

On 13 November 2024, exactly a hundred and fifty years passed since the municipal authorities of Cracow signed a contract with Prince Władysław Czartoryski, thereby handing over to him the sixteenth-century building of the former city arsenal, which was to house a new museum.¹ This anniversary, which marks just one of the caesuras associated with the establishment of one of the oldest museum institutions in Cracow, provides a perfect excuse to take – unemotionally and with the much-needed perspective – another look at certain aspects of the museum’s operation in the past and present, mainly the organisation of the nineteenth-century exhibition, the work of the curators of the era, and their reflections on the interpretation of the Puławy collection.

In Eastern Europe, which saw numerous military conflicts and associated acts of the looting of cultural property, collections that have survived to the present day with relatively minor losses are rare.² The Czartoryski collection, even though it has suffered considerably, especially in 1939–1941, when it had lost – perhaps irretrievably – one of its greatest masterpieces, the *Portrait of a Young Man* attributed to Raphael Santi,

THE PRINCES CZARTORYSKI MONASTERY – A ‘SANCTUARY’ OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY MUSEOLOGY

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1 The Princes Czartoryski Library – Branch of the National Museum in Cracow (Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich – Oddział Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, hereinafter: BCz), Ms sign. 7101, vol. 2; J. Lepiarczyk, ‘Dzieje budowy Muzeum Czartoryskich w Krakowie’, *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, vol. 3, 1957, pp. 182, 212–215; M. Rostworowski, ‘Kraków’, in: *Muzeum Czartoryskich. Historia i zbiory*, ed. Z. Żygulski (Kraków, 1998), p. 150; J. Nowak, ‘Władze gminy miasta Krakowa wobec Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich 1874–1939’, *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*, vol. 7, 2001, pp. 95–97; J. Pezda, ‘Przeszłość przyszłości. Historia zbiorów rodzinnych opowiedziana przez Władysława Czartoryskiego’, *Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, vol. 58, 2013, p. 105, note 2; P. Chełmecka, ‘Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich. Historia, ludzie, zbiory’, in: *Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich*, eds K. Płonka-Bałus, N. Koziała (Kraków, 201, p. 29; see also J. Bogdanowski, ‘Mury obronne’, in: *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 4: *Miasto Kraków*, part 10: *Śródmieście. Mury obronne i planty, rynek główny*, ed. M. Myśliński (Warszawa, 2005), pp. 21–22, 25.

2 Private collections, which originated from family treasures or subsequent conscious and systematic purchases, have become rare as a result of the very diverse legal and ownership processes resulting from the military conflicts and political upheavals of the twentieth century. The remainders of the collections held by museums in former entailed estates, including the Krasieński or Zamoyski family museums in Warsaw, were acquired for public collections after the Second World War. Only a handful of pre-war institutions managed to retain their collections and buildings after 1945, due to particular circumstances of the era. The status of the Princes Czartoryski Museum became ambiguous, as towards the end of 1949 it was placed ‘under the management and for the use of the State’, which made it a branch of the National Museum in Cracow (Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, hereinafter: MNK); however, it was expropriated. Thanks to the efforts of successive curators, the collection has retained its statues as separate from other departments of the MNK; Rostworowski, ‘Kraków’, pp. 179–180.

as well as jewels belonging to Polish monarchs and a collection of several hundred gold pieces (mainly early-modern medals), has indubitably retained its former character, strongly rooted in the nineteenth-century collecting tradition.

Between 2019 and 2023, these collections were once again made available to the public through the successive opening of three permanent exhibitions located in the museum's historic buildings: the so-called Palace (from December 2019), the Arsenal (from May 2021 – the exhibition 'Źródła. Galeria sztuki starożytnej' [Sources. The Gallery of Ancient Art]), and finally the Monastery that connects the two buildings (from June 2023) (Fig. 1). The process of establishing the new exhibitions contributed to the launch of a new in-depth study of the sources for the museum's history, which made it possible to establish or verify hitherto little-known facts concerning both the provenance of the museum pieces themselves and the places and methods of displaying them. The results of these studies resulted in the implementation of a new concept for the arrangement of the exhibition, the effects of which can be seen especially in the Monastery, where the exhibition is arranged as a *sui generis* 'sanctuary of nineteenth-century museology'. In the context of the Princes Czartoryski Museum and above all its Armoury, this concept was introduced by Zdzisław Żygulski, thus emphasising the 'historicity' or even the 'archaic character' of the post-war exhibition.³ In addition to the very issue of the selection of museum pieces and the method of displaying them, the scope of this concept also entails the use of the original space inside a building that once was a part of the Piarist monastery – the layout of the interiors, the positioning of the display cases, the display itself, and even the selection of the content for the captions under the artefacts.⁴ These seemingly insignificant elements have a considerable impact on the visitors' perceptions. This paper constitutes an attempt to describe the conceptual assumptions of the new exhibition

3 The idea of turning the Monastery into a reserve exhibition referring to the nineteenth-century exhibition traditions was already implemented in the first years after the Second World War; Z. Żygulski, 'Zbrojownia Czartoryskich', *Muzealnictwo Wojskowe*, vol. 1, 1959, p. 97–98.

4 The collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum features several hundred plaques with old labels and descriptions that survived to this day. In recent times, the authors of this paper have attempted to organise them, which has made it possible to create their preliminary typology and establish a rough dating. It turned out that a number of them date back to the nineteenth century, with some originating from the Temple of the Sibyl and the Gothic House. The content of some is also sometimes different from the inventory records studied to date, which gives them significant value as a source. This issue was presented in the form of a paper *Puławskie i krakowskie metody oznaczania obiektów z kolekcji Czartoryskich oraz związane z tym problemy identyfikacyjne* [The Puławy and Cracow methods of labelling artefacts from the Czartoryski collection and related identification problems], presented at the methodological seminar 'Badania proveniencyjne w muzeach – stan badań i postulaty badawcze', 7 Nov. 2023 in the Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów. The publication of the paper in print is planned in future.



Fig. 1

Façade of the Monastery after
the renovation in 2023

in the Monastery in relation to the history of the collection that spans over two centuries, on the basis of the already known as well as hitherto unpublished source material. The historical context helps to justify the presence of some of the narrative solutions in the new exhibition.

The 1860s were undoubtedly a significant decade in the history of the Czartoryski collection. It was then that Władysław Czartoryski, who had formally inherited the family collection in 1860,⁵ started to effectuate his plans to establish a museum that would display historical mementoes and works of Polish art, intended to illustrate the history of the nation against the backdrop of the wider panorama of European history, including art history. In an attempt to make such ambitious plans a reality, Czartoryski faced three fundamental problems. The first was the issue of consolidating the collection, the second was its scholarly study, and the last concerned the selection of a convenient and – more

⁵ The bequest of the collection to Władysław to the exclusion of his first-born son Witold was eventually confirmed by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski in a note addressed to Hieronim Żychoń, secretary to Anna Sapieha née Zamoyska: 'Everything that, according to my Parents' will, was, and may still become, a family collection for the use of the Polish public, has been in the possession of my son Władysław for several years; he shall be the owner and guardian of this collection'. The two sons were supposed to share the collections abroad and artefacts not listed in the Puławy registers, which were at that time not intended to be shown to the public. A note attached to the letter: Adam Jerzy Czartoryski to Władysław Czartoryski, 14 Aug. 1860; in: BCz. sign. Ms 7203.

importantly – secure location for the ‘research facility’.⁶ As is well known, the process of consolidating the Puławy collection, which was dispersed in the aftermath of the November Uprising, was based on Paris and Sieniawa, the Czartoryski estate located in the lands annexed by Austria during the partitions, which became a place for collecting artworks brought from the Kingdom of Poland after the Cracow Uprising and the related imposition of a temporary sequestration on local estates in 1846–1849.⁷ The efforts of the archivist Karol Druzewicz,⁸ who was working under the supervision of the Puławy librarians Łukasz Gołębiowski and Karol Sienkiewicz, deserve a special mention in that respect: on several occasions, often risking his life, Druzewicz organised expeditions to the Kingdom of Poland to recover the Czartoryski collections. A new museum was initially planned to be established in the Sieniawa estate, located near Jarosław and Przeworsk. The design work to adapt the palace and its surroundings for this purpose began in earnest after 1866, as the Cracow scholar, the archaeologist Józef Łepkowski⁹

