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POLISH TOURIST GUIDEBOOKS OF THE 19TH CENTURY IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT*

Abstract:

In the 19th century there was an unprecedented development of tourism and guidebooks useful for tourists. A modern type of guidebook with sightseeing route suggestions and numerous practical information has been developed. Publishing houses that specialized in creating this type of travel books, such as Karl Baedeker's in Germany and John Murray in England appeared. The guidebooks issued by them served for templates adapted by other authors and publishers.

In the analyzed period more than 150 Polish guidebooks were written, mostly connected with big cities, but also i.a. spa resorts and mountain areas. Difficult political situation consisting in breaking the country into three partitions, made it hard to create guidebooks about the entirety of Polish lands. The aim of the article is to characterize Polish nineteenth-century guidebooks compared to similar European publications. On the one hand, it should demonstrate the impact of European solutions on the form and content of Polish guidebooks, and on the other - the specificity of Polish guidebooks, determined by particular historical factors.

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Keywords:

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Introduction

A tourist guidebook is a separate genre of literature that was born in antiquity. The precursor of guidebook literature is Pausanias, who in the second century AD wrote *Hellados Periegesis* [*Description of Greece*], intended for travelers (Cuddon, 1993, p. 395). However, it is known (e.g. from *Naturalis Historia* [*Natural History*] by Pliny) that similar works had been written in Greece before, but none of them survived (Freitag, 1996, p. 807). In the Middle Ages and in the modern era, studies for pilgrims were created, as well as reports on journeys to places of worship such as the Holy Land, Rome or Santiago de Compostela. Travel logs including descriptions of subjective experiences and impressions of a given author often included guidebook elements, particularly advice for other pilgrims. This is why it is often difficult to distinguish between these two genres (Maćzak, 1978, p. 32). Further development of guidebooks was related to a very important cultural phenomenon, that is educational travels of noble and aristocratic youth called *Grand Tour*. The participants of these travels which developed throughout 17th and 18th centuries used to visit foreign universities, mainly in France and Italy, and occasionally in Flanders, the Netherlands and German Reich (Sweet, 2012). Trips pursued within the *Grand Tour* created the need for travel literature – not only the guidebooks but also various handbooks and manuals.

On the larger scale, however, guidebook publications began to appear in the 19th century, which was directly related to the unprecedented development of tourism that took place in that century. Then, guidebooks began developing their modern structure, with proposals for sightseeing routes, as well as numerous practical information, which was a kind of novelty compared to previous publications of this type (Zuelow, 2016, p. 78). Many Polish guidebooks which adapted solutions used by authors and publishers from Western Europe appeared in the 19th century.

For a long time tourist guidebooks did not attract the attention of researchers who apparently did not consider them to be valuable historical sources. Twenty years ago, Rudy Koszar (1998, pp. 323-324) complained that there was no general analysis of the cultural significance of these publications in historical terms. However, the situation has clearly improved in recent years. Many scientific studies devoted to guidebooks have appeared, including an extensive synthesis of their historical development from antiquity to modern times by Nicholas T. Parsons (2007). Guidebooks to selected cities were characterized, especially guidebooks to Rome (Boudard, 2002; Caldana, 2003; Pazienti, 2013) and London (Dobraszczyk, 2012). In addition to previously published bibliographies of Baedeker's (Hinrichsen, 1991) and Murray's (Lister, 1993) guidebooks, there were also more detailed studies on books "manufactured" by these publishers (Palmowski, 2002; Bruce, 2010; Goodwin, 2013). The historical study of Polish guidebooks issued until 1914 was prepared by Dariusz Opaliński (2013).

The current state of research into the nineteenth-century guidebooks allows the attempt to characterize Polish publications of this type in the European context. To accomplish this objective, it will be necessary to outline the paths of development of the guidebooks during the period in question, especially the activities of the leading publishing houses of Karl Baedeker and John Murray. In the second stage the characteristics of Polish guidebooks will be taken, with particular attention paid to their links with foreign publications.

