

| From Athens to Wrocław. On Eduard Schaubert (1804–60) and His Collection of Antiquities

During the Greek War of Independence (1821–32), there was a large influx of foreigners to the southern tip of the Balkan Peninsula, mainly Europeans who, inspired by Romantic ideals, sought to support the Greeks' fight against the Ottoman Empire. The most famous of those was Lord Byron (1788–1824), but many others followed in his footsteps, including the German architect Eduard Schaubert (1804–60) who would later play a major role in the country's post-war redevelopment. Schaubert went down in history as the author of the urban plan of the new capital, Athens, but his knowledge, skills, and interests went far beyond urban planning. He was an architect, urbanist, monument conservator, and one of the first collectors of ancient artworks in Athens. He partook in archaeological excavations in Greece, studied ancient polychromes, and contributed to the popularization of ancient art in Prussia. Having spent twenty years in Greece, he returned to Wrocław with a private collection that after his death became part of the collection of the Royal Museum for Art and Antiquities (Königliches Museum für Kunst und Altertümer), in 1862 renamed as the Archaeological Museum at the Royal University of Wrocław (Archäologisches Museum an der Königlischen Universität Breslau) (fig. 1).¹

Several studies devoted to Schaubert were published starting from the beginning of the 19th century.² Well-known facts from his life and a description of his achievements form a cohesive picture. To attempt to describe his collection of antiquities presents a more daunting task because the collection was dispersed after the Second World War. The only pre-war catalogues were published in 1861 and 1877 by August Rossbach on the occasion of inventorying the collection of plaster casts held by the Wrocław museum.³ The first post-war studies of the Schaubert collection were undertaken in 2010 when the author of this paper

¹ For more about its collections, see Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Magdalena Palica, "Zbiory dzieł sztuki," in Jan Harasimowicz, ed., *Księga Pamiątkowa Jubileuszu 200-lecia utworzenia Państwowego Uniwersytetu we Wrocławiu*, vol. 2: *Universitas litterarum Wratislaviensis 1811–1945* (Wrocław, 2013), pp. 528–45.

² The major ones include Friedrich Koepf, "Eduard Schauberts Handschriftlicher Nachlass," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1890), pp. 129–48; Richard Foerster, "Ein schlesischer Architekt im Lande der Hellenen," *Schlesien*, no. 2 (1908/1909), pp. 139–45; Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas, *Eduard Schaubert 1804–1860. Der städtebauliche Nachlass zur Planung der Städte Athen und Piräus* (Mannheim–Mölnsee, 2001); Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk, "Eduard Schaubert (1804–1860)," in Joachim Bahlcke, ed., *Schlesische Lebensbilder*, vol. 11 (Insingen, 2012), pp. 323–32.

³ August Rossbach, *Verzeichniss der Gypsabgüsse und Originalien antiker Bildwerke im Königlischen Museum für Kunst und Alterthum an der Universität Breslau* (Breslau, 1861), pp. 38–48; id., *Das Archäologische Museum an der Universität zu Breslau* (Breslau, 1877), pp. 114–28.

identified the first eight architectural elements from it among the didactic resources of the Historical Institute of the University of Wrocław (henceforth UWrocław).⁴ This identification was made possible by descriptions in the Rossbach catalogues which apart from the material and characteristic features of the given item (e.g., decorative leitmotif or damages) sometimes included its dimensions. These inventories were then used in searching for other fragments of the collection. A significant part of it (20 items) was found in the holdings of the National Museum in Warsaw (henceforth NMW) with the help of Prof. Witold Dobrowolski (1939–2019), the then curator of the collection of ancient art.⁵ The results of these findings were presented in a scholarly conference in 2011.⁶ In the same year, the NMW leased a part of the collection to the Wrocław University Museum⁷ for a temporary exhibition commemorating the 200th anniversary of the founding of the State University in Wrocław. In 2013, a separate showcase was installed for the architectural elements from the former Schaubert collection in the permanent exhibition in the Roman Longchamps de Bérier Room in the Wrocław University Museum. In 2015, Agata Kubala published a paper announcing the start of research on Schaubert's collection of antiquities,⁸ and in 2019 published a book on the subject,⁹ which contains a stylistic and comparative analysis of the 28 items originally identified by the author of this paper and a further 25 items identified by Kubala¹⁰ as well as a characteristic of the whole collection against the background of European trends in 19th-century art-collecting practices. This paper recapitulates my hitherto research on the life of Eduard Schaubert and the history of his collection, but above all it is the first publication of a further eleven items identified recently in the NMW collection.¹¹

⁴ The University of Wrocław, inv. nos. UW-12, UW-14, UWrocław-78-VIIj-5-1, UWrocław-78-VIIj-5-2, UWrocław-78-VIIj-5-4, UWrocław-78-VIIj-5-5, UWrocław-78-VIIj-6, UWrocław-78-VIIj-7-1. I was inspired to research this subject by the Swiss art historian Dr Marc Fehlmann, whom I hereby thank for a number of useful clues in searching for comparative materials. The identification of the above artefacts was reported in 2012 and 2015: Bończuk-Dawidziuk, "Eduard Schaubert...", op. cit., pp. 329–30; Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Magdalena Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków starożytnych architekta Eduarda Schauberta (1804–1860) ze zbiorów dawnego wrocławskiego muzeum uniwersyteckiego," in Jan Harasimowicz, ed., *Księga Pamiątkowa Jubileuszu 200-lecia utworzenia Państwowego Uniwersytetu we Wrocławiu*, vol. 4: *Uniwersytet Wrocławski w kulturze europejskiej XIX i XX wieku. Materiały Międzynarodowej Konferencji Naukowej, Wrocław 4–7 października 2011 r.* (Wrocław, 2015), p. 234.

⁵ Those were five vessels (inv. nos. 198057 MNW, 198058 MNW, 198069 MNW, 198104 MNW, 198927 MNW), a terracotta relief (inv. no. 198236 MNW), and 14 bronze casts (inv. nos. 198282 MNW, 198283 MNW, 198287 MNW, 198294 MNW, 198308 MNW, 198309 MNW, 198310 MNW, 198311 MNW, 198315 MNW, 198347 MNW, 198354 MNW, 198355 MNW, 198356 MNW, 198364 MNW).

⁶ Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., pp. 231–38.

⁷ Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk, ed., *Wystawa jubileuszowa „Uniwersytet Wrocławski 1811–2011”. Przewodnik* (Wrocław, 2011); see also Witold Dobrowolski, "Figurka Trytona z kolekcji Schauberta z dawnych zbiorów Muzeum Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego," in Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk, ed., *Wykłady towarzyszące wystawie jubileuszowej „Uniwersytet Wrocławski 1811–2011”* (Wrocław, 2013), pp. 65–82. Skarby Uniwersyteckich Kolekcji, vol. 1.

