

Aistė Paliušytė 

(Lithuanian Culture Research Institute, Vilnius)

ANTIQUES IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE RADZIWIŁŁ FAMILY IN THE WETTIN ERA

Abstract

The article examines the collections of antiques of one of the most influential families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – the Radziwiłł family, preserved in the residences of Nesvizh and Biała Podlaska in the first half and the middle of the 18th century. Different categories of artefacts are analysed and evaluated on the basis of the most unexplored inventories of the Radziwiłł family property, the correspondence of nobles and officials. The collection of the Radziwiłł family antiques continued the tradition of early modern collections of the Central European aristocrats. Their antique collections were among the largest in the Duchy, distinguished by a variety of artefacts. At the Radziwiłł family court, antiques were treated as curiosities, sources of history and instruments of cultural memory. They helped establish the identity of the family and create images of its power.

Keywords: the Radziwiłł family, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, culture of curiosities, cultural memory

INTRODUCTION

With the gradual establishment of critically based antique collecting in 18th century Europe, with the popularity of new types of artefacts, changes began to manifest themselves in the collections of aristocrats of the Grand Duchy

of Lithuania¹. More purposeful and more erudite antique collections have emerged. The content of the collections also changed – in addition to local objects, the collection of ancient antique artefacts began to be collected more consistently, focusing more on objects of one category (Mikocki 1990; Betlej 2017: 449–461). In the 18th century, however, earlier models of antique accumulation remained important. Traditionally, the origins and power of the family were represented at the noble courts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania when collecting antiques, mainly family heirlooms and other local artefacts.

This article raises the question of how the changes in the Age of Enlightenment affected the collecting practices of one of the most influential families of the Duchy, the Radziwiłł family. These nobles were the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, high-ranking state officials, owners of large estates and belonged to the most significant art collectors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the early to middle 18th century, the family collections were managed by influential representatives of the Nesvizh branch: Lithuanian Chancellor Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (1669–1719), his wife Anna Radziwiłłowa née Sanguszko (1676–1746), as well as their sons – Lithuanian Grand Hetman Michał Kazimierz “Rybeńko” (1702–1762) and standard-bearer Hieronim Florian (1715–1760).

The historiography of the Radziwiłł family’s antique collection from the time of the House of Wettin is mentioned in a very fragmentary way. Katarzyna Brzezina, analysing Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł’s collections of curiosities, wrote that the nobleman had antiques, including the armour of Alexander the Great and an ancient Egyptian mummy (Brzezina 1997: 5–20). The mummies owned by the Radziwiłłs were also mentioned by art historian Aldona Snitkuvienė as one of the examples of the Duchy’s nobility interest in the Egyptian artefacts (Snitkuvienė 2011: 66–67). Belarusian historian Sergey Rybchonak has published an inventory of the early 18th century, in which the luxury items described probably belonged to the Chancellor Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł². The author noted the abundance of ordinance, that is, inherited objects related to lands, in this collection, and their origin from the representative of the Nesvizh branch – Mikołaj Krzysztof “the Orphan” Radziwiłł (1549–1616) (Рыбчонак 2009: 214–228; 2019: 35–52).

1 More on the changes in collecting in the 18th century: Pomian (1996: 78–85).

2 This is a document written in 1737 or later, in the time of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, a copy of the original, written, as implied, in the time of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł: Рыбчонак (2009: 226–227).

This article aims to explore in more detail the collections of the Radziwiłł family's antiques during the Wettin times. The main attention is paid to the evaluation of the types of artefacts, attention is also paid to the meanings given to them, interpretations of antiques in the sources of the Radziwiłł family court. The collections of the princes were looted and most of the antiquities did not survive³. The article, therefore, relies on written sources, primarily uninvestigated inventories of the princes' property⁴. Many of the descriptions of the collections are fragmentary, some consider special groups of objects, such as numismatic ones. However, some larger-scale descriptions for the princes' property have also survived. The article is also based on the diaries of nobles and the correspondence of the officials of the court.

LOCATIONS AND OWNERS OF ANTIQUES

Antiques that are not associated with antiquity or other civilizations are often mentioned in the inventories and other sources of the Radziwiłł family property of the Wettin era. Works of various periods, as well as artefacts from the 16th and 17th centuries, were called antiques⁵. As evidenced by the Radziwiłł family correspondence, diaries and other sources, their attitude towards these items was extremely respectful. The Radziwiłł family, traveling around Europe, drew attention to them as interesting and rare items⁶. The princes were interested in ancient weapons, objects and relics of early Christianity⁷. In their diaries, they

- 3 The collections were first looted in the second half of the 18th century, when Nesvizh was devastated by the Russian army. A large portion of the collections was also lost in the 19th century: Веремейчик (2008: 17–21). Some surviving artefacts, John Sobieski's items, identified with the Radziwiłł family collections from the Wettin times: Рыбчонак (2019: 35–52).
- 4 Only a few descriptions of relatively small collections have been published: Рыбчонак (2009); Brzezina (1997: 13–16); Radziwiłł (1998: 180–184). There are almost no specialised descriptions for the antiques left. Only the undated list of "Various Antiquities" is known, probably written in the time of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (1669–1719): AGAD, AR, 26/220. The list was also used by Anna Radziwiłłowa: it contained entries handwritten by the princess.
- 5 On the concept of antiquities at the Radziwiłł court, see also: Brzezina (1997: 8).
- 6 Antiques are mentioned in Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł's travel notes, his and Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł's diaries: AGAD, AR, 6/II–80a; 35/46; Radziwiłł (1998); Podróże (2013).
- 7 During a visit to Poznań in 1737, Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł noted the "beautiful antiques" seen in Corpus Christi Church, the sword of St. Peter: Podróże (2013: 57). In the emper-

mentioned antiques seen or bought, passed on legends related to antiques or the stories of their owners. The didactic significance of antiques was also assessed⁸. The books of the Radziwiłł family libraries also helped to understand the value of these artefacts. The princes had one of the largest collections of books in the area, containing publications for the art collections of Western and Central Europe and books on the history of ancient civilizations and different types of artefacts⁹.

The Radziwiłł family appreciated the antiques for their mediating purpose in learning about the past. For example, in his diary, Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł mentioned a sword (*multan*) given to him, “remembering more than one century,” from which, in the words of the prince, “ancient times themselves looked upon him”. The nobleman also noted that the beauty of the object, which is not for everyone, but only for amateurs, also comes from the past¹⁰.

Thus, at the Radziwiłł family court, as in the environment of other nobility of the Duchy, antiques were valued and considered prestigious collectible objects. The status of antiques as collectibles was also supported by examples from other lands that the princes encountered while traveling. The Radziwiłł family saw various antiques in the collection of European aristocrats and rulers at the residence of the King Augustus II in Dresden, the collection of the King of Prussia, the collection of the Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna and elsewhere. The Radziwiłł family kept the antiques in their most important residences, along with other luxury items. Although in the 18th century there were already specialised collections of antiques, the storage of individual objects and their small groups in treasure houses and cabinets of curiosities was still common in Lithuania and other European countries¹¹.

or's treasury, Radziwiłł saw the “genuine” thorns of Christ's crown of thorn, the nail with which the Savior's hands were nailed to the cross, other relics: a copy of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł's diary, AGAD, AR, 6/II–80a, p. 99. Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł mentioned the relics of the Holy Cross preserved by the Dominican monks in Lublin: Radziwiłł (1998: 98).