Development of guidebooks in Europe in the 19th century

Significant increase in the number of tourist travels in the 19th century prompted the need for useful guidebooks that would be helpful in organizing and pursuing the trip. Gradually, more and more publications of that kind were developed, which was also facilitated by the fact that book production methods were improved, which took place around 1830. That improvement made it possible to develop publications of small size, light with cloth cover, and the whole process became much faster and cheaper than it used to be (Bruce, 2010, p. 96). The demand for guidebooks was so large that some publishing houses began to specialize in such studies. Amongst them, the following two seem to have played the major role, German of Baedeker and English of Murray (Palmowski, 2002, p. 105).

Karl Baedeker (1801–1859) is considered the inventor of a modern guidebook. However, it is difficult to say unequivocally whether he was actually the originator or just the most important promoter of new solutions (Bruce, 2010, p. 93). The earlier prototypes are considered to be the original prototypes of modern guidebooks, especially those by Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard (1751–1828) who published *Handbuch für Reisende aus allen Ständen* in Leipzig already in 1784. This guidebook was followed by several resubmissions published in French (*Guide des voyageurs en Europe*) until the end of the first quarter of the 19th century (Parsons, 2007, p. 179).

The first guidebook published by Karl Baedeker's publishing house, based in Koblenz, came out in 1828. It was a guidebook to the Rhine (*Rheinreise von Mainz bis Köln*) by Johann August Klein (1778-1831). In 1835 a wider and improved version of this work was published (*Rheinreise von Strassburg bis Rotterdam*). This publication initiated a whole series of publications, covering gradually other regions and countries of Europe, and then also other continents. The company developed after the death of its founder, managed by his sons, Ernst (1833–1861) and Karl II (1837–1911), who in 1878 moved to Leipzig (Bruce, 2010, pp. 93-94).

Around the same time, the guidebooks began to be published in the famous London publishing house of John Murray (1745–1793), founded in 1768. In the 19th century, the company was run by successive family members with the same first and last names: John Murray II (1778–1843) and John Murray III (1808–1892). It is the latter that is considered the creator of a series of guidebooks, initiated in 1836 when a guidebook based on his notes from a trip to the continent a few years earlier was published: *Handbook for Travelers on the Continent: Being a guide through Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Northern Germany, and along the Rhine, from Holland to Switzerland*. Soon, Murray developed further guides: author's one to southern Germany (1837), as well as to Switzerland (1838) and France (1843) in collaboration with other authors (Parsons, 2007, pp. 180-182).

An important novelty in Murray's and Baedeker's activity was the fact that they started to produce guidebooks on a mass scale, becoming entrepreneurs who managed the production process. They employed authors who were sent to the described regions and countries, placing great emphasis on the credibility and timeliness of the presented information. The guidebooks developed by both publishing houses were characterized by a handy size, they were written in a small but clear font, and thin paper made them light despite the large volume, usually exceeding 500 pages. A specific scheme was also developed regarding both the form and layout of the publication. They started with a preface and practical information for

travelers. This part had a separate Roman pagination and usually several or several dozen pages. Next part was the proper guidebook, divided into a few or several chapters, which included descriptions of the proposed routes, determined by the course of rivers and railway routes. The last part included useful indexes, very extensive especially in Baedeker's publications (Bruce, 2010, p. 97).

In Baedeker's guidebooks, standardization also concerned the description of individual cities. At the beginning, general information was provided, it included information about the location, population, dominant industries, important addresses (e.g. embassies, medical clinics, pharmacies, restaurants), followed by suggested local trips, which usually started and finished at a railway station (Bruce, 2010, p. 98). It is worth noting that a lot of space was devoted to descriptions of monuments and museums. According to R. Koshar (1998, p. 332), in one of Baedeker's guidebooks to Germany, almost 30% of the text concerned history and monuments, and 12% were devoted to art galleries and museums. In the guidebook to Paris of a German publisher from 1873, as many as 30 pages were devoted to the description of the Louvre itself (Palmowski, 2002, p. 119).

