

# The Enlightenment Museum as a Result of the Development of Education: The Case of the Musaeum Polonicum

Paulina Paul

Mgr Paulina Paul  
University of Warsaw  
Faculty of Education  
ul. Mokotowska 16/20  
00-561 Warsaw  
Poland  
e-mail: paulina.paul@uw.edu.pl  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5129-7973>

*Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2024,12:3:17-32  
doi: 10.46284/mkd.2024.12.3.2

## *The Enlightenment Museum as a Result of the Development of Education: The Case of the Musaeum Polonicum*

The article presents the concept of the Musaeum Polonicum, developed in 1775 and published in the magazine *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne*. Its author, Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech (1748–1806), was an intellectual educated in the spirit of the European Enlightenment, involved in the scientific, cultural and political life of the Republic of Poland. He planned the museum as a didactic base for the academy of sciences and arts. The collection was to have a distinct national character, with educational and research functions. It was divided into groups corresponding to the Enlightenment classification of sciences. In the history of Polish museology, the Musaeum Polonicum was the first initiative to establish a national museum, although the project was ultimately not implemented.

The research methodology was based on the classical historical approach of studying source texts, while taking into account the research perspectives of contemporary museological discourse. Archival materials representing two thematic groups were analysed: early museological texts which applied in the cultural area of the Republic of Poland in the second half of the eighteenth century, and texts related to Polish education and schooling. The results of these analyses are set in a European context. The aim of the article is to introduce a new research perspective to historical museology and the history of collecting. Its main assumption concerns the treatment of Enlightenment museums as a result of the development of education.

Keywords: concept of the Musaeum Polonicum, Enlightenment museum, didactic collection, scientific collection, Polish museology, historical museology, theoretical museology

## Introduction

Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech's concept for the Musaeum Polonicum, published in *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne* magazine in 1775, is considered the earliest Polish museological text. In this article, Mniszech's idea is presented from the perspective of contemporary museological discourse, based on Zbyněk Z. Stránský's theory.<sup>1</sup> According to this Czech researcher, the museum as an "end", a visible effect, should not be the main subject of research, because it is the relationship between humans and the reality of that time that is crucial.<sup>2</sup> In the case

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g.: STRÁNSKÝ, Zbyněk Z. Museology as a Science (a Thesis). In: *Museologia*, 1980, 15(11), pp. 33–39.

<sup>2</sup> SOARES, Bruno B. Zbyněk Z. Stránský. In: SOARES, Bruno B. (ed.). *A History of Museology. Key authors of museological theory*. Paris: ICOFOM, 2019, p. 80.

of Michal Mniszech, this relationship is reflected in the pedagogical attitude towards the emerging modern nation during the political collapse of the Partition Period, as presented in this article. It manifested in the first Polish museological concept, as set out in the treatise “Myśli względem założenia Musaeum Polonicum” (Thoughts on establishing the Musaeum Polonicum). Stránský’s research approach, known as *metamuseology*, can be extended to include a philosophical perspective.<sup>3</sup> Michel Foucault’s concept of *effective history* is interesting, in that it rejects the perspective of a continuous, linear, developmental history. Thanks to this, the past is effective, that is, discontinuous and dispersed. The subject of research should not be not institutions or theories, but practices. Foucault also distinguished three epistemes, which can be understood as structural networks enabling and mediating knowledge of culture. An episteme is therefore “an unconscious form of thought common to a society in a given era”.<sup>4</sup> The philosopher divided epistemes into Renaissance, classical and modern. Renaissance epistemes in a general sense involve treating the world as a cipher and a puzzle to be solved. A classical episteme, dating from the period of Descartes’ work, uses the categories of measure and order. The most modern of Foucault’s episteme breaks with the previous two; it concerns thinking in terms of analogy and sequence, and the subject of academic study is typically humans.<sup>5</sup> The Musaeum Polonicum would fit under the category of classical episteme, as it concerned the organisation of an available scientific and research space divided into cabinets where knowledge would be presented using systematised museum exhibits. The use of Foucault’s archaeological method opens new interpretative possibilities in the field of historical museology, but requires separate, in-depth research.<sup>6</sup>

\*\*\*

Knowing is seeing, and if it be so, it is madness to persuade ourselves that we do so by another man’s eyes, let him use never so many words to tell us, that what he asserts is very visible. Until we ourselves see it with our own eyes, and perceive it by our own understandings, we are as much in the dark, and as void of knowledge, as before, let us believe any learned author as much as we will.<sup>7</sup>

The words of John Locke, one of the leading representatives of the Enlightenment, illustrate a significant turning point in the development of eighteenth-century European education and culture. This shift involved a transition from the early modern *binc omnia* to the modern *hypotheses non fingo*, that is, from practicing science in a classical, philological style to acquiring knowledge through sensory experience. Thus, the way of acquiring knowledge changed. Modern cognition through experience stood in opposition to Early Modern cognition via the written word. Cicero’s words became the symbol of a humanistic university, under the authority of the church and focused on classical philosophy and theology. Isaac Newton’s words symbolise a

<sup>3</sup> Metamuseology was also developed by Friedrich Waidacher, who classified museology as a humanistic discipline and proposed the use of philosophical tools in explaining the discussed relationship between man and reality. See: BIEDERMANN, Bernadette. The theory of museology. Museology as it is – defined by two pioneers: Zbyněk Z. Stránský and Friedrich Waidacher. In: *Museologica Brunensia*, 2016/05/02, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> ADAMIAK, Marzena. Foucault i perypetie podmiotu. In: *Przegląd Filozoficzny – Nova Seria*, R. 11: 2002, Nr. 42(2), p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> An interesting case study in the field of classical episteme is the study of the problem of the so-called Repository, i.e., the Royal Society Museum in London. See: HOOPER-GREENHILL, Eilean. *Museums and The Shaping of Knowledge*. London, New York: Routledge, 1992, pp. 133–166.

<sup>7</sup> LOCKE, John. *The Conduct of the Understanding*. London: J. F. Dove, 1825, p. 51.

secular Modern academy mainly focused on the natural sciences and empirical research. The transformation of education also included changes to the activities of collecting. Scientific cabinets, developed from Early Modern cabinets of curiosities, were educational spaces – meeting places for researchers, research laboratories, or a way of popularising knowledge. It was from them that modern public museums were created in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

## Education and Collecting: Growing Together

The intellectual revolution of the Enlightenment was announced by Francis Bacon when he popularised the methodology of natural sciences and the inductive method, presented in 1620 in the work *Novum Organum*. He presented a modern attitude towards research and a vision of an ideal, independent research institute, “Solomon’s House”, important for historical museology,<sup>9</sup> in the utopian work *New Atlantis*, published posthumously in 1627. Bacon’s thought shaped the attitudes of subsequent generations of philosophers and researchers, which resulted in, among other things, transformation of education at the theoretical level. His ideas are visible in Locke’s writings on teaching, such as “Essay Concerning Human Understanding” (1690) and “Some Thoughts Concerning Education” (1693). Locke proved that the nature of knowledge and its source come from experience.<sup>10</sup> He based this belief on the pedagogy of Johann Amos Comenius, the creator of didactics, and the idea of demonstrative teaching, which relies on the involvement of the senses in the learning process.<sup>11</sup> In the middle of the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau became a continuator of the ideas of both pedagogues. In the naturalistic pedagogical manifesto *Emil, or On Education* (1762), he expressed his conviction regarding the need for man’s “return to nature”, i.e. learning through experience, engaging the senses and constantly stimulating cognitive curiosity.