8 The text of the governor of the sons of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł on the methods of educating children mentions the educational significance of antiques: AGAD, AR, 11/164, p. 11a.

9 See the inventory of the Biała Podlaska Library, published in the book: Karkucińska (2000: 174–285). The catalogues of the Nesvizh library are stored in Central Archives of the Historical Records in Warsaw, Warsaw Radziwiłł Archive (AGAD, AR).

10 Record of January 29, 1748: Brzezina (1997: 8); Radziwiłł (1998: 65).

11 Pomian (1996: 31–38). Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł saw the antiques in the *kunstammer* and treasury of the King of Prussia: AGAD AR, 35/46, p. 31. This way of preserving antiques

In the Wettin times, the antiques of the families passed through the hands of several rulers. One of the earliest sources of the researched period is an undated inventory from the beginning of the 18th century, which probably describes the items that still belonged to the Chancellor Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (Рыбчонак 2009: 226–227). After the prince's death in 1719, his widow Anna Radziwiłłowa possessed the antiques together with other treasures. During her reign, the antiques were preserved in the residence of Biała Podlaska in the so-called “upper” treasure room¹².

In 1735, most of the duchess's luxury items with antiques were distributed to her sons¹³. The largest and most valuable part of the family's antiques went to the eldest son Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł (Fig. 1). They were kept by the prince in the most important family residence in Nesvizh (Нясвіж, now Belarus, Fig. 2), in a representative part of the building, in a separate room next to the library (Bernatowicz 2011: 289, 344–345). Aligning with one of the most famous European collections of the time, the treasure house of the King Augustus II in Dresden (*Grünes Gewölbe*), Radziwiłł also called his treasure collection “Green Vault” (*Gryngewelbe*)¹⁴. The prince's collection is similar to the royal inspirer's one in its luxury and variety of items, and its composite structure. Like the “Green Vault” of Augustus II Wettin, the treasure of Radziwiłł represented first and foremost the owner's wealth, but was also the space for his personal and kinship souvenirs.

The most comprehensive and first known inventory of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł's “Green Vault” was compiled in 1740¹⁵. At that time, the prince was already holding the important position of the Lithuanian field hetman. In addition, he had recently acquired valuable relics of John Sobieski, under contract with the King's granddaughter, Maria Carolina de Bouillon¹⁶. It is probable that

was common in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as at the Radziwiłł family courts of previous generations: Paliušytė (1996: 43–63).

12 Description of the treasures of Anna Radziwiłłowa, 1721, AGAD, AR, 26/177.

13 Lists of items handed over to Michał Kazimierz and Hieronim Florian: AGAD, AR/26/224; 26/260; 26/ 267; 26/804a; 805; LVIA, 1280/1/1788, 608–609.

14 Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł had already visited the ruler's “Green Vault” in Dresden and noted the event in the diary: AGAD, AR, 6/II–80a, p. 379.

15 Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł's inventory of the “Green Vault,” 1740, NHAB, 694/2/10805.

16 The memorabilia of John Sobieski were received from Maria Carolina de Bouillon on March 31, 1740. The event is mentioned in Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł's diary (AGAD, AR, 6/II–80a). Later, Maria Carolina de Bouillon bequeathed more trophies of the Battle of Vienna led by John Sobieski to Radziwiłł in her will: AGAD, AR, 11/145, p. 47, 49; Skrzypiet

it was the newly acquired items of the ruler that prompted Radziwiłł to take care of their proper storage: it was then that it was decided to organise, re-systematise and describe the entire family treasure.

Radziwiłł commissioned the inventory of the treasure from the archivist, Lieutenant Marcin Wobbe, one of the most reliable and educated officials, the future author of the *Icones familiae ducalis Radivillianaes*, and the compiler of the book catalogues of the Nesvizh library¹⁷. Compared to previous inventories, the new description of the Radziwiłł treasure is more erudite. Wobbe provided more information about the objects, wrote down their inscriptions, sometimes gave more precise names to materials or iconography, and explained the origin and purpose of the objects in more detail. This description of the collection remained relevant even after the death of Michał Kazimierz: it was completed and commented on during the time of the founder's son Karol Stanisław (1734–1790). The name “Green Vault” has also been used for a long time; it was used at Radziwiłł court even at the end of the 18th century¹⁸. The treasure house of Nesvizh was the most important place of preservation of the family's antiques throughout the 18th century.

The collections of the younger brother, Hieronim Florian, were smaller; he kept the old ones in his residence in Biała Podlaska (now Poland), like Michał Kazimierz, along with other luxury items. However, at the court of Hieronim Florian, the antiques were more associated with the diversity of the world, its curiosities. The surviving handwritten text of Hieronim Florian himself, entitled *Interesting Things, Both Alive and Various*, is reminiscent of other descriptions of cabinets of curiosities (*kunstkammer*)¹⁹. It lists natural objects, artefacts, and various oddities, which Hieronim Florian thought were worth enjoying in his residence. The list of 34 items also mentions several relics of ancient civilizations. Various types of antiques are also mentioned in the descriptions of

(2003: 378). Radziwiłł and Maria Carolina had long kinship ties: the prince was the grandson of John Sobieski's sister.

17 Nesvizh library inventory, 1753, AGAD, AR, 35/9. Marcin Wobbe wrote the inscriptions and dedication for the book *Icones familiae ducalis Radivillianaes* (1758).

18 Historical sources also refer to *Gryngiwel (Gringivebl)*: Inventory of Nesvizh Residence, 1778, AGAD, AR, 26/946, p. 113; J. Kozłowski's letter probably to Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł from Warsaw, 4 October 1762, AGAD, AR, 5/7637, p. 4; Fragments of descriptions of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł's items, NHAB/694/1/55, p. 249; 694/2/10805, p. 105.

19 A description of the collection has been published: Brzezina (1997: 13–16); Radziwiłł (1998: 180–184).

Biała residence, which were compiled shortly after the nobleman's decease. After the death of the prince, his property with his antiques passed to his brother Michał Kazimierz, and a few years after the latter's death, to his descendants (Рыбчонак 2019: 41).

FAMILY, LAND AND REGIONAL ANTIQUES

The Radziwiłł family collection, like other European aristocratic family collections, contained many items related to the owner himself and his family (Mencfel 2013: 233–241). For example, in the early 18th century inventory of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł's items, there were 42 objects inherited from ancestors (Рыбчонак 2009: 227). They are also mentioned in later descriptions of the treasures of Anna Radziwiłłowa and Michał Kazimierz. In the Wettin times, the Radziwiłł family collections contained artefacts attesting to key events in the history of the family. Among them are the swords received by Radziwiłłs on the occasion of granting them the title of Imperial Princes of the Holy Roman Empire by the Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V from the House of Habsburg (AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 12; 26/220, p. 1; 26/224, p. 10; 26/226, p. 68; 26/260, p. 10; 26/267, p. 1; 26/804a, p. 7; NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 1. Рыбчонак 2009: 217)²⁰. Swords were the reminders of the princely status of the family, elevating the Radziwiłł family above other noble families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania²¹. The Radziwiłł family collections preserved not only the sword received in 1547 from Charles V by Mikołaj “the Black” Radziwiłł, the direct ancestor of the Nesvizh branch, but also the one received in 1515 by Mikołaj Radziwiłł, the Imperial Prince of Goniądz and Meteliai, the progenitor of another branch (which ceased to exist at the end of the 16th century). The collection also included items reminiscent of other branches of the Radziwiłł family, such as the Continental Reformed Radziwiłł line from Biržai, whose male lineage became extinct as early as the 17th century. The representatives of this branch, the hetmans Krzysztof, called the Thunderbolt (1547–1603), and Janusz (1612–1655), owned

20 In 1518, Maximilian I granted to Mikołaj Radziwiłł the title of a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and this was the first such case in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Maximilian I's sword was decorated with a nacre and gold, Charles V's sword was enamelled.

