Printing Centers and Peripheries in the Early Modern Period

THEATRUM LIBRI

THEATRUM LIBRI 2

Printing Centers and Peripheries in the Early Modern Period

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Foreword

Theatrum Libri is a publication showcasing articles derived from presentations at the biennial conference organized by the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania. Dedicated to early modern rare books and their cultural contexts, the articles in this volume stem from the conference *Printing Centers and Peripheries in the Early Modern Period,* held in celebration of Vilnius's 700th anniversary.[1] Organized by the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, the conference brought together scholars to explore the complex landscape of book production and circulation in Europe, emphasizing both central printing hubs and lesser-known regions that contributed to the diffusion of knowledge.

The conference theme underscores an era when books played a pivotal role in shaping cultural and intellectual exchanges across Europe. From major printing centers to more peripheral locales, this collection examines how early modern societies produced, disseminated, and preserved knowledge. Topics span from the migration of books and ownership histories to the unseen contributions of women and marginalized figures in the publishing world.

The articles are organized into three thematic sections. In *Tracing the Footprints of Books*, contributors delve into provenance studies and the movement of printed works across geographical and social boundaries. *Hidden Histories* sheds light on underrepresented figures in print history, including women and minorities whose contributions to the publishing industry often went unnoticed. *Innovating Print* explores the evolution of printing techniques, from historical methods to digital tools, revealing how modern scholarship can reinterpret and visualize early texts.

Each article provides a unique lens on the multifaceted world of early modern print, underscoring both the accomplishments of established printing centers and the influence of peripheral regions. Together, these works highlight the dynamism and diversity of rare book studies, demonstrating how digital humanities and computational approaches can unlock new understandings of historical texts.

Editors

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[1]   The first publication in the series was published in 2022: *Theatrum Libri: Book Printing, Reading and Dissemination in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Milda Kvizikevičiūtė and Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė, Vilnius: Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, 2022. https://doi.org/10.51740/dpt.1

Tracing the Footprints of Books: Provenance, Movement, and Ownership

Sicilian Ownership Archive: A Tool to Trace and Visualize Provenances in the Incunabula Collections

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Abstract. Although Sicily may be considered a peripheral area of Europe for the development and spread of mobile-type printing, its nature as a crossroads of peoples and cultures made the development of rich and valuable book collections possible over centuries.

The article presents the Sicilian Ownership Archive (*Archivio Possessori della Sicilia* – APS), a project that aims to collect and track ownership marks in the early printed book collections held in Sicilian libraries. Using ancient books as a historical source and identifying provenances that have emerged from the research and cataloguing of specimens, this study aims to analyse the migration of incunabula through time and space, starting from the places of production to the libraries where they are preserved today. In the broader tradition of provenance studies in recent decades, the Sicilian Ownership Archive aims to reveal new data on the circulation and use of books in a peripheral area of Europe, Sicily, beginning in the late fifteenth century. Starting with an analysis of the Incunabula collections currently in Catania and using HPB Provenance and other CERL databases to spread information, the project will provide rapid access to owners' information and provenance, tracing collections now dispersed and reconstructing events partially lost to memory.

Keywords: Book history; provenance studies; incunabula digital tools; HPB Provenance; Sicilian Ownership Archive; CERL.

Introduction

The Sicilian Ownership Archive (*Archivio Possessori della Sicilia* – hereafter the APS) is a project that tracks and collects ownership marks in Sicily's incunabula collections. This research is part of the broader scenario of provenance and cataloguing studies initiated in Sicily a few years ago with the ultimate goal of tracing the history of incunabula collections through the study of provenance. The material analysis of the fifteenth-century printed book makes it possible to follow a specimen through the centuries, from the moment of its production up to the institution that today holds it. The disciplinary approach that considers the incunabulum as a *unicum*, precisely

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because of the characteristics that make it similar to the manuscript book, makes it possible to consider elements after the printing process of the book as traces of provenance. In particular, the study of manuscript notes, inscriptions, *ex-libris*, *ex-dono*, stamps, bindings, and decorations found within the incunabula kept in institutions in the province of Catania, considered as signs of use and possession of the specimen, add pieces to the history of the book over the centuries.[1] In the history of book and provenance studies, the approach that emphasizes the census of all information regarding the owners and provenances of individual volumes or entire book collections is now well established. The investigation of the 'marks in books',[2] the study of their chronological stratification within the book and their meanings, has more than thirty years of cultural-historical investigations behind it and is aimed at the re-composition of scattered book collections and their fruition. If formerly, indexes, inventories, and manuscript and print catalogues were the only valuable elements in historical investigations, today, digital tools such as databases of ownership and provenance have become the new milestones in the global reception and dissemination of these historical traces.[3] Even though there are extraordinary examples of valuable tools in Italy and Europe that make all provenance data available and easy to consult, Sicily does not have a suitable tool to promote its ancient book heritage, making it accessible to the international community. For this reason, this project aims to reveal new data on the circulation and use of books in a peripheral area of Europe, Sicily, beginning in the late fifteenth century.

[1] For several years, the incunabula of the libraries in Catania have been the focus of a cataloging campaign conducted by a working group coordinated by Professor Marco Palma (formerly University of Cassino and Southern Lazio) and Professor Simona Inserra (University of Catania), that has already seen the publication of two catalogs: *Incunaboli a Catania I. Biblioteche Riunite 'Civica e A. Ursino Recupero'* (2018) and *Incunaboli a Catania II. Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria di Catania* (2021). Cataloging of incunabula in the other libraries in the province of Catania is still in progress.

[2] This is a reference to Stoddard, Roger Eliot, *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained*, Houghton: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 1985; about the importance of provenances, see also: Rosenthal, Bernard M., 'The Rosenthal Collection of Printed Books with Manuscript Annotations', *The Paper of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 1997, Vol. 91, No. 4, pp. 485–494; Rosenthal, Bernard M., 'Cataloguing Manuscripts Annotations in Printed Books. Some thoughts and suggestions from other side of academic fence', *La Bibliofilia*, 1998, Vol. 100, No. 2–3, pp. 583–595; Borraccini, Rosa Maria, 'Segni sui libri: rilevamento e ricomposizione', in: *Il libro antico tra catalogo storico e catalogazione elettronica*, edited by Roberto Rusconi, Roma: Scienze e Lettere, 2012, pp. 155–166; Petrella, Giancarlo, *Scrivere sui libri. Breve guida al libro a stampa postillato*, Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2022.

[3] For a summary on Italian projects see Bruni, Flavia, 'Per un indice condiviso di possessori e provenienze in SBN: una prospettiva concreta', *AIB studi*, 2020, Vol. 60, No. 2, pp. 293–309; on European projects see Dondi, Cristina; Malaspina, Matilde, 'L'ecosistema digitale del CERL per lo studio del libro antico a stampa: dal progetto 15cBOOKTRADE a oggi', *DigItalia*, 2022, Vol. 1, pp. 134–157.

The Sicilian Ownership Archive is designed to facilitate the study of the history of incunabula collections using ancient books as a historical source. The study will provide rapid access to the owners' information and provenance by collecting data from studying early printed books preserved in Sicilian libraries. As Saeger Paul and Heinlen Michael wrote in 1991, "In the history of the book, evidence based on the perception of the individual artefact is inextricably related to the articulation of valid interpretations of general historical developments."[4] From this perspective, the APS aims to investigate a book heritage still only partially studied, analysing the migration of incunabula through time and space, framing the historical and cultural context in which books circulated and were used, tracing collections now dispersed, and reconstructing events partially lost to memory.

This study proposes the reconstruction of dispersed libraries, whose collections have converged only partially and at different times within Sicilian public libraries. Most of the owners identified during the research were religious houses that monopolized the education system on the island until the late nineteenth century. As a result, they built rich libraries over the centuries, beginning with their establishment, which often took place even before the spread of printing. Books on theology, philosophy, and patristic writings were stored in them. Usually, if the study was part of community life, such as prayer, meditation, and the care of souls, it was not uncommon to find books on mathematics, music, science, and the Latin and Greek classics on the shelves.

Catania's Incunabula Collections: Distribution and Traces of Provenance

Studies on Sicily's fifteenth-century book collections reveal that items held in Sicilian libraries were the subject of census and cataloguing campaigns between the late 1960s and early years of the twenty-first century. However, only recently and with a focus on the material aspects of books, incunabula from public, ecclesiastical, and private libraries in the province of Syracuse (2015), Ragusa (2019), and Catania (2018, 2021) were catalogued.[5] Except for these new cataloguing projects, the remaining collections have been catalogued considering only bibliographic data and references to major Italian and foreign catalogues, including IGI, Goff,

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[4]   Saenger, Paul; Heinlen, Michael, 'Incunable and Its Implication for the Analysis of Fifteenth-Century Reading Habits', in: *Printing the Written Word. The social History of Books, circa 1450–1520*, edited by Sandra Hindman, Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1991, pp. 225–258.

[5]   Recently, working groups coordinated by Professor Marco Palma and Professor Simona Inserra are starting new cataloging projects in Caltanissetta, Palermo, and Agrigento provinces.

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and Hain.[6] In rare cases, catalogues report the number of physical copies per edition and brief information on identified traces of ownership.

Unfortunately, the scarcity of comprehensive studies on the Sicilian book heritage of the fifteenth century has made it difficult to delineate the physiognomy of the collections housed in the island's libraries. The study was therefore conducted in two directions: on the one hand, ample space was given to the collection of data coming from the material analysis of the specimens kept in the libraries of the province of Catania, thus of a circumscribed area of Sicily; on the other hand, the reconstruction of Sicilian book collections was investigated to return historically accurate data on the circulation of books in Sicily over the centuries.

If we consider the entire Sicilian territory, nearly one hundred holding institutions housed incunabula, distributed in 69 cities belonging to the nine provinces of the region. During the last year and a half, 3345 editions have been identified, starting with the information provided by ISTC and then verifying those data with physical recognition of the collections and study of catalogues, library publications, and historical documentation.[7]
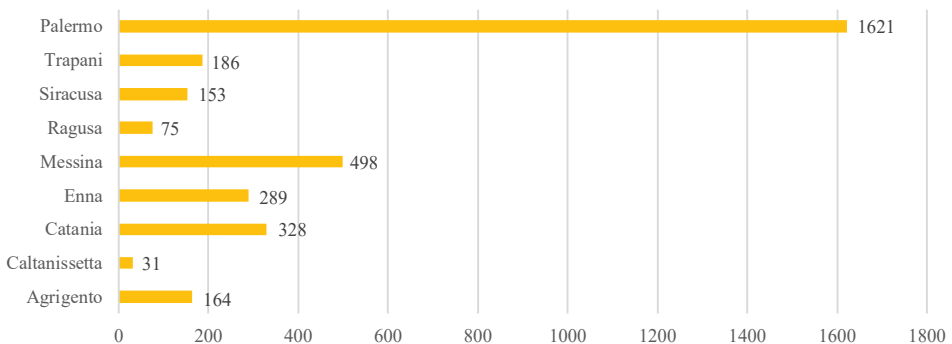
Fig. 1. Title: The Sicilian Heritage of Fifteenth-Century Printing Editions.
Caption: The figure shows the distribution of fifteenth-century
printed editions in nine Sicilian provinces.

6   *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, edited by Teresa Maria Guarnaschelli et al., Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato – Libreria dello Stato, 1943–1981, 6 Vols.; Goff, Frederick Richmond, *Incunabula in American Libraries. A Third Census of Fifteenth Century Books Recorded in North American Collections*, New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1964; Hain, Ludwig Friederich Theodor, *Repertorium bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur*, Stuttgartiae, Lutetiae Parisiorum: Cottae-Renouard, 1826–1838, 2 Vols.
7   Listed below are the Italian databases consulted for the census of 15th century editions in Sicily: Anagrafe delle Biblioteche Italiane (ICCU, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico) and OPAC SBN (Sistema Bibliotecario Nazionale); BeWeb (Portale dei beni culturali ecclesiastici) and PBE (Portale delle Biblioteche Ecclesiastiche) for collections belonging to religious libraries.

Currently, there are more than 4134 incunabula in Sicily.[8] The most extensive collections are from Palermo, Messina, and Catania, historically the island's three most significant political and socio-cultural centres. The incunabula collections, mostly from the libraries of suppressed religious orders, are found in public libraries, with certain exceptions in the case of important religious libraries existing today.

Considering the vast number of books and libraries around Sicily, the first step of the APS development consists of provenance recordings limited only to collections housed in Catania's libraries. In the city's metropolitan area, there are 254 libraries, but only 12 of them, distributed in 9 cities, hold incunabula collections. Of these institutions, 4 are religious, and 8 are public.[9]

Despite the different nature of the institutions involved, the book collections share the same origins. As mentioned, they mostly come from the suppression of convents and monasteries that affected Italy after the national state's unification. It is not unusual, and indeed relatively common, to find traces of ownership within ancient books that can be attributed to religious institutions. As is well known, the history of public and local libraries immediately after the unification of Italy is primarily influenced by ecclesiastical policy enacted between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[10] Starting with the Jesuits' secularization and expulsion from Sicily in 1763 and the suppression

[8]   In the case of the number of physical copies reported here, it is specified that the value is not considered definitive. To the present day, unfortunately, some Sicilian collections of incunabula have not been adequately surveyed with basic tools for their investigation, such as revised inventories and catalogs.

[9]   Followed the names of the institutions involved in the research: Biblioteca comunale 'Francesco Guglielmino', Acicatena; Biblioteca Zelantea, Acireale; Biblioteca del Convento di San Francesco, Biancavilla; Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria, Catania; Biblioteca del Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche, Università degli Studi di Catania; Biblioteca Seminario arcivescovile Catania, Biblioteche Riunite 'Civica e A. Ursino Recupero', Catania; Biblioteca diocesana, Caltagirone; Biblioteca Villadicanense, Castiglione di Sicilia; Biblioteca comunale 'Angelo Majorana', Militello in Val di Catania; Biblioteca comunale 'Luigi Capuana', Mineo, Biblioteca comunale 'Lucio Marineo', Vizzini. It is necessary to specify that it has not been possible to verify the accuracy of the data reported on ISTC regarding incunabula held at the Biblioteca diocesana of Caltagirone since it was denied access to the collection.

[10] See: Traniello, Paolo, 'Guardare in bocca al cavallo. Devoluzioni di raccolte ecclesiastiche e problemi delle biblioteche comunali in una relazione inedita di Torello Sacconi (1887)', *Culture del testo*, 1998, Vols. 10–11, pp. 129–139; regarding of the economic implication of the clergy secularization process, see Landi, Fiorenzo, 'The Dissolution of Monasteries and Convents in Europe. An Overview of the Economic Implications', in: *How the Secularization of Religious Houses Trasformed the Libraries of Europe, 16th–19th Centuries*, edited by Cristina Dondi, Doris Raines, Richard Sharpe, Turnhout: Brepols, 2022, pp. 27–38; on the devolution phases, see Granata, Giovanna, 'Fonti documentarie per lo studio delle devoluzioni post-unitarie di raccolte ecclesiastiche', in: *Storia delle biblioteche. Temi, esperienze di ricerca, problemi storiografici*, edited by Alberto Petrucciani, Paolo Traniello, Roma: AIB, 2003, pp. 111–122; Granata, Giovanna, 'On the Track of Lost Editions in Italian Religioius Libraries at the End of the Sixteenth Century: A Numerical Analysis of the RICI Database', in: *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, edited by Flavia Bruni, Andrew Pettegree, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016, pp. 324–344.

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of the Napoleonic period, with the laws enacted by the Italian state between 1862 and 1873, the nascent liberal government ordered the confiscation of all the Italian clergy patrimony. This process of secularization affected the book collections of the religious orders that became the state's property. In some cases, collections were preserved intact by ending up in the government Italian libraries; in others, books were sold, abandoned, or went to form collections of the emerging Italian civic libraries.[11]

As was remarked by Cristina Dondi in the *lectio magistralis* given in March 2020 at the University of Florence:

> It would be difficult to explain the cultural significance of the Grand Tour for the formation of the most important British and French cultural institutions without the secularizations of the Napoleonic period, which facilitated the removal and sale of large quantities of the Italian artistic and book heritage. Or the similar formation of the largest American collections without the second wave of Italian secularizations at the dawn of the formation of the national state (1861). In both historical periods, more or less institutionalized spoliations accompanied the disintegration, perhaps physiological, of large aristocratic collections.[12]

After studying all those early printed book collections, it is possible to affirm that there are over 300 editions and almost 400 physical copies in the province of Catania. Most of the collections are in the biggest cities of the Catania Metropolitan area, namely Catania and Acireale.[13]

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[11] More specifically, Royal Decree No. 3036 of July 7, 1866, by removing the legal personality of religious and secular orders, congregations, and corporations in the national territory, transferred to the state all assets of the ecclesiastical axis, including book collections from convents and monasteries. See Scrima, Elena, 'Del luogo de' PP. Cappuccini di Mistretta. Libri del convento di S. Maria, Vat. Lat. 11323', in: *Dalla notizia librorum degli inventari agli esemplari. Saggi di indagine su libri e biblioteche dai codici Vaticani latini 11266–11326*, edited by Rosa Marisa Borraccini, Macerata: EUM, 2009, pp. 447–486.

[12] Dondi, Cristina, *The mapping of the early Italian book heritage around the world: from distribution to dispersal: Lectio magistralis in Library Science*, Fiesole: Casalini Libri, 2020 (Letture magistrali in biblioteconomia, Vol. 13), p. 10.

[13] The most extensive collections of incunabula are housed in the following libraries: Bibliotche Riunite 'Civica e A. Ursino Recupero', Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria di Catania, and Biblioteca Zelantea located in Acireale. A brief bibliography is given to explore the history of these libraries and their collections: Aiello, Francesca, et al., *Incunaboli a Catania I: Le Biblioteche Riunite 'Civica e A. Ursino Recupero'*, Roma: Viella, 2018; Aiello, Francesca, *La biblioteca dei Benedettini di san Nicolò l'Arena a Catania: dalle carte d'archivio alla collezione libraria*, Milano: Ledizioni, 2019; *Incunaboli a Catania II. Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria di Carania*, edited by Simona Inserra, Marco Palma, Roma: Viella, 2021; Raciti, Romeo Vincenzo, 'La Biblioteca Zelantea di Acireale', *Rendiconti e Memorie della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti degli Zelantei*, 1917, Vol. 9, pp. 1–167.
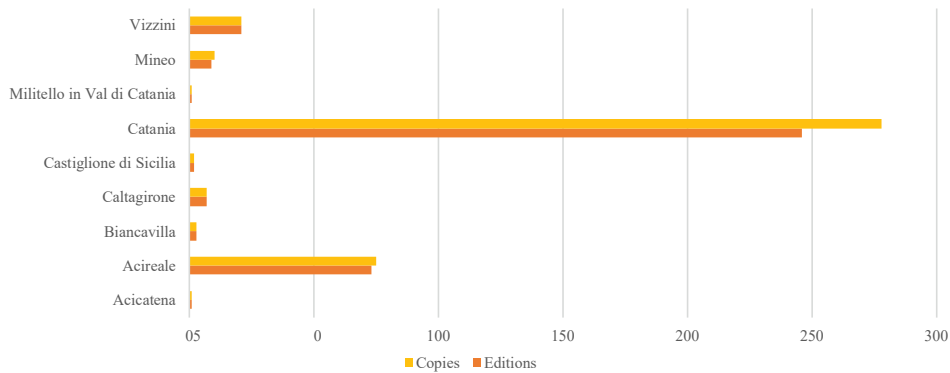
Fig. 2. Title: Catania's Incunabula Collections.
Caption: The figure shows the distribution of editions and copies
in cities in the Catania Metropolitan Area.