In the period preceding the so-called Age of Reason, museological texts appeared that corresponded with pedagogical texts. As well as having significantly influenced the development of Enlightenment museology, they allow us to understand what a museum was in the Early Modern and Modern periods. An interesting example is the school reform project of the Scottish theologian, John Dury, from 1650.<sup>12</sup> It concerned, among other things, organising “houses” where lessons and workshops could take place. The largest of these houses’ rooms were to be museums, equipped with scientific instruments and teaching aids such as globes, maps, models, machines, engravings and “everything that is subject to the senses”.<sup>13</sup> Dury’s concept is consistent with Comenius’ pedagogical method, based on the sentence *in intellectu autem nihil est, nisi prius fuerit in sensu*<sup>14</sup> [there is nothing in the mind that has not been in the senses before]. It is also worth emphasising that the Czech pedagogue, in the textbook *Orbis sensualium pictus* (1658), describes the museum as a study room, and the engraving illustrating

<sup>8</sup> See: SLOAN, Kim and BURNETT, Andrew (eds.). *Enlightenment. Discovering the world in the eighteenth century*. London: The British Museum Press, 2010, pp. 70–79.

<sup>9</sup> See: ARNOLD, Kenneth and PEARCE, Susan. Francis Bacon advises how to set up a museum. In: ARNOLD, Kenneth and PEARCE, Susan. *The Collector’s Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting. Volume 2. Early Voices*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016, pp. 17–20.

<sup>10</sup> LOCKE, John. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. London: Heinemann, 1964, pp. 7–8.

<sup>11</sup> Comenius’ works, especially his textbook “*Orbis sensualium pictus*” (1658), were popular throughout Europe until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

<sup>12</sup> DURY, John. The Reformed School. In: ARNOLD and PEARCE, *The Collector’s Voice...*, pp. 47–49.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem* pp. 47–48.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding the method of Johann Amos Comenius, see: FIJALKOWSKI, Adam. *Orbis Pictus. Die Welt in Bildern des Johann Amos Comenius*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2008, pp. 27–29.

the concept shows a man studying books alone.<sup>15</sup> In European culture, such a definition was also valid in the eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Ideas initiated in early modern times were put into practice in the Age of Enlightenment. Universities were secularised and curricula were oriented towards natural sciences and practical classes.<sup>17</sup> One of the symbols of these efforts to establish a new order of sciences, which were treated as branches of general knowledge about the universe, is the French *Encyclopaedia* published in the mid-eighteenth century, edited by Denis Diderot. Researchers sought answers to questions about the nature of all things, and their research was empirical. Science was not the only important topic: “Arts and Craftsmanship” were also emphasised.<sup>18</sup> The encyclopaedia’s authors wanted to know the truth about the world, but also to learn its practical application in everyday life – in accordance with the then idea of utilitarianism. The collected curiosities of the natural world were catalogued and classified, creating natural history cabinets and botanical gardens at the same time.<sup>19</sup> These attitudes and interests were present not only in academies and among scholars: a fascination with natural sciences was also present in the social circles of the elite.<sup>20</sup> One consequence of this approach to science and education was the transition from Early Modern cabinets of curiosities to natural history cabinets and public scientific collections, often organised by educational institutions. Curiosities of the natural world were commonly collected from the middle of the eighteenth century, and the collectors were researchers conducting natural observations, herbology and geological research. Natural objects were collected, catalogued and described. It is worth emphasizing the educational nature of the phenomenon of collecting rarities of the natural world, because naturalists were engaged in exploring and researching, especially in areas that were closest to them. It was thus a transition from Early Modern curiosity to Modern inquisitiveness.<sup>21</sup>

## The Polish Case

Compared to the largest and most influential cultural centres, such as Italy, England, Germany and France, Polish education and museology developed at a much slower pace. This was not only due to the country’s geographical location, but also the difficult political situation during the Partition Period (1772–1795). Higher education remained under the firm authority of the Jesuits and the Piarists, who offered high-quality education but primarily reserved for the elite.<sup>22</sup> Modern European cultural trends emerged during the reign of Stanisław August

<sup>15</sup> COMENIUS, Johann Amos and FIJAŁKOWSKI, Adam. *Świat w obrazach rzeczy dostępnych zmysłom*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2015, pp. 256–257.

<sup>16</sup> For more on the semantics of the concept of a *museum*, see: MENCZFEL, Michał. “Muzeum” w XVIII wieku. Z dziejów semantyki pojęcia. In: *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Zabytkoznawstwo i Konservatorstwo*, 2021, 52, pp. 9–23.

<sup>17</sup> RÜEGG, Walter and DE RIDDER-SYMOYENS, Hilde (eds.). *A history of the University in Europe. Volume II. Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 122–124.

<sup>18</sup> The very title of the encyclopaedia can be seen as an expression of this attitude: *Encyclopedie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers par une Société de Gens Lettres*.

<sup>19</sup> This paper presents the general European context. It should be emphasised that botanical gardens and natural history cabinets date back to the early modern period: they were popular in Italy in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries and in the United Provinces from the seventeenth century. Krzysztof Pomian elaborated on this issue in detail. See: POMIAN, Krzysztof. *Muzeum. Historia światowa. 1. Od skarbcza do muzeum*. Gdańsk: słowo obraz terytoria, 2023.

<sup>20</sup> KOT, Stanisław. *Historia wychowania. Tom II. Wychowanie nowoczesne. Od połony wieku XVIII do współczesnej doby*. Warsaw: Żak, 1996, pp. 3–5.

<sup>21</sup> POMIAN, Krzysztof. *Collectors and curiosities*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990, pp. 217–222.

<sup>22</sup> An example of such a college is the Piarist Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw, founded in 1740 by Stanisław Konarski.

