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Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe

Collection of Articles

Edited by
Milda Kvizikevičiūtė
Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė

VILNIUS, 2022

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Foreword

The articles presented in this volume are based on the conference 'Theatrum Libri: the Press, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe', which was organised by the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, in Vilnius, 1-3 December 2021. The conference was organised in commemoration of the centenary of the first archive in the Republic of Lithuania.

In the early modern period, the word theatrum was often used in book titles in a metaphorical way. The representatives and publishers of the Renaissance and Baroque era quickly realized the appeal of the word 'theater', which usually meant the accumulation, systematization and orderly sorting of inexhaustible knowledge on a subject. In this historical period, the archiving of knowledge was perceived as a conscious and purposeful action.

The researchers were invited to share their latest research, as well as their methods and the application of digital humanities and computational history in book research.

The printed books in the volume are presented as an archival phenomenon in terms of content (the accumulation of knowledge) and form (the accumulation of books). The dynamics of the book's creation, its structure and printing is analysed in the context of socio-cultural processes.

The diversity of topics in the conference and this volume show the dynamics of rare book research and its importance.

The collection of articles on a variety of topics, covering different periods, are presented in alphabetical order. However, Dr. Geri della Rocca de Candal's article 'From Classical Theatron to Renaissance Theatrum: The Origin of a Semantic Shift' is presented at the beginning as it analyzes the concept of theatrum: its origins in Classical Antiquity, the revival and evolution in the Renaissance.

The volume is supported financially by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania.

Editors

From Classical *Theatron* to Renaissance *Theatrum*: the Origin of a Semantic Shift

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During the Renaissance the notion of 'theatre' adopted a secondary meaning that not only did not exist when the term first came into use – that is, in classical times – but it has also, since, disappeared again: that of an abstract collection, or, better yet, an abstract display, to remain closer to the etymological meaning of the word. The purpose of this brief contribution is to introduce the broader topic of the Renaissance *theatrum libri*, outlining the origin of the word 'theatre', its conceptual construct (theatre as signifier and its signified), and its evolution over time. To do so I will share some reflections – or musings, as it were – hoping that they will provide a useful viaticum for the theatrical journey at hand.

Θέατρον originally designated a 'place for seeing', and thus, by extension, a space devoted to a performative art. The word eventually came to identify the spectacle itself and was thus intended as a synonym of its cognate θέαμα, but this meaning only gained traction towards the end of the Hellenistic period: in this sense, for instance, it appears in Plutarch and in Corinthians.[1] A secondary meaning, which may however connect to the Renaissance use of *theatrum*, is that of 'place of assembly', and as such it appears in Thucydides, Lysias, and, later, in the Acts of the Apostles. The first clearly figurative, metaphorical use of the word, as in 'theatre of life', appears in Porphyry's letter to his wife Marcella, in the late third century AD.[2] And although it is clear that in the spoken language these different usages predated their written counterparts – and perhaps by centuries – it is also of some relevance to determine which ones appear to have developed earlier, and which ones later.

Θέατρον derives of course from θεάομαι, a verb that indicates the act of watching, observing, but also contemplating with marvel, used for instance with reference to a prodigy (and a cognate form, in this sense, of 'thaumaturgy', as in Marc Bloch's essay on wonder-making kings and the supernatural character attributed to medieval royalty).[3] Only at a later stage did the verb θεάομαι start being used more frequently in a passive connotation, as in 'being seen, being observed', closer to the meaning of θέατρον, that is, a representation intended to be observed.

One of the first questions that come to mind is whether an association with θεός exists, that is, with the notion of divinity, the object of contemplation. The Proto-Indo-European root appears to lead to a suspiciously similar stem, θε-: θεάομαι, θεός. The question is legitimate, but ultimately the answer appears to be negative: θεός derives from *d^heh_1- – a root standing for 'to do, to put, to place' (as in 'God, the

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[1] For the reference to Corinthians (as well as for the references to Thucydides, Lysias, and the Acts of the Apostles, a few lines below) see 'Θέατρον', in: *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, p. 787. For the reference to Plutarch, see 'Θέατρον', in: *Vocabolario della Lingua Greca*, compiled by Franco Montanari, Florence: Loescher, 1995, p. 901.
[2] Porphyrius, *Πρὸς Μαρκέλλαν*, 2: 'Πλήν γε ὅτι οὐ περὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλως ὑπουργοῦντας τοῖς δαίμοσι τουτὶ τὸ θέατρον ἡμεῖς ὑπεκρίθημεν' (Porphyrius, *Opus ineditum ad Marcellam*, Milan: Stamperia Reale, 1816, p. 6).
[3] Bloch, Marc, *Les Rois thaumaturges*, Strasbourg, Paris: Librairie Istra; London; New York: H.S. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1924.

maker of all things'); θεάομαι, on the other hand, derives from *d^heh_2u- – suggesting a root closer to θα- than to θε-, and related to the notion of observation/wonder. It may be that there is a deeper, more ancient connection, but at present there is no evidence to confirm this. Interestingly, more than to θέατρον, θεός is actually related to βιβλιοθήκη, through the ending -θήκη, meaning 'placement' (of books), which is why librarians should have the right to consider themselves the gods of books: perhaps some will now consider their daily work in a new light.[4]

Be that as it may, in the course of Western history, only theatre, among the higher arts, appears to have undergone such a marked experience of decadence and resurrection. Between the decline of θέατρον in its classical sense and its reappearance during the Renaissance, including the semantic shift to *theatrum* (as in the eponymous meaning of these proceedings), theatrical performances did not completely disappear; yet, notwithstanding the occasional medieval representation and pantomime (often religious), the cultural status and social prestige of theatre had undoubtedly taken a severe blow. It is perhaps not by chance that, in his short novel Averroes' Search, Jorge Luis Borges focusses in particular on the struggle faced by the twelfth-century Muslim Andalusian polymath Averroes, who, in his endeavour to write a commentary on Aristotle's works, was forced to address the unfamiliar notions of tragedy and comedy:

> History will record few things lovelier and more moving than this Arab physician's devotion to the thoughts of a man separated from him by a gulf of fourteen centuries. To the intrinsic difficulties of the enterprise we might add that Averroës, who knew neither Syriac nor Greek, was working from a translation of a translation. The night before, two doubtful words had halted him at the very portals of the Poetics. Those words were 'tragedy' and 'comedy'. He had come across them years earlier, in the third book of the Rhetoric; no one in all of Islam could hazard a guess as to their meaning. He had pored through the pages of Alexander of Aphrodisias, compared the translations of the Nestorian Hunayn ibn-Ishaq and Abu-Bashar Mata – and he had found nothing. Yet the two arcane words were everywhere in the text of the Poetics – it was impossible to avoid them.[5]

This passage is delightfully poetic, regardless of how literally we should take it. We do not know whether Averroes effectively ignored the meanings of comedy and tragedy – and thus, by extension, of their broader theatrical context – but one can take it as an artist's rendition of the grave decadence in which theatre, once the leading form of public entertainment around the Mediterranean, had fallen during the Middle Ages. However, it would be more appropriate to reflect not so much on the decline of theatre, but rather of its highest artistic expressions, tragedy and comedy. Indeed, after the advent of Christianity, the notion of θέατρον survived, carrying other connotations, and a Late Antique and Byzantine θέατρον did, in fact, exist.

The idea that early Christian authorities dismissed theatre as immoral is generally agreed upon and supported by evidence of various nature. Legislation passed during Constantine's reign, for instance,

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[4] For the sake of completeness, some readers may be also interested in learning about the etymologies of comedy and tragedy: while κωμ-ῳδία refers to an ode intended for merry celebrations (κῶμος was, originally, a ritualised revelling procession that involved drunkenness), those who have studied classics will probably infer what τραγ-ῳδία stands for. As said for comedy, ῳδή is 'song', but τράγος is 'goat', and as much as one might wish for this to translate as 'singing goat', it is actually 'goat song': this is by some believed to be a reference to the goat-satyrs of Doric theatrical plays, but the origin of the term is likely to have a more ancient root, connected to the Dionysian mysteries, in which goats often played a role (indeed often a tragic one, from the goats' perspective). The direct connection between these ancient cults and the development of classical tragedy, however, remains obscure. Some alternative etymologies have also been suggested, but none of these has gained much traction.

[5] The original reads as follows: 'Pocas cosas más bellas y más patéticas registrará la historia que esa consagración de un médico árabe a los pensamientos de un hombre de quien lo separaban catorce siglos; a las dificultades intrínsecas debemos añadir que Averroes, ignorante del siríaco y del griego, trabajaba sobre la traducción de una traducción. La víspera, dos palabras dudosas lo habían detenido en el principio de la Poética. Esas palabras eran tragedia y comedia. Las había encontrado años atrás, en el libro tercero de la Retórica; nadie, en el ámbito del Islam, barruntaba lo que querían decir. Vanamente había fatigado las páginas de Alejandro de Afrodisia, vanamente había compulsado las versiones del nestoriano Hunáin ibn-Ishaq y de Abu-Bashar Mata. Esas dos palabras arcanas pululaban en el texto de la Poética; imposible eludirlas.' Borges, Jorge Luis, *El Aleph*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1949, pp. 94-95 (*The Aleph and Other Stories* [English translation by Andrew Hurley], London: Penguin, 2000).

forbade citizens of the senatorial class from marrying actresses,[6] and many will probably be familiar with Procopius's caustic description of Theodora, Justinian's wife, who used to be an actress.[7] But this low esteem was not limited to Christians: the pagan historian Zosimus claims that, during an expedition to the Peloponnese to fight Alaric and the Goths in 397 AD, the Roman general Stilicho could have easily defeated them, 'had he not devoted himself to luxury, comic actors and shameless women and allowed his soldiers to plunder what the barbarians had left'.[8] By the late seventh century theatrical performances ultimately appear to have been banned, and the buildings designed to host them – theatres – abandoned.

These examples clarify that the idea of theatre opposed by early Christian authorities – and even by some pagans – was not so much that of the classical tradition (that is, of artistic tragedy and comedy, which, incidentally, at least in classical Greece, did not even involve the presence of actresses, since all roles, whether male or female, were performed by male actors), but rather lower forms of theatre, involving, for instance, jesters and dancers, both men and women, who in Roman law were often compared, significantly, to the lowest ranks of society.

Yet it is interesting to learn that, as late as the sixth century, Christian leaders were trying to make use of a medium that was certainly perceived as one of the most powerful means of communication: at least one manuscript survives, in Syriac (but internal evidence suggests that the text was originally in Greek), with a theatrical play portraying the conversion to Christianity of a company of pagan actors. In a game of mirrors described by Albert Vogt and that Borges undoubtedly would have loved,[9] the play depicts a number of actors setting up a play (that is, a play within a play) to mock, in front of a pagan audience, a Christian celebration in a Christian church. But while the actors proceed in their mockery with a bishop, some priests, and a group of catechumens eager to be baptised, the role of the actors and their characters start to overlap and blur, and the actors eventually convert for real. The play continues with the actors, now true Christians, being required by the pagan authorities to abjure their conversion, and their steadfast refusal. Eventually the actors, who had started by mocking the Christian beliefs and rituals, end up becoming Christian martyrs, enlightened by the new faith.

What is highly unusual about this early text of martyrdom, argues Vogt, is that it is written exactly as a play, and while sporadic evidence survives of similar motifs, they are almost invariably expressed in the form of written plot outlines, suggesting that what survives today may represent the very scarce endurance of an early form of Christian theatrical performances to celebrate acts of martyrdom and sainthood.

Still, it appears that by the late seventh century, ensuing the trauma of the sudden Arab conquest and the development of the Byzantine imperial iconoclastic movement, theatre as a means of communication for Christian values definitely subsided. It is also worth noting that these fragments of Christian theatrical performances seem to stem mostly from Syria, an area that had progressively distanced itself from Constantinople, both culturally and theologically, and that after the Arab conquest became detached even further from the rest of Eastern Christianity.

Even so, the concept of performance did not completely disappear, and the notion of θέατρον shifted semantically, in Medieval Byzantium, to identify some types of side spectacles taking place in the hippodrome (usually involving mimes and jesters), or intellectual circles designed to stage rhetorical performances. The latter form, in particular, albeit not open to vast audiences, was an essential space of expression among intellectual, scholarly and aristocratic circles both in Constantinople and other imperial cities,

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[6] 'Theater' (authored by Apostolos Karpozilos and Alexander Kazhdan), in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, edited by Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, Anthony Cutler, Timothy E. Gregory and Nancy P. Ševčenko, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 2031.

[7] Procopius, Ἀπόκρυφη Ἱστορία, 9.11: 'ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα ἔς τε τὴν ἥβεν ἀφίκετο καὶ ὡραία ἦν ἤδη, εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς καθῆκεν αὑτήν, ἑταίρα τε εὐθὺς ἐγεγόνει, οἵανπερ οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι ἐκάλουν πεζήν' (Procopio, *Storie Segrete*, edited by Fabrizio Conca and Paolo Cesaretti, Milan: Bompiani, 1999, p. 134).

[8] Zosimus, Ἱστορία Νέα, 5.7.2 (Zosimo, *Storia Nuova*, edited by Fabrizio Conca, Milan: Bompiani, 2010).

[9] Vogt, Albert, 'Études sur le théâtre byzantin', *Byzantion*, 1931, Vol. 6, pp. 623-640.

also with reports of emperors participating from time to time.[10] Attendance was usually limited to a few dozen people or even fewer, since the θέατρον was a space intended to exercise and perform rhetorical skills, not quite a spectacle for the masses. Individuals read or recited their orations, and the learned audience judged (usually positively, but on occasion negatively) the performances. The judgement applied both to the rhetorical product as well as to its delivery, but it is clear that the quality of the oration was substantially more relevant compared to the quality of its delivery. When one finds references to θέατρον in Medieval Byzantine literature, these small rhetorical arenas are thus usually what texts are referring to.

As mentioned earlier in this contribution, the metaphorical meaning of θέατρον as 'theatre of life' has its harbinger in Plato's allegory of the cave, but it is with Stoicism, and even more so with Neoplatonism, that the notion starts appearing more frequently. It should not surprise that among the first to use θέατρον in a clearly metaphorical sense was indeed Porphyry, Plotinus' most trusted pupil. Neoplatonist philosophy in turn influenced early Christianity, and the motif of the world as a theatrical representation occasionally emerges, for instance, in Tertullian, Augustine, and others.[11] For a further development, however, one must wait for the English theologian John of Salisbury (late 1110s-1180),[12] the first to theorise, in his *Policraticus*, the specific notion of *theatrum mundi*. This idea, in its vast articulations, would eventually become one of the staples of late-Renaissance and Baroque intellectual discourse,[13] down to the Shakespearean motto '*Totus mundus agit histrionem*'. But almost five centuries had to pass between John of Salisbury's 'coinage', in the twelfth century, and the *theatrum mundi*'s golden age. And although it is not entirely clear what combination of elements led to the revival of this concept during the late Renaissance, the period's resurgent interest in systematisation and cataloguing is likely to have played its part.

This takes us to the final part of this article, in an attempt not only to understand these semantic shifts, but also to track their popularity: it is no mystery that by the mid sixteenth century, the term *theatrum* had become widespread, in Western Europe, to define the idea of 'collection', or, rather, 'abstract display'. But when exactly did this happen? If the presence of the word *theatrum* in a book title is not necessarily indicative of the popularity of the term, it can nonetheless help in gauging the increased use of this particular notion in the broader cultural and literary debate, as well as in the texts themselves.

An Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC) query for editions of theatrical texts issued in the fifteenth century returns approximately 250 editions (less than 1% of extant fifteenth century editions), for approximately fifty texts. But the distribution is very uneven: of these, over 120 editions are Terentius, and, if one were to include Plautus, almost half of all fifteenth-century editions of theatrical texts would be represented by these two authors alone. A substantial amount of editions, about sixty, is represented by hagiographical texts, often referred to as 'Rappresentazioni' almost invariably in Italian, at least those surviving to this day. The remaining editions are a miscellany of various texts and authors, with different degrees of 'theatricality'. No incunabula edition bears the word *theatrum*, in any of its forms, in the title.

The appearance of this term in a title must wait, it seems, until 1514, when it was used to celebrate the

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[10]   See Gaul, Niels, 'Performative Reading in the Late Byzantine *Theatron*', in: *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, edited by Teresa Shawcross and Ida Toth, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp. 215-234 (with a useful list of further reading in appendix); Marciniak, Przemysław, 'Byzantine *Theatron* – A Place of Performance?', in: *Theatron, Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter = Rhetorical Culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by Michael Grünbart, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2007, pp. 277-286; Toth, Ida, 'Rhetorical Theatron in Late Byzantium: The Example of Palaiologan Imperial Orations', in *Theatron, Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter / Rhetorical Culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by Michael Grünbart, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2007, pp. 429-448.

[11]   See Dox, Donnalee, *The Idea of the Theater in Latin Christian Thought: Augustine to the Fourteenth Century*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004; Smith, James K.A., 'Staging the Incarnation: Revisioning Augustine's Critique of Theatre', *Literature & Theology*, 2001, Vol. 15, pp. 123-139.

[12]   Luscombe, David, 'Salisbury, John of', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2011 [accessed 27 August 2022]. Access at: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14849?rskey=-suBymz&result=14>.

[13]   Variously translated, in European vernacular languages, as '*grand théâtre du monde*', '*el teatro del mundo*', '*Welttheater*', 'great theatre of the world', and so on.

building of a temporary wooden stage on the Capitoline Hill in Rome in 1513.[14] For a first use of the term *theatrum* closer to the one that is being investigated here one must wait until Vasio's *Theatri d'Amor*, first published in Venice in 1531.[15] The meaning is not yet that of an abstract display, but it is already detached from that of a theatrical representation, or a building. In this sense, the first use of *theatrum* appears to develop in France, in Guillaume de La Perrière's 1536 *Le theatre des bons engins*,[16] a text related to the nascent interest in emblems. It then took a few more decades for the term to gain popularity as a title word, but by the late sixteenth, and even more so by the early seventeenth century, it had become quite frequent, before declining again in the early eighteenth century.

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[14] Sereni, Aurelio, *Theatrum Capitolinum magnifico Iuliano institutum* […] *et De elephante carmen eiusdem*, Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1514 [USTC: 856019].

[15] Vasio, Giovanni Paolo, *Theatri d'Amor*, Venice: Bernardino Vitali, 1531 [USTC: 862083].

[16] La Perrière, Guillaume de, *Le theatre des bons engins*, Lyon: Denis de Harsy, [1536] [USTC: 11080].

He Who Is 'Willing to Make a Book of Anything' – on the Literary Activities of Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz[1]

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Abstract. The article discusses the literary activity of Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz (Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius, 1755-1822). Marewicz was one of the few men of his generation to become a professional writer. The literary activity became his way of ensuring a more secure material and social position. The article investigates how Marewicz envisioned writing as a profession and the publishing possibilities that were open to him. The focus is greater on his literary activity in Vilnius, which has been less researched in historiography. The article presents an exploration of Marewicz's autobiographical works as well as the dedications and introductions of his books, wherein the writer encoded his intentions. The article then discusses Marewicz's relationship to the individuals he dedicated his work to and what means the writer had at his disposal with respect to the publication and distribution of his books. The conclusion presents a discussion of how typical and how unique the case of Marewicz was in the Enlightenment period.

Keywords: Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz (Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius), Enlightenment writer, literary activity, Vilnius.

Introduction

Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz (Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius, 1755-1822), the rittmeister of the Voivodeship of Trakai, was a poor nobleman who tried to make a living as a writer. For a long time, he had neither land nor office and was not associated with any institution or any single patron, so writing and selling books became his way of securing material comforts and a better station in society. With no other source of income, Marewicz had to write and publish abundantly. Typically, he printed his works out of his own pocket and had to ensure their distribution himself. Marewicz can be viewed as one of the few independent writers of his time. This was a rare phenomenon in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the time, where literary men, as noted by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, did not see writing as a professional activity.[2]

His many works and the great variety of subjects he wrote on earned Marewicz the reputation of a graphomaniac. The image of Marewicz formed by his first biographer, Eustachy Tyszkiewicz (Eustachijus Tiškevičius) was less than favourable. In his short book, *A Study of Habits*,[3] published in 1870, Marewicz

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[1] This research was funded by a grant (No. S-LIP-21-04) from the Research Council of Lithuania.
[2] Kostkiewiczowa, Teresa, 'Poeci Oświecenia. Oświeceniowe poglądy na poezję', in: *Świat poprawić – zuchwałe rzemiosło. Antologia poezji polskiego Oświecenia*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981, p. 7.
[3] Tyszkiewicz, Eustachy, *Wincenty Marewicz. Studium obyczajowe*, Warszawa: Drukarnia Gazety Warszawskiej, 1870.

is presented as strange and pathetic, a man who with no education attempted to 'break through to Parnassus'.[4] It was only in the past few decades that the writer's work has caught the attention of Polish literary historians. He has been comprehensively studied by Elżbieta Aleksandrowska, who has written articles on him for three biographical dictionaries.[5] She has made the work of Marewicz relevant again by demonstrating his originality in the literary context of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. While Aleksandrowska sees Marewicz as a second-rate literary figure, she also considers him one of the most singular writers of the Enlightenment.[6] Another Polish scholar, Anna Petlak, is currently compiling a comprehensive publication of Marewicz's writings. She has already published collections of his early poetry, prefaced by her own introduction, as well as several articles on Marewicz's dramatic works.[7]

In the discourse of Lithuanian literary history, Marewicz is hardly mentioned, even though he spent the better part of his life in Vilnius and wrote at least half of his books there. In general, we have little information about independent writers working in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and so, one of the aims of this study is to present Marewicz's literary activity in Vilnius. The article will also discuss how Marewicz envisioned writing as a profession and what publishing opportunities were available to him. The article will be presented as a case study, reflecting on the social and cultural processes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Enlightenment era through the activity of a specific author: the formation of new literary practices, motives for writing and attitudes towards writing.

As my main source, I will be using Marewicz's books, many of which are rich in autobiographical detail. Marewicz's entire creative legacy has so far not been systematically studied. A total of 41 titles by Marewicz have up to this point been identified in the memory institutions of Lithuania and Poland.[8] At least 22 of the titles were published in Vilnius. Marewicz also published his work in Warsaw, Krakow and Lviv. The focus of this study will be the dedications, introductions and epigraphs of his books and any additional information pertaining to their distribution.

The life of Marewicz

Marewicz was born in 1755, to the family of a landless nobleman from the *powiat* of Trakai. He attended the Jesuit school in Vilnius, however, he dropped out having barely reached grammar grade. In 1776, he departed for a several year journey across various cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 'with no purpose in mind', and later settled down in Warsaw for three years as he attempted to resolve

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[4]   *Ibid*, p. 1.
[5]   Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereinafter – *PSB*), Vol. 19, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1974, pp. 633-635; Idem, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, edited by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Zbigniew Goliński, Vol. 2, Warszawa, 1994, pp. 332-341; Idem, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy (1755–1822)', in: *Dawni pisarze polscy od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski. Przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny*, Vol. 2, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2001, pp. 427-429.
[6]   Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, edited by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Zbigniew Goliński, Vol. 2, Warszawa Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1994, pp. 332, 339.
[7]   Petlak, Anna, 'Wprowadzenie do lektury', in: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie,* compiled and provided with an introduction by Anna Petlak, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, pp. 13-81; Idem, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', in: *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, No. 4 (34), 2016, pp. 147-162; Idem, 'Źródła z epoki jako świadectwa polskiej i rosyjskiej recepcji opery Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza *Polusia, Córka kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona…*', in: *Napis*, Vol. 24, 2018, pp. 225-241.
[8]   The publication *XVIII a. Lietuvos knygos lenkų kalba. Kontrolinis sąrašas*, edited by Marija Ivanovič, Karina Basiul, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka, 2015, pp. 240-242 presents 25 entries of works published by Marewicz in Vilnius. Two of these books were reprints. The place of publication of one book (*Do stanów seymuiących wiersz Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza, rotmistrza woiewództwa trockiego, w czasie ordynaryinego seymu w Warszawie* (1788) should be Warsaw, as indicated in a list compiled by the author himself and presented in *Szczęście w nieszczęściu czyli wzor stałosci ludzkosci i cierpliwosci: Dramma oryginalne we czterech aktach przez Wincentego Marewicza napisane*, [S.l.: s.n.], 1798, pp. [1-3] at the end of the book.

various legal issues.[9] Having achieved little in Warsaw and spent all his money, Marewicz returned to Vilnius in 1783. For a while, he studied geography under the patronage of the Bishop of Vilnius, Ignacy Jakub Massalski (Ignotas Jokūbas Masalskis), but probably never applied his studies in real life. Once he took up residence in Vilnius, Marewicz took to writing. His first work was a comedy written in Vilnius, in 1783 entitled *Miłość dla cnoty* (*Love for Virtue*). He wrote the play to attract the attention of a young woman of noble birth, producing the comedy himself and staging it with a troupe of amateur actors brought together for that express purpose. Rejected by the young lady in question, Marewicz left Vilnius again the following year and departed for Warsaw, where he spent several years, during which he began to publish his works. He was first published in 1784 by *Magazyn Warszawski*, a literary newspaper that showcased several of his poems.[10] From 1786 onwards, Marewicz began to publish his works in earnest.

During his stay in Warsaw, Marewicz also sought to manage various legal issues: he requested the support of the king in recovering a debt he was owed with which he wished to buy out his family *folwark* [estate] in the *powiat* of Trakai, also hoping he would appoint him the king's chamberlain, however, his efforts were fruitless. In late 1788-early 1789, Marewicz left for Grodno, and then returned to Vilnius. Mid-1789, he travelled to Krakow, where he published several more manuscripts. From Krakow, Marewicz travelled to Nesvizh and then Vilnius, where he lived up until late 1798 and continued to publish his writings.

At the beginning of 1791, under the patronage of the Maciej Radziwiłł (Motiejus Radvila), the castellan of Vilnius, to whom the writer had dedicated a work entitled *Szczere interesowanie się Marewicza za Marewiczem* (*Marewicz's Sincere Interest in Marewicz*),[11] Marewicz purchased a small house and some land near Lukiškės, on Pakalnės (*Podgórna*) Street.[12] In July of 1791, he accepted the rights of the townspeople and was shortly elected assessor of elections for the second district. However, his participation in the activity of the municipal government was short-lived because in May of 1792, war broke out between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia. Wishing to aid his country's army, Marewicz pledged all he had for the use of the military and committed to sending a volunteer knowledgeable in military service.[13] In 1794, Marewicz and his wife (identity unknown) participated in the Kościuszko Uprising.[14]

After the last partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Marewicz lived in Vilnius for a while, writing and publishing occasional poems and plays. His plays were staged in Vilnius, and Marewicz acted in them with his wife. From late 1798, he lived in Lviv, later in Warsaw. In 1802, having left his wife behind in Warsaw, he departed for Vilnius to pursue the return of his Lithuanian assets in the courts and lived there until 1806. It is unclear when he finally settled down in Warsaw again, but we do know that he was living there by fall of 1819 and serving as an officer of the Civil Commission of Warsaw's District 4. He was a member of the Temple of Isis masonic lodge. He did not publish any of his written work during this period. He died in Warsaw in 1822. In June of the same year, the Public Library purchased 140 volumes of his work from his widow. After his death, in 1836, a small part of his ironic parody, the poem *Nefelonikones*, which Marewicz wrote in the early nineteenth century, was published in Paris.[15]

9   For more on Marewicz's biography see the work of Aleksandrowska and the introduction written by Petlak (see footnotes 2 and 3), also see: Balaišytė, Lina, 'Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius apie save ir Tėvynę: XVIII a. pabaigos literato (savi)refleksijos', in: *XVIII amžiaus studijos, Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė: personalijos, idėjos, refleksijos*, Vilnius, 2020, Vol. 6, pp. 294-322.

10 The poems are reprinted in Marewicz's debut collection of poems, *Samotne zabawki wierszem* (1786). Now published: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, pp. 92-94.

11 Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Szczere interesowanie się Marewicza za Marewiczem do Jaśnie Oświeconego Xięcia Imci Macieja Radziwiłły kasztelana wileńskiego, kawalera polskich orderow, podane w Nieświżu w rękopismie roku 1791. msca kwietnia d. 2*, [Wilno, 1791].

12 Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy', in: *PSB*, p. 635.

13 On 24 May 1792, the Warsaw newspaper *Korrespondent Warszawski* reported on Marewicz's donation: the rights to a brick building, a small manor and garden, 269 złoty, an armed volunteer with a horse and a hussar's uniform, and printed books to the value of 2,000 złoty. He also promised that upon the resolution of certain affairs, he would 'willingly dedicate his life to the Fatherland'. See: *Korrespondent Warszawski*, 1792, No. 16, pp. 140-141.

14 Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy', in: *PSB*, p. 635.

15 In 1836, an individual who went by the initials of L. K. published one of four parts of Marewicz's poem, signed in the introduction

On Marewicz's creative work

Marewicz's literary activity, which began with a comedy of manners and several small satirical works published in the press, sprawled in several different directions. Marewicz produced various political projects, small volumes of poetry, letters in verse and collections of prose, three comedic and two dramatic plays, a political opera, occasional patriotic and panegyric poems and a collection of quotations. Some of his works are difficult to attribute to any one genre because a single volume could be a compilation of treatises, satirical miniatures panegyrics, patriotic poetry and so on.

We can presume that Marewicz was greatly influenced by Warsaw's literary scene. The city brought together various writers under the patronage of the king, literary societies thrived and there were several literary periodicals to choose from, making it a favourable environment for creative activity. Roman Kaleta once noted that in the late eighteenth century, the professional writer was an exclusively Varsovian phenomenon. He cites a nineteenth century publicist, who describes the Varsovian literary type of the previous century: 'People who have ink for blood, who are willing to make a book or article of anything and have no other affairs except for literary ones'.[16] According to the anonymous publicist, the professional writer was characteristically unattached to any one object and combined a certain universality with superficiality.[17] Such a description can readily be applied to Marewicz as well, who actively published the most eclectic material.

Despite this variety of material, we can see that Marewicz's greatest passion was social criticism. In the social sense, Marewicz was like the 'poor poets' who, according to Aleksandrowska, 'considered creative work a public activity that meant having an independent position on social and political problems'.[18] In his work, Marewicz frequently sought to unmask social ills and reveal a crisis of traditional values. Social criticism dominated his autobiographical works, in which he depicted himself as a lone figure in a hypocritical and money-driven society, rejected for his virtue.[19] The theme of being valued for one's virtue as opposed to one's wealth and status dominated in Marewicz's comedic and dramatic plays.[20] The period of state reform also encouraged him to voice his opinions on various political issues.[21]

Based on his date of birth and time of his literary debut, Marewicz can be attributed to the third generation of writers in the classification of five generations of Polish-Lithuanian Enlightenment writers proposed by literary historians.[22] Aleksandrowska has dubbed the third generation, writers born from 1750 to 1769, the 'activists' ('*działacze*'). What Marewicz had in common with other members of his generation was a world view shaped by the experience of the intense political life of the state. Marewicz's lineage was also typical – over 70% of third-generation Enlightenment writers were noblemen. However, it should be noted that only a very small percentage of this generation could be called professional writers. The majority of these literary figures were clergymen, teachers, officials, publishers and military

with '*Józef Marewicz z starej daty Polak*' ('Józef Marewicz, an old-fashioned Pole'). Aleksandrowska has identified the author as none other than Wincenty Ignacy himself (Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Marewicz Wincenty Ignacy', in: *PSB*, p. 635).

[16] Kaleta, Roman, 'Miejsce i społeczna funkcja literatów w okresie Oświecenia', in: *Problemy literatury polskiej okresu Oświecenia*, Wrocław, Warszawa: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1973, p. 45.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, p. 339.

[19] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuskuteczniony prozą i wierszem Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza, Rotmistrza Woiewództwa Trockiego,* Warszawa, 1788; Idem, *Szczere interesowanie się Marewicza za Marewiczem...*, and others.

[20] E.g., Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Miłość wszystkich porównywa: komedya oryginalna w piąciu* aktach, W Wilnie: [s.n.], 1796; Idem, *Miłość dla cnoty…* Warszawa: [s.n., 1787].

[21] For more on the topic see: Balaišytė, Lina, '„Leiskite ir man, ką galvoju, pasakyti!": Apie Vincento Ignaco Marevičiaus politinę poeziją ir veiklųjį patriotizmą', in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, Vol. 52: *Senoji poezija: formos, sankirtos, paraštės*, Vilnius, 2021, pp. 93-107.

[22] Kostkiewiczowa, Teresa, 'Poeci Oświecenia. Oświeceniowe poglądy na poezję', in: *Świat poprawić – zuchwałe rzemiosło. Antologia poezji polskiego Oświecenia*, edited by Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Zbigniew Goliński, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981, p. 6; Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Pisarze – generacje i rodowód społeczny', in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Ossolineum, 2002, pp. 400-409.

officers.[23] It is only in the 'continuator' ('*kontynuatorzy*') generation that a more substantial 16% become 'professionals', but even they, according to Aleksandrowska, could be viewed as noblemen who made a living as landowners and possessors.[24]

What made Marewicz stand out from his generation of writers was his meagre education. Aleksandrowska notes that the writers of the 'activist' generation were educated individuals who grew up in the time of Stanisław August – a ruler who paid particular attention to education. With not even a school diploma to his name, Marewicz himself admitted that he had studied 'neither poetry nor rhetoric'.[25] He also mentioned that he had no knowledge of foreign languages and, therefore, could not 'follow in the footsteps of one of those fashionable foreign writers'.[26] It is thus not difficult to see why literary scholars frequently write Marewicz off as a second- or even third-rate writer. However, Aleksandrowska sees Marewicz's exceptional originality as a writer. She believes that the 'intrigue of the writer's creative work lies somewhere in between the imitation of other writers and the discovery of original forms of expression'.[27] In the introduction to *Waryacya: wiersz nowego rodzaju* (*Variation: a new kind of poem*), Marewicz explains his creative process thus:

> I came upon the idea of writing a poem of a new kind. Because I had never studied poetry, I always wrote with no rules in mind, and in this new bundle of poems, I created rules for myself, making an effort to have the title fit the subject, breaking sudden and disordered surges of thought after thought into separate lines.[28]

Aleksandrowska notes that Marewicz was mostly inspired by the quest for the natural and the authentic postulated by sentimentalism.[29] In the dedication of *Zdarzenia czyli sny* (*Occurrences or dreams*) Marewicz describes his literary *modus operandi* thus: 'This work is the fruit of the toiled earth, in which nature itself operates, unenhanced by any art'.[30]

Of course, the poorly educated Marewicz could not expect to be widely recognised, and it seems he was aware of his limited ability himself. As she presents his early poetry, Petlak observes that Marewicz called his first collection of poems 'a job poorly done' ('*licha praca*').[31] Petlak believes that this possibly reveals the poet's lack of confidence in his creative ability but also sees such rhetoric as the exaggerated modesty that was typical of the language of dedicative texts.[32] Expressions of this demonstrative modesty can also be found in a poem in the said collection entitled *Do książki przy oddaniu jej do prasy* (*To this little book, as it is handed off for publication*), which contains the lines 'Little book, fruit of a small mind!' and 'I created this (though perhaps not so fluently)'.[33] Actually, Marewicz did not speak of his own talent anywhere and most probably viewed writing as honest work. This point of view is reflected in several phrases he chose as epigraphs for his books: 'Better a poor job than a perfect idleness' or 'He who does what he can, does enough'.[34] He completes one of his dedications thus: 'Whether my work is

[23] Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Pisarze – generacje i rodowód społeczny', in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Ossolineum, 2002, pp. 406-407.

[24] *Ibid*, p. 405.

[25] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuskuteczniony prozą i wierszem…*, p. 15.

[26] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zdarzenia czyli sny Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza Rotmistrz woie: Trockiego wierszem i prozą*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Warszawa: Drukarnia P. Dufoura, 1786, p. [8].

[27] Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, p. 340.

[28] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Waryacya: wiersz nowego rodzaju Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza, rotmistrza województwa trockiego*, Warszawa: [Dufour], 1788, p. 1.

[29] Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *PSB*, p. 634.

[30] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zdarzenia czyli sny ...*, p. [8].

[31] Petlak, Anna, 'Wprowadzenie do lektury', in: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie*, p. 32.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid*, p. 53.

[34] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Przysłowia i maksymy Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza, rotmistrza województwa trockiego*, Warszawa: [s.n.], 1788.

good or bad is for society to decide. I can only solemnly and confidently swear that I had the best of intentions.'[35]

As a typical product of the Enlightenment, Marewicz viewed his works from the perspective of good citizenship and considered the writing of books a service to society. In one of his works, he elaborates on his intentions:

Not wishing to be an inactive citizen of the Fatherland and an idle body consuming the bread produced by the land in vain, I decided to undertake this work, which suitably demonstrates if not my abilities, then at least my desires. With this intention in mind, I wrote the first small volume of 'Occurrences' as an entertainment and benefit to society […], so that in making my readers merry, I could direct them on the useful path of contemplation.[36]

In another work, he explains that he can only be of use to the state by doing such work because he is 'helpless'. With this he likely had in mind that his lack of wealth prevented him from getting involved in state service – an injustice he wrote about frequently.[37]

He saw the utility of his work in the unmasking of social evils – something he considered the duty of every good citizen.[38] Marewicz was constantly trying to reveal the vices of society and even viewed some of his own work as too bold: in his dedication to Franciszek Czapski, the voivode of Chełm, he writes that he will hand over his work 'revealing the true character of masked personalities' and asks for it to be published only after his death.[39] Interestingly, in his bold political work *Polusia, Córka kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona* (*Polusia, the Wheelwright's Daughter, or Freedom Liberated*), Marewicz attempted to hide his authorship, presenting himself as the translator of the work from Russian, using the introduction to convincingly describe the difficulties he encountered in translating the work.[40]

Alongside its educational benefits, Marewicz obviously valued literary activity because it gave him renown, i.e., elevated his status. As he tells the story of how unrequited love inspired his creative work, the writer admits: 'Had I not experienced love, I would have sat in the corner obscured by the fog of irrelevance, known to no one, and now they call me a literary man.'[41] Even more importantly for Marewicz, of course, was the opportunity offered by literary activity to secure the patronage of the powerful. It can be said that his works became a means for him to build relationships with the nobility. This is probably best illustrated by Marewicz's aforementioned reaching out to Maciej Radziwiłł. On the cover of the book he dedicated to the nobleman, Marewicz writes that the work was first submitted to Radziwiłł in Nesvizh in manuscript form, i.e., at the Radziwiłł manor, and only later published.[42] The book, in which Marewicz tells the story of his life, seems to have touched the nobleman, who himself had literary inclinations, and he granted Marewicz a large amount of money. Later, he would publish two books with panegyrics addressed to Radziwiłł and his wife Elżbieta Chodkiewiczówna Radziwiłłowa (Elžbieta Chodkevičiūtė Radvilienė) as a mark of gratitude for the allocated funds.[43]

[35] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuskuteczniony prozą i wierszem…*, p. 9.

[36] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zdarzenia albo sny...*, p. [7].

[37] '[…] not being able to serve my country by any other means due to my helplessness, I did what I was able to. I decried foul deeds and glorified virtue so that others may be guided by example.' See *Proiekt nieuskuteczniony prozą i wierszem…*, p. 161.

[38] E.g., in the poem Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Do stanów seymuiących...* (*The Estates Assembled at Parliament*) he wrote: 'He who calls himself a good citizen, / Is the friend of country and countrymen. / And a friend must have reflective qualities, / Showing every spot to be seen.'

[39] Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, p. 336.

[40] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Polusia, Córka Kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona. Opera tragiczna w dwóch aktach. Z Rossyiskiego na Polski język przetłumaczona*, [S.l.], 1789. For more see Petlak, Anna, 'Źródła z epoki jako świadectwa polskiej i rosyjskiej recepcji opery Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza *Polusia, Córka kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona…*'.

[41] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuskuteczniony prozą i wierszem…*, p. 15.

[42] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Szczere interesowanie się Marewicza za Marewiczem…*, [Wilno: s.n., 1791].

[43] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Satyra zamiast wdzięczności na Jasnie Oswieconego Xięcia Jmci Macieja Radziwiłłę kasztelana wileńskiego…*, [Wilno, 1791]; Idem, *Kłamstwo czyli wiersz do ... Elżbiety z hrabiów Chodkiewiczów Radziwiłłowey, kasztelanowy*

Marewicz typically dedicated his books to the noblemen whose support or patronage he sought. He usually addressed them as a 'lesser person', convinced that it was the duty of the 'great ones' to take care of weaker members of society. A consistent motif can be discovered in his dedications: Marewicz likens himself to a small blade of grass, while the nobleman he compares to a great tree that protects the blade from trouble, or himself to a small stream rescued by a great river.[44] As was common in the Enlightenment era, Marewicz would then praise the nobleman for his virtuous citizenship. For example, in the dedication of *Proiekt nieuskuteczniony prozą i wierszem* (*An Unrealised Project in Prose and Verse*) to Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (Adomas Kazimieras Čartoriskis), Marewicz writes that he would not dare to address the duke with his dedication and request for patronage, if Czartoryski were 'a friend of flattery and an enemy of truth, [...], a greater friend to himself than the Fatherland' and 'driven by his own interests instead of justice, [...], if he valued lineage, wealth and station over intelligence, good citizenship and virtue'.[45] Curiously, Marewicz often emphasised that he did not know personally the individual he was dedicating his book to and whose patronage he was seeking to secure. This was perhaps meant to demonstrate that he was praising the individual not to flatter them but because of a genuine respect for their work.[46] Sometimes, Marewicz demonstratively avoided exaggerated praise. For example, in the dedication of *Polusia, Córka Kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona* (*Polusia, the Wheelwright's Daughter, or Freedom Liberated*) to the hetman of the GDL, Michał Kazimierz Ogiński (Mykolas Kazimieras Oginskis), Marewicz writes: 'It might surprise the Dear Reader that the great name inscribed at the beginning of this opera has received no compliment [...]. This was determined by the fear of countrymen saying that the praise is of a hungry writer, and a compliment does not taste good before a meal.'[47]

Alongside praise, Marewicz also frequently tried to play on the compassion of the individual he was dedicating his work to, by speaking of his hardship and inability to conform in an 'unjust' society. For example, in the dedication of the drama *A Wife Abandoned on an Uninhabited Island*, he depicts himself as having been rejected due to his virtue: 'The wife was abandoned by her husband by accident, while the author has been forgotten by his fellow countrymen for the sin of caring about man's good name.'[48] It was not uncommon for Marewicz to complain of his poverty, and he presented his works as the most fitting expression of gratitude or gift for the powerful. For example, in a word of congratulations to Izabella Czartoryska, he writes: 'If I were wealthy, I would know what to gift to give you for the New Year, but as I am destitute... Hush, hush! I already know – to You, I present Your portrait, as painted by a Poet who does not seek to ingratiate himself.'[49]

The majority of Marewicz's books were dedicated to various noblemen, so it does not look like he was associated with any individual on a long-term basis. Marewicz dedicated the greatest number of works to the GDL chancellor, Aleksander Sapieha (Aleksandras Sapiega).[50] The text of one dedication

wilen. w oktawę oktawy jey imienin r. 1791 grudnia d. 3, W Wilnie: [s.n., 1791]. In 1795, published yet another panegyric dedicated to Radziwiłłowa: Idem, *Do xiężney Elzbiety z Chodkiewiczow Radziwiłłowey ...*, [Wilno: s.n.], 1795.

44 For more on this see Balaišytė, Lina, 'Vincentas Ignacas Marevičius apie save ir Tėvynę: XVIII a. pabaigos literato (savi)refleksijos', p. 306.

45 Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuskuteczniony prozą i wierszem*, p. [2-6].

46 E.g., having presented specific noblemen as good examples, Marewicz highlighted that he did 'not personally owe any debt of gratitude' and has not 'been the recipient of any favours from them. I am indebted to them for their service to the country, as a citizen, as is the entire Fatherland'. See Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Proiekt nieuskuteczniony prozą i wierszem*, pp. 161-162.

47 Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Polusia, Córka Kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona...*, p. [5].

48 Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Żona opuszczona na bezludnej wyspie...*, fol. A2r. For more on this dedication see: Petlak, Anna, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', p. 153.

49 Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Bukiet zamiast kolędy na Nowy Rok 1799. dla [...] xiężny [...] Izabelli z hrabiow Flemingow Czartoryskiey ...*, W Lwowie: drukiem Pillerowskim, [1798/99], p. [7].

50 Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Satyra Na Jasnie Oswieconego Xięcia Jmci Alexandra Sapiehę Kanclerza Wielkiego...*, [Wilno]: Drukarnia Akademicka, [1790]; *Do [...] Alexandra Sapiehy [...] w oktawę jego imienin...*, Wilno, [post 10 V] 1792. The comedy *Miłość dla cnoty...*, Warszawa: [s.n., 1787] and the collection *Dorywcze zabawki wierzem i prozą...*, Warszawa, [1788] were dedicated to Sapieha.

reveals that the chancellor helped Marewicz during a time of illness. Worth noting is the fact that after Sapieha's death, Marewicz dedicated his work to Sapieha's daughter, Marianna Sapiehówna-Puzynowa (Marijona Sapiegaitė-Puzinienė), in the hope that she would 'inherit' her father's patronage of himself.[51]

There was also a case in which Marewicz tried to secure the patronage of an influential individual in advance, by dedicating his work to the Archbishop of Lviv, Kajetan Ignacy Kicki. At the time, the writer intended to move from Vilnius, which had just been incorporated by the Russian Empire, to Lviv, which had become part of the Holy Roman Empire.[52] In the dedication of a comedy to the archbishop, Marewicz wrote that the reward he hoped for in return for his patronage would be the popularity of the play: 'And if my work were to be so successful that it achieved renown in society and circulated widely from hand to hand, everyone would see, inscribed to my sweetest satisfaction, the sign of respect and gratitude to you, which I wish to make eternal with this immortal work.'[53]

Marewicz's books

The publication and sale of his books were for a long time Marewicz's principal source of income. Except for a brief stint in the service of the municipal government of Vilnius and the previously mentioned financial support offered by Radziwiłł, any additional sources of income Marewicz may have had are unknown. We can therefore say that the active publication of works was a necessity for Marewicz. Anything he wrote, he immediately published, and his book publishing activity gathered great speed. He made his début in the press in 1784, by 1786 and 1787, he was publishing two books a year, and by 1788, he had published 10 titles in Warsaw.

As if to confirm the previously cited publicist's observation on the Varsovian literary men who rushed to make a book of anything, Marewicz published everything wrote: not just his fiction and articles, but his letters, various requests, petitions and addresses. For example, among the love poems and panegyric writings in the collection *Dorywcze zabawki* (*Chance Entertainments*), Marewicz included 'A petition to the king upon the submission of a printed Memorandum to the Permanent Council for my case in 1780', a 'Speech given to the king in a private audience in 1788' and similar pieces, in which he relates his requests, describing the consequences of those requests in the footnotes.[54] Here, he also emphasised that all of the letters to the king were presented in printed form. At the end of one of his books, Marewicz present the king with a request regarding another individual – 'the Lithuanian Rafał Czerwiakowski (Rapolas Červiakovskis), a professor of surgery and obstetrics at the Kraków Academy', explaining his decisions to publish a public request by saying that he 'could later also publicly express gratitude for the assistance'.[55] As a separate book, Marewicz published a poem and petition addressed to Stanisław August, with the aim of defending the interests of a widow from Kraków.[56]

In 1790, he returned to Vilnius and continued to live off of his literary endeavours. In 1791 and 1792, he published six books annually. The majority of them were composed of panegyrics, however, there were also a substantial number of politically engaged works. Marewicz was in Vilnius during an important turning point for the state, when the Four-Year Sejm was in session and approved the Constitution of

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[51] 'Believe me, Madame, even though you know me not, / That I was loved by thy father. / He is no longer here. But You take his place. / If you wish to allow the servants of Sapieha to continue living, / Tell them to take Marewicz's name out of your father's list and include it in your own; / So that they inherit the Daughter's attention as the legacy of the Father.' See: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Wszystko się skończyło na projekcie...*, p. [6].

[52] '[...] as I move from the unwelcoming northern expanses [the Russian Empire] to the sweet domain of the good, humane and just Most Enlightened Francis II [the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire], I ask you to accept me into your herd of sheep, so that I may be in Your loving, sensitive and merciful care.' See Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Szczęście w nieszczęściu…*, 1798, p. [10].

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Dorywcze zabawki wierszem i prozą*, Warszawa: Druk. P. Dufour, 1788, pp. 48-60.

[55] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Uwaga nad losem biednej Tekluni, z prośbą do króla*, [S.l.: s.n.], 1791, pp. 31-32.

[56] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Uwaga nad losem biednej Tekluni, z prośbą do króla*, W Krakowie: [s.n.], 1789.

3 May 1791. A year later the Russian-backed Targowica Confederation was established, war broke out with Russia and was followed by the Kościuszko Uprising and, ultimately, the downfall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A fierce patriot and supporter of state reform, Marewicz participated in every political event and expressed his opinion on various public issues in his publications. He published solemn speeches, a description of decorations dedicated to the anniversary of the Constitution, patriotic poetry and works of a similar nature.[57] With patriotic moods predominant in society, political works often took on the role of journalism and were especially popular. We can presume that Marewicz's books were also in high demand. We know that one of his works, published in Vilnius under the title *Kolęda na Nowy Rok 1794 dła króla y nieszczęśliwego narodu* (*Greeting to the King and the Unhappy Nation for the New Year of 1794*), was written during a dramatic time for the state and was reprinted with subscriber funds just 19 days after the publication of the first edition.[58]

The war with Russia and the Kościuszko Uprising prevented Marewicz from going about his work as usual. However, by 1795, he had already published two dramas, which were staged at the Vilnius Theatre, followed by two more in 1796 and 1798. Tyszkiewicz claims that in 1795, the Vilnius Theatre, which was not doing well financially, generated a significant amount of income by staging Marewicz's comedy *Miłość wszystkich porównywa* (*All Equals in Love*), in which the playwright himself had a role.[59] It was somewhere around late 1798-early 1799 that Marewicz published what was probably his last work.[60] Aleksandrowska speculates that he may have stopped publishing books because he was plagued by his reputation as a graphomaniac,[61] but it is also possible that when he left Vilnius after the dissolution of the Republic of Both Nations, Marewicz was no longer able to adjust to his new circumstances and the changing needs of the public.

Marewicz typically self-published and likely had to manage sales of his books as well. While he lived in Warsaw, he printed a substantial number of books at the Missionary Press, but he worked with other printing works as well.[62] The books he published in Vilnius do not indicate any publishing house, however, several vignettes have allowed us to identify two books as having been printed at the Basilian Press.[63] Petlak notes that one list of Marewicz's books includes publications from as many as 26 works printed in different printing houses. According to the scholar, this means that the lists were published not by any single publisher, but by the author himself.[64] Book lists were published in several of the books Marewicz published in 1788 and one publication from 1798.[65] They listed book titles, places of publication and prices. The list published in 1798 still included all the books that had been listed ten years prior. The prices of the books remained almost the same. It was mostly the cost of the lower-value books that

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[57] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Do współ-braci moich wielmożnych y urodzonych …*, Wilno: [s.n.], 1791; *Opis Illuminacyi Daney w dniu 3 Maia Roku 1792...*, [Wilno], 1792; *Mowa po ukończonym obiorze urzędników drugiego cyrkulu wileńskiego roku…*, [Wilno]: [s.n.], 1792.

[58] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Kolęda na Nowy Rok 1794 dła króla y nieszczęśliwego narodu*, [Wilno: s.n.], 1794. The first edition of the book was published on 5 January 1794, while the second edition was published on 24 January. The latter contains a declaration that the republication was paid for by subscribers.

[59] Tyszkewicz, Eustachy, *Wincenty Marewicz. Studium obyczajowe*, p. 18.

[60] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Bukiet zamiast kolędy na Nowy Rok 1799. dla [...] xiężny [...] Izabelli z hrabiow Flemingow Czartoryskiey...,* W Lwowie: drukiem Pillerowskim, [1798/99]. Literary historians speculate that several anonymous works could have been written by him, but this has never been confirmed. In 1821, Marewicz's work *Nefelonikones* was published posthumously in Paris. For more on this see: Balaišytė, Lina, '„Leiskite ir man, ką galvoju, pasakyti!": Apie Vincento Ignaco Marevičiaus politinę poeziją ir veiklųjį patriotizmą', in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra, Senoji poezija: formos, sankirtos, paraštės*, edited by Ona Dilytė-Čiurinskienė, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2021, Vol. 52, pp. 93-107.

[61] Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *PSB*, p. 635.

[62] Petlak, Anna, 'Wprowadzenie do lektury', in: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie*, p. 20.

[63] A description of the two books kept at the Rare Book Department of the Vilnius University Library indicates that their place of publication, the Basilian press, was identified based on a vignette (*Do współ-braci moich...*; *Mowa po ukończonym obiorze...*).

[64] Petlak, Anna, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', in: *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, No. 4 (34), 2016, p. 159.

[65] Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Dorywcze zabawki wierszem i prozą...*; *Waryacya: wiersz nowego rodzaju...*; *Gołąbek Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza Rotmistrza Woiewodztwa Trockiego*, Warszawa: [s.n.], 1788; *Szczęście w nieszczęściu...*, 1798.

increased (from 15-18 groszy to 20). The most expensive was a two-volume work entitled *Zdarzenia czyli sny* (*Occurrences or Dreams*): in 1788, it cost 5 zloty, while in 1798, the price went up to 5 zloty and 15 groszy. Marewicz's rather popular plays were sold at a price ranging from 1 zloty and 15 groszy to 3 zloty. This was a rather common price point for similar publications.[66]

The lists of Marewicz's books do not include the majority of the panegyrics he wrote for various noblemen. The only exceptions were those works in which his praise for an individual was more elaborate and original in form, e.g. panegyrics dedicated to Sapieha, Radziwiłł and his wife,[67] which were written as persiflage, a form of mock criticism actually intended as praise that was popular in the Enlightenment period. Interestingly, Marewicz's most popular creation – the political opera *Polusia, Córka Kołodzieja, czyli Wolność oswobodzona* (*Polusia, the Wheelwright's Daughter,* or *Liberated Freedom*), which was printed seven times – did not make the list either.[68] Perhaps in 1798, when almost the entire territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had been incorporated into the Russian Empire, it was dangerous to offer books containing anti-Russian sentiment. However, it is worth noting that Marewicz did include the patriotic works he published in 1791 and 1792 in the lists, which were also rich with statements critical of the policies of the Russian Empire.

We do not know how Marewicz went about selling his books. Typically, publishing houses handed the entire print run over to the client or distributed the publications themselves.[69] We can only guess that Marewicz undertook the task of distributing his books himself. This is possibly evidenced by the aforementioned booklists he compiled himself. Alongside published titles, one list includes the titles of 'completed manuscripts' and even 'incomplete manuscripts'.[70] It was undoubtedly for purposes of advertising that Marewicz also listed the cities in which his dramas had been staged alongside their titles. For example, on the cover of *Miłość wszystkich porównywa* (*All Equals in Love*), he indicates that the 'comedy had been staged several times in the theatres of Warsaw, Lviv and Vilnius'.[71] In addition to this, it was obviously important for Marewicz to demonstrate his noble birth and status. On the title page of many of his publications, he printed vignettes with the family coat of arms, the *Kościesza*, and indicated his title along with his signature – 'Rittmeister of the Voivodeship of Trakai' or simply the initials 'R. W. T'. Marewicz must have commissioned different engravers to create his vignettes because they did not all look the same. For example, in the work dedicated to his beloved 'Laura', *Ostatnia do Laury odezwa wierszem i prozą* (*A Last Address to Laura in Verse and Prose*), the vignette depicts a heart pierced with an arrow above the coat of arms.[72]

Tyszkiewicz claims that Marewicz not only sent his books to noblemen but went from door to door and sold them himself.[73] This is also reiterated by Aleksandrowska and Petlak, but what this assertion is based on is unclear. By that time, there were established book distribution practices: books were sold either by the publishing houses or through private bookshops, postal workers and so on.[74] In one publi-

66 For more on book pricing see: Petrauskienė, Irena, 'Knygų plitimo keliai Lietuvoje XVI-XVIII a.', in: *Kultūrų sankirtos: skiriama dr. Ingės Lukšaitės 60-mečiui*, Vilnius: Diemedis, 2000, pp. 181-182; Szczepanec, Józef, 'Drukarstwo – księgarstwo', in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, edited by Teresy Kostkiewiczowej, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Ossolineum, 2002, pp. 82-83.

67 Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Satyra Na Jasnie Oswieconego Xięcia Jmci Alexandra Sapiehę…*; *Satyra zamiast wdzięczności na Jasnie Oswieconego Xięcia Jmci Macieja Radziwiłłę; Kłamstwo czyli wiersz do ...; Elżbiety z hrabiów Chodkiewiczów Radziwiłłowey...*

68 Petlak, Anna, 'Źródła z epoki jako świadectwa polskiej i rosyjskiej recepcji opery Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza *Polusia*'…, in: *Napis*, Vol. XXIV, 2018, pp. 225-241.

69 For more on the mechanisms of book publishing see: Kažuro, Ina, *Vilniaus bazilijonų vienuolyno spaustuvės veikla 1628–1839 m.*, doctoral dissertation, Vilnius, 2019, p. 135.

70 *Gołąbek...*, 1788.

71 Petlak, Anna, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', in: *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, No. 4 (34), 2016, p. 158.

72 See: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Ostatnia do Laury odezwa wierszem i prozą*, Warszawa: Drukarnia Misjonarzy, 1788.

73 Tyszkewicz, Eustachy, *Wincenty Marewicz. Studium obyczajowe*, p. 20.

74 Szczepanec, Józef, 'Drukarstwo – księgarstwo', in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, edited by Teresy Kostkiewiczowej, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Ossolineum, 2002, pp. 79-80.

cation, Marewicz indicates that readers can purchase his book in the Warsaw postal office run by a Swiss ('*u Szwaycara*').[75] As mentioned previously, the publication of some of Marewicz's works was funded through contributions from subscribers. Perhaps potential buyers could have reached out to Marewicz personally. In one book, Marewicz included a notice that announced what city he would be staying in, the duration of his stay and where correspondence should be addressed.[76]

We do not know for certain, how much Marewicz earned from his book sales. From the fact that in 1792, he pledged to the army of the Republic a number of books to the value of 2,000 zloty, we can deduce that the business of publishing could have made him a tidy profit because this was no small amount.[77] Whatever Marewicz's reputation may have been among his contemporaries, it must be noted that his efforts in publishing quickly made him a literary figure of some renown,[78] and some of his works achieved notable popular success. By 1788, the comedy *Milość wszystkich porównywa* (*All Equals in Love*) had been staged by the king's troupe in Warsaw, and later in the theatres of Vilnius and Lviv as well.[79] As already mentioned, seven editions of *Polusia, Córka Kołodzieja* were printed over the course of three years, and even several hand-copied editions of the work have been discovered.[80] Curiously, even works of a very specific genre, such as the address to the king in defence of the interests of a young widow from Krakow, were printed twice (1789, 1791).[81]

We can presume that Marewicz's books were quite widely circulated. Even his critical first biographer, Tyszkiewicz, admitted that he first took an interest in Marewicz's work because he had discovered a large collection of the writer's books at the library of the Birżai Majorat.[82] By the way, the copy of Marewicz's *Kolęda na Nowy Rok 1794 dła króla y nieszczęśliwego narodu* in the collection of the library of the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences, contains an inscription that indicates the book was presented by an unknown person to Tyszkiewicz as a gift for his 42nd birthday in 1856.[83] So, the work that decried the tearing apart of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and hoped for a better turn in coming years was still relevant to subjects of the former GDL under the yoke of the Russian Empire – even 60 years after the destruction of the state. It should also not escape our notice that Marewicz's last work, written in 1821 and contemplating the causes of the nation's fall, was published in Paris in 1836, while the publisher (only his initials are known) encouraged readers to send in any of Marewicz's manuscripts that they might find.[84]

[75]   Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Do stanów seymuiących…*, 1788.

[76]   Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Dorywcze zabawki wierszem i prozą ...*, 1788.

[77]   *Korrespondent Warszawski*, 1792, No. 16, pp. 140-141. Writing on the wages of writers, Józef Szczepanec, presents the following numbers: in the 1780s, the annual salary of a new teacher amounted to 1,200 zloty, while that of a professor at the Vilnius Academy amounted to 6,000 zloty. See Szczepanec, Józef, 'Drukarstwo – księgarstwo', in: *Słownik Literatury Polskiego Oświecenia*, p. 81.

[78]   Much is revealed by the fact that in publishing a work in support of Russian policy and wishing to keep his identity a secret, Stanisław Trembecki signed it with Marewicz's name. See: Krystyna Maksimowicz, 'Wstęp', in: *Wiersze polityczne Sejmu Czteroletniego, cz. 1: 1788–1789*, edited by Krystyna Maksimowicz, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1998, pp. 9-10. Marewicz was dubbed a poet by the king in a letter from 1789. See Aleksandrowska, Elżbieta, 'Wincenty Ignacy Marewicz', in: *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, p. 337.

[79]   Petlak, Anna, 'Wprowadzenie do lektury', in: Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Zbiory poetyckie*, p. 21.

[80]   Petlak, Anna, 'Przyczynek do badań nad ramą wydawniczą utworów dramatycznych Wincentego Ignacego Marewicza', in: *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, No. 4 (34), 2016, p. 158.

[81]   *Uwaga nad losem biedney Tekluni z prozbą do króla...*, W Krakowie: [s.n.], 1789; *Uwaga nad losem biedney Tekluni...*, [S.l.: s.n.], 1791.

[82]   Tyszkiewicz, Eustachy, *Wincenty Marewicz. Studium obyczajowe*, p. 1.

[83]   Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Kolęda na Nowy Rok 1794 dla krola y nieszczęśliwego narodu ...*[Wilno: s.n., 1794]. (XVIII.2.234). The inscription in Tyszkiewicz's copy is signed by the initials 'X. K. A. L. S. P.'.

[84]   Marewicz, Wincenty Ignacy, *Nefelonikones. Urywki z Ociemiecielstwa. Zbiór osobliwych obrazów z dzieł dawnego świata*, Paryż: Drukarnia Maulde et Renou, 1836.

Conclusions

The literary work of Marewicz was in some respects typical of the Enlightenment period, and in others completely distinct. On the one hand, Marewicz was a typical Enlightenment character who wished to be of use to his country and who viewed his literary activity through the prism of good citizenship. He saw the publication of his written work as a means of publicity that could serve as a tool for making society better and a platform for celebrating virtuous citizens and teaching useful things. On the other hand, writing and publishing books was his main source of income, which was not characteristic of the literary figures of the time. Unlike the majority of the writers of his generation, Marewicz did not have a good education but was probably aware of his limitations and viewed his creative activity as honest work. This was perhaps why he made 'a book of anything', i.e. every text he wrote he deemed worth publishing and selling. Without any influential patrons or customers to support him, Marewicz had to take care of the publishing and distribution process himself. For this end, he used the typical promotional means of the time: publishing lists of books, accumulating subscribers and using signs of his noble origin and status. Literary activity was Marewicz's main source of income not just in Warsaw, but in Vilnius as well, where there were probably even fewer independently operating writers. Demand for Marewicz's work increased during the period of state reforms, as politically engaged works were especially popular. His dramatic works were also in demand and staged in Vilnius. Literary activity was also a way for Marewicz to establish himself in society. As an idiosyncratic personality who found it difficult to fit into his environment, he tried various unorthodox methods of improving his societal and material station. For example, he personally addressed members of the nobility he had not been introduced to by submitting his works to them in the hope of securing their patronage or financial support; he dedicated very personal works to them, which depicted him as rejected by society for his virtue; he also produced occasional works of an original form, in which he mock-criticised the individual he had dedicated his work to, calling the work 'satire' or 'deception'.

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A Theatre of Cleanliness: a Study of Early Modern Book Microcensorship and the Digital Humanities[1]

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Abstract. Censorship sometimes took on a spectacular, even theatrical aspect, as when book burnings were organized in the squares of major cities such as Lisbon, London, Paris or Rome. But, besides the elimination and prohibition of books, there was another form of censorship, common, and also spectacular, in the first sense: made to be seen. It is the expurgation of printed matter, or censorship in the texts themselves. The present work deals with the phenomena of micro-censorship which, for several centuries, have marked the circulation and reading of a very large number of works throughout Europe. It was particularly well organized in the Catholic countries where the tribunal of the Holy Office, or Inquisition, was established, with a staff qualified for this type of task. The systematic study of these phenomena has been made possible thanks to the principles and methodological means presented here. Finally, a case study, the *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* by Theodor and Jacob Zwinger, provides an insight into the interest and potential of microcensorship studies.

Keywords: early modern book, censorship, digital humanities.

Introduction

The theme of the multitude of books, which in modern terms we would translate as an overabundance of bibliographical information, goes back to antiquity. As Jean-Marc Chatelain has explained, this motif constitutes 'one of the commonplaces of the Western tradition'.[2] The industrial production of the book through printing and its circulation on a global scale has only exacerbated the problems. There is a domain where the question is posed in a particularly acute way, namely the censorship of books, a question that curiously does not arouse the historian's interest. However, this infinite abundance of books ('*haec infinita librorum copia*')[3] or, rather, its pestilent abundance ('*Hanc adeo pestilentem noxiorum librorum*

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[2]   Chatelain, Jean-Marc, 'L'excès des livres et le savoir bibliographique', *Littératures classiques*, 2008/2 (No. 66), pp. 143-160, p. 145. A whole section of the Republic of Letters was trained in Jesuit pedagogy. The *Ratio studiorum* of 1591 is formal: 'even the great number of useful books burdens the intelligence and prevents a suitable performance in daily duty' ('*Utilium etiam librorum multitudo et opprimit ingenia, et impedit, ne quotidianum pensum commode reddatur.' Ratio et institutio studiorum*, Rome: In Collegio Societatis Jesu, 1591, p. 83). René Descartes, a former student of the college of La Flèche, will thematize the uselessness of books (Baudry, Hervé, *Le Dos de ses livres. Descartes a-t-il lu Montaigne?*, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015, pp. 276-283). On anti-book plethora, see Nouis, Lucien, *De l'infini des bibliothèques au livre unique. L'archive épurée au* xviiie *siècle*, Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013.

[3]   *Epistola sive Declaratio in Edictum Caesareae Maiestatis promulgatum anno salutis M.D.xlvi. Praeterea Catalogus et declaratio librorum reprobatorum a Facultate sacrae Theologiae Lovaniensis Academiae, Jussu et ordinatione praenominatae M. C*, Louvain: Servais van Sassen, 1546, f. 21v; reproduced in *Index de l'Université de Louvain, 1546, 1550, 1558*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance; Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1986, p. 407.

copiam'),[4] occupies a central place, as these two expressions show: the first was used by the theologians of Louvain, commissioned by Charles V, to draw up a list of forbidden works, promulgated in 1546; the second, by the archbishop of Prague in his pastoral at the head of the Bohemian list in the eighteenth century. In fact, the phenomena related to what we call censorship are found at the crossroads of various fields, starting with those of librarianship and bibliography. At the least, the censorship of books offers itself to the historian as a considerably vast set of direct sources that are themselves books. The present study considers two types thereof: the indexes of the forbidden books which belong to the bibliographical lists, and the so-called bad books (in Latin *libri mali*) which were the target of these indexes.

The word index has different meanings according to its contents. In all cases, be they peritextual or censoring texts, they reflect an abundance. which needs to be organized for the reader. The books of the second group have, in their majority, undergone microcensorship as instructed in specific indexes, those of expurgation (*Index librorum expurgatorum* or *expurgandorum* now abbreviated as ILE).[5] Two aspects should be highlighted: on the one hand, the indexical relationship between ILEs and expurgated items is cumulative, extensive and organizational (upstream, the control authorities; downstream, the controllable objects); on the other hand, the abundance of data provided by these indexes and the censored copies point to this as particularly significant in the history of censorship in the first three centuries of the printed book. It is well known that, compared to the indexes of prohibition (*Index librorum prohibitorum*, now abbreviated as ILP), the expurgatories are voluminous. Historians generally handle them on a case-by-case basis. Dealing with an ILP is easy as, in short, it conveys basic information (name of author, titles) which is not the case with ILEs due to the textual dimension of their information (the passages to be modified). For example, under letter M, the Roman ILP of 1596 contains 137 entries over five pages and a half[6] whereas, to take the first Spanish ILE of 1584, a small one compared to its successor of 1612, this contains two entries over seven pages.[7] Another example can be given: in the Portuguese ILE of 1624, the most expurgated (with the highest number of instructions) authors are: Erasmus (2,249 instructions), Charles Du Moulin (1,887), Conrad Gesner (1,612), the Bible (1,364) and Theodor Zwinger (1,112 instructions).

The overabundant information within the ILEs has turned them slightly into the monsters of early modern censorship studies. Some works have been dedicated to them, but a general history is lacking.[8] In a general point of view, microcensorship studies, as opposed to the macro level of the phenomena that focuses on the disappearing of the object of expression, need analysable digital documents.

[4] Koniáš, Antonín, *Index Bohemicorum librorum prohibitorum et corrigendorum,* Vetero Pragae: Johannes Carolus Hraba, 1770, f. A3r (on the date of 1770, not 1767, according to Wögerbauer, Michael, 'Část první. 1749-1810. V zájmu rozumu a spásy duše. Literární cenzura mezi protireformací a osvícenstvím', in: *V obecném zájmu. Cenzura a sociální regulace literatury v moderní české kultuře 1749-2014*, edited by Wögerbauer, M. et al., Praha: Academia, 2015, pp. 102-103).

[5] Reusch, Franz H., *Der Index den verbotenen Bucher*, Bonn: Max Cohen und Sohn, 1883, 1885; Hilgers, Joseph, *Der Index den verbotenen Bucher*, Freiburg in Breisgau: Herdersche Velagshandlung, 1904; Putnam, George H, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome and Its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature: A Study of the History of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, Together with Some Consideration of the Effects of Protestant Censorship and of Censorship by the State*, New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, Vol. 2; *Index des livres interdits*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance; Genève: Librairie Droz, Vol. 11, 1985-2002; *El índice de libros prohibidos y expurgados de la Inquisición española (1551-1819). Evolución y contenido*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2016.

[6] *Index librorum prohibitorum*, Romae: apud Impressores Camerales, 1596, pp. 31v-34r; facsimile in: *Index de Rome, 1590, 1593, 1596*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Éd. de l'Université de Sherbrooke; Genève: Librairie Droz, 1994, pp. 962-964.

[7] *Index librorum expurgatorum*, Madriti: apud Alfonsum Gomezium regium typographum, 1584.

[8] On the Portuguese expurgatories: Rêgo, Raul, *Os Índices expurgatórios e a cultura portuguesa*, Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1982. Historical information about each expurgatory of the sixteenth century is to be found in *Index des livres interdits* (1571: Vol. 7; 1581: Vol. 4; 1584: Vol. 6) and, by the same, the Spanish ones (*El Índice de los libros prohibidos*, pp. 3-233). On the Roman expurgatory of 1607: Gibbings, Richard, *An exact reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius, the only Vatican Index of this kind ever published*, Dublin: Milliken and Son, 1837; Rebellato, Elisa, 'Il miraggio dell'espurgazione. L'indice di Guanzelli del 1607', *Società e storia* 2008, Vol. 31, pp. 715-742; Jones, Derek, 'Pedro de Valencia's Defence of Arias Montano: The Expurgatory Indexes of Rome (1607) and Madrid (1612)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 1978, Vol. 40/1, pp. 121-136.

The present study is concerned about the use, readability and accessibility of the ILEs. Two of them have been reedited in the past, the Roman one of 1607, already mentioned, and the first Portuguese one of 1581, but they are not easily accessible.[9] The Digital Revolution completely changed the situation for those who need to consult the texts, expurgatories and expurgated items from the inside. Not only are copies of the ILEs now in image format but more and more copies of microcensored printed books have been digitized (but regarding this aspect of such research, local item consulting remains unavoidable). All the early modern expurgatories can be accessed and downloaded through the main catalogues, such as the KVK-Karlsruhe Virtual Catalogue or Europeana.[10] Most of them are in image format and when word search is available, it is not fully accurate. Given this, the present study will consider the different aspects of research into early modern censorship in three steps. Firstly, it is necessary to explain in more details how censorship indexes manage bibliographical information. The second stage will describe the digital tools for prohibitories and expurgatories. Finally, since these indexes are instruments for censoring books, it will describe what could be considered the digital library of expurgated books through the case of Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*.

Censorship indexes and bibliographical information processing

In this analytical perspective, indexes of banned books are organized collections of onomastic and bibliographical data. In addition to broad historical and cultural factors, their appearance is determined by the disturbing abundance of books resulting from the invention of printing. As a chapter in the history of catalogues, they are a logical result. A particularly important precedent is that of the names of heretics, already established in the printed book, such as the *Catalogus haereticorum*, reprinted by 1537, by the Dominican Bernard de Luxembourg.[11] To this must be added the practice of listing heretical propositions, *Collectio errorum*, with the famous 'list of Paris', drawn up following the condemnations by the University of Paris at the end of the thirteenth century.[12] Developed and used in ecclesiastical structures, they result from a confessional treatment of information. It is possible to consider the Spanish catalogue of 1554 as a prototype of the expurgatory.[13] Bearing a significant title, *Censura generalis contra errores*, it only deals with the Bible. Following the list of the editions that need correction ('*indigent castigatione*'), one by one it cites and comments on erroneous and heretical propositions.[14] Finally, these works provide information for legal actions, which will be specified in the next part of this presentation.

The first bibliographical lists appeared in the years following the launch of the Reformation. Censorial cataloguing of printed production extends into the twentieth century (e.g. the Otto list in occupied France; in 1948, the publication of the last Catholic index in Rome, or in the Irish Republic). Our chronological domain is limited to the first modernity (sixteenth-eighteenth centuries) period.

Originally, in the sixteenth century, the compilation of lists was undertaken empirically, during visits to places with a concentration of information (libraries, publishers and booksellers). Then it was rationalized and reached high levels in terms of what was accumulated thanks to the first bibliographical

9   Reusch, Franz H., *Der Index den verbotenen Bucher*, pp. 363-372.

10   For the Portuguese ILE of 1624, the copy of the National Library of Portugal is complete (*Index librorum prohibitorum*, Ulyssip: ex officina Petri Craesbeeck, 1624. Access at: https://purl.pt/38729) and of better quality than that of the Library of Lausanne.

11   Luxembourg, Bernard de, *Catalogus haaereticorum omnium pene, qui a scriptoribus passim literis proditi sunt, nomina, errores et tempora quibus vixerunt ostendens*, Coloniae: typis E. Cervicorni, 1522.

12   *Collectio errorum in Anglia et Parisius condemnatorum*, [Köln]: Heinrich Quentell, 1490. See Bianchi, Luca, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle à l'Université de Paris: XIIIe-XIe siècles*, Paris: les Belles lettres, 1999, pp. 58-61, 215.

13   'It can be considered as an expurgatory index with its own characteristics' (*Index de l'Inquisition espagnole, 1551, 1554 ILE, 1559*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Éd. de l'Université de Sherbrooke; Genève: Librairie Droz, 1984, p. 161). But, contrary to the prescriptive indexes published from 1571, no precise instruction is given toward a systematic textual modification.

14   *Censura generalis contra errores, quibus recentes haeretici sacram scripturam asperserunt*, Pinciae: Franciscus Ferdinandus Cordobensis, 1554, f. b8r-d2v.

tool, the *Bibliotheca universalis* by Conrad Gesner (1545),[15] as well as the catalogues of book fairs.[16] This was accumulation perpetuated by indexical intertextuality. It is necessary to clarify something obvious: the history of these lists was that of a diachronic accumulation, since it was a matter of establishing new information, that is to say – a part of the bibliographical production.

The indexes of banned books reflect a selective, rational and bureaucratic management in accordance with some ideological criteria (first theological, then moral and political). Their composition varied in the first decades, where structures were put in place, and then alphabetical order, which was quickly adopted in the lists with a complex structure and imposed on the whole work (Rome, 1665; Madrid, 1790).[17] As the Roman Index of 1665 explained, this was a more convenient and quicker usage.[18] This shift reflects an evolution from qualitative primacy (classes of authors and books) to quantitative primacy.[19]

Indexes accumulate bibliographical information for censorial use, i.e. for repression and standardization. But early on their contents were used for other reasons, which reflects their interest in the more general framework of the accumulation of knowledge, which is one of the major dynamics of humanist culture and its heirs. The misuses would deserve a large-scale study in its own right. I will limit myself to two types: polemical and bibliographical. The first case would seem congenital to the first indexes with the ex-catholic bishop passing to Pier Paolo Vergerio of the Reformation.[20] A censor due to his functions, he delivered counterfeits of the Italian indexes that he openly criticized.[21] The first librarian of the Bodleian in Oxford, Thomas James, published the only English index in 1627[22] following a treatise against the Jesuit librarians Jacob Gretser and Antonio Possevino.[23] Its purpose was to inform, not to censor. From the Reformation to the Counter-Reformation, the 'battlefield'[24] was also bibliographic.

A second use of the selective bibliographical information, provided by the indexes of forbidden books, appeared as early as the seventeenth century. At least, it can be deduced from the classification of this type of work in library catalogues where they are listed among the *bibliothecarii*.[25] In the Cordesiana (1643), under this heading in a folio format, we can find Phocus's *Bibliotheca* and that of Gesner; in quarto format, two indexes of forbidden books, the 1601 Saumurian forgery of the Spanish indexes of 1571 and 1584[26] and the index of Thomas James. This classification, which is not a sign of a generalized change in status, should not be surprising. The major places which drew up the indexes were the countries where the Inquisition was established - Italy, Spain and Portugal, and, in a more limited period, the Habsburgian Lower Countries. However, their use, especially that of the Roman indexes, can be extended

[15] Nelles, Paul, 'Conrad Gessner and the Mobility of the Book: Zurich, Frankfurt, Venice (1543)', in: *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe. Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption*, edited by Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles, Jeroen Salman, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 39-66.

[16] On these catalogs, see *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Arthur der Weduwen et al, Brill, 2021.

[17] By languages (Paris, 1544); classes (Rome, 1564); author (Rome, 1607; Prague, 1770).

[18] *Index librorum prohibitorum*, Roma: Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1665, p. XXIII.

[19] On the qualification of error and the degrees of heterodoxy see Neveu, Bruno, *L'Erreur et son juge, remarques sur les censures doctrinales à l'époque moderne*, Naples: Bibliopolis, 1993, in particular pp. 396-403.

[20] On this curious character of the Reformation in Italy, Pierce, Robert A., *Pier Paolo Vergerio the Propagandist*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003; Rozzo, Ugo, 'Pier Paolo Vergerio censore degli indici dei libri proibiti', in: *Pier Paolo Vergerio il Giovane, un polemista attraverso l'Europa del Cinquecento*, Udine: Forum, 2000, pp. 143-177; Schutte, Anne Jacobson, *Pier Paolo Vergerio: the making of an Italian reformer*, Geneva: Droz, 1977.

[21] Bonnant, Georges, 'Les index prohibitifs et expurgatoires contrefaits par des protestants au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 1969, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 611-640.

[22] James, Thomas, *Index generalis librorum prohibitorum a Pontificiis, uma cum Editionibus expurgatis vel expurgandis, juxta seriem Literarum et triplicem classem. In usum Bilbiothecae Bodleianae, et Curatoribus eiusdem specialiter designatus*, Oxoniae: Guilielmus Turne, 1627. See Richard W. Clement, 'Librarianship and Polemics: The Career of Thomas James (1572-1629)', *Libraries & Culture*, Spring, 1991, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 269-282.

[23] James, Thomas, *A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture*, London: Printed by H.L. for Mathew Lownes, 1612.

[24] Balsamo, Jean, 'How to doctor a bibliography: Antonio Possevino's practice', in: *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, edited by Fragnito, Gigliola- et al., Cambridge: University Press, 2001, pp. 50-78.

[25] Naudé, Gabriel, *Bibliothecae cordesianae catalogus*, Paris: Antonius Vitray, 1643, p. 133.

[26] *Index librorum expurgatorum*, Saumur: Thomas Portau, 1601.

to all Catholic countries, starting with France.[27] We have seen the polemical use through the forgeries of Vergerio. These become more numerous at the end of the sixteenth century. They came from the Protestant workshops and were in particular indexes of expurgation, the bibliographical contents of which were much more elaborate than those of the indexes concerning prohibition. They would be commonly found in eighteenth century libraries in the bibliographical sections. In Estrées's private library catalogue, there are twelve indexes in the section of the 'particular bibliographers'.[28] One fact provides a measure of this evolution: the first expurgation index, published in Antwerp in 1571, was 'restricted to the visitors in charge of carrying out the expurgations'.[29] Its forgeries, like the Spanish one of 1612, published in 1619 in Geneva with two different title pages according to the targeted confessional public, extended its uses well beyond the strict legality of textual control and repression.

Indexes: selective bibliographical information on two levels

Two types of indexes have just been mentioned. Their respective differences should be briefly explained. Both are indeed indexes of 'forbidden books'. However, the former, which appeared originally, catalogued the definitively cancelled (prohibition index), while the latter temporarily and partially prohibited (expurgation index) texts, since it implied a number of textual modifications. From the point of view of the bibliographical contents, the prohibitory indexes consisted mainly of onomastic lists, with the first name and then the name of the authors whose works were prohibited. The appearance of three classes in the Roman indexes (1559 and 1564, the so-called Tridentine index) introduced an important difference, from our perspective: the second and third classes catalogued specific titles. Whatever the class (a structure adopted by the Spanish indexes even though the Tridentine was not promulgated there), it was the second-level ban that, from a general point of view, constituted the field of specific bibliographical information. The case of Erasmus is paradigmatic in this respect because, whether he was a first- or second-class author, his titles, apart from the Bible, were the subject of the greatest number of expurgation instructions, i.e. textual modifications imposed so that the work could enter into circulation again. The quality of the bibliographical information was very reliable since the expurgation instructors had held the target work in their hands. Hence bibliographical puzzles, such as that of the Portuguese *Cancioneiro Geral*.[30]

As far as the processing of the indexing data is concerned, where are we in 2021? A large number of indexes of both types are accessible in image format, from that of Paris (1544)[31] to the Roman ILP of 1892. The last two editions are those of 1940 and 1948, which are not yet available for public access. Some twentieth century printed materials enable word searching, e.g. the 1892 pdf downloaded from Archive. org.[32] The results depend on the quality of the OCR. In regards the older printed matter they are much

[27] Baudry, Hervé, 'Les index de censure en France aux XVIeᵉ-XVIIeᵉ siècles', in: *À qui lira...'. Littérature, livre et librairie en France au XVIIeᵉ siècle*, edited by Mathilde Bombart et al., Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 2020, pp. 386-400.

[28] *Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de feu Monseigneur le maréchal duc d'Estrées*, Paris: Jacques Guerin, 1740, 2nd Part, pp. 159-160.

[29] *Index d'Anvers, 1569, 1570, 1571*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Éd. de l'Université de Sherbrooke; Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1988, p. 42. For the passage of the decree of Philip II on the restricted circulation of this first expurgatory: *Index expurgatorius librorum qui hoc seculo prodierunt, vel doctrinae non sanae erroribus inspersis*, Antverpiae: Chr. Plantin, 1571, f. 2v (reproduced in *Index d'Anvers*, p. 714).

[30] The last instructions (nr. 89-94) of the Portuguese expurgatory of 1624 (*Index Auctorum damnatae memoriae*, Ulyssiponae: ex off. Petri Craesbeeck, 1624, p. 349) refer to folios 228-232; however, the only edition, of 1516, contains only 227. Anselmo Braamcamp Freire had pointed out this fact without being able to explain it (Freire, Braamcamp A, *A Censura e o Cancioneiro Geral*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1921, p. 68). It is not a simple numbering error: in the expurgatory, the foliation differs from f. 223 (column b), which should be f. 220; 228 should be 222 (6 folios difference), then 229, 224 (5), etc.

[31] *Le catalogue des livres censurez par la faculté de theologie de Paris*, Paris: Jehan André, 1544.

[32] *Index librorum prohibitorum sanctissimi domini nostri Leonis XIII pont. max. jussu editus*, Turini: Typ. Pontificia et Archiepiscopalis Eq. P. Marietti, 1892, [accessed: 26 March 2022]. Access at: <https://archive.org/details/indexlibrorumpro00turiuof>.

more limited. A search on the Latin word *oratio* in the digitized copy of the Portuguese ILPE of 1624 from the Library of Lausanne,[33] accessible in Google Books, gives 28 results. In fact, we can find 162 occurrences of the word in a transcribed edition.

The field, opened by the systematization of early modern microcensorship studies, extends to the twelve indexes from 1571 to 1790-1805. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are the 'Golden Age' of ILEs. We know they are voluminous. That of 1624 contains about 400,000 words for 26,000 instructions. Such data was obtained thanks to the first full transcription of two ILEs, both Portuguese and published in 1581 and 1624. The latter is a folio of more than 1,000 pages, composed of three sections: Roman prohibitory, Portuguese prohibitory and Portuguese expurgatory.[34] The expurgatory extends over more than eighty percent of the volume.

Current OCR applications give good results with contemporary printed materials. However, transcribing older texts, due to their typographical quality and quantity of pages, requires an advanced and specific character recognition model for their automated transcription. For the Portuguese ILEs, an HTR (Handwritten Text Recognition) model was created on the Transkribus platform for digital palaeography.[35] The HTR model created is available for public access and can be used, for example, as a base model for the transcription of the other seventeenth century indexes.[36] Nothing has to be said on the historical benefits of such an undertaking, particularly about the comparative study of expurgative practices, not only at the level of the entries (authors, titles) but also of the instructions (operations, texts).