The study of all collections allowed us to settle the precise number of fifteenth-century editions and to verify the existence of over 20 incunabula not found in ISTC.[14] In addition, from the comparison between the data collected and those on ISTC, 5 incunabula are now considered historical copies.[15] Tracing the history of incunabula means retracing the history of people and institutions, most often religious, who preserved them for a long time.

In the Catanese collections, traces of provenance place the incunabula outside Sicily and are possessed by non-religious individuals or institutions, such as antiquarians, aristocrats, bibliophiles, and Italian and foreign libraries. However, in most cases, the owners of the incunabula belong to the religious sphere and are located in

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[14] 328 fifteenth-century editions for 398 physical copies are held in the province of Catania. The editions discovered during the census that do not appear to be linked to libraries in the Metropolitan Area of the city on ISTC are 22: is00204300, Biblioteca Villadicanense, Castiglione di Sicilia; ib00767000, ip00488000, is00509000, and it00130000, Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile, Catania; id00383000 and iv00354000, Biblioteca Scienze Giuridiche, University of Catania; ia00718000, ib00618000, ic00133000, ic00135000, if00137000, is00049000, it00162000, it00165000, and it00257000, Biblioteca comunale 'Luigi Capuana', Mineo; ia00889000, ia00894000, ia00895000, ia01245000, ib00695000, ih00209000, Biblioteca comunale 'Lucio Marineo', Vizzini.

[15] Regarding these 5 historical copies: 2 editions, previously registered at the Collegio Pennisi, the last Jesuit school in Acireale, are no longer to be found in the territory of the province of Catania and after their transfer to the Palermo area on behalf of the religious order, traces of them have been lost (ih00167000, ih00168000); 3 editions registered in the Biblioteca Villadicanense located in Castiglione di Sicilia (ia01236000, ip00382000, it00230000) are missed. About these libraries, see Nicastro, Gaetano, 'AMDG. Il Collegio "A. Pennis" di Acireale. La Fondazione-I timidi inizi-verso il futuro', *Memorie e rendiconti. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti degli Zelantei e dei Dafnici*, 2017–2018, Vol. 3, pp. 115–170; Calì, Gian Battista, *Catalogo della Biblioteca Villadicanense nella Chiesa Madre di Castiglione*, Acireale: Tipografia Giuseppe Donzuso, 1852.

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Sicily. Only 20% of the provenances are outside Sicily, with sporadic cases of foreign ownership traces. Such was the case with the owner Marcantonio Borghese (1814–1886), Prince of Sulmona, whose extremely extensive library was sold after his death at two auctions in 1892 and 1893 in Rome, or even the trace of ownership left on an incunabulum now owned by the University of Catania that was sold by the American antiquarian Bernard Rosenthal (1920–2017) and acquired by the university library in 1964–1965 for the price of 152,500 lire.[16]

Out of 107 identified traces of provenance, more than half are associated with convents and monasteries of religious orders suppressed in the late nineteenth century – the Capuchins, the Carmelites, the Augustinians, the Filippinis, the Benedictines – present in the cities of Catania, Palermo, Messina, Syracuse, Agrigento, Acireale, etc. Among the 'individual' owners, only 7 do not belong to the ecclesiastical sphere: intellectuals, aristocrats, and lawmen.

For instance, the incunabula of the Biblioteche Riunite *Civica and A. Ursino Recupero* became part of the institution's ancient collection after the implementation of the subversive laws of the ecclesiastical axis enacted beginning in 1866. Within the library flowed incunabula that had previously belonged to the library of the Benedictine monastery and to those of the city's suppressed religious orders, whose certificates of ownership allow us to date their Catanese provenance from the sixteenth century onward. Among these, in particular, the incunabula kept by the Carmelites of the city of Etna, whose convent was dedicated to the Most Holy Virgin of the Annunciation, presents not only the convent's inscription but also the ancient shelfmark that allows us to theoretically reconstruct the organization of the friars' libraries until the late nineteenth century.[17]

Generally speaking, the same can be said of all the collections that are the subject of this study. The third most extensive collection in the province of Catania is housed at the Zelantei's library in Acireale. The library was established in 1671 and received

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[16] Marcanotnio Borghese's *ex-libris* is inside the Matthaeus Colatius, *Opuscula*, printed in Venice by Bernardinus Rizus, Novariensis, in 1486 (Biblioteche Riunite 'Civica e A. Ursino Recupero', Inc. D 19, ISTC ic00750000); for more information regarding his library, see V. Menozzi, *Bibliotheca burghesiana. Catalogue de la Bibliotheque de S. E. Don Paolo Borghese, prince de Sulmona*, Rome, 1892–1893. The incunabulum with the Bernard Rosenthal provenance is *Vocabolarius utriusque iuris* printed in Strassburg in 1494 (Biblioteca delle Scienze Giuridiche, University of Catania, ANT IUS 159, ISTC iv00354000).

[17] In the Nicolaus de Lyra, *Postilla super totam Bibliam*, printed in Rome by Konradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz in 1472 (Inc A 11, ISTC in00131000), the inscription handwritten by an XVI Italian hand reads *Ex Biblioteche Conventus Carmelitarum Catanae / Libro 3. Ordine 2. Classe prima* (probably meaning that the incunabulum was the third on the second shelf of the bookshelf signed by a specific genre of literature).

manuscripts and rare books from the religious orders suppressed in the area. Still, it also holds incunabula donated from religious houses in Messina, Palermo, Agrigento, and Randazzo. In particular, this historical data allows us to use the incunabula as evidence of book circulation in Sicily between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[18]

Figure 3 shows the origin of provenances found in the Catanese incunabula. The owners were divided into four categories for each of which the percentage value is given: Sicilian religious owners (64%), owners of Sicilian origin not belonging to the clergy (7%), non-Sicilian religious owners (16%), and finally, other non-Sicilian owners (13%).
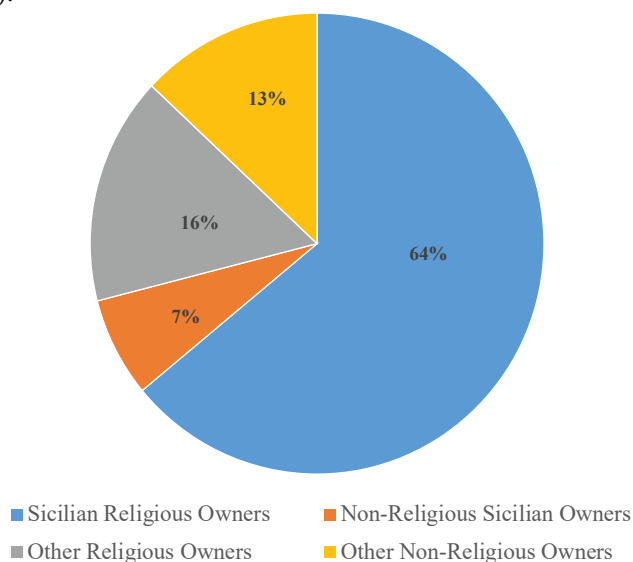
Fig. 3. Title: The Provenance of Catania's Incunabula Collections

The APS and the CERL's HPB Provenance database

As it has often been reiterated in field studies, although libraries are static institutions, books have always been objects in motion. This means that the same book has, over the centuries, encountered multiple personalities who have read or owned it and with the libraries that have, from time to time, housed it. Since the goal of the APS

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18   The *Decretum* of Gratianus, printed in Venice by Andreas Torresanus in 1498 (Incunaboli I 93, ISTC ig00389000), presents an inscription from the Convent of San Domenico in Palermo, dated to the XVI century, that said *Pertinet ad Bibliothecam Conventus Sancti Dominici felicis urbis Panhormi.*

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is to locate the incunabulum in a precise moment of its history and to have access to all provenance of a previous owner, the digital tool chosen to collect and share data is the HPB Provenance database,[19] an integrated system created by Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL).[20]

Although the study initially envisioned designing a specific database to divulge the acquired data, the best way to share the information globally and preserve it over time was considered the CERL digital ecosystem, or in other words, that set of digital tools and projects focused on the ancient book as a historical source. Indeed, for decades, CERL has explicitly been concerned with valorising the history of printing in Europe as a cultural testimony of past centuries.

HPB Provenance is a database that contains multiple projects based on recording, describing, and analysing the provenance traces of ancient book collections to reconstruct book circulation over the centuries and collect data on dispersed book collections. Similar to the other projects, APS data will be registered in the database using a unique code – a database segment – that will permit records from Sicilian collections to be identified as part of a single dataset.[21]

Thus, each incunabulum is represented by an HPB record whose bibliographic data are obtained from the Heritage of the Printed Book database. For the user, the descriptive record of each book includes information to identify the person or entity that owned the incunabulum at a specific time in history, variants names, and links to significant databases containing information about it.[22] The data obtained from the material analysis are instead recorded in CERL's databases, Provenance Digital Archive (PDA),[23] and Owners of Incunabula.[24]

Owners of Incunabula, a satellite database of the Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI),[25] designed to collect the provenances of incunabula collections preserved in libraries worldwide, allows users to access all information regarding the previous owners of each copy. PDA, on the other hand, connects owners to images of ownership traces.

As a result of digitizing provenance traces, the database user can view the ownership trace within a PDA record, in which information about the owner, the institution

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[19]   https://data.cerl.org/hpbprov/_search

[20]   https://www.cerl.org/

[21]   Dondi, Cristina; Malaspina, Matilde, 'L'ecosistema digitale…', pp. 134–157.

[22]   Full details on the provenances and data obtained from the material analysis of the incunabula preserved in the libraries covered by this study are accessible via internet: https://data.cerl.org/hpbprov/_search?query=Debora+Di+Pietro&from=0

[23]   https://pda.cerl.org/

[24]   https://data.cerl.org/owners

[25]   https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search

housing the copy, the shelf-mark, and all the specimens in MEI in which the owner left the same ownership mark is linked to the sign image.

Conclusions

In conclusion, APS is a project that intends to collect and trace ownership marks in collections of ancient printed books held in Sicilian libraries. It was designed to analyse the migration of incunabula through time and space using ancient books as a historical source. Through the analysis of the stratification of the collected libraries, it is possible to reconstruct the history of the libraries present in the interested area, and the data will be used to reconstruct the history of book collections that have been dismembered or no longer exist. Finally, using a CERL digital tool to share historical information will enable the integration of data from Sicilian collections with those obtained from collections worldwide. In this way, incunabula, which is far apart in space with shared traces of ownership, will allow us to reconstruct public and private collections that are now dispersed. HPB Provenance as a single shared archive facilitates the finding and sharing of information found only in specific sources, such as, for instance, archival documents, topographical inventories, manuscripts, and printed catalogues produced by libraries over the centuries.

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From Germany to South Italy: First Printers in Sicily, 1478–1500

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Abstract. Unquestionably, Sicily represents a peripheral area of Europe. However, the study of book production and circulation in the late fifteenth century reveals intellectual vibrancy and exciting connections among people throughout the ages. In the context of a broader reconstruction of the early printing in Sicily (Italy), the paper aims to offer the first results of an investigation intended to reconstruct the Sicilian book trade established by German printers from 1478 onward. The paper presents a census of 133 copies of Sicilian editions that have survived to the present day and are preserved in European and American libraries. By studying them individually, it is possible to track their movements through time and space: not only their physical appearances (binding, provenance, and ownership notes) but also their documentary evidence and historical bibliography. Some of the most important results will be presented for the first time on this occasion.

Keywords: Sicily; incunabula; book history; Sicilian printers; provenance studies.

Introduction

This paper is part of a broader project focused on the dawn of typography in Sicily, the southernmost territory of Europe.[1] It focuses, above all, on the circulation of copies of Sicilian incunabula worldwide and, consequently, on their readers and owners. The project involved a preliminary census of the printed editions in Sicily, followed by a survey of printing activity in the region and a study of the printed editions. It continued with a census of surviving copies to be found in private and public libraries worldwide, tracking their provenance data. A further step related to the investigation of the copies circulation is the study of libraries and sales catalogues, *post-mortem* and notarial inventories, and lists of private libraries. For instance, to outline the historical movements of the copies, could be mentioned the lists drawn up by Hernando

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[1] The work in progress is an history of Sicilian printing press in fifteenth century with a catalogue that will provide detailed data of the surviving copies; it will be published by Viella (Rome, Italy) in 2025 in the series *Incunaboli*; the copy-specific data will be inserted into MEI (Material Evidence in Incunabula) database. About the first years of the printing press in Europe: McKitterick, David, *Print, manuscript and the search for order, 1450–1830*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; Hellinga, Lotte, *Texts in transit. Manuscript to proof and print in the fifteenth century*, Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Colón with the exact size of his own collection[2] or the very precious lists compiled in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by abbeys and monasteries responding to the request of the Congregation of the Index of Forbidden Books.[3]

Many bibliographers studied the Sicilian press, getting important results; the most important study on the Sicilian press is the one by Concetta Bianca, published in the last century, related to press, culture, and society in Messina at the end of the fifteenth century.[4] The work, whose very first summary results are presented here,

[2]　Hernando Colón, the illegitimate son of Christopher Columbus, was the creator of one of the biggest libraries in the world in the early part of the sixteenth century, with around 15,000 volumes collected during his life and extensive travels. Because he created a catalogue of his library and significant instruments to access the collection, today it is possible to know the collection's consistency and development. A quarter of the books in the Colón collection survives today, housed in Sevilla Cathedral, in Spain, since 1522 (See: Biblioteca Colombina, *Catálogo de sus libros impresos*, edited by Servando Arbolí y Faraudo, Simón de la Rosa y López, José Roca y Ponsa, José Moreno Maldonado, Joaquín de Entrambasaguas, Sevilla: Imp. de E. Rasco, 1888–1948). The project *The Book of Books: Hernando Colón's "Libro de los epítomes"* is accessible via internet: https://bookofbooks.ku.dk/.

[3]　These very important lists give an exact image of those libraries at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Today these lists are partially to be found in the RICI database, accessible via internet: https://rici.vatlib.it. About RICI project, see: Borraccini, Rosa Marisa; Granata, Giovanna; Rusconi, Roberto, 'A proposito dell'inchiesta della S. Congregazione dell'Indice dei libri proibiti alla fine del '500', *Il capitale culturale*, 2013, Vol. 6, pp. 13–45; Granata, Giovanna, 'On the Track of Lost Editions in Italian Religious Libraries at the End of the Sixteenth Century: A Numerical Analysis of the RICI Database', in: *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, edited by Flavia Bruni, Andrew Pettegree, Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 324–344; Granata, Giovanna, 'La Ricerca sull'Inchiesta della Congregazione dell'Indice (RICI). Note per un bilancio', *Paratesto*, 2023, Vol. 20, pp. 11–23.

[4]　Bianca, Concetta, *Stampa, cultura e società a Messina alla fine del Quattrocento*, Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, 1988. Other scholars who dedicated themselves to the first years of the printing in Sicily, between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were Nicolò Domenico Evola, Giuseppe Maria Mira, Vincenzo Mortillaro, Alessio Narbone, Gaetano Oliva, Ludovico Perroni-Grande, Giuseppe Salvo Cozzo, Francesco Tornabene. See: Evola, Nicolò Domenico, *Ricerche storiche sulla tipografia siciliana*, Firenze: Olschki, 1940; Mira, Giuseppe Maria, 'Storia dell'arte della stampa in Sicilia dalla sua introduzione sino alla metà del secolo XVI', in: *Manuale teorico-pratico di bibliografia*, Palermo: Stamperia Piola e Tamburelli, 1861–1862; Mira, Giuseppe Maria, *A quale città di Sicilia spetta il primato della introduzione della stampa. Al chiar. Marchese Vincenzo Mortillaro lettera di G. M. Mira*, Palermo: Stamperia Perino, 1874; Mortillaro, Vincenzo, *Studio bibliografico*, Palermo: Lorenzo Dato, 1827; Oliva, Gaetano, *L'arte della stampa in Messina: dei tipografi e delle tipografie messinesi e dei loro più importanti prodotti librari dalla introduzione della stampa in Messina fino a tutto il secolo XVII […]*, Messina: Tip. D'Amico, 1901; Oliva, Gaetano, 'L'arte della stampa in Sicilia nei secoli XV e XVI: note bibliografiche e note d'archivio', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*, 1911, Vol. 8, pp. 82–131; Narbone, Alessio, *Bibliografia sicula sistematica o Apparato metodico alla storia letteraria della Sicilia*, Palermo: Stamperia di Giovanni Pedone, 1851; Perroni-Grande, Ludovico, 'Per l'impianto di cartiere in Sicilia nei primi del Cinquecento', in: *Per la storia del libro in Sicilia. Notizie e documenti inediti dei secoli XV e XVI*, Reggio Calabria: Tip. Fata Morgana, 1934, pp. 39–40; Salvo Cozzo, Giuseppe, *Osservazioni sul primato della stampa tra Palermo e Messina*, Palermo: tipi di B. Virzi, 1874; Tornabene, Francesco, *Storia critica della tipografia siciliana dal 1471 al 1536*, Catania: dai torchi della R. Università degli studi per Salvatore Sciuto, 1839.

thirty-five years later than Bianca's work, aims to extend studies on Sicilian typography to the city of Palermo and shift the focus from publishers and editions to copies and their owners and readers.

The First Typographers in Sicily

Between 1478 and 1500, some German printers established printing shops in Sicily, introducing the printing process to the island for the first time. No names of Italian or Sicilian printers are found in the colophons of the early editions: in some cases, the names are omitted, but scholars have been able to identify the workshops, mostly through the study of types; in others, Italian names emerge in addition to those of the authors in the paratext as compositors, correctors, editors of the text, patrons, and so on.