⁸ Agata Kubala, "Eduard Schaubert's Collection of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiques at the National Museum in Warsaw and the University Museum in Wrocław," *Athens Journal of History*, vol. 1, no. 4 (October 2015), pp. 289–307.

⁹ See ead., *Filhellenizm a rodząca się nowoczesność. Kolekcja starożytności Eduarda Schauberta w świetle zachodzących zmian* (Kraków–Wrocław, 2019).

¹⁰ These are the following items from the NMW collection: aryballois (inv. nos. 198023 MNW, 198026 MNW, 198027 MNW, 198028 MNW, 198031 MNW), lekythoi (inv. nos. 198044 MNW, 198065 MNW, 198066 MNW, 198067 MNW), relief (inv. no. 198237 MNW) and the UWrocław collection: scoop (inv. no. UW-39), plinth (inv. no. UW-45), fragments of architectural details (inv. nos. UW-10, UW-11, UW-13, UW-15, UW-17, UW-18, UW-19, UWrocław-78-VIIj-7-2, UWrocław-78-VIIj-7-3), kylix, lekane cover and two fragments of vessels (no inv. nos.).

¹¹ These are the following inventory numbers: 198154 MNW (Leda figurine), 198242 MNW (tragic mask), 198168 MNW (monkey figurine), 198244 MNW (doll), 198345 MNW (head in cap), 198363 MNW (lock casing with

Eduard Schaubert was born on 27 July 1804 in Wrocław (German: Breslau) as the sixth child of Carl Jacob (1755–1816) and Constanze Therese (1767–1835).¹² His father was a textile merchant, and his maternal grandparents were landowners in Strzeszów and Oborniki Śląskie in Trzebnica county.¹³ A year after his father's death, together with his two brothers, Schaubert enrolled in the Tertia of the Elisabeth-Gymnasium. After five years of study, his talents were revealed: the school certificate from June 1822 mentions mathematical abilities as well as certain achievements in Greek, which influenced his choice of profession. From 1825, Schaubert studied at the Royal Building Academy (Königliche Bauakademie) in Berlin; from 1827, he was listed as a member of the Architects Association (Architektenverein) there, which means that he had passed his first professional examination and carried the title of the *Königlicher Bauführer*. It is known that among his professors were Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841) and Wilhelm Stier (1799–1856). Having passed his exams, in 1829, Schaubert went through Munich and Vienna to Italy, accompanied by Stamatis Kleanthes (1802–62), a Greek and fellow student. In Rome, they met General Carl Wilhelm von Heideck (1788–1861) who gave them a letter of recommendation to the president of the newly founded Greek state, Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776–1831). In March 1830, Schaubert and Kleanthes arrived in Greece. In Aegina, the then capital, they were employed by Kapodistrias as architects, drawing up urban plans, designing public buildings: department stores and hospitals in Aegina and Nauplia (today Nafplio), a school building in Vostitsa (today Aigio), also a master plan for the latter. They were also entrusted by Kapodistrias with the task of teaching building construction at an orphanage in Aegina.

After Kapodistrias's death in October 1831, the two friends moved to Athens where few foreigners lived at the time. The city had been ruined during the war, only a few dozen houses were left standing. Confronted with the vast destruction, they began, on their own initiative and as early as November 1831, drawing up an archaeological plan of Athens and working on a new urban plan for the city, which soon, in 1834, would become the state capital. They bought a ruined house on the northern slope of the Acropolis, rebuilt it, and launched an architectural practice. They decorated the house with plaster casts, paintings, and fragments of ancient decorations that, according to Schaubert, lay often on the streets and were freely available.¹⁴ They made a living from commissions from the likes of the Austrian consul in Athens, Georg Christian Gropius (1781–1854), or the British admiral Pulteney Malcolm (1768–1838). For the latter, they designed a country residence in Patissia, north of Athens.

Schaubert and Kleanthes received an official commission for an urban plan for Athens in the autumn of 1832 when Prince Otto Friedrich Ludwig of Bavaria (1815–67), son of Crown Prince (later king) Ludwig of Bavaria, became the king of Greece and appointed the young architects as architects-in-charge and directors of the Civil Construction Authority in Athens. The plan was accepted by the king in the summer of 1833, but objections were

lion figurine), 198321 MNW (ram's head), 198382 MNW and 198383 (weights), 198385 MNW (bullet), 198273 MNW (stamp with bust of Athena). These recent findings would not have been possible without the help of Dr Hab. Ewa Manikowska, whom I hereby thank.

¹² I thank Christiane Groscurth, née Schaubert, daughter of the last owner of Oborniki Śląskie, for showing me the entry from the parish birth register.

¹³ Schaubert's parents were married on 20 June 1787 and a poem composed on the occasion was published by the Wrocław University printer, see the Wrocław University Library, Department of Old Prints, ref. no. 549128.

¹⁴ From Eduard Schaubert's letter to friends in Berlin, Athens, January 1832. See Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 423–24.

raised by the city council and landowners. Due to this impasse, Leo von Klenze (1784–1864), architect to Ludwig I of Bavaria, was consulted. His opinion was that the implementation of the plan would be too costly. As tensions rose, Schaubert and Kleanthes resigned in protest. In September 1834, the king ultimately endorsed their plan, albeit with some of the modifications suggested by von Klenze. In January 1835, Schaubert was hired again; the two friends went on to produce a plan for Piraeus, and Schaubert solo created an urban plan for Eretria (1834).

From the very beginning of his stay in Greece, Schaubert travelled extensively. Visiting ancient cities, he documented the condition of the oldest preserved architectural or urban tissue (e.g., Thebes, Astros, Thorikos, Sparta, Tiryns, Eretria in Euboea). These trips usually yielded interesting discoveries. In Piraeus in the spring of 1832, Schaubert found the first grave stele with figural paintings instead of inscriptions which was transferred to the safeguarded temple of Ares. From an expedition to Sounion and Marathon in November 1832, on which he was accompanied by the German archaeologists Ludwig Ross (1806–59) and Peter Wilhelm Forchhammer (1801–94), he brought bronze and stone arrowheads from the “fields of Marathon,” which he added to his private collection. In the 19th century, antiquities found or bought in Greece could be legally taken out of the country.¹⁵ Many lovers of antiquities did so, as did scholars, including archaeologists, who combined a Romantic passion for artefacts with science. The milieu that Schaubert was part of felt predestined for such practices; its members were aware of the cultural value of Greek archaeological relics and wanted to save them from destruction. The wide availability of such items made collecting all the easier, especially considering that the collections were still relatively few. Besides Georg Christian Gropius, the Scottish historian George Finlay (1799–1875), and several Athenians who had small collections of marble architectural and sculptural fragments, Schaubert was among the first collectors of ancient artefacts in Athens. According to Ludwig Ross, it was he who owned the most precious objects, including a marble male torso from Melos and several examples of ancient inscriptions. The latter were eventually transferred to the public museum in Aegina (founded as early as 1829 by Kapodistrias), and then to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.