The two transcribed Portuguese ILEs are available in a pdf format on the website Early Modern Indexes of Expurgation (EMIE).[37] The other tool provided, thanks to this edition, is the database IndApp. IndApp serves two purposes: to search and to describe. It provides a full search within the information provided by the ILEs (a total of 26,000 instructions), and in particular within the instructions and not only the bibliographic data.[38] According to the second purpose, similar to the use of the ILEs by the *revisores*, who applied the instructions in the copies they had to 'cleanse', investigators and librarians in the early modern censorship can check the application of the instructions in the copies possessed by the library. This side of the microcensorship analysis of individual copies ensures a systematic and methodological inventory of the phenomena allowing the full description of the individual copies with evidence of censoring control *versus* those which are immune. The indexes of censorship were texts which had the force of the law. It is the question of their effectuation and of the censorial effectiveness that is posed, and where these new resources enable searching on a large scale in this *mare magnum* of indexed items.[39] In fact, this metaphor is all the more relevant since, in addition to the bibliographical accumulation of authors' names and works, it is necessary to join that of textual instructions, that is to say all the modifications that must be made in the target texts.

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[33] *Index auctorum damnatae memoriae*, Ulyssiponae: ex off. Petri Craesbeck, 1624. Lausanne copy, access at: <https://books.google.pt/ books?id=agY-AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pt-BR&source=gbs_ge_ summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false/>.

[34] Until 1607, the expurgatories are independent books. Whereas the ILE of 1624 separates prohibitories and expurgatory, from the Spanish index of 1612, entries of prohibition and expurgation are alphabetically listed together. Therefore, all these indexes can be abbreviated into ILPE. One independent expurgatory will be published at the end of the eighteenth century: *Index Bohemicorum librorum prohibitorum et corrigendorum*, Prague: Johannes Carolus Hraba, 1770.

[35] Access at: <https://readcoop.eu/transkribus/?sc=Transkribus/>.

[36] Access at: <https://readcoop.eu/model/latin-portuguese-print-17th-century/>.

[37] Access at: <https://ind-exp.eu/>.

[38] Free access to database consulting (Search); editing registers of individual copies to be available in early 2023.

[39] Savelli, Rodolfo, 'La censura dei libri di diritto nella seconda metà del Cinquecento', in: *A Ennio Cortese. Scritti promossi da Domenico Maffei e raccolti a cura di Italo Birocchi, Mario Caravale, Emanuele Conte, Ugo Petronio*, Roma: Il Cigno edizioni, 2001, Vol. 3, p. 226.
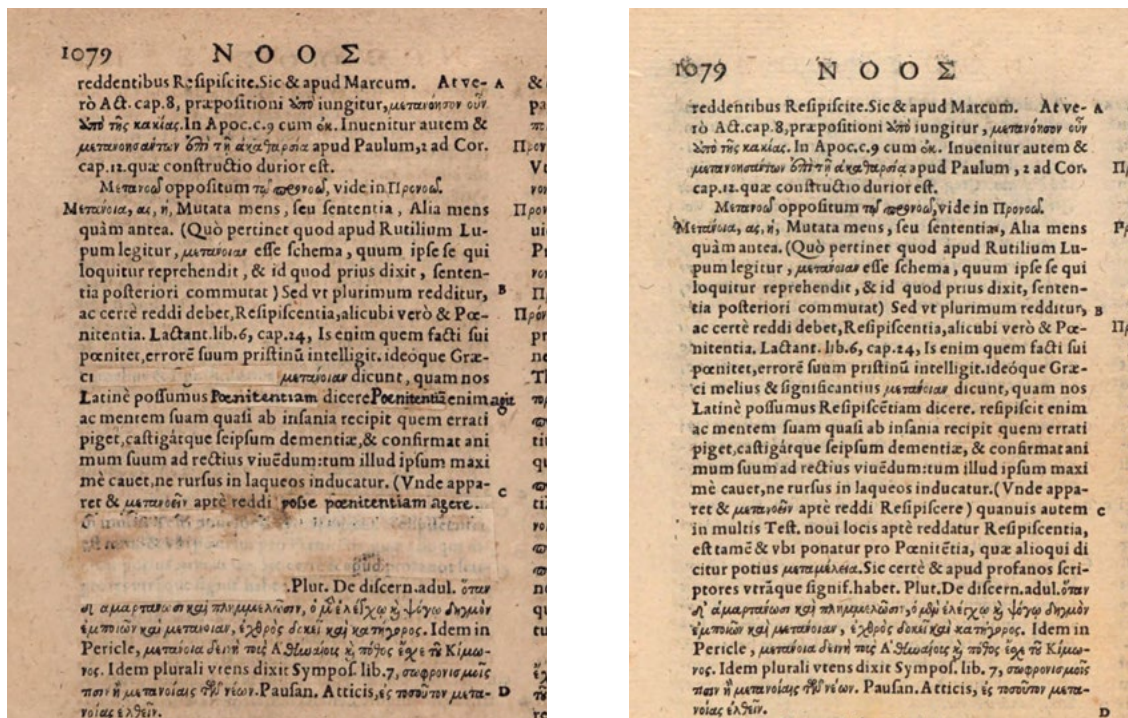
Fig. 1. Estienne, Henri, *Thesauros tes ellenikes glosses*, Genève, 1572, Vol. 2-2, p. 1079. On the left: the expurgated page (ink, paper and glue). Copy provenance: Jesuit College of Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). On the right, an immune page.

The IndApp application is intended to provide the indexed data for this inventory. As a first step, the database consists of the Portuguese expurgatories of 1581 and 1624. Each of the instructions is presented in a synthetic form. The analysis of a copy in a library or (they are not yet in the majority) in its digitized form is thus carried out as if the person in charge of this research came to verify the extent of the censorial task carried out at a given moment (sometimes more or less precisely dated) between the sixteenth (in principle, from 1571) and the eighteenth centuries. Although the vast majority of copies bearing expurgation marks and, more generally, censorial control marks, have been modified in the countries where these indexes were produced, it should be remembered that the expurgation of books does not result entirely from such instructions, although it is the case for the great majority of them. Almost all of the authors from Antiquity are not included in the index (and when they are, it is for their peritext, that is the comments made by heretics), as well as the Hebrew literature. Moreover, there is an unknown number of copies, in every country, mainly of Catholic culture, that may bear such traces, such as, for example, the *unicum* of the original edition of *Pantagruel* (1531?) by François Rabelais, owned by the National Library of France.[40]

Information processing: the case of Theodor and Jacob Zwinger's *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*

The choice of this work is justified first of all by its title: the notion of theatre links to the fields of bibliography and encyclopaedia, the ordered accumulation of knowledge being possible only thanks to the writings produced since Antiquity. Ann Blair explained how Zwinger used cut-and-paste for many of his columns.[41] The editorial history and censorial reception of the *Theatrum* illustrate the cumulative pattern of phenomena at play. From the first edition in 1565 to the last one in 1631, we go from a work

[40] Rabelais, François, *Pantagruel*, Lyon, Claude Nourrit, [1531?], f. C4r, H1r-v, H3r-v, I2r, [accessed: 26 March 2022]. Access at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86095855>.

[41] Blair, Ann, 'Reading strategies for coping with information overload, ca.1550-1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (2003), pp. 11-28, p. 27.

of 1428 pages to 4373.[42] On the other hand, this work was the subject of expurgatory instructions, which also increased: from eighty in 1584 to more than one thousand from 1612 onwards.[43]

It is therefore a work that is particularly representative of the problem of the accumulation of knowledge and the systematic controls to which works in this category were subjected. The edition of the Portuguese expurgatory of 1624 and the formalization of the instructions for the IndApp application, have made it possible to describe and quantify the instructions to be realised in the text (Basel edition, 1604). As to the three types of textual modifications imposed by the expurgation indexes, we have the following: 973 deletions, 76 substitutions and 4 additions.

Most of the text cleaning done in print (sometimes, handwritten copies) follows the instructions of the indexes. However, the indexing relationship can appear more complicated. As an example, the copy owned by the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania shows the deletion of a paragraph.[44] This is the 1565 edition. Now, the indexes were based on two other editions: the first Spanish expurgation (1584) on the Paris edition of Sonnius (1572); the later expurgations (Spanish of 1612, etc., and Portuguese of 1624) – on the 1604 text. However, the crossed-out paragraph in the Vilnius copy belongs to the edition of 1565, reprinted in 1571. This first condition of the text of the *Theatrum* has not been consulted, and therefore could not be indexed. Therefore, the expurgation of the Vilnius copy is not directly indexical (in the case of this passage– I have not consulted the rest of the work). It is not, however, arbitrary. It must have been undertaken by a member, perhaps a librarian, of the Jesuit College that owned it. Be that as it may, Gregory the Great did not go unnoticed by the censorious readers. Two passages concerning him were to be crossed out from the index of 1584. Another indication of the sustained attention paid to this author is that in the copy of Ghent (Paris, 1572), where a passage was expurgated, however,
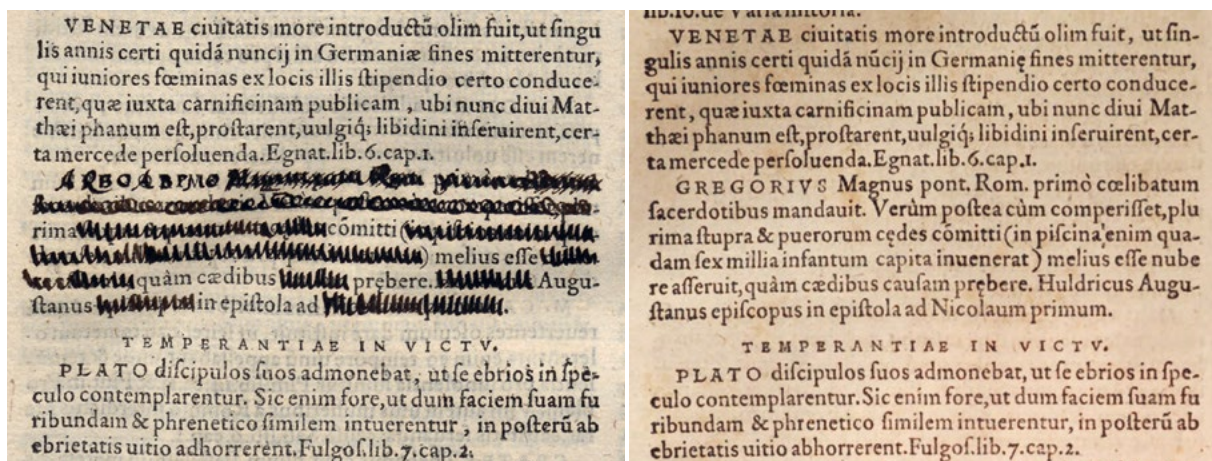
Fig. 2. Zwinger, Theodor, *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*, Basileae: Oporinus, Froben, 1565, p. 256. On the left, the expurgated page. The name of the entry, Gregorius, was made illegible by tracing out the capital letters. Copy provenance: Jesuit College in Kražiai (ink; Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania). On the right, an immune page.

42 Vega, María José, 'Enciclopedismo y conflicto religioso: la expurgación del Theatrum Vitae Humanae de Theodor Zwinger en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII', *Saberes (in)útiles: el enciclopedismo literario áureo entre acumulación y aplicación*, edited by Mechthild Albert and Ulrike Becker, Frankfurt a. M., Madrid: Vervuert Verlagsgesellschaft, 2016, pp. 287-315, p. 289.

43 *Index librorum expurgatorum*, Madriti: apud Alfonsum Gomezium regium typographum, 1584: 79 instructions (taken up in full by Antonio Possevino in his first edition of the *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studiorum*, Romae: ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1593, L. 1, pp. 85-88, then in the second edition, Colonia: J. Gymnicus, 1607, Vol. 2, L. 16, cap. 4, pp. 345-348); *Index librorum expurgandorum in studiosorum gratiam confecti tomus primus*, Romae: Typographia R. Cam. Apost, 1607, p. 472; *Index Auctorum damnatae memoriae*, Ulyssiponæ: ex off. Petri Craesbeck,1624 (some variants with the *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum*, Madriti: apud Ludovicum Sanchez typographum regium, 1612), p. 1053.

44 Page presented by Kvizikevičiūtė, Milda, 'Not worth reading?' or Emotional Polemics between a Book and its Reader in Grand Duchy of Lithuania', *The Inaugural Durham History of the Book Conference: Bibliophilia and Bibliophobia, Durham University*, 29-30 June 2020.

seemingly, this did not result from the application of the instruction (ILE 1584, p.190), otherwise the other instructions would have been applied. The text of 1565 disappears from the *Theatrum* from the Roman edition of 1587 onwards and is therefore not to be found in that of 1604 either.

To conclude very briefly, the present research was made possible by the instruments described as well as by the digitized copies of the works cited. De Bujanda described the expurgation studies as a 'huge project that will have to be explored by analytical studies for each of the cases'.[45] The synthetizing tools of the Digital Humanities enable it to assume a less impressive dimension. They do more than opening the frontiers between books and readers. They provide powerful and stimulating tools and push the limits of our capacities to process and use information that was previously difficult to access, especially because of its extent. The copies described here, from Ghent or Vilnius, will therefore join the virtual shelves of the library of expurgated books. The widespread use of such tools makes possible their improvement and the progress of our knowledge.

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[45] '[...] un immense chantier qui devra être exploré par des études analytiques pour chacun des cas' (*Index de l'inquisition espagnole, 1583, 1584*, edited by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Sherbrooke: Éd. de l'Université de Sherbrooke; Genève: Librairie Droz, 1993, p. 108).

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Edmund Burke and the Booksellers' Bill: an Exercise in the History of Copyright

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Abstract. In 1774, the House of Lords overturned a 1769 ruling regarding the copyright of books. Up until then under the Copyright Act of 1709 authors received statutory protection for a total period of twenty-eight years. Most authors sold their copyrights to booksellers that is modern day publishers. As a result, a small group of London booksellers kept copyrights to themselves and formed a virtual monopoly. After the 1774 decision, booksellers petitioned for parliamentary relief and a committee was appointed to consider their case. When a bill was introduced to mitigate the Lords' decision a pamphlet war about copyright erupted. Edmund Burke took an active role in this controversy. In this paper, his position in favour of the booksellers is examined. Moreover, how Burke used the theory of property rights to defend the booksellers' monopoly will be illustrated. The purpose of this examination is twofold: first to determine the conditions under which Burke favoured monopoly and how his stance on this issue can be reconciled with his overall economic thought. And second to use his arguments in favour of the Booksellers' bill as a case-study and window to eighteenth-century book economics in Britain.

Keywords: Edmund Burke, history of copyright, booksellers' bill, eighteenth-century, monopoly.

Introduction

Edmund Burke (1729-1797), the eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish statesman and political thinker had a lifelong interest in financial and economic affairs, something that was manifested at several instances during his long parliamentarian career.[1] Burke's interests were not only theoretical as he was twice appointed under the Marquess of Rockingham's and Duke of Portland's Ministries as Paymaster of the Forces (April-August 1782 and April 1783-January 1784), an eighteenth-century government office relating to the handling of the finances of the armed forces. Burke's rigorous knowledge of a wide range of economic subjects, like trade and the mechanisms that determine the rate of wages, has been asserted by historians of economic thought and Burkean scholars, like Francis P. Canavan and Gregory M. Collins.[2] In an early reading of this subject, Canavan insightfully maintained that the notion of prescription and property rights underpinned the whole of Burke's economic thought. This was largely the traditional Whig stance on those issues. More recently, Collins wrote provided a comprehensive study of Burke's economic opinions in an attempt to identify Burke's place in the wider historiography of economic thought. Collins's monograph served to prove that Burke's positions were very much influenced

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[1]   Burke was a prominent Member of Parliament representing the constituencies of Wendover, Bristol, and Malton from 1765 to 1794.
[2]   Canavan, Francis P., *The Political Economy of Edmund Burke: The Role of Property in His Thought,* New York: Fordham University Press, 1994; Collins, Gregory M., *Commerce and Manners in Edmund Burke's Political Economy,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

by the transitional nature of this period in the history of economic thinking. In addition, he has provided valuable information on how Burke understood trade and commercial relations, economic reform and the management of the Empire. Indeed, several experts on Burke and economic historians have tried to classify Burke either as a mercantilist thinker or an early advocate of classical political economy (or, even capitalism).[3] There is, undoubtedly, a merit of truth in all these diverging readings of Burke's thought on trade, wages, and state intervention in the economy. Nevertheless, as Collins maintained convincingly, if one delves deeper into Burke's understanding of contemporary economic affairs, they will discover a subtle and more nuanced thinker, whom strict categories cannot quite capture in his entirety. Finally, there is an interesting recent interpretative tradition that seeks to link Burke's economic opinions to his overall religious and political thought. Paul Oslington and John Grove have recently published two interesting essays on the subject.[4] In brief, Oslington maintained that Anglican theology informed certain economic propositions of Burke whilst Grove illustrated how Burke's religious ideas influenced his understanding of the British state, its function and its role for maintaining order.

What it is argued in the present analysis and related to the aforementioned discussion, is first that Burke's economic thinking can be properly realized only if it is examined under the scope of transition from mercantilism to free-market economics. And second that the history of the copyright in early modern Britain serves as an illustrative case-study of this and a useful exercise in the history of economic thought. Overall, identifying Burke's reasons and motives in defending perpetual copyright in Britain will on a more general level provide new information on eighteenth-century economic discourse and on a more specific level shed new light into the trade of books and the copyright controversy in the 1770s. Burke's participation to the debate is of additional value and importance because of the prominent position he occupies in the historiography of ideas.

Regarding the structure of the present essay, in the first section, a brief overview of the 1774 copyright crisis is presented so as to the historical context to be complete. On the second section, Burke's stance and reasoning on defending the booksellers is reconstructed. Finally, on the third section, it is argued that Burke's position on the debate was quite consistent with his earlier stance on economic affairs, a stance stemming from deeper methodological and political premises. All in all, using Burke's arguments as a window to this period, in this essay an attempt is made to showcase that the trade of books in eighteenth-century Britain shared many characteristics with other aspects of economic life in the Empire and was equally influenced by the same political discourse and arguments as other fields of commercial activity.

Historical context: the copyright crisis of 1774

To provide a detailed timeline of the contest for literary property in Hanoverian Britain would, quite naturally, exceed the intended scale of this chapter.[5] In addition to this, such survey would, eventually, exceed the purpose and scope of the present examination relating not so much to the historical details of the controversy but to the intertwined intellectual and economic arguments behind it. Instead, a brief overview of well-established facts is provided for the historical context of Burke's participation to the debate to be offered.[6]

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[3]   Representative examples of these differing interpretations are Canavan, Collins and MacPherson, *C.B. Burke*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Reprint Edition 2013.

[4]   Oslington, Paul, 'Anglican Social Thought and the Shaping of Political Economy in Britain: Joseph Butler, Josiah Tucker, William Paley and Edmund Burke', *History of Economics Review*, 2017, Vol. 67, pp. 26-45; Grove, John, 'The Consecrated State', *Studies in Burke and His Time*, 2021, Vol. 30, pp. 7-42.

[5]   There are many interesting monographs on the subject, some classic ones and certain fairly more recent publications. For example, Birrel, Augustine, *Seven Lectures on the Law and History of Copyright in Books*, London, Paris, New York & Melbourne: Cassell & C°., 1899; Walters, Gwyn, 'The Booksellers in 1759 and 1774: the Battle for Literary Property', *The Library*, 1974, Vol. 29, pp. 287-311, and Rose, Mark, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

[6]   Historical information is drawn mainly from Walters, Gwyn, 'The Booksellers…'

In early modern or early eighteenth-century Britain, publishing affairs were first regulated with the passing of the Copyright Act of 1710, also known as the 'Queen Anne's Law' or 'Statute of Anne' on copyright.[7] Indeed, this was the first English legislation providing copyright with statutory protection for a period of fourteen years. A further provision in the said law enabled copyright to be extended for another fourteen years if the author were still alive when the first term elapsed, reaching a total of twenty-eight years. Finally, this Act granted twenty-one years of protection for any book already available in print at the time of its passage. Such an amount of time of statuary protection was enough for book traders to accumulate profits on popular books. Quickly after receiving its Royal Assent, Queen Anne's Law came to constitute a vital element for the booksellers' trade. Respecting the term 'booksellers', it latu sensu represented modern day publishers. Those traders, who were at the same time publishers and retail booksellers, mainly operated in London.[8] In the early eighteenth-century as a result of the statuary protection English publishing trade was dominated by a London group of few such booksellers. Furthermore, in order to secure their trade those booksellers utilized a series of 'intimidation' tactics, such as the injunctions awarded in the High Court of Chancery against these who distributed pirate copies of books. This commercial and legal context lead to the creation of a situation in which authors, even the most prominent ones, usually had to sell their copyrights to a bookseller; this was not limited to the circle of English writers, as Scottish authors, like David Hume, also chose to sell their copyright to these booksellers. Burke, too, followed this practice by associating with Robert and James Dodsley, two well-known London booksellers. Overall, by mid-eighteenth century those traders had, essentially, managed to establish a virtual monopoly through retaining copyrights within their circle.

Up until the 1770s there were few instances during which copyright protection was threatened by legal rulings. The calm waters of the book market were shaken on 23 February of 1774 and another copyright crisis erupted.[9] The crisis was provoked by a House of Lords ruling in the case of Donaldson v. Becket, which overruled a previous decision in favour of perpetual copyright in the Millar v. Taylor case. More specifically, the Lords in its judicial capacity decided on that instance that perpetual copyright had to be abolished, thus throwing books into the public domain. Indicative is the remark offered by Augustine Birrel who said that with this decision 'forever perished perpetual copyright within this realm'.[10] The ratio elaborated at the Lords can be summarized as follows: it was verified that many pamphlets as well as books first published at Great Britain were effectively already in the public domain, either since the copyright period awarded by statute had elapsed or because they were published before the enactment of Queen Anne's law and the protection had equally expired. Consequently, the decision of the Lords created a market for economical reprints of works by famous authors such as William Shakespeare, John Milton, and Geoffrey Chaucer. All in all, this curved the dominance of the London booksellers and enabled more people to be involved with the trade of books; revealing of the fact is that the total number of booksellers and publishers in the kingdom surged from 111 in 1772 to 308 in 1802.[11]

The booksellers' pressure groups were too influential to refrain from challenging this judicial ruling in Parliament. They quickly organized their response and tabled a series of petitions requesting parliamentary relief.[12] Responding to their request the House of Commons decided to appoint a committee to investigate the case. Unfortunately, due to the absence of a system of preserving documents related

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[7] The full title was 'An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or purchasers of such Copies, during the Times therein mentioned'.

[8] Truly, there were during this period very few publishing houses in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

[9] This was the second important copyright crisis; the other had erupted in 1759. For more on the first crisis, see Walters, Gwyn, 'The Booksellers…'

[10] Birrel, Augustine, *Seven Lecture…*, p. 130.

[11] Melton, James Van Horn, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 40-141.

[12] By the 1770s it was now quite common for petitions to be submitted to Parliament.

to parliamentary committees in this period, it is almost impossible to know what exactly was transpired and said in the committee hearings. In lieu of that, the core argument of the booksellers can be observed in one of their petitions, namely the 'A Petition of the Booksellers of London and Westminster on behalf of themselves and others, Holders of Copyright', a short petition signed by eighty-seven individuals and presented just five days after the Lords' ruling in 1774. According to this document, the petitioners 'had constantly apprehended, that the said Act of Parliament, did not interfere with any copyright that might be invested in your petitioners by the common law'. Their argument that they 'had constantly apprehended' legal protection was based on the deep-rooted notion of prescription, which protected their property rights. In arguing their case the group of the petitioning booksellers posed as the injured party and ascertained that their monopoly, the status quo ante had to be restored. After a debate the Commons finally passed an Act 'for the relief of booksellers and others, by vesting the copies of printed books in the purchasers of such copies from authors or therein assigns, for a time therein to be limited'. Unfortunately, no copy of the bill has survived and there are serious doubts as to many of its clauses. Notwithstanding that, according to Walters' research the Act not only granted copyright protection to books not covered by the 1710 Act but also sought to extend the period of statuary protection too. Nevertheless, the Act eventually fell in the Lords, which re-affirmed its earlier abolition of perpetual copyright.

As it was often the case in this period, the controversy spurned a typical eighteenth-century pamphlet-war.[13] Leading intellectuals and various other authors took part in the debate. Dr Samuel Johnson, the renowned author and lexicographer came out against perpetual copyright whilst the philosopher Hume, albeit writing 'an ostensible Letter' in support of the booksellers, privately admitted the weakness of their case. Both Dr Johnson and Hume agreed that the booksellers were practically arguing that perpetual copyright was in the interest of both authors and the public, an assumption both authors disagreed with.[14] The influential Attorney-General Lord Thurlow referring to one of the main protagonists of the controversy, William Johnston who had played a pivotal role in the committee's procedures in favour of the booksellers, described him as an 'imprudent, monopolizing man'.[15] Overall, it was a widely held opinion that the booksellers insisted on the retainment of their monopoly and copyright privileges just to increase their profits. Nevertheless, they found an unlikely ally in the face of Burke.

Burke's arguments in favour of booksellers

Before taking part in the copyright controversy, Burke was well-known among his contemporaries as an adversary of monopolies.[16] As a result, it was surprising enough for many of his peers that he supported the booksellers' demands. Burke advocated the booksellers' case in the Commons, rising to speak in their favour on the debate of a bill that sought to extend a further fourteen years statutory protection to books. The main question is why did Burke choose to defend a vested interest such as that of the booksellers and what does his advocacy signifies for the position of copyright in eighteenth-century Britain economic discourse? Providing an answer to these questions may offer new information in a twofold way: on the one hand and more specific level, it shed further light to Burke's economic thought and his

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[13]   According to F.P. Lock, around thirty related pamphlets can be found at the British Library, Lock, F.P., MacPherson, C.B., *Burke …*, p. 362.

[14]   'Dr Johnson to William Strahan, 7 March, 1774', in: *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, edited by Bruce Redford, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994, Vol. 2, pp. 129-131 and 'Hume to William Strahan, March 1774', in: *Letters of David Hume*, edited by J.Y.T. Greig, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 288.

[15]   Walters, Gwyn, 'The Booksellers…', p. 304.

[16]   For example, Burke had resisted reform of East India Trading Company on the grounds of property rights. Later, during the short-lived Fox-North coalition, Burke accepted some reform of the company's charter. As a result, Burke had resisted reform of the East India Trading Company on exactly the same reasons of protecting private property, as he did with books copyright.

notion of the 'free market' operation. And on the other hand and more general level, take his stance as a window to eighteenth-century book trade and the paraphernalia of copyright.

Few biographers have previously addressed this minor episode of Burke's parliamentary career.[17] F.P. Lock maintained that Burke had been, perhaps, influenced in his decision in support of the booksellers by the friendly relations he maintained with the Dodsley brothers.[18] Both brothers were important London booksellers; Robert Dodsley had died in 1764 leaving his business to his brother, James. From the few available information on James Dodsley it cannot be properly established whether he took part in the controversy, although it is known that he was a member of a booksellers club.[19] Lock's idea that 'Burke's support for the bill […] shows that on occasion he valued the protection of existing property rights above the creation of a free market' may be closer to the truth.[20] Finally, Lock has offered a third plausible explanation that Burke's arguments stemmed from a 'dislike of aristocratic influence' in the House of Commons.[21] As biographical information respecting this subject is scarce it may be more fruitful for the explanation to be searched elsewhere.

What it is argued here is that Burke's motives can be properly explained by reverting to certain well-known eighteenth-century political ideas. It is a locus classicus that property rights and prescription remained a cornerstone of Whig thought throughout the long-eighteenth century, as J.G.A. Pocock and H.T. Dickinson have shown in their authoritative studies.[22] Canavan and Collins on their part, as already mentioned, have proven how important and critical these notions were to Burke's thought. Using these ideas as interpretative framework and through the limited primary sources available, Burke's arguments in favour of the bookseller's case can be reconstructed as follows:

Burke argued that (1) in principio, monopolies are against the public interest. Notwithstanding that, (2) certain monopolistic practices may serve as incentives to enterprise. Examples of that are copyright protection for authors, patent protection for inventors, and the closed market of speculation and/or risky business. Crucially, though, (3) books are different from inventions. As Burke noted '[a] Book was an invention which taken in the whole it is not probably that any other man in the world but the individual author could have supplied'. And furthermore, 'a machine is not improbably that many men may hit on a contrivance in all respects the same without communication – & it has so happened'.[23] This is the reason why for Burke the first deserved perpetual monopoly, but the latter did not.[24] It should be noted that Burke here also draws on another eighteenth-century influential concept, that of creative 'originality'.[25] Burke proposed that providing perpetual copyright for an author's book was a more tenable exercise of government authority than granting monopoly to a trading company. And that is why 'where not the invention, but the risqué gives a sort of Title to Monopoly', but this monopoly must be proportional to the extent of the risk. In addition, (4) authors were either supported through patronage (dependence,

[17]   Both Cone, Carl B., *Edmund Burke and the Nature of Politics: The Age of the American Revolution*, Lexington KY: Kentucky University Press, 1957 and Bourke, Richard, *Empire and Revolution: The Political Life of Edmund Burke*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015 do not refer to this instance of Burke's career.

[18]   Lock, F.P., *Edmund Burke: Volume I*, 1730-1784, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

[19]   Tedder, Henry Richard, 'James Dodsley', in: *The Dictionary of National Biography*, New York: Macmillan and Co, London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1888, Vol. 15, pp. 169-170. Nevertheless, James Dodsley's publication of A Petition and Complaint touching a Piracy of the 'Letters of the late Earl of Chesterfield' in 1775 may be indicative of his stance on piracy and copyright.

[20]   Lock, F.P., *Edmund Burke…*, p. 363.

[21]   It is well beyond the scope of the present analysis to argue against or in favour of such assertion.

[22]   Pocock, J.G.A., *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, chiefly in the Eighteenth-Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985 and Dickinson, H.T., *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, New York, NY: Holmes and Meier, 1978.

[23]   Burke, Edmund, *Correspondence between the Year 1744, and the Period of his Decease*, in 1797, London: Francis & John Rivington, 1844, Vol. 4, pp. 459-462.

[24]   Adam Smith notably disagreed with this distinction of Burke's, see, Smith, Adam, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, edited by R.L. Meek, D.D. Raphael, P.G. Stein, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978, Vol. 2, pp. 31-33.

[25]   Cf. Young, Edward, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, London: printed for A. Millar and R. and J. Dodsley, 1759.

meanness, flattery) or by the commercialization of literature, a more 'democratick (sic) principle', as Burke remarked. Indeed, few authors could self-publish in the eighteenth-century – contrary to inventors. Finally, (5) all these insights were encapsulated to Burke's adoration of the 'sacred' property rights of eighteenth-century Whig thought.

It can be induced from the above that Burke adopted a traditional Whig stance in the copyright debate. Critically enough he argued that authors were also assisted by perpetual copyright because it led to the commercialization of industry. In turn, this 'democratick principle' enabled books to be more accessible, without hurting booksellers, unlike book piracy. Of course, there were certain evident problems in Burke's reasoning. Above all, Burke failed to demonstrate how authors benefited from copyright when booksellers were the ones who accumulated all the profits. Now, based on Burke's insight certain conclusions may be provided respecting the wider book trade in early modern Britain.

Conclusion: a transitional phase for copyright

Burke's stance on copyright illustrates the subtle and complex relationship between support for the free market on the one hand and an insistence on monopolistic practices on the other hand. If one is to properly understand and resolve Burke's prima facie contradictory stance between his advocating of free market and his defence of copyright, they must inescapably revert to prevalent eighteenth-century opinion about the function and essence of the free market per se; of course, this, also, applies to the trade of books. They should, also, pay attention to the interplay between classical political economy and mercantilist conceptions that were still very much in place in Burke's time.

More concretely, in the eighteenth-century a clear definition of the free market had not yet been formulated. Different meanings were ascribed to the term allowing for very diverging interpretations by a variety of audiences. This was true for the book market, too. In other words, free trade had not yet taken the defined sense that would take in the nineteenth-century. This is inter alios the reason why classical political economists, such as Adam Smith, were able to advocate free trade and at the same time support the mercantilist legislative framework of the Navigation Acts.[26] Overall, in this period, support for free trade did not inevitably carry the implication that all state entanglements in commerce and the economy in general should be removed or struck down all at one instance – this would be an oversimplification.

Instead of transcribing nineteenth-century notions to the eighteenth-century economic debate, what appears to be closer to the truth is that Burke's opinion on free market and commerce cannot be limited neither to the mercantilist nor the classical approach. In turn, this points to the ongoing discussions and particularities of the second half of the eighteenth-century, a rather transitional period respecting the history of economic thought, as mentioned in the introduction. Burke was a thinker who distrusted abstract reasoning and metaphysical speculation as well as general principles and so was very reluctant to allow for 'watertight' rules on the economy too. This means that while he acknowledged restrictions on trade were not always based on commercial reasons, he was not ready to dogmatically accept a completely free trade a priori. When it came to the book market the abolition of copyright was for him translated into an attack against the established property rights of certain individuals, that is booksellers who had bought the intellectual property of authors through a free commercial transaction. It is well-established that Burke adopted a careful stance on practical political issues and followed prudential judgement in

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[26]   As defence, however, is of much more importance than opulence, the act of navigation is, perhaps, the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England' Smith, Adam, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, edited by Campbell, R.H., Indianapolis, IND: Liberty Fund, 1982, Vol. 2, pp. 29-30, 464-65. The Navigation Acts were a traditional mercantilist mechanism of the British Empire which often limited free trade. Yet, this did not prevent Smith inter alios to approach this complex issue without prejudice. For more on this, see Weingast, Barry R., 'War, Trade, and Mercantilism: Reconciling Adam Smith's Three Theories of the British Empire' (September, 6, 2018), *SSRN Electronic Journal*, pp. 1-29. Access at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2915959>.

each separate case.[27] As a result, his rejection of apriorism and his middle of the road stance between these two different categories (i.e. monopoly and free market) is additionally asserted by his adopted position regarding the copyright of books.

Burke's statements on economic affairs must be read in accordance with his overall thinking. It is generally agreed amongst scholars that Burke held the belief that history and tradition ought to determine the actions of the politicians, who are the 'philosophers in action'. As Gerald Chapman and Francis P. Canavan inter alias have proven in their studies this process is determined by prudence and practical political reason. The cardinal place of prudential judgement in Burke's thought encouraged him to reject metaphysical thinking, abstractions, and speculation in favour of empirical judgement.[28] He was showed to be very reluctant to resolve into abstract reasoning before practical political problems. If linked with his methodological premises and ontological presuppositions, Burke's aforementioned approach on copyright provides for a vindication of the position that he was not the disciple of any particular school of thought, be it mercantilist or classical. Subsequently, this carries the implication that Burke, rejecting general principles and abstract reasoning, could have never accepted free trade in all cases, that is a priori. It is important to discern this disposition from nihilism or outright scepticism. What differentiates Burke from advocates of a particular system is that in the case of copyright, he chose to examine each case within its particulars and then reach a practical judgement about what should be done. Overall, when it comes to Burke and his economic thought, a theory on copyright or the free market cannot be properly established, because of his very method.

The tendency to locate Burke within a specific school of thought is not limited to his economic thinking. There are different interpretative traditions of Burke's political thought, ranging from the utilitarian school of thought in the nineteenth century to his reception as a classical natural law thinker in the mid-1950s. Recent studies on the issue have proven that clean categories do not quite capture Burke.[29] What is argued here is that the same principle can be thoroughly applied to his economic thought, too. Burke's statements on trade and copyright render it impossible to classify him strictly as a mercantilist or classical economist. Rather, what his opinions taken as a case-study demonstrate is the transitional nature of this period in the history of economic thought and the swing of the balance from the mercantilist certainties of the previous century to the new realizations of free market economics.

It follows from the above that Burke's economic thinking cannot be understood without reference to his broader political and methodological convictions. Prudence and practical reason, as mentioned, dictated that the politician, the 'philosopher in action', should always judge each case separately.[30] Far from being a calculative or utilitarian approach, Burke's method allowed him to adopt different strategies on a series of issues. As a result, it is not a contradiction for him to be advocating free trade at one instance and supporting the monopoly of the booksellers at another. Lastly, as mentioned above, paramount to his thinking, as convincingly demonstrated by Canavan and others, were property rights. On a last note, it should be observed that Burke's and the booksellers' case was not so convincing because the book monopoly did not always serve traders, authors and the reading public alike. Books were rather expensive, and few could afford editions of important works, except if they bought them from the pirate market. Furthermore, not all authors received fair payment for selling their copyrights to booksellers. In the final analysis, perpetual copyright was abolished because it mainly served the interests of very few people, the London booksellers.

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[27] For more about Burke's method of reasoning about political affairs, see Canavan, Francis P., *The Political Reason of Edmund Burke*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1960, especially chapter 1.

[28] Chapman, Gerald W., *Edmund Burke. The Practical Imagination*, Cambridge MT: Harvard University Press, 1967, passim; Canavan, Francis P., *The Political Reason...*, especially c and 3.

[29] Bourke, Richard, *Empire and Revolution...*, passim.

[30] Burke, Edmund, 'Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents', in: *Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, edited by Paul Langford, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, p. 237.

In conclusion, it should be underlined that Burke had an interest in different economic issues, such as the function of the trade market, the methods of determining the level of rates of wages, and when it was proper for the state to intervene in the economy. He offered his thoughts on these subjects not in a systematic treatise, but on scattered remarks over his various pamphlets and speeches, thus creating additional problems of interpretation for the Burkean scholar. What has been attempted to be proven here is that if one considers Burke's stance on copyright, it appears inappropriate to endeavour to place him within a certain tradition, either the prevailing contemporary mercantilist one or the emergent classical political economy. What is Burke's most valuable role for the history of economic thought of his times, is his belief in practical judgement and prudence on economic affairs and his negation of apriorisms and closed systems. Taken as an exercise in the history of economic thought, Burke's opinions on economic affairs serve to demonstrate how labels such as 'mercantilism' or 'classical political economy' are inadequate to capture the economic thinking of this transitional age. And this can be seen as one of Burke's most critical contributions to the history of economic thought.

Burke's stance on the issue is, also, indicative of the wider tendencies identified in the book-market of eighteenth-century Britain. Of course, these frictions between various interests had already been on the show before the controversy of 1774. But the divergence of interests was aggravated during this crisis. Both sides employed a series of arguments to support their case. On the one hand there was the struggle for the end of perpetual copyright and the advancement of a truly free market of books. On the other hand, as mentioned above and as Burke maintained, such laissez-faire on books not only hindered the danger of curtailing the possibility of writers to publish their work but also constitute them dependent on other sources of funding for publishing. When it comes to their overall merit, although such an evaluation eschews the scope of the present examination, it should be accepted that under the circumstances of late eighteenth-century, the arguments for a quasi-free market of books were rather strong and appealing. In addition, these observations are connected to the transitional phase of the wider economics landscape in Britain during those centuries. Perhaps, it can be maintained that Burke's and others' support for the booksellers' cause was one of the last manifestations of the vested interest in the eighteenth-century British book market. The fact that the booksellers did not manage to ascertain their position and return to the status quo ante may also be indicative of the more 'liberal' trend in commerce related but not limited to books.

In the final analysis, it is evident that Burke's defence of the booksellers' cause is not only an interesting window to the history of the book in eighteenth-century Britain but also to the intermediate nature of this period in the history of economic thought, that is between the mercantilist certainties and the nascent political economy of the nineteenth century. What is more, the present analysis sought to serve as a case study not only on the intellectual and economic developments in Whig thought in general and of Burke's on a more specific level, but also to the history of the book and its market in eighteenth-century Britain. There is, of course, further room for research on the subject of Whig commercial and economic thought on the book trade and other subjects. Burke's ideas and the way his arguments were presented may serve as a case-study, or a template, for such future examinations. Overall, Burke, as often in his career, eventually, allied himself with the losing side. The booksellers, indeed, lost the battle for copyright and the history of intellectual property and of book publishing and distribution changed forever in Great Britain. Burke's eloquence and the powerful vested interest of the booksellers were not enough to change the dynamics of the new market.

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Abstract. As representatives of a family of actors and theatre managers in the early nineteenth-century Paris, Pierre-Jacques Seveste (1773-1825), his wife and his sons built a kind of small empire while launching, from 1817 on, several small theatres in the suburbs of Paris (*théâtres de la banlieue*), promoting new forms of popular entertainment quickly named *théâtre de boulevard* (boulevard theatre). The Seveste enterprise, a shareholder company with the name *Société des théâtres de la banlieue*, had its own 'company library', a working tool that appears nowadays as a testimony of a quite neglected genre, popular theatre under and just after the Napoleonic era. A part of this library could be maintained as a whole and purchased by the National and university library of Strasbourg in 2017. The collection could already be presented at a former conference (Sarospatak 2019). The 'Theatrum Libri' conference was focused on the goals of the 'collectors', and tried to make out their purposes while bringing together the collection: did the Seveste consciously build what appears nowadays as a 'theatre of the theatre', a kind of encyclopaedia of popular culture?

Keywords: Pierre-Jacques Seveste, Edmond Seveste, Jules Seveste, popular theatre, vaudeville, melodrama, theatre library, theatre companies, entertainment enterprises, nineteenth century.

The theatre was, as we well know, one of the great passions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a noble passion at first, which belonged to the world of the *châteaux* (castles), a passion democratised after the French Revolution and which, from the first decades of the nineteenth century, reached ever wider sections of the population.[1] We wish to illustrate this phenomenon through an example (the library of the *Société des théâtres de la banlieue*, which was active during the first half of the century in Paris) that seems to us particularly relevant to several questions raised by the *Theatrum libri* colloquium: how an archival phenomenon (the accumulation of books) accounts for the part played by the 'accumulators of knowledge and collectors of books' in ultimately forming the memory of an institution, which in turn provides us with a 'narrative of times past'.[2] If the theatre, as the editors of this book understand it, metaphorically refers to the accumulation of knowledge on a given subject, and, from the sixteenth century onwards almost takes on the significance of an encyclopaedia, then the book becomes a theatre, and by extension so does the collection of books: it is a theatre of knowledge, in which each book plays

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[1] On this subject, see our article 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards', ou Comment la banlieue entre en bibliothèque (1780-1830)', in: *Les bibliothèques et l'économie des connaissances / Bibliotheken und die Ökonomie des Wissens 1450-1850*, edited by Frédéric Barbier, István Monok and Andrea Seidler, Budapest: MTAK, 2020, pp. 314-337. The present contribution follows up and completes the study undertook at the time, particularly regarding the library created by the Seveste family. Regarding the democratisation of shows, the evolution of the public and of genres, see for example the dossier 'Le mélodrame', in: *Europe*, Vol. 703-704, 1987, and in particular the article by Pierre Frantz, 'Naissance d'un public'.

[2] We quote literally the terms used in the conference's call for papers; see: <https://lnb.lt/en/news/6818-call-for-papers>.

FP.6.20396

LE VOYAGE

DE

LA MARIÉE,

IMITATION CONTEMPORAINE DE LA FIANCÉE DU ROI DE GARBE,

EN CINQ TABLEAUX, MÊLÉS DE COUPLETS;

PAR

MM. ADOLPHE DE L., PHILIPPE D.,
ET JULIEN DE M.

REPRÉSENTÉE, POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS, SUR LE THÉATRE
DES VARIÉTÉS, LE 12 SEPTEMBRE 1829.

PARIS,

CHEZ VENTE, LIBRAIRE,
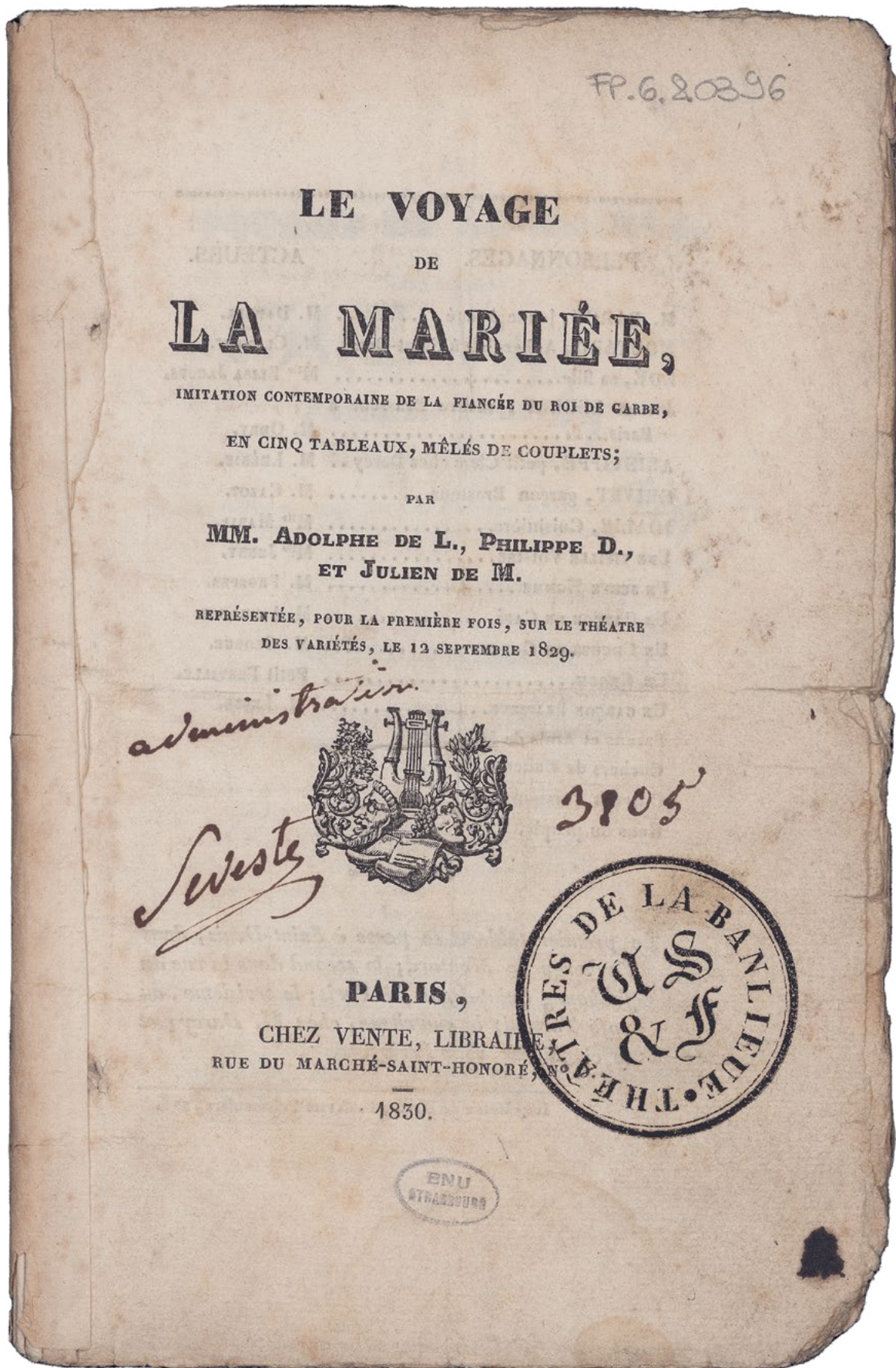RUE DU MARCHÉ-SAINT-HONORÉ, Nº

1830.

Fig. 1. *Le voyage de la mariée,* Paris: Vente, 1830. A book with a mark of ownership (coll. BNU)

its part, and the collector is in a way the director of the play. In the present case, we shall see what a very singular collection of works… of theatre has to say to us, constituting, we believe, a 'theatre of the theatre' (*theatrum theatri*).

This collection, now in the possession of the National and University Library of Strasbourg and referred to as the 'Perchellet collection' (after its former owner),[3] has been reassembled and has revealed the memory of what was an important entertainment company in the first half of the nineteenth century, thanks, in particular, to the material elements found within the books (provenance and ownership marks, handwritten annotations, etc.). This book collection emerges as a particularly representative reflection of its time, a period in which a popular form of theatre, the *théâtre des boulevards*, was developing in Paris. How this 'accumulation of knowledge' was built up, what it also tells us about the diffusion of the new theatrical forms which it reflects, is what we shall now tell.

While the history of the French theatre in the nineteenth century is well known, including its popular dimensions,[4] the same is not necessarily true of the life of the private companies that worked in the 'secondary' theatres. Furthermore, the history and fate of their libraries is, in our knowledge, an area where sources are scarce, as we will see further on: private theatre companies rarely left us their libraries, as is the case with the *Société des théâtres de banlieue*. What it can tell us (in what way it is a 'theatre of the theatre') is all the more interesting. But first, let's start from the beginning.

The Birth of a Theatrical Enterprise

In 1817, a Parisian actor named Pierre-Jacques Seveste (1773-1825) obtained from King Louis XVIII the privilege to run all the theatres of what was then called the *banlieue* (the suburbs, formerly outside the Paris wall, today part of the *arrondissements* of the capital): Belleville, Montmartre, les Batignolles, Montparnasse.[5] He then set about building small wooden theatres (Sèvres in 1817, Montparnasse and Montmartre in 1819, Belleville in 1825), and later permanent ones (Montmartre in 1822).

He died in 1825. His widow and two sons, Edmond (1799-1852) and Jules (1803-1854) carried on with his work and in 1826 set up a shareholder company in commandit under the corporate name of *Veuve Seveste et fils*. The two sons, as owners of the privilege, became associate directors and their mother was the manager. They built the theatres of Saint-Cloud (1827), Grenelle and Belleville (1828) and Batignolles (1838). The privilege was regularly extended until Jules, the last of the two brothers, died in 1854.[6]

Thus emerged a small entertaining enterprise called *Société des théâtres de la banlieue* (Suburban Theatre Society). Part of their 'economic model' was to use students and novice actors (either from the provinces or from the conservatoire) who were paid little or nothing and for whom it was a chance of learning under real conditions. The Montmartre theatre was thereby often called the *Théâtre d'élèves* or *Théâtre Seveste*. This name also held true for the other theatres.[7] The theatres in the suburbs thus became

3   See Didier, Christophe, 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards'…, p. 314.

4   See for example Brazier, Nicolas, *Chroniques des petits théâtres de Paris*, Paris: E. Rouveyre et G. Blond, 1883; Wild, Nicole, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens (1807-1914)*, Lyon: Symétrie, 2012; Warnod, André, 'L'ancien théâtre Montparnasse', in: *Masques. Cahiers d'art dramatique*, Paris: Rieder, 1930; Chauveau, Philippe, *Les théâtres parisiens disparus: 1402-1986*, Paris: Éd. de l'Amandier, 1999; Baude, Michel, 'Un théâtre populaire: le théâtre du Montparnasse d'après le journal inédit de P. H. Azaïs', in: *Romantisme*, 1982, Vol. 38, pp. 25-32.

5   On the history of this privilege, see Didier, Christophe, 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards'…, pp. 317-318.

6   The Seveste company was established by the public acts of 26 and 27 June 1826. The company was 'the owner of the exclusive right to give dramatic performances in the district of the Préfecture de Police'. The privilege was renewed for the first time in 1830, for a period of fifteen years. See [Recueil factice d'articles de presse et de documents sur les frères Seveste et leurs théâtres, 1817-1841], BnF RT-1488. In the same collection, it is reported that the Seveste brothers, administrators of the suburban theatres, issue the second series of actions, created in 1826, from their various theatres (in *Pandore*, 18 November 1827).

7   See, for example, the entries in the documents contained in the collection [Répertoire de pièces représentées sur le Théâtre d'Élèves Seveste, 1825-1827], BnF REC-243; on Montmartre, see [Recueil factice d'articles de presse et de documents sur les frères Seveste et leurs théâtres, 1817-1841], BnF RT-1488.

a necessary step for actors arriving from the provinces in order to get noticed and then be able to perform in the 'big' Parisian theatres.[8]

Montparnasse, Montmartre and Belleville had a permanent drama company: two touring companies played in the other venues, sometimes performing several shows per night in different locations (we have noted the expression *galères à Seveste* (the Seveste galleys).[9] Lastly, the Seveste directed some theatres themselves (Belleville, Montparnasse, Montmartre, Grenelle), but delegated the others to administrators. As for their repertoire, it encompassed almost all of the genres, not only the usual tragedies and comedies but also those that were in vogue at the time and attracted spectators, particularly in the more working-class districts: *opéra comique*, vaudeville and melodrama.

At the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century, the period, as we have said, of the rise of the theatre as a mass leisure activity, including for the working classes, the adventure of the Seveste constitutes the history of one of the very first entertainment enterprises in the modern sense of the term.[10] It is indeed representative of the evolution of the world of theatre in Paris, which was already the setting for the *Comédie humaine*: a world of companies run by directors and shareholders, which had to be profitable and therefore had to attract the public by all possible means. This role of pioneering entrepreneurs was acknowledged by their peers, as shown in the speeches given at the death of the last of Pierre-Jacques' two sons, Jules Seveste: they are said to have created 'this great enterprise comprising all the theatres around Paris, that became a practical school for first attempts' from which many talented actors emerged.[11] The 'dramatic network' with which the Seveste 'surrounded Paris' is mentioned, forming 'a rich artistic cradle' and whose 'offspring' are sometimes called 'the pride and future of our first theatres'. The two brothers are referred to as those whose 'singular destiny was to see the dawn of all the great talents and to help bring them to light'. And it is also added that, 'for many years they directed these student theatres from which so many dramatic celebrities have emerged'.[12]

The Seveste Entrepreneurs and Notables

It is therefore not surprising to find the Seveste, who became public figures, in other prominent positions in the Parisian theatrical life. In 1848, Edmond Seveste became 'agent in charge of administering the Comédie-Française' up until the appointment of Arsène Houssaye; the venerable institution still holds his portrait.[13] In 1851 he was granted the privilege of running the *Théâtre-Lyrique* (formerly Opéra-National), of which he was director in 1851-52. His brother Jules succeeded him in this position in 1852.[14]

Both the Seveste brothers were notables of Montmartre – they were part of the commission set up in

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[8] So did the famous comedian Mélingue. See Didier, Christophe, 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards'..., pp. 319, 326.

[9] Didier, Christophe, 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards'..., p. 319; see also [Recueil factice d'articles de presse et de documents sur les frères Seveste et leurs théâtres, 1817-1841], BnF RT-1488.

[10] Bertrand, Dominique et al, *Le théâtre* (Collection: Grand Amphi Littérature), Paris: Bréal, 1996. For a more complete bibliography, please refer to our previously mentioned publication.
We won't cite here the very abundant bibliography on this pivotal period in the history of French theatre. Let us limit ourselves to quoting Féret, Romuald, 'Le théâtre de province au XIXe siècle: entre révolutions et conservatisme', in: *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 2012, Vol. 367, pp. 119-143; Chauveau, Philippe, *Les théâtres parisiens disparus: 1402-1986*, Paris: Éd. de l'Amandier, 1999;

[11] Quotes from *Discours prononcés sur la tombe de M. Jules Seveste, directeur du Théâtre-Lyrique, le lundi 3 juillet 1854*, Paris: Typographie Morris et Comp., [s.a.], BnF LN27-18907.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.* See also [Recueil factice d'articles de presse sur les Seveste, 1841-ca 1871], BnF RT 1397; [Recueil factice d'articles de presse et de documents sur les frères Seveste et leurs théâtres, 1817-1841], BnF RT-1488.

[14] See *Discours prononcés sur la tombe de M. Jules Seveste…*, BnF LN27-18907. Here again, the 'four years of success' of Jules Seveste's administration are praised, for having been able to find 'successful plays, talented artists to perform them and spectators to applaud them'. It should be noted that in this case too, the Théâtre-Lyrique was dedicated to the promotion of young musicians, the development of whom it was supposed to encourage.

Fig. 2. *Les maris ont tort,* Paris: Masson, 1813. Book with an inventory number (coll. BNU)
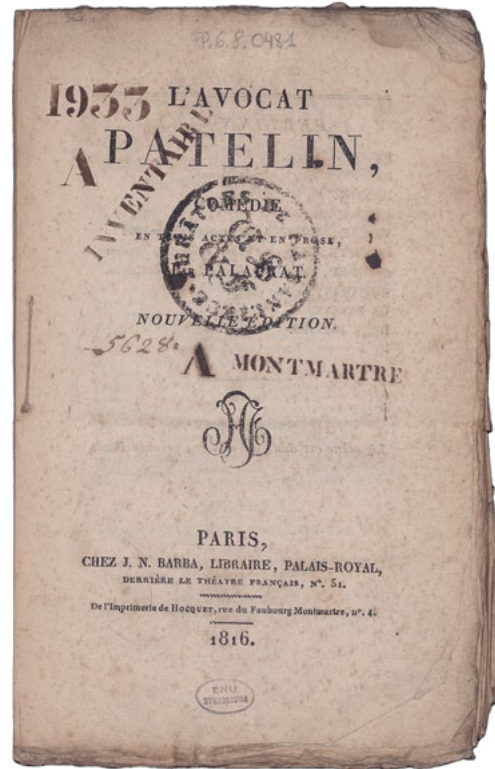
Fig. 3. *L'avocat Patelin,* Paris: Barba, 1816. Mention of the Montmartre theater (a book intended for this theater?) (coll. BNU)
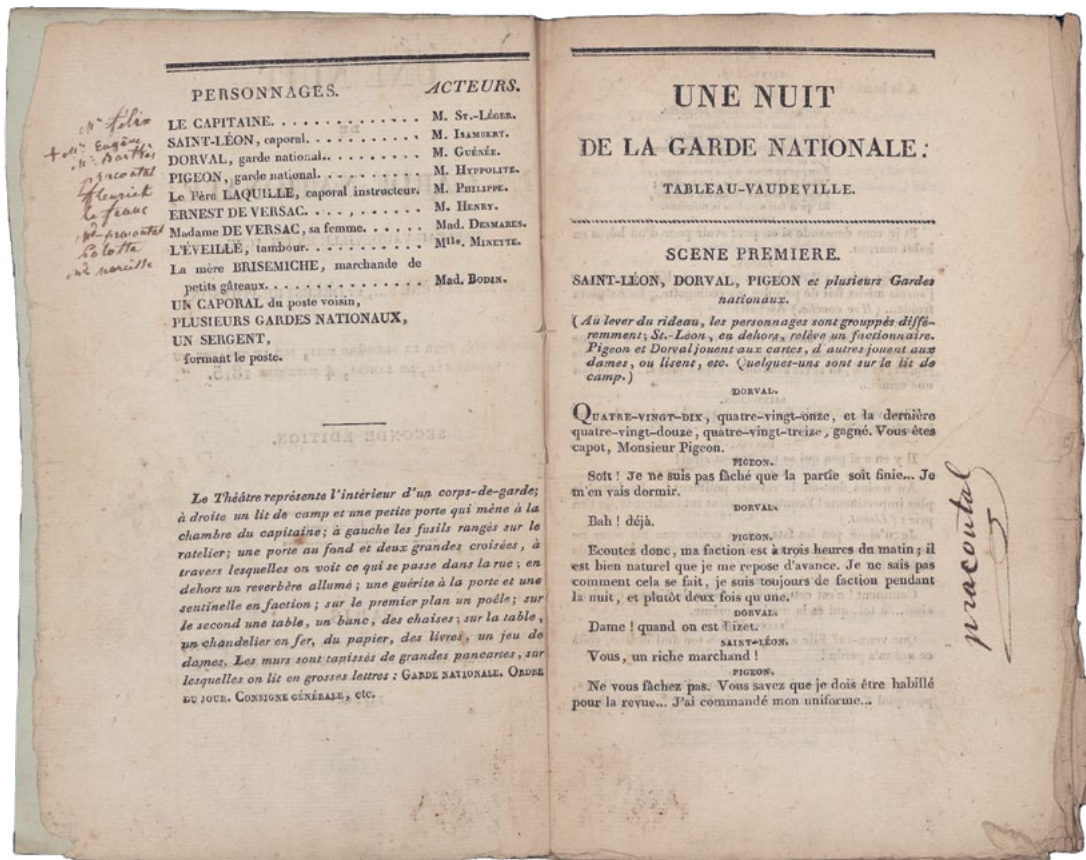
Fig. 4. *Une nuit de la garde nationale,* Paris: Fages, 1816. Handwritten list of actors (coll. BNU)
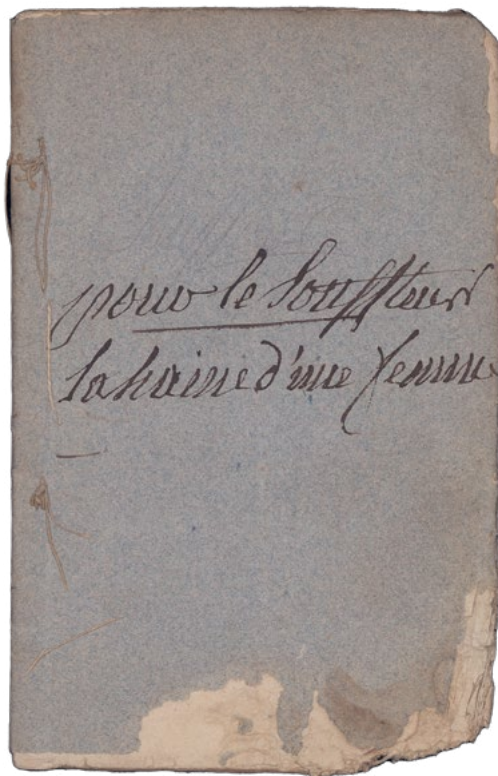
Fig. 5. *La haine d'une femme,* Paris: Pollet, 1824. Mention 'For the prompter' (coll. BNU)
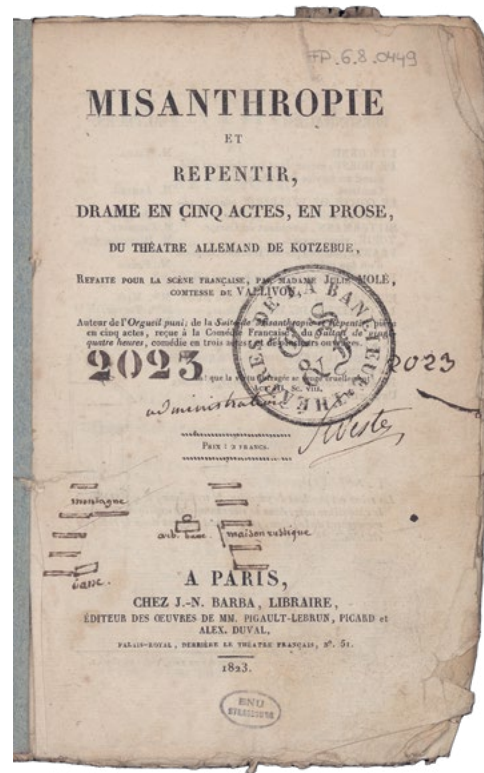
Fig. 6. *Misanthropie et repentir,* Paris: Barba, 1823. Handwritten indications about stage design (coll. BNU)
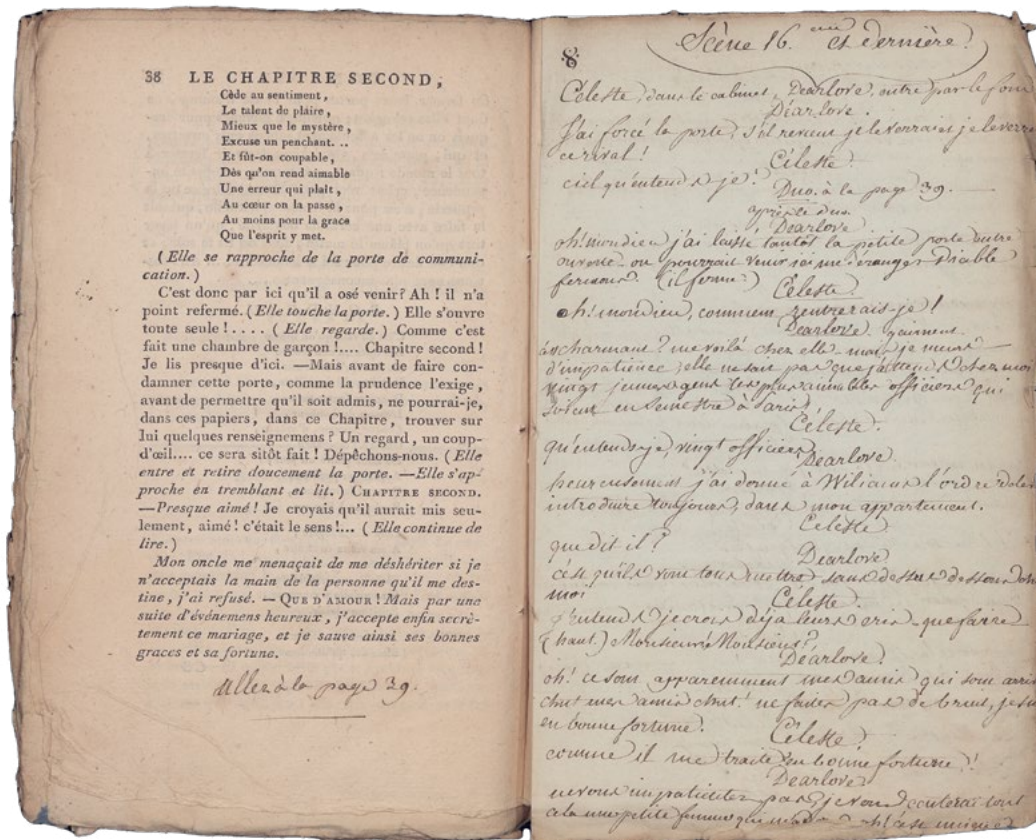
Fig. 7. *Le chapitre second,* Paris: Vente, An VII. Handwritten corrections and modifications (coll. BNU)

1837 to supervise the construction of the future town-house. Jules was a captain in the National Guard, and Edmond was a knight of the Legion of Honour.[15]

Some publications testify to their prominent position. For instance, Edmond Seveste, who was considered as early as 1839 to take over the direction of the Théâtre-Français, published a text that year entitled *De la situation du théâtre français, et des améliorations à introduire dans son administration*. The defence of their privilege made them frequent many official commissions as well as publish memorandums.[16] When Jules died in 1854, the speeches given at his grave by various personalities (Baron Taylor, the composer Adolphe Adam, etc.) were published, summarizing the feelings inspired by the Sevestes, who were clearly acknowledged notables.

Edmond's funeral in 1852 had already been mentioned in the newspapers, which insisted on the presence at the church of many personalities from the world of entertainment and that a mass with music by the composer Adolphe Adam had been performed on this occasion.[17] In addition, Edmond's son, Didier Seveste, was also a well-known actor and a resident of the Théâtre-Français. His death following the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was also reported in the newspapers.[18]

Let us add that Edmond, like Jules Seveste, wrote plays, either alone or in collaboration, probably to provide suitable material for their students' theatres for which they were often destined.[19]

What exactly is left of them today in our collective memory? Admittedly, their name is not unknown to specialists (to whom we ourselves are indebted), but the tangible traces testifying to their action are minimal: a portrait of Edmond at the Comédie-Française, already mentioned, a street in Paris and a plaque in Montmartre on their former theatre, now the Théâtre de l'Atelier. However, and this is what matters to us here, we still have their working library.

The Renaissance of a Library

How did this accumulation of books, this 'archival phenomenon', come to be with us? Truth be told, by a stroke of luck. Jean-Pierre Perchellet, an already mentioned Strasbourg academic, who died suddenly in 2017, left his entire library unclaimed following his death (he had no heirs). In this library there was, in particular, a collection of about 800 pamphlets and 350 bound works, all printed mainly between 1760 and 1830. These were predominantly first editions of period plays.[20]

The collection of brochures is especially coherent and several details caught our attention when we started processing them:
- Most of the books bear unmistakable marks of ownership (the 'Seveste' signature and systematic mentions of the 'Administration').
- The presence of inventory numbers and coarse cardboard bindings point not to a bibliophile's library, but to a utilitarian one (the words '*Pièce de l'administration*' or '*Bureau*' that sometimes appear are more than explicit in this respect).
- The names of the theatres can be read on some of the covers (for example Montmartre), which

[15] See *Inauguration de la nouvelle maison commune, à Montmartre* [Signé: Séveste, aîné, mai 1837], [Paris]: impr. de P. Cordier, 1837; BnF LK7-5082.

[16] *De la situation du Théâtre-Français et des améliorations à introduire dans son administration*, Paris: impr. de Ph. Cordier, 1839, BnF RT-2097; on the defence of the privilege, see also *Mémoire pour la société Seveste…*, RT 1488 and also *Courrier des théâtres…*, RT 1397.

[17] On Edmond's funeral, see *Le Nouvelliste, journal de Paris*, jeudi 4 mars 1852; on Jules', *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 21, 1854, pp. 226-227.

[18] See [Recueil factice d'articles de presse sur les Seveste. 1841-ca. 1871], BnF RT 1397.

[19] Thus *Amaglia, ou la fille du diable*, drame… 'performed for the first time at the Théâtre Montmartre' in 1836 (BnF RF-35099), or *Christophe et Lubin*, vaudeville comedy… 'performed for the first time at their student theatre' in 1825 (BnF RA4-1445). It should be noted that in several of these plays, a 'Mme Séveste' plays the leading female role.

[20] See Didier, Christophe, 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards'…, pp. 314-315.

can mean that this is the repertoire intended for this theatre.[21] Elsewhere, the names of the actors appear either on the covers or next to the list of characters. These lists are sometimes handwritten and all these elements may have been part of their work material.

- Other copies are explicitly designated as being for the 'prompter' – with mentions such as 'For the prompter' or 'Good for the prompter'. These notes remind us that censorship, still at work in these post-revolutionary years, could result in texts being modified at the last minute, which involved cutting or adding changes to the printed text.
- In fact, handwritten notes abound on a number of plays: corrections, modifications, additions or changes to texts, either directly on the printed page or on small slips of paper stuck to the same page, details, as we have said, about the casts, sometimes pieces of information about stage design and directing, or about musical parts.
- Sometimes, a handwritten visa, clearly issued by the Home Office, testifies to the fact that censorship services (which were established in 1806) had read the play.
- Sometimes there are also dedications from authors to the Seveste.[22]

What conclusions can be drawn from this? First of all, let us remember that the *Société des théâtres de banlieue* had a specific administration. This is what one of the texts explicitly states (*Cache-cache, ou La fiancée de Berlin*, a one-act vaudeville, by M. Théaulon; performed for the first time in Paris at the Théâtre d'Élèves directed by MM. Séveste, on 29 May 1827). At the bottom of the page listing the actors, we can read '*S'adresser, pour la musique, à l'Administration de MM. Seveste, rue Beauregard, n. 15*' (For the music, contact the administration of MM. Seveste, Beauregard Str. 15). Furthermore, it is more than likely that this administration had its own working library, corresponding to the repertoires it allocated to its various theatres, and that it is a part of this library, from one of the main entertainment companies of its time, that can be restored here, at least in part.

It is indeed a reconstitution: the cataloguing of the collection and its integration into the collective catalogue of French university libraries revealed that a collection similar in volume was deposited at the *Théâtrothèque Gaston Baty* of the University of Paris 3.[23] The reasons for this dispersal (the Parisian part was also deposited by Perchellet, without it being known why he gave up only half of his collection at the time) will probably remain unknown for ever, but the fact remains that 'the Seveste library' once again exists, that a digital transfer would make it possible to study in more detail, by reconciling mentions of origins, remarks and notations, or by allowing collections to be identified (for example, all brochures bearing the mention of 'the administration').

The Library as a *Theatrum Theatri*, a Mirror of the Literary Activity of the Time in the Minor Genres

All the plays of this collection belong to a repertoire nowadays completely forgotten, but which was the most popular from 1800 to 1830. The two genres in vogue were melodrama and vaudeville. In these small suburban theatres they took precedence over the great classical genres of comedy and tragedy.[24] The titles that the *fonds* provides us with for the year 1827 (one year after the foundation of the company *Veuve Seveste & fils*) offer a rather representative sample: a melodrama (*Cartouche*), a vaudeville (*L'ami*

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[21]   Some plays, as we have seen, were specifically written for particular venues, and in particular Montmartre (see footnote 19).

[22]   On all these aspects, we refer to the developments in our article cited above, Didier, Christophe, 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards'…, pp. 320-323.

[23]   *Ibid*, p. 314, footnote 1.

[24]   Thomasseau, Jean-Marie, 'Les larmes de Margot', in: *Europe*, 1987, Vol. 703-704 (dossier 'Le mélodrame'), introduction of the *Europe* issue already mentioned in footnote 1.

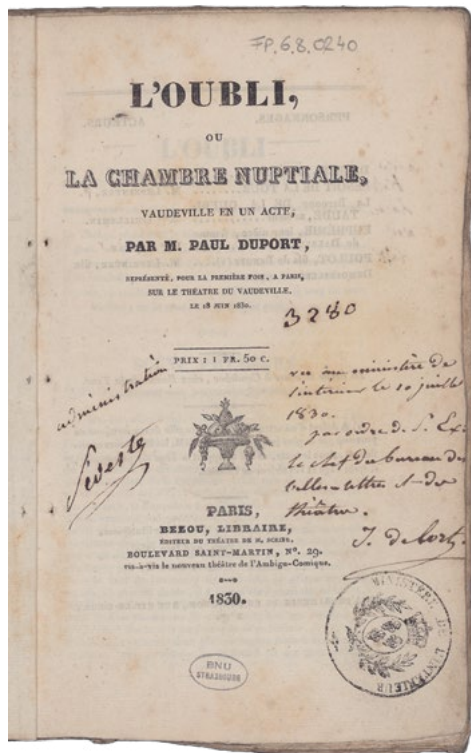**Fig. 8.** *L'oubli ou la chambre nuptiale*, Paris: Bezou, 1830. Handwritten visa from the Home Office (censorship services; coll. BNU)
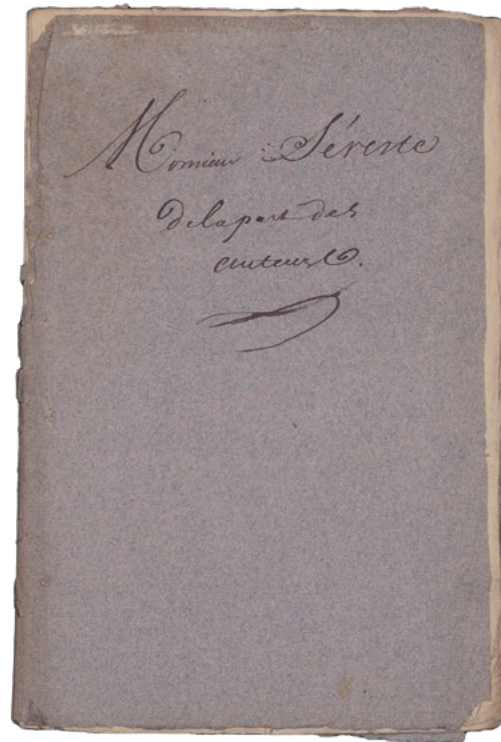

Fig. 9. *Le jour des noces, ou la lettre initiale*, Paris: Huet, 1824. Dedication from authors to Seveste (coll. BNU)
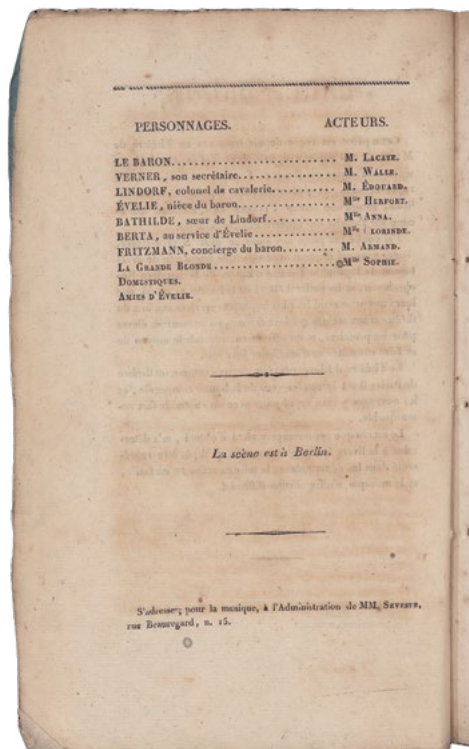

Fig. 10. *Cache-cache, ou la fiancée de Berlin,* Paris: Barba, 1827. Mention of the 'administration' of the Seveste company (coll. BNU)

Bontems – Our Friend the Goodtimes), a comedy with verse (*Héloïse ou La nouvelle somnambule* – Héloïse or The New Sleepwalker), a comedy (*Riche et pauvre* – Rich and Poor) and no less than twelve vaudeville comedies with evocative titles such as *Cinq heures du soir, ou Le duel manqué* (Five O'clock in the Evening or the Missed Duel), *La fiancée de Berlin, ou Le jeu de cache-cache* (The Berlin Fiancée or the Game of Hide and Seek), *Le mari de toutes les femmes* (The Husband of All Women), *Clara Wendel, ou La demoiselle Brigand* (Clara Wendel or Miss Sharpie), *Le mari par intérim* (The Interim Husband) or, lastly, *Les deux élèves* (The Two Pupils).

These plays are often of little literary value, made for short-lived success and rarely performed more than once on the same stage. Although they were published, it was probably mostly for the use of theatres and companies as working tools. They were occasionally reprinted when the authors had been successful, but more often than not they were forgotten after a few performances. Most of the authors have fallen into oblivion. Hence we are dealing here with the material that has become relatively rare. Preserving and transmitting this type of collection is actually more difficult, as it depends on the type of corpus itself (that of ephemeral literature): a rapid process, quickly written, quickly consumed... quickly discarded? The mere figure of more than 1,300 vaudevilles written between 1815 and 1830 gives an idea of the scale of the phenomenon and its limited place, almost two hundred years later, in our collective memory.[25]

There are not many collections of this type of literature today, unlike the great religious, literary or philosophical bodies of work that line the shelves of all public heritage libraries and many private libraries. Even without discussing established collections, the presence of the plays and authors that make up this repertoire is rather scarce in today's library collections.[26]

The *fonds* is also interesting for the history of the theatre: for instance, the markings left by actors inside the plays refer to the triumph of the actor in the nineteenth century. Likewise, the irruption of the *mise en scène*, which can also be seen in certain details (such as the stage sets), points to the specificity of vaudeville and melodrama, a theatre of effects that requires technical innovations to move the spectator.[27]

Ultimately, the collection also bears witness to the link between authors who write plays adapted to the latest trends and entertainment entrepreneurs who build up their repertoire according to the preferences of the audience. This is illustrated by handwritten dedications to the Seveste that authors left inside the plays. But this link is also sometimes quite explicit: for example, in the foreword to *Cache-cache* in which the author writes that he has 'entrusted [his] play to the care of Messrs. Seveste frères' and states that 'the success that this work has just obtained [at the student theatre] [has] convinced [him] to publish it'.[28] Considering that many other plays were specifically written for the *théâtres d'élèves* set up by the Seveste they thus appear as prescribers, as those who motivated the printing and the making of a book that would contribute to save a play from oblivion. They were direct participants in the creation of an 'archive' which, without them, would probably not have been created in the same way. Therefore, it can be said that they have contributed to the creation of their own printed 'theater', a mirror of a genre and of an era. For this reason, it seems to us, one may speak of a *theatrum theatri*.

Concluding Remarks

Libraries of theatrical companies are not so numerous. In France, the most famous is the one of the *Comédie-Française*, which contains books, manuscripts and archival documents.[29] It is interesting to note the presence of a 'prompter-secretary' (*secrétaire-souffleur*) whose function in the preservation of the

[25] Figures from *Le théâtre...*, Paris: Bréal, 1996.

[26] Didier, Christophe, 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards'...', p. 328 and following.

[27] Didier, Christophe, 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards'...', pp. 326-328; see also 'Le mélodrame', in *Europe*, 1987, Vol. 703-704.

[28] Théaulon, Emmanuel, *Cache-cache; or La fiancée de Berlin, comédie-vaudeville en un acte*, Paris: Chez Barba, 1827. Access at: <https://archive.org/details/cachecacheorlafi00thau/page/n3/mode/2up>.

[29] See Guibert, Noëlle, 'La bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-française', in: *Musées et collections publiques de France*, 1995, Vol. 207.

archives is not negligible: it was he who noted down the cast distribution, and most of the manuscripts of plays kept today at the *Comédie-Française* are copies of the prompter.

The prompter had a similar role in the Seveste administration, where he was in charge of the library, as the *Almanach des spectacles pour 1828* tells us.[30] Today, however, the collections that do exist are more the work of private collectors rather than company or enterprise archives: for example, the famous collections of Auguste Rondel, now kept at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, or that of Gaston Baty in the *Théâtrothèque* mentioned above. The *fonds Seveste-Perchellet* is all the more important as a company library. If today the reconstituted library is indeed a collection, it should not be forgotten that the Seveste were not collectors, but that their purpose in accumulating these works was strictly professional. It is unlikely that they thought of their library as a collection to be bequeathed as such to posterity. This collection of pamphlets is above all a testimony to their activity, which enabled them to rise in society.

Of course, the fact that this library (at least part of it) has reached us raises questions, as it would have been logical for it to be dispersed once its use was over. This touches on the mystery of its origins (we do not know how or where Jean-Pierre Perchellet bought it). Whatever the case, we are indeed in the presence of narratives of the past created by personal or institutional archives.

The Seveste collection highlights the role as (unconscious?) knowledge accumulators (in this case not really book collectors) of its owners, who can be considered as systematisers and sorters in forming a personal or institutional archive. This accumulation of books – and of the related knowledge – creates a kind of archival phenomenon with various elements (handmade remarks, annotations, property marks, details, inscriptions, illustrations, etc.), which can be seen as tools creating a narrative as well as results of the historical circumstances.

A corpus like this one might be considered as the *lieu de mémoire* (realm of memory) of the time. The words of the literary critic Wolfgang Menzel are worth recalling here: 'The dominant literary character of a nation emerges much more clearly from the great mass of novels [we will add here: and plays] than from the rare creations of the geniuses, which are merely the exception. Major geniuses lead the way, masses show us where we are.'[31]

As an ultimately rather rare testimony to a quite neglected genre (popular theatre), one can indeed speak of a *theatrum theatri* in the sense that the organisers of the conference wanted to give to this term: a sort of encyclopaedia of theatrical activity in Paris in the nineteenth century, at a time when theatre was becoming one of the most popular types of entertainment among increasingly large levels of society. We are well aware that in the valorisation of the archives of the performing arts, 'the richness is not only due to the intrinsic value of the plays, but to their diversity and to the possible connections that can be established later on'.[32] Collecting materials that have been used, making available for analysis the notes of company directors, stage directors and actors, in short all the paratext that sometimes makes up the main interest in a publication (the works in the Perchellet collection are very rich in this respect), is also a way of underlining the role of book owners in the accumulation of knowledge.

Translated by Élodie Lacroix

30 Didier, Christophe, 'La naissance du théâtre 'des boulevards'…, p. 321, footnote 11.
31 Quoted by Steinecke, Hartmut, 'Die fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey. Perspektiven ihrer wissenschaftlichen Erschließung', in: *Die fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey: Ihre Bedeutung für eine neue Sicht der Literatur des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts,* München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1992, pp. 233-242.
32 Here we quote Radermecker, Vincent, 'En matière d'art du théâtre, quelles archives, pour quelle vie, au sein d'un organisme vivant ou d'un centre d'archivage?', in: *Les collections des arts du spectacle et leur traitement*, edited by Nicole Leclercq, Kristy Davis, Maria Teresa Iovinelli, Bruxelles: P.I.E-Peter Lang S.A, 2012, pp. 27-43.

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THEATRUM LIBRI: Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe

Anonymous Printing in Early Seventeenth-Century Cracow and Vilnius

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Abstract. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, one may observe a growing number of books, if compared to the sixteenth century, printed in Cracow and Vilnius which were lacking the publisher's name on the title page. The aim of the paper is to analyse the main traits of such books and the socio-cultural context of their production in order to determine the reasons for anonymous printing in both cities. Their similarities and/or differences will allow us to describe both local and general trends in book production in early modern Europe. The question will be discussed on the basis of books printed anonymously in 1601-1620, a period of major changes in the history of Cracow and Vilnius book-printing.

Keywords: anonymous printing, panegyrics, popular literature, religious literature, parallel editions, censorship.

Methodology

Tadeusz Mikulski, a Polish literary historian, wrote that in each epoch's literary life, 'two kinds of anonyms appear': authors' masks and printers' masks. While the author 'protects himself beyond the visor of surnames or assumed names', the printer 'wants to remain anonymous or intentionally indicates the place of printing – as far as possible from himself'.[1] Most research on the anonymity concept in the book culture focuses on the first type of anonymity, i.e. on anonymous authors and anonymous works.[2] Such studies can be theoretical (analysis of dependencies and processes occurring within the anonymity-authorship relationship)[3] or practical (compilation of dictionaries and lexicons).[4]

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[1] Mikulski, Tadeusz, 'Historia literatury wobec zagadnień księgoznawstwa', in: *Studia nad książką poświęcone pamięci Kazimierza Piekarskiego*, edited by Kazimierz Budzyk and Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1951, p. 72: 'W życiu literackim każdej epoki pojawiają się anonimy dwojakiego rodzaju. Jedne – to maski autorskie, drugie – maski drukarzy. Autor chroni się poza przyłbicę nazwisk czy imion przybranych, drukarz chce pozostać anonimem lub celowo wskazuje miejsce druku najdalej od siebie'.

[2] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce*, edited by Aleksander Birkenmajer, Bronisław Kocowski, Jan Trzynadlowski, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1971, col. 53; Carter, John, *ABC for Book Collectors*, New Castle: Oak Knoll Books, 2016, p. 31; Walther, Karl Klaus, 'Anonyma', in: *Lexicon der Buchkunst und Bibliophilie*, herausgegeben von Karl Klaus Walther, Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1987, p. 16.