The first printer in Sicily, Heinrich Alding, active between 1474 (or 1478)[5] and 1479 on the island, had been in Naples in the preceding years. Here in 1476, he printed, with Peregrinus Barmentlo, a *Psalterium latinum cum hymnis*.[6] In the same year, he also printed the *Elegantiole* by Augustinus Datus,[7] and in 1477 worked on three other editions: the *Compendium elegantiarum Laurentii Vallae* by Bonus Accursius,[8]

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[5]   The *Aesopus moralisatus* (ISTC ia001285000) does not have printing date indications; according to GW, the edition was printed in "about 1474," but other scholars believe that the date of printing must move to 1478 as Alding was still printing in Naples in previous years (see Bianca, Concetta, *Stampa, cultura e società a Messina…*).

[6]   ISTC ip01039900, five existing copies, none in Italy; the German copy is full digitized by the Württembergische Landesbibliothek and accessible via internet: https://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/index.php?id=6&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=3022&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1. The colophon: "Hoc sacrum sanctumque Psalterium ad honorem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei ordinatum ac integerrime correctum et ne alicui videretur diminutum aut superfluum in Psalmorum ordinatore […], impressum in inclita civitate Neapolitana per magistros Henricum Alding et Peregrinum Barmentlo librorum impressores, anno Domini MCCCCLXXVI, die V mensis iulii, feliciter explicit".

[7]   ISTC id00063500, four existing copies, only one in Italy, Sicily; the Oxford copy is full digitized by the Bodleian Library, Digital Collection, and accessible via internet: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/0681e7b4-54e0-417b-b8d5-d8b257170430/. The colophon: "Completum Neapoli anno Domini millesimoquadringentesimoseptuagesimosexto die vicesima mensis septembris".

[8]   ISTC ia00027400, four existing copies, two in Italy (Naples and Troina, Sicily); the Spanish copy is digitized by the Biblioteca Nacional de España and accessible via internet: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000097159. The colophon: "Neapoli, MCCCCLXXVII prima iulii" and then a poem related to the swell German invention "Abstulerat Latio multos Germania libros, / nunc multo plures reddidit ingenio. / Et quod vix toto quisquam perscriberet anno, / munere Germano conficit una dies", that means: "Germans had taken many books from Italy, now with great skill they have returned many more; and what one could barely write in a year, now, thanks to the German gift, can achieve it in a single day".

the *Astrologia* by Christianus Prolianus,[9] and the *Dicta super septem tractatus Petri Hispani*, by Johannes Versorius, edited by Petrus de Sancto Johanne.[10] Archival sources seem to attest to an initial exploratory journey or visit to Catania in the preceding years (probably 1471), aimed at verifying the presence of legal texts useful for the production of an edition of the Sicilian Constitutions, and later printed in Messina by Andreas van Brugge in 1497.[11] In the *Gratulatio* placed at the end of the text, the result of Pietro Appullo's two years of editorial work,[12] we are informed of Alding's presence in Sicily: "A printer named *Henricus* came in 1471 from Rome to Catania [Sicily], attracted by the hope of making a lot of money, but frightened by the confusion he fled from Catania to Messina."[13] We don't know whether the confusion was political and social or was it due to the chaos he found in the legal documents he consulted. Either way, he moved to Messina, where he started his work. According to the bibliographers Giuseppe Salvo Cozzo and Antonio Boselli, chaos found by the printer can be attributed to the disorder in the original documents he accessed.[14] Scholars have repeatedly wondered who this printer named Henricus was. He came from Rome to Catania intending to print the *Constitutiones* but soon had to move to another town because of unfavourable working conditions. Tradition is firm in indicating that he was Heinrich Alding, a printer from Cologne. He worked in Rome and Naples and signed as "*magister Rigo da Lamania*" (master Rigo (or Heinrich) from Germany). Therefore, Heinrich Alding is considered the introducer of the printing press in Sicily.[15]

9   ISTC ip01009000, eighteen copies, the digitized copy by the Boston Public Library and accessible via internet: https://archive.org/details/incipitprimapars00prol/page/n1/mode/2up. Two colophons, the first: "Finis huius opusculi Parthenope impressum, anno salutis 1477 octava kalendas septembrias" and, in the last quire: "Henricus Alding".

10   ISTC iv00237800, twenty-one copies, the digitized copy by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and accessible via internet: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00065253?page=1. The colophon: "Et in hoc finitur scriptum summularum magistri Iohannis Versoris Parisiensis doctoris prestantissimi, impressum Neapoli anno nativitatis Christi millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo septimo, die vero quinto mensis februarii", followed by a manuscript *registrum chartarum*.

11   ISTC is00720350.

12   ISTC is00722500.

13   "[…] impressor Henricus nomine, cum operariis ab urbe Roma Cathinam venit, allectus magna spe lucri (bene ratus si fata iuvissent et vota complessent) Messanam divertit territus tanto chao". Regarding issues related to the distruction of the Catania Historical Archive, see *Il riscatto della memoria. Materiali per la ricostruzione dell'Archivio Storico della città di Catania*, edited by M. Minissale and T. Vittorio. Access via internet: https://www.comune.catania.it/la-citta/culture/monumenti-e-siti-archeologici/musei/archivio-storico-comunale/allegati/il_riscatto_della_memoria.pdf.

14   Salvo Cozzo, Giuseppe, 'Sulla quistione del primato della stampa tra Palermo e Messina: osservazioni', *Nuove effemeridi siciliane*, 1874, Vol. 1, pp. 9–12; Boselli, Antonio, 'La produzione tipografica di Enrico Alding in Messina', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1931, Vol. 33, pp. 122–138.

15   He was "l'introduttore della stampa in Sicilia […], chiamato a Catania dal Senato per stampare le *Costituzioni* del regno di Sicilia" (Mondolfo, Anita, 'Alding, Enrico', in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 1960, Vol. 2, *sub voce*).

It is not always possible to deduce useful information from the colophons: it is the case of the printers Heinrich Stark and Johann Schade. The colophons of their three surviving editions only returned their qualification as 'typography masters', but did not provide details about their geographical origin; for instance, in the colophon of the *Epistolae Heroides et Sappho et Ibis* by Ovidius, they print: "[…] *honorabilium virorum ac artis impressoriae magistrorum Henrici Fortis et Iohannis de Mescede sociorum*".[16] Together, as far as we know today, they printed three editions, surviving in a single copy: the *Epistolae Heroides* by Ovidius in 1484, the *Fiore di virtù*, a fully illustrated incunable in 1484–1485, the *Rudimenta grammatices* by Nicolò Perotto in 1485.[17]

The printer Georg Ricker signed itself as "*Georgius Ricker Landau Allamanus*", which can be seen in the only surviving edition, *Fiore di Terra Santa* by Girolamo Castiglione; this edition is known in two copies kept in Cagliari, University Library and Milan, Braidense National Library.[18]

The name Andreas van Brugge is also reported among the typographers active in Sicily as the printer of the *Constitutiones Siciliae*; he is known only for this edition, whose colophon states:

> *Impressum est presens opus in nobili civitate Messanae per magistrum Andream de Bruges impressorem, sub biennali cura laboriosaque diligentia Iohannis Petri Apuli correctoris ad hoc statuti, sub expensis domini Ioannis de Ivenio et absolutum est isvolente Deo anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCCCLXXXXVII, die X octobris prime indictionis.*[19]

Very interesting, at the turn of the century, is the figure of the prolific printer Wilhelm Schonberger, who signed himself in the colophons as "Wilhelm Schonberger, German from Frankfurt".[20] The presence of a poem dedicated by the author of a pamphlet to his printer is surprising and, at the same time, typical of this early period of the printing, when pride in having given birth to something so exceptional was alive.[21]

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[16] ISTC io00153500.

[17] ISTC io00153500; ISTC if00179200; ISTC ip00319880.

[18] ISTC ic00251500. Cfr. Ramondino, Ferruccio, *Un incunabolo rarissimo: "Il Fiore de Terra Sancta" di Girolamo Castiglione*, Palma di Maiorca: [s.n.], 1942; Bianca, Concetta, *Stampa, cultura e società a Messina*, p. 12.

[19] ISTC is00722500; the Spanish copy is digitized by the Biblioteca Nacional de España and accessible via internet: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000106669.

[20] "Guilelmus Schonberger de Franckfordia" or "Guilelmus Schonberger Alamanus de Franckfordia".

[21] The title of the poem is *Carolus in laudem impressoris Gulielmi Schomberg de Franckfordia Alamani viri non ignobilis* and the text: "Qui vos impressit tam clara insignia multum / diligit et toto pectore firma tenet. / Imprimit hic etiam quae scribunt dicta recentes / et veterum scripsit quae veneranda manus. / Vir bonus imperium liquit patriaque Lemanni, / nunc Mamertinus noster et esse cupit. / Huic Messana favente iam nunc personat orbem / illustrisque simul tu comes ista dabis".

This poem is on leaf 7r of the *Oratio in funere reginae Lusitaniae*, by Carlo Curro, a poem about the death of the queen of Portugal.[22]

Olivinus van Brugge is the name of another printer active in Sicily, of which two surviving copies of an edition remain today: the *Thesaurus musicae* printed in Messina in 1500.[23]

The list of the fifteenth century German printers active in Sicily is completed by the printer who works in Palermo and signs himself in the colophon of his edition as "master Andrea Vyel from Vuormacia", Worms in Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany, situated on the Upper Rhine about sixty km south-southwest of Frankfurt am Main. He is the printer of the *Statuta Panormi. Consuetudines urbis Panormi*.[24]

The activity of these German printers concurs with what was happening in northern Italy and Spain. It is well documented that after the 'sack' of Mainz in 1462, perpetuated by Adolf of Nassau, many printers moved from the cradle of typography in search of a fortune. To name some of the best known, Johann Mentelin settled in Strasbourg, Ulrich Han in Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz in Subiaco, then in Rome; at the same time, Venice quickly became the capital of printing, with pioneers Johann and Wendelin von Speyer. Expansion to the rest of Europe was progressive, as twenty-five years passed from its appearance in Basel around 1468 to its arrival in Copenhagen in 1493.[25] By the end of the century, printing houses were present in some two hundred and fifty European cities. After over two decades, printing came to Spain from Italy a few years before arriving in Sicily; it was first established in Segovia around 1472, and in 1473, some printing houses were opened in Barcelona, Valencia, and Sevilla.[26] As in Sicily, the first printer in Spain was a German master from Heidelberg. He went to Rome, from Rome to Segovia, and then to Toulouse. The examples cited above give a perfect idea of the mobility of the printers of the time towards peripheral areas of Europe.

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[22] ISTC ic00989900; one copy still survives today, kept at the Marciana Library in Venice. The colophon: "impressum est presens opusculum in nobilissima civitate Messana per Gulielmum Scomberg Alamanum de Franckfordia, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCCCXCVIII, die vero XX decembris)".

[23] ISTC ir00365500.

[24] ISTC is00720350. See *Consuetudini della città di Palermo*, edited by Vito La Mantia, Palermo: Libreria Alberto Reber, 1900.

[25] Cfr. *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450–1500: Fifty Years that Changed Europe*, edited by Cristina Dondi, Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Venice University Press, 2020.

[26] Cfr. Reyes Gómez, Fermin de los, *Incunable. La imprenta llega a España*, Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2022.

The Sicilian Editions

There are twenty-six known Sicilian editions, twenty-five of which were printed in Messina, where the *Epistolae Heroides* was twice printed, in 1478 by Alding and in 1484 by Schade and Fortis, and only one edition printed in Palermo.

According to Bianca,[27] all these editions can be divided into four groups:
- Political-ideological press: the *Protesta dei Messinesi* (considered a manifesto of a powerful group); the *Constitutiones et capitula regni*; the *Consuetudines* of Messina; the *Vitae philosophorum Siculorum et Calabrorum* by Costantino Lascaris; and the *Epistola Rabbi Samuelis* (work with an anti-Jewish approach) that could be partially considered as a political text.
- A group of works closely related to city events and official ceremonies: the *Monodia* by Bernardo Rizzo, edited by Francesco Faraone, a pupil of the re-nowned Costantino Lascaris; the *Oratio in cenotaphio Iohannis Aragoniae* by Carlo Curro; the *Oratio* for the death of Eleanor of Aragon, queen of Portugal, by the same author; the *Oratio funeris de obitu Iohannis Aragoniae* by Montoro (a very singular book because the oration was given in Palermo but printed in Messina, probably to demonstrate Messina's dominance over Palermo in the field, according to Bianca).
- Some texts intended for teaching: the *Rudimenta gramatices* by Niccolò Pe-rotti, the *Aesopus*, the *Epistolae* of *Falarides*, Ovid's *Sappho Phaoni epistula* in two different editions, the *Thesaurus musices* by Antonio Russo, the *Historia Troiana* by Dares Phrygius edited by Francesco Faraone (whose teaching aim is confirmed by *interpretationes* and *argumenta* for each part of the text).
- Some vernacular editions, intended for an average audience and for immediate and widespread use: devotional works such as *Vita et transito del beato Hiero-nimo*, *Fiore di virtù*, *Miracoli della Vergine Maria*, *Scala de virtuti*, *Fiore di Terra Santa* (the last one had an adventurous character and was printed and sold in many places and times).[28]

This is an opportunity to update the list of editions produced in Sicily by add-ing a fifth group to the previous four identified by Bianca, which is that of liturgical texts: *Psalterium* and *Missale Gallicanum*, which Bianca places in the third group as

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[27] Bianca, Concetta, *Stampa, cultura e società a Messina...*
[28] In this case Castiglione wrote that most people understand vernacular better than Latin ("multi in-tendono meglio il vulgare che il latino"); and Falcone, translator of the *Protesta*, wrote that is certainly easier writing in the mother tongue to provide more information and a better delight for the general public ("certo in tal materno parlare per dar inde più noticia et più delectatione a li comuni et gene-rali audienti").

intended for the community, financed and organized by the Benedictine order.

The late fifteenth century in Sicily (and in a particular way in Palermo, Messina, and Catania) is characterized by demographic recovery, urban expansion, and new economic enterprises, such as those of sugar in Palermo and silk in Messina. Messina appears from many points of view the liveliest of the Sicilian cities, not only because of the port and the proximity of the Italian peninsula, a reason for which, according to historians, there were the conditions for the introduction and consolidation of the printing press. Besides, when the press spread at the end of the seventies of the fifteenth century, the city's cultural life was characterized by Costantino Lascaris, whose school of the political class was formed in Greek and Latin.[29]

As evidence of the cultural fervency of the period, the presence on the island of important private libraries rich in manuscripts and printed books is noted, such as that of Costantino Lascaris, transferred to Madrid after the 1674 revolt, and some monastic libraries, including that of the Benedictines of Catania at the Monastery of San Nicola l'Arena[30], and the San Martino delle Scale Abbey in Palermo.[31] Interesting data emerge from the studies of Henri Bresc, who transcribed numerous *post-mortem* inventories produced between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and contributed greatly to the historical reconstruction of the use and circulation of books in Sicily from the late fifteenth century onward.[32]

The Sicilian production represent how humanistic and juridical cultures were closely linked (the work of Pietro Appulo is an example); the language chosen to remix municipalist tendencies was Latin, but the vernacular burst onto the cultural scene with great strength: the *Protesta dei Messinesi* printed in Sicilian vernacular,

[29]   Francesco Faraone is the editor of the *Historia Troiana* by Dictys Cretensis and of the *De excidio Troiae* by Dares Phrygius, an edition, according to the number of surviving copies, which had apparently a great success (Guidetti, Fabio, 'Appunti sulla fortuna del mito troiano: riflessioni a margine di un libro recente', *Status Quaestionis. Rivista di studi letterari, linguistici e interdisciplinari*, 2015, Vol. 8, pp. 141–224).

[30]   *Breve storia del monastero dei Benedettini di Catania*, edited by Francesco Mannino, Catania: Maimone, 2015; cfr. Inserra, Simona, *Storia del fondo: gli esemplari e le provenienze*, in: Aiello, Francesca, et al., *Incunaboli a Catania I: Biblioteche Riunite "Civica e A. Ursino Recupero"*, Roma: Viella, 2018, pp. 14–55, and Inserra, Simona; Palma, Marco, *Incunaboli a Catania II: Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria*, Roma: Viella, 2021.

[31]   Mendola, Giovanni, 'San Martino fra l'ultimo Quattrocento e il primo Seicento attraverso i documenti', in: *L'eredità di Angelo Sinisio. L'Abbazia di San Martino delle Scale dal XIV al XX secolo*, edited by Maria Concetta Natale, Fabrizio Messina Cicchetti, Palermo: Regione Sicilia, Assessorato dei Beni Culturali, Ambientali e della Pubblica Istruzione, 1997 pp. 291–294.

[32]   Bresc, Henri, *Livre et société en Sicile (1299–1499)*, Palermo: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani, 1971; Bresc, Henri, 'Note complémentaire', *Bollettino del Centro di Studi filologici e linguistici siciliani*, 1973, Vol. 12, pp. 167–189.

while in the Tuscan vernacular the work entitled *Transito di San Girolamo* (Transit of St Jerome) spread.

Messina's printing presses seem to have been silent for a few years immediately after 1500, possibly because of the plague of 1501 or the economic crisis, which made the typography no longer profitable. Therefore, if in Messina, the printing presses operated regularly from 1478, in Palermo, the production of only one surviving edition (*Consuetudines urbis Panormi*) is evidence that no printers were determined to set up printing presses in the city and made economic investments in the field.

A Census of Existing Copies

Numerous gaps exist in the early Sicilian printing press knowledge due to the lack of documentation and the loss of editions that could provide more information.

133 fifteenth-century copies surviving are currently known and preserved in European and American libraries. Thirteen existing editions in a single copy each are kept in European libraries (Biblioteca Lucchesiana in Agrigento, Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence, Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, John Rylands Research Institute and Library in Manchester, Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, Universitätsbibliothek in Salzburg, Biblioteca centrale della Regione siciliana in Palermo).[33] More than one existing copies of other editions are housed in European and United States institutions (Walters Art Museum Library in Baltimore, Houghton Library, Harvard University in Cambridge-MA, Newberry Library in Chicago, Beinecke Library, Yale University in New Haven, Morgan Library and Museum in New York, Fireston Library, Princeton University, Princeton, Huntington Library in San Marino-Ca).[34]

The results obtained through the material analysis of the extant copies so far reveal that the books have travelled widely in time and space, becoming part of bibliophiles' collections and, in some cases, were acquired due to the sale and purchase of larger book collections. It is the case, for instance, of the very interesting group of

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[33] These are: ISTC ia00128500, ISTC ip00311500, ISTC ip01041330, ISTC iz00027500 (described in Bellavia, Alberto, et al., *Incunaboli ad Agrigento I: Biblioteca Lucchesiana e Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile*, Roma: Viella, 2022), ISTC io00199800, ISTC im00673200, ISTC if00179200, ISTC io00153500, ISTC ip00319880, ISTC im00617900, ISTC ir00184300, ISTC ic00989800, ISTC ic00989900.