21 The obtaining of the title of a prince was depicted in works of art in Radziwiłł residences: Bernatowicz (2011: 260).

the *bulavas* (maces or batons, the ceremonial attributes of a hetman) stored in Nesvizh (AGAD, AR, 26/267, p. 3; NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 21. Рыбчонак 2009: 218). Thus, the Radziwiłłs of Nesvizh were the custodians of the legacy of the whole family, its various branches²².

However, the items of the direct ancestors of the family predominated in the collections of the Radziwiłłs of Nesvizh. There were many relics originally belonging to Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, called the Orphan, especially the items brought from his famous pilgrimage to Jerusalem²³. The inventory mentions one of the twigs that Radziwiłł “the Orphan” broke off on the banks of the Jordan River in 1582, near the place where Christ was baptised²⁴. The origin of the object was evidenced by an earlier inscription on it: the initials of Radziwiłł “the Orphan”, the coat of arms of Jerusalem and a short Latin entry about the origin of the object (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 70). The descriptions of the treasures also mention the hat of Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł (1556–1600), a cloak, a helmet (*misiurka*), and armour worn by Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł (1635–1680) when he fought at the Battle of Khotyn, and the *bulava* of the same prince, many other insignia and weapons of the Radziwiłł ancestors (AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 11, 38; 26/220, p. 2; 26/224, p. 6, 28; 26/226, p. 67; 26/260, p. 7, 15a; 26/267, p. 3, 14; 26/804a, p. 5, 15. NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 3, 8, 21, 39, 40, 60, 93. LVIA, 1280/1/1788, p. 1106v–1107, 1117v. Рыбчонак 2009: 218, 224, 225).

Although much of the ancestral antiques were inherited, one of them was acquired relatively recently. The inventory of 1735 mentions an “article from a unicorn” of high value, once belonging to the “House of Radziwiłł”, probably bought by Prince Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł for 1000 ducats²⁵. It is noteworthy

22 The broad concept of the family, the “House of Radziwiłł”, was often expressed in the culture of the Nesvizh Radziwiłł court, for example, when decorating the interiors of Nesvizh Castle. Paintings and other works depicted the military marches of various branches: Bernatowicz (2011: 212–230).

23 The mentioned marshal’s staff, and travel sticks, cloak, chess, crucifix, bag, rosaries, cup: AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 4, 8, 11, 13, 14; 26/220, p. 126; 26/224, p. 5, 7, 24, 28, 60; 26/226, p. 68, 69, 73, 78; 26/260, p. 10, 13, 15, 15a, 16, 17; 26/267, p. 5, 13, 14, 15; 26/804a, p. 8, 12, 13, 15, 16; NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 3, 40, 44, 53, 62, 63, 104; LVIA, 1280/1/1788, 1106, 1117, 1117v; Рыбчонак (2009: 218, 222, 223, 224).

24 Branches of coastal trees brought from the place of Christ’s baptism on the bank of the Jordan River, are mentioned in the description of the trip of Mikołaj Krzysztof “the Orphan” Radziwiłł: Radvila (1990: 109).

25 The same item is also mentioned in previous inventories: AGAD, AR, 26/224, p. 30; 26/226, p. 77; 26/260, p. 16; 26/267, p. 14; 26/804a, p. 15. LVIA, 1280/1/1788, p. 1116v. Рыбчонак 2009: 221.

that this was one of the largest sums the Radziwiłł family paid for the object intended for their collection during the Wettin times.

The Radziwiłł family collections of Nesvizh also contained artefacts that once belonged to the representatives of other prominent families of the Duchy. For example, the chess box of the Lithuanian Chancellor and Hetman Lew Sapieha (AGAD, AR, 26/267, p. 20. Рыбчонак 2009: 224). The Radziwiłł family collections also contained centuries-old gifts from the Grand Dukes of Lithuania and the kings of Poland, and the weapons of the rulers of neighbouring countries. Some items were reminders of the kinship of nobles and Lithuanian rulers, such as the items belonging to Sigismund Augustus, married to Barbara Radziwiłł: a sword (*mahometanka*) gifted by the ruler to the Radziwiłł family, and his other weapons (AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 12; 26/224, p. 4l; 26/226, p. 68; 26/260, p. 3; 26/267, p. 1; 26/804a, p. 1. LVIA, 1280/1/1788, 1106, 1116v)²⁶. The sword of Stephen Báthory and several staffs representing his power, swords and knives of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki and Władysław IV Vasa were also preserved (AGAD, AR, 26/220, p. 1; 26/260, p. 7; 26/267, p. 2; 26/804a, p. 5. NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 4, 5, 18, 40).

However, most of the items once belonged to John Sobieski, who had close connections with the House of Radziwiłł²⁷. The relations with the Sobieski family were widely promoted by the Radziwiłłs, especially by Michał Kazimierz: these connections were recalled in literary works, in the decoration of palaces and founded memorials (Bernatowicz 2011: 107–125). Thus, Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł's treasure contained many items of John Sobieski: trophies of the Battle of Vienna, various insignias and more (AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 38; 26/226, p. 67; 26/260, p. 5; 26/267, p. 8. NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 2, 5, 6, 23, 32, 39, 40, 44, 54, 60, 70, 84, 89, 104, 111. LVIA, 1280/1/1788, p. 1107v, 1117v. AGAD, AR, 26/226, p. 67; 26/260, p. 5; 26/267, p. 8). One of them, the Order of the Immaculate Conception, which belonged to the ruler, was to be transferred from the noble's jewellery collections to his "Green Vault" in 1753 by Michał Kazimierz²⁸.

26 Some inventories state that the sword was gifted to Mikołaj "the Black" Radziwiłł: AGAD, AR, 26/267, p. 1; Рыбчонак 2009: 217. The "Green Vault" inventory states that the sword belonged to Prophet Muhammad. In 1442 King Władysław III of Poland and Hungary obtained the sword as a war trophy. Later Sigismund Augustus presented it to Mikołaj "the Red" Radziwiłł: NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 4.

27 John Sobieski's sister was the wife of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł (1635–1680).

28 List of jewels ("Rejestr klejnotów"), 1753, AGAD, AR, 26/420. The document was examined by Krzysztof Filipow: Filipow (2010: 453–459). The author presumed that the objects were

Although most of John Sobieski's memorabilia were kept at the "Rybeńko's" residence in Nesvizh, many were also in the possession of Hieronim Florian²⁹. Some of the ruler's items were acquired by his contemporaries, but a large part of those was acquired by Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł as well. The importance of John Sobieski's memorabilia to the image of the Radziwiłłs is evidenced by their public display outside the residence. For example, in 1745, during the funeral rites of Charles VI, a sword and a pearl-embroidered hat gifted by Pope Innocent XI to John Sobieski were presented at the *castrum doloris* in the church of Nesvizh College (Zielińska 1993: 209–210).