[3] See, e.g. North, Marcy, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003; idem, 'Ignoto in the Age of Print: The Manipulation of Anonymity in Early Modern England', *Studies in Philology*, 1994, Vol. 91, No. 4, pp. 390–416; *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, edited by Robert J. Griffin, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003; Griffin, Robert J., 'Anonimity and Authorship', *New Literary History*, 1999, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 877-895; Rizzi, Andre; Griffiths, John, 'The Renaissance of Anonymity', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 2016, Vol. 69, No. 1, pp. 200-212.

[4] E.g. Holzmann, Michael; Bohatta, Hanns, *Deutsches Anonymen-Lexikon 1501-1850*, Weimar: Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, 1902-1928, Vol. 1-7; Barbier, Antoine-Alexandre, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes*, Paris: Barrois l'ainé, 1822-1827, Vol. 1-4.

A typographic anonym or printing anonym is a term used in the context of early printed books to describe a publication where nowhere – neither on the title page, in the colophon, nor in the text itself – the printer's name or his printing device appears. Sometimes researchers treat books with a false publishing address[5] or books that bear only the bookseller's name[6] as typographic anonyms. Their research runs in two directions, as does the study of the author's anonymity, but the practical side is predominant. It aims at identifying a printer, which situates such studies within the bibliography as a branch of science. The primary research technique used to identify anonymous printing houses is the typographic method, first used in incunabula studies. The method of analysing the typeface and typographic decorative elements of a book[7] was developed to study fifteenth-century typographic anonyms[8] 'because half of the incunabula appeared as anonymous publications'. Recognizing anonymous printers became essential to understand 'a proper, complete picture of the history of printing, and as a consequence – the image of cultural changes at the turn of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance'.[9] The research based on the typographic method can be supported by the archival method but the former is used more frequently since the archival sources for the history of printing are scarce, especially for typographers operating in fifteenth to seventeenth-century Central and Eastern Europe. The essential functions of the typographic method are identification of anonymous printers, verification of false publishing addresses and detailed typographic examination of books to discover, for example, variations, variants and reprints.[10] As Kazimierz Piekarski, a pioneer of Polish bibliology, wrote:

> Only some of the books were printed with detailed information: where, who and when they pressed the book. Therefore, we are faced with the material not only incomplete as not all the books from the past have reached us, but also partially unmarked. Thus, the first task is to solve – *sit venia verbo* – the typographical anonyms. […]. As long as this task is not fully completed, outlining a realistic course of the history of our printing will encounter insurmountable difficulties.[11]

The reconstruction of the production of individual workshops helps to get to know the culture of printing (e.g. relations and dependencies between printing houses, including joint ventures or shared editions, history of publishing houses, old printing techniques)[12] and to provide a better understanding of the creation and historical transmission of the text (e.g. thanks to establishing *editio princeps* or supporting thesis about authorship).[13] Consequently, it helps to get a more thorough knowledge of the

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[5]   E.g. Mikulski, Tadeusz, 'Historia literatury wobec zagadnień księgoznawstwa', p. 72.

[6]   E.g. Rhodes, Denis E., *Silent Printers: Anonymous Printing at Venice in the Sixteenth Century*, London: British Library, 1995.

[7]   More on typographic method, see e.g. Hellinga, Lotte, 'Analytical Bibliography and the study of early printed books with a case-study of the Mainz Catholicon', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1989, Vol. 64, pp. 47-96; Bułhak, Henryk, 'Metoda typograficzna w badaniach nad dawną książką. Uwagi i refleksje', *Biuletyn Poligraficzny*, 1977, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 37-52; Bieńkowska, Barbara, 'Metody bibliologiczne w badaniach dziejów nauki', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 1989, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 331-342.

[8]   More on the history of the typographic method, see Bajor, Agnieszka, 'Metoda typograficzna w pracach bibliograficznych Ludwika Bernackiego i Kazimierza Piekarskiego', *Nowa Biblioteka*, 2013, No. 1 (12), pp. 37-50.

[9]   *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce…*, col. 1006-1007: 'Ponieważ połowa inkunabułów ukazała się jako anonimy, tego rodzaju rozwiązanie ich jest bardzo ważne dla właściwego, pełnego obrazu dziejów drukarstwa, a w następstwie – obrazu przemian kulturowych na przełomie Średniowiecza i Renesansu'.

[10] Piekarski, Kazimierz, 'Książka w Polsce XV i XVI wieku', in: *Kultura staropolska*, Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1932, pp. 355-359; Bułhak, Henryk, 'Metoda typograficzna w badaniach nad dawną książką. Uwagi i refleksje', p. 39; Mikulski, Tadeusz, 'Historia literatury wobec zagadnień księgoznawstwa', pp. 70-71.

[11] Piekarski, Kazimierz, 'Książka w Polsce XV i XVI wieku', pp. 355-356: 'tylko część książek oznaczyli ongi drukarze szczegółowymi wiadomościami: gdzie, kto i kiedy książkę tłoczył. Stoimy przeto wobec materiału nie tylko niepełnego, boć wszystkie książki z przeszłości do nas nie doszły, ale i częściowo nieoznaczonego. Pierwszym przeto zadaniem, które wykonać należy, to rozwiązanie druków *sit venia verbo* anonimowych typograficznie. […]. Dopóki zadanie to w pełni wykonane nie zostanie, nakreślenie zbliżonego do rzeczywistości przebiegu dziejów naszego drukarstwa napotykać będzie na trudności nie do przezwyciężenia'.

[12] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Historia książki a historia literatury', in: *Dawna książka i kultura*, edited by Stanisław Grzeszczuk and Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1975, p. 251.

[13] Mikulski, Tadeusz, 'Historia literatury wobec zagadnień księgoznawstwa', p. 74.

literary and social culture of a given area and era. The latter is the focus of the second line of research on typographic anonymity, which analyzes anonymity as a cultural phenomenon without the need to identify the printers of all the anonymous books published there. These studies primarily include the analysis of the causes and effects of the anonymous publications, their statistics, topics, recipients, impact on literary culture, and their social function in history understood as an impact on society.

Outline of Anonymous Book Printing

The history of anonymous book printing is as long as printing itself – the first printed book we know, the Gutenberg Bible, was a typographic anonym. After the incunabulist period, when more than half of the publications appeared anonymously, especially in the first stage of the development of printing,[14] it became a standard in the sixteenth century to put the publisher's name and/or a printing device on a book. In the fifteenth century, anonymous printing resulted from imitating a handwritten book and mainly was not related to ideology or censorship but was based on convention. The custom of placing the name of the printer or the name of the publishing house responsible for printing was introduced gradually but consistently, along with the development of the title page and its propagating function.[15] As a result, by the sixteenth century, unlike before, typographic anonyms were the exception rather than the rule and 'it was a universal requirement in the mature, regulated print cultures of sixteenth-century Europe that the name of the responsible member of the print fraternity was displayed on the title page'.[16] In sixteenth-century Paris, printers had to sign their publications and the control over the publishing houses was so great that typographic anonyms issued in France during this period appeared only far from the capital, or at times of exceptional unrest. Most of them were Protestant or Catholic books from the period of the riots after the death of Henry III.[17] This tendency dominated throughout Europe in the following centuries. Anonymous printing did not wholly disappear, but – like anonymous authorship – became a generally accepted standard when publishing certain books, e.g. religious or political polemics.[18] The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth publishing houses also applied this rule to a varying degree in various periods. In the seventeenth century, the publishing house in Crakow printed anonymously Protestant books, and in the eighteenth century, 'the very vivid opinions during the Four-Year Sejm time are almost always protected beyond typographic pseudonyms'.[19] One of the most interesting periods to observe this phenomenon in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is the begining of the seventeenth century, when, if compared to the sixteenth century, one may observe a growing number of books printed anonymously in two major cities of Eastern Europe: Cracow and Vilnius.

[14] Information provided by Olivier Duntze (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) based on his research in Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke in response to the query of the author of this article. According to it, in total, ca. 55% were printed anonymously. Some researchers give different data and statistics but without indicating their sources, see, e.g. Smith, Margaret M., *The Title Page: its Early Development 1460-1510*, London: British Library; New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2000, p. 97: 'Even at the end of the incunable period, well over 40 per cent of the editions still had their dates printed nowhere in the book. About the same proportion holds for identification of the printer within the book'.

[15] *Ibid*, p. 92.

[16] See Pettegree, Andrew, Walsby Malcolm, Wilkinson Alexander, *French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language before 1601*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007, Vol. 1, p. XI.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] North, Marcy, *The Anonymous Renaissance…*, p. 62; Febvre, Lucien, Martin, Henri-Jean, *Narodziny książki*, translated by Anna Kocot and Maria Wodzyńska-Walicka, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2014, pp. 240-244.

[19] Mikulski, Tadeusz, 'Historia literatury wobec zagadnień księgoznawstwa', p. 72: 'bardzo żywa publicystyka sejmu czteroletniego niemal z reguły chroni się poza pseudonimy typograficzne'.

Cracow and Vilnius up to 1620 – Historical Background

The article aims to analyze the phenomenon of typographic anonyms in the first twenty years of the seventeenth century in the two most important cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of that time – Cracow, the formal capital of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland, and Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The period selected for the analysis is the second breakthrough stage in the history of printing (after introducing the printing) in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth due to various reasons. Cracow, the largest printing centre of that time, experienced then some important developments that would impact the later typography:

1) In 1600, Aleksy Rodecki left the capital, and in 1605 Maciej Wirzbięta died[20] – it marked the end of Protestant printing in Cracow, which became practically monoreligious (apart from Catholic ones, only Jewish printers operated there).

2) In 1603, the first index of forbidden books was published in Poland (in Cracow), containing a list of forbidden writings by Polish writers; subsequent editions were published in Zamość in 1604 and again in Cracow in 1617.[21]

3) In 1617, Marcin Szyszkowski was appointed the new bishop. He took over the role of an acting censor, legally belonging to him but traditionally performed before by the rectors of the Cracow Academy.

4) In 1611, the royal court finally moved its permanent seat to Warsaw. Although the event did not instantly take away the importance of Cracow in terms of culture, and even more so in printing,[22] Warsaw quickly became the centre of economic development, dominated by trade. In the long run, it influenced the wealth of the Cracow community and its financial involvement in cultural matters.[23]

5) At the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Cracow's printing production was becoming more and more fragmented. Large publishing houses that had dominated the Cracow book market for the last several dozen years disappeared, while short-lived ephemeral workshops started to emerge. The number of cheap literature increased, including devotional, moralizing and occasional booklets, as well as illegal reprints and typographic anonyms.[24]

At the same time, Vilnius, the capital city of the second part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, experienced an economic, political and cultural boom, although it was also troubled by conflicts and catastrophes. Its distinctive feature was its multireligious character: at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were Orthodox, Uniate and Catholic churches.[25] This religious melting pot did not function without conflicts, which started in the 90s of the previous century (anti-Protestant unrest and destruction of the Calvinist congregation in 1591, anti-Jewish turmoil in 1592, dispute between the Jesuit

[20] See Jasińska, Stanisława, 'Co się stało z drukarnią Wirzbięty?', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 1968, Vol. 4, pp. 147-153; Kawecka-Gryczowa, Alodia, *Ariańskie oficyny wydawnicze Rodeckiego i Sternackiego*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1974, pp. 45-46.

[21] Celichowski, Zygmunt, *Polskie indeksy książek zakazanych*, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1899, pp. 2-3.

[22] See Konarski, Kazimierz, *Warszawa w jej pierwszym stołecznym okresie*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970, pp. 22-23, 318.

[23] Rożek, Michał, *Mecenat artystyczny mieszczaństwa krakowskiego w XVII wieku*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1977, p. 7.

[24] Until 1650, 3 892 books had been published in Cracow, which constituted almost a third of all publications issued in then Poland. Among them, there were 850 typographic anonyms (753 printed only with the city's name on the title page, and 97 without indicating the place or the printer). See Malicki, Marian, 'Druki krakowskie z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku w statystyce', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2006, Vol. 37-38, pp. 123-124; Pirożyński, Jan, 'Nielegalne XVII-wieczne edycje 'Psałterza Dawidowego' Jana Kochanowskiego i 'Eneidy' w przekładzie Andrzeja Kochanowskiego (tzw. poddruki)', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 1964, Vol. 16, pp. 5-20; Badecki, Karol, *Literatura mieszczańska w Polsce XVII wieku*, Lwów: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1925.

[25] Their number varied as in 1609 the Uniates took possession of almost all the Vilnius Orthodox churches. See Niedźwiedź, Jakub, *Kultura literacka Wilna*, Kraków: Universitas, 2021, p. 88; Paknys, Mindaugas, *Vilniaus miestas ir miestiečiai 1636 m.: namai, gyventojai, svečiai*, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2006, p. 39.

Marcin Śmiglecki and Calvin Daniel Mikołajewski in 1599). The first twenty years of the seventeenth century were a period of conflicts between the Orthodox and Uniates (seizure of the Orthodox Church by the Uniates, protests against the Union of Brest and unsuccessful attempt on the Uniate metropolitan Hipacy Pociej in 1609, publication of Melecjusz Smotrycki's *Threnos* and closure of the Holy Spirit Printing House in 1610) and continuation of the persecution of Protestants (the Calvinist pogrom in 1611).[26] The great fire of Vilnius, leaving most of the city and its castle destroyed, also took place around the same time (2 July 1610). Vilnius' multireligious nature also manifested itself at the printing level. At that time, several printing houses of various denominations operated there, which made the city the centre of Lithuanian printing: the publishing house of Jan and his son Józef Karcan (1580-1620), Protestant Printing House and Jakub Markowicz (1580-1607), Sultzer brothers (1595-1603), Daniel of Łęczyca (1592-1600), Orthodox (from 1595 the Uniate) publishing house of the Mamonicz brothers, Holy Spirit Printing House of the Orthodox Brotherhood (1595-1610) that was conflicted with the Uniates, Jesuit Publishing House (although not very active), and even Piotr Blastus Kmita published there for a year. In 1553-1660, as much as 83% of typographic anonyms issued in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were published in Vilnius. Among them, Catholic publications accounted for about 65% of the general production, and it is assumed that they could have been printed in the Jesuit Printing House. Non-religious prints accounted for about 23% of anonymous production, Orthodox ones about 14%, and Uniate ones about 7%. In general, almost every third polemic booklet printed anonymously was issued at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[27] In short, the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century was the period when printing production and religious struggle in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania concentrated in Vilnius.

In both capitals, the beginning of the seventeenth century was the period when an increased number of typographic anonyms appeared on the book market. In Vilnius, as much as 40% of the total printing production in 1601-1620 was released without indicating the publisher. In Cracow this number was lower but it still amounted to over one-fifth of the production.

Anonymous Printing in Cracow in 1601-1620

Out of 1,483 editions published in the press of Cracow typographers in 1601-1620, 331 were typographic anonyms, which accounted for 22% of all printing production at that time (see table 1). However, the number of typographic anonyms issued remained different depending on the year, ranging from 22 to 33% by 1615 (with two exceptions in 1601 and 1613). There has been a noticeable downward trend since 1615, when the number of printed anonyms dropped below 20%. Among the typographic anonyms, minor literature prevails, such as occasional pieces written on the occasion of an event to be held or taking place, calendars, news, popular literature, and songs.

Year	Anonymous production	Total
1601	5	41
1602	13	43
1603	10	52
1604	18	62
1605	26	74
1606	22	79
1607	21	89

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[26]   Niedźwiedź, Jakub, *Kultura literacka Wilna*, pp. 23, 60.

[27]   Topolska, Maria B., 'Książka na Litwie i Białorusi w latach 1553-1660: analiza statystyczna', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 1976, Vol. 21, p. 150.

Year	Anonymous production	Total
1608	30	105
Before 1609	1	-
1609	19	76
1610	16	80
After 1610	1	-
Before 1611	1	-
1611	14	83
After 1611	3	-
1612	18	67
1613	5	58
1614	13	58
1615	23	88
1616	14	82
Before 1617	1	-
1617	20	99
1617-1624	1	-
1618	14	90
1619	13	86
1620	14	71

Tab. 1. Books printed anonymously in Cracow in 1601-1620.[28]

Thematically, occasional literature dominated, accounting for 34% of all anonymous printing production. It coincides with broader statistical data: in the years 1601-1650, occasional literature (without distinguishing between books published with or without the printer's name on the card) accounted for 35% of printed books, achieving a significant advantage over other types of publications (non-practical religious and scientific literature took the second place, with the same share in the publishing market – approx. 11%).[29] The fact that typographers were highly eager to publish occasional literature results from the economic conditions of running a printing house. For example, the Szeliga publishing house, which appeared in Cracow in 1605, began its activity by publishing occasional booklets – in the following years, they will also constitute the basis of its publishing repertoire. Many printers started their production by pressing this type of works, which – financed mainly by interested patrons, i.e. authors or family – did not require an enormous financial contribution from typographers beginning their careers and allowed them to accumulate capital for printing different works. In short, publishing occasional minor publications was a constant source of income for the impressors of that time, not only in Cracow, and often contributed to the maintenance of the printing house.[30] In Cracow, the most popular pieces of occasional literature printed in 1601-1620 can be classified as panegyrics.[31] They were written on the occasion of

[28] Sources: own elaboration based on data from: *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Krystyna Korotajowa and Wojciech Krajewski, Vol. 6, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1960; *idem*, edited by Jan Pirożyński, Vol. 1.2.1-2, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000; Estreicher Karol, *Bibliografia polska, Cz. 3: Stólecie XV-XVIII w układzie abecadłowym*, Vol. 8-36, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1891-2014.

[29] Malicki, Marian, 'Druki krakowskie z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku w statystyce', p. 127.

[30] Maleczyńska, Kazimiera, 'Druki okolicznościowe na Śląsku w okresie Renesansu', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2006, Vol. 37-38, p. 116.

[31] Throughout the 17th century, Polish printing houses issued over 6,000 panegyrics out of 24,500 published books. For comparison, about 600 panegyrics have survived from the 16th century. See Korotaj, Władysław, 'Druki ulotne i okolicznościowe', in: *Słownik literatury staropolskiej*, edited by Teresa Michałowska, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2005, p. 178; Bieńkowski, Tadeusz, 'Panegiryk a życie literackie w Polsce XVI i XVII w.', in: *Z dziejów życia literackiego w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku*, edited by Hanna Dziechcińska, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1980, p. 183.

important state events (e.g. victories, coronations, royal weddings), church ceremonies (e.g. bishop's ingress), private celebrations (weddings, funerals), and academic celebrations (awarding ranks).[32] There were about 25 to 60% of typographic anonyms among them depending on the year (e.g. 4 out of a total of 16 eulogy works published in 1601; 7 out of 11 in 1602; 3 out of 16 in 1616). In the year of the outbreak of the Zebrzydowski rebellion, there was a clear decline in the number of anonymously published panegyrics compared to all printed typographic anonyms – 7 out of the 23 anonyms published at that time were panegyrics, while, for example, in 1604 these proportions were 14 out of 18. These numbers will not return to the state from before the Zebrzydowski rebellion, and among anonymous books, other types of occasional works will start to dominate: those relating to public events; news and plebeian literature will be published more often.

Nuptial literature was published in Polish (16 titles) and Latin (9 titles). They were written on request, as evidenced by the repeated names of their authors (e.g. Marcin Bujwidowicz wrote three nuptial panegyrics in 1602, Jan Jurkowski two in 1604 and 1605), and most often for private occasions, as indicated by the predominance of the Polish language. Of 16 nuptial pieces written in the years 1601-1620 in Polish, five were published with the name of the publisher: a 1601 epithalamium for the wedding of Stanisław Dębiński, whose future spouse was related to the author's family, two poems for the wedding of Dymitr and Maryna Mniszkówna, and two pieces for the wedding of representatives of the higher nobility. Nine out of the remaining ten booklets are typographic anonyms intended for the nuptials of middle nobility or townspeople representatives. The opposite process can be observed with funeral publications, which were published sporadically until 1608 (one-three per year, including, e.g. three funeral works printed in 1605 and one in 1606, all issued after the death of Chancellor Jan Zamoyski). The proportions between works without and with the printer's name were equal. Starting from 1608, the number of printed funeral works was slowly increasing. Contrary to nuptial booklets, the name of the printer tended to appear in them (since 1608, these proportions are as follows: 4 (there is) / 2 (absent); 1/2; 4/1; 1 / -; 3 / -; 7/3; 4/2; 4 / -; 7/2; 7/1; 3/2; 1 / -; 7 / -). Most of them were not occasional sermons that would become extremely popular with the nobility in the seventeenth century but secular panegyrics celebrating the deceased's virtues. With the death of prominent people, several works devoted to them by various authors could be published in one year. It should be noted that they were usually of some importance for Cracow, e.g. after the death of Stanisław Lubomirski, the voivode of Cracow who died in 1613, several occasional works were published, while Piotr Skarga, probably the most famous writer of that epoch who died a year earlier, was commemorated only in one funeral sermon by Fabian Birkowski. The issue of printing most nuptial publications anonymously and funeral works with the printer's name depends – apart from the individual circumstances described below – on the nature and function of such publications. More often than funeral ones, nuptial works were then associated with *hic* and *nunc*, i.e. with a specific event and not just a circumstance. In other words, nuptial works were written and printed to be used d u r i n g wedding ceremonies,[33] while funeral ones aimed to commemorate the deceased or express regret about his death, sometimes describing the funeral itself,[34] and not necessarily to be distributed among the mourners. For this reason, it is more appropriate to call them condolence publications. As a result, several pieces by different authors could be published on the occasion of the death of one person and on the occasion of the wedding – just one. The exceptions are weddings of magnates, when more publications were issued

[32]   Compare Głębicka, Ewa J., 'Akademia Krakowska a twórczość panegiryczna w XVII w.', in: *Literatura i instytucja w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 1994, pp. 50-51.

[33]   This is how Charles Ogier described it in 1635, participating in a wedding feast in Gdańsk: 'Every time the groomsmen were going around the tables and asking the guests if they wanted anything. […]. Later, they also distributed poems and odes in honour of the bride and groom […]'. See Ogier, Charles, *Dziennik podróży do Polski 1635-1636*, translated by Zenon Gołaszewski, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Maszoperia Literacka, 2010, p. 154.

[34]   Compare Rok, Bogdan, 'Druki żałobne w dawnej Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku', in: *Wesela, chrzciny, pogrzeby w XVI–XVIII wieku*, edited by Henryk Suchojad, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2001, pp. 187-194.

and not only, e.g. panegyrics, but also, e.g. descriptions of the ceremonies themselves, such as *Pieśń na fest* by Stanisław Grochowski printed in 1606. In general, nuptial booklets were much more short-lived than funeral works. Their occasional and practical function – similar to the calendars or news of that time – meant that they were closer to ephemera in terms of character and function than funeral works. As a result, they omitted the publishing address, as was customary with leaflets.

The seventeenth-century Polish literature saw the growing appearance of plebeian literature, also called mischievous, bourgeois, folk-bourgeois, or more widely popular literature. Addressed to the popular audience, it revealed social contradictions in the form of parodies and satires, ridiculed official literature, including religious texts, and introduced many moral details, often using coarse language. Their functioning is vividly described by Karol Badecki, the first Polish literary historian to devote himself to their research:

> The great popularity of these pieces has become the main reason for their extreme rarity. Various zealous readers snapped them up from the market stalls. Cleric, cantor and minstrel eagerly bought them for a penny they saved, as they knew that they would find true lamentation of their fate and misfortune there; a craftsman and a guild companion eagerly bought them to cheer up his colleagues with musical works during feasts; a woman looked for them secretly to get to know the criticism of her fancy costumes and tricks, and a nobleman did not disdain reading anonymous pamphlets mocking him. Only the church censorship, irritated by the playfulness of these booklets, harmless by the way, exterminated and burned them ruthlessly, indulging only those authors who whipped Jews and non-Catholics with the whip of their satire.[35]

Usually having only several pages and issued *in quarto*, such publications were mainly connected to the Cracow publishing centre. They were issued without the printer's or author's name mainly because of the censorship. Until 1617, the bishop was formally the censor, but he customarily ceded this function to the chancellor of the Cracow Academy. The then censorship used to deal with illegally issued calendars (i.e. printed without the permission of the university astrologer) and pasquils. Nevertheless, the printers of popular literature self-censored themselves[36] because *Index librorum prohibitorum published* in Zamość in 1603, with a separate chapter on Polish authors, also mentioned the plebeian works among the forbidden literature. Thus, such booklets were printed as typographic anonyms, and the censors looked at them through their fingers. In 1617, Marcin Szyszkowski became a new bishop. He took over the censoring function and began to fight popular literature and writings considered doctrinally dangerous (including, e.g. the 1615 anti-Jesuit *Obrona*). As a result, numerous printers and booksellers were put on trial in the bishop's curia.[37]

The seventeenth-century juridical archival materials provide interesting information on how plebeian literature was published. They corroborate a widespread but rarely documented statement that it was the norm to issue popular or controversial books as typographic anonyms. The typographers summoned to the bishop court in Cracow in 1617 either denied pressing forbidden booklets or blamed their colleagues, which was possible only when the names of the printers did not appear explicitly on the title page. They

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35 Badecki, Karol, *Literatura mieszczańska w Polsce XVII wieku*, p. XV: 'Wielka popularność tych dziełek stała się głównym powodem ich nadzwyczajnej rzadkości. Z kramów jarmarcznych rozchwytywali je różni, gorliwi czytelnicy.Za zaoszczędzony grosz nabywali je chętnie klecha, kantor i rybałt, boć wiedzieli oni, że w nich znajdą prawdziwy lament na swą dolę i niedolę; kupował je skwapliwie rzemieślnik i towarzysz cechowy, by przy biesiadach facecjami i fraszkami, zaś przy tańcach padwanami uweselić kompanów; wypatrywała je skrycie niewiasta, by poznać krytykę swych wymyślnych strojów i fortelów, a i szlachcic nie gardził lekturą, wykpiwających go broszur bezimiennych. Tylko cenzura duchowna, podrażniona, nieszkodliwą zresztą, swawolą tych pisemek, tępiła i paliła je bezwzględnie, folgując tym tylko autorom, którzy żydów i akatolików biczem satyry chłostali'.

36 The meaning of self-censorhip in the artice is the printers' act or action of refraining from expressing their name in the books that the future censors would deem objectionable.

37 Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce. Między prasą drukarską a stosem*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo SBP, 1997, p. 114.

also reveal a peculiar case of anonymous printing: falsifying the publication date by keeping the old one. In 1617, the Cracow publisher Szymon Szczucki was accused of reprinting a 1606 edition of Jan Daniecki's *Zabawy* without changing its date to 1617. Interestingly, although Szczucki had been accused of printing immoral literature before, the charge of illegal reprinting was a greater insult for him – a few months later, he sued the printer Marcin Hortern, who had denounced him, that the latter insulted him before the bishop court, insinuating that he had printed at his own expense a harlot book called *Zabawy* by Daniecki. He also complained that the accusation had brought him a great disgrace and that he was seeking compensation.[38] False reprints are considered a form of typographic anonyms.[39] In general, the trials were ineffective because of the inability to determine with certainty the names of typographers accused of anonymous printing and the low devotion of the censors to search for real perpetrators when the accused did not plead guilty. The penalties (financial fines, requests to return books, threats of revision, prohibition of printing, and even the threat of excommunication), although they seem severe, were not enforced with great zeal. In February 1620, bishop Szyszkowski, while admonishing the printers, admitted that his two previous edicts were ineffective and that illegal printing was still an issue.[40] Nevertheless, it is true that in the following years, the number of forbidden booklets decreased, although estimates should be cautious since many examples of such literature may not have survived. Bishop Szyszkowski also dealt with the issue of illegally printed calendars (*iudicia*), which had to be approved by a university astrologer before being published. Since many of them were printed anonymously, it can be assumed that self-censorship also existed among the impressors of this type of publication.

Apart from convention and self-censorship, a printer would not include his name on the title page due to ownership and copyright issues. The first two decades of the seventeenth century were a period of major changes in the Cracow printing industry. Large, multi-generational publishing houses were slowly disappearing, and it was not without tensions and disputes. After the death of the printer Maciej Wirzbięta in 1605, three more books were published in his workshop: in 1605, 1606 and 1609. The next three years saw a legal process between his heirs, which ended with the closure of the printing house and sale of workshop equipment. Another great Cracow publishing house, Łazarz Printing House, was leased to another printer Bazyli Skalski after its owner Jan Januszowski had withdrawn from printing in 1601. In 1615 it was sold by Januszowski's sons to Maciej Jędrzejowski and his wife Zofia. In the meantime, some part of the typographic material was rented to other typographers, as suggested by the printing material used in books printed, e.g. by Jan Szeliga. In the Szarfenberger Publishing House, after the death of the elderly printer Mikołaj Szarfenberger in 1606, his heirs divided the tenement house and the printing house among themselves. There was – as it was believed – a two-year break in the activity of the printing house until 1609, caused 'probably by the inheritance process between numerous siblings and financial perturbations'[41] until one of Mikołaj Szarfenberger's sons, Jan, was thought to resume the activity of the family printing house in 1609. In truth, there was not any break – a typographic analysis of Cracow anonymous printing production in 1607-1608 has revealed that the Szarfenberger printing house was publishing books at the time, although without mentioning the printer's name on their title pages.[42] Only

38   Archiwum Narodowew Krakowie, ms. 510, p. 473: 'Szymon Brochotowicz [tj. Szczucki] dał zapozwać przed urząd […] Marcina Horteryna, typografa krak[owskiego], o dwie rzeczy. Naprzód, iż się śmiał targnąć na uczciwość aktora [tj. Szczuckiego] i obelżył go przed urzędem duchownym, udając, jakoby aktor miał książkę wszeteczną, *Zabawy* Danieckiego nazwaną, w roku 1606 od niego drukowaną, znowu in anno Domini 1617 rekudować swym sumptem i rok, co większa, fałszować, to jest miasto: „16[1]7' położyć: '1606'. See also, e.g. Krecik, Jan, 'Nieznani impresorowie, autor i bibliopole druków sowizdrzalskich w Krakowie', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 1983, Vol. 32, pp. 53-66.

39   See footnote 5.

40   *Reformationes generales ad clerum et populum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, Cracoviae: Officina Andreae Petricovii, 1621, pp. 164-165.

41   Mańkowska, Anna, Wawrykiewicz Zofia, 'Szarfenberger Jan', in: *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, edited by Jan Pirożyński, Vol. 1.2.2, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000, p. 611: „Po dwuletniej przerwie, która nastąpiła po śmierci Mikołaja i zapewne procesem spadkowym pomiędzy licznym rodzeństwem i perturbacjami finansowymi, Jan wznowił działalność w 1609 r.'

42   Franczyk-Cegła, Agnieszka, 'Problemy metodologiczne w identyfikacji anonimów typograficznych na podstawie druków krakowskich z lat 1601-1620', *Terminus*, 2019, Vol. 21, p. 450.

the resolution of the legal issues of inheritance allowed Jan to sign printed books with his name starting from 1609.

Legal problems with copyright issues must have pushed another publisher Jan Szeliga to print the works of Jan Kochanowski in 1608 with the printing address of the Łazarz Printing House. Similarly, Maciej Jędrzejowczyk, reprinted the David's Psalter translated by Kochanowski around 1619 not only with the address of Łazarz Printing House (which no longer existed at that time) but also with a date several years earlier.[43]

Anonymous Printing in Vilnius in 1601-1620

In 1601-1620, there were seven publishing houses operating in Vilnius, which published at least 252 books in total. Almost 40% of their production was issued anonymously (see table 2). The proportions increased in 1605 (60%), 1610 (81%) and 1613 (66%); later, the numbers gradually declined to reach over 40% again starting from 1618 (45% in 1619 and 50% in 1620).

Year	Anonymous production	Total
1601	4	9
1602	5	9
1603	7	14
1604	3	13
1605	14	23
1606	9	22
1607	1	4
1608	6	13
1609	5	16
1610	9	11
1611	3	13
1612	1	5
1613	8	12
1614	2	14
1615	2	16
1616	6	12
1617	3	14
1618	3	11
1619	6	11
1620	5	12

Tab. 2. Books printed anonymously in Vilnius in 1601-1620.[44]

[43] On illegaly printed works of Jan Kochanowski see Piekarski, Kazimierz, *Bibliografia dzieł Jana Kochanowskiego. Wiek XVI i XVII*, Kraków 1932, pp. XXIV-XXXVII. To compare typographic material of *Psałterz* see, e.g. *Wielkiego Turka listy* printed by M. Jędrzejowczyk in 1618.

[44] Sources: own elaboration based on data from: Čepienė, Konstancija, Petrauskienė, Irena, *Vilniaus akademijos spaustuvès leidiniai, 1576-1805: bibliografija*, Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos centrinė biblioteka, 1979; *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Krystyna Korotajowa, Wojciech Krajewski, Vol. 5: *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1959; Estreicher, Karol, *Bibliografia polska, Cz. 3: Stólecie XV-XVIII w układzie abecadłowym*, Vol. 8-36, Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1891-2014; Ivanovič, Marija, *XVII a. Lietuvos lenkiškos knygos = Polska książka na Litwie w XVII w.: kontrolinis sąrašas*, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka, 1998; Narbutienė, Daiva; Narbutas, Sigitas, *XVII a. Lietuvos lotyniškų knygų sąrašas = Index librorum latinorum Lituaniae saeculi septimi decimi*, Vilnius:

Out of 23 known Vilnius publications published in 1605, fourteen are typographic anonyms. Eight titles are religious, five – political, and one – popular. Religious literature includes practical booklets (e.g. prayers) and polemic books. Political publications are all occasional – they refer to the most important event of those times, i.e. the victory of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz at Kircholm. Sometimes, their political content is mixed with a religious one, as in Piotr Skarga's *Pokłon Panu Bogu zastępów*, a sermon where he presents the events as a religious war.[45] One of the rare examples of popular literature issued in Vilnius was also published in 1605, *Barwiczka dla ozdoby twarzy panieńskiej,*[46] the fraktur typeface and the paper suggest that it was printed in the Karcan's publishing house. In 1610, a record-breaking year if it comes to the number of anonymously printed books, publishers focused on issuing booklets relating to current events: news on the fire in Vilnius, the coronation of Maria de Medici and the siege of Smolensk, the battle of Kircholm and the earlier Livonian Wars, as well as the the death of Andrzej Wolan. The emblematic publication by Hieronim Bildziukiewicz and the famous *Threnos* by Melecjusz Smotrycki were also printed anonymously this year. The latter was issued in the publishing house of the Holy Spirit Brotherhood without indicating its name, probably for fear of censorship, although it did not protect the publishing house from its interference. Sigismund III, to whom the Basilians presented *Threnos* as a pasquil on the Catholic Church, issued a decree from the Smolensk camp on 7 May 1610, prohibiting the reading and dissemination of various writings printed in 'Ruthenian' in the 'Ruthenian Vilnius' printing house. The king ordered the voivodes and city authorities to enter the printing house and burn the 'suspicious' books, imprison the printer and proofreader (Leon Karpowicz, who was sentenced to two years in prison), and destroy the printing house itself. As a result, the printing house moved its seat from Vilnius to Yevia (modern Vievis) for several years.[47] It was the most extreme example of censorship in the then Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, more severe than the examples of church censorship in Crakow at that time.

Compared to the events in 1605 and 1610, the year 1613 was relatively calm. It is also reflected in typographic anonyms, most of which are quasi-private occasional booklets (weddings, funerals) or songs. It has been assumed that it became fashionable to print funeral sermons in the first half of the seventeenth century as it added to the prestige of the deceased and his family among the wealthier bourgeoisie and nobility living in Vilnius.[48] This trend was not yet visible in the first twenty years of the seventeenth century – funeral prints accounted for slightly more than 9% of all publishing production at that time, while in a broader context, in 1553-1660, this number was as high as 19%.[49] On the other hand, the number of published nuptial panegyrics, not very popular in Vilnius, remained constant, both at the beginning of the seventeenth century and in the years 1553-1660: their number amounts to 4% of the total publishing production. Most were published in Polish in the Mamonicz and Karcan printing houses. The printers prefered to issue other types of panegyrics, such as occasional congratulations. There were typographic anonyms among them: about 30% of funeral publications were issued anonymously, while precisely 50% of nuptial panegyrics were issued without indicating the printer.

Religious publications dominated Vilnius' book production of that time. In 1601-1610, out of 138 titles on this subject, over 40% were Roman Catholic books, approximately 14% were Orthodox, 7%

Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 1998.

45   Komorowska, Magdalena, *Prolegomena do edycji dzieł Piotra Skargi*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2012, p. 30.

46   This Vilnius book has survived as a unique copy, now held in the Polish National Library, reference number XVII.3.5837. The book was previously held in a nineteenth-century bibliophile Zygmunt Czarnecki collection. The Baworowski Library from Lviv purchased part of his library at the beginning of the 20th century. During World War II, the book, along with other valuable books from that collection, was transported away by the Germans, first to Cracow and then to Adelsdorf in Lower Silesia. There, it was found by employees of the National Library and transferred to the National Library. See Horodyski, Bogdan, 'Na śladach warszawskiej książki', in: *Walka o dobra kultury*, edited by Stanisław Lorentz, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971, Vol. 2, p. 392; 'Sprawozdanie [Bogdana Horodyskiego] dotyczące przewiezienia zbiorów Biblioteki Ossolińskich z Adelina (Adelsdorfu)', Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, ms. Akc. 70/88/1; Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, ms. 16391, pp. 269-270.

47   Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, *Cenzura…*, p. 43.

48   Niedźwiedź, Jakub, *Kultura literacka Wilna*, p. 70.

49   Sources: own elaboration (see annex 2) and Topolska, Maria B., 'Książka na Litwie i Białorusi w latach 1553-1660: analiza statystyczna', p. 157.

Uniate, 21% Protestant, while the rest is classified as unidentified. In the following years, 1611-1620, the number of religious books increased to 186, and while the percentage of Protestant, Orthodox, and unidentified books remained more or less the same, the percentage of Catholic books increased to 50% and Uniate books to 10%.[50] Such a large number of religious books was not so much to the extraordinary devotion of the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as to the rivalry between Catholics and Reformists, Uniates and Disuniates, Eastern Orthodoxy and Rome, and the Reformation. Religious polemics alone accounted for about 12% of all religious books published in 1601-1620. They were printed more carefully than others: about 40% came out anonymously, mainly in the first decade of the seventeenth century. After 1610 and the *Threnos* case, they came out sporadically. Thus, self-censorship as the reason for issuing typographic anonyms appeared both in Vilnius and Cracow, although it was applied to various types of publications: in Vilnius to religious ones, in Cracow mainly to popular literature.

It is difficult to interpret the issue of printing calendars during this period, not only in Vilnius but also in Cracow. Based on known editions (including *iudicia*, prognostics, etc.), the existence of which is confirmed by bibliographies, it may be said that in Vilnius, such publications were practically not printed, either anonymously or with the name of a printing house on the title page,[51] while in Crakow the proportions of calendars issued without or with the printer's name were more or less similar.[52] However, the fleeting nature of the calendars meant that – unlike, for example, occasional booklets, which the family may have wanted to keep as a souvenir – they were thrown away, so many of the editions may not have survived to our times, and drawing conclusions based on the preserved material may be subject to a large margin of error.

Parallel Editions

Relations between Vilnius and Cracow printing houses existed throughout the years, but better known are their single or individual contacts than the comprehensive character of their cooperation. The analysis of typographic anonyms published in Vilnius and Cracow in the first twenty years of the seventeenth century has added another proof that those two printing centres cooperated at various levels. The studies have shown the existence of parallel editions, i.e. editions of the same publications printed in both cities in the same year. In 1605, a publication *Pokłon Panu Bogu zastępów za zwycięstwo inflanckie nad Carolusem Sudermańskimin* by Piotr Skarga was issued both in Cracow and Vilnius.[53] That triumphant thanksgiving sermon, celebrating the Commonwealth victory against the Swedish in the battle of Kircholm (27 September 1605), was written with the king and his courtiers in mind and was publicly delivered by Skarga twice: during the triumphal royal ceremony in Cracow on Sunday, October 16,[54] and on the following Sunday, October 23. It was soon issued in the Cracow printing house of Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, and the same year, *Pokłon Panu Bogu zastępów* was anonymously printed in Vilnius, with the title adding that it was being published by someone who had participated in the Cracow triumph. The Vilnius edition shows variant readings, e.g. we read 'Póki byli katolicy na niej, wielkim moskiewskim

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50   Topolska, Maria B., 'Książka na Litwie i Białorusi w latach 1553-1660: analiza statystyczna', pp. 151-152.

51   There are three known editions of Vilnius calendars printed in 1601-1620: two anonymous and one by a Kasjan Sakowicz.

52   At least 16 books by various authors were printed anonymously in 1601-1620 in Kraków; 15 were printed non anonimously.

53   There are 10 known copies of Cracow edition, held now in Poland e. g. in the Princes Czartoryski Library (call No. 26325), Jagiellonian Library (call No. 221916), National Library in Poland (two copies: call No. XVII.3.15075 and W. 1.1322), Ossolineum Library (call No. XVII-614), and in the Skokloster Library in Sweden. The copies of Vilnius edition are held now in Lithuania in Vilnius University Library (call No. III 10826), and in Poland in Kórnik Library (call No. 13249), National Museum in Cracow (call No. 977) and Ossolineum Library (call No. XVII-635). See Centralny Katalog Poloników XVII-XVIII w. online. Access at: < https://polona.pl/card_catalogs/centralny-katalog-polonikow-xvii-xviii-wiek,ODYzODk5MTg/>; WorldCat online. Access at: < https://www.worldcat.org/>. See also bibliography mentioned in footnotes 28 and 43.

54   Komorowska, Magdalena, 'Mówca czy autoplagiator? W poszukiwaniu „książki miejsc wspólnych" Piotra Skargi', *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, 2013, Vol. 3 (21), p. 117; Kuran, Michał, 'Struktura i problematyka kazań tryumfalnych Piotra Skargi wygłaszanych z okazji zwycięstw wojennych', *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica*, 2013, Vol. 3 (21), pp. 211-212.

monarchom odejmować się mogli, a skoro wiary świętej odstępnikami się zstali, znędznieli i męstwo rycerskie utracili, i wyginęli' instead of 'Póki byli katolicy na niej, wielkim moskiewskim monarchom odejmować się mogli, a skoro wiary świętej odstępnikami się zstali, znędznieli i męstwo rycerskie utracili, i mało nie wyginęli'. Again, the Cracow edition reads: 'w Dźwinie rzece', the Vilnius one – 'w Dźwinie'; in the Cracow publication we hear about 'państwa tego krainie i litewskich stronach', and in the Vilnius one - about 'koronnej krainie i litewskich stronach'. Such modifications – too serious to be considered a typesetter's error – had several functions: they either improved the text, adapted it to the Lithuanian audience or corrected the facts. To understand their author and cause, we have to look at the political situation surrounding the Cracow edition. As stated above, the sermon was given by Skarga during the triumphal ceremony, with the king and Polish and Lithuanian nobles present. It is sometimes suggested that the Skarga performance was the central point of the triumph. The sermon was not met with a favourable reception from everyone – Skarga described the war and the battle as a victorious win for Catholics over the Protestants, so some Protestant commanders, who, like Krzysztof Radziwiłł Piorun or Janusz Radziwiłł were Protestants and had achieved significant successes in the field, felt bitter. The Cracow edition reads that the battle was won because of the king's luck and Karol Chodkiewicz's deeds. On the title page of the Vilnius edition, not only the hetman's name was corrected to his proper name, Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, but also the mention of the king was omitted altogether. Thus, the Vilnius edition of *Pokłon* can be treated as a kind of disclaimer of the Cracow edition. The Cracow edition is more linguistically refined, suggesting that it was proofread by the author itself.[55] The lack of linguistic corrections in the Vilnius edition indicates that the author's presence was lacking during the editorial process, so the changes could have been made by the anonymous publisher, the one present at the ceremony in Cracow. It also suggests that the Vilnius typesetter did not make a reprint based on the printed Cracow edition but had a manuscript, probably the same version that Piotrkowczyk used in Cracow. The publisher must have acquired it somehow, probably not from Skarga, who would have provided a corrected version of his text to the Vilnius printer. Considering everything, we may assume that after the anonymous publisher had listened to the sermon in Cracow, he decided or was tasked with preparing its redacted version for Lithuanian readers. We cannot rule out the possibility that it was ordered by the royal party to appease the Lithuanians, but two facts contradict it: the lack of the king's name on the title page and the lack of the author's intervention. Coupled with the anonymous imprint, they instead suggest an illegal imprint.

Another parallel edition, Marcin Paszkowski's *Wykład bogiń słowieńskich* was printed anonymously both in Cracow and Vilnius in 1608.[56] The typographic analysis of the publications shows that the Cracow edition was printed by Mikołaj Lob and the Vilnius one by Jan Karcan. The text that refers to the Zebrzydowski rebellion is a call for peace, written before July 1608. The author dedicated it to Samuel Dembiński, a Cracow official, who had participated in the rebellion on the side of the king's opponents as a confidant of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, but with time changed his political orientation to pro-royal.[57] Both editions are adorned with the intricated woodcut on the title page that reflects the content of the text. The author claims that on 30 May 1608, at the arrival of Zebrzydowski to Cracow to apologize to the king, a sun wheel appeared in the sky. There was a virgin, Astrea, in it who blamed the movement of the stars for a rebellion. The appearance of the sun wheel with Astra, the goddess of Justice, was to be a sign of the end of God's wrath and a portent of the end of turmoil and misfortune. The title page of both editions features a woodcut depicting Astrea in a circle, with the sun above her. The goddess is presented in an unusual way: she has angel wings, in her left hand she is holding her attribute – a sword (symbol of punishment),[58] and

[55]   Komorowska, Magdalena, *Prolegomena…*, pp. 30, 135-137.

[56]   The unique copies of Cracow and Vilnius editions are held in Kórnik Library (Cracow edition, call No. 12404) and Ossolineum Library (Vilnius edition, call No. XVII-741).

[57]   Kuran, Michał, *Marcin Paszkowski – poeta okolicznościowy i moralista z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2012, p. 60.

[58]   Strumwasser, Gina, 'Justice', in: *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art*, edited by Helene E.

in her right hand there is a sceptre. In the Vilnius edition, the sword resembles a flaming sword, known from the biblical tradition. The sceptre, angel wings, and the flaming sword are attributes that – all three together – are presented only in the depiction of angel Gabriel, the Messenger.[59] The iconography suggests that the woman on the title woodcut of *Wykład bogiń słowieńskich* is a goddess of Justice and a messenger at the same time, which agrees with the text. The representations of Astrea of the Cracow and Vilnius editions differ in two details. In the Cracow edition, she is crowned according to the tradition, but it is a crown characteristic of the royal power of the time, closed with three intersecting bows and topped with a sphere with a cross. This type of iconography crown appeared during the reigns of Jan Olbracht and Alexander, and from Sigismund I the Old, it appears as an insignia of power. In the Vilnius edition, Astrea's head is crowned with an open crown, with which the goddess was traditionally portrayed, including in the Cesar Ripa's *Iconology*.[60] The open crown was also present, for example, in sphragistic iconography, in the coats of arms of Polish queens; it was not until Constance of Austria, the wife of Sigismund III Vasa, that the closed crown appeared.[61] The second element that distinguishes the Vilnius woodcut from the Cracow woodcut is the sword in the hand of Astrea mentioned above – in the Vilnius edition it is presented as a flaming sword. As the text mentions a rose-shaped sceptre and a shiny golden sword, the Vilnius representation reflects the author's words more accurately. Therefore, the Vilnius woodcut is more correct in reference to the tradition and the text. Moreover, the latter is more refined as some modifications were made, either by the author, e.g. 'bytwach' (Cracow edition, f. A2v, v. 12) was changed to 'boiach' in the Vilnius edition (f. A2v, v. 8), or by the printer, e.g. 'wszystorodna' to 'wszytkorodna' (f. A2r, v. 15). Considering the size of the woodcut, it is not surprising that the publisher's address was omitted, which happened in the Cracow edition. Interestingly, in the Vilnius edition, a typesetter removed some types from the frame ornament on the title page to insert there 'In Vilnius', as if he wanted to indicate that the book was issued in this part of the Commonwealth.[62] The typographic similarity of the woodcuts and the correction of the Cracow text suggest that the Vilnius edition is a more refined reprint typeset with the Cracow edition in hand and not the manuscript. The pro-royal print could have been published in Vilnius for propaganda reasons to spread in the Commonwealth the idea of the end of the rebellion threatening the rule of Sigismund III.

Conclusion

Summing up, in the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, typographic anonyms were printed more often in Vilnius than in Cracow, which may be related to the religious situation of the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The reasons why printers published books without putting their name on the title page or in the text differed depending on individual circumstances and the type of literature, but in general, they remained the same in both cities: self-censorship (religious prints in Vilnius, popular in Cracow), lack of legal rights to a published title, ephemeral character of a publication. The typographic dependencies observed in parallel editions confirm the close ties between the communities of both capitals at the level of dissemination of ideas. The book culture actively shaped the social, political, and religious life of both cities to a varying degree, and the specificity of typographic anonyms is yet another proof to confirm it.

Roberts, Chicago-London: Routledge, 1998, pp. 465-467.

[59] Compare Kuran, Michał, *Marcin Paszkowski – poeta okolicznościowy i moralista z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, p. 139. The author earlier identifies this attribute as a lily (p. 43), also attributed to Gabriel.

[60] Ripa, Cesare, *Iconologia*, Venice: Nicolo Pezzana, 1669, p. 246.

[61] Hlebionek, Marcin, 'Nieznana pieczęć królowej Barbary Zapolyi na tle sfragistyki małżonek królów polskich z dynastii Jagiellonów', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 2021, Vol. 59, p. 67.

[62] The attitude of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania towards the rebellion was restrained and opposed to taking 'radical, far-reaching steps (dethronement) against the rightful ruler.' Nor was there any large-scale pro- or anti-rebellion propaganda. See Kempa, Tomasz, 'Trybunał Litewski w obronie wolności wyznaniowej w końcu XVI i na początku XVII wieku', *Zapiski historyczne*, 2011, Vol. 76, pp. 36-37; Wisner, Henryk, 'Litwa wobec rokoszu (1606-1607)', *Kwartalnik historyczny*, 1972, Vol. 79/2, p. 289.

Annex 1.

Typographic anonyms printed in Cracow in 1601-1620.[63]

1601

Musonius Jan, Carmen continens laudes S. Nicolai Mirinensis episcopi. – Cracoviae: [Mikołaj Szarfenberger?], 1601.

Mirowski Andrzej, Carmen lugubre de obitu Petri Miscovii à Mirow Palatini Ravensis. – Cracoviae, 1601.

Radliński Paweł, *Święcenie* ministra Piotra Krr*śichleb*r w Toruniu i wtóre examen kazania jego. – Kraków, 1601.

Sechinius Jan, Thalamus Nuptialis Generosi Domini Georgii Polanski de Ternowa &c. Annaeque Ciekliniae, consortis suae nobilissimae. – Cracoviae: [*Łazarz Printing House*?], 1601.

Zbylitowski Piotr, Patricius. – W Krakowie: [Wojciech Kobyliński?], 1601.

1602

Bujwidowicz Marcin, Anagrammata na wesele Zofii Lubomirskiej panny Bieckiej. – W Krakowie, 1602.

–, Camoeny weselne na wesele Panny Elżbiety Wesselinownej. – W Krakowie: [Wojciech Kobyliński?], 1602.

–, Encomiasticon musarum magnifico ac generoso sponso Paulo Sapieha et magnificae ac generosae sponsae Elisabeth Wesselinae. – Cracoviae, 1602.

Chłapowski Stanisław, Corona Palladis. – Cracoviae, 1602.

Daniecki Jan, Hymenaeus Mikołaja Oleśnickiego i Zofii z Lubomierza. – W Krakowie, 1602.

Iłżecki Jakub, Carmen in laudem et gratiam Martini Szyszkowski. – Cracoviae, 1602.

Kłobucki Jan, Elogium funebre Valentini Vidavii memoriae consecratum. – [Cracoviae?: Łazarz Printing House?], 1602.

Livonica, hoc est responsum Regni Poloniae, Magnique Ducatus Lithuaniae ordinum, ad Caroli Sudermanniae ducis litteras datum. – Cracoviae, 1602.

Potylicki Albert, Orationes animae poenitentis cum meditatione Passionis Dominicae. – Cracoviae, 1602.

Racki Michał, Kalendarz na rok 1603. – [Cracow?, 1602].

Siebeneycher Justus, Modus accedendi, ad venerabile sacrosanctae Eucharistiae sacramentum. – Cracoviae, 1602.

Simplician Paweł, Szafarnia obroków duchownych. – Kraków: [Andrzej Piotrkowczyk?], 1602.

Statuta Constitutiones. – Cracoviae, 1602.

1603

Gardliński Jan, Largum Vesper Henrico Firley a Joanne Gardliński Almae Academiae Cracoviensis studioso e Collegio Jurasalem. – Cracoviae, 1603.

Ingenuo ac akowsk adolescenti Andreae Chavlos, primam lauream in Academia Cracouiensi feliciter accipienti, studiosi et amici sui scripserunt. – Cracoviae, 1603.

Jovius Jan, Przestroga i obwieszczenie przypadków z gwiazd i biegów niebieskich na Rok Pański 1604. – [Cracow?, 1603].

Karabat Adam, Elogium Stanislao Niemoiowski de Lubinca, domino suo, offert Adamus Karabat. – Cracoviae, 1603.

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[63] Sources: *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Krystyna Korotajowa and Wojciech Krajewski, Vol. 6, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1960; *idem*, edited by Jan Pirożyński, Vol.. 1.2.1-2, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000; Estreicher, Karol, *Bibliografia polska, Cz. 3: Stólecie XV - XVIII w układzie abecadłowym*, Vol. 8–36, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1891–2014. If any anonymously printed book mentionned in the above sources is ommited, it means that its analysis has proved that it was not in fact printed anonymously or that its printing year differs from the one stated in them.

Mierzewski Andrzej, Strena Andreae Opaliński de Bnin aliquot epigrammatibiis latini et polonici idiomatis conscripta. – Cracoviae, 1603.

Opatowczyk Adam, Triumphus Livonicus Joannis Zamoscii. – Cracoviae, 1603.

Sokol Jan, Momus Facetus. – Cracoviae: [Maciej Wirzbięta], 1603.

Squernowius Krzysztof, Xenion Simoni Rudnicki. – Cracoviae, 1603.

Witkowski Stanisław, Poseł na sejm krakowski w Roku 1603. – [Cracow: Jakub Siebeneicher, 1603]

Zawadzki Jan Mateusz, Encomium Orationis. – [Cracow?], 1603.

1604

Bernat z Krakowa, Iudicium, albo rozsądek i opisanie przypadków rozmaitych. – [Cracow, 1604].

Bielawski Maciej, Rozsądek i przestroga z gwiazd i biegów niebieskich na 1605. – [Cracow, 1604].

Czaker Bernhard, Kalender (?) per Bernhardum der freien Künste Magistrum und Philosop. Doctoren zu Krakau, auf d. J. 1605. – [Cracow?, 1604].

Fabricius Stanisław, Carmen bucolicon in laudem celebris monasterii Vitoviensis. – Cracoviae, 1604.

Fox Jan, Oratio ad Bernardum Maciejowski. – Cracoviae, [1604].

Grochowski Stanisław, Bogu w Trójcy jedynemu i św. Stanisławowi tablica obiecana, albo pieśń o żywocie jego. – [Cracow, 1604].

–, Nagrobna pamiątka Annie Falkowicownie. – [Cracow, 1604].

Izdepski Adamus, In laudem Mathiae Voinae. – Cracoviae, 1604.

Jurkowski Jan, Hymenaeusz Jana Baptysty Cekiego i Anny Frąckowicowny. – W Krakowie, 1604.

–, Muzy na wesele Aleksandra Morskiego z Morska i Katarzyny Tryblowny. – W Krakowie, 1604.

–, Pieśni muz Sarmackich przy objęciu kardynalstwa w stolicy apostolskiej Bernata Maciejowskiego. – W Krakowie, 1604.

Kłobucki Jan, Illustrissimo ac reverndissimo Bernardo Maciejowski gratulatio. – Cracoviae, 1604.

Kołacki Adamus, Gramma virtute, eruditione, morumque praestantia Andreae Petricov. I in Alma Academia Cracoviensi primam Lauream assequenti conscriptum. – Cracoviae, 1604.

–, Sertum Apollinis eruditione morumque praestantia XIII Ornatissimis juvenibus dum in Alma Acad. Crac. Solenni ritu akows et philosophiae baccalaurei renunciarentur. – [Cracow], 1604.

Lorencowicz Jan, Na fest Jana Baptisti Cekiego i Anny, córki Antoniego Franckowicza. – W Krakowie, 1604.

Oborski Kasper, Illustrissimo et reverendissimo Bernardo Macieiowski carmen gratulatorium. – Cracoviae, 1604.

Piaseczyński Aleksander, In diem nonam Maii, qua consecratus est illustrissimus et reverendissimus dominus D. Martinus Szyszkowski in episcopum Luceoriensem. – Cracoviae, 1604.

Wolff Andrzej, Spectatissimis viris consulibus Casimirensibus recens creatis gratlatio. – Cracoviae, 1604.

1605

Aquila Regni Poloniae. – Cracoviae: [Szymon Kempini?], 1605.

Bernat z Krakowa, Dekret, albo wyrok astrologski. – W Krakowie, 1605.

Białozor Gabriel, List o oblężeniu zamku dynamentskiego w Inflanciech. – [Cracow: Mikołaj Szarfenberger, 1605].

Daniecki Jan, Panny z Helikonu na wesele Zygmuntowi III. I Arcyksiężnie JMC. Rakuzkiey. – W Krakowie, 1605.

Epigrammata in laudem VII eximiorum ac eruditorum virorum, dum in Academia Cracoviensi solenni et magna hominum frequentia crearentur. – Cracoviae, 1605.

Hilchen Dawid, Gegenwehr der Unschuld und Warheit Wieder Jac. Godemans Luneburgensis. – Krakaw, 1605.

–, Votum nuptiale Joanni Danielowicz. – [Cracow], 1605.

Jurkowski Jan, Lutnia na wesele Zygmunta III. Polskiego. – W Krakowie: [Szymon Kempini], 1605.

–, Hymeneus. – [Cracow?], 1605.

Kmita Jan Achacy, Proces sprawy bocheńskiej z żydami o najświętszej Eucharystii sakrament od żydów i świętokradców kupiony i cudownie okazany. – [Cracow: Wojciech Kobyliński?, 1605].

Loeaechius Andreas, Elogium Claudii Rangonii. – [Cracow?, ca. 1605].

–, Epithalamium I in nuptias Sigismundi Tertii cum Constantia. – Cracoviae, 1605.

–, Epithalamium II in nuptias Sigismundi Tertii cum Constantia. – Cracoviae, 1605.

–, Numen innocuo amicum, sive victoria Detmetrii Joannidis Magni Moscoviae Ducis. – Cracoviae, 1605.

Łaszcz Marcin, Okulary wtóre na ciemna i ślepe oczy ministrów. – [Cracow], 1605.

Męczyński Franciszek, Corona Palladis virtute doctrina morumque probitate decem adolescentibus dum in alma Academiae Cracovsis solenni ritu akows et philosophiae baccalaurei renuntiarentur. – Cracoviae, 1605.

Olewnicki Wojciech, Carmen lugubre in obitum duorum excellentium virorum Sebastiani Lubinii et Andreae Sniadecki in alma Academiae Cracoviensis professorum conscriptum. – Cracoviae, 1605.

Palczowski Paweł, Status Venetorum, sive brevis tractatus de origine et vetustate Venetorum. – Cracoviae, 1605.

Powodowski Hieronim, Agenda seu Ritus Caeremoniarum Ecclesiasticarum. – Cracoviae, 1605

Rościszewski Wojciech, Examen Kazania X. Rosciszewskiego, które miał na dzień Bożego Ciała. – Kraków, 1605.

Szyszkowski Marcin, Catechismi seu doctrinae christianae tradendae practicus modus. – Cracoviae, 1605.

Wargocki Andrzej, Przestroga na chytrość ministrów ewangelickich. – W Krakowie, 1605.

Witkowski Stanisław, Zgoda tułająca się Cyryusa Theodora. – Kraków, 1605.

Zbylitowski Piotr, Schadzka ziemiańska. – W Krakowie, 1605.

Żabczyc Jan, Lutnia ojczyzny polskiej. – W Krakowie, 1605.

–, Rozrząd domu Anny z Gołuchowa Kotkowskiej. – Kraków, 1605.

1606

Bączalski Seweryn, Ochrona koronna. – W Krakowie, 1606.

Bielawski Maciej, Praktyka na rok 1607. – [Cracow?, 1606].

Catechismi seu doctrinae christianae pueris ac rudibus tradendę practicus modus. – [Cracow, 1606].

Coster Francois, O czterech końcach ostatnich żywota ludzkiego. – [Cracow, 1606].

Daniecki Jan, Zabawy. – Kraków: [Szarfenberger Printing House], 1606.

Dąmbrowski Marcin, Effigies domus Zebridovianae. – [Cracow: Jan Szeliga], 1606.

(**Gratulatio**) Illustrissimo et reverendissimo Domino D. Bernardo Macieiowski officiose a M. B. A. B. conscripta Gratulatio. – Cracoviae, 1606.

Grochowski Stanisław, Krakowska Polaków z Moskwą biesiada. – [Cracow, 1606].

Jurkowski Jan, Lech wzbudzony. – W Krakowie: [Wojciech Kobyliński], 1606.

–, Poselstwo z Dzikich Pól, od Sowizrzała, do mało cnotliwej drużyny. – [Cracow: Mikołaj Szarfenberger, 1606].

Loeaechius Andrzej, Epithalamium in nuptias Ioannis a Tencin et Dorothaeae a Minsco. – Cracoviae: [Bazyli Skalski?], 1606.

–, Epithalamium in nuptias Thomae Dolabellae et Agnetis Petricoviae. – Cracoviae: [Andrzej Piotrkowczyk], 1606.

Mirowski Andrzej, Poema de acerbissimo Christi Domini cruciatu. – Cracoviae: [Jan Szeliga], 1606.

Schon Georgius, Carmen nuptiale ad coniuges, Martinum Laskowski et Sophiam Ługowska. – Cracoviae, 1606.

Urbanides Klemens, Panegyricus devotissimae sodalitatis Compassionis D. Nostri Jesu Christi. – Cracoviae, 1606.

Vegius Maphaeus, O Aeneaszu Trojańskim księga trzynasta. – W Krakowie, 1606.

Votum Szlachcica Polskiego. – [Cracow: Jan Szeliga], 1606.

Wyprawa żydowska na wojnę. – W Krakowie: [Wojciech Kobyliński], 1606.

Zabawy. – Kraków, 1606.

Zaduski Stefan, Fantazja krotofilna. – W Krakowie, 1606.

Zamoyski Jan, Strena Carolo Sudermaniae Duci. – [Cracow, 1606].

Żabczyc Jan, Rozrząd domu Anny z Gołuchowa Kotkowskiej. – W Krakowie, 1606.

1607

Andreides Simon, Epos melicum Petro Tilicki. – Cracoviae, 1607.

Bernat z Krakowa, Iudicium, albo zdanie i wyrok z nauki astrologskiej. – W Krakowie: [Jan Szarfenberger], 1607.

Brillius Urban, Ad Petrum Tilicium episcopum cracoviensem inauguratum in primum sui episcopatu ingressum oratio gratulatoria. – Cracoviae, 1607.

Daniecki, Jan, Żałosne narzekanie korony polskiej. – W Krakowie: [Jan Szeliga], 1607.

Deklaracja konfederacji z praw koronnych. – W Krakowie: [Szymon Kempini], 1607.

Dryiovius Simon, Sertum ex laetis Musarum floribus in auspicatissimas novi anni ferias Stanislao Kędzierski. – Cracoviae, 1607.

Jurkowski Jan, Chorągiew Wandalinowa. – W Krakowie, 1607.

Korona Polska bardzo smutna prośby serdeczne czyni. – W Krakowie, 1607.

Krajewski Jan, Nenia na zbiegłą zgodę z Polski utrapionej. – W Krakowie, 1607.

Loeaechius Andreas, Decas annagrammatum quibus celebrantur Antonius Francsscovicius, Ioannes Octavianus Watslavovicius, Georgius Pipanus, Valentinus Fontanus, Albertus Roscovius, Gabriel Ioanitius, Simon Syrennius, Martinus Svatslavovicius, Ioannes Heyncius, Ioannes Ortensius. – Cracoviae: [Bazyli Skalski?], 1607.

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Ode Tricolos Tetrastrophos. – Cracoviae, 1607.

Pekarowicyus Stanisław, Konterfekt prawdziwej złotej wolności. – W Krakowie, 1607.

Petricius Jan, Zwierciadło jedności Boga Ojca Wszechmogącego, i Syna jedynego, i Ducha świętego, to jest Boga w Trójcy jedynego. – W Krakowie, 1607.

Poemata de Nativitate Christi Stanislao Kedzierski studentes Scholae Lucoviensis pro strena offerunt. – Cracoviae, 1607.

Rościszewski Wojciech, Ad brevem cuiusdam de Ecclesia et Ministris demonstrationem verius autem longam delirationem responsio. – Cracoviae, 1607.

Skarga Piotr, Discours na koenfederacją. – W Krakowie, 1607.

Sposób podający drogę do korektury prawa, a za tym do sprawiedliwości pokoju w Koronie Polskiej. – W Krakowie, 1607.

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Władysławiusz Adam, Pieśń nowa, aby Pan Bóg raczył ten rokosz uspokoić. – [Cracow?, ca. 1607].

1608

Bernat z Krakowa, Lucubratio astrologica. – Kraków, 1608.

Chlebowski Wawrzyniec, Wolność prawdziwa Korony Polskiej. – W Krakowie, 1608.

Daniecki Jan, Radosna korona. – Kraków, 1608.

Dzwonkowski Jan, Sejmu domowego artykułów sześć. – [Cracow, 1608].

Francisciades Jan, In exequiis Bernardi Maciejowski epos consolatorium. – Cracoviae, 1608.

Herburt Szczęsny Jan, Puncta podane od Szczęsnego Herborta. – W Krakowie, 1608.

Jastrzębski Marcin, Czasu wojny piosnki nabożne z modlitwami za króla. – W Krakowie: [Mikołaj Lob?], 1608.

Kmita Jan Achacy, Treny bardzo smutne na zejście z tego świata Janusza Zbaraskiego. – W Krakowie, 1608.

–, Threny bardzo smutne. Epicedion in obitum Annae Mirska filiae Procancellariae Regni. – Cracoviae, 1608.

Krajewski Jan, Wizerunk cnót świętych albo sentencje z różnych autorów zebrane. – W Krakowie: [Szymon Kempini], 1608.

Loeaechius Andreas, Decas annagrammatum qui suis ipsorum donantur nominibus Iosephus Iusoila, Nicolaus Firleus, Stanislaus Lanscoronscius, Petrus Cochanovius, Samuel Cerasinus, Alexander Sluszka, Marianus Przelencius, Ioannes Przeradovius, Stanislaus Gawronscius. – [Cracow: Bazyli Skalski?, 1608].

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Lucianus Samosatensis, Osieł Lucjuszów. – W Krakowie: [Jan Szeliga or Mikołaj Lob?], 1608.

Nowiny z Moskwy posłane pani wojewodzinie sandomierskiej od cara moskiewskiego Dymitra. – W Krakowie, 1608.

Opatowczyk Adam, Lacrymae in funere Nicolai Dobrocieski. – Cracoviae: [Jan Szeliga], 1608.

Opatowczyk Jakub, Epigrammata in honorem akowski et ingenuorum IX adolescentum, dum in Alma Academiae Cracoviensi akows et philosophiae baccalaurei renunciarentur. – Cracoviae, 1608.

Paszkowski Marcin, Posiłek Bellony Sauromackiej szlachetnemu rycerstwu Dymitra Iwanowicza przeciwko Szujskiemu i inszym zdrajcom jego. – W Krakowie, 1608.

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Poseł z Moskwy. – [Cracow], 1608.

Rubinkowski Jan, Epigrammata in laudes akowski nec non magnæ spei IX. Adolescentum, dum in Alma Academia Cracouiensi prima laurea adornarentur. – Cracoviae: [Jan Szeliga], 1608.

Starczewski Wawrzyniec, Votum Matthiae Pstrokoński. – Cracoviae, 1608.

Władysławiusz Adam, Gratulatio na szczęśliwy przyjazd wojewody krakowskiego na konwokację krakowską. – [Cracow: Bazyli Skalski], 1608].

–, Nakład żydowski, to jest jako się zdrajcy usilnie chcą prawem, nakładem, podarkami i wszelakim fałszem krakowianom przeciwić i bronic. – W Krakowie, 1608.

–, Nowy pokój w Polsce. – W Krakowie, 1608.

–, Pieśni nowe pamięci godne o przypadkach koronnych. – W Krakowie, 1608.

Wolność prawdziwa Korony Polskiej. – W Krakowie, 1608.

Zygmunt II Waza, [List do stanów szwedzkich z 1608 r. wyrażający niezadowolenie z tyrańskich, oszukańczych i akowskiegoańskich rządów Karola Sudermańskiego]. – [Cracow, 1608].

–, [Uniwersał z 9 VI 1608 r. informujący o zawarciu przez króla ugody z rokoszanami]. – [Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1608].

Żabczyc Jan, Na opłakany pożar dziedzicznego miasta Dubiecka Jerzego z Siecina Krasickiego. – W Krakowie, 1608.

Before 1609

Władysławiusz Adam, Frąc. – [Cracow, before 1609].

1609

Bazylik Cyprian, Varnia, Carmen gratulatorium. – W Krakowie, 1609.

Bratkowski Wojciech, Panegyris in honorem Andreae Ruszkowski. – Cracoviae, 1609.

Koronki trzy Najświętszej Panny Marii napisane roku 1609. – W Krakowie, [1609].

Nowiny z Moskwy, jako król polski, będąc z wojskiem w Moskwie, posły swoje posyła. – [Cracow], 1609.

Paszkowski Marcin, Minerva. – W Krakowie: [Mikołaj Lob?], 1609.

–, Poean albo wiersz radosny z nawrócenia złotych lat i zgody do Polski. – W Krakowie, 1609.

Petricius Jan, Zwierciadło jedności Boga Ojca Wszechmogącego, i Syna jedynego, i Ducha świętego, to jest Boga w Trójcy jedynego. Napisane przez Jana Petriciusa roku 1601. Przydana jest teraz odpowiedz tegoż J. Petriciusa, na odpis Stanisława Farnezego (przeciwko temuż Zwierciadłu, które jeszcze do tego czasu w druku nie było) wydany. – W Krakowie, 1609.

Regulski Jan, Żale nagrobne na zejście z świata Andrzeja z Żmigrodu Stadnickiego. – Kraków, 1609.

Sacrum et posthumae famae F. Andreae Rochmanii. – Cracoviae, 1609.

Skrobiszewski Jakub, Disputatio de praescriptionibus. – Cracoviae, 1609.

Squernowius Krzysztof, Polska, albo krótkie opisanie stanów królestwa polskiego. – W Krakowie, 1609.

Tornarides Jan, Xenium vulgo strena dictum. – Cracoviae, 1609.

Ubiszewski Maciej, Żywot błogosławionego Świętosława z Sławkowa. – W Krakowie, 1609.

Uniszewski Jakub, Eudimonia Olbrichta Laskiego. – W Krakowie, 1609.

Witanie obywatelów województwa krakowskiego. – W Krakowie, [1609].

Władysławiusz Adam, Lament serdeczny jednej szlachetnej paniej, której mąż w Moskwie zginął przy carowej. – [Cracow, 1609].

–, Rym weselny Kasprowi Jagnińskiemu i Zofii Janowskiej. – W Krakowie, 1609.

–, Krotofile ucieszne i żarty rozmaite. – W Krakowie, 1609.

Zaleski Absalom, Przeprawa Barbary S. przez świeckie powodzie do portu uwielbionego. – W Krakowie, 1609.

1610

Biesiad akowskiego część wtora. – [Cracow: Bazyli Skalski, ca. 1610-1615].

Chlebowski Wawrzyniec, Królów i cesarzów Tureckich dzieła albo sprawy i żywotów ich dokończenie. – W Krakowie, 1610.

–, Królów i cesarzów Tureckich dzieła albo sprawy i żywotów ich dokończenie wydane przez Pawła Świętkowica. – W Krakowie, 1610.

Grochowski Stanisław, Łzy smutne. – [Cracow: Bazyli Skalski, ca. 1610-1611].

–, Rzym nowy szczęśliwszy nad stary. – W Krakowie: [Mikołaj Lob?], 1610.

–, Triumph albo Kalliopea słowiańska podczas wjazdu na starostwo sędomirskie Sebastianowi Lubomirskiemu. – Kraków, 1610.

Kmita Jan Achacy, Penelopea, albo niewinność dziwnie cudownej niewiasty siedem razy ciętej. – W Krakowie, 1610.

–, Silicernium na pogrzeb Pawła Czernego z Witowic. – W Krakowie, 1610.

–, Talmud albo wiara żydowska. – W Krakowie, 1610.

Łabęcki Stanisław, Xenium Stanislao Rab. – [Cracow, 1610].

Makowiecki Andrzej, Gratulatio Floriano Mijakowski cum primam philpsophiae lauream in alma academia Cracoviensi publice ac solenniter consequeretur. – Cracoviae, 1610.

Panegyris in honorem Adami Rożen. – Cracoviae, 1610.

Sławiec Andrzej, Kolęda na nowe lato, szczodry dzień na rok dzisiejszy 1611. – W Krakowie, 1610.

Sposób mówienia psałterzyka Panny Mariej albo różanki. – W Krakowie: [Wojciech Kobyliński], 1610.

Woniejski Maciej, Panegyricus funebris super Ioachimo Lubomirski. – Cracoviae: [Bazyli Skalski?], 1610.

Zabielski Stanisław, Ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum succincta consideratio. – Cracoviae, 1610.

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Biesiady roskoszne. – [Cracow, after 1610].

Before 1611

Dzwonkowski Jan, Statut, to jest artykuły prawne. – [Cracow, before 1611].

1611

Bernat z Krakowa, Prognosticon na lat dziesięć przyszłych począwszy od roku 1612 aż do roku 1622. – W Krakowie, 1611.

Cerasinus Joannes, Enchiridion aliquot locorum communium Iuris Maideburgensis. – [Cracow, 1611].

Chlebowski Wawrzyniec, Tryumf radosny wszystkich obywatelów koronnych Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, z sławnego zwycięstwa Zygmunta III., który po wzięciu stolice moskiewskiej i zamków przyległych, najpotężniejszy Smoleńsk szczęśliwie opanował. – Kraków, 1611.

–, Zwycięstwo Zygmunta III. W dobyciu zamku smoleńskiego i innych fortec moskiewskich w roku 1611 otrzymane. – Kraków, 1611.

Cichocki Kasper, Rozbiór rady danej do ustalenia pokoju Polski wypędziwszy Jezuitów. – Kraków, 1611.

Dzwonkowski Jan, Statut, to jest artykuły prawne. – [Cracow], 1611.

Grochowski Stanisław, Duchowna pociecha pannom, które nad wolą rodziców i powinnych swych, świętej doskonałości żywota sobie ulubiły. – [Cracow], 1611.

–, Niebieskie na ziemi zabawy. – [Cracow, 1611].

Pistorius Szymon, Wizerunek łaźni pińczowskiej. – [Cracow, 1611].

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Synod ministrów heretyckich. – [Cracow: Jan Filipowski], 1611.

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Zawadzki Teodor, Manuductorium ad ius civile. – Cracoviae, 1611.

After 1611

Dzwonkowski Jan, Statut, to jest artykuły prawne. [3rd ed.] – [Cracow, after 1611].

–, Statut, to jest artykuły prawne. [4th ed.] – [Cracow, after 1611].

–, Statut, to jest artykuły prawne. [5th ed.] – [Cracow, after 1611].

1612

Baranowski Stanisław, Szuflada. – W Krakowie, 1612.

Bazanowicz Jan, Relacja krótka nalezienia ciał świętych męczenników rzymskich: Syxtusa i Chrystyny panny i

przeniesienia ich z Rzymu do Polski. – W Krakowie, 1612.

Chlebowski Wawrzyniec, Królów i cesarzów Tureckich dzieła albo sprawy i żywotów ich dokończenie. – W Krakowie, 1612.

–, Rokosz tatarski z Turkami o ojczyźnie naszej Koronie Polskiej. – W Krakowie, [1612].

Constitutiones dioecesanae Cracovienses in diversis synodis. – [Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1612].

Grymza Dawid, Epicedium in lugubres exequias. – Kraków, 1612.

Januszowski Jan, Nauka umierania chrześcijańskiego. – Kraków, 1612.

Kołakowski Stanisław, Zegar Achasów wedle którego słońce dziesięć stopniów wstecz ustąpiło. – W Krakowie, 1612.

Komedia o Wawrzku. – [Cracow], 1612.

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Miaskowski Kasper, Pielgrzym Wielkanocny. – W Krakowie, 1612.

Miłopolski Jan, Obrona panien klasztoru św. Agnieszki w Krakowie na Stradomiu. – W Krakowie, 1612.

Paszkowski Marcin, Historie świąt chwalebnych. – Kraków, 1612.

Peregrynacja dziadowska. – [Cracow], 1612.

Postękalski Marcin, Officium albo Godzinki Michała Świętego skrócone dla tych, którym zabawy insze są przekorą. – Kraków, 1612.

Synod ministrów heretyckich. – [Cracow: Jan Filipowski], 1612.

Wilczek Daniel, Xenium Antonio Franckovicio dicatum. – Cracoviae, 1612.

Woniejski Maciej, Quaestio de calore innato pro prima in medica facultate laurea proposita. – Cracoviae, 1612.

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Jan z Wychylówki, Kiermasz wieśniacki. – [Cracow: Bazyli Skalski, 1613–1618].

Pasja żołnierzów Obojga Narodów w stolicy moskiewskiej. – [Cracow, 1613].

Po sejmie nowiniarz z wielomówcą rozmawia. – [Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1613].

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Woniejski Maciej, De venae sectione pro secunda in medica facultate laurea. – Cracoviae, 1613.

1614

Albertus z wojny. – [Cracow], 1614.

Działyński Stanisław, Reces komisyi za Zygmunta III. Króla polskiego. – W Krakowie, 1614.

Epithalamium na wesele Mikołaja Wizembergiera i Katarzyny, Stanisława Amandy Olbornika córki. – Cracoviae, 1614.

Kalendarz wieczny. – [Cracow?, 1614?].

Moczydłowski Józef, Przypowieści króla Salomona. – [Cracow : Heirs of Jakub Siebeneicher], 1614.

Pieśni i tańce zabawam uczciwym gwoli. – [Cracow?], 1614.

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Sornatowicz Marcin, Epithalamium albo wiersz ślubny Adamowi Tagoborskiemu i Zofii Stradomskiej. – W Krakowie, [1614].

(Sowizdrzał) Fraszki Sowirzała nowego. – W Krakowie, 1614.

Boldinti Nowy. – W Krakowie: [Anna Siebeneicher?], 1614.

Wyprawa plebańska. – [Cracow], 1614.

Żędzianowski Andrzej, Epicedion in exequias Matthaei Macieiowski. – Cracoviae, [1614].

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Acta audientiae publicae a Paulo papa V pro regi Voxii Iaponici legatis. – Cracoviae: [Mikołaj Lob?] ex exemplari Romae impresso apud Iacobum Maschardum, 1615.

Ad calumnias cuiusdam qui patrocinium Torunensium suscepit Responsio. – Cracoviae, 1615.

Apendix albo zawieszenie wyznania niektórych arianów bluźnierskiego zboru akowskiego. – [Cracow, 1615].

Brandolinus Aurelius, Oratio de passione Domini apud Pontificem Maximum die Parasceves habita. – Cracoviae, 1615.

Chabielski Mikołaj, Sposób rządu koronnego i gotowości: Obrona Rzeczypospolitej, jakaby miała być. – [Cracow: Jan Szarfenberger?, 1615].

Declaratia nowego prawa confaederatiey. – [Var. A]. – [Cracow, ca. 1615].

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Groicki Bartłomiej, Artykuły prawa maydeburskiego. – W Krakowie, 1615.

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Prażonka albo nawara dla zabawy uczciwej drużynie. – [Cracow], 1615.

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Sawicki Kacper, Tryplika na duplikę ks. Tenebriona Niedoperza, ministra zborowej drużyny w Toruniu. – Cracoviae, 1615.

Skarga Piotr, Discurs na confoederacią. – W Krakowie, 1615.

Śliwski Jakub, Chleb duchowny albo kazanie na anniwersarzu Aleksandra Ostrogskiego. – W Krakowie, 1615.

Solcius Jan, Epithalamium na wesele Zygmunta Olesznickiego i Magdaleny Misiowskiej. – W Krakowie, 1615.

(Sowizrzał) Fraszki Nowe Sowizrzałowe. – W Krakowie, 1615.

Zygmunt III Waza, [Uniwersał z 10 IV 1615 r. informujący o zawarciu traktatu z cesarzem Maciejem]. – [Cracow: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1615].

1616

Anuszewic Piotr, Fescenninus novis sponsis Paulo Celari et Annae Pipanovnae. – Cracoviae, 1616.

Assertiones theologicae publico certamini propositae a patribus discalceatis ordinis b. Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo. – [Cracow, 1616].

Bartłomiej z Wrześni, Suspiria in funere Petri Tilicki. – Cracoviae, 1616.

Beer Jacob, Puteus aquarum vivetium, seu commentarius duplex in Pentateuchum. – Cracoviae, 1616.

Chlebowski Wawrzyniec, Epithalamium na wesele Marcina Laskowskiego instygatora z Katarzyną Palczowską. – Kraków, 1616.

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Janidło Jakub, Cathedra albo kazanie na niedzielę pierwszą po Trzech Królach, za kolędę do profesorów zacnej Akademii. Przydana i Declaratia niewinności. – [Cracow], 1616.

Jankowski Jakub, Skaza klątwy secemskiej od ministrów kalwińskich wydanej na Pana Jankowskiego. – W Krakowie, [1616].

Laterna Marcin, Harfa duchowna. – Kraków, 1616.

Minor Ludwik, Sarkofag Janowi Pilczyńskiemu z Masiomiący nieśmiertelności oddany. – W Krakowie, 1616.

Rozmowa pierwszej głowie, albo o pierwszym miejscu we zborze, dwóch ministrów Phinesa z Tertulianem. – W Krakowie, 1616.

Synod ministrów heretyckich. – W Krakowie: [Heirs of Jakub Siebeneicher], 1616.

Wujek Jakub, Ewangelie i epistoły, W Krakowie: [Andrzej Piotrkowczyk], 1616.

Before 1617

Twardowski Kasper, Lekce kupidynowe. – [Cracow, before 1617].

1617

Applausus quos desideratissimum Poloniae & Sueciae Principem Wladislaum Sigismvndum cum ad capessendum Moschoviae imperium ducens exercitus Luceoriam ingrederetur. – Cracoviae: [Franciszek Cezary, 1617].

Befehl Ihr. Königl. Maj. In Polen und Schweden an den Abgesandten der Klagen der Gemeinden der dreien Städte Königsberg, wegen Vorstellungen Ihrer interponirten Appellation und des freien sichern Geleit. Auch wegen der Generalzusammenkunst anno 1599. – Cracoviae, 1617.

Chlebowski Wawrzyniec, Krwawa ofiara Jezusa Chrystusa syna Bożego. – W Krakowie, 1617.

–, Wieniec do wiecznego Oblubieńca Elżbiecie Marchockiej w zakon świętej Klary wstępującej uwity. – W Krakowie: [Heirs of Jakub Siebeneicher?], 1617.

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Fox Jan, Oratio gratulatoria in adventvm Martini Szyskowski. – Cracoviae, 1617.

–, Witanie Marcina Szyszkowskiego na archidiakona krakowskiego. – W Krakowie, 1617.

Jacobeius Wawrzyniec, Kalendarz świąt rocznych na rok pański 1618. – Kraków, [1617].

Jarochowski Jędrzej, Łzy smutne na śmierć Melchiora Pudłowskiego. – W Krakowie, 1617.

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Annex 2.

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1601

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Namysłowski Jan, Viridarium florum septingentorum quinquaginta = Wirydarz kwiatków, których jest siedemset pięćdziesiąt. – Vilnae: [Jan Karcan] 1601.

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1602

Cnogler Quirinus, Pro funere Elisabethae zum Bergen, Casparis zum Bergen filiae, Christophori Gaunersdorfi conjugis, epicedium. – [Vilnius?], 1602.

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Wolan Andrzej, Iusta funebria : supremus humanae honor Ioanni Abramovicio eietatis et offici ergo, si non pro meritis, certe debite persolutus. – [Vilnius, 1602].

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1603

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Joannicius Gabriel, Kalendarz na Rok Pański 1607. – [Vilnius: Jan Karcan, 1607].

1608

Mornay Philippe de, Jasne i dowodne pokazanie, tak z Pisma Świętego, jako z starodawnych doktorów chrześcijańskich, że papież, który Stolicę Rzymską opanował, nie jest Głową powszechnego kościoła chrześcijańskiego, ale iż jest on onym Antychrystem, który wszytek urząd Pana Jezu Chrysta wniwecz obrócił. – W Wilnie, 1608.

Odszczepieństwo (swiente) ewanielików, od papieskich katolików krótko opisane, przy tym Antichristomachia. – [Vilnius, ca. 1608].

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1609

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1610

Bildziukiewicz Hieronim, Divi tutelaris patrii Casimiri insigne virtutum hieroglyphicis emblematum figuris adumbratum serenissimae Poloniarum reginae Constantiae ab Hieronymo Bildziukiewicz philosophiae in alma Academia Vilnensi auditore devota observantia humiliter oblatum. – [Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House], 1610.