[34] The editions in American libraries are: ISTC is00105000, ISTC id00186000, ISTC id00186000, ISTC ih00250000, ISTC ic00252000, ISTC id00186000, ISTC il00556000, ISTC s00722500, ISTC id00186000, ISTC 00250000.

six Sicilian incunabula held at the John Rylands Library in Manchester, which comes from the Duke of Cassano's collection, purchased by the aristocratic bibliophile and collector Lord Georg John Spencer (1758–1834), during a trip in Italy in 1820. The sale was finalized for 30,000 ducats, and the books were transported from Italy to the Althorp Castle in West Northamptonshire, England. Later, the Spencer collection became part of the John Rylands Library, the present John Rylands Manchester University Library. Editions and copies were described first by Dibdin[35] and then by Gordon Duff in the *Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*.[36]

The research being presented here is also focused on missing editions and consequently copies considered historical: there are two lacking editions, in two copies, well described in the Colón's inventory: a *Vita et passio* of Saint Agata printed in Messina in 1499, that Colón registered at number 14637 (of which we had a bibliographical indication, not always considered reliable[37]) and a *Vita Christi Salvatoris eiusque Matris Sanctissimae* also printed in Messina, by the author Matteo Caldi or Caldo, a priest from the city, in 1492.[38] The copies purchased by Colón for his library are not kept at the Colombina Library in Sevilla and have therefore been declared missing.[39]

Conclusions

The Sicilian experience appears to have been very interesting and, in some aspects, paradigmatic of what might have been happening in the peripheral areas of Europe where German printers decided to establish their own workshops, either independently or responding to an invitation from local administration or patrons. The

[35]   Cfr. Dibdin, Thomas Frognall, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana: a descriptive catalogue of the books printed in the fifteenth century and of many valuable first editions in the Library of Georg John Earl Spencer*, London: William Bulmer and Co., Shakespeare Press, 1814–1815, and O'Dwyer, Edward John, *Thomas Frognall Dibdin, bibliographer and bibliomaniac extraordinary, 1776–1847*, Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 1967.

[36]   Duff, Edward Gordon, *Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1899.

[37]   Cfr. Carrera, Pietro, *Delle memorie historiche della città di Catania*, Catania: Giovanni Rossi, 1641, p. 222; he wrote that he owned a copy of this edition: "De' suddetti più antico è Giovanni Dies, il quale scrivendo anco in Siciliani versi il martirio di essa Santa, diede alle stampe l'opera nel 1499 e questa in poter mio si conserva".

[38]   CNCE 8399, printed in Venice 1556.

[39]   I'm very grateful to Matilde Malaspina, Copenhagen University; cfr. De Lollis, Cesare, 'Biblioteca colombina', *La Bibliofilia*, 1905–1906, Vol. 7, pp. 378–379; *La Biblioteca Colombina y Capitular*, Sevilla: Consejería de cultura y medio ambiente, Junta de Andalucía, 1990.

focus on the individual products of the printing workshops allows us to understand a little more about the activities that took place between Palermo and Messina, the printing techniques, and, above all, the circulation of books in the Mediterranean area and later in other parts of Europe, crossing the Atlantic Ocean in more recent times to land in the United States. Inscriptions, *ex libris*, and marginal notes, together with the description of bindings, previous inventory numbers, shelfmarks, and the state of conservation, allow us to reconstruct exciting routes and discover collectors or routes we did not know.

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Incunabula Printed for the Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno In Various European Printing Centres

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Abstract. The article discusses the juridical and liturgical books printed in the fifteenth century specifically for the Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno. Most of these incunabula were issued in Germany (mainly in Strasbourg, Mainz and Nuremberg), with smaller numbers issued in Venice and Basel. The provincial authorities of the Gniezno Province predominantly chose large printing houses, and less frequently chose less prominent printers that nevertheless operated in the leading printing centres. Bishops and chapters cooperated with printers engaged in the international book trade and used the services of rich merchants. Most of the liturgical books were printed for the two wealthy dioceses of Cracow and Wrocław. Furthermore, by the end of fifteenth century arose extraordinary joint editions intended for use in several dioceses at once.

Keywords: Incunabula; printing history; liturgical early printed books; Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno.

Introduction

The Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno was established in the year 1000. Over the next five centuries, the province was reorganized several times. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the province included the Archdiocese of Gniezno and the dioceses of Cracow, Poznań, Włocławek and Płock located in the territories of the Kingdom of Poland; the dioceses of Vilnius and Samogitia within the boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; the diocese of Lebus in Brandenburg; and the diocese of Wrocław in the Kingdom of Bohemia. The dioceses that were part of the Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno participated in metropolitan synods and were governed by common Roman Catholic Church laws.

The functioning of church institutions included the use of many types of books. In the fifteenth century, the need for books was met by producing them in the Province of Gniezno itself, including by professional copyists.[1] In addition to local production,

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[1]   Nowak, Zbigniew, *Konrad Baumgart i początki sztuki drukarskiej w Gdańsku w XV wieku*, Gdańsk: Zakład Poligraficzno-Wydawniczy Druk, 1998, p. 17.

handwritten books were imported from abroad. At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was a large inflow of books from the Czech Republic. The scientific manuscripts were brought by students of the University of Prague returning to Poland. Illuminated codices, mostly liturgical ones, were also imported from the Czech Republic.[2] During the Council of Basel, the Poles staying in that city purchased and brought to Poland codices containing both secular and church works.[3]

After the invention of printing, the incunabula were imported from abroad, since the production output of several small local printing houses could not meet all the needs. Many books used in the Province of Gniezno were among the universal medieval works from throughout Central and Western Europe. Therefore, books on theological, homiletical and priestly topics, which were printed in many European cities were imported to the Province of Gniezno without the need to place separate orders for printing.[4] However, some of the books necessary for the functioning of the province were of an individual nature and were intended specifically for the local churches. These were liturgical books containing ceremonies according to local ceremonial practice and a collection of local canon law.[5]

In the late fifteenth century, the territory of the Province of Gniezno was on the peripheries of printing. There were only three small printing houses, which printed books in Latin. The fourth printing house, Schweipolt Fiol, dealt exclusively with publishing books in the Church Slavonic language. These four minor printing houses

2   Miodońska, Barbara, *Iluminacje krakowskich rękopisów z I połowy. w. XV w Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej na Wawelu*, Kraków: Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki na Wawelu; Warszawa: Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki. Zarząd Muzeów i Ochrony Zabytków, 1967, pp. 11–12; Potkowski, Edward, 'Produkcja książki rękopiśmiennej w Polsce w XV stuleciu', *Z badań nad polskimi księgozbiorami historycznymi*, 1980, Vol. 4, pp. 14–15; Sułecki, Szymon, *Księgozbiór klasztoru karmelitów na Piasku w Krakowie*, Kraków: Avalon, 2014, p. 96.

3   Włodarski, Maciej, *Dwa wieki kulturalnych i literackich powiązań polsko-bazylejskich 1433–1632*, Kraków: Universitas, 2001, p. 65.

4   These also include works by Polish authors on universal themes for the medieval Church that were printed in various Western European countries, from where some of the copies were purchased by readers in Poland. Such authors include Nicolaus de Blony, author of the manual *De sacramentis* (11 editions in the 15th century) and *Sermones de tempore* (two editions), and Matthaeus de Cracovia, author of the *Dialogus rationis et conscientiae de frequenti usu Communionis* (five editions) and *De modo confitendi et puritate conscientiae*.

5   There are numerous scholarly works on the subject of local liturgical customs in Poland before the Council of Trent. Variations in the liturgy of the mass are shown in: Pikulik, Jerzy, *Polskie graduały średniowieczne*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2001. Differences in liturgy between dioceses based on the example of the cult of St. Wojciech are described in: Danielski, Wojciech, *Kult św. Wojciecha na ziemiach polskich w świetle przedtrydenckich ksiąg liturgicznych*, Lublin: TN KUL, 1997. The diversity of liturgical calendars in dioceses is discussed in: Wąsowicz, Henryk, *Chronologia średniowieczna*, 2nd edition, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2015.

1. Agenda sive Exsequiale sacramentorum. Ed. Martinus, canonicus Vilnensis.
Danzig: Konrad Baumgarten, 10 VI 1499. The Ossolineum Library. Call number: SL147 sdxv-16

existed for only a short time and printed few incunabula.[6] Most of the books published on the territory of the Province of Gniezno were theological books, calendars and textbooks. However, almost no books for local ceremonies or with local law were printed there. The only exceptions are the *Agenda Vilnensis* (illus. 1) and the *Statuta Vratislavensia*. The agenda was prepared by the Vilnius canon Martinus de Radom and printed by Konrad Baumgarten in Gdańsk.[7] The second incunabula issued specifically for the needs of the church administration was the statutes of the Wrocław Diocese. It was printed by Kasper Elyan in Wrocław. In these circumstances, the church authorities directed printing orders to foreign printing houses. The purpose of this article is to discuss books printed for the needs of the Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno in the centres of European printing and to determine how the printing process was organized.

Juridical and Liturgical Codices of the Province of Gniezno

The Gniezno Province had its own rights, and the dioceses within the province maintained their own rituals. The canons and ceremonies were written in juridical and liturgical codices. The codex of local canonical law, that is statutes, was a book of great importance for the functioning of the province. It was approved at the synod in Wieluń and Kalisz in 1420. The initiator of the compilation of the statutes was Archbishop Mikołaj Trąba, whereas the authors of the codification remain unknown. In accordance with the then needs of the church hierarchy, canons were added specifying the rules against Hussitism, which was gaining supporters in Poland at that time.[8] For instance, the procedures for cooperation between the clergy and the Inquisition

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[6] Kasper Straube in Cracow (1473–1475) published four books; the printer of Leo Papa, "Sermones", propably in Chelmno or in Silesia (1473/4–1477/8) seven books; Kasper Elyan in Wrocław (1475–1483) at least nine books; Schweipolt Fiol in Cracow (1483–1492) four books; Konrad Baumgarten in Gdańsk (1498–1499) four books. Undoubtedly, more editions were released in these printing houses, of which copies have not survived. Pirożyński, Jan; Baďurová, Anežka, 'Kraków i Praga jako ośrodki drukarskie w XV–XVI wieku: Próba porównania', *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, 2000, Vol. 44, p. 11. On the subject of the beginnings of printing in Cracow, see: Gruchała, Janusz S., 'Krakow – the City where Polish Printing Was Born', in: *The Early Printed Book in Poland (15th–17th centuries)*, edited by Janusz S. Gruchała, Michał Czerenkiewicz, Kraków: Avalon, 2023, pp. 17–28; Partyka, Jacek, 'A calendar found behind the bookcase', in: *The Early Printed Book in Poland (15th–17th centuries)*, edited by Janusz S. Gruchała, Michał Czerenkiewicz, Kraków: Avalon, 2023, pp. 29–36.

[7] Nowak, Zbigniew, *Początki sztuki drukarskiej na Pomorzu w XV wieku*, Gdańsk, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976, pp. 152–157.

[8] Góralski, Wojciech, *Wprowadzenie do historii ustawodawstwa synodalnego w Polsce*, Lublin: Norbertinum, 1991, pp. 149–151.

were described.[9] The statutes were a legal work of a very high standard and influenced further church law in Poland.[10] Subsequent statutes were prepared at the request of the Archbishop of Gniezno, Jan Łaski, announced by the synod in Łęczyca in 1527 and printed in the same year.

The statutes were extensive and frequently used, which explains the high demand for their printing. The statutes include the canon entitled *De constitionibus*, which prescribes placing a copy of *Statuta* in every church of the Gniezno Province. Such a copy should be available to everyone interested. Bishops were obliged to severely punish anyone for removing, damaging or falsifying statutes.[11] In the diocese of Wrocław, after the statutes were announced in 1423, it was ordered that they should be in the hands of all parish priests within a year.[12] During the canonical visitation, the clergy were obliged to present a copy of *Statuta*.[13] Therefore, it is very probable that many codices with the text from the statues were used. There was a high demand for statutes among all groups of the clergy.[14] Thirty-four manuscript copies of *Statuta* that have survived to this day belonged to various groups of clergy. One codex was owned by the bishop of Płock, Piotra from Chotkowo.[15] Other codices were used in cathedrals[16] and collegiate churches.[17] One was prescribed for Bernardus, parish

[9] Graff, Tomasz, 'Biskupi monarchii jagiellońskiej wobec herezji husyckiej w I połowie XV wieku', *Nasza Przeszłość*, 2008, Vol. 109, p. 40.

[10] Góralski, Wojciech, *Wprowadzenie do historii ustawodawstwa*…, p. 151.

[11] *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie Mikołaja Trąby z r. 1420 z materiałów przysposobionych przez B. Ulanowskiego,* edited by Jan Fijałek, Adam Vetulani, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1951, p. 9.

[12] *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie*…, p. CLXV–CLXVIII; Vetulani, Adam, 'Wrocławskie rękopisy statutów Mikołaja Trąby (streszczenie)', *Sprawozdania Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego*, 1948, Vol. 3, p. 253.

[13] Kaliszuk, Jerzy, 'Text of synodal statutes in social communication of late medieval Poland: As exemplified by the Wieluń-Kalisz statutes of Mikołaj Trąba', in: *Przestrzeń religijna Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w średniowieczu*, edited by Krzysztof Bracha, Paweł Kras, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010, p. 69.

[14] High demand for the text of Church laws in the 15th century can also be deduced today by the current state of preservation of copies of the Wrocław statutes, printed in Wrocław in 1475. See: *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* online database https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de No. M43451 [below GW M]; https://data.cerl.org/istc No. is00755300 [below: ISTC].
Only seven copies of the Wrocław statutes printed in 1475 have survived, including only two complete ones. The lost and damaged copies are evident proof of their very intensive use.

[15] Święcki, Cezary, 'Płockie średniowieczne rękopisy prawnicze: Zasoby', *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 2000, Vol. 91, No. 3, p. 186; *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie*…, pp. LXX–LXXII.

[16] *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie*… pp. XXXI–XL.

[17] Kaliszuk, Jerzy, *Text of synodal statutes*…, pp. 73–74; *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie*…, pp. XLIV–XLIX; pp. LV–LXIII.

priest in the town of Przyczyna.[18] Moreover, even in cases where entire statutes were not copied, scripts containing selected fragments were prepared.[19] Many handwritten statute codices were tainted with textual errors.[20] This was probably one of the main reasons for developing a printed version.

Liturgical books intended for use in individual dioceses in Gniezno Province were written from the fourteenth century.[21] The oldest originated from the early fourteenth century, such as the *Missale Vratislaviense* dated around 1330.[22] Copies of liturgical books from the fourteenth century, written especially for churches of the Archdiocese of Gniezno,[23] the diocese of Włocławek[24] and the diocese of Cracow,[25] have also been preserved. Most fourteenth-century codices are missals, but some other liturgical books remained, such as the *Breviarium Vladislaviense* preserved in the Library of the Diocesan High Seminary in Włocławek.[26] Many more fifteenth-century codices destined for diocesan ceremonies are known. Besides breviaries and missals, fifteenth-century agendas[27] and diurnals[28] are preserved.

Like *Statuta*, the liturgical books were needed in all churches. Their texts were often not standardized and in some cases were incorrect. The invention of printing created the possibility to overcome these problems. A very interesting source on the activity of the church authorities in the field of printing is the colophon of the Cracow Missal. According to this text, Bishop of Cracow Jan Rzeszowski observed that many missals in his diocese contained errors in the rubrics. The bishop considered it his duty to counteract this problem. Therefore, he ordered the missal to be printed, the text of which was first checked and corrected. The preparation of appropriate liturgical text was a long process. That could explain why the first missals and breviaries were not published in print until the 1470s.

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18   *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie…*, pp. LXXXII–LXXVII.
19   *Statuty synodalne wieluńsko-kaliskie…*, pp. XXXI–CXXXI.
20   Głombiowski, Karol, 'Nieznany śląski rękopis statutów Mikołaja Trąby', *Sobótka*, 1951, Vol. 5, p. 170.
21   Araszczuk, Stanisław, 'Przedtrydenckie wrocławskie księgi liturgiczne', *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny*, 1996, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 64.
22   Suski, Andrzej, 'Rękopiśmienne mszały przedtrydenckie w Polsce', *Anamnesis*, 2014, Vol. 20, pp. 73, 76, 80–82.
23   Suski, Andrzej, 'Rękopiśmienne mszały przedtrydenckie…', p. 64.
24   Suski, Andrzej, 'Rękopiśmienne mszały przedtrydenckie…', p. 70.
25   Suski, Andrzej, 'Rękopiśmienne mszały przedtrydenckie…', p. 67.
26   Różański, Zdzisław, 'Księgi liturgiczne Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego we Włocławku: Studium liturgiczno-źródłoznawcze', *Archiwa Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 1981, Vol. 42, pp. 111, 114; Suski, Andrzej, 'Rękopiśmienne mszały przedtrydenckie…', pp. 70, 72.
27   Araszczuk, Stanisław, 'Przedtrydenckie wrocławskie księgi…', p. 67.
28   *Diurnale Vratislaviense*. Cracow, Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, Ms R XV 1, ca. 1492; See: Manuscripta.pl, No. MSPL 1866.

