SOURCES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF LITHUANIA

Zygintas Bucys

"Not all yet understand the true meaning of the Museum, thinking that it is something like Valhala, where morality and genius must be exalted. Not all yet understand that Archaeology, trying to avoid empty inducements, today's passions, is not obliged to flatter a nation's pride. By collecting monuments of all that was alive and interesting in the past, history is given the right to evaluate, praise or condemn. In the faces of ancestors it is not looking for beauty, but likeness".¹ The first museum in Lithuania – the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities – was established almost a hundred and fifty years ago (1855) according to this statement of belief by one of the most famous researchers of Lithuanian culture in mid-19th century, Adam Kirkor.

Despite the difficult circumstances during the occupation by Czarist Russia, the museum was established as a national museum, and throughout its history it had to endure various calamities: the removal of a major part of its collections to Russia, the abolition of the museum and the dissipation of its collections. Only in 1952 through the efforts of the famous historian of Lithuanian culture, Vincas Zilenas, was the structure of the Museum of Antiquities recreated on the basis of a part of the original collection and of collections from the scientific communities of Vilnius. This restored collection reflected the history of the Lithuanian state and the national culture. In this way the work begun by the mid-19th century intelligentsia was continued. In 1992 the

museum was named the National Museum of Lithuania.

In 1855 when the Museum of Antiquities was established the independent Lithuanian state was already only an episode from the past inscribed in the cultural memory. However it had not been completely deleted, rather it was being continuously restored in preparation for the realisation of the historical fact in a political life that was at least minimally independent. The exposition of the museum, which contributed to keep historical consciousness and cultural identity alive, tried to restore Lithuanian patriotism. The idea of establishing a museum had matured long before it became a fact, therefore I will look at the beginning of the historical collections in Lit-

194 huania and the growth of an awareness of antiquities as representing historical and cultural values.

MADNESS FOR THINGS

"*This is really a madness for things*" – said Konstanty Tyszkiewicz, a witness of these days and an active participant, describing the outburst of antiquities collecting in the first half of 19th century.² This was the reaction of a scientist and culture researcher to the random, chaotic collecting of objects, not defined by scientific categories or systems. Generally, it was the attitude to a certain section of society which did not value cultural heritage and did not apprehend its meaning.

A hitherto inexperienced passion for collecting things pierced the hearts of various layers within society: beginning with the duke and count but also affecting the small provincial nobleman. Of course, this desire to collect did not appear overnight; collecting was known even earlier. However, if in the 18th century only aristocrats like Radziwill, Sapieha, Oginski, Chreptowicz, Tyzenhauz and other dignitaries could take pride in their collections, in the 19th century collecting became a universal phenomenon. Often a private collection reflected fashion, pride or some sort of self-establishment in society; and for the majority the contents had no importance: antiquities, archæological finds, numismatics or art works – all were equally desirable. Everything depended on the nobleman himself: his taste, inclination and of course his fortune. It was rare for anyone to engage in purposeful, systematic collecting. There were all kind of things in the private collections: family relics, objects from exotic countries, local rarities, and the collection it-

self balanced on the edge of temporality, amalgamating with others, passing from hand to hand or disappearing from the cultural horizon just at the time it had acquired some contours and definition.

The wave of collecting things that arose in the first half of the 19th century was figuratively described by A. Kirkor in a letter to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, where he mentions a silver statuette, owned by "*some small nobleman Czechowicz, an ignorant person, but very fond of antique things, who kept it under the key and didn't show it even to his wife. This strange man dug into many barrows. Poor man, but ready to risk everything in order to get antiquities. People say, that he has coffers full of them.*"³