The description of the "Green Vault" also mentions some objects of local proto-archaeology. Among them – a blade found in Volhynia, in an ancient tomb. The blade was obtained from Mikołaj Faustyn Radziwiłł (1688–1746), voivode of Novogrudok. The crusader sword found in one of the lakes of Samogitia was also stored in the "Green Vault". It was another gift from Mikołaj Faustyn Radziwiłł (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 6, 9). An ancient shield adorned with scenes from Constantine the Great's life was also associated with local proto-archaeology. According to some inventories, it was found in Czemierniki, in King John Sobieski's property. The shield was gifted to the Radziwiłł family by Prince Jakub (AGAD, AR, 26/267, p. 3; Рыбчонак 2009: 218)³⁰. Such finds were not new in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, they were already present in the Radziwiłł family collections in the 17th century (Paliušytė 1996: 48, 55). However, in the Wettin times, interest in these objects grew throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Radziwiłł family collection confirmed these trends (Abramowicz 1993: 146–187).

The treasure of Nesvizh also contained items related to the history of the Duchy and its contacts with neighbouring countries, the history of wars. For example, the spear and cup of Tsar Ivan the Terrible are mentioned in the treasure

moved to the "Green Vault" of Augustus II Wettin: Filipow (2010: 458).

29 The Hieronim Florian collection mentions a silver stick which belonged to John Sobieski: AGAD, AR, 26/805, p. 3.

30 Another story of the shield's origin is told in the "Green Vault" inventory: this shield was received as a gift by John Sobieski from the Duke of Tuscany, Charles de Medici, after the Battle of Vienna: NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 28. It is likely that the same shield is now housed in the National Museum in Krakow (Fig. 3): Рыбчонак (2019: 51–52). Probably it was made in Augsburg or Milan in the late 16th century. The following version of its origin is provided: the shield was found by the architect Stanisław Kopernik during the renovation of the chapel of the Holy Cross in Wawel Cathedral.

of Nesvizh, as well as the musket, which was once received from Saxon electors, and the helmet of King Henry II of France (AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 11, 12, 38; 26/224, p. 9, 19; 26/226, p. 68, 76; 26/260, p. 13; 26/267, p. 1, 4, 8; 26/804a, p. 9, 12. NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 10, 52, 69. LVIA, 1280/1/1788, 1106, 1116v. Рыбчонак 2009: 217, 222)³¹. Many foreign weapons and war trophies have been preserved.

Although most of the family and regional antiques were stored at the “Rybeńko” residence in Nesvizh, in the “Green Vault”, Hieronim Florian also owned similar artefacts. He received some of them from his mother in 1735, and, over time, he added to the collections (AGAD, AR, 26/805, p. 1–3. Radziwiłł 1998: 122. Matuszewicz 1998: 576; Kowalczyk 1995: 36). The purchases of antiquities were pursued through agents and merchants in Königsberg: the prince was informed about the sale of ancient armour, rifles³².

Thus, looking at the Radziwiłł family collections, it can be seen that the princes mostly kept, passed on from generation to generation, objects testifying to the history of the family. The treasure of the “Green Vault” of Nesvizh was formed as the most important place in the history and memory of the family. The princes also appreciated the objects relating to the rulers of Lithuania, Poland, and other European countries. They highly estimated various insignia, and weapons, which could be indirect references to the positions of military commanders held by the Radziwiłłs for several generations. In addition, the importance of weapons as collectible artefacts was reinforced by the cultural tradition of the Duchy’s nobility. The identification of the nobility with the estate of knightly warriors encouraged the presentation and preservation of armaments.

RELICS OF PAGANISM, EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND THE SECULAR CLASSICAL PAST

The Radziwiłł family collections also contained artefacts of universal origin, from European prehistory. They also helped create important meanings for the identity of the family³³. Some of these antiques were also related to the

31 According to some inventories, Ivan the Terrible’s spear was of steel and gilded.

32 Letters of Friedrich Saturgus. probably to Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł. from Königsberg, 7 November 1746, 2 April 1747, 3 May 1747, 26 May 1748, 2 April 1751, AGAD, AR, 5/13955–IV, pp. 28–29, 38, 42, 54, 144.

33 On the importance of ancient artefacts to the identity of local communities: Christian; de Divitiis (2018: 1–12).

Radziwiłłs' past, inherited from ancestors, and played the role of the family's tokens of remembrance. However, unlike local relics, universal antiques also had other meanings – they represented the diversity of the world and the origins of European culture.

Among the universal antiquities, there were relatively many objects of religious history preserved, as in other collections of modern European aristocrats³⁴. Pagan knives and relics of idolatry are found in the collections of the Radziwiłł family. The origins of these items are usually undefined in inventories. In the descriptions of the treasures of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł and Anna Radziwiłłowa, a knife used for sacrificial slaughter of cattle, a dagger filled with poison, and an idol were mentioned, with a comment: “anyone who refused to worship him was killed” (AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 12, 13; 26/220, p. 2; 26/224, p. 9, 10; 26/226, p. 68, 69. LVIA, 1280/1/1788, 1106, 1106v, 1116v, 1117. Рыбчонак 2009: 220). Sacrificial knives were also found in the collections of Michał Kazimierz and Hieronim Florian (AGAD, AR, 26/260, p. 11; 26/267, p. 10; 26/804a, p. 9; 26/805, p. 2). They probably inherited these items from their parents. In the “Green Vault” collection, pagan sacrificial knives belong to the group of Corinthian bronze, that is, they are associated with ancient Greco-Roman paganism³⁵. Next to one of them, the sacrificial knife, the legend of the origin of this metal is described: an alloy of gold, silver, and other metals was formed by accident when Herostratus set fire to the temple of Diana (Artemis) in Ephesus. After the alloy was transported to Corinth, various rarities were made from it (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 44)³⁶. Some pagan sacrificial objects are associated with the territories of the provinces of the Roman Empire. For example, the description of Nesvizh treasures mentions a silver ring with a gem (*anty*k) and hieroglyphs, which the pagans sacrificed at the Temple of Jupiter, in a place which was called “Carnultum” in the inventory, near present-day Vienna in Austria³⁷.

34 Samuel Quioccheberg also mentioned the importance of objects of sacred history in the treatise about collecting (“Inscriptiones”): Mencfel (2014: 235).

35 Probably the same pagan sacrificial utensils that were described in 1721 in the description of the Anna Radziwiłłowa's collection as being made of a special alloy (AGAD, AR, 26/177: 13). For more on Corinthian bronze, see: Jacobson, Weitzman (1992: 237–247).

36 For other legends of the alloy's origin, see: Jacobson; Weitzman (1992: 238–239).

37 The records were probably made after 1740, perhaps in the time of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (1734–1790): NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 94. The source probably contains a distorted name for the Carnuntum area. It is the capital of the Roman Empire province of Pannonia in Lower Austria, between Vienna and Bratislava. Systematic archaeological excavations in this area began in the 19th century.

