learn from "the book of nature."[41] In the manner he advocated, Czartoryska taught her youngest charge in Puławy, Zofia Matuszewicz, and gave her instruction in botany in her little garden.[42] But even here the emotional imperative was present.[43] The garden itself was a gift of gratitude, as a stone inscription announced: *To God for My Children* (fig. 34).

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 traveled east on her survey of lands, she sought out the botanist Wacław Boreyko of Samostrzeł in Volhynia,

41 The *Lettres* achieved great popularity especially after Pierre Joseph Redouté added sixty-five color 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.

42 See the analysis of this private garden in: Alina Aleksandrowicz, "W edeńskiej krainie flory," *Annales UMCS,* 11, sectio FF (1993), 35-49.

43 It is not surprising that Czartoryska left a tribute to the founder of the system, Linnaeus, in her Great Catalogue to the Gothic House, emphasizing 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.

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."[44] 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 neighbors, the peasants, and the administration of Lublin for planting a public park there.[45]

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 the garden at Pożóg, an estate she rented out to Konstancja Dembowska. 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.[46] 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.[47] 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.

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44 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.

45 Teka "Ogród Puławski," BCz 6027. I.Cz. to M.W., 30 September 1823, BCz 6141.

46 Janusz Bogdanowski sees in it a futuristic design characteristic of later developments in his ""Myśli różne"", 12. Czartoryska praised Dembowska in her book for enriching the garden through her systematic work. Privately she praised her extensive flower planting scheme, I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., Puławy, 26 July 1814, 17 August 1814, BCz 6030, ff. 114, 117. I.Cz. to M.W., Sieniawa, 11 (January 1801), BCz 6137.

47 Mark Laird and John Harvey, "'Our Equally Favorite Hobby Horse': the Flower Gardens of Lady Elizabeth Lee at Hartwell and the 2nd Earl Harcourt at Nuneham Courtenay", *Garden History,* 18 (1990), 103-154, 104.

Although there is no mention of either Czartoryska or Savage visiting Nuneham, the information about the garden was widely disseminated edition by Mason published precise instructions on compositions of flowery clumps, while Sandby popularized Nuneham Courtenay through his celebrated prints.[48] Two of them are strikingly similar to Jan Frey's illustrations for Czartoryska's *Myśli*.[49]

Sandby's views, printed collectively in 1778, contained a view of the Temple Church at Nuneham, built by James "Athenian" Stuart.[50] As was the case with the church at Puławy, 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*.[51] Nuneham drew extensively on the ideas of virtue and pleasure straight from the pages of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.[52] Flower clumps were particularly advantageous for visualizing the ideas Rousseau had in mind when he wrote of Julie's Elysium in Clarens. 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.[53] Rousseau himself signaled his approbation for the

48 They were repeated by Nathaniel Swinden and John Abercrombie. Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski had his own annotated copy of Abercrombie's *Journal* (the third edition of 1794) in his library. John Abercrombie, *The Gardener's Pocket Journal, and Daily Assistant in the Modern Practice of English Gardening. In a Concise Monthly Display of All the Practical Works of General Gardening* (London: B. Crosby, 1794); Nathaniel Swinden, *The Beauties of Flora Display'd: or, Gentleman and Lady's Pocket Companion to the Flower and Kitchen Garden on an Entire New Plan. With a Catalogue of Seeds (*London: J. Fry and Co., 1778). On Mason's essay see: Stephen Bending, "William Mason's 'An Essay on the Arrangement of Flowers in Pleasure-Grounds.'" *Journal of Garden History* 9, no. 4 (1989): 217–20.

49 Paul Sandby, *A Collection of One Hundred and Fifty Select Views in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland (*London: John Boydell, 1783).

50 *The Copperplate Magazine or Monthly Treasure for the Admirers of the Imitative Art* (1778), n.p.

51 Mavis Batey, "William Mason, English Gardener." *Garden History* 1, no. 2 (1973): 11–25: 13.

52 See an extensive analysis in Laird, *The Flowering of the English Landscape Garden,* 350-360.

53 Mavis Batey, "Two Romantic Picturesque Flower Gardens." *Garden History* 22, no. 2 (1994),197–205: 199.

flower garden; he also presented Harcourt with the set of original *Héloïse* illustrations.[54]

It is worth mentioning that Mason also designed another feature at Nuneham, Brown's Walk, where natural "peepholes" opened up 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 favored by that great friend of both Mason and Lord Harcourt, Horace Walpole himself. The garden at Strawberry Hill owed much to Nuneham Courtney: its plant material, its flowery arrangements in clumps, and even its gardener.[55] 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.[56] Czartoryska endorsed and illustrated in her book that same composition of a larch and a weeping willow preferred by Walpole.

The clumps at Puławy, however, were only rarely the center point 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, he situated them in an enclosed private area, such as around the fountain of the god Pan, and bordered them with potted plants.

In the 1790s, Puławy was an airy and spacious young garden, straight from the vocabulary of English flower and horticultural practice. However, George 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,

54 Thornton, "A gift from Jean-Jacques Rousseau to George Simon Harcourt," 441-63.

55 Mavis Batey, "Horace Walpole as Modern Garden Historian," *Garden History* 19, no. 1 (1991), 1–11: 4-5.

56 Batey, "Horace Walpole as Modern Garden Historian," 4-5.

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, he remarked that

> 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.[57]

This opinion was certainly at odds with the continuing popularity of flower gardening in England.[58] 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. Loudon, who 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 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 fare."

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 previous scholars have maintained, along the notions of liberated nature, a kingdom of trees, and boundless views. The principle was rather planting in clumps. These invited passersby 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 orna-

57 George Burnett, *View of the present state of Poland*. (London: Longman, 1807), 198.
58 Cf. Laird and Harvey, "'Our Equally Favorite Hobby Horse", 103-154.

mental space in every sense; not only in the pleasure grounds but everywhere where the clumps were planted, in the villages, in the 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.[59] 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.[60] 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 the woods and villages of Włostowice, Parchatka, and Bochotnica (300 hectares)—did the designed spaces comprise an impressive 650 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 a 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 of the 1820s preferred the evocative Zofiówka Park in the Ukraine, an essay in the sublime configuration of boulders. Puławy had begun as a sequel to the

59 Stanisław Kostka Potocki, *Pochwały, mowy i rozprawy*. 2 vols. (Warsaw: Zawadzki i Węcki, 1816), vol. 2, 661-662.

60 The calculations were made by Michał Strzemski, quoted by Alina Aleksandrowicz, "Z symboliki puławskich przestrzeni ogrodowych". In *Ogród Puławski—Przeszłość Przyszłości*, ed. Adam Wołk (Puławy: Fundacja Wspierania Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego, Instytut Uprawy Nawożenia i Gleboznawstwa, 2003), 22–29.

sentimental Powązki, with its views onto the countryside and the 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."[61]

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 May 3, 1791, she staged a great spectacle at Puławy. In June 1791, the sejm ordained maneuvers 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 kilometers 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 maneuvers at their doorstep, the Czartoryskis seized the opportunity to perform their role as the Commonwealth's leading patriots and place themselves again in the continuum of victorious Polish history.

Izabela arranged the reception of the 5,000-strong detachment of cavalry and infantry as they arrived in Gołąb. On September 12, 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.[62] The poems,

61 W. G. Clark, "Poland. Notes on travels in 1862-63," in *Vacation tourists*, ed. Francis Galton, 1864, vol. 2, 290-291.

62 Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi do wolności*, 78-88. The analysis of poetic output during the Gołąb maneuvers was previously published in Eadem, "Sejm Sejm Czteroletni i Konstytucja 3 Maja w kręgu Puław", 227-42.

styled as Ossianic revelations, addressed the soldiers as a newly resurrected generation of knights with copious references to Polish victories of old.[63] 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 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 armor, drum beats, and military splendor, 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.[64] The daughters Maria and Zofia accompanied her and led the choir of "the most beautiful young women in the neighborhood" in support of their heroes.[65] Czartoryska styled her female line as the main force mobilizing Polish women in the newly emerging ideal of 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 September 15 and 17, 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.[66] Next, Czartoryska treated them to a performance of *Matka Spartanka* (fig. 35). The play 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

63 On the cult of Ossian in Puławy see: Aleksandrowicz, "Nie czas napełniać konchy'.

64 "Pieśń śpiewana pod Gołębiem, ułożona przez Xną Izabellę Czartoryską Generałową ziem podolskich z r.1791", "Mémoires et écrits divers," BCz 6067, f. 283.

65 Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi do wolności*, 86-87. The song is published in *Tam na błoniu błyszczy kwiecie: śpiewnik historyczny* (Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1984), 51.

66 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.



Figure 35. *Portrait of Izabela Czartoryska*, artist unknown, c. 1790

of Greek armor 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].[67] 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:

67 Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi do wolności*, 81.

> Entertainment seemed then the primary 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.[68]

On the contrary, her sister, Maria Wirtemberska, was quick to note that "even these entertainments were not entirely pleasure-seeking—there was always something chivalric, something Polish mixed within! Whether a man or a woman, if they lived in Puławy, they cultivated these two virtues—the love of the country and love of work." There were other, less complimentary accounts about the frequency and the atmosphere of these entertainments, more in line with the spirit of youth rather than any virtuous mindsets.[69]

The maneuvers 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 upon 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 theater and polite entertainments, they walked the gardens, and they felt at home in the palace.[70] For a moment, a princess could be a camp follower, soldiers could be Greek heroes, and both 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 pos-

68 Zamoyska, "Z pamiętnika Zofii z Czartoryskich Zamoyskiéy," *Kronika Rodzinna*, 22, 14 (15 November 1887), 710.

69 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie w Puławach oraz kluczu końskowolskim w czasach Czartoryskich*, passim.

70 The connection between sensibility and bravery was highlighted by Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi do wolności,* 81.

sible only because it referred to the deeply ingrained "Sarmatian" sentiment of fighting for honor, 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.[71] 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 Ossian 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 military fervor 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 Welsh bards together and, led by this terrible though not unintelligible policy, ordered them to be executed."[72]

While the focus on entertainment over practical preparations for the realities of the conflict may strike the modern reader as being eccentric to the point of irresponsibility, symbolism and gesture have been and are still a part of raising the morale of the troops and the civilian population in times of war. The pervasive element of pleasure and exultation brought the assembled citizens and troops into the old Sarmatian world of traditional hospitality, jollity, and fraternization. The introduction of the field mass into the military ceremonies confirmed the Polish allegiance to both freedom and Catholicism. This

71 On "Sarmatian' attitudes to military service in the early eighteenth century see Michalski, "Sarmatyzm", 11.

72 Quoted after Aleksandrowicz, "Nie czas napełniać konchy," 78-79.

grand *tableau* of Puławy was far more traditional than we might think, for it returned to the original inclusiveness of the "Sarmatian" culture of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when the estate also included town dwellers, merchants, and craftsmen. Now their descendants in military uniform were inscribed into 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 the greenery looking out onto other nearby historical sites, such as the medieval castles of Janowiec and Kazimierz. Unlike the artificial follies that proliferated in the 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 centered on his reform of law and his building program. Significantly, a few decades earlier, Czartoryska had already brought ornamental pieces from the Kazimierz castle to Powązki.[73]

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 May 3, 1791, and the national celebrations on the anniversary of the constitution a year later were followed by a long succession of disasters on a 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 on protecting 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

73 Izabela Czartoryska, *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu, czyli Nauki wiejskie, z 40 obrazkami królów polskich wyobrażającymi, litograficznie wyciskanymi* (Warsaw: N. Glücksberg, 1818); Eadem, *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu czyli Dalszy ciąg nauk wiejskich z dziesięcią obrazkami i z muzyką. Part II*. (Warsaw: N. Glücksberg, 1821).

principal role. Zofia Zamoyska remembered a strange, feverish mood at the outbreak of the 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.[74]

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 the classical to the gothic, the historicizing, and those 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.[75] 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.[76] Later, Czartoryska devoted a long passage in the Large Catalogue sympathizing with the unfortunate circumstances of Mary's life.[77]

At another "particularly enchanting" *fête*, Zofia played a gypsy to Izabela's "graceful" text and arrangement.[78] Zofia considered wearing

74 Zamoyska, "Z pamiętnika Zofii z Czartoryskich Zamoyskiéy," 710.
75 Alina Aleksandrowicz, "'Gotycka' Maria Stuart", *Annales Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej,* Sectio FF Philologiae 17 (1999): 47–60, 51.
76 See I.Cz., "Tour".
77 Reproduced in full in Aleksandrowicz, "'Gotycka' Maria Stuart", 52–53.
78 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).



FIGURE 36. *Portrait of Izabela Czartoryska as a Gypsy*, by Kazimierz Wojniakowski, 1796

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 entitled *Cyganie* [Gypsies], for which her uncle Michał Kleofas Ogiński wrote the music.[79] The play premiered at the Ogińskis' Siedlce that same year of 1786 with Izabela in the lead role of the gypsy woman Jawnuta (fig.36).

79 Jolanta Sawicka-Jurek, "'Pod wdzięcznym onej rozkazem'—o kulturotwórczej roli dworu Aleksandry Ogińskiej w Siedlcach," in Kostkiewiczowa and Roćko, eds., *Dwory magnackie*, 271–72.

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 Kėstutis (Kiejstut) dispossessed him and banished him from the country. The gypsies from Kniaźnin's opera led a similar 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 the 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 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 colorful, engaging, and entertaining way, presented her own daughter to the public as the next prophetic leader of her country.[80]

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.[81]

Czartoryska was widely regarded as a prominent force during the Kościuszko Insurrection, aiding it financially and encouraging her peasants to join the insurgency.[82] Adam Jerzy distinguished himself in combat and was decorated with Poland's highest military decoration, the

80 Toczyńska, Magdalena, "'Spartanka' i 'Cyganka' w teatrze Franciszka Dionizego Kniaźnina." In *Kobieta epok dawnych w literaturze, kulturze i społeczeństwie*, ed. Iwona Maciejewska and Krystyna Stasiewicz, 130-138 (Olsztyn: Littera, 2008), 132.

81 Zofia Zamoyska, *Rady dla córki*, ed. Maria Dębowska (Lublin: Oficyna Hieronima, 2002). Zamoyska died in 1837.

82 I.Cz. "Mémoires et écrits divers," BCz 6067, f.81.

Virtuti Militari, becoming the second person ever to receive it, after Prince Józef Poniatowski. 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 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.

A guide to contentment

Puławy suffered extensive damage 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 the fields were either mowed or trampled, the nursery was entirely dug up, and the losses were valued at over 400,000 zł. Only the Pożóg estate had survived, according to Czartoryska, "because of her courage."[83]

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 June 21, 1796, Izabela found her garden once again destroyed and the palace a burned-out shell.[84] 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 Marynki.[85] Next year, the Vistula flooded, and the

83 I.Cz. to K.D., 2 August 179(?), no. 23, BCz 6107.
84 I.Cz., "Powrót do Puław," in "Mémoires et écrits divers," 21 June (1796), BCz 6067. f. 91.
85 I.Cz. to M.W., 27 April 1799, BCz 6137.

whole lower garden with the adjoining terrain was submerged.[86] Nevertheless, restoration works proceeded apace. Czartoryska divided her efforts between writing the book which would summarize her philosophy of gardening and building the large structures of the Temple of the Sibyl, the Gothic House, and the palace church. While the Temple of the Sibyl has always received most attention in the literature, it is more useful here to first consider the gardening ideas that were intended to express the nature of Polish social relationships.

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 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.[87] 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.[88]

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

86 I.Cz. to M.W., 15 April (1800), BCz 6137.

87 Maria Wirtemberska, *Malvina or The Heart's Intuition*. Translated by Ursula Phillips (London: Polish Cultural Foundation, 2001), XXVIII.

88 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 celnieyszych: ku ozdobie ogrodów przy zastosowaniu do naszey strefy*. 6 vols. (Cracow: Józef Matecki, 1824-1828), vol. 1, 11.

a cup of wine and an evening conversation on the nature of happiness, virtue, and friendship.[89]

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, and 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, neighbors, or the parish priest; meeting peasants; or taking a moonlit meal. One such recollection is worth mentioning here: "The moon shone clearly on our little table and on the 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."[90]

Czartoryska developed this view of happiness amid a productive and aesthetic landscape in her next great project, designed to influence the largest audience—her book *Myśli o sposobie zakładania ogrodów.*[91] The first theoretical discussion of the natural garden appeared only in 1801 with the publication of Ignacy Krasicki's brief account of the history of gardening entitled *Listy o ogrodach* [Letters on gardens].[92] In the introduction, he defended the new natural style against the traditional opposition to anything new by the provincial nobility. Krasicki framed his arguments in a way likely to be acceptable to them, that is, in terms of the greater potential for profitability. Czartoryska's book stressed

89 Horace, *The Satires of Horace, in Latin and English*, vol. 3. London: A. Millar, 1778, 247. Adam Kazimierz purchased two Latin editions of Horace's *Opera* (1794 and 1796) from his London dealer: BCz 50397 II, 62842.

90 I.Cz. to M.W., (Puławy, c. 15 May 1813), BCz 6140.

91 Czartoryska began writing the book 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: Potocki, *Pochwały, mowy i rozprawy*, vol. 2, 661.

