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## Eustachy Tyszkiewicz, 19th-Century Archaeologist and Antiquary. On his Approach to the History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

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Organon 26 27, 31-38

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1997 1998

Artykuł umieszczony jest w kolekcji cyfrowej Bazhum, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych tworzonej przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego.

Artykuł został zdigitalizowany i opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie ze środków specjalnych MNiSW dzięki Wydziałowi Historycznemu Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

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## EUSTACHY TYSZKIEWICZ, 19TH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGIST AND ANTIQUARY. ON HIS APPROACH TO THE HISTORY OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

### I.

To present the complex personality of Eustachy Tyszkiewicz is a challenging task, considering his family background and the historical context of his native land. Born in 1814 in Łohojsk, a small town owned by his family since 1517 in the district of Borysow, governorship of Minsk (the present capital of Belarus), Tyszkiewicz was a son of Pius and Augusta maiden name countess Plater. References to his family's ancient roots were found in many records concerning the history of Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The family was one of the oldest gentry of lithuano-ruthenian origin in the Grand Duchy.<sup>1</sup> The Duchy covered the territory of present-day Lithuania and Belarus. After 1795, following the third partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it became a part of the Russian Empire. As befitted upper-class children of that time, Tyszkiewicz was educated at home. He acquired extensive knowledge, especially in history and archaeology, and did so by self-instruction. On completing his secondary education at a Minsk grammar-school in 1831, Tyszkiewicz worked till 1835 in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg. Then he settled in Vilna and started archaeological excavations in various parts of the country.<sup>2</sup>

His career grew successfully, in the professional and the social plane. Results of his archaeological explorations were first published in 1842.<sup>3</sup> A year later he was elected chief deputy by gentry of the Borysow district (the so-called „nobility marshal”) and – in 1847 – honorary supervisor of the Minsk grammar-school (since 1840 he was already honorary supervisor of the Borysow district schools). In addition to his research and social activities, Tyszkiewicz took to writing literature but, in spite of many works published

in 1840s and later, fiction had never become his priority interest.<sup>4</sup> In the late 1840s and in the 1850s Tyszkiewicz published a number of works dealing with the history of ancient Lithuania in its historical borders (contemporary territory of Lithuania and Belarus). Many of these papers dealt with the history of the Borysow district and with the archaeological expeditions on territories of the former Grand Duchy, others were monographs of source character. Some of those works were distinguished for their remarkable reflection on the situation of European archaeology.<sup>5</sup> Collecting ancient relicts of the past – a fairly typical activity for upper-class Europeans at the time – led him to organizing an archaeological „Commission” and a museum in Vilna. That happened finally in 1855, but it all started much earlier.

The idea was born in 1847, when Tyszkiewicz moved his collection of antiquities to Vilna, with the intention to open it to the public. Despite many visits to St. Petersburg and even with the unofficial consent of Emperor Nicholas I, he could not get official blessing for his project.<sup>6</sup> Tyszkiewicz’s endeavours to launch the commission and museum won a lot of sympathy in St. Petersburg. Russian aristocrats, Cabinet ministers such as Dimitr Bludov, Sergius Stroganov, Modest Korff, Sergius Uvarov, Evgraf Kovalevski and many others supported his efforts. Yet, because of the restrictive political climate ruling in the Russian Empire during the last decade of the reign of Nicholas I, even first-rate connections with leading Czarist officials in Petersburg and Vilna were not enough.<sup>7</sup>

The political climate in Russia changed with the accession to the throne of Alexander II and the so-called „Post-Sebastopol Spring”, caused by the defeat in Crimean war. At the beginning of 1855 the museum and commission were set up, under the wardship of the Vilna Education District Board and, personally, of Vladimir Nazimow, the new general-governor of Vilna province.

## II.

Permission for opening the museum was necessarily tightly linked with the official line of politics of imperial Russia. Therefore Tyszkiewicz was, in a sense, obliged to present the history of Grand Duchy of Lithuania with a strong pro-Slavonic sentiment, and to stress the Russian (i.e., Belarussian) origin of the country. He fulfilled an order in the museum regulations, which were written with a strong pan-Slavic attitude and with a curtsy to Petersburg. The main purpose of the museum was „collecting and saving the antiquities of the whole province”. As „the best part of them is of Slavonic character”, thus nearly all objects, collected and transferred to the museum, are of „Slavic origin”.<sup>8</sup>

Tyszkiewicz had to prove his loyalty to the throne. On the other hand, it seems that he accepted, in a narrow sense, some of those pan-Slavic ideas. In this respect he was not an exception among the landlords and the upper

class of the „Western Gubernias” who were keen on finding a *modus vivendi* with the Russian authorities.<sup>9</sup> Tyszkiewicz knew that the language of all documents of the Grand Duchy till the 15th—16th century was „old-Slavonic”: very similar to contemporary Belarussian, and that the Orthodox church had a very strong impact on the early history of ancient Lithuania. Being conscious of those peculiarities, it was easier to accept the Russian point of view, at least partially.