- 6 The notion of a ‘research facility’ in the sense of a scientific and research institution combining both museum and library functions, serving primarily students of history with the general public seen as the secondary beneficiaries, is cited very frequently in specialist literature; however, this term was also widely used by contemporaneous authors. It is now used as a synonym for the Princes Czartoryski Museum in 1874–1939; D. Gorzelany, ‘Europejska moda kolekcjonerska a idea polskiego „zakładu naukowego”’, in: *Miłośnictwo rzeczy. Studia z historii kolekcjonerstwa na ziemiach polskich w XIX wieku*, eds K. Kludkiewicz, M. Menefel (Warszawa, 2014), p. 260.
- 7 Z. Żygulski, ‘Zarys historii zbiorów Czartoryskich’, in: *Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. Zbiory Czartoryskich. Historia i wybór zabytków*, ed. *idem* (Warszawa, 1978), p. 20. In more detail on this topic, see P. Sieradzki, ‘Czartoryscy a dobra sieniawskie w latach 30. i 40. XIX wieku. Zarys zagadnienia’, *Rocznik Kolbuszowski*, vol. 10, 2010, pp. 207–208; J. Pezda, ‘Sekwestra Sieniawy w 1846 r. i zmagania Czartoryskich o jego zniesienie’, in: *Galicja. Studia z dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych*, ed. M. Baczkowski, T. Kargol (Kraków, 2017), pp. 151–158.
- 8 Karol Druzewicz (1795 or 1800–1879) stayed in Puławy from 1814, and from 1818 was employed in the chancellery of Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and as an assistant librarian. At the end of November 1864, after the death of the librarian Aleksander Lipiński, he was entrusted with the custody of the library collection located in Sieniawa. Władysław Czartoryski spoke extensively about Druzewicz’s merits during a lecture he gave at a meeting of the Historical and Literary Society in January 1882, highlighting the librarian’s numerous merits. This statement is quoted by, among others, Pezda, ‘Przeszłość przyszłości. Historia zbiorów’, p. 120. Biographic information on Druzewicz, see K. Buczek, ‘Druzewicz Karol (1800–1879)’, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 5 (Kraków, 1939–1946), p. 401; T. Frączyk, ‘Druzewicz Karol’, in: *Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej*, ed. I. Treichel (Warszawa–Łódź, 1972), p. 185; H. Mącznik, *Puławski słownik biograficzny*, t. 1: A–K (Lublin, 1994), pp. 107–108; J. Nowak, ‘Karola Druzewicza podróże biblioteczne po Kongresówce i Galicji w latach 1860–1879’, *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, vol. 38, 1994, no. 3, pp. 89–97.
- 9 Józef Łepkowski (1826–1894) was a historian, a scholar specialising in Antiquity, a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a pioneer of academic archaeology, which he taught from 1866. He co-founded the Archaeological Cabinet at the Jagiellonian University, for which he acquired a number of historical and artistic collections. He authored the

assumed the post of Czartoryski's librarian and intermediary for collection matters. Druziewicz described the scale of the issues faced by the family in the context of modernising the building as follows:

The old dilapidated palace with masonry [walls] (formerly pantiled), roofed with wooden shingles, a former home of the late Prince General of the Podolian Lands [sic!]. Today, it houses the Library, the family and economic archives of all the prince's former estates, and moreover the collection of antiquities. The Library, the family archive, and the collection of antiquities come from Puławy; in part they were acquired after 1831 by the late Prince Voivode and later by Prince Władysław Czartoryski. The ceilings were severely damaged due to the bad roofing and additional supports had to be installed inside rooms, as they could collapse otherwise.¹⁰

Various plans were drawn up for the modernisation works, which were to be carried out by architect Bolesław Podczaszyński.¹¹ These extensive projects to adapt the palace in Sieniawa for residential, museum and library purposes, however, ultimately exceeded Władysław Czartoryski's budget,¹² as he was constantly struggling with financial problems that ultimately thwarted both the ambitious Sieniawa project and any subsequent projects in Cracow, such as the construction of a new library

first Polish monograph on weaponry, entitled *Broń sieczna w ogóle i w Polsce uważana archeologicznie*, published in Cracow in 1857. He long cooperated with Władysław Czartoryski, for whom he supervised the development of the catalogue of the Sieniawa library, acted as an intermediary with the Galician academic community, and from 1874 became the first director of the Princes Czartoryski Museum. He held this post until 1884 (replaced by Marian Sokołowski) and became Rector of the Jagiellonian University in the following year. The literature on Łepkowski's scientific activities is extensive; see e.g. M. Musiołowa, 'Łepkowski Józef', in: *Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej*, ed. I. Treichel (Warszawa–Łódź, 1972), pp. 536–537; C. Bąk-Koczarska, 'Łepkowski Józef Aleksander (1826–1894)', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 18 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1973), pp. 339–343; J. Ostrowski, 'Józef Aleksander Łepkowski (1826–1894)', *Opuscula Musealia*, vol. 8, 1996, pp. 9–14 [and following articles in that issue, wholly devoted to Łepkowski]; M. Woźny, 'Rola Józefa Łepkowskiego w pozyskaniu dla krakowskich instytucji zbiorów Karola Rogawskiego i Bolesława Podczaszyńskiego', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, vol. 67, 2022, no. 4, pp. 79–90.

10 BCz., sign. Ms 10552, pp. 1–2.

11 See BCz., sign. Ms 12246, p. 113.

12 In a letter to sent to Łepkowski in late 1872, which was to serve as an end-of-year memo to the estate residents, Czartoryski wrote with trepidation: '[...] As for the expenses – it was always said that a library would cost 15,000 to 20,000 fl[orins]. Today, the plan envisages expenses totalling 28,000, with 77,000 going towards the palace, which means a total of more than 100,000 fl. I am not going to get into whether it is a lot or not, I am only considering my means. Let me remind you that all my property is in France. [...] I cannot expend larger sums, I should not do it. I am a Czartoryski who had emigrated, not a Czartoryski of Puławy and Międzybórz'; Władysław Czartoryski to Józef Łepkowski, 30 Dec. 1872; in: MNK, sign. VIII-rkps. 391/1. These words also seem pertinent to the later years of the prince's patronage over the scientific and museum activities.

building to replace the city walls between the Arsenal, the Carpenters' Tower and the Florian Gate.¹³ Financial considerations also prevented any significant and more expensive acquisitions.¹⁴

After abandoning the above plans, Prince Czartoryski, who was looking for another place to house the family museum, turned towards Greater Poland. The issue of unrest in France resulting from the defeat in the war against Prussia, the Paris Commune and the proclamation of the Third Republic undoubtedly influenced the decision to transport the collection to Poland.¹⁵ The prince used Kórnik, the ancestral seat of the Działyński family, as a temporary shelter for his collection, where his brother-in-law Jan offered him a service building located on Lake Kórnik.¹⁶

Leon Bentkowski¹⁷ was employed to look after the collection brought from Paris in 1871, taking over the position of custodian from

13 Financial considerations were only one of the reasons for abandoning this project. It also met with significant formal opposition from the city authorities, who were against changing the remains of the historic city walls and the park landscape. More broadly on this issue Lepiarczyk, 'Dzieje budowy Muzeum', pp. 200–212.

14 This concerns the unsuccessful purchase of the collection of Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, who had been negotiating with Director Marian Sokołowski on the matter. Czapski, however, demanded too large a sum, namely, 300,000 florins; see Marian Sokołowski to Władysław Czartoryski, 5 May 1892, in: BCz., sign. Ms 7314. On the purchase of Czapski's collection by the Museum, see J. Nowak, 'Emeryk Hutten-Czapski i Władysław Czartoryski w Krakowie', in: *"Monumentis Patriae..."*. *Emerykowi Hutten-Czapskiemu w 110. rocznicę śmierci Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie*, ed. J. Skorupska (Kraków, 2006), pp. 30–31. The same was true when an attempt was made to purchase the famous painting of the Holy Family with St Catherine of Alexandria by Lorenzo Lotto (currently in the National Museum in Cracow), see K. Moczulska, 'Marian Sokołowski and two Italian paintings in Polish collections: Sano di Pietro, Popiersie Chrystusa i Lorenzo Lotto, Adoracja Dzieciątka', *Folia Historiae Artium*, Seria Nowa, vols 8–9, 2002–2003, pp. 93–105.

15 The conservative and monarchical faction of the Hôtel Lambert, as well as the entire Polish émigré community, were strongly impacted by the political changes of the time. The removal of the Czartoryski collection from Paris was directly influenced by numerous French monuments being destroyed during military operations, including the burning of the Louvre Library during the Paris Commune. To learn more about the situation of Poles in 1870–1871, see J. Zdrada, *Zmierzch Czartoryskich* (Warszawa, 1969), pp. 371, 386–433; M. Kukiel, *Dzieje Polski porzeczowej 1795–1921* (Paris, 1983), pp. 479–480.