92 Ignacy Krasicki, *Xięcia biskupa warmińskiego listy o ogrodach*, ed. Janusz Bogdanowski and Roman Marcinek (Cracow: Kultura i Natura, 2001). Marcin Cieński, "Dwór i ogród: myśli różne o sztuce ogrodniczej i literaturze w polskim oświeceniu," in Kostkiewiczowa and Roćko, eds., *Dwory magnackie*, 87–98.

this point as well, but while *Myśli* did present a set of precepts on how to arrange the main elements of a rural estate, it should be more correctly understood as 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 for such gardens, which, without disturbing the husbandry, have been an amusement and a recreation, and by bringing happiness to rural habitations, have increased our own contentment.[93]

For the frontispiece, Czartoryska chose a pastoral image of the 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."[94] Clearly, the destiny of those who work on the land—admittedly here dressed in classical robes—is predestined and unchangeable. Indeed, the book, with its simple and graceful prose, reinforces traditional social arrangements, although it never actually frames the relationships between the villagers and the owners as serfs and masters.

93 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, V-VI.

94 "W całym Życiu z dzieciństwa do późnego wieku / Szczęście obok Natury przeznaczone Człeku.' The manuscript version in A.K.'s writing is found in BK 01367.3, k. 343.

The rules of social harmony grace the rural universe, and the book gives advice on how to frame them in a natural planting scheme.

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 their degrees of hardiness. The listing accompanied a descriptive 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 *Epistle IV 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. [95]

Pope's maxim "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 to 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

95 The Polish published version: "Cokolwiek zamyślasz sadzić, lub budować, czyli wznaszać Kolumny, czy sklepienia; wzdęty kształcić Terras, albo Grotę kować; nigdy z oka nie spuszczay Natury. Obchódź się z tą Boginią, iak z skromną Dziewicą; ani ią stróy zbytecznie, ani nadto obnażay'. 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.

> worries have been diminished, and among blossoming flowers, my life has 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.[96]

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, farms, and gardens, this is the way. All are united together; all are useful and amusing to the owner, pleasing to the neighbors, an embellishment for the country, a way of living for the poor, and a memorial for those who will come after us.[97]

An insider's view

Myśli centered on the squire: his habits, his economic priorities, and his 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 (fig. 37).[98] Beauty did not respect the boundaries of property. A neighbor'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."[99] So someone who did not own even the smallest orchard could acquire an entire landscape as his own. This was a more radical statement than it sounds, for it involved an insider, who had to consciously change his perspective to that of seeing the same surroundings all year round. But this ownership did not come from the traditional idea of establishing

96 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, XII.'
97 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 10.
98 This was a similar kind of sensibility to that promoted by the Marquis de Girardin. Cf. Girardin, *An Essay on Landscape*, 145-50.
99 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 34.



FIGURE 37. *Idyllic Image of Transporting a Tree*, by Maria Wirtemberska, 1750–1800

a commanding viewpoint whence the domineering eye could take possession. Instead, in the chapter *On Prospects*, Czartoryska advised the placing of a house within a leafy enclave, close to a village or wood, rather than in the traditional elevated location. She pressed the argument only in aesthetic terms, but the implications were wider, establishing a relationship of association rather than that of domination.

Here it is helpful to draw on the theory of "disinterestedness."[100] In elevated 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 the landscape dissolves in the haze. Czartoryska's aesthetics can be seen as that of an insider who experienced her prospects from the ground level and continued her familiar relationship with the land she encountered on her daily walks. The values of the insiders or inhabitants are different from those of outsiders or visitors. For inhabitants, the beauty of a place comes from symbolic continuity and the sense of security, what she

100 Stephen C. Bourassa, *The Aesthetics of Landscape* (London: Belhaven Press, 1991), 39.

called "a way of living."[101] This change of level to one close to the earth, below the towering trees, diminishes the self-importance of the owner; it makes him an insider by choice. His relationship with nature comes from accepting his status and working within it.

The chapter *On Orchards* gave more advice on the beautiful and the useful but ultimately revealed Czartoryska's old aesthetic preferences dating back to her encounter with *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. In fact, it reads like a quotation from Rousseau's account of Julie's garden or 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 vines were beautiful in themselves, yet Lombardy poplars could be added with garlands of caprifolium and clematis strung between them and twining roses grafted with 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 his rural existence:

> On 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 favorite bench, he sees bountiful trees, delicious fruit, flowering paths, blossoming roses, bees, grass, and a clear sky.[102]

As the book progresses, the figure of the benevolent owner comes into focus. 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 setting with a happy ending in a landscape populated with people. Czartoryska stresses the nobleman's obligations towards his peasants. He should keep his villages

101 Bourassa, *The Aesthetics of Landscape*, 82.
102 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 36.

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. Fruit trees especially had the potential to create emotional bonds between the owner and his subjects:

> And if the hand of a poor or a weary farmer sometimes reaches for the freshly colored plums, let this not be a cause of the lord's anger; rather, let him rejoice in the sweet feeling that he has 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.[103]

This promotion of attachment to the land needs to be seen not only as emotional sensibility put through the filter of profitability. 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.[104] Most nobles wanted peace and to concentrate 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.[105] Under foreign rule, which showed itself hostile to the numerous unlettered and landless *szlachta*, a new class established itself among those nobles who retained both landed estates and recognition of their status—the *ziemiaństwo* [landowners]. In 1825, John Claudius Loudon characterized the new type in Poland:

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103 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 35.

104 For further analysis of post-partition gardening see Whelan, "Izabela Czartoryska and the Designed Landscape in Poland 1772-1831," 287-90.

105 Magdalena Morska counted 500 gardens in the former Polish territories in her book: *Zbiór rysunków wyobrażających celniejsze budynki wsi Zarzecza w Galicyi w obwodzie Przemyskim leżącej… z opisem budownictwa wiejskiego w sposobie holenderskim i angielskim i ogólnemi myślami o przyozdobieniu siedlisk wiejskich przez M.M.* (Vienna: Drukiem wdowy po Antonim Straussie, 1836). See chapter 3.

> 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 greater 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.[106]

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 "gray rabbit" nobility with no land to their title. They were neither powerful nor very rich in the old sense, but they made use of the security of their private spaces and established private libraries and historical collections.[107]

Much has been said about the novel nature of the *Myśli*.[108] Certainly, it was the first book in the 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.[109] They were looking to gener-

106 John Claudius Loudon, "Agriculture in Poland". In *Encyclopaedia of Agriculture* (London: Longman, 1825), 100–104. See also idem, "On the Rise, Progress, and Present State of Gardening in Poland," in *An Encyclopedia of Gardening (*London: Longman, 1835), 265–73.

107 Zbigniew Stankiewicz, "Szlachta - ziemianie w świetle ankiety włościańskiej 1814 r." In *Ziemiaństwo polskie 1795-1945. Zbiór prac o dziejach warstwy i ludzi*, ed. Janina Leskiewiczowa, 85-120. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1983), 86.

108 Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku,* 131. C.W. Krassowski, "Nowatorstwo "Myśli' Izabeli Czartoryskiej," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 27 (1965), 3, 227-30. Janusz Bogdanowski, "'Myśli różne," in *Ogród puławski*, 6-17. A. Whelan, "O sztuce i praktyce sadzenia roślin w ogrodach Izabeli Czartoryskiej," in *Ogród puławski—przeszłość przyszłości* (Puławy: Fundacja Wspierania Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego, Instytut Uprawy Nawożenia i Gleboznawstwa, 2003), 51-69.

109 Wodzicki, *O chodowaniu, użytku, mnożeniu i poznawaniu drzew, krzewów, roślin i ziół celnieyszych*, vol. 2, 62-65; Franciszek Giżycki, *O przyozdobieniu siedlisk wiejskich. Rzecz zastosowana do Polski*. 2 vols. (Warsaw: Glucksberg, 1827), vol. 1; Józef Strumiłło, *Ogrody północne* (Wilno: A. Dworca, 1820).

ate 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 the 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 the landowner.

The Temple of the Sybil

In 1805, Czartoryska interrupted her tour through the family's' Ukrainian lands, and she returned in haste to Puławy to prepare for the arrival of Tsar Alexander I on September 30.[110] Alexander was received with great honors both as an emperor and as the friend of Adam Jerzy. This was an opportunity to show him around the gardens and the Temple of the Sibyl, where he signed the visitor's book. During that year, only distinguished private guests visited the collection, which was not opened to the public until 1806.[111]

With Czartoryska's return, Puławy began its renewed existence as the center of Polish patriotic life. 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 Twickenham, the Tribune at 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 the Sibyl from Tivoli had become very familiar, not least from the prints illustrating the Marquis de Girardin's Temple of Philosophy in Ermenonville.

110 He stayed for two weeks until 16 October. Alina Aleksandrowicz, "Z problematyki nowego wieku (wokół Świątyni Sybilli)," *Wiek Oświecenia,* 16 (2000), 9-32 (19).

111 Aleksandrowicz, "Z problematyki nowego wieku," 19-20.

The popularity of the Temple of the 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.[112] Adam Kazimierz possessed the complete edition of Piranesi's engravings. There were other examples of the Temple of the Sibyl. They included the small pavilion of Vesta, built in the early 1780s by Johann Christian Kamsetzer, who traveled to Rome, for the royal painter Marcello Baciarelli in his garden on the outskirts of Warsaw.[113]

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 the Great Sejm of 1788-92. Besides its frequent expression in pamphlets, speeches, and sermons, it is most notably epitomized by the endowment of a votive church in Warsaw dedicated to Divine Providence.[114] Aleksandra Ogińska organized a *fête* for the name day of her husband, Hetman Michał Kazimierz Ogiński, on September 29, 1791. The *fête* in the palace at Siedlce involved a series of *tableaux vivants*, lasting one and a half hours, on the theme of 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.[115] Although no one came from Puławy for the occasion, the display showed the wider

112 Smuglewicz studied in the Academy of St Luke as the protégé of King Stanisław 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. Kamsetzer went to Rome in 1776-1777 and 1780-1782. After his second journey he presented the king with a series of spectacular views of the Temple of the Sibyl and its waterfalls. See: Marzena Królikowska-Dziubecka, *Podróże artystyczne Jana Chrystiana Kamsetzera (1776-1777, 1780-1782), architekta w służbie króla Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*. (Warsaw: Neriton, 2003), 128, 147, 149, 150-151, 155-156. Jadwiga Rudnicka, *Biblioteka Stanisława Augusta na Zamku Warszawskim: dokumenty*. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1988), 16.

113 Adam Wołk, "Świątynia Sybilli i amfiteatr grecki w Puławach w świetle opisów podróży do Włoch Stanisława Staszica." In *Ogród puławski—przeszłość przyszłości*, ed. Adam Wołk, 124-129. (Puławy: Fundacja Wspierania Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego, Instytut Uprawy Nawożenia i Gleboznawstwa), 2003, 127.

114 Butterwick, *Polska Rewolucja*, *passim*.

115 Katarzyna Kossakowska to Pelagia Potocka, Siedlce, 20 September 1791, in *Listy Katarzyny z Potockich Kossakowskiej, kasztelanowej kamieńskiéj, 1754-1800*, ed. Kazimierz Waliszewski. (Poznań: J.K. Żupański, 1883), 237-39.

relevance both themes preferred by the Czartoryski circle and of the *tableau* format.

In Puławy, most of the collection in the Temple of the Sibyl focused on objects connected to significant events in Polish history, although some objects were of wider European significance. Exhibits included the two swords sent by the Teutonic Knights to King Władysław Jagiełło before the battle of Grunwald-Tannenberg in 1410, the banners, armor, and Turkish tents won by Jan Sobieski at Vienna in 1683, and personal items such as a silver pen of King Stefan Batory and a golden chain of his queen, Anna Jagiellonka.[116] 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 for the future], they presented a disjointed, non-linear view of history and 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, according to the title of the building's visitors' book, it was renamed the Temple of National Mementoes.[117]

The small space of the Temple of the Sibyl could not house all of the rapidly growing collection, and so in 1811, Czartoryska transferred the European section to the Gothic House (fig. 38). 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*,

116 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 puławska 1809-1959. Świątynia Sybilli i Dom Gotycki* (Cracow: Muzeum Narodowe, 1959).

117 Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi*, 126-27.

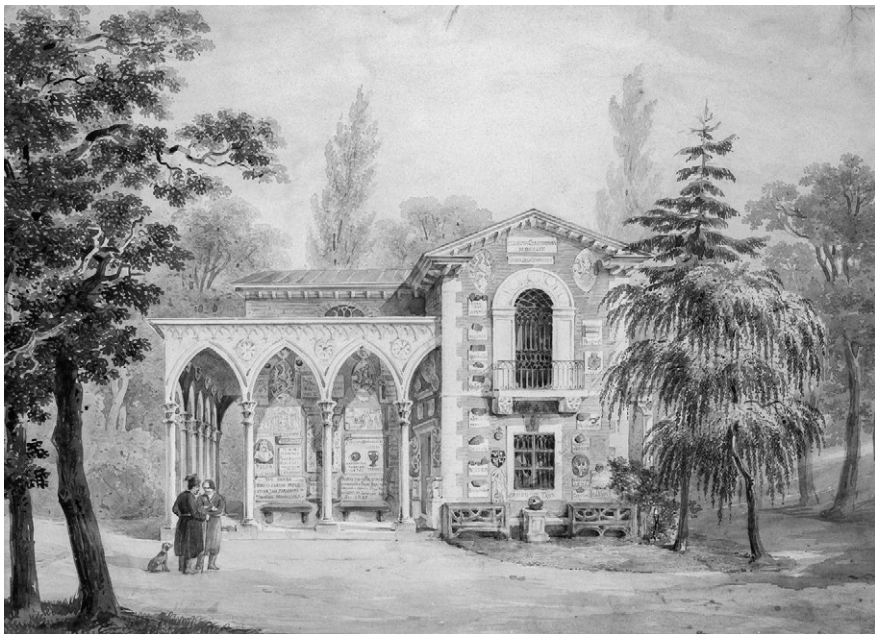

Figure 38. *The Gothic House in Puławy, the Żółkiewski Wall*, by Willibald Richter, c.1840

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 both Wörlitz and Stowe, but her own imaginative preferences also leaned towards medieval associations. 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. 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.[118] The analogy of the broken pot had been used in the early seventeenth

118 All the architectural structures were built by the native of Puławy Piotr Chrystian Aigner. Jan Paweł Woronicz, "Hymn do Boga. O dobrodziejstwach Opatrzności, narodowi polskiemu wyświadczonych po upadku Polski," in Jan Paweł Woronicz, *Dzieła poetyczne wierszem i prozą.* (Leipzig: Librarie ètrangére, 1853), vol. 1; 3, 10.

century by the Jesuit Piotr Skarga in his political warnings to the Commonwealth's elite.[119] 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, one on the Puławy museum entitled *Świątynia Sybilli* [The Temple of Sybil], with the prophetic words of the Sybil: "This tomb will not usher in the end of your family; Troy fell so that Rome could rise."[120] 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 the Sibyl as it appears in its ruined form in Tivoli. Even the Puławy promontory had changed into the precipice shaped by the river Anio (fig. 39). 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*. 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 a 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;

119 Piotr Skarga, *Kazania sejmowe, także wzywanie do pokuty obywatelów Korony Polskiej* (Cracow: WBP, 1857), 106.

120 Woronicz, *Sybilla. Poema historyczne we czterech pieśniach*.

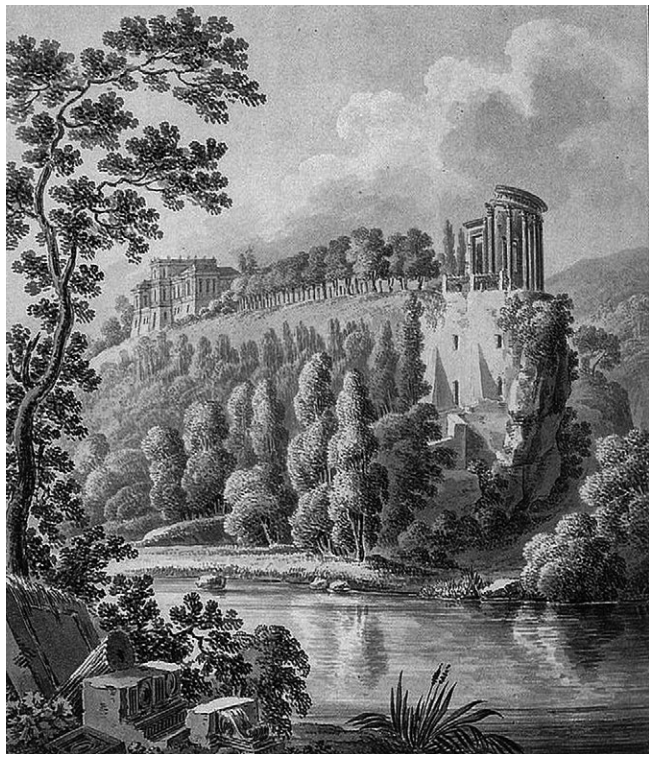

Figure 39. *The Temple of the Sibyl in Puławy*, by Zygmunt Vogel? 1807

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, where he shows a Grecian Muse with the Sibylline temple in the background, the experience of remembrance relied on the physicality of reception. 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 rele-

vant to our modern-day culture, at Puławy, death and the past were the dominant themes.