Important part of the Baedeker and Murray guidebooks were maps and plans of major cities and regions as well as maps of railway connections. Usually made in the technique of woodcut or lithography (sometimes colored), they were glued between the pages of the publication. Some of them due to the larger size were unfolded. In Baedeker's early guidebooks, there were also a lot of drawings of sights and attractions, but after the company's founder's death, the main emphasis was placed on the maps and plans, and other graphic representations appeared occasionally (Bruce, 2010, pp. 95, 99). Additionally, Murray's publishing house introduced the practice of placing at the end of each guidebook a number of advertisements that allowed to obtain significant financial resources to cover part of the publication costs (Keates, 2011, p. 62). The advertising part, entitled 'Murray's Handbook Advertiser', usually had a separate pagination and had several dozen pages.

Murray's and Baedeker's guidebooks were addressed to educated representatives of the middle class and to the bourgeoisie, facilitating the organization of travel, as well as providing reliable and verified information about everything that travelers would like to see in the visited countries and cities. With time, the Baedeker publishing house gained an advantage over the competition, and the word *baedeker* itself became a synonym for a tourist guidebook (Palmowski, 2002, p. 122). In the shadow of these two great publishers, other guidebooks were also published in Europe. Murray's and Baedeker's publications were a kind of benchmark, the most unmatched model that they tried to imitate. Nevertheless, different studies were also published whose target was a different recipient. It was attempted to create both guidebooks addressed to the less demanding recipient, as well as to the readers with higher expectations, especially focused on learning about art (Ziarkowski, 2018, p. 28).

The first group consisted of guidebooks created by Thomas Cook (1808–1892), which resembled rather tourist brochures, because they focused mainly on practical information about transport (railways and steamships), accommodation, sightseeing opportunities, etc. (Walton, 2010, pp. 85-86). They were very concise, but also inexpensive, meeting the needs of a large part of the participants of mass tourism developing at that time (Koshar, 1998, pp. 329-330). The first Cook's guidebook was published in 1843 and described his native Leicester. Subsequent guidebooks covered Great Britain, various European countries, as well as Egypt, Syria and Palestine (Parsons, 2007, pp. 231-241.) Cook's guidebooks dedicated to

major world exhibitions, organized in London and Paris were also widely popular. In 1878, as many as 20,000 copies prepared for the Paris exhibition were sold (Palmowski, 2002, p. 118).

The introduction of a new type of guidebook, addressed to experts and art lovers, is attributed to the well-known cultural researcher Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) (Freitag, 1996, p. 810). In 1855 this Swiss scholar published *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens* – the work was later reprinted many times and translated into other languages. However, the monumental Burckhardt's work of over 1,000 pages is difficult to recognize as a typical example of a nineteenth-century guidebook. It is rather a kind of comprehensive compendium of Italian art, intended for people who are particularly interested in this subject, for whom reading could be a good way to prepare for the trip. Yet, it would be advisable to employ more practical guidebook by Murray or Baedeker.

Authors who create guidebooks focused on art include the famous writer, artist and art critic John Ruskin (1819–1900). One of his works is a guidebook dedicated to Florence, published in six parts in the years 1875–1877 under the title *Mornings in Florence*. Each part contains a proposal for a one-day city tour addressed to art lovers (Palmowski, 2002, p. 114). The publications of Augustus J. C. Hare (1834–1903) follow the trend. In a sense, he created a new type of guidebook that contains a narrative with a strong presence of the author, presented as *cicerone* – an art expert, often directly appealing to the reader. Most of his guidebooks refer to cities in Italy, for example *Walks in Rome* (1871), *Florence* (1884), *Venice* (1884). Hare quite often decided to value the artworks described, and often these were strict assessments. His guidebooks, written in a colorful language, found great recognition among those interested in art (Keates, 2011, pp. 43-51).