K. Tyszkiewicz met many local collectors on his scientific journeys on the Neris river. P. Ordynec – collector of antiquities and old legends in Milcia.⁴ Priest Debinski who had a few finds he had himself dug out of surrounding barrows.⁵ In Kernavele manor he saw an art collection comprising mostly of the works of Kanuty Rusiecki. The owner of this collection was "*a real brother of our painter*".⁶ In Paparciai in the company of the painter Antoni Zaleski he visited a "*beautiful gallery of old paintings from the Italian school*" belonging to the painter's uncle and he was surprised by his "*very rich collection of old Saxonian porcelain unique in Lithuania.*"⁷ In Mikaliskis Tyszkiewicz met with Doctor Minkowski, who "*had a small collection of rarities – a few items of old Saxonian porcelain, especially interesting was a cup with top. It had a bust of Stanislaw August in the form of medallion painted inside the cup, and written around it was: 'Stanislaus Augustus Rex'. On the bottom of the plate was an open book and the symbol of righteousness with lifted finger, laurel crown and all attributes of the memorable event of 1791.*

Today this cup is quite a rare antiquity, signifying the country's majestic act. (...) Minkowski selected a corresponding silver spoon for this cup, which I saw for the first time here. There was an embossed portrait of Duke Józef Poniatowski."⁸

The scope of archeological research and collecting in Lithuania is also described in the writings and correspondence of the historian Teodor Narbutt, where we can find out about the collectors of that time: Józef Pomarnacki, Karol Kozakowski, Adam Zagiello, Jerzy Plater, Franciszek Wilczynski, Oskierka, Marcin Ciepliniski, Józef Jaroszewicz.⁹ Narbutt himself had quite a big collection of Lithuanian antiquities. L. Juzevicius in his work "Mokytis zemaiciai" (Educated Samogitians) also mentioned Michal Chlewinski, Jan Chryzostom Gintyllo, Leopold and his son Albert Gorski, Dionizas Poska, Jan Prekier, Antony Rönne, Leon Uwojn and Edward Wolmer, as "having rather big libraries", "rooms of numismatics", "collecting antiquities" that were "dedicated to Lithuanian antiquity"¹⁰

These were not all the collectors in Lithuania at that time, since Narbutt and Juzevicius first mentioned those collections that were important for their own research and scientific interests. There were many such amateur antique collectors, such as the above mentioned Czechowicz – who collected in secret and kept it quiet. Others sought evidence of their noble origin by collecting family relics, and adding various local rarities. This was not interesting for historians of the time.

It has to be remembered that the habit of collecting local antiquities as representatives of cultural heritage was not yet properly established or clearly defined. As inventory books from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries show, there was a cabi-

Count Eustachy Tyszkiewicz (1814–1873), archaeologist, collector, researcher in Lithuanian history and culture. He was the founder of the first Lithuanian museum, The Museum of Antiquities in Vilnius, which opened in 1856.

net or library, expensive crockery, porcelain, furniture, a splendid collection of arms, and art work in the manors of most noblemen.¹¹ But in many cases the fact that these things were not collected from the neighbourhood, that they were used for everyday purposes and were not understood as being of cultural value prevents us from calling them collections. Even among collectors of that time antiquities were sometimes apprehended in this way. "Priest Grosmani, one of the antique collectors of that time, had a few stone hammers in his

The Museum of Antiquities. An exhibition in the P. Smuglevičius Hall of the University. In the period 1860–1865.

*scientific collection which consisted of various utensils arrayed in tasteful disorder, and laughing with satisfaction (which showed his poor worldview) he demonstrated to everyone, how he cleverly found a purpose for this thing: he put candles into its hole and it served as candleholder.*¹²

At the same time there was a diametrically opposite appreciation of things – as being of cultural value, as testimonies of various historical periods. Narbutt demonstrated such an understanding: to him a wooden stick with unreadable writings was an “*antique of antiques of ancient Lithuanians*” – “*sceptre of Gediminas*”.¹³ The absence of collecting traditions, the undefined concept of collections and the newly born inclusion of local antiques into the sphere of cultural expression gave rise to such a dual attitude toward them. What was of value to one person, could be completely insignificant to another.