In the Temple of the 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 Polish history had a distinctive bias towards the role of the family, both in the past and in the future, as the custodians of national heritage. The museum was visited by large numbers of people from all three parts of partitioned Poland. They included members of the aristocracy, the 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, grat-

> itude, 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.[121]

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 still ours.[122]

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

121 Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi do wolności.* 109.
122 I.Cz., 'Mémoires et écrits divers," BCz 6067, f. 65.

of the spirited animator, the capable camp follower, 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 the 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 century.[123] Several ceremonies took place to mark different stages of the inauguration. At the laying of the cornerstone 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 Puławy court poets and to the applause of the assembled crowds.[124] The next stage—the ingress of trophies, swords, and jewels—was planned for 1804. It involved a slow procession through the garden with young maidens dressed in white, carrying the objects along a 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.[125]

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:

123 Jan Paweł Woronicz's poem *Świątynia Sybilli* was supposedly written in 1801, but in fact it was written after 1811 or even as late as 1818.
124 Aleksandrowicz, "Wokół Świątyni Sybilli," 14-15.
125 Aleksandrowicz, "Wokół Świątyni Sybilli," 18-19.

> 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 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.[126]

All these performances took the form of a moving *tableau*, and all involved the new generation of the Czartoryski women, who were styled as the keepers of the collection.[127] These *tableaux* combined the sensibility of the tender heart with the element that had all the markers of 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 society. The merging of the familiar and the new allowed the viewers to experience what Noel Parker called a "rehearsal of the self-image of the community."[128] 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 national loss.

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126 Aleksandrowicz, "Wokół Świątyni Sybilli," 20.

127 These ceremonies have been reconstructed by Alina Aleksandrowicz in "Wokół Świątyni Sybilli'.

128 Noel Parker, *Portrayals of Revolution: Images, Debates, and Patterns of Thought on the French Revolution* (Carbondale, SI: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990), 66.

Roman triumphs 1809

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 the course of the Franco-Austrian War of 1809, his forces liberated large parts of Austrian-ruled Galicia—including Puławy. On June 29, 1809, he arrived with a 12,000-strong army.[129] Czartoryska staged a welcome procession for her liberator. It was a memorable event recalled in several memoirs: a dozen cavalrymen in armor from the Temple of the 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 the 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. She then addressed the assembled units in a rousing speech, received their communal oath of honor, 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.

The pinnacle of the celebrations was Poniatowski's visit to the Temple of the 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,

129 Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi do wolności,* 151.



Figure 40. *Portrait of Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski with the Temple of the Sibyl in the Background*, by Eduard Ströhling, 1800

although it did not yet contain its collection.[130] 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 the inscription on the key to the Gothic House implied: *Dux Femina Facti* [The woman is the leader of the deed], taken from Virgil's *Aeneid*.[131] Poniatowski ordered his officers to single out the most valiant soldiers and allow them to visit the Temple of the Sibyl—all were

130 Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi do wolności,* 151.

131 Michał Mencfel, "The Theatre of Affectionate Hearts." In *The Home, Nations and Empires, and Ephemeral Exhibition Spaces,* ed. Dominique Bauer and Camilla Murgia (Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 133–160. Idem, "The poet's skull." *Journal of the History of Collections,* 2022, 34 (1), 157–74. Aleksander Musiał, "Mentem morta-

chosen. Czartoryska personally explained to them the meaning of each object. Entertainments and *fêtes* followed, and the villagers were encouraged to support the troops with food. The real inauguration of the Gothic House took place on March 25, 1811, the birthday of Maria Wirtemberska, when Adam Kazimierz solemnly opened the building before the assembled crowds (fig. 40).

While the written description gives us the subsequent progress and informs us of the high spirits of the patriotically motivated participants, we need to think of other visual markers of the procession as well as the sound. The entry into the garden began with ovations from the assembled citizens at the garden gate. The widely expressive articulations of emotion—cries of joy and waving hands—were highly valued by Czartoryska, as is evident in her passionate correspondence and memoirs. Secondly, as each unit had its drummers, the rhythm of beats must have filled the air, intensifying at the passing of the gate. That said, the greatest applause came towards the end of the procession, when Prince Józef appeared on horseback.[132]

Afterwards, the cheering crowds joined the parade. We know that the regiments carried their eagle standards: the banner or a flag attached to a pole. The pole was topped by the Polish white eagle resting on a brass stand identifying the unit. The flag was secondary as the eagle became the symbol of the Polish units. The sight of the eagle standards unmistakably identified the army, not least as a link to the French military; Napoleon, after all, had introduced the eagle standard in 1804. But the eagle was also a connection to the Roman past, where the standard was revered as the most prominent military symbol and as a rallying point.[133]

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lia tangunt—Fragments and Fetishes in Puławy Landscape Garden (1794-1831)". Oxford Art Journal, 42, 3 (2019), 355–72.

132 More on the Puławy 1809 triumphs in: Agnieszka Whelan, "Reenacting Roman Triumphs in the Garden of Puławy." In Über *Gärten imGespräch: Wechselwirkungen zwischen Landschaftsgärten des18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts in Mittel- und Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Jana Kittelmann, Michael Niedermeier and Andrea Thiele (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2023), 39–55.

133 For more details on Roman triumphs see: I., Östenberg, S. Malmberg and J. Bjørnebye, eds., *The Moving City: Processions, Passages and Promenades in Ancient Rome* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

The specificity of the grouping of the people in the procession poses a question of a precedent in history that would influence Czartoryska's imagination. There is no need to look far; it is enough to start with educational books for young children, like Charles Rollin's *History of Rome*, which formed the basis of instruction for Izabela's daughters and most probably her own, and which contain numerous mentions of Roman triumphs.[134] The French Revolution capitalized on their widespread recognition. A print by Carle Vernet (1810) shows Napoleon himself, as first consul, riding in triumph in a chariot with a winged glory beside him. The progress continues through the Arc de Triomphe visible in the fragment, although it will be another quarter of a century before the arch is completed.[135]

The tradition of triumphs in Rome was very old; they were practiced both in the Republic and in the Empire. Once a *triumphator* received permission from the Senate to hold a triumph, he made his progress into Rome—always from outside the boundaries of the city—in an extravagant procession. First came the presentation of the spoils, treasures, jewels, and gold. After that, the prisoners of war followed into Rome. Finally, the Roman triumphator rode in a chariot pulled by white horses. Victorious generals rode on horseback. Throughout Rome's existence, the triumphs remained a constant and powerful tool to forward political goals via visual symbolism and engagement of the *populus*. More importantly, its ideological significance never waned, and for centuries the triumphs had been adapted, replicated, and enacted by successive cultures. They were prominently visible in the works of artists across the ages, from Andrea Mantegna and Giovanni Antonio da Brescia to Antonio Tempesta, Peter Paul Rubens, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, and Carle Vernet. They are among the most enduring legacies of Rome.[136]

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134 Charles Rollin, *The Roman History from the Foundation of Rome to the Battle of Actium that is, to the End of the Commonwealth*, 16 vols. London: John and Paul Knapton, 1739. See also: Judith Mossman. "Plutarch and the Roman Triumph.' *Hermathena* 200/201 (2016): 107-28.

135 See also: Kimberly, Jannarone. "Choreographing Freedom: Mass Performance in the Festivals of the French Revolution." *TDR: Drama Review* 61.2 (2017): 117–39.

136 Mary Beard, *Twelve Caesars, Images of Power from the Ancient World to the Modern* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021).

In Puławy, the procession of the treasures came from the Temple of the Sibyl and were carried on cushions by maidens from the palace school. These were the spoils of victorious wars carried away by the Czartoryski forbearers, especially those who accompanied King Jan III Sobieski's campaigns against the Ottoman Turks and his victory at Vienna in 1683. There was one glorified prisoner in Puławy, Izabela's husband, Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. As an Austrian marshal and therefore an enemy to the rising, he ceremoniously surrendered to the Polish army and as such avoided any conflict of interest by joining in the patriotic procession. Lastly, as in Rome, Prince Poniatowski—a victorious general—rode his white horse. An ancient triumph had always been a highly sought honor, not only solidifying the ultimate support of the Senate for the victor, but the city-wide lavish street spectacles and entertainments ingratiated the victor with the populous of Rome for the next decade or so. In Puławy, that role of the Senate rested with Czartoryska: she singled out the victor, she choreographed the triumph, and she financed it. She also made sure that appropriate crowds from the provinces came to cheer the procession at the Roman arch, *Porta Triumphalis*, specially erected for the entry of the troops into the garden. No visual records remain of how it appeared, but the brick arch erected in 1828, on the twentieth anniversary of the event, may allude to the original form. In Puławy, for the duration of the triumph, the space of the garden was transformed into the Eternal City, as the triumphs only took place in Rome. The Temple of the Sibyl acted then as the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill. There, sacrifices were traditionally made in the *votum* of thanks. The tangible statement to this end holds the book of signatures, with autographs of soldiers placed there in the temple among the many historical objects displayed in the museum. That sacrifice, a theme important in Czartoryska's elegies, referred to the Polish risings and the ongoing war with Austria. In Puławy, the rites shifted from the sacrifice of prisoners of war to the ongoing sacrifice of the troops. Visibly, the wounded in the Doric House epitomized the cost of war.

An important part in Roman triumphs was reserved for orations. And here Czartoryska, as always, assigned herself the leading role, that

of a poet, a bard, a voice of the nation, energizing the troops to action and glorifying their recent victories.[137] It should be stressed that this type of enactment, with the victorious general on horseback, refers to the Republican tradition. The custom of honoring a Roman general—rather than an emperor—lasted only a few decades after the establishment of the empire. Although the Republican and the Imperial spectacles did not differ in their choreography or in the architecture of triumphs, Augustus realized the potential of the suddenly popular general to threaten the emperor's position. Augustus refused a triumph to General Marcus Licinus Crassus the Younger, and the last triumph, awarded to General Cornelius Balbus, took place in the year 14 CE. After that, triumphs were reserved for emperors only.

Of course, none of this could happen anywhere else but in a private garden, and this one contained the first Doric structure in Poland—a copy of the Tivolian Temple of the Sibyl, a small neoclassical palace called the Marynki in the extended grounds, a copy of the Sarcophagus of Scipio in the Elysian Fields dedicated to the memory of the Czartoryski parents, and a profusion of antique and neoclassical sculptures.[138] This upper garden section, with wide paths winding gently among the large clumps of ornamental trees and shrubs, brought unmistakable comparisons to stage scenery. This arrangement was not new or innovative, as there was an obvious precursor in the "Roman" structures in Powązki.[139] For our purposes, however, this immersion in Roman architectural fabric in an epic Puławy landscape played out a narrative which was visible and intelligible to all. Just as in Rome, having a *triumphator* in one's family elevated the status of the house. When Józef Poniatowski died at Leipzig in 1813 defending Napoleon's retreat, Czartoryska acquired his sword and insignia and placed them in a new

137 Alina Aleksandrowicz, "Złoty Gotyk, Czyli Kult Rycerstwa Średniowiecznego". In *Od Oświecenia do Romantyzmu. Prace Ofiarowane Piotrowi Żbikowskiemu*, ed. Stanisław Uliasz, Gustaw Ostas. (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1997), 9–24. Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska. Polskość i Europejskość.*

138 Agnieszka Whelan, "On the Statuary of the Garden of Puławy", *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes,* 29 (2009), 57–71.

139 Whelan, "Powązki: Szkoła uczuć i historii. Wychowanie młodych Czartoryskich".

space, a crypt located under the Temple of the Sibyl and created a place of his cult there.

Can we talk about this type of 1809 pageantry as a reenactment? The question of what a reenactment is has been debated over the last decade from a variety of methodological points of view. However, there are some basic conditions which reenactments fulfill, the most important of which is mimesis, or the imitation of a historical event. For the 1809 procession, that original event was the Roman triumph. Although not a battle reenacted in historical accuracy, the procession exhibited an equal attentiveness to detail in its progress through space. However, the imitation ends there, as the 1809 soldiers did not play in disguise; they were themselves; they were coming from a real victory and awaiting real battles in a developing war. No one was certain who would survive, and therefore the make-believe reenactment acquired a visceral reality.

The ethos of Rome put far deeper roots in Polish traditions. The "Sarmatian" nobles falsely claimed, that their brush with Ancient Rome was the source of their martial virtues, their sense of honor, and their love of *patria*. Hence, the "triumphs" were widely appropriated into vernacular ceremonial entries performed when travelling from one residence to another. The splendor of the procession translated itself into their political power for all to see along the route of the march and visualized the military readiness of the participating nobles. Adam Czartoryski traveled from Puławy to Wolhynia with four hundred horses and fourteen camels, Prince Karol Radziwiłł entered Lvov in 1778 with a caravan of camels and heavily laden mules, while the accounts of one magnate, Szczęsny Potocki, reveal that his journey from Tulczyn to Luboml in 1792 cost in the region of 400,000 zł, an absurdly huge sum.[140] It is easy to see that these Roman honors were taken and appropriated by the Polish magnates for political purposes. Most importantly, the power of such a visual display harnessed the open participation of the people along the way. It would be, therefore, misleading to see these "performances" in terms of contemporary reenactments;

140 Łoziński, *Życie Polskie w Dawnych Wiekach*, 244.

instead, they should be viewed within the lexicon of "Samaritan" gestures.[141] In performing this "triumph," they were not reliving the past but rather drawing on classical imagery to define the contemporary moment. It was a mobile *tableau vivant*. Izabela placed herself and her children center stage. She was taking possession of the Polish victory for herself and her family.

It is evident that any politically oriented visualization had to have appealed to the broadest possible number of social classes—to the open-minded nobility, to those of "Sarmatian" traditions, to the gentry, to the townspeople and peasants, and to all from different religious and cultural communities of the multi-ethnic territories of Poland's past. Certainly, the complexity of eighteenth-century culture, the recent victories, the earlier lost wars, and the aftermath of the partitions added nuances to the interpretive fabric of the performance. Mimesis was here widened into the extensive associative sphere enriching the performance. The 1809 procession in Puławy certainly imitated a triumph, but it needs to be seen as an associative event and not as a source of accurate historical information. By ushering the procession into the garden, Czartoryska created an experience; she gave it historical weight and a space out of time, where the everyday remained behind the garden wall and where contemporary events could be seen in the context of history.

There are not many material witnesses surviving from the sojourn of the troops in Puławy in 1809; apart from the watercolor painting by Jan Zachariasz Frey showing the visit of the soldiers in the garden (fig. 41), there is a little-recognized Roman Arch, erected 20 years later, in 1828. It stood over a route called the Deep Road on the site of a large wooden gate that led guests into the garden, straight to the Gothic House and the Temple of the Sibyl. The founder was then nearing the end of her life, and yet she devoted her remaining strength and capital to this seemingly redundant building. Why the triumphal arch and why this form? To begin with, we need to recollect that this was not the first arch built by Czartoryska. An earlier, temporary one was erected in 1809 in Gołąb, near Puławy, on the occasion of the arrival of Józef Poni-

141 Whelan, "Reenacting Roman Triumphs in the garden of Puławy", passim.



FIGURE 41. *Polish Army in Puławy*, by Jan Zachariasz Frey, 1809

atowski's soldiers, who were to camp there. The arch in the Puławy garden, probably prepared for the celebration of the 20th anniversary of these events in 1829, recalled the emotional experiences of those days. Perhaps it was connected with the hope that in the future a new liberation procession would triumphantly pass under the arcades to into the garden. But there may be another explanation. An etching depicting a triumphal arch has been preserved in the University of Warsaw Library, which we can convincingly recall as the progenitor of the Roman Arch in Puławy, an etching we discussed previously in the chapter "Costumes for the Great Sejm" (fig. 42). The image presents a design by the royal architect Dominik Merlini to celebrate the name day of Stanisław Małachowski, marshal of the Great Sejm, on May 14, 1789. In the central *panneau*, the personification of the Commonwealth in the costume of Athena puts a laurel wreath on the marshal's head as he prevents "weak freedom" from collapsing—as Czartoryska put it.

Patriotic sentences are arranged on the panels and the cornice is crowned with the monogram SM (Stanisław Małachowski) with a ded-



Figure 42. *Triumphal Arch for the Name Day Celebrations of Stanisław Małachowski, Marshal of the Sejm, May 14, 1789*, by Dominik Merlini, 1789

ication. On the left-side panel, the inscription reads: *Guard the Motherland and multiply her glory; do not despair or be discouraged by adversity.* On the right side, the inscription reads: *These are the most important virtues of a free man. We honor them, and future generations will immortalize them.* Under the central arch, the invocation to the marshal read: *Through your hands, freedom rises from the ruins. Take this wreath with joy; the homeland gives it to you.* [142] The princess, emotionally involved in the proceedings of the sejm, took on the role of the arranger of public celebration regarding the marshal's name day.

142 On the left: *Strzyc iak ty Oyczyzny/ chwałę yei pomnażać/, nierozpaczać ani się przeciwnością zrażać.* On the right: *Te są najpierw cnoty wolnego człowieka. Te czcimy, je potomność uwieczni daleka.* Under the central arch: *Wolność przez twoje ręce z rozwalin powstaje, bierz z radością ten wieniec, ojczyzna go daje.*

Let us see how the princess continued these same ideals from 1789 to 1809 and 1828. When Poniatowski entered Puławy, 20 years had passed since Czartoryska's triumphs on the national political scene, when, being at the center of attention, she guided the sentiment of the nation, aroused patriotic passions, and delighted spectators. It is likely that the brick arch in Puławy was intended to evoke these moments and at the same time commemorate the entry of Polish troops in 1809.