There were also more pagan artefacts, such as a bell with figurines (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 98).

Sometimes sacrificial supplies are associated with the Old Testament events and places. For example, the inventories mention a knife from the Solomon's Temple, used for sacrificial slaughtering of cattle. The knife was gifted to the Radziwiłł family by Prince Jakub³⁸. In the treasures of the Radziwiłł family, the relics of pre-Christian past and their commentaries most often created dramatic images, reminded of the defeated paganism and its rituals that caused death.

The Radziwiłł family collections contained items related to the New Testament characters in the first centuries after the events connected with the life of Christ. One of them is the sword mentioned in the Gospel, with which St. Peter cut off Malchus' ear (AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 12; 26/224, p. 10; 26/260, p. 10; 26/267, p. 1; 26/804a, p. 8. LVIA, 1280/1/1788, p. 1106, 1117. Рыбчонак 2009: 217). The inventory of "Green Vault" mentions the history of the acquisition of this item. The voivode of Vilnius, Mikołaj Krzysztof "the Orphan" Radziwiłł bought a sword on a trip to Palestine in 1583. The inventory also contains a rather detailed description of the object: the sword handle is wooden, with an eagle's head carved in it. Portraits of Tiberius on the one side, and Pontius Pilate on the other (NHAB, 694/1/10805, p. 4). Moreover, the inventory, emphasizing the importance of the artefact, notes that it was also mentioned about by Samuel Friedrich Lauterbach in his book on history of Poland in 1727³⁹.

The "Green Vault" also mentions some objects related to the events mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles: several tongues and half-tongues of the serpents of the Island of Malta turned into a stone by St. Paul (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 62). They were probably flat, triangular fossils found in Europe, mentioned by Pliny the Elder. In the Middle Ages and later, they were considered the tongues of snakes (called *Glossopetrae*) turned into stone on the Island of Malta by St. Paul. The compiler of the inventory followed this traditional interpretation of the origin of the fossils⁴⁰. According to the depiction of the treasure, clay lamps were also stored in the treasures of the Radziwiłł family, burning in

38 Some inventories mention that the knife was made of a special metal and belonged to John Sobieski: AGAD, AR, 26/260, p. 11; 26/267, p. 10; 26/804a, p. 9; Рыбчонак (2009: 220).

39 The book mentions the sword of St. Peter acquired during the journey of Radziwiłł "the Orphan" to Jerusalem and the respect of the faithful shown to the item: Lauterbach (1727), 735.

40 For scientific explanations of the origin of these fossils in early modern times, see: Hsu (2009: 93–106).

catacombs for a thousand years without any combustible material. Lamps were brought by Radziwiłł “the Orphan” from his pilgrimage (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 62). There were also other early Christian relics. They were reminiscent of the dramatic history of early Christianity and at the same time represented the religious identity of the Radziwiłł family.

Although many of the objects owned by Michał Kazimierz recalled Radziwiłł “the Orphan” and its pilgrimage, and probably originated in the first half of the 17th century family collections, some were added to them much later. For example, the preserved ancient unicorn bone cross with Christ’s suffering and the Four Evangelists, according to the description, originated from ancient Christian treasures. The cross was sent to John Sobieski by a Turkish sultan as a special rarity (*wielki specjal*) and was later bought from the ruler of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Radziwiłł family (AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 9; 26/224, p. 27; 26/226, p. 75; 26/260, p. 15a; 26/267, p. 14)⁴¹.

In the treasure of “Green Vault” which belonged to Michał Kazimierz, universal objects have acquired a slightly more important significance than in the previous collections. A new group of objects called “Corinthian bronzes, or statues and sacrificial utensils” was formed from inherited objects (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 44)⁴². Sixteen statues are listed, including a copy of the famous Farnese Bull, Capitoline Wolf, as well as Saturn, Venus, and other ancient gods. In the previous collections, the depictions of the themes and motifs of these objects were not equally detailed. They were named more precisely in the description of the treasure of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł. Judging by the Farnese Bull’s description, the sculpture was most likely one of the bronze-made variations on the theme of the famous ancient sculpture, popular in early modern Europe⁴³. There were more sculptures of the so-called Corinthian bronze in the

41 This artefact is also mentioned in the inventory published by Sergey Rybchona: Рыбчонак (2009: 222). The author presumed that the cross was purchased by Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł: Рыбчонак (2019: 40). The inventory of 1735 states that the item was purchased from the Royal Treasury by Anna Radziwiłłowa: AGAD, AR, 26/804a., p. 14. In 1740, the inventory of the Nesvizh treasure mentions the ancient Greek unicorn cross with figures and an image of the Resurrection of Christ. It was gifted to John Sobieski by the Patriarch of Alexandria. Later, Anna Radziwiłłowa received it from the King: NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 56.

42 Some objects of the group are also mentioned in the previous, early 18th century, inventory: Рыбчонак (2009: 216).

43 The inventory features more group figures than there were in the original Farnese Palace sculpture.

Radziwiłł family collections, only in other inventories it was sometimes more clearly stated that the connection of the object's material with the legendary metal was indirect. For example, Hieronim Florian's collection in Biała contained several unnamed figures and horse sculptures made of a material that, according to the inventory, resembled Corinthian bronze (AGAD, AR, 26/492, p. 45v; 26/947, p. 79, 83).

In the Wettin times, the Radziwiłł family's collections could also contain marble sculptures, probably copies of antique works. They are mentioned in late sources of the second half of the 18th century: an archivist of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł wrote in a letter that the portraits of Roman emperors kept in the Nesvizh library were once brought from Vienna by Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł⁴⁴.

The numismatic collections of were relatively large. For example, they are mentioned in Anna Radziwiłłowa's treasure inventory of 1721. The majority of the several hundred artefacts of classical antiquity were Roman numismatic items with portraits of rulers, their wives, or daughters (AGAD, AR, 26/177, p. 77, 79–83, 86–92). Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł also likely owned antique coins. His numismatic collection was stored in the "Green Vault", in a luxurious, red velvet-covered cabinet decorated with gold and the coat of arms of the Radziwiłł family. The inventory of this collection, according to Marcin Wobbe, was written separately (the list did not survive) (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 3)⁴⁵. A collection of engraved gems of an unknown period also was stored in a separate cabinet (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 3).

Hieronim Florian also possessed numismatic items. In a list compiled after his death, 22 of the 313 numismatic objects were named Roman. Several items in this collection are described in detail. Among them is a Greek coin or medal with the image of the Macedonian soldier Lysimachus. On the other side – a sitting figure with a shield and the Greek inscription "Basileus". Three Hebrew coins are also listed, a commemorative medal with Romulus, Remus and the she-wolf, and seven small Roman numismatic works (NHAB, 694/1/55, 235–248v). Other 26 larger and smaller medals or coins of the Roman emperors were also listed separately. The origin of the most of these objects is unknown. But authentic artefacts are very likely to be found in this group. Some of the coins

44 Letter from Antoni Kałakucki, probably to Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, from Nesvizh, 3 June 1774, AGAD, AR, 5/6292: 22–25.

45 According to Marcin Wobbe, these coins were collected by Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł "Rybeńko".

may have been local finds. Hieronim Florian's diary mentions a case in which he was presented with a coin found by a local peasant on the nobleman's estate. It was a damaged coin, slightly smaller than a ducat one, with a portrait of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius⁴⁶. The residence of Hieronim Florian also stored antiquity-like gems (*antyki*) from an unspecified period of time (AGAD, AR, 26/947, p. 2).