Peasants had a much more pragmatic view of local antiques. “1811 three brass statuettes were found on the bottom of a drained lake in the Druja area. (...) Villagers sold them to Jews in Druja.”¹⁴ “In Svėksna in the garden of the parsonage a servant took the treasure which he found while replanting roses – it is supposed to have been a few pounds of golden coins. This man went abroad and the valuable finds disappeared.”¹⁵ Only at the end of 19th century do we meet the first collector among the peasants.¹⁶

The clearest and most important feature of collecting in the first half of 19th century was the nobility’s turning toward the past culture of their own country, trying to understand it with the help of local antiquities. Classical cosmopolitan nature cabinets of numismatics, natural science, art and antiques which dominated in 18th century were updated with new energy. Local antiques were

added as reminders not only of the times of Stanislaw August or Napoleon, but also of gods and relics of pagan Lithuania or as witnesses of Lithuanian battles with crusaders: arrows, swords, armour.

Archæological finds that were reminders of Lithuania's past which had not hitherto been considered objects worth collecting now found their place in the collections of the aristocracy. In the art gallery of Tyzenhauz Pastoviai manor apart from 16th–17th century art works by Italian, Dutch, French, Spanish and other artists one could also see Lithuanian antiquities found in burial mounds in the Pastoviai area: bracelets, beads etc.¹⁷ There was a *"glass ball with tears inside found in a Lithuanian grave; the brass statuette of a man, some god a few inches tall"* in a famous collection of arms and art works belonging to Count Józef Kossakowski.¹⁸ The brothers Counts Eustachy and Konstanty Tyszkiewicz, and Count Jerzy Plater were widely known for their Lithuanian collections and archæological research. Those of the Lithuanian aristocracy who were not so interested in science were not however indifferent to local antiquities. *"Duke Cezary Giedroyc, (...) said that in his domain on a high mountain in the woods there is a gully about which many legends exist. They say that there were old graves there, and that one can dig and find interesting things, especially stone beads and big pieces of amber. Duke Giedroyc promised to excavate a few such old graves and send me the finds together with a topographical map of the mountain, with written legends."*¹⁹

The modern Lithuanian intelligentsia stimulated by patriotic feelings entered the search for local antiquities. Karol Kozakowski who excavated the Obeliai burial mound near Ukmerge called it a *"Lithuanian Pompeii"*²⁰, and generously shared his findings

with Adam Zagiello, Siesicki and Franciszek Potocki. This was not an exception. Enthusiasts for antiquities did not keep information to themselves, but actively communicated and knew about each others' collections through personal correspondence, newspapers or through visiting each other. Periodicals of that time had plenty of news about finds, collections, and as there was no clear understanding of the purpose of some objects the periodicals attempted to explain them scientifically. T.Narbutt, A.Kirkor and E.Tyszkiewicz were especially renowned as trustworthy experts.

Thus before the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities was established, we can discern two ways of gathering collections. Firstly the collecting of some universal, heterogeneous but distinctive things predominated in the Lithuanian society of that time. It was motivated by a desire to express one's own world view, a realization of one's domestic heritage through collecting antiquities, and considering their application in shaping reality. This view dictated the selection of antiques – rare, interesting objects or those which were somehow meaningful or beautiful to the collector himself. On the other hand some of the Lithuanian intelligentsia formed a new generation of collectors, who pursued a conscientious search for a Lithuanian cultural heritage, from prehistorical stone axes to the events of 1812, which they sought to purposefully collect and systematize, propagate and keep as a heritage for future generations. Their interest in monuments that reflected Lithuanian history was also stimulated by a *"love for the nation"*, not just scientific curiosity. The museum was the institution that could preserve these monuments and inspire society to undertake this cultural-patriotic action.