Bojer Lars, Carolomachia, to jest dwu Karolów bitwa i szczęśliwe zwycięstwo Carola Chodkiewicza nad Carolem Sudermańskim otrzymane pod Kirchholmem. – [Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1610].

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1611

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Loeaechius Andreas, Na szczęśliwe i pożądane zwrócenie się JK Mości Zygmunta III do Wilna po rekuperowaniu Smoleńska. – W Wilnie, 1611.

Stopnie doskonałości luterskiej. – [Vilnius?, 1611].

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Morochowski Joachim, Zawstydzenie mniemanej cerkwi, która się Matką być mianuje. – Wilno, 1612.

1613

Alvarez Manoel, De institutione grammatica. – [Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House?, 1613-1616].

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1614

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1615

Tawetski Eliasz, Kolenda, nowe lato, szczodry wieczór, Wilnu wszystkiemu, a osobliwie senatowi tegoż stołecznego miasta wileńskiego Eliasz Bruno Tawetski uniżenie ofiaruje. – [Vilnius, 1615].

Theodory Stefan, Suprema, albo ostatnia posługa J. W. Panu Gabryelowi Woynie. – Wilno, 1615.

1616

Agenda Parva in commodiorem usum sacerdotum provinciae Poloniae conscripta. – Vilnae: [Vilnius Academy Printing House], 1616.

Czyżewski Maciej, Alkoran, to jest zakon albo wiara zabobonnej i obłędliwej sekty mahometańskiej. – [Vilnius], 1616.

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Obraz chrześcijańsko-politycznego władcy. – Wilno, 1616.

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1617

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1618

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1619

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Francesco Zambrini (1810-1887), a Philologist-Systematiser of Knowledge at the Service Both of an Institutional Archive and the Linguistic Unity of the New Italian Nation

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Abstract. Early after the birth of the new Italian nation (1861), there was an urgent need to help national unity by supporting and protecting national language. Printing out unpublished or rare language texts had been considered one of the most effective means to achieve this. Moving therefore from the long-lasting controversy about which language should have been the national one, a kind of triple 'machine' had been set up: an institutional/ideological machine promoted by the Ministry for Public Instruction, that established the *Commissione per i testi di lingua* (1860); a creative machine led by Francesco Zambrini himself, president of the Commission and systematiser of the rare language texts included in *Collezione di opere inedite dei primi tre secoli della lingua* (1861; an institutional archive and an accumulation of knowledge of the new-born Italy); a material machine, embodied by Gaetano Romagnoli, editor and distributor of the *Collezione*'s texts, who played an important role in this program. Under a book historian's perspective, the topic tries therefore a new approach, investigating how and why Zambrini-bibliographer contributed to sedimentation of this institutional archive.

Keywords: Francesco Zambrini; Institutional Archive; Accumulation of Knowledge; Systematisation of Knowledge; Vernacular texts; Gaetano Romagnoli; New Italian Nation; National Language; Italian Ministry for Public Instruction.

This topic comes from a research still in progress, and aims to investigate the role of Francesco Zambrini within a sort of 'triple machine' created to choose the right Italian for the new-born Nation, and to support it. As a book historian, my perspective to the question will be therefore not focused on Zambrini-philologist but, rather, on Zambrini-bibliographer and publisher of ancient texts in the first decades after the unification of Italy. This is in fact a less-studied although very important aspect about him. I will therefore try to approach the subject in a new way: by investigating how and why Zambrini, starting from his cultural purist persuasions, contributed to the sedimentation of an institutional archive while crossing capital problems, one above all the so-called 'Question of language'.

Francesco Zambrini was a journalist, a late purist scholar,[1] and philologist scholar of ancient vulgar texts. Putting his skills at the service of the new Italian Nation, he became a populariser of editorial rarities of the past but, above all, as a philologist in 1860 he was appointed president of the Commission for Language Texts (*Commissione per i Testi di Lingua*), as we shall see.[2] Since the question here presented

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[1] See here footnote 9, to which it can be added: Antonelli, Armando, 'Zambrini, Francesco Davide Maria', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2020, Vol. 100, pp. 439-442.

[2] On Francesco Zambrini, whose human and professional life went hand in hand with the history of the Commission for language texts, see at least, with related and always valid bibliography: *Convegno di studi in onore di Francesco Zambrini nel centenario della morte. Atti del convegno, Faenza, 10-11 ottobre 1987*, Faenza: Litografica, 1989; Zambrini, Francesco, *Memorie sulla mia vita*, edited

is not about the reasons and the salient moments that led to the unification of Italy – despite being the background of what we are going to investigate – only some unavoidable albeit superficial references to them will be provided.[3] More emphasis will be placed on dates, which instead have important connections with the work of Francesco Zambrini and the construction of his institutional archive at the service of the new Italian Nation.

On 17 March 1861, the unification of Italy was officially proclaimed, the so called *Regno d'Italia*, the result of a long and troubled political process but even more of thought, which had begun to take shape at the end of the eighteenth century and then materialized during the years of the so-called *Risorgimento* in the early nineteenth century. Its founding ideals were the unification of the peninsula – at the time fragmented into various states – and its independence from Austria, which was achieved mainly through the initiatives of democratic and moderate currents, and a long series of military enterprises, of course.

To this official political unity corresponded a very fragmented social and cultural context, which weakened the already fragile new nation, therefore in need, once shaped, of being supported. Above all, there was a lack of a common conscience, a civil as well as national identity, and it was therefore necessary to build the new citizen – both of the popular classes and of the middle-upper classes – to be included in the administrative apparatus of the modern central state. As well as it was necessary to give practical and political consistency to a post-unitary society, on the one hand by anchoring it to the problems of the present (for example the need for economic development and material progress) and on the other by linking it with one's past, in order not to break, and indeed, to strengthen the link between culture, history and politics, which was indispensable for the new nation. In parallel, image of Italy also needed to be rethought. It has now become a precise political-geographical reality, which was to be an expression of the history, culture and character of its people.

From this point of view, language necessarily played a decisive role. Unfortunately, Italian – in the context of widespread and secular linguistic ignorance – was like a foreign language as it was spoken by a small minority. It is rated that in the first post-unification decade it was spoken by no more than 2.5% of the population, and that this minority was overwhelmed by an enormous mass of illiterate dialectophones. But what is worse is that Italian was perceived as a tyrannical language, the expression of a hostile world, that of Power, of which is to be wary always and in any case. But the linguistic extraneousness towards Italian also corresponded to the linguistic extraneousness towards the State that spoke it.

To this very serious situation, to the lack of a common language, the state, and in the specific cases the Ministry of Education, responded at an institutional and ideological level through a dual strategy centred on school and, indeed, on language, the two sides of the same coin, designed to support each other.

In 1861, concomitantly with Italian unification, the law conceived by Gabrio Francesco Casati (the so-called Casati Law) came into force throughout the *Regno d'Italia* (the new-born Italy). Thanks to this law, the State felt for the first time that it had to take charge of the law-duty to intervene in matters of school instead of the Church, because education, especially if extended to the illiterate masses, was an excellent opportunity for redemption and social regeneration, which the new nation was in extreme need of, as said. Casati Law, which actually followed and brought to fulfillment those previously conceived by Carlo Boncompagni di Mombello (1848) and above all Giovanni Lanza (1855),[4] extended compulsory schooling up to eight years and reorganized entire school-educational system for both the working class and

by Armando Antonelli and Riccardo Pedrini, foreword by Emilio Pasquini, Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1999; *Archivio della Commissione per i testi di lingua in Bologna, 1841-1974. Inventario e indici*, edited by Armando Antonelli and Riccardo Pedrini, with a foreword by Emilio Pasquini and historical essay by Marco Veglia, Bologna: Comune, 2002.

[3] For a general overview, with related bibliography, on the movements of thought and political processes that led to independence and then to Italian unity in 1861, we will limit here to indicate the entry written by Meriggi, Marco, *Dagli antichi Stati all'Italia unita*, in *Enciclopedia Treccani* [accessed March 2021]. Access at: <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/dagli-antichi-stati-all-italia-unita_%28L%27Unificazione%29/>.

[4] On December the 10th, 1855, Minister Lanza presented a draft law that reformed elementary education, introducing the principle of compulsory schooling and government control over appointment dismissal of teachers.

the upper classes.[5] The role of school had to become more and more incisive in the education of the new Italian citizen, and exactly this was the purpose of school manuals and popular publications, of which summarized biographies of illustrious Italians became an integral part. In other words, school manuals and popular publications had to provide the young generations and the adult population with an Italian conscience and identity – homeland becomes in fact a sort of civil religion, and national, expressed with the terminology proper to the texts of prayers (we can speak in fact of 'political catechisms') – but also they had to prepare for the management of a new bureaucratic apparatus, which however required a language that was not only literary but also suitable for civil society. A language reaching out to the future but not detached from the past. This, because extension of the Italian language on the national territory at the same time required the dissemination of a unitary and cohesive cultural heritage, albeit in its variety. And post-unitary school education alone had proved not to be effective for this purpose. Therefore, linguistic theme arose again: it's clear that the problem was how to find that language, with what methods, and with what principles acquire and use it.

In 1860, at the behest of the Minister of Education and on the decree of Luigi Carlo Farini (Governor of the Provinces of Emilia), Commission for Language Texts (*Commissione per i testi di lingua*) was then established to support and protect the national language, which was equivalent to supporting and protecting national unity.[6] The language of the nation was therefore the primary purpose of the Commission.

The Commission wanted, and had to, to address the educated audience, but not only specialists the way Accademia della Crusca did, with which, not surprisingly, relations were never good.[7]

Commission's targets coincided with a specific program and cultural commitment, which identified in the publication of unpublished or rare texts in language (that is in Italian), particularly the ones of fourteenth century, one of the most effective means to achieve this goal. This is because according to the Commission – and according to the Purist movement of the eighteenth century, revived at the beginning of the nineteenth, and of which we will speak soon – national linguistic heritage was based precisely on those texts written in the golden fourteenth-century Italian.

[5]   On Gabrio Francesco Casati and the consequences of his law in the young Italian Nation, see at least: Fadiga Zanatta, Anna Laura, *Il sistema scolastico italiano*, Bologna: il Mulino, 1976, *ad indicem*; Ambrosoli, Luigi, 'Casati Gabrio', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1978, Vol. 21, pp. 244-249; Boiardi, Franco, 'La riforma della scuola di Gabrio Casati', in: *Il parlamento italiano*, Milano: Nuova CEI Informatica, 1988, Vol. I, pp. 317-318; Bertoni Jovine, Dina, 'La legge Casati', in: *Problemi dell'unità d'Italia. Atti del II Convegno di studi gramsciani, tenuto a Roma nei giorni 19-21 marzo 1960*, Roma: Editori riuniti, 1962, pp. 441-447; *I problemi della pedagogia. Numero speciale dedicato al centenario delle legge Casati, 1859-1959*, Roma: Istituto di pedagogia dell'Università di Roma, 1959; Morandini, Maria Cristina, 'Da Boncompagni a Casati: la costruzione del sistema scolastico nazionale', in: *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita*, edited by Luciano Pazzaglia and Roberto Sani, Brescia: Editrice La Scuola, 2001, pp. 9-46; Morandini, Maria Cristina, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2003, pp. 231-458; Orecchia, Antonio Maria, *Gabrio Casati. Patrizio milanese, patriota italiano*, Milano: Guerini, 2007; Targhetta, Fabio, 'Uno sguardo all'Europa. Modelli scolastici, viaggi pedagogici ed importazioni didattiche nei primi cinquant'anni di scuola italian', in: *Storia comparata dell'educazione. Problemi ed esperienze tra Otto e Novecento*, edited by Mirella Chiaranda *et al.*, Milano: Franco Angeli, 2010, pp. 155-176; Gaudio, Angelo, 'La legge Casati. Una ricognizione storiografica', *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche*, 2019, Vol. 25, pp. 63-71; De Franceschi, Loretta, *Pubblicare, divulgare, leggere nell'Ottocento italiano*, foreword by Piero Innocenti, Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2013, Vol. 18: Bibliografia, Bibliologia e Biblioteconomia, pp. 225-270; Chiosso, Giorgio, *Libri di scuola e mercato editoriale: dal primo Ottocento alla Riforma Gentile*, Milano: Angeli, 2013, pp. 83-102, 112-120, 123-127; Marazzi, Elisa, *Libri per diventare italiani. L'editoria per la scuola a Milano nel secondo Ottocento*, Milano: Angeli, 2014, pp. 31-56, 215-234.

[6]   About history of *Commissione per i testi di lingua* see: Francia, Maria Elena; Melli, Elio, 'Francesco Zambrini e la Commissione per i testi di lingua', in: *Convegno di studi in onore di Francesco Zambrini nel centenario della morte*, Faenza: Litografica, 1989, pp. 33-90; Francia, Maria Elena (Discussant), *Storia della Commissione per i testi di lingua*, Degree Thesis at the University of Bologna, speaker Raffaele Spongano, session 1955-1956; *Archivio della Commissione per i testi di lingua...*; Bacchi della Lega, Alberto, *La R., Commissione per i testi di lingua e i suoi presidenti*, Bologna: Mareggiani, 1918; Zambrini, Francesco, *La Commissione per la pubblicazione de' testi di lingua de' tre primi secoli nelle R.R. provincie dell'Emilia e i suoi componenti*, Bologna: Tipografia Fava e Garagnani, 1879.

[7]   One of the main points of conflict between the Commission and the Accademia della Crusca lay in the editorial practice, that is, in the way of publishing the texts Commission adopted, favoring the need to propose a captivating and easily legible text rather than authenticity of the text itself. Relations between this two great institutions were never serene, as in: Cremante, Renzo, 'Francesco Zambrini da Faenza a Valscura', in: *Convegno di studi in onore di Francesco Zambrini nel centenario della morte*, Faenza: Litografica, 1989, pp. 9-31, 12.

In a sense, the Commission for Language Texts is therefore comparable to a modern cultural foundation, which was to have a president and a certain number of members, appointed by the president from renowned scholars. For the Governor Farini it was natural to choose his friend Francesco Zambrini as president, with whom he shared, above all, a cultural vision for the new Italian Nation, if only because they both came from Romagna and its *milieu* (*Scuola classica romagnola*; the Classical Romagna School),[8] permeated with that purism to which they adhered in different ways. This is the movement that in linguistic and literary field – moving from Basilio Puoti (1782-1847), without straying too far from the original orthodox line of Antonio Cesari (1760-1828) and his fellows Michele Colombo (1747-1838) and Dionigi Strocchi (1762-1850), intended to identify the nation with the language, albeit of the fourteenth century, the Tuscan in particular, to which the authors were therefore held on. Purism opposed, also politically, to the French language and its influences, which came to Italy to defile its linguistic traditions, and Romantic authors, for example Alessandro Manzoni.[9]

Furthermore, Zambrini was the most suitable figure to hold the role of a president, because his long studies in fourteenth-century literature made him an expert and in contact with many scholars, as evidenced by the dense network of correspondence through which, while literally staying at home – from his native Faenza he moved to Bologna in 1854 and worked almost never moving – he managed for thirty years to weave relationships and comparisons with intellectuals, antiquarians (even if he was not interested in the world of book antiques) and bibliophiles like Salvatore Bongi (1825-1899), Giacomo Manzoni (1816-1889), Alessandro D'Ancona (1835-1914), just to name a few.[10]

But who was Francesco Zambrini? He was a journalist, scholar and philologist (although, despite having some remarkable skills for the time, he did not yet possess a proper editorial technique), a bibliographer, but not a collector, an avid scholar of ancient vernacular texts.[11] Catholic and conservative liberal, he was culturally formed in the context of the so-called Romagna Classical School. As its main distinctive features,[12] Romagna Classical School had an aversion to the linguistic theories of Alessandro Manzoni (but on the so-called 'Question of language' we will return), to which it acted as a counterpoint in the support of the linguistic purism (as said), the cult of Dante and, more generally, the cult of fourteenth-century writers. Zambrini never separated literary commitment from the political one. In fact,

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[8] On the so-called *Classical Romagna School* and its distinctive features (particularly, anti-romanticism and solid historical-philological preparation based on the classics) see with related bibliography: Montevecchi, Alessandro, 'La Romagna e gli studi sulla scuola classica romagnola', in: *Scuola classica romagnola. Atti del Convegno di studi. Faenza 30 novembre, 1-2 dicembre 1984*, Modena: Mucchi, 1988, pp. 325-340; Palmieri, Pantaleo, 'Giacomo Manzoni e la scuola classica romagnola', in: *Giacomo Manzoni studi, passioni e vita pubblica di un lughese nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, edited by Antonio Pirazzini, Faenza: Edit Faenza, 1999, pp. 332-333.

[9] About Italian Purist movement, its characteristics and developmente, see: Zaccaria, Maria Chiara, 'Purismo', in: *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, edited by Vittore Branca, Armando Balduino, Manlio Pastore Stocchi, Marco Pecoraro, Torino: UTET, 1986, Vol. 3, pp. 565-570; Dionisotti, Carlo, 'Scuola storica', in: *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, edited by Vittore Branca, Torino: UTET, 1986, Vol. IV, pp. 139-148, 141-142; Timpanaro, Sebastiano, 'Cesari, Antonio', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1980, Vol. 24, pp. 151-158; Covino, Sandra, 'Puoti, Basilio', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2016, Vol. 85, pp. 691-694; Colombo, Angelo, 'Strocchi, Dionigi', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2019, Vol. 94, pp. 364-367. On the puristic and archaic language of Zambrini, out of his own historical time, see the sarcastic words written by: Contini, Gianfranco, *Altri esercizi: 1942-1971*, Torino: Einaudi, 1972, pp. 25-29.

[10] On the personal correspondence of Zambrini/addressed to Zambrini, included the ones with Bongi and Manzoni, see *Archivio della Commissione per i testi di lingua in Bologna*, pp. 163-175, 315-318. On Alessandro D'Ancona see: Strappini, Lucia, 'D'Ancona, Alessandro', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1986, Vol. 32, pp. 388-393. On the personal correspondence of Alessandro D'Ancona – that is, his enourmous archive, essential to understand the developments of an era that was building the new historical-philological science – see: *Carteggio D'Ancona*, Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1972-2003, 13 Vols.; Dionisotti, Carlo, 'Appunti sul carteggio D'Ancona', in: Dionisotti, Carlo, *Ricordi della scuola italiana*, Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1998, Storia e Letteratura 200, pp. 321-368.

[11] *Le Opere volgari a stampa dei secoli XIV e XV* (issued in four editions between 1857 and 1884) are the repertoire/catalogue in which Zambrini demonstrates his wide bibliographic expertise. They arise from the somewhat *sui generis* use of some bibliographic tools. Designed to help scholars and lovers of medieval literature, *Le Opere volgari a stampa dei secoli XIV e XV* contain works composed in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, or commented by authors of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and printed starting from the fifteenth century. Often many of those works were rediscovered, printed or made-to-print thanks to Zambrini himself.

[12] See footnote 9.

he held public, administrative, philanthropic and cultural positions in his hometown, which refined his managerial and organizational skills. And he always interpreted his work as an all-encompassing mission and commitment.

It is therefore clear, that entrusting the presidency of the Commission to someone like him implied a choice of field, methodological and ideological, in harmony with the orientation of the Ministry of Education and, above all, with Farini's intentions. For his part, despite his own retrograde positions (as we shall see), President Zambrini was aware that language in that particular historical-political period really contributed to constituting a large part of the civil and national heritage of the Italians. He was also aware that the task of the Commission for Language Texts – in support of school strategy, not enough by itself – was also to re-evaluate the linguistic heritage through retrieval and dissemination of the works of fourteenth-century authors, reduced as much as possible to the authentic lesson.

To carry out this project, in 1861, the same year in which Italy was officially born, albeit with some bureaucratic difficulties, Zambrini created the 'Collection of unpublished or rare works of the first centuries of the language' (*Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi secoli della lingua*) within the Commission for Language Texts.[13] His idea was to create a series (the Collection is a series made up of issues, published still today, for a total of almost 200 released titles), which would include writings in Italian prose such as novels and chivalric poems, (for example Pio Rajna's research on the *Reali di Francia*, the first volume of the famous novel by a fourteenth-century minstrel Andrea da Barberino, on which Rajna's results are largely definitive),[14] vulgarisations (the most famous is the one of the Bible in 10 volumes by Carlo Negroni, based on the so-called 'October-Bible'),[15] chronicles, statutes, short stories, legends, biographical and sacred tales, ascetic and moral treatises. Series also included Dante's *Comedy*, which unfortunately was commented with not yet adequate philological means. There were also many unknown literary treasures, such as the one inaugurating the Collection.[16]

In short, a real institutional archive was settling down, which was also a monument to the nascent Italian philology, consisting of rare documents kept in archives, public and private libraries, inaccessible before national unity (for instance, the Vatican Library). The members of the Commission in fact frequented libraries assiduously and, above all, consulted manuscripts drawing copies, the precisely hub of all their work.[17] The Collection was an archive giving account of the accumulation of knowledge in the new nation, wanted by an institution (the Ministry of Education of the new-born Italy) and organized, philologically and ideologically, by Zambrini on Italian fourteenth-century selected texts, even non-literary ones, because it was also necessary to refer to the civil society, not only to the literary one.

Criteria, adopted by Zambrini, to set up his archive are provided by himself in the preface of the Collection's first issue, published in the same year 1861 and addressed, not by chance, to the Governor Luigi

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[13] On the *Collection of unpublished or rare works of the first centuries of the language*, today still alive, see particularly: Bentivogli, Bruno, 'Francesco Zambrini e la Collezione di opere inedite o rare', in: *Convegno di studi in onore di Francesco Zambrini*, Faenza: Litografica, 1989, pp. 91-101. Here is possible to find all the available bibliography on this subject.

[14] Rajna, Pio, *Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia, seguite dal libro delle storie di Fioravante e dal cantare di Bovo D'Antona*, Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1872; Marco Boni, 'Poemi e romanzi cavallereschi editi sotto la presidenza di Francesco Zambrini', in: *Convegno di studi in onore di Francesco Zambrini nel centenario della morte*, Faenza: Litographica, pp. 141-171, 150-158. On chivalric novels in general see: Dionisotti, Carlo, 'Appunti su cantari e romanzi', in: *Boiardo e altri studi cavallereschi*, Novara: Interlinea, 2003, pp. 163-191; Villoresi, Marco, *La fabbrica dei cavalieri. Cantari, poemi, romanzi in prosa fra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Roma: Salerno, 2005; *Carlo Magno in Italia e la fortuna dei libri di cavalleria*, edited by Johannes Bartuschat, Franca Strologo, Ravenna: Longo editore, 2016, Memoria del tempo, 51.

[15] *Biblia* [in Italian], [Venice: Adam de Ammergau], 1 October 1471 [accessed March 2022]. Access at: <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ib00639000>; Barbieri, Edoardo, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento. Storia e bibliografia ragionata delle edizioni in lingua italiana dal 1471 al 1600*, Milano: Editrice bibliografica, 1993, Vol. 2, No. 192-4. On Negroni's edition – *La Bibbia volgare secondo la rara edizione del I di ottobre 1471*, edited by Carlo Negroni, Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1882-1887, 10 Vol. (Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua, 57-66) – see: Barbieri, Edoardo, 'La fortuna della 'Biblia vulgarizata' di Nicolò Malerbi', *Aevum*, 1989, Vol. 63, No. 31, pp. 419-500; Barbieri, Eldorado, *Le Bibbie italiane...*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-13; Francia, Maria Elena; Melli, Elio, 'Francesco Zambrini e la Commissione per i Testi di Lingua', pp. 81-82.

[16] *Miscellanea di opuscoli inediti o rari dei secoli XIV e XV. Prose,* Vol. 1, Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice, 1861.

[17] Zambrini, Francesco, *Memorie...*, p. 29.

Carlo Farini.[18] In addition to the typology of contained texts, listed above, Zambrini poses in a more modern way, even if with the philological solutions not yet completely correct, the problem of how to publish those ancient texts and what skills do they serve. It is an important awareness: those texts must in fact be reliable, because they represent the linguistic heritage of the nation. Obviously, in the preface he also addresses the theme of language, explaining why he chooses the Italian of the fourteenth century – as a convinced purist, Zambrini deems necessary to refer to the original, that is, to the Italian of the 1300s: if we have Raphael and Michelangelo at our disposal, he wonders, why use imitations? With this purist linguistic choice, Zambrini's institutional archive inevitably crosses the centuries-old debate, which goes by the name of the 'Question of the language',[19] posing, however, in an anachronistic way with respect to it, which after national unity was in a truly crucial phase. It was out of time to think of supporting linguistic unity of the Nation by publishing, for instance, devoted texts in clumsy Italian from the 1300s!

Moreover, it was no longer just a linguistic problem – that is identifying a common language suitable for the whole nation – but of a debate shifted to a social and civil *côté*, because the spread of the national language now also involved schools and educational systems (that means the civil society) of the new State. It was now necessary to find a model to form a national language to be disseminated through the educational systems of the new State, as clearly shows the strategy put in place by the Ministry of Education. Zambrini's simplistic and obstinately fourteenth-century proposal, in some ways almost in conscious opposition to his own historical time, condemns him on the side-lines of the meaning debate, based mainly on the linguistic theories of Alessandro Manzoni (adopting the cultured but living Florentine as the language of *koiné*, that is spoken by contemporaries)[20] and on those, totally opposite, of the linguist Graziadio Isaia Ascoli (1829-1907; the unity of the Italian language is a utopia; rather, the language of the nation is the result of a series of social and changes phenomena gradually occurring in language conditions of the country).[21] Zambrini had carried out his function as creator and systematiser of the institutional archive of the nation, but providing some contribution to the question of language was beyond his means, and beyond his interests. Zambrini's 'solution' to the question of language was to crystallize the development of Italian language to the forms of the golden fourteenth century, as he believed the formal purity of the vernacular in its first statements, that is before the arrangement given by Pietro Bembo,[22] was findable only there. He was a staunch purist!

The Ministry project lacked material realization: the Collection did not have its own publisher and it was necessary to bring its issues into readers' hands, of course. After release of the first issues, printed in Turin by Giuseppe Pomba, starting from 1863 publications were taken over by Gaetano Romagnoli (1812-1884) and moved to Bologna, at the time the second-rate position in the Italian publishing scene. In Bologna Romagnoli was not just any bookseller. His library was a meeting and reference point for writers, collectors and bibliophiles, also because Romagnoli traded in ancient books and therefore knew the market, including the European one: for example, he was in contact with Bernard Quaritch

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[18] *Miscellanea di opuscoli inediti o rari...*, pp. 7-21.

[19] On the debate about the 'Question of language' see at least De Mauro, Tullio, in: *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita*, Bari: Laterza, 1965, pp. 9, 11 still indispensable to frame – historically and linguistically – the whole question; Dionisotti, Carlo, 'Per una storia della lingua italiana', in: *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, Torino: Einaudi, 1970, pp. 89-124; Dionisotti, Carlo, 'La lingua dell'Unità', in: *Ricordi della scuola italiana*, pp. 291-319. More recently: Tomasin, Lorenzo, 'Carducci, Ascoli e la questione della lingua', *La lingua italiana. Storia, strutture e testi*, 2009, Vol. 5, pp. 82-83.

[20] Manzoni, Alessandro, 'Dell'unità della lingua e dei mezzi di diffonderla', in: Manzoni, Alessandro, *Opere*, edited by Lanfranco Caretti, Milano: Mursia, 1985, pp. 1305-1320. Dionisotti, Carlo, 'La lingua dell'Unità', pp. 292-293.

[21] Ascoli, Graziadio Isaia, *Il proemio all'«Archivio glottologico italiano» e una lettera su lo stile*, foreword by Francesco D'Ovidio, Città di Castello: Lapi, 1914; Dionisotti, Carlo, 'Appunti su Ascoli', in: *Ricordi della scuola italiana*, pp. 277-290; Dionisotti, Carlo, 'Scuola storica', in: *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, pp. 142-144; Ascoli, Graziadio Isaia, *Scritti sulla questione della lingua*, edited by Corrado Grassi, with an essay by Guido Lucchini, Torino: Einaudi, 2008; Ascoli, Graziadio Isaia, 'Proemio all'«Archivio glottologico italiano» (1873) letto da Lorenzo Tomasin', in: *Leggere l'Unità d'Italia*, edited by Alessandro Casellato, Simon Levis Sullam, Venezia: Edizioni Cà Foscari, 2011, pp. 15-17; Tomasin, Lorenzo, 'Carducci, Ascoli e la questione della lingua', pp. 82-83.

[22] Bembo, Pietro, *Prose della volgar lingua*, edited by Mario Marti, Padova: Liviana, 1967; Patota, Giuseppe, *La quarta corona. Pietro Bembo e la codificazione dell'italiano scritto*, Bologna: Il mulino, 2017.

(1819-1899) in London.[23] He placed himself at the service both of the strategy of the Ministry and of Zambrini, by putting his own capital to have the issues printed. In this way he made his professional leap: from bookseller he became a publisher – thus intervening in the planning of the work of the Commission – and he used his skills and customers' network to distribute the product. His bookshop in Bologna thus became a cultural reference also for Commission's members, obviously including President Zambrini, with whom he had a close collaboration and friendship, despite frequent quarrels.

But in concrete terms, how did Gaetano Romagnoli set up the preparation of the Collection's files? Choice of texts to be published and proofs correction were up to the authors (Commission's partners) with the obvious supervision of Zambrini. Authors who did not live in Bologna managed proofs correction by correspondence. Aided by Zambrini, Romagnoli was the intermediary between external printers – who actually printed the issues – and authors. Furthermore, it can be said that Romagnoli, thanks to his entrepreneurial flair and his culture (he published in fact his own sales catalogues, sometimes helped by the bibliographic skills of scholars frequenting the bookshop), was an example of a self-made-man, framed in national policy of enhancing the spirit of initiative of the Italians, so useful in that historical phase, to build a new and more modern image of the country.

To close: was the response from the Ministry of Education effective in supporting and protecting national language? In other words, did the Commission for Language Texts, the 'Collection of unpublished or rare works of the first centuries of the language' and especially Francesco Zambrini hit the ministerial objective? Yes and no.

Commission's cultural vision absolutely coincided with that of the Ministry, and purposes for which it was created – finding, studying and disseminating the founder works of Italian literary civilization – were largely achieved through the Collection. It is equally true that Zambrini built a systematized institutional archive, gathering, publishing and making known, often for the first time, the linguistic heritage of the nation (this is the case, for example, of chivalric novels). However, we saw how the language of those texts could not be the language the new nation needed, being closer, instead, to the innovative theory of Graziadio Isaia Ascoli. From this point of view, Zambrini's idea was totally unsuccessful. Furthermore, the Ministry's chronic difficulties in financing, and only few readers of the Collection's issues, limited the full success of the project.[24]

On the other hand, the impact on the renewal of the Italian philology of the nineteenth century, and on its future destiny, was more positive. Leaving aside this last theme, not relevant here, it must be said that Zambrini posed a concrete problem of what a text was and how it should be published, as we have seen in the aforementioned preface to the Collection's first issue. He contributed to a more conscious approach to publishing technique (that is, towards *restitutio textus*), by sensing and experiencing that collateral skills (bibliography, history, literature, and palaeography) were also essential in publishing those texts:[25]

> It is therefore up to the publisher's practice, foresight and common sense to know how to adopt – with the collation of various codes if ipossible, with the good and temperate criticism, and with the comparison of the Latin text when our work is translated from this language – what is worthy, and to reject what is not suitable for our purpose; not however letting himself be carried too much away by the acuteness of his own

[23] On Gaetano Romagnoli, see with related bibliography: Kasal, Ivan, *Gaetano Romagnoli libraio e editore a Bologna (1812-1884)*, Doctoral Thesis at University of Bologna, 2002-2003; Francia, Maria Elena; Melli, Elio, 'Francesco Zambrini e la Commissione...', pp. 46, 50-51; Alaimo, Aurelio, 'Le tipografie a Bologna nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento e il caso della Compositori', in: *Editoria e Università a Bologna tra Ottocento e Novecento. Atti del V Convegno, Bologna 26-27 gennaio 1990*, edited by Aldo Berselli, Bologna: Istituto per la storia, 1991, pp. 21-60.

[24] Francia, Maria Elena; Melli, Elio, 'Francesco Zambrini e la Commissione...', pp. 59-60, 75-89.

[25] 'Spetta pertanto alla pratica, all'avvedutezza e al buon senso dell'editore sapere adottare (col raffronto di varii codici, se è possibile, non omessa la sana e temperata critica, e col ragguaglio del testo latino, quando sia l'opera, su cui s'imprende a far lavori, da questa lingua tradotta) ciò che è degno, e rigettare quello che non fa all'uopo nostro; non di soverchio però lasciandosi trascinare dall'acutezza del proprio ingegno, né dalla sottile argomentazione, siccome già in simili casi intervenne ai celebri letterati [...] i quali emendando testi antichi colla scorta della critica talvolta, ce gli offrirono non quali dovevano essere, ma conforme pareva loro dovessero essere', *Miscellanea di opuscoli inediti o rari*, pp. 7-21.

ingenuity, nor by the subtle argumentation, as in similar cases happened to some famous writers [...] who, by amending ancient texts with the support of criticism, sometimes offered us not what they had to be, but it seemed to them that they should be.

Unfortunately he was not able to bring to full maturity his philological reflection, and therefore ended up publishing a lot, but approximately. For instance, filling *cruces* in the best possible way,[26] doesn't matter if completely correct/proper or not, in order to propose a captivating and, above all, readable text – he was more interested in a well-read reader than a specialist one.

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[26] Latin term *crux* indicates in the ecdotic practice a missing portion of the text due to a lacuna in the text itself, caused by an insufficient number of sources passing it on, so that a *restitutio textus* is not possible.

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Heraldic Signs of the Nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Century Book Graphics

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Abstract. The first coats of arms appeared in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) in the late fourteenth-fifteenth century. The heraldry of the nobility consisted of several groups: old Lithuanian signs, Polish coats of arms, and coats of arms brought from other European countries. The coat of arms, as a hereditary and distinctive sign, accompanied the nobleman from the cradle to the grave. The article focuses on the books of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, which depict the heraldic signs of the nobility of the GDL. The aim of the article is to discuss the heraldic signs of the GDL depicted in the seventeenth-eighteenth century book graphics, the essential aspects of their composition and depiction, and the links with the rules and traditions of heraldry on the basis of unpublished and published sources. The research presented in the article uses literature and source analysis, and comparative methods. The research presents a coherent analysis of heraldic sources and the information contained in the coats of arms. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the books of the GDL were another niche in which the nobility could be represented through coats of arms. The coats of arms of the nobility were depicted in literature in two cases. In the first case, usually in commemorative literature, the coat of arms as an illustration symbolised the person to whom the publication was dedicated. In this way the main function of a coat of arms or armorial figure was preserved: to distinguish the person, to emphasise their social or political status, to mark their descent or marriage ties, etc. In such books, coats of arms and armorial figures were depicted in a variety of ways: some modestly and in accordance with the rules of heraldry, others essentially in accordance with the rules of heraldry and with elements of artistic decoration, and still others incorporated into and even obscured by some artistic plot. In the second case, a coat of arms denoted the book's belonging to a particular family or its member. In this case, the function of the coat of arms was different: it became first a sign of ownership and then a symbol of the owner's exclusive, privileged descent. In fact, the depiction of coats of arms varies from rather modest representations to highly elaborate, ornate compositions. Compared to the heraldic sources such as armorial seals, coats of arms depicted in books are often more ornate, the shapes of the escutcheon are more elaborate, and there is a greater number and variety of decorative elements. The old books depict both single and combined coats of arms: both coats of arms based on an escutcheon and a figure, and individual armorial figures without escutcheons. The coats of arms of the Bilevičius, Valavičius, Pacas, Tiškevičius and other families presented in the article reflected various aspects of personal and social life: the owner's descent, marriage and kinship ties, positions, titles, etc.

Keywords: heraldry, coat of arms, nobility, book, Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Introduction

The first coats of arms appeared in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) in the late fourteenth-early fifteenth century. It is known that the heraldry of the nobility consisted of several groups: the old Lithuanian signs, the Polish coats of arms, and coats of arms brought from other European countries. The coat of arms, a hereditary and distinctive sign, accompanied a nobleman of the GDL from the cradle to the

grave. The coat of arms reflected the owner's descent, marriage ties, social and political status, positions, titles, etc. Coats of arms were depicted on seals, stamps, book graphics, portraits, architectural interiors and exteriors, various objects, etc. It has been noted that the ways in which coats of arms have been depicted have varied. For example, in stamps and seals the depiction of coats of arms is stricter, the rules of heraldry are more rigorously observed, and there is almost no freedom for the creator. In book graphics and portraits, however, there is a looser approach to the rules of heraldry, and the coats of arms are more like works of art, with a greater variety of decorative elements, a softening of the lines, etc. For this reason, such heraldic signs should be viewed with the utmost criticism. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe how the heraldry of individuals in book graphics is changing, for example, the role of the coat of arms itself, the depiction of the escutcheon, heraldic figures and other components. It is important to note what other attributes complement the coat of arms and what their function is. However, books, or rather commemorative literature, were another niche in the GDL, where even the changing, art-like coat of arms of the nobleman was an important part of representation.

The article focuses on the books of the seventeenth-eighteenth century, which depict the heraldic signs of the nobility of the GDL. The aim of the article is to discuss the heraldic signs of the GDL depicted in the seventeenth-eighteenth century book graphics, the essential aspects of their composition and depiction, and the links with the rules and traditions of heraldry, on the basis of unpublished and published sources. The article presents the most representative sources of the topic, discusses the material found in old coats of arms and, if necessary, other heraldic sources found. It should be noted that the article presents both coats of arms based on an escutcheon and a figure, and individual armorial figures without escutcheons. The article uses the literature and source analysis and comparative methods.

In Lithuanian historiography, research on heraldry and sphragistics of the nobility of the GDL has been in the background for a long time, giving way to research on heraldry and sphragistics of cities. In the last decade, the situation has been gradually changing for the better.[1] Several researchers, who have been studying in various aspects the depiction of coats of arms in books and old prints from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, can be identified. Edmundas Rimša was perhaps the first historian in Lithuanian historiography to examine coats of arms depicted in literature as sources of heraldic research. In his works, while discussing the sources of heraldry of the nobility of the GDL, studying the traditions and principles of the creation of coats of arms, the researcher also examined some coats of arms depicted in the commemorative literature of the GDL.[2] Agnė Railaitė-Bardė studied the genealogical self-consciousness of the nobility of the GDL and its reflections in heraldry mainly through two types of sources: armorial seals and coats of arms depicted in commemorative literature. She also looked at the trends in the decoration of some of the coats of arms of the nobility of the GDL in the sixteenth-eighteenth century, and highlighted how the elements of decoration were able to highlight aspects of the genealogical self-consciousness of the nobility. The author of this article examines the heraldry of the nobility of the GDL and its traditions, and analyses not only armorial seals, coats of arms depicted in art or architecture,

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[1]   Several works worth noting: Railaitė-Bardė, Agnė, 'Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kilmingųjų genealoginės savimonės XVI–XVIII a. legendinis ir sakralinis aspektai', in: *Ministri historiae. Pagalbiniai istorijos mokslai LDK tyrimuose*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2013, pp. 379-403. Railaitė-Bardė, Agnė, 'Oginskių genealoginės savimonės atspindžiai XVII–XVIII a. proginiuose leidiniuose', in: *Kunigaikščiai Oginskiai Lietuvos istorijoje: kultūrinės veiklos pėdsakais*, edited by Ramunė Šmigelsky-tė-Stukienė, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2015, pp. 35-57. Railaitė-Bardė, Agnė, 'Klėjos, Mnemosinės ir Atėnės dirbtuvių baruose: Ką atskleidžia Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kilmingųjų genealoginiai medžiai ir schemos?', in: *Dailės kūrinys – istorijos šaltinis*, edited by Skirmantė Smilingytė-Žeimienė, Vilnius: Lietuvos kultūros tyrimų institutas, 2016, pp. 77-101. Railaitė-Bardė, Agnė, *Origo et arma. Kilmė ir herbas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVI–XVIII amžiuje*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2022. Jasiūnienė, Gabrielė, 'Žemaitijos bajorų Bilevičių heraldika XVI–XVII a.', *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 2016/1, pp. 5-20. Jasiūnienė, Gabrielė, 'Genealoginiai ryšiai Žemaitijos bajorų heraldikos šaltiniuose XVI a. antroje pusėje–XVIII a.', *Bibliotheca Lituana*, 2019, No. 6, pp. 148-166. Jasiūnienė, Gabrielė, 'Bajorų Gruževskių heraldika ir jos aktualizavimas Kelmės krašto muziejuje', *Lituanistica*, 2021, Vol. 67, No. 2 (124), pp. 100-111.

[2]   Rimša, Edmundas, *Heraldika. Iš praeities į dabartį*, Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2004, pp. 38, 51, 53, 137.

but also coats of arms and armorial figures depicted in old books.[3] Thus, the tradition of not limiting the analysis to seals alone, but including as wide a range of sources as possible, is being developed in the research of Lithuanian heraldic historians. It should be emphasised that Jolita Liškevičienė, an art expert, has been the most consistent researcher in Lithuanian historiography to date on the images of coats of arms and heraldic figures printed in old books, their composition, and the elements of decoration. The work of this researcher is relevant not only in the sense of art history, but also in the sense of publication of sources. Liškevičienė has selected, systematised and published a considerable number of coats of arms depicted in old Lithuanian printed materials.[4] Literary researcher Eglė Patiejūnienė analysed the armorial poems printed alongside coats of arms in old books.[5] The work of these researchers greatly enriches the research of historians studying heraldry.

Heraldic representation of nobility in the old books of the GDL

Jolita Liškevičienė pointed out that coats of arms are one of the most frequent graphic elements in the book illustrations in the GDL.[6] Both trends, mentioned in the historiography and the research sources show that coats of arms or armorial figures could be represented in the books of the sixteenth-eighteenth century in the GDL in two cases. In the first case, a coat of arms or an armorial figure could indicate the belonging of a book as an object to a particular person or family. In this case, the function of the coat of arms was different: it became first a sign of ownership and then a symbol of the owner's exclusive, privileged descent. For example, a book from 1586 belonging to Jonas Šemeta, an elder of Batakiai, which bears the Šemeta family coat-of-arms on its cover.[7] The escutcheon depicts a swan looking to the heraldic left side. Above the shield of arms are the initials of the owner 'IS' – Jonas Šemeta. The cover of Stanisław Sarnicki's book of 1587 is embossed with an oval, which has a sign resembling the coat of arms of the Samogitian nobleman Jeronimas Valavičius (Pol. Jeronim Wołłowicz), framed in a decorative element: a double arrow with a cross at the middle. Above the decorative element are the initials of the owner 'IW' – Jeronimas Valavičius[8] (**Fig. 1**). Interestingly, Šiauliai Cathedral of the Sts Apostles Peter and Paul[9] and the Church of the Discovery of the Holy Cross in Šeduva,[10] both built in the early seventeenth century, have the combined arms of Jeronimas Valavičius above the entrances to the sacristies with double arrows and no crosses in the first fields. Information about the Valavičius coat of arms can also be found in the armorials. Albertas Kojalavičius-Vijūkas (Pol. Wojciech Wijuk Kojałowicz) mentions that the Valavičius were an old and famous Lithuanian family. According to the author, the Valavičius had the *Bogoria* coat

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[3]   For example, Jasiūnienė, Gabrielė, 'Herbas kilmingos XVII–XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės moters gyvenime – svarbi identiteto dalis?', in: *XVIII amžiaus studijos,* edited by Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2021, Vol. 7, submitted to press. Jasiūnienė, Gabrielė, 'Pacų heraldikos tradicija ir giminės didybės atspindžiai XVII a. antrojoje pusėje', *Kauno istorijos metraštis*, 2022, submitted to press.

[4]   Liškevičienė, Jolita, *XVI–XVIII amžiaus knygų grafika: Herbai senuosiuose Lietuvos spaudiniuose*, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1998. Liškevičienė, Jolita, *Mundus emblematum: XVII a. Vilniaus spaudinių iliustracijos*, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2005.

[5]   Patiejūnienė, Eglė, *Brevitas Ornata: Mažosios Lietuvos formos XVI–XVII amžiaus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės spaudiniuose*, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 1998.

[6]   Liškevičienė, Jolita, *XVI–XVIII amžiaus…*, p. 9.

[7]   Coat of arms of Jonas Šemeta: *Sacrosancti et Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini, Paulo III. Iulio III. et Pio III. Pontif. Maximis celebrati, canones et decreta…*, Antverpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1586 (Vilnius University Library Rare Books Devision (hereinafter – VUL RBD, III P 326).

[8]   Coat of arms of Jeronimas Valavičius: Sarnicki, Stanisław, *Annales sive De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum et Lituanorum libri octi,* [Kraków]: [Aleksy Rodecki], 1587 (VUL RBD, II 2369).

[9]   Early seventeenth century combined coat of arms of Jeronimas Valavičius, an elder of Samogitia, in the Cathedral of Sts Apostles Peter and Paul in Šiauliai.

[10] Early seventeenth century combined coat of arms of Jeronimas Valavičius, an elder of Samogitia, in the Church of the Discovery of the Holy Cross in Šeduva.

of arms.[11] Kasper Niesiecki pointed out that this coat of arms depicts two arrowheads of white/silver arrows connected at the ends in a red field. The helmet decoration of the coat of arms features a peacock with a broken arrow in its beak.[12] It should be noted that the coat of arms of *Bogoria* came to the GDL with Stanislovas Visiginas through the Treaty of Horodło in 1413.[13] All this indicates that the coat of arms on the cover of the book in question is possibly depicted incorrectly: the two-headed arrow is crossed in the middle. It remains unclear for what reasons this detail, not used in the Valavičius heraldic tradition, appeared on the coat of arms, but it may have been a simple mistake by the craftsman. Another example is the book that belonged to Kazimieras Leonas Sapiega (Pol. Kazimierz Leon Sapieha) (**Fig. 2**). The escutcheon on the cover depicts the Sapiega coat of arms – a fox (Pol. *Lis*) and the arrow has two crossings at the middle.[14] Around the escutcheon of the coat of arms, there are blurred initials of the owner and the first letters of the positions he held. Kojalavičius-Vijūkas emphasized that the Sapiega family had a fox coat of arms.[15] Niesiecki pointed out that the fox coat of arms depicts a white/silver arrow connected with two crossings at the middle. The helmet depicts half of a fox.[16] It should be noted that the fox coat of arms came to the GDL with the family of the Trakai castellan Sungaila through the Treaty of Horodło in 1413.[17]

Fig. 1. Coat of arms of Jeronimas Valavičius in Stanisław Sarnicki's publication *Annales sive de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum et Lituanorum, libri octi...,* Kraków, 1587
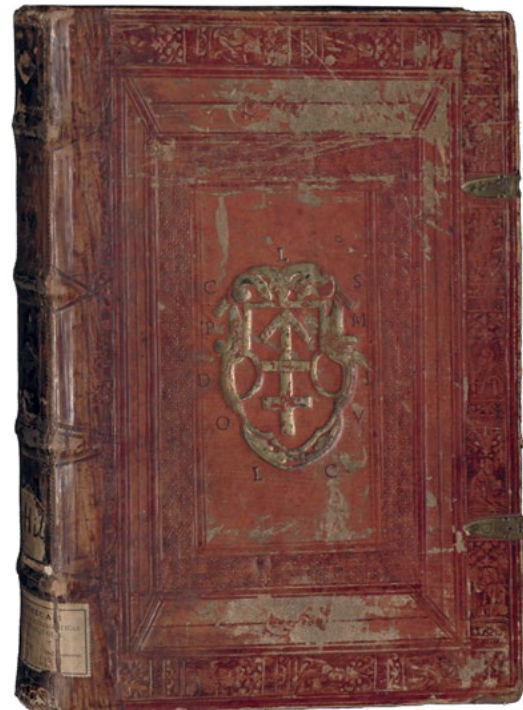
Fig. 2. Coat of arms of Kazimieras Leonas Sapiega in the publication of Hilary of Poitiers *Opera nostro fere seculo literatorum…,* Paris, 1652

11   Kojalavičius-Vijūkas, Albertas, *Šventasis Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos bei jai priklausančių provincijų giminių ir herbų vardynas = Sacer nomenclator familiarum et stemmatum Magni Ducatus Lituaniae et provinciarum ad eum pertinentium*, edited by Sigitas Narbutas, Vilnius: Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, 2015, p. 672.

12   Niesiecki, Kasper, *Herbarz polski*, edited by Jan Nep. Bobrowicz, Lipsk: Breitkopf et Haertel, 1839, Vol. 2, p. 194.

13   2 October 1412 Act of the Nobility of the Kingdom of Poland (translated by Darius Antanavičius). More in: *1413 m. Horodlės aktai (dokumentai ir tyrinėjimai) = Akty Horodelskie z 1413 roku (dokumentz i studia)*, edited by Jūratė Kiaupienė, Lidia Korczak, Vilnius, Kraków: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2013, pp. 25-27.

14   Coat of arms of Kazimieras Leonas Sapiega: Hilary of Potiers, *Sancti Hilarii Pictavorum episcopi quotquot extant opera nostro fere seculo literatorum quorundam non mediocri labore conquisita et a cencuris nonnullorum affectorum, ad sensum verae pietatis restituta…*, Parisiis: Impensis Societatis Typographicæ Librorum Officij Ecclesiastici, 1652 (VUL RBD, BAV 15.1.7p).

15   Kojalavičius-Vijūkas, Albertas, *Šventasis Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos…*, p. 557.

16   Niesiecki, Kasper, *Herbarz polski*, edited by Jan Nep. Bobrowicz, Lipsk: Breitkopf et Haertel, 1841, Vol. 6, pp. 124-125.

17   *1413 m. Horodlės aktai…*, pp. 25-27.

In the second case, the coat of arms or armorial figure was most often used in commemorative litera-ture as an illustration to represent a person or persons. In this way, the main function of the coat of arms or armorial figure was preserved: to distinguish the person, to emphasise their social or political status, to mark their descent or marriage ties, etc. Liškevičienė pointed out that coats of arms in books of that time usually indicated the person who had been responsible for the publication, and much less often the author of the book. In order to show their gratitude, publishers printed a coat of arms or a coat of arms composition on the back of the title page, the most honourable place in the book. Often, this illustration was accompanied by one or more armorial poems. With regard to the representation of the coat of arms in armorial compositions, the researcher proposed to divide them into several groups: traditional images of coats of arms, coat of arms compositions, armorial figures in illustrations, armorial symbols in em-blems, and coats of arms as references. In this way, it is possible to see the meaning, methods and tradi-tions of coat of arms composition. It should be stressed that the appearance of a book without a coat of arms or an armorial figure was virtually unimaginable.[18] This can also be attributed to the fact that book publishing was expensive, so at least through the display of a coat of arms, an effort was made to thank the sponsor. Publications were also issued to commemorate weddings, funerals, scientific achievements and other occasions. The books featured both single and combined coats of arms, depending on the oc-casion and the person to whom the publication was dedicated. The most common depictions of coats of arms consisted of at least an escutcheon with a figure, but there were occasions when only an armorial figure was depicted. The methods of representation also vary, ranging from simple, modest depictions of coats of arms or armorial figures in book graphics to quite complex compositions. In such compositions, coats of arms and armorial figures are decorated in a highly ornate manner and resemble the works of art.

In analysing this topic, it is appropriate to present a few representative examples that can be seen in the books of late sixteenth to eighteenth century. A 1596 publication for the funeral of Mikalojus Šimanovskis (Pol. Michał Szymanowski), a student of the Vilnius Academy,[19] depicts his rather modest coat of arms of *Jezierza*,[20] which resembles a mature Renaissance escutcheon and shows a blackbird perched on a cross and holding a ring in its beak. Above the shield of arms is a latticed helmet and crown. The helmet is adorned with three ostrich feathers. The coat of arms is flanked by a shroud of acanthus leaves (**Fig. 3**). It should be noted that this publication has chosen a rather traditional way of depicting the coat of arms without elaborate decorative elements. Perhaps this depiction was influenced by a sad occasion, perhaps it was the choice of the bookbinder, or perhaps the coat of arms reflected the person-ality and descent of the deceased.

The analysis of the sources has led to examples where, compared to seals or other heraldic sources, the commemorative literature depicts the components of the coat of arms in a more ornate, decorative way. It is possible that such components are not always accurately depicted, but in illustrations of this kind there is no additional plot to the coat of arms. Let us note a few cases. The 1685 publication[21] depicts the coat of arms of Petras Mykolas Pacas (Pol. Piotr Michał Pac), with the Pacas family's double lily in a decorated cartouche. The escutcheon is surmounted by a latticed helmet and a crown, while the hel-met decoration is only a double lily. The coat of arms is flanked on the sides by an acanthus leaf shroud, swords, spears, flags, staffs, a cannon with projectiles and a barrel. It also shows the letters: P. M. P. C. G. D. S. – *Petrus Michael Pac Capitaneo Generali Ducatus Samogitiæ* (Peter Michael Pac, elder of Samogitia) (**Fig. 4**). The Pac family is considered to be one of the most established families of the GDL in the second

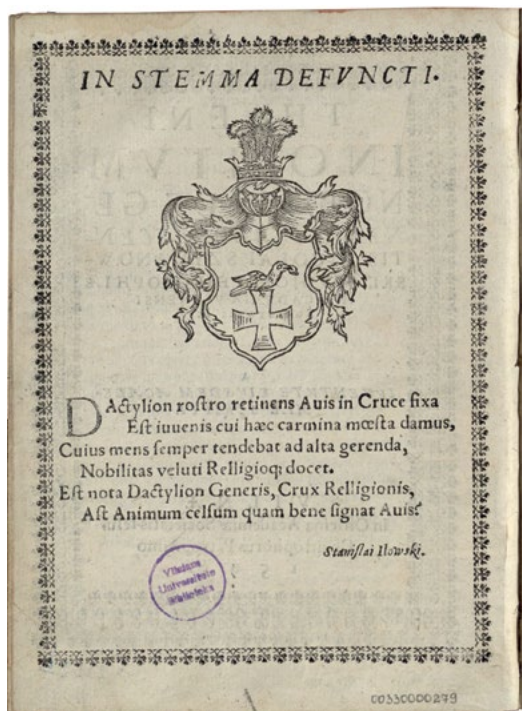[18]   Liškevičienė, Jolita, *XVI–XVIII amžiaus…*, pp. 8-10.

[19]   Coat of arms of Mikalojus Šimanovskis: *Threni in obitum nobilis et generosi adolescentis Nicolai Szymanowski, studiosi philosophiae in academia Vilnensi Societatis Iesu*, Vilnae: Officina Academiae Societatis Iesu, Christophorus Patro, 1596 (VUL RBD, II 2232/7).

[20]   Albertas Kojalavičius-Vijūkas pointed out that Mikalojus Šimanovskis had the coat of arms *Jezierza* and died in 1596 while studying in Vilnius (Kojalavičius-Vijūkas, Albertas, *Šventasis Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos…*, p. 626).

[21]   Coat of arms of Petras Mykolas Pacas: Męgolin, Karol Michał, *Via lactea gloriae immortalis in polo Samogitae gentilitiis domus Pacianae…*, Vilnae: Typis Academicis Soc. IESV, 1685 (VUL RBD, III 203).

half of the seventeenth century. Kojalavičius-Vijūkas wrote in the *Nomenclator* that the Pacas family had a double lily coat of arms.[22] In the *Compendium*, he noted that this coat of arms depicted a double white/silver lily in a red field, with a golden ring in the middle. The helmet decoration features a peacock's tail and the same lily.[23] The lily or *Gozdava* coat of arms was also attributed to the Pacas family by Szymon Okolski[24] and Kasper Niesiecki.[25] Niesiecki pointed out that the helmet of the Pac family coat of arms depicts a crescent rather than a double lily.[26]

Another example is related to the Oginskis family, considered one of the most influential and powerful families of the GDL, which had a great influence in the political and cultural life of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. The Oginskis family had the coat of arms with a gate (Pol. *Brama*). This coat of arms depicts a broken figure resembling a gate. It is surmounted by a cross, the top of which is divided into two parts. The escutcheon of the coat of arms is surmounted by a duke's hat.[27] This coat of arms is depicted in the 1779 panegyric dedicated to Ignotas Oginskis (Pol. Ignacy Ogiński) and his mother, Antanina. The coat of arms is encased in an ornate cartouche surrounded on the sides by a mantle and military motifs: cannons with projectiles, guns, flags, and a duke's hat symbolising the title of duke. The order at the bottom should also be noted (**Fig. 5**). Arvydas Pacevičius has pointed out that the biographies of Oginskis note that he was a member of the Order of St. Stanislaus, founded in 1765. However, he also noted that there is a lack of data indicating for what merits this person was awarded the aforementioned decoration.[28]

Fig. 3. 1596 coat of arms of Mikalojus Šimanovskis in the publication *Threni in obitum nobilis et generosi adolescentis Nicolai Szymanowski...,* Vilnius, 1596

Fig. 4. Coat of arms of Petras Mikalojus Pacas in the publication of Karol Michał Męgolin *Via lactea…,* Vilnius, 1685

22 Kojalavičius-Vijūkas, Albertas, *Šventasis Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos…*, p. 472.
23 Kojalavičius-Vijūkas, Albertas, *Herbarz rycerstwa W. Ks. Litewskiego tak zwany Compendium czyli O klejnotach albo herbach, których familie stanu rycerskiego w prowincyach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego zażywają*, Kraków: wydanie 'Herolda Polskiego', 1897, p. 52.
24 Okolski, Szymon, *Orbis Polonus,* Cracovia: in officina typographica Francisci Caesarii, 1641, Vol. 2, pp. 50-51.
25 Niesiecki, Kasper, *Herbarz polski*, edited by Jan Nep. Bobrowicz, Lipsk: Breitkopf et Haertel, 1841, Vol. 7, pp. 219-230.
26 Niesiecki, Kasper, *Herbarz polski*, edited by Jan Nep. Bobrowicz, Lipsk: Breitkopf et Haertel, 1839, Vol. 4, p. 253.
27 Niesiecki, Kasper, *Herbarz polski…*, Vol. 7, pp. 48-50.
28 Pacevičius, Arvydas, 'Ignoto Oginskio (1755-1786) biblioteka: genealoginio ir religinio gyvenimo atspindys', *Knygotyra,* 2019, No. 72, pp. 90-140.
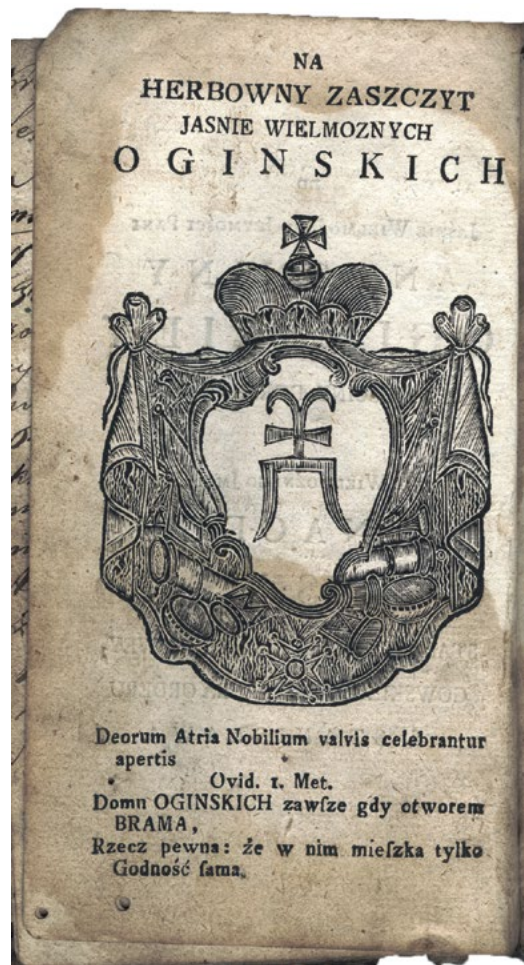
Fig. 5 Coat of arms of Ignotas Oginskis in the publication
of Ignotas Hubčinskis *Zakon trzeci braci…,* Vilnius, 1779

It is interesting, that the old books dedicated to the clergy of the GDL depict not only their coats of arms, but also insignia, such as the mitre, pastoral, etc. For example, in a 1741 book dedicated to the Bishop of Samogitia, Antanas Dominykas Tiškevičius (Pol. Antoni Dominik Tyszkiewicz),[29] the coat of arms of his family is depicted as cast iron (Pol. *Leliwa*). The escutcheon, which resembles a mature Renaissance escutcheon, depicts a crescent moon with its points raised upwards and a six-pointed star. Above the escutcheon is a latticed helmet, with a crown and a bishop's hat above it. On either side of the coat of arms are strings with ten tassels attached, and the heraldic right shows the bishop's mitre and the left – a pastoral. The coat of arms is flanked by a shroud of acanthus leaves. The coat of arms depicted in the publication follows the rules of heraldry, but the lines are finer and more decorative, and the floral motifs are more clearly expressed. Kojalavičius-Vijūkas pointed out that the famous Tiškevičius family had the coat of arms with a *Leliwa*. Niesiecki pointed out that this coat of arms depicted a golden crescent moon in a blue field with a golden six-pointed star inside. The helmet decoration features peacock feathers and a crescent moon with a star.[30]

The depiction of the coats of arms of women nobles of the GDL, found in the old books, is almost no different from those of men. When analysing the coats of arms of the nobility women of the GDL, it should be noted that the coats of arms previously used among women with the rank of duchess, in the sixteenth century began to spread among noble women who did not hold the rank of a duchess. Meanwhile, in the eighteenth century coats of arms were also used quite widely by the women belonging to

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[29] Coat of arms of Antanas Dominykas Tiškevičius: *Jubilaeum Samogitiensis Ecclesiae post evolutum saeculum rursus à Tyszkieviciana Cynthia*, Vilnae: Typis S. R. M. Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1741 (*Šiauliai 'Aušros' Museum (hereinafter – ŠAM),* I–R 1394).

[30] Niesiecki, Kasper, *Herbarz polski*, edited by Jan Nep. Bobrowicz, Lipsk: Breitkopf et Haertel, 1841, Vol. 6, pp. 49-50.

the minor nobility.[31] Book graphics depicted both single-field coats of arms of women when the publication dedicated to the woman herself and in combined coats of arms, when the intention was to show the descent of the dedicatee's husband by depicting the coats of arms of his mother and grandmother, or when the publication was intended to commemorate a wedding, etc. For example, in the 1730 panegyric[32] dedicated to Eleonora (Pol. Eleonora Ogińska), wife of Kazimieras Oginskis (Pol. Kazimierz Ogiński), governess of Vilnius, eldress of Užpaliai, Gargždai and other lands, depicts the coat of arms of three trumpets (Pol. *Trąby*) of the Vaina family inherited from her father Motiejus.[33] This coat of arms depicts three horns joined together. The edges of the shield are decorated with a thicker line of vegetal motifs. Above the shield of arms is a latticed helmet with a crown above it. The coat of arms is flanked by a shroud of vegetal motifs. In a 1736 panegyric[34] to Rozalija Pliaterienė (Pol. Rozalia Plater), wife of Livonian voivode Jonas Liudvikas Pliateris (Pol. Jan Ludwik Plater), depicts the Bžostovskis coat of arms with a saddle loop (Pol. *Strzemię*), inherited from her father Jonas Vladislovas Bžostovskis (Pol. Jan Władysław Brzostowski). Kojalavičius-Vijūkas pointed out that the Bžostovskis family, who moved from Poland to the GDL, had a coat of arms depicting a yellow saddle-loop on a red field and ostrich feathers on the helmet ornament.[35] The woman's coat of arms is depicted in an ornate, carved escutcheon. Above the escutcheon is a latticed helmet, which also bears a medallion. It should be pointed out that in the heraldic tradition of Lithuania and Poland a medallion is used on the helmet, whereas in other countries it is not common. The helmet is surmounted by a crown and the helmet ornament has three ostrich feathers. The coat of arms is flanked by a shroud of acanthus leaves. Comparison of the coats of arms of men and women depicted in the book graphics does not reveal any major differences in the way they are presented. Perhaps the women's coats of arms have slightly lighter lines and are more decorative.

In the course of the search and analysis of sources, we have observed cases where in the old books the combined arms were also depicted in a rather strict compliance with the rules of heraldry and the coats arms were not incorporated into additional plot. It should be noted, that combined coats of arms were also depicted in the books of the GDL in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. There were several rules for the creation of combined coats of arms. In the first case, the field of the coat of arms escutcheon was usually divided into four equal parts, with the first and third fields depicting the coat of arms inherited by the owner of the coat of arms from the father and the paternal grandmother, and the second and fourth fields depicting the coats of arms of the mother and the maternal grandmother. In other words, the heraldic right-hand side was the father's or sword's side and the heraldic left-hand side was the mother's or spindle's side. The second case was when the first and fourth fields depicted the coats of arms of the father and the paternal grandmother and the second and third fields depicted the coats of arms of the mother and the maternal grandmother.[36] In the heraldry of the nobility of the GDL in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, a tendency to turn away from the family to marriage began to emerge. In other words, combined coats of arms of two or four fields, or, in rarer cases, with more fields, appeared. An interesting example relates to the heraldry of Jurgis and Kotryna Aleksandra Bilevičiai. The 1644 publication for the funeral of Jurgis and Kotryna Aleksandra Bilevičiai[37] depicts two combined coats of arms. The first coat of arms belonged to Kotryna Aleksandra and the second coat of arms belonged to

[31] Jasiūnienė, Gabrielė, 'Herbas kilmingos XVII–XVIII a....

[32] Coat of arms of Eleanora Woyna Plater, wife of Vilnius voivode, eldress of Užpaliai, Gargždai and other lands, in the panegyric *Konwoy honoru senatorskiego Od Trockiey o Wileńskiey Wojewodztwá…,* [Vilnius: Akademijos spaustuvė], 1730 (VUL RBD, BAV 5.1.42/13).

[33] Albertas Kojalavičius-Vijūkas emphasised that the Vaina family had the coat of arms with three horns. Kojalavičius-Vijūkas, Albertas, *Šventasis Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos…,* p. 481.

[34] Coat of arms of Rozalija Bžostovskytė Platerienė, wife of Livonia voivode, in the panegyric *Statywa honoru w Prześwietnym Kleynoćie Herbownym,* W Wilnie: w Drukárni Akádemickiey Soc. Jesu, 1736 (VUL RBD, BAV 5.1.42/2).

[35] Kojalavičius-Vijūkas, Albertas, *Šventasis Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos…,* p. 67.

[36] Konopka, Jan, 'O polskich herbach złożonych', in: *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny,* 1911, No. 5/6, pp. 82-84.

[37] Combined coats of arms of Kotryna Aleksandra and Jurgis Bilevičiai: Stubski, Jan Jakob, *Magnae molis magna ruina,*Vilnae: Typis Academicis Societatis Iesu, 1644 (VUL RBD, III 10810).

Jurgis Vaitiekaitis Bilevičius. As there is a lack of information about the descent of Kotryna Aleksandra, let us focus on the coat of arms of her husband. The first field of the combined coat of arms shows the coat of arms of the Bilevičius family, inherited from her father Vaitiekus. The sixteenth-century heraldry specialist Bartosz Paprocki was one of the first to study the Bilevičius family. Paprocki pointed out that an old coat of arms of the Bilevičius family, depicting a tomb with three crosses, is known in Lithuania.[38] In the seventeenth century, Okolski gave a name to this coat of arms used by the Bilevičius family: *Mogiła seu Tumulus* (the Tomb). It is probable that the name of the coat of arms was given in reference to the main figure – the tomb.[39] The second field depicts the coat of arms of the Šemeta (Pol. Szemet) family, inherited from the mother, Kristina Šemetaitė: a swan (Pol. *Łabędź*). The third field is presumably the coat of arms of Bilevičius' paternal grandmother Ona Mitkevičiūtė: a fox (Pol. *Lis*), and the fourth field is presumably the coat of arms of the maternal grandmother Bogumila Adomaitė Pritulisaitė: a cast iron (Pol. *Leliwa*). Above the shield of the coat of arms there is a latticed helmet, and above it there is a helmet decoration uncharacteristic of the Bilevičius family – two horns and a fox between them.[40] It should be noted, that the latter in the helmet of the combined coat of arms is most probably taken from the coat of arms of the grandmother Ona Mitkevičiūtė. The following motto is inscribed on the ribbon above the coat of arms: Simul, Semel, Semper. The coat of arms is flanked by a shroud of acanthus leaves. Thus, there is an interesting trend in these coats of arms, with the wife's coat of arms above the husband's. And the latter's combined coat of arms features the arms of his close female relatives, his mother and both grandmothers. These are not just coats of arms of marriage, but also of descent.

In the 1647 publication for the funeral of Andrius Stankevičius (Pol. Andrzej Stankiewicz),[41] a combined coat of arms is depicted on an escutcheon reminiscent of an escutcheon of the mature Renaissance. The first field contains the coat of arms of the Stankevičius/Bilevičius family, inherited by Andrius from his father Mikalojus Mikalojaitis Stankevičius: a horizontal rectangle with a cross on each side and above. The second field bears the coat of arms with three horns, inherited from his father by his mother Ona Vainaitė. Third field, presumably bears the coat of arms of his maternal grandmother: *Zaremba*. The fourth field presumably bears the coat of arms of the paternal grandmother Ona Petraškevičiūtė, inherited from her father Stanislovas Petraška. The shield of the coat of arms depicts a latticed helmet with a medallion and a nobleman's crown above it. The helmet is adorned with stylised peacock feathers. The coat of arms is flanked by a shroud of acanthus leaves.

In the heraldry of the nobility of the GDL in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, a tendency to turn away from the family to marriage began to emerge. An example of this is the ornate combined coat of arms of Jeronimas Florijonas ir Teresė Radvilos depicted in the 1740 publication.[42] The elaborately shaped escutcheon is divided into two parts by a perpendicular dash. The first field depicts the coat of arms of Jeronimas Florijonas Radvila: an eagle on the breast of which is the coat of arms with three horns. Remembering the heraldry of the noble Radvila family, it should be pointed out that on 25 February 1518 a document was published by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, by which Mikalojus Radvila (Pol. Mikołaj Radziwiłł) was made a duke of the Empire in the dominions of Myadzyel (current Belarus) and Goniądz (current Poland). This proclamation was followed by a change in the coat of arms of the Radvila family. In addition to the coat of arms with three horns, received in Horodło in 1413, an eagle was

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[38] Paprocki, Bartosz, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, edited by Kazimierz Józef Turowski, Kraków: Nakładem wydawnictwa biblioteki Polskiej, 1858, p. 867.

[39] Okolski, Szymon, *Orbis Polonus,* pp. 232-233.

[40] Read more in: Jasiūnienė, Gabrielė, 'Žemaitijos bajorų Bilevičių heraldika XVI–XVII a.', *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 2016/1, pp. 5-20.

[41] Coat of arms of Andrius Stankevičius: Niestojemski, Marcin, *Wysoce godny kawalier, Xięstwá Zmudzkiego, w kazaniu pogrzebowym wielmożnego iego mośći pana Andrzeia Stankiewicza, pisarza ziemskiego Kowienskiego dnia 10 octobra*, W Wilnie: w Drukarni Societatis Iesu, 1647 (VUL RBD, III 475).

[42] Combined coat of arms of Jeronimas Florijonas and Teresė Radvilos: *Amor sponsus ad festivos Hymenaei applausus ordinatus…*, Vilnae: Typis S. R. M. et Universitatis Vilnensis Societatis Iesu, 1740 (VUL RBD, IV 30764).

added.[43] The old coat of arms was then depicted on eagle's chest. In this way, the tradition of the Radvila heraldry changed and family members started to depict the Radvila coat of arms reflecting the new title of dukes. Meanwhile, the second field of the combined coat of arms depicts the coat of arms of Teresė Sapiegaitė – a fox (Pol. *Lis*). It features an arrow with two crossings in the middle. Above the escutcheon of the coat of arms there is a duke's hat, symbolising the exceptional position and descent of the Radvila family. The coat of arms is decorated on the sides with a very ornate acanthus leaf shroud. At the top, on either side of the coat of arms, sits an angel holding a crown. These are the bearers of the escutcheon (see **Fig. 6**).

Fig. 6. Combined coat of arms of Jeronimas Florijonas and Teresė Radvilos in the publication
Amor sponsus ad festivos Hymenaei applausus ordinatus…, Vilnius, 1740

It should be noted, that during the search and analysis of the sources, cases have been observed in which heraldic signs are included in the artistic plot of the old books. Often in such cases the coat of arms or the armorial figure is relegated to the background and becomes a piece of art. For example, on the title page of the 1636 publication dedicated to Bishop of Samogitia, Jurgis Tiškevičius (Pol. Jerzy Tyszkiewicz),[44] the Tiškevičiai coat of arms of *Leliwa* is incorporated into the altar. The publication depicts a highly ornate altar decorated with floral motifs, vases, bunches of fruit and drapery, with the title of the publication framed in a rectangle in the centre. Above it, an oval cartouche frames the Tiškevičiai coat of arms *Leliwa*: a crescent moon with upraised points and a six-pointed star. The Roman numerals 'MDCXXXVI', representing the year of publication, are framed below the altar. The bishop's mitre is depicted above the escutcheon, with a pastoral on the heraldic right. The design is stencilled and shaded.

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[43]   Petrauskas, Rimvydas, *Galia ir tradicija. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės giminių istorijos*, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2016, p. 282.

[44]   Coat of arms of Jurgis Tiškevičius: Tiškevičius, Jurgis, *Synodus dioecesana…,* Vilnae: [typis Academicis S.I.], 1636 (The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Rare Books Department (hereinafter – WLLAS RBD), L-17/69).

The coat of arms depicted in the 1668 publication dedicated to Kazimieras Pacas (Pol. Kazimierz Pac), bishop of Samogitia, is particularly ornate.[45] The ornate cartouche, decorated with elaborate floral motifs, flower blossoms, ribbons and flower pots, depicts a double lily. The bishop's mitre is above the shield of arms and the pastoral is to the heraldic right. At the bottom, the escutcheon is held by two angels with their backs to it. The motto *Integer est illis vigor & caelestis origo Æneid* (The whole is a great power and has a celestial origin, the Aeneid) is written in Latin on the ribbon above the coat of arms. Underneath such an ornate coat of arms, a framed armorial poem is framed in a figure adorned with ornamental elements, held by people on either side.

In the 1669 publication by Samuelis Jonas Konaževskis, dedicated to the promotion of Gabrielius Sipavičius, a scribe of the Duchy of Samogitia, bailiff of Šiauduva, to Master of Arts and Master of Philosophy at the Vilnius Academy, the rules of heraldry and a whole artistic narrative are intertwined. On the title page, Sipavičius' coat of arms, an arrow with a crossing in the middle[46] is depicted in an ornate shield. The coat of arms is depicted without a helmet, crown or helmet ornament. The coat of arms is held on its sides by two allegorical creatures representing justice and wisdom standing on a footstone. The coat of arms is held by shield bearers as required by the rules of heraldry and is not suspended in the air, but placed on a footstand. The shield bearers have their own meanings. The first woman symbolises Themis, the goddess of justice and order, who holds a sword and scales in one hand and the coat of arms in the other. Under her feet is the inscription *IVSTITIA*. The second woman embodies Prudence, the symbol of intelligence and discernment, who holds a mirror in one hand and a serpent in the other. Under her feet is the inscription *PRUDENT*. The title of the publication, *Philosophia naturalis*, is written in Latin on a ribbon above the escutcheon. The coat of arms, depicting an arrow with a crossing, was also used by Sipavičius in the seventeenth-century seals. However, on the seals the coat of arms was depicted rather modestly: a late Gothic escutcheon depicting an arrow with a crossing. Above the escutcheon there is a latticed helmet with three ostrich feathers above it. The coat of arms is flanked by a shroud of acanthus leaves. The seal also bears the initials 'G.S'[47] Kojalavičius-Vijūkas mentioned, that the Sipavičius family, who lived in Samogitia, had an arrow in their coat of arms with a single crossing in a red field.[48] Thus, it is possible that the occasion itself influenced the decoration of the title page of the publication, which depicts a plot glorifying art and philosophy, with an ornately decorated coat of arms reflecting a particular person at its epicentre.

In the course of researching the sources, it was noted that the books also depicted armorial figures without shields. For example, the title-page illustration of the 1640 engraving presumably by Conradt Götke[49], dedicated to Stanislovas, Kristupas and Mykolas Pacai, depicts a garden enclosed by a fence. A branching lily grows there – the genealogical tree of the Pacai family. The wedding panegyric of 1680,[50] dedicated to Jonas Pacas (Pol. Jan Pac) and Teresė Podbereskytė (pol. Teresa Podbereska) depicts two double lilies framing the title of the publication. The smaller lilies adorn the crowns held by the angels, the cornucopias held by the angels, etc. (**Fig. 7**).

[45]   Coat of arms of Kazimieras Pacas: Mlodzianovskis, Andrius, *Domestica Samogitiae Ducatus ornamenta, in venerationem amplissimorum decorum...Casimiri Pac episcopi Samogitiae dum auspicato suam ingreditur dioecesim obuiam producta a Chodkieviciano Crosensi Societatis Iesu Collegio*, Mitaviae: Typis Michaelis Karnall, 1668 (VUL RBD, III 152).

[46]   Coat of arms of Gabrielius Sipavičius: Konaževskis, Samuelis Jonas, *Philosophia naturalis pro prima philosophiae laurea...*, [Vilnae: typis Academicis S.I.], 1669 (WLLAS RBD, L-17/195).

[47]   For example, armorial seal of Gabrielius Sipavičius (1653) (VUL MsD (Manuscripts Devision), f. 4, b. A205-15906, l. 2v). Armorial seal of Gabrielius Sipavičius (1656)(WLLAS MSD (Manuscripts Department) f. 37, b. 715, l. 4r).

[48]   Kojalavičius-Vijūkas, Albertas, *Šventasis Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos…*, p. 581.

[49]   The Pacai family tree in the publication *Imago una ex omnibus et omnium...Stanislao, Chrisptophoro, Nicolao Paciis, maestis ex obitu optimi parentis filiis repraesentata a Leone Pogirski phil. Acad. Vilnen.*, Vilnae: Typis Acad. Societatis Iesu, 1640 (VLLAS RBD, L-17/2-3/9a).

[50]   Bohdanowicz, Piotr Paweł, *Wiosna przed zgonem zimy pospieszona Fortunnym złączeniem Herbowych Kleynotow Jasnie Wielmoźnych Domow Jch Mciow P. P. PACOW Y Jch Mcow P. P. PODBERESKICH*, Vilnae: typis Acad. S.I., 1680 (VUL RBD, III 14490).
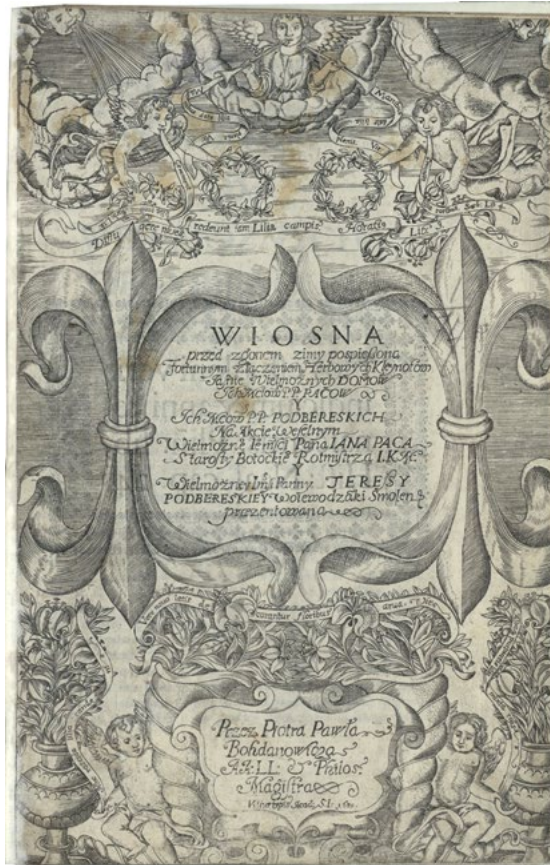
Fig. 7. Motifs of the coat of arms of the Pacai family in the publication
of Piotr Paweł Bohdanowicz, *Wiosna przed zgonem…*, Vilnius, 1680

Conclusions

In conclusion, it should be noted that in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, books in the GDL were another niche where the nobility could display their coats of arms. The coats of arms of the nobility were depicted in literature in two cases. In the first case, usually in commemorative literature, the coat of arms as an illustration symbolised the person to whom the publication was dedicated. In this way, the main function of the coat of arms or armorial figure was preserved: to distinguish the person, to emphasise their social or political status, to mark their descent or marriage ties, etc. In such books, coats of arms and armorial figures were depicted in a variety of ways: some modestly and in accordance with the rules of heraldry, others essentially in accordance with the rules of heraldry and with some elements of artistic decoration, and still others incorporated into and even were obscured by the artistic plot. In the second case, a coat of arms denoted the belonging of the book as an object to a particular family or its member. In this case, the function of the coat of arms was different: it became first a sign of ownership and then a symbol of the owner's exclusive, privileged descent. The depiction of coats of arms varies from simple, modest depictions of coats of arms/heraldic figures in book graphics, to quite elaborate compositions in which coats of arms and heraldic figures are decorated in a highly elaborate manner, resembling works of art. Book publishing was expensive, so at least through the display of a coat of arms, an effort was made to thank the sponsor. Publications were also issued to commemorate weddings, funerals, scientific achievements and other occasions. The books featured both single and combined coats of arms, depending on the occasion and the person to whom the publication was dedicated. Compared to other heraldic sources such as armorial seals, coats of arms depicted in books are often more ornate, the shapes of the

escutcheon are more elaborate, and there is a greater number of decorative elements. Comparison of the coats of arms of men and women depicted in the book graphics does not reveal any major differences in the way they are presented. Women's coats of arms may be slightly more ornate, with lighter lines. The old books depict both single and combined coats of arms. The coats of arms of the Bilevičius, Valavičius, Radvila, Pacas, Tiškevičius and other families presented in the article reflected various aspects of personal and social life: the owner's descent, marriage and kinship ties, positions, titles, etc. The coats of arms depicted in the literature complemented the heraldic tradition of the nobility of the GDL with their sophistication and freedom. They are symbols of respect, remembrance and gratitude.

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Bibliophily as Philantropy. Mattityahu Strashun's Book Collection and its Legacy in Vilnius

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Abstract. Until 1941, the Vilnius Jewish public library named after Mattityahu Strashun was a unique phenomenon not only in local, but in East and Central European context. It earned its fame due to inspiring personality and attitude to book collecting of its founder – a renowned Talmudic scholar and enlightener, a scion of a rabbinic dynasty, bibliophile and one of the leaders of Vilnius Jewish community and its great benefactor, Mattityahu Strashun (1817-1885). The article discusses the formation and content of the collection, its functioning while owned by Strashun, and later – as a public library (first of that kind in Vilnius and most important of them during the whole period of its existence) and its integration into the city life. The article also presents the fate of the M. Strashun's collection during the Nazi occupation of Vilnius and in the post-war period. The National Library of Lithuania preserves about 2,000 volumes of books and periodicals from M. Strashun's personal collection that survived the Nazi occupation of Vilnius and plundering of its cultural treasures. The article aims at establishing the connection between the personality and public stance of Mattityahu Strashun and the main principles of organization and activities of the first Vilnius public Jewish library that was based on M. Strashun's personal collection and in accordance with his will. In his private and public persona, M. Strashun emphasized the priority of public good and was an embodiment of tolerance. These principles formed the foundation of the library named after him.

Keywords: Mattityahu Strashun, personal collection, Strashun library, Vilnius, Jewish community.

'[…] Never have I encountered nor dreamed, even in my vivid writer imagination, of a collection of Jewish books comparable to this one [...]. If such a treasure can be seen in Jerusalem of Lithuania, can one expect to find anything more impressive in the Land of Israel itself?',[1] wrote a classic of Yiddish literature Sholem-Aleichem in 1905 in the so-called Golden Book, the guest book of the Vilnius Jewish library named after Mattityahu Strashun.[2] The grandiose style notwithstanding, his deep impression must have been genuine: the Strashun library was unique not only in Vilnius, but in the context of Eastern and Central Europe. It reflected the personality and attitude to collecting and use of books of its founding father, Mattityahu Strashun (1817-1885).

The article aims at establishing the connection between the personality and public stance of Mattityahu Strashun and the main principles of organization and activities of the first Vilnius public Jewish library that was based on M. Strashun's personal collection and in accordance with his will.