The image of the 19th guidebook writing is complemented by the numerous guidebooks to the mountain areas and the spa towns. The oldest guidebook publications on mountains began to appear in the previous century (*Description des glaciers, glaciers et amas de glace du duche de Savoye* by Marc Theodore Bourrit, 1773). However, after 1800 their number began to grow rapidly on the wave of romantic interest in the mountain landscape (Kolbuszewski, 1990, pp. 7-8). A little later, publications for mountaineering enthusiasts began to appear, such as the extensive three-volume guidebook to the Alps, published in 1860 by John Ball (*Alpine Guide*) (Palmowski, 2002, p. 108). The authors of spa guidebooks were often doctors, such as Dr. Augustus Bozzi Granville (1783–1872), known for extensive studies on German spas (*The Spas of Germany*, 1837) and English spas (*The Spas of England*, 1841). Spa guidebooks formed a separate category, distinguished by information on the healing resources of a given spa, therapeutic indications, as well as preparation for travel and behavior during the stay at the resort (Parsons, 2007, pp. 223-227).

Polish guidebooks against the European achievements

According to research by D. Opaliński (2013, p. 127), as many as 256 Polish tourist guidebooks (including reprints) were published until the outbreak of World War I, although most of them were issued after 1900 (134 guidebooks were published in 1901–1914). Thus, it was a huge quantitative increase in relation to the old Polish period, in which only a few guidebooks appeared, thematically limited to two cities: Krakow and Warsaw (Ziarkowski, 2017a, p. 216). The considerable development of the Polish guidebook writing, which took place in the nineteenth century, not only caused a huge increase in the number of published works, but also their thematic diversity. Most of the guidebooks were devoted to cities, among

which Krakow was described most frequently, followed by Warsaw, Lviv, Vilnius and Poznań (Opaliński, 2013, p. 73). In addition, guidebooks to smaller towns (especially spa resorts), specific regions (mostly mountainous), and dedicated to specific objects, in particular monuments, have also begun to emerge. A separate, not too numerous category are Polish guidebooks dedicated to foreign countries and cities. They included selected European countries as well as cities such as Paris, Rome, Vienna and Prague (Ziarkowski, 2018, p. 30).

However, the partition of Poland effectively hampered the creation of national guidebooks (in its pre-partition borders). In the nineteenth century, only one such attempt was successfully made, which resulted in the *Guide for travelers in Poland and the Republic of Krakow* by Józef Wawrzyniec Krasieński (1783–1845), which, interestingly, first appeared in French in 1820, and a year later in Polish. Due to the early date of publication, it is considered the first 19th century Polish tourist guidebook (Opaliński, 2002, p. 115). The design and content of the discussed publication was of a very modern nature. The text acquainted the reader with the largest cities (starting from Krakow), proposing ways of moving from one to another. The publication also contained a lot of practical information, including about guest houses and inns, theaters, fairs, useful addresses and local press. The layout of the guidebook, as the author himself admitted in the introduction, was modeled on the aforementioned works of Reichard. The assimilation of the achievements of this German guidebooks author explains the innovative character of Krasieński's book, which overtook the first guidebooks of Baedeker and Murray.

Krasieński's publication was certainly an inspiration for the authors of subsequent Polish guidebooks, which focused primarily on the largest cities located in all three partitions. The most important center in the Kingdom of Poland (Russian partition) was Warsaw. Krakow and Lviv were located in the area of Galicia, or the Austrian partition, while the most important Polish city in the Prussian partition was Poznań. The oldest city guidebooks, however, retained a more traditional arrangement, reminiscent of a historical monograph, with a thematic division into chapters, and with a small amount of practical information. Such are the pioneer guidebooks to Krakow by Ambroży Grabowski (first edition from 1822), as well as the oldest publications devoted to Warsaw (Gołębiowski, 1827) and Lublin (Sierpiński, 1839, 1843).

Guidebooks to Polish cities including the description of monuments according to sightseeing routes, did not start to appear until the beginning of the second half of the century. The earliest example is the work of Józef Mączyński (1854) concerning Krakow. Similar "guidance" of the reader in accordance with the proposed routes has been used in other city guidebooks, including by Henryk Ottokar Miltner (1861) and Władysław Łuszczkiewicz (1875). The latter, a well-known painter and art researcher, created the best 19th century guidebook to Krakow in terms of content. A modern arrangement was also characteristic of the oldest Vilnius guidebooks by Adam Honory Kirkor (1856, 1859).