198 LEGALIZATION OF THINGS

In many European countries the first museums were established by giving form and structure to already existing private collections: defining their social status, legalizing their public role, outlining further collecting principles. These matters were now significant not to a single collector but to the whole of society. The Vilnius Museum of Antiquities was no exception, it was founded on the collections of Count E. Tyszkiewicz. The possibility to create a museum in Lithuania already existed at the beginning of the 19th century. However it remained only a possibility. In 1775 the "Musaeum Polonicum" project (similar to the British Museum in its structure) was discussed in the Warsaw Parliament, but it never came to fruition.²¹ Had there been a positive resolution to this project and knowing the ambitions of the Lithuanian nobility it is reasonable to assume that its existence would have received attention in Lithuania. Moreover, the Chreptowicz Szczorse manor collection was known and visited by the intelligentsia and scientists and was called the "Lithuanian Pulawy".²² It was considered to be equivalent to the most famous collection at that time, the Czartoryski Pulawy collection, founded in accordance with the motto "the past for the future".²³

Vilnius University had several realistic chances to establish the museum, since it was the only institution in Lithuania at that time which organized cultural life and it had a variety of collection cabinets. In 1803 its numismatics cabinet consisted of 268 medals and 195 coins.²⁴ In 1814 the university acquired Symonowicz' mineralogy cabinet consisting of 20,000 items, one of the largest in Europe.²⁵ The university lecturers J.E. Gilibert,

G. Forster and the noblemen M. Oginski, J. Wichert, M. Walicki granted it their nature collections.²⁶ There were more such gifts. They were mostly motivated by a trust of the university not only as educational institution, but as an institution able to preserve a cultural heritage for future generations. On the basis of these collections the university had established cabinets of numismatics, mineralogy, zoology. It also kept local archaeological finds which had not yet formed a separate collection cabinet.

K. Tyszkiewicz mentioned, that "*in its collections the University has not only highly appreciated Roman and similar monuments, but it also had in its storage silver diadems, bronze necklaces, found in graves and memorials of the era before the birth of Christ. There were a few sacrificial stone hammers. However nobody would even glance at these things*".²⁷ A. Kirkor also had a similar opinion: "*university professors looked at the finds with such contempt that they did not even find a proper place to keep them and they were stored in the loft where they were found in 1855*".²⁸ Yet, if antiquities were found in the university, they must have been interesting to somebody, otherwise how would have they got there? Most probably professors and researchers at the beginning of the 19th century had a different view of local antiquities. Jan Gwalbert Rudomina read a report about antiquities at the university meeting in 1817 and presented the remains of antique arms found in the Labunava manor, which testifies to the interest in local monuments.²⁹

No doubt these University collections were still very far from constituting a proper museum. Attached to different faculties the cabinets served educational needs but were not considered to be elements of cultural herita-

A bird's-eye view of the National Museum of Lithuania, Vilnius.

ge. Unfavorable historical circumstances (the university was closed in 1832 by the Czarist Russia administration) precluded these collections from becoming a museum.

It was Count Eustachy Tyszkiewicz (1814–1873) who initiated the founding of the museum. He was a cultural historian, a national patriot and a man of wide scientific interests. According to his own words, as he was spending his summer holidays of 1837 in his native land, and being interested in local barrows, he conducted excavations and published the results in the press. The historian Teodor Narbutt replied to his article and mentioned that the newly found antiquities could form the beginnings of a Lithuanian museum. This idea inspired by T. Narbutt remained with Tyszkiewicz. In 1846 at his home in Vilnius he opened an antique cabinet there for anybody who wanted to see it. A private

and unofficial museum however could not embrace the wide scientific and cultural aspirations of Tyszkiewicz and like-minded people, so in 1848 he addressed the Vilnius governor-general with a proposal to establish a Provincial Museum in Vilnius. However this project was delayed by the Czarist administration and only a few years later, on May 11, 1855 did the Czar finally sign the order to establish the Vilnius Board of Archæology and the Museum of Antiquities. Understandably, under the circumstances it was impossible to call this museum the "*Lithuanian Museum*" as E. Tyszkiewicz wanted.