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[1]   Translations from Hebrew, Yiddish and Lithuanian are by the author of the article.
[2]   Cited from: Lunski, Chaykl, 'Der *Sefer ha-zahav* in der Strashun-bibliotek', in: *Vilner almanakh*, Vilnius: Ovnt-kuryer, 1939, p. 39. The 'Golden Book' didn't survive the Nazi occupation of Vilnius, and the copies of some of its records made by one of the librarians, Chaykl Lunsky, in his article are the sole source of its contents.
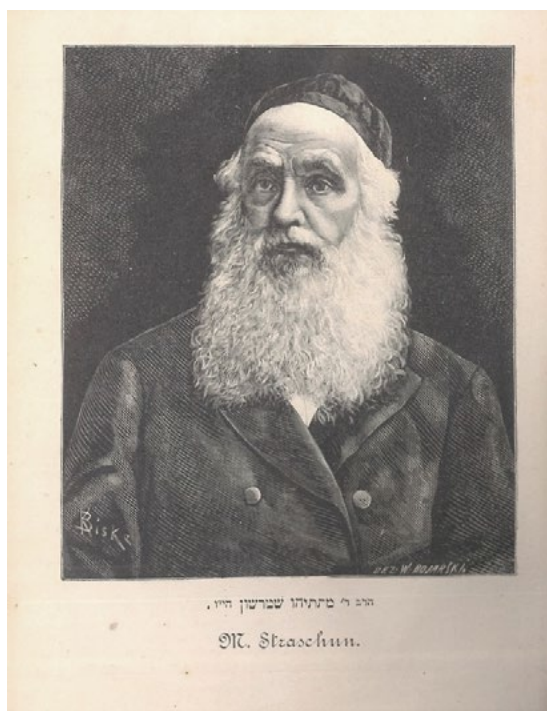
Fig. 1. M. Strashun's portret in the almanac *He-asif,* Warszawa, 1886. Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania

M. Strashun was the son of a renowned Talmudic scholar Rabbi Samuel Strashun (1794-1872), who owned a personal library of (mostly) rabbinical literature.[3] Mattityahu was educated as a Torah scholar and earned a rabbi's qualification but never served as one. At the same time, he was, by his own efforts, well versed in the literature of the Jewish Enlightenment – Haskalah, and clearly identified with the movement that strived to unite traditional religious learning with secular education that included competence in classical and modern European languages, literature, philosophy and natural sciences. The book collection that M. Strashun inherited from his father was augmented by many maskilic (enlighteners') editions, alongside rabbinic works. Apart from the Hebrew books,[4] he acquired editions and subscribed to periodicals in German, French, Polish, and Russian.[5] A significant segment of the collection construed scholarly publications of medieval Hebrew religious and philosophical manuscripts. M. Strashun was on the board of one of societies engaged in such publications: *Mekitse nirdamim*

(The Revival of the Slumbering), which was established in 1864 in Prussian Lyck (now Ełk, Poland). He was one of the only two Eastern European members.[6] Another similar organization, *Shomre Tora* (The Guards of the Torah) in Paris, also listed him among its active members. He corresponded with Europe's prominent religious figures and Hebrew scholars, published letters and articles in many significant almanacs and periodicals of his time. His only monograph, *Matat ya* (God's Gift),[7] the study of midrash, was posthumously published in Vilnius in 1893.

M. Strashun was a prominent figure in the circle of Vilnius maskils that, in its turn, formed a nucleus of the Haskalah movement in the Russian Empire. He was a regular contributor to Vilnius maskilic periodicals *Pirche Tsafon* (The Flowers of the North, 1841-1844) and *Ha-karmel* (The Mount of Carmel, 1860-1880), both edited by his friend and colleague Samuel-Joseph Fin. From 1865 Strashun was an honorary member of the society for promoting education among the Jews of the Russian Empire – *Mefitse haskala* (The Disseminators of Learning).[8]

As a competent scholar of both classical and modern Jewish texts, Strashun was considered a great authority among all segments of Eastern and Central European Jewish community. It is remarkable that, although Vilnius community in his time was very conservative and virtually shunned the group of maskilim, M. Strashun was held in high regard. One of the main reasons was his charitable and

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[3]   Neither the catalogue nor list of his collection remained; there are his ownership notes on some books preserved in the National Library of Lithuania. At least one is from the realm of the Jewish Enlightenment, rather than rabbinics: *Divre shir* by Meir Halevi Letteris, Minsk: Gershon-Eliezer Bloshteyn, 1932.

[4]   So far, only one book in Yiddish of M. Strashun's personal ownership has been identified.

[5]   He probably wrote, at least to in some extent, in these languages as testify some marginalia in Russian and Polish in the books owned by him.

[6]   See: *Reshima shel shemot he-chaverim le-chevrat mekitse nirdamim*, Ełk: Rudolph Siebert, 1868, p. 20.

[7]   The title given to the book by its editors, Strashun's nephews David ben Eliyahu and David ben Yosef Strashuns, is an allusion to author's personal name Mattityahu with the same meaning. Such word play is characteristic for Jewish religious literature; in this case the title functiones as a memorial.

[8]   See: Rozental, Leon, *Toldot hevrat marbe haskala be-yisrael be-erets rusiya*, St. Petersburg: Tsevi-Hirsh Pines, 1885, Vol. 2, p. 173.

philanthropic activities. Being a wealthy merchant and owner of many properties, as well as a man of learning, Strashun generously supported the community's welfare system and for many years served on its board, and in 1840 became its head.

In his private and public persona, he emphasized the priority of public good and was an embodiment of tolerance. As Mordechai Zalkin pointed out, this stance from Strashun's early years 'became a basic part of his worldview... and ... was essential to his ability to influence Lithuanian Jewish society'.[9] In his foreword to 1860 book on Jewish Vilnius by S.-J. Fin, *Kiryja neemana* (The Faithful City), Strashun wrote that Vilnius 'almost from its very founding became an abode of famous people: rabbinic authorities and philanthropists, scholars and writers'.[10] Mattityahu Strashun undoubtedly was one of them.

M. Strashun died on 13 December 1885 heirless[11] and a widower; his testament bequeathed almost all of his belongings to the needy. A sum was dedicated to the establishment of a support fund for young Torah scholars. Another subsidy, along with the returns from one of his real estate possessions, was meant for old Jewish people home. There was a donation to the city's *talmud-tora* (elementary school for orphaned or impoverished Jewish boys), a substantial amount of money to be distributed as *tsedaka* (charity) among the Jewish poor and to secure for them food during Jewish holidays. Strashun left funds for a Christian charitable organization as well.[12] No wonder that thousands of people, Jews and non-Jews, gathered for his funeral, not only from Vilnius, but also from Kaunas, Minsk and other places, among them such prominent rabbis as Isaac-Elchanan Spektor of Kaunas. There also participated representatives of Vilnius municipality.

Several Jewish periodicals and almanacs in Europe published Strashun's obituaries,[13] and in Vilnius some of them were published as separate editions. As one author stated:

God's presence descends solely upon those who are wise, leading, prominent, and humble and charitable whilst rich. A spiritually strong man is called a leader, and one who is tolerant to everyone's opinion and close to every person – humble. [...] So, my people and brethren, lo and behold ... how all those qualities were united in the rabbi and undeniable genius Mattityahu Strashun of blessed memory... who was wise, leading, prominent and humble, and showed love to everyone who came in his presence.[14]

M. Strashun's love and devotion to his city and his input in its development was awarded in the interwar period by giving one of the streets in the old city his name.

The unique gift dedicated by M. Strashun to his city was his personal library. Strashun was a renowned and passionate bibliophile, an expert in Jewish books and the history of Jewish printing. As a wealthy businessman, he had a lot of contacts and was able to bring books from regions that usually were out of scope for individual or communal book buyers of Eastern Europe: Italy, Greece, Turkey, Great Britain etc. As mentioned before, his collection was based on Hebrew rabbinical and maskilic literature, and about a thousand Judaica edition in non-Jewish languages.[15] Among the treasures of the collection there were 5 incunabula, about 50 manuscripts, about a hundred palaeotypes, and hundreds of books from the sixteenth-early eighteenth century. During Strashun's lifetime they were not only actively studied and consulted by the owner (many have his manuscript annotations), but also accessible to public: everyone who would seek a rear, otherwise unavailable text was welcome to Strashun's home overflowed by books.

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[9] Zalkin, Mordekhsi, 'Samuel and Mattityahu Strashun: Between Tradition and Innovation', in: *Mattityahu Strashun. 1817-1885. Scholar, Leader, and Book Collector*, New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2001, p. 13.

[10] Strashun, Mattityahu, 'Michtav', in: Fin, Samuel-Joseph, *Kiriya neemana*, Vilnius: Joseph-Reuven Rom, 1860, p. XXI.

[11] Both his daughters died in their childhood.

[12] Lithuanian State Historical Archives (LSHA), F. 450, ap. 7, b. 125.

[13] See: *He-asif li-tkufat ha-shana*, edited by Nahum Sokolov, Warsaw: Isaac Goldman, 1886, p. 122.

[14] Antokolski, Moshe Simon, *Evel kaved*, Vilnius: Avraham-Tsevi Katsenelenbogen, 1886, pp. 7-8. See also an obituary in the edition of the above mentioned Strashun's monograph: Pludermacher, Shalom, 'Zikaron le-chacham: ze sefer toldot ha-gaon ha-chacham ha-kolel rabi matityahu strashun', in: Strashun, Mattityahu, *Matat ya*, Vilnius: Widow & Brothers Rom, 1893, pp. 8-36.

[15] See: Cohen, Israel, *Vilna*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, (second edition), 1992, p. 410. However, Cohen is wrong in his statement that all of those books were in German: they were also in Latin, Russian, Polish and French.

Mattityahu Strashun also received often requests referred to some of his books that were unavailable or inaccessible elsewhere.[16] Strashun's personal library was so well-known and admired phenomenon that it was mention in his tombstone epitaph: 'His invaluable library of rabbinical and scholarly books he set as a seal upon his heart[17] and made his home a council of scholars...'.[18]

In his testament, M. Strashun bequeathed his entire collection to the community with the goal of establishing a public Jewish library.[19] The books were to be gathered in one of Strashun's owned buildings on the Stikliai Street, and their preservation and organization of the public library was delegated to the Strashun's three friends: Joshua-Chaim Epshteyn, David Yavets-Broyda and Joseph-Menachem Grodzenski. Not having sufficient expertise in Jewish bibliography, they approached a relative of Strashun's, Samuel Strashun, then a proof-reader of the Romm publishing house, and asked him to sort and describe the collection. It was done with the help of Moshe Simon Antokolski, an admirer of Strashun and the author of his obituary.[20] Still, it was not a fully comprehensive catalogue: there were some lacunae in listing printed editions; of manuscripts, only 28 were included; and Judaica in non-Jewish languages left aside. Only 5,753 positions were listed, although we have reason to believe that the collection comprised about 7,000 volumes in Jewish languages.[21] The compilers of the catalogue were modest enough as to acknowledge their shortcomings comparing to the owner of the collection, so when Strashun's nephew David decided to publish the catalogue, they asked not to mention their names as editors.[22] The title of the catalogue, *Likute shoshanim* (Gathering of Roses), was chosen by David Strashun: as he claimed, such was meant to be the title of his uncle's book of commentaries on classical Jewish text that he didn't have the time to publish.[23] On the title page, the collector is described, among other superlatives, as 'a master of Torah and world knowledge, the marvel of his community and his nation... a scholar of all branches of Jewish literature'.[24]

The location that M. Strashun envisaged for the library was not actually suitable for it, and so it started temporarily operating on 27 December 1892 in three rooms of J.Ch. Epshteyn's son Mordechai's apartment.[25] In the end, the community board declined to use the Strashun's bequeathed building and decided to erect instead a special building for the library. The 2-storey construction designed by Konstantin Koroedov was adjacent to the Great Synagogue. The library itself occupied the upper floor, and the ground floor was given to some shops whose owners were to donate a fraction of their profits to the budget of the community board for the maitenance of the library. Although unassuming architecturally, the Strashun library building formed and iconic complex with the Great Synagogue that soon became an architectonic symbol of Jewish spirituality and a known city site that was frequently depicted by Jewish and non-Jewish painters and photo artists.

From its inception, the Strashun Library, as it was called by all rather than quoting its full official name,[26] turned into a centre of intellectual gravitation for the Jews of Vilnius and far beyond. As the daily

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[16] See: Horowitz, Chaim M., *A letter to Mattityahu Strashun,* April 6 1871, Judaica Collection of the National Library of Lithuania, 'M. Strashun and the Strashun Library'.

[17] Quote from the Song of Songs (8, 6) used as a metaphor of the dearest thing.

[18] Magid-Shteinshneyder, Hillel Noah, *Ir Vilna*, Vilnius: Widow & Brothers Rom, 1900, p. 287. See also: Lithuanian Central State Archives (LCSA), F. R-1421, ap. 1, b. 494, p. 35, nr. 134; *Description of the Uzupis Jewish cemetery*. Judaica Collection of the National Library of Lithuania, 'Vilnius ghetto 1941-1943'; M. Strashun's tombstone, as well as his grave, didn't survive the destruction of the old Jewish Zareche cemetery by the soviet authoritires in 1964.

[19] LSHA, F. 450, ap. 7, b. 125, p. 137. The document-based discussion of the establishment of the library and the fate of its collections before and after the Holocaust could be found in: Shor, Frida, *Mi-"likute shoshanim" ve-ad "brigadat ha-neyar". Sipuro shel beyt eked ha-sfarim a"sh strashun be-vilna*, Ariel: Ha-merkaz ha-universita'i, 2012.

[20] See footnote 14.

[21] See: Cohen, Israel, *Vilna*, p. 410.

[22] See: Strashun, D.O., 'Foreword', *Likute shoshanim*, p. III.

[23] *Ibid*. D. Strashun mentions the same work planned by M. Strashun in his forward to the latter's monograph; see: Strashun, Mattityahu, *Matat ya*, p. 4.

[24] *Likute shoshanim*, the title page.

[25] See: Kloyzner, Yisrael, *Vilna yerushalaim de-lita*, Israel: Kibuc Lochamei ha-getaot, 1988, Vol. II-2, p. 534.

[26] 'The Library under the aegis of the Board of Vilnius Jewish Community in the name of the prominent Rabbi and scholar Mattityahu Strashun'.

Hed ha-zeman (The Echo of Time) wrote, it was:

> A spiritual centre to all our wise men, to the young who strive to learn about our glorious past, to all who are in search of the God's word and eternal wisdom. [...] Among this building's walls whispered the soul of the Jewish nation, and everyone who entered it felt like being ensconced by authentic Jewish national atmosphere…[27]

The book collection was transferred into the new building in 1901, and the library was opened with great fanfare on 14 April 1902. The city cantor Gershon Sirota and his choir took part in the ceremony. However, the city authorities prolonged the bureaucratic procedure and only gave access to visitors in October.

From the outset, the book collection of the Great Synagogue was joined to the one of M. Strashun's. Soon, other Vilnius Jewish intellectuals and book lovers were following Strashun's example by bequeathing their personal collections to the Strashun Library or just donating books to it. In that way, the library was replenished by gifts from famous Vilnius Jewish educators and literati, such as Kalman Shulman, father and son Samuel-Joseph and Benjamin Fin, Dov-Ber Ratner, Chaim-Leyb Markon, Judah Behak, father and son bibliographers Isaac and Jacob Benjakob, and others. The governors of the library also made new acquisitions. However, a separate place of honor was given to M. Strashun's collection, and a special stamp designed for its printed editions and manuscripts that said, 'A stamp for the book collection of the late luminary Rabbi Mattityahu Strashun of blessed memory, from Vilnius'.[28] The stamps put on other books mentioned the name of M. Strashun in the title of the library.

The first head of the library was aforementioned Samuel Strashun. From 1884, when his health deteriorated, his son Isaac came to his aid and in 1895, after S. Strashun's death, took over his duties. The

Fig. 2. One of the oldest M. Strashun's personal collection's books (Venice, 1548) with a memorial stamp. Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania

same year a 15-year-old Chaykl Lunski volunteered to help him. Lunski's passion for knowledge, love of books and of Vilnius, and generosity in sharing much resembled M. Strashun's. With time, he grew to become an indispensable source of knowledge on Jewish book and Jewish history of Vilnius, a major bibliographer and author of numerous articles and books, as well as a collector of Jewish books, folklore material and heritage objects that he periodically donated to various Jewish cultural institutions. Isaac Strashun made him his deputy, but from the end of 1895 Lunski was de-facto in charge of the library collection. In 1930 Levi-Isaac Rubinov joined the library staff. He completed the library catalogue with books that were not of M. Strashun's provenance (about 22,000 in 1935).

Readers used the library free of charge. The reading room of the Strashun Library

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27   [S.n.], *Kevurat ha-neshamot. Hed ha-zman*, No. 67, March 20 1909.
28   Strashun had never created his personal ex libris.

had 100 sitting places. From the very beginning it appeared not to be nearly enough: 150 to 200 readers visited it daily, and by 1935 – about 230.[29] The latecomers had to wait for a place to vacate, even though the library was open 7 hours every day including Sabbath and holidays (of course, then it was possible only to read and not write/make notes).[30] About 52,000 patrons visited it during a year.[31] Their amount and diversity, the importance of the library for all segments of the community and the city (it was frequently visited by non-Jewish readers) reminded the role of Matittyahu Strashun as a mediator between different city people. The famous historian Lucy Dawidowicz mentioned this special atmosphere of the library in her memoir of the time she spent in Vilnius in 1938-1939 as a doctoral student of the YIVO institute:

> You could see the conflict between the world of tradition and modernity playing out every day in a kind of dumb show in the reading room of the Strashun library. [...] Because the library was rich in Talmudic and rabbinic works, it was used by pious Jews for advances study. But the wealth of its holdings in other areas of Judaica also attracted scholars and university students. Consequently, on any day you could see, seated at the two long tables at the reading room, venerable long-bearded men, wearing hats, studying Talmudic texts, elbow to elbow with bareheaded young men and even young women, bare-armed sometimes on warm days, studying their texts.[32]

The Strashun Library, which was perceived as 'a major site of Jewish Vilnius',[33] 'a bastion of Vilnius Jewish culture',[34] is mentioned in virtually every memoir and travelogue of Jewish Vilnius, as well as in many research books and articles. In 1935, Ch. Lunski presented it in a collection of articles on Jewish Vilnius published in New York: 'This place is a temple of spirit, a palace of wisdom, a bulwark of Vilnius [...] a precious treasure of our poor city'.[35] The library even made its way into poetry. Zalman Shneur in his Hebrew poem *Vilna* (Vilnius) dedicated a passage to it:

> The Strashun library is like a huge fossilized brain that conglomerated
> The thoughts of the dispersed people, till they became a common legacy...
> There are no heads remained that generated them,
> But this brain acts on his own,
> Rotating the ideas of the eternal nation in the God's language.[36]

Shortly before M. Strashun's death, his niece Deborah Romm, the owner of the Romm publishing house, wrote to another relative, Professor Abraham Harkavi of St. Petersburg: 'Presently my sweet uncle is preoccupied by the management of his will. […] His library and the collection of manuscripts are so dear to him. He does not want them to be partitioned […] and he is so worried by all this that he just wouldn't relax'.[37] Upon Strashun's death, the community fulfilled his will and preserved his personal library as a unit.

When the soviet regime occupied Vilnius in 1940, the new authorities first hastily decided to liquidate the library, like many other institutions of traditional Jewish learning. But shortly they were able, with a help of some experts, to appreciate the uniqueness of the library and changed their decision: the library was closed to the public, but the collection remained intact. The letter of the secretary of the Ministry of

[29] Lunski, Chaykl, 'Di strashun bibliotek in vilne', in: *Vilne*, edited by Y. Yeshurin, New York: Arbeyter ring, 1935, p. 283.
[30] See: Dawidowicz, Lucy, *From That Place and Time*, New York-London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989, p. 119.
[31] See: Shalit, Moshe, 'Vilner bibliotekn', in: *Vilner Zamelbuch,* Vilnius: Nisan Rozental, 1916, p. 36.
[32] Dawidowicz, Lucy, *From That Place and Time*, p. 119.
[33] *Ibid*, p. 45.
[34] Shalit, Moshe, 'Vilner bibliotekn', p. 31.
[35] Lunski, Chaykl, 'Di strashun bibliotek in Vilne', pp. 273, 287.
[36] Shneur, Zalman, 'Vilna', in: *Miklat*, New York, 1920, Vol. 1, p. 2.
[37] See: *Mitspa*, 1886, No. 1, p. 123.

Education to the head of the Institute of Lithuanian Studies (now the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore) from October 23 stated:

> Upon gathering information about the former Strashun Library, the Committee for Adult Education came to a conclusion that the library, as one of the biggest Judaica libraries in Europe, having many rarities, incunabula and manuscripts, cannot be open to the general public, but should be transferred to the Institute as a resource for study and research. We ask the Institute to take the library into its custody.[38]

Other logistical decisions were made later – e.g., in the beginning of June 1941 the library was renamed 'The 4th public library'.[39] However, in the end the soviet authorities simply did not have the time to transfer, divide or otherwise move the contents of the library prior to the Nazi invasion.[40] Paradoxically, it is precisely from the documents of soviet nationalization in 1940 that we have the last accurate picture of the state of the library and, particularly, of M. Strashun's collection of books,[41] specifying 5 incunabula and 'olden writings and other interesting editions'.[42]
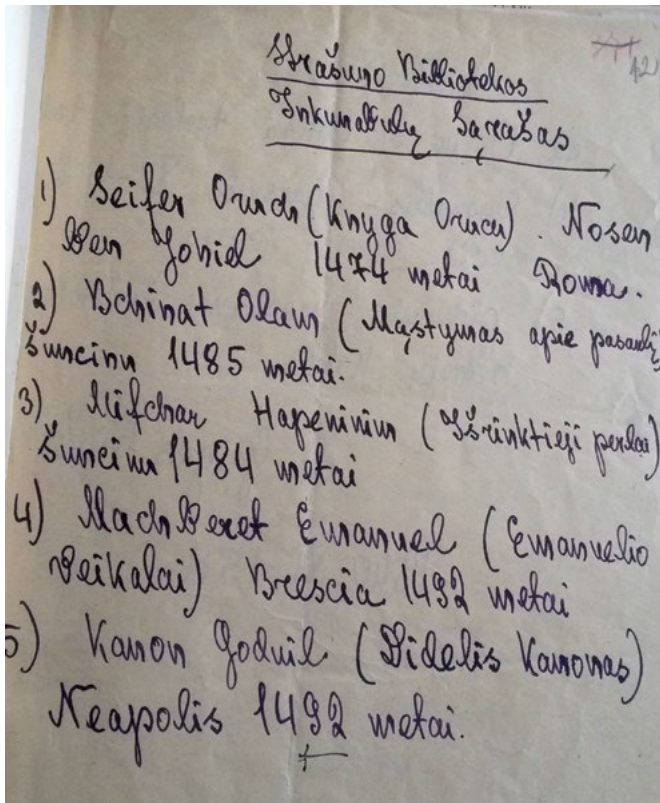

Fig. 3. List of the Strashun library's incunabula in the documents of the nationalization of the library. Lithuanian Central State Archive

The Nazi occupation of Lithuania and Vilnius, as in the whole of Europe, brought plundering of cultural repositories. The Nazis pillaged Jewish libraries, museums, synagogues and scholarly institutions for valuable editions, manuscripts, objects of professional and ritual art. They forced Jewish intellectuals taken prisoners into Vilnius ghetto to sort and pack them for further shipping to Germany, and destroyed all that they deemed 'of having no value'. The Strashun Library underwent the same fate. In 1941, Isaac Strashun, in view of such barbarity, took his own life. Chaykl Lunski worked in the ghetto library until the liquidation of the ghetto in 1943, when he was killed.

The deconstruction and plundering of the Strashun Library that commenced with the Nazi occupation and the sorting of its holdings – the job that Nazis forced a team of Jewish intellectuals among the ghetto inmates to undertake,[43] was finished in the beginning of 1942, as the documents of Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg attest,[44] although,

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[38]   LCSA, F. R-1001, ap. 1, b. 32, p. 2.

[39]   YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, RG58 box 1 fold. 2319.

[40]   Such view would be consistent with the fact that not one book with the library stamp was found in the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore of or, for that matter, in any other book depository of Vilnius – although additional search might be called for if one is to be sure.

[41]   LCSA, F. 401, ap. 2, b. 518, pp. 16r-17v.

[42]   LCSA, F. R-1001, ap. 1, b. 40, pp. 12r-12v, 13r-13v.

[43]   The most thorough and accurate description of the work of that team – the so-called 'paper brigade', is to be found in Fishman, David E., *Book Smugglers. Partisans, Poets, and the Race to Save Jewish Treasures from the Nazis*, New York: ForeEdge, 2017.

[44]   See: LCSA, F. 633, ap. 1, b. 5.

according to some memoirs, the last stages happened in the summer of 1943, on the very eve of the ghetto liquidation.[45]

After the WWII, although a significant part of the plundered Jewish collections was apprehended in Germany, where the Nazis had shipped them, and returned to the rightful owners in Europe, Soviet Union was not recognized by an international community as the heir to the treasures of Jewish culture of Vilnius and Lithuania. For that reason, the part of the Strashun Library collection (about 25,000 publications) found in Germany, was taken over by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York, which in 1925 was established as a branch of Vilnius YIVO Institute and continued its activities after the Holocaust. It is rather symbolic that Lucy Dawidowicz, once a reader at the Strashun Library and then a part of the New York YIVO, was in charge of the transfer, acting on the strategy of the YIVO director Max Weinreich. Some of the Strashun Library books, mainly double copies, were sent to the Jewish National Library in Jerusalem.[46] It is in Jerusalem that for the first time after the war some of those books were exhibited: in 1961, on the 75th death anniversary of Mattityahu Strashun, *Heichal Shlomo* museum in Jerusalem mounted an exhibition of books of the Strashun Library (not only of his personal collection) that showed about 400 publications. In 2001, the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research organized an exhibition dedicated to M. Strashun and presented books from Strashun's personal collection as well as other rear books from the YIVO library.

Therefore, the National Library of Lithuania (NLL) would appear to be the only depository in Lithuania that have in its holdings the remnants of the Strashun Library, and as such could help reconstruct, to a possible extent, this remarkable collection. Speaking only of M. Strashun's personal library, the NLL now has 1436 books, 235 periodicals and 3 manuscripts. These figures are not final: the NLL still has some unidentified Jewish holdings that are being processed gradually, so there is a possibility of further discoveries. The National Library of Lithuania has several copies of the catalogue *Likutei shoshanim*, among them the copy that belonged to Chaykl Lunski and bears his notes. There are also numerous documents of the activities of the Strashun Library, as well as personal documents of Mattityahu Strashun and Chaykl Lunski.

In 2017, a major exhibition 'The People and Books of the Strashun Library', presenting a big part of M. Strashun's legacy and further history of the library, was organized in the NLL. The same year the part of M. Strashun's personal collection preserved in the NLL was included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Registry.

From 2015, the National Library of Lithuania and the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research cooperate in implementing a joint project 'The Edward Blank YIVO Vilna Online Collections' (https://vilnacollections.yivo.org/.) On its first stage, in 2015-2017, the survived NLL and YIVO parts of the Strashun's personal collection were digitized and virtually united online, although many of the printed editions and most of the documents are lacking and were never traced after the WWII. The research of the history of the collection and the library therefore should continue, until all the present and the missing elements are identified.

Just as Mattityahu Strashun in his time, the Strashun Library held a place of unique and utmost esteem among the members of Vilnius Jewish community and far beyond. The philanthropic basis on which the library was established and acted, manifested itself not only in the material sphere (holdings, monies) but also, not less importantly, in the realm of values of which the most crucial were: a) full equality in access to knowledge, and b) its free sharing. That is why the memory of this remarkable institution and its founder Mattityahu Strashun lives on.

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[45] See: Fishman, David E., *Book Smugglers*, p. 112; f. 3.
[46] On the YIVO fight for the ownership of the part of the Strashun collection shipped by the Nazis to Germany, see: Rabinowitz, Dan, *The Lost Library: The Legacy of Vilna's Strashun Library in the Aftermath of the Holocaust*, Chicago: Dartmouth College Press, 2018, pp. 87-142; Fishman, David E., *Book Smugglers*, pp. 195-196.

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MARTYNAS MAŽVYDAS
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THEATRUM LIBRI: Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe

Illustrations in Plantin-Moretus Press Publications as a Resource for Local Artists

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Abstract. In the late sixteenth-seventeenth century, the Plantin-Moretus Press was an exceptional phenomenon in the world of publishing, with its publications spreading far and wide across Europe, including Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Purchased directly and transported to Lithuania, Plantin-Moretus Press books were not just the jewels of institutional and private libraries, their extraordinary design, layouts and copperplate engravings made them a well of visual inspiration for artists to draw from. Inspired by the compositions of the copperplate engravings or their individual elements (motifs), local artists found creative ways to integrate and transfer them into their own illustrations, engravings for panegyrics and other works of art. The purpose of the article is to demonstrate various examples of how the source images were integrated into the engravings and art of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Keywords: Engraving, copperplate engraving, Plantin-Moretus Press publications, engravers of the Netherlands, influence, engraving in books, Conradt Götke, Aleksander Tarasewicz, book collections, seventeenth century.

This article discusses how illustrations from books in the private collections and libraries of the seventeenth century could have had an influence on local artists and engravings created in Vilnius. The focus of the present study will be on the publications of a renowned Antwerp-based publishing house – the Plantin-Moretus Press – and the copperplate engravings they are illustrated with and which had a direct impact on the creative work of individual engravers, providing exemplary reference images and thus having influence on engraving styles in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter the GDL). In other words, the aim of the article is to analyse how the illustrations of books, published by Antwerp's Plantin-Moretus Press, influenced Lithuanian art as its emblematic and symbolic traditions of depicting images came to the GDL by the way of books abundantly decorated with copperplate engravings. This influence is especially obvious in a liturgical work put together by the Augustinian monk Fulgenty Dryjacki, which was printed in Vilnius in 1682. Illustrated with a series of engravings by the artist Aleksander Tarasewicz, this example will be analysed in greater depth.[1]

Much has been written about the influence of print and engraving on the art of the GDL. As observed by art historians, most of the GDL's old religious paintings, for example, portraits of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints,[2] series depicting Christ's suffering on the cross,[3] emblematic

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[1] A presentation on the illustrations of Fulgenty Dryacki's liturgical prayerbook was read at the conference 'The Chapel of Our Lady of Consolation Ensemble in Vilnius: History and Visions for the Future', which took place on 21-22 09 2021. A separate academic article is being prepared on the basis of this presentation.

[2] Račiūnaitė, Tojana, *Atvaizdo gyvastis: Švč. Mergelės Marijos stebuklingųjų atvaizdų patirtis Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVII–XVIII a.*, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2014; Maslauskaitė, Sigita, *Šv. Kazimiero atvaizdo istorija XVI–XVIII a.*, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2010 and other studies of the old sacred art of Lithuania.

[3] Giniūnienė, Asta, *Kryžiaus kelias Lietuvoje XVIII a. antroje pusėje–XX a. pradžioje: sklaida ir raiška*, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2013.

painting[4] and others were created based on engraved reference images. The field of engraving has been studied less, especially with respect to what was borrowed from other engravings and how individual narratives and motifs were integrated into new works of art. In Lithuania, a topic that has been researched even less is the impact of the publications of Europe's most influential and prominent sixteenth-seventeenth century publishing house – the Plantin-Moretus Press. This is especially surprising because of the publishing house's influence on all European art. A closer look at the publishing house's output, how it found its way into Lithuania and its influence on local artwork is very much needed. Therefore, the aim of this article is to delve deeper into the issue, i.e. to identify traces of specific reference images, to analyse how they were integrated into new works of art, to discuss how certain engravings influenced artists of the GDL and how they drew inspiration from the source images in their own creative work. In the article, we will be examining engravings created in Lithuania in which we can find traces of source images from the collections of the Vilnius Academy Library. The study is based on the comparative method and the principles of formal artwork analysis.

Many comprehensive studies[5] have been dedicated to how seventeenth-century engraving worked as a craft and its influence on the art of Western Europe – it has become a kind of axiom of art history. We will have a narrower focus and concentrate on specific Polish-Lithuanian examples to demonstrate not just how artworks were created, but how certain visual elements were transferred into other works of art as well. This can be demonstrated especially clearly with the works of one of the most prominent sixteenth-seventeenth century publishing houses, the Plantin-Moretus Press, which played a significant role in shaping European art. This topic is undoubtedly very relevant because the previous year was the five-hundredth anniversary of Christophe Plantin's publishing house. Research has not been limited to the countries the publisher operated in, i.e. the Netherlands and France, because the Plantin-Moretus Press had a significant influence on book art and publishing practices in all of Europe and even beyond.[6] Substantial research has been conducted in relation to the Plantin-Moretus Press: from a comprehensive bibliography of its publications,[7] to studies of specific books, their illustrations, publication, sales and distribution,[8] and other even more specific questions, for example, the use of certain typefaces[9] and so on. The publications produced by the Plantin-Moretus Press were unique in that much attention was paid to the quality of their paper and artistic presentation. The press was also unique in its capacity to print large volumes of great artistic quality, even though its greatest achievement – an innovation at the time – was the adoption of copperplate engraving. Although it demanded greater financial and human resources, it transformed the aesthetic quality of its books and the significance of the printed image. The Plantin-Moretus Press was one of the first to invite artists and engravers to illustrate its publications. The publishing house's collaboration with the engraver Theodoor Galle and his engraving workshop later

4   Studies by Irena Vaišvilaitė, Tojana Račiūnaitė, Rūta Janonienė, Regimanta Stankevičienė, Gabija Surdokaitė-Vytienė, Aušra Vasiliauskienė and others on the sacred art of the GDL.

5   Griffiths, Antony, *The Print before Photography. An introduction to European printmaking 1550-1820*, London: The British museum, 2016.

6   *Christophe Plantin 1520-2020: Studies of the Officina Plantiniana at the Quincentennial of Plantin's Birth,* edited by Nina Lamal, J. Christopher Warner, Antwerp: Vereniging van Antwerpse Bibliofielen, 2021.

7   Voet, Léon, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, Amsterdam, London, New York: Abner Schram, 1969-1972; *1589-1989 Labore et Constantia: A Collection of 510 Editions Issued by Christopher Plantin from 1555 till 1589*, catalogued by Claude Sorgeloos, introduction by Leon Voet, Brussels: Eric Speeckaert, 1990; Imhof, Dirk, *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press. A Bibliography of the Works Published and Printed by Jan Moretus I in Antwerp (1589-1610)*, Leiden: Brill, Hes et De Graaf, 2014.

8   Imhof, Dirk, 'The Production and Distribution of Illustrated Editions by the Antwerp Plantin Press in the Beginning of the 17th Century', in: *Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft aus Kunst: Antwerpener Malerei und Graphik in und nach den Katastrophen des späten 16. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Eckhard Leuschner, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2016, pp. 101–109.

9   Lane, John A., *Early Type Specimens in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. Annotated Descriptions of the Specimens to ca. 1850 (Mostly from the Low Countries and France) With Preliminary Notes on the Typefounderies and Printing Offices*, New Castle, London: Oak Knoll Press, The British Library, 2004.

grew into a mutually beneficial family business.[10] The quincentennial of the publishing house and the various exhibitions, conferences and new books occasioned by it have directed even more attention to its publications and significance. For example, the Mazarine Library in Paris hosted an extensive exhibition of the Plantin-Moretus Press' publications, a conference and published a new publication – an exhibition catalogue with the latest research on the exhibits.[11]

There are several important stages of this study: first, we will take a look at the Plantin-Moretus Press books in the collections of Lithuanian libraries and investigate which of them had reached the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century. The problem at hand is best dealt with by referring to Plantin-Moretus Press collections, records of which began to be kept at the most prominent libraries of not just Europe but Lithuania as well. The Vilnius University Library has produced a catalogue of Plantin-Moretus' publications in its collection with an introductory article by Vidas Račius on Christophe Plantin, the founder of the publishing house, its publications and the routes by which the publications came to the Vilnius University Library.[12] In 2020, the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania hosted a great exhibition, *The History of the Golden Compass: the Plantins over the Centuries*, which showcased the publishing house's publications from Lithuanian collections.[13] Another important contribution made by the library to Plantiniana research is a catalogue of Plantin-Moretus publications, not yet published. Published catalogues of publications in the collections of Lithuanian libraries reveal much more than might be expected at the first glance. Information about the routes the books took to Lithuania and their most prominent safe-keepers is of utmost importance.

We can begin with a book written by the Plantin-Moretus Press' first client from the GDL – Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila the Orphan's work *Ierosolymitana Peregrinatio* (*Journey to Jerusalem*),[14] published in Antwerp. This was, without a doubt, an influential, important and widely read book in Latin, first published in Braunsberg (1601) and much later in Antwerp (1614). Of course, if we were to compare both editions, the artistic quality of the Antwerp edition is greater (it contains five copperplate engravings and a title page) and its distribution was wider **(Fig. 1).**[15] A glance at the catalogues of Lithuanian libraries reveals that most libraries and private collections had both Latin editions of the work. From the records of Lithuania's old libraries, we can ascertain that most private and monastery libraries, for example, the library at Kražiai, had as many as two copies of both editions.[16] The uniqueness of Golden Compass publications made them influential not only with respect to their content but their design and quality of print – their paper, legible typeface and, of course, the copperplate illustrations as well. The prints the books offered served as examples for publications in Lithuania. One example was *Triumphale Solium...*, Mikalojus Kiška's panegyric to Cecilia Renata of Austria on the occasion of her royal wedding, which was

[10] The publishing house collaborated with Philipe Galle, who completed several publishing projects by its commission. However, later, his son Theodoor Galle married Jan Moretus' daughter Katarina, and their marriage secured the continued collaboration of the Plantin Press and the Galle workshop for several decades, allowing them to realise many mutually beneficial artistic publishing ideas. According to: Imhof, Dirk, 'The Production and Distribution of Illustrated Editions…, pp. 103-105.

[11] *Un siècle d'excellence typographique; Christophe Plantin et son office (1555-1655)=A century of typographical excellence Christophe Plantin and the Officina Plantiniana (1555-1655)*, Paris: Èditions des Cendres Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2020.

[12] Račius, Vidas, 'Labore et Constantia', in: *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos plantenai: katalogas*, edited by Vidas Račius, Vilnius: Petro ofsetas, 2015, pp. 5-40.

[13] Exhibition, *The History of the Golden Compass: the Plantins over the Centuries*, in: 15min.lt, Access at: <https://www.15min.lt/kultura/galerija/paroda-auksinio-skriestuvo-istorija-plantenai-per-simtmecius-204250#>.

[14] Radvila, Mikalojus Kristupas Našlaitėlis, *Ierosolymitana Peregrinatio...*, Antverpiae: ex Officina Plantiniana apud viduam et filios Ioannis Moreti, 1614. A provenance indicates that the book reached the professed house of the Vilnius Jesuits on 19 August 1617 (*Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos plantenai: katalogas,* p. 359).

[15] The book was translated into the Lithuanian language from Latin by Ona Matuzevičiūtė, with an introductory article by Jūratė Kiaupienė. See: Radvila, Mikalojus Kristupas, Našlaitėlis, *Kelionė į Jeruzalę,* Vilnius: Mintis, 1990.

[16] The Braunsberg edition contained the following note: 'Nota. Antequam collegio cessit, Nicolai Pac canonici et oficialis Vilnensis, future episcopi Mednicensis sive Samogitiae, proprium fuit ab ipso Thoma Treter Interprete dono oblatum'. According to: *Buvusios Kražių kolegijos 1803 metų knygų sąrašas = Elenchus Librorum veteris Collegii Crosensis Anno 1803 Compilatus*, Part I, edited by Darius Antanavičius, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2017, p. 275.

Fig. 1. Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila Našlaitėlis, *Ierosolymitana Peregrinatio...,* Antwerpen, 1614. Property of Dr. Jaunius Gumbis

Fig. 2. Conradt Götke's illustration from: *Triumphale Solium...,* Vilnius, 1637

Fig. 3. Peter Paul Rubens designed, and Cornelius Galle engraved the title page for: Digital collections of Vilnius University Library. Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, *Lyricorum libri IV...,* Antwerpen, 1632

illustrated with five copperplate engravings (Vilnius, 1637).[17] The bottom of the fifth and last copperplate engraving, just before the section dedicated to the senators, depicts a ship bearing the inscription '*Secure properat*' ('Hastens safely'). A comparison with an illustration from the Antwerp edition of *Journey to Jerusalem* shows that the latter served as a prototype image for the engraver from Vilnius, Conradt Götke **(Fig. 2).** He selected a single motif – the image of the ship – as his reference image and used it in his own print. Götke was a renowned artist and engraver, active until the mid-seventeenth century. He was considered one of the best and most professional artists in the capital of the GDL. Most of his work was commissioned by individuals connected to the court of the grand duke, and he also created illustrations for various printing works – mostly for the Jesuits of Vilnius.[18]

I would like to stop by another example and present a work in the Vilnius University Library's collection of the Spanish Jesuit and professor at Prague University, Rodrigo de Arriaga, *Cursus philosophicus...* (*A Course on Philosophy*),[19] published by the Plantin Press in Antwerp. The book boasts a wonderful engraved architectural frontispiece depicting the personalities to whom it was dedicated – King Ferdinand III and Queen Maria of Austria, Bohemia and Hungary – standing either side of a gate through which we can see a garden and cityscape in the distance. The upper part of the illustration is filled with allegories for physics, logic and metaphysics, which represent the principal subjects of the professor's course on philosophy. This book was used during a philosophy course at Vilnius University as well, and its title page inspired the renowned engraver in his illustration of the title page of a work (final theses?) by the king's physician (brother?) Ioanne Vorbeck-Lettow, entitled *Amoenior philosophia ad Rosam efflorescens* (*The Pleasant Blooming of the Rose of Philosophy*).[20] The book is dedicated to the Bishop of Kulm, Stanislav Pstrochonski, the king's confessor, while the title of the publication refers to the smell of a rose or a rose garden. On the title page, the artist cleverly integrated a rose on a crest and turned the illustration into a rose garden, giving the philosopher figures roses to hold instead of the typical attributes, showering them in petals and substituting the kings with angels bearing rose crests. In this case, we can see that the artist used a reference image as the basis of his illustration, masterfully substituting various details with those that were appropriate to the subject of the publication. However, as the artist copied most of the elements with precision from the original, we can still recognise the image of the frontispiece created in Antwerp. This is a case of an original illustration serving as the basis of a new engraving reinterpreted to fit its new context.

In Lithuania, the works of the Jesuit bard Motiejus Kazimieras Sarbievijus were widely read. One especially well-known work, *A Book of Epigrams*, was published by the Plantin-Moretus Press in 1632.[21] The cover of the book was designed by the famous Baroque artist Peter Paul Rubens from Antwerp. A sketch of the original – oil on canvas – survives to this day at the Plantin-Moretus Museum **(Fig. 3)**.[22] This engraving is a great example of the collaboration between the artist-engraver and the publisher. The fact that the book circulated in Lithuania means not only that it existed here and was read at the Vilnius University

[17]   Kiška, Mikalojus, *Triumphale Solium Serenissimae Reginae Poloniarvm Caeciliae Renatae Archiduci Austriae Imperatorii Sanquinis et Virtutis Haeredi, Sarmatici Regni fasces, & Diadema prehendenti exornatur…*, Vilnae: Typis Academicis Societatis Iesu, 1637. For more on the illustrations inside this publication, see: Liškevičienė, Jolita, *Mundus emblematum: XVII a. Vilniaus spaudinių iliustracijo*s, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2005, pp. 154-160.

[18]   Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Konradas Giotkė – XVII a. pirmosios pusės Vilniaus graveris', *Knygotyra*, 2010, Vol. 55, pp. 54-79. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15388/kn.v55i0.3491

[19]   Arriaga, Rodrigo, *Cursus philosophicus ...,* Antverpiae: ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1632. According to: *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos plantenai,* pp. 82-84.

[20]   Forbekas-Letovas, Jonas. *Amoenoir philosophia ad Rosam illustrissimi ac reverendissimi d[omi]ni Stanislai Pstrokonski episcopi Chelmen[sis] administratoris abbatiae Tynecen[sis] efflorescens in alma Academia Vilnensi Societatis Iesu*, Vilnae: Typis Academicis S.I., [1648]; described based on: *XVII a. Lietuvos lotyniškų knygų sąrašas,* edited by Daiva Narbutienė, Sigitas Narbutas, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 1998, No. 345, p. 100.

[21]   Sarbiewski, Maciej Kazimierz, *Lyricorum libri IV. Epodon lib. unus alterq. Epigrammatum.* Antverpiae: ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1632.

[22]   Imhof, Dirk, 'Ex arte et decore typographica': Balthasar Moretus I, publisher of Baroque books', in: *Balthasar and the Passion of Publishing Moretus*, Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 2018, pp. 12-28.

Fig. 4. Conradt Götke's illustration for the wedding panegyric *Bellaria Academia...,* Vilnius, 1642. Collection of The Jagiellonian Digital Library
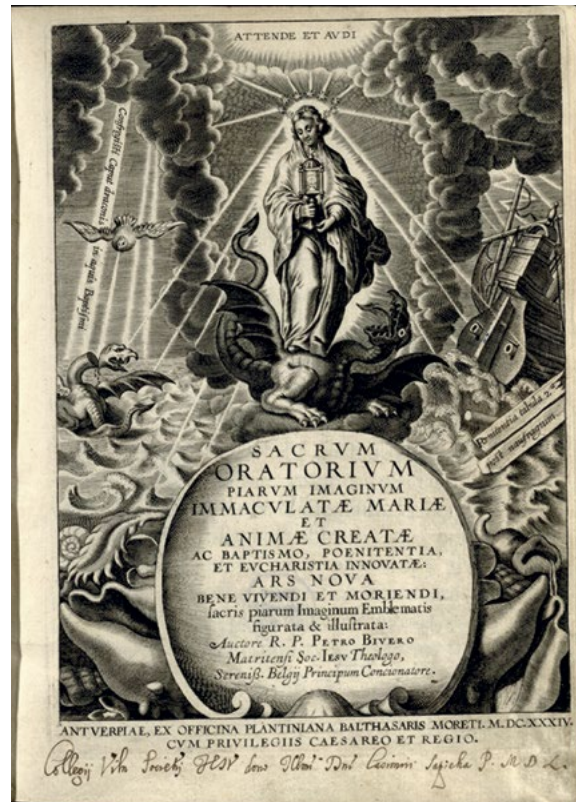

Fig. 5. Title page of Pedro de Bivero, *Sacrum oratorium...,* Antwerpen, 1634. Digital collections of Vilnius University Library

Library, but its title page also became the inspiration for another of Götke's illustrations – an engraving for a panegyric occasioned by a marriage and entitled *Bellaria Academia...*[23] The illustration depicts two allegorical figures – Pallas Athena and Apollo **(Fig. 4)**. The artist borrowed the figure of Apollo holding a lyre – the symbol of the poet and bard – from the original illustration and transformed it into the figure of Mars – the god of war. In Götke's interpretation, the figure's posture differs slightly, and the lyre is set on the ground and replaced by the newly-weds' coat of arms. In this case, certain details are borrowed from the original engraving and creatively reinterpreted, i.e., elements are replaced by more appropriate attributes. There is little doubt that another book, for which Peter Paul Rubens created the illustrations and title page, then engraved by Cornelis I Galle, had an influence on the spread of devotion to the suffering of Christ across Europe – this is Benedict Haeften's famous book of meditations *Regia via Crucis* (Antwerp, 1635).[24] Written by a Benedictine monk and first published by the Plantin Press under Balthasar Moretus, the book would later take the form of 44 different editions, not just in Latin but in other languages, Polish among them, as well.[25] The book presents Christ's unique path of devotion and was intended not just for the clergy but for a wider audience, for laymen looking to better understand the suffering of Christ and devote themselves to it. We can presume that this publication had an influence on Götke – his engraving of Christ bearing the cross also appears in the version of the book published in Vilnius.[26] A comparison of

23   *Bellaria Academica Ad Serenissimorum Principum Philippi Wilhelmi Comitis palatini Rheni, Ducis Bavariae, Iuliae, Cliviae, Montium, comitis in Veldentz Spanheim, Marchia, Rauensburg, et Moehrs, Domini in Rauenstein, etc. Sponsi, Et Annae Catharinae Constantiæ, Augustissimorum Poloniae Sveciaeque Regum Sigismundi III filiae Vladislai IV. sororis Poloniae, Sueciae, etc. Principis Sponsæ Festas, Fortunatas, Auspicatissimasq; Nvptias: Summo Gratulandi Studio Ab Academia Vilnensi Soc. Iesu Oblata*, Vilnae: Typis Academicis, 1642.

24   Haeften, Benedictus van, *Regia via Crucis.* Antverpiae: ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1635.

25   *The Illustration of Books Published by the Moretuses*, Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus Museum, 1996, pp. 118-119.

26   Simplicjan, Paweł, *Srzodki wielce zbawienne, ktorych kto szczyrze zażywać będźie, tu żywota pobożnego y swiątobliwego, a potym w niebie wiekuistego dostąpi,* Vilnae: Typis Acad. Soc. Iesu, 1645.

Fig. 6. Hieronymus Wierix, *The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.* Engraving, before 1619. © The Trustees of the British Museum

Fig. 7. Sheet of theses designed by Leon Tarasewicz for final work: *Theses Mariano Philosophicae...*, Vilnius, 1689. From: Mieczysław Gębarowicz, 'Wawrzyniec-Laurenty Kszczonowicz, nieznany sztycharz drugiej połowy XVII wieku', in: *Folia Historiae Artium*, 1981, Vol. 17, p. 102, ill. 21

both engravings shows us that this is a case of creative emulation, wherein a reference image is reinterpreted as a new work. These examples of Götke's work demonstrate that he used the original illustrations he based his engravings on in different ways: sometimes he borrowed the entire composition of the original engraving, only adjusting details as necessary, other times, he simply copied individual figures or motifs.

The books in the collection of the old library of Vilnius University in the late seventeenth century were no less important as inspirations for the emergence of the new artwork. A large collection of 3,000 books donated to the VU Library by Leonas Sapiega (*Bibliotheca Sapiehana*) in 1655 also had a great influence on artists in Vilnius. The collection was a great addition to the university's Jesuit collection and was considered the largest donation since the newly established Jesuit College in Vilnius inherited Žygimantas Augustas' personal library by his testament.[27] If the influence of certain books on the evolution of ideas is sometimes difficult to evaluate, the influence of illustrations on local artists is much easier to demonstrate through comparison of images. One of the more obvious examples are the engravings from the Spanish Jesuit Pedro de Bivero's abundantly illustrated book *Sacrum oratorium...*, published by the Plantin-Moretus Press **(Fig. 5)**.[28] The title page of this book and the graphic sheet engraved by Hieronymus Wierix 'The Blessed Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception' with the symbols of the Laurentian litany became the primary image for the illustration of theses defended at Vilnius University **(Fig. 6).** Created in 1689, the iconographically impressive, ornamented sheet of theses, entitled *'Theses Mariano Philosophicae'* ('Theses of Marian Philosophy'),[29] was engraved by the renowned artist Leon Tarasewicz (signed: *Leo Tarasewicz*

[27] Braziūnienė, Alma, 'Bibliotheca Sapiehana – europinės LDK kultūros veidrodis', in: *Bibliotheca Sapiehana: Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos rinkinys. Katalogas,* edited by Aušra Rinkūnaitė, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2010, pp. VII–XXIV.

[28] Bivero, Pedro de, *Sacrum Oratorium piarum Imaginum Immaculatae Mariae at animae Creatae, ac baptismo, poenitentia, et eucharistia innovatae: Ars nova bene vivendi et moriendi, sacris piarum Imaginum Emblematis figurata & illustrata*, Antverpiae: Ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1634.

[29] Published: Gębarowicz, Mieczysław, 'Wawrzyniec-Laurenty Kszczonowicz, nieznany sztycharz drugiej połowy XVII wieku', in: *Folia*

sculp.),[30] whose career spanned the latter half of the seventeenth century **(Fig. 7)**. The central part of the illustration depicts the Virgin Mary of Immaculate Conception, who Rafal Michal Olechnowicz,[31] a bachelor's candidate in philosophy and student of a course on metaphysics and ethics, selected as his patron. The centre of the engraving depicts the Blessed Virgin Mary among the clouds, surrounded by weapons and angels, ready to protect her with shields. Each shield bears a quote by a Church Father (St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustin, St. Damasus and others) that is resisting the blows of arrows released by various creatures (vices personified). This composition was inspired by an illustration from the aforementioned publication, while other details – the silhouette of the dragon, the depiction of the enemies, the figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary – were borrowed from Hieronymus Wierix's copperplate engraving from the first half of the seventeenth century. That the artist was copying the original is evidenced by the fact that Mary and the dragon are looking the other way – copying directly from the original meant that as the engraving was printed, the image would be reversed. This example demonstrates that in creating his own illustration, the artist used several sources and adapted them for local interest and to the needs and desires of his client.

Another group of engravings that points to the practice of borrowing images comes from the emblem books. The creation of emblems required some theological knowledge and a knowledge of the symbols used in emblems and even examples of the emblems themselves. In other words, the emblems would become source images based on which other emblems were created. One especially important book to the Jesuits was an almost thousand-page volume dedicated to the centennial of the order, published by the Plantin-Moretus Press under the title *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (*An Image of the First Century of the Society of Jesus*, 1640).[32] Substantial in breadth and abundance of illustrations, the book contains as many as 126 emblem illustrations and is one of the more significant publications of the Society of Jesus as an organisation. It presented a history of the Jesuit Order, used an allegorical visual language and contributed to the popularity of the emblem form. This book was also available at the Vilnius library, widely read and, of course, sought out not only for inspiration, but for specific examples of emblems. Several emblem books authored by the Jesuit Andrius Mlodzianovskis, who worked in Vilnius as well as Polotsk, were directly influenced by this book, as we can see from several of his illustrations or emblems. We can presume that his source of inspiration was another emblem book by the Jesuit theologian Carlo Bovio entitled *Ignatius insignium: epigrammatum et elogiorum centuriis expressus* (*The Insignia of Ignatius: Expressed through a Hundred Epigrams and Eulogies*, 1655),[33] which also inspired several other illustrations in publications printed in Vilnius. The Jesuit Mlodzianovskis published a panegyric entitled *Auguria spei publicae...* (*Auguries for the Common Hope*, 1673)[34] dedicated to Kazimieras Jonas Sapiega on the occasion of his becoming the voivode of Polotsk. Interestingly, the book was produced to celebrate a secular occasion, i.e. the promotion of a layman to a new office, but the emblems were borrowed from a book on theology and meditation. For example, the third emblem depicting a candle on a cloth-covered table, the flame of which is reflected in a round glass vessel filled with water, amplifying the light of virtue – *Reddit cum foenore lumen* (Returns light magnified) **(Fig. 8)**. The emblem presents the glorious heritage of the Sapiega forefathers. This emblem was copied directly from Bovio's work on Loyola: the first emblem

Historiae Artium, 1981, Vol. 17, p. 102, fig. 2; for a further artistic analysis of the engraving see: Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Vilniaus universiteto ginamieji darbai: tezių grafika', *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis,* 2010, Vol. 57: Meninis Vilnius: įtakos ir įvaizdis, pp. 43-65.

30   Tarasevičius, Leonas, in: *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas,* Vol. 1: XVI–XVIII a.*,* edited by Aistė Paliušytė, Vilnius: Lietuvos kultūros institutas, 2005, pp. 255-257.

31   *Akademijos laurai, arba laipsnių teikimo ir daktaro, licenciato, magistro ir bakalauro laipsnių siekiančiųjų Vilniaus Jėzaus draugijos Akademijoje knyga, surašyta ir sudaryta 1650 m.,* Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 1997, p. 272. More on this engraving in: Jolita Liškevičienė, 'Vilniaus universiteto ginamieji darbai: tezių grafika', pp. 58-61.

32   *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu a provincia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem societatis repraesentata*, Antverpiae: ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1640.

33   Bovio, Carlo, *Ignatius insignius epigrammatum et elogiorum centuriis expressus,* Roma: Typis Ignaciis de Lazaris, 1655.

34   *Auguria spei publicae illustrissimo domino Casimiro Ioanni Sapieha Palatino Polocensi, capitaneo Volpensi, Onixtensi &c. Dum Palatinus Sui Fasces Capefferet, Exhibita & Oblata A Batoreano Regio Polocensi Societatis Iesu Collegio Anno 1673*. Die, Vilnae: Typis Academicis Societatis Iesu, [1673].
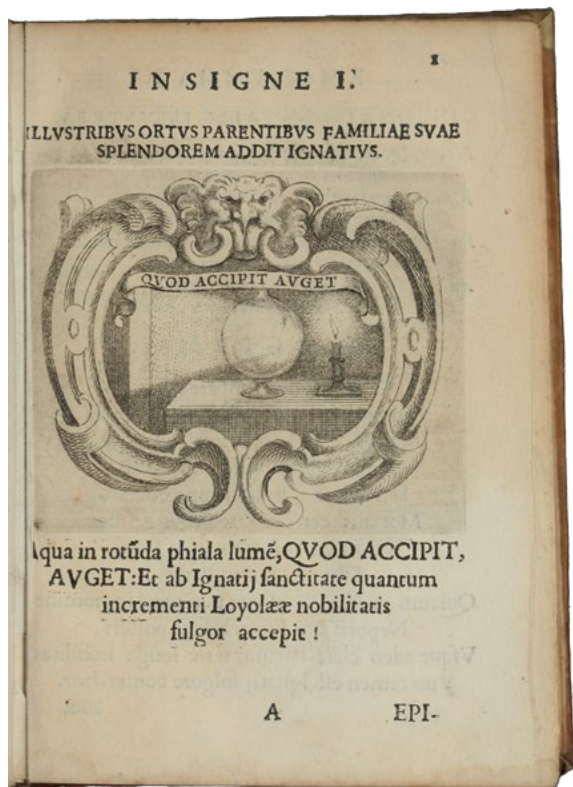
Fig. 8. Emblem from Bovio, Carlo, *Ignatius insignium: epigrammatum et elogiorum centuriis expressus,* Roma, 1655, p. A. archive.org digital collection
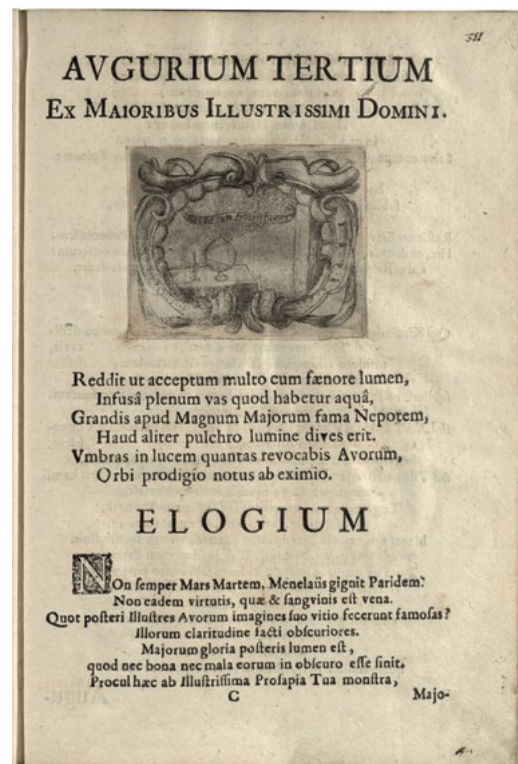

Fig. 9. Emblem from Mlodzianovskis, Andrius, *Auguria spei publicae...,* Vilnius, 1673, p. C. Digital collections of Vilnius University Library

or insignia praises Ignatius' parentage, the light of which was transferred to the saintly Ignatius Loyola ('Born to parents of renown, Ignatius built upon the magnificence of his family') (**Fig. 9**). Here we can glean an even wider field of association – if the light is understood to mean the source of spiritual light from the father of the Jesuit Order himself. The influence of the aforementioned books can be demonstrated in another of Andrius Mlodzianovskis' (Andrzej Młodzianowski) works, a biography of the Blessed Martyr Josaphat Kuncewicz, entitled *Icones symbolices…* (Vilnae, 1675).[35] Here I will present several emblems that were created based on prints in the Jesuit works. In the first example we can see an emblem from the aforementioned work, which depicts a phoenix with the lemma *Martyrum pretiosa mors* (The high price of a martyr's death)[36] and an episode from Josaphat's biography, depicted in the fifth emblem of the aforementioned book *Scintilla ignis in sinvm Iosaphat e Crvcifixi Imagine descendit* (The spark from the image of the Crucified descends into Josaphat's chest). Another emblem, depicting a putto inscribing circles, was borrowed from the emblem dedicated to Francisco de Borja[37] in the aforementioned Jesuit work (**Fig. 10-11**). Even though the artistic quality of the emblems differs greatly, the transferral of the motif is easy to recognise. Two other emblems from Mlodzianovskis' work are also based on the images from Bovio's book, with elements of the original used to explain certain biographical facts – Josaphat's teaching to those in need and his Basilian habit.[38] We can see that the artist copied the original but

[35]   Mlodzianovskis, Andrius, *Icones symbolicae vitae et mortis Iosaphat martyris Archiepiscopi Polocensis expressae perillustrai Domino, D. Georgio Stanislao Sapieha Paladinae Polocensis Capitaneo Borisoviensi oblatae*, Vilnae: Typ. Acad. Soc. Iesu, 1675. For more on this publication refer to its Lithuanian translation: Mlodzianovskis, Andrius, *Palaimintojo kankinio Juozapato Polocko arkivyskupo gyvenimo ir mirties simboliniai atvaizdai: šaltinis, vertimas ir studija,* edited by Jolita Liškevičienė, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2015.

[36]   *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu*, p. 580.

[37]   *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu*, p. 722.

[38]   Mlodzianovskis, Andrius, *Palaimintojo kankinio Juozapato Polocko arkivyskupo gyvenimo ir mirties simboliniai atvaizdai: šaltinis, vertimas ir studija,* edited by Jolita Liškevičienė, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2015.
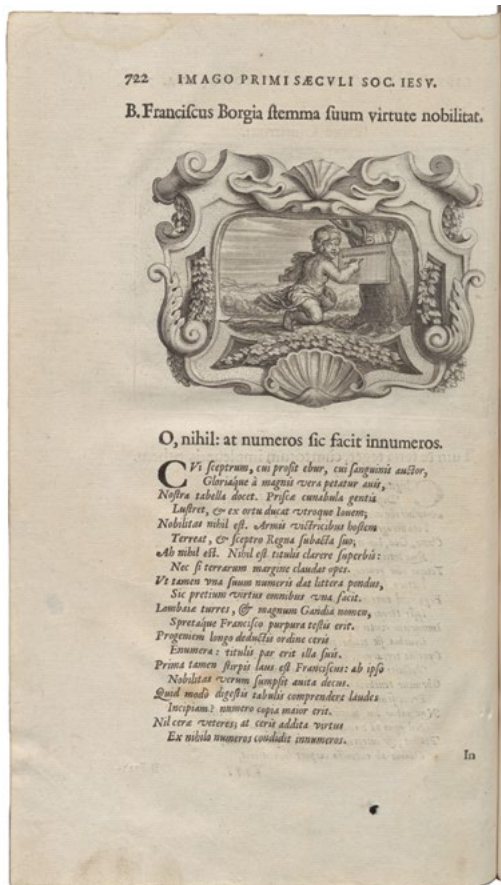
Fig. 10. Emblem from *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu,* Antwerpen, 1640, p. 580. Digital collections of Vilnius University Library
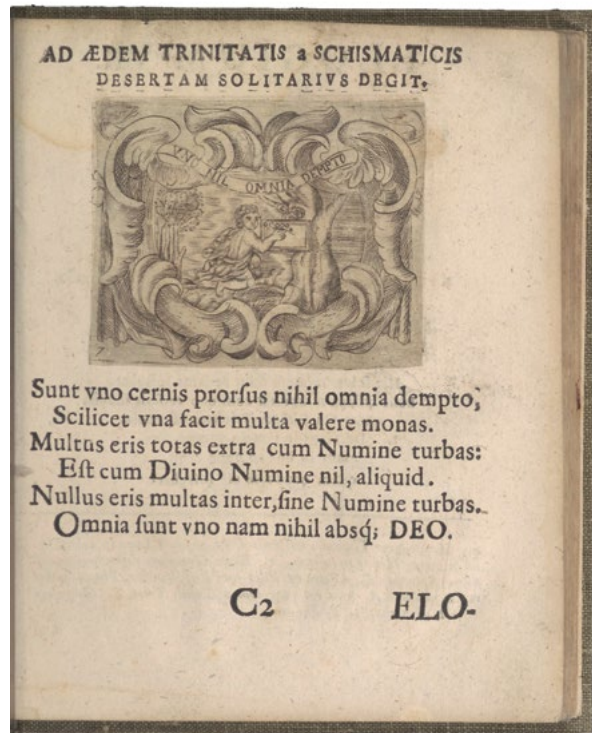
Fig. 11. Emblem from Mlodzianovskis, Andrius, *Icones symbolices…,* Vilnius, 1675, p. C2. The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences

adjusted certain details to the ones locally and thematically more fitting. Interestingly, the illustrations of a work by another important Jesuit author, Athanasius Kircher, also served as an inspiration for several other emblems in Mlodzianovskis' works. These were the famous Jesuit's scholarly studies on China (*China monumentis…, 1667*)[39] and a description of the Tower of Babel (*Athanasii Kircher e Soc. Iesu Turris Babel …, 1672*),[40] both available at the library in Mlodzianovskis' time. Descriptions of the papaya, pepper, pineapple and a poisonous stone were borrowed from these works and adapted to suit the narrative of Josaphat's life, giving the publication a certain exotic flair and piquing readers' interest.[41] A comparison of the original prints with the small emblems in Mlodzianovskis' work can only lead to the conclusion that the engraver of the latter was clearly less artistically skilled. From these examples we can conclude, that emblems were mostly borrowed for their content, although they were also imitated for their artistry.

We must also recognise that the publications of the Plantin-Moretus Press had an especially significant impact on European liturgical publications and their illustrations.[42] We know that under the leadership

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[39] Kircher, Athanasius, *China monumentis qua Sacris quà Profanis, Nec non variis naturae et artis spectacularis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illlustrata…*, Amstelodami: Apud Joannem Janssonium a Waesbergae & Elizeum Weyerstraet, 1667; for more on the topic see: Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Teksto ir vaizdo dermė: kankinio gyvenimo epizodų emblemos', in: *Mlodzianovskis, Andrius, Palaimintojo kankinio Juozapato Polocko arkivyskupo gyvenimo ir mirties simboliniai atvaizdai*, pp. 445-488.

[40] Kircher, Athanasius, *Turris Babel, Sive Archontologia Qua Primo Priscorum post diluvium hominum vita, mores rerumque gestarum magnitudo, Secundo Turris fabrica civitatumque extructio, confusio linguarum, & inde gentium transmigrationis, cum principalium inde enatorum idiomatum historia, multiplici erudione describantur & explicatur…*, Amstelodami: Ex Officina Janssonio-Waesbergiana, 1669.

[41] For more on the topic see: Liškevičienė Jolita, 'Teksto ir vaizdo dermė: kankinio gyvenimo epizodų emblemos', pp. 445-488.

[42] Bowen, Karen Lee, *Christopher Plantin's Books of Hours: Illustration and production* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica, Vol. XXXII), Nieukoop: de Graaf Publishers, 1997.

of Moretus I, from 1589 to 1610, almost half of the publishing house's output consisted of religious pub-
lications – as many as 345 published titles.[43] They were distributed widely and with large print runs. For
example, the small-format Book of Hours of the Virgin Mary, *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis*,[44] was
considered a best-seller of the time, with as many as 32 editions and at least 74,210 copies published.[45]
Liturgical literature dominated and had reached a certain established standard of quality and artistry. If
we were to take a look at the Plantin-Moretus Press collection at the Vilnius University Library, we would
discover that the larger part of the collection is composed of religious-liturgical and theological works.[46]
The nature of the collection was determined by the needs and attitudes of the Jesuit University itself.[47] We
can speak of the great influence of the art from the Netherlands in the case of another important book
from the GDL – the book of prayers *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae passionis pretiosissimi sanguinis D. n.
Iesu Christi* (*Treasury of the Most Sacred Life, Suffering and Most Precious Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ*,
1682),[48] put together for the use of the Catholic church by the Augustinian monk Fulgenty Dryjacki and
illustrated by Aleksander Tarasewicz. This is a significant memorial of religious literature and sacred
art printing, kept at the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius and in-
cluded in the Memory of the World heritage list by the Lithuanian National Commission for UNESCO.
The small-format booklet contains 43 copperplate engravings, of which 39 form a continuous liturgical
and allegorical cycle of prints, which was heavily influenced by the engravers of the Netherlands, who
developed the genre of the graphic series. Working alongside theologians, most frequently the Jesuits,
they designed and engraved conceptually and theologically grounded combinations of image and text
that drew from the Bible: images of Christ and Mary, the holy fathers, martyrs, hermits, saints and other
personalities, as well as miracles, that were then bound into books. One author of note was the Jesuit
Ioannes David (1546-1613), a preacher and apologist who mostly operated in the Belgian Province and
served as the rector of the Jesuit College in Gent (1594-1602). From 1601 to 1610, he created four series
of copperplate engravings in the emblem form. These were innovative and theologically grounded books
similar in their content, which had a great influence on art because of their illustrations. These books were
a series of engravings with bilingual explanations – *Veridicus Christianus*[49] (*The True Christian*, first edi-
tion published in 1601) contained 100 illustrated engravings; *Duodecim specula*[50] (*Twelve Mirrors*, 1610)
contained 12 engravings; a two-part work entitled *Paradisus sponsi et Sponsae, and Pancarpium Maria-
num*[51] (*Paradise of the Bride and Groom and Mary's Shield*, first edition published in 1607), contained 50
illustrations. Apart from this author, another prominent Spanish Jesuit theologian, Hieronymus Natalis
(1507-1580), at the request of Loyola himself prepared a book of meditations entitled *Adnotationes et
meditationes* (*Observations and meditations*).[52] The book was first published in 1593, and later published

[43]   According to: Imhof, Dirk. *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press. A Bibliography of the Works Published and Printed
       by Jan Moretus I in Antwerp (1589-1610)*, Leiden: Brill, Hes et De Graaf, 2014, p. XLIII, Table 2.
[44]   *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis, Nuper reformatum, et Pij V Pnt. Max. iussu editum. Cum Kalendario Gregor. a S. D. N. Sixto PP.V.
       aliquot SS. Festis aucto*, Antverpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi regij, 1589.
[45]   According to: Imhof, Dirk. *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press. A Bibliography of the Works Published and Printed
       by Jan Moretus I in Antwerp (1589-1610)*, p. 487.
[46]   Račius, Vidas, *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos plantenai: katalogas*, p. 30.
[47]   *Ibid.*
[48]   *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae passionis pretiosissimi sanguinis D. n. Iesu Christi in augustissimo Missae sacrificio depositus superio-
       rum permissu*, Vilnae: typ. Acad. S. Iesu, 1682.
[49]   David, Jan, *Veridicus Christianus*, Antverpiae: Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1601.
[50]   David, Jan, *Duodecom specula Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata*, Antverpiae: Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Iaonnem
       Moretum, 1610.
[51]   David, Jan, *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae: in quo Messis Myrrhae et Aromatvm, ex instrumentis ac mysterijs Passionis Christi colligen-
       da, ut ei commoriamur. Et Pancarpium Marianum, Septemplici Titulorum serie distinctum: ut in B. Virginis odorem curramus, et
       Christus formetur in nobis*, Antverpiae: Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Ioannem Moretum, 1607.
[52]   Natalis, Hieronymus, *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia quae in Sacrosancto Missae Sacrificio toto anno leguntur: cum eo-
       rundem Evangeliorum Concordantia,* Editio ultima: In qua Sacer Textus ad emendationem Bibliorum Sixti V. et Clementis VIII,
       restitutus, Antverpiae: Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Ioannem Moretum, 1607.

Fig. 12. Dryjacki, Fulgenty, *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae passionis pretiosissimi sanguinis D. n. Iesu Christi,* Vilnius, 1682, ill. I. The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences

Fig. 13. David, Jan, *Paradisus sponsi et Sponsae,* Antwerpen, 1607, ill. 50. archive.org digital collection

by the Plantin-Moretus Press in 1607. Professionally drawn by M. de Vos and engraved at the workshop of the Wierix brothers,[53] the 154 copperplate engravings depict the life of Christ and provide a unique commentary on the Gospel readings based on a newly issued Roman missal. The series of engravings begins with an illustration entitled 'Evangelicae Historiae Imagines' ('Images of the Gospel Story'),[54] which depicts Christ showing his wounds. The book is intended to aid the order's seminarians in their meditations and prayers as they reflect on the life, suffering and resurrection of Jesus. The publication was a popular success, and it was not long before images from the engravings were being copied to make new works of art, and the publication itself was often taken by travelling Jesuit missionaries as an iconographic reference book.[55] As we will see, the artist Aleksander Tarasewicz of Vilnius used these books, and others, in clever ways to source subject matter and separate details as well as to create his own series of illustrations.

Let us take a closer look at the illustrations of the previously mentioned publication by Dryjacki. All of the illustrations contain several themes and levels of meaning – the process of Mass, its celebrants (the priest offering the Mass or his assisting server) and its participants – the townsmen. Each illustration is

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[53] The Wierix brothers, Johannes (1549-ca. 1620), Hieronymus (1553-1619) and Antonius II (1555/9-1604), worked in Antwerp. They illustrated over 375 books, mostly for Plantin. For more, see: *The New Hollstein Dutch et Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1490-1700. The Wierix Family. Book Illustrations,* compiled by Harriet Stroomberg, Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel: Sound et Vision publishers, 2006, Part 1, p. XI.

[54] Nadal, Gerónimo, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines ex ordine Evangeliorum, quae toto anno in Missae sacrificio recitantur, In ordinem temporis vitae Christi digestae,* Antverpiae, 1596. Drawn by Maarten de Vos, engraved by Hieronymus Wierix. The work was published as a separate series of illustrations in 1647, by Jan Galle, according to: Imhof, Dirk. *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press. A Bibliography of the Works Published and Printed by Jan Moretus I in Antwerp (1589-1610),* p. 479.

[55] Buožytė, Eleonora, 'Kaip atvaizduoti (ne)matoma? Vaizdas ankstyvuosiuose jėzuitų spaudiniuose', *Naujasis židinys,* 2018, No. 7, pp. 31-37.

Fig. 14. Illustration by Aleksander Tarasewicz from: Dryjacki, Fulgenty, *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae passionis pretiosissimi sanguinis D. n. Iesu Christi,* Vilnius, 1682, ill. III. The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences

Fig. 15. David, Jan, *Pancarpium Marianum...,* Antwerpen, 1607, ill. 34

accompanied by two themes from the Old or New Testament and meaningfully associated with the procedure of the service. Let us discuss the motifs of the first illustration, which is entitled 'I. *Ad Sacrificium Missae ACCESSUS*' ('Introduction to the Holy Mass') (**Fig. 12**). The illustration depicts the celebrants of the Holy Mass – a priest and his altar servers – heading towards the altar. Apart from the priest, there is his assistant – an attendant holding the Bible in his hands, while alongside him there stands an angel, a divine participant of the Mass. The beginning of the service is illustrated by a further two scenes. A scene from the New Testament on the altar: the Holy Trinity and a quote from the Book of Isaiah.[56] The niche contains the hand of God holding the book *Manus Dei* and a verse from the Book of Ezekiel of the Old Testament: '*Et vidi et ecce manus missa ad me in qua erat involutus liber*' ('Now when I looked, there was a hand stretched out to me; and behold, a scroll of a book was in it,' Ezekiel 2:9). This illustration seems to be constructed of separate elements – each is separate, only meaningful if they are brought together as a whole. The motif of the hand holding a book has been borrowed from an engraving in David's publication entitled *Sepulchri Custodia*[57] (**Fig. 13**).

A similar method of construction is apparent in the book's third illustration 'Kiss of the altar' ('III. *Ad Sacrificium Missae Osculum Altaris*'), which depicts a church with a stairway instead of an Old Testament narrative. We know of this prototype image of a church (chapel) from an engraving in *Paradisus sponsi et Sponsae*[58] by the aforementioned Jesuit David. We can see how the engraving was adapted and trans-

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[56]   Prophecy of Immanuel: *Quis ibit nobis et dixi ecce ego sum mitte me* ('Then I heard the voice of the Lord saying, 'Whom shall I send? And who will go for us?' And I said, 'Here am I. ... Send me!', Isaiah 6:8).
[57]   David, Jan, *Paradisus sponsi et Sponsae...,* p. 199, Fig. 50.
[58]   David, Jan, *Pancarpium Marianum...,* p. 169, Fig. 41.

ferred to the illustration created in Vilnius with the stairway representing the seven virtues. A similar transferral of an architectural feature is also evident in the fifth engraving, entitled 'The Lord is with Thee' ('V. *Ad Sacrificium Missae Dominus Vobiscum*'). This time, the place of an Old Testament illustration is occupied by a tabernacle ('*Tabernaculum Dei cum Hominibus*' – 'The tabernacle of God with men'), the image of which is borrowed from David's work *Pancarpium Marianum*.[59] In the sixth and seventh illustrations of the series, we can see similar examples of image 'citation': the male figure standing by the palm tree is borrowed from an illustration entitled '*Lignum Vitae*' ('Tree of life'), while the image of the city was lifted from the 23rd engraving, entitled '*Civitas Refugii*' ('City of refuge').[60] Most of the motifs depicted in Dryjacki's book would be difficult to comprehend because it is difficult to identify a scene with no knowledge of the reference image it was based on. This is also made evident by this analysis, as most scenes remain unidentified.[61] Only once we have found the reference images we can identify the scenes depicted in the illustrations. For example, in the ninth engraving of Dryjacki's book, 'The cleansing' ('IX. *Ad Sacrificium Missae Munda*'), the meaning of the Old Testament scene only became clear with the discovery of the reference image in Ioannes David's book *Veridicus Christianus*:[62] its 42nd illustration depicts a pentagonal structure that symbolises the five senses, with the letter 'A' marking the second festival in Jerusalem and the healing at Bethesda.[63] Without the explanation provided by David's book, this scene, with an iconography rarely depicted in art, would have been difficult to understand (**Fig. 14-15**).

Several of the book's illustrations are visually quite removed from the previously used composition of images and place a greater emphasis on interior and architectural elements. The composition of the 19th illustration 'Introduction' (XIX. Sacrificij Missae Canon minor. PRAEFATIO.) emphasizes the spacious interior of the church with expressive Baroque columns with scrolls and kneeling worshipers, depicted from behind. The church interior has clearly been engraved in the style of the Dutch engravings, as seen in the illustration 'Purificatio'[64] from Natalis's meditative work **(Fig. 16-17)**.

We can identify several more cases of visual 'citations' in the 17th and 22nd illustrations. In the latter, the image of the cross and sceptre in a painting on the church wall is borrowed from David's book, from an illustration dedicated to Mary – '*Arca testamenti*'.[65] From the same book, individual motifs can be recognised in the 25th illustration, depicting the motif of Noah's ship, while in the 38th illustration we can see a similar motif – Noah's ship and the dove carrying an olive branch to announce the end of the flood.[66] Yet another illustration worth pointing out is the 39th of the series, entitled 'Our Father in Heaven' ('*Pater Noster*'). The cross above the altar is depicted bearing seven numbered oval symbols. The symbolism of this cross would have been difficult to decipher had it not been for the 43rd engraving of David's book, 'Seven wonderful symbols' ('*Septem Signa Stupenda*').[67] It explains the seven symbols inscribed in the round shapes, because during the crucifixion of Christ they symbolised his divine nature: 1. '*Sol obscuratus est*' ('The sun darkened'); 2. '*Clamans exspiravit*' ('He breathed a sigh of relief'); 3. '*Velum templi scissum est*' ('The veil [curtain] of the temple was torn'); 4. '*Terraemotus magnus factus est*' ('There was a great earthquake'); 5. '*Petrae scissae sunt*' ('The rocks cracked'); 6. '*Monumenta aperta sunt*'

[59]   David, Jan, *Pancarpium Marianum*..., p. 140, Fig. 34.
[60]   David, Jan, *Pancarpium Marianum*..., p. 36, Fig. 8 and p. 97, Fig. 23.
[61]   Janocha, Michalas, 'Aleksandro Taresevičiaus 1682 metų Vilniaus graviūrų ciklas „Sacrificium Missae" liturginių-alegorinių „Vitae Christi" ciklų kontekste', *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, 2002, Vol. 25: Paveikslas ir knyga: LDK dailės tyrimai ir šaltiniai, pp. 81-105.
[62]   David, Jan, *Pancarpium Marianum*..., p. 167, Fig. 42.
[63]   'Now there is in Jerusalem near the Sheep Gate a pool, which in Aramaic is called Bethesda and which is surrounded by five covered colonnades.³ Here a great number of disabled people used to lie – the blind, the lame, the paralysed', John 5:2-3.
[64]   [Natalis, Hieronymus], *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia quae in Sacrosancto Missae Sacrificio toto anno leguntur: cum Evangeliorum Concordantia historiae integritati sufficienti,* [...] Auctore Hieronymo Natali, Societatis Iesu Theologo, Antverpiae, Excudebat Martinus Nutius, [1594], p. 70, ill. 8.
[65]   David, Jan, *Pancarpium Marianum*..., p. 180, Fig. 44.
[66]   David, Jan, *Pancarpium Marianum*..., p. 44, Fig. 10.
[67]   David, Jan, *Paradisus sponsi et Sponsae...,* p. 167, Fig. 42.

Fig. 16. Illustration by Aleksander Tarasewicz from: Dryjacki, Fulgenty, *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae passionis pretiosissimi sanguinis D. n. Iesu Christi,* Vilnius, 1682, ill. XIX. The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences

Fig. 17. Illustration designed by Maarten de Vos, engraved by Hieronymus Wierix from: Natalis, Hieronymus, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines...*, Antwerpen, 1646, ill. 8. archive.org digital collection

Fig. 18. Dryjacki, Fulgenty, *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae passionis pretiosissimi sanguinis D. n. Iesu Christi*, Vilnius, 1682, ill. XXIX. 39. The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences

Fig. 19. David, Jan, *Veridicus Christianus,* Antwerpen, 1601, ill. 42. archive.org digital collection

('The grave opened'); 7. '*Effluxit sanguis et aqua*' ('Blood and water flowed out'). In Dryjacki's prayer-book, the illustration only depicts the numbers, while the remaining explanatory content was provided solely by the source image (**Fig. 18-19**).

A closer look at Aleksander Tarasewicz's series of engravings has demonstrated how the liturgical engravings, created by the engravers of the Netherlands, were used by locals as references, and how individual elements were borrowed abundantly and integrated into their own work. We can speak of a creative adaptation of copperplate engravings for the new illustrations created in Vilnius. They were created in emulation of the best examples of the art of engraving at the time, and allowed the local culture to absorb that which had already been created, recognised and valued in Europe. Being of a high artistic standard, these books shaped a continuous field of influence, allowing their readers and artistic followers to become part of a common European context and feel the living pulse of the current European culture and art.

Conclusions

Having discussed a substantial number of prints from seventeenth-century Lithuania, we have seen the various methods artists employed in their creative explorations and how various reference illustrations influenced artists and their work.

A discussion of several examples of the work of Conradt Götke, who worked as an engraver in the first half of the seventeenth century in Vilnius, revealed that he used books available in Vilnius for reference, which had an influence on his work by providing him a visual basis to work from and illustrations to copy.

We can confidently state that the books kept in the libraries of Vilnius were sources of inspiration for local artists. The examples discussed demonstrated specific cases of borrowing from existing engravings and revealed the different ways that artists integrated the reference images in their own work: by copying the compositional structure of an entire engraving and adjusting relevant details, or by transferring individual motifs into their own compositions. Many borrowed images come from the books published by the Plantin-Moretus Press, which were abundantly illustrated. It should be noted that artists were influenced in a way by the images they found in the books of libraries in Vilnius and the sources they had access to as they undertook local commissioned work.

Using a reference image was a common practice among the majority of artists – it allowed them to achieve the desired artistic result with more ease. Aleksander Tarasewicz's series of engravings for a liturgical prayer book provides evidence of the fact that he used liturgical publications by the Plantin-Moretus Press as reference books, which were then considered reliable sources of theological imagery and had influence on the entire European field of theological literature and art. Created by the theologians of the Netherlands and professionally engraved, these liturgical prints were exemplary pieces of the art of the time, yet their theological legitimacy as well as high artistic quality were guaranteed. Their use as references in the creation of liturgical publications is an example of how Western art was absorbed into the local art of the GDL, amplifying its geographic diffusion.

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THEATRUM LIBRI: Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe

Italian Physicians in Exile and the First Medical Book in Lithuania

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Abstract. The article analyses the historical episodes in which the first medical book published in Lithuania, *Commentariola medica et physica* (1584), was prepared by the Italian physician Simone Simoni (1532-1602). Assuming that the medical practice was directly affected by confessionalisation, tensions between heterodox physicians and Jesuits, the circumstances for the concentration of Italian heterodox physicians in the region of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Transylvania in the second half of the sixteenth century are discussed. Simone Simoni, a former Protestant and refugee *religionis causa*, in 1582 converted to Catholicism, and from 1583 served as a physician to the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stephen Bathory (1576-1586), undertook criticism of Italian physicians belonging to the early Socinian circle. In 1584-1589 Simoni developed two major controversies against Marcello Squarcialupi (1538-1592), who worked at the manor of the Transylvanian duke Sigismund Báthory (1573-1613), and Niccolò Buccella (died in 1599), the chief physician of Stephen Bathory. *Commentariola medica et physica* was the first fruit of this controversy. Simoni criticised the nature philosophy methods of the Socinian Squarcialupi, who focused not on theory but on the observation of phenomena. The medical controversy between Italian exiles reflected the early modern intersections of medicine and confession. Simoni considered the theoretical system of classical Aristotelian philosophy of nature to be the basis of medicine. After the opportunistic conversion to the Roman Church, he dedicated himself to the fight against his Socinian colleagues in exile. He did not recognize the experiments and observation practices of Socinians who delved into the particular phenomena of nature and human nature, used empirics and sought the secrets of a 'Christian medicine'.

Keywords: Simone Simoni, Marcello Squarcialupi, Italian physicians in exile, Vilnius, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Transylvania, medical controversy.