Printing of Liturgical Incunabula

The first liturgical books were printed in the printing house of Johann Fust (ca. 1400–1466) and Peter Schöffer (ca. 1425–1503). The very first was a *Psalterium* printed in 1457. Then a *Canon Missae* was printed in 1458. The development of the printing of liturgical books was not rapid. The church authorities needed time to prepare the text for printing due to differences in the manuscript codes. Probably the oldest edition of a missal is the *Missale Fratrum Minorum* printed in central Italy in about 1472.[29] Around a year later, the first breviary and gradual were printed in Southern Germany or in Basel by the so called Printer of the Constance Breviary.[30] Until the end of the 1470s, further liturgical books were printed in over a dozen cities in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain and the Czech Republic. The rapid development of printing continued unabated. By 1480, printing houses operated in over 110 European cities.[31] Prices were falling, circulation was increasing and the book trade was becoming better organized. The production of liturgical books also increased. In these favourable conditions, the production of liturgical books was achieved. In the 1480s, around 170 breviaries, 130 missals, 30 diurnals and 2 agendas were printed. Whereas in the 1490s, 220 breviaries, 230 missals, 40 diurnals and 30 agendas were printed according to the local ceremonial of different dioceses and orders.[32]

In the early 1480s, to print their first liturgical books, the authorities of the Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno could choose from among many foreign printers. The nearest to the borders of the province were German printing houses. Up to and including 1483, approximately 48 editions of breviaries and missals were published in 16 German cities. In Speyer, Peter Drach the Older printed a missal for the local diocese in 1478. His son and successor from 1480, Peter Drach the Younger, developed the production of breviaries, of which he printed eight by 1483. In Würzburg, Georg Reyser (1440–1504) printed three breviaries and five missals, most of them for the Diocese of Würzburg. In Cologne, five liturgical books were the work of four printers (Petrus in Altis, Konrad Winters, Arnold Ther Hoernen and Ludwig von

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[29]   GW M 2389610, ISTC im00643000.
[30]   As place of printing of the *Breviarium Constantiense*, Konstanz, Basel or Augsburg are indicated. The printing of *Psalterium Constantiense* and *Graduale* is located in Konstanz and Augsburg.
[31]   Febvre, Lucien; Martin, Henri-Jean, *Narodziny książki*, translated by Anna Kocot, Maria Wodzyńska-Walicka, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2014, p. 281.
[32]   Estimated data from ISTC. Breviaries and diurnals described in GW 454–479; 5101–5518; 8495–8566.

Renchen).[33] The production of the remaining liturgical books was scattered among printing houses in 13 cities, where most printers printed from one to three liturgical books. The church authorities in the Gniezno Province had therefore many options to choose printers with whom they could cooperate.

Mainz

The order for printing the first missal for the Gniezno Province was placed in Mainz, the cradle of typographic art. This task was entrusted to the Peter Schöffer (ca. 1425–1503). The first liturgical book printed by him for Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno was *Missale Vratislaviense*, printed for the diocese of Wrocław in 1483.[34] The following year, Schöffer published *Missale Cracoviense* for the diocese of Cracow.[35] In the following years, he printed three liturgical books in a row for the dioceses of the Gniezno Province: *Missale Cracoviense* in 1487,[36] *Missale Vratislaviense* 1499[37] and the common missal for the Archdiocese of Gniezno and the Diocese of Cracow *Missale Gnesnense et Cracoviense* in 1492.[38]

Ordering books from Peter Schöffer for nearly two decades meant choosing one of the most distinguished printers of the era. He started working in the Gutenberg printing house. After Johann Fust's death in 1466, Schöffer took over the printing house and was its sole owner. By 1483, when he received the order for the first Wrocław missal, he had printed some 120 incunabula including two beautiful editions of the psalter for the diocese of Mainz and for the Benedictine Order.[39] He also printed Bibles, numerous theological books, indulgences and letters of Church hierarchy. His was also engaged in the international distributions of books, including those printed in Venice, Strasbourg, Basel, Nuremberg and Cologne.[40] He issued advertisements of the books he had printed.[41] From the 1460s, his representatives operated in Paris, and

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[33] *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Leipzig, 1925–1938, Vols. 1–7; Berlin, Stuttgart, New York, 1978–2016, Vols. 8–12. Access via internet https://www.gesamtkatalogderwie-gendrucke.de/ No. GW 5305 [below GW], ISTC ib01150740; GW M 24787, ISTC im00728000; GW 5306, ISTC ib01150750; GW M 24334; GW M 23922, ISTC im00694500.

[34] GW M 24847, ISTC im00731000.

[35] GW M 24350, ISTC im00658000.

[36] GW M 2435310, ISTC im00658020.

[37] GW M 24849, ISTC im00731600.

[38] GW M 24355, ISTC im00661600.

[39] GW M 36179, ISTC ip01036000; GW M 36286, ISTC ip01062000.

[40] Hellinga, Lotte, 'Peter Schoeffer: Publisher and Bookseller', in: *Incunabula in Transit: People and Trade*, Leiden: Brill, 2018, p. 90.

[41] Advertisement for 19 books, see: GW M40875, ISTC is00320950; advertisement for 1470 edition of Epistolae, see: GW M 40876, ISTC is00320000; advertisement for Gratianus, Decretum and Gregorius IX, Decretales, see: GW M 40877, ISTC is00320970.

later on Schöffer permanently sent there his representative Herman Statboen.[42] Missals remained a minor part of his wide-ranging activities. He printed a total number of eight missals (five of them intended for the Gniezno Province), whereas his whole accomplishment consisted of approximately 250 incunabula.

Strasbourg

At this time, the dioceses of the Gniezno Province began to establish long-term relationships with printers in Strasbourg, which is located close to Speyer. Around 1485, Johann Grüninger (ca. 1455–1531) printed a breviary for the diocese of Wrocław,[43] followed by a diurnal in 1488 for the same diocese.[44] Around 1487, another printer in Strasbourg, Johann Prüss, printed the *Missale Vratislaviense*[45] and soon after *Statuta provincialia Gnesnensia*[46] (illus. 2) and *Missale Gnesnense et Cracoviense.*[47] Another, quite mysterious, missal for the Gniezno Province was published in 1491 at the Martin Schott printing house.[48] Friedrich Ruch printed the *Agenda Wratislaviensis* in 1499[49] and the *Statuta Gnesensia* around 1497–1500.[50] In Strasbourg in 1491 the *Missale Posnaniense* was printed, but although one copy survived until the twentieth century, it was burned by the Germans together with the collections of the National Library in Warsaw, and the preserved description does not identify the printer.[51] It is worth adding that Strasbourg's printing houses also had ties with the diocese of Warmia neighbouring the Gniezno metropolis, for which Johann Prüss printed a diurnal in about 1490[52] and Friedrich Ruch printed a missal in 1497.[53]

[42]   Febvre, Lucien; Martin, Henri-Jean, *Narodziny książki…*, p. 340.
[43]   GW 5511, ISTC ib01187370.
[44]   GW 0856420N, ISTC id00287820.
[45]   GW M 24853, ISTC im00731500.
[46]   GW M 43463, ISTC is00739200.
[47]   GW M 2439710, ISTC im00661500.
[48]   GW M 24855, ISTC im00658030.
[49]   GW 478, ISTC ia00166300.
[50]   GW M43461, ISTC is00739000.
[51]   Spandowski, Michał, 'Inkunabuły utracone', *Cenne, bezcenne, utracone*, 2012, Vol. 72, No. 3, p. 18; GW M 2463210; *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Maria Bohonos, Michael Spandowski, Eliza Szandorowska, Wratislaviae: Ossolineum, 1993, Vol. 2: *Addenda, indices*, No. †1614.
[52]   GW 8563, ISTC id00287750.
[53]   GW M 24838, ISTC im00731700.

Statuta prouincialia toti pro-
uintie Gneznensi, valentia auctoritate apostolica
edita vt clare patet ex bullis summoꝛ pontificum
bic insertis.
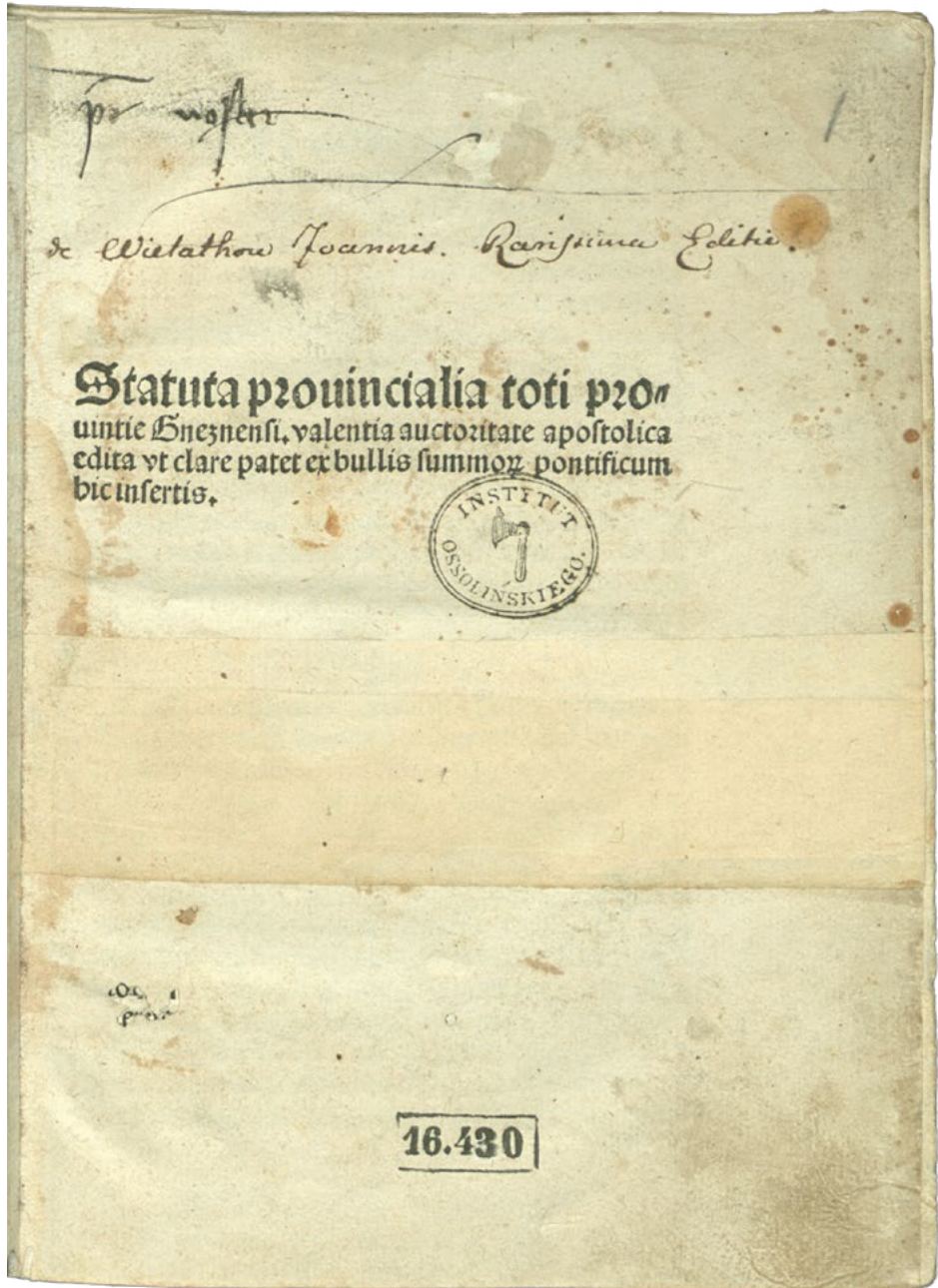
2. Statuta provincialia Gnesnensia.
Speyer: Peter Drach, ca. 1500. The Ossolineum Library. Call number: sdXV-202

The well-developed printing industry in Strasbourg created favourable conditions for ordering books needed in the churches of the Gniezno Province. This rich and cultivated city, where Gutenberg had conducted his early experiments, was one of the most important printing centres of the fifteenth century. The first printing house in this city was set up in around 1460 by Johann Mentelin. His business sense is evident in his activities. He was one of the first to print a catalogue advertising books from his printing house. Soon after Mentelin established his business, other printers began to work in the city. Among them were several of significance.[54] In total, during the incunabula era, approximately 60 printing houses were operating in the city.[55] The publishing repertoire of Strasbourg printers was very wide. In addition to medieval theology, they provided books on canon law as well as editions of classical literature and secular works.[56] Several printers in Strasbourg dealt with liturgical books. Georg Reyser began printing liturgical books in Strasbourg in the late 1470s. In the 1480s, liturgical incunabula were printed by the already-mentioned Johann Grüninger and three other printers: Johann Prüss (d. 1510), Martin Schott (active 1481–1499) and Friedrich Ruch (active 1497–1499). It was mainly German dioceses that obtained liturgical books from Strasbourg.

Many incunabula printed in Strasbourg were brought to Poland. This is visible in the collections of the Jagiellonian Library, the main part of which was created in the fifteenth century; in the Jagiellonian Library, incunabula from Strasbourg are second in terms of the number of editions (245 titles) after Venice (655 titles).[57]

From the large community of printers in Strasbourg, four printers produced incunabula for the Province of Gniezno. Johann Grüninger had extensive connections with printers in other cities. He carried out orders from Martin Flach in Basel, Peter Drach in Speyer, Anton Koberger in Nuremberg and the publisher Johann Haselberger.[58] Before the publication of *Breviarium Vratislaviense* in about 1485, Johann Grüninger has already had considerable success, having printed several

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54 Clair, Colin, *A History of European Printing*, London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1976, pp. 23–25. For comparison, the first printing house was established in Cologne in 1466, in Augsburg and Basel in 1468, and in Nuremberg in 1470, Febvre, Lucien; Martin, Henri-Jean, *Narodziny książki…*, p. 280.

55 Pirożyński, Jan, *Johannes Gutenberg i początki ery druku*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2002, p. 127.

56 *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Maria Bohonos, Eliza Szandorowska, Wratislaviae: Ossolineum, 1970, Vol. 1, p. XXXVIII [bellow: IBP].

57 Ulewicz, Tadeusz, *Wśród impresorów krakowskich doby renesansu*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1977, pp. 15–16.

58 Benzing, Josef, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17: Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963, p. 410.

books in 1483 and 1484, including one *Biblia Latina*. In total, his achievements included almost 200 incunabula. Printer Johann Prüss was also working in Strasbourg. His printing house existed for around 30 years (ca. 1483–1510) and published 247 incunabula, including theological titles.[59] However, the other two printers working for the Province of Gniezno did not possess large workshops. Martin Schott started operations in about 1481 and was working until 1499.[60] He was not a significant printer, with 30 titles released. Nor did Friedrich Ruch print many volumes, only some 10 incunabula including four psalters, during three years of activity (1497–1499).[61]

Nuremberg

In 1493, the first missal for the Cracow Diocese was printed in Nuremberg by Georg Stuchs (d. 1520). By the end of the fifteenth century, he had printed five books for the Province of Gniezno: two missals, a breviary and a diurnal for the diocese of Cracow and a breviary for the Diocese of Wrocław.[62] In 1494, a joint breviary for Cracow, Gniezno and Poznań was printed by another printer in Nuremberg, Kasper Hochfeder.[63]

As a commercial centre, Nuremberg provided favourable conditions for the development of printing.[64] Around 50 printing houses operated in the city. Among them was Anton Koberger, one of the greatest publishers of the fifteenth century. His representatives operated in numerous countries, including Poland.[65] Johann Haller also operated in Nuremberg; a Polish bookseller and publisher, he financed the printing of books for Polish authors and dioceses.[66] Volumes published in Nuremberg

[59] Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker*: *Ein Handbuch der deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten*, Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1968, Vol. 1: *Das deutsche Sprachgebiet*, p. 76.

[60] Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker…*, Vol. 1, p. 70.

[61] Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker…*, Vol. 1, p. 93.

[62] *Missale Cracoviense*, [not before 1493], GW M 24359, ISTC im00658100; *Missale Cracoviense*, [about 1500], GW M 24360, ISTC im00658200; *Breviarium Cracoviense*, 1498, GW 5331, ISTC ib01158450; *Diurnale Cracoviense*, 1494, GW 8536, ISTC id00283470; *Breviarium Vratislaviense*, 1499, GW 5512, ISTC ib01187380.

[63] Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker…*, Vol. 1, pp. 179–182.

[64] Colin, Clair, *A History of European Printing…*, p. 30.

[65] IBP, Vol. 1, p. XXXVIII.

[66] *Breviarium Cracoviense*, Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, 1498, GW 5331, ISTC ib01158450, IBP 5745; *Missale Cracoviense*, Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, [about 1500], GW M 24360 [not before 1493], ISTC im00658200, IBP 3773; *Missale Cracoviense*, Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, [not before 1493] ISTC im00658100, GW M 24359 [about 1494], IBP 3772.

included works by Johannes de Latoszyn, Valentinus of Grünberg and Johannes Ursinus. The latter, a law lecturer at the Cracow Academy, published the textbook *Modus epistolandi* at Casper Hochfeder's printing house. In 1503, Hochfeder's connections with Poland took on a new character – he opened a printing house in Cracow, the capital of the Kingdom of Poland.[67]

As owner of a large printing house where over 90 titles were published, Hochfeder could have received the order for printing the breviary for the diocese of Cracow. However, the placement of the order for breviaries and missals at Stuch's printing house was probably due to an additional reason: he was one of the best German specialists in printing liturgical books.[68] He set up a printing house in 1484 and already that year printed a breviary for the Hungarian Archdiocese of Esztergom. In this way, he began the production of liturgical books for German and foreign churches (in Prague, Olomouc, Kamień Pomorski) and for the Teutonic Order.

Venice

From 1483, Venetian printers were responsible for printing incunabula for the Gniezno Province. The first known edition of the breviary of the Cracow Diocese was printed in 1483 by Nicolaus de Francfordia (ca. 1440–1524). Afterwards, the ordering of books of the Gniezno Province in Venice stopped for 15 years. Another order, this time a breviary for the Płock Diocese, was made by Johann Hamman in 1498.[69] Two years later, a breviary for the Archdiocese of Gniezno was printed in Venice in 1500,[70] probably by Petrus Lichtenstein.[71]

What is believed to be a trace of the lost breviary printed in Venice for the diocese of Wrocław can be found in the colophon of *Breviarium Vratislaviense* from 1499. The date and place of printing are given in the incunabula: *Anno salutis millessimo quadringenttesimo nonagesimo nono, decima septima die Augusti Venetiis impressi finis adest*. However, typographic analysis indicates that the breviary comes from the

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[67]   Piekarski, Kazimierz, *Kasper Hochfeder. Kraków 1503–1505*, 2nd edition, edited by Maria Błońska, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo PAN, 1968 (*Polonia Typographica Saeculi Sedecimi = Zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia*, No. 1).

[68]   Benzing, Josef, *Die Buchdrucker…*, pp. 330–332; Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker…*, Vol. 1, pp. 176–179; Przywecka-Samecka, Maria, *Drukarstwo muzyczne w Europie do końca XVIII wieku*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1987, pp. 30–35.

[69]   GW 5430, ISTC ib01175600.

[70]   GW 534720N; IBP, Vol. 2, No. †592; Ulewicz, Tadeusz, *Wśród impresorów krakowskich…*, p. 20; IBP, Vol. 1, pp. X, XXXII.