Poniatowski, who ascended the throne in 1764. On the initiative of the king, the first secular academy was established: the Knights' Nobles' Academy of the Corps of Cadets, founded in 1766 and directed by Duke Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. This academy was aimed at the moderately wealthy and poorer nobility. Hopes were pinned on the development of education for a political, social and cultural revival of the nation.<sup>23</sup> The dissolution of the Jesuit order resulted in the establishment of the Commission of National Education (KEN) in 1773, whose task was to organise the public school system.<sup>24</sup> The KEN drew on the ideals of the Enlightenment. The Acts of 1783 contain provisions concerning the organisation of, among others institutions, museums presenting didactic collections and natural history cabinets.<sup>25</sup> Due to the political situation, education became an extremely important aspect of upbringing, with the aim of shaping a sense of national identity across society and creating a lasting community. For this reason, Polish was the most important language of education in schools and history became an important tool to achieve the primary goal.<sup>26</sup> Representatives of the intellectual elite in the king's close circle emphasised the need to establish in the Republic of Poland an academy of sciences and arts, conceived in the spirit of the Enlightenment and managed by the state. Although at least a few concepts and ideas for such projects had been written, no such university was established. In 1771, on the initiative of King Stanislaw August, an informal association of scholars was established; this group held scientific and literary meetings known as the Thursday Dinners.<sup>27</sup>

Together with activities aimed at the development of national education, museological thought was shaped. Although the first national museum was founded in 1801,<sup>28</sup> a text expressing the need to organise a national collection had already been published in 1766 by General Etienne Dieudonné Chardon de Rieule.<sup>29</sup> This took the form of a brochure calling on the public to collect and submit local natural specimens. The scope of this project was to be broad, and the goal was to develop the natural sciences faster and more thoroughly. This, in turn, was to result in the acceleration of the economic development of the Republic of Poland.<sup>30</sup> De

<sup>23</sup> KWIECIŃSKI, Zbigniew and ŚLIWERSKI, Bogusław (eds.). *Pedagogika. Podręcznik akademicki*. Warsaw: PWN, 2019, pp. 93–97.

<sup>24</sup> The subject was developed by BUCZEK, Katarzyna and SZYBIAK, Irena. *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773–1794: szkoły w Wydziale Żmudzkiem*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IHN PAN, 2018; KAMIŃSKA, Janina. *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773–1794: szkoły w Wydziale Litewskim*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IHN PAN, 2018.

<sup>25</sup> KOMISJA EDUKACJI NARODOWEJ. *Ustany Komisji Edukacji Narodowej dla stanu akademickiego i na szkoły w krajach Rzeczypospolitej przepisane. W Warszawie roku 1783*. Lviv: Seyfrath i Czajkowski, 1872, pp. 62–65 and p. 147.

<sup>26</sup> Ryszard Szreter notes that the use of history for patriotic purposes, rather than moralistic and didactic purposes, was initiated in Polish culture. See: SZRETER, Ryszard. Education for nation-saving: Poland between the partitions. In: COOK, Thomas G. (ed.). *The History of Education in Europe*. London: Methuen, 1974, p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> The meetings were attended by Ignacy Krasicki, Adam Naruszewicz, Franciszek Bohomolec, Grzegorz Piramowicz, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, Jan Albertrandi and Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech, among others. From 1801, a significant number of the participants became the community of the Warsaw Society of Friends of Sciences. See: SMOLEŃSKI, Władysław. *Pisma historyczne. Tom II*. Krakow: Skład główny w Księgarni G. Gebethnera i spółki, 1901, pp. 42–46.

<sup>28</sup> Following Zdzisław Żygulski Jr., it is believed that it was the museum of Duchess Izabela Czartoryska née Flemming in Puławy – the Sibyl Temple.

<sup>29</sup> DE RIEULE, Etienne D. C. Projekt zgromadzenia bez żadnych wydatków wszystkich bogactw naturalnych Polski, 1766. In: DE ROSSET, Tomasz F., WOŹNIAK, Michał F. and BEDNARZ DOICZMANOWA, Ewelina (eds.). *Muzeum w kulturze pamięci na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Antologia wczesnych tekstów. Tom I, 1766–1882*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2020, pp. 31–37.

<sup>30</sup> See: Silva rerum (1): Early Museological Texts Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1766–1882. In: *Muzeum w kulturze pamięci...*, p. 22.

Rieule's concept was in line with both Enlightenment pragmatism and utilitarianism.<sup>31</sup>

In 1786, a similar call was published by Ksawery Zubowski.<sup>32</sup> His intention was to catalogue the national collections. The register of objects with descriptions was to be divided into eight books, the fourth of which was planned as a register of "Curiosities of academies, libraries, schools, museums, etc., and these are: 1) as to mathematical, physical and astronomical instruments; 2) as to rare books; 3) as to original manuscripts, etc.; 4) any other curiosity".<sup>33</sup> The call was addressed to all those who cared for the good of the country in the context of education, culture and politics. Zubowski's project is one of the earliest European texts on the inventory of monuments.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, it is of a methodical nature, as the author provided specific guidelines as to how objects should be described. Although the royal printing house and the KEN were involved in organisational issues related to the publication of the periodical, its implementation did not come to fruition. It should be emphasised, however, that Polish eighteenth-century museological texts influenced the development of Polish collecting in the nineteenth century on a theoretical level. Although establishing a public national museum was not possible, smaller initiatives were successfully implemented, for example, school science cabinets,<sup>35</sup> botanical gardens<sup>36</sup> and cabinets/museums owned by learned societies.<sup>37</sup>

### Michał Jerzy Mniszech: Founder of the Musaeum Polonicum

Early museological texts testify to the needs of society at that time to improve the quality of education and to organise a national collection. They are also proof that Polish culture developed under European influence, while retaining its national style and adapting to the

<sup>31</sup> "Ponieważ jedyną otwartą drogą do poznania przedmiotów natury jest obserwacja poszczególnych zjawisk, ich porównywanie i kombinowanie, popatrzmy więc, dokąd ta droga może nas zaprowadzić: jedyny prawdziwy sposób postępu wiedzy przyrodniczej polega na pracy opisywania i obserwowania zjawisk, jakie odkrywamy. To jest pierwszym obowiązkiem badacza przyrody, który chce być pożytecznym" [Since the only way open to the knowledge of the objects of nature is the observation of particular phenomena, their comparison and combination, let us see where this road may lead us: the only true way of advancing natural knowledge lies in the work of describing and observing the phenomena which we discover. This is the first duty of a natural scientist who wants to be useful]. DE RIEULE, Projekt zgromadzenia..., p. 34.

<sup>32</sup> ZUBOWSKI, Ksawery. Kolekcja starożytnych i tegoczesnych osobliwości w kraiu y za kraiem znajdujących się, Naród Polski interessujących. Pismo periodyczne. Prospekt. In: *Biblioteka Warszawska. Pismo poświęcone naukom, sztukom i przemysłowi*, vol. 1 (XLIX), Warsaw, 1853, pp. 513–518.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, p. 516.

<sup>34</sup> More: FRYCZ, Andrzej. Początki starożytnictwa i myśli konserwatorskiej w Polsce. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 28/1 (108), 1975, pp. 13–22.

<sup>35</sup> One of the most interesting was the Krzemieniec collection, which consisted of a physical cabinet, an astronomical observatory and a meteorological station, a chemical laboratory and a mineralogical cabinet, a zoological cabinet and a botanical collection, a numismatic cabinet, and an art collection. Part of the collection belonged to King Stanisław August, having been purchased by Tadeusz Czacki. See: BUCZEK, Katarzyna. *Zbiory dydaktyczne Gimnazjum I Liceum Wolyńskiego w Krzemieńcu (1805–1833)*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2016.

<sup>36</sup> A unique example is the botanical garden of Vilnius University. From 1797, it was run by Stanisław Bonifacy Jundzill, a Polish botanist educated in Vienna. The garden, modelled on the Viennese Schönbrunn, represented a high European level. See: JUNDZILL, Stanisław B. Gabinet historii naturalnej i ogród botaniczny Wileńskiego Uniwersytetu. In: *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1850, Vol. 1. Warsaw: w Drukarni Stanisława Strąbskiego, pp. 39–59.