In January 1835, Schaubert was appointed as building director of the Kingdom of Greece and advisor in the Ministry of the Interior. One of his first projects in his new capacity was the safeguarding of the Hephaisteion (then called the temple of Theseus) by covering it with a new roof. He also joined in the excavation and restoration works being carried out on the Acropolis since 31 December 1834. When the Ottoman occupiers had left the Parthenon, it was decided to raze down the mosque there. Schaubert then set about analyzing the architectural tissue of the building to trace back its history; his findings, distinguishing between the ancient and Byzantine layers, were hailed as a discovery and published in the periodical *Kunstblatt* (1843).¹⁶ In March 1835, Schaubert proposed cleaning the Acropolis sculptures and producing their casts in plaster. Three years later, a committee was established for the purpose; besides Schaubert, its members included the Danish architect Christian Hansen (1803–33) and the Swiss sculptor Heinrich Max Imhof (1795–1869). From December 1835, alongside Ross and Hansen, Schaubert participated in the reconstruction, begun in May 1836, of the Nike temple

¹⁵ More on this subject in Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., chapter 2.

¹⁶ “Nachrichten vom December. Alterthümer,” *Kunstblatt*, no. 12 (9 February 1843), pp. 51–52.

on the Acropolis. Their collaboration led to the publication of a book (1839) devoted to the reconstruction and excavation works conducted.¹⁷

Besides being occupied with archaeological and conservation projects, Schaubert worked also as a designer. He built a guardhouse at the entrance to the Acropolis (1834), using marble from ancient buildings so that the new structure harmonized with the ancient ruins. In 1841, he drew plans for a monument, which still stands in Athens, to the prematurely deceased classical philologist Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840). In March 1842, he submitted the design of Athens' main (and largest) church: the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Annunciation of the Mother of God, which was completed in 1862 by Theophilus Hansen (1813–91).

As a ministerial official, Schaubert travelled extensively around Greece, transferring artefacts secured during those trips to the museum in Aegina. In September 1835, during excavations on Thira (today Santorini), he and Ross dug up a collection of over 100 well-preserved Greek vases as well as numerous bronze items from a two-person grave. He also brought from the island an archaic statue of Apollo and a basalt stele with an ancient inscription.

In the wake of the rebellion of 3 September 1843 against Otto's absolutism and the resulting socio-political changes, Schaubert, after eight years in office, was dismissed. Social protests led to the introduction of a constitutional monarchy, and foreigners were removed from high-ranking jobs in the administration. Schaubert decided to remain in Greece and from 1845 on made plaster casts of ancient sculptures and inscriptions, from the Acropolis and the Agora of Athens, among other places, for the Royal Museums (Königliche Museen) in Berlin. Through him, Berlin received copies of the Theseion, the western frieze of the Parthenon, and casts of the eastern and western friezes of the Hephaisteion. With his shipments, a copy of Erechtheion's Caryatid Porch was recreated at the Neues Museum in Berlin. He also sent home original artefacts secured during his travels around Greece (including gold decorations). Among those preserved to this day are two bronze relics from the Cyclades transferred by Schaubert to the Berlin collections in 1849: a strigilis from the island of Kythnos and a Hellenistic lamp with a shell-shaped cover from Andros or Folegandros.

During his trips, Schaubert produced detailed documentation, including drawings and plans of buildings, sketches of architectural details and sculptures, and copies of inscriptions. Commissioned by the Prussian government, he organized archaeological excavations during which, at the turn of 1846, the tombstone of Coroebus (Koroibos) of Elis, the winner of the stadion race in the first recorded Ancient Olympic Games, was discovered. In 1847, Schaubert made a long journey through Poros and Troezen to Karystos, visiting Styra, Geraestus, Kyme, Euboea, Skiathos, Skopelos, and Skyros. In the same year, he made a short journey to Salamis and Megara, and in late 1847 to Syra, then to Naxos, Paros, Antiparos, and Folegandros. From this trip, he brought 29 inscriptions that he transferred to the Berlin museums. In the summer of 1848, he travelled to Boeotia, whence he brought more copies of inscriptions.

Ancient polychrome painting was another area of Schaubert's scholarly interest; in 1839, he published an account of his analysis of the colour schemes of the Hephaisteion and buildings on the Acropolis.¹⁸ According to him, the Greeks generally left the marble white in architecture and painted only selected elements of architrave decoration, using especially blue and red, but also green, brown-red, and yellow. These interests on Schaubert's part are reflected

¹⁷ See Ludwig Ross, Eduard Schaubert, Christian Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen nach den neuesten Ausgrabungen* (Berlin, 1839).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

by fragments of his collection: architectural details with traces of painting layers (preserved in the UW collection) (**fig. 2**) and a box with remnants of polychrome decoration (missing).

Taking occasional commissions for the Royal Museums in Berlin, Schaubert regularly exchanged correspondence with the institution's director, Ignaz von Olfers (1798–1872). The letters suggest that he endeavoured (in vain) to secure a permanent position. In 1850, Schaubert returned to Wrocław where he continued with designs (several outbuildings, a palace, a villa, some gardens). He devoted the final years of his life to classical studies and to organizing his collection. He died on 30 March 1860.

Upon the childless death of Eduard Schaubert, his collection was incorporated – partly by donation, partly by acquisition – in the holdings of the Wrocław University museum that was located in the now nonexistent garden wing of the former University Library building on Sand Island (a.k.a. the Sand) (**fig. 1**). The transfer of 13 July 1861 was handled by Schaubert's relative – the landowner, royal counsel, and landrat, Carl Friedrich Gustav von Schaubert (1801–76). Two months later, on 14 September, the transfer received a clause that guaranteed its preservation as an integral and autonomous whole.

During the acceptance of the collection, it was found that the inventory of the artefacts and data on their places of discovery had not been preserved. Some of the items had been broken and were reassembled with existing fragments. Most of the archaeological finds came from Greece; a small number had been acquired by Schaubert in Italy. The collector's nephew, Otto Adolph Wilhelm Schaubert, informed the then director of the university museum, August Roszbach (1823–98), that during his return journey home his uncle had made a stop in Italy and brought artefacts from there too. According to Roszbach, some of the vessels and Roman factory stamps confirmed this.

The collection included some 330 antiquities and 1437 coins (Greek, Roman, and Byzantine); 7 plaster casts of sculptures and reliefs, 10 casts of coins, and a “certain number” of casts of stamps; moreover, seven files of official documents, including a large plan of Athens, drawings and watercolours of Greek architecture, sculpture, and ceramics, as well as plans of archaeological excavations. The Wrocław museologists, director Roszbach in particular, ensured the commemoration of Schaubert by the display of the artefacts in a manner befitting the acquisition. In accordance with the wishes of his heirs, a separate room was allocated at the museum for the purpose. The originals, together with most of the plaster casts, were exhibited in room no. 7 (which was an exception, since all other plaster casts were presented separately). Schaubert's manuscripts and his famous plan of Athens were placed in the closets of the numismatic cabinet. Numerous votive reliefs and grave steles were on display in further showcases. Greek vases and a large group of architectural fragments, including small parts from the Parthenon frieze (e.g., a palmette) and other Athenian buildings, such as a capital from the famous Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, formed an important part of the Schaubert collection.