Offerings of fire

Poniatowski left Puławy on July 3 with most of his units, but over a hundred wounded soldiers continued to receive care in the Greek orangery, the makeshift infirmary organized by the palace doctor Kittel.[143] Less severely injured men recuperated in villagers' homes. All but two recovered.[144] But the performances involving the military did not end with Poniatowski's departure. For Czartoryska's name day on November 15, 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 the Sibyl. Following a "cheerful feast," all gathered at the altar of Virtue placed in front of the palace. General Sokolnicki commenced an "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 (fig. 43). The crowds then repaired to the garden,

143 A few dozen carts brought the wounded from Sandomierz. Gracyan Wereżyński, "Opis historyczny Puław, dziś Nowo-Aleksandryi oraz rys krótki, biograficzno-historyczny oraz rodowód J.O. Xiążąt Czartoryskich na podstawie dzieł historycznych polskich ułożony przez Gracyana Wereżyńskiego, b. Rejenta Lubartowskiego w r. 1893 w Lublinie'. BCz III 3978.

144 "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności w podróży księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej na Wołyń, Podole i Ukrainę." In *Ziemiaństwo na Lubelszczyźnie. Ziemianie w podróżach*, edited by Hubert Łaszkiewicz, 359-380. (Lublin: Werset, 2010), 365. Agnieszka Whelan, *Jak wyglądał ogród puławski w 1809 roku? Nowe ustalenia.* In: *Izabela Czartoryska dux femina facti*, Muzeum Czartoryskich w Puławach, ed. Grażyna Bartnik, 2021, 239–60.



Figure 43. *Izabela Czartoryska as the Sibyl from Puławy*, by Józef Kosiński, c. 1800.

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."[145]

The pleasures and entertainments that followed utterly changed the solemn theme. The progressing illuminations in the garden introduced an element of aesthetic wonder, and the palace turned into an oasis of traditional "Sarmatian" hospitality. Soldiers were entertained there to a lavish feast hosted by six Vestal Virgins.

This continuous change of themes, moods, and formats, with an underlying constant of traditional customs, points to the continuation

145 Aleksandrowicz, *Różne drogi do wolności,* 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.



FIGURE 44. *Polish Soldiers in the Garden of Puławy*, artist unknown, 1809

of the aesthetics which Czartoryska had first developed at Powązki. The new element introduced at Puławy was the combination of chivalric courage and sensibility. The soldiers at Puławy were not only styled as knights and endowed with the emotional response of the heart.[146] They actively responded: they lit the altar of virtue, received wreaths of flowers, listened to performed verses and music, and mingled with the assembled nobility and peasants. The soldiers knew the language of the *tableau* and could participate in it. The proof of this is a drawing commissioned by those who were nursed to health by Czartoryska in her orangery as a parting gift of gratitude (fig. 44). An anonymous artist depicts them in a moving *tableau* in front of the orangery, laying down their crutches under an imaginary statue of Flora. A small detail was

146 Eadem, "Prawdziwie rycerskie igrzyska." In *Rok 1809 w literaturze i sztuce*, ed. Barbara Czwórnóg-Jadczak and Małgorzata Chachaj, 137–50. Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2011, 141–44. Maria Wirtemberska developed the theme of chivalric virtues in her novel *Malvina* written in 1816. See: Wirtemberska, *Malvina or the Heart's Intuition*.

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 of them wept together.[147]

Their common hopes of Poland's full restoration had been dashed in 1812/13. But because of the negotiations at Vienna, in 1815 a small Kingdom of Poland had been reestablished, 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 under his much less sympathetic brother, Nicholas I. Many of the hopes associated with this so-called "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 economic growth. For Puławy these were years of stability.[148]

Contemporary diaries relate two ways in which the space at Puławy was experienced: as a guest of the Czartoryski family and as a tourist. The palace provided a guide, and for many years Franciszek Gniewkowski, a member of the household, carried out this function.[149] He embodied the romanticized vision of the old "Sarmatian" past: tall, dressed in the

147 Czartoryska, *Dyliżansem przez Śląsk*, 37.
148 Zawadzki, *A Man of Honour*, chs. 10–12.
149 Gniewkowski recited texts written by poet Jan Kruszyński and by the Puławy librarian Łukasz Gołębiowski. Neither text has survived.See: Żygulski, *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.

national costume, with his moustache and shaven head, he would open the doors of the Temple of the 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 a narrative written by the Puławy librarian.

In the Temple of the Sibyl, in a space charged with emotion, the passionate rhetoric of the guide glorified the national past and the 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, the guardians of Poland's heritage.[150]

After 1813, the reverential attitude continued in the lower of the two levels of the temple. In the crypt below, in mysterious darkness, lay 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 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 numbers of visitors traveled to have this experience: nobles, soldiers, schoolchildren brought for a lesson in patriotism, families, city dwellers, and the upper stratum of villagers from the Czartoryski estates.[151] A thorough tour of both buildings lasted at least three hours, physically and emotionally exhausting hosts and guests alike. Visitors subscribed to

150 Skutnik, *Czuła pedagogia. Edukacyjny walor dzieł i działań księżnej Izabeli,* 307–309.

151 For example, 204 people signed their names in the Temple of the Sibyl in August 1816: BCz 6141. See also: I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 29 August 1823.

the vision of history presented to them and attested their loyalty by signing the visitors' book.[152] Carol Duncan, in her seminal work, 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.[153] 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 of reality.[154]

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 would manipulate the time in such a way that they were never admitted. As a special favor, she would take her guests around herself and welcome 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 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, and artists, as if a phantasmagoria, passed before us, and we kept

152 See: Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich (*Świątynia *Sybilli i Dom Gotycki),* 227–33.

153 Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 8.

154 Cf. the discussion of the hermitage in an associative garden: Edward S. Harwood, "Luxurious Hermits: Asceticism, Luxury and Retirement in the 18th-Century English Garden", *Studies in the* History *of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 20, 4 (2000): 265–296.The hermit still lived in his house in 1826: Rachunek Pieniężny Kassy J.O.Xiężney Pani 1 VII 1820-30 VI 1821. Pensje oficjalistów i służących w 1820/1821 roku," BCz 6087. The hermit received 1 ducat annually for making brooms. "Tabella opłaty ogrodniczkom od 1 VII-31 XII 1826," BCz Gosp., f. 63. See: Antoni Amborski, "Opis Puław z przyległemi okolicami," BPAN, Cracow, MS 582 (Biblioteka IUNG Puławy, Xerox copy no 57903).

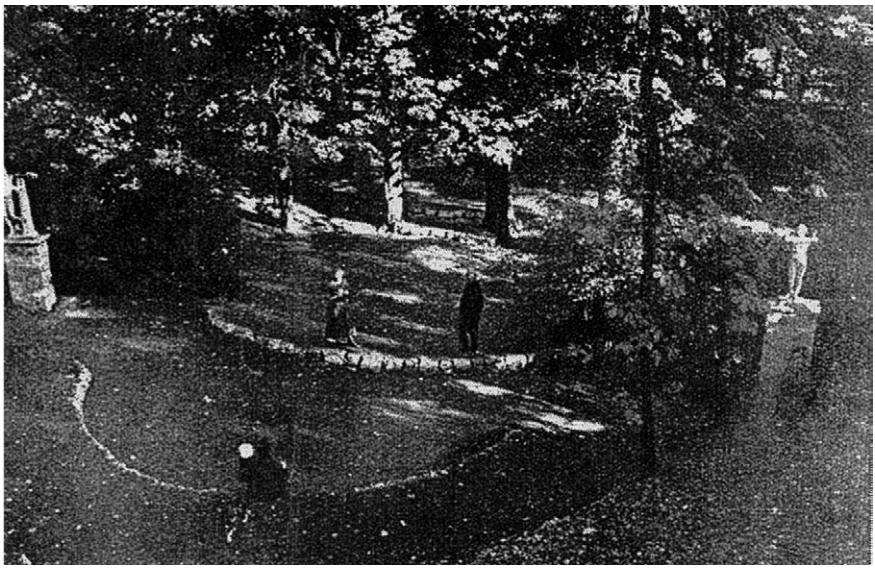

FIGURE 45. The Greek Theatre in the park, reconstructed by Stanisław Goliński and cleaned by Bolshevik prisoners in 1920, photograph by J. Bułhak, c. 1925

blessing the hands of her who collected these precious mementoes and arranged them in a harmonious and sequential whole." [155]

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 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 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.

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 a social

155 Klaudyna Działyńska once recited "Zółkiewski pod Cecorą' by Julian Niemcewicz, who was present at the tour. Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828,* 76–77.



Figure 46. *Zofia Matuszewicz Carrying Flowers to the Temple of Sibyl*, artist unknown, n.d.

and relaxing nature, the ones which are mentioned in many memoirs as incessant amusements invented by the indefatigable Czartoryska.[156] These, however, should not be dismissed as irrelevant in the presence of the patriotic theme. The Temple of the Sibyl towered over all of them, as a classical prop, whether visible from the garden open-air Greek Theater (fig. 45), where spectators sat on the grassy amphitheater of the escarpment, or as a destination of the sentimental tributes.[157] 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 (fig. 46).

156 Other entertainments included makeshift performances on wooden platforms, which Konrad Niemira connects with a puppet show, Niemira, *Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine,* Teatr kukiełkowy / Puppet Show MNK, XV-Rr.-1386. 209.

157 Wołk, "Świątynia Sybilli," 128–29.



FIGURE 47. *Entertainment with Nymphs and Satyrs at the Puławy Grotto Staged in 1803 in Honor of Princess Luisa*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, 1803

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 (fig. 47). 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. The choreography of those classical reenactments 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.[158] There were games in the

158 The composition was engraved by Francesco Bartolozzi in April 1788 and received unreserved praise from Cosway's friend Jacques-Louis David: "one could

Upper Garden, *fêtes* on the island of Kępa, and races and battles on the river Łacha. The splendid moving *tableau* of the defeated Turkish ambassador and his retinue paraded up and down the Deep Road near the Greek House to the amusement of the picnicking company.[159] All of them involved an element of progress in the landscape as the defining constituent taking place in the narrative. All revolved in the shadow of the Temple of the 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.

The conclusion must be that the temple functioned as an essential element of the stage design for a variety of scenarios. In the same way, we should see renditions of the Temple of the 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 the Czartoryskis' architect, Piotr Chrystian Aigner.[160]

Walking among the monuments

In the chapter of her *Myśli* devoted to monuments, Czartoryska's first piece of advice was: don't. Proceed with caution. She continued with a list of common mistakes: warped wooden vases fallen over and remaining half-buried in muck; oil-painted metal vases, peeling, rusting, and blown by the wind; monuments made of plaster, brick, or concrete splitting, chipping, flaking, or crumbling. "Surely," she argued, "a garden may be beautiful without an urn, a pyramid, or a vase."[161] However,

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not make poetry more ingenious and more natural'. Maria Cosway met David in the salons of Izabela Lubomirska and the anglophile Duc D'Orleans and David seriously contemplated travelling to London on the Cosways' invitation. Bordes, "Jacques-Louis David's Anglophilia on the Eve of the French Revolution", 485.

159 Ryba, *Maskarady oświeconych*, 32–33.

160 Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski, *Pałac w Zarzeczu i grupa pałaców z rotundą w narożu* (Warsaw: PIS, 1957). Kopania, Izabela. "Pałac w Zarzeczu w świetle nowych badań." *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 53, no. 3 (2008): 43–51.

161 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 51. Izabela informed Adam Jerzy about writing the chapter on monuments in a letter dated 16 January 1800: Czartoryska, *Listy księżny Izabelli*. See also: Malcolm Baker, "'Squabby Cupids and

she agreed that sometimes there was space for an appropriate dedication to filial piety, friendship, or 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 to honestly examine whether the memento will always remain pleasant and needed and also let him deliberate whether he indeed places this souvenir truly for himself, for his own sentiment, or whether he acts out of a vain desire to flaunt it to others.[162]

This sentiment not only validated the intention and content of a monument but, as we have read, it also privileged the conceptual idea over the artistic form: "A monument of the simplest form will be most engaging if it comes from true tenderness."[163]

Such monuments existed, therefore, mainly in intentions, memories, and associations. A visitor to Puławy, especially a stranger, had to negotiate the private and public messages transmitted through the monuments. The two largest ones in the garden were Francesco Lazzarini's sculpture of Tancred and Clorinda[164] and a copy of the sarcophagus of Scipio Africanus (fig. 48). The tomb of Scipio had only been discovered in 1780, but it immediately 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

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Clumsy Graces': Garden Sculpture and Luxury in Eighteenth-Century England." *Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 1 (1995): 3–13. Much of this section has been published in: Agnieszka Whelan, "On the Statuary of the Garden of Puławy", *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes,* 29 (2009), 57–71.

162 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów,* 51.

163 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów,* 51.

164 "Kasa Generalna—Puławy 1773-1807. Tabele, wykazy': "A Conto J.O.Xiężny JMci, sierpień 1806," BCz MS (no number). According to Stanisław Goliński, an inscription at the base read: *Morta e Clorinda, disperato vedi/ Della vittoria sua pianger Tancredi*. Stanisław Goliński, *Puławy: park—jego dzieje, oblicze i świat roślin* (Puławy: IUNG, 1988), 93. First edition 1924, enlarged edition 1932. For the history of its acquisition see: Euzebiusz Maj, "Krajobrazy z „Tankredem i Kloryndą" w puławskim ogrodzie. W poszukiwaniu utraconego „genius loci" romantycznego ogrodu," in *Ogród puławski,* 80-96.



Figure 48. *Sarcophagus of August and Maria Czartoryskis in Puławy*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, n.d.

daughter Cornelia was the 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.

The connection between Scipio and Hannibal must be seen as particularly rich in associations in Puławy.[165] 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 Czartoryskis, thus further linking the family to Republican Rome. The persistent legend that

165 The sarcophagus was ordered in Rome by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski in 1799. Czartoryska, *Listy księżny Izabelli*, 49.

the sarcophagus contained August Czartoryski's sword may have referred to the Spartan practice of burying an effigy of a king.[166]

The statue of Tancred and Clorinda came from Stanisław August's collection in Warsaw. Prince Jabłonowski purchased it at the sale of the statuary from Łazienki in August 1806 as a surprise gift for Izabela.[167] 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, mortally wounds his beloved Clorinda, the heroic Muslim defender of Jerusalem, during a night battle. Dying in Tancred's embrace, she converts to Christianity on her death bed.[168] 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 had hitherto 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."[169] 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."

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166 Herodotus, *The Histories of Herodotus*. trans. Henry Cary (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904), 336.

167 "Kasa Generalna—Puławy 1773-1807. Tabele, wykazy': "A Conto J.O.Xiężny JMci, sierpień 1806," BCz MS (no number). According to Stanisław Goliński, an inscription at the base read: *Morta e Clorinda, disperato vedi/ Della vittoria sua pianger Tancredi*: Stanisław Goliński. *Puławy: park - jego dzieje, oblicze i świat roślin*, ed. Adam Wołk. (Puławy: Instytut Uprawy Nawożenia i Gleboznawstwa, 1988), 93. First edition 1924, enlarged edition 1932.

168 Euzebiusz Maj, "Krajobrazy z 'Tankredem i Kloryndą' w puławskim ogrodzie. W poszukiwaniu utraconego „genius loci" romantycznego ogrodu". In *Ogród puławski—przeszłość przyszłości*, ed. Adam Wołk, 80-96. Puławy Fundacja Wspierania Historycznego Ogrodu Puławskiego, Instytut Uprawy Nawożenia i Gleboznawstwa, 2003, 83.

169 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828,* 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.

Even his own soldiers referred to him as Tancred. 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.[170] The chivalric theme connected both the medieval and the classical associations.

The monuments in the Lower Garden continued the classical theme. Marble monuments punctuated the walk: the statue of Virtue from Powązki, a sleeping puma at the entrance to the natural grottoes set in the promontory wall, a pyramid, an urn, and a cube.[171] The last two are the 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 led to a more general conclusion: "Let him set an inscription; not several dozen verses, but a few words only or one word, in which he expresses a feeling or intention. Such a stone 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."[172] The creation of the monument and its viewing were described from the standpoint of the owner. In effect, the owner, her taste, and her memory were the objects of concern.

Another monument, in the abstract form of a cube, was given differing interpretations in two drawings by Norblin. In the first one, the cube, about a meter high with the inscription *Przeszłość* [The past], was clearly connected with the discourse of the Temple of the Sibyl above. A young sapling planted beside it directed associations towards the future. The drawing shows a small baby asleep at the foot of the monument (fig. 49). Izabela added an explanation to the scene at the bottom:

170 Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*, 109.

171 The statue of Virtue appeared also in Norblin's painting on the pedestal before the Temple of the 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 the 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 księżny Izabelli*, 49.

172 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 52, 54.



Figure 49. *A Child Asleep at the Monument to the Past*, by Jean-Pierre Norblin, 1803

"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."[173] There were always peasants in the garden. Twenty-three to thirty people worked in the pleasure grounds in the spring and summer months, fourteen to seventeen in autumn, and eight in December.[174]

173 Whelan, "On the statuary," 64.

174 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 złotys for a week. Eight men earned 6 złotys each, "Ogród Puławski," Regestr robiących Ludzi w Ogrodzie Puławskim 3 Junii przez 6 dni 1793, BCz 6027.

They were paid to clean the garden, weed, and dig. Mowing the grass counted as part of their *pańszczyzna* (labor services).[175] 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 the 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 which suggests a personal and reverential ceremony. 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 their accumulation a virtual labyrinth.[176] Czartoryska warned about the hazards of accumulation: "The most tender sentiment and the most noble feeling might be lost if the completion is flawed and carried out without taste. Here reason is needed to remedy this."[177]

In her book, Czartoryska attached emotional significance to an urn she had seen in England:

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175 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 złoty, 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.