<sup>37</sup> In the first years of the nineteenth century, the Warsaw Society of Friends of Sciences established a Museum and Cabinet of Natural Things and a Library. The collection consisted of objects sent by the society: domestic natural specimens, tools dug up from the ground, machines, physical devices, coins, letters, books and curiosities such as "an iron rail bent in half by King August II the Strong". See: JURKOWSKA, Hanna. *Pamięć sentymentalna. Praktyki pamięci w kręgu Towarzystwa Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauk i w Pulawach Izabeli Czarторыskiej*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2014, pp. 45–53.

possibilities of the time. The first initiative to establish a public national museum was the *Musaeum Polonicum* project, published under the title “Myśli względem założenia Musaeum Polonicum” in the magazine *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne*<sup>38</sup> in 1775.

The author of “Myśli względem założenia Musaeum Polonicum” was Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech, born in 1742 in Dziewięczyż. He was an advisor to King Stanisław August (1772–1795), a member of the Commission of National Education (1777–1779) and a Grand Marshal of the Crown (1783–1793), as well as an intellectual and collector.<sup>39</sup> He received his basic education while living in Swiss Bern (1762–1765) and subsequently undertook research trips to France, Germany, the Netherlands, England, Italy and Austria (1765–1768) under the care of a preceptor, the Helvetic naturalist Elie Bertrand<sup>40</sup> and in the company of his brother, Józef Jan Tadeusz. This Grand Tour<sup>41</sup> inculcated in him the spirit of the European Enlightenment and brought significant educational experiences.

Michał Mniszech’s travels were in accordance with the principles of the art of travelling, the so-called *ars apodemica*. Relevant guidelines are contained in the manuscript “Observations politiques et morales par Mr le comte Michel Mniszech 1762–1765”. According to the author, the key task was to determine the purpose of the educational journey, which – in his opinion – should be aimed at the good of the homeland. In addition to the student, two or three people should participate, including a tutor called a preceptor. Each of the participants was obliged to observe and take notes in accordance with personal interests and predispositions concerning 1) history, geography, economy, administration, law and politics; 2) natural history, agriculture, physics and products of the earth; and 3) arts, crafts, mechanics, industry, manufactures and commerce. It was necessary to describe the routes travelled, carry out measurements and observations, and describe, for example, the cabinets and museums visited. As a result, the travel journals had the character of a compendium of knowledge – something like a methodical guide.<sup>42</sup>

In the context of this paper, the most interesting is the last trip to Italy in 1767. The preserved “Observations” provide knowledge about what was of greatest interest to Michał Mniszech and his travel companions, preceptor Elie Bertrand and brother Józef Jan. Apart from

<sup>38</sup> *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne* was a literary and scientific journal published in the years 1770–1777 by Michał Gröll, under the direction of King Stanisław August. It published scientific papers read during Thursday Dinners and translations of literary texts into Polish. See: PLATT, Julian. “*Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne*” (1770–1777). *Wydór*. Wrocław – Warsaw – Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1968, pp. XI–XXVI.

<sup>39</sup> ROSNER, Aleksander. Mniszech Michał Jerzy Wandalin. In: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, t. XXI. Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1976, pp. 480–484.

<sup>40</sup> The life and educational and political activities of Michał Jerzy Mniszech and Elie Bertrand were compiled by Marek Bratuń. See: BRATUŃ, Marek. “*Ten wykwinny, wyształcony Europejczyk*”. *Zagraniczne studia i podróże edukacyjne Michała Jerzego Wandalina Mniszcha w latach 1762–1768*. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2002; BRATUŃ, Marek. *Relations polono-suissees au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nouvelles approches*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2012; BRATUŃ, Marek. *Elie Bertrand a Polska*. Wrocław: ATUT, 2013.

<sup>41</sup> Grand Tours were methodical educational journeys undertaken from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries by wealthy young men in order to broaden their education, acquire manners, establish international contacts and prepare for political functions in the country. These young men travelled under the care of preceptors, who supervised the implementation of the educational plan. Italy, France, England, Switzerland and Germany were the most visited. In the eighteenth century, the educational nature of the Grand Tour gradually disappeared, and bourgeois trips for cognitive purposes became popular. European universities also changed their curricula to suit the needs of foreign students. For more see: RÜEGG and DE RIDDER-SYMOYENS, *A history of the University in Europe...*, pp. 431–436.

<sup>42</sup> BRATUŃ, *Relations polono-suissees...*, pp. 23–25.

monuments of architecture and art, there was particular interest in education, administration, trade and industry. The observations of Rome concern both the ancient and contemporary periods. According to the principles of *ars apodemica*, the travellers developed the content in teams, using source texts and based on conversations with local intellectuals, diplomats, bankers and merchants.<sup>43</sup> Michal Mniszech was impressed by the cultural and educational wealth of Rome. He emphasised that there is no other city in the world so scientifically and artistically developed, and that “Rome en vrai mot, devrait etre le sanctuaire des sciences, le center de la vraye eruditions, le temple des Muses et des beaux arts”<sup>44</sup> [Rome, literally should be the sanctuary of the sciences, the centre of true learning, the temple of the Muses and the fine arts]. Apart from information about colleges and how they functioned, much space was given to descriptions of libraries, though with critical remarks as to the possibilities and conditions for conducting scientific research in them.<sup>45</sup> An extremely important part of the manuscript is the tips, written in Polish, relating to the experience of staying in Italy as a Polish person and where best to get an education.<sup>46</sup> As well as information about Polish funds (scholarships), these tips deal with issues such as how to finance a stay abroad and rules for implementing such a trip. The experience gained in Italy regarding how education functioned there and how collections were used for scientific purposes certainly influenced the formation of Michal Mniszech’s mature collecting and pedagogical thought.

### Musaeum Polonicum: Didactic Facilities of the Academy of Sciences and Arts

Michal Mniszech developed the “Myśli względem założenia Musaeum Polonicum”<sup>47</sup> project seven years after returning from Italy and Austria to his hometown of Wiśniowiec. In the introduction, he expressed his belief that developing a national education is the responsibility of an enlightened government. He presented education as a way out of political and economic crises, and also as a type of capital that can educate society on the virtue of patriotism. He emphasised the merits and efforts of the KEN in this matter, but also noted that the newly established order of science and regulations for teachers were insufficient. Mniszech’s proposal was therefore to establish a museum whose didactic collection would enable scientific research and the acquisition of knowledge in a way that engaged all the senses. The most important role was to be played by the library. Mniszech proposed that the library’s books should be selected according to their utility – primarily they should be in service of education, not “vain curiosity”. He gave weight to the quality of the book collection, suggesting that the collection should mainly concern Polish science, to encourage the audience to learn about it, with special attention devoted to national history. He recommended that all important state documents “hidden” in magnate household archives should be copied and made public. In addition this conception of an archive, he also recommended creating a national encyclopaedia – very

---

<sup>43</sup> BRATUŃ, “*Ten wykwiniony, wykształcony Europejczyk*”..., pp. 193–194.