In the context of Schaubert's preoccupation with ancient polychrome painting, among the most interesting items in his collection were 27 architectural elements with partly preserved original polychrome decoration (bricks, parts of friezes, terracotta antefixes), as well as a box with remnants of polychromes from the Parthenon, the Hephaisteion, and the Propylaea.¹⁹ Only some of the architectural elements have been preserved to this day in the

¹⁹ Roszbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., pp. 39–40, items 1–23; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., pp. 115–16, items 1–23.

UWr collection. These are: an antefix with a palmette motif and the head of Athena (**fig. 3**)²⁰; an antefix with a palmette motif and the head of a Gorgon (**fig. 4**)²¹; an antefix with preserved remnants of polychrome decoration²²; an antefix and two fragments of antefixes (probably from the Kallirrhoe-Enneakrounos fountain on the Agora of Athens) with traces of painting layers²³; a corner section of a cornice adorned with a swastika meander (double) and a palmette motif (**fig. 2**)²⁴; a lion-headed gargoyle with a preserved fragment of the sima (**fig. 5**)²⁵; a fragment of an architectural detail decorated with a Lesbian kimation and a laurel motif (**fig. 6**)²⁶; a fragment of a sima²⁷; a fragment of a sima decorated with a palmette and volutes²⁸; three fragments of architectural details.²⁹

²⁰ Athens, 3rd century AD (?), terracotta, 26,5 × 18 × 14 cm, UWr, inv. no. UWr-78-VIIj-5-4, inscription at the bottom: ΜΙΚΙΩΝ. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 39, item 3; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 115, item 3 (Rossbach gives the inscription ΜΙΚΙΩΝ for the item no. 2, which seems to be a mistake because it is visible on item no. 3). Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 234; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 329 ff., cat. no. 48.

²¹ Athens (?), Hadrian period (?), terracotta, 24,5 × 21 × 23 cm, UWr, inv. no. UWr-78-VIIj-5-5. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 39, item 4; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 115, item 5. In the pre-war museum at the University of Wrocław, this artefact was used during classes to illustrate the Corinthian style. See Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 234; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 331 ff., cat. no. 46.

²² Athens (Acropolis), terracotta, mid-3rd century AD (?), 22 × 19 × 13 cm, UWr, inv. no. UWr-78-VIIj-5-2. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 39, item 5; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 115, item 6; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, "Eduard Schaubert...", op. cit., p. 329; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 325 ff., cat. no. 47.

²³ Terracotta and plaster (filling), respectively: 17,5 × 19,5 × 15 cm, UWr, inv. no. UWr-78-VIIj-5-1; 17 × 13 × 7 cm, inv. no. UW-12; 24,5 × 19 × 9 cm (antefix); 11 × 9 × 3 cm (fragment), inv. no. UW-14. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 39, items 1, 7, and 2; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 115, items 1, 8, and 2 (A mistake was likely made by Rossbach in inventorying the inscription ΜΙΚΙΩΝ, which features on the antefix with the head of Athena – item 3). It is not known in what circumstances the antefix was repaired with plaster, despite its preserved bottom corner on which features the same signature: "UW-14." See Bończuk-Dawidziuk, "Eduard Schaubert...", op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 234; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 319–22, cat. nos. 41, 50, 51.

²⁴ Terracotta, Athens (?), 5th century BC (?), 17 × 23 × 16 cm, UWr, inv. no. UWr-78-VIIj-6. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 39, item 20; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 116, item 19; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 234; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 334 ff., cat. no. 37.

²⁵ Terracotta, Athens/Attica, end 4th – beginning 3rd century BC, 14 × 30 × 13 cm, UWr, inv. no. UWr-78-VIIj-7-1. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 39, item 9 ("wahrscheinlich von einem kleinem Heroon"); id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 115, item 9; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 234; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 313 ff., cat. no. 42.

²⁶ Limestone, Athens, 5th century BC, 10 × 8 × 6 cm, UWr, inv. no. UW-11. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 39, item 17; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 116, item 17; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 336 ff., cat. no. 38.

²⁷ Athens, Hellenistic period (?), 12 × 15 × 8 cm, UWr, inv. no. UWr-78-VIIj-7-2. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 39, item 11; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 115, item 11; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 336–37, cat. no. 43, fig. 46.

²⁸ Athens (Acropolis), mid-5th century BC, 12 × 11,5 × 7 cm, UWr, inv. no. UW-15. This fragment is not listed in the Rossbach catalogues, but according to Kubala must have been part of the Schaubert collection because it can be seen in Christian Hansen's 1836 drawing, see Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 335–36, cat. no. 36, fig. 39.

²⁹ Athens, 6th and 5th centuries BC, UWr, inv. nos. UW-13, UW-18, UW-19. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 39, items 16, 18 (?), and 15; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 116, items 16, 18 (?), and 15; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 336–37, cat. nos. 39, 34, and 35. Kubala attributes to the Schaubert collection three more fragments of architectural details from ancient Athens, today in the UWr collection, even though they are not listed by Rossbach: inv. nos. UWr-78-VIIj-7-3, UW-17, UW-10. See Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 329, 336–37, cat. nos. 40, 44–45, figs. 43, 47–48.

Besides those, the Schaubert collection included also a group of 67 Greek and Italic vases (among which were 35 black-figure and 20 red-figure ones). One of the most admired items in this group was a small black-figure lekythos,³⁰ today missing, known in literature as the “Schaubert Vase,” decorated with a scene of Heracles fighting the Hydra (black figures on a pale-yellow background). Rossbach wrote that “among the vases this is doubtless the finest piece, catalogued and illustrated by Welcker who called it a jewel of ancient art history.”³¹ The famous philologist and archaeologist Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784–1868) indeed discussed the lekythos from Schaubert’s collection in his five-volume work *Alte Denkmäler*.³² In 1861, Clemens Konitzer devoted to it an extensive study, providing its detailed description and a comparative analysis of its iconography in the context of similar depictions on Greek vases and in reference to poetry. He wrote: “the small vessel, even though inconspicuous, can compare with the finest examples of ancient vases in terms of the carefulness of the drawing, the shaping of the archaic formal types, and the overall balance of the composition.”³³

Of the large group of ceramic wares in the Schaubert, 17 items have been identified so far and a further three tentatively. The oldest of those is a terracotta scoop from the Late Helladic III period, probably made in the Peloponnese (**fig. 7**).³⁴ Christian Hansen’s 1834 portrait of Schaubert shows it among the objects displayed on a shelf in the background.³⁵ Of Corinthian pottery, five small globe-shaped aryballoi with ornamental and figural decoration have been preserved (**fig. 8**).³⁶ Larger vessels with more interesting painted decoration are represented by seven examples of Attic pottery from the NMW collection: a white-ground lekythos with the depiction of a seated woman and Charon, by the Triglyph Painter (c. 430–420 BC)³⁷; a black-figure lekythos with a scene of the struggle for the Delphic Tripod (Apollo and Heracles, Athena, and Artemis or Leto), attributed to the Haimon Painter (490–460 BC) or his circle (**fig. 9**)³⁸; two red-figure Attic lekythoi attributed to the Painter of the Warsaw Lekythos

³⁰ Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 46, item 112; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 116, item 5; Otto Rossbach, *Griechische Antiken des archäologischen Museums in Breslau* (Breslau, 1889), pp. 5–19; Maxwell George Kanowski, “The Siren’s Name On a Corinthian Aryballos,” *American Journal of Archeology*, no. 77/1 (1973), pp. 73–74.