[71]   Spandowski, Michał, *Inkunabuły utracone…*, p. 18.

Stuchs printing house. Perhaps the place of printing was copied from a lost Venetian edition.[72]

The matter of the first and fourth Venetian edition of the Cracow breviaries requires further discussion. Liturgical books were often destroyed due to intensive use and replacement with new editions.[73] It is therefore not surprising that some of them disappeared or survived as only a few or even just one copy. Information about the earliest printed Cracow breviary comes from *Annales typographici* by Georg Wolfgang Franz Panzer: '*Breviarium secundum usum ecclesiae Cracoviensis. Venetiis per Nicolaum de Francofordia* 1483.8. Bibl. Vnivers. Lamberg.'[74] In the second description of this breviary, Panzer additionally provided the day of printing: 1483.8.III.[75] The accuracy of the description and the provision of a copy in the University Library in Lviv allow us to assume that Panzer described an actually existing incunabulum. The existence of this breviary for the diocese of Cracow is even more probable because the University Library in Lviv collected incunabula from monasteries in Lesser Poland. Most of these collections were burned during the bombing of Lviv in 1848.[76]

Three reasons can be identified for the Province of Gniezno commissioning incunabula prints from the Venetian printing shops. Firstly, Venice was the largest printing centre of fifteenth-century Europe thanks to its geographical location, its commercial and cultural power, and the presence of powerful printing enterprises.[77] The development of printing in Venice was rapid. John of Speyer printed the first book in 1469; just two years later there were 12 printers working in the city.[78] By the end of the fifteenth century, 4,500 editions had been published in Venice, almost one seventh of all incunabula that had been printed.[79]

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[72] GW 5512, ISTC ib01187380.

[73] Most of the 15th-century missals that exist today are damaged copies. Spandowski, Michał, 'Polskie egzemplarze XV-wiecznych edycji Missale Minense', *Roczniki Biblioteczne,* 2018, Vol. 62, p. 237.

[74] Panzer, Georg Wolfgang, *Annales typographici ab artis inventae ad annum MD*, Norimbergae: Impensis Joannis Eberhardi Zeh, arte et industria Michaelis Josephi Schmid, 1795, Vol. III, p. 188.

[75] Panzer, Georg Wolfgang, *Annales typographici ab artis inventae ad annum MD*, Norimbergae: Impensis Joannis Eberhardi Zeh, arte et industria Michaelis Josephi Schmid, 1797, Vol. V, p. 112. See also: Estreicher, Karol, *Bibliografia polska*, Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1894, Vol. 13, p. 336; Hain, Ludwig, *Repertorium bibliographicum*, Stuttgartiae, Tubingae: J. G. Cotta, Vol. 1, 1826, No. 3832.

[76] Ulewicz, Tadeusz, *Wśród impresorów krakowskich…*, pp. 18–24.

[77] Febvre, Lucien; Martin, Henri-Jean, *Narodziny książki…*, p. 283.

[78] Colin, Clair, *A History of European Printing…*, p. 40.

[79] Colin, Clair, *A History of European Printing…*, p. 47.

The second reason is that part of the vast incunabula production found its way from Venice to Poland, which is evident in the historical collections preserved in Polish libraries. Cracow had strong cultural ties with Venice, including in the field of publishing.[80] Polish intellectual elites maintained extensive contacts with Italy, including through study trips, and the Cracow bookseller Jan Haller maintained business contacts with Aldus Manutius.[81] This famous publisher of ancient texts received old manuscripts from scholars from Poland, as Erasmus of Rotterdam described.[82] In these circumstances, it appears natural to have taken interest in Venetian printing shops and to have entrusted them with the publication of books needed in the Province of Gniezno.

Thirdly, Venice was one on the most important centres of liturgical printing. The first missal was printed in Venice by Aloysius Siliprandus in 1477.[83] In the same year, Franz Renner and Nicolaus de Francfordia produced the first breviary printed in this city.[84] By the end of the fifteenth century, approximately 70 missals, 130 breviaries and 20 diurnals had been printed there. Numerous printed Roman missals and breviaries from Venice were used in the churches of Gniezno Province, showcasing the typographic skill of Venetian printers.

All three printers who were commissioned to publish missals or breviaries for the Gniezno Province were specialists in printing liturgical books. Nicolaus de Francfordia was a printer and a bookseller.[85] Printing liturgical books was an important part of his publishing activity, and he also ordered books from Erhard Ratdolt, an outstanding printer of liturgical incunabula. By 1483, de Francfordia had already achieved significant success in printing liturgical books. The first liturgical book that he printed was *Breviarium Romanum* in 1477. He cooperated with the Archdiocese of Esztergom in Hungary, printing for it *Constitutiones Synodales Ecclesiae Strigoniensis* in about 1482–84. The fact that in 1483 he was already known as a printer of liturgical books and had contacts with Esztergom makes it more probable that he printed the breviary of the Cracow Diocese, apparently, he had contacts with Central Europe. Johann Hamman ran a printing house in the years 1482–1509.[86] Liturgical

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[80] Ulewicz, Tadeusz, *Wśród impresorów krakowskich…*, p. 17.

[81] IBP, Vol. 1, p. XLI.

[82] Rokosz, Mieczysław, *Wenecka oficyna Alda Manucjusza i Polska w orbicie jej wpływów*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1982, p. 175.

[83] GW M24095, ISTC im00689100.

[84] GW 5146, ISTC ib01118000.

[85] Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker*: *Ein Handbuch der Deutschen Buchdrucker des XV*: *Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1970, Vol. 2: *Die Fremden Sprachgebiete*, p. 84.

[86] Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker…*, Vol. 2, pp. 88–92.

incunabula were an important part of his work. In addition to Roman missals and breviaries and works intended for dioceses in Italy, he completed orders for dioceses in many parts of Europe: Spain (Burgos, Tarazona, Toledo), France (Burgos, Paris), England (Salisbury, York), Belgium (Antwerp), the Netherlands (Utrecht), Germany (Cologne, Passau) and Hungary (Esztergom). Similarly, Petrus Lichtenstein, who inherited a printing house from Hermann Liechtenstein in 1494 and ran it until 1522, supplied numerous dioceses with liturgical books.[87] From a large group of Venetian printers, the organizers of book printing for the Province of Gniezno selected specialists who dealt with publishing books for the cult purposes.

Speyer

Single liturgical books for the province of Gniezno were also published in Basel, Speyer, and probably in Lübeck. Despite the relationship initiated with Schöffer in 1483, the authorities of the Gniezno Province quickly began to utilize the services of other printers in Germany. Around 1485 in Speyer, printer, bookseller and owner of a bookbinding shop Peter Drach der Jüngere (1477–1504)[88] printed the *Breviarium Vratislaviense.*[89] Peter Drach the Younger and previously Peter Drach the Older (d. 1480)[90] printed many liturgical books, almost all of which were intended for German dioceses. Speyer was one of the medium-sized centres of German printing and the Drach printing house was the largest one there. Even though favourable conditions for printing existed in Speyer, the publication of the Wrocław breviary in Speyer was a single event in the history of the Gniezno Province.

Basel

At the end of the fifteenth century, liturgical books for the Gniezno Province began to be printed in Basel. Jakob Wolff printed the Poznań breviary in 1500.[91] Basel was one of the important centres of printing. Favourable conditions for the development of printing were created by the city's wealth, well-developed paper mills and university, which provided a source of readers, authors, editors and publishers. The university, founded in 1460, experienced rapid development and became a centre of secular

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[87] Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker…*, Vol. 2, p. 85.
[88] Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker…*, Vol. 1, pp. 188–192; Benzing, Josef, *Die Buchdrucker…*, p. 396.
[89] GW 5510, ISTC ib01187360.
[90] Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker…*, Vol. 1, p. 188.
[91] GW 5431, ISTC ib01175700.

studies thanks to scholars from Italy. The first printer in Basel was Gutenberg's journeyman Bertold Ruppel, who started working for Gutenberg around 1468. Some of the printers were themselves educated scholars (such as Johannes Heynlin, Johannes Amerbach).[92] Some 580 incunabula of both the Middle Ages and Renaissance cultures were published in Basel's 17 printing houses.[93] Among them were liturgical books for dioceses in Switzerland, Germany, France (Besançon), Hungary (Missale Dominorum Ultramontanorum and diocese of Pécs), England (Salisbury), and for the Teutonic Order. In the fifteenth century, only a few publications intended for Poland were produced in Basel. More frequent printing of works by Polish authors began only in 1516, when Adam Petri printed John of Stobnica's (ca. 1470–1530) *Parvulus philosophie naturalis.*[94]

The order from the Gniezno Province was completed by Jakob Wolff. He ran a printing house in the years 1492–1518.[95] Initially, he dealt in book production in cooperation with Amerbach. He began his independent printing activity in 1492, publishing *Breviarium ordinis predicatorum.*[96] Liturgical books constituted an important part of his achievement. Agendas, breviaries, diurnals, missals and psalters were created in his printing house. He made them for the dioceses of Switzerland, Germany, Poland, and for the Teutonic Order and other orders.

Lübeck

Not later than 1490, a printer called Printer of the *Breviarium Lubucense* printed a breviary for the diocese of Lebus,[97] probably in Lübeck. Printing in Lübeck was introduced by Lucas Brandis in about 1474. By the end of the fifteenth century, some 15 printers were established there. Several of them printed liturgical books (Steffen Arndes, Hans van Ghetelen, Bartholomäus Ghotan, Lucas Brandis, Johann Snel and others who have not been identified). However, liturgical books were not the main focus of their work. Orders were fulfilled in Lübeck mainly from the dioceses of the Baltic Sea region (Odense and Viborg in Denmark, Abo in Finland). However, work for the churches of the Gniezno Province was limited to one edition of the breviary.

[92]   Włodarski, Maciej, *Dwa wieki kulturalnych i literackich…*, pp. 24–26.
[93]   Pirożyński, Jan, *Johannes Gutenberg…*, p. 127.
[94]   Włodarski, Maciej, *Dwa wieki kulturalnych i literackich…*, p. 261.
[95]   Benzing, Josef, *Die Buchdrucker…*, p. 30.
[96]   GW 5224, ISTC ib01142000; Geldner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker…*, Vol. 1, pp. 124–126.
[97]   GW 5376, ISTC ib01164500; IBP 1280.

GERMANY	23		
Mainz	6	Peter Schöffer	6
Speyer	1	Peter Drach	1
Strasbourg	9	Johann Prüss	3
		Johann Grüninger	2
		Friedrich Ruch	2
		Martin Schott	1
		Unknown	1
Nuremberg	6	Georg Stuchs	5
		Kasper Hochfeder	1
Lübeck (?)	1	Printer of the Breviarium Lubucense	1
ITALY	3		
Venice	4	Nicolaus de Francfordia	1
		Johann Hamann	1
		Petrus Lichtenstein (?)	1
		Unknown	1
SWITZERLAND	1		
Basel	1	Jakob Wolff	1

The Organization of Printing

After determining in which printing centres books were produced for the needs of the churches of the Gniezno Province, the question arises: What did the process of ordering the printing of the incunabula look like? The process began at the bishops' courts, where an initiative of improving diocesan liturgical books emerged. The printing of liturgical books enabled bishops to increase the scope of their authority by more closely subordinating rites to them in all churches of their dioceses.[98] It also gave the bishops the opportunity to visibly manifest their power through texts included in books and woodcuts depicting church dignitaries. The desire to publish such books in the best possible form encouraged bishops to order impressive editions from distant printing houses that promised high craftsmanship of incunabula representing the power of the authorities.[99]

[98] Nowakowska, Natalia, 'From Strassburg to Trent: Bishops, Printing and Liturgical Reform in the Fifteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 2011, Vol. 213, No. 1, p. 23–25.

[99] Lundberg, Mattias, 'The printing of Missals and Breviaries as Ecclesiastical Authority in the Late-Medieval Baltic Region: A Battle between Printers or between Bishops?', in: *The Baltic Battle of Books*, edited by Jonas Nordin, Gustavs Strenga, Peter Sjökvist, Leiden: Brill, 2023, p. 72.

3. Missale Cracoviense. Mainz: Peter Schöffer, 16 VIII 1487.
The colophon by bishop Iohannes Rzeszowski. The Ossolineum Library. Call number: sdXV-528

The order for printing required the development of an appropriately prepared text of regulations and ceremonies, the provisions of which varied in different manuscript codices. These activities were described in the colophons of two missals published at the request of the bishop of Cracow, Jan Rzeszowski (ca. 1411–1488). According to the colophons, the missals that had been used in the diocese of Cracow had been contaminated with errors in the rubrics, while the missal printed at the bishop's order contained a corrected version of the text[100] (illus. 3). The revision of liturgical books was already being carried out in the era of manuscript books; for example, the Gniezno chapter undertook this work in 1433.[101] Preparing a new version of a text meant both adding new feasts and offices or, on the contrary, removing what was considered as a later addition and returning to the old form of rites.[102] Nonetheless, users of liturgical books often protected local prayers and customs by attaching manuscripts to the printed editions.[103]

Correction of content of liturgical books was a long process that did not end with the first printed edition; new corrections and additions were introduced in subsequent editions. In 1497, Cardinal Frederick Jagiellon (1468–1503) ordered the Gniezno chapter to develop a uniform calendar for the cathedral and the entire archdiocese.[104] In the Wrocław missal printed in 1499, there is a record that it was carefully revised.[105] In the colophon of *Breviarium Plocense*, it is recorded that this breviary was improved and corrected with remarkable attention and diligence. In the Cardinal Frederick Jagiellon privileges in Cracow missal printed by G. Stuchs, it is recorded that the missal was corrected and accepted by the Cracovian canons.[106]

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[100] *Missale Cracoviense*, Mainz: P. Schöffer, 1484 – GW M 24350, ISTC im00658000.
A shortened version of this colophon was also printed in *Missale Cracoviense*, Mainz: P. Schöffer, 1487, GW M 2435310, ISTC im00658020.

[101] Nowakowska, Natalia, *Królewski kardynał: Studium kariery Fryderyka Jagiellończyka (1468–1503)*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2011, p. 88.

[102] Nowakowska, Natalia, *From Strassburg to Trent…*, p. 17.

[103] Duggan, Mary Kay, 'Reading liturgical books', in: *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling, and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Kristian Jensen, London: The British Library, 2003, p. 78.

[104] *Item die XXVII Aprilis domini memorati ex commissione reverendissimi domini nostril Cardinalis, Archiepiscopi Gneznensis fecerunt et conscripserunt Calendarium pro Ecclesia Gneznensi, iuxta quod de cetero festa et somennitates in tota diocese celebrari et peragi debeant*. See: Korytkowski, Jan, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy, prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821, czyli do połączenia arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego z biskupstwem poznańskiém według źródeł archiwalnych*, Poznań: Drukarnia Kuryera Poznańskiego, 1888, Vol. 2, p. 511.

[105] *Presens missalium opus secundum ordinacionem sive rubricam ecclesie wratislaviensis ordinatum castigatum diligenterque emendatum ad dei laude et honorem per Petrum Schoffer de Gernschem in nobili civitate Moguntina huius artis impressorie inventrice elimatriceque prima feliciter est consumatum anno milesimo CCCC nonagesimo nono.*

[106] Juda, Maria, *Przywileje drukarskie w Polsce*, Lublin: Agencja Wydawniczo-Handlowa AD, 1992, p. 34; *Privilegia Typographica Polonorum: Polskie przywileje drukarskie 1493–1793*, edited by Maria Juda, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2010, p. 27.

The sources for describing the relationships between church authorities and printers are very scarce. The majority of such information can be found in the printed text of some incunabula.

In the Cracow missal, Cardinal Frederick Jagiellon's privilege for Johann Haller was printed.[107] The cardinal stated that Haller financed and organized the printing of the missal at Georg Stuchs' printing house and also established Haller as the only legitimate dealer of missals of Cracow. In this way, potential competition for Haller was eliminated and he could safely profit from the sale of liturgical incunabula. Haller was one of the richest merchants in Cracow. He traded wine and metals and owned very widespread commercial concerns. Haller used his financial resources to finance the printing of the second missal and one breviary for the Diocese of Cracow.[108] It should be mentioned that Haller also financed the printing of textbooks for Cracow Academy.

The second source for describing the organization of printing for the needs of the Gniezno Province is the record in the documents of the Gniezno chapter from 1499. The diocesan breviary was published by Peter Lubik (d. before 1513).[109] This merchant opened a bookshop in around 1477 from where he sold books to Lviv and Mazovia.[110] A merchant whose name is unknown took the manuscript to Venice[111] and the *Breviarium Gnesnense* was printed in Venice in 1500.[112] As we can see, merchants and booksellers acted as intermediaries in contacts with foreign printing houses. Also, the local booksellers had an increasingly significant role in the book trade. Such venders worked in bigger cities, such as Bartłomiej (d. ca. 1504), who sold manuscripts in Poznań from the 1470s.[113] In Poland there also existed some shops belonging to Anton Koberger, a prominent printer in Nuremberg.[114] On the other hand, it is known that Peter Schöfer, who printed numerous incunabula for Polish dioceses, had extensive commercial relations with the booksellers of Central Europe.

[107] *Missale Cracoviense*, Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, [not before 1493], GW M 24359, ISTC im00658100.

[108] *Breviarium Cracoviense*, Nuremberg: G. Stuchs, 1498, GW 5331, ISTC ib01158450; *Missale Cracoviense*, Nuremberg: G. Stuchs, [about 1500], GW M 24360, ISTC im00658200.

[109] *Privilegia Typographica Polonorum...*, edited by Maria Juda, p. 28.

[110] *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku,* edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Krystyna Korotajowa, Jan Sójka, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, 1977, Vol. 3: *Wielkopolska*, p. 183; Wiesiołowski, Jacek, 'Społeczeństwo a książka w późnośredniowiecznym mieście polskim: Poznań i jego osiedla przedmiejskie w XV i na początku XVI wieku', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 1978, Vol. 23, p. 78.

[111] Nowakowska, Natalia, *Królewski kardynał*…, p. 89.

[112] GW 0534720N; IBP, Vol. 2, No. †592.

[113] *Drukarze dawnej Polski...,* edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Krystyna Korotajowa, Jan Sójka, p. 189.

[114] *Drukarze dawnej Polski...,* edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Krystyna Korotajowa, Jan Sójka, p. 189.

His incunabula were sold in Buda, Wrocław and Cracow. These types of business contacts could be useful when ordering printing from foreign printing centres.