176 Antoni Amborski (1803-1869) was an alumnus of the Puławy Palace Institute for School Teachers and Organists. On graduation, he became headmaster of the elementary school in Włostowice near Puławy.

177 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 52.

> 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.[178]

In Puławy, she had a vase with the single word *Kiedyś* (once) on a tall pedestal, which was periodically moved to different locations, depending on the occasion.

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 center 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.[179]

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178 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów,* 54. Mount Edgecumbe in is the only place mentioned in the *Thoughts* as an example worthy of imitation. Czartoryska might have visited Mount Edgecumbe on her travels, as detailed description and a clearly emotional impact suggest, but no records have survived there, and her own English diary referred only to the itinerary in the summer of 1790 and did not include Mount Edgecumbe. She did not mention ever visiting it in her letters. No documents relating to Czartoryska have survived at Mount Edgecumbe and there is no record of the monument Izabela described.

179 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów* , 54.



Figure 50. *A Stone for Delille in Puławy*, Jean Pierre Norblin, c. 1800

Willows, poplars, birches, and dark enclosures complemented the stones and were particularly suitable for elegiac memories (fig. 50). Uplifting sentiments of gratitude or hope needed an accompaniment of fresh colors, 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. Unlike the advice in the book recommending general invocations, in Puławy, they often pointed to a particular, individual relationship: "Good Pole, faithful friend, noble, good-natured, gentle in manner, such was Bona Woyna" (Bonawentura Woyna), or: "In gratitude for the 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

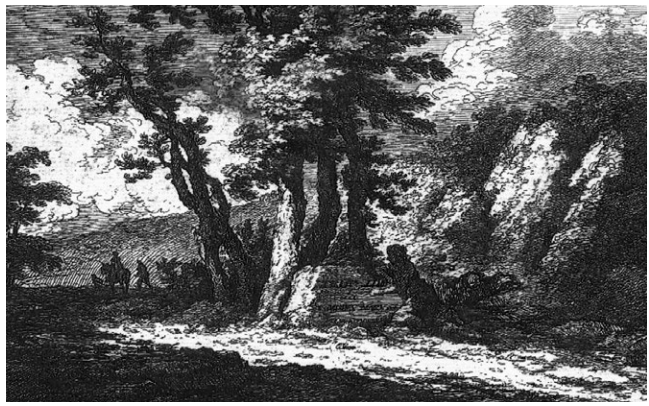

FIGURE 51. A stone with an inscription *Tędy idę do mojej Marysi*, [This way I am going to my dear Maria] by Pierre-Simon-Benjamin Duvivier after Maria Wirtemberska

Woyna had been a *major domus*; both had been close companions of Czartoryska in her everyday work.

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."[180] The stone would be a visible embrace of the memory or a coming to terms with feelings. Drawings from the Czartoryski Archives show some of the attitudes towards stones exhibited at Puławy. One of them presented a view of a particularly large stone with the inscription: "I am going to my dear Maria this way," where a female figure embraces the stone as if it were a person speaking these words. It must have been placed somewhere along the path leading towards Marynki. 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 the Sibyl (fig. 51).

180 Czartoryska, *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów*, 54.

PART VI

A Pastoral With Peasants

At this point it is necessary to leave Puławy and follow the sixty-year-old Czartoryska on a two-month journey from late July to September 1805.[1] The travels involved a long-delayed survey of the lands in the eastern territories of Volhynia, Podolia, and Ukraine. This was an opportunity to inspect the state of the fields, stud farms, forests, and lakes; to get first-hand knowledge of their assets; to record folklore and customs of ethnically diverse populations; to consider the potential conflicting issues of religious rights; to study the health of the population; and to examine the relations between peasants and overseers. The last survey had been made by Adam Kazimierz twenty years beforehand, but now, he ceded the obligation to his younger wife. While recording the state of the lands, her letters and journal notes also include extended descriptions of her interactions with the nobility she visited. We can call these interactions rituals of gratitude, performed by her and reciprocated by her hosts. Czartoryska recorded these rituals for posterity as proof, in her view, of the best manifestation of the living "Sarmatian' tradition. The visualizations of gratitude in the form of *tableaux vivants* were not only enacted in the noble sphere, but as we will see, the peasants of Podolia had also learned the language of gratitude, expressed here in the form of gestures which would most please their masters.

1 I.Cz. 'Mémoires et écrits divers," BCz 6030, f. 97. On the journey to Podolia see : Whelan, "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności w podróży księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej na Wołyń, Podole i Ukrainę," passim.

The purpose of this chapter is to establish a context for the visual staging of the emotion of gratitude and to understand the instances of peasant homage in the new language of sentimental imagery.

Rituals of gratitude

Rousseau, whose presence in the Czartoryska's worldview looms supreme, presented a dual view of gratitude. The first is where the relationship between a benefactor and the recipient of his benevolence functions as an unspoken contract of obligations. Gratitude in this case is a negative outcome based on the arbitrary will of the benefactor and should be replaced by laws or impersonal obligations binding all citizens equally. The second is where gratitude is a free and spontaneous reaction to an event or a gift. In this case, it is also a sign of social refinement and sensibility and should be cultivated because it leaves those who experience it more emotionally enriched and motivated to perform their duties.[2] The rituals that are recalled in the following pages are remarkable by the fact that they were singled out by Czartoryska in her memoir out of all the myriad other experiences. It will become apparent how the rituals of gratitude mirror each other, one enacted by the benefactor and the other by the recipient of the act in a response intended to match the original act.

The true Poles

The route took her from Lwów all the way east to Granów near Humań in Ukraine, where the Czartoryskis had stud farms and from where they recruited their personal guard of Cossacks.[3] She recorded the lo-

2 Patrick Coleman, "Rousseau's Quarrel with Gratitude", *Politics and the Passions, 1500-1850*, ed. Victoria Kahn, Neil Saccamano, and Daniela Coli, 151–74. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.

3 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 Orłowski, her doctor Jan Goltz, her two young charges Emma Potocka and Zofia Matuszewicz, and on the way they were joined

cal efforts to beautify the landscape with thousands of Italian poplars planted at Granów and elsewhere. They were no longer a rarity as they were in Powązki thirty years earlier. The overseers complained to her of drought; still, the land yielded miraculously: "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 place on earth." Czartoryska reported her findings to Adam Kazimierz.[4] She found the estates in very good shape, considering that their management followed traditional agricultural methods.[5]

Her diary can be read as a lasting tribute to the good old ways. Economic matters retreated into the background; instead, Czartoryska described in vivid and emotional passages the world of old rituals and country traditions, still cultivated in the provinces. She focused in her memoir on the recipients of this homage and, in her words, committed the memories to posterity with a view that her memoirs would be published.[6]

Izabela's appearance in these distant lands prompted gatherings of many nobles eager to renew their social ties with the Czartoryskis, complete with extravagant entertainments, balls, concerts, and theatrical displays, but also with the type of tributes and gifts which would flatter the image Izabela had established for herself. As the personification of a "tender mother," she was hosted at Mizocz to a concert which exclusively featured the compositions of her daughter, Maria Wirtemberska.[7] General Witt gave a ball, during which he presented Izabela with a sword of King Władysław II Jagiełło (said to be the one with which he

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by the owner of Tuczyn, Adam Walewski, and his equerry and an expert in stud management Elsner. See: Whelan, "Tableau i rytuał wdzięczności w podróży księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej na Wołyń, Podole i Ukrainę," passim.

4 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 16 September 1805, BCz 6030, f. 21.

5 I.Cz., Mémoires et écrits divers, BCz 6030, f. 97. On Adam Kazimierz's lack of interest in agricultural improvement and on an unsuccessful venture to settle Alexander Davidson in Puławy see: Gołębiowska, *W kręgu Czartoryskich: wpływy angielskie w Puławach na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, 99.

6 Whelan, "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności w podróży księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej na Wołyń, Podole i Ukrainę", 361.

7 Mémoires et écrits divers, BCz 6067, f. 97.

had knighted squires) and a ring of King Władysław IV.[8] Although the Temple of the Sibyl had not yet opened officially, its fame had already spread, as well as the notion of Czartoryska as the guardian of Polish history. Surrounded by hospitality, jollity, and the spectacle of large, colorful 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 way of life," were still alive and where her family still occupied an honored and privileged position.[9] This was a veritable return to the childhood years of Wołczyn and her family's political position in the country:

> 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, is 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.[10]

Gratitude and the nobility

The written memoirs from the tour record a new form of exchanging gifts—the performance of an idiosyncratic *tableau*, which she had herself pioneered at Powązki forty years previously. One performance stayed in her mind, and she devoted long passages to it in her *Mémoires* and then in her letters to Adam Kazimierz. The records relate how she generated feelings of attachment in her audiences, based on the emotion of gratitude, 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

8 Zdzisław Żygulski, "Princess Isabel and the Czartoryski Museum", *The Connoisseur* (January 1973), 15-24. I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., Mizocz, (1805) BCz 6030, f. 9.
9 Czartoryska, Mémoires et écrits divers, BCz 6067, f. 97.
10 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., Mizocz, (1805) BCz 6030, f. 9.

with an "honest kindness full of gentleness."[11] 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 their 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, the neighbors affectionate.[12]

As a response to the expressions of hospitality Izabela devised a *tableau vivant* in Mizocz. It included two travel companions, young wards of Czartoryska from Puławy, Emma Potocka and Zofia Matuszewiczówna. It involved combining a classical reference, a visualization of emotions, and a written sentiment:

> Overwhelmed, I wished to express my gratitude to my hosts. I chose my room, which proved quite adequate for the purpose, and decorated it with shawls and flowers. Among them I placed 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 Matuszewiczówna 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 the transient Time shower it with flowers*.[13]

After this display, Czartoryska left to survey her estates, but on the way back she stopped again at Mizocz—"friendship and gratitude brought me back," she wrote. A surprise response to her earlier *tableau* awaited her at the end of her second stay. It began with the traditional

11 Whelan, "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności," 360.
12 Whelan, "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności," 361.
13 Whelan, "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności," 362.

display of fireworks— "an 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," passing 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, "prophesized 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."[14]

Even if the compositional 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. Therefore, Czartoryska's role in the spectacle was to match her emotional response to the intentions of the performers:

> 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, so let this description testify to my gratitude; perhaps it will move

14 Whelan, "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności," 363.

> the reader, and in the future, it will become a memento of this day I will never forget.[15]

By participating in the *tableau*, the whole Karwicki household renewed their allegiance to everything that the Czartoryskis stood for. Further, by staging the *tableau* in their garden, they imaginatively included in this allegiance all the social relationships of the countryside. The more amateurish the *tableau*, the more honest and truer 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*, the newly emerging small landholding nobility, could find an illusion of mutual connection, one which drew on the old "Sarmatian" myth of equality among nobles.[16] 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 to 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. The concept of gratitude comes to the fore here as a social convention, reinforcing the sense of belonging to the same ideological world.

"Understanding emotion with only eyes to assist"

The power to release feelings and tears while viewing a static and silent *tableau* certainly places the format of display within the type of visual reception, which Michael Fried called the "primacy of absorption."[17] Fried's analysis, based on readings of Diderot's art criticism, provides several useful pointers for understanding Czartoryska's emotional exchanges. Par-

15 Whelan, "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności."
16 Czartoryska continued with rituals of gratitude all her life. Czartoryska, *Dyliżansem przez Śląsk*, 113.
17 Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, passim.

ticularly 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 subjects 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 subject or—as Diderot encouraged—to imagine that he or she 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 subjects was not to communicate their own personality, but to enhance the themes of gratitude or innocence or solitude, 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 their 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, and even lose their own personality in the landscape of emotion. Diderot encouraged viewers to connect with paintings in this manner, to leave their critical faculties behind, and to erase the distance with which they viewed the works hitherto. If the *tableaux* in the gardens of Puławy 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 or herself in the scene.[18]

Czartoryska admired Greuze's heads in London, so his aesthetics of internalization must have reflected her own taste. Also, her first stay in Paris in 1761 coincided with a moment of great popularity for Greuze's *L'Accordée de village,* which directly influenced the rise of the *tableau vivant*. Greuze brings the viewer into the tightly packed space of a rustic room; there is no foreground to speak of to escape the emotionally charged scene, and the whole action revolves around gestures, looks, and poses.

18 That same strategy was embraced by the celebrated actress Sarah Siddons, who successfully brought audiences to empathize with her stage characters and their internalized emotions. Pierre Frantz, *L'esthétique du tableau dans le théâtre du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998); Shearer, "The public and private roles of Sarah Siddons", 1-40.

Greuze's painting was staged as a *tableau* in 1761 with actors during the scene of wedding festivities in the ballet *Les Noces d'Arlequin*, performed at the Comédie Italienne in Paris. Its enthusiastic reception contributed to the fame of the play, which ran for eighteen years.[19] The spectators even demanded a different *tableau* at the end of each act. The novelty of *L'Accordée de village* depended on focusing on the simple, unaffected 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, and siblings and servants sharing affection for each other. The sufficiency of means of the farming family prevented the alienation of the viewer, who could find common ground in terms of satisfying his or her emotional expectations. The theme and the formal treatment of the painting was not the sole achievement of the artist but 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.[20]

The depiction of internalized emotions had just then taken over the stage in European capitals. Sarah Siddons in London based her acting method on the aesthetics of unspoken sentiments; she could touch audiences with a semblance of inner life and with a well-chosen pose. Emma, Lady Hamilton, however, with her "attitudes," took the idiom of gesture to the level of implicit allusion. She remained the unmatched performer of silent poses, having the advantage of modeling for artists, but even though her imitators never achieved the same perfection of movement, her "attitudes" spread throughout Europe to every kind of entertainment; Czartoryska knew them well.[21]

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19 See: Louise Pelletier, *Architecture in words: theater, language and the sensuous space of architecture* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2006).

20 For the tradition of the silent theatre see: Brown, Frederick. *Theater and Revolution: The Culture of the French Stage* (New York: Viking Press, 1980), 41-82; Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); Parker, *Portrayals of Revolution: Images, Debates, and Patterns of Thought on the French Revolution*.

21 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, *Dyliżansem przez Śląsk*, 90.

Moreover, in the philosophical context, images were considered superior to poetry and the written word because they engaged the senses without the mediation of words.[22] Ideally, the 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, though highly literate, protégé of the Czartoryskis, was often called in as an expert in designing as well as taking part in *tableaux vivants* in Puławy and another country seat, Sieniawa. He grew up with the *tableaux*. His mother was highly conversant with the classical arrangements of a purposefully sentimental character, and one of her recorded staged scenes at their own house in Nostrze involved the then eleven-year-old Prek when Izabela visited them in the winter of 1812. The mother placed the boy of "alabaster white" on a column; his sisters handed him flowers and poems, which he offered to Czartoryska.[23] His performance relied entirely on gesture. He used his talent of observation in drawings, paintings, and performances. 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 colored 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.[24]

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22 For the discussion of moral content of the displays see: S. R. Pucco, "Sites of the Spectator. Emerging Literary and Cultural Practice in Eighteenth-Century France", *SVEC,* 12 (2001), 86-102. J. B. Radner, "The Art of Sympathy in Eighteenth Century Moral Thought," *Studies in Eigtheenth-Century Culture,* 9 (1979), 189-210. Russo, "From précieuse to mother figure".

23 I.Cz., Mémoires et écrits divers, BCz 6067, f. 113.

24 Ksawery Prek, Prek, Ksawery. *Czasy i ludzie*, ed. Henryk Barycz. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1959.p. V. Whelan, "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności w podróży księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej na Wołyń, Podole i Ukrainę", passim.



Figure 52. *A Woman at the Plinth with a Putto*, by Izabela Czartoryska, 1770-1835

Hence, we see a proliferation of prints depicting static arrangements of classical statues of graceful and innocent figures surrounded by adoring young women, particularly often in the etchings of Francesco Bartolozzi, the master of the classical pastoral in a sentimental edition. It is in this context that we need to see the drawing made by Czartoryska herself, showing a mythological female figure embracing an altar with a small putto supporting a large bouquet of roses at its base (fig. 52). Memoirs from the Czartoryski circle record the huge popularity of the *tableau vivant*. Ksawery Prek himself 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.[25] This type of entertainment continued among the *ziemiaństwo* until the First World War.[26]

Czartoryska returned from this journey fully pleased. The one-sided vision of Poland she recorded in her memoirs mirrored her own idea of the Puławy universe. The tributes she received in Ukraine could only strengthen her self-perception, soon to be bordering on delusional, that she still occupied a central position in Polish society, that she was still at the axis of national sentiment and was the motivating force for political acts. She returned convinced that her star had not dimmed, and she threw herself into emphatically patriotic and crowded theatrical reenactments and plays.

Czartoryska returned invigorated with every intention that Puławy would become the center of ritualized behavior which celebrated and extoled the political and economic position of the waning magnate class. A large provincial audience was eagerly awaiting her upcoming book on landscape gardening. They would find there precisely that continuation of the spreading national myth of old-style management, based on the goodwill of the neo-Sarmatian owner. The visual format of the myth held firmly to the traditional feudal reality but was now dressed in a new sentimental and classical arrangement.