Introductory remarks: the state of learned medicine in sixteenth-century Lithuania

The first medical work published in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter the GDL) was *Commentariola medica et physica* (*Commentaries on medicine and nature*) by the Italian physician Simone Simoni, which appeared in Vilnius at the beginning of 1584 in the printing house of Jan Karcan (died in about 1611).[1] The purpose of this article is to evaluate the circumstances of the emergence of this book in the historical context of Italian physicians in exile and confessional interactions in the East Central Europe.[2]

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[1]   Simoni, Simone, *Commentariola medica et physica ad aliquot scripta. Cuiusdam Camillomarcelli Squarcialupi Plumbinensis, nunc Medicum agentis in Transilvania. Varijs authoribus. Quae omnia pagella sequens minutius indicabit. Satius est honeste latere, quam cum infamia prodire in lucem*, Vilnae: Iohannes Kartzanus, 1584. See also: *XV–XVI a. Lietuvos lotyniškų knygų sąrašas = Index librorum latinorum Lituaniae saeculi quinti decimi et sexti decimi*, compiled by Daiva Narbutienė, Sigitas Narbutas, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2002, No. 285. The source is available and digitized online. Access at: <https://books.google.lt/books?id=fp5kAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA1&hl=lt&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

[2]   Research for this paper was made possible by funding from the Research Council of Lithuania (LMT LT), agreement No S-MIP-20-6.

The state of learned medicine in the early modern times of Lithuania is vividly illustrated by the fact that *Commentariola* is not only the first, but also the only medical book published in the GDL in the sixteenth century.[3] Vilnius was not a city of medical press. In this article we will not discuss the complex circumstances of the vague development of learned medicine in Lithuania. Nevertheless, the main reason for the lack of learned medical thought should be stressed: until the very end of the eighteenth century there were no academic medical studies in Vilnius. The Society of Jesus, which in 1570 founded and administered Vilnius Jesuit College, (in 1579 raised to the rank of an academy), prohibited medicine as a subject of studies in their schools not only in Vilnius but also throughout Europe.[4] Such situation had various consequences for the history of the printing, books, libraries and medicine as a whole in Lithuania, where Vilnius Academy was the only university: in early modern times, there was no systematic accumulation of medical knowledge, and there was a lack of medical literature. For example, it is known that the Jesuits did not take most of the books on medicine and nature philosophy from the library donated by the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund II Augustus for their library, considering them unnecessary.[5]

In the sixteenth century, the Lithuanians studied medicine at the University of Cracow (medical studies there were of a low standard), some studied at the faculty of Medicine of the University of Königsberg in Prussia (from 1544), and those seeking prestigious medical education – in Italy (primarily Padua and Bologna), less often in Germany and other foreign universities.[6] Due to the most developed medical studies in the Italian universities, the majority of trained physicians in the market of medical practice in the GDL and Poland (in the estates of kings and aristocracy) were either the locals who had studied in Italy or the Italians who widely dominated the field of medical services throughout sixteenth-century Europe. The history of medicine and the trained physicians in the GDL and Poland are inextricably linked, because in the sixteenth century larger corps of trained physicians were consistently formed mainly in the courts of the rulers of Poland and Lithuania. Some trained physicians or their smaller groups also worked in the estates of high aristocracy and bishops. Italians, who escaped the persecution of the Inquisition, in the second half of the sixteenth century, started to play an important role in the European market of medical practitioners. Most of them settled down in Switzerland and other German-speaking European territories,[7] but heterodox refugees especially antitrinitarians, unable to act due to their confessional identity in the institutions (universities, estates) of magisterial Protestantism (Lutheran, Reformers), looked for opportunities in the East Central Europe, primarily in Poland-Lithuania. The most unique situation in this respect occurred during the reign of Stephen Bathory in Transylvania (from 1571) and in Poland-Lithuania (1576-1586): although Bathory was Catholic, his estates were dominated not by

[3] On this occasion, it is necessary to clarify the information provided by the book historians of the GDL about two medical books printed in Vilnius in the 16th century and a statement, that at a similar time Simoni's second book was published in Vilnius *De vi quinque amygdalarum in ebrietate retardanda (On the power of five almonds to stop drunkenness),* see: *XV-XVI a. Lietuvos lotyniškų knygų sąrašas,* No. 286. Such a book was prepared and published in Switzerland (Poschiavo) not by Simoni, but by his opponent Marcello Squarcialupi, see: Zucchini, Giampaolo, 'Per la ricostruzione dell' epistolario di Marcello Squarcialupi: alcune lettere inedite dai Grigioni (1586-1588)', in: *Antitrinitarianism in the Second Half of the 16th Century,* edited by Robert Dán, Antal Pirnát, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Leiden: Brill, 1982, p. 335.

[4] On the Jesuits' relationship with medicine, see: Welie, Jos V.M., 'Ignatius of Loyola on Medical Education: Or, Should Today's Jesuits Continue to Run Health Sciences Schools?', *Early Science and Medicine*, 2003, Vol. 8, pp. 26-43; Pociūtė, Dainora, 'Nuo *medicus philosophus* prie *medicus religiosus*, arba kodėl Vilniaus jėzuitų akademijoje nebuvo medicinos studijų', *Problemos. Annex,* 2020, pp. 120-129.

[5] Kawecka-Gryczowa, Alodja, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona: pomnik kultury renesansowej*, Wrocław: Zakł. Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988, pp. 76-77; Płaszczynska-Herman, Katarzyna, 'Unknown Books of Kings Sigismund Augustus in the Congregation of the Mission Library in Stradom', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 2020, Sp. Issue, pp. 163-173.

[6] Detailed data on the GDL medical students abroad have not been collected; it should be noted that mostly students from Lithuania appear in the documents of the universities of Padua and Bologna as members of the corporate community (*natio*) with Poles, denoted by the reference *Polonus.*

[7] Celati, Alessandra, 'A Digital Exploration of 16th-Century Heretical Networks in the Italian Medical Context', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History of Ideas*, 2018, Vol. 14, pp. 1-36.

the learned Catholic but rather Evangelical physicians.[8] One of the fathers of European modern-times antitrinitarianism, Italian physician Giorgio Biandrata (ca. 1516-1588), had the greatest impact on the formation of the network of heterodox physicians in Transylvania and Poland-Lithuania. From 1540 he worked as a physician in the Jagiellonian courts in Poland-Lithuania, later in Transylvania, maintaining the position of the main physician in this Principality when Stephen Bathory came to power.[9]

The Jesuits of the Polish province, to which Transylvania was also subordinated, the growth of the number of heretical physicians considered to be an extremely dangerous phenomenon. After visiting Transylvania, a Jesuit diplomat Antonio Possevino (1533-1611), who worked at Bathory's court, summarized:

> I have met another heretic physician who has established himself with the young duke of Transylvania, this is a credit to the king's heretical physicians. I talked about it with His Majesty [Stephen Bathory], because it was through the physicians that all of Transylvania went down the path of Arianism and the worst heresies.[10]

In the ninth decade of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits of Polish province took steps to re-Catholicize medical practice and convert heretical medical practitioners to Catholicism. They never managed to convince such main heterodox physicians as Giorgio Biandrata and Niccolò Buccela. However, the efforts were not without results. The first success of the Jesuits in preventing the further growth of the network of Socinian physicians in the region was the young antitrinitarian physician Gaspar Wilkowski (died after 1608), whom the Jesuits converted to Catholicism in the spring of 1583, soon providing him with a particularly high-paying medical service in the estate of Lithuanian duke Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila (Radziwiłł Sierotka, 1549-1616), leader of the Counter-Reformation. As early as in 1583, in Vilnius, the former heretic published the region's first Catholic propaganda work in Polish, *Przyczyny nawrócenia do wiary powszechney od sekt nowokrzczeńców samosateńskich* (*The Causes of the Conversion to the Universal Faith from the Anabaptist Samosatene Sects*) in which he took up criticism of heterodoxy.[11] Soon, on the eve of his activities in Poland-Lithuania, Simone Simoni, an Italian exile physician who converted to Catholicism with a help of the Jesuits, also began to manifest himself as a representative of the Counter-Reformation forces by eroding the power of the Socinian medical practitioners, concentrated in the region, and discrediting their prestige.[12] The book *Commentariola*, published in Vilnius, directed against Marcello Squarcialupi, was prepared by Simoni as soon as he received the position of a physician to the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Stephen Bathory.

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[8]   See more: Pociūtė, Dainora, 'Eterodossia e medicina nella prima età moderna. I «medici ariani» alla corte di Stefano Báthory', *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo*, 2019, Vol. 16, pp. 37-62; Pociūtė, Dainora, 'L' esilio come eutopia. Note sul consolidamento della prima comunità sociniana nei territori della Lituania-Polonia', in: *Utopie e comunità religiose tra età moderna e contemporanea*, edited by Guido Mongini, Alessandria: Orso, 2021, pp. 25-54.

[9]   Balázs, Mihály, 'Giorgio Biandrata (1516-1588) – a Physician between Politics and Theology in Early Modern East Central Europe', in: *Isabella Jagiellon, Queen of Hungary (1539-1559)*, edited by Ágnes Máté, Teréz Oborni, Budapest: RCH, 2020, pp. 277-303.

[10] 'Trovai anco un medico heretico che già si era attacato co'l principe giovinetto di Transilvania, et questo per opera dei medici heretici del Re. Io ne ragionai con S. Mtà, poiché per questa via de'medici tutta la Transilvania è caduta in arianismo et in perniciosissime heresie. A. Possevino to the cardinal of Como, 17.04.1583', in: *Alberti Bolognetti Nuntii Apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta 1581-1585*, A Ludovico Boratyński P. M. collecta. Pars II: 1583 (Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, tomus V), Cracoviae: Sumptibus Academiae Polonae Litterarum et Scientiarum, 1938, pp. 239-240.

[11] Pociūtė, Dainora, 'Converting Physicians: the Apostasy of Socinian Gaspar Wilkowski and the Confessional Boundaries of Medicalization in 16th Century Poland-Lithuania', in: *Beyond Devotion. Religious and Literary Communities in the 16th and 17th Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Texts and Contexts*, edited by Kristina Rutkovska, Łukasz Cybulski, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2022, pp. 206-234.

[12] Socinianism, as a systematic doctrine of the antitrinitarian tendencies that spread in Europe in the second half of the 16th century (later acquired the name of Unitarianism), developed fruitfully in Poland and Lithuania from 1579, when the Italian religious dissident Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604) settled down in Cracow and became the leader of the philosophical and religious thought of heterodox community.

Simone Simoni: a converted Catholic physician in Stephen Bathory's court

Italian physician and philosopher Simone Simoni (1532-1602) is a prominent sixteenth-century European figure, whose activities represent the early modern models of religious behavior in the era of confessional fragmentation and illustrate the trajectories of Italian physicians' exiles in the late humanist era.[13] Born in Tuscany, Lucca, one of the hotbeds of Italian evangelism, in his first book of commentaries on Aristotle's philosophy *In librum Aristotelis de sensuum instrumentis* (1566) he stated that he began his studies at the age of 12 in his hometown. From 1555 Simoni studied philosophy and medicine in Bologna, Ferrara, Naples, Pavia, and finally in Padua, where he obtained his doctorate in medicine around 1562.[14] At the University of Padua, which was an important academic place of Italian heterodoxy, Simoni turned to evangelism. After returning to Lucca in 1562, he started a private medical practice, but due to suspicions of heresy, after a couple of years of work in 1564 he emigrated to Geneva, where he was accepted from the spring of 1565 as a preacher of the Italian church.[15] On 21 April 1565, in Geneva Simoni married Angela Cattani, the daughter of Francesco Cattani, a refugee of the first generation of Italian exiles, and Simoni's father Giovanni soon moved to Geneva, too. In Geneva, Simoni became friends with the Reformation leader Theodor Beza (1519-1605), who helped Simoni from 1565 to get a position as a philosophy lecturer at the university. Already at the beginning of his university career, Simoni's conflicting character became apparent. In just a half of a year, from the end of May 1566 to the middle of October 1566, Simoni gave two warnings of possible resignation while demanding a salary increase. On 25 February 1567, Simoni proposed to teach a medical course and few days later, on February 27, he already gave a demonstration lecture. In March of 1567, Simoni received the position of the first professor of Medicine with an annual salary of 600 florins.

In Geneva Simoni began to write and publish his philosophical works, informing Beza that he was writing on Aristotle's formal logic and syllogisms: in 1566, the above-mentioned *In librum Aristotelis de sensuum instrumentis* appeared, and in 1567 – *Commentariorum in Ethica Aristotelis was published*.[16] Encouraged by Beza, Simoni also got involved in religious polemics. Appreciating Simoni's argumentative manner, Beza decided to assign him the response to a German Lutheran theologian Jacob Schegk (1511-1587), who extensively proved the Lutheran thesis about the omnipresence of Christ. On 14 December 1565, Beza informed Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), the leader of the Zurich reformers, about this idea.[17] The latter supported Beza's choice and confirmed, that he believed that Simoni would give a suitable rebuttal to it.[18] By the end of March 1567, Bullinger already had the first Simoni's publication against Schegk (*Interpretatio eorum quae continentur in praefatione Simonis Simonii Lucensis*) and through Beza sent his thanks to Simoni.[19] The work, which refuted Lutheran theory by using rationalist

[13] For more about Simoni and his works, see: Madonia, Claudio, 'Simone Simoni', in: *Bibliotheca dissidentium. Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles*, edited by André Séguenny, Baden Baden & Bouxwiller: Valentin Koerner, 1988, Vol. IX, pp. 25-110.

[14] By the way, there is no information about Simoni's doctorate in the surviving lists of Padua graduates. See: *Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini. Ab anno 1551 ad annum 1565,* edited by Elisabetta Dalla Francesca Hellman, Emilia Veronese, Roma, Padova: Editrice Antenore, 2001.

[15] Madonia, Claudio, 'Simone Simoni', p. 162.

[16] In the 16th century medical studies were most developed in Italy, primarily at the universities of Bologna and Padua. Here the studies of medicine and philosophy formed an interrelated system: philosophy was a prerequisite for medical subjects; the medical doctorate degrees awarded were also double, covering the fields of philosophy and medicine *(physicus et philosophus)*. A trained physician was also a philosopher, many famous physicians wrote philosophical works.

[17] 'T. Beza to H. Bullinger, 14.12.1565, Geneva', in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, edited by Hippolyte Aubert, published by Fernand Aubert, Henry Meylan, et al., Vol. VI, pp. 219-221.

[18] 'H. Bullinger to T. Beza, 09.10.1566, Zurich', in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, Vol. VII, p. 244; Later Simoni continued the controversy against Schegk. T. Beza to H. Bullinger, 17.10.1566, Rolle, in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, p. 253.

[19] 'H. Bullinger to T. Beza, 31.03.1567, Zurich', in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, Vol. VIII, p. 99. Later Simoni continued the controversy against Schegk.

aristotelian arguments, served the Genevan reformers.[20] However, Simoni's relationship with the Swiss became complicated. During the years of Simoni's career in Geneva, Calvinists carefully controlled the rising wave of antitrinitarianism after the burning of Servetus, the most active participants of which were Italian religious dissidents. Unable to stay in Switzerland due to their opposition to Calvin, the Italians moved further across the Europe, thus encouraging the development of antitrinitarianism in the GDL and Poland, and eventually maturing the movement of early Socinianism. In the East Central Europe a whole group of Italian antitrinitarians, who had left Switzerland, became active, first of all the leader of the heterodox network, physician Giorgio Biandrata, as well as his friends Valentino Gentile (ca. 1515-1566), Gian Paolo Alciati della Motta (ca. 1515-1573) and others. In Geneva, in June of 1566 Simoni was sent to a meeting with his compatriot antitrinitarian Valentino Gentile, who left Poland-Lithuania recklessly for Geneva and was imprisoned there, but his efforts to persuade Gentile to to abjure his heresy were fruitless.[21] Finally, Simoni himself received a complaint of suspicion of heresy by the catechist of the Italian church of the city, the aforementioned exile from Lucca Niccolò Balbani (1522-1587), who remained loyal to Calvin's orthodoxy. Simoni was forced to do public repentance and lose his professorship, although he maintained quite good relations with both Beza and Bullinger. In the summer of 1567 Simoni arrived in Paris, where he was invited to teach a course in philosophy at the *Collège Royale*, but after the edict of the French King Charles IX, issued on 25 September 1568, forbidding the teaching by non-Catholics in the schools of the Kingdom, in late 1567-early 1568 he returned to Switzerland again and lived in Zurich, Basel and Geneva (where the rest of his family was). He communicated with compatriots of the heterodox network, the famous Italian Protestant printer in Basel Pietro Perna (who emigrated from Italy in 1541) and Celio Secondo Curione (1503-1569).[22]

In 1568, after Beza wrote a letter to Bullinger,[23] the latter arranged for Simoni to be invited to Heidelberg, the court of Frederick III (Elector Palatine Frederick III, 1515-1576), where Simoni worked as a court physician and brought up the duke's son Christopher, and began teaching a course in Aristotelian philosophy at the university. Angela Cattani, Simoni's first wife, who remained in Geneva, died that year. The Swiss tried to continue to use Simoni on the front of disputes with the Lutherans, Beza made plans to involve Simoni in polemics with the leader of Lutheranism at the time, Matthias Flacius (1520-1575).[24] Thanks to the recommendations, in 1569 Simoni received the position of physician at the court of the Elector Augustus of Saxony and soon a place at the University of Leipzig. The Lutheran environment encouraged Simoni to abandon ties with the Helvetii. When favorable circumstances arose in Germany, Simoni converted to Lutheranism and lived successfully in Leipzig for twelve years, joining the activities at the University of Leipzig, where he first taught philosophy, and later (from 1575) a medical course. In late 1569 or early 1570, in Leipzig he married for the second time, a miss Magdalena von Hülsen, who came from a prominent Leipzig family. The Reformers' side continued to suspect him of antitrinitarianism, and finally a word reached Bullinger that Simoni was preparing to write a treatise against his former patron Beza himself.[25] However, while avoiding religious polemics Simoni devoted himself to teaching medicine, introducing practical surgery and anatomy classes at the university, and in 1567 preparing a project to reform medical studies at the University of Leipzig. In 1572, in Leipzig Simoni published one of his most famous works, *De vera nobilitate*, which was later re-published in the seventeenth century. He also published a series of medical works in which he was working on the traditional humoral theory *De partibus animalium* (1574), *De vera ac indubitata ratione [...] febrium humoralium* (1575), *Artificiosa*

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[20] In 1568-1573 three of Scheg's publications appeared in Tübingen in response to Simoni's criticism.

[21] 'T. Beza to H. Bullinger, 19.06.1566, Geneva', in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, Vol. VII, p. 142. Gentile suffered the fate of Miguel Servetus and was soon beheaded.

[22] Madonia, Claudio, 'Simone Simoni', pp. 166-167.

[23] 'T. Beza to H. Bullinger, 13.04.1568, Geneva', in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, Vol. IX, p. 105.

[24] 'T. Beza to Hubert Languet, 27.02.1570, Geneva', in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, Vol. XI, p. 60.

[25] 'H. Bullinger to T. Beza, 20.02.1574, Zurich', in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, Vol. XV, p. 45.

curandae pestis methodus (1576), and *Synopsis brevissima* (1577). While still in contact with the Swiss reformers (Beza and Simler), Simoni visited Basel, where he began to print his books at Pietro Perna's printing house. There he encountered his compatriots who had emigrated from Italy, physician Marcello Squarcialupi and Venetian historian Griovanni Michele Bruto (1517-1592), who were soon active in Transylvania and Poland-Lithuania.

In August 1581, when the Elector Augustus of Saxony once again issued an order that all professors of the University of Leipzig must sign the Lutheran confession of faith, Simoni refused to sign the document presented to the professors by theologian Nicolaus Selnecker (1530-1592) *(Formula di Concordia),* thereby incurring the Lutheran sentence to excommunicate him. Beza, learning that Simoni had 'betrayed' not only the Swiss Calvinists but also the German Lutherans, wrote his famous phrase in a letter to Rudolf Gwalther (1519-1586), that Simoni 'has no other God but Aristotle'.[26] Forced to withdraw from Leipzig, Simoni looked for another place to work and live, which he was helped to find by an influential figure in the network of intellectuals of Central Europe, Andrea Dudith-Sbardellati (1533-1589). He admired natural history and medicine and knew most of the physicians who worked in the courts of East Central Europe, as well as the chief physician of the King king of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stephen Bathory, the religious dissident from Padua Niccolò Buccella (died in 1599), who at that time was just looking for an additional physician for the court of the ruler Stephen Bathory. On 14 August 1581, Dudith informed his fellow physician Peter Monau (1551-1588) that Simoni wanted to move to Cracow.[27] In the summer of 1581, after leaving his second wife and three children in Leipzig, Simoni arrived in Prague. There he got closer to the Jesuits and once again confirmed his fame as a man without religion (T. Beza knew about his transition to the Catholic side as early as 22 September 1581).[28] Simoni's second wife soon died and the children were placed in the care of their grandfather Adrian von Hülsen. In February of 1582, in Prague, at the estate of the magnate Vratislav II Pernstein (Vrastislav von Pernstein, 1530-1582), Simoni officially renounced Protestantism and made a public confession of the Catholic faith.[29] Many Jesuit testimonies show that they regarded Simoni's loyalty to the Roman Church with caution. While in Prague Simoni temporarily worked at the court of the Emperor Rudolph II in Breslau, but was unable to finally establish himself there due to Johannes Crato von Craftheim (1519-1585), the leader of the imperial court physicians, who was critical of him. It was then that Simoni, an active participant in the international medical network, who had not only enemies but also companions, received confirmation from Stephen Bathory about his admission to the court. From January 1583, together with the Socinian Buccella, who soon became his opponent, he served as a physician to ruler Stephen Bathory for four years.[30] In Poland, in the spring of 1583, Simoni married for the third to the time: his wife became Magdalena Krzyźanowska, the daughter of the Crakow mayor. After the death of Stephen Bathory in Grodno on 12 December 1586, Simoni began a long controversy with Buccella about the causes of the king's death, however, not receiving any support he had to withdraw from Poland-Lithuania and lived, for some time, in Olomouc, Moravia, Vienna and Prague. In 1600 the Inquisition requestedhim to present himself in Rome, but there is no record of Simoni's reaction to this. His literary activities ended with the polemic against Buccella. Simoni died in Cracow on 2 April 1602 and was buried in the Franciscan Church of Cracow within the care of his wife.

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[26] 'Homo enim ille prorsus est impius, nec alium Deum habet quam Aristotelicum. T. Beza to Rudolf Gwalther, 28.02.1581, Geneva', in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, Vol. XXII, pp. 50-52.

[27] 'A. Dudith to P. Monau, 14 August 158, Breslau', in: Dudithius, Andreas, *Epistulae,* edited by Lech Szczucki, Tiburtio Szepessy, Pars VII, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó-Argumentum Kiadó, 2019, No. 1073, p. 90.

[28] 'T. Beza to Rudolph Gwalther, 22.09.1581', in: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, Vol. XXII, pp. 188-189.

[29] Firpo, Massimo, 'Alcuni documenti sulla conversione al cattolicesimo di Simone Simoni', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 1974, Vol. 4, Serie III, pp. 1485.

[30] L. Szczucki assumed that Simoni went to Cracow in 1583 together with the German philosopher, a pioneer of atheistic thought Christian Francken (ca. 1550-after 1610), see: Szczucki, Lech, *W kręgu myślicieli heretyckich*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1972, pp. 139-141.

Simoni's published works on philosophy, ethics and medicine (a total of 22 of which are currently known)[31] were determined by his own mobility. While serving as Bathory's physician and after his death, in a period of six years (1583-1589 Simoni published his last eight books, two of which were the works of his polemic with Squarcialupi and four (after the king's death) – controversy texts with Buccella. As soon as he arrived in Cracow (preface published on 8 February 1583), Simoni published his first medical work of the Polish-Lithuanian period, *Historia aegritudinis ac mortis Dominis a Niemsta.* Lord Lieutenant of Warsaw (since 1579), favorite and chamberlain *(cubicularius)* of Stephen Bathory, Jerzy Niemsta, educated in Wittenberg, Leipzig and Basel, was one of Simoni's first patients who fell ill in early 1583. Simoni failed to save the patient: only 32-year-old Niemsta died after five weeks of pneumonia. Simoni published an academic medical history-type work immediately after the patient's death in order to defend himself against possible criticism, which, nevertheless, he did not escape. Simoni's second work, published in Cracow, disputing with the Swiss Reformed physician and theologian Thomas Erast (1524-1583) on the topic of the decomposition of bodies *(Disputatio de putredine*, 1584), was written while Simoni was still living in Leipzig. Two books of Simoni's controversy with Squarcialupi were published in Vilnius (1584) and Cracow (1585), the places of publication of the polemic with Buccella were Nysa (Silesia, 1587), Cracow (1587) and Olomouc (Bohemia, 1588-1589). As Stephen Bathory's physician, and thus obliged to accompany the king, Simoni lived where the king resided. From December 1583 until August 1584, Stephany Bathory resided in Lithuania, Grodno and Vilnius. It was the longest uninterrupted residence period of this ruler in Lithuania during the entire decade of his reign. After spending almost nine months in Lithuania, Simoni prepared and published *Commentariola*, a work directed against Squarcialupi, which became the first medical publication in the capital of the GDL.

Marcello Squarcialupi – a physician of the early Socinian medical network

The Italian physician Marcello Squarcialupi (1538-1592), criticized by Simoni in his Vilnius publication, was a member of the emerging early Socinian community in the late sixteenth century in East-Central Europe, primarily in Poland-Lithuania.[32] His gravitation to heterodoxy and his second emigration to East-Central Europe were similar to those of the other Italian heterodox Christian, who were forced to leave Switzerland in the sixth and seventh decades. Originally from Piombino, Squarcialupi studied in Pisa from 1556, where he defended his doctorate in medicine and philosophy on 17 June 1562. In 1565, in Milan he published his first book, a work written in Italian about the plague, *Difesa contro la peste*. The circumstances of Squarcialupi becoming a Protestant are unknown, but the facts presented to his father Michelangelo in the case filed after his son's departure leave no doubt that the father also into the evangelical movement. Between 1565 and 1566 Squarcialupi escaped from Italy and never returned to his homeland. The first stop was Graunbünden, from 1567 to 1571 he lived in Poschiavo and other places. He married the daughter of a local Reformed pastor from Naples, Armenios Gutolla, and they had children. He became close to his heterodox compatriots, but the Reformed leader of medical community, Theodor Zwinger (1533-1588), remained his friend and patron. In 1572, at the invitation of the printer Pietro Perna (1519-1582) Squarcialupi arrived in Basel, in February enrolled in the university (*M. S. Plumbinensis Tuscus*). The city was home to the famous Italian Pietro Perna, as well as many other printing houses, making Basel the European center of Neoplatonism, Hermeticism and Kabbalism.[33] For several months Squarcialupi worked as a proofreader at Pietro Perna's printing house.

[31] Madonia, Claudio, 'Marcello Squarcialupi', in: *Bibliotheca dissidentium. Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles*, edited by André Séguenny, Baden Baden & Bouxwiller: Valentin Koerner, 1994, Vol. XVI, pp. 34-35. This bibliography does not include the last publication of Simoni's life, *Appendix scoparum* (1589).

[32] Madonia, Claudio, 'Marcello Squarcialupi', pp. 119-126.

[33] Rotodò, Antonio, 'Pietro Perna e la vita culturale e religioso di Basilae fra il 1570 e il 1580', in: *Studi e ricerche di storia ereticale del Cinquecento*, Torino: Ed. Giappichelli, 1974, Vol. 1, pp. 273-391, 343-344.

As mentioned before, in Basel Squarcialupi met Simone Simoni, with whom he did not avoid competitive conflicts. Italian evangelical physicians, who left their homeland, were patronized by leading German-speaking physicians in Northern and Central Europe, who themselves mostly received their medical education in Italy. After returning to their homeland, they worked as physicians at prestigious universities and imperial estates. One such person was Johannes Crato von Craftheim (1519-1585), the aforementioned court physician of Rudolf II, whose intercession helped the migrants to establish themselves in the diaspora. Thanks to Zwinger, having received a recommendation from Crato Squarcialupi set out for Vienna, but when the ship began to sink during the voyage he lost all his belongings, including books and manuscripts. Crato sheltered him and helped obtain a position of physician in Moravia, Třebic, where he arrived in December of 1574. The work of a physician in Moravia did not bring enough income and in 1577 he sent his family to Graunbünden to live with his wife's parents. At that time, his successful Cicero dictionary *Nizolius, sive thesaurus Ciceronianus* (1576) was published in Basel. Squarcialupi also became close with Dudith, who settled in his estate in Paskow near Olomouc after Stephen Bathory won the election of the King of Poland-Lithuania. He came to visit him in February-April of 1578.[34] In September of 1578, with hopes of establishing himself in Poland Squarcialupi went to Cracow.[35] Squarcialupi failed to get a job there but, through the mediation of Buccella and Biandrata, he received an offer for 400 florins to work at the estate of the young Duke of Transylvania, Stephen Bathory's nephew, young Sigismund Bathory (1572-1613), to which he went in December of 1579. In Alba Julia Squarcialupi spent a rather long and successful period, until the spring of 1585. There he worked on various writings, maintained close relations with Giorgio Biandrata, who enjoyed a great medical authority. Socinians were active in Poland-Lithuania, and their leader Fausto Sozzini lived in Cracow from 1579. Although Squarcialupi's salary rose to 500 florins in February of 1583, longing for a milder climate, around 1585 he decided to return to Switzerland, Poschiavo, but, after returning and experiencing little interest in his work he began to regret leaving Transylvania. He complained to Zwinger about the intellectually unstimulating environment and returned to Transylvania with his family in the summer of 1588.[36] Not much is known about Squarcialupi's last years. In September 1592, Jesuit Alfonso Carrillo (ca. 1553-1618) announced a message about his death in Alba Julia.

The Comet of 1577 and the Protestant debates in natural philosophy

Squarcialupi prepared a series of philosophical and medical works, published in Switzerland, Transylvania and Poland, which reflected the current trends in natural philosophy in the Protestant *respublica medicorum* community of the time. Squarcialupi's interests in natural philosophy were stimulated by the famous so-called Great Comet, which appeared over Europe in November 1577, and inspired at least 36 known works.[37] In March 1578, when Squarcialupi visited the emperor's diplomat Dudith in Paskov,, he finished the work on *De cometarum signification Commentariolus*, dedicated to Crato von Craftheim, which was published in Basel in 1579 in Pietro Perna's printing house by Dudith's friend, the historian of Stephen Bathory and Venetian convert to evangelism Michele Bruto (1517-1592). Sixteenth-century flourishing natural philosophy and astronomy were closely intertwined with astrology, prophecy, confessional and even political contexts. In his preface, Brutus criticized the prophecies and joined the so-called 'scientific' approach of Dudith, who interpreted comets as natural phenomena. The natural philosophy of

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[34] Squarcialupi visited him in February – April of 1578, see Madonia, Claudio, 'Marcello Squarcialupi', p. 121.

[35] Crato and Dudith did not support this decision, see Johannes Crato to Theodor Zwinger, 16.07.1578 [S.l.], in: Dudithius, Andreas, *Epistulae,* Pars VI, p. 922.

[36] Madonia, Claudio, 'Marcello Squarcialupi', p. 126.

[37] For more see: Tessicini, Dario 'The Comet of 1577 in Italy: Astrological Prognostications and Cometary Theory at the End of the Sixteenth Centry', in: *Celestial Novelties on the Eve of the Scientific Revolution*, edited by Dario Tessicini, Patric Boner, Firenze: Leo S. Olschi editore, 2013, pp. 57-84.

the sixteenth century was based on Aristotelianism, but its interpretations differed, and those differences were also determined by confessional identities. Dudith, who at that time was already turning towards heterodoxy, invited Aristotle's teaching to be read in the light of 'true Christianity' and to delve into particular causes of natural phenomena. Such appeals drew a wide-ranging criticism, both from the forces that resented the denial of the divine nature of the comet, and from traditional Aristotelian theorists who denied the significance of the experiment and criticized 'Arian' science. Impressed by Dudith, Squarcialupi joined the circle of comet discussants, producing a treatise in February of 1579. Squarcialupi's work *De cometa in universum*, dedicated to Dudith, was published in Basel in 1580 in a collection of works dedicated to the analysis of comets under the common title *De cometis dissertationes novae*, together with Erast, Simon Grynaeus (1493-1541) and again re-published Dudith's work.[38] In Squarcialupi's natural philosophy writings there was also a debate with the authors that natural phenomena as supernatural signs.[39] In his work on the comet, Squarcialupi criticized some aspects of Aristotle even more than Dudith, and completely rejected the astrological interpretation of comets.[40] But this time, like many others he was wrong, explaining the causes of the appearance of the comet, just like Aristotle, by connecting them to meteorological processes. Only the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) found out that comets are celestial bodies rather than meteorological phenomena.[41] In 1581, another small work extending the naturalistic interests of Squarcialupi appeared, *De coeli ardore opinio*, dedicated to the phenomenon of the *aurora borealis* (northern lights, polar dawn) that appeared in Transylvania on 10 September 1580.[42] This work was re-published for the second time in Cracow, in the printing house of A. Rodecki (presumably also in 1581). The latter Squarcialupi's work is considered to be the first observational description of the northern lights, which proved that it is a phenomenon based on the principles of physics, like fog or rain, which does not form in the sky but in the air, and is a meteorological phenomenon.[43]

The goal of the newly converted Catholic Simoni, who onsidered himself a scholar of traditional Aristotelianism, which he undertook in his Vilnius work *Commentariola medica et physica*, was not only the criticism of natural science experiments but also of the 'heretics' (the Socinians), their authors.[44] The book consisted of several parts: first of all, Simoni provided various data about the unpublished works of Squarcialupi known to him, commented on heterodox mutual correspondence, and tried to discredit the so-called network of heretical physicians and their competences.[45] Spreading the views already expressed in his earlier philosophical works, Simoni criticized both Squarcialupi's manuscript on the treatment of drunkenness he had access to, and his published natural philosophy works. The foundations of the polemic between Squarcialupi and Simoni stemmed from the different principles of natural philosophy. The evangelical philosophy of nature and medicine, which was developed by Squarcialupi as well as

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[38] *De cometis dissertationes novae clariss. virorum Thom. Erasti, Andr. Dudithij, Marc. Squarcialupi, Symon Grynaei,* [S.l.]: Ex officina Leonardi Pstensij, sumptibus Petri Pernae, 1580.
The work by Squarcialupi comprised the second part, pp. 27-77: *De cometa in universum, atque de illo qui anno 1577, visus est, opinio Marcelli Squarcialupi Plumbinensis: ad Ampliss. & Sapientem virum Andream Dudithium, Caesaris Consiliarium.* New edition: Andreas Dudithius, *Epistulae,* Pars VI, pp. 108-133.

[39] By the way, out of all Italian publications, only this work by Squarcialupi was included in the famous astronomer's Tycho Brahe's review of the literature on the comet *De mundi aetherei recentioribus phaenomenis* (1603), see: Tessicini, Dario 'The Comet of 1577 in Italy', p. 58.

[40] Vasoli, Caesare, 'Andreas Dudith-Sbardelati e la sua disputa sulle comete', in: *Rapporti veneto-ungheresi all'epoca del Rinascimento*, edited by Tibor Klaniczay, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975, pp. 299-342.

[41] Brahe, who did not acknowledge the heliocentric system and stuck to the geocentric one, believed the comet to be the confirmation of Aristotle's teaching about the immobility of the celestial spheres.

[42] For more see Kázmér, Miklós; Timár, Gábor, 'The first scientific description of aurora borealis: the 10 September 1580 event in Transylvania, recorded by Marcello Squarcialupi', Geoscience Letters, 2016, Vol. 3. [accessed 08 March 2022]. Access at: <https://geoscienceletters.springeropen.com/track/pdf/10.1186/s40562-016-0047-2.pdf?site=http://geoscienceletters.springeropen.com>.

[43] Madonia, Claudio, 'Marcello Squarcialupi', pp. 154-155.

[44] *Commentariola* was dedicated to Bathory's secretary, vice-Chancellor of the Transylvanian Chancellory in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the Hungarian Paul Gyulay (Pál Gyulay, Paul Iulay, Paweł Dziulay).

[45] Simoni, Simone, *Commentariola*, pp. 30-31.

other Socinian physicians, looked for a divine plan in nature based on the principles of Christian natural philosophy, and for particular explanations and reasons for various phenomena. Simoni saw nature as a force *per se* operating according to independent physical laws based on Aristotle:

> Quod est per se et primo principium motus & quietis, ipsum non habet principium. Natura est principium per se & primo motus et quietis. Ergo ipsa non habet principium. Hoc autem soli Deo convenit, qui intra omnia est (dicebat vir divinus) sed non tamen inclusus in ipsis: extra omnia, sed non tamen exclusus ab illis, intimus rector, eorum quae creavit extimus.[46]

He considered hypotheses and interpretations based on observations to be unreliable empiricism, inferior to systematic theory. For him, there were two forces at work in nature manifested in the movement of two natures – the expanding heat and the contracting cold, which influence matter and create what is in the heavens and the earth. By the way, the Jesuits, who wanted the converts to take up the criticism of the theology of heretics instead of the topics of nature and medicine, which they themselves avoided, evaluated Simoni's efforts with restraint. In a letter dated 19 April 1585, Tommaso Natale informed Possevin that he had received Simoni's work written in a slanderous manner (It. *oltraggioso*), and indicated that he had urged him to undertake more serious work.[47] Simoni ignored these warnings: in Vilnius publication only the seeds of Simoni's aggressive rhetoric appeared (for example, constantly calling the opponent an 'ass' or a 'bachelor'), which acquired even more colours in his later polemic with Buccella.

Commentariola provoked further polemics, in which philosophical, confessional, and medical issues were interwoven, demonstrating that in the sixteenth century naturalistic polemics were not independent of religious processes. Although both Crato and Zwinger in their letters urged Squarcialupi not to react to criticism, the latter responded. In the dedication of the work *Simonis Simonii primus triumphus,* published in Transylvania in 1584, Squarcialupi stated that he could not be humiliated in front of the Polish King.[48] Using Crato, Dudith, Zwinger, Biandrata and others as witnesses, Squarcialupi emphasized that he was seeking a dispute, not a fight, which was undertaken in Simoni's work published in Vilnius. Simoni-Squarcialupi polemic did not end with these two books printed in Vilnius and Transylvanian Cluj (Koloszvár). In 1585, Simoni produced a voluminous response to Squarcialupi's criticism – the *Simonius supplex.*[49] The first part of this work was devoted to the criticism of Squarcialupi's activities in Basel and Transylvania, selectively using the details of the wider Protestant medical panorama, and the second part to the problem of peripneumonia, which caused the death of Simoni's patient Niemsta, and the defense of the treatment tactics. In 1586, in Poschiavo Squarcialupi published the continuations of the polemic with Simoni: *Censurae Simonianae confutatio* and *De amygdalarum vi contra ebrietatem.*[50] Although the author suffered great financial losses during their preparation, both works were re-published together with other unpublished works prepared in Transylvania under the title *Marceli Squarcialupi Plumbinensis opusculorum pars* (Poschiavo, 1587).[51] Squarcialupi's later works continued to discuss Simoni's patient Niemsta, polemics with other works by Simoni, especially his work *De putredine,*

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[46]   Simoni, Simone, *Commentariola*, p. 47.

[47]   Tommaso Natale to A. Possevino, 19.04.1584, Cracow, in: *Alberti Bolognetti Nuntii Apostolici in Polonia epistolarum et actorum pars III: Fasc. 2 (M. Junio 1584-Maio 1585 (Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana, tomus 7)*, Appendix M. Jan. 1584-Febr. 1585, Kraków, 1950, p. 189.

[48]   Squarcialupi, Marcello, *Simonis Simonii Lucensis primus triumphus de Marcello Squarcialupo Plumbinensi ab eodem Squarcialupo adornatus & promulgatus,* Claudiopoli: Gaspar Heltai, 1584.

[49]   [Simone Simoni], *Simonius supplex ad incomparabilem virum, praeclarissimisque suis facinoribus, de universa Republica literaria egregie meritum, Marcellocamillum quendam, Squarcilupum Thuscum Plumbinensem triumphantem*, Cracoviae: A. Rodecius, 1585.

[50]   Zucchini, Giampaolo, 'Per la ricostruzione dell' epistolario epistolario di Marcello Squarcialupi', p. 335.

[51]   Madonia, Claudio, 'Marcello Squarcialupi tra Poschiavo e Alba Iulia. Note biografiche', in: *Riforma e società nel Grigioni, Valtellina e Valchiavenna tra '500 e '600*, edited by Alessandro Pastore, Milano, 1991, p. 101.

published in Cracow.[52] Simoni, who after the death of Stephen Bathory in December 1586 got involved in a long polemic with another Socinianist physician, Buccella, did not respond to these writings. As the Simoni-Buccella controversy continued to develop, Squarcialupi took the opportunity to intervene with a short work, *Simonis Simoni summa religio* (1588), in which he exposed his opponent as a godless man who changed confessions on demand.[53]

Afteword. Gaspar Wilkowski and Simone Simoni: the first Catholic converts contesting the heterodox physicians of Poland-Lithuania

The first two physicians, who were converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits in 1582-1583, fulfilled their mission in the history of the Counter-Reformation in Poland-Lithuania by publicly criticizing the heterodoxy. Local physician Gaspar Wilkowski, who, in Polish, prepared the first propaganda work of a convert in Vilnius in 1583, and the Italian Simone Simoni who in 1584 started a medical controversy against the Socinianist physicians of the region, became the first critics of the 'Arians' and shapers of negative public opinion towards them.

In 1584, Stephan Bathory's physician Simone Simoni's *Commentariola,* which appeared in Vilnius, was directed against the Socinian physician Marcello Squarcialupi, who worked at the Transylvanian Court. This first and only sixteenth-century work of the learned medicine published in Lithuania started a wave of medical and nature philosophy debates in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Transylvania. The controversy was the fruit of the Italian physicians, who retreated from their homeland due to religious persecution and held prestigious medical positions in the estates of the rulers, reflecting the tensions of the early Socinianism maturing in Poland-Lithuania, and the Jesuits' struggle against heterodoxy in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Simoni-Squarcialupi polemic of 1584-1586 was the first step of this controversy. After the death of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stephen Bathory in December 1586, its second phase began: Simoni continued the heterodox criticism until 1589, polemicizing with Bathory's first physician, Squarcialupi's associate and Socinianist Niccolò Buccella. During this polemic an even larger group of Latin works was published in Lithuania, Poland, Transylvania and Moravia. The topics of the works were manifold and the personal ambitions and confessional aspects were mixed with the professional matters of medicine and natural philosophy.

Simoni's polemic with Squarcialupi, and later with Buccella, demonstrates the crossroads of confession, medicine and natural philosophy that emerged in the second half of the sixteenth century. Simoni, Stephen Bathory's physician during the second period of his reign (from 1583), a convert from Protestantism to Catholicism, initiated the polemic and tried to exploit the emerging intolerance of the concentration of heterodox physicians in Stephen Bathory's environment. While seeking to please the Jesuits, Simoni sought to disgrace the tendencies of the humanistic medicine and high prestige of 'Arian physicians', whose most prominent figures were in service at the courts of Transilvania and Poland-Lithuania during Stephan Bathory's era. Simoni's own religious views were rather indifferent, but he manipulated his confessions for the sake of his career. While denying theoretical competencies in medicine and natural philosophy of his opponents, Simoni criticised the Socinian investigations of 'Christian medicine' and did not recognise the value of observation and experiments, considering Socinian physicians to be worthless empiricists and heretics.

Translated by Audronė Gerdauskaitė

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[52]   Madonia, Claudio, 'Marcello Squarcialupi', p. 159.
[53]   Squarcialupi, Marcello, *Simonis Simonii Lucensis, primum Romani, tum Calviniani, deinde Lutherani, denuo Romani, sempre autem Athei summa religio,* Cracoviae: A. Rodecius, 1588.

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THEATRUM LIBRI: Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe

Collecting Knowledge Against Islam: the Case of Book X of the *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* (1613)[1]

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Abstract. The contribution of the printing press to the perception Latin Europe had of Islam is very notable, departing from the first printed translations of the Qur'an in the sixteenth century up to, still in the same century, the outset of the impression with Arabic characters. In this paper, however, we seek to focus our attention on the works following the bibliographical approach common in the period, i.e. works authored by people who weren't by any means acquainted with the Arabic, in most cases. How the subject was addressed in them and to what needs it apparently responded are the questions that will be developed in the course of the paper. To do so, we will be examining two of the most renowned treatises of the time, especially in the Catholic and missionary milieu: Antonio Possevino's *Bibliotheca selecta* (1593) and Tomás de Jesús' *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* (1613), by delving deeper into some selected examples of both texts, the way its authors deal with their diverse source materials, and also the way the latter was influenced by the former. Special attention is also paid to the preface of book X of Tomás de Jesús' work, for in a few pages it encapsulates many attitudes his author had towards his sources.

Keywords: Islam, Antonio Possevino, Thomas a Iesu, early modern missions.

As is the case for many other topics, knowledge on Islam in Europe became substantially more widespread thanks to the printing press. Either coexistence or contact with the Muslim population had been common ever since the Middle Ages, inspiring many Christian endeavours to achieve a fair knowledge of their beliefs in order to effectively refute them, the most influential of them possibly being the texts contained in the *Corpus Islamolatinum*.[2] Later on, the Swiss Reformed theologian Theodore Bibliander, who had had access to them, decided to print the *Corpus* in a volume that presented one text after another, accompanying them as well with other relevant anti-Islamic apologetics writings. Although a great controversy over this came to life in Basel, it finally received the approval to be printed in 1543, which

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[2]   The collection of texts (otherwise known as *Collectio Toletana, Corpus Toletanum* or *Corpus Cluniacense*) that were translated from Arabic into Latin around 1140 in the Iberian Peninsula, following the command of Peter the Venerable. The Qur'an translated by Robert of Ketton was its major milestone, although the entire collection was to have a longlasting influence over Christian Latin perception of Islam. Aside from the Qur'an itself, the translations that the collection contained are the *Fabule Sarracenorum*, the *Chronica Mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum*, the *Liber de Generatione Mahumet*, the *De doctrina Mahumet* and the *Epistola Saraceni et Rescriptum Christiani*. Among the most recent scholarship, Burman (Burman, Thomas E., *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, pp. 60-87) provides a perfect summary.

meant that the readership was provided with the first known compilation of materials concerning Islam in Modern Europe.[3]

The reception of this edition in Catholic milieu was in accordance with the eventual turmoil any censor could plainly imagine that the text itself and the prefaces and notes added by Bibliander himself would cause: it was swiftly included in the Index of Prohibited Texts.[4] There are however many works that bear witness of the diffusion Bibliander's edition had even among openly Catholic writers. Despite not having any direct evidence, it is no guess that its presentation of Islam's Holy Book, followed by a panoply of apologetic and polemical anti-Islamic accounts and treatises, would have inspired other later works sharing goals with it, was it not for its anti-Catholic content and Reformed origins.

Latin Christianity was already familiar with works of the sort that, in the same polemical tone and in many cases using their own religious texts, put stranger beliefs under a scrutinizing light in order to refute them. There were even some encyclopaedical works that did it as well, without being necessarily considered religious treatises. All were indeed considered very useful by some Early Modern theologians, but access to them was limited though, since many were still only available in their manuscript form, despite its authoritative reputation. The printing press had already helped spread the word of the approaches taken by Late Medieval notable Christian personalities, such as Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini, Pope Pius II: his *opera omnia* contained the renowned epistle to Mehmet II, where Piccolomini elaborates a polemical message under the current epistolographic models.[5] Other texts, for instance George of Hungary's account of his captivity under the Turks,[6] benefitted a lot from it being printed at a somewhat early stage and became subsequently very widespread among readers interested in the Islamic or Ottoman affairs.

An argument could be brought up on the reasons underlying this editorial interest, but, even though the scope of many publications could have been of an eventual missionary use, it wasn't necessarily the

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[3]   The printing process was already undertaken a year before, in 1542, but the Basel authorities stopped it delaying it for a year, until it had received their approval. Because of that, there's a certain variation between the contents of the 'first' edition, because to the introductory texts by Bibliander himself and Melanchthon, a preface by Martin Luther was added, conveying his support for the publication of the volume. For the whole history of the publication and an examination of its contents, *cf.* Bobzin, Hartmut, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation: Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*, Beirut: Ergon, 2008 (first published in 1995), pp. 159-275; Segesvary, Victor, *L'Islam et la Réforme. Etude sur l'attitude des réformateurs Zurichois envers l'Islam (1510-1550)*, Lausanne: L'Age d'homme, 1978, pp. 97-121. Miller (Miller, Gregory J., 'Theodor Bibliander's Machumetis saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse alcoran (1543) as the Sixteenth-century 'Encyclopedia' of Islam', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations,* 2013, Vol. 24, pp. 241-254) argues that the ambiguity present in this edition might point to very diverse readings, but stresses the importance of the evangelisation material present there; Balserak (Balserak, Jon, 'The Renaissance impulses that drove Theodore Bibliander to publish Machumetis Saracenorum', *Muslim World,* 2017, Vol. 107, Issue 4, pp. 684-697), though recognising different possibilities, prefers to see it as a scholarly product to be consumed by the European Republic of Letters.

[4]   *Cf.* Tommasino, Pier Mattia, *The Venetian Qur'an. A Renaissance Companion to Islam*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018, pp. 36.

[5]   There is abundant bibliography on the text, Bisaha (Bisaha, Nancy, 'Pius II', in: *Christian-Muslim relations*, edited by David Thomas, Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2011, Vol. 5, pp. 456-461) being probable the best introductory note, but the most recent editions are F. Sanz (Sanz, Domingo F., *Eneas Silvio Piccolomini. Epístola a Mehmet II. Introducción, edición y traducción*, Madrid: Nueva Roma, 2003) and Glei & Köhler (Glei, Reinhold, Köhler, Marcus, *Epistola ad Mahumetem. Einleitung, kritische Edition, Übersetzung*, Trier: WVT Wiss. Verl, 2001). On the possible interpretations of the letter, *cf.* Sanz, Domingo F., *Eneas Silvio Piccolomini. Epístola a Mehmet II…*, pp. 11-25.

[6]   The title of this very influential treatise is *Tractatus de moribus, condictionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (1481/2). It was probably the best description of Ottoman life and institutions available in Western Europe for almost a century, in the words of Palmer (Palmer, J.B.A., 'Fr. Georgius de Hungaria, OP, and the *Tractatus de moribus, condicionibus et nequicia Turcorum*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1952, Vol. 34, Issue 1, p. 44), superior even to other better known work like Schiltberger's or Bertrandon de la Broquière's; its fame was so great that Martin Luther himself made a preface to the account for the Wüttenberg edition (1530), which was reprised as well for the Nürnberg one (1530): he repeatedly showed his enthusiasm for the treatise, for he had a great opinion on it, since it seemed more reliable in describing Turkish lifestyle than other texts; it allowed him as well to parallel Catholic faith and Islam in terms of faith (*cf.* Klockow, Reinhard, *Georgius de Hungaria. Tractatus de moribus, condictionibus et nequicia Turcorum*, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 1994, pp. 58-59). Even though George deploys a rhetoric of strong adherence to the Christian faith – probably due to him being at some point on the brink of conversion, *cf.* Classen, Albrecht, 'The world of the Turks described by an eye-witness: Georgius de Hungaria's dialectical discourse on the foreign world of the Ottoman Empire', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 2003, Vol. 7, Issue 3, pp. 264-265) – he shows a sympathetic image of the Turkish sites he visited and their inhabitants.

leading one. Even scholars who prefaced these texts and openly oriented them towards a missionary use, weren't really attentive enough to the material reality of the task, for a man sent abroad could not carry an entire library with him. Books on Islamic themes were then very useful for the educated readership in Europe at the time on both sides of the Confessional breach, but they weren't so for the individuals charged with the apostolic ministry in foreign territories. Plus, Catholic censorship didn't have a gentle view of the Reformed printed books, so its circulation outside of the highest hierarchies of the Church was not guaranteed at all, which implied as well having a limited number of texts available.

However, the Catholic mission's ideologists and champions felt the increased need for a collection of approved Christian topics to help believers come to terms with the orthodoxy proclaimed by the highest hierarchies of the Catholic Church, especially after the Council of Trent (1545-1563). In this regard, any kind of knowledge concerning Islam was considered very relevant, provided it was considered helpful in devising strategies to guide people not to fall prey to the Muslim powers. It was even more so in specific contexts, like the more pragmatically-oriented materials addressed to missionaries, which furthermore sometimes also functioned or were originally conceived as educational texts.

That being so, in order to better understand what pathways this spreading of Islam-related information took to become available to the Catholic missionary elites that populated the Near East in the Early Modern period, the present article will focus on two texts highly regarded by the Catholic Papacy of the time, Antonio Possevino's *Bibliotheca selecta* (1593) and Tomás de Jesús, *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* (1613). Despite both texts having drawn interest from scholars before, neither of them has been thoroughly examined in the light of the specific sources used to retrieve information about Islam.[7] Unfortunately, such an endeavour would go far beyond the scope of this text, however a preliminary study of the stated Islam-related printed sources used in the formation of both treatises will be brought about instead. This will help shed light on the relevance that some early modern printed texts had to keep conveying the image of Islam that Medieval missionaries and polemists had previously spread widely across Western Europe, sometimes adapted to the needs of the polemical rhetoric of the time.

Antonio Possevino and the *Bibliotheca selecta* (1593)

A very well-known landmark for the history of bibliography is *Bibliotheca selecta*, published by the Mantuan Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1533-1611) and printed for the first time in Rome in 1593.[8] Possevino's inception of the work probably goes back to when, having already gained the status of preceptor to princes, he spent several years in Savoy under the auspices of Emmanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy. In the detailed account he offers in the preface to the first edition of his *opus maius*, he describes how, during that period in South-Eastern France, he could gain a first-hand perception of the centrality that the printed texts had to spread the heresy he was fighting against:

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[7]   With respect to the *Bibliotheca selecta,* there is no critical edition of the text available yet. However, there are many studies on his life and works, especially those concerning any kind of missionary activity; probably the most accurate biographical note is Colombo (Colombo, Emmanuele, 'Entre guerre juste et accommodation. Antonio Possevino et l'islam', *Dix-septième siècle*, 2015, Vol. 268, pp. 393-408). On the bibliographical activity of Possevino, Balsamo (Balsamo, Luigi, *Antonio Possevino, SI. Bibliografo della Controriforma e diffusione della sua opera in area anglicana*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2006) remains an essential reading, and Mahlmann-Bauer (Mahlmann-Bauer, Barbara, 'Antonio Possevino's 'Biblioteca selecta'. Knowledge as a Weapon', in: *I Gesuiti e la Ratio Studiorum*, edited by Manfred Hinz, Danilo Zardin and Roberto Righi, Roma: Bulzoni, 2004, pp. 315-356) presents a notable summary of the Italian Cardinal's reasons to embark on the collection of materials for the *Bibliotheca selecta*. As for Possevino's views on Islam, Lator (Lator, Stefano, 'Il P. Antonio Possevino e l'Islam', *Studia Missionalia I*, 1943, pp. 215-225) and Colombo's work, most notably Colombo (Colombo, Emmanuele, 'Entre guerre juste…, pp. 393-408).

[8]   See footnote 6. The complete list of Possevino's printed works is to be found in Sommervogel (Sommervogel, Carlos, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Bruxelles, Paris: Schepens, Picard, 1890-1932, Vol. VI, coll. 1065-1066).

And in the great storms of heresies and wars in Gaul (where I have spent ten years), when the most outstanding talents were flashing on one side, as if from the collision of stones, on the other, the bravest of the priests poured out the blood on the strongest chests of the priests for the Catholic faith; but heretics, prone not to good, but to evil, would daily emit an infinite number of books with dreadful diligence; and yet the victories from the battles attested to the Divine judgment in favor of the Catholic religion, their sharp determination is to be remarked, and, if not imitated, certainly the best one to emulate; these labours, writings, blood, and motives, I might afterward reserve to those who could make these things properly fit into a certain apparatus, as I desired.[9]

Possevino saw his own Church as prevailing over the crafty offensives of the heretics but still recognized the trouble that their massive engagement with printing meant to the Catholics there. This, he tells, is what led him to assemble a work that, in line with what other Northern European Catholic scholars had already attempted, condemned to disuse the influential *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545) by Conrad Gessner, as well as other similar works.[10] Years later, after several years abroad in diplomatic missions, he spent some years in Padova collecting all the materials to be used in the formation of his *Bibliotheca selecta*, whose printing was borne by the papal printing press.

The resulting work could not be disregarded: it was probably one of the finest bibliographic labours accomplished after the Council of Trent and it covered an extremely broad number of subjects with the accuracy one was to expect from a Jesuit that had the *Ratio studiorum* as his pedagogical model. The first edition had a very structured organisation, being divided into two parts, the first devoted mostly to theological content, whereas the content of the latter was more focused on liberal arts. As it was current in Early Modern trend, the volumes were divided into books, each devoted to a single subject. However, since then undercame several revisions through the years, the specific contents of each section were enriched from one to another, but the structure remained pretty much the same.

Probably due to his experience in diplomatic matters, having been *nuncio* to Eastern and Northern territories, Possevino shows in his work a very pragmatic approach, unlike the examples noted above. He is (and was already in that period) renowned for being a significant character in Counter-Reformation thought, and as such he included a number of books covering the catechetical contents to be expected. Even books from the second part don't fail to garnish some passages with references to Luther or the Heretics.[11] In that same mood, the last books in the first part were a plea for taking action against groups opposing Catholicism, that is Jews, Muslims, Orthodox Churches, Reformed, etc. It did so by saving the eventual reader the bibliographical task, for at the very beginning of each section a list with authorized materials relevant to the topic was presented. This feature, added to its author being a prominent Jesuit, made the *Bibliotheca selecta* a very well-regarded volume in the missionary milieu.

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9   Possevino, Antonio, *Bibliotheca selecta*, Romae: Ex Typographia apostolica Vaticana, 1593, Vol. 1, p. 3: 'Et in haeresum, bellorumque ingentibus Galliae (ubi decennium insumpsi) turbinibus, cum tamquam ex lapidum collisione hinc praestantissima micarent ingenia, illhinc [sic] fortissima sacerdotum pectora sanguinem pro fide Catholica effunderent; haeretici autem datis non dexteris, sed sinistris, infinitos horribili diligentia libros in dies emitterent, victoriaeque tamen e praeliis Divinam pro Religione Catholica sententiam testarentur, acutissimi erant stimuli notandis, ac nisi imitandis, aemulandis certe melioribus; quorum postea labores scripta, sanguinem, rationes asservarem iis, qui haec aptare possent, ad aliquam supellectilem, qualem optabam, rectissime disponendam.'

10 Gessner's work was ground-breaking in many fields, but particularly important to the matter treated here is his bibliographical labour. His attitude towards the use of print was different from other contemporaries (Nelles, Paul, 'Reading and Memory in the Universal Library: Conrad Gessner and the Renaissance Book', in: *Ars reminiscendi. Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*, edited by Donald Beecher and Grant Williams, Toronto: Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009, p. 165) and he seemingly understood the role that printed texts would have in the transmission of knowledge (Blair, Ann, 'Humanism and Printing in the Work of Conrad Gessner', *Renaissance Quarterly,* 2017, Vol. 70, issue 1, pp. 1-43). Zedelmaier (Zedelmaier, Helmut, *Bibliotheca universalis und bibliotheca selecta: das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit,* Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 1992) did a comparative study between both Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis* and Possevino's *Bibliotheca selecta*.

11 Possevino, Antonio, *Bibliotheca selecta,* Romae: Ex Typographia apostolica Vaticana, 1593, Vol. 2, pp. 9, 59.

The chapter in book IX, bearing the title *Quonam modo docendi sint, qui inter Turcos, et Saracenos ubi variarum gentium est colluvies commorantur*, represents a good first take on the importance of the printing press in the transmission chain of Medieval Latin knowledge of Islamic theology to the Early Modern readership. Despite the chapter as a whole lacking a thorough analysis,[12] the list of works at its top pointed out the most relevant names for the polemical discourse to be directed against Muslims. Some should be quite familiar to any Catholic who had become acquainted with anti-Islamic polemics, such as John Damascene, Euthymius, Dionysius Carthusianus or Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, but others were less fortunate and little is known about them up to the present, for instance, Stephen Langton or David Boys. One can guess that the Mantuan had not really read every one of them, he could even not have been familiar with their names, since the list is taken from Miguel de Medina's *De recta in Deum fide*,[13] as Possevino himself states.

Even in later editions of the *Bibliotheca Selecta*, for instance the one published in Venice in 1603, the text from the section against Muslims was modified in order to include other fragments left out in earlier versions. It is the case with a very concise, though significant for the work's purpose, chapter entitled *Linguae Arabicae necessitas ad Turcas iuvandos*, where Possevino incorporated a note to emphasize the importance of learning Arabic to achieve the conversion of Muslims upon having read Nicolas Clénard's *epistolarium*.[14]

The Jesuit had thus prepared a treatise in line with the bibliographical need of the time, covering a good number of subjects in a reduced number of pages. The work would benefit as well from Possevino being considered one of Counter-Reformation's more active Catholic personalities, maybe second only to Bellarmino, which meant that, indeed, all theological sections included in the treatise would become instantly valuable for the Catholic reader. However, it is no guess that perhaps the *Bibliotheca Selecta* was not the reference text for a reader with the need for a detailed account of Islamic religion, especially if one takes into account that that section is only four pages long in its first edition. Instead, its advice on consulting other, very varied sources on the subject made it a relevant source material for later works produced in missionary circles.[15]

Tomás de Jesús and the *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* (1613)

Being considered one of the founding fathers of modern missiology,[16] the Spanish Discalced Carmelite Tomás de Jesús (*lat*. Thomas a Iesu) is an example of how influential the approach taken by Possevino was. Tomás was born in a little village called Baeza, in the south of Spain. He was educated in the University of Salamanca and it was there that he entered the order of the Discalced Carmelites. From early

[12] See footnote 6.

[13] Also known as *Christianae Paraenesis* (1564), ff. 6r-v. On Miguel de Medina and his works there's little recent scholarship. Therefore, the best sources on his biography and production are still Wadding (Wadding, Luke, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum…*, Roma: Typographia Francisci Alberti Tani, 1650, pp. 260-261) and Cleary (Cleary, Gregory, 'Miguel de Medina', in: *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913, Vol. 10). On the manuscript of the Vatican Library *Cod. Ott. Lat.* 2366, ff. 232r-v, the same list provided by Miguel de Medina is written down. This would probably mean that the information was considered reliable and people recognized the authority of those authors.

[14] A forthcoming article of mine will expand on this subject. It will be a reworking of the paper delivered at Nantes last december, in the workshop 'European perspectives on the Qur'an (16th-18th c.)'.

[15] Quotes or mentions to Possevino are to be found even in works at least partly dealing with Islam from almost a century later; he's even quoted in texts as influential as Tirso González de Santalla's *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum,* Dilingae: Joannis Caspari Bencard, 1689, Vol. 2, p. 14.

[16] He is presented as one of the first authors to ellaborate a theory on missions, *cf.* Pammolli (Pammolli, Tommaso di Gesù, *Il P. Tommaso di Gesù e la sua attività missionaria all'inizio del secolo XVII*, Roma: Procura delle missioni dei Carmelitani Scalzi, 1936, pp. 171-203), Hoffman (Hoffman, Ronan*, Pioneer Theories of Missiology: A Comparative Study of the Mission Theories of Cardinal Brancati de Laurea, OFM, with those of three of his Contemporaries: Jose de Acosta, SJ, Thomas a Iesu, O. Carm., and Dominicus de Gubernatis, OFM*, Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1960, p. 89), Zimmermann (Zimmerman, Benedict, 'Thomas a Iesu', in: *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913, Vol. 14).

on, he did not fail to gain recognition from his superiors and proved many times his dedication to study and prayer; at that time, he started to write his own thoughts on monastic spirituality, which he later developed into full-length treatises dealing with mystical theology, a subject he is still renowned for. His liking for these matters led him to encourage the foundation of several *desiertos* (deserts) throughout Spain: these were places were, following the examples of the Desert Fathers, monks could isolate themselves from worldly concerns and focus only on praying and bolstering their personal relation with God.

Later in his life, owing to a divine revelation if we are to believe his own account, he grew interested in missions. He started then to gather information about Ethiopia, where was determined to go, and due to that being noticed by some other Discalced Carmelites on the Italian congregation he travelled to Rome thanks to the Papal intervention, because the Spanish congregation had forbidden him to go on missions abroad. According to Carmelite sources, Paul V was impressed by his knowledge and dedication to the missions and quickly made him secretary of his confessor Pedro de la Madre de Dios, who was also in charge of administering missions under pontifical command. The proof of the enthusiasm Tomás showed towards the apostolic duty since very beginning is his first treatise on the subject, a brief booklet called *Stimulus missionum*, published in Rome in 1610. It dealt with theological as well as practical aspects of the Christian mission as a concept: how did the Scriptures justify them and to who corresponded its administration were some of the questions the treatise was intended to answer; that was not its only purpose, however, since it chiefly searched to awaken the apostolic zeal among Catholic states, so they unified their missionary efforts into a single administration, in order to reach the effective salvation of the people in the North and in the East, but also of newly encountered populations.

Upon that basis, Tomás prepared another work that was printed three years later – this time in Antwerp, because he was there as a papal envoy at the time. This treatise, considered one of the founding texts of missiology, is the *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, divided into twelve books. It went on the tracks of the precedent text, providing a deeper insight into key matters regarding missions, such as the ones presented above, but also covering other aspects that had been previously left out and presenting them in a more elegant rhetoric that could be read as a better familiarisation of its author with the subject. The first half of this new treatise, then, was a revised and largely expanded version of the contents the *Stimulus missionum* featured. Its second half, however, was an even more interesting addition, since it deals individually with the most relevant confessions to the Catholic Church at the time. Each one of the books within this second part is devoted to schematically introducing beliefs and providing readers with the strategies of conversion, the confessions featured there are ranging from the Orthodox Church to Pagans, including as well the Heretics, that is, the Reformed Churches.

One of the religions whom the book is devoted to is Islam, in book X. It is actually the second-longest one in the treatise, only behind book VII on Eastern Churches, and probably one of the most detailed in devising a consistent strategy to the conversion of the objective population. Unlike Possevino's account of Islam, it is not built upon entirely original content, since the method used by Tomás in preparing it – and that goes as well for every other book in the treatise – was simply to put together a collection of sources on the subject, extracting them and linking these extracts one to other thanks to his own rhetorical skill. The resulting text encapsulated many different takes on the same subject, but presented them in a uniform continuum that hindered a correct identification of that feature.

Therefore, another difference between the Spanish Discalced Carmelite and the Mantuan Jesuit are the references to other works explicitly given in the book: whereas the chapter from the *Bibliotheca selecta* emphasized references to external sources – to the extent of ending the chapter with an *index* of some books from the Ottoman origin that the Christian army looted at the Battle of Lepanto. Probably owing to the librarian mind-set common in Jesuit circles, Tomás prefers to include the content considered relevant to the reader in his own work, sometimes as quotations, sometimes just omitting its sources. This may probably be due to Tomás having in mind a very specific readership from the very outset of

his project, as he himself reveals in the prologue of the *De procuranda…* He prepared this work for the reasons that follow:

> And although many volumes have been written for proving the errors of all unbelievers and for saving them, so that, enlightened by the light of the Catholic faith, they may devote themselves to the ways of truth, it's because many, especially those who travel the world, devote themselves to the study of mission and so they lack having several copies of a volume and the time, [I prepared this volume] so that in a short time they may be able to pick out those things from so many different authors and from such lengthy discussions.[17]

His was not merely a compilation process, but an adaptation one as well, in order to deliver a useful handbook to missionaries. Having had access to many first-hand accounts of their needs and concerns during the years Tomás spent as Pedro de la Madre de Dios' secretary, he probably had at least a general idea of which fields required more attention, especially in the books of the second part, the examples of book VII and X being the most representative in that matter. The inclusion of extracts running through more than a single page and their categorization under the titles for each chapter or subsection, which allow for faster and more precise search for the reader, are evidence of the care that the author took in preparing the work. Book X of the *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, then, is to a great extent a product of the printing press, but one that contributed to valorising printed editions as well. This is perhaps best illustrated by the two subsections that accompany the author's *praefatio* at the beginning of the book.

The first one is called *De praecipuis erroribus Mahometicae doctrinae* and consists basically of a list of the theological errors the doctrine of Muhammad was believed to contain. This kind of lists was a common feature in the tradition of anti-Islamic polemics, since it fostered the knowledge the reader may have had of the heretical contents of the Muhammad's doctrine by linking it to a well-known heresy, in most cases already censored by the Church Fathers. In order to present his own list, Tomás made use of the *De vitis, sectis et dogmatibus omnium haereticorum…* (1569)[18] by the French Jesuit Gabriel du Préau. This work was not by any means a comprehensive account of Islamic beliefs, but rather a catalogue that would compile earlier polemical sources to make it fit, in a certain way, the Counter-Reformation context.[19] The first ten errors are then an almost exact quotation from Du Préau's catalogue. The list, however, goes on up to reaching the thirty-eight errors and its extension reveals Tomás' hand at work: the remaining errors are taken from one of the Carmelite's preferred sources in book X, Juan de Torquemada's *Contra principales errores perfidi Machometi* (1459). He follows mostly the order found in Torquemada's treatise, sticking even to the source text in most of the cases, but there are some particularities in this inclusion. For instance, Tomás feels the need to transpose errors number seven and eight in Torquemada to errors number eleven and twelve in his own list, probably because Du Préau already had these errors covered and Tomás believed the ones from Torquemada should be included too. Another case is found in error number thirty-three: whereas Torquemada states that '*quod bibere vinum sit maximum peccatum*', the Spanish Carmelite has it '*cum Titianis* [sic] *prohibet vini usum*'. This is due to Tomás merging his two sources in composing the list, thus taking the number and the meaning from Torquemada's treatise but

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[17]   Thomas de Jesus, *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* (1613), p. 9: 'Et quamvis pro convincendis omnium infidelium erroribus, iisque iuvandis, ut fidei Catholicae lumine illustrati, veritatis viae insistant, varia sint ab auctoribus conscripta volumina, tamen quia multi, maxime vero illi qui orbem peragraturi missionum studio incumbunt, nec tanta librorum copia, nec otio abundant, ut ex tam variis auctoribus, tamque prolixis disputationibus brevi tempore ea, quibus pro temporum personarumque oportunitate opus habent possint decerpere'.

[18]   The first edition was printed in Köln. However, Tomás probably used another edition, the one printed still in Köln in 1605, in a different printing press and with a modified title: *Elenchus haereticorum omnium*.

[19]   Irena Backus briefly examined the entry on the Waldesians that presents them as alike to Cynics. She calls it 'a Classic piece of Counter-Reformation polemics' (Backus, Irena, 'How to convince Catholics that Protestants have sex in the open air: Gabriel du Préau's Catalogue of All Heretics, 1569', in: *A Sourcebook of Early Modern European History. Life, Death, and Everything in Between*, edited by Ute Lotz-Heumann, Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2019, p. 271).

the actual sentence from Du Préau, who does not number it, most likely because it included a reference to Tatian, whose postulates were already superseded in the Catholic Church.

Secondly, the other section bears the title *Authores qui scripserunt contra Alcoranum*. There is little difference with what Possevino put at the beginning of his section on Islam, except for the names that appear in this list. We can find there some familiar names to the Early Modern anti-Islamic polemists such as the already mentioned Denys the Carthusian, Pius II, Guillaume Postel, etc. The extensive account of names provided by Tomás could mislead to thinking that he actually had all these authors at hand when preparing his work but, again, he had not: the series of authorities is actually extracted from the notes found in the sermons on Revelations by the Spanish Jesuit Benito Pereira, printed in Venice in 1607. We can't be certain as to whether Tomás did read these authors or not, but most likely he at least knew them and shared Pereira's judgements about them being authorities on the subject. Nonetheless, there is content in this section that was actually incorporated by the Discalced Carmelite himself – immediately after the extract from Pereira, he includes a reference to very concrete editions of the texts quoted for the first time:

> Paul of Burgos in one of his additions to the Postillas on chapter 13 of Revelations of Nicholas of Lyra introduced a long, very curious and erudite discussion about the sect of Muhammad, where he cites and praises a certain excellent treatise about the laws and doctrines of Muhammad, whose opening words *are Quod sunt dies servi tui* (Ps 118). It was prepared by the Dominican Nicholas. He had been for a long time in the regions of the Orient, and had many time engaged the doctors of that sect, so that he might also be able to examine them more subtly and deeper, and learn the Arabic language and literature. In order to penetrate all the secrets and occult knowledge of that doctrine, he frequently communicated to his most excellent teachers those things about which he either doubted or denied to know accurately. Whence he had not only clearly understood the teachings of the Qur'an, but also how his best interpreters and teachers would understand and interpret it. This book is together with another by the cardinal Juan de Torquemada, printed in Rome in 1606 by Guglielmo Facciotti's press, and the other by Luigi Zanetti's.[20]

This fragment shows once again how easily Tomás merged materials, this time incorporating his own experience to the account provided. Almost the whole fragment quoted above is a literal extraction from Pereira's treatise on the Book of Revelations. The *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*'s version of the text is so literal that it even replicates the slip committed by Pereira that somehow makes the *Richoldis Ordinis Praedicatorum* and the *Nicolao Praedicatorum ordinis* two different individuals.[21] This mistake, which could be understandable in Pereira's case since he probably was not so sure about whether these two names referred to the same person, should be received with surprise in Tomás' case: how could he possibly not match both names and assume they were the same if he is introducing the Roman edition of Riccoldo's text a few lines later? As for now there is no answer that could be given with an absolute certainty, but the fact, that he mentions the Roman printing activity as relevant not only to him in preparing the book but also to his eventual readers, shows again how crucial was this activity for acquiring a good knowledge of Islamic theology without being a proficient Arabic reader.

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[20]   Thomas de Jesus, *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* (1613), p. 646: 'Paulus Burgensis in quadam sua additione ad Postillas Lirani super cap. 13. Apocalyps. bene longam satisque curiosam et eruditam de secta Mahometis disputationem fecit, ubi citat et laudat eximium quemdam tractatum de lege et doctrina Mahometis, qui incipit quod sunt dies servi tui (Psalm. 118) a F. Nicolao Predicatoris ordinis compositum. Is perdiu fuerat in regionibus Orientis, multumque versatus est cum Doctoribus istius sectae, quin etiam ut rem subtilius et altius scrutari et nosse posset, et linguam et litteras didicit Arabicas. Et ut omnia illius doctrinae arcana et secreta penetraret, frequenter cum nobilioribus eius Magistris, ea de quibus ipse vel dubitabat vel penitus cognoscere negabat, communicavit. Unde non modo perspectam habuit doctrinam Alcorani, verum etiam quemadmodum principes eius interpretes et doctores intelligerent atque interpretarentur. Fuit autem liber hic simul cum alio Ioannis Cardinalis Turrecrem. Romae typis mandatus anno 1606 hic apud Typographiam Guilielmi Faciotti, ille vero apud Aloisium Znaettum'.

[21]   Benito Pereira (1607, p. 431).

In fact, both Torquemada and Riccoldo are two of the sources most thoroughly used along the treatise. This would point to considering that the two editions mentioned in the prologue by Tomás are actually the ones he used to put book X together and, upon comparison of the two passages, it is most likely so. From the very diverse quotations it can be inferred that the Spanish Carmelite had both editions at hand, but he managed to pick the best passages or to modify them in order to render them more suitable for his own purpose. The variation applied to the source texts is sometimes so common and affect the text to a degree so high that it wouldn't be easy to correctly identify them, were it not for the explicit references provided by the author himself. Though other sources are not even mentioned in a single sentence of the treatise, some of them were only available in printed volumes, while others were consulted and, indeed, extracted into book X by Tomás in its printed versions, as is the case with the passages quoted from Pius II, which are taken from his *opera omnia*.

Conclusions

The central role that the printing press had in the assemblage of materials carried out by Tomás de Jesús in the preparation of his *opus maius*, the *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*, is undeniable. Indeed, the chance to have important texts printed already contributed to boost their diffusion: Bibliander's Quran was not an exception, and its importance in European cultural history is partly due to the diffusion achieved thanks to the printing press. Many Catholic figures rapidly became aware of the usefulness of printed materials, especially in the Counter-Reformation context, Possevino being one of the foremost examples. His project, that sought to compete with the Protestant bibliographical tradition, included a great range of subjects, but, although Islam wasn't the one most thoroughly studied, him taking into account printed materials to offer a recommended reading list to the eventual reader was probably perceived as the way to go. It's easy to understand, then, the importance of the printing press in a project like the one Tomás de Jesús carried out in the same vein afterwards, since although he never went on a mission anywhere, he was able to collect a varied number of sources against Islam in order to shape a book that, judging from its length and scope, was central to the second half of the *De procuranda salute omnium gentium*. Tomás had indeed exploited Roman libraries, but he rarely dealt with manuscripts. Instead, he would rather use printed materials, reprints of medieval polemical texts and other more contemporary sources. Possevino's methodology in dealing with Islam is perhaps more elusive to the scholars since he rarely quotes explicitly specific passages at length, but he nevertheless follows the same pattern of relying on previous materials to provide the reader with the apparently adapted version of the needed knowledge to confront Islam. Needless to recall that the *Bibliotheca selecta* saw the light thanks to the papacy putting its own press at work on it. Similarly, even Tomás' treatise benefited from the Papal endorsement, as, thanks to it being appreciated among the first secretaries of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide,[22] copies were sent abroad and the missionaries were encouraged to keep a copy nearby. Its diffusion became so broad that Pietro della Valle read the *De procuranda* at Isfahan few years after its first edition[23] and the Franciscan Carlo Orazio da Castorano, already in the eighteenth century, used another copy he found in Beijing to prepare his own

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[22] In 1624, the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide decided to buy eighty copies of it to send them to missionaries abroad, cf. Pammolli (Pammolli, Tommaso di Gesù, 'La 'Somma missionaria' del P. Tommaso di Gesù', in: *Il Carmelo e le sue Missioni*, 1935, pp. 396-400). Both Windler (Windler, Christian, *Missionare in Persien. Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (17.-18. Jahrhundert)*, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2018, p. 591) and Halft (Halft, Dennis, *The Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia. Arabic Printing of the Gospels, Catholic Missionaries, and the Rise of Shi'i Anti-Christian Polemics*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 2016, p. 92) stress the good reception it had among missionary circles, being sometimes treated as a missionary handbook. Francesco Ingoli, first secretary of the Congregatio, is said to frequently recommend the treatise to missionaries, *cf.* Lee (Lee, Rosemary, *A Printing Press for Shah 'Abbas: Science, Learning and Evangelization in the Near East, 1600-1650*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 2013, pp. 149-150).

[23] Pietro della Valle listed it among his readings while in Persia (Vatican, ASV, Della Valle-Del Bufalo 92/1, f. 35r).

refutation of Islam.[24] Both texts, then, contributed to the broadening of prior reception of very relevant figures in anti-Islamic polemics, such as Riccoldo or Torquemada, since their links with the papacy allowed Possevino's and Tomás' accounts of Islam to reach a great number of copies, thus meeting the demands of the growing number of missionaries the Catholic Church was sending to the Near East.

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[24] The recent edition of the works by Carlo Orazio da Castorano (1673-1755), a franciscan friar who was sent to China and there received the task of engaging in a polemical encounter with a local mufti, highlights his use of Tomás as a sources, *cf.* Martínez Gázquez-Petrus Pons (Martínez Gázquez, José; Petrus Pons, Nadia, *Carolus Horatii a Castorano, OFM. Brevis apparatus et modus agendi ac disputandi cum Mahometanis*, Roma: Antonianum, 2021, pp. 8, 17).

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Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* as a Holistic Humanist Project: Pursuit of Knowledge and Aesthetic Ideas of the Renaissance

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Abstract. The article attempts to examine Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* within the framework of the Renaissance ideas of contemporary to him epoch. Francysk Skaryna's biblical project as 'an embodiment of the seven liberal arts' and as a manual for 'the common people' apparently is very close to the one of the Italian Bible translator Nicolò Malermi. This Italian translation inspired Skaryna with the idea to publish the Bible for the *gens simples*. There is also another important resemblance between the prefaces of two translators of the Bible, which lies in the very nature of the translational task: the proximity of languages – Latin *vs* 'il volgare' Italian and Church Slavonic *vs* 'Rus/Ruthenian'. Francysk Skaryna drew inspiration from the Malermi Bible not only in the sense of its Renaissance ideals to educate people but also in its form, and particularly in the graphic style of Malermi's historiated edition (*Biblia vulgare istoriata, Venetia*: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Luchantonio di Giunta, 15 October 1490). The style of the '*figures venetians*' appeared in the engravings of the Northern Italy and responding to the tastes of the clientele 'marvelled' by the Antiquity, found an echo in the content of the *Bivlia ruska*: its ornamentations, engravings with architectural details (columns, urns, arcades, entablatures, sculpted balconies, balustrades) and other elements of the ancient tradition (garlands, putti, tritons, bucranes, centaurs), fashion styles and even the initials. In its entirety, *Bivlia ruska* displays Skaryna's implication which required a mastery of classical and contemporary languages, a connoisseurship of the arts and architectural theory, interests steeped in biblical studies and classical authors, sympathies to Neoplatonic and mystical concepts, astronomy. All these elements makes evident his mastery of humanist learning and the Renaissance nature of his holistic project to enlighten the 'ordinary people' and convey to them his vision of the world.

Keywords: Francysk Skaryna, Bivlia ruska, Nicolò Malermi, engravings, initials, the Renaissance.

The name of Francysk Skaryna, doctor of liberal arts and medicine and Slavic printing pioneer in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, needs no introduction. It continues to intrigue researchers; recent studies carried out in Czech Republic, Lithuania, Belarus, France, demonstrate metamorphosis of interpretations of Francysk Skaryna's heritage. The list of such changes is not exhaustive but we can cite among those new findings that remained mysterious to the twentieth-century researchers: the dates of Skaryna's birth and death,[1] his activities in the Old Town of Prague as an integral component of the Czech printing processes,[2]

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[1]   Lemeškin, Ilja, 'Francisk Skaryna i Praga 1541. Starshii syn Skoriny i data smerti knigopechatnika', *Neman*, 2017, No. 8, pp. 128-149; Lemeškin, Ilja, 'Bibliya Prazhskaya (1488) i Bivliya Ruska Franciska Skoriny. Mesto pechatania', in: *Francysk Skaryna: asoba, dzejnasts', spadchyna*, edited by Alyaksandr Grusha, Minsk: Belaruskaya navuka, 2017, pp. 154-194.

[2]   Voit, Petr, 'Illuziya i real'nost' – dve formy interpretatsii naslediya Franciska Skoriny', in: *Francysk Skaryna: novya dasledavanni*, edited by Aliaksandr Grusha, Minsk: Belaruskaya navuka, 2019, pp. 12-22; Voit, Petr, 'Výtvarná složka Skorinovy Bible ruské jako součást české knižní grafiky', *Umění/Art*, 2014, Vol. 4, LXII, pp. 334-353.

the circumstances of his examinations in Padua and his status as secretary to the King of Denmark (*sec-retarii regis Datiæ*),[3] as well as the new reading of his engravings in the religious context.[4]

In this article we would like to continue our efforts[5] aimed to examine Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* within the framework of the Renaissance ideas of his epoch. The thoughts to translate biblical texts into vernaculars to make them intelligible for the *gens simples*, the ideals of the so-called *Prisca theologia*, which would embrace all the knowledge of humanity beginning with Hermeticism and Plato and culminating in the Christianism, were in the air during Skaryna's lifetime. They were also endorsed by the great passion for the Greek learning and a profound adoration for the Antiquity.

In that spirit, Skaryna also aspired to use the Holy Scriptures which he saw as an 'embodiment of the seven liberal arts' and as a manual for the 'ordinary people'. Skaryna himself tells us, in his much-quoted preface for the whole Bible:

> If you want to learn grammar […], search throughout the Bible and the Book of Psalms. If you want to understand the logic […], read the Book of Job or the Epistles of Saint Paul the Apostle. And if you want to practice rhetoric […], read the Book of Solomon. Would you want to learn music […], there is a lot of poetry and holy songs in this book. If you want to be able to understand arithmetic […], read the Fourth Book of Moses. If you have geometry as a science before your eyes […], then read the Book of Jesus Navin.[6]

This approach to biblical texts is very close to that of the Italian Bible translator Nicolò Malermi (Malerbi, ca. 1422-ca. 1481) (**Fig. 1**).

Fig. 1. Portrait of Nicolo Malermi in the historiated version of Bibbia italica,
in: *Biblia vulgare istoriata,* Venetia: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Luchantonio di Giunta,
15 October 1490, f. 5v. Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, Florence

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3   Shutova, Olga, 'Again about Skaryna in Padua: New Possibilities of Reading the Old Documents', in three parts: Part 1, Time and Context, *Belarusian Review*, 2014, Winter, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 17-23.

4   Temčinas, Sergejus, 'Tau-krest v treugolnike na gravyurnom portrete Franciska Skoriny', in: *Francysk Skaryna: asoba, dzejnasts', spadchyna*, edited by Alyaksandr Grusha, Minsk: Belaruskaya navuka, 2017, pp. 146-153; Temčinas, Sergejus, 'Golgofskii krest nad vetkhozavetnoi skiniej na gravyurnom portrete Franciska Skoriny', in: *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kalbos, kultūros ir raštijos tradicijos*, edited by Sergejus Temčinas, Galina Miškinienė, Marina Čistiakova, Nadežda Morozova, (Bibliotehca Archivi Lithuanici, 7), Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos insititutas, 2009, pp. 152-168.

5   Shutova, Olga, 'Izuchenie intellektualnogo prostranstva 'Bivlii' Franciska Skoriny v kontekste Renessansa: suzhety, personalii, filosofsko-esteticheskie vliyania i oformlenie', in: *Francysk Skaryna: daunia fakty – novyia idei*, edited by Alyaksandr Grusha, Minsk: Belaruskaya navuka, 2021, pp. 66-117.