<sup>44</sup> MNISZECH, Michal Jerzy Wandalin. *Observations sur Rome et l’Italie contenues dans ce volume faites depuis le 15 octobre au 15 decembre 1767* [Manuscript], p. 212.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, p. 219.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, pp. 264–277.

<sup>47</sup> MNISZECH, Michal J. W. Myśli względem założenia Musaeum Polonicum. In: *Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne*, 2(11), 1775, pp. 211–226.



much an Age of Enlightenment idea.<sup>48</sup> This activity would involve developing the foundations of all sciences, concisely explaining the meanings of scientific concepts and describing the relationships between them.<sup>49</sup> He envisaged that this would result in a faster development of education and an increased number of scientific publications, including those that could reach the general public, for example, via articles in the press. Mniszech's innovative idea, inspired by practices in other European countries, was to introduce the concept of a national repository which would receive copies of every book published in Poland. In this way, he argued, the *Musaeum Polonicum* library could present a full picture of science practiced in the country, and the collection could grow faster.

One of the most important messages of the project was the need to better understand the homeland. Carrying out geographical measurements in the Republic of Poland, identifying its natural resources and riches, and describing the history of the country were treated as priorities. The museum was to play an important role in this task by organising an exhibition space to serve educational and research functions, stimulate the minds of the visitors, ignite cognitive curiosity and enable a sensory experience of science. Mniszech's proposal should be read as an open project, focused on the development and gradual expansion of the collection.

Apart from the library, Mniszech distinguished eleven other groups of exhibits. First, he mentioned numismatics (especially national coins) and medals. The purpose behind placing such objects in the collection was to convey knowledge about their history, monetary value and varieties. He proposed treating historical coins as sources of evidence for national historical events, giving them a clear pedagogical role. Collected gems and cameos would have a similar function in his conception.

Next, Mniszech proposed a collection containing descriptions of famous cabinets and art collections, supplemented with engravings and plaster casts of sculptures. He considered the use of copies to be correct and sufficient, especially in the context of the organisational and financial limitations of the project. This issue shows that, in his view, the didactic and educational value of an exhibit did not depend on its originality.

The next group was to consist of physical instruments for conducting research in experimental physics, for example, pneumatic, electrical and optical machines as well as geometrical and mathematical devices. He then proposed a collection of geographical tools and instruments such as globes, astrolabes, and telescopes, as well as maps. Here Mniszech emphasised the great need to prepare maps of The Republic of Poland, giving examples of such practices in France and

---

<sup>48</sup> The need for an encyclopaedia, dictionary or lexicon in the native language resulted in the following publications: KRASICKI, Ignacy. *Zbiór potrzebniejszych wiadomości, porządkiem alfabety ułożonych*. Vol. 1–2. Warsaw-Lviv: Michal Gröll, 1781–1783; JEZIEŃSKI, Franciszek S. *Niektóre wyrazy porządkiem abecadła zebrane y stosownemi do rzeczy uwagami objaśnione*. Warsaw: Michal Gröll, 1791; LINDE, Samuel B. *Słownik języka polskiego*. Vol. 1–6. Warsaw: Drukarnia XX. Pijarów, 1807–1814.

<sup>49</sup> It should be mentioned that, from the second half of the eighteenth century, one of the greatest aspirations of Polish intellectuals was the development of a uniform, coherent scientific terminology in the national language. Such activities were undertaken not only by the KEN and the Society for Elementary Books, but also by the Warsaw Society of Friends of Sciences, as well as by independent researchers. An interesting example of the latter is Stanisław Bonifacy Jundziłł, the author of the first Polish textbook on botany. See: JUNDZIŁŁ, Stanisław B. *Opisanie roślin w prowincji Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego naturalnie rosnących według układu Linneusza*. Vilnius: Drukarnia XX. Pijarów, 1791.

England.<sup>50</sup>

Mniszech also proposed a collection of anatomical models, postulating that these would aid in the development of the science of obstetrics. For Mniszech, an example worth following was the anatomical collection of Ercole Lelli, an Italian sculptor and anatomist. From 1742, it was housed in the Anatomy Museum of the Bologna Institute (L'Accademia delle scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna), where a practical school for midwives was also established.<sup>51</sup> For the Musaeum Polonicum, wax models would suffice.

Another important collection was models of machines used to facilitate work in agriculture and factories. In proposing this, Mniszech's aim was to support the modernisation of the national economy as well as to improve working conditions and facilitate production. Next, the author proposed a collection of portraits of famous Poles, whom he listed along with descriptions of their merits and the characteristics of the times in which they lived. These heroes were to be presented as role models, supporting the educational function of this gallery.

As the last part of the collection, he planned a natural history cabinet consisting of groups of domestic geological specimens, soils, minerals, plants and animals. Each group would be accompanied by a description that included its place of occurrence in the Republic of Poland. In the case of all collection items, he allowed the use of copies, models or images (such as engravings). Animal specimens – or their likeness – were to supplement the texts of George Buffon and other naturalists. Mniszech divided plants into those that were “interesting” or “useful”, noting that the latter should be provided with a methodical description and practical instructions for their cultivation and use.

The museum, although sparingly planned, required funding. Mniszech estimated the amount required for its establishment would be 20,000 Polish zlotys, expressing hope for further funding by Polish society, especially the elite, giving the example of the organisation of the British Museum.<sup>52</sup> He also emphasised that while Western institutions were an example worth following, in Poland's case, reaching Italian or British levels was not realistic. He advised using cheaper and easier means that would still bring similar benefits to the development of national education.

All groups of objects that make up the Musaeum Polonicum collection can be assigned to larger sections concerning: 1) the arts and humanities, with an emphasis on works in Polish or by Polish artists; 2) natural sciences; 3) economy and agriculture. On a general, or international level, this classification makes it possible to observe the interdependence of the museum collection and the Enlightenment order of science. At the local level, concerning the Polish case, there is a noticeable connection between Michał Mniszech's museum project and the

---

<sup>50</sup> Michał Mniszech's interest in geographic measurements is evidenced by meticulous records of calculations kept in his travel diaries. See, e.g.: MNISZECH, Michał J. W. *Routes contenues dans ce Volume. De Rome, Varsovie à Wisniowiec. Depuis le 15 D10<sup>bre</sup> 1767 jusqu'au 7 Juillet 1768* [Manuscript]. Krakow: Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

<sup>51</sup> FIELD, Judith V. and JAMES, Frank A. J. L. *Renaissance and Revolution: Humanists, Scholars, Craftsmen and Natural Philosophers in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 231.

<sup>52</sup> MNISZECH, Myśli względem założenia..., p. 218.