The latter half of the 1850s was the best period in the history of the Vilna institution. The museum was visited twice by the Emperor Alexander II, once by the Grand Duchess Helen, Grand Dukes Michael Nicolaievich and Alexander Charles. The exposition was also accepted by members of the Cabinet: Count Dimitr Bludov, the Prime Minister, the ministers of public education Avraam Norov and Evgraf Kovalevski. By the end of 1858, the Museum had 11,000 visitors every year.<sup>10</sup> The collection started to be the largest in the whole „Western Region” of the Empire. The quality and unique value of all objects gathered in the museum started to be famous not only in Russia but also all-over Central Europe.<sup>11</sup>

The January uprising of 1863, which was in fact a war between Russia and the former citizens of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, ended that exceptional situation. There was no question of Polish-Russian flirtations or reconciliation. The Western Gubernias of the Empire had to be treated as ancient Russian territories. Any record that could supply evidence of the Polish or Lithuanian influence on the history of that region had to be eliminated.<sup>12</sup> Tyszkiewicz found himself in a very uncomfortable situation. The main objection, which he vigorously rejected, was that the Museum of Antiquities in Vilna had been created as a Polish one. The Russian elements in the history of the „Western Region”, the Czarist authorities claimed, were not enough exposed.<sup>13</sup> Tyszkiewicz decided to resign the post of the President of the Archaeographical Commission – and the honorary museum supervisor. But before all that happened he prepared himself to give a detailed description of the reasons of his resignation. Tyszkiewicz wanted to explain why it would be impossible to agree with the politics of the commission, dominated by Russian top officials, and driven by a tight anti-Polish and anti-Lithuanian sentiment.

### III.

In his protest against the line of the commission, driven by its pro-Russian majority, Tyszkiewicz gave a detailed description of his approach to the history of Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The main point of his explanation was that the so-called historical Lithuania was created as a multi-national state, in which influences of all nations living on its territory mingled. Therefore it is impossible to present just one nation, the Belorussians for example (treated by the Czarist authorities as Russians) or the Poles – as the one and

only developing power in the country's history. In a paper addressed to the Governor-General of Vilna province he wrote that at the beginning of the museum's activity the main rule of his approach to the history of the Grand Duchy was „no religious or class or national differentiation of the past”.<sup>14</sup> That attitude of mind helped to establish open and efficient relationships with all researchers in Central Europe: in Russia, East Prussia, and Austria-Hungary.

To the charge that the museum had a pro-Polish character Tyszkiewicz relied there was no sufficient knowledge to separate the national elements in the political history of Lithuania and Lithuanian Rus'. There was not enough source evidence to interpret all „that was purely local as Polish heritage”.<sup>15</sup> He underlined that the political élite of the country did not come to Lithuania from the Kingdom of Poland. The lords of Grand Duchy took precautions against the influx of persons from abroad, especially to take official posts. That practice, Tyszkiewicz argued, came mostly from a fear of losing privileges.

The adoption of the Polish language by the upper classes of Grand Duchy was an after-effect of the Polish-Lithuanian union of 1413 (Horodlo), confirmed by the union of 1569 in Lublin. That Polish domination, in Tyszkiewicz's opinion, was temporary, even though it lingered on for five centuries.<sup>16</sup>

There is much evidence to show that Tyszkiewicz formulated his opinions under the overwhelming pressure of the political circumstances of the defeat of the 1863 Polish-Lithuanian uprising against Russia. Defending his multi-national approach to history Tyszkiewicz sought to explain his position and, at the same time, not to offend the Czarist officials. On the other hand, he tried to paint a rosy picture of the country's multi-national and multi-cultural history which he thought could change or soften the attitude of the Czarist bureaucracy.