16 The building was erected in 1757. In connection with Działyński's intention to convert it into a library, it was modernised in 1869–1871 by raising the floors and adding a gallery in the central part; see R. Kašinowska, *Zamek w Kórniku* (Kórnik, 1998), pp. 214–216.

17 Leon Jarosław Bentkowski (1823–1889), son of the historian Feliks Jan, creator of the Polish bibliography, and Emilia née Zajdler. Leon, who studied agronomy, leased an estate in the Lipno district of the Dobrzyń region. In 1862 he left his family due to undisclosed reasons and travelled to the French island of Réunion on the Indian Ocean to purchase a coffee or vanilla plantation. Following the outbreak of the January Uprising, he arrived in Paris in July 1864, perhaps with the intention of getting involved in political affairs. Following his arrival, he opened a photographic studio, which never brought him any significant income; as a result, in 1868 he was working for the Correspondance du Nord-Est agency, and then in the secretariat of the Polish

Antoni Rutkowski, who had been dismissed by the prince five years earlier for lending out books without his knowledge or authorisation.¹⁸ Bentkowski proved to be a fortunate choice – he worked on the collection with great diligence, the catalogues he created and the correspondence and activity logs he left behind still constitute an invaluable source for studying the collection. At the end of March and in early April 1872, equipped with an instruction signed by the prince,¹⁹ Bentkowski set off for Kórnik via Cologne and Berlin, with the Czartoryski family archive, part of the library, the numismatic collection, the most valuable Old Polish and Turkish saddles with tack, and a Turkish tent that was reportedly a trophy from the Battle of Vienna, in his custody.²⁰ Bentkowski's work on the collection was to be coordinated by Józef Łepkowski, and in order to maintain consistency in cataloguing the collection, he was to communicate with Druziewicz. However, it should not be difficult to imagine that since the collection was distributed between Paris, Kórnik, Sieniawa and Craców (where rooms were rented from the Venerable Confraternity of Mercy at Sienna Street to serve as storage²¹) inevitable organisational chaos ensued that threatened the safety of the pieces. Kórnik

school in Montparnasse. In those years, he got in touch with Prince Czartoryski, who employed him as custodian in the autumn of 1871; K. Buczek, 'Bentkowski Leon Jarosław (1823–1889)', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 1 (Kraków, 1935), p. 442; T. Frączyk, 'Bentkowski Leon Jarosław', in: *Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej*, ed. I. Treichel (Warszawa–Łódź, 1972), p. 57; S.K. Potocki, 'Współpracownicy Biblioteki Kórnickiej od połowy XIX w. do r. 1924', *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, vol. 12, 1976, p. 239; J. Pezda, 'Kustosz Bentkowski', in: *Europa Środkowa, Balkany i Polacy. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Antoniemu Cetnarowiczowi*, eds J. Pezda, S. Pijaj (Kraków, 2017), pp. 571–573; L. Stefański, 'Leon Jarosław Bentkowski (1823–1889) – rolnik z Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej kustoszem Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich', *Rocznik Dobrzyński*, vol. 12, 2019, pp. 171–173. He looked after the collection with great attention to detail almost until his death on 7 October 1889. He suffered from stomach ulcers: 'He carried out his duties until nearly his final moment, even though he almost could not speak any longer, and he was shuffling rather than walking', wrote Kazimierz Bartoszewicz in a commemorative note, [K. Bartoszewicz], [In memoriam L. Bentkowski], *Kraj. Pismo Polityczne, Społeczne, Ekonomiczne i Literackie*, vol. 8, 1889, no. 40, p. 8.

18 J. Pezda, 'Rutkowski Antoni (1805–1873)', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 33 (Warszawa–Wrocław–Kraków, 1991–1992), p. 216; J. Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu w latach 1838–1893* (Kraków, 2013), pp. 69–70.

19 *Instrukcja dla P. Leona Bentkowskiego*, 24 March 1872; in: BCz., Ms 12520, no page numbers.

20 We are now aware that the alleged trophy from Vienna most likely dates from the turn of the eighteenth century; see B. Biedrońska-Słotowa, 'Ottoman Tent from Prince Czartoryski's Collection. A New Look at an Old Tradition', *Art of the Orient*, vol. 6, 2017, pp. 156–165. The tent, which is still in the collection today, is presented in accordance with the display tradition, surrounded by early-modern Oriental artefacts; inv. no. MNK XIV-892/1–7.

21 BCz., Ms sign. 12246, p. 24; Rostworowski, 'Kraków', p. 156; J.J. Dreścik, 'O kilku pamiątkach dworskich w Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie', *Rozprawy Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, vol. 7, 2014, p. 63.

was a temporary shelter for a part of the collections, and the search for a new permanent home for them quickly became a priority, soon materialising in the form of concrete efforts.

Having considered many options for gathering and displaying the family collection, Władysław Czarotorski chose Cracow. This was primarily due to its proximity to the Jagiellonian University and to the prince's lively contacts with members of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as the already mentioned efforts by Łepkowski.²² The Academy, represented in particular by its president Stanisław Majer and secretary Józef Szujski, also made efforts to have the collection settled in Cracow, sending requests to the city authorities with words of support, emphasising its considerable significance for science and its patriotic profile.²³ People certainly realised that the creation of a museum housing such an important collection, one of the few to have survived the tides of history in its entirety, would have a direct impact on the prestige and attractiveness of Cracow itself, in terms of both science and tourism.

After the signing of the agreement transferring the ownership of the Arsenal with the adjacent structures to Czarotorski, it soon became apparent that its space, although consisting of two spacious rooms on the ground floor and the first floor, was not sufficient to display the collection in its entirety, as this space was completely filled by the library collection.²⁴ The basement of the Arsenal served as storage for the foreign book collection. Between 1881 and 1882, the available space was further diminished, and greatly so, as it was divided

22 J. Nowak, 'Udział Akademii Umiejętności w sprowadzeniu zbiorów Czarotorskich do Krakowa (1873–1876)', *Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie*, vol. 23, 1977, p. 154. It should be noted that the Polish Library in Paris cooperated closely with the Academy of Arts and Sciences, which led to the signing of the Cracow Settlement on 18 September 1891, by virtue of which the ownership of the Library was transferred, less than two years later, to the Academy; Pezda, *Historia Biblioteki Polskiej*, pp. 16, 161–163; K.P. Lubicz-Zaleski, 'Towarzystwo Historyczno-Literackie i Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu', in: *Towarzystwo Historyczno-Literackie. Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu. Zarys historii i prezentacja zbiorów*, eds W. Kordaczuk, E. Kosieradzka, E. Rutkowska (Paryż–Warszawa, 2014), p. 8; J. Pezda, 'Czy warto było? Umowa krakowska z 18 września 1891 r. O przyczynach oraz pokładanych w niej nadziejach i skutkach', *Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, vol. 66, 2021, pp. 83–89; J. Pezda, 'Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu', in: *Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1872–2022*, ed. J. Ostrowski (Kraków, 2022), pp. 127–128.

23 Nowak, 'Udział Akademii Umiejętności', pp. 155–157. The author also rightly wrote that on Czarotorski's side, the prince's associates Dionizy Skarżyński and Lubomir Gadon played an important role in the search for a property in Cracow. Interestingly, the purchase of the Bishop's Palace, the Spiski Palace, the Boner Family's Townhouse or the Szczepański Square property was considered before the agreement on the acquisition of the city arsenal.

24 See draft plan for the library and reading room layout at the Arsenal in 1881 documents; in: BCz., sign. Ms 12967, on page numbers.

lengthwise into two parts, the one on the side of the Monastery turned into the prince's suite.²⁵ The need to enlarge the facility for exhibition purposes became urgent.