The number of liturgical books ordered by the diocese of the Gniezno Province is not known. An idea of the number of books printed is given by the agreement from 1508 regarding the printing of a missal for the diocese of Uppsala, Sweden, which states 550 copies on paper and 150 on vellum.[115] It is known that in some dioceses, bishops controlled the distribution of liturgical books in dioceses, setting their price and ordering their purchase.[116] For the Gniezno Province, there are acts of the Gniezno chapter, which determined the price of the local breviary.[117]

Liturgical incunabula printed in Germany, Italy and Switzerland
for the Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno

- Diocese of Wrocław (10) - Diocese of Cracow (7) - Diocese of Poznań (2) - Archidocese of Gniezno (1)
- Diocese of Płock (1) - Diocese of Lebus (1) - Common editions (4)

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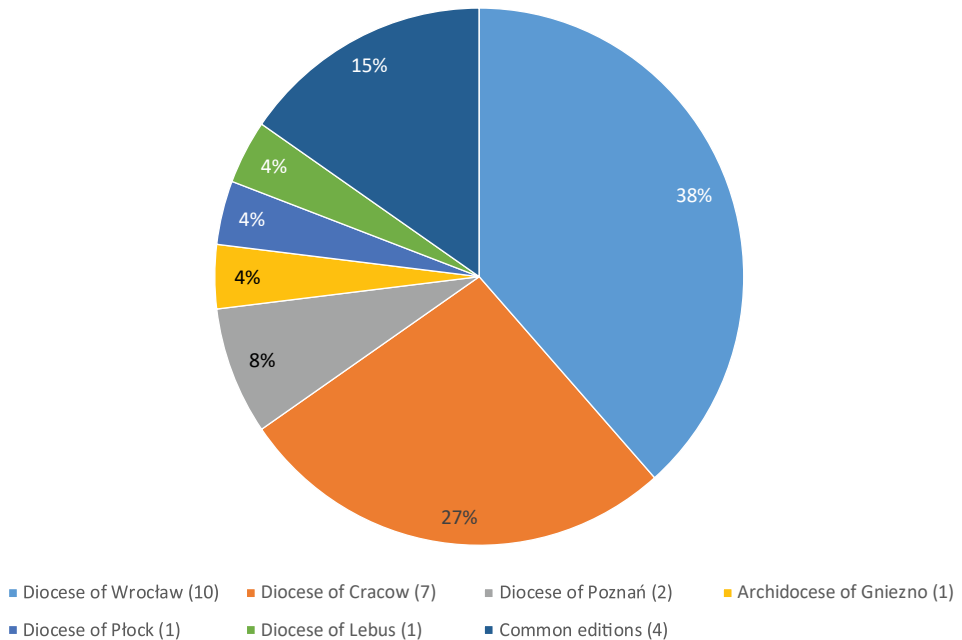
[115] Lundberg, Mattias, *The printing of Missals*…, p. 71. Mary Kay Duggan cautiously assumes that the average edition of a liturgical book could have been to 500 copies. Duggan, Mary Kay, *Reading liturgical books*…, p. 72.

[116] Duggan, Mary Kay, *Reading liturgical books*…, p. 74.

[117] *Domini* […] *breviaria in quinternis per Petrum de Poznania ad vendendum adducta taxaverunt per III fertones.* See: *Acta capitulorum nec non iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta*, Vol. 1, *Acta capitulorum Gneznensis, Poznaniensis et Vladislaviensis (1408–1530)*, edited by Bolesław Ulanowski, Kraków: nakładem Akademii Umiejętności; skład główny w Księgarni Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, 1894, No. 2548, p. 568.

Joint editions

The fact that the printing of missals for the Cracow Diocese was financed by one of the richest merchants in the city indicates that it was an activity requiring massive financial resources. It is characteristic that the majority of liturgical books were printed for dioceses whose seats belonged to the wealthiest cities. Cracow was one of the largest and wealthiest cities in Central Europe, and Wrocław was also a prominent city. That's why only the richest dioceses were able to pay for the printing of their liturgical books. However, all dioceses needed this kind of book. Providing the less rich dioceses with printed liturgical books was probably the reason for the development of several editions with common text which could be used in two or even more dioceses. The first such incunabulum was *Missale Gnesnense et Cracoviense* published in about 1490.[118] The second edition of the joint missal for the dioceses of Gniezno and Cracow was published about two years later in 1492[119] (illus. 4). After another two years, a joint breviary was printed for three dioceses: Cracow, Gniezno and Poznań. In 1491, Martin Schott printed a missal in which the name of the diocese was not given.[120] This missal contains texts used in many dioceses of the Ecclesiastical Province of Gniezno.[121] In some copies of *Missale Cracoviense* printed in 1487[122] and *Missale Vratislaviense* printed in 1499, the name of diocese is not specified in the colophon.[123] Perhaps parts of those editions were destined not for Cracow or Wrocław but for other dioceses that couldn't afford to print their own books.

The common Cracow-Gniezno missal was the only possibility for the clergy of the Gniezno archdiocese to have access to a printed missal in accordance with the Gniezno ceremonial as in the fifteenth century the Archdiocese of Gniezno had not printed its own missal. Similarly, the joint Cracow-Gniezno-Poznań breviary was the only possibility for the clergy in the dioceses of Poznań and Gniezno to use their own printed breviary because these two dioceses did not print their own breviaries until 1500.

Four dioceses were able to finance only one edition of missal or breviary according to their own ritual customs. Among them were old and prominent dioceses: the Archdiocese of Gniezno and diocese of Płock, a cultural centre at that time. As we can see, the costs of liturgical incunabula was too high even for significant dioceses.

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[118]   GW M 2439710, ISTC im00661500.
[119]   GW M 24355, ISTC im00661600.
[120]   GW M 24855, ISTC im00658030.
[121]   IBP, Vol. 1, p. XXXVI.
[122]   GW M 2435310, ISTC im00658020.
[123]   GW M 24849, ISTC im00731600.

In these circumstances, the common editions were very important. These editions provided the possibility to use printed liturgical books in many churches which did not have their own breviaries and missals. In the Diocese of Włocławek, which did not organize the printing of its own liturgical books, books from Gniezno, Płock, Cracow and the Teutonic Knights were used.[124] The possibility of using printed liturgical books was of such great importance that the clergy accepted this innovation in the field of ceremonies.

Conclusions

It is estimated that 28 incunabula created especially for the churches of the Gniezno Province were published in foreign printing houses. In 25 cases, at least one copy of these incunabula has survived to this day; in two cases, we have reliable bibliographic information from old catalogues; and in one case, the existence of a lost edition of a breviary is presumed. These were two types of books: two editions of collections of law and 26 editions intended for the church ceremonies (12 missals, 13 breviaries and diurnals, one agenda). The content of these books was adjusted to the local legal regulations and ceremonies prevailing in the Gniezno Province. The fact that the majority of editions are liturgical books corresponds to the realities of the churches functioning at that time; that is, books needed for ceremonial purposes were the most necessary for the activities of the clergy.

The incunabula for Gniezno Province were commissioned from printers working in cities that were major or large printing centres. With one exception, however, the other model of supplying dioceses with necessary books, namely the services of travelling printers, was not used.[125] This method was used in neighbouring Czech and German dioceses.[126]

[124] Różański, Zdzisław, *Księgi liturgiczne Biblioteki…*, pp. 82, 125.

[125] For example, the Parisian printer Jean du Pré was brought to Chartres to print a breviary and a missal according to the local ceremonial. Febvre, Lucien; Martin, Henri-Jean, *Narodziny książki…*, pp. 265–266.

[126] Printing houses working for the needs of the diocese also appeared in Central Europe. The Diocese of Prague used a printing house in Pilsen, which operated in the years 1476–1479. A total of seven incunabula were printed there, among them an agenda and missals (GW 475, ISTC ia00166000; GW M24644, ISTC im00684000). The neighbouring Diocese of Olomouc used the printing house of Conrad Stahel and Mathias Preunlein in Brno, which operated from 1486 to 1499. An agenda and psalter were printed there for the Diocese in Olomouc (GW 470, ISTC ia00163200; GW M36300, ISTC ip01060750). Similarly, the Archdiocese of Uppsala used the printing house of Johann Snel in nearby Stockholm (1483–1484). A breviary, manual, missal and psaltery for the Archdiocese of Uppsala were printed there (GW M 24824, ISTC im00730000; GW 5499, ISTC ib01187000; GW M 36348, ISTC ip01061300; GW M 38290, ISTC im00212800).

The printing of books for the dioceses of the Gniezno Province began simultaneously in Venice and Mainz in 1483. In subsequent years, only four orders for the printing of breviaries were sent to Venice, even though it was the largest printing centre of the fifteenth century. The production of incunabula for the Gniezno Province developed in the southwestern cities of the Holy Roman Empire. The largest number, nine editions, come from Strasbourg, where bishops of Gniezno Province used the services of four different printers, including two leading large printing houses and two printers whose printing houses had lesser significance. Thus, there was a connection not only with individual printing houses but also with the city as a large centre of book production. The situation was different in Mainz and Nuremberg. In the city where the art of typography was born, Mainz, missals for Gniezno Province were printed by Gutenberg's co-worker, the outstanding printer Peter Schöffer. In Nuremberg, dioceses placed multiple orders with Georg Stuchs, a superior specialist in liturgical incunabula, and just one order with another printer, Kasper Hochfeder, associated with Cracow. In the case of Mainz, Nuremberg, and Strasbourg, commissioning prints was a lengthy process. Orders in Venice, similar to those in Germany, were placed in the 1480s and 1490s, but they were much fewer. Printing books for the Gniezno Province in other printing centres was episodic.

The printing of books for the Gniezno Province was clearly concentrated in the southwestern German printing houses. That means the centres of printing located closer to the borders of the Kingdom of Poland in eastern and central Germany (Leipzig, Erfurt, Magdeburg) were avoided, even if they printed other liturgical books. In Magdeburg, printed comprised almost exclusively liturgical incunabula for the local diocese. However, printers in Lübeck and Leipzig were commissioned by other churches in Northern and Central Europe. In all these cities, the first liturgical books were printed before 1483, i.e. before the printing of the first edition of the Cracow breviary and the Wrocław missal.

There is also a clear difference between the place of printing books for the Cracow Academy and calendars for Wrocław and Cracow and the place of printing books for the needs of churches. Secular prints were primarily issued closer to Poland, in Leipzig.[127] The only one secular print by a Polish author was printed in Strasbourg in 1499. This was *Grammatica* by Petrus Helias[128] with a commentary by Johann Sommerfeld (1457–1520), a scholar active in Cracow until the summer of 1499 who was a member of Sodalitas Litteraria Vistulana.

It's worth comparing from which printing centres all kinds of incunabula were imported to the Gniezno Province with the centres from which printing was

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[127]   IBP, Vol. 1, p. XXXVII.
[128]   GW M 32277, ISTC ih00014000.

specifically commissioned for the local needs of this ecclesiastical province. Namely, incunabula were imported from Germany and Italy in similar proportions. This is approximately visible in today's incunabula collections in Polish libraries. The nationwide registration of incunabula shows 2,774 titles published in Germany and 2,200 titles from Italian printing houses.[129] So, why were 24 orders made in Germany and Basel, and only four in Venice? The specificity of the publishing repertoire of the Venetian and German printing houses may explain the focus of the hierarchs from the Gniezno Province on German printing houses in Strasbourg, Nuremberg and Mainz. In Nuremberg, more than half of all editions produced were religious books – three times as many as in Venice – while fewer editions of classics and philosophical books were printed than in Italy and there was a much more medieval character of the books with a strong visible representation of scholasticism.[130] Such a character of production was closer to the needs of the clergy. The great demand for works of medieval thought is visible in the numerous books preserved in Polish libraries that were published in Venice by Bonetus Locatellus, who specialized in publishing the works of scholastics.[131] However, many secular books were imported from Italy to Poland, including legal and medical works by ancient authors and scholars.[132] Also significant is the fact that the connections between Poland and Germany in the field of book trade are also visible. The Cracow bookseller Jan Haller operated in Germany, and the largest German printing house, that of Anton Koberger, had representatives in Poland.

The above description of contacts between the Gniezno Province and printing centres is based primarily on texts printed in incunabula and on the documents of the Church authorities of the Gniezno Province. There is little likelihood that new sources of this type will be discovered. The possibility of subsequent findings is provided by examining handwritten notes on numerous copies of incunabula of printers connected with the authorities of the Gniezno Province. Thousands of books brought from printing centres where liturgical books and the statutes of Mikołaj Trąba were printed have been found in Polish and foreign libraries from the fifteenth century to this day. The oldest ownership entries, prices and other notes, as well as bindings, can shed a lot of light on the relationships of book users in fifteenth-century Poland with printing centres in Germany and Italy.

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[129]   IBP, Vol. 1, p. XXXVII–XXXIX.
[130]   Gerulaitis, Leonardas Vytautas, *Printing and publishing in fifteenth-century Venice*, Chicago: American Library Association, 1976, pp. 150–156.
[131]   IBP, Vol. 1, p. XXXIX.
[132]   IBP, Vol. 1, p. XXXXI–XL.

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Manuscript Marginalia in the Political Treatises of the *Bibliotheca Sapiehana*

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Summary. The article analyses and interprets the marginalia of the political treatises that belonged to the historical Sapiehian library. The majority of the marginalia are found in Aristotle's *Politics*: they are the most numerous and varied (glosses, rubrics, scholia), whereas in the *politics* of modern authors they are either absent or few, and mostly reactionary (attacking or actualising the author's opinion). These marginalia have not yet been fully researched, so the attempt has been made to describe the most representative ones from various angles: characterising, classifying them, identifying their authorship. Both the exclusive use of Latin, the precise information on ancient realities and sources, and the information processing strategy that they reveal, allow us to hypothesise that the signs of the reading process left in the margins are traces of a scholarly activity, most likely left by the Jesuits.

Keywords: Political treatises; Jesuits; marginalia; Aristotle; Vilnius University.

Introduction

During the Vilnius University (VU) administration by the Jesuits, its library was enriched on several occasions by bequeathing the personal libraries of the nobility and political elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the GDL). One of those notable donations, numbering around three thousand different publications, is the private library of Kazimierz Leon Sapieha(1609–1656), Marshal and Vice-Chancellor of the GDL, and his family, which was bequeathed to the Jesuit Academy in 1666. Although scattered in various places over time, this collection of books has already been identified.[1] This fact alone encourages further research into the history of these books, which has so far remained stagnant in scientific historiography. One of such inquiries, which is probably sequential to the identification of the library itself, is the reconstruction of their use for their original purpose i.e. reading.[2] We limit the scope of this study to two aspects. Firstly,

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[1] *Bibliotheca Sapiehana: Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos rinkinys: katalogas*, compiled by Aušra Rinkūnaitė, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2010.

[2] This, so to speak, the natural order of research is perfectly illustrated in the study of the library of Jonas Karolis Chodkevičius: *Jonas Karolis Chodkevičius. Impavidus pro patria mori—Bebaimis mirti už tėvynę: Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos dokumentai=Jan Karol Chodkiewicz. Impavidus pro patria mori—Fearless to die for the homeland: Documents from the Vilnius University Library*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2022, pp. 172–187.

we focus on the handwritten traces (inscriptions) deliberately left in the margins of the printed book (*marginalia*, marginal notes) during the reading. Secondly, such marginal notations are taken only from a specific category of books – *politics* – presumably acquired by the Sapiehas in the interest of their active and official position as statesmen. The Sapiehian library contains more than a dozen secular books of this kind, especially those related to the political philosophy of the time. Due to the demands of this current publication, we omit the manuscript marks left in the printed text itself (between the lines) and the provenances, and will only show the marginalia that we consider most representative, and which in one way or another communicate with the printed text.

It is now commonplace for scholars studying both cultural and intellectual history, as well as the history of the book in particular, to use the inscriptions left in old books to provide data about the object of study. In Lithuania, one group of records is still predominant in research – the provenances.[3] Such research mainly contributes to the reconstruction of a particular book's history and the identification and portrayal of the owners of individual books or even entire libraries. The other group consists of active or conscious reading studies, which seek to classify the various types of records, to reveal their nature and the reader's relationship with the book and the information in all its forms.[4] They refocus our point of view from global events and

[3] Kaunas, Domas, 'Knygos ženklas – įrašas', *Naujos knygos*, 1980, Vol. 9, pp. 38–40; Kisarauskas, Vincas, *Lietuvos knygos ženklai 1518–1918*, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1984; Feigelmanas, Nojus, 'XVI–XVII a. knygų provenniencijos ir jų mokslinė reikšmė', in: *Iš Lietuvos bibliotekų istorijos*, Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR valstybinė respublikinė biblioteka, 1985, pp. 13–16; Pacevičius, Arvydas, 'Lietuvos knygos kultūra ir paleotipų provenniencijos', in: *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos paleotipai: katalogas*, (*Fontes historiae universitatis Vilnensis*), Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2003, pp. xvii–xxxv; idem, 'Senųjų knygos nuosavybės ženklų tipologija', *Knygotyra*, 2004, Vol. 43, pp. 50–57; Steponaitienė, Jolita, 'Knygos priklausomybės ženklų tyrinėjimų Lietuvoje apžvalga', *Bibliografija 2002*, 2003, pp. 54–60; Lūžys, Sigitas, 'Knygos nuosavybės ženklai kaip knygos kultūros istorijos šaltinis', *Knygotyra*, 2004, Vol. 42, pp. 50–59; Braziūnienė, Alma, 'Lietuvos mokslų akademijos bibliotekos XVII a. lituanikos fondo knygų ženklai', *Knygotyra*, 1992, Vol. 19, pp. 5–10; eadem, 'Lietuvos mokslų akademijos bibliotekos XVIII a. lituanikos fondo knygų ženklai', *Knygotyra*, 1993, Vol. 20, pp. 28–33; eadem 'Knygos nuosavybės ženklas kaip knygos bibliofilinės vertės rodiklis (Kazio Varnelio bibliotekos pagrindu)', *Knygotyra*, 2004, Vol. 42, pp. 9–24.
[4] Braziūnienė, Alma, 'Apie marginalijas kaip knygų prekybos istorijos šaltinį', *Knygotyra*, 1994, Vol. 21, pp. 16–19; Petreikis, Tomas, 'Marginalijos kaip knygos istorijos šaltinis: istoriografinis aspektas', *Knygotyra*, 2001, Vol. 57, pp. 67–85; Pacevičius, Arvydas, 'Dingusio knygų pasaulio ženklai', *Knygų aidai*, 2002, Vol. 1, pp. 9–15; Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Knygos ženklų marginalijos', *Knygotyra*, 2004, Vol. 42, pp. 93–104; Burba, Dominykas; Pacevičius, Arvydas, 'Portretinės Graffiti senųjų Lietuvos knygų paraštėse: kūrybinės iškrovos mėginant plunksną', *Knygotyra*, 2006, Vol. 46, pp. 153–176; Gudmantas, Kęstutis, 'Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos paleotipai ir senieji lietuviški įrašai', *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2006, Vol. 21, pp. 363–372; idem, 'Žemaičių bajoro įrašai Martyno Bielskio *Viso pasaulio kronikoje*', in: *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kalbos, kultūros ir raštijos tradicijos*, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2009, pp. 28–44; Jankauskas, Benas; Maskuliūnas, Bronius, 'Mikalojaus Daukšos *Postilės* marginalijos', *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2012, Vol. 21, pp. 54–59; Vaitkevičiūtė, Viktorija, 'Inkunabulų sklaidos ir funkcionavimo ypatumai: Lietuvos atminties institucijų rinkinių atvejai', *Knygotyra*, 2020, Vol. 74, pp. 7–34.

great historical figures to the history from below, which helps us to reconstruct the nature of the cultural phenomena left on the periphery of history and to assess their influence and significance in the global history. The authors of such studies analyse manuscript records in their specific historical and cultural context, that is, to what extent they reveal the nature of the reader's engagement of a particular text and to what extent they reveal the historical realities of the time that influenced the reader. The present study also claims to belong to the latter group of texts.