The museum opened on April 29, 1856 in the premises of the closed Vilnius University. It was the first public museum in the history of Lithuania, as it was open at set hours to everyone who was interested. The museum, despite of Czarist administrative control, was

200 in fact public, like the majority of European museums at the time. The basis of its exhibitions was antiquities from E. Tyszkiewicz's private collection which had been granted to the museum. Libraries, scripts, documents from closed Catholic monasteries and churches, together with the remnants of the Vilnius University cabinets, were included. The further growth of the museum collections was based on gifts from private individuals and organizations. The most significant exhibits were given to the museum by noblemen, landowner families with old historical and cultural traditions. In this way the museum acquired an ornithological collection of more than 1000 items collected by the father of Count R. Tyzenhauz; part of a famous collection of arms donated by Count F. Kossakowski; a collection of Lithuanian antiquities gathered by A. Kirkor; single gifts from Dukes Oginski and Radziwill and Counts Plater, Tyszkiewicz and other noblemen. These exhibits were therefore also significant as sources of Lithuanian history. The passing of big collections from landowners to the museum did not take place on a large scale. Most of them kept their splendid private collections, offering the museum only one or a few exhibits. It is possible that things which were related more to Lithuanian history than to the private life of individual noble families were selected for the museum. At least such selection criteria were expressed by the museum organizer, E. Tyszkiewicz, himself.³⁰

The collections grew rapidly thanks to the members of the board and the local intelligentsia who actively participated in the search for objects not only in the territory of former Grand Duchy of Lithuania but also abroad: in Prague, Krakow and other places. Efforts were made, on the initiative of E. Tyszkiewicz,

to return to Lithuania valuable cultural objects taken to Russia. For this purpose the board undertook a wide search and printed the results. In 1859 A. Kirkor visited libraries and museums in St. Petersburg making notes on Lithuanian antiquities, at the same time another member of the board – D. Soncov – worked in Moscow on the same mission.³¹ E. Tyszkiewicz himself visited high-ranking officials in the Czarist administration for this reason. As a result quite a few copies of historical documents were made, some of the duplicates in the Nieswiez library³² were returned, in Kiev University copies were made of Runic calendars that belonged to Vilnius University.³³ But the major part of the exhibits came to the museum from the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, from the Vilnius, Kaunas, Grodno and Minsk provinces of that time.

Apart from the board members themselves, ordinary citizens, state officials and students actively joined in collecting. Perhaps the establishment of the museum gave rise to a sort of ethnographical revival. There were 195 donors to the museum in 1858, and this number grew to 323 people in 1862, and they donated 6,595 exhibits.

Since the museum was a public organization, its work mostly depended on the initiative of the members themselves. Even though sections of the museum were formed depending on the nature of the collections, they were not structurally organized like today's museum divisions with clearly defined collections and depositories, and with a set number of employees. One member of the board was assigned to each section and it was his responsibility to make a catalogue of the objects in this section. At the start the museum had the following sections: archæology, ma-

naged by A.Kirkor; numismatics (coins and medals) by L.Rossyljon; archeography (documents, scripts, autographs) by M.Herburt; art (paintings, graphics, etching tables) by J.Wilczynski; memorabilia by P.Kukolnik; natural science by A.Adamowicz; library by M.Malinowski.³⁴ During the history of the museum the sections changed: memorabilia disappeared, part of its exhibits went to the archæology section, and the remainder formed a sphragistic section; in 1862 a new ethnography section was added; in 1863 a collection of fortification models was obtained but it was not assigned to any specific section.³⁵ Since the inventory books were not kept according to separate sections, new objects used to be registered in a common inventory book. Catalogues were made for the exhibits of archæology, art, ornithology, mineralogy, natural science, fortification models and for the library.³⁶

CULTURAL FUNCTIONS OF THE MUSEUM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The Vilnius Museum of Antiquities, and the Archæology Board that worked with it, was the only science center in Lithuania. The collections were important for scientific research. At the same time it was a significant cultural institution, shaping certain social trends. The cultural influence of the museum was effective since it was so popular. The number of visitors fluctuated between 3 and 10 thousand a year. The report of the Board of Archæology given in 1862 proposing a memorial for Barbara Radziwill in Vilnius Cathedral shows how the directors of the museum understood the cultural mission of their institution. Even earlier, in 1853, E.Tyszkiewicz funded the rebuilding of the monument to Vytautas Mag-