³¹ Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 46, item 142; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 116.

³² Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler erklärt* (Göttingen, 1851), vol. 3: *Griechische Vasengemälde*, pp. 255–67, table VI.

³³ See Clemens Konitzer, *Herakles und die Hydra. Beschreibung der Schaubert’schen Vase „Herakles und die Hydra“ im Königlichen Museum für Kunst und Alterthum an der Universität Breslau. Gruss zur Feier des 50jährigen Jubiläums der Universität Breslau im Namen der archäologischen Gesellschaft* (Breslau, 1861).

³⁴ UW, inv. no. UW-39. See Rossbach, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 119, section 5, item 4 (as “Schöpfkelle”); Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 249 ff., cat. no. 15.

³⁵ The Museum of National History Frederiksborg Castle, inv. no. A 4802.

³⁶ NMW, inv. nos. 198026 MNW (fig. 8), 198027 MNW, 198023 MNW, 198028 MNW, 198031 MNW. Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 258–64, cat. nos. 16–20.

³⁷ Athens, 430–420 BC, 47.7 × 12.8 cm, NMW, inv. no. 198069 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 47, item 153; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 118, item 1; Marie-Louise Bernhard, ed., *Varsovie – Musée National*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1963), p. 26, table 50, 1–3, table 51, 1–2, table 53, 2. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. Pologne, fasc. 5; Martin Robertson, *The Art of Vase Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 254; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...,” op. cit., p. 234, fig. 2; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 250 ff., cat. no. 25.

³⁸ Athens (?), c. 480 BC, 16.3 × 5.3 cm, NMW, inv. no. 198044 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 45, item 129; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 117, item 9a; Kazimierz Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna*.

No. 198057: one decorated with the figure of a youth clad in a chlamys, the other with that of a woman in a tunic and a cloak, carrying a basket and a patera³⁹; a red-figure aryballic lekythos with the image of a bird with a female head (a siren?), attributed to the Siren Painter⁴⁰; a red-figure aryballic lekythos with the image of a female head, attributed to the circle of the Al-Mina Painter (**fig. 10**)⁴¹; and an aryballic lekythos with ornamental decoration.⁴² According to Agata Kubala, it is likely that two other Attic vases were originally part of the Schaubert collection too: a kylix from the UW collection⁴³ and a cotyla from the NMW collection.⁴⁴

Of southern-Italic pottery from the Schaubert collection, four items have been identified so far: two vessels at the NMW – a red-figure aryballic lekythos with the depiction of Eros chasing a woman (**fig. 11**)⁴⁵ and a wine jug (oenochoe) with the image of Eros laying a sacrifice on the altar,⁴⁶ and two fragments of large vessels at the UW – a fragment of a red-figure chalice krater decorated with the image of a bird and a partly preserved representation of a male head⁴⁷ and a fragment of the neck and shoulders of a red-figure hydria (?) decorated with

Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie (Warsaw, 1955), p. 100; Marie-Louise Bernhard, ed., *Varsovie – Musée National*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1960), pp. 19–20, table 30, 3–5. Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Pologne, fasc. 4; Witold Dobrowolski, ed., *Sport i igrzyska olimpijskie w starożytności*, exh. cat., The National Museum in Warsaw, 2004 (Warsaw, 2004), p. 93, cat. no. 48; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., p. 265, cat. no. 21.

³⁹ C. 460–450 BC, height 22 cm, NMW, inv. nos. 198057 MNW, 198058 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss*..., op. cit., p. 47, items 148–49; id., *Das Archäologische Museum*..., op. cit., pp. 117–18, items 1–2; Marie-Louise Bernhard, *Wazy greckie* (Warsaw, 1947), p. 3; Marie-Louise Bernhard, ed., *Varsovie – Musée National*, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 17–18, table 36, 3–4, table 37, 2, table 38, 1–2, table 39, 1. Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Pologne, fasc. 6; Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk, ed., *Wystawa jubileuszowa „Uniwersytet Wrocławski 1811–2011”*. Przewodnik (Wrocław, 2011), p. 45, cat. nos. 42 and 43 (Witold Dobrowolski, Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk); Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...”, op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...”, op. cit., p. 234; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., pp. 269–73, cat. nos. 22–23.

⁴⁰ C. mid-5th century BC, height 8.9 cm, NMW, inv. no. 198066 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss*..., op. cit., p. 47, item 151; id., *Das Archäologische Museum*..., p. 118, item 3; Bernhard, ed., *Varsovie – Musée National*, vol. 3, op. cit., p. 19, table 43, 3; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., pp. 408–9, cat. no. 24.

⁴¹ End 5th century BC, height 8.8 cm, NMW, inv. no. 198065 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss*..., op. cit., p. 47, item 151; id., *Das Archäologische Museum*..., op. cit., p. 118, item 3; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., pp. 279 ff., cat. no. 26.

⁴² Beginning 4th century BC (?), height 7.4 cm, NMW, inv. no. 198067 MNW. See Rossbach, *Das Archäologische Museum*..., op. cit., p. 118, item 4; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., pp. 276 ff., cat. no. 27.

⁴³ Athens/Attica, 1st half 5th century BC (?), height 7.5 cm, UW (no inv. no.). See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss*..., op. cit., p. 46, item 138; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., pp. 294 ff., 421.

⁴⁴ Athens/Attica, 540–520 p.n.e., height 9 cm, NMW, inv. no. 198041 MNW. See Rossbach, *Das Archäologische Museum*..., op. cit., p. 116, item 1d; Bernhard, ed., *Varsovie – Musée National*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 22, table 38, 4–5; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., pp. 298–99, 421.

⁴⁵ Apulia, last quarter 4th century BC, height 23.3 cm, NMW, inv. no. 198104 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss*..., op. cit., p. 47, item 143; id., *Das Archäologische Museum*..., op. cit., p. 118, item 9; Marie-Louise Bernhard, ed., *Varsovie – Musée National*, vol. 5 (Warsaw, 1970), p. 16, table 15, 1–5. Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Pologne, fasc. 8; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...”, op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...”, op. cit., p. 234; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., pp. 288 ff., cat. no. 30.