An opportunity presented itself soon afterwards, as in early 1876 Prince Czartoryski had the opportunity to purchase the former Piarist building of the Collegium Novum, erected in 1736–1750 following the design by Franciszek Placidi.²⁶ The building, directly adjacent to the Piarist church to the east,²⁷ was built as a location for a chair of speculative theology. In 1761, it was repurposed as the monastery library and archive. Following the dissolution of the Piarist order in 1864, the buildings on the west side of the monastery served as a home for retired priests. The buildings were in need of a renovation due to their poor condition. This required considerable funding, which was obtained through the sale of the Collegium by the Religious Fund of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria to Władysław Czartoryski.²⁸ Due to its former purpose, the newly acquired property was customarily referred to as the Monastery (Polish: Klasztor, literally: 'the small monastery') and this name is still used today. Its location in close proximity to the Arsenal provided favourable conditions for the organisation of a museum and library complex; hence the original plans envisaged merging the two buildings. However, this was supposed to be done at the expense of a radical change of the original design of the Monastery, involving the demolition

- 25 The layout of the rooms can be seen on Maurice Ouradou's architectural drafts of May 1880 and on later plans by Zygmunt Hendel of 1906, drawn up for the construction of the new staircase. They are currently held in the Czartoryski collection, inv. nos MNK XV-Ew.PL.rys. 86 and MNK XV-Ew.PL.rys. 3/1-2; described in: W. Rothowa, A. Rumian, *Katalog rysunków architektonicznych ze zbiorów Czartoryskich w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie* (Warszawa, 1973), pp. 46, 97, no. 211, pp. 675–676, but without a reproduction. Bolesław Biskupski, then assistant custodian to Bentkowski, described the adaptation works. He noted that for the purpose of furnishing the suite, the wall of the Arsenal on the side of the Monastery was partially replaced with a series of windows with decorative stonework; BCz., sign. Ms 12345, pp. 4–5. These windows have survived to this day and are the only remnant of the former suite, the latter having been removed after Czartoryski acquired the townhouses at Św. Jana Street, which were turned into a palace.
- 26 A. Olszewski, A. Swoboda, 'Kościół p. w. Przemienienia Pańskiego i klasztor pijarów', in: *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 4: *Miasto Kraków*, part 3: *Kościół i klasztor Śródmieście*, 2, eds A. Bochnak, J. Samek (Warszawa, 1978), p. 107; *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce. Małopolska*, eds S. Brzezicki, J. Wolańska (Warszawa, 2016), pp. 621, 640; cf. monument documentation card by I. Palca from 2001, zabytek.pl/pl/obiekty/krakow-budynek-tzw-klasztor/dokumenty/PL.1.9.ZIPOZ.NID_N_12_EN.522318/1 (accessed 28 Feb. 2024).
- 27 See situation plans: Lepiarczyk, 'Dzieje budowy Muzeum', p. 181, Fig. 1; A. Olszewski, A. Swoboda, 'Kościół p. w. Przemienienia Pańskiego', p. 97; I. Kęder et al., *Ikonoografia ulic Św. Jana, Floriańskiej i Pijarskiej oraz środkowych odcinków ulic Św. Tomasz i Św. Marka w Krakowie* (Kraków, 2019), pp. 482–486, Figs 1–5.
- 28 Żygulski, 'Zarys historii zbiorów Czartoryskich', p. 27; Rostworowski, 'Kraków', p. 150; Olszewski, Swoboda, 'Kościół p. w. Przemienienia Pańskiego', p. 103.

of at least part of the building. This was opposed by custodian Bentkowski, who wrote to Czartoryski less than two weeks after his arrival from Kórnik:

Looking around this Monastery and its [empty] rooms, one feels sorry for these walls and this hall, which is already finished and can stand for five hundred years, and which will not be [available] in the adjoining building. Is the decision to demolish half the building firm and final? Perhaps Your Excellency will find this ridiculous, but I dare to make a plea in favour of preserving the Monastery as a whole. The vaulted ceiling under the great hall will never be bright, it is not a good place for the archive, it will always be slightly damp and dark. The existing room will be excellent when a couple of rooms are added; the central room can be used either for prints or as a reading room for the library and a study, as the great hall will be cold. [...] It is a pity, a great pity, to demolish the walls that have been erected to stand for many years, these vaulted rooms, protected from fire and thieves, this spacious room that is already there. I have the strongest conviction that, in a few years' time, Your Excellency will say: what a pity that we demolished it, we should have left it as it was.²⁹

Bentkowski was certainly not the only person arguing for preserving the building in its original state, so the prince abandoned this concept in favour of connecting the buildings by a covered bridge located at the level of the first floor of both buildings, which survived to this day. The design was submitted in early 1878 by architect Maurice Ouradou.³⁰ His second concept, the one that was approved, included also the façade of the building, built by Wandalin Beringer in a style reminiscent of French Neo-Gothic (Fig. 2).³¹

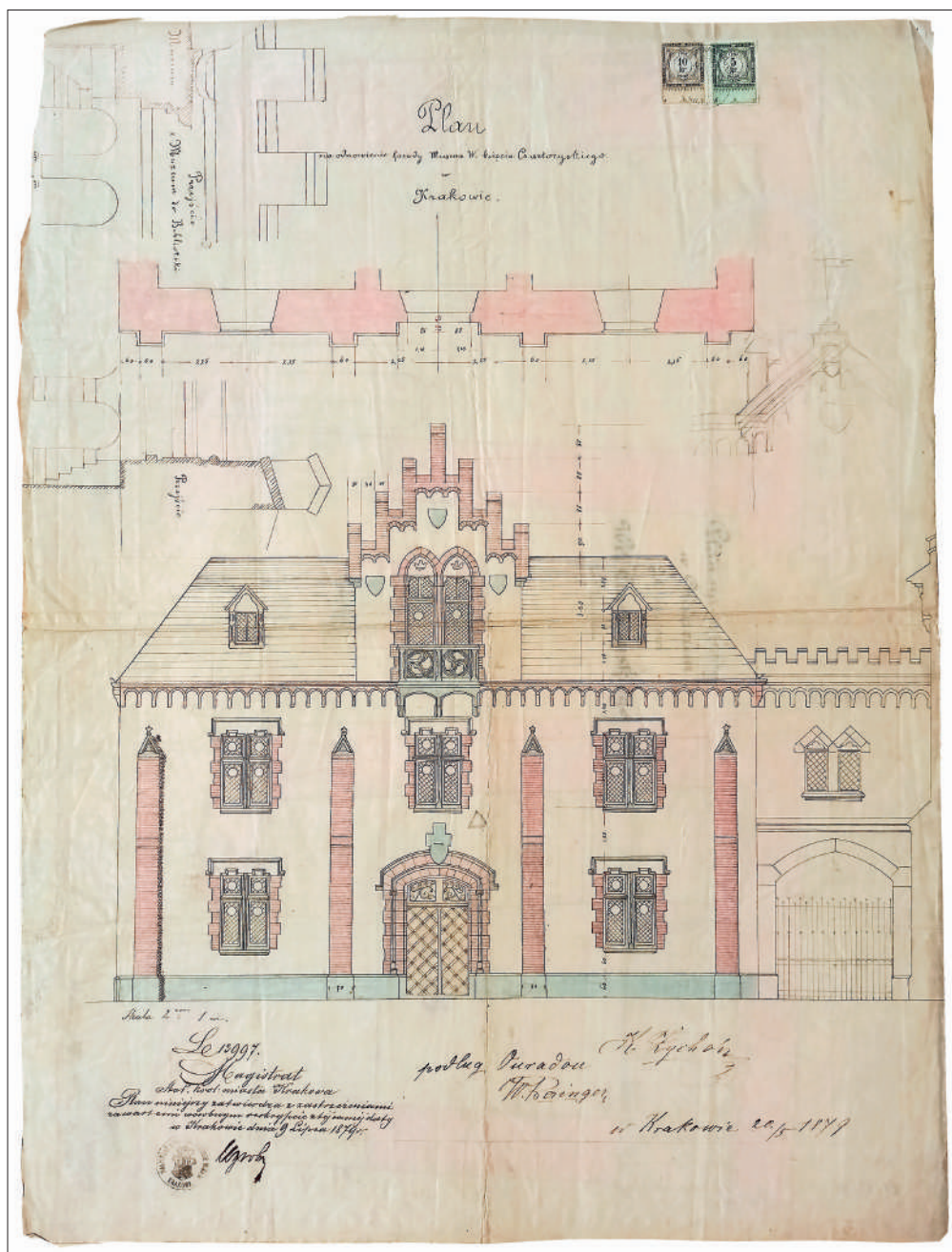
The exhibition concept for the current layout of the Monastery is based largely on the oldest, nineteenth-century archive documents attesting to the museum's appearance. Its tour begins with the three rooms of the Armoury, which is located behind the connecting passageway leading from the palace. It is also the oldest part of the museum, as it was opened back in 1876, while the rest of the exhibition was created less than two years later. It was thus referred to as the 'small museum'.³² Originally, a collection of miniatures and part of the numismatic collection were also displayed there, in addition to weaponry. When the rest of the interior of the Monastery was opened to the public, only the historic weapons were left

29 Leon Bentkowski to Władysław Czartoryski, 15 Nov. 1876; in: BCz., sign. Ms 12520.

30 Czartoryski Collection, inv. no. MNK XV-Ew.Pl.rys. 38; see Lepiarczyk, 'Dzieje budowy Muzeum', p. 193, ryc. 8; Rothowa, Rumian, *Katalog rysunków architektonicznych*, p. 47, no. 218, p. 266, Fig. 72.