nus in Vilnius Cathedral. It was said in the above mentioned report that our "*society calls on the generosity of Lithuanians, on their innate love of the nation, to help build a monument to Barbara in Vilnius Cathedral financed by voluntary donations*".³⁷ Love of the nation (civic consciousness) was considered the purpose of the cultural activity. Love of the nation by preserving its memories, meant not only honoring the nation's past but was also contributing to ensuring the nation's life in the future. And of course, involving society in this cultural action was a form of cultural and patriotic education. Similarly E.Tyszkiewicz was glad not only that the antiquities collected in the museum were protected against loss, but also that people's attitude toward old artifacts in their homes had changed. They were dragged out into the daylight dusted down and seen as important symbols of historical memory.³⁸ The population however set the highest value on the historical lessons which the museum offered them.

The Vilnius Museum of Antiquities succeeded in becoming one of the centers of cultural and political consolidation of Lithuanian society. Such prominent Lithuanian public figures as M.Valancius, M.Akelaitis, J.Ciulda and others were members of the Archæology Board of the museum. The first exhibits of Lithuanian folk culture appeared in the museum. These were texts of folk songs, collected by K.Tyszkiewicz and given to the museum.³⁹ M.Gusev, member of the Archæology board, established relations with the researcher into Lithuanian folk culture from Mazoji Lietuva (Small Lithuania), E.Gisevijus.⁴⁰

The activity of the museum as an institution for unifying different and manifold elements of Lithuanian culture, for fostering love

202 of the country, was halted by the Russification policy, carried out especially after the rebellion in 1863. In 1865 most of the exhibits from the Museum of Antiquities (primarily the most valuable ones) were selected and transported to Russia where they remain until this day. The rest of the exhibits were given to the Vilnius public library which was established by the government.⁴¹

We can judge the significance and perspectives of the museum by comparing it with the history of similar museums in other countries. The possible synthesis of folk and nobility cultures, mediated by the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities, reveals significant differences from the history of the Riga museum, established in 1834 on the initiative of Baltic German intellectuals. In the regulations of the History and Antiquities Association, which founded the museum, it was emphasized that in the Archæology section antiquities related to church and state life should be exhibited.⁴² These antiquities had nothing in common with Latvian folk culture. The above mentioned association tried to completely ignore the pagan aspects of this culture. Even much later, in 1882, preparing an exhibition of the Baltic cultural history monuments, it was decided not to include archæological objects.⁴³ A few Latvian books were exhibited in this exhibition but almost all of them were Christian religious texts.⁴⁴ Meanwhile in the Vilnius Museum of Antiquities the first of ten sections of the exhibition was one devoted to mythology. Very important exhibits in this section were the so-called statuettes of Lithuanian pagan gods.⁴⁵ These Lithuanian mythological antiquities (even those that were not authentic), since they were common objects to ordinary people, as well as the elite, were able to become the basis of a common

cultural identity in the future. However the destiny of the museum was much too dependent on the policy of the Russian government. For this reason, not only the museum but the whole of Lithuanian society suffered great losses.

REFERENCES

1. A.H. Kirkor. Znaczenie i postep archeologii w naszych czasach, in: *Pamiętniki komisji archeologicznej Wilneskiej*. p. 37–38.
2. K.Tiskevicius. Neris ir jos krantai. Vilnius, 1992, p. 32.
3. Quot. according to: M.Stolzman. Nigdy od ciebie miasto... Olsztyn, 1987. s. 54.
4. K.Tiskevicius. Op. cit. p. 43–44.
5. Ibid. p. 241.
6. Ibid. p. 252.
7. Ibid. p. 272.
8. Ibid. p. 159–160.
9. According to: T.Narbutt. Pomniejsze pisma historyczne szeglnie do historyi Litwy odnoszece sie. Wilno, 1856. s. 4–5, 222–223, 226.; S. Daukantas. Laiskai Teodorui Narbutui: epistolinis dialogas. Vilnius, 1996. p. 303–304, 520–521.
10. According to: L.Jucevicius. Mokyti zemaiciai. Vilnius, 1975. p. 41–42, 68–69, 70–71, 116–119, 121, 171, 186.
11. Feodaliniu zemės valdu inventoriu aprasymas (Sudarė V.Abramavicius). Vilnius, 1963. p. 308, 351, 365–366, 389, 391, 395, 414–415.
12. K. Tiskevicius. Op. cit. p. 32.
13. List T. Narbutta do d-ra A. Reniera 1844 04 22, in: *Kronika rodzinna*. 1888. t. 15. s. 358.
14. T. Narbutas. Lietuviu tautos istorija. Vilnius, 1992. p. 78.
15. Ibid. p. 169.
16. V. Zilėnas. Lietuvos kolekcininkai ir muziejnininkai. 3. Antanas Sutinas, in: *Kultūros barai*. 1983.