I am happy to be a serf

While the exchanges between nobles reached out to the still novel aesthetics of sentimental paintings, other forms of visual presentations secured the continuity of the Sarmatian past. These included the selective freeing of the peasants as a gesture of class relations. Such a ceremony was performed at the estate of Prince Stanislaw Jabłonowski in honor of Czartoryska's visit. Jabłonowski arranged a performance of a village wed-

25 Prek, *Czasy i ludzie*, 44-45; Aleksandra z Tańskich Tarczewska, *Historia mego życia. Wspomnienia warszawianki*, ed. Izabela Kaniowska-Lewańska (Wrocław Ossolineum 1967), 59.

26 Małgorzata Komza, Żywe *obrazy: między sceną, obrazem i książką* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1995), 20; Gabriela z Güntherów Puzynina, *W Wilnie i w dworach litewskich* (Wilno: Zawadzki, 1928), 87-88, 263-64.

ding as a spectacle of gratitude to his guest. In Poland, aristocratic *fêtes* traditionally incorporated a peasant marriage as a colorful display of benevolent generosity in landowning obligations. Sometimes, these rustic weddings would be only theatrical entertainments played as actors by the peasants, or they would be performed by the members of the household and their noble guests. 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, and 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 on their faces, drew towards me and told everyone that in memory of my visit, Prince Jabłonowski had granted them freedom in perpetuity and bestowed land with a farm on it. He also waived all obligations for a quarter [of a year] in all his villages. This day and this reception have engraved themselves in my heart forever. I will never know how to repay him![27]

Prince Jabłonowski's gesture may seem as one of emotionally affected benevolence. In reality, he had tried to abolish serfdom on his estates two decades earlier, but the experiment had failed, and the prince was forced to reverse the reforms. This time he proceeded with caution, freeing only select and promising peasants. Jabłonowski changed these people's lives in a private gesture of friendship and gratitude to Czartoryska, as a gift between two aristocrats. 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 the knowledge of sophisticated culture and therefore, in theory, could form a mode of communication with the peasants. The extent of the success of this emotional coercion is shown by the example of an old Cossack from Granów, who refused

27 Whelan, "Tableau vivant i rytuał wdzięczności," 367.

to be freed by Czartoryska: "I have been a serf, and I have been happy. I do not want to change my station, because I have an attachment to it, and I want my children to be as faithful to the Czartoryskis as I have been."[28] It must have been gratifying for Czartoryska to hear and to record "for posterity" in her memoir an endorsement of the traditional relationships of serfdom as the guarantee of happiness. It was also for her a confirmation of loyalty in the Cossack villages that for generations supplied a personal armed guard to the family. The old Cossack's pronouncement was not an isolated instance of loyalty, but a refrain heard often from the peasants.[29] The remark cited here was recorded by Czartoryska with a great measure of satisfaction, and it will be shown further that her peasants participated in rituals of gratitude, which were emotionally infused and choreographed to please the princess.

The country of Princess Izabela

This is how the Puławy estate was commonly known at the time—a country, her *państwo*. This reflected the intimate association all visitors made between the well-ordered lands and their owner. However, the extent and the boundaries of her power in the domain needs an explanation, which in turn will give us an idea of the range of personal connections with her peasants.

Izabela and Adam Kazimierz controlled their estates till 1812, when they proceeded with the division of lands. Izabela was then in her mid-sixties and Adam Kazimierz in his early eighties. They ceded their estates onto their four surviving children, Maria Wirtemberska, Zofia Zamoyska, Adam Jerzy and Konstanty. This division was made to protect the lands from further losses over of the Napoleonic campaign against Russia. At this time, the lands worth 50 million zł of which half was indebted, included 25 towns and 450 villages, popu-

28 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 16 September (1805?), BCz 6030.

29 Mateusz Wyżga, "The Insurrection and the Peasants, the Peasants and the Insurrection and the Genesis of the Modern Polish Nation". In *The Insurgent Republic. The Kościuszko Insurrection and its Traditions*, edited by Richard Butterwick and Michal Bąk (Warsaw, Polish History Museum, 2025), 209.

lated by enserfed peasants. Lands in southern territories went into the ownership of Adam Jerzy who ceded the Puławy estate to his mother for her use until her death. In theory Izabela managed the estates, in practice though, she was dependent on the yearly budget assigned by her son.

The Puławy lands counted the administrative estates *klucz końskowolski* with the town of Końskowola and twenty-one villages.[30] The palace acted as centre of the General Administration of the Czartoryski Lands and their Central Chancellery. After receiving, in 1811, the right to hold markets, Puławy became a thriving regional centre. There were well-appointed houses for court officials, merchants and craftsmen, there was a church, a synagogue, a post office, a dispensary, a salt depot, and two warehouses as well as a busy river port employing the inhabitants and ensuring the movement of goods. Peasants therefore had an opportunity to sell their produce, even to haul it further away on good roads and good river transport. Records show that the dues paid by inhabitants were moderate: the merchant village of Puławy and its neighbouring hamlet Mokratki paid rents, other villages paid in *corvée* of two days a week for work with oxen, and three days a week for peasants who did not possess animals. They also paid rents and in kind: oats, eggs, roosters, poles, mats and spun wool. Each of the holdings was endowed with a large stretch of land and together with the yearly support from the palace, including grain to sow, animals, wood for building and shrubs and trees from the palace nurseries, these were rich properties. Peasants had the use of the woods for building and heating material, and they received grain for sowing and two oxen and a horse for each household. The palace protected the peasants from famine and natural disasters.[31] The ability to pay rents was indicative of the yield from large acreage in peasant hands and of good infrastructure allowing the peasant to sell their produce. All together

30 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie*, 18

31 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie,* 12–17. On famine in eighteenth century Poland see: Piotr Miodunka, "Famines in the Manorial Economy of Eighteenth-Century Poland," *Rural history* 34, no. 2 (2023): 181–200. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956793322000206.

in 1802 in the Klucz Końskowolski lived 6,450 people, these included 1,196 children and 608 Jews. On top of the rural economy, the Czartoryskis developed an industrial centre in Końskowola and its satellites—a cloth manufacture, brewery, brickyards, water mills, and a paper mill in Celejów in the 1820s. All these employed townsfolk and peasants from the local villages. This mixed economic management was characteristic of the Czartoryskis efforts to raise the status of the lands and promote the self-sufficiency of peasants. The Puławy peasants were therefore affluent, with personal wealth, they were protected by the palace hardship policies, cared for by the palace doctor, and educated in the village schools. They continued their lives in servitude fulfilling their *corvée* obligations.

In 1795 Puławy became part of the Habsburg Monarchy, in 1809 the estate 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, and in 1815 Puławy came under the rule of the Congress Kingdom of Poland.[32] Each of those regimes attempted the peasant reform and the Czartoryski family extended their interest in the proceedings, but as the outcome came effectively to nothing, 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 landlords and endowed with land, house, horses, oxen and tools. Czartoryska in her letters approved of this measure although it 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's 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,

32 Stefan Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski 1795-1918*, 8th ed (Warsaw: PWN, 1997), 45–47, 68–70.

but if he wishes to leave, he should be allowed to do so.'[33] These reforms were not implemented.[34]

In the absence of suitable laws and structures of social support, the most practical measure seemed a gradual introduction of peasants to self-sufficiency.[35] From the Czartoryski circle, Stanisław Zamoyski, Czartoryska's son-in-law, devised a plan for his estates, whereby the award of freedom would follow an extended period of education and training.[36] But there are multiple recorded instances where Adam Kazimierz makes for a model, benevolent owner. He followed the example of his father, August Czartoryski.[37] The young sentimental poet Franciszek Karpiński, who enjoyed the patronage of the Prince, noted an occurrence in 1780 during the journey Adam Kazimierz undertook to survey his lands. In Brzeżany they came across several dozens of runaway families who were fleeing a cruel overseer in the Jarosław lands. The Prince freed them all, released them from jail, forbid their punishment, and supplied them with two ducats on their journey. When they refused to leave, he settled them in the estate of Brzeżany and paid for the building of their homes. This generous gesture made a striking impression on Karpiński.[38] Adam Kazimierz was commonly regarded as one of the best landlords for his benevolent treatment of peasants more than for his farming methods, as he disciplined the cruel and dishonest supervisors.[39] Later on, in his instruction to the Końskowola official of 1803 he laid out his attitude of 'preferring a smaller yield over a

33 I.Cz. to A.K.Cz., 1815, BCz 6030.
34 Zawadzki, *A man of honour*, 266.
35 On serfdom see: Richard Butterwick, *The Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth: Light and Flame* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), esp. 57–69, 263, 264; Wyżga, "The Insurrection and the Peasants, the Peasants and the Insurrection and the Genesis of the Modern Polish Nation", 207–209; Mateusz Wyżga, *Historia bez krawata* (Cracow: Znak, Horyzont, 2022), 268–96; Stankiewicz, 'Szlachta - ziemianie', 85–120; Adam Wejchert, "Illuminating encounters. The Polish visit of George Burnett, 1804-1805," *Polish-Anglosaxon Studies*, 1 (1987), 127–49; Burnett, *View of the present state of Poland*, 109, 203–242.
36 Burnett, *View of the present state of Poland,* 111.
37 Wyżga, *Historia bez krawata*, 301.
38 Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski,* 389.
39 Frączyk, *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski,* 386.

troubled conscience' and warned him of the consequences of any transgressions against the peasants.[40]

Puławy, however, were an exclusive domain of Izabela. The most important for her was the village of Włostowice, which neighboured the boundary of the palace gardens. She interacted with its inhabitants most often and it was they who featured in the visual staging of Czartoryska's ideas. In 1824 it numbered 105 houses and 712 inhabitants, who farmed on ab. 400 ha of land.[41] As serfs they were obliged to fulfil their unpaid labour dues in lew of rent, the *corvée* or *pańszczyzna*, and were to work on the palace farm of ab. 350 ha,[42] and in the palace gardens. In the garden, peasants usually mowed grass as part of their dues. The palace gardener had under his command three under gardeners, four junior undergardeners and at least two hands. People working in the palace grounds were paid two and a half times more than in other gardens: 25 groszy, and sometimes as much as 1 florin a day, versus 10 groszy elsewhere for a man. Women were paid half of what men earned.[43] This small economy had to fulfil the needs of the court but the frequent requests for money by Izabela to her son indicate that neither the economic returns nor the yearly subsistence set by Adam Jerzy were enough. The Princess would receive a monthly income of 10,000 zł after her husband's death (d. 1823) beside the revenue from Puławy, as well as from Włostowice, Parchatka and Wólka Profecka.[44] In 1830 the Włostowice parish served the surrounding villages as well as Puławy and numbered 3116 Catholics, 25 Protestants and 60 Jews. The subsidies from the palace were substantial: each of the holdings was endowed with a large

40 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie,* 39.

41 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie,* 20, 859 mórg and 207 prętów, surveyed in 1827.

42 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie,* 20, 756 mórg.

43 Agnieszka Whelan, "On the statuary of the garden of Puławy," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes,* 29 (2009): 57–71. Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Rkps 6027, "Ogród Puławski"13th April 1792 and other years. Regestr robiących Ludzi w Ogrodzie Puławskim 3 Junii przez 6 dni 1793.

44 Arch.Czart. III 3978, Gracyan Wereżyński, Opis Historyczny Puław, dziś Nowo-Aleksandryi oraz rys krótki, Biograficzno-historyczny oraz Rodowód J.O. Xiążąt Czartoryskich na podstawie dziel historycznych polskich ułożony przez Gracyana Wereżyńskiego, b. Rejenta Lubartowskiego w r. 1893 w Lublinie)

stretch of land and together with the yearly support from the palace, including grain to sow, animals, wood for building and shrubs and trees from the palace nurseries. Peasants had the use of the woods for building and heating material, and they received grain for sowing and two oxen and a horse for each household.[45]

Adam Kazimierz, now nearing his eighties, stayed mostly in his estate at Sieniawa (he died in 1823 at the age of 89) and Izabela held a dominant role in the management of the gardens, land and her enserfed peasants. 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.[46] Ksawery Prek wrote: "The Włostowice village is so beautiful, that many would wish not to rule there but to be ruled. Peasants' houses are tidy, comfortable, each one has a bench to rest, the yards are clean, the fences are living hedges and flowers grow in the gardens. The same in Puławy."[47] Prek is describing the approach to Puławy via Włostowice, and therefore the peasant homesteads advertised the benevolent care of their owner in the traditional layout of the feudal estate. Visitors stayed in two inns: Pod Pielgrzymem and Pod Leliwą. Even in 1820s the sight of such a model village, where homes had chimneys, so that smoke did not linger inside as was the custom elsewhere (*kurne chaty*), the fact that they were surrounded with vegetable gardens, fruit trees, benches and hedges where birds and animals sheltered—as the visitors noted, was indeed an accomplishment.

Enter grateful villagers

We need to stress that here we are concerned with the image of the peasants of Puławy left for posterity by Czartoryska or by the admiring visitors. What mattered was the art of persuasion –and the image projected here involved the traditional society with the benevolent mistress and

45 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie,* 12–17.
46 Zawadzki, *A Man of Honour*, 265–66.
47 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie,* 21–22.

a happy peasantry living their lives in harmony. The part of the garden with the peasants was the island of Kępa. The Temple of the 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 grains. I make various experiments."[48] 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.[49] The gardener at Kępa was the local peasant Białas. Meadows became recognized as a particularly Polish part of the landscape, with the "idyllic sight" of cattle, not sheep as in England (fig. 53).[50]

Izabela had her own house on Kępa, thatched, modest on the outside but comfortably furnished inside. In a way, this too continued the 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-favor 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. Izabela placed a commemorative stone with the inscription *I tu dobrze* [It is good here], apparently after a peasant had said this when he rested on the grass.[51] Czartoryska of-

48 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 14 July 1800, BCz 6137. I.Cz. to K.D., Lubień, 12 August (1815?), BCz 6137, no. 42, f. 90.

49 I.Cz. to M.W., 30 July 1818, 29 August 1823, 30 September 1823, BCz 6141.

50 Giżycki, *O przyozdobieniu siedlisk wiejskich*, vol. 1, 25.

51 "Podróż po Kępie Puławskiej. (Opisana w r. 1828)" in *Pokłosie. Zbieranka na korzyść sierot*. Leszno, Ernest Gunther, 1853, 32.



Figure 53. View of Puławy from Kępa, by Jan Zachariasz Frey after Zygmunt Vogel

ten met her peasants on her walks, listened to their life stories, and then remembered the encounters when passing through the same places.[52] Kępa can be seen as the area where sensibility and idealized relationships merged. Not quite a village, not really a garden, it functioned as a meeting place for two groups united by "virtue" of working on the land. This was an area of apparently relaxed behavior for nobles and peasants alike.

The Princess of the Peasants

In 1836, a year after Izabela's death, a memorial eulogy called her worthy of the title the *Princess of the Peasants*, that is, the female counterpart of Kazimierz the Great, the guardian of the peasants. The eulogy pronounced: "She mixed with peasants, protected their property, encouraged their honesty and motivated them to work, supported them in their misfortunes, and ceaselessly cared for their well-being. She de-

52 I.Cz., Mémoires et écrits divers, BCz 6067, f. 3.

voted to them the most beautiful part of the garden and specially designed it for their entertainment."[53] This tribute, which was published in Polish in the *Polish Emigre Chronicle* in Paris, framed Czartoryska's image in exalting acclamations, which have since been successfully enshrined in her glowing reputation as the protectress of the peasants. We need to examine how she visualized her utopian vision of feudal society with the help of her willing real-life peasant actors.

In the introduction to the textbook for elementary schools, *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu* [The pilgrim in Dobromil], which she herself had written, Czartoryska declared: "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, soaking 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 reward and gratitude.[54]

This introduction, while identifying the author as a prime force of support for the peasants, is a complex statement. It is devoid of sentimental polish yet places pity for the peasants as the prerequisite for a further emotional response—gratitude for their toil. Its readership consisted of peasant children; thus, they were taught from the first to accept their place in her feudal world and tutored in gratitude to their noble owner. The book, published in 1816 and reprinted sixteen times till 1830, instructed village children in their practical education for rural life and their obligations to the land. It offered simple directions on hygiene and a selective account of the history of Poland, in the format of small vignettes glorifying Polish rulers. Primacy of place among them was held by King Kazimierz the Great, the medieval monarch who issued edicts taking peasants under the protection of the law. She certainly intended to raise national consciousness regarding the peasants with her historical anecdotes, as she put it: "Every Pole should know

53 *Kronika Emigracyi Polskiey*, vol. 4, 182.

54 Czartoryska, *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu*, p. VII. See also her letter to M.W., Puławy, 10 July 1815, BCz 6140.

something about his country," and "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.[55]

If the aim of the book was to form young minds, it presented them an unadorned vision of their life to come, that of toil, destitution, and deprivation, all for the purpose of feeding and providing comfort for their betters—the likes of their own princess. She is there, however, ready to supply them with reward and gratitude, and, as we are assured from the following pages of the textbook, in return, she expects no less from them. Her enserfed peasant children, we read, should develop an emotional attachment to the land and to the service to which they were born, and that service should have its roots in emotion. Czartoryska was therefore imprinting her own image on the minds of the generations of children on her estates. Every time the schoolteacher would read the textbook in class, she continuously appeared as the prime subject of adulation. The degree of stage management and theatricality in Czartoryska's engagement with village life must have been discernible to anybody who cared to look. Let us first look at Czartoryska's description of the harvest in Puławy penned in 1815. It could have come straight from *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Letter VII, part 5, or from the finale of a pastoral opera—with "happy folk" reaping ears of corn in the distance, she sits on the ground and feasts on butter, cream, and fruit accompanied by the lively villagers:

> A beautiful place, sunny days, a joyful community, and attentive neighbors—these are the sources of happiness and pleasure! Even painful circumstances and woeful events are easier to bear when sitting under a clear sky, by a beautiful tree, surrounded with children and friends. Yesterday, we went to the harvest. It was a quiet afternoon; the air was sweet. The sun was setting ablaze and a full moon hung over the mountains. Some cottages to the side were

55 Ibid., 102. Elżbieta Cesarz shares the same perspective in her *Chłopi w polskiej myśli historycznej doby porozbiorowej 1795–1864. Syntezy, parasyntezy i podręczniki dziejów ojczystych*. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1999.