On an example of the history of Vilna, the Lithuanian capital, Tyszkiewicz attempted to show the mixture of influences – at the time of the wars of Peter the Great with Carl of Sweden and Alexander I with Napoleon. The monuments of those events were very valuable not only to historians but also because of their great artistic value.<sup>17</sup>

Coming to a more specific subject, i.e. the Museum of Antiquities, Tyszkiewicz expressed his strong objection to the removal of many first-rank exhibits. He stressed that the only reason for that unprofessional elimination, in fact „censorship”, was that the names of historic personages or artists ended with „ski.” But the exhibition was reduced not only in its „Polish department.” Much the same was true of its Lithuanian and Belorussian sections. There was no trace of the writings by Adam Mickiewicz and Ludwik Kondratowicz (Władysław Syrokomla), no paintings by Jan Damel, Jan Rustem or Franciszek Smuglewicz, no *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Poloniae*



*et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae* by Maciej Dogiel, and even no portrait of the great chancellor of the Grand Duchy Lew Sapieha, the strongest supporter of the Orthodox religion in Lithuania. No professor of Vilna Academy and University were mentioned in the museum exhibition, nor were the historic personages of Maryna Mniszech (wife of Demetrius the False), Barbara Radziwiłłówna (wife of Sigismund Augustus) and Karol Radziwiłł „Panie Kochanku”.<sup>18</sup>

The message from the government was exactly opposite to the museum founder's expectations. The authorities decided that the Museum of Antiquities in Vilna must no longer exist. Tyszkiewicz found it impossible to abdicate the historic tradition in favour of the official political line of Great Russia. His protest, among other things, could only hasten the decision to suppress the museum.

#### IV.

After leaving the post of President of the Archaeographic Commission in 1865, Tyszkiewicz moved to Birże, a small town of his family estate. He continued his research till 1873, published some significant works on the history of archaeology in Lithuania, on the history of Birże manor, and he released an edition of sources and a numismatic catalogue.<sup>19</sup> His scientific position, especially in Central European circles, was unimpaired. Since 1858 Tyszkiewicz was an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Petersburg, member of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society (since 1851), of the Imperial Archaeological Society of Moscow (since 1865) and of the Imperial Society of History and Antiquities in Odessa (since 1871).<sup>20</sup> He was also elected to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians in Copenhagen, the Royal Academy in Stockholm, the Scientific Societies in Cracow and Mainz, the Society of Friends of Sciences of Poznań, to the Society of Baltic Provinces History in Riga and the Serbian *Matica* in Bautzen (Budyšin).

From the standpoint of national consciousness, Tyszkiewicz was a representative of the local élite (so called „Locals” – *Krajowcy*) who strove to bind together all currents of the country – ethnic, religious and national. Though educated in a Polish environment and considering himself a Pole, he could feel as a local Lithuanian or Belarussian. These two nations were, sometimes, much closer to his heart than the Poles from Warsaw or Poznań. In the political notions, Tyszkiewicz was a typical conservative with a strong pro-Russian sentiment. But there were limits to his Rusophilism. He could not accept a destruction of tradition – the tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Grand Duchy itself. Therefore Tyszkiewicz's views could be also considered as those of an ancient, even feudal, landlord or nobleman. In this respect he was very similar to many of his relatives and compatriots of the former Grand Duchy.<sup>21</sup>

As to the professional background Tyszkiewicz was tightly linked to the Polish intellectual élite of the time. He expressed his „Polish-Lithuanian” position in 1842, in his inscription in the personal diary of Aleksander Tyszyński, a renowned Warsaw writer, philosopher and literature historian. The text of the inscription runs as follows:

*Nic Ci Szanowny Ziomku, równego tak pięknemu zbiorowi zdań i myśli, napisać nie potrafię. Z powołania Starożytnik, nie posiadam daru krasomówstwa, wyrażenia moje są tak niekształtne, jak kurhan wśród głuchych lasów Litwy, a myśl tak uboga, jak szkielet w nim odkryty. W odgrzebywaniu pamiątek świetnej przeszłości naszej samej tylko szukam prawdy, śmiało ją objawiać możemy, bo ona nas nigdy zarumienić nie potrafi. My pod tym względem od wielu ludów szczęśliwsi jesteśmy. Wasze usiłowania Bracia Nadwiślańscy, ku jednemu z nami celowi dzielnie postępują, poznanie bliższe Waszego grona i prac Waszych niewygastą chwilowego pobytu mego z Wami zostanie mi pamiątką, a te kilka słów skreślone życzliwą Ci Szanowny Ziomku ręką, niech będą dalszą rękojmą szczerzej i niezmienniej ku Wam życzliwości. Eustachy Tyszkiewicz<sup>22</sup>.*