- Nr. 2. p. 62–63.
17. Katalog wystawy starożytności i przedmiotów sztuki. Warszawa, 1856. s. 25–26, 29.
 18. List T. Narbutta do d-ra A. Reniera 1842 12 20, in: *Kronika rodzinna*. 1888. t. 15. s. 331.
 19. K. Tiskevicius. Op. cit. p. 266.
 20. T. Narbutt. Op. cit. p. 222
 21. Z. Zygułski Jun. Muzea na świecie. Warszawa, 1982, s. 52–53.
 22. S.S. Komornicki. Muzeum książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie. Kraków, 1929. s. V.
 23. C. Jankowski. Powiat oszmiański. Petersburg, 1896. t. I. s. 298.
 24. A. Ryszard. Szkoła numizmatyczna, in: *Wiadomości numizmatyczno-archeologiczne*. 1892. Nr. 4. s. 366.
 25. M. Balinski. Pamiątniki o Janie Sniadeckim. Wilno, 1856. t. I. s. 720–722.
 26. Vilniaus universiteto istorija: 1579–1803. Vilnius, 1976. t. I. p. 246–247.
 27. K. Tiskevicius. Op. cit. p. 31.
 28. A. H. Kirkoras. Lietuva nuo seniausiu laikų iki 1882 metų. Vilnius, 1995. p. 106.
 29. Posiedzenia akademickie i publiczne uniwersytetu imperatorskiego Wileńskiego w roku 1816 i 1817, in: *Dziennik Wileński*. t. VI. N. 36. s. 659.
 30. Pamiątniki komisji archologicznej Wileńskiej. Wilno, 1856. s. 22–23.
 31. Archeologijos komisijos posėdžių protokolai. VUB. F. 13. B. 234.
 32. W. Dobaczewska. Dzieje kultury Wileńskiej pomiędzy dwoma powstaniami. Wilno, 1937. s. 32.
 33. Kuryer Wileński. 1857. N. 47. s. 404–405.
 34. Pamiątniki komisji archeologicznej Wileńskiej. s. 10.
 35. Archeologijos komisijos posėdžių protokolai. VUB. F. 13. B. 234.
 36. Dnevnik zasedanij komisii dlja razbora, privedenija v izvestnost i nadležasij poriadok predmetov, nachodiasichsia v Vilenskom muzee drevnostei. Vilno, 1865. s. 20.
 37. Kuryer Wileński. 1862. N. 39. s. 312.
 38. Ibid. N. 55. s. 442.
 39. Kuryer Wileński. 1857. N. 51. s. 437.
 40. Ibid. 1860. N. 16. s. 162–163.
 41. E. Aleksandravicius, Kultūrinis sąjūdis Lietuvoje 1831–1863 m. Vilnius, 1989. p. 47.
 42. Ustav obscestva istorii i drevnostei ostzeiskich gubernij. Riga, 1834. s. 8.
 43. Katalog der Rigaschen culturhistorischen Ausstellung. Riga, 1883. p. III.
 44. Ibid. p. 36.
 45. A. H. Kirkoras. Op. cit. p. 234.

Zygintas Bucys is historian and Vice Director of the National Museum of Lithuania.
 Adr: Arsenalo str.
 LT-2001 Vilnius
 E-mail: zygintas@lnm.lt