Another object related to antiquity is the armour attributed to Alexander the Great, mentioned in Hieronim Florian list of curiosities (Radziwiłł 1998: 182). It reads: "the genuine armour of Alexander the Great, gilded, testifying that he was great, although not in terms of body"⁴⁷. The description shows that the object was valued by the prince as a testimony to the historical reality, the small body of Alexander the Great.

The collection of Michał Kazimierz also contained another exceptional trifle related to the classical past – a well-preserved double goose feather, according to the description, from ancient Roman times. It was found just before the birth of the baby twins Janusz and Karol Stanisław, and foreshadowed it (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 64). In the inventory, the feather is attributed to the geese that defended ancient Rome's Capitol Hill. The inclusion of the feather in the set of the most valuable items was to be a sign of a fateful coincidence in the recent history of the family and, at the same time, its participation in the order of the history of the world under the care of Providence. The object inspired images of antiquity and helped to substantiate the connection of the family with the universal origins of Europe, the well-known and important events of its past.

The description of the "Green Vault" testifies to the fact that Marcin Wobbe searched for the sources of the history of the objects in the Bible, ancient literature, family legends, and the historiography of his time. Commenting on antiques, he revealed the connections between ancient civilizations and the history of the family. There were many different types of objects in the collection. Universal antiques were not consistently systematised. However, in the Wettin times, an attempt was made to single out objects of universal history or to create new groups of them. Nesvizh treasure inventory records testify to Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł's idea to move objects of ancient civilizations from the family

46 The diary also reminds us that the statue of this emperor was standing in the Roman Capitol: Radziwiłł (1998: 83).

47 „Zbroja prawdziwa Aleksandra Wielkiego, z której choć nabijanej złotem, poznać, że magnus sed non corpore erat”: Radziwiłł (1998: 182).

treasure to the library (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 44). It reflects a search for a more specific place for universal objects, one that is more in line with their nature. The universal artefacts placed in the library, together with the books dedicated to universal history, were to represent the world's cultural treasure⁴⁸.

ORIENTAL ANTIQUES AND ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ARTEFACTS

Another group of antiques was related to distant, non-European territories. The collections of the nobility of the Duchy contained a relatively large number of Turkish objects reminiscent of the country's historical contacts with the Muslim state. Turkish horse-tail standards, helmets, armour parts, swords – trophies of the battles – were mentioned in the inventories (AGAD, AR, 26/224, p. 8; 26/260, p. 16; 26/267, p. 4; 26/804a, p. 15. NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 22, 23. Рыбчонак 2009: 219). The description of the treasures of Nesvizh also mentions the pipe of Suleiman I, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and another belonging to a Turk who died in Khotyn (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 71, 89). Indian, Chinese and Persian items also appeared in the Radziwiłł family collections of the Wettin times⁴⁹.

In addition, Hieronim Florian had one exceptional sword. Based on the claims of unnamed Syrian princes, the magnate considered the weapon to be one of the five swords once belonging to the Prophet Muhammad and mentioned in the Quran prophecy. It said: The Ottoman Empire will take over the Christian world when all the swords of Muhammad return to the Muslims. Three out of five swords have already been regained by Muslims, but two have not. According to Radziwiłł, one of them was kept in his residence (Radziwiłł 1998: 182–183). In this story, the nobleman emphasized the importance of the sword for the destiny of the entire Christian world.

The Radziwiłł collection also contained several ancient Egyptian artefacts. A statue of Osiris which was brought from Egypt as a rarity by Radziwiłł “the Orphan” in 1583, was preserved in the “Green Vault” (NHAB, 694/2/10805, p. 99). There was an ancient Egyptian mummy in a sarcophagus held in the

48 The universal antiques were preserved in the library of Nesvizh in the time of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł's son Karol Stanisław.

49 Indian and Chinese items are already mentioned in the 17th century Radziwiłł family collections: Paliuśytė (1996: 43–63).

residence of Hieronim Florian. It is described in the aforementioned Radziwiłł's list of curiosities as the first item on the list. The mummy is said to be "strange to our eyes, but it is genuine," and demonstrates the way the bodies of the dead were embalmed and prepared in Egypt (Radziwiłł 1998: 180). The description emphasizes the authenticity of the antique, quite rare in inventories of the Radziwiłł family. The status of the object as a material testimony to history is also expressed. This mummy most likely was purchased by Hieronim Florian in 1757: a receipt signed by Samuel Gemnik, a merchant from Königsberg, has survived. The receipt states that Florian's trustee Friedrich Saturgus in Königsberg paid 120 ducats for one Egyptian mummy and 15 jars of curiosities (NHAB, 694/4/2019, p. 46)⁵⁰.

After the death of Hieronim Florian, the mummy was probably inherited by his brother Michał Kazimierz and later by his son Karol Stanisław. The mummy in Nesvizh was mentioned several times in the 1780s, after Stanisław Radziwiłł was deported from the country and Nesvizh was devastated by the Russian army. Although many family valuables were looted at the time, the mummy was left behind. The archivist of the Radziwiłłs informed the prince that the "Egyptian mummy nearly a thousand years old" had survived in the library. It was damaged by curious people and lost parts of its legs⁵¹. Later, when Karol Stanisław returned to Nesvizh, the mummy was mentioned several more times in written sources. It was stored in the library, along with other rarities, natural objects and works of art. In one inventory, it is described as the mummy of a Pharaoh's daughter, wrapped in a wooden Egyptian sarcophagus, "with hieroglyphs of that land"⁵².

It can be assumed that the acquisition and preservation of the mummy was prompted by the princes' interest in the history of various ancient civilizations: the library of the family housed books describing ancient Egyptian funeral customs, such as the work by Bernard de Montfaucon (Fig. 4, 5)⁵³. The acquisition of the mummy was probably also motivated by the uniqueness of this object:

50 A solid amount was paid, significantly exceeding the annual salaries of many court officials and professionals of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at that time: Kitowicz (1985: 217).

51 Letter from Antoni Kałakucki to Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł from Nesvizh, 3 June 1774, AGAD, AR, 5/6292: 22–25.

52 List of items stored at the Nesvizh residence, 1778. AGAD, AR, 26/946, p. 122.

53 Several book inventories of the Radziwiłł family libraries mention Abbe Bernard de Montfaucon's "Antiquite explique", for example: AGAD, AR, 26/946, p. 123; 35/7, pp. 7–9.

in early modern Lithuania and Poland, the objects of ancient Egypt were extremely rare⁵⁴. In the first half of the 18th century, King Augustus II had ancient Egyptian artefacts, but there is no data yet that any noble family of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was in possession of such items. In addition, it is likely that the acquisition and preservation of the mummy was also encouraged by the recollection of the family's past event. The storage of the mummy in the residence of the princes seems to have served as an accomplishment of the once failed attempt of Radziwiłł "the Orphan" to bring mummies to Lithuania, described in a book dedicated to his pilgrimage to Jerusalem⁵⁵.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the Radziwiłł family of the Wettin times, like other European aristocrats, gathered the antiques of the Radziwiłł family for representation, to emphasise their identity and power, encouraged by human curiosity, and the ability to learn about the past through its material relics.