Enlightenment conception of the academic study of sciences and arts.<sup>53</sup>

The educational and didactic dimension of the Musaeum Polonicum project has been noted by contemporary researchers in the field of museology.<sup>54</sup> Interpretations often draw similarities to the British Museum – not only because of the direct reference in the source, but also due to the description preserved in one of the travelogues. One important research clue is Mniszech’s mention of the project to establish a national academy, which had been submitted at the time of writing, although it is not clear which concept he refers to. This is an important research problem that requires further in-depth archival research. Eighteenth-century sources on Polish culture contain information about the need to establish a secular scientific institution.<sup>55</sup> Such projects appeared from the reign of King August III and, according to Władysław Smoleński, they continued to be submitted until 1776.<sup>56</sup> One of the first was Wawrzyniec Mitzler de Kolof’s proposal to found a Collegium Medicum (1752). Despite receiving the approval of the King and the Great Chancellor of the Crown, Jan Małachowski, the university was not established. In 1756, the same scholar founded the *Instituti literarii varsaviensis* association, whose activities mainly involved importing books and periodicals from abroad.<sup>57</sup>

Apart from Mitzler de Kolof, an important role in the development of Polish culture and education was played by Józef Andrzej Załuski. According to Adam Jocher and Józef Majer, he proposed a plan for an academy of sciences, entitled “Plan pour l’établissement d’une Academie des Sciences”;<sup>58</sup> however, this fact remains conjectural.<sup>59</sup> This plan, of unknown date, was found in the Vilnius University Library. It proposes the creation of three classes: natural history, experimental physics and mathematics, as well as organising, among other things, an astronomical observatory, a room for physical experiments, a botanical garden, an anatomical theatre, a room for “nature curiosities” and a chemical laboratory. However, the strongly scientific nature of the proposed academy raises doubts as to the attribution of

<sup>53</sup> Before the announcement of the creation of the academy appeared in the pages of *Zabany...* in the Musaeum Polonicum project, an announcement regarding this matter was published in *Monitor*, edited by Wawrzyniec Mitzler de Kolof in 1768, mentioning that “Ucieszyła niezmiernie wszystkich naukę kochających pogłoska [...], iż ma być wkrótce Akademia, albo Towarzystwo ludzi uczonych dla wydoskonalenia języka polskiego ustanowione” [Everyone who loves science was very pleased with the rumour [...] that an Academy or a Society of Scholars was to be established soon to improve the Polish language]. In: BOHOMOŁEC, Franciszek, and Ignacy KRASICKI. *Monitor* [online]. 16 April 1768, (XXXI), p. 1. <https://dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/publication/5113/edition/4911/content>

<sup>54</sup> See, e.g.: HAPANOWICZ, Piotr. Musaeum Polonicum Michała Jerzego Wandalina Mniszcha. In: *Rocznik Biblioteki Kraków*, V/2021, pp. 369–391; MENCFEL, Michał. The English voyage of Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech and plan to found the Polish museum. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 2021, 62, pp. 214–219.

<sup>55</sup> Józef Majer wrote an interesting article about projects and scientific societies. See: MAJER, Józef. Uwagi nad zadaniem akademii w powszechności tudzież historyczny przegląd towarzystw naukowych w Polsce. In: *Dwa pierwsze publiczne posiedzenia Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie: 1. Posiedzenie w przeddzień czterechsetnej rocznicy urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika d. 18 lutego 1873. 2. Posiedzenie inauguracyjne d. 7 maja 1873*. Krakow: Wyd. staraniem Akademii, 1873, pp. 46–66.

<sup>56</sup> SMOLEŃSKI, *Pisma historyczne...*, p. 55.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 20–22.

<sup>58</sup> JOCHER, Adam. *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce, od wprowadzenia do niej druku po rok 1830 włącznie*. Vilnius: nakładem i drukiem Józefa Zawadzkiego, 1830, p. LXXVI.

<sup>59</sup> Jan Bernoulli’s notes from his stay in Warsaw in 1778 provide an interesting clue. Describing the Załuski Library, he included a note about the life of Józef Andrzej Załuski. In it, he mentioned a plan to establish a secular academy where the Polish language, history and archaeology would be taught. However, this description does not match with the project discussed here. See: LISKE, Xawery. *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce*. Lviv: Nakładem Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1876, p. 229.

the idea to Józef Żaluski,<sup>60</sup> given that he was the founder of the religious society Academia Mariana (1753).<sup>61</sup>

An extremely important but often overlooked proposal was the “Projet pour l’établissement d’une Academie des Science et des Arts utiles a Varsovie en 1766”, submitted by Elie Bertrand to King Stanisław August in 1766. The text was found in 1978 by Bolesław Kumor in the Archives of the Diocese of Warmia in Olsztyn, in the documents left by Bishop Ignacy Krasicki.<sup>62</sup> In his introduction to the project, Bertrand emphasised the need to establish an academy of sciences in Poland. Similarly to the one attributed to Żaluski, it was to be divided into three departments. In this case, however, the first of these covered the Polish language and literature. The second included mathematics, physics, mechanics and natural history and was to include natural history cabinet containing national collections. The third class was rural economy and agriculture. Bertrand emphasised the need to conduct national research and undertake projects to tackle problems in the domestic economy. Governance and funding were to come from the state, with the support of an education commission.<sup>63</sup> An important aspect of the proposal was the details of the organisation of the natural history cabinet, which was to be a national collection owned by the public, managed by a curator, on the model of the British Museum. In addition, a request was made for a collection of curiosities by the Governor of Vilnius, Michał Kazimierz Ogiński, and the Mniszech brothers.<sup>64</sup>

Władysław Smoleński – supported by Julian Platt, among others – presumes that it was Żaluski’s project that was mentioned in the introduction to “Myśli względem założenia Musaeum Polonicum”. At that time, both authors were unaware of Elie Bertrand’s concept, which in ideological and programmatic terms turns out to be more in line with Michał Mniszech’s work. It is worth noting that Bertrand was also a collector – he had his own collection, part of which he donated to Michał Mniszech during his Berne education in the years 1762–1765. While travelling around Europe, they both visited academies with didactic collections, botanical gardens, private natural history cabinets and museums. E. Bertrand’s project was in line with the international Enlightenment style. Bertrand completed his project in Warsaw, during a break between educational trips.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, I consider it certain that Mniszech knew both Bertrand’s views on education and collecting and his master’s own research.

Although this issue requires separate research, it is worth mentioning that King Stanisław August also intended to establish an academy of fine arts.<sup>66</sup> The project, or rather the proposal

---

<sup>60</sup> These doubts were expressed by W. Smoleński. See: SMOLEŃSKI, *Pisma historyczne...*, p. 54.

<sup>61</sup> This activity was critically summarised by Mitzler de Kolof: *Acta Litteraria Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae. 1775, trimestre 1–4*, p. 36.

<sup>62</sup> As established by Bolesław Kumor, followed by Marek Bratuń, the project was evaluated by Krasicki. The text was written in French, and its authorship was confirmed on the basis of correspondence research and other archival sources. See: BRATUŃ, *Elie Bertrand a Polska*, pp. 51–52.

<sup>63</sup> The task of the commission was also to take over and make available the Żaluski library, which in 1761 was handed over to the Jesuits. In addition, a plan to establish a printing house and a bookstore that would sell scientific literature was taken into account. See: BRATUŃ, *Elie Bertrand a Polska*, pp. 57–61.