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Sobieszczański, *Tyszkiewiczowie*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Powszechna S. Orgelbranda*, Warszawa, 1867, vol. 25, 860–864; A. Jelski, *Łohojsk*, [in:] *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego (Geographical Dictionary of Polish Kingdom)*, Warszawa, 1884, vol. 5, 683. This is confirmed by later source editions: *Lithuanian Metrica (1427–1506), book of inscription 5*, Vilnius, 1993, 223–225 (about the Lew Tyszkiewicz deputation of 1504 to Mhendli Kherei, the Czar of the Great Horde in Perekopa); *Metryka litewska. Rejstry podymnego Wilekiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Województwo wileńskie 1690 r. (Lithuanian Metrica. The hearth-tax register of the Vilna province, 1690)*, ed. A. Rachuba, Warszawa, 1989, 70 (Benedykt Tyszkiewicz), 133, 197, 236, 269 (Jerzy Tyszkiewicz); *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy (State and high rank officials of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 14th–18th c. Register)*, ed. H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba, Kórnik, 1994, 245–246.

<sup>2</sup> S. Krzyżanowski, *Eustachy hrabia Tyszkiewicz i jego praca*, Lwów, 1873; S. Kunasiewicz, *Eustachy hrabia Tyszkiewicz*, Lwów, 1874; K. Wóycicki, *Tyszkiewicz E.*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Powszechna S. Orgelbranda*, vol. 25: 1867, 864–865; K. W. Wóycicki, „Tyszkiewicz hr E.”, *Kłosa*, vol. 2, 1866, 497; A. H. Kirkor, *Przechadzki po Wilnie*, Wilno, 1859; „Tyszkiewicz hr E.”, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1873 (seria 2), vol. 12, 133, 154, 163; *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1862, vol. 2, 568–573; „Tyszkiewicz E. (1814–1873)”, *Kurier Warszawski*, 1873, No. 185, 1; „Tyszkiewicz E.”, *Pamiętnik Wileński*, London, 1972, 421; A. Strzembosz, „Tyszkiewiczowie”, *Spotkania z Zabytkami*, 1994, No. 12, 6–9; A. Śnieżko, *Tyszkiewicz E.*, [in:] *Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej (Dictionary of Polish Book Staff)*, vol. 1, 919–920; G. z Günterów Puzynina, *W Wilnie i w dworach litewskich (In Vilna and in Lithuanian manors)*, Wilno, 1929, 268; W. Lednicki, *Pamiętniki (Memoires)*, London, 1962, vol. 1, 76.

<sup>3</sup> E. Tyszkiewicz, *Rzut oka na źródła archeologii krajowej [...] (A glimpse at the sources of local archaeology)*, Wilno, 1842. See: A. Abramowicz, *Wiek archeologii. Problemy polskiej archeologii dziejowinastowiecznej (Century of Archaeology. Problems of Polish 19th c. archaeology)*, Warszawa, 1967, 58–59; M. Stolzman, *O wileńskiej inteligencji międzypowstaniowej (1830–1863) (On intellectuals of Vilna, 1830–1863)*, [in:] *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX w. (Polish Intelligentsia, 19th–20th c.)*, ed. R. Czepulis-Rasienis, Warszawa, 1983, 44–48; Stolzman, *Nigdy od ciebie miasto... Dzieje kultury wileńskiej lat międzypowstaniowych (1832–1863) (Never from you the town... History of Culture of Vilna, 1832–1863)*, Olsztyn, 1987, 55–57, 96–97; R. Rimantienė, *Akmens amžius Lietuvoje (The Stone Age of Lithuania)*, Vilnius, 1984, 5; E. Grigalavičienė, *Žalvario ir ankstyvosios geležies amžius Lietuvoje (The Bronze and Early Iron Age of Lithuania)*, Vilnius, 1995, 8.

<sup>4</sup> E. Tyszkiewicz, *Pan Choroszcza. Obrazek z przeszłości (Mr. Choroszcza, a picture from the past)*, Wilno, 1842; Idem, *Druga żona powiastka (Second wife, a story)*, Wilno 1844; Idem, *Fryderyk Ba-*

chström, opowiadanie (F. Bachström, a story), Wilno, 1863; Idem, *Obrazy domowego pożycia na Litwie* (*Pictures of the domestic life in Lithuania*), Warszawa 1865.