The collections of the Radziwiłł family in the Wettin era have preserved the legacy of many previous generations of the family. The princes' interest in antiques was not very disciplined. Their collections contained a wide variety of antiques, corresponding to the paradigm of a comprehensive, universal collection. However, some objects of the Radziwiłł family were treated as more important than others. Relatively much importance was attached to the traditional artefacts of aristocratic collections – weapons and emblems of power. A large part of the antiques consisted of family relics. The collection of ancient numismatic objects was also relatively large. In the first half of the 18th century, the Radziwiłł family had one of the largest and most diverse collections of antiques in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The family also had a collection of extremely

54 At the end of 16th century and in the 17th century, they were owned by the rulers of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and some nobles, such as the Radziwiłł family: Snitkuvienė (2011: 59–65).

55 The book was stored in the Radziwiłł family library. It described how Radziwiłł "the Orphan" bought several mummies and how he unsuccessfully tried to transport them to his homeland by ship: Radvila (1990: 177, 202–204). This story was repeated many times in the 18th century, for example, in a drama performed at the Jesuit Theatre in Nesvizh: Okoń (2003, 229).

rare types of objects in the Duchy, Egyptian artefacts, the collection of which became more popular in Lithuania only in later centuries.

At the Radziwiłł court, antiques were often treated as sources of knowledge of the past: the historical functions of objects were emphasized, their connection with the biographies of famous personalities, warriors, the customs of the inhabitants of ancient civilizations. The authenticity of the artefacts was sometimes noted. However, at the Radziwiłł court, antiques were more often judged on the basis of legends than on critical grounds. Thus, the accumulation of ancient Radziwiłł family antiques had little connection with the intellectual foundations of the Enlightenment and new collecting paradigms. In essence, the Radziwiłł family continued a tradition of European aristocratic collecting that had existed for more than a century, collecting primarily testimonies of kinship fame and artefacts revealing the diversity of the world.

Bibliography

Archival sources

AGAD, AR: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów (Central Archives of the Historical Records in Warsaw, Warsaw Radziwiłł Archive): 5/1395, 2676, 6292; 7637; 6/II–80 a; 11/145, 164; 26/177, 220, 224, 226, 260, 267, 420, 492, 804a, 805, 946, 947; 35/7, 9, 46.

LVIA: Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas, Vilnius (Lithuanian State Historical Archives in Vilnius): 1280/1/1788.

NHAB: Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, Мінск (National Historical Archives of Belarus, Minsk): 694/1/5; 2/10805; 4/2019.

Published primary sources

Dygdała J. (wyd.) 2013. *Podróże litewskiego magnata do Gdańska, Człuchowa, a nawet i dalej... Fragmenty „Diariusza” Michała Kazimierza Radziwiłła „Rybeńki” z lat 1721, 1737 i 1752*. Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN.

Kitowicz J. 1985. *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, vol. 1–2. Wrocław: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.

Lauterbach S.F. 1727. *Pohlische Chronicke, oder historische Nachricht von dem Leben und Thaten aller Hertzoge und Könige in Pohlen: von Lecho an bis auf jetzt glorwürdigst. Regierende königl Majestät Augustum II*. Franckfurth: Knoch.

Matuszewicz M. 1986. *Diariusz życia mego*, t. II: 1758–1764. Bohdan Królikowski (ed.). Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.

Radvila Mikalojus Kristupas Našlaitėlis 1990. *Kelionė į Jeruzalę*. O. Matusevičiūtė (vertė iš lotynų kalbos). Vilnius: Mintis.

Radziwiłł Hieronim Florian 1998. *Diariusze i pisma różne*. M. Brzezina (ed.). Warszawa: Energeia.

Secondary sources

- Abramowicz A. 1983. Dzieje zainteresowań starożytnych w Polsce, cz. 1: *Od średniowiecza po czasy saskie i świat oświecenia*. Wrocław [etc.]: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Bernatowicz T. 2011. *Mitra i buława: królewskie ambicje książąt w sztuce Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej (1697–1763)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Betlej A. 2017. Polish Art Collections in Brühl's Time: The Case of Collection of Joseph Alexander Jablonowski. In: Heinrich Graf von Brühl (1700–1763). *Ein sächsischer Mäzen in Europa*. (Akten der internationalen Tagung zum 250. Todesjahr: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 13–14 März 2014, Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom, 20–21 März 2014). Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, pp. 449–461.
- Brzezina K. 1997. Gabinet osobliwości Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła w Białej. *Studia Podlaskie*, 7, 5–20. <https://doi.org/10.15290/sp.1997.07.01>.
- Christian K., de Divitiis B. 2018. Introduction. In: K. Christian, B. de Divitiis (eds.). *Local Antiquities, Local Identities: Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe, c. 1400–1700*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.7228/manchester/9781526117045.003.0001>.
- Filipow K. 2010. Skarbiec Radziwiłłów z Nieświeża – źródło do dziejów numizmatyki i falerystyki Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. In: W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki (ed.). *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Białystok: IBnDKE Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy: „Benkowski Publishing & Ballons”, t. 2, pp. 453–459, *Zachowanie Polskiego Dziedzictwa Narodowego*, 3.
- Hsu K.-T. 2009. The Path to Steno's Synthesis on the Animal Origin of Glossopetrae. In: G.D. Rosenberg (ed.). *The Revolution in Geology from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. The Boulder: Geological Society of America, pp. 93–106. [https://doi.org/10.1130/2009.1203\(06\)](https://doi.org/10.1130/2009.1203(06)).
- Jacobson D.M., Weitzman M.P. 1992. What Was Corinthian Bronze? *American Journal of Archaeology*, 96, 237–247. <https://doi.org/10.2307/505923>.
- Karkucińska W. 2000. *Anna z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa, 1676–1746: Działalność gospodarcza i mecenat*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo naukowe Semper.
- Kowalczyk J. 1995. Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła stosunek do sztuki i artystów. In: J. Kowalczyk (ed.). *Kultura artystyczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce baroku*. Warszawa: Instytut Kultury. pp. 27–42.
- Mencfel M. 2014. Najdoskonalsza wiedza i pełnia władzy. Kolekcjonerstwo i sztuka pamięci w epoce wczesnonowoczesnej. In: M. Prejs, A. Jakóbczyk-Gola (ed.). *Mnemonika i pamięć kulturowa epok dawnych*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, pp. 221–248.