> visible among trees; ahead of us ran a path across a green pasture. It was all laid out before us like the most sumptuous picture. To the left, happy folk skillfully cut with sickles the luxuriant ears of golden corn. The reapers were joyous in the hope for this harvest, which they earned with bloody toil. We, in the meantime, having settled ourselves on the sheaves of corn, began to feast on cream, butter, and fruit. Before us were laid out beer, bread, and cereals for the country folk. They followed our example, sat around their tea, cheered it with songs, and ate it with delight.... When the dusk came, we went along this road which led to the village. We met lively peasants returning with carts filled with corn. The carts bent under the weight, showing abundance and prosperity. Women walking behind sang Mazovian songs and children perched high among the sheaves of corn looked out with curiosity. Their heads were speckled with red poppies and cornflowers, and there were flowers in their little hands. In the village, an old possessor stood at each cottage; their happily favorable gaze prolonged this spell which fell on us. This enchantment was a result of many small details which would, for certain, be little valued in the larger world, but they would stay in our memory, and each of us placed this day among the good and pleasant ones.

This idyllic recollection of an emotionally charged encounter in a field where all were apparently united in a feeling of closeness received a patriotic coda:

> Nobody remembered in that moment that so many misfortunes had destroyed the country, that foreign neighbors had torn apart our belongings, leaving only poverty and oppression. All we felt was contentment and joy, and that this kind of happiness could not be taken away from us by the Masters of the World.[56]

56 I.Cz. "Mémoires et écrits divers," 8 August 1815, BCz 6067, f. 163.

There are multiple instances of similar declarations made in letters to family members; therefore, her self-image in print intended for public consumption needs more attention. Similarly, we need to investigate the presentation of her estate to the world as a model of social coexistence.

On the occasions of Izabela's name day (November 19) and birthday (March 31), more affluent peasants, townspeople, and lesser noblemen from the Czartoryski dependencies made the journey to pay homage to their protectress. On the Feast of the Assumption (August 15), the traditional harvest festival, Izabela held an annual ceremony of honoring the most industrious and charitable peasants. Four were chosen and awarded prizes of 100 zł and as high as 400 zł each,[57] a sum that could translate into an investment in husbandry. On these days, prizes were awarded, and the parish priest said an open-air mass; a feast was served for all the peasants, and dances and merriment continued until sunset. Adam Kazimierz still adhered to the granting of favors on a particular occasion. In 1809, he ordered, while at his residence at Puławy, that the General Treasury of the Palace pay 20 Polish zł to every newly married pair from villages belonging to the Klucz Końskowolski.[58] The married couples would receive this money on presenting a certificate from the parish priests of their respective parishes attesting that the wedding had taken place. This instruction concerned only the peasants and excluded the town dwellers and Jews.[59]

Rural guests were perfectly conversant with the sentimental expression of feelings, and villagers carved their names on trees, in-

57 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie w Puławach oraz kluczu końskowolskim w czasach Czartoryskich*, 40. (Arch. Czart. III 3978, Gracyan Wereżyński, Opis Historyczny Puław, dzis Nowo-Aleksandryi oraz rys krótki, Biograficzno-historyczny oraz Rodowód J.O. Xiążąt Czartoryskich na podstawie dziel historycznych polskich ułożony przez Gracyana Wereżyńskiego, b. Rejenta Lubartowskiego w r. 1893 w Lublinie) 400 zł translates as 9720 zł or 2278 Euro, in 2024 according to 2023 calculations by Mariusz Marzęta, based on the assessment by Zbigniew Żabiński http://blognumizmatyczny.pl/2016/03/14/trofa-miernik-wartosci-pieniadza/

58 20 Polish zł in 1809 translates to approximately 486 zł and 113 Euro in 2024 according to 2023 calculations by Mariusz Marzęta, ibid.

59 Ms. (no nr.) Kasa Generalna, Puławy, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. Rachunki, kwity, dyspozycje 1785-1816. Puławy, 18th February 1809, Instruction given by Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski.

scribed grateful invocations on the window frames, shutters, and doors of Czartoryska's Kępa house, and wrote inscriptions on large stones, which were later fixed by masons.[60] Izabela responded by erecting a monument to the people of Przemyśl, a stone arcade with an urn and a cube with a cupid holding a tablet on top with a gilded inscription: "Tender gratitude dedicates this memento to the land of Przemyśl." She had particularly fond affection for the province where another important Czartoryski family seat, Sieniawa, was situated. In return, the peasants from Przemyśl placed a stone, assuring the princess of their eternal gratitude. Both monuments conversed with each other forever.[61] It was within this peasant-centered universe that Czartoryska situated her own affection for her daughters. In 1823, Izabela erected a marble cross for her elder surviving daughter, Maria, while in 1826, Zofia placed a statue of the Madonna in the curiously bent boughs of an old willow.[62]

In the Upper Garden, references to religion were scant, alluding only to Providence or to the Highest Being. On Kępa, however, an open invocation to God indicated a simple and programmatically naïve spirituality of the people in the natural order. *The rose-trailed willow had previously been used for theatricals involving nymphs and old peasants intoning songs and arrangements of love and gratitude around the statue of a faun from Powązki*.[63] Now the Virgin Mary extended her hands to the peasants as a protective mother, as the inscription announced: "To the Good Mother from her grateful children."[64] The peasants hung wooden tablets with grate-

60 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.

61 They stood not far from the English Stairs leading from the palace to the Lower Garden.

62 Prek, *Czasy i ludzie*, 44. Agnieszka Whelan "Izabela Czartoryska and Catholic Devotion in the Eighteenth-Century Polish Garden." In *Women, Enlightenment and Catholicism: a Global Biographical History*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehrer (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2017), 216–228.

63 Prek, *Czasy i ludzie*, 45.

64 Gracyan Wereżyński, 'Opis historyczny Puław," BCz III 3978.

ful verses to Izabela on a tree; they laid flowers, walked in processions, and sang. Maria's cross was also a center for displays. Contemporary accounts relate the charming and apparently spontaneous *tableaux vivants* around the cross: an old peasant was sometimes seen bent in prayer (obviously for Czartoryska's benefit), 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 sentimental exchanges was clear to all social groups.[65] We can assume that the motivators for these kinds of tributes and their visual arrangements were the parish priest and especially the teachers in the village school. The practical advantages of learning this language must have been obvious to all.[66]

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 physician, Doctor Kittel, left a bequest of 3000 zł for the village hospital for the peasants and invalids and established a fund yielding 300 zł yearly to award prizes to the most diligent schoolboys in Włostowice, the peasants responded.[67] All the "beings of Puławy," the villagers, the domestic servants, the peasants, and the laborers made a collection to raise a monument to him.[68] This must have been the first public monument sponsored by the peasants. The peasants acted out other performances of gratitude, some that one may not expect from peasant farmers whose interests rarely lay in fine literature. They placed a stone for the poet Kajetan Koźmian, planted white lilies and ivy around it, and added the inscription: "Grateful villagers to Kajetan Koźmian, author of *Ziemiaństwo*."[69] Koźmian wrote a long didactic poem over twenty years, from 1802 to 1820, praising the virtues of rural life and providing practical advice

65 "Podróż po Kępie Puławskiej (opisana w r. 1828)," in *Pokłosie. Zbieranka na korzyść sierot*, 19–37. Leszno, Ernest Gunther, 1853, 26.

66 Tomasz Wiślicz, *Zarobić na duszne zbawienie: religijność chłopów małopolskich od połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*. Wydawnictwo Neriton. 2001.

67 I.Cz. to M.W., Sieniawa, 18 January 1818, BCz 6141.

68 Ibid.

69 "Wdzięczni włościanie Kajetanowi Koźmianowi, autorowi *Ziemiaństwa*'. Koźmian was the author of a long, idyllic poem praising the virtues of rural life.

on farming methods, including ploughing, sowing, and reaping; giving advice on hygiene; and relating aspects of rural life. The poem is addressed to Polish farmers, *Do wieśniakow polskich*, pursuing the notion that his compatriots who are closely connected to nature and are part of the larger nation are, at the same time, a nation unto themselves. Presumably, the verses from Koźmian's work, which circulated from 1812 at the court of Puławy, must have been known to the peasants, perhaps memorized in schools or introduced to them by the parish priest.

The stone to the Virgil of the Polish countryside was arranged close to another one, which had already been in place for twenty-five years: a memorial to Abbé Delille.[70] Delille enjoyed the patronage of Izabela Czartoryska and incorporated her description of Puławy in his second edition of *Les Jardins*.[71] The two stones, separated by a fallen poplar that had been converted into a seat, visually conversed about the beauty of the place and its connection with the life of villagers. Czartoryska also encouraged the peasants to plant commemorative trees, especially in memory of poets who wrote on the delights of rural life.[72] 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 schoolteacher; they mostly expressed their happiness and loyalty to the princess. The palace society continued in their own salons: 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*.

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70 Inscription : "Il aime la campagne et sut la faire aimer'. Goliński, *Puławy: park - jego dzieje, oblicze i świat roślin,*101. He recorded another version: 'A Jaques Delille. Vallons qu'il a cheri, coteaux qu'il a chanté / Gonflez que parmi vous ce monument repose, / Qu'un peoplier le couvre et qu'un ruisseau arrose'. Yet another version is given by Antoni Amborski, "Opis Puław" : 'A l'ombre des bois prés des moissons dorées/ Des vertes prairies de riantes compagnes / L'amitié place le souvenir de celui / Qui ait si bien les chanter'.

71 Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska*, 32. Delille, *Les Jardins*, Song 1.

72 Aleksandrowicz, "Jaques Delille w ogrodach puławskich", 55–90, 67, 71.

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 had succeeded in establishing a rural identity based on Catholic rituals.[73] Czartoryska's emotional and programmatically unquestioning spirituality extended easily into the religious rites of the peasants, especially when they related to the rituals of gratitude. Czartoryska's name days and the feast days of her patron saint were always occasions for her peasants to show their attachment. One of the events which Czartoryska recorded in her letters was when she went to hear mass at Włostowice and "found a spectacle," which moved her. The villagers had decorated the unused altar in front of her pew with geraniums and twenty bouquets of flowers and lit candles before a 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 the inscription: "Ubogi ale przywiązany" [Poor but devoted]. She wrote to her daughter at the time of the Congress of Vienna: "How remote are these Viennese *fêtes* from Wojciech's offering, the gatherings of all these kings from that handful of children kneeling in front of this altar. I would not exchange my feelings for these worldly amusements."[74]

The archives show that some of these offerings were symbolic—negligible amounts—whereas some were practical, but all were rewarded with exalted praise, as we learn from Czartoryska's letters. These were the proofs of "moral economy" working to Czartoryska's utopian vision. A village musician, Szmeigler, left in his testament a gift of gratitude to Izabela and to her son Konstanty in the form of 6000 zł for the school at Włostowice and 100 zł for the new organ in the church, all that he had earned from the Czartoryskis throughout his lifetime. Now he had given it back in thankfulness. Czartoryska remembered him as

73 Bogdan Baranowski, *Kultura ludowa XVII i XVIII wieku na ziemiach Polski* Środkowej (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1971), 171.

74 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.

a "highly estimable man, a companion at our *fêtes*; we passed good days with him." She also learned that Szmeigler was an orphan, that by the age of twenty-eight he saved 50 zł for his own funeral, and that he had kept this this amount until the very end. "This would make a good chapter for a sentimental journey," she wrote to Maria.[75] Just as Czartoryska was present at all the major events in her peasants' lives, paying for christenings, weddings, and funerals, she established a visual closure to their lives in the village graveyard. She ordered an opening cut through the island to connect it with the new peasant cemetery at Włostowice, established in 1800 outside the boundaries of the peasants' habitations. She planted the graveyard with trees and put into practice Rousseau's and Poussin's ideal of the tomb in a landscape, with views opening out onto a panorama of working fields. It must have been evident that the relationship of serf and master was part of an immutable order which was as natural as it was divinely sanctioned, as aptly expressed in the invocation over the gate that Czartoryska had built: "According to Thy will they lived in toil; let them rest in eternity."[76]

Czartoryska built their homes and planted their gardens with roses and orchards.[77] One street, doubly planted with trees, was called Grateful [ulica Wdzięczna], reflecting the peasants' expected appreciation for their lives. Another street was called the New World. One peasant, named Kowalik, surrounded his house with roses and acacias, planted a lot of trees, "and was very happy."[78] He also built houses for the subsequent generations of his family, all members apparently known for their virtue, diligence, and devotion to the Czartoryskis.[79] From New World Street, the villagers enjoyed open views onto the surrounding countryside, with their historical markers, which were, according to

75 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 20 September 1816, BCz 6140.
76 Amborski, "Opis Puław.", np.
77 I.Cz. to M.W., 5 August 1813, BCz 6140. Rkps.(no number) "Kasa Generalna - Puławy 1773–1807. Tabele, wykazy. Rachunek Expensy Pieniężnej z Rozkazu J.O.Xny Pani na wesela chłopskie i inne potrzeby niżey wypisane do dnia 4 Czerwca 1806 Roku.'
78 I.Cz. to M.W., Puławy, 26 April 1815, BCz 6140. I.Cz. to L. Kropiński, Sieniawa, 20 December 1814, BCz 6106.
79 Prek, *Czasy i ludzie*, 428.

Antoni Amborski, headmaster of the Włostowice school, instrumental in creating a historical consciousness among the peasants.[80] 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 a little cottage on Kępa. I am happy whenever I can be there, even if it is only for a moment, and I dream that I am living in old Poland, in the time of Kazimierz or Zygmunt."[81] He did not forget either to enclose his own poem on the charms of the Vistula.

Mass education was the key to progress.[82] Both Adam Kazimierz and Adam Jerzy devoted themselves to the cause of national education between the 1760s and the 1820s, while Izabela Czartoryska created three schools on her estate in Włostowice. There was also an Institute for Village Teachers and Organists established in the palace at Puławy. In 1816, Czartoryski established a support structure for his peasants in the form of a Benevolence Fund and a Merchant, Building, and Clothing Fund. They were used by the inhabitants of Puławy and Końskowola, and later also by the people of Kazimierz and Wąwolnica.[83] Some of the Puławy peasants could read and write, but not in the numbers that might be expected from Czartoryska's efforts.[84] The villagers, however, were 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.[85] Antoni Amborski, himself an alumnus of the School of Organists, took charge of education in Włostowice, while the parish priests Józef Koblański and his predecessor Grzegorz Piramowicz were prominent educational re-

80 Agnieszka Whelan, "Czy Puławy były sławne?" In *Parki magnackich rezydencji rodu Czartoryskich w Europie Centralnej i Wschodniej,* ed. Andrzej Michałowski, 35–42. Warsaw: Ośrodek Ochrony Zabytkowego Krajobrazu, 2001, 36.

81 Letter from a peasant from Piotrowice to I.Cz., Piotrowice, 11 July 1828, BCz 6105, f.53.

82 On the methodology of teaching in the Puławy schools see: Skutnik, *Czuła pedagogia. Edukacyjny walor dzieł i działań księżnej Izabeli,* 432, nn.

83 Gracyan Wereżynski, "Opis historyczny Puław", BCz III 3978.

84 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie w Puławach oraz kluczu końskowolskim w czasach Czartoryskich,* 86.

85 Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie w Puławach oraz kluczu końskowolskim w czasach Czartoryskich,* 86.

formers 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 "honor and glory" and called *Wdzięczni włościanie* [The grateful villagers]: "They sang very well and the whole arrangement moved me."[86] Amborski 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.[87] Apart from the two-volume school textbook, Izabela also wrote a prayer book for her village children entitled *Książka do pacierzy dla dzieci wiejskich* in 1815.[88]

With all these efforts to know the peasants, to protect them in the times of natural disasters and to support them in their significant stages in life: weddings, christenings, funerals, Izabela's two drawings of her peasants place themselves at odds with her own proclaimed allegiances. Izabela did not leave a lot of works on paper. They mostly show genre scenes or informal *marginalia* - sketches illustrating passages from history. [89] Therefore, the two preserved drawings are worthy of our attention (figs. 54, 55). They show a young man and a woman, well dressed, in boots, jackets and head coverings. The man carries hay on his head. The striking feature here is their depiction as anonymous shapes, as silhouettes in an unspecified environment. Although Izabela never engaged in portraiture, not even in depicting characters or types, the drawings show peasants only as objects of interest, as figures encountered on walks around the garden but without personalities or individual qualities. The same can be said about other views of the gardens which include peasants, like an anonymous view of the Deep Road, with the

86 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.

87 Antoni Amborski, "Opis Puław", passim.

88 The Czartoryskis had their printing presses in Dobromil. Izabela Czartoryska, *Książka do pacierzy dla dzieci wiejskich,* 1815; Eadem, *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu czyli Dalszy ciąg nauk*. Passim.