31 Lepiarczyk, 'Dzieje budowy Muzeum', pp. 189–192.

32 Nowak, 'Udział Akademii Umiejętności', p. 158.



there. Its customary name, the Armoury, therefore refers to both the site and the museum department. Although successive custodians have made many changes to the space, the tradition of displaying weapons in this space remains alive to this day. The Armoury is therefore among the longest-established permanent exhibitions in the history of Polish museology. It includes the middle room, today unofficially known as the Hunting Room (Fig. 3), the Tack Room, located just across the bridge, displaying

Fig. 2

The second, implemented design for the façade of the Monastery, by W. Beringer after M. Ouradou, 10 July 1879



Fig. 3

The middle room in the Armory, known as the Hunting Room, June 2023

early-modern equestrian equipment, and the Sabre Room.³³ The first room contains such exhibits as the finest pieces of hunting firearms, throwing weapons, projectile-launching weapons and equipment, such as hunting daggers, a large number of powder bags and other tools, all dated to the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Various types of weapons were arranged in a pattern of decorative panoplies in four display cases, following the principle that each display case should contain one object of particular artistic or historical significance. These objects, accompanied by slightly broader descriptions, set the narrative for the rest of the pieces. This is a deliberate choice, referring to the methods of presenting artefacts and narrating their history as applied earlier in Puławy.

For example, in the display case with firearms, the rifle with a triple revolver flintlock signed with the name of Andrzej Żukiewski – a gunsmith active in Podhorce around the second quarter of the eighteenth century – stands out among the rest of the pieces thanks to stronger lighting and placement closer to the viewer.³⁴ This object attracts attention for many

33 The new exhibition of the Czartoryski Armory is described in an article published on the website of the Association of the Enthusiasts of Old Weapons and Uniforms; see www.bronibarwa.org.pl/wystawy-zbrojownia-muzeum-ksiazat-czartoryskich/ (accessed 21 Feb. 2024).

34 Inv. no. MNK XIV-76; see T. Kusion, *Katalog Zbrojowni Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich* (Kraków, 2019), p. 62–64, where the author dates the piece to ca. 1740. Differently in: W. Kwaśniewicz, *Encyklopedia dawnej broni i uzbrojenia ochronnego* (Warszawa, 2022), p. 624; according to the author, Żukiewski was active ca. 1700–1740 in the Rzewuski estate. He incorrectly stated that the National Museum in Cracow had two

reasons: it is characterised by unusual construction, rich artistic qualities, rare signature of the gunsmith³⁵ and intriguing, well-documented (although, at least partly, inauthentic) provenance. According to surviving sources, this piece was donated to Izabela Czartoryska's collection by Count Adam Günther von Hildesheim, who claimed in a letter that it was a memento of King John III! To support the story, the count also detailed the subsequent fortunes of the rifle as it passed into the possession of successive potential, and perhaps true, owners.³⁶ The extensive and (in the contemporaneous view) reliable documentation led Izabela Czartoryska to include the rifle among the memorabilia forming the so-called Royal Trophy in the Temple of the Sibyl, which, together with the famous royal casket, constituted the most important, central ideological point of the commemorative display. Since the rifle became a part of the collection relatively late – in early 1826 – this fact has so far never been raised in the historiography.³⁷ This was only pointed out during the research immediately preceding the installation of the new exhibition.

An important part of the preparatory work for the opening of the Monastery concerned the search for surviving iconographic sources documenting both the museum artefacts and the appearance of the exhibition spaces in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. A relatively large number of extant photographs show the interior of the Armoury as seen from the entrance to the connecting passageway, where once suits of husar armour compiled from elements of various suits of armour were displayed. In addition, two reproductions depicting the Sabre Room with its characteristic English-style panoplies, with the sabres arranged concentrically (Fig. 4), are known to exist.³⁸ Only the appearance of the former Tack Room is completely unknown; however, it can be partially reconstructed thanks to the topographical inventory by Roman Jodko-Narkiew-

rifles made by this gunsmith. In fact, there is only one, described above, which comes from the Czartoryski collection.

- 35 In addition to the rifle described here, another rifle with nearly identical signature (AN-DRZEI · ZUKJEWSKI · W · PODHORCACH) is known to exist, held in the Wawel collection, purchased in 2013, inv. no. 9368; *A Private European Salle D'Armes. A fine Collection of Armour, Edged Weapons and Antique Firearms. Tuesday 25 June at 1.00 PM. Catalogue*, [s.l.] 2013, p. 76, no. 2019.
- 36 The provenance, following the testimony sent by Günther, was recorded by Franciszek Kozłowski, the archivist of Puławy, in one of the inventories of the Temple of the Sibyl; see *Spis przysyłających się do Puław pamiątek narodowych i innych, 1826. Stycznia 9/21*, in: BCz., sign. Ms 12235, letter 31a, no. 1, 18; BCz., sign. Ms 3032, p. 130; cf. Kusion, *Katalog Zbrojowni*, p. 62.
- 37 Żygulski noted that the panoply consisted of a shield known as the augury or prophetic shield, swords believed to have belonged to Ladislaus Jagiello and Duke Vytautas, and sabres believed to have belonged to Stephen Bathory and John III; Z. Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich. Świątynia Sybilli i Dom Gotycki* (Kraków, 2009), p. 86.
- 38 The second photograph was published in: 'Skarbiec sztuki i pamiątek narodowych', *Nowości Ilustrowane*, 1907, no. 52, p. 9; cf. Kęder et al., *Ikonoografia ulic*, p. 460, Fig. 342.



Fig. 4

Concentric panoply in the Sabre Room at the turn of the nineteenth century

icz dating from 1910.³⁹ Iconographic sources in colour, documenting not only the Armoury but the entire exhibition of the Monastery in general, also turned out to be rare; in fact, only one painting depicting the interior of the central room of the Armoury is known. It is an early work by Jan Stepień (1895–1976), a graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow, who studied there between 1920 and 1925. The painting is currently in a private collection and is only known from reproductions in the auction catalogue.⁴⁰ The interior of the Armoury is painted from the perspective of one of the two passages to the Tack Room. The connecting passageway

39 BCz., sign. Ms 12270, pp. 28–49. Little is known about the author. It was only established that he was entrusted, on a volunteer basis, with writing the topographical inventory of the museum. The list comprised three volumes. The books were probably in constant use until 1939. Jodko-Narkiewicz also compiled a file inventory, which was dispersed in the following years and a significant number of file cards disappeared. The surviving cards were gathered in 1920 by Stefan Komornicki, who filled in the blanks; *Sprawozdanie Muzeum XX. Czartoryskich w Krakowie na posiedzenie Rady Ordynacji w dniu 22 października 1934 r.*; in: BCz., Ms 12349, p. 237.

40 See *Dom Aukcyjny Ostoya. Malarstwo, rzemiosło. Aukcja no. 90. 13 marca 2010 r.* (Warszawa, 2010), item 33; cf. artinfo.pl/wyniki-aukcji/90-aukcja-malarstwa-i-rzemi

is visible in the background, and a part of a centrally located display case with Renaissance shields and helmets is visible in the foreground – the same display case used today, after an appropriate renovation and modernisation, to present firearms with the rifle described above (the one allegedly once owned by King John III). Visible in the right-hand part of the painting is the passage to the Sabre Room, which is flanked by mannequins known as *dziadki*, the grandfathers, wearing Renaissance armour and holding polearms.⁴¹ As the only known source showing this interior in colour, the painting was used as a model to reproduce the brick-red hue of the walls. Warm colours were also used to fill the wooden display cabinets, as they beautifully match old weaponry, especially Oriental arms, which are richly gilt and set with precious stones.

An interesting point of reference with regard to the use of appropriate colour scheme for the display of arms is the discussion between the Lvov arms collector Zygmunt Hartleb and Mieczysław Treter concerning the installation of the armoury in the Princes Lubomirski Museum in 1922, where a warm, dirty-green colour was used for the walls. Hartleb pointed out to the custodian that the green colour ‘blurs the shapes of weapons instead of highlighting them’.⁴² Treter replied that he used the ‘rotten green’ colour to ‘contrast gently with the colour of steel and shiny iron’. He pointed out that ‘[w]eapons and suits of armour have a cold tone, the so-called “steely” one, and should be contrasted with a warm tone for aesthetic as much as optical reasons, as well as for purely museological reasons, in order to highlight these objects appropriately on the wall. The Pompeian red has not been used in museums, with few exceptions, since the [18]50s’.⁴³ Thus, in view of the above, the current colour scheme of the Czartoryski Museum’s Armoury hearkens back to the nineteenth-century design. It should be noted, however, that among the surviving receipts and drawings of the museum display cases from 1899–1901, there is a colour sampler with various shades of cold and warm greens, which were probably also used.⁴⁴

osla-artystycznego?dzialo=33_zbrojownia_w_muzeum_czartoryskich_1924_jan_stepien&page=1 (accessed 20 Feb. 2024).