Guidebooks to other cities, published in the second half of the 19th century, adapted the modern layout with a delay. For example, guidebooks to Poznań, as well as most guidebooks to Warsaw were characterized by a traditional thematic layout. The guidebook by Franciszek Maksymilian Sobieszczański (1857), which is considered to be the first modern guidebook to the capital, has such a construction, and its "modernity" is largely determined by the multitude of practical information that the author placed at the very beginning. Similar attitude was manifested by the authors of guidebooks to Warsaw. Here, the guidebooks whose text was developed on the basis of sightseeing routes did not appear until the last decade of the

century. A little earlier, this more modern scheme appeared in guidebooks to Lviv (Ziarkowski, 2018, p. 32).

City guidebooks, understandably, focused mainly on descriptions of monuments, which were often also depicted in illustrations – initially drawings, and at the end of the century also in photographs. Descriptions of churches, which were often readily described, included information about their architecture and equipment, and also about stored relics and services. This contributed to the specific sacralization of the entire city, which can be observed especially in Krakow's guidebooks (Ziarkowski, 2017b, pp. 229-230). The important role of architectural monuments in guidebooks published before the outbreak of World War I was also expressed in the fact that separate studies were devoted to them. The leading place in this respect among the sacred buildings is occupied by the sanctuary of Jasna Góra, which was described in five guidebooks in the 19th century and early 20th century. Additionally, there were three guidebooks to the Wawel cathedral in Krakow, two to the Poznań cathedral, and individual guidebooks were written, among others, about the abbeys in Sulejów and Tyniec. The monuments of secular architecture became a much less frequent topic of guidebooks, of which only the Wawel Royal Castle and the palace in Wilanów (Opaliński, 2013, p. 83) were described. It is worth mentioning the oldest museum guidebook written by Izabela Czartoryska (1828) to the Gothic House in Puławy. A separate category is created by several guidebooks to the salt mine in Wieliczka, the only publications of this type devoted to industrial heritage (Pawłowska, 2003).

In the second half of the 19th century, there was a significant development of Polish guidebooks to spa resorts. The largest number of publications was devoted to Szczawnica, Zakopane and Krynica. There were also many mountain guidebooks. The Tatra Mountains – the highest Polish mountains – attracted the greatest interest of the authors. A lot of space in guidebooks was devoted to preparation for hiking, and particularly equipment (especially victual). A lot has been written about the summits, which are the most important goals of tourists, as well as the ways of reaching them. Moreover, the sightseeing, aesthetic and therapeutic values of the mountains were emphasized (Opaliński, 2008, pp. 530-536).

It is worth noting that the Polish nineteenth-century guidebooks co-created the European trend of guidebook-writing, adapting many solutions introduced in foreign studies. It sometimes happened that the authors themselves provided the patterns they referred to in their works. As mentioned before, Józef Wawrzyniec Krasiński admitted that his guidebook was based on the model of August Ottokar Reichard's publication, in particular the *Guide des Voyageurs dans le Nord* from 1818. Commending Reichard's guidebooks, he stated that: "(...) as the scheme and arrangement are convenient for traveling people, they completely satisfy the author's purpose. These I took as a model, adopting their system and arrangement, as well as the order of matter, and even finding in some places accuracy in describing, in words I tried to quote with very small varieties" (Krasiński, 1821, p. XI). Even more direct in its reference to the German author is the guidebook to Europe by Jan Flasiński, who in the preface admitted that he had translated Reichard's work and added some information from other studies (Flasiński, 1851, pp. 2-3).

The oldest Polish mountain guidebooks – to the Karkonosze Mountains by Rozalia Saulsonowa (1850) and to the Tatra Mountains by Franciszek Eugeniusz Janota (1860), were based on previous German studies devoted to these areas. In the case of Janota, Carl

Reyemhol's guidebook from 1842 published almost two decades earlier, should be mentioned (Opaliński, 2013, p. 56).