6   In the original: Хощешили Умети | Граматику Или порусы говорячи Грамоту еже доб | ре чести и мовити Учить, Знайдеши Взупольной Би | влии и Псалтыру чти ее. Паклитися любить разу | мети Лоику […] Чти Книгу светого Иова, Или | Послания светого Апостола Павла. Ащелиже по | мыслиши Умети Риторику, еже есть Красномо | вность, Чти книги Саломоновы. […] Восхощешили пакъ Учитися | Музики тоестъ Певници, Премножество стиховъ | И песней светыхъ, повсей книзе сей знайдеши. | Люболити есть Умети Аритметику […] Четвертыи книги Мо | исеевы часто чти. Паклиже имаши предъ очима | науку Геометрию, еже порусы сказуется Земле | мерение, Чти Книги Иисуса Наувина', in: Skaryna, Francisk, *Predslovie vo vsu Bivliu ruskago yazyka*, Prague, 1519, f. 3r (hereafter, we use Skaryna's quotations with their original word division and upper and lowercase letters).

Despite the fact that it is traditionally believed in Francysk Skaryna's Studies that in his translation of the Vulgate he used the Czech editions of the Bible from 1506[7] and even from 1488[8] (which we do not technically discuss here, as their textual affinity is undeniable), reading his prefaces suggests that it was the Italian translation that inspired Francysk Skaryna as a publisher and an editor. In his preface (*Epistola*) to the first Bible printed in Italian, (*Biblia vulgarizata [Bibbia italica]*, Venezia: Vindelinus de Spira, 1 August 1471), Nicolò Malermi, monk of the Camaldolese Order, writes on the need to make *Divina Scriptura* accessible not only to the enlightened men (*docti*), but also to the 'ordinary people' (*uomini, non-docti*) for their knowledge of the '*scientia del bene vivere*' (compare Skaryna's words: 'so that not only doctors and scholars understand it, but also any person, simple and ordinary … could understand what is necessary for the salvation of their soul'[9] (**Fig. 2**)).
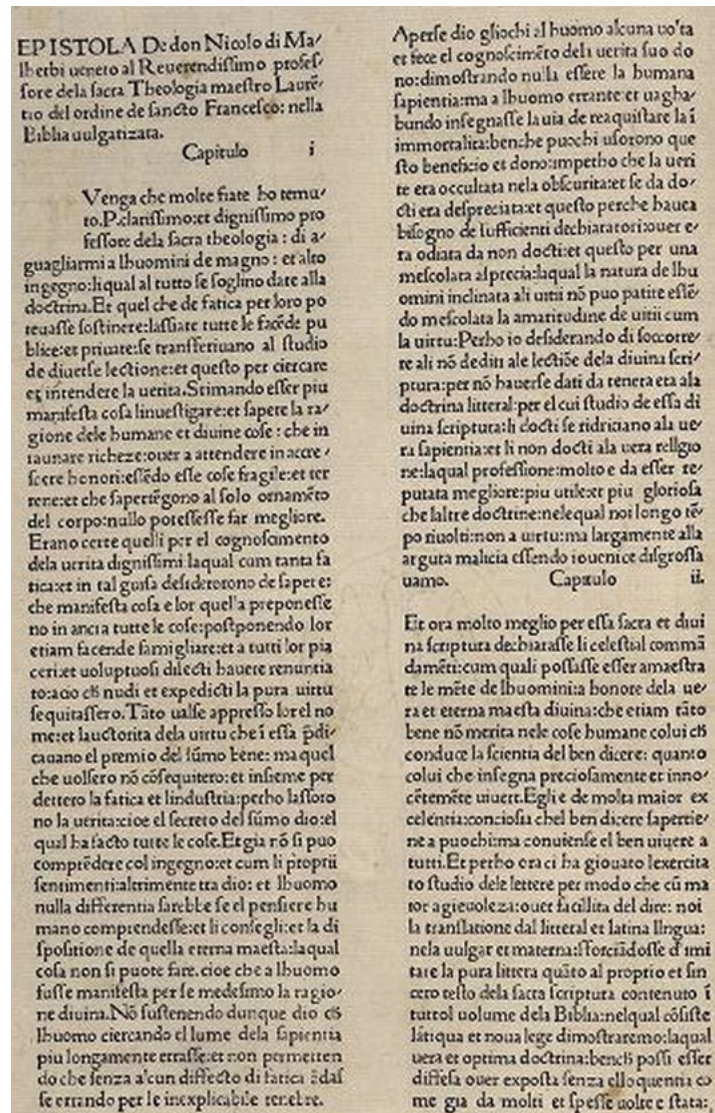
Fig. 2. Nicolò Malermi, 'Epistola', in: *Biblia vulgarizata [Bibbia italica]*, Venezia: Vindelinus de Spira, 1471. Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, Florence

[7]   Florovskij, Antonij, 'Češskaja biblija v istorii russkoj kul'tury i pis'mennosti', in: *Specimina Philologiae Slavicae*, edited by Olexa Horbatsch, Gerd Freidhot, Peter Kosta, Munchen: Verlag Otto Sagner, 1988, Vol. 77, pp. 153-258.

[8]   Lemeškin, Ilja, 'Bibliya Prazhskaya (1488) i Bivliya Ruska Francyska Skoriny', pp. 154-194.

[9]   In the original: 'Понеже не толико Докторове Алю | ди вченые внихъ разумеють. Но всякий человек про | стый иcпосполитый […] можеть | поразумети что естъ потребно кдушному спасению | его', in: Skaryna, Francisk, *Predslovie vo vsu Bivliu ruskago yazyka*, f. 2-2v.

There is another singular resemblance between the prefaces of two biblical translators. (We should note in parentheses that the Czech Bible of 1506 and its subsequent re-editions by Melantrich have only a few 'personal' prefaces from the publishers: the first opens the Bible itself, the second precedes the Fourth Book of Ezra, and the rest of the prefaces come from St. Jerome.) This singularity has to do with the proximity of *lingua volgare* to its church version. Even though Malermi's activity reflected the common trend of secularization of the language of the Holy Scriptures all over Europe, in Italy this process was more complicated, because *il volgare* (a 'proto-Italian'),[10] was closer to Latin than other European languages. 'Noi la [Bible] translatione dal litteral et latina lingua (così) nela vulgar et maternal', wrote Malermi.[11] The 'Latin *vs* Italian (Old Italian)' situation finds an echo in the Slavic world as 'Church Slavonic *vs*. Old Belarusian / Rus / Ruthenian'. Italian researchers define the language of Malermi's translation as *volgare cancelleresco veneziano*:[12] *toscano argenteo* with a Venetian dialect and a fraction of Latin.[13]

Francysk Skaryna pursued the same tasks as Nicolò Malermi: to offer to the 'ordinary people' the Bible that is not in a quasi-understandable and yet far removed from them language, but in their mother tongue 'in nostro vulgare', like it puts Malermi, 'especially for the reason that the merciful God with this tongue has left me in the world'.[14]

At the same time Francysk Skaryna drew inspiration from the Malermi's Bible not only in its ideas but also in its form. Consequentially, his Bible borrowed the graphic style of Malermi's historiated edition (*Biblia vulgare istoriata*, Venetia: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Luchantonio di Giunta, 15 October 1490). For the truth's sake and responding to those scholars who would argue that the woodcuts of the *Biblia vulgare istoriata* of 1490 were copied from the Cologne Bible (*Kölner Bibel [Biblia]*, Cologne: Bartholomæus von Unckel, Heinrich Quentell, 1478) or the successive *Biblia Germanica [Koberger Bibel],* 2 Vols., Nürnberg: A. Koberger, 1483), it should be mentioned that in fact of the 386 woodcuts in the *Biblia vulgare istoriata*, three-quarters, about 300 woodcuts, have no correspondence to those of the German Bibles. The engravings of the *Biblia vulgare istoriata* were reinterpreted by a certain Venetian master, who transformed the 'North Gothic into the Italian Renaissance'[15] (probably Maestro di Pico, conventionally called after one of his works, the miniatures for the *Historia naturalis* by Pliny the Elder, commissioned by G. Pico della Mirandola in 1481).[16]

The woodcut style of Francysk Skaryna's Bible distinguishes itself by the Renaissance elements originated from the North Italian art and Venetian editions. This style, characterized by the presence of architectural details (columns, urns, arcades, entablatures, carved balconies, balustrades) and other elements of the ancient traditions (garlands, putti, tritons, bucrania, centaurs), appeared in the engravings from northern Italy to respond to the tastes of the clientele 'marvelled' by the Antiquity[17] (**Fig. 3**).

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[10]   The term 'Italian' could be applied to this epoch only conditionally. However, from the end of the 15th century, the northern Italian dialect, due to its regularization by Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, the so-called *fiorentino argenteo* (in opposition to the 'golden' period of the 14th century), is consolidated as dominant in Italy.

[11]   Malermi, Nicolò, 'Epistola de don Nicolo di Malherbi ueneto al Reuerendiſſimo profeſſore dela ſacra Theologia maeſtro Laurentio del ordine de ſancto Franceſco: nella Bibbila uulgarizata', in: Paitoni, Jacopomaria, *Biblioteca degli autori antichi greci, e latini volgarizzati. In cui si dà la relazione de volgarizzamenti della Bibbia, e delle cose spettani al Messale, ed el Breviario, e la Tavola de nomi degli autori de volgarizzamenti in essa riferiti, o citati*, Venezia: C. R. Somasco, 1767, Vol. 5, p. 7.

[12]   Castellani, Arrigo, 'Italiano e fiorentino argenteo', in: *Saggi di linguistica e filologia italiana e romanza*, Roma: Salerno Ed., 1980, Vol. I, pp. 17-35.

[13]   Barbieri, Edoardo, 'La fortuna della Biblia vulgarizata di Nicolo Malerbi', *Aevum*, Anno 63, Fasc. 3 (settembre-dicembre 1989), p. 421; Pierno, Franco, 'In nostro vulgare dice. Le glosse lessicali della Bibbia di Nicolò Malerbi (Venezia, 1471): tra lingua del quotidiano, tradizione lessicografica e Parola di Dio', *Studium*, 2015, No. 2, p. 180.

[14]   In the orignal: 'Наболей стое причины ижемя | милостивый богъ стого языка насвет пустил', in: Skaryna, Francisk, *Predslovie v Psaltyr'*, Prague, 1517, f. 3v.

[15]   Armstrong, Lilian, 'Il maestro di Pico: Un miniatore Veneziano del tardo Quattrocento', *Saggi e Memorie di storia dell'arte*, 1990, Vol. 17, p. 29; Barbieri, Edoardo, 'Le edizioni illustrate della Bibbia volgare, 1490-1517: appunti sulle immagini di traduttori', *La Bibliofilía*, 1990, Vol. 92, No. 1 (gennaio-aprile), p. 2.

[16]   Armstrong, Lilian, *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*, London: The Pindar Press, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 233.

[17]   *Ibid*, p. 249.

Fig. 3. Ionic columns and tritons in the *Bivlia ruska*. Left: 'The Queen of Sheba talks to Salomon', in: Skorina, Francisk, *Eklesiastes ili Sobornik premudrogo tsarya Salomona* [Ecclesiastes], Prague, 1518, f. 1r, fragment. Right: representation of the tritons in '*Knigi Iudif vdovitzy*' [Judith], Prague, 1519, f. 3r, fragment. Russian State Library, Moscow

Presumably, it was also in Venice that Francysk Skaryna could see the first time the Czech Bible (*Biblij Czĕská, w Benatkach tištĕná*, Venice: Petrus Lichtenstein, 1506) who guided him to Prague and served as a linguistic support for his translation from Latin. We would like to note that the Czech Bible was also influenced by the *Biblia vulgare istoriata*, which at that time had been re-edited fifteen times, if we also count its counterfeits (*contrefaçons*). Thus, in the *Biblij Czĕská* of 1506 we find the engraving 'The Six Days of Creation' where the scenes of Creation are gathered in a common frontispiece with an architectural frame, unlike the German Bibles (**Fig. 4**). 'The Six Days of Creation' engravings from Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* (1517-1522) and from *Biblij Czĕská* (1506) originated from the same prototype: the *Biblia vulgare istoriata*.

Fig. 4. 'The Six Days of Creation'. Left: *Biblia vulgare istoriata*, Venice: G. Ragazzo, 1494. Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, Florence. Center: *Biblij Czĕská, w Benatkach tištĕná*, Venice: P. Lichtenstein, 1506. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław. Right: Skorina, Francisk, *Knigi pervye Moiseovy Byt'ya*, Prague, 1519. Russian State Library, Moscow

However, if the general style of the Czech Bible, despite some variations, brings us back to Gothic models, in Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* we can clearly see the Renaissance features came from the Venetian editions. Architectural elements, putti, bucrania, tritons came into *Bivlia ruska* not from the German Bibles or through the Czech intermediary where those elements will appear later, but directly from the Venetian artistic manner.

Skaryna's Bible also shows undeniable influence of the Italian Renaissance fashion: womenswear (*giornea*, a kind of upper 'dress' made of rich fabric, not sewn on the sides and allowing to see the folds of the lower *camora* chemise, or a cape (*lucco, mantello*), fastened with a jewel on the chest), deep feminine

necklines, body shapes 'à la Botticelli', sleeves, hairstyles reflected primarily Venetian and Florentine fashions (**Figs. 5, 6**).
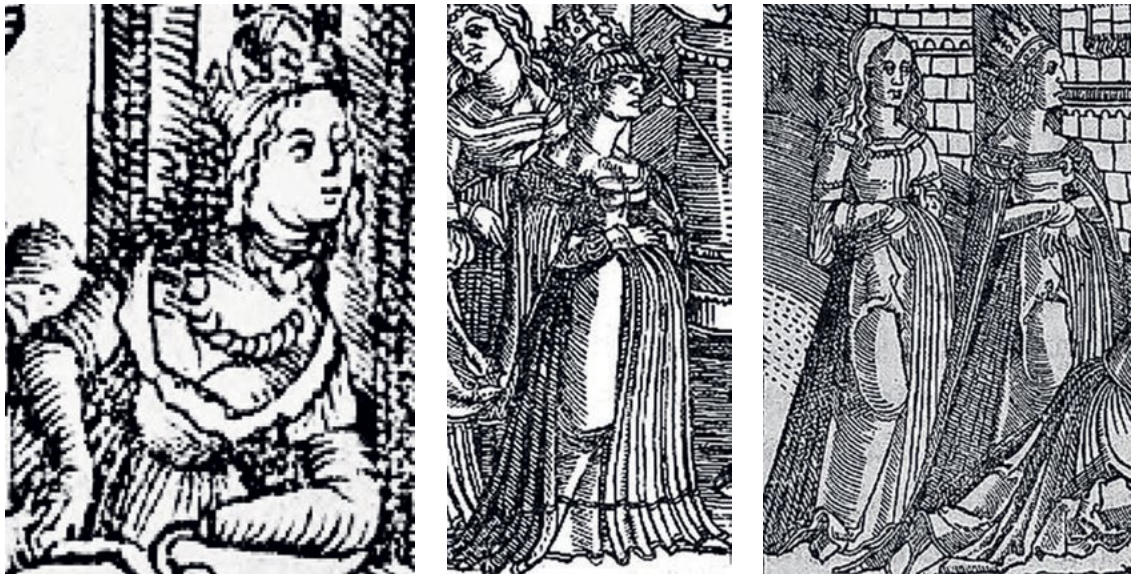

Fig. 5. Gowns, necklines, sleeves and hairstyles in the *Bivlia ruska*. Left: 'Queen of Sheba talks to Salomon', in: Skorina, Francisk, *Eklesiastes ili Sobornik premudrogo tsarya Salomona* [Ecclesiastes], Prague, 1518, f. 1r, fragment. Center: 'Queen Esther in front of king Ahasuerus', in: Skorina, Francisk, *Knigi Esfer tsaritsy* [Book of Esther], Prague, 1519, f. 1r, fragment. Right: the cape and *giornea* in 'Pharaoh's daughter found Moses in the water', in: Skorina, Francisk, *Knigi vtorye Moiseovy zovemye Iskhod* [The Book of Exodus], Prague, 1519. f. 1, fragment. Russian State Library, Moscow

Fig. 6. Fabrics *stratagliati*, pantalons, sleeves, hairstiles. From left to right 'The Judgement of Solomon', in: Skorina, Francisk, *Pritchi Salomona tsarya Izraileva* [1 Kings], Prague, 1517, f. 1, fragment. 'Queen Esther in front of king Ahasuerus', in: Skorina, Francisk, *Knigi Esfer tsaritsy* [Book of Esther], Prague, 1519, f. 1r, fragment. 'Judith and her maid with the head of Holofernes', in: '*Knigi Iudif vdovitzy*' [Judith], Prague, 1519, f. 1r, fragment. 'King Salomon builds a temple to God in Jerusalem, in: Skorina, Francisk, *Tretii knigi tsarstv*, Prague, 1518, f. 119r, fragment. Russian State Library, Moscow

In the late *Quattrocento* – early *Cinquecento* in Italy, contrary to the Central and Northern Europe, women's gowns became slightly *above the natural waistline*. Lacing, used prominently to attach sleeves to the bodice of the gown, and the white chemise puffed out, became a kind of decoration. This technic for fabrics (*stratagliati*) and sleeves (*fenestrelle*), from which the lower chemise (*camora, socha,*

gamurra – depending on the region of Italy)[18] was visible, allowing more freedom of movement, radically distinguishes the Italian Renaissance fashion from the fashion north of the Alps. In Northern and Central Europe clothing remained Gothic. Here, the Italian influences like lower square necklines for womenswear, were 'corrected' and covered by partlets or linen chemises.[19] As stipulates Daniel Delis Hill, 'the gowns of German women in the early sixteenth century featured snug-fitting bodices, usually laced tightly, with *low waistlines* [italic – O. Sh.]. For upper class women, richly embroidered or embellished panels were stitched across the bosom. Sleeves were narrow with long cuffs that extended to the knuckles'.[20] Such tremendous differences in clothing, as well as in footwear (long-toed shoes, *crakows* or *poulaines*, are still present here), are reflected in the engravings of that period (**Fig. 7**).

Fig. 7. Fashion styles in Italy and north of the Alps, comparison. Above, from left to right: 'Triumphus Castitatis' [The Triumph of Chastity], in: Petrarcha, Francesco, *Trivmphi e Sonetti, Canzoniere*, Venitia: con gra[n]de diligentia per Bernardino da Nouara nelli, 1488, in two parts (1st part – 18 April 1488), f. 42v, fragment. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, 70.6.C.10/1-2. 'Triumphus Fame' [The Triumph of Fame], in: Petrarcha, Francesco, *Trionfi (comm. Bernardo Lapini). Segue: Canzoniere (comm. Francesco Filelfo)*, Venezia: imp. Piero de Zoane di Quaregi bergomascho, 1482, in two parts (1st Part – 12 January 1492), f. 39v, fragment. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, 70.6.C.4. 'Artaxerxes with the queen sitting beside him, sends Nehemiah to Jerusalem', in: *Biblia vulgare istoriata*, translated by Nicolò Malermi, Venetia: Giovanni Ragazzo, for Luchantonio di Giunta, 15 October 1490, f. t7r, fragment. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Bod-inc. B-338. Below, from left to right: 'Judith with the head of Holofernes', in: *Biblia Übers. aus dem Lat. Mit Glossen nach der Postilla litteralis des Nicolaus de Lyra, Vorrede und Register*, Köln: Bartholomäus von Unckel für Johann Helmann und Arnold Salmonster in Köln und Anton Koberger in Nürnberg, ca. 1478/79. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Rar. 321. 'The Queen of Sheba and Solomon', in: *ibid.* 'The Dancers in the graveyard', in: Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg: Antonius Koberger, 1493, f. CLXXXVII (187). Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław

Fashion elements clearly mark the differences between the manners of dressing in Italy and in the regions north of the Alps. This was wittily remarked by Albrecht Dürer (**Fig. 8**), who himself experienced the undeniable influence of the Italian Renaissance.

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[18] Campagnol Fabretti, Isabella, 'The Italian Renaissance', in: *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Clothing Through World History,* in 3 volumes, Vol. 2: 1501-1800, edited by Jill Condra, London, Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008, p. 23.

[19] Hill, Daniel Delis, *History of World Costume and Fashion*, Boston, Mass: Prentice Hall, 2011, p. 380.

[20] *Ibid.*

Fig. 8. A Lady from Nuremberg and a Lady from Venice [Nürnbergerin und Venezianerin], ca. 1495,
Albrecht Dürer, ink on laid paper. Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main

It is also here, in Venice, that we find the iconographic model of Francysk Skaryna's famous portrait[21] which appeared in two of his books: *The Book of Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sira* (Sirach, 5 December 1517), and in *The Four Books of the Reigns* (Books of Kings, 10 August 1518).

[21]   In his recent monograph (*Portret Francyska Skoriny. K 550-letiu so dnia rozhdenia knigoizdatelia (1470–2020) / Portrait de Francisk Skorina. En commémorant le 550e anniversaire de sa naissance (1470–2020)*, Vilnius, Prague: Institut national de langue lituanienne, Cercle linguistique de Prague, 2020. Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague, nouvelle série, Vol. 10, 300 p.), I. Lemeškin states that the portrait of Francysk Skaryna is a paraphrase of Albrecht Dürer's engraving of Saint Jerome (*Der heilige Hieronymus im Gehäus*, 1514). While admiring his deciphering of the two crucial elements of Skaryna's portrait (the Cyrillic letters мƷ in the lower left corner and the fly in the same line opposite to the right) as the alphanumeric combination that indicates the age of the person represented (47 years in letters Cyrillic) for the first and the famous Renaissance *musca depicta* for the second, we cannot however accept his idea of correspondence between the images of St. Jerome and F. Skaryna. Lemeškin suggests that by picturing himself as St. Jerome in 1517, Skaryna introduced the mention of his own age and the *musca depicta* to 'secularize' the image of the saint. In 1518, Skaryna uses the same image to represent St. Jerome himself, and for this purpose, he removes the Cyrillic numerals мƷ and the fly. In our opinion, the explanation for the absence of the two elements ('мƷ' and the fly) in the second imprint of Skaryna's portrait in 1518 may be more banal. We should note in parentheses that dozens of 'painted flies' are found not only on portraits of secular persons but also on sacred images by P. Christus, G. Schiavone, C. Crivelli, G. Santi, L. Lotto, A. Dürer. See on this subject: Chastel, André, *Musca depicta*, Milano: F. M. Ricci, 1994; Eörsi, Anna, 'Puer, abige muscas! Remarks on Renaissance Flyology', *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 2001, Vol. 42, No. 1-4, pp. 7-22; Pigler, Andor, 'La mouche peinte: un talisman', *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 1964, Vol. 24, pp. 47-64). In our opinion, the first time, in 1517 ('Book of the Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach'), 'мƷ', indeed, as Lemeškin astutely remarks, meant '47 years'. Nevertheless, a year later, in 1518 ('Four Books of Kings'), Skaryna was already 48 years old, and these letters (мƷ = 47), ought to be irrelevant. Ditto for the fly (*musca depicta*) which was not only, as Lemeškin shows us, the popular *trompe-l'oeil* in Renaissance times and a sign of the artist's skill, but also a symbol creating the effect of a living presence, *still-lifes* (Eörsi Anna, 'Puer, abige muscas! Remarks on Renaissance Flyology'; Vancheri, Luc, *Cinéma et peinture. Présences de la peinture*, Paris: Armand Colin, 2007, p. 99-170;). This genre was then in the embryo, and for Skaryna's contemporaries, *still-lifes* were really still-lifes. Consequently, the 'мƷ' and the fly in 1518 have already lost their relevance and for this reason have been removed. Otherwise, how to explain the fact that Francysk Skaryna, if he wanted to use his portrait for the second time as a portrait of St. Jerome, removed the fly and age ('мƷ') which revealed his identity, but left his own name at the center of the portrait? Besides, we should take into account *where* the portraits of 1517 and 1518 are placed. In both cases, they are on the recto folium, with the colophons on the opposite verso sheet (for 1517 – f. 81v and 82r; for 1518 – f. 241v and 242r). In the first case, the portrait is connected to the last words of the Prayer of Jesus of Sira and the colophon 'by the commandment, labor and translation of the chosen man, Doctor in medical sciences Francisk son of Skaryna of Polotsk' dated 5 December 1517. In the second case, the portrait is also just next to Skaryna's words, at the verso sheet, about the Fourth Book of Kings with a mention of his own name ('translated by Doctor Francisk Skaryna from the glorious city of Polotsk into Rus'ian') and the colophon '*of the same* learned man Francisk Skaryna, Doctor in medical sciences', from 10 August 1518. Even supposing that the binding is not original and not made during Skaryna's lifetime, the word 'the same' signifies its appropriate location. In fact, Skaryna's similarity to the engraving by A. Dürer 'Saint Jerome in his study' inscribes Francysk Skaryna in artistic tradition in which the images of scholars sitting at their work were very widespread. Not to mention that Dürer's St. Jerome and Skaryna's portrait resemble each other only in fact of working with a book, the presence of books, pillows and an hourglass. For the rest: the posture, the armillary sphere, the well-known symbols of St. Jerome ('cardinal' hat, lion, rosary, cross), they are different.

In the *perpetuum* calendar printed in Venice in 1488[22] (**Fig. 9**), we find the image of a scholar explicitly similar to that of Skaryna. This is the calendar (format 45 X 32 cm) for determining the moving dates of Easter, calculated the same way all over the Christian world, which has not yet been divided by the reform of Pope Gregory XIII.

Fig. 9. *Calendarium*, Venetia: Nicolo de Balager (Nicolaus dictus Castilia), 1488, in: Essling, Victor Masséna, *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe: Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise*, Tome 1, 1ère Partie, Ouvrage impimés de 1450 à 1490 et leur éditions successives jusqu'à 1525, Florence: Leo S. Olschki; Paris: Henri Leclerc, 1907, p. 289

Apparently, it is this image of Solomon, repeated several times in other Venetian editions, which inspired Skaryna: the posture, the garland, the columned armchair on the podium (derived from the *lettuccio*, very common in Italy), the pulpit (lectern) covered with a 'rug', the armillary sphere, hourglass, books, and even the sun and the moon – all those items perfectly match the elements of Francysk Skaryna's portrait (**Fig. 10**).

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22   *Calendarium*, Venetia: Nicolo de Balager (Nicolaus dictus Castilia), 1488.
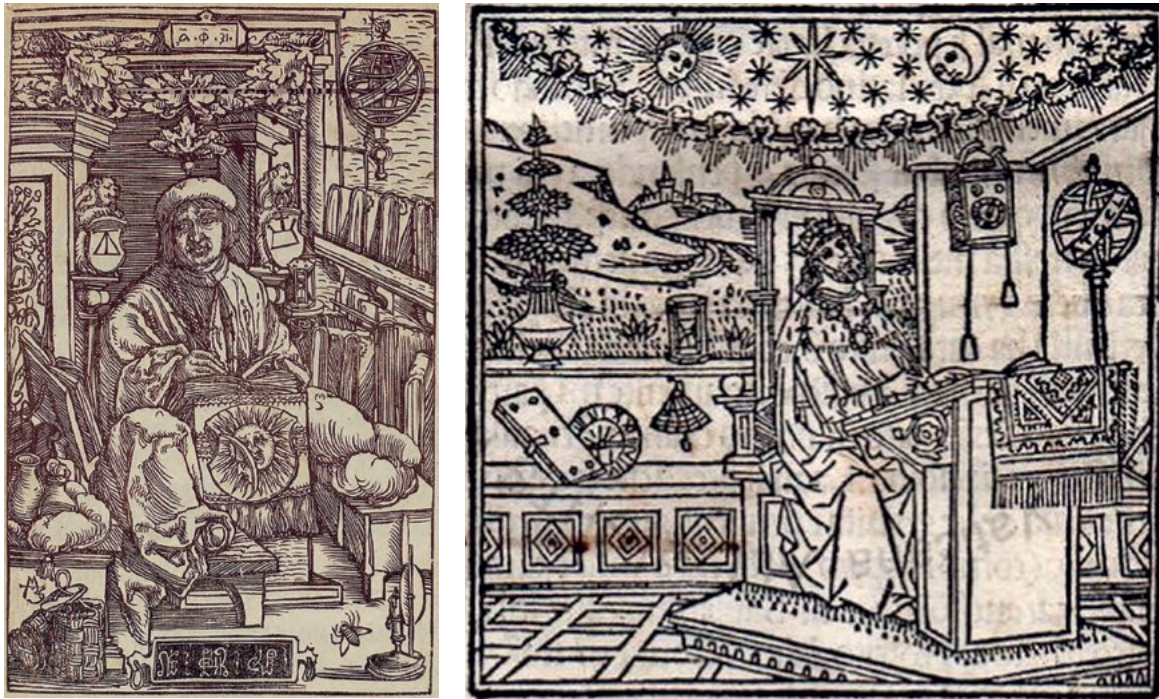
Fig. 10. Comparison of the images. Left: Francysk Skaryna's portrait. *Kniga premudrosti Isusa, syna Sirakhova* [The Book of Sirach], Prague, 1517, f. 82r. National Library of Russia, Saint-Petersburg, Department of Rare Books, I.5.4a/3. Right: King Solomon, Suso, Henricus, *Horologio della sapientia et meditationi sopra la passione delnostro signore Iesu Christo vulgare*, Venetia: S. da Lovere, 1511, frontispiece. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stampati Rossiani 5208

At the bottom left of the Calendar we see the representation of the legendary Solomon, with the accompanying text: 'This is the table of Solomon, according to which you understand how to interpret what will be the month and the hour of the Moon… and so we understand all God's holy days'. How not to think of Francysk Skaryna, who calculated for the *Little Travel Book* God's holy days 'which are moveable according to the movement of the fullness of the heavenly Moon in March'.[23]

Skaryna's stay in Italy defined his lifetime trajectory. Malermi's idea of printing a translation from Latin to close enough 'vulgar Italian', exactly as in the case of Church Slavonic and 'Rus / Ruthenian', for the education of the 'ordinary people' played the major role for his activity. The Renaissance style of the Italian Bible, the architecture of Padua and Venice, their specific cloth fashions are reflected in the design of the *Bivlia ruska*. And even if the Slavic *Biblij Czěská*, discovered in Venice by Skaryna, propels him to Prague, the very essence of his activity as a publisher remains closely linked to the Italian Renaissance.

In this sense, it is no coincidence that the *Foreword of Doctor Francysk Skaryna from Polotsk to the Books of the First Kingdoms*[24] mentions Hermes Trismegistus, the name that has not yet been seriously considered by researchers in relation to Francysk Skaryna. Importantly, Skaryna mentions Hermes Trismegistus when he describes the acquirement by the humanity of 'letters and science', i.e. the *Knowledge*. In a similar passage that we find in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, Hermes Trismegistus is represented as a 'legislator'. In contrast, we can find a very similar idea of Hermes as the bearer of knowledge in the notorious Renaissance discourse, in which the figure of Hermes Trismegistus was not just a 'fashion', but was considered as one of the pillars of *Prisca theologia*, according to Marsilio Ficino (influential Florentine Neoplatonist philosopher, 1433-1499) (**Fig. 11**).

[23]   Skaryna, Francisk, *O paskhalii ili o pastze. Posledovanie tserkovnago cobraniya vseletnago ot mesetsa septembria domesetsa avgusta*, Vilno, 1522, f. 13v.

[24]   Skaryna, Francisk, *Predoslovie doktora Francyska Skoriny s Polotska v Knigi pervye tsarstv*, Praga, 1518, f. 1v.

Fig. 11. Hermes Trismegistus, Giovanni di Stefano, interior pavement of the Duomo de Sienne, ca. 1488. Cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta, Siena

If this mention of Hermes Trismegistus by Francysk Skaryna in the context of the process of transferring knowledge is emblematic by itself, then another fragment where he indicates his philosophical attachments puts him in the context of a powerful movement that was the cornerstone of the Renaissance – Neoplatonism. In his *Skazanie* to the First Book of Genesis, Skaryna says:

> Whoever from the philosophers could understand that the Lord by his only word, created from nothing everything visible and invisible, to their father Aristotle saying, 'nothing creates nothing'. But we, Christians, having perfect faith in Almighty God in the Trinity, who created Heaven and Earth in six days, and this is the essence.[25]

This name of Aristotle coming from Skaryna was always perceived as a proof of his erudition or even his commitment to Averroism (reinterpretation of Aristotle). However, a close reading of this phrase gives us the following: (1) Skaryna does not classify himself as the follower of Aristotle (they *vs* us); (2) Skaryna is against Aristotelianism and Averroism, which considered that it is impossible to create 'the visible and invisible' out of nothing; (3) Skaryna, unlike Aristotle, advocates the *ex nihilo* principle, which was at the very centre of fierce discussions between the supporters of Aristotle (Averroists) and Plato (in the renewed interpretation by Marsilio Ficino). Those disputes are reflected in the well-known fresco *Scuola di Atene* by Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, where all thinkers are grouped around two central figures, Plato (at the left) and Aristotle (right) (**Fig. 12**). 'That God produced the world from nothing by his infinite power' (*infinita virtute mundum produxit ex nihilo*), wrote M. Ficino in his preface to Plato's *Timaeus*.[26]

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[25] In the original: 'Кто убо от филозофовъ могъ поразуме | ти Абы господь богъ словомъ своимъ, снизчего сотво | рилъ вся видимая иневидимая. Старейшине ихъ | Аристотелю глаголющу, Знисчего ничтоже бысть. | Мы пакъ хрестиане зупольную веру имамы, Все | могущего вотроици единаго бога, вшести днехъ сот | ворившего Небо И землю, И вся еже суть внихъ', in: Skaryna, Francisk, *Skazanie vopervye Knigi Moiseovy rekomye Byt'a*, Prague, 1519, f. 8.

[26] Ficino, Marsilio, *Platonic theology*. Latin and English, translated by Michael J. B. Allen, edited by James Hankins. The I Tatti Renaissance Library, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006, Vol. VI, Book 18, pp. 82-83.

Fig. 12. The *School of Athens* by Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, fragment, 1509-1511. Palazzo Apostolico, Vatican

'Marsilio Ficino of Florence, a man of extraordinary intelligence…, and now a prince among Platonic doctors', as the *Nuremberg Chronicle* calls him,[27] gives us a possible key to understanding Skaryna's sign 'sun-moon', which so often shines over the *Bivlia ruska*. Ficino concludes his *Preface* (*Argumentum*) to his illustrious translation of *Pimander* of Hermes with the words: 'But the divine light of Mind never infuses the soul, unless the soul itself is turned toward the Mind of God, as the *moon toward the sun*'.[28] This appeal of the human soul to the mind of God, like that of the moon to the sun, reflects in numerous images of the anthropomorphic 'sun-moon' of Skaryna's time, nuanced from now on forever its Christian meaning.

The anthropomorphic representation of the sun and moon, known since pagan times, was 'adapted' in early Christian times in connection with the canonical story of the crucifixion of Christ: 'It was now about noon, and darkness came over the whole land until three in the afternoon, for the sun stopped shining. And the curtain of the temple was torn in two' (Luke 23: 44-46). Already in the early Middle Ages many suns and moons are present to the left-right of the cross as 'witnesses' of the tragic story (**Fig. 13**).

Fig. 13. Crucifixion 'Te igitur', miniature, in: *Sacramentarium*, École du palais de Charles le Chauve, 869–870 A.D., f. 6v, fragment. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Latin 1141

[27]   Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg: Antonius Koberger, 1493, f. CCLVIv.

[28]   In the original: 'Diuino itaque opus ſst lumi | ne vt ſolis luce ſolem ipsum intueamur. Lumen vero | diuine mentis nunquam infunditur anime niſi ipſa (ceu | luna ad ſolem) ad dei mentem penitus conuertatur', in: Ficino, Marsilio, *Contenta in hoc volumine Pimander: Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia et potestate dei. Marsilio Ficino interprete*, Parisis: J. Lefèvre d'Étaples, 1505, f. 3v.

Crucifixes with the 'humanized' sun and moon become a strong iconographic tradition; they are present both in manuscripts and in church decoration (**Fig. 14**).

Fig. 14. The Crucifixion, Giusto de' Menabuoi, ca. 1378, fresco, fragment. Battistero della Cattedrale di Padova, Padua

At the late *Quattrocento*, Neoplatonic discourse, the desire to create *Prisca theologia* (ancient theology) which would combine the teachings of Plato, Hermeticism, Kabbalah with its ultimate embodiment in Christianity, actualized the anthropomorphic sun and moon, which were already an integral part of the European imaginary, in the spirit of representation of the Divine mind and world soul accordingly. Symbolically, this 'shift of meanings' (it should be emphasized that the meanings remained Christian, they were modernized in view of the search for the deeper sense of Christianity enriched by more ancient teachings) becomes a kind of a 'meme' at the late *Quattrocento* and the early *Cinquecento*.

While we cannot talk about the complete standardization of this phenomenon, however, numerous examples in incunables, early printed books and art testify to the dense circulation of this 'meme' both in Italy and to the north of the Alps.

In this way, on the fresco *Fregio delle arti liberali e meccaniche* supposedly by famous Giorgione, along with astronomical, musical instruments and objects of geometry and architecture, the anthropomorphic sun and moon are depicted next to the armillary sphere (**Fig. 15**).

Fig. 15. *Fregio delle arti liberali e meccaniche* [Frieze of the Liberal and Mechanical Arts], Giorgione (Giorgio Barbarelli da Castelfranco, Giorgio Zorzi), 1510, fresco, fragment. Museo casa Giorgione, Castelfranco Veneto, Italy

Neoplatonic ideas, and with them the assimilation of the new meaning of the solar-lunar theme, are also exported to the north.

As Grantley McDonald wrote in his study on Conrad Celtes (German humanist Conradus Celtis, Konrad Pickel/Bickel, 1459-1508, who after his stay in Italy created in Cracow *Sodalitas litteraria Vistulana* – a community similar to Marsilio Ficino's Florentine academy):

> In Italy, the artefacts of antiquity lay under the feet and on the tongue, but in Celtis' homeland Germany such traces were more difficult to sense. He therefore felt that a 'transfer of learning' (*translatio studii*) from Italy over the Alps was desperately needed, and he determined to spread his message around the four corners of the wider German linguistic-cultural area… The stories that Celtis and Callimachus (Italian humainst Filippo Buonaccorsi, 1437-1496) told about Italy, about the revival of language and culture, of the arts and the secrets of philosophy, proved irresistible to their Cracow friends, and they travelled south to witness the 'rebirth of antiquity' at first hand.[29]

It is not surprising that in the illustration from the book by Regiomontanus (German mathematician and astronomer Johannes Müller von Königsberg, 1436-1476), we see him and Ptolemy under the vigilant luminaries of sun and moon with human faces, 'interlaced' with a garland with an enigmatic statement: '*Altior incubuit animus sub imagine mundi*' (The highest spirit hides / watches the image of the world) (**Fig. 16**).

Fig. 16. Ptolemy and Regiomontanus, in: Regiomontanus, Johannes, *Epytoma Joannis de Monte Regio in almagestum Ptolomei*, Venetiis: Johannem Hamman de Landoia, 1496, frontispiece. Bibliothèque Nationale de France

We could also evoke Regiomontanus's first printed calendar of a new type, widely known, as evidenced by its reprints in Latin, German, Italian (at least 14 editions from 1474 to 1500), where the sun and the moon have anthropomorphic appearance. This appearance has been already prepared in the collective imagination during the centuries, but in the late *Quattrocento* it becomes linked to the ideas

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[29]   McDonald, Grantley, 'Laurentius Corvinus and the Flowering of Central European Humanism', *Terminus*, 2007, No. 9. pp. 50-52.

of Marsilio Ficino and another Neoplatonist, Cardinal Bessarion (Byzantine erudite, emigrant in Rome, 1403-1472) – the immediate patron of Georg von Peuerbach (Purbach, Peurbach, Purbachius, 1423-1461), who was in turn mentor of Regiomontanus himself[30] (**Fig. 17**).
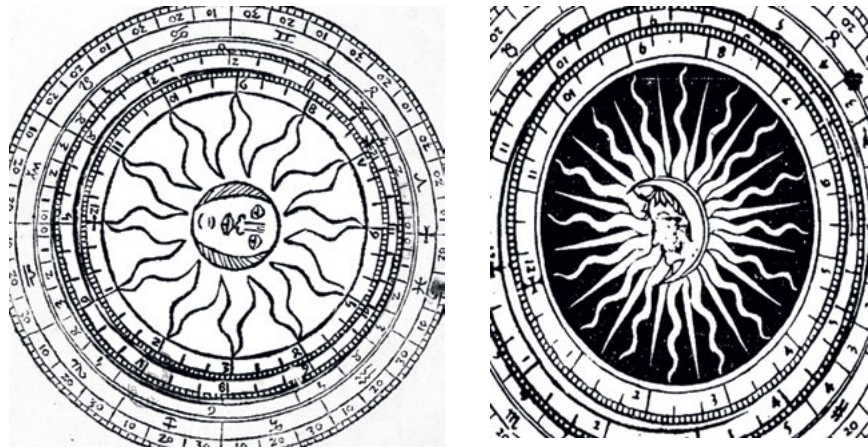

Fig. 17. Anthropomorphic sun and moon for the volvelles of Regiomontanus. Left: Regiomontanus, Johannes, *Kalendarium. Calender des Magister Johann von Kunsperk*, Nuremberg: H. Sporer, 1474, f. 30r. Right: Regiomontanus, Johannes, de Monte Regio, *Calendarium*, Venetiis: E. Ratdolt, 1485, f. 26r. Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The authorship of the woodcuts in the first editions of Regiomontanus is not exactly established, however the researchers suggest the famous Nuremberg artist Michael Wolgemut, 1434-1519).[31] The same Michael Wolgemut, who later on made himself immortal with the engravings in Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493). He was also the author of woodcuts in the less known work of Stephan Fridolin (1430-1498) *The Book of Treasure Keeper, or Shrine of the True Riches of Salvation and Eternal Bliss.* This collection of reflections-meditations on the life and martyrdom of Christ, luxuriously illustrated and published in 1491 in Nuremberg by Anton Koberger (1440-1513), was commissioned by the abbess of the Order of Saint Clare, Caritas Pirckheimer (1467-1532), sister of the German humanist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530), correspondent, closest friend and confidant of Albrecht Dürer.

Following illustrations show how M. Wolgemut and, possibly, W. Pleydenwurff (Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, 1460-1494) improve the image of anthropomorphic luminaries (**Fig. 18**).

Fig. 18. Anthromorphic sun and moon in Christian texts. Fridolin, Stephan, *Das Büch der Schatzbehalter, oder, Schrein der waren Reichtümer des heils und ewyger Seligkeit genant*, Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1491, f. 99v, f. 90v. Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection

30 Pantin, Isabelle, '«Altior incubuit animus sub imagine mundi»: L'inspiration du cosmographe d'après une gravure d'Oronce Finé', in: *Les méditations cosmographiques à la Renaissance*, edited by Frank Lestringant, Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009, pp. 73-94.
31 Zinner, Ernst, *Regiomontanus: His Life and Work*, translated by Ezra Brown, Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, Tokyo: Elsevier, 1990, pp. 173-176.

Nuremberg at this time was not only a centre of publishing, but also became an arena of intensive humanist activity. It was strengthened by the arrival, in 1471, of the same Regiomontanus and the establishing of his own printing house with a project to print two dozen scientific books. This event aroused the keenest interest among Nuremberg intellectuals in astronomical studies (including their practical part, astrology) and, in general, in all 'Italian' innovations, *studia humanitatis* (for example, the creation of *Poetenschule* / The School of Poets under the patronage of famous humanist, Paduan alumnus, Hans Johann Pirckheimer, 1440-1501), father of Willibald and Caritas. Soon, the Neoplatonic humanist circle appears here, resembling that of M. Ficino's and Bessarion's academies in Florence and Rome. One of the projects of this informal community was a universal world chronicle, created on the initiative and with the funding of Sebald Schreyer (1446-1520) and Sebastian Kammermeister (14??-1503), with the participation of M. Wolgemut, W. Pleydenwurff and others (for example, the famous C. Celtis, who at that time has been teaching at the University of Ingolstat). The result of their project is known today under the name of Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514), one of the authors of the text who, in turn, received his doctorate in medicine in 1466 at the University of Padua, a hellenophile and follower of M. Ficino's Neoplatonism.[32]

It is logical that the images of the 'sun-moon' overflowed from Regiomontanus's astronomical works into H. Schedel's *Chronicle*, also allowing to place the portrait of Regiomontanus himself (**Fig. 19**), which, as certain researchers suggest, unlike other 'typical' illustrations of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, was authentic.[33]

Fig. 19. Regiomontanus's portrait. Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg: Antonius Koberger, 1493, f. CCLVr. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław

The authors of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* created it under the influence of powerful currents of the late fifteenth Neoplatonism, Hermeticism, astrology. At the very beginning, the *Chronicle* tells about 'Hermes of Egypt, whom today we call Mercury', who was 'Plato's student', and because of his great knowledge and art he was called Hermes Trismegistus that is, thrice great'[34] (**Fig. 20**).

[32] On philosophic and esthetic ideas of H. Schedel: Kikuchi, Catherine, 'La bibliothèque de Hartmann Schedel à Nuremberg: les apports de Venise à l'humanisme allemand et leurs limites', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge,* 2010, Vol. 122/2, pp. 379-391; Zinner, Ernst, *Regiomontanus: His Life and Work*, p. 31.
[33] Zinner, Ernst, *Regiomontanus: His Life and Work*, pp. 213-214.
[34] Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg: Antonius Koberger, 1493, f. LXXIIIIv.

Fig. 20. Hermes Trismegistus's portrait. Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg:
Antonius Koberger, 1493, f. LXXIIIIv. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław

Then, talking about more recent time, right below the article about Regiomontanus (*Joannes de Monte Regio astronomus*,)[35] the *Chronicle* glorifies:

Marsilio Ficino of Florence, a man of extraordinary intelligence, well grounded in the Greek and Latin tongues, and versed in the arts, and now a prince among Platonic doctors, with great industry translated into Latin 33 books of Plato (theretofore not easily understood in the Greek); and still not satisfied with these labours, he also interpreted the meaning and beauties of Plato by various arguments and elucidations.[36]

In the late *Quattrocento* – early *Cinquecento*, the anthropomorphic image of sun and moon became an integral attribute of scientific works on astronomy, astrology, mathematics, architecture, as, for example, in the *Calendar* from Venice of 1488, already cited here (**Figs. 7, 8**), the compendium of the works of Archimedes, Boethius and Campanus of Novara edited in Venice by the famous astrologer and mathematician Lucas Gauricus (1475-1558),[37] or again in the treatise on Architecture by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1502), the famous painter, sculptor and architect from Siena (this precious manuscript, known as *Codex Ashburnham 361*, belonged to Leonardo da Vinci and decorated by his hand around 1504) (**Fig. 21**).

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[35] *Ibid,* f. CCLVr.

[36] *Ibid,* f. CCLVIv; Schmauch, Walter W.; Hadavas, Kosta, *First English edition of the Nuremberg chronicle*, Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 2010.

[37] This type of images was widely disseminated, especially after Venice edition (1488) of Johannes Sacrobosco's *De sphaera* by Joannes Lucilius Santritter and Hieronymus de Sanctis (with variable personages depicting Urania, Astronomy and Ptolemy). They were copied and reproduced in numerous Italian editions of Hyginus's (probably Caius Julius Hyginus, the 1st or the 2nd century) treatise *Poeticon astronomicon* focused on the description of the north constellations in connection to the Greek and Roman mythology (e.g. in Erhard Ratdolt Venice edition of 1512).

Fig. 21. Anthromorphic sun and moon in scientific works. Left: Gaurico, Lucas, *Tetragonismus idest circuli quadratura per Campanum, Archimedem Syracusanum atque Boetium: mathematicae perspicacissimos adinuenta*, Venetiis: J.B. Sessa, 1503, frontispiece, fragment. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Right: Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattato I (1479-1481)*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, MS Ashburnhamiano 361, f. 28r, in: Nanetti, Andrea; Benvenuti, Davide; Bigongiari, Matteo; Radzi, Zaqee & Bertocci, Stefano, 'Animation for the Study of Renaissance Treatises on Architecture. Francesco di Giorgio Martini's Corinthian Capital as a Showcase', *SCIRES-IT*, 2020, December, Vol. 10(2), p. 19-36, [accessed 20 June 2022]. Access at: <https://engineeringhistoricalmemory.com/FGM.php?page=1&section=361>

It is no coincidence that we called the 'solar-lunar' images a kind of 'meme' of the late fifteenth – early sixteenth centuriy: they are overwhelmingly present in the cultural space of this epoch, in its philosophic, scientific and profane segments. This way, in the 1525 edition of the manuscript *Romance of the Rose* (*Le Roman de la Rose*) by G. de Lorris and J. de Meung (a famous French text, recognized as a European best-seller during the Middle Ages), the anthropomorphic sun and moon are already 'habitually' present. Sun and moon with human faces contemplate the scene of Nature's confession to Genius. Of course, they are here quite naturally, since it is in this passage that the Nature conveys cosmogonic and astrological ideas about the seven planets, their twelve houses, the zodiac, spheres, the Moon, reflecting the light coming from the Sun created by God (**Fig. 22**, left).[38] The same purely 'scientific' purpose of the anthropomorphic sun and moon we could find in 1488 Venice edition of Johannes Sacrobosco's *De sphaera* (**Fig. 22**, right).
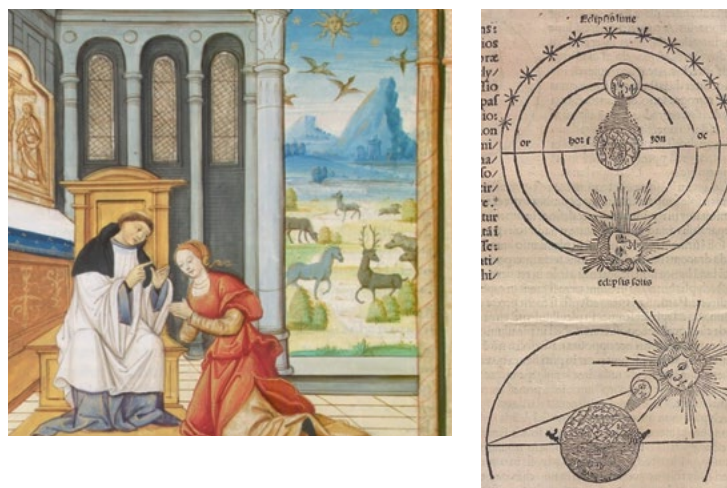
Fig. 22. Astrological and astronomical 'sun-moon'. Left: Confession of Nature to Genius and anthropomorphic sun and moon. Lorris, Guillaume de; Meung Jean de; Le Roman de la Rose, France, Rouen, ca. 1525, f. 165v. Morgan Library & Museum, New York, Morgan 948. Right: Sacrobosco, Johannes, *De sphaera*, Venice: Joannes Lucilius Santritter and Hieronymus de Sanctis, 1488, f. G 6r. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Washington, D.C.

[38]   On allegorical neoplatonic interpretation of this scene by the contemporaries: Fleming, John Vincent, *Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969, pp. 199-202

What is even more curious, this scientific purpose is highly endorsed by the publishers of this Venice edition (1488) themselves. After numerous images of sun and moon with human faces throughout the whole book (including the frontispiece, with sun and moon shining over Urania, Astronomy and Ptolemy), in the colophon the publisher states:

> As much as the science of Urania and the knowledge of the celestial bodies are indebted to the scholar of Canopus (i.e. Ptolemy – O. Sh.), the art of representing the stars by pictures is indebted to Iohannes Lucilius Santritter of Heilbronn, and to his associate Hieronymus de Sanctis, because the first invented these pictures, and the second engraved them.[39]

In this context, the anthropomorphic 'solar-lunar' symbolism is not just an abstract allegorical personification of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, as it may be seen from our today's interpretations. Skaryna's 'sun-moon' in combination with the armillary sphere (and other scientific attributes: books, hourglass) should be considered in the context of his proper time. For the contemporaries of Francysk Skaryna, this spiritual quest to create the Christian holistic knowledge, combining ancient doctrines, Neoplatonism, Christianity, represented the leading edge of philosophical, religious and aesthetic thought. During this period, 'the Florentine Neoplatonism […] achieved a success comparable only to that psychoanalysis in our own day', wrote E. Panofsky, the maître of Christian iconography and researcher of A. Dürer's oeuvre in 1960, in the heyday of psychoanalysis.[40] We would like to emphasize here that modern scholars consider even Albrecht Dürer's oeuvre as deeply immersed in Neoplatonic discourse.[41]

For Francysk Skaryna, in search of 'the highest wisdom, contemplation of death and knowledge of oneself',[42] it was quite natural to resort to this widespread symbolism, tinted in the Renaissance epoch with this new meaning. Skaryna's pursuit of knowledge embodies in 'every page of my laborious efforts',[43] and in his most famous sign of the 'sun-moon' (**Fig. 23**).

Fig. 23. Representation of sun and moon in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and in the *Biblia Ruska*. Left: Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg: Antonius Koberger, 1493, f. LXXVIr. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław. Center: Skorina, Francisk, *Kniga premudrosti Isusa, syna Sirakhova*, Prague, 1517, f. 82. Right: Skorina, Francisk, *Knigi vtorye zakonu Moiseova zovemye Iskhod* [Book of Exodus], Prague, 1519, f. 5. Russian State Library, Moscow

39   In original: 'Carmina in impressorum huius opusculi laudem | Vranie quantum debere fatentur | Cuncta canopeo: cognitaque astra uiro | Santritter helbronna lucili ex urbe Iohannes | Schemata sic debent ipsa reperta tibi | Næc minus hæc tibi de sanctis hieronyme debent | Quam socio: nanqj hic inuenit: ipse secas', in: Sacrobosco, Johannes, *De sphaera*, Venice: Joannes Lucilius Santritter and Hieronymus de Sanctis, 1488, f. G 6r.

40   Panofsky, Erwin, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, New York: Harper and Row, 1972, p. 187 (first edition: New York: Harper & Row, 1960).

41   Doorly, Patrick, 'Dürer's 'Melencolia I': Plato's Abandoned Search for the Beautiful', *The Art Bulletin*, 2004, Vol. 86, No. 2 (Jun.), pp. 255-276; Panofsky, Erwin, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, p. 242; Panofsky, Erwin; Klibansky, Raymond; Saxl, Fritz, *Saturne et la Mélancolie. Études historiques et philosophiques: nature, religion, médecine et art,* translated by Fabienne Durand-Bogaert, Louis Évrard, Paris: Gallimard, 1989, p. 738 (first published in Edinburg: Nelson, 1964); Panofsky, Erwin, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955; Giehlow, Karl, *The Humanist Interpretation of Hieroglyphs in the Allegorical Studies of the Renaissance. With a Focus on the Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I*, translated by Robin Raybould, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015 (first edition: *Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance*, Vienne, Leipzig: F. Tempsky, G. Freytag, 1915).

42   Skaryna, Francisk, *Kniga svetogo Iova*, Prague, 1519, f. 2v.

43   Skaryna, Francisk, *Predoslovie doktora Francyska Skoriny s Polotska v Knigi pervye tsarstv*, f. 3v.

Perhaps the most accurate 'decoding', which, as we repeat, was in fact not necessary being widely diffused among the intellectuals contemporary to Skaryna, we find in the texts of the same mastermind of the late fifteenth – early sixteenth century, Marsilio Ficino, 'a prince among Platonic doctors' as *Nuremberg Chronicle* calls him. He explicitly wrote two treatises 'About the sun. About the light' where he states: 'the Sun in the middle heaven represents the Good itself, and the divine intellect, or rather the plenitude of ideas manifest through the firmament full of stars, and finally the world soul through the mutable light of the Moon'[44] (**Fig. 24**).

Fig. 24. Skorina, Francisk, *Knigi pervye Moiseovy Byt'ya*, Prague, 1519, f. 9. Russian State Library, Moscow

In this light, Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* appears to be a real Renaissance project in spite of *Prisca theologia*, which would combine the ancient knowledge, Neoplatonism and Christianity. Furthermore, its design and decoration corresponds to this project, both through its engravings (as we showed above, they demonstrate the style, architectural elements and fashions closed to the Venetian Renaissance ones) and its initials supervised by Francysk Skaryna ('by my commandment') or, even furthermore, with his direct participation.

The analysis of the images accompanying the initials of Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska* helps to understand his involvement. Their composition testifies to not less than three languages' proficiency of their author, which suggests that Francysk Skaryna himself participated in their creation, at least in an associative form.

For example, in *Bivlia ruska* we find the multiple Cyrillic initials 'С' associated with the image of the Latin word '*cancer*' while beginning the Russian words 'Сказание' or 'Сия'. The letter 'П' is illustrated by the image of a murderer stabbing with a knife (dagger), which comes from the popular Latin of Skaryna's time '*pugnalis*' (from the Latin '*pugno, pugnâvi, pugnâtum*' – to fight, to kill) or Latin '*pugnus*' (also the origin of the French words '*poing*' / 'fist' and '*poignarder*' / 'to stab'). The initial letter 'М' is decorated with

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44   Ficino, Marsilio, *Liber de sole. Liber de lumine*, Firenze: Antonio Miscomini, 1493, cap. XI; Rees, Valery, 'Seeing and the Unseen: Marsilio Ficino and the Visual Arts', in: *Iconology, Neoplatonism, and the Arts in the Renaissance*, edited by Berthold Hub, Sergius Kodera, New York: Routledge, 2021, p. 65.

a mascaron (Italian *mascherone* / mask), so popular in Italy during the Renaissance. The Cyrillic initial letter 'Х' has Greek association *xiphos* (ξίφος, xífos), meaning a sword (**Fig.25**).

Fig. 25. The initials 'С', 'П', 'М', 'Х' in Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska*. Left: *Pritchi Salomona tsarya Izraileva,* Prague, 1517, f. 4r. Center: *Kniga premudrago tsarya Salomona rekomaya Pesn' pesnyam*, Prague, 1518, f. 3. Second center: *Pritchi Salomona tsarya Izraileva*, Prague, 1517, f. 29r. Right: *Psaltir'* [Psalms], Prague, 1517, f. 129. Russian State Library, Moscow

The very fact that the Latin associative series were used as decorations for Cyrillic initials indicates to the bilingualism of their creator (or rather 'inspirer'). A person who freely associated Latin (and Greek) words with Cyrillic letters had to be equally proficient in both Ruthenian and Latin. Could it be anyone other than Francysk Skaryna? Hypothetical anonymous master artist, who could arrive (together with Skaryna?) from Italy (not earlier than 1514),[45] still could not be the author of the images for the initials, because apart from these Latin and Greek associations, there are also examples of the initials with Cyrillic images. For example, another initial letter 'Х' in the phrase speaking of the bravery ('храбрость') is illustrated with the arms. Idem for the initial letter 'Г', which begins the sentence 'Господи отче и владыко живота моего…' ('God, Father and Lord of my life...'), is ornate with a bunch of grapes (vine, symbol of Christ – 'гроздь'). The initial letter 'Д' is decorated by the Cyrillic association 'дуб' [oak] (**Fig. 26**).

Fig. 26. The initials 'Х', 'Г' 'Д' in Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska*. Left: *Kniga svetogo Iova* [Book of Job], Prague, 1517, f. 11v. Centre: *Kniga premudrosti Isusa, syna Sirakhova*, Prague, 1517, f. 36v. Second center: *Kniga premudrosti bozhiei* [Book of Wisdom], Prague, 1518, f. 30v. Right: *Knigi vtorye zakonu Moiseova zovemye Iskhod* [Book of Exodus], Prague, 1519, f. 42r. Russian State Library, Moscow

The 'brain', the author of the *associations* (and not of the esquisses and woodcuts, which we could not affirm by no means) for the initials, could be only Francysk Skaryna himself. While previous examples testify to the multilingualism of their inspirer and 'architect', certain associations unambiguously designate Francysk Skaryna himself. In the initials 'Ч' [man] and 'Я' [me] we see *his famous 'sun / moon' emblem*. The Cyrillic letter 'Чрьвь' (e. g. in the word 'человек') is not only decorated with this Skaryna's symbol but also with the cross and the *IX-monogram* (from the Greek letters 'Iota' and 'Chi' for the name

45   Voit, Petr, 'Ornamentation of Prague Hebrew books during the first half of the 16th century as a part of Bohemian book design', in: *Hebrew printing in Bohemia and Moravia*, Prague: Academia, Jewish Museum in Prague, 2012, pp. 123-151.

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of Jesus Christ – Ιησους, Χριστος�҂) (**Fig. 27**), combining Skaryna's personal mark, Neoplatonic connotations for the union of Divine intellect and world soul, and deep sense of Christianity.

Fig. 27. The initials 'Ч' and 'Я' in Francysk Skaryna's *Bivlia ruska*. Left: *Eklesiastes ili Sobornik premudrogo tsarya Salomona* [Ecclesiastes], Prague, 1518, f. 10v. Center: *Kniga premudrago tsarya Salomona rekomaya Pesn' pesnyam*, Prague, 1518, f. 9. Second center: *Kniga svetogo Iova* [Book of Job], Prague, 1517, f. 19. Right: *Pritchi Salomona tsarya Izraileva*, Prague, 1517v, f. 39v. Russian State Library, Moscow

Skaryna's Bible initials, on the one hand, served as illustrations, like an 'ABC book', in which initial letters associated with pictures 'appeared' to the author in different languages. On the other hand, they were strongly based on Christian content and its symbolism. Finally, their associations were imbued with Renaissance sensibility both aesthetically (for example, *putti*) and contextually (Neoplatonic allusions to the 'solar-lunar' sign as search for God's 'highest wisdom').

Skaryna's approach to make Holy Scripture accessible for the 'ordinary people', even in situation of language affinity (like in the case of N. Malermi's Italian translation, *il volgaro* and Latin) corresponds to the Renaissance ideals of the good morals, enlightening of people and human dignity. He translated and published Holy Scriptures for his compatriots, as did many of his prominent contemporaries in Italy and north to the Alps, from Nicolò Malermi, creators of *Biblij Czěská, w Benatkach tištěná*, Martin Luther to William Tyndale.[46] At the same time, Skaryna also 'followed the trend' of the Renaissance art: Venetian (North Italian) influences are splendidly reflected in the whole of *Bivlia ruska,* its design, fashion and architectural styles.

In its entirety, *Bivlia ruska* displays Skaryna's personal involvement, which required a mastery of classical and contemporary languages, a connoisseurship of artistic and architectural mode, interests steeped in biblical studies and classical authors, sympathies to Neoplatonic and mystical concepts, astronomy. All these elements united at the heart of Skaryna's project to make evident his humanist attachment and the Renaissance nature of the *Bivlia ruska*'s holistic conception.

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[46] In addition to the already mentioned, e.g.: Luther, Martin, *Das Newe Testament Deutzsch*, Vuittemberg: M. Lotther, 1522; Tyndale, William, *The New Testament translated into English,* with marginal notes, by William Tyndale, assisted by William Roy, Cologne: Peter Quentell, 1525.

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THEATRUM LIBRI: Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe

The System of Signs in the Decoration of a Sixteenth-Century Tetraevangelion as an Information and Communication Source

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Abstract. This work takes a closer look at a sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion, a manuscript book historically originating from the eastern lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the present-day western part of the Republic of Belarus). The study aims to evaluate the book as an integrated document, an artifact of the past, and a witness to various historical periods, which is unified by a single idea, expression and form. The study of the Tetraevangelion looks at the characteristic elements of the book: binding, provenances, headpieces, decorations, tooled impressions, fastenings, watermarks, and signs of damage. We make an assumption that features of the decoration and binding of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion, as well as traces left by time, may help to pin down the dating of the binding, and that the decorative elements of the book are connected with its contents and purpose. The book is viewed as an indivisible whole, i.e. a system consciously organized by causal relations. We aim to look at the document in a structured way through the worldview of the semiotic school of communication sciences. Taking basis in the school of the pioneer of logical semiotics, Charles Peirce, we view such phenomena as inscriptions found in the book, elements of decoration, technological solutions, and marks of damage, as signs. The study employs both the comparative historical and synthetic research methods. Throughout the research, criteria for interpreting the data were identified by the principle of verification, which specified the dating of the creation of the Tetraevangelion and two instances of rebinding. The results obtained were systematized and published in a separate chapter of this article. The article is accompanied by photographs illustrating the object described.

Keywords: book, sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion, semiotics, sign codes, interpretant, information content of signs, communication response, verification, artifacts, provenance, inscriptions, headpiece, decoration, fastenings, cover boards, watermarks, type of paper.

Introduction

In this study, the book is viewed as a construct of various, causally-interacting media or as a construct that has a characteristic shape and conveys information via signs. The sign as consciously comprehended meaning has its origins. Even in the prehistoric period, when humankind did not yet write down its history, there existed a system of signs designed to transmit information. From a historical perspective, drawing was transformed from figures depicted by energetic strokes into a graphic structured form. As the schematic form of expression of this signs developed, there eventually formed signs and their systems called pictography.[1] The

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[1] The word 'pictography' is made up from the Latin word *piktus*, which means 'drawn' or 'painted', and the Greek word *grafo*, which means 'I write', 'I scratch'. A separate sign of pictorial representation is called 'pictogram'. The Greek word *gramma* means 'letter'. If an individual pictorial sign (drawing) is carved in stone, it is called *petroglyph*. The word *petroglyph* is composed of the Greek words *petra*, which means 'stone', and *gliufo*, which means 'I carve'. The *pictogram* and the *petroglyph* are signs of communication. They report something, remind of something, explain, allow, or forbid. 'Rašto atsiradimas', in: *Mokslai. Lietuviuzodynas*.lt [accessed 01 November 2021]. Access at: <https://mokslai.lietuviuzodynas.lt/informatika/rasto-atsiradimas-3>.

purpose of these symbols was to transmit information in a concise form. Such an encoding of meanings has survived to this day and is most commonly used in advertising, information technology apps, etc.

Communications via signs and systems of signs are researched by communication science as a multidisciplinary academic subject. Communication works through sign systems and sign codes. Signs are artifacts or actions that point to something different from themselves, i.e. when the symbol itself differs from the message in the visual consciousness. Codes carry semantic meaning that organizes sign systems through interrelationships between signs[2].

This study will be based on the worldview of the semiotic school of communication sciences, which focuses on sign constructs that create meanings by interacting with message recipients. Meaning is the result of a dynamic interaction between the sign, the interpreter, and the object; it is historical and can easily change in the course of time[3]. For the semiotic school it is not the significance of the communication by the sender that is important, but the reading of the signs itself becomes a significant process of the exploration of information, when the reader interacts directly with the text. It should be pointed out that the creation of information content and its reading are seen as parallel or even identical processes. In the opinion of the pioneer of logical semiotics, Charles Peirce:[4]

> A sign refers to something other than itself—the object, and is understood by somebody: that is, it has an effect in the mind of the user—the interpretant. […] The interpretant is the mental concept of the user of the sign, whether this user be speaker or listener, writer or reader, painter or viewer. Decoding is as active and creative as encoding.[5]

The object of this study is a manuscript book, a sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion[6] (from Malye Zhukovichi, Belarus (Grodno region, Karelichy district)).[7] It is held in the Manuscript Department of the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in the Vilnius Belarusian Collection,[8] signature F21-805. The manuscript is attributed to the Lithuanian Orthodox Church, which used to function on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

This study is based on the books of Edmundas Laucevičius, first of all on *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.* (*Paper in Lithuania in the 15th-18th Centuries*, 1967), a work introducing the historical development of watermarks and the technology of paper production. It includes the atlas of watermarks on paper produced by paper mills active in the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Another book by the same author is entitled *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai Lietuvos bibliotekose* (*15th-18th-Century Bookbindings in Lithuanian Libraries*, 1976). It provides information on bookbinders of Lithuania, bookbinding technologies, styles, materials, and tools. Yet another important work referred to in the present study is a monograph by Nadezhda Morozova, Кириллические рукописные книги, хранящиеся в Вильнюсе: каталог (*Cyrillic Manuscript Books Held in Vilnius: A Catalogue*, 2008).[9] In this catalogue, the author explores watermarks in the manuscript books kept in Vilnius heritage institutions, discussing the periods of the production and other issues related to these watermarks. The present study is also based on a

2   Fiske, John, *Įvadas į komunikacijos studijas*, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1998, p. 239.

3   Fiske, John, *Įvadas į komunikacijos studijas*, p. 64.

4   Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) is a pioneer of logical semiotics.

5   Fiske, John, *Įvadas į komunikacijos studijas*, pp. 60-61.

6   *Tetra* (Gr.) is a component of compound international words, it means that something consists of four parts. 'Teta', in: *Lietuviuzodynas*.lt [accessed 01 November 2021]. Access at: <https://www.lietuviuzodynas.lt/terminai/Tetra>.

7   From a restoration order of the Wroblewski Library.

8   F21 is the Vilnius Belarusian Collection. Its founder is Vilnius Belarusians Ivan Lutskevich Ethnography Museum (1910-1941). The collection was acquired by the then Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in 1945 from the former Vilnius Belarusians Museum. It contains 2306 items: originals and transcripts of 15th-20th-century manuscripts, manuscript books, and other documents, including those from monasteries and churches of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and documents from small estates and home farms of Samogitia (1507-1854). From: *Rankraščių rinkiniai*: *Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos Centrinės bibliotekos XI–XX amžių rankraščių fondų trumpa apžvalga*, collected by Vladas Abramavičius, Vilnius: Laikraščių ir žurnalų leidykla, 1963, pp. 62-66.

9   Morozova, Nadezhda, *Kirilicheskie rukapisnye knigi, khranyashchiesya v Vil'nuse: katalog*, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2008.

monograph by Edmundas Rimša, *Heraldika. Iš praeities į dabartį* (*Heraldry. From the Past to the Future*, 2004), which discusses the basics of heraldry, as well as the history and the present of heraldry in the state of Lithuania. Another important book is *Senovinių baldų restauratoriaus įžvalgos* (*Insights from a Restorer of Antique Furniture,* 2009) by Alfonsas Gudzevičius, which focuses on the heritage of applied and visual art and shares the author's experience in woodworking and restoration.

The study refers to virtual dictionaries, guides, and encyclopedias shedding light on historical events, dates, and terminology. It should be noted that the study has also been influenced by professional experience, without which it would have been difficult to navigate the multifaceted world of bookbinding.

The hypothesis set forth in this study is that the book as an information source is not limited to the content, but presents a uniformly functioning information system expressed through different signs and their codes found in all the elements that make up the book.

In 2009, the Manuscript Department of the Wroblewski Library put in the request for restoration of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion to the Documents Conservation and Restoration Department. The book was restored by the doctoral student Aušra Čiuladienė, chemical technologist, and the restorer Gražina Smaliukienė, who has had many years of experience in restoring bookbindings. Prior to restoration, the book was comprehensively examined *de visu*[10] and photographed, the data thus obtained were registered in the Restoration Passport.

The study was conducted in two directions, choosing both the comparative historical[11] and synthetic[12] research methods. The application of these methods reveals what can be common and what can be specific in different sign codes of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion, what are the meanings of their interrelationships in various historical periods, and how systems of various signs merge into the single whole of the book.

This work has two objectives: first, to throw light on the information encoded in the elements of the provenances, inscriptions, watermarks, and structure of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion and to determine the time of its creation (assuming that the book was worked on in different time periods and aiming to determine the interference from later periods); second, to confirm that the decoration of sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion as an entirety of decorative elements reflects the content of the book. To implement these objectives, the following tasks were set forth to explain marks left in different periods of the existence of the Tetraevangelion, as well as subtleties and changes of its creation:

– to examine provenances and other inscriptions;
– to examine the traces of repair work on the book and marks of damage;
– to examine decorative elements of tooled impressions and fastenings;
– to examine the paper and the watermarks of the book block;
– to summarize the results obtained.

The background of the creation of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion

In the first centuries AD, there appeared numerous works about the life of Jesus Christ, but only four books[13] were eventually selected and recognized by the Church as the ones inspired by God. In the fifth-sixth centuries, there appeared a view that the differences between the Gospels were not a hindrance to

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[10]   *De visu* (Lat.): as seen with one's own eyes.

[11]   Comparative historical method inquires into what is common and particular in historical phenomena by comparing them to other phenomena at different stages of historical development. The comparative method can be used in two ways, of which we selected the following: an intellectual action used for interpreting data previously obtained by another method. 'Lyginamasis istorinis metodas', in: *MoksloMedis.lt* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: <https://www.mokslomedis.lt/lyginamasis-istorinis-metodas/>.

[12]   Synthesis (Gr. *synthesis* – combination, union, fusion) is a cognitive method and stage, a action of an individual's cognitive activity by which components practically or mentally joined into a whole. 'Sintezės metodas', in: *MoksloMedis.lt* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: < https://mokslomedis.lt/sintezes-metodas//>.

[13]   The Gospel of Matthew, the Gospel of Mark, the Gospel of Luke, and the Gospel of John.

Fig. 1. Mirror image of the headpiece in the Gospel of Matthew

their entirety and so the Gospels began to be spoken of as the one Gospel given to the Christians in four versions. During this period, the Gospels began to be understood as one book, i.e. the texts of the Holy Scripture[14] by the Four Evangelists were joined together under a single title, the Tetraevangelion (the Four Gospels). Because of this concept, the Tetraevangelion of the Four Evangelists[15] became a sacred book whose creation was strictly canonized.

Every religion is based on many symbols carrying a deep sacred meaning. Their interpretation reveals the basic canons of doctrine and makes it possible to understand allegories, thus fostering an appreciation of the meaning and significance of the values of spiritual heritage.

Since the emergence of the Orthodox faith, the image has been considered an object that cannot be altered. Its canonical images are a special way of self-revelation and self-expression as reflected by the Holy Fathers. Therefore, in the sixteenth century, there existed a mandatory authoritative norm for text, writing, design, and binding, i.e. a universally accepted rule that would last in Orthodoxy for centuries to come.

The texts of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion are opened by miniatures featuring portraits of the Evangelists. They are depicted as sitting on benches at desks writing down the truth of the Christian faith. Their postures are restrained and rather symbolic. The portrayal of the Evangelists corresponds with the historic roles of the Evangelists as writers. The Evangelists are presented against an architectural

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[14]   The Holy Scripture is 50 books of the Old Testament and 27 books of the New Testament.

[15]   Since the times of Origen and Hippolytus of Rome, only four biblical writers have been called Evangelists and traditionally believed to be the authors of the Gospels of the New Testament: Matthew, Luke, Mark, and John. 'Evangelistai', in: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: <https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/evangelistai/>.

background with landscape elements – surrounded by a variety of ancient buildings or in front of a cave (John the Evangelist), which emphasizes both the spatial depth and the tradition of depiction in a fitting environment. This well-established tradition in depicting the Evangelists made it possible for them to be redrawn from one manuscript to another in a similar way.

The Tetraevangelion is notable for its four different headpieces, the initials and the first line of the text, all of which feature different graphic ornaments and colour palette. The headpiece in the Gospel of Matthew is exceptional. This small figure composition depicts two deer, each holding (like a shield) a vine growing in a large vase. Ribbons with mottoes (text unreadable) are intertwined with vine branches.

The text is written in Church Slavonic, in a semi-majuscule[16] script,[17] in black and red colour. Structural elements of the texts and cursive headings are highlighted in red.

The sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion is bound in a hard binding covered by solid leather. The binding consists of oak boards covered by leather dyed black with a shade of brown. The cover has brass fastenings decorated with an ornament and performing both the protective and decorative functions. The decoration of the tooled impressions on the leather cover is austere and restrained. The composition of the impression includes triple fillets, arabesques and floral motifs. The format of the block is *folio*, when a sheet of paper is folded twice. The quires are attached to four hemp sewing supports. The spine is reinforced with textile strips and headbands. The quires consist of eight leaves. The paper of the block is of high production quality with watermarks. In general, the bindings of Orthodox Gospels had to conform to the canonical norms and thus had certain characteristic features.

Provenances,[18] inscriptions, and damages

In this chapter, all inscriptions that are not part of the text of the Tetraevangelion will be considered as signs. They may be connected to the content of the book or physically related by random chance. Streak marks also become a sign. The interpretation of streak marks reveals the time periods of their appearance. All these signs left on the book by the passage of time are merged into sign codes creating a unified system, which makes it possible to interpret the information received from different objects following the same principle. In this case, the information obtained becomes a communicative response, when it is interpreted in consciousness and later presented in a written form.

The Tetraevangelion consists of 356 leaves (360 leaves if including the endpapers). This chapter will concern only those inscriptions and other marks that are closely related to the early period of the creation and existence of the Tetraevangelion, i.e. pre-1733, the year when a record of the rebinding of the book was made on the upper endpaper.

An inscription of ownership dating from 1733 was discovered on the second leaf of the upper endpaper. It was written in Polish in light brown ink. In this inscription, the bookbinder Juozapas Antanas Luckevičius made a note about the rebinding of the book. This is an important testimony of the bookbinding authorship, specifying the year of binding, which is a rare case in the history of bookbinding.

The headpiece on the eighth leaf contains a motto in Latin script. The letters are executed in an unrefined hand and do not connect together into any meaningful word combination. An idea arose that this might be a mirror text, and its reverse copy might be read reflected in a mirror. Indeed, when viewed

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16   Majuscule (Lat. *maiuscula* – larger (letter) – a manuscript lettering (most often in Ancient Greek, Latin or their derivative alphabets), which has letters only of one type, retrospectively equated to capitals. In other words, using this lettering there is no capitals-small letters distribution, but it became the source of modern capitalization.

17   From a restoration order of the Wroblewski Library.

18   Provenance (lat. *provenio* – I rise, appear): Determination of the origins and ownership of a book based on inscriptions or markings left by former owners, institutions, organizations, or libraries. [...]. The most often used provenance marks are bookplates, labels, inscriptions, and stamps. The identification of provenances shows the history and development of the library and cultural connections, and helps in the reconstruction of old book collections. 'Proveniencijos', in: *Proveniencijos Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo bibilioteka* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: <https://proveniencijos.lnb.lt/apie-proveniencijas/>.

in a mirror, the sequence of the letters acquires meaning. Dr. Sigitas Narbutas offered a concise and interesting comment on this discovery: 'Almost all the letters are legible when reflected in a mirror. The two phrases on the left in the second row remind the German 'Gott' and 'VNS' (uns)'. The very use of non-Slavic words or their abbreviations in a manuscript book written in Church Slavonic is interesting. Such a use of several languages used for writing purposes in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in this Gospel is characteristic exclusively of the written culture of the Grand Duchy.

This comment gave rise to a hypothetical assumption that the headpiece was incorrectly copied or this action was intentional. Another assumption is that the motif of the drawing in the headpiece is based on the principles of composition. During the Renaissance, there existed strict rules of depiction and proportions. We will next discuss the irregular image featured in the headpiece.

In the heraldry of each country prevail several favorite colours, usually inspired by the coats of arms of the rulers or the state. The old heraldry of Lithuania is thus dominated by red shields and silver or white figures. All other combinations of metals and colours are very rare; they are most often found in the coats of arms of families that came to Lithuania from other lands. In classical heraldry, one or more identical figures and no more than two colours were required for a single coat of arms. In Lithuanian coats of arms, it is non-heraldic figures that are the most common: birds, beasts, plants, or military items.[19]

In the headpiece, all the outlines of the drawing are in red, the figures of the deer and the frame are covered with silver and gold leaf. The drawing is in colour, but it must have been either coloured with faint strokes or faded, as traces of paint can only be detected when enlarging the image. Some of the vine branches were coloured greenish; the ribbons, bluish; the vases, pink and bluish; and vase holders, brown.

In continuing the study, we followed the principle of proportionality and complete composition. On the left, there is a vine branch leaning against one of the deer's back. Compared to the vine between the two deer, the branch on the left could be part of a missing vine. In such a case, the deer as shield-bearers would appear in a central position and the incomplete text of the motto would fill the gap. This could be a headpiece, a heraldic motif. During the Renaissance, there existed strict rules of proportion. The illuminators of the Holy Scripture followed the canonical rules. Therefore, this headpiece, with its Latin text, breaks these rules. The heraldic symbols in headpieces would have had strict outlines, so we assume that this drawing must have been redrawn in a free manner for personal use. In this case, the mirror text must have been used deliberately, and the fragment of the drawing is just an ornamental detail of the decoration. However, some questions still remain: the unreadable motto, the unknown origins of the style of this drawing, the unknown reason for which this image with Latin script was used in the Orthodox Tetraevangelion, while it should not have been, since the practice of using Latin characters in such books was not acceptable in the period in question. There also emerge many other questions. This enigmatic discovery is still awaiting attention from researchers.

On the fourteenth leaf, the text is written in cursive in Cyrillic script. The top and bottom parts of the text differ both in handwriting and ink colour. These two parts are divided by a clearly legible inscription in Cyrillic script. In translation from Ruthenian it says 'Chapter 3'. It may be guessed that these inscriptions fill a gap created by missing text. The top part of the text is scribbled in a chaotic handwriting. The bottom part of the text is more clear and orderly. The top text is written in black, and the bottom one, in brown ink.

There are also inscriptions on fragments of paper pasted to the block leaves; their function is to reproduce the pasted-over text. The fragments were glued on chaotically, on top of each other, there could be four to six of them on a single leaf. There is no indication of consistency in their use. They were used to repair the damage to the paper on the margins and in the folds of the quires. There are leaves whose margins, including the inner one at the fold, are glued all over with fragments of paper carrying inscriptions.

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[19] Rimša, Edmundas, *Heraldika. Iš praeities į dabartį*, Vilnius: Versus Aureus leidykla, 2004, p. 20.

The texts on the fragments are written in black ink. The types of paper from the fourteenth leaf and from the fragments are different. Both these differing types are also different from the paper of the other leaves of the block.

This confirms the assumption that the fourteenth leaf is an insertion and fills a gap in the missing text. The damages and flaws of the book leaves were repaired with paper of a different type, which, in turn, is different from the paper of the book block. The leaves of the block were repaired by paper fragments in an inconsistent order. This raises an idea that the leaves were repaired repeatedly. The quires of the block are sewn through the fragments pasted over folds, which is a sign of a later repair work probably related to the rebinding.

The three hundred fifty-sixth leaf has an inscription at the bottom edge. This is a two-line text written in brown ink. This inscription is different from the ones mentioned above.

'The text consists of two parts called quill-tests. It is of interest that the first part of the inscription is an attempt to write, in Cyrillic letters, separate words of the Paschal troparion 'Christ is risen from the dead', even though the execution is not quite successful (apparently from hearsay at Mass), the last two words are unidentified.

The next part of the text is in Polish: '*Panbognadzieią / Moyłaskawy panie oycze w(iel)m(ozny); daiy, Paneboze, dziendobry i wszytko* […]', i.e. 'God our Lord (is) hope; my gracious and revered Lord; give us Lord, a good day and all [...] (the following text is illegible)' (the inscription was translated and commented by Dr. Nadezhda Morozova).

It may be assumed that these two inscriptions were made by Eastern Catholics.[20] It is also of interest that the style of the script is rather similar to that of inscriptions in the upper part of the fourteenth leaf and on the glued-on fragments. These inscriptions were likely made much later, at the time when the Tetraevangelion was rebound.

A visual examination of the leaves revealed that the book became damp more than once. When comparing the origin of the damage on the leaves, we attempted to find contradictions or differences. After evaluating the streak marks on the block, it may be stated that the block was damp at least five times, especially its outer quires. It was observed that the pasted-on fragments lack streak marks characteristic for the leaves of the block. This testifies that the fragments were glued on only after the leaves had been dried. On the other hand, the endpapers also have streak marks, which do not match the streak marks on the block, excluding the narrow margins of the outer quires. To conclude, the book carries several types of streak marks, which do not match each other.

In the sixteenth century, the prevailing tradition was that the endpapers of a manuscript book were part of the block (this tradition continued for several more centuries). However, the types of paper from the endpapers and the leaves of the block of the Tetraevangelion are different. Upon a close examination of the folds of the endpapers, it was observed that the endpapers were sewn together with the quires of the block. The fact that the streak marks on the endpapers do not match the streak marks on the leaves of the block is in line with the results of this examination and confirms that the book was rebound. The endpapers would probably have been added much later, and the assumption that they became damp only after the book had been rebound, seems to be convincing.

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[20]   Uniates (Lat. *unitas* – unity), also known as Eastern Catholics or Greek Catholics are Orthodoxes who, after the Church Union of Brest (1596), converted to Catholicism and acknowledged the rule of the Pope, but held on to the Byzantine rites and the Church Slavonic language. The Uniate Church grew in strength after Pope Innocent X concluded the Union of Uzhhorod in 1646. Some Orthodoxes disapproved of this; in the 17th century, the Uniates and the dis-Uniates of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had separate church hierarchies. In the 18th century, the number of Uniates increased; the dis-Uniates had only the Peremyshl Diocese; there were about 11 millions of Uniates in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Uniates suffered oppression. In 1839, by the decree of Tsar Nicholas I, the Uniate Church was merged with the Dis-Uniates, leaving only the Chełm Uniate Diocese in the Kingdom of Poland. In 1875, the Brest Church Union was dissolved, but the Uniates remained active in the territories of Austria-Hungary and later Transcarpathia of Czechoslovakia.

Damage marks on the boards of the binding, the discovery of a parchment fragment

This chapter deals with a sign system used for transferring information about the object, i.e. technological solutions of the production of oak-wood boards and a fragment of manuscript parchment glued on the upper cover board. Following an analysis of the signs and their system, the information obtained was synthesized with a view to uniting separate elements of the objects under research into a whole. Here we describe only those traits and elements, which help determine the period of the making of the cover. We thus proceed to make an assumption that that production changes in regard to the cover boards were likely made while rebinding the Tetraevangelion.