41 The mannequins were named thus in Leon Bentkowski’s letter to Lubomir Gadon, 22 May 1878; in: BCz., Ms 7308, p. 117. In the autumn of 1896, armour mannequins were fitted with steel arms to display polearms, mainly halberds; BCz., Ms 12346, p. 221. They can be seen in the photographs and Stępień’s painting.

42 Z. Hartleb, ‘Zbrojownia muzeum im. ks. Lubomirskich’, *Kurier Lwowski*, no. 123, 1922, p. 9.

43 M. Treter, ‘Zbrojownia muzeum im. ks. Lubomirskich’, *Kurier Lwowski*, no. 243, 1922, pp. 6–7 (the authors would like to thank Joanna Bloch, Deputy Director of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, for the bibliographical pointer).

44 In: BCz., sign. Ms 12967, no page numbers.

Another part of the exhibition, located in a long hall overlooking the inner courtyard of the Monastery, has been arranged on the basis of memorabilia collected in two pavilions in Puławy: the Temple of the Sibyl and the Gothic House. These objects are often on the borderline between curiosities and works of art; they elude the established categories rooted in traditional art-historical methodology based on a critical assessment of the artistic quality of the object. For substantive reasons, a selection of objects, which once were kept in the aforementioned buildings in Puławy, has been combined on display into ensembles forming two narratives: the philosophical/poetic and the royal one. The old display cases, commissioned by Władysław Czarotorski in Paris (which is why they are commonly known as ‘Parisian’ cases), contain both well-known and published memorabilia, as well as lesser-known pieces. The former group includes a casket once owned by Cardinal Jules Mazarin, containing a set of liturgical paraments made of crystal⁴⁵ and a crystal bottle associated with King Francis I of France.⁴⁶ In addition to well-known pieces, there are also some that have rarely been displayed and until recently have not been the subject of extensive scientific research. These include an enamel portrait created in the studio of one of the most eminent enamellers of Renaissance France, Leonardo Limousin.⁴⁷ In Puławy, the portrait was believed to be one of Antoine de Bourbon, father of King

45 Inv. no. of the casket MNK XIII-1267; inv. nos of the paraments: MNK XIII-1269; XIII-1273; XIII-1275. The monstrance was recorded in the collection of Cardinal Mazarin in 1653 and 1661, and was purchased by Louis XIV (in 1673), as it is subsequently mentioned in the inventories of the royal treasury of 1775 and 1791. The aspersory was first mentioned in 1723 in the inventory of the royal treasury, then in 1775 and 1791. The rosary was not mentioned until the 1791 inventory. In 1796, all three objects were handed over, along with other objects, to Jacques de Chapeaurouge, a Hamburg merchant – titled ‘supplier to the French Republic’ – in repayment of debts (the monstrance was valued at 100 and the aspersory at 600 livres). All these pieces were acquired by Stanisław Zamoyski at an auction, placed in a casket and donated to Puławy in 1803; see *Les gemmes de la Couronne*, ed. D. Alcouffe (Paris, 2001), pp. 511–513, cat. nos 68–70; Z. Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich* (Kraków, 2009), p. 156; E. Musialik, ‘Dziedzictwo Puław’, in: *Muzeum Książąt Czarotorskich. Klasztor*, ed. K. Płonka-Bałus (Kraków, 2023), pp. 63, 79.

46 Inv. no. MNK XIII-2340. The work had been in the collection of French kings since the reign of Louis XIV. In 1796, it was purchased by the above-mentioned Jacques de Chapeaurouge. Before 1809, it was donated to Puławy by the collector and diplomat Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier; see *Najcenniejsze. Kolekcja Książąt Czarotorskich*, eds A. Fryz-Więcek, K. Stefaniak (Kraków, 2017), p. 88; M. Chramiec, E. Musialik, ‘Badania proveniencyjne w Muzeum Książąt Czarotorskich’, in: *Muzeum Książąt Czarotorskich. Klasztor*, ed. K. Płonka-Bałus (Kraków, 2023), pp. 24–25; Musialik, ‘Dziedzictwo Puław’, pp. 63, 80–81.

47 Inv. no. MNK XIII-1144. This work was renowned owing to its being shown by Władysław Czarotorski at the Musée Rétrospectif des Beaux-Arts exhibition in Paris in 1865. It was included in the monograph of L. Bourdery, E. Lachenaud, *Léonard Limosin. Peintre de portraits. D’après les catalogues de ventes, de musées et d’expositions et les auteurs qui se sont occupés de ces émaux* (Paris, 1897), p. 241. In Polish specialist literature: H. Fromowicz-Stillerowa, ‘Emalie malarskie z Limoges w zbiorach

Henry IV of France. More recent publications have rejected this claim; the portrait is now said to represent an anonymous official.⁴⁸ Recent studies have shown that it is probably a portrait of Cardinal Jean de Lorraine,⁴⁹ a clergyman with close links to the court of Francis I.

The exhibition in the Monastery has therefore become a starting point to an attempt to verify erroneous or doubtful traditional attributions, established back in the Puławy era or in Paris and then repeated in later sources. Many erroneous attributions have already been verified, but some have escaped scholarly attention. Given the historical and cultural significance of those testimonies, the authors decided to highlight them in the form of labels accompanying the pieces on display, as well as in the extended descriptions contained in the occasional publications. Based on the idea developed by Izabela Czartoryska in Puławy, the more unusual works of art, which lacked aesthetic value and were elevated to the status of historical mementoes only by being accompanied by an appropriate legend and historical anecdotes in the early nineteenth century, were put next to high-quality artworks. This decision stemmed from the need to immortalise the European and national past.⁵⁰

Artistic craftworks and weapons linked to famous historical figures are accompanied by paintings. Among those, two portraits showing an anonymous woman and a man, which in Puławy were attributed to Hans Holbein and referred to as the portraits of Catherine von Bora and Thomas More, deserve a special mention.⁵¹ Particularly noteworthy is the portrait of More, which contains overpainted elements revealed during conservation works, including a scroll in his hands.⁵² It is not known when these elements were overpainted, but it can be assumed that these changes were made in Puławy, given that other works from the collection

krakowskich', *Prace Komisji Historji Sztuki*, vol. 3, 1923, fasc. 1, pp. 51–52; S. Komornicki, *Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie* (Kraków, 1929), p. 47.

48 See *Najcenniejsze*, p. 86.

49 The identification of the portrait of Jean de Lorraine was possible thanks to the 2023 study visit by Alexandra Zvereva from the Musée Municipal de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. The enamelled portrait in the Czartoryski collection bears a resemblance to other images of the cardinal, including those on a medal with a profile image (British Museum, inv. no. 1923.0522.8) or in a portrait in Nancy (Palais des ducs de Lorraine – Musée Lorrain, inv. no. III.832).

50 On the sentimental category of memento value, in detail, see H. Jurkowska, *Pamięć sentymentalna. Praktyki pamięci w kręgu Towarzystwa Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauk i w Puławach Izabeli Czartoryskiej* (Warszawa, 2014), pp. 291–315, 364–365.

51 Inv. nos MNK XII-235 and XII-238.

52 Conservation conducted by K. Novljaković, head of the Painting Conservation Atelier at the Princes Czartoryski Museum. The condition of the painting before and after conservation was published in: M. Chramiec et al., *Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich. Klasztor / Princes Czartoryski Museum. Klasztor. Guidebook* (Kraków, 2023), p. 48.

were also subjected to similar modifications.⁵³ Nineteenth-century conservation practices applied to objects from the Czartoryski collection presented as part of the new exhibition have been extensively described by Katarzyna Novljaković and Justyna Łuczyńska-Bystrowska.⁵⁴

Another novelty in the exhibition is the display case where objects qualifying as curiosities have been displayed as a reference to the early-modern *Kunstkammer*. It must be emphasised that Izabela Czartoryska never intended to create an art cabinet or a curiosity cabinet as such; still, a significant number of objects from her former collection fit perfectly into this kind of a collection.⁵⁵ The authors of the exhibition have therefore decided to bring together the most interesting artefacts that can function as separate, fascinating objects, to some extent separated from the Puławy narrative. The main point of reference in this section are the small reliquaries of famous lovers. They were originally kept as a set in the upstairs Green Room of the Gothic House, where they were held in special esteem. They are, as it were, tangible testimonies to the romantic feeling linking El Cid and Ximena, Laura and Petrarch or Abelard and Heloise. Michał Mencfel has recently analysed, convincingly, the significance of the reliquaries against the backdrop of the collection, rightly claiming that their reception occurred not so much through mere viewing in the display case, but above all through touch and direct contact with them.⁵⁶

From the display of relics of the Puławy collections in the main hall, there is a passage to three rooms that have been referred to as *ciekawości*, curiosity rooms, at least since the days of Marian Sokołowski's directorship. Until the opening of the new exhibition, this space was closed to the public and was only a storage area used for odd objects that did not fit

53 This is evidenced, for example, by the most iconic example of a solid black background in Leonardo da Vinci's portrait of the *Lady with an Ermine*, inv. no. MNK XII-209, which was added in Puławy, possibly due to the original background's poor state of preservation; see M. Chmielewska, A. Grochowska-Angelus, K. Novljaković, 'O jedynym w Polsce obrazie Leonarda da Vinci. Uwagi konserwatorów', *Rozprawy Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, 2011, no. 6, p. 208; the authors also cited other paintings in which backgrounds were repainted, noting that it was uncertain whether the changes were made in Puławy.