<sup>64</sup> BRATUŃ, *Elie Bertrand a Polska*, p. 165.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>66</sup> For more, see: MAŃKOWSKI, Tomasz. *Galerja Stanisława Augusta*. Lviv: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1932, pp. 17–18.

for this institution, was developed by Michał Mniszech, probably in the early 1770s.<sup>67</sup> He emphasised that the success of this undertaking would depend primarily on selecting the right people, and on their zealous work and commitment. The institution's aims were particularly focused on social benefits – improving the living conditions of the poor nobility and representatives of “the people” by enabling them to acquire education and practical skills. The plan included competitions for foreign scholarships, which funded three-year stays in Italy and one-year stays in France. Another aim was to create a national collection of works of art, including the works of the most outstanding students, especially those sent back by students who were studying abroad. The scientific faculty was ultimately to consist of Polish teachers – here, as in other proposals, Mniszech's patriotic motives are visible. Ultimately, however, the Academy of Fine Arts was not established in the eighteenth century.

## Conclusion

Musaeum Polonicum was planned as a complementary part of an academy of sciences and arts, therefore it is impossible to understand the idea and its significance without referring to the educational projects of its era. In contemporary discourse, this unrealised idea should be considered not as an “end” in itself but as an important testimony of society's attitude towards the world of that time.<sup>68</sup>

The presentation of Michał Jerzy Mniszech's concept as the didactic background of the academy confirms the thesis that museological thought developed together with pedagogical thought. The national museum was treated as a response to the needs of developing education, and even as a necessary condition for this development. Examples of Polish projects show the relationship between research cabinets, didactic collections and educational institutions. This statement is reinforced by the fact that for over a century and a half, museology has been recognised as a discipline within the philosophy and history of science,<sup>69</sup> and researchers place it among the educational sciences. The aim of museum practices is therefore to disseminate knowledge and methodically transfer it to the recipient.<sup>70</sup> However contemporary research on the history of Polish museology still lacks an educational perspective, which would involve, for example, embedding phenomena in the context of the history of pedagogical thought or presenting the presence of pedagogical ideas in the activities of collectors. The use of such a methodology allows us to understand which tradition modern museology arose from, an important distinction give we are the direct heirs of that tradition today. Enlightenment-era pedagogical thought can also be an inspiration for discovering the educational potential of contemporary museum exhibitions.

<sup>67</sup> MNISZECH, Michał J. W. Projekt ustanowienia Akademii Sztuk Wyzwolonych przelożony królowi Stanisławowi Augustowi przez Michała Wandalina Mniszcha marszałka w. kor. In: RASTAWIECKI, Edward. *Słownik malarzów polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających. T. 1*. Lviv: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1932, pp. 313–321.

<sup>68</sup> In addition to metamuseology, it is also important to refer to musealisation, a concept developed by Z. Stránský in his later research work. Three stages of this phenomenon can be distinguished: selection, which involves identifying the museum potential “hidden” in objects; “thesaurisation” – transferring the object to a new museum reality; and communication, which is the process of gaining meaning, sharing and disseminating scientific, cultural and social values. Although, according to this theory, the Musaeum Polonicum did not fully communicate with the reality of that time, on an ideological level a pedagogical selection and thesaurisation of museum objects was made. SOARES, Zbýněk Z. *Stránský*, pp. 82–83.

<sup>69</sup> POPADIĆ, Milan. The beginnings of museology. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2020, 8(2), 2020, p. 6.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 12.

## References

- ADAMIAK, Marzena (2002). Foucault i perypetie podmiotu. In: *Przegląd Filozoficzny – Nowa Seria*, R. 11: 2002, 42(2), pp. 179–200. ISSN 1230-1493.
- BIEDERMANN, Bernadette (2016). The theory of museology. Museology as it is – defined by two pioneers: Zbyněk Z. Stránský and Friedrich Waidacher. In: *Museologica Brunensia*, 2016/05/02, pp. 51–64. ISSN: 2464-5362.
- BOHOMOLEC, Franciszek, and Ignacy KRASICKI. *Monitor* [online]. 16 April 1768, (XXXI), accessed 21 April, 2023, <https://dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/publication/5113/edition/4911/content>
- BRATUŃ, Marek (2002). „Ten wykwintny, wykształcony Europejczyk”. *Zagraniczne studia i podróże edukacyjne Michała Jerzego Wandalina Mniszcha w latach 1762–1768*. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego. ISBN 83-88796-83-6.
- BRATUŃ, Marek (2012). *Relations polono-suisse au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nouvelles approches*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. ISBN 978-83-229-3352-7.
- BRATUŃ, Marek (2013). *Elie Bertrand a Polska*. Wrocław: ATUT. ISBN 978-83-7432-925-5.
- BUCZEK, Katarzyna (2016). *Zbiory dydaktyczne Gimnazjum i Liceum Wołyńskiego w Krzemieńcu (1805–1833)*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press. ISBN 978-83-2352-636-0.
- BUCZEK, Katarzyna and SZYBIAK, Irena (2018). *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773–1794: szkoły w Wydziale Żmudzkiem*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IHN PAN. ISBN 978-83-7545-846-6.
- COMENIUS, Johann Amos and FIJAŁKOWSKI, Adam (2015). *Świat w obrazach rzeczy dostępnych zmysłom*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press. ISBN 978-83-235-1720-7.
- DE RIEULE, Étienne D. C. (1766). Projekt zgromadzenia bez żadnych wydatków wszystkich bogactw naturalnych Polski, 1766. In: Tomasz F. De Rosset, Michał F. Woźniak, Ewelina Bednarz Doiczmanowa (eds.) (2020). *Muzeum w kulturze pamięci na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Antologia wczesnych tekstów. Tom I, 1766—1882*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, pp. 31–37. ISBN 9788323144243.
- DURY, John (1650). The Reformed School. In: Kenneth Arnold and Susan Pearce (eds) (2016), *The Collector's Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting. Volume 2. Early Voices*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 47–49. ISBN 9781859284186(hbk).
- FIELD, Judith V. and JAMES, Frank A. J. L. (1997). *Renaissance and Revolution: Humanists, Scholars, Craftsmen and Natural Philosophers in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0521434270.
- FIJAŁKOWSKI, Adam (2008). *Orbis Pictus. Die Welt in Bildern des Johann Amos Comenius*. Warsaw: Uniwersytet Warszawski. ISBN 978-83-924821-9-2.
- FRYCZ, Andrzej (1975). Początki starożytnictwa i myśli konserwatorskiej w Polsce. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, 28/1 (108), pp. 13–22. ISSN 0029-8247.
- HAPANOWICZ, Piotr (2021). Musaeum Polonicum Michała Jerzego Wandalina Mniszcha. In: *Rocznik Biblioteki Kraków*, V/2021, pp. 369–391. ISSN 2544-784X.
- HOOPER-GREENHILL, Eileen (1992). *Museums and The Shaping of Knowledge*. London – New York: Routledge. ISBN 0-203-72406-2.
- JEZIERSKI, Franciszek S. (1791). *Niektóre wyrazy porządkiem abecadła zebrane y stosownemi do rzeczy uwagami objaśnione*. Warsaw: Michał Gröll.