The base of the binding is oak-wood boards. Their surface is rough and uneven. The boards were prepared by whittling. The lumber for the boards was sawn at a radial angle, i.e. longitudinally to the trunk through the core or towards the core. The annual growth rings thus intersect the face of the boards and are presented as larger or smaller shiny flecks.[21] This way of cutting the wood is called quarter-sawn.[22] The inner parts of the cover have holes for lacing the loose ends of the sewing supports through the boards in order to attach the oak boards to the book block. The cover also has marks of nailing the two fastenings.

Three inner board edges bordering with the block edges are angled (at about 1.5 cm width). The board edge bordering the spine is also angled (at about 1.5 cm width) and additionally chamfered at the other side. The angled edges are uneven.

A bookbinder usually kept certain proportions between the thickness of the book block and the thickness of the cover boards, as well as between the book format and the width of the margins. Medieval bookbinders typically used only wooden boards to make book covers, mostly beech or oak, although there were other types of wood. A bookbinder would take into account the thickness and the weight of the block, i.e. the larger the block, the thicker the boards. It should be noted that the thickness of the block of the Tetraevangelion is 9 cm, and the format is *folio*, the book is massive and weighty. So the choice of oak wood for the boards would have been intentional.

In the Middle East, books have never had wood-based covers. Even in the earliest period, books were bound in hard covers made from specially prepared cardboard or from a dozen or more sheets of paper glued together. And it was only when the European bookbinding entered the age of Renaissance, the eastern binding method spread across all the lands. In the mid-sixteenth century, wooden covers almost entirely disappeared, being used only in the bindings of oversized volumes. Extant lists of goods show that Vilnius merchants who traded in paper had on offer some second-hand paper bought by bookbinders for making cardboard.[23] So the assumption that the oak boards belonged to the binding of the Tetraevangelion seems plausible.

After separating the book block from the oak boards, it turned out that the ends of the sewing supports were not laced through the holes on the inside, but glued on. It is of interest that in some places, additional holes were made next to the already-existing holes. It is important to point out that the position of the holes had to match the location of the sewing supports, and the additional holes should thus testify to a rebinding of the book block. This suggests that the Tetraevangelion might indeed have been rebound.

Other markings were found on wooden boards: points of attachment of the two clasps. The clasps were renailed several times. Repeated nailing marks are visible at all points of attachment. They could have existed even before the rebinding carried out in 1733. This amplifies the assumption that the book could have been rebound at least twice.

Another discovery was made on the inner side of the upper board under the fold of the endpaper. This is a slip of manuscript parchment. This discovery is interesting in that manuscript parchment (equivalent to wastepaper used for making cardboard) was used for reinforcing the binding. In the second half of the

[21] Gudzevičius, Alfonsas, *Senovinių baldų restauratoriaus įžvalgos*, Vilnius: Daba Expo, 2009, p. 18.
[22] Gudzevičius, Alfonsas, *Senovinių baldų restauratoriaus įžvalgos*, p. 47.
[23] Gudzevičius, Alfonsas, *Senovinių baldų restauratoriaus įžvalgos*, p. 25.

Fig. 2. Restored fragments of the lost text (f. 14)

Fig. 3. Restored fragments of the lost text (f. 341)

Fig. 4. Quill-test inscriptions in Greek and Polish (f. 356)

eighteenth century, this way of binding practically entirely disappeared. Most often, the parchment was glued between the sewing supports of the spine with the protruding ends glued onto the boards. Such a binding was solid and lasted long.

The parchment fragment is located on the upper part of the upper cover between the sewing supports and is partially glued to the holes in the board to cover the sewing supports. The cover carries scratch marks left by an attempt to removel the fragment. So the assumption that this fragment could have been used to reinforce the board is unconvincing. However, the discovery of the extant parchment slip testifies that the oak boards must have belonged to the very first binding of the Tetraevangelion, and the traces of the attempt to remove the slip show that the cover must at some point have been repaired.

Fastenings

The fastenings represent a direct sign, which is clearly expressed and points towards their protective functional purpose. It so happened historically that the object of this sign eventually became decoration, the fastenings became varied in shape and ornamentation: embossed, ornately-shaped, and even encrusted with precious stones. It is thus natural that fastenings start prevailing as an important decorative element in luxurious bindings. The shape of the fastenings on the Tetraevangelion and their punched ornamentation details form a unified group of decoration-related signs, the information encoded in them may be decoded through an interpretive impression and/or process. The communication response formed through a detailed examination of the fastenings and their elements forms in the consciousness a three-dimentional image from the separate ornamental details.

The fastenings consist of two parts: the catches and the clasps. The historical term for such a fastening was clausura.[24] The dimensions of the catches are 2.7×1.2 cm for the top one, and 2.6×1.3 cm for the bottom one. Both clasps are missing, only brass catches, nailed with iron nail to the upper cover, remain. The clasps must have been fastened to leather strips. The only extant fragment of such a strip has been found on the lower cover between the covering leather and the cover board. Edmundas Laucevičius in his book[25] states that the fastenings were often reused and sometimes even adapted for new bindings, so new bindings could sometimes have few-hundred-year-old fastenings.

As the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion was rebound, the dating of the fastenings is unclear. It is also unknown how the lost clasps might have looked. In attempt to answer these questions, we, first of all, examined the images published by Laucevičius in his book *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai Lietuvos bibliotekose* (*15th-18th-Century Bookbindings in Lithuanian Libraries*),[26] finding four similar fastenings. Two of them date to the second half of the sixteenth century, the other two, from the mid-seventeenth century. It is of interest, that these two books were bound in Vilnius (see link ex. 201 and ex. 391).[27] We also examined *de visu* the books in Church Slavonic from collections F19, F20, and F21 kept at the Wroblewski Library's Manuscripts Department. Eleven books were discovered[28] to have fastenings with the form and style reminiscent of the fastenings on the Tetraevangelion. Nine books are attributed to the first half of the sixteenth century, and the remaining two to the second half of the seventeenth century. Among these

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[24] Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai Lietuvos bibliotekose,* p. 30.

[25] Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai Lietuvos bibliotekose*, p. 30.

[26] Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai Lietuvos bibliotekose*, p. 30.

[27] Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai Lietuvos bibliotekose*, p. 37 (ex. 20, mid-17th century); p. 54 (example 163, late 16th century); p. 58 (example 201, mid-17th century, bound in Vilnius); p. 84 (example 391, 1569, bound in Vilnius).

[28] Morozova, Nadezhda, *Kirilicheskie rukapisnye knigi, khranyashchiesya v Vil'nuse: katalog*, p. 10 (second quarter of the 16th century); p. 24 (third quarter of the 16th century); p. 29 (early 16th century); p. 32 (second quarter of the 16th century); p. 39 (second quarter of the 16th century, inserted leaves: 16th century); p. 57 (mid-16th century); p. 60 (second half of the 17th century); p. 64 (mid-16th century); p. 68 (last quarter of the 17th century); p. 82 (first quarter of the 16th century); p. 85 (second quarter of the 16th century). The dating is based on Dr. Morozova's catalogue.

Fig. 5. Fastening catches on the upper cover

Fig. 6. Fragments from the decorative tooled impressions on the lower cover

books, the one that stands out is mid- sixteenth century *Paleos*[29] (signature F19-83) with the design of the fastenings similar to that of the Tetraevangelion[30].

This suggested that the fastenings on the Tetraevangelion could be attributed to the first half of the sixteenth century and such fastenings were common in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at that time period. Such a design of the fastening prevailed and varied only in the details of execution depending on the taste of the client or the bookbinder.

[29] Palea (Gr. – ancient; the title comes from the Greek language. The Old Testament in Greek is παλαιὰ Διαθήκη): several works of early Russian literature, depicting the history of the Old Testament with additions from apocryphal monuments and ancient or medieval Christian texts, as well as theological reflections. Many researchers consider Palea to be of Byzantine origin, while others believe it to be of Russian origin.

[30] Morozova, Nadezhda, *Kirilicheskie rukapisnye knigi, khranyashchiesya v Vil'nuse: katalog*, p. 32.

The extant catches are oblong with a cutting on a shorter side near the outer edge, which is folded, thus forming a loop for the clasp. The opposite shorter side of each catch has an ornamental dentillated edge (a repeating ornament called *Dentils* became one of the main decoration elements used by Roman and Renaissance architects) stretching between the jugged corners of the catch. The surface of a catch is decorated by a composite ornament punched with two punches, which is testified to by a slightly crooked position of a pyramid-shaped ornamental detail on the bottom catch. The ornament consists of a two-strand wavy braid placed along the outer edge of the catch and two pyramid-shaped details placed along the braid, on the opposite side from the edge, with the tops of the pyramids turned away from the edge. The inner surface of the pyramids is filled by fine vertical dashes. One nail is located between the pyramids, another, close to the central notch of the opposite edge of the catch. This arrangement of the nails becomes part of the decoration of the catches.

In the early Middle Ages, books on the shelves lay horizontally with the outer edge of the block towards the room. This is why the data about the book were written on the outer edge of the block. Later, as the format of the book became smaller, the notes also appeared on the bottom edge of the block. Such books are still found at the libraries today.

The decoration on the cover of an old book, also known as codex,[31] is evaluated by turning the outer edge of the block towards the viewer. In this way, the harmony of the proportions is revealed through the ratio of symmetry and asymmetry in the two-dimensional plane of the cover. In this case, a good example is the extant catches of the fastenings. This is a way of presenting three-dimensional objects in a two-dimensional plane. When you look at the Tetraevangelion with the outer edge facing you, the shape of the catch with a notched edge resembles a stylized castle tower with turrets. This image is reinforced by the composite ornament punched on the surface of the catch: a framed two-strand braid topped by two striped pyramids. A wavy line in heraldry indicates water,[32] while vertical stripes mean red colour.[33, 34]

By connecting the catches with the imagery of tower castle, the braid represents water waves, while the frames form the spatial boundaries of this image. The triangular pyramids are reminiscent of 16th-century towers covered by red tiles ad topped by stiff roofs. Gradually, the signs carried by the ornament transform into an image in our mind: castle towers with red tiled roof emerge from a fortification surrounded by defensive water. The three-dimensional image of a castle is reinforced by the shape of the catches reminiscent of a tower with turrets, and even more strengthened by the peaked roofs of the red-tiled castle towers and water waves that unite everything into one image. The three-dimensional image of the castle creates a spatial illusion of a Renaissance castle complex that consists of a castle and a chapel surrounded by a defensive body of water. The role of metal fastenings in bookbinding culture becomes clearer. The information content hidden in the fastenings is revealed through the meanings of the signs and confirms the period of the creation of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion. The fastenings are not just a functional detail; their purpose is threefold, i.e. protective, informative, and decorative.

Tooled impressions

An ornament is one of most popular ways of decorating bookbindings. Ornaments are formed by individual repeating signs, which are meaningfully connected, it is a relationship between signs and the objects they indicate. It could be said that an ornament is a prototype for writing, and the Lithuanian vernacular language[35] equates the word *ornament* with the word *writing* (*raštas*). Ornament, like

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[31] Codex is the old manuscript book made up by bound leaves or quires, a prototype of modern books.
[32] Rimša, Edmundas, *Heraldika. Iš praeities į dabartį*, p. 25.
[33] Rimša, Edmundas, *Heraldika. Iš praeities į dabartį*, p. 20.
[34] Rimša, Edmundas, *Heraldika. Iš praeities į dabartį*, p. 23.
[35] The Lithuanian language is the most archaic of the living Indo-European languages, it preserves numerous features of the Indo-European proto-language; Lithuanian is the only living language that may be explained directly based on the system of common Indo-European formulae.

writing, may be read, since it not only has always had decorative function, but also was accompanied by an informational load, and/or a narrative. On the other hand, before the culture of phonetic writing was established, signs and their systems had been the only means of representing the surrounding world and to convey information in the form of verbal communication. Today these are signs of the remote past; their meanings have been forgotten for a long time; and so, in this chapter, different signs are woven into a single fabric of the narrative. And this unified system of signs is decoded through the narrative about the truth of the pure faith of the Holy Trinity, the Four Evangelists, and the Virgin Mary told in the Tetraevangelion.

The base of the cover of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion is oak boards covered by leather. Both covers are similarly decorated by six separate blind tool impressions. The ornamentation is modest and reserved, with plant and geometric repeated motifs prevailing. When positioning the book with the outer edge of the block facing the viewer, the elements of cover decoration maintain the harmony of proportions. Each cover is decorated by two triple fillet perimeter frames connected at the corners by triple fillets.[36] The spine is decorated by triple fillets on each side of the raised bands and along the edges, the fillets located along the edges of the spine are connected with those located along the upper and the lower edges of the covers, creating a unified compositional structure.

According to Laucevičius, fillets on the panels of the spine located along the raised bands appeared already in the fifteenth century, but it was only in the sixteenth century that individual small gold-tooled designs appeared on the panels. However, this type of decoration is not necessarily attributed to these centuries, as bindings on some books date to the eighteenth century, while the fillet ornamentation is in medieval style.[37]

The space between the concentric perimeter frames is decorated with rosettes.[38] This impression has the form of a round blossom with circular petals (a combination of six circular petals, or *six-petaled rose*, is a representation of the Holy Virgin Mary).[39] Each of the four areas between the frames has three rosettes (in total, twelve blossoms, equal to the number of the Apostles), i.e. next to each corner and in the center of each area. This arrangement of the rosettes symbolizes the connection between the earthly and the spiritual world and the sacred devotion in spreading the light of faith received from the Son of God.

The central area framed by the perimeter borders is decorated by three compositions of tooled ornaments. According to Laucevičius, this uncomplicated decoration was characteristic for the sixteenth century.[40] The four corners of this area are decorated with tooled diamond-shaped arabesques.[41] A rectangular cluster of four tooled blossoms is located adjacent to each arabesque nearer the center. Each blossom consists of six notched petals.

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[36] Fillet is a circular tool used to impress single or multiple lines. In use in Italy as early as the 1460's; pallet is a finishing tool used to impress short lines, sections of designs or binders' signatures. From: Greenfield, Jane, *ABC of bookbinding: an illustrated glossary of terms for collectors & librarians*, New Castle: Oak Knoll Press; New York: Lyons Press, 1998, p. 27.

[37] Laucevičius, *Edmundas, XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai Lietuvos bibliotekose*, p. 28.

[38] Rosette is a stylized ornamental motive in the form of a blossom, consisting of several petals in a circular form. Geenfield, Jane, *ABC of Bookbinding…*, p. 58.

[39] Rose is a symbol, first, of the Virgin Mary [...], later, of female beauty Plant symbolism. Dinzelbacher, Peter, *Viduramžių žodynas*, Vilnius: Aidai, 2004, p. 464.

[40] Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai Lietuvos bibliotekose*, p. 37

[41] Arabesque (It. *arabesco* – Arabian), an intricate ornament of intertwined stylized plant or geometric motifs. Sometimes supplemented with animalistic or anthropomorphic elements, or with inscriptions. Initially of Islamic origin, it became popular in early Renaissance architecture and applied art (wood or metal artworks, textiles). 'Arabeska', in: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: <https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/arabeska/>. Alois Riegle (1858-1905) was the first to describe the characteristic features of the arabesque such as the presence of geometric motifs, typical plant elements and their unnatural growth from one another. He also noted that the elements of an arabesque are endlessly connected to each other, which means that an arabesque pattern can be indefinitely continued in any direction. In this, the arabesque was different from the plant patterns of the late Antiquity, in which plant motifs seemed embedded in the geometric framework rather than intertwined. Arabian artists took over several plant motifs from late Antiquity and Sassanid art, which became entrenched in the depiction of arabesques for centuries: acanthus, grape leaves, grape bunches and stylized palm leaves (palmettes). From: *Vikipedija. Laisvoji enciklopedija* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: <https://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabeska>.

The centerpiece ornament is a combined quatrefoil arabesque-like ornament. A round blossom consisting of six notched petals located in the center of the concentric composition symbolizes heavenly bliss. It is surrounded by four double oblong semi-circles,[42] representing the connection of bipolar worlds (the spiritual and the material) arising from love (the blossom). The centerpiece composition is completed by four stylized pineapple[43] ornaments. It is rectangular and looks like a cross. The cross imagery is reinforced by stylized pineapple fruits looking like trefoil lilies[44] and reminding crosses located at the ends of the larger cross.

A few words on the edible pineapple fruit as a stylized element of decoration. The acquaintance with the pineapple began with the discovery of the American continent by the famous Spanish traveler Christopher Columbus. The fruit reached Europe in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Another traveler and researcher, the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan, found pineapples in Brazil in 1519. The homeland of the pineapple is the sunny Brazilian plateaus. It is from there that this exotic fruit began its travels across the world. In the sixteenth century, Portuguese sailors brought pineapples to India and Africa, but it was not until 1555 that this fruit began to be exported to England. In the seventeenth century, it began to be cultivated in greenhouses throughout Europe. But even then the pineapple remained extremely valuable and retained the status of a luxury item. It was believed to be a sign of extravagance. In Europe the price of a pineapple could reach, in some cases, as much as 6,825 EUR at current prices. Up to the eighteenth century, the pineapple was a luxury commodity coming mostly from the colonies.[45]

Two sources from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania testify that pineapples were already cultivated in the greenhouses in the eighteenth century. This is *The Encyclopedia of Polish Botany from the 18th Century*, in which the priest Krzysztof Kluk (1739-1796) tells us that:

> Over the last few years powerful people started growing this fruit in their conservatories. The leaves stand as those of artichokes, long, thick... pointed, and the edges pointed. From the center of the leaves there grows a cone consisting of fleshy fruit [...]. At the top of the cone, there is a leaf hair, which the Gardeners call Crown.[46]

The other source is *The Atlas of Local and Foreign Plants: Johann Philipp Breyne, His Daughters, and the Noble Pineapple*. Johann Philipp Breyne acclimatized pineapples in Gdańsk in 1745. His description of this experience was published in 1820. His daughter Anna Renata wrote a humorous panegyric to the exotic plant hailing from the New World and bearing golden fruit[47] (the sources were shared and consultations provided by Prof. Rimvydas Laužikas).

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[42] Buivydas, Rimantas, *Ezoterinis simbolių pasaulis. Sąvadinis ezoterinių reikšmių žodynas*, Vilnius: Spaudos kontrolės valdyba, 1995, pp. 24, 67.

[43] Greenfield, Jane, *ABC of Bookbinding…*, p. 52.

[44] Trefoil, sometimes called clover leaf, is a decoration motif that consists of three connected semicircles and so reminds a three-lobed leaf. It emerged in the early Middle Ages as a symbol of the Holy Trinity. It was most popular in the Gothic architecture and applied art. Trefoils often crowned cross-bars of crucifixes. 'Trilapis', in: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: < https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/trilapis/>.

[45] After Europeans' travels to the Caribbean, the pineapple also began to be linked to hospitality. Travellers sailed to these remote islands to discover the locals hanging pineapples over the entrance to their houses to greet the visitors. The display of this spiny fruit in the living and dining rooms eventually became a fashion widespread among the aristocracy. Plantations took over this fashion and began carving pineapple-shaped objects on columns built at their entrance. In this way, pineapples became a well-known detail in architecture. However, the European symbolism of the pineapple meant not only hospitality, but also prestige. The richest among the richest would buy or even just rent these inadequately expensive fruits as a way of showing off wealth.

[46] Pękacka-Falkowska, Katarzyna 'Atlas roślin rodzimych i obcych: Johann Philipp Breyne, jego córki i szlachetny ananas', in: *WilanowPalac* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: <https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/atlas_roslin_rodzimych_i_obcych_johann_philipp_breyne_jego_corki_i_szlachetny_ananas.html>.

[47] Pękacka-Falkowska, Katarzyna 'Atlas roślin rodzimych i obcych: Johann Philipp Breyne, jego córki i szlachetny ananas', in: *WilanowPalac* [accessed 2021 11 23]. Accessed at: <https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/atlas_roslin_rodzimych_i_obcych_johann_philipp_breyne_jego_corki_i_szlachetny_ananas.html>.

No sources mentioning pineapples served on the tables of the Grand Duchy's nobles have been discovered. It can however be assumed that this exotic fruit was already known in the sixteenth century. In the upper classes, the pineapple became a luxurious gift of respect. So it is natural that this rare golden-coloured fruit symbolizing wealth, status, and hospitality, became an element of decoration. The Christian Church adapted this symbol when the architect Christopher Wren began putting it on church fleurons.[48] In the Napoleonic times, political cartoonists painted pineapples to depict extravagance.[49] The pineapple fruit has become a decorative element much used in art.

Calculating the ratio of the proportions of the decorative composition (golden section) on the cover from the horizontal and vertical position revealed the divine proportion of the cover at the horizontal position. This proportion was an important compositional principle of the Renaissance age in the concept of aesthetical image. In order to achieve the integrity of composition, the Renaissance artists followed the principle of symmetry, in which the main focus was the center of composition. It had to coincide with the center of the cover. On the cover of the Tetraevangelion, the central position of the arabesque ornament is in line with all the traditions of static composition that prevailed on the turn of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

The composition of the cover decoration consists of three-fillet rectangular frames, four clusters of round-petal rosettes consisting of three blossoms, four corner diamond-shaped arabesques, four groups of diamond-shaped compositions of four blossoms with notched petals, and the centerpiece: a quatrefoil arabesque-like ornament reminiscent of a clover leaf or a cross. The rhythmic composition of the cover is intertwined with the symbols of the digits three and four. The cover decoration is not a random set of tooled ornaments, but a guide through the mazes of the Christian allusion through the concept of the immense Triune love of God to the rich and honourable spiritual world of the Four Evangelists. The decoration on the cover thus expresses the worldview of the Orthodox Church and is linked with the content of the Tetraevangelion.

Watermarks and types of paper

In this chapter, we take a look at watermarks and types of old paper as at signs. Because of their purpose, watermarks and paper types combine both intellectual and utilitarian aspects. Watermarks often carry complex meanings reflecting ethical, religious, philosophical and other ideas, so they may be compared to emblems,[50] and at the same time they represent accepted signs reflecting the origin, type, and format of paper. Paper sheet is an important element of a bookbinding. The technology of its production influences the quality of the book, which is loosely related to its artistic or luxury value. Viewing each technological characteristic as a sign or a significant sign system, its interpretation enriches the concept, purpose, and value of book production. Block dimensions: ~29.3 × 18.2 × 9.3 cm.

This chapter is based on two studies: Edmundas Laucevičius' *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.* and Nadezhda Morozova's *Кириллические рукописные книги, хранящиеся в Вильнюсе: каталог*. According to Laucevičius,[51] if the chain lines are vertical and the watermark is in the centre of the leaf, then the block format is *folio* (2°), i.e. the sheet is folded once. The unfolded sheet format, called *plano* (1°), has dimensions varying from 31/47 cm in length to 38/48 in width. The bibliographic book format depended

[48] Fleuron (French. fleur – flower) is a sculptural decoration element characteristic for the Gothic period and neo-Gothic architecture and applied art; it consists of leafy or floral ornaments arranged in steps around vertical columns and is used for decoration of towers, pediments, doorways, furniture backs, altarpieces, pulpits, monstrances etc. 'Fleronas', in: *Lietuviuzodynas.lt* [accessed 23 November 20211]. Access at: <https://www.lietuviuzodynas.lt/terminai/Fleronas>.

[49] 'Slapta svetingumo simbolio – ananaso istorija', in: *Delfi.lt* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: <https://www.delfi.lt/keliones/naujienos/slapta-svetingumo-simbolio-ananaso-istorija.d?id=70051700>.

[50] 'Emblema', in: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: <https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/emblema/>.

[51] Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.,* pp. 30-32.

not on the size of the sheet, but on how many times the sheet was folded. The name of a sheet in Europe not always corresponded to a format until the very end of the eighteenth century. This is why the author believes that only whole sheets with untrimmed edges are suitable for a study of formats, and such sheets are difficult to find in old books,[52] because it is unknown how far the edges of the block are trimmed before using the leaves for writing, printing and binding,

The visual examination of the block leaves shows that they have vertical chain marks and a watermark in the center. The format is *folio* (2º). The watermark on the block leaves belongs to the Crown[53] group.[54] It resembles an elongated tiara with a single crown and with a cross with a raised star on top. The emergence of the tiara and three crowns is shrouded in legends and contradictory historical facts. It is known that, since the fourteenth century tiara with three crowns has become an attribute of the rule and power of the Popes.

No watermark similar to the one discovered on the leaves of the Tetraevangelion was discovered in the atlas of Laucevičius. Based on the conclusions of the German paper historian T. Gerardi, Laucevičius writes that the mould used for making paper lasted, on average, no more than two years (due to wear and tear, moulds needed to be changed frequently). Still, a paper mould used more rarely could stay in use much longer.[55] According to the author, it is seldom possible to discover identical watermarks even from the same workshop. This is confirmed by the study of A. Schulte[56] (published by Laucevičius), who found out that some workshops used double moulds, when four paper sheets with four similar, but not identical, twin watermarks were produced at one pressing in the two moulds. Watermarks thus changed in line with changes in paper moulds. Therefore, in order to use watermarks for dating the production of paper, it is necessary to have an image of the watermark from each new mould. In addition, according to the calculations by C.M. Briquet (as presented by Laucevičius), in the sixteenth century, paper was stored unused on average for about five years.[57] In the opinion of Briquet, the paper with Crown watermarks was produced in Europe since as early as 1338. In the sixteenth century, watermarks of this type were widely used and corresponded to the paper type and format. Based on Briquet's study, paper of this type (some of the watermarks are presented in the atlas of Laucevičius) was produced by German paper workshops, but in the opinion of Laucevičius, this watermark was also used by paper workshops[58] in Lithuania.

Data presented in Laucevičius' study reveal that this type of paper existed in Europe since the early fourteenth century. The watermark found in the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion does not match those presented in the atlas, but it may be assumed that this watermark could also have been used by paper workshops.

Another source for the identification of the watermark was the catalogue by Nadezhda Morozova.[59] The author examined four Crown watermarks. According to her, one of the Crown watermarks in the Tetraevangelion (Евангелие тетр) is identical to a watermark presented in Briquet's catalogue (comp. No. 4987 in Briquet's catalogue and reference 24, p. xxxiii in Morozova's catalogue), the document dates to 1530.[60] Another watermark of this type found in Briquet's catalogue, is referred to as 'similar' in Morozova's catalogue (No. 5036, the document dates to 1544). The Piccard database contains a watermark listed as No. 52381, it is classified as 'almost similar' in Morozova's catalogue; the document dates to 1557.

[52]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, p. 32.
[53]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, p. 125.
[54]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.,* Vilnius: Mintis, 1967, Atlasas, pp. 217-227.
[55]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, p. 150.
[56]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, p. 149 (about: Schulte, A., Papiermühlen und Wasserzeichenforschung, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1934).
[57]   Laucevičius, Edmunda, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, pp. 148-150.
[58]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, p. 125.
[59]   Morozova, Nadezhda, *Kirilicheskie rukapisnye knigi, khranyashchiesya v Vil'nuse: katalog,* pp. xxxiii, 102, 203-212, 227-228, 232.
[60]   The State Archives of Baden-Württemberg. Access at :<https://www.piccard-online.de/ergebnis1.php>.

One watermark has not been identified. Based on calculations of how long paper stayed unused (about five years), the author proposes to date the watermarks presented in her catalogue to the second half of the sixteenth century.[61]

Another watermark, which was discovered on the inserted fourteenth leaf, according to Laucevičius and Morozova, belongs to the Fish watermark group, Crucian Carp subgroup.[62] The Crucian Carp watermark was identified from the anatomical form of the fish.[63] This watermark was described by Morozova as 'almost identical' to watermark No. 3933 from Laucevičius' atlas; both are found in documents dating to 1638-1639. Laucevičius writes in his study that paper with watermarks shaped like various fish was widespread, even though the origin of such watermarks is unclear. This watermark group was used starting from the fourteenth century: at first, in Italy, and later, in France and Germany. Already in the early sixteenth century, fish watermarks gave name to paper formats and types. In Lithuania, *Crucian Carp, Carp* and *Flounder* paper was most popular. Laucevičius states that it is very difficult to identify the provenance and use of watermarks, when the watermarks are not accompanied by provenance marks. *Crucian Carp* watermarks (No. 3933) became widespread in the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. These watermarks gave name to a popular paper type – a *Crucian Carp Paper* (*Papier pod karasiem*). According to Briquet, watermarks of this type were used in paper workshops of Prussia.[64]

Old paper was classified by sizing method as follows: sized with animal glue, half-sized, well-sized, and repeatedly sized (i.e. especially strong) paper. By colour, paper was classified into natural-coloured (i.e. unbleached), white (i.e. bleached), and coloured. By smoothness, paper was classified into smooth (polished with a stone or hammer) and rough. By raw material, paper was classified into cotton, flax, wool and other rag mix, and by purpose, into writing, printing and technical paper. Writing paper was divided into letter and stationery paper made from better-quality linen rags. Writing paper was always sized.[65]

Visual examination of the block paper of the Tetraevangelion revealed good production quality. It is especially strong rag paper, which was repeatedly sized, bleached, polished and obviously intended for stationery use, i.e. the most luxurious and expensive paper type.

The block is made up by the upper and the lower endpaper and the quires. The endpapers consist of two different separate leaves. Neither watermarks, nor mould grid lines have been detected.[66] The leaves of the both upper and lower endpaper glued to the cover are of different paper type then those adhering to the block. These leaves are very thin and poorly sized. The outer leaves of the endpapers are unbleached, brown, made of poor-quality, coarsely-pulped material and look like wrapping paper. It may be guessed that this paper dates to a later period. Such paper is called technical.

Technical paper, in the early seventeenth century called *charta bibula*, or, in short, *bibula*, was the worst-quality paper, most often grayish-brownish in colour. It was produced from the poorest-quality raw material. It was intended not only for wrapping, but also for other technical purposes such as cardboard or cartridges.[67]

The quality of the inner endpapers is better than that of the outer ones, but worse than that of the block leaves. The inner endpapers are thin, bleached, unpolished, with visible paper fibres. No lines left by mould grid wires have been discovered. It is probable that this paper belongs to a later period in comparison with the block leaves.

[61]   Morozova, Nadezhda, *Kirilicheskie rukapisnye knigi, khranyashchiesya v Vil'nuse: katalog*, pp. 102, 203-212.

[62]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, p. 531; Morozova, Nadezhda, *Kirilicheskie rukapisnye knigi, khranyashchiesya v Vil'nuse: katalog*, p. 102.

[63]   Identified by the author of this paper, Gražina Smaliukienė.

[64]   Laucevičius, Edmundas. *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, pp. 145-147.

[65]   Laucevičius, Edmundas. *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, pp. 41-42.

[66]   The thin wires of a paper mould grid are called laid (Fr. *vergeures*), and the thick lines are called chain lines (Fr. *pontouseaux*). For more on grid lines see Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, p. 33.

[67]   Laucevičius, Edmundas. *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, p. 45.

Inside the block, inserted manuscript leaves of similar type were found, they were possibly put there in place of lost text. These leaves have chain and wire lines. One of them also has a watermark from the Fish group[68] (described above). The paper of the inserted leaves differs from that of block leaves. They are thin and soft. Based on Laucevičius' description of the technical properties of paper, the endpapers and the inserted leaves are called 'conceptual'. Intended for drafts and transcripts, this paper was produced from poor-quality rages, was semi-sized, bleached and polished.[69]

Some block leaves are reinforced with paper strips, which carry untidy inscriptions intended to replace the pasted-over bits of the text. The paper of these strips is different from that of the leaves with grid lines, i.e. from that of the above-mentioned inserted leaves and block leaves. These paper strips carry chain and wire lines left by paper mould grid. Paper of these strips is of various types, from a very good quality, repeatedly-sized paper to the worse-quality 'conceptual' paper.

The block consists of four different types of paper. The paper on repair strips is classified into a separate group because of its variety.

To conclude, in the course of the study the block format of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion was found to be *folio*. The watermark found in this book was identified as belonging to the Crown group. The watermark looks like a papal tiara with a single crown, a cross, and a star on the top. There is no such a watermark in Laucevičius' atlas. Nadezhda Morozova' study mentions watermarks dating to the first half of the sixteenth century and similar to the watermark in the Tetraevangelion. Examining the contradictory results of the research into the watermarks, we looked into the results of the studies of Laucevičius and Morozova. It is possible that Laucevičius did not evaluate the watermarks in the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion. Paper of this type is assumed to have been produced outside of the Grand Duchy and to have been imported. It is known that 'the first paper mill in Lithuania was opened in 1524 in Vilnius, not far from Gediminas Hill near Vilnia'.[70] In the first half of the sixteenth century, the paper of this type was probably not yet produced in Lithuania. On the other hand, Laucevičius makes a guess that paper with the Crown watermarks could also have been made in Lithuania (though he notes that his study does not encompass all the territory of the Grand Duchy). He also notes that the sixteenth-century Crown watermark is different from that used in the seventeenth century.[71] It is suggested that in Lithuania, this watermark began to be used in paper production only in the seventeenth century.

Another interesting discovery is the revised date of the repair of the book block. The inserted fourteenth leaf with Crucian Carp watermark dates to the first half of the seventeenth century.

The block must have been repaired in the first half of the seventeenth century, when the Tetraevangelion was rebound for the first time. The fact of the rebinding in the seventeenth century is confirmed by several additional holes bored for lacing the loose ends of the sewing supports through the boards; these holes suggest that the position of the sewing supports was changed. A manuscript parchment fragment discovered under the endpapers must have belonged to the original binding, and the traces of an attempt to remove it confirm that the book was rebound in the seventeenth century. In addition, there are different streak marks and strips of various types of paper glued on each other. These strips were used to repair damaged leaves of the block more than once. The method of binding when the ends of the sewing supports are glued onto wooden boards rather than laced through the holes seems to suggest that the Tetraevangelion was rebound twice: in the first half of the seventeenth century and in the second half of the eighteenth century.

[68]   Laucevičius, Edmundas. *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, pp. 145-146.
[69]   Laucevičius, Edmundas. *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, pp. 41-42.
[70]   Sidaravičius, Donatas Jonas, 'Popierius', in: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija* [accessed 23 November 2021]. Access at: <https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/popierius/>.
[71]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, p. 125.

The communication response of the interpretation of signs and signs codes

In this work, communication is understood as an exchange of informative content obtained from the message sender, i.e. an act of interpreting signs with a view to conveying semantic meaning to the message recipient.

The study of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion revealed three instances of binding: the first part of the sixteenth century, the first part of the seventeenth century, and the second part of the eighteenth century. It could be said that all the instances were separated by a century. And it is obvious that all the signs and signs codes in this book are vast information systems that are tightly interconnected and throwing light on each other.

First of all, the Tetraevangelion was bound more than once in the sixteenth century. This is confirmed by surviving artifacts, such as a fragment of manuscript parchment firmly embedded in the cover board. The existence of an earlier binding is confirmed by four bored holes in the cover boards, adjacent to which additional holes were bored in several places. Another artifact is high-quality paper leaves with the Crown watermark dating to the first half of the sixteenth century and featuring a single crown on a papal tiara with a cross and a star. Other artifacts include the ornate decoration of the four Gospels with various ornaments, gilded and silver-plated miniatures, headpieces and initials.

An outstanding decoration element is the headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew drawn in a heraldic manner with vines, deer and with mottoes inscribed on ribbons floating between the branches of the vines. The discovery that the motto can be read reflected in a mirror became a surprise. This is the first such discovery in the Wroblewski Library. Another artifact that can be included into this group is the fastenings. Only the brass catches of the fastenings are extant. For comparison, fastenings on books from the holdings of the Manuscripts Department were examined. Out of eleven books with the fastenings alike to those of the Tetraevangelion, nine were attributed to the first half of the sixteenth century, and one had fastenings almost identical to those of the Tetraevangelion. The shape of the catches and their surface ornament punched with two punches create an image of a defensive castle. These catches represent the Renaissance method of depicting a three-dimensional object in the two-dimensional plane. Catches guard the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion like defensive towers. The last artifact of the Tetraevangelion is the plainly decorated but meaningful leather cover. Calculating the ratio of the proportions of the cover (golden section), the divine proportion of the cover at the horizontal position was confirmed. The decoration consists of three-fillet double perimeter frames with rosettes between the frames and with arabesques and four clusters of four blossoms at the corners of the frames. The centerpiece is a combined arabesque-like ornament consisting of three elements that form a trefoil cross. The central position of the cross reflects all traditions of static composition prevalent in the age of Renaissance. The cover decoration maintains the harmony of three and four objects enveloped in the light of the Triune Divine Faith emanating from the Four Evangelists.

The Tetraevangelion was rebound for the first time in the first half of the seventeenth century. This is obvious from the streak marks on the leaves of the block, which testify to the block getting damp many times. Another proof of the rebinding is that the Tetraevangelion was disassembled and the damaged manuscript leaves were reinforced with paper strips and the inserted leaf. The inserted leaf with a watermark belongs to the Fish Group, Crucian Carp subgroup, which dates to the first part of the seventeenth century. Later the leaves were gathered into quires and sewn together through the folds, which were reinforced by paper strips. Uneven edges of the block were trimmed, which resulted in cutting off some of the text. Another testimony is the fact that the upper part of the fourteenth leaf and the glued-on paper strips bear inscriptions (made by the same hand) restoring the lost text. Additional holes for lacing the sewing supports made in the wooden boards also serve as evidence of the rebinding.

The Tetraevangelion was rebound for the second time in the second half of the eighteenth century. This is shown by the endpapers consisting of two separate leaves glued onto the oak boards and by the fact that the ends of the hemp sewing supports were glued between the endpaper folds and the oak boards. This type of binding is characteristic for this period. Additional evidence of the second rebinding is that the endpaper leaves have streak marks not matching those on the leaves of the block, and that the paper of the endpapers is of poor quality without paper mould grid lines. In addition, it is obvious that during this rebinding, the cover and the block were not disassembled, only the torn leaves were repaired (thus the appearance of paper strips glued on top of other paper strips), the block was reinforced by a thick layer of glue and by textile strips between the sewing supports.

Such a careful care of the Tetraevangelion testifies that the book was highly valued by its former owners.

Conclusions

Five hundred years or half a thousand years – it is difficult to evaluate and impossible to overview this distance, to feel the spirit of the new Renaissance age of the distant past, a sound of church bells, a whiff of smoke, clang of weapons. But It can, because It encompasses everything, shares generously, we just need to let It tell what it remembers. And It remembers a lot. The Book is a living organic body, a unique creative phenomenon in human culture; having passed the test of various periods, It has changed but little over the centuries. It is important not to forget that the Book is nothing more and nothing less than Humankind itself.

The discipline of semiotics studies the cumulative system of methods, principles and rules of classification, reading of signs, and determination of their interdependence. The present study is based on the system developed by the pioneer of logical semiotics, Charles Peirce, in which the representamen is a sign (for example, a decorative element or a technological solution); the referent is the object signified, whose parts consist of a multitude of signs and signs codes (for example, a book as the entirety of all its parts and the elements of its binding as parts related by semantic meaning); while the interpretant is the equivalent of object cognition in sign interpretation (for example, when decorative elements make up an integrated narrative related to the content of the Tetraevangelion). 'A relation between a sign and the signified object in a symbolic sign (interpretant) is determined through the agreement of users irrespective of either similarity or real contiguity. Generality lying in the nature of the symbolic sign allows us to express that which is yet unknown.'[72]

The cognitive road structured by the semiotic school opens much wider possibilities for explaining long-forgotten meanings of signs perceived as a prototext. Another issue of importance is that all signs may be read; the present study was facilitated by strictly defined boundaries of the informational field, and in this case the boundaries were created by the object itself, the book.

This study set forth a hypothesis that the book is a unified functioning information system that consists of various and different elements, which are interconnected by a causal relationship. The objectives put forward in order to test this hypothesis were to achieve more accurate dating of the creation and later rebinding of the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion and to reveal a connection between the totality of the decorative elements of this book with its content. To implement the objectives, we used the comparative historical and synthetic methods.

The present study revealed that the sixteenth-century Tetraevangelion as the study object is much more complex and deep in regard to its mysteries and accumulated messages. This study revealed the various historical layers of the Tetraevangelion. The study presents lesser-known and/or practiced research

[72] 'What is semiotic?', in: *A. J. Greimo semiotikos ir literatūros teorijos centras* [accessed 01 November 2021]. Access at: <hhttp://www.semiotika.lt/kas-yra-semiotika-/>.

opportunities for understanding the book as a whole. It was revealed that a book as a historical object can be viewed in the totality of its content, design, decoration, technologies, and interventions from various periods. It is important to note that all this diversity is a characteristic of the book as a cultural object. It would be a mistake to evaluate and study the traditional form of the book (dating to the times of the codex and to this day) in parts, because the book existed only in this shape for a long time, so it is natural that we perceive the book as a codex-shaped object. It is also natural that a universal but formalized decoding or interpretation of meaningfully interconnected semiotic signs and their systems that reveals the mental and physical indivisible coherence of the book as an object, has been chosen of this multifaceted study of the object. The choice was determined by the very concept of sign, i.e. by its being able to indicate something being other than itself. Another important circumstance is the interrelationship of signs, so that decoding and interpretation of information reveals the mental and physical (indivisible) coherence of the book as an object. The universality of semiotics was reaffirmed by the application of the comparative historical and synthetic methods. Identifications of meanings create new configurations, which could not have been compared using other research methods; thus the circle of new meanings of the Tetraevangelion expands.

It is also important to know whether this study influenced informational release and whether this is a finite process. In the frame of this study, it can be stated that the obtained information quite precisely confirmed the time period of the creation of the Tetraevangelion, the turn of the first and the second half of the sixteenth century. We identified two instances of rebinding, in the first half of the seventeenth century and the second half of the eighteenth century. Other decoded information revealed that the decoration and its elements are loosely related to the content of the Tetraevangelion and thus, besides specifying the periods of its creation and rebinding, shed light on the content. Considering possibilities for an emergence of new configurations of meanings and the circumstance that possibilities of interpreting are not constant, they can change depending on rapidly changing interaction between the sign, the interpretant, and the object, and are also influenced by historic periods and can easily change over time.

This study reaffirmed the opinion that random coincidences rarely occur in historical documents. An exception is the unusual headpiece in the Gospel of Matthew featuring a small figure composition with vines and deer, whose motto carries an inscription in Latin script and legible only when reflected in a mirror. Latin alphabet hardly ever occurs in Holy Scriptures written in the Church Slavonic.

To conclude, we would like to revisit two places in the text of the Tetraevangelion: the undeciphered motto on the headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew, supposedly in German, and the quill-test inscriptions found on the bottom of the last leave, consisting of the Greek text of Easter troparions in Cyrillic script and the appeal to God written in Polish. These two bits of text call to one another like alpha and omega, they open, rather than close, the gate to the wide and diverse Christian world.

Translated by Ana Venclovienė

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MARTYNAS MAŽVYDAS
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THEATRUM LIBRI: Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe

Pro Suprema Laurea: the Vilnius University Collection of Final Theses (1579-1773)

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Abstract. As a whole, the final theses written and defended at Vilnius University from 1579 to 1773 are a significant specific historical source and can be considered, both in form and content, an archival phenomenon that merits scholarly attention. This article presents the Vilnius University Library collection of final theses printed at the university press and for which an academic degree was granted during the Jesuit period (1579-1773).[1] Based on the historiographical data, the collection makes up half of the publications printed by the Vilnius University Press during the university's Jesuit period and amounts to a total of 62 published titles. The article first briefly presents the procedures involved in receiving an academic degree: the compulsory elements, the process, the official regulations of the Jesuit Order, eligible candidates and participating individuals. With no pretence at an analysis of content, the article discusses the subject matter, structure and scope of the final theses as one of the forms of the systematic accumulation of knowledge in the sixteenth to eighteenth century. Notable aspects of the thesis writing and defence process as well as of the collection itself are observed and possibilities for further research are discussed.

Keywords: Vilnius University, Jesuit, academic thesis, academic degree, theses, dissertation.

On 28 September 1569, the efforts of Valerijonas Protasevičius, the bishop of Vilnius and active figure of the Counter-Reformation, brought the first group of four Jesuits, accompanied by the Polish and Lithuanian Jesuit vice-provincial Francisco Sunyer, to Vilnius. In 1570, the group established a college.[2] Upon its foundation, the Jesuits made every effort to ensure that the college could begin granting academic degrees and thus raise its prestige. In 1579, the college was granted the status of an academy (university) with faculties of philosophy, theology and, from 1644, law.

First academic degrees by Vilnius University were granted in 1583-1584.[3] Degrees were granted to both laymen and members of the clergy when they passed their exams and/or defended their theses, which had to be printed. The purpose of this article is to present the procedure involved in earning an academic degree in the sixteenth-eighteenth century and the collection of final theses at the Vilnius University Library. The object of the article is the collection of final theses that were printed at the Vilnius University Press from 1579 to 1773, and for which academic degrees (bachelor's, master's, licentiate,[4]

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[1]   This article is a part of the research project 'The Research of the Old Vilnius University's (1579-1773) Dissertations and the Creation of the Database'. The project was funded by the Research Council of Lithuania (LMTLT), under the Lithuanian Studies and Dissemination Programme (2016-2024), agreement No. S-LIP-21-17. The digital collection of theses accessed at: <https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/en/theses-old-vilnius-university>.

[2]   Rabikauskas, Paulius, 'Pastangos įsteigti Vilniaus universitetą (1565–1570)', in: *Vilniaus akademija ir Lietuvos jėzuitai*, edited by Liudas Jovaiša, Vilnius: Aidai, 2002, pp. 7-17.

[3]   Plečkaitis, Romanas, 'Promocijos senajame Vilniaus universitete', in: *Akademijos laurai*, edited by Morkus Svirskas, Irena Balčienė, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 1997, p. 27.

[4]   Licentiate (Latin: *licentiatus*): an academic degree between a bachelor's and doctoral degree that gave the holder the right to lecture.

doctoral) were awarded. A source system analysis was conducted, and statistical and comparative methods were applied in order to provide the principal statistics on the number of final theses in the Vilnius University Library collection and compare them to data from different European countries.

In order to receive an academic degree, students in the sixteenth-eighteenth century had to enlist the help of their professors to prepare, print and defend a thesis from one of the available areas of scholarship. Today, such works have an important role both in the biographies of those who wrote them, in academic history and the country's broader cultural context. Not only were the theses, statements (*propositiones*, *assertiones*), conclusions (*conclusiones*) and dissertations (*dissertationes*) academic works that drew upon the latest discoveries and ideas, but they were also part of the identity of the academic community – a part that has so far received little attention (especially as an entire collection) in academic circles.

The academic papers of the Old, Jesuit Vilnius University, as the result of its educational process, its final stage, and as a specific historical source, have not previously been studied specifically, even though scholars do draw upon their content as they analyse the history of scholarship in the Early Modern Age and activities of the Jesuit Order. Research related to final theses can be divided into several groups. The first group represents publications that investigate the history of various areas of scholarship: the history of philosophy[5] as well as physics,[6] logic,[7] astronomy[8] and medicine.[9] Some attention is paid to the artistic side of the final works, their appearance and design – these aspects have been investigated by Jolita Liškevičienė.[10] The second group consists of sources that reflect the Jesuit tradition of granting academic degrees. These are the publications such as *Memorandprefecums of Visiting Inspectors and Resolutions of the Superiors of the Vilnius Academy*,[11] *Laureates of the Academy*,[12] *Diary of the Jesuit College of Vilnius*[13] and *Extraordinary Book of the Provincial Superior*.[14] Some information about the final papers is presented in certain syntheses of the history of Vilnius University.[15] Also of note is the bibliography[16]

[5]   Plečkaitis, Romanas, *Lietuvos filosofijos istorija, T. 1: Viduramžiai, Renesansas, Naujieji amžiai*, Vilnius: Kultūros, filosofijos ir meno institutas, 2004, p. 734; idem, 'Teisės filosofija senajame Vilniaus universitete', in: *Problemos*, 2001, Vol. 60, pp. 90-103. Access at: <https://www.journals.vu.lt/problemos/article/view/6783/4574>; idem, 'Filosofijos atsiradimas Lietuvoje', in: *Problemos*, 2008, Vol. 73, pp. 9-17. Access at: <https://www.journals.vu.lt/problemos/article/view/2023/1252>.

[6]   Klimka, Libertas; Kivilšienė, Rasa, *Fizikos ir taikomųjų mokslų pradžia Lietuvoje*, Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto leidykla, 2005, p. 192.

[7]   Vaišvila, Alfonsas, *Logikos mokslas Lietuvoje*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1980, p. 204.

[8]   Matulaitytė, Stasė, *Senoji Vilniaus universiteto astronomijos observatorija ir jos biblioteka*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, 2004, p. 414.

[9]   Sakalauskaitė-Juodeikienė, Eglė; Jatužis, Dalius, 'Descriptions of Apoplexy by Joseph Frank in the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century in Vilnius', *European neurology*, 2017, Vol. 78, No. 1-2, pp. 8-14; Sakalauskaitė-Juodeikienė, Eglė et al., 'Plica polonica: from national plague to death of the disease in the nineteenth-century Vilnius', *Indian journal of dermatology, venereology and leprology*, 2018, Vol. 84, No. 4, pp. 510-514; Piechnik, Ludwik, *Rozkwit Akademii Wilenskiej w latach 1600–1655*, Rzym: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1983, p. 313.

[10] Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Vilniaus universiteto ginamieji darbai: tezių grafika', *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis, 57, Meninis Vilnius: įtakos ir įvaizdžiai*, 2010, pp. 43-65.

[11] *Vilniaus akademijos vizitatorių memorialai ir vyresniųjų nutarimai*, edited by Eugenija Ulčinaitė, Algirdas Šidlauskas, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1987, p. 324.

[12] *Akademijos laurai = Laureae Academicae*, edited by Morkus Svirskas, Irena Balčienė, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 1997, p. 411.

[13] *Vilniaus jėzuitų kolegijos dienoraštis, 1710–1723 metai = Diarium Collegij Societatis Iesu ab anno 1710 ad anni 1723 septembrem exclusive*, edited by Irena Katilienė, Vilnius: „Baltų lankų" leidyba, 2004, p. 680. The second part of the diary has not so far been published – 'Diarium Collegii Academici Vilensis Societatis Jesu' (1752–1766) (Lithuanian State Historical Archives (hereinafter – LSHA), F.1135, ap. 20, nr. 303), which also contains various pieces of information related to the academic process at the university.

[14] *Liber extraordinarius provincialis = Ypatingoji provincijolo knyga*, edited by Irena Katilienė, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2012, p. 581.

[15] *Vilniaus universiteto istorija, 1579–1803*, edited by Jonas Kubilius, Vytautas Merkys et al., Vilnius: Mokslas, 1976, p. 316; *Vilniaus universiteto istorija: 1579–1994*, introduction by Rolandas Pavilionis, Vilnius: Valstybinis leidybos centras, 1994, p. 341; Bumblauskas, Alfredas et al, *Alma Mater Vilnensis: Vilniaus universiteto istorijos bruožai: kolektyvinė monografija*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2012, p. 1056.

[16] *Vilniaus akademijos spaustuvės leidiniai, 1576–1805: bibliografija*, edited by Konstancija Čepienė, Irena Petrauskienė, Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos Centrinė biblioteka, 1979, p. 543.

of publications produced by the Vilnius Academy Press, which provides the print specifications for the theses.

Research on similar topics has been conducted abroad as well. Research on dissertations, as the product of different regional academic cultures, and their significance serve to deepen our understanding of the broader context and the reception and diffusion of academic traditions.[17] A substantial number of works have been published on the subject of the history of scholarship and universities based on collections of final theses.[18] Other means of access are also used to disseminate research on academic papers. One such example is Manfred Komorowski and Hanspeter Marti's project, *Königsberger Universitätsschriften und Promotionen vom Gründungsjahr der Albertina 1544 bis 1800. Eine Datenbank*, dedicated to the academic literature and its history from 1544 to 1800, for which the main investigative source was the dissertations of the students at the University of Königsberg, and which was developed in parallel with a database[19] (other similar databases also exist).[20]

The thesis defence, disputation and promotion[21] have been studied as processes by scholars in Lithuania and abroad.[22] The rules for these events were laid out in the documents of the Jesuit Order. This included the *Ratio studiorum,* a set of resolutions approved by the Order in 1599, which defined the educational process. The document indicated that the candidates' prefect,[23] their professor and a third person, either the rector, another professor or another competent individual, had to participate in the selection of candidates for defence. The rector would assign a further two individuals at his discretion, so candidates worthy of defending their theses were selected by a total of five examiners.[24] Students suited for defence had to be 'of higher than average ability' – this position was reiterated in the Order's documents:

> For the entire course on theology, [thesis] defence shall only be allowed for those who are truly worthy of the task in accordance with the study resolutions; they [have to be] a chosen few, so that [others] would be encouraged to [study] more, and the exam, just like the defence, would be a serious matter.[25]

[17] Chang, Kevin, 'Kant's disputation of 1770: the dissertation and the communication of knowledge in early modern Europe', *Endeavour*, 2007, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 45-49. Access at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0160932707000348>; idem, 'For the Love of the Truth: The Dissertation as a Genre of Scholarly Publication in Early Modern Europe', *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge*, 2021, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 113-166. Access at: <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/713251>; Breimer, Douwe D.; Damen, Joseph C. et al., *Hora est! On dissertations: Catalogue of an exhibition in Leiden University Library*, Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 2005, p. 106. Access at: <https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/handle/1887/17795>; *Early Modern Disputations and Dissertations in an Interdisciplinary and European Context*, edited by Meelis Friedenthal, Hanspeter Marti, Leiden, Boston: BRILL, 2020, p. 908.

[18] Marti, Hanspeter; Sdzuj, Reimund et al., *Rhetorik, Poetik und Ästhetik im Bildungssystem des Alten Reiches. Wissenschaftshistorische Erschließung ausgewählter Dissertationen von Universitäten und Gymnasien 1500-1800*, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2017, p. 704; Gindhart, Marion; Marti, Hanspeter, et al., *Frühneuzeitliche Disputationen. Polyvalente Produktionsapparate gelehrten Wissens*, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2016, p. 384; *Dichtung-Gelehrsamkeit-Disputationskultur: Festschrift für Hanspeter Marti zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Raimund B. Sdzuj, Robert Seidel, Bernd Zegowitz, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2012, p. 786.

[19] Source access at: <https://www.forschungen-engi.ch/projekte/koenigsberger-universitaetsschriften-und-promotionen>.

[20] 'Datenbank von Dissertationen des Akademischen Gymnasiums Danzig (1558), des Elbingischen Gymnasiums (1535) und des Thorner Gymnasiums (1568)' – this is a reconstruction of the academic communities of Gdansk, Elbing and Toruń and the collection of academic works produced by them. Access at: <https://www.forschungen-engi.ch/projekte/datenbank-von-dissertationen-des-akademischen-gymnasiums-danzig-1558-des-elbingischen-gymnasiums-1535-und-des-thorner-gymnasiums-1568>. A database from a different period dedicated to similar subject matter is the Königsberg University database of students who studied at the university from 1829 to 1921. It presents information about the students themselves (name, surname, the date of when they were accepted at the university and so on) ('Datenbank Königsberger Studenten von 1829 bis 1921'). Access at: <https://www.forschungen-engi.ch/datenbanken/koenigsberger-studenten-von-1829-bis-1921>.

[21] Promotion (Latin: *promotio*): the granting of an academic degree; promoter (Latin: *promotor*): individual who oversees the granting of academic degrees.

[22] Plečkaitis, Romanas, *Promocijos senajame Vilniaus universitete*, pp. 15-35; Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Vilniaus universiteto ginamieji darbai: tezių grafika', pp. 45-51; Chang, Kevin, 'For the Love of the Truth…', pp. 118-130.

[23] Latin: *praefectus studii, praefectus scholarum* – the rector's assistant for studies.

[24] *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu*, Romae: In Collegio Rom. eiusde[m] Societ[atis], 1606, p. 27.

[25] *Vilniaus akademijos vizitatorių memorialai...*, p. 189.

'Students who are unworthy should not be allowed to [defend their theses] or be granted degrees <...>,'[26] and so on. In other words, students who were permitted to defend their theses had to be tested by way of examination, and thus only the strongest and most prepared candidates were allowed to defend them, while the less able would only take their exams.

The presentation of final works in the form of theses was a practice established by the leadership of the Jesuit Order: teaching provisions stipulated that theses should not be too long or exceed 50 in number.[27] This is reiterated in the 1665 memorandum for superiors: 'Let theses be printed not as a treatise on a certain subject but in the form of short statements. If the theses are printed in the form of a book, they must be sent to Rome to be censored and we must await permission.'[28] In other words, final works in the form of theses did not have to be sent to Rome for approval. Alongside the form of short statements, there existed a brief question and answer form. Texts were sometimes accompanied by illustrations,[29] diagrams and literary portions of text: like panegyrics, illustrations could be a means of paying tribute to a patron, or they could provide further clarification of the text. However, it was also believed that illustrations encouraged a visual narrative and visual thinking. Theses illustrated with engravings were common in the universities of Catholic countries.[30] The Vilnius University collection is also predominantly composed of the final papers presented in the form of theses, which are numbered from 12 to more than 100. In the long run, the final academic work evolved from a thin publication that informed the academic community about a public defence and presented short theses prepared specially for the defence, to a dissertation composed of a comprehensive and coherent text based on arguments. In Western Europe this transformation accelerated in the eighteenth century.[31]

A degree candidate had to submit 50 and sometimes as many as 150 copies of their printed theses: 'Because theses in the field of logic, physics and theology in other provinces are typically presented in print for both the minor and the major defence,[32] the Vilnius Academy should adhere to the same custom; paper [for this end] must be provided by the college.'[33] According to Romanas Plečkaitis, in order to reduce printing costs, some students banded together and defended the same theses, simply changing their individual title pages and indicating their own name. In the Vilnius University Library collection, there are three final theses,[34] prepared under the same professor of philosophy, Stanislaus Łosiewski. All three theses were successfully defended in 1693. Under the supervision of the professor, the theses were successfully defended by Pranciškus Žebrovskis (Franciscus Žebrowski), Adomas Pavlovičius (Adamus Pawłowicz) and Kristoforas Jonas Karlovičius (Christophorus Ioannes Karłowicz). However, all three works are identical and composed of the same 63 theses. Only the title pages differ, (see **Fig. 1** for an example) as well as the students' patrons and their panegyrics. However, one question remains unanswered: did these students defend the same theses, as mentioned, for money-saving benefits or were they simply prepared collectively (even though scholars state that this would have been unusual)?

After the theses were printed they had to be defended during a public disputation in front of the entire university community (and other individuals). The defence took place on the premises of the university, and sometimes at the Church of St. Johns or the Jesuit residence in Lukiškės (now on the right side of

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[26]   *Vilniaus akademijos vizitatorių memorialai...*, p. 233.
[27]   *Ratio atque institutio studiorum...*, p. 26.
[28]   *Vilniaus akademijos vizitatorių memorialai...*, pp. 233-234.
[29]   For more see: Liškevičienė, Jolita, *Vilniaus universiteto ginamieji darbai...*, pp. 52-63.
[30]   Chang, Kevin, *For the Love of the Truth…*, pp. 124-125.
[31]   Chang, Kevin, *For the Love of the Truth…*, pp. 114-115.
[32]   The little defence (Latin: *actus parvus*) – the defence of theses from separate parts of the philosophy, theology course; the great defence (Latin: *actus magnus*) – the defence of theses from the entire philosophy, theology course.
[33]   *Vilniaus akademijos vizitatorių memorialai...*, p. 240.
[34]   Łosiewski, Stanislaus; Žebrowski, Franciscus, *Paradoxa Philosophica sub Fortunatis Auspiciis…*, Vilnae: Typis Academicis, [1693]; Łosiewski, Stanislaus; Pawłowicz, Adamus, *Paradoxa Philosophica…*, Vilnae: Typis Academicis, [1693]; Łosiewski, Stanislaus; Karłowicz, Christophorus Ioannes, *Paradoxa Philosophica sub Faustissimis Auspiciis...*, Vilnae: Typis Academicis, [1693].

PARADOXA PHILOSOPHICA,

Sub Fortunatis Auspicijs
PERILLVSTRIS ac MAGNIFICI DNI,
D. CHRISTOPHORI NIEMIROWICZ

SZCZYT

Dapiferi Polocensis, Capitanei Iaswonensis &c.
Domini & Mecænatis amplissimi,
Publicæ disceptationi
PROPOSITA.

Defendente

Generoso ac Erudito Domino FRANCISCO
ZEBROWSKI, AA. LL. & Philosophiæ Bac-
calaureo, Metaphysices Auditore. Pro supre-
ma laurea.

Præside

R.P. STANISLAO ŁOSIEWSKI
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Vilnensi ejusdem Societatis, ordinario Philoso-
phiæ Professore.
Anno salutis M.DC.XCIII.
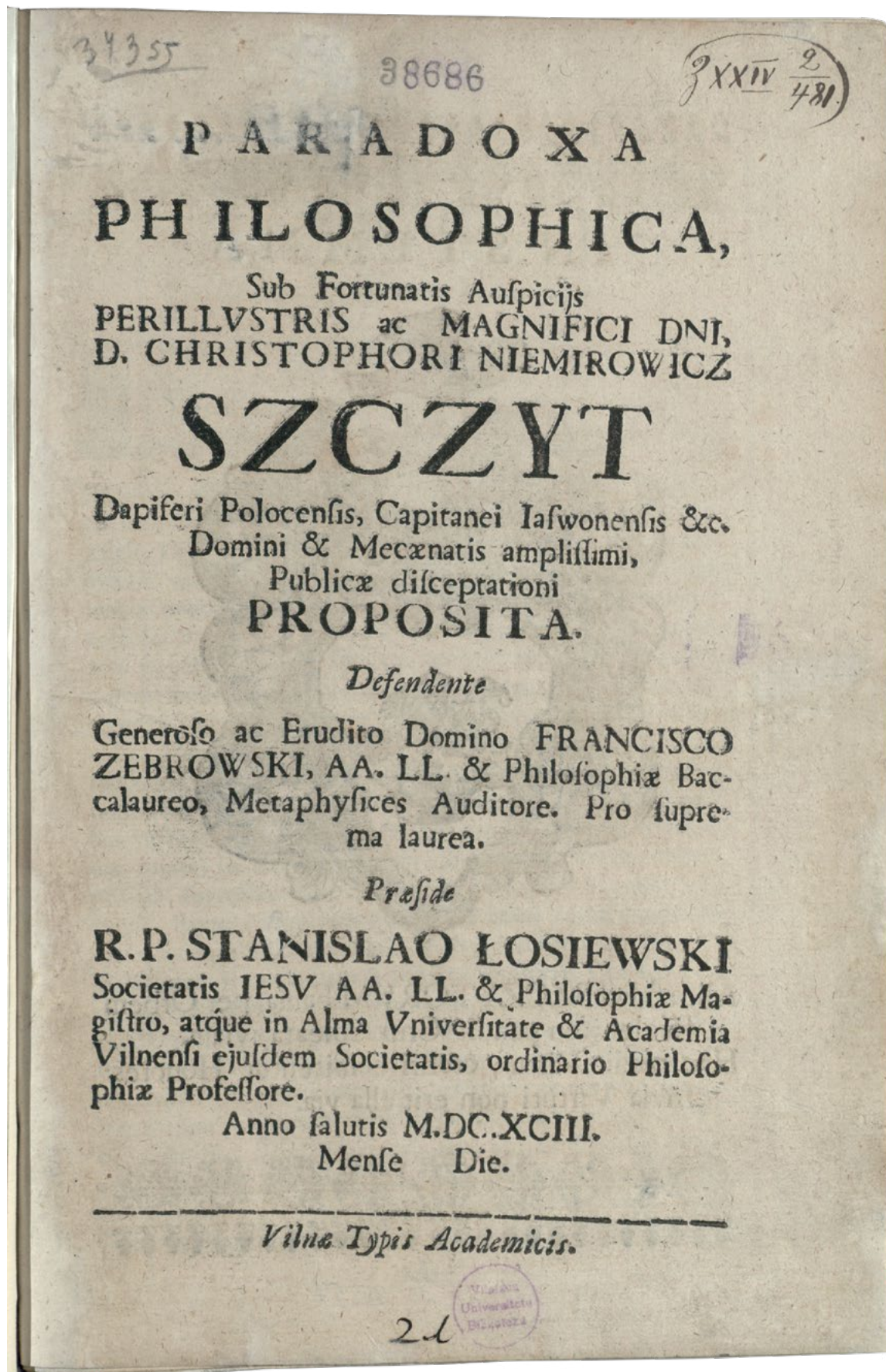Mense   Die.

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Vilnæ Typis Academicis.

Fig. 1. Title page of philosophy theses prepared by philosophy professor Stanislovas Losievskis and student Pranciškus Žebrovskis

Vingis Park). The participation of as many people as possible was encouraged (both members of the Jesuit community and people who did not belong to it).[35] This is mentioned in the 1609 memorandum of the Lithuanian Jesuit Provincial Paulius Boxa: 'Let all the professors attend the public [thesis] defence and encourage students to do so too <...>'[36] and Albertus Cieciszewski's 1669 memorandum: 'Public defences and discussions must be attended by all professors of the senior classes <...>.'[37] Attendance of specific guests at defences and promotions can be ascertained from diaries:

> The presentation of doctoral degrees took place in Lukiškės. Fr. Garšvila received a degree in theology, while Fr. Mazinis, Fr. Rostkovskis received [doctoral] degrees in philosophy. The ceremony was attended by the hon. fr. provincial superior, fr. socius, the hon. fr. vice prepositus of the professed house, the hon. fr. rector of the novitiate, the hon. fr. rector of Nesvyžius, Fr. Godlevskis, fr. minister of the novitiate and his spiritual director, Fr. Sehenis, Fr. Skažinskis.[38]

Depending on the nobility and status of the candidate, defences and promotions were sometimes attended by greater numbers of honourable guests and family members: 'This morning, Br. Rudamina successfully defended his theses in all of philosophy. The disputation was attended by his own father and the enlightened *marshal* of the tribunal as well as other deputies';[39] 'Presentation of master's degrees for metaphysics. Attended by the enlightened local ordinary, the enlightened suffragan and others';[40] 'The theology defence took place ceremoniously in the morning and in the afternoon at the church. The Hon. Mr. Gonsiorovskis <...> successfully defended in all of theology. The morning session was attended by the enlightened local ordinary, the enlightened bishop of Samogitia, the honourable canons and quite a few other clergymen; there were also quite a few other monks, who were also present in the afternoon';[41] 'In the afternoon, in a public ceremony, Jurgis Sišickis was granted a doctoral degree in both laws, the promoter was the true professor of civil law, the Hon. Fr. Tobijas Arentas, the rector of our college, assisted by the honourable Vilnius capitular.'[42]

At Vilnius University, academic degrees were granted to both laymen ('At the academy there was one layman who had a public defence in all of philosophy'[43]) and clergymen. The clergymen came from the Jesuit Order ('Fr. Ignacas Bukatas had a successful defence in all of theology'[44]) and other orders[45] ('The honourable Fr. Pernalovskis of the Order of St. Augustin's Hermits attended lunch. After lunch, at the church, he was granted the highest award in theology by the honourable fr. rector with the assistance of the Academy's epomidate[46] senate';[47] 'Recreation in Lukiškės. Doctoral degrees were also granted there to the Carmelite fathers of the All Saints' [monastery], with our hon. fr. rector serving as promoter'[48]). An interesting case was recorded in the diary of the Vilnius college in 1710: on June 16, the Basilian Florianus Hrebnicki defended his theses for a licentiate in theology ('According to the custom of the Society, the entire day was devoted to the alumnus and honourable brother of the Order of St. Basil the Great

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[35] *Ratio atque institutio studiorum...*, p. 25.

[36] *Vilniaus akademijos vizitatorių memorialai...*, p. 212.

[37] *Ibid*, p. 235.

[38] *Vilniaus jėzuitų kolegijos dienoraštis*, p. 75.

[39] *Ibid*, p. 9.

[40] *Ibid*, p. 67.

[41] *Ibid*, p. 285.

[42] *Ibid*, p. 615.

[43] *Ibid*, p. 7.

[44] *Ibid*, p. 15.

[45] For more on student Basilians, see, Kažuro, Ina, 'Bazilijonų vienuolijos ryšiai su Vilniaus universitetu', *Lietuvos istorijos studijos*, 2018, Vol. 42, pp. 29-47. Access at: <https://www.zurnalai.vu.lt/lietuvos-istorijos-studijos/article/view/12386/10903>.

[46] Epomidate (Latin: *epomidatus*) – a doctoral graduate wearing an *epomid* (a piece of clothing worn by holders of doctoral degrees that is pinned together at the shoulder).

[47] *Vilniaus jėzuitų kolegijos dienoraštis*, p. 69.

[48] *Ibid*, p. 363.

Florijonas Hrebnickis' disputation for his licentiate's degree in theology, as stipulated by the rules, and he did very well'[49]), and on 6 June that same year, he was awarded a doctoral degree in theology as well[50] ('In the afternoon, the honourable brother Hrebnickis of St. Basil's Order, an alumnus of our Holy Father [graduate of the papal seminary], was granted a doctoral degree in theology'[51]).

Apart from the defendant (*propugnante...*, *defendente...*), there was also the academic supervisor or promoter (a professor of a certain subject). He lectured to the defendant and guided them in the formulation of their theses, was responsible for the content of the theses, assisted in the selection of theses and in the collection of supporting evidence. The academic supervisor was indicated in the title of the printed theses (*praeside...*), sometimes even before the name of the student or defendant himself. Scholars are confident that they edited the theses themselves, even writing some themselves. It is, therefore, very difficult to clearly attribute authorship to a single individual (the student or the presiding professor). This statement can be illustrated with a case from the Vilnius University Library's collection – the philosophical theses of Michael Mniszek, the son of a Polish nobleman and the influential Mniszek family, which were defended at the university in 1640.[52] The theses are essentially a course on moral philosophy read at Vilnius University by Professor Lucas Załuski and presented in the form of theses. The text was adjusted so that it would be suitable for his student, Mniszek, to earn an academic degree.[53] At the time, this was an established practice in Western Europe: academics would lay out their scientific ideas and discoveries in the dissertations of their students and let the latter defend them.[54]

The thesis defence also involved opponents, traditionally, the Jesuits themselves ('The Hon. Mr. Gronsiorovskis publicly defended his theses on repentance from the principal part of theology. He was first opposed by Fr. Vitakovskis, then second and third by his fellow student clerics. Around 4 in the afternoon, at the theologists' library, the hon. fr. vice-chancellor granted him the first, or bachelor's, degree in theology'[55]). Sometimes members of the other orders (Dominicans, Canons Regular, Discalced Carmelites, Carmelites of the Ancient Observance, Bernardines and Trinitarians) were invited to take on the role ('Fr. Ukolskis had a successful defence in all of philosophy. His opponents were the Dominican fathers'; 'In the afternoon, Fr. Volskis had his defence in all of philosophy. The Canons Regular put up a rather good opposition';[56] 'Fr. Naramovskis' defence in all of philosophy took place in the morning. He was opposed by the Trinitarian fathers'[57]). Opponents could also be from different orders: 'Fr. Ignacas Bukatas successfully defended in all of theology. The Carmelite fathers served as opponents in the morning, and the house fathers served in the afternoon'.[58] While it is true that opponents' names were neither mentioned in the title, nor in any other part of the publication, we can find out who served as opponents in the defence of specific theses from other sources, for example, college diaries. In addition to this, the diaries let us know that Jesuits also served as opponents in the schools of other orders: 'Fr. Kriugeris and Fr. Golaskis served as opponents in all of philosophy for the Dominican fathers'.[59]

Another very important participant in the degree-granting process was the patron. As mentioned before, theses had to be printed before the defence, however, not all students could afford to do so and therefore looked for a patron (state officer, nobleman, clergyman, etc.) who they could dedicate their

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49   *Vilniaus jėzuitų kolegijos dienoraštis*, p. 13.
50   *Akademijos laurai*, p. 157.
51   *Vilniaus jėzuitų kolegijos dienoraštis*, p. 15.
52   Mniszek, Michael, *Universa philosophia publice asserta in Alma Academia Vilnensi Societatis Iesu a Michaele de Magna Konczyce Mniszek…*, [Vilnius: Akademijos spaustuvė, 1640].
53   *Akademijos laurai*, p. 191.
54   Chang, Kevin, *For the Love of the Truth…*, p. 115.
55   *Vilniaus jėzuitų kolegijos dienoraštis*, p. 277.
56   *Ibid*, p. 7.
57   *Ibid*, p. 13.
58   *Ibid*, p. 15.
59   *Ibid*, p. 201.

theses to (the patron is often named in the title). In 1700, a memorandum from the Provincial Superior Jacobus Hładowicki states: '<...> it is often the case that the unworthy are permitted to defend [their theses], and only because they find a patron and the funds to print or engrave their theses in copper; however, this is no good thing, only an embarrassment to the defendant, the professor and the patron to whom the theses are dedicated'.[60] In the Vilnius University collection of final theses, some of the thesis dedications turned into panegyrics to patrons and were disproportionately long. For example, the philosophical thesis prepared by Professor Alexander Ignatius Jeleński and his student Georgius Brzozowski[61] is composed of an 18-page dedication to the patron Hieronymus Puzyna, the town elder of Upytė, and four pages of theses. This begs the question: is the work a panegyric to the Puzyna family or a thesis that merited an academic degree? The collection includes other such examples: the philosophical thesis prepared by Professor Zacharias Modzełewski and his student Georgius Grynkiewicz[62] consists of a six-page dedication to the secretary of the Lithuanian treasury, Georgius Laurentius Zemła, with just three pages dedicated to the theses. The legal thesis of Christophorus Łosiewski and Stanislaus Paszkiewicz[63] not only presents an impressive engraving, the crest of the bishop of Vilnius, Constantinus Casimirus Brzostowski (Fig. 2), but also over twelve pages dedicated to the bishop, while the theses themselves take up just a little over three pages. However, based on a list of graduates (*Akademijos laurai*),[64] these students were all awarded degrees despite the fact that they dedicated fewer pages to their theses than to the literary portion of the text. Sources provide evidence that award-granting procedures were followed by festivities:

> Recreation at Lukiškės, celebrating the promotion of the college rector, the hon. Fr. Kristoforas Limontas, to doctoral laureate, presided by the hon. fr. provincial superior. Attended by guests invited from the professed house <...>, the novitiate <...>, the Hon. Fr. Leguckis – the theologian of Lithuania's most enlightened Hetman of the Polish Province. Ceremonial lunch. A glass of mead at lunch and dinner. At Lukiškės student musicians brought out their instruments and vocally saluted the hon. fr. rector for earning his doctoral degree.[65]

The diary of Vilnius College provides additional details about, for example, how participants were offered mead and brandy after each exam and thesis defence, even though the Jesuit leadership frowned upon the practice.

Vilnius University offered academic degrees in philosophy and theology, and from 1644, in law (civil and canon) as well. According to historiographic data,[66] from 1579 to the late eighteenth century, 123 final theses were printed at the Vilnius University press in the aforementioned subject areas. The library's current collection consists of half (62) of the theses published from 1579 to 1773. Just 6% of the entire collection is composed of theses defended in the 16th century, when the university only offered studies in philosophy and theology. These include three works by the Portuguese Jesuit and one of the first professors of theology, Emmanuel de Vega,[67] for which, with the approval of the Order's General, he was awarded a

60 *Vilniaus akademijos vizitatorių memorialai...*, p. 257.
61 Jeleński, Alexander Ignatius; Brzozowski, Georgius, *Trophaeum philosophicae veritatis in gentilitia ducum de Koźielsk Porta…*, Vilnae: Typis Academicis Societatis Iesu, 1699.
62 Modzełewski, Zacharias; Grynkiewicz, Georgius, *Conclusiones ex universa philosophia…*, [Vilnius: Akademijos spaustuvė, 1688].
63 Łosiewski, Christophorus; Paszkiewicz, Stanislaus, *Assertiones Canonico Legales de iudiciis et processu in causis Civilibus, et Criminalibus...*, Vilnae: Typis Academiae Vilnensis Societatis Iesu, [1699].
64 *Akademijos laurai*, pp. 183, 272, 280.
65 *Vilniaus jėzuitų kolegijos dienoraštis*, p. 131.
66 The most frequently used was the 1576-1805 bibliographical list of the Vilnius Academy Press publications (*Vilniaus akademijos spaustuvės leidiniai...*, p. 543).
67 Vega, Emmanuel de, *Assertiones theologicae de augustissimo Eucharistiae sacramento…*, [Vilnius: Akademijos spaustuvė], 1585; idem, *Evangelica et apostolica doctrina. De divinissimo et tremendo Missae sacrificio…*, Vilnae: Typis Illmi D.D. Nicolai Christophori Radivili, 1586; idem, *Disputatio theologica de distributione Eucharistiae, sub altera tantum, vel utraq[ue] specie…*, Vilnae: [Akademijos spaustuvė, 1586].

In Stemma Illustrissimi ANTISTITIS

Sit ROSA, qvod tetigit pede Perseus: Incl...e PRÆSUL
Tu qvidqvid tangis STAPEDE, Laur... erit.
Hinc qvodsde nostra surgit Tibi Laurea fro...;
IURIS & Illa Tui, Iuris & illa mei.
Tota tamen Tua sit, tum nostra merebitur Te;
Sic utriusq; simul LAUREA IURIS

Fig. 2. Coat of arms of Vilnius Bishop K. K. Bžostovskis in Law theses prepared by K. Losievskis and student S. Paškevičius

doctoral degree in theology, and one work by his student, the polemicist Andrius Jurgevičius' (Andreas Iurgevicius) theological theses.[68] The largest part (58%) of the collection is composed of final theses from the seventeenth century, which amounts to a total of 36 works. The remaining 36% (22 works) are from the eighteenth century, or to be more precise, from the period up to 1773, when the Jesuit Order was dissolved and Vilnius University fell into the hands of the Education Commission. Interestingly, the last publication in the collection is a set of 'theses from all of philosophy'[69] prepared by Professor Valentinas Hincas (Valentinus Hintz) and some of his unnamed Jesuit students, which they defended on 19 June 1773, i.e. with a little over a month remaining before the dissolution of the Jesuit Order (the order was dissolved on 21 July 1773 by the bull of Pope Clement XIV). In the seventeenth-eighteenth century, most works were written in the subject area of philosophy and, along with surviving lecture material and notes, demonstrate, according to some scholars, that the scholarly standards of the professors and the students were high.[70]

During the period of reference, different terminology was used in different European countries to denote final academic works, for example, *thèses* and *theses* in France, *dissertatio* and *disputatio* in German territories.[71] In our region, the term *dissertation* came into use rather late and is associated with the university tradition of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, the post-Jesuit period. The final works of the Jesuit period (1579-1773) that granted degrees were identified as *theses*, conclusions (*conclusiones*) or assertions (*assertiones*, *propositiones*). The whole of the collection also reveals that, like the titles, the format and length of the publications also varied: the collection includes printed sheets of folded paper (four publications) and theses printed in book form, but the majority of the works are thin publications 12-20 pages long.

The analysis of the Vilnius University collection also revealed various specific aspects. One such aspect is the issue of missing authorship and information typical of the period. Information about the thesis itself, the authors, participants of the defence and time of defence can sometimes be found in sections other than the title page, but some pieces of information do not even appear in the dedication or elsewhere (this was especially characteristic of Jesuits, who did not indicate their name 'out of modesty' or 'humility').[72] Another peculiar aspect of the final works was that the exact date of their defence was not printed on the publications but later inscribed by hand, indicating, for example, the exact date and approximate time of day: '*Horis matutinus*' ('The morning hours'), '*Horis ante et post meridiem solitis*' ('The regular hours before and after noon') and so on.

Several other aspects of the collection, related to a broader cultural and religious context, also merit attention. In 1640, the aforementioned Michael Mniszek, the son of the head chef of the royal kitchen,[73] successfully defended his thesis, dedicated to the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Wladyslaw Vasa. That same year, a philosophy student at the Vilnius Academy, Steponas Vilkostovskis (Stephanus Wilkostowski), published a word of congratulations (two small odes) to Mniszek on 'being decorated with the laurels of philosophy'.[74] Writing a panegyric to congratulate someone who had had a successful thesis defence was a popular practice, however, this was the only clearly identified case in our collection.

[68] Vega, Emmanuel de; Iurgevicius, Andreas, *De pio et in sancta Ecclesia iam inde ab apostolis receptissimo sacrarum imaginum usu…*, [Vilnius: Akademijos spaustuvė], 1586.

[69] Hintz, Valentinus, *Propositiones ex universa philosophia quae in Academia et Universitate Vilnensi Societatis Jesu propugnabuntur…*, [Vilnius: Akademijos spaustuvė, 1773].

[70] Darowski, Roman, 'Philosophy of Jesuits in Lithuania since the 16th until the 18th century', *Problemos*, 2008, Vol. 73, p. 23. Access at: <https://www.zurnalai.vu.lt/problemos/article/view/2022/1251>.

[71] Chang, Kevin, *For the Love of the Truth…*, p. 115.

[72] Cf. the memorandum of Adalbertus Bogusziewicz: '<...> We must look for moderation so that we do not appear as though and others do not speak of us as though we are praising ourselves, the more so as other monks are characteristically exaggerated in their strictness.' (*Vilniaus akademijos vizitatorių memorialai...*, p. 274).

[73] *Akademijos laurai*, p. 191.

[74] The odes are part of the Vilnius University collection: Wilkostowski, Stephanus, *Gratulatio illustri ac magnifico domino d. Michaeli de Magna Konczyce Minszek... cum post triennalem philosophiae cursum in Academia Vilnensi Societatis Iesu... Supremâ Magisterij Laureâ insigniretur...*, Vilnae: Typis Academicis Societatis Iesu, [1640].

In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Jesuits fostered the cult of the image of the Mother of God in Trakai.[75] This fact is well-illustrated by various sources. For example, the diary of the Vilnius college records that 'in accordance with their vows, Fr. Mištoldas, Brs. Šimborskis, Boklavskis and Zdanskis departed to visit the miraculous painting in Trakai'; 'The hon. fr. rector <...> was preparing to travel to Trakai to honour the Blessed Mother [of God] <...>'; 'Fr. Volminskis, Br. Levickis departed for Trakai in order to address some pressing college affairs before the ceremony of the coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary';[76] 'Fr. Orlovskis and the hon. fr. vice-rector of Žodiškės departed for Trakai to visit the miraculous portrait of the Blessed Virgin.'[77] However, there were other tributes to the cult: part of the Vilnius University collection, the philosophical theses prepared by Adomas Minkevičius (Adamus Minkiewicz) and his student Simonas Butrimovičius (Simon Butrimowicz)[78] in 1718 were dedicated to a very significant event – the celebration of the coronation of the portrait of the Mother of God at the Church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Trakai. The portrait was renowned for its miracle-working power, and in 1718, it was the first in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to be adorned with crowns sent by Pope Clement XI. The publication is decorated with a copper engraving of the Virgin Mary and the Child,[79] and presents a description of the coronation processions as well as 'the story of the origins, age, gifts and adoration of the painting' and 27 philosophical theses. This is evidence of the fact that students' patrons could be of an earthly or a heavenly nature. In the context of the coronation of the sacred painting, the defence of the said theses was also mentioned in the diary of the Vilnius College. The entry for 11 September 1718 reads '<...> before midday mass there was a philosophical disputation chaired by Fr. Minkevičius <...>'.[80]

Conclusions

Vilnius University offered academic degrees in philosophy, theology, and law (civil and canon law). In the late sixteenth-eighteenth century, the declaration of final theses was an integral part of receiving an academic degree at Vilnius University. In order to earn an academic degree, students had to write, publish and publicly defend a thesis from one of the possible areas of scholarship, together with their professors (supervisors). Students who were permitted to defend their theses, were previously tested by way of examination, and only the best and most advanced members of the community could proceed to the thesis defence. The process of receiving an academic degree involved the participation of a professor, an opponent (or even several), the student's patron, the community and honourable guests, who were all involved in the public disputations and ceremonies of promotion. The form of the final work as a list of theses was set down by the leadership of the Jesuit order, and the works in the Vilnius University collection are also predominantly presented in this way. The final works of the Jesuit period (1579-1773) that granted degrees were called *theses*, conclusions (*conclusiones*) or assertions (*assertiones*, *propositiones*). From 1579 to the late eighteenth century, 123 final theses were printed at the university press. The library's current collection of these works makes up 50% (62 items) of the publications printed at the university press throughout the entire Jesuit period, the majority of which are thin publications 12-20 pages long. The larger share of the collection consists of works published in the seventeenth century (58%). Most of the theses from the

[75]   Račiūnaitė, Tojana, *Atvaizdo gyvastis. Švč. Mergelės Marijos stebuklingųjų atvaizdų patirtis Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVII–XVIII a.*, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2014, p. 270.

[76]   The coronation of the miraculous image of Mary in Trakai took place on 8 September 1718, while the diary entry is dated 17 August 1718.

[77]   *Vilniaus jėzuitų kolegijos dienoraštis*, pp. 141, 199, 373, 579.

[78]   Minkiewicz, Adamus; Butrimowicz, Simon, *Regina Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae in Thaumaturga sua cum Parvulo Jesu Icone ad Praepositalem Palatino Trocensis civitatis Basilicam missis...*, Vilnae: Typis Universitatis Societatis Iesu, [1718].

[79]   The copy kept at the Vilnius University Library has a defect – the engraving is missing. The publication survives in complete condition at the Aušra Museum in Šiauliai. Access at: <https://www.limis.lt/en/paieska/perziura/-/exhibit/preview/150000034626084?s_id=H5BWy5WGM9aG22jP&s_ind=69784&valuable_type=EKSPONATAS>.

[80]   *Vilniaus jėzuitų kolegijos dienoraštis*, p. 377.

entire period are philosophical works. Our analysis of the collection allows us to conclude that the final theses are a suitable source for studying not only the history of science and individual lives, but broader cultural and religious aspects as well.

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