- Mikocki T. 1990. *Najstarsze kolekcje starożytności w Polsce: lata 1750–1830*. Wrocław etc.: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich–Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. *Archiwum Filologiczne*, 46.
- Okoń J. 2003. Mikołaj Radziwiłł Sierotka i jego podróż do Ziemi Świętej w teatrze szkolnym jezuitów. In: K. Stępnik (ed.). *Radziwiłłowie. Obrazy literackie. Biografie. Świadectwa historyczne*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, pp. 217–230.
- Palušytė A. 1996. 1647 m. Liubčios kunstkameros inventorius. *Menotyra*, 2, 43–63.
- Pomian K. 1996. *Zbieracze i osobliwości. Paryż–Wenecja: XVI–XVIII wiek*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.
- Rybčonak S. 2009. Rėestr Radzivilaŭskaj skarbnycy pačatku XVIII st. In: *Silva rerum nova: študyi ŷ gonar 70-goddžâ Georgiâ Â. Galenčanki. Ukl. Aleg Dzârnovič, Al'bina Semâncuk. Vil'nâ*, Minsk: Aidai–Athenaeum, pp. 214–228.
- Rybčonak S. 2019. Lėš Radzivilaŭskich skarbaŷ: “skarbec troh karalėŷ”. *Gerol'd Litherland. Goradnâ–Mensk*, 21, 35–52.
- Skrzypietz A. 2003. Maria Karolina de Bouillon i jej kontakty z Radziwiłłami. In: K. Stępnik (ed.). *Radziwiłłowie. Obrazy literackie. Biografie. Świadectwa historyczne*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, pp. 371–380. *Obrazy Kultury Polskiej*.
- Snitkuvienė A. 2011. *Lietuva ir Senovės Egiptas: XVI a. pabaigos – XXI a. pradžios keliautojų, kolekcininkų ir mokslininkų pėdsakais*. Kaunas: Nacionalinis M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejus.
- Veremejčik A. 2008. Istoriâ material'nyh cennostej Nesvižskogo zamka (1865–1920 gg.). *Vesnik Mazyrskaga dzâržaŭnaga pedagagičnaga ŷniversitėta imâ I. P. Šamâkina*, 3, 17–21.
- Zielińska T. 1993. Propaganda świetności domu radziwiłłowskiego epoki Michała K. Radziwiłła “Rybeńki” w ówczesnych „środkach masowego przekazu”. In: T. Chynczewska-Hennel et al. (ed.). *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Rzeczpospolita XVI–XVIII w.: studia ofiarowane Zbigniewowi Wójcikowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Fundacji „Historia pro Futuro”, pp. 205–214.
- Веремейчик А. 2008. История материальных ценностей Несвижского замка (1865–1920 гг.). *Веснік Мазырскага дзяржаўнага педагагічнага ўніверсітэта імя І. П. Шамякіна*, 3, 17–21.
- Рыбчонок С. 2009. Рээстр Радзівілаўскай скарбніцы пачатку XVIII ст. In: *Silva rerum nova: штудыі ў гонар 70-годдзя Георгія Я. Галенчанкі. Укл. Алег Дзярновіч, Альбіна Семянчук. Вільня, Мінск: Aidai–Athenaeum*, pp. 214–228.
- Рыбчонок С. 2019. Лёс Радзівілаўскіх скарбаў: “скарбец трох каралёў”. *Герольд Litherland. Горадня–Менск*, 21, 35–52.

List of illustrations

- Fig. 1. Silvestre Augustyn Mirys (?). Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, oil on canvas. The National Art Museum of the Republic of Belarus (Wikipedia Commons, Public Domain).
- Fig. 2. Nesvizh Castle. Photo: Vytautas Balčytis.
- Fig. 3. Anon. *The "Augury Shield" of King John III Sobieski (1629–1696)*. The National Museum in Krakow [online:] <https://zbiory.mnk.pl/pl/wyniki-wyszukiwania/katalog/277465>, accessed on 23.06.2021 (Public Domain).
- Fig. 4. Bernard de Montfaucon. *Antiquity Explained and Represented in Diagrams* (Paris, 1722, vol. 5), title page. The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.
- Fig. 5. Bernard de Montfaucon. *Antiquity Explained and Represented in Diagrams* (Paris, 1722, vol. 5), illustration (p. 179). The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

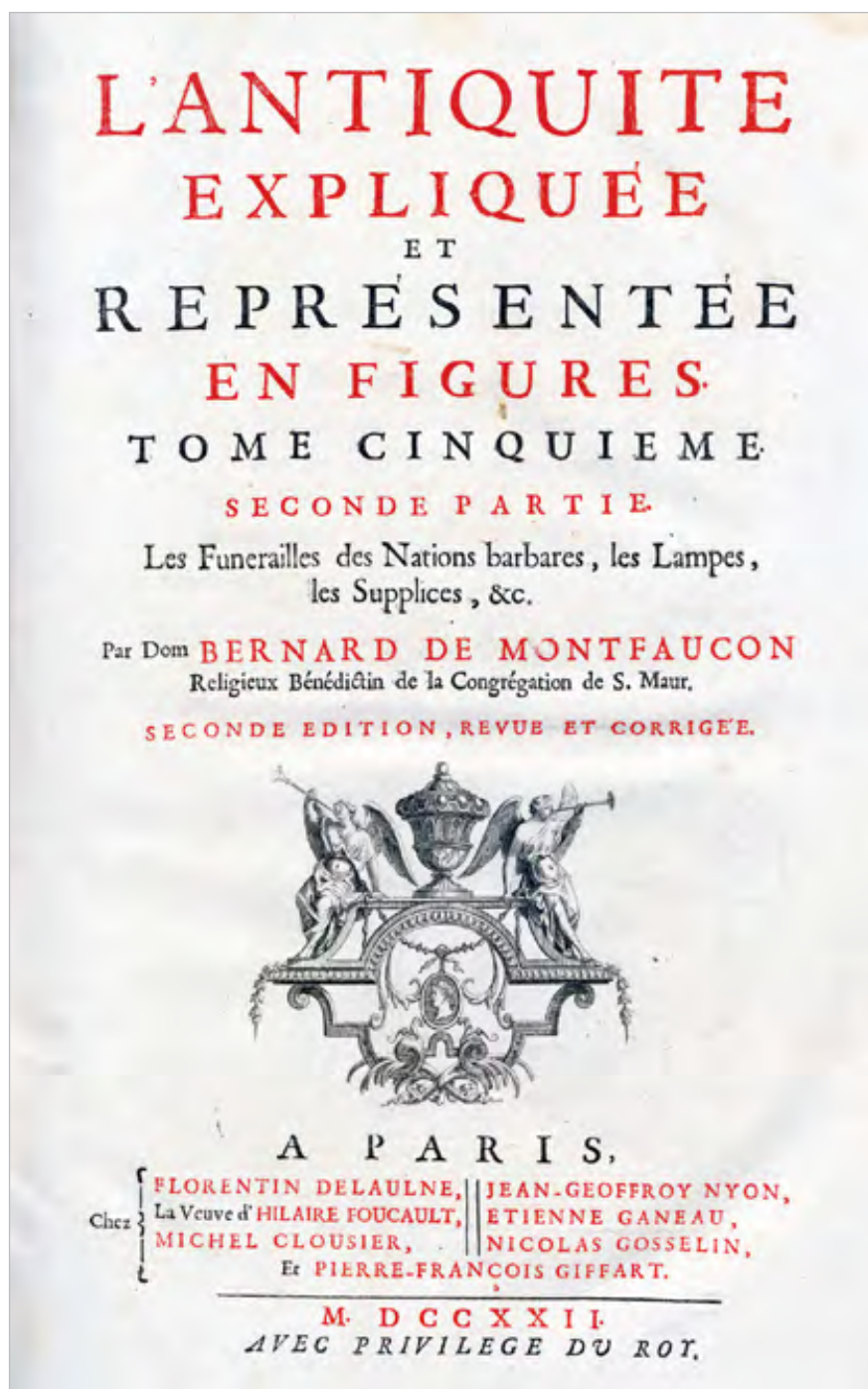


Fig. 4



Fig. 5