- JOCHER, Adam (1830). *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce, od wprowadzenia do niej druku po rok 1830 włącznie*. Vilnius: Nakładem i drukiem Józefa Zawadzkiego.
- JUNDZIŁŁ, Stanisław B. (1791). *Opisanie roślin w prowincji Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego naturalnie rosnących według układu Linneusza*. Vilnius: Drukarnia XX. Pijarów.
- JUNDZIŁŁ, Stanisław B. (1850). Gabinet historii naturalnej i ogród botaniczny Wileńskiego Uniwersytetu. In: *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1850, Vol. 1. Warsaw: W Drukarni Stanisława Strąbskiego, pp. 39–59.
- JURKOWSKA, Hanna (2014). *Pamięć sentymentalna. Praktyki pamięci w kręgu Towarzystwa Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauk i w Puławach Izabeli Czartoryskiej*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press. ISBN 978-83-235-1542-5.
- KAMIŃSKA, Janina (2018). *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773–1794: szkoły w Wydziale Litewskim*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IHN PAN. ISBN 978-83-7545-846-6.
- KOT, Stanisław (1996). *Historia wychowania. Tom II. Wychowanie nowoczesne. Od połowy wieku XVIII do współczesnej doby*. Warsaw: Żak. ISBN 83-901558-7-7.
- KRASICKI, Ignacy (1781–1783). Zbiór potrzebniejszych wiadomości, porządkiem alfabety ułożonych. Vol. 1–2. Warsaw-Lviv: Michał Gröll.
- KWIECIŃSKI, Zbigniew and ŚLIWERSKI, Bogusław (eds.) (2019). *Pedagogika. Podręcznik akademicki*. Warsaw: PWN. ISBN 978-83-01-20715-1.
- LINDE, Samuel B. (1807–1814). *Słownik języka polskiego*. Vol. 1–6. Warsaw: Drukarnia XX. Pijarów.
- LISKE, Xawery (1876). *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce*. Lviv: Nakładem Gubrynowicza i Schmidta.
- LOCKE, John (1825). *The Conduct of the Understanding*. London: J. F. Dove.
- LOCKE, John (1964). *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. London: Heinemann.
- MAŃKOWSKI, Tomasz (1932). *Galerja Stanisława Augusta*. Lviv: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich.
- MAJER, Józef (1873). Uwagi nad zadaniem akademii w powszechności tudzież historyczny przegląd towarzystw naukowych w Polsce. In: Dwa pierwsze publiczne posiedzenia Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie : 1. Posiedzenie w przeddzień czterechsetnej rocznicy urodzin Mikolaja Kopernika d. 18 lutego 1873. 2. Posiedzenie inauguracyjne d. 7 maja 1873. Krakow: Wyd. staraniem Akademii, pp. 46–66.
- MENCFEL, Michał (2021). “Muzeum” w XVIII wieku. Z dziejów semantyki pojęcia. In: *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Zabytkoznawstwo i Konservatorstwo*, 52, pp. 9–23. ISSN 0208-533X.
- MENCFEL, Michał (2021). The English voyage of Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech and plan to found the Polish museum. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 2021(62), pp. 214–219. ISSN 0464-1086.
- MITZLER DE KOŁOŃ, Wawrzyniec (1755). *Acta Litteraria Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae. 1755, trimestre 1–4*. Warsaw – Leipzig.
- MNISZECH, Michał J. W. (1775). Myśli względem założenia Musaeum Polonicum. In: *Zabany Przyjemne i Pożyteczne*, 2(11), pp. 211–226.
- MNISZECH, Michał J. W. (1766). *Observations contenues dans ce volume faite en 1766, Angleterre* [Manuscript]. Manuscripta Instituti Ossoliniani, 5637/II. Lviv: Lvivska Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanika Akademii Nauk Ukrainy.
- MNISZECH, Michał J. W. (1767). *Observations sur Rome et l'Italie contenues dans ce volume faites depuis le 15 octobre au 15 decembre 1767* [Manuscript]. Rkp. 6793 II Cz. 1. Kraków: Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

- MNISZECH, Michał J. W. (1768). *Routes contenues dans ce Vollume. De Rome, Varsovie à Wisniowiec. Depuis le 15 D10bre 1767 jusqu'au 7 Juillet 1768* [Manuscript]. Rkp. 6793 II Cz. 3. Kraków: Biblioteka Jagiellońska.
- MNISZECH, Michał J. W. (1850 [ca. 1770]). Projekt ustanowienia Akademii Sztuk Wyzwolonych przelożony królowi Stanisławowi Augustowi przez Michała Wandalina Mniszcha marszałka w. kor. In: Edward Rastawiecki. *Słownik malarzów polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających. T. 1*. Warsaw: W Drukarni S. Orgelbranda księgarza i typografa, pp. 313–321.
- PLATT, Julian (1968). *“Zabany Przyjemne i Pożyteczne” (1770–1777)*. Wybór. Wrocław – Warsaw – Krakow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- POMIAN, Krzysztof (1990). *Collectors and curiosities*. Cambridge: Polity Press. ISBN 0-7456-0680-6.
- POMIAN, Krzysztof (2023). *Muzeum. Historia światowa. 1. Od skarbcza do muzeum*. Gdańsk: słowo obraz terytoria. ISBN 978-83-8325-005-2.
- POPADIĆ, Milan (2020). The beginnings of museology. In: *Muzeologia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, Vol. 8(2020), No. Is. 2, pp. 5–16. ISSN 1339-2204.
- ROSNER, Aleksander (1976). Mniszech Michał Jerzy Wandalin. In: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny, t. XXI*. Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk, pp. 480–484. ISBN 8304032910.
- RÜEGG, Walter and DE RIDDER-SYMOYENS, Hilde (eds.) (1997). *A history of the University in Europe. Volume II. Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0521361060.
- SLOAN, Kim and BURNETT, Andrew (eds.) (2010). *Enlightenment. Discovering the world in the eighteenth century*. London: The British Museum Press.
- SMOLEŃSKI, Władysław (1901). *Pisma historyczne. Tom II*. Krakow: Skład główny w Księgarni G. Gebethnera i spółki.
- SOARES, Bruno B. (2019). Zbyněk Z. Stránský. In: SOARES, Bruno B. (ed.). *A History of Museology. Key authors of museological theory*. Paris: ICOFOM, pp. 77–87. ISBN 978-92-9012-456-6.
- STRÁNSKÝ, Zbyněk Z. (1980). Museology as a Science (a Thesis). In: *Museologia*, 15(11), pp. 33–39.
- SZRETER, Ryszard (1974). Education for nation-saving: Poland between the partitions. In: Thomas G. Cook (ed.). *The History of Education in Europe*. London: Methuen.
- USTAWY KOMISYI EDUKACYI NARODOWEJ (1872) *Ustany Komisiji Edukacyi Narodowej dla stanu akademickiego i na szkoły w krajach Rzeczypospolitej przepisane. W Warszawie roku 1783*. Lviv: Seyfrath i Czajkowski.
- ZUBOWSKI, Ksawery (1786). Kolekcya starożytnych i tegoczesnych osobliwości w kraiu y za kraiem znajdujących się, Naród Polski interessujących. Pismo periodyczne. Prospekt. In: *Biblioteka Warszawska*, vol. 1/XLIX (1853), Warsaw: W Drukarni Stanisława Strąbskiego, pp. 513–518.