⁴⁶ Apulia, end 4th century BC, 26.5 × 17.5 cm, NMW, inv. no. 198927 MNW. See Rossbach, *Das Archäologische Museum*..., op. cit., p. 118, item 10; Bernhard, ed., *Varsovie – Musée National*, vol. 5, op. cit., pp. 15–16, table 14, 1–2; *Wystawa jubileuszowa*..., op. cit., p. 46, cat. no. 44 (Witold Dobrowolski, Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk); Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...”, op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...”, op. cit., p. 234; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., pp. 287–88, cat. no. 31.

⁴⁷ Apulia (?), 2nd half 4th century BC (?), clay, 13 × 13 × 2.5 cm, no inv. no. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss*..., op. cit., p. 47, item 152; Kubala, *Filhellenizm*..., op. cit., pp. 292–93, cat. no. 28–29.

a palmette, a volute, a kimation, and a flower garland.⁴⁸ Kubala has suggested that a lekanis cover from the UW collection probably originates from the Schaubert collection too.⁴⁹

Another group in the collection comprised 22 clay lamps, of which none have been identified so far. This is because the Rossbach catalogues list many similar such items with only laconic descriptions (with the exception of two lamps bearing the Greek male name “ARISTIONOS”).⁵⁰

Another sizeable group consisted of 52 terracotta figures and reliefs. Numerous images of ancient deities (Aphrodite, Gaia, Demeter and others) – busts, heads, and masks – still bore traces of polychrome decoration. Red and blue paint had been preserved on a Leda figurine (fig. 12),⁵¹ and traces of black polychrome were visible on a terracotta tragic mask (fig. 13).⁵² It was probably because of polychrome decoration that Schaubert had included in his collection the figurine of a seated monkey (guenon) that was incorrectly catalogued by Rossbach as a terracotta item; in fact, it is an Egyptian limestone sculpture from the New Kingdom period (fig. 14).⁵³ Characteristic among the terracotta reliefs were imprints meant to imitate works made of more valuable materials, produced in wooden forms on the island of Melos. Two of them, Helle riding a ram and a horse's head (fig. 15), were combined by a 19th-century conservator into a single object.⁵⁴ Other interesting objects include a figurine of a woman carrying sacrificial items with a pig walking next to her⁵⁵ and a doll with movable limbs (fig. 16).⁵⁶

Schaubert showed appreciation also for Greek bronze craft objects. Of a group of 65 casts (not only in bronze), 21 have been preserved at the NMW, including highly valuable standing mirror supports in the form of caryatids (representing Aphrodite?) from the mid-6th⁵⁷ and

⁴⁸ Apulia, end 1st half 4th century BC, clay, 11 × 9.5 × 5 cm, no inv. no. See *ibid*.

⁴⁹ Southern Italy, 4th century BC, diameter 17 cm, UW (no inv. no.). See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 47, item 145; *id.*, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 118, item 8; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 303–4, 421–22.

⁵⁰ Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 42, items 65, 67; *id.*, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 119, item 6.

⁵¹ Boeotia, 2nd half 2nd century BC, NMW, inv. no. 198154 MNW. See *id.*, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 40, item 34; *id.*, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 121, item 20.

⁵² Turn of 3rd century BC, Southern Italic workshop, NMW, inv. no. 198242 MNW. See *id.*, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 41, item 50; *id.*, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 120, item 5.

⁵³ C. 1550–1069 BC, NMW, inv. no. 198168 MNW. See *id.*, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 40, item 28; *id.*, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 121, item 28.

⁵⁴ Mid-5th century BC, NMW, inv. no. 198236 MNW. See *id.*, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 41, item 42 (as Amazon on a horse); *id.*, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 121, item 23 (as Amazon on a horse); Rossbach, *Griechische Antiken...*, op. cit., pp. 20–25, table 1, fig. 1; Paul Jacobstahl, *Die Melischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1931), no. 5 (as Helle on a ram), no. 50 (as horse heads); *Wystawa jubileuszowa...*, op. cit., p. 46, cat. no. 45 (Witold Dobrowolski, Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk); Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...,” op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 308 ff., cat. no. 33.

⁵⁵ 470–460 BC, NMW, inv. no. 198237 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 41, item 43 (as Demeter); *id.*, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 121, item 18. Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 311–12, cat. no. 32.

⁵⁶ Corinthian workshop, c. 500–450 BC, NMW, inv. no. 198244 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 40, item 27; *id.*, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 122, item 30.

⁵⁷ NMW, inv. no. 198308 MNW. See *id.*, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 43, item 81; *id.*, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 124, item 17; Rossbach, *Griechische Antiken...*, op. cit., pp. 36–40, table II, no. 1; Elisabeth Franck, *Griechische Standspiegel mit menschlicher Stützfigur* (Munich, 1925), pp. 9, 19, 199, no. 1; Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna...*, op. cit., p. 200, fig. 137; Wanda Zdrojewska, “Fragmenty greckich luster stojących w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, vol. 9 (1965), pp. 55–82, here: 61–67, cat. no. 1, p. 62, fig. 4, p. 63, fig. 4b; Leonore O. Keene Congdon, “Two Bronze Mirror Caryatids in the National Museum

mid-5th⁵⁸ centuries BC (figs. 17–18) and the cover of a Greek box mirror with a relief showing a man and a woman to which a separate study was devoted as early as 1867 (fig. 19).⁵⁹ A small figurine of the god Triton, depicted as a merman with a demonic expression that makes him similar to a Greek satyr, is also noteworthy in this group.⁶⁰ Smaller bronze artefacts include the decorations of a standing Greek mirror from a Corinthian workshop from 465–455 BC: two dog figurines⁶¹ and a rooster figurine,⁶² a round hand mirror with a griffin,⁶³ a standing mirror base in the shape of a round tripod with griffin legs,⁶⁴ a Roman stand (furniture

of Warsaw,” *American Journal of Archeology*, vol. 70 (1966), pp. 161–65, tables 43–44; Klaus Wallenstein, *Korinthische Plastik des 7. und 6. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (Bonn, 1971), pp. 77, 155, no. VII/B 17, 184; Leonore O. Keene Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece. Technical, Stylistic, and Historical Considerations of an Archaic and Early Classical Bronze Series* (Mainz, 1981), p. 135, no. 12, table 8, no. 12a–b; *Wystawa jubileuszowa...*, op. cit., fig., p. 7; Dorota Folga-Januszewska, ed., *111 arcydzieł z Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 2000), pp. 22–23; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Zbiory dzieł sztuki...,” op. cit., fig. 5, p. 535, n. 35, p. 543; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 187 ff., cat. no. 4.