54 K. Novljaković, J. Łuczyńska-Bystrowska, 'O dawnych praktykach konserwatorskich i kolekcjonerskich na wybranych przykładach malarstwa w Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich', in: *Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich. Klasztor*, ed. K. Plonka-Bałus (Kraków, 2023), pp. 31–43.

55 Z. Żygulski, 'Dom Gotycki w Puławach jako gabinet osobliwości', *Materiały Muzeum Wnętrz Zabytkowych w Pszczynie*, vol. 6, 1990, p. 88–108.

56 M. Mencfel, 'A Splinter of Petrarch's Cupboard and Laura's Finger Bone. Becoming a Historical Relic in the Age of Sentimentalism', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 87, 2024, pp. 165–201. For more on other memorabilia from Puławy in the light of Izabela Czartoryska's sentimental/Romantic collecting practice, see M. Mencfel, 'Shakespeare's Chair. Material Culture and Literary Phantasms', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 74, 2023, no. 2, pp. 114–138.

into the narrative of other parts of the museum. Nowadays, in reference to their previous function, the rooms were rearranged to become an open storage-cum-study area containing display cases with shelves densely lined with various utilitarian objects, such as stationery (inkwells, pencil cases), European and Oriental ceramic and glass pieces, pieces of Jewish ceremonial art and even a small collection of jewellery from the period of the Great Migration. The storage layout also reflects the category of the artistic level and degree of preservation of the objects, ranging from high-quality artefacts to completely average ones, pieces that have undergone comprehensive conservation and their destroyed counterparts, etc.

One of the three curiosity rooms has been converted into a medal cabinet.

The collection presented there has never before been shown to the public in its entirety, so this is a new kind of exhibition in the Princes Czartoryski Museum. The idea for it came to the authors in connection with the recently intensified research into the museum's numismatic collection, which has hardly been described in the literature to date.⁵⁷ The Czartoryski Library hosts a number of handwritten catalogues of coin and medal collections, written in Puławy by Łukasz Gołębiowski and in Paris by Antoni Rutkowski, which were analysed as part of the organisation process of the exhibition.⁵⁸ Among them is a document entitled *Spis medalów polskich znajdujących się w zbiorze X. Władysława Czartoryskiego* [List of Polish medals in the collection of Prince Władysław Czartoryski], which turned out to be written by the prince himself.⁵⁹ In-depth studies have made it possible to date the manuscript to 1873, which means that it was written prior to the collection's transfer to Cracow. Writing the inventory, Czartoryski included the numbers of the individual pieces referring to the order established by Edward Raczyński in his four-volume corpus of Polish medals⁶⁰ and in later additions to it

57 In recent years, of all the medals from the Czartoryski collection only the Renaissance pieces and their later copies and replicas have been described; see A. Smółucha-Sładkowska, 'Medale z kolekcji Książąt Czartoryskich w „A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini” George'a Francisa Hilla', in: *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo rzemiosła artystycznego*, eds M. Białonowska, M. Bryl, A. Frąckowska (Warszawa, 2018), p. 88–97.

58 Manuscript inventories held by the Czartoryski Library are described in the article: M. Chramiec, E. Musialik, 'Kolekcja medali Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich. Rekonesans badawczy', in: *Medalierstwo prywatne historia i współczesność*, eds A. Smółucha-Sładkowska, M. Woźniak (Kraków, 2025), (Studia nad Medalem i Sztuką Medalierską, vol. 2), pp. 91–114.

59 BCz., sign. Ms 12299.

60 E. Raczyński, *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych które się dziejów Polski tyczą poczynwszy od najdawniejszych aż do końca panowania Jana III. (1513–1696). Tom I* (Wrocław, 1838) [and subsequent volumes, issued in 1838, 1841 and 1843, in cooperation with Ł. Gołębiowski].

by Karol Beyer.⁶¹ Items not included in these volumes were provided by Czartoryski with a brief description. He supplemented them with the number of pieces he owned and the metal of which they were made. These details made it possible to fully ascertain the state of the collection, which numbered more than six hundred pieces, in that period. It was possible to identify nearly all of them, with the exception of the gold medals, which were almost entirely lost due to German looting between 1939 and 1940.

In the end, five hundred and twenty-one pieces, mainly ones made of silver or bronze, were selected and arranged in three of the old display cases; the layout follows the chronology included in Prince Władysław's catalogue. This part of the exhibition is intended to reflect an idea of the mood and atmosphere of a nineteenth-century numismatic cabinet. Because of that, it was supplemented by early-modern caskets that could have potentially been used to store numismatic items in the Puławy era and during the period in emigration,⁶² as well as plaster casts of medals and engraved gems, at least some of which were commissioned by Marian Sokołowski to supplement the collection with pieces that were very rare and impossible to obtain, such as the Modena medals commemorating the Jagiellons.⁶³

The medal display is accompanied by a catalogue, currently accessible on the spot but slated to be published once it has been expanded and supplemented. The creation of a separate space, dedicated exclusively to medals, in the Monastery is important for illustrating the abundance and diversity of the Czartoryski numismatic collection, which has been

61 K. Beyer, *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych, które się dziejów Polski tyczą. Dopełnienie dzieła Edwarda Hr. Raczyńskiego. Zeszyt I* (Warszawa, 1857) [and two subsequent fascicles issued in the same year].

62 The inventories of the Temple of the Sibyl confirm that Polish numismatic pieces were kept in a casket 'set with ivory figures [...]'; BCz., sign. Ms 3226, p. 24; sign. Ms 3032, p. 46. Two caskets corresponding to this laconic description are extant in the collection. One of these, included in the Medals Cabinet display, is a North Italian (possibly Florentine) casket dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century (inv. no. MNK XIII-927/a-b). It is made of wood and covered with ivory plaques; see Komornicki, *Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich*, p. 42, no. 205a-d. Second casket, presumed to have held numismatic pieces (inv. no. MNK XIII-1585), dated to the fifteenth century, originates from the Embriachi studio. It is displayed in the Hall of Medieval Art in the Czartoryski Palace; see Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów puławskich*, p. 107.

63 M. Sokołowski, 'Muzeum XX. Czartoryskich w Krakowie', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. 6, 1892, fasc. 2, p. 276. Sokołowski championed the creation of plaster copies of artistic works, considering them crucial for teaching art history at the university. He formulated a plan for establishing a cabinet of plaster casts at the Jagiellonian University and worked on it systematically for a decade, cooperating with Karol Lanckoroński and others; M. Kunińska, 'Między Gabinetem Historii Sztuki a Muzeum Lanckoronnum – kolekcja odlewów gipsowych w zbiorach Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego na tle zmian roli kopii gipsowych w wystawiennictwie i w historii sztuki', in: A. Betlej et al., *Zapomniane dziedzictwo. Zbiór odlewów gipsowych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* (Kraków, 2020), pp. 33-44.

little known to date. Following the Czapski Museum, this is the second largest and most valuable collection of medals in Cracow, and the only permanent exhibition of its kind.⁶⁴

Another part of the exhibition in the Monastery presents insurrectionist themes, arranged chronologically from the Kościuszko Insurrection, through the periods of the Napoleonic Wars and the Duchy of Warsaw, the November Uprising, the Free City of Cracow, the revolutions of 1846, 1848–1849, and the January Uprising. The historical weapons, orders and patriotic memorabilia presented in this section emphasise the Czartoryski family's participation in the struggle for independence, as well as the narrative, initiated in Puławy, glorifying national heroes presented as appropriate role models for future generations.⁶⁵ The large amount of insurrection memorabilia acquired for the collection after 1831 shows that, despite the fact that Władysław Czartoryski's perspective on collecting differed from his grandmother's, the patriotic narrative was still of considerable significance.