Polish authors and publishers quickly adapted the solutions introduced by the greatest authors of guidebooks – Murray and Baedeker. These influences are most evident in the features of formal publications (preference for small book size, space saving through a small typeface of a densely written font) and a general layout with an introduction and practical information placed at the beginning and sometimes distinguished by a separate Roman pagination. Undoubtedly, the aforementioned, the most renowned European publishing houses were those in mind of Wiktor Gomulicki and Ignacy Szmidberg, when they mentioned the inclusion of "recognized foreign designs" in the preface of their guidebook (Gomulicki, Szmidberg, 1880, p. III.). The authors of *Illustrated guide to Warsaw*, published by periodical *Wędrowiec* in 1893, openly referred to the Baedeker's guidebooks stating: "(...) we decided to base the layout of this work on the incomparable Bedäcker's [!] guidebooks, generally regarded as the most practical and most convenient to use" (*Ilustrowany przewodnik po Warszawie...*, 1893, p. IV).

Out of the solutions used by Murray's publishing house, some Polish guidebooks adopted the custom of placing advertisements of various companies and institutions. Their number increased noticeably at the end of the 19th century, especially in guidebooks to Warsaw. The author of one of them, Wiktor Czajewski felt obliged to explain the multiplicity of these advertisements, saying that they covered part of the publication costs, which means that: "Anyone, even the most underprivileged can easily come and get one– because we have set the price for a copy so accessible that it will not actually cover the costs of the publishing house" (Czajewski, 1892, p. II). Moreover, the quoted author in his other work, describing the Wilanów palace (Czajewski, 1893), used the "star" system for marking the most important exhibits, also developed in the Murray's publishing house, and then taken over by other European publishing companies (Koshar, 2000, p. 36).

Actually, the partition of the country was not a barrier that prevented the adaptation of European solutions in Polish guidebooks. At the same time, however, the political situation influenced the specificity of native studies, manifested in a strong emphasis on patriotic and religious content (often related to each other). Despite the contemporary censorship, efforts were made to emphasize the Polish nature of the described areas and objects, referring to a lot of historical data, as well as emphasizing the national importance of specific places and monuments. Examples can be found even in the oldest Polish 19th century guidebook, in which the author wrote about Wawel: "What for the ancient Romans the Capitoline Hall was, and the Pantheon in France, that is what the holy sanctuary for the hearts of Poles is, the composition of the most expensive and most glorious relics of happiness, grandeur and national glory" (Kraśiński, 1821, p. 3). In later guidebooks to Krakow, the city was compared to Rome, Jerusalem, and even Mecca and was called the "treasury of national souvenirs" (Ziarkowski, 2017b, pp. 230-235). Similar features were also found in guidebooks to other cities and monuments. In this regard, the words in the preface to the guidebook to the Poznań cathedral, of which Kazimierz Dorszewski wrote: "despite the fact that for us, Poles it may not be of great architectural value – it is of great historical significance and will always arouse the lively interest of lovers of the national and ecclesiastical past" (Dorszewski, 1886, p. VII) seem significant.

Conclusion

The dynamic development of tourism, which took place in the 19th century, was associated with as spectacular development of tourist guidebooks. This genre that has existed since antiquity, around the middle of the 19th century was given a layout that is also known nowadays (Mączak, 2001, p. 251). One can say that the 20th century – apart from improvements resulting from the development of printing techniques and photography – did not bring much to the development of tourist guidebooks. The publishing houses of Karl Baedeker and John Murray played a huge role in the development of a modern type of tourist guidebook which gained great popularity and were eagerly followed.

Polish guidebook literature of the 19th century consists of numerous and varied publications. Some of them adapted European solutions in terms of formal features and layout, others were of a less modern character, presenting the reader with a city or region in subsequent chapters according to the thematic layout. However, this was not something special, because similar publications were also created in other European countries, being an alternative to the standard arrangement of Baedeker's or Murray's guidebooks. Polish guidebooks focused mainly on the most important cities, while no publications of national scope were created, because the lack of statehood and division into partitions was a clear obstacle in this respect. The political situation might also have had impact on descriptions of monuments published in numerous guidebooks, which mainly described old buildings in terms of national memorabilia and testimonies of the country's great past.

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