<sup>5</sup> As was the case with *The Letters from Sweden*: E. Tyszkiewicz, *Listy ze Szwecji* (*Letters from Sweden*), vol. 1–2, Wilno, 1846; J. Kostrzewski, *Dzieje polskich badań prehistorycznych* (*History of the Polish prehistoric research*), Kraków, 1948, 9; Tyszkiewicz, *Opisanie powiatu Borysowskiego pod względem statystycznym, geognostycznym, historycznym, gospodarczym, przemysłowo-handlowym i lekarskim [...]* (*Description of the Borysov district regarding its statistics, geognosy, history, economy, industry, trade and medicine*), Wilno, 1847; Idem, *Badania archeologiczne nad zabytkami przedmiotów sztuki, rzemiosł w dawnej Litwie i Rusi litewskiej* (*Archaeological research on the antique objects of arts and craft of ancient Lithuania and Lithuanian Rus'*), Wilno, 1850; Idem, *Rachunki podskarbstwa litewskiego* (*Accountancy scores of the Lithuanian treasury*), Wilno, 1855; Idem, *Trofea Szwedzkie* (*Swedish spoils of war*), Wilno, 1856; Idem, *Historyczna wiadomość o zgromadzeniach i fundacjach męskich i żeńskich rzymsko-katolickich klasztorów w diecezji wileńskiej* (*Historical information on the congregations and foundations of the Roman Catholic convents in Vilna diocese*), Wilno, 1858.

<sup>6</sup> BN – Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie, Zbiory Specjalne (National Library in Warsaw, Special Records), Materiały do Muzeum Starożytności Eustachego Tyszkiewicza w Wilnie (E. Tyszkiewicz's papers on Museum of Antiquities in Vilna), IV. 7826, I. 1.

<sup>7</sup> BN, *ibidem*, I. 1–2, 6; R. Mienicki, *Wileńska Komisja Archeologiczna (1864–1915)* (*The Vilna Archaeographic Commission*, Wilno, 1925, 7; Abramowicz, *op.cit.*, 99ff; J. Kostrzewski, *op.cit.*, 12ff; M. F. Chartanowicz, G. Karczmarz, „Komisje archeograficzne i archeologiczne wileńskie w latach 1842–1915” (*Archaeographical and archaeological commissions of Vilna in 1842–1915*), *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* (*The History of Science and Technology Quarterly*), 1988, 961ff; E. Aleksandravičius, *Kulturnis sąjūdis Lietuvoje 1831–1863 metais. Organizaciniai kultūros ugdymo aspektai* (*Lithuanian cultural movement 1831–1863*), Vilnius 1989, 49ff; A. Strzembosz, „Tyszkiewiczowie”, *Spotkania z Zabytkami*, 1994, No. 12, 6–9; E. Aleksandravičius, A. Kulakauskas, *Caru valdžioje. Lietuva XIX amžiuje* (*Under the rule of Zar. Lithuania in 19th c.*), Vilnius, 1996, 248–255.

<sup>8</sup> BN, *op.cit.*, I. 4.

<sup>9</sup> For the Slavophiles and the pan-Slavonic movement see: J. Róże wicz, *Polsko-rosyjskie powiązania naukowe (1725–1918)* (*Polish-Russian scientific relationships*), Wrocław, 1984, 105–148; A. Walicki, *W kręgu konserwatywnej utopii. Struktura i przemiany rosyjskiego słowianofilstwa* (*In a circle of the conservative utopia. Structure and transformations of Russian Slavophilism*), Warszawa, 1964; A. Gleason, *European and Muscovite. Ivan Kireevsky and the origin of Slavophilism*, Cambridge Mass., 1972; P. K. Christoff, *An introduction to nineteenth-century Russian Slavophilism. A study in ideas*, vol. I, A. S. Xomjakov, S. Gravenhage, 1961; vol. 2, I. V. Kireevskij, The Hague, 1972.

<sup>10</sup> BN, *op.cit.*, I. 5–6.

<sup>11</sup> F. Radziszewski, *Wiadomość historyczno-statystyczna o znakomych bibliotekach i archiwach publicznych i prywatnych [...]* (*Historical and statistic information on the unique public and privat libraries and archives*), Kraków, 1875, 113–114; W. Wittyg, *Ex-libris'y bibliotek polskich XVII i XVIII v.* („*Ex-libris*” in *Polish libraries of 17th and 18th c.*), Warszawa, 1907, vol. 2, 171–172; E. Chwałewik, *Zbiory [...]* (*Polish collections*), Warszawa-Kraków 1927, vol. 2, 475–481; E. Pawłowicz, „Biblioteka hr. Tyszkiewiczów w Wilnie” (*Library of the Tyszkiewicz family in Vilna*), *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1894, vol. 8, No. 1, 67–71; V. Kisarauskas, *Lietuvos knygos ženklai* (*Signs of the Lithuanian books*), Vilnius, 1984, 127–128.