⁵⁸ NMW, inv. no. 198310 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 43, item 82; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 124, item 18; Rossbach, *Griechische Antiken...*, op. cit., p. 124, fig. no. 18; Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna...*, op. cit., p. 200, fig. 16; Zdrojewska, “Fragmenty greckich luster...,” op. cit., pp. 70–75, cat. no. 3, p. 72, fig. 6, p. 73, fig. 6b–c; L. O. Keene Congdon, “Two Bronze Mirror...,” op. cit., pp. 161–65; ead., “Caryatid mirrors...,” op. cit., pp. 170–71, no. 59, table 56, fig. 59a–d; *Wystawa jubileuszowa...*, op. cit., p. 47, cat. no. 46 (Witold Dobrowolski, Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk); *111 arcydzieł...*, op. cit., pp. 22–23; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; ead., Palica, “Zbiory dzieł sztuki...,” op. cit., n. 35, p. 543; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...,” op. cit., fig. 4 on p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 193 ff., cat. no. 5.

⁵⁹ C. 300 BC, NMW, inv. no. 198294 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., pp. 43–44, item 86; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 124, item 20 (as scene of the wedding of Zeus and Hera); Richard Foerster, *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera. Relief der Schaubert’schen Sammlung in dem K. Museum für Kunst und Alterthum in Breslau* (Breslau, 1867); Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna...*, op. cit., p. 202; Wanda Zdrojewska, “Fragmenty luster pudełkowych w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, vol. 11 (1967), pp. 67–87, here: 76–80, p. 77, cat. no. 3; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...,” op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 214 ff., cat. no. 10.

⁶⁰ 1st quarter 5th century BC, NMW, inv. no. 198311 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 45, item 117 (as dolphin with a human head); id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 124, item. 26; Rossbach, *Griechische Antiken...*, op. cit., pp. 40–42, table 2, fig. 2; K. Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna...*, op. cit., p. 230; Witold Dobrowolski, *Mity morskie antyku* (Warsaw, 1987), pp. 375–80; *Wystawa jubileuszowa...*, op. cit., p. 47, cat. no. 47 (Witold Dobrowolski, Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk); W. Dobrowolski, “Figurka Trytona...,” op. cit., pp. 65–82; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Zbiory dzieł sztuki...,” op. cit., n. 35, p. 543; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...,” op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 210 ff., cat. no. 2.

⁶¹ NMW, inv. nos. 198355 MNW and 198356 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 95; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 125, item 29; Zdrojewska, “Fragmenty greckich luster...,” op. cit., pp. 79–80, cat. no. 4b–c, p. 77, fig. 7; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...,” op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 204 ff., cat. nos. 7–8.

⁶² NMW, inv. no. 198354 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 96; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 124, item 28; W. Zdrojewska, “Fragmenty greckich luster...,” op. cit., pp. 75–78, cat. no. 4a, p. 77, fig. 7; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...,” op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 201 ff., cat. no. 6.

⁶³ Probably Corinthian production, end 6th century BC, NMW, inv. no. 198287 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 43, item 83; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 124, item 15; Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna...*, op. cit., p. 230; Zdrojewska, “Fragmenty greckich luster...,” op. cit., p. 57, fig. 1; ead., “Lustra ręczne w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, vol. 14 (1970), pp. 149–60, here: 151–153, p. 152, fig. 1; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...,” op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 182 ff., cat. no. 3.

⁶⁴ Peloponnese, 465–450 BC, NMW, inv. no. 198315 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 93; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 123, item 4; Zdrojewska, “Fragmenty greckich luster...,” op. cit.,

appliqué?) in the shape of a rooster's or eagle's leg,⁶⁵ an Etruscan situla handle in the shape of a Silenus figure,⁶⁶ a head in a Phrygian cap made by a Roman workshop,⁶⁷ and a fragment (upper part) of a lock casing decorated with the figurine of a recumbent lion.⁶⁸ A winged figure with a vessel on its head, which stylistically resembles Coptic production (and probably for this reason was included in the original collection), once dated for the Byzantine period, is considered modern today.⁶⁹

Also interesting is a cast-lead Greek ram's head, whose artistic quality was praised by Rossbach (**fig. 20**),⁷⁰ as well as two astragal-shaped weights, a smaller brass one, decorated with a bucranium,⁷¹ and a larger bronze one with the inscribed Greek word *DIOS*.⁷² Among the five lead sling bullets mentioned by Rossbach in his catalogues, only one was described in some detail, making possible its identification in the NMW collection. Rossbach described it as "larger," with the Greek inscription *DEXAI*, with a scorpion symbol at the back – a description that fits the 3.2 cm bullet.⁷³ A small cone with a round stamp with a bust of Athena,⁷⁴ potentially identical with what the Rossbach catalogues describe as a "small stamp" decorated with an image resembling the head of Pallas-Athena,⁷⁵ remains to be verified. A round flat platter with a raised edge and handles terminating in snake heads, dated to the Early Archaic period, is, in turn, a spectacular bronze (**fig. 21**).⁷⁶

pp. 78–79, cat. no. 5, p. 77, fig. 8; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, "Eduard Schaubert...", op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 209 ff., cat. no. 9.

⁶⁵ Probably Trajan period, NMW, inv. no. 198364 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 94; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 125, item 33; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, "Eduard Schaubert...", op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 238 ff., cat. no. 13.

⁶⁶ 1st half 5th century BC, NMW, inv. no. 198309 MNW. See Rossbach, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 125, item 34; Rossbach, *Griechische Antiken...*, op. cit., pp. 42–43, table 2, fig. 3; Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna...*, op. cit., p. 230; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, "Eduard Schaubert...", op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 233 ff., cat. no. 11.

⁶⁷ 1st half 3rd century AD, NMW, inv. no. 198345 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 103; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 124, item 22.

⁶⁸ Probably Roman production, NMW, inv. no. 198363 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 98; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 125, item 31.

⁶⁹ Greece, 18th century (?), NMW, inv. no. 198347 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 108; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 125, item 37; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, "Eduard Schaubert...", op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 345–46, cat. no. 53.

⁷⁰ NMW, inv. no. 198321 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 45, item 120; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, p. 125, item 35.

⁷¹ NMW, inv. no. 198382 MNW. See id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 124, item 13.

⁷² Olympia, 5th century BC, NMW, inv. no. 198383 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 101; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 124, item 13; Wanda Zdrojewska, "Greccie odważniki," *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, vol. 26 (1982), pp. 155–68, here: 161–165, p. 161, fig. 5.

⁷³ NMW, inv. no. 198385 MNW. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 88; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 123, item 8.

⁷⁴ 3.7 × 4.7 cm, NMW, inv. no. 198273 MNW.

⁷⁵ Id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 123, item 6.

⁷⁶ NMW, inv. no. 198282 MNW. See id., *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 43, item 80; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 123, item 2; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, "Eduard Schaubert...", op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, "Kolekcja zabytków...", op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 231–33, cat. no. 12.