The last part of the exhibition in the Monastery, entitled *Paris – Cracow. Hôtel Lambert and the Great Emigration*, complements the exhibition described above. Its narrative focuses on the life and activities of the Czartoryski family in emigration (Fig. 5). It was in Paris that Władysław Czartoryski and his younger sister Izabela Działyńska began their individual and distinct collecting activities. The literature cites Działyńska, who was allegedly reluctant about the nature of the Puławy collection, as describing it, quite explicitly, as *un charnier*.⁶⁶ Ryszard Bobrow attempted to explain this aversion to objects devoid of any value other than the sentimental one, writing:

Władysław Czartoryski's complaint that his sister saw the Puławy collection as *un charnier* reveals the differences in Izabela's approach to artistic objects, as she perceived historic artefacts as works of art, without linking them to historical anecdote, no matter wheth-

64 Paradoxically, the numismatic collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum was better known in the nineteenth and early twentieth century than it is today. Its importance was emphasised by K. Górski in his commemorative note on the late Count Andrzej Potocki (1861–1908): 'Thanks to his meticulousness, a collection was established in Cracow which, alongside that of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski and the Princes Czartoryski Museum, forms the largest Polish numismatic treasury in the world'; K. Górski, 'Ś.P. Andrzej hr. Potocki (1861–1908). Wspomnienie pośmiertne', *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archaeologiczne*, 1907, no. 4, pp. 603–604.

65 M. Chramiec, 'Dziedzictwo Puław: Napoleon i powstania narodowe', in: *Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich. Klasztor*, ed. K. Płonka-Balus (Kraków, 2023), pp. 100–101.

66 This expression was recorded by Ludwik Bystrzonowski in his diary; quoted by: Z. Karczevska-Markiewicz, *Panna Lodowata* (Poznań, 1973), p. 61; T. de Rosset, *Polskie kolekcje i zbiory artystyczne we Francji w latach 1795–1919. Między „skarbnicą narodową” a galerią sztuki* (Toruń, 2005), p. 239.

er true or false. This distinguished her from many Polish collectors of artistic craftworks, to whom the nature of a national memento and anecdote were important.⁶⁷

Although Władysław Czarotorski's personality as a collector has so far not been sufficiently researched, it can be assumed that he did not share his sister's views on the matter. As an heir to an ancestral collection that aspired to be a national one, Czarotorski faced the problem of reconciling his own preferences as a collector with the expectations and perceptions of public opinion. It was probably because of this dualism, and the desire to fulfil the historical role of the family set out by Izabela in Puławy, that he decided to create a museum that was open to the public. This part of the exhibition in the Monastery presents primarily personal mementoes of the Czarotorski family members, along with famous men who moved in the main orbit of influence of the Hôtel Lambert milieu in Paris – Frederic Chopin, Adam Mickiewicz and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.

Accidental acquisition, even by experienced collectors, of forgeries and imitations, as well as early-modern or contemporary copies, was symptomatic to nineteenth-century art collecting. As is the case with any major collection, the Czarotorski Museum also has a fairly substantial collection of such works. The exhibition in the Monastery therefore includes a space for showcasing copies and forgeries, but also objects inspired by medieval, Renaissance and Baroque art – such as the sword acquired as a memento of Sigismund I the Old, which in the 1920s was still considered one of the most valuable objects of the Armoury,⁶⁸ or the set of ivory objects: a sceptre, olifant hunting horn and dagger, which are only stylised to look as seventeenth-century pieces.⁶⁹ Most of these objects were probably already in the collection during the Paris period, for this artistic and antiquarian hub was particularly susceptible to the influx of various imitations. Despite benefiting from the help of trained experts – historians, art historians and archaeologists such as Józef Łepkowski, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz or Marian Sokołowski, Władysław Czarotorski did not avoid misguided acquisitions. From the point of view of studies on the Czarotorski collection, these works demonstrate both the opportunities and the dangers and dilemmas faced by a nineteenth-century collector. The works which were found to be

67 R. Bobrow, 'Izabela Działyńska i jej kolekcja d'objects d'art du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance', in: *Życie sztuką. Goluchów Izabeli z Czarotorskich Działyńskiej*, ed. I. Głuszek (Poznań, 2018), p. 192.

68 Inv. no. MNK XIV-175. The object was linked to the monarch by a silver coin embedded in the blade. The piece's former high status is evidenced by the fact that it was reproduced in publications and pamphlets promoting the museum; M. Chramiec et al., *Muzeum Książki Czarotorskich. Klasztor. Przewodnik*, pp. 74–75.

69 Inv. nos MNK XIII-2435, MNK XIII-2434 and MNK XIV-723; unpublished.



Fig. 5

A study in the former 'Chopin Room', currently a part of the *Paris – Cracow. Hôtel Lambert and the Great Emigration* exhibition, June 2023.

clear forgeries or copies of famous masters (such as Albrecht Dürer or Michael Sittow), are shown side by side with objects inspired by medieval or Renaissance pieces, as well as with original works of medieval art.⁷⁰ The display also features works that underwent a number of restorations in the nineteenth century (both in Paris and in Cracow), most likely also with the antiquarian market in mind.⁷¹ The presentation of objects that are deemed unoriginal is in keeping with modern museum practices, according to which copies, forgeries and imitations should be treated with equal interest and their presence in museums should be accepted as a reflection and an indispensable part of nineteenth-century art collecting.⁷²

70 Among the objects on display, there are also some whose style does not make it possible to determine the time of their creation, or provenance, with any certainty. These include the dice cup (MNK XIII-1589), made of ivory and carved in the style of bone wares from the first quarter of the fourteenth century. However, an analysis of the function and iconography of the work has allowed the authors to conclude with confidence that the cup was made in the nineteenth century by a very talented artist, most likely one frequently exposed to French medieval art; for more, see E. Musialik, 'A Medieval rarity or a perfect forgery? An ivory dice cup with court scenes from the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków', *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici*, vol. 53, 2022, pp. 9–52.

71 More on this topic in: Novljaković, Łuczyńska-Bystrowska, *O dawnych praktykach konserwatorskich*, pp. 39–42.

72 In recent years, forgeries, copies and imitations of works of ancient art acquired by Europe's most famous collectors have been 'rediscovered' in museum storerooms and displayed in exhibitions dedicated to the phenomenon of art forgery. In 1973, the Min-

Only two new display cases have been added to the current exhibition in the Monastery. The rest are original furnishings commissioned by Władysław Czartoryski, made in the last decades of the nineteenth century. As far as possible, efforts have been made to preserve their former layout. The display cases underwent a thorough renovation and were brought up to modern exhibition standards. In order to convey the atmosphere of the former museum with as much accuracy as possible, the number of multimedia devices of any kind was also deliberately reduced so that the visitor's perception could focus on the works on display. The selection of objects for the various sections of the exhibition was dictated by provenance studies which have been ongoing for several years and still require further verification, and the publications accompanying the exhibition: a catalogue supplemented by essays by the curatorial team⁷³ and a bilingual guide,⁷⁴ contribute to these efforts.

The Monastery of the Princes Czartoryski is an interesting and – in spite of other existing buildings and exhibitions of this kind, including the Diocese Museum in Sandomierz and the Kórnik Castle Museum – a rather peculiar example of a 'sanctuary museum', where the buildings and furnishings themselves, as well as the collections, have survived in a relatively unchanged form. The extensive archive has been preserved along with the museum, making it possible to trace the changes that have taken place in programmes, methods and exhibition concepts over the last century and a half. By consciously and deliberately drawing on this legacy in the creation of new exhibition, the Monastery becomes a part of a wider European panorama of sanctuary museums that have grown out of private collections, such as the Abbotsford in Scotland – a residence that once belonged to the writer Walter Scott, Sir John Soane's Museum in London, the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid, the Museo Filangieri in Naples and the Museo Stibbert in Florence.

neapolis Institute of Art hosted an exhibition 'Fakes and Forgeries', which showcased a number of excellent copies and forgeries, and in 1990 the British Museum hosted the exhibition 'Fake? The Art of Deception'. In recent years, some of the larger museums, including the Bruce Museum in Greenwich (Connecticut, USA), the Detroit Institute of Art and the National Gallery in London, have also held exhibitions showcasing forgeries, imitations or copies in their possession – pieces that until now have been regarded as originals or functioned as embarrassing evidence of misguided purchases by private collectors and museums.

73 K. Płonka-Bałus, 'W głębi muzeum', in: *Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich. Klasztor*, ed. eadem (Kraków, 2023), pp. 10–15; Chramiec, Musialik, 'Badania proveniencyjne', pp. 16–29; Novljaković, Łuczyńska-Bystrowska, *O dawnych praktykach konserwatorskich*, pp. 30–43.

74 Chramiec et al., *Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich. Klasztor. Przewodnik*.

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