<sup>12</sup> J. T. Flynn, „Uvarov and the «Western Provinces»: a study of Russia's Polish problem”, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1986, No. 64 (April), 212–236; N. Davies, *Heart of Europe: a short history of Poland*, Oxford-New York, 1986, 163; D. Beauvois, *Polacy na Ukrainie 1831–1863: Szlachta polska na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie* (*Poles in the Ukraine, 1831–1863: Polish nobility in the Volhynia, Podolia, and the Kiev Provinces*), Paris, 1987; Franch version: Idem, *Le Noble, le Serf et le Révizor 1832–1863*, Paris, 1984; and the latest work of this author, about the situation after the January uprising: Idem, *La bataille de la terre en Ukraine, 1863–1914. Les Polonais et les conflits socio-ethniques*, Lille, 1993.

<sup>13</sup> BN, IV, 7826, I. 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, I. 5–6.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, I. 7. W. Lednicki wrote that the main purpose of Tyszkiewicz's activity was to underline the Polish character of Vilna, what in the context of his own papers seems to make nonsense. See: Lednicki, *op.cit.*, 76.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.



<sup>18</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>19</sup> E. Tyszkiewicz, *O kurhanach na Litwie i Rusi zachodniej (On Barrows in Lithuania and the western Rus')*, Berlin, 1868; Idem, *Birże. Rzut oka na przeszłość miasta, zamku i ordynacji (Birze. A glimpse on a history of the town, castel and estate)*, Petersburg, 1869; Idem, *Źródła do dziejów Kurlandyi i Semigalij z czasów Karola Królewicza Polskiego, Księcia Saskiego z autentycznych korespondencyi ogłoszone (Records of the Courland and Semigalia history, based on the genuine correspondence from the times of Charles – the Polish Royal Prince and the Duke of Sachsen)*, Kraków, 1870; Idem, *Sammlung von Medaillen, welche sich auf die Geschichte der Länder und Städte der ehemaligen Republik Polen beziehen und von ihrer erdten Teilung bis zum Tode des Kaisers Nicolaus I. geprägt sind 1772–1855*, Riga, 1871; Idem, *Archeologia na Litwie (Archaeology in Lithuania)*, Kraków, 1872; Idem, *Groby rodziny Tyszkiewiczów (The Tyszkiewicz family tombs)*, Warszawa, 1873.

<sup>20</sup> J. Róźiewicz, op.cit., 308; M. M. Blombergowa, *Polscy członkowie rosyjskich towarzystw archeologicznych 1839–1914 (Polish members of the Russian Archaeological Societies)*, Wrocław, 1988, 128–129.

<sup>21</sup> J. Bardach, «Gawędy» Waleriana Meysztowicza. Przyczynek do dziejów mentalności feudalno-konserwatywnej («Stories» of Walerian Meysztowicz. A contribution to history of the conservative-feudal mentality), [in:] Idem, *O dawnej i niedawnej Litwie (On Lithuania. Past and Present)*, Poznań, 1988, 327–352; Idem, *Polacy litewscy a inne narody Litwy historycznej. Próba analizy systemowej (Lithuanian Poles and other nations of the historical Lithuania. An attempt to the system analysis)*, [in:] *Belarus, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine. The Foundations of historical and cultural traditions in East Central Europe*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin-Rome, 1994, 361–386; Bardach, *Wieloszczeblowa świadomość narodowa na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich Rzeczypospolitej w XVII–XX w. (Multistage national consciousness on the Eastern territories of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 17th–20th c.)*, [in:] *Pamiętnik XV Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich (Diary of the 15th General Congress of Polish Historians)*, vol. 1, part 1, ed. J. Staszewski, Gdańsk-Toruń, 1995, 25–38.

<sup>22</sup> Imionnik A. Tyszyńskiego (A. Tyszyński's personal diary), BN, Special Records, I. 8856, l. 157. About Tyszyński see: A. Walicki, *Ruch filozoficzny lat czterdziestych (Philosophical movement in 1840s)*, [in:] S. Borzym, H. Floryńska, B. Skarga, A. Walicki, *Zarys dziejów filozofii polskiej 1815–1918*, Warszawa, 1983, 99–101.