The last bronze craft object identified today as originating from the Schaubert collection is a helmet in its older, Corinthian version (the Myros type), forged in the last quarter of the 7th century BC, probably in the Peloponnese (**fig. 22**).⁷⁷ Unlike most of the others, this artefact has a documented post-war history: it was brought to Warsaw in a transport from a depot in Ząbkowice Śląskie on 27 February 1946.⁷⁸ It is likely that the other items from the Schaubert collection were brought to Warsaw during the same time, perhaps even in the same transport. A particularly fine artefact, the helmet has been published in museum guides, catalogues, and reports.⁷⁹

The Schaubert collection included also smaller groups of objects. Of the eight small marble sculptures and 13 pieces of polished marble, the only one that has been identified is a marble plinth of a figural sculpture with preserved male feet and fragment of a tree and a snake, dated to the Roman period⁸⁰ (**fig. 23**). In the past, it was a valuable research item due to a piece of metal sealed in the marble.

A collection of engraved gems (54 archaic ones, including seven in precious stones, and 15 non-ancient ones, described in 1883)⁸¹ and the largest sub-group of the Schaubert transfer – the collection of coins – are now considered missing. Diverse in terms of the age of the generally well-preserved items and their place of origin (various minting centres), the coin collection aspired to the rank of a standalone teaching aid in the field of Greek numismatics. It was catalogued in 1868 by the eminent numismatist Julius Friedländer (1813–1884), director of the royal numismatic cabinet in Berlin. Preserved to this day, the handwritten catalogue is accompanied by historical commentary by Rossbach (**fig. 24**).⁸² According to it, the collection included 1437 coins: Greek (as many as 1255), Roman, and Byzantine.

Besides original artefacts, Schaubert collected also plaster casts of antiquities, including copies of sculptures,⁸³ coins, and a “certain number” of seal stamps. The inventory closed with miscellaneous objects (7 items).⁸⁴

After his death, Eduard Schaubert long remained a forgotten architect, researcher, and collector. A contributing factor was likely his modest number of published works. In his lifetime,

⁷⁷ NMW, inv. no. 198283 MNW. The Rossbach catalogue states, after Otto Schaubert, that the helmet was found at Mycenae. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 44, item 90; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 123, item 1; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Eduard Schaubert...,” op. cit., p. 330; Bończuk-Dawidziuk, Palica, “Kolekcja zabytków...,” op. cit., p. 235; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 223–31, cat. no. 1.

⁷⁸ Car no. 8943, box no. 70, ref. no. A.J. XIII K.M. 305, unpacked in April the same year, rev. no. 14376-2/14376 – see NMW archival documentation.

⁷⁹ Kazimierz Michałowski, *Zbiory sztuki starożytnej. Przewodnik. Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1949), p. 69; id., *Sztuka starożytna. Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1955), p. 200, fig. 17; id., “Badania naukowe nad starożytnością w Muzeum Narodowym w latach 1946–1961,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, vol. 6 (1962), pp. 133–64, here: p. 146, fig. 15; Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz, “Casques corinthiens dans les collection polonaises,” *Études et Travaux*, no. 13 (1983), pp. 48–50, fig. 1–2.

⁸⁰ 2nd century AD, 11 × 16.4 × 10.4 cm, UW, inv. no. UW-45. See Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 42, item 70; id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, p. 122, item 1; Kubala, *Filhellenizm...*, op. cit., pp. 243–47, cat. no. 52.

⁸¹ Otto Rossbach, “Griechische Gemmen ältester Technik,” *Archäologische Zeitung*, vol. 41 (1883), pp. 313–47.

⁸² Urszula Bończuk-Dawidziuk, “Rękopis katalogu monet Muzeum Archeologicznego przy Królewskim Uniwersytecie we Wrocławiu z roku 1872,” *Silesia Antiqua*, no. 47 (2011), pp. 287–98.

⁸³ Rossbach, *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., pp. 13–14, items 45–47, p. 24, item 99, p. 44, item 156, pp. 84–85, item 259, p. 108, items 391, 394.

⁸⁴ Id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit., p. 126.

he published little, sometimes in collaboration with others or through friends.⁸⁵ Also, his collection was at first little known in Wrocław, and that was possibly due to Schaubert's own desire. Professing philhellenic ideas, he was more prone to contemplate the original traces of ancient civilization in the privacy of his home rather than under public scrutiny. This is confirmed by the fact that only in the 1860s, after it had been transferred to the Archaeological Museum of the University of Wrocław, did the collection gain wider recognition, resulting in several publications about selected ancient artefacts and the documentation.⁸⁶ These studies were initiated by Rossbach, the museum's then director, who saw scholarly potential in the collection, which, though heterogeneous, included artefacts that were unique or of fine artistic quality. This heterogeneity is in fact a characteristic feature of philhellenic collections, i.e., those created by admirers of ancient Greece. Even though there were many such collections throughout Europe, in Wrocław the Schaubert legacy was exceptional – no one else possessed an equivalent amount of ancient Greek artefacts. Consequently, following the transfer to the university museum, the legacy contributed significantly to elevating its status in the local community. In artistic and historical terms, it clearly surpassed the museum's existing holdings because it included mainly originals, while the university museum had boasted holding what was one of Germany's finest collections of copies. In 1861, it held 337 plaster, bronze, and metal casts of original Greek, Roman, and Oriental sculptures from museums in Berlin, Dresden, Paris, Vienna, Rome, Naples, and Florence, among other places.⁸⁷ By 1877, a further 102 copies had been added to it.⁸⁸ The Schaubert collection, on the other hand, included originals straight from Greece. Until the Second World War, it was kept in the Archaeological Museum of the University of Wrocław (moved in 1934 to a building at Kaiserin-Augusta-Platz, today Plac Polski 3/4). During the war, the collection was evacuated to one of the museum depots in Lower Silesia. The museum building burned down during Easter 1945, in the siege of Wrocław, and the institution was not revived after the war. In 1946, some items from the Schaubert collection were transferred from depots to the NMW, others were added to the didactic resources of the Chair of Classical Archaeology of the University of Wrocław. The current location of the extant remainder of the Schaubert legacy is unknown.

Translated by Marcin Wawrzyńczak

⁸⁵ Besides the book co-authored by Ross and Hansen, Schaubert published two articles: "Neues aus Griechenland," *Museum. Blätter für bildende Kunst*, vol. 1 (1833), no. 30, pp. 237–38; id., "Nachrichten. Athen," *Museum. Blätter für bildende Kunst*, vol. 2 (1834), no. 18, p. 144.

⁸⁶ See Konitzer, op. cit.; Foerster, *Die Hochzeit des Zeus...*, op. cit.; Koepp, op. cit.

⁸⁷ Rossbach, *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., pp. 4–38.

⁸⁸ See id., *Das Archäologische Museum...*, op. cit.