89 Paweł Ignaczak, Izabela z Flemingów Czartoryska, a plastyczna twórczość amatorska. Zagadnienia atrybucyjne i ideowe. In *Izabela Czartoryska dux femina facti,* , 23–40.





Figure 54. *A Peasant Woman*, Izabela Czartoryska, 1770-1835

Figure 55. *A Peasant Carrying Hay*, by Izabela Czartoryska, 1770-1835

overhanging bridge and noble visitors appreciating the view of the peasant walking below. The peasant is shown again as a shape, from the back, without personality but endowed with the qualities of an indispensable decorative element in a feudal garden. Although many visitors reported that the peasants were contented, healthy, clean, and generally well taken care of, Ksawery Prek again had noticed that the Puławy peasants were exceptionally dependent and helpless. In the meantime, though, under the benevolent patroness, the land blossomed, as the spaces designed by Czartoryska reflected her aesthetic. This universe of benevolent care ended with the November Insurrection of 1830. Adam Jerzy's involvement as the prime minister of the Provisional Government of the Uprising brought destruction to the palace and the eventual sequestration of the estate at Puławy. The protective structure created by Iza-

bela collapsed. With Czartoryska's departure, her helpless peasants suffered hunger and disease, and several of her schools closed. Yet 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.[90] Nevertheless, 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 Puławy:

> How charming was the sight of the princess visiting her villagers, recalling everyone's name, disposition, and even their family relationships. And even though this was for her an entertaining distraction lasting fifty years, surely such an amusement is worthy of imitation.[91]

90 Whelan, "Czy Puławy były sławne?", 36. Ludwik Kropiński to I.Cz., Woronczyn 21 April 1811, f.29, BCz 6105. Gołębiowska, *Oświata i wychowanie w Puławach oraz kluczu końskowolskim w czasach Czartoryskich*, 84.

91 Prek, *Czasy i ludzie*, 428.

Finale

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.[92] 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 a new summer house in Wysock 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, March 25, 1832.[93]

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92 Alexander Józef Braunhelder to I.Cz., 1832, BCz 6105, f.373.

93 "Opis Wysocka przez Władysława Paszkiewicza w Wysocku dnia 15 sierpnia 1833 r. (egzemplarz po Śp. Marija Wurtemberska)", BCz 6153, f.43-47.

In August 1833, she prepared a feast for Maria, dressed herself and her granddaughters and great-granddaughters in folk costumes, and entertained the company with a village theme. Another time, she arranged her favorite market *tableau*, dressed as a traveling salesman, drew on a moustache, and put on a Tyrolean 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, and said: "A few days ago she was failing; today she is having fun again."[94] Izabela Czartoryska fell ill in the first days of June 1835, improved a week later, but at noon on June 17 she died, surrounded by her daughter Maria and two of her granddaughters: Celina Działyńska and Jadwiga Sapieha.[95] She was buried at nearby Moszczany ten days later in the simplest of ceremonies.[96] Izabela's departure from Puławy marked not only the end of the Czartoryski presence there; it was also the end of an epoch. In the aftermath of the insurrection, Adam Jerzy received a death sentence *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 honor of his wife, and 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 its gardens "our customs, our visions, souls, hearts, and minds were shaped."[97] Certainly, Izabela created a visual and socially inclusive framework in which to think about the state of the country: in Powązki, as ancient Rome in ruins; in Puławy, as the Elysium of the Golden Age. She rooted Polish history in Spartan and "Sarmatian" ideology and emphasized its

94 Prek, *Czasy i ludzie*, 431.
95 Dymowski to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, 9 July 1835, document preserved at the Czartoryski Archives, copy for the IUNG library made by Henryk Czech.
96 Today her coffin is in the family vault at Sieniawa.
97 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828,* 67.

most uplifting moments. There were also social commentaries and presentations of both model motherhood and of an ideal estate—one that was profitable but also 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 sentimentality, the spirit of visuality 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."[98] 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 book, it has become evident that the gardens were much more than the sum of their parts, or even the sum of the interpretative findings and methodologies. To restore their 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 participants 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 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 ardor, or melancholic reflec-

98 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828,* 67.

tions" created a highly dynamic experience, essentially an encounter with oneself.[99]

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!"[100] The role of Czartoryska as an animator was clear to all; she was "the soul of Puławy."[101] 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 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.

Perhaps surprisingly, the eighteenth-century modes of expression from Puławy have resonated ever since. Echoes of the rites from the Temple of the Sibyl can be detected, for example, in the public ceremony held in Warsaw in 1926, when a delegation of the National Assembly formed a procession to the bronze equestrian statue of Prince Józef Poniatowski and reported to him their decision to elect Józef Piłsudski as president of Poland.

99 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828,* 67.
100 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828,* 76.
101 Grzegorzewska, *Dziesięć dni w Puławach w roku 1828,* 23.

Major Events in the Life of Princess Izabela Czartoryska

March 31, 1745: birth of Elżbieta Dorota Balbina Flemming in Warsaw,[1] daughter of Count Georg Dettlev von Flemming, polonized as Jan Jerzy Detloff Flemming, (May 16, 1699–December 12, 1771), and Princess Antonina, née Czartoryska (1728–March 26, 1746). She later used the name Izabela (with a variety of spellings) or Elżbieta.

November 19, 1761: wedding of Izabela Flemming and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, Crown General of Podolia, son of Prince August Aleksander Czartoryski (November 9, 1697–April 4, 1782), Palatine of Ruthenia, and Maria Zofia Czartoryska, née Sieniawska (April 15, 1699–May 21, 1771)

November 9, 1762: birth of Karol Aleksander Jerzy, first son of Izabela and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryskis (died December 27, 1763)

September 2, 1763: birth of the first daughter, Zofia (died November 3, 1763)

1764: Adam Kazimierz appointed Marshal of the Convocation Sejm (May 7–June 23) for the election of his cousin Stanisław Antoni Poniatowski as king

November 25, 1764: coronation of Stanislaw Poniatowski as Stanisław II August in Warsaw (abdicated November 25, 1795)

c. May 25/ June 2, 1765: birth of daughter Teresa (died January 13, 1780)

1765 until 1794: Adam Kazimierz takes over command at the School of Chivalry—the Cadet Corps

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1 The date of Izabela Czartoryska's birth is often given incorrectly, even though the birth certificate was located and published in 2012 by Tadeusz Frączyk in his *Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski: biografia historyczno-literacka na tle przemian ideowych polskiego Oświecenia* (Cracow: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012), 76

March 15, 1768: birth of daughter Maria Anna, later Princess von Würtemberg-Montbeliard, known as Maria Wirtemberska (died October 21,1854)

February 29, 1768: Bar Confederation

1768–1769: the Czartoryskis leave the political chaos of Poland for France, England, Germany, and Austria; they pay a visit to Jean-Jacques Rousseau

January 14, 1770: birth of the first surviving son, Adam Jerzy (died July 15, 1861)

September 24, 1770: the lease is signed on the estate of Powązki. In 1772 the family spends the first summer in the garden. Destruction of the garden in 1794 during the

Polish Prussian War.

May 21, 1771: death of Izabela's mother-in-law, Maria Zofia Czartoryska, née Sieniawska (born April 15, 1699)

December 10, 1771: death of Izabela's father, Jan Jerzy Flemming (born March 3, 1699)

Spring 1772: Izabela and Adam with their daughters travel through Leipzig to the Netherlands to sell the estates inherited from of Jan Jerzy Flemming. Izabela then travels to London and writes a letter to her husband expressly wishing to spend her life in Poland and not abroad. Adam Kazimierz arrives in London in November 1772

August 5, 1772: First Partition of Poland is signed. It is ratified by the Sejm on September 30, 1773

February 5, 1773: Adam Kazimierz departs from England

April 9, 1773: Adam Kazimierz travels to St. Petersburg to pay homage to Catherine II

1773–1780: Adam Kazimierz works for the National Education Commission

1774: the Czartoryskis return to Warsaw from their European travels

October 28, 1774: birth of the second surviving son Konstanty Adam (died April 23, 1860)

August 13, 1775: death of Izabela's grandfather Michal Fryderyk Czartoryski (born April 26, 1696),

September 15, 1778: birth of daughter Zofia, née Czartoryska, later Zamoyska (died February 27, 1837)

January 13, 1780: death of the eldest daughter Teresa at the age 15. At the same time Izabela gives birth to a daughter Gabriela who dies a few days later

1780: visit of Prince de Ligne to the garden of Powązki

April 4, 1782: death of August Aleksander Czartoryski, Izabela's father-in-law (born November 9, 1697)

1783: Princess Izabela writes *Mon Portrait,* a self-examination of her character.

1784: after the death of Adam Kazimierz's father August Aleksander, the young Czartoryskis take over their family seat in Puławy.

1784/1785: Princess Izabela in Berlin, she presents her daughter Maria to the court of Frederick II. She returns to Berlin again in 1787.

October 27, 1784: wedding of daughter Maria to Prince Louis of Württemberg in Siedlce, the residence of Aleksandra Ogińska, Izabela's aunt. She will be called Maria Wirtemberska hence forth.

January 1786: the beginning of the remodeling of the Puławy garden: preparations for the plantations, a new path is laid out leading to Izabela's apartments, a bridge is erected on the garden river Łacha, several hermitages are built, and stones with inscriptions are placed around.

May 1786: Izabela plants "thousands of trees and masses of flowers," cleans up the Elysian Fields, and establishes a retreat, Parchatka, in the hills bordering the Vistula

1786: Adam Kazimierz loses his parliamentary seat, and Princess Izabela emerges as an activist committed to unifying the opposition and manipulating their patriotic feelings for the family's political advantage

June 14, 1786: first performance of the opera *Spartan Mother*, written by Princess Izabela and Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin with music by Wincenty Ferdynand Lessel, staged during the gathering of the opposition party in Puławy

1787: Siedlce, premiere of another opera by Kniaźnin: *Gypsies,* to music by Michał Kleofas Ogiński, starring Izabela as the Gypsy Jawnuta

1787: Princess Izabela's trip to Vienna and Paris to drum up support for the opposition

1787: birth of Cecylia Beydale in Paris, the illegitimate daughter of Izabela Czartoryska (died July 21, 1851), the only child not claimed by Adam Kazimierz as his own.

1788: return of Princess Izabela to Poland, preparations for the Four-Year Sejm: thanks to her campaigns Adam Kazimierz regains his parliamentary seat.

July 1788, Puławy: in the absence of Adam Kazimierz, Izabela hosts a huge rally of supporters and stages the *Spartan Mother.*

October 6, 1788, until May 29, 1792, Warsaw: proceedings of the Four-Year Sejm

May 14, 1789, Warsaw: celebrations in honor of Stanisław Małachowski, Speaker of the Four-Year Sejm organized by Izabela

September 26, 1789: Izabela leaves for London with her son Adam Jerzy, passing through Switzerland and Paris

January 10, 1790: Izabela arrives in London

March 19, 1790, London: a three-year contract is signed between the gardener James Savage and Izabela Czartoryska

July 1790: James Savage arrives in Puławy with a contingent of plants, having left England at the beginning of June

June 9–August 28, 1790: Izabela makes a journey around England and Scotland and writes a travel diary entitled *Tour through England*

January 17, 1791: Czartoryska visits Horace Walpole's residence at Strawberry Hill

April 1791: Czartoryska arrives back in Warsaw having visited Abbé Jacques Delille in Paris along the way. The previous trips to England took place in 1768–69 and 1772 –1774

May 3, 1791: proclamation of the Constitution of May 3

1791: decision to build the Marynki Palace in Puławy, intended for Maria Wirtemberska's residence

September 12–17, 1791: military maneuvers of the Polish army at nearby Gołąb and a mass patriotic demonstration in the garden of Puławy choreographed by Izabela. The performance of the *Spartan Mother*

January 16, 1792: birth of Maria Wirtemberska's only son, Adam Württemberg

May 14, 1792: the Targowica Confederation

1792: Izabela leaves the destroyed Puławy for her residence in Sieniawa

November 26, 1793, Puławy: James Savage signs a six-year contract to work at Puławy

January 3, 1793: Second Partition of Poland, ratified by the Grodno Sejm July 22, 1793

March 24–November 16, 1794: Kościuszko Uprising

August 28, 1794: complete destruction of the Powązki garden during the battle of Powązki, led by Kościuszko against the Prussian army. Powązki is sold soon afterwards.

1794: plundering and destruction of Puławy by the Russian units in retaliation for the Czartoryski support of the Kosciuszko Insurrection, confiscation of the family estates in Podolia, Volhynia, and Lithuania by Catherine II

October 24, 1795: Third Partition of Poland. Puławy estate is incorporated into the Austrian Partition.

August 31, 1795: Catherine II releases the Czartoryski lands from sequestration

1796: departure of Izabela's sons, Adam Jerzy and Konstanty, to St. Petersburg, as political hostages

June 21, 1796: Izabela returns to Puławy. Reconstruction of Puławy with the involvement of architect Piotr Aigner, and gardener James Savage

May 20, 1798: laying of the cornerstone for the construction of the Temple of the Sibyl on the wedding of Zofia, Izabela's youngest daughter, to Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski

1799: Adam Jerzy Czartoryski orders in Italy a sarcophagus dedicated to the memory of his paternal grandparents, August and Maria Zofia Czartoryska, intended for the Puławy garden

1800: symbolic completion of the Temple of the Sibyl. Several opening ceremonies follow in subsequent years

July 16, 1802: marriage of the younger son Konstanty with Aniela, née Radziwiłł

1805: publication of *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów* [Various thoughts on the manner of planting gardens] by Princess Izabela, subsequent editions 1807, 1808

July until September 1805: Izabela surveys the estates in Volhynia and Podolia and leaves a manuscript diary of the tour

September 30, 1805: visit of Tsar Alexander I to Puławy accompanied by Adam Jerzy

1806: Prince Jabłonowski presents Izabela Czartoryska with a statue of Tancred and Clorinda, which he purchased at an auction of royal sculptures from Łazienki

1807: creation of the Duchy of Warsaw (until 1815). Puławy is incorporated into the Duchy

June 29, 1809: symbolic opening of the Gothic House during the visit of Prince Józef Poniatowski. The official opening, connected with the birthday of Maria Wirtemberska took place March 25, 1811

June 28, 1812, Warsaw: election of Prince Adam Kazimierz to the position of Marshal of the General Confederation of the Kingdom of Poland, which formally restored the Kingdom of Poland and the system of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Izabela Czartoryska provides hospitality and participates in patriotic manifestations.

October 19, 1813: death of Marchal Prince Józef Poniatowski in the Battle of Leipzig. Izabela creates a shrine for him in the lower part of the Temple of the Sibyl in Puławy

1815: Princess Izabela publishes the *Książka do pacierzy dla dzieci wiejskich pod czas Mszy Świętej dla szkółki puławskiej napisana* [Book of prayers for village children during the Holy Mass for the Puławy school], Wrocław: [s.n.], subsequent editions follow

May 3, 1815: creation of the Kingdom of Poland (Congress Kingdom) at the Congress of Vienna

1815: as a result of the decisions of the Congress of Vienna, Puławy is included into the territory of the Congress Kingdom

July 4–August 11, 1816: Princess Izabela travels to the spas in Warmbrunn and Altwasser, visits the surroundings and a coal mine, keeps a journal of travels

August 20, 1816: James Savage dies from epidemic in Puławy and is buried in Włostowice. His young son dies shortly after. Czartoryska endowed a commemorative stone for him with inscriptions in Polish and English, built in the wall of the Włostowice church

September 25, 1817: Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski marries Anna Zofia, née Sapieha (October 17, 1799 – December 24, 1864) in the Potocki Palace in Radzyń

1818: Izabela publishes *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu, czyli Nauki wieyskie. Z dodatkiem powieści i 40 obrazkami* [The pilgrim in Dobromil, or the rural instructions. With the addition of stories and 40 illustrations], Warsaw: Józef Zawadzki i Józef Węcki. The second volume is issued in 1821.

December 5, 1822, Puławy: death of Czartoryska's ward and companion, Zofia Kicka, née Matuszewicz (born 21 December 1796). Three crosses are erected on a hill in Parchatka to commemorate Zofia and her two young daughters

March 19, 1823: Prince Adam Kazimierz dies in Sieniawa (born December 1, 1734, in Gdańsk); he is buried in the family vault in the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw

1828: Izabela publishes *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach* [A collection of memorabilia preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy] in Warsaw, w Drukarni Banku Polskiego.

November 29, 1830, Warsaw: outbreak of the November Uprising (until 1831)

February, 1831: siege of Puławy by Russian troops commanded by Adam Württemberg, son of Maria Wirtemberska and grandson of Izabela Czartoryska.

March 5/6, 1831: Izabela leaves Puławy on foot, across the Vistula to reach Wysock in the Austrian Partition, estate of her daughter Maria.

June 17, 1835: Izabela Czartoryska dies at the age of ninety in Wysock and is buried in the village graveyard at Moszczany ten days later. Only peasants and a handful of family members attend.

1860: Izabela's coffin transported to the Czartoryski family crypt in Sieniawa, where it rests now

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w Polsce, Przez Zygmunta Vogel, professora rysunku w Liceum J.K.Mci Warszawskiem, członka zgromadzenia Przyjaciół Nauk, z natury rysowany, a przez Jana Frey sztychowany. W Warszawie 1806 w Drukarni no 646 przy Nowolipiu.

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