Unlike the studies mentioned above, the books whose marginalia we are going to look at belonged to an institutional rather than a private library, or instead to both institutional and private libraries, which leaves the authors of the marginalia hypothetical, if not completely anonymous.[5] The unifying characteristic of the marginalia is that they are exclusively Latin in the books chosen for the study. On the one hand, this might not be surprising, especially since the educated and learned members of the elite would leave Latin notations in the margins of books written in Latin. On the other hand, it would be difficult to explain what could have motivated the author of the notations to comment on the more challenging parts of the text (historical realities, concepts), where a translation into the vernacular, rather than a Latin paraphrase, would have been more helpful to the understanding of the text. The exclusive use of the then *lingua Franca* suggests that the Latin marginalia were not necessarily written down when the books belonged to private libraries, but rather to an institutional library – the library of the VU – where the vernacular language of study was Latin.

The relevance of the texts is now evidenced by several ways of marking the thoughts (note taking) that arise here-and-now during the reading process in the margins of the printed publications. One way is to leave non-verbal signs (text underlining, conventional signs such as brackets, manicules, NBs, etc.). The other one is to leave the verbal signs, which are conventionally divided by scholars into glosses (translations or explanations of a foreign word or term that is harder to understand), rubrics (titles of a part of the text, a section), and scholia (external notes of significance for the text to be read, such as explanatory notes, examples, references).[6] The

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[5] It is true that a similar fate of the marginalia of books in Jan Karol Chodkievicz's Library (a part of which has been transformed from a private library to an institutional one) is identified in the aforementioned monograph on J. K. Chodkiewicz by the researcher Aušra Rinkūnaitė, who does not question the authorship of the famous general of the Grand Dutchy of Lithuania (Eadem, 'Jono Karolio Chodkevičiaus pastabos knygų paraštėse', in: *Jonas Karolis Chodkevičius. Impavidus pro patria mori*…pp. 180–187).

[6] Jackson, Heather J., *Marginalia: readers writing in books*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001, p. 45.

latter way of note taking is the object of our research, which provides the most articulated relationship of the reader to the text being read and to the broader external context. In this study, we will describe such marginalia and interpret them by contextualising and comparing them with each other. In doing so, we will seek to explain how one took notes in political philosophy treatises, and thus how information was processed, and to identify (at least hypothetically) the authors of the marginalia.

Marginalia in Modern Treatises

Not all books representing the political philosophy of the Sapiehas' Library – *politics* – contain marginalia. The *Political Reflections*[7] of the Italian historian and writer Scipione Ammirato (1531–1601), apart from the provenance records, shows no signs of a reading process. The same situation, if we ignore a few ink stains on page 390, is also true of the *Political Observations*[8] of Nicolas de Vernulz (1583–1649), professor at the University of Leuven, author of neo-Latin dramas, and imperial historian to the Emperor Ferdinand III. Apart from the theoretical unifying feature of tacitism, which became popular in the Renaissance as a continuation of the political philosophy of the famous Florentine thinker Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), these treatises are also linked by the fact that their sole owners (apart from the Sapiehas) were the institutional libraries of Vilnius and Kharkiv Universities and that, presumably, this made the books more carefully protected against the intervention of readers. This factor seems to have led to the fact that they were not marked by any notes.

It is worth noting the marginalia in different editions of Aristotle's *Politics*. A comparison of *Commentaries on Aristotle's Politics*[9] (the Latin edition of Aristotle's text with commentaries) by the Dutch jurist and philologist Hubert van Giffen (1534–1604), *The origins of political science*[10] (the first and second books of Aristotle's *Politics* presented in short, summarising statements) by the eminent Dutch humanist and professor of the University of Leuven, Errijck de Put and the edition

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[7] Ammirato, Scipione, *Dissertationes politicae: sive discursus in C. Cornelium Tacitum: nuper ex Italico in Latinum versi, et cum toto rei politicae studiosorum orbe communicati,* Helenopoli: Prælo Richteriano, 1609.

[8] Vernulz, Nicolas de, *Eloquentiae et politioris litteraturae Prof. publici Lovanii, Observationum politicarum ex Corn. Taciti Operibus syntagma, Opus postumum, nunc primo editum*, Lovanii: Typis Hieronymi Nempaei, 1651.

[9] Giffen, Hubert van, *Commentarii in Politicorum opus Aristotelis: post sat bene longam suppressionem, iam boni publici gratia primum in lucem editi*, Francofurti: impensis Lazari Zetzneri Bibliopolae, 1608.

[10] Put, Errijck de, *Doctrinae politicae fontes, ex Aristotelis libro I. et II. de republica, perpetuis aphorismis ab Erycio Puteano Bamelrodio descripti. Adiuncta est De Induciis Belli Belgici Dissertatio Politica*, Lovanii: Apud Corn. Coenesteynium, 1627.

of *Politics*[11] (constructed from the Greek and Latin texts and paraphrases of the chapters) by Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), professor of the University of Leuven, provide another hypothesis for the motivation for making notes, and thus of reflective reading. The authors of the first two publications paid more attention to their interpretation of Aristotle's text than to the text itself. In contrast, the author of the third publication did the opposite. Accordingly, the first two books are entirely devoid of manuscript notes, whereas the third book has more than nine hundred. One could therefore assume that the Aristotelian original was more relevant and important to readers (the marginalia mentioned in the Heinsius edition are found only by the Aristotelian text, not by its paraphrases). Incidentally, the other two examples do not suggest that their reading – and active reading – was hindered by denominational convictions (van Giffen was a Protestant for a long time, and only converted to Catholicism to get a place at the Catholic University of Ingolstadt) or by philosophical views that were inconsistent with the tradition. The first one is *System of political teaching*[12] by the Calvinist philosopher and theologian Bartholomäus Keckermann (ca. 1572–1609), professor at Ingolstadt, and the second one is *Palaestra of good opinion* of the aforementioned de Put.[13]

Keckermann, in the chapter 'On the Ruler's Concern for the Deaths and Burials of His Subjects' of his political textbook, makes it a necessary and generally understood point (*a canon*) that a ruler 'must also take care that the place of burials and tombs should be far away from the places of assembly of the people, and thus not disturbing the living.' The author illustrates this rule with the example of how the Franciscans and Dominicans, who had already violated the general practice of burying even saints outside the city, in order to maintain the growing number of members of the monasteries, convinced the people that monks, like the saints, should be buried in monastic dress and as close to the altar as possible (p. 233). Keckermann concludes this departure from the strategy proposed to the ruler with an ironic assessment of this monastic practice: "There is no art of making money more perfect than that of the monks." This criticism of the supposedly constant desire of Catholic institutions to make a

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[11]   Aristoteles, *Ἀριστοτέλους Πολιτικῶν βιβλία Θ. Politicorum libri VIII. Cum perpetua Danielis Heinsii in omnes libros Paraphrasi. Accedit accuratus rerum Index*, Lugduni Batavorum: Ex Officina Elzeviriana, 1621.

[12]   Keckermann, Bartholomäus, *Systema disciplinae politicae, publicis praelectionibus Anno MDCVI propositum in gymnasio Dantiscano a Bartholomaeo Keckermanno Dantiscano, philosophiae Professore: Cum rerum & verborum indice copioso. Seorsim accessit Synopsis disciplinae oeconomicae, dispositionem eius breviter adumbrans; eodem auctore*, Hanoviae: apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1607.

[13]   Put, Errijck de, *Eryci Puteani Palaestra bonae mentis Auctoritate Serenissimorum Principum in Athenaeo Lovaniensi instituta. In qua ad Civilem Litteraturam et Eloquentiam Iuventus ducitur*, Lovanii: E Bibliopolio Flaviano, 1611.

profit was typical of Protestant discourse at the time, not only to reveal the hypocritical nature of Catholics (the members of these orders had to take vows of poverty), but also – as this case shows – to contrast with the well-being of society and the state. The reader of this work has even crossed out this passage several times, and in the margin has added the Latin word for "you lie", as if not only establishing a fictitious dialogue with the author or the text itself, but also leaving future readers with a clear assessment of this part of the text as a false witness and a misrepresentation of history.

On the other hand, not all of the marginalia in this textbook on political strategies are censorious (editing and opposing Protestant thought). A few places are marked as "worthy of note". These are Keckermann's idea that "subjects conditionally obey their masters, to say, only if they rule justly" (p. 428); and the Calvinist's approbation that "war should never be resorted to unless for a just cause, and a just cause is either defense or retaliation" (p. 445) is also well received. De Put's advice on the pedagogical practice with young people (though no longer strictly speaking political) was also positively received. Thus, the examples of bookmarking in these books (of which there are more than a dozen in the two books combined) show that the books were read quite objectively ("without anger"), that is, regardless of the author's philosophical views or popularity, and that if there is a bias, it is more due to the reader's internal motivation, i.e. which information is relevant to them.

The didactic work of the Portuguese humanist, historian and Catholic Jerónimo Osório da Fonseca (1506–1580), which continues the literary tradition of *speculum* that flourished in the Middle Ages and is intended to shape the education of the ruler of the state – the King – *On the Education and Training of the King*[14] contains many non-verbal textual markings, but only a few verbal marginalia. One of these is a rubric-like marginal note summarising the theme of the passage: "the source of nobility" (p. 204). A similar case can be found in the unnamed author's treatise on political philosophy, *The Treasure of Politics*,[15] published at the Italian Academy in Cologne, which, as the title page states, aims to provide "the knowledge and understanding of the states and interests of the greatest rulers of the world, and what depends on them". The reader has formulated a rubric for the section of the text that lists the neighbouring Italian *signori*, "neighbouring sovereigns", and has written it in a mixture of Latin

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[14] Fonseco, Jerónimo Osório da, *De regis institutione et disciplina libri VIII. Ad Serenissimum et Inuictissimum Portugalliae Regem, Sebastianum, E. N. I. In eosdem libros praefatio; et rerum memorabilium index*, Coloniae Agrippinae: Apud haeredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1572.

[15] *Tesoro politico: Cioè, Relationi, Instruttioni, Trattati, Discorsi varii di Ambasciatori. Pertinenti alla cognitione et Intelligenza delli Stati, Interessi, et Dipendenze de i più gran Prencipi del Mondo. Novamento Impresso. A beneficio di chi si diletta intendere, e pertinentemente discorrere le cose di Stato*, Colonia: nell´Academia Italiana, 1598.

and Italian, "Principes confinantes" (p. 177): the first word is properly Latin (in Italian it would have been *prencipi*), and the second is a participle made from the Italian verb *confinare* (there is no such word in Latin), with a Latin ending (properly Italian it would have been *confinanti*). This shows that the reader had a better knowledge of Latin than of Italian (the fact that the reader *invented* a Latin word should not be surprising, since Latin has the adjective *confinis*, which is obviously the source of the Italian verb, and which is also present in the text, and which could have led the reader to believe that such a word could have been shaped in classical Latin). The fact that readers preferred Latin to the modern language, as indicated by the notes in the margins (even when the book is written in one of the modern languages), shows their close relationship with Latin.

Another feature of marginalia that not only indicates the relevance of the text, but also actualizes it, is the reader's reference to the realities of the time (scholia). In the work above on the institution of kingship by Osório, the author argues that the king's subjects tend to imitate his fashion of dress. Therefore, if the king changes his wardrobe frequently, his subjects' wealth is quickly depleted. In the margin, the reader has written "The ruin of Poland" ("naufragium Poloniae", p. 173). In general, this practice of subjects following the fashions dictated by the King and his court was widespread in the Commonwealth of Both Nations, especially as wives of foreign kings brought new fashions from Western Europe.[16] It is also known that fine, high-quality clothing, which was a sign of status in society, was an expensive luxury in the Commonwealth, and was even bequeathed to descendants as a testament.[17] However, we have no information to suggest that this practice led to such a tragic situation in the state as indicated by the reader. It is probable that the reader, in criticising (moralising about) this vice of vanity of the King, into which his subjects also throw themselves to be like him, has hyperbolized the consequence of this practice. Another example can be found in the sixteenth-century Italian Jesuit Giovanni Botero's (ca. 1544–1617) treatise on practical politics, *On the Reason of State*, which made the author world-famous and whose Latin translation was acquired by the Sapiehas.[18] While discussing

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[16] Matušakaitė, Marija, 'Iš LDK gyventojų aprangos istorijos: XVI–XVIII a.', *Gimtasis kraštas,* 2011, No. 4, p. 65; Martinaitienė, Gražina Marija, 'Iš Oriento Vakarų link: LDK bajoro kontušinis kostiumas', *Menotyra*, 2005, Vol. 39, p. 10.

[17] Matušakaitė, Marija, 'Iš LDK gyventojų aprangos istorijos...', p. 58, 64.

[18] Botero, Giovanni, *Tractatus duo: Prior: De Illustrium statu et politia, libris X. Posterior: De Origine urbium, earum excellentia, et augendi ratione, libris III. comprehensi. Omnibus; tam iis, qui magistratus, atque adeo quovis publico munere funguntur: quam etiam subditis, sive iisdem, sive diversis legibus, institutis: summe utiles ac necessarii Ex Italico primum in Germanicum, atque exinde in Latinum translati, et multorum memorabilium accessione, ac Indice rerum et verborum locupletissimo aucti, Auctore M. Georgio Dravdio, cive Francofurtensi*, Ursellis: impensis Lazari Zetzneri, Bibliop. Argentorat., 1602.

the strategy of holding on to newly conquered lands, Botero cites the practice used by the Turks as an effective strategy of "never leaving where they once entered". The effectiveness of this advice, based on the authority of the Commonwealth's permanent adversary on the battlefield, could have been questioned by a citizen of Commonwealth who was merely hostile to Turkey and regarded this practice as tyrannical or barbaric, as the many Poles and Lithuanians regarded Turkey.[19] The reader, who seems impartial in his assessment of this practice and its usefulness in the politics of state governance, has added in the margin: "also the Spaniards" ("Hispani quoque") (p. 26). The author of the note was probably referring to the Spanish colonisation of South and Central Americas, which involved the construction of administrative buildings, the appointment of government officials from among the colonisers, and the establishment of religious (Christian) communities in the captured territories. Such comparison with the Spaniards should have softened the attitude of other readers towards this practice, since Spain was much closer to the Commonwealth, both in its culture (religion) and politics (form of government). The occurrence of such text-actualising scholia reveals that their authors were trying to relate the cultural and historical phenomena of the time to the content of the book.

Marginalia in the Aristotle's *Politics*

An exceptional case of the Sapiehas' collection is the edition mentioned above by Heinsius of the Aristotle's *Politics*. It is difficult to say precisely how many individual readers could be identified as separate authors of the marginalia. Still, it is possible to identify several cases that stand out both in terms of handwriting and the nature of the inscriptions.

The unity of the specificity of both writing and reason of notating – a commentary – can be seen in the scholia that explain ancient realities and refer to other ancient works. The most frequent commentaries on ancient realities concern toponyms. Aristotle illustrates the argument that demagogues are responsible for the collapse of democracy with a historical event that happened in Cos ("in Co"). The reader wrote in the margin "The island called Cos" ("Insula nom[ine] Cos", p. 563). This scholium indicates not only what Cos (the island is), but also the nominative case of this non-paradigmic word, the main form – nominative case – needed to learn new words. In arguing that oligarchy turns into tyranny when the people are subjected

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[19] Milewska-Waźbińska, Barbara, 'The Attitude towards the Turks in Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth under the Reign of Jan III Sobieski', *Nordic Journal of Renaissance Studies*, 2019, Vol. 16, pp. 215–229.

to injustice, the Greek philosopher gives the example of how Ligdamis came to rule Naxos tyrannically. In the margin, the reader has elaborated: "One of the Cycladic Islands" ("Insula una ex Cycladibus", p. 571). The author of this note, in addition to indicating, as in the previous case, the geographical object, has also indicated the geographical position of Naxos (the Cycladic archipelago). Other marginalia probably reveal the motivation for this information on the same page. Here, Aristotle suggests another reason for the revolution in oligarchy, this time coming from within the ranks of the rich themselves, but from those who do not share the power in the magistracies. The philosopher points to the upheavals in Massalia, Histria, and Heraclea, which are examples of such upheavals. The latter two have "Ponti urbes" in the margin, meaning Black Sea ports. By noting the geographical location of these objects, the reader may have also seen a certain correlation (which Aristotle never implied) between the specificity of the revolution and geography: the oligarchy is more likely to turn into a tyranny on the islands, and the oligarchs are more likely to overthrow others in the ports. In general, this interpretation, or at least a hint of it, is quite plausible, given that philosophers from antiquity have explained that the specific character of a nation, the laws of its history, are determined by its specific geographical location and climate. (By the way, although the reader has not pointed it out, Massalia (now Marseilles) is a Mediterranean port). In describing a feature of the best democracy i.e., that everyone can deliberate on policy, Aristotle points out that this is the practice in Mantineia (Mantineae, p. 711). Next to this toponym, the reader wrote: "The city of Arcadia, afterward called Antigonia" ("urbs Arcadiae postea Antigonia dicta"). Here, in addition to the geographical location, the author of the scholium added the historical fact that the city was renamed (in honour of the Macedonian king Antigonus III Doson, who, after a united victory over Sparta, handed over the city's rule to his allies, the Achaean League) in the 3rd century BC. This historical detail in no way adds to the meaning of Aristotle's text, simply because it took place after Aristotle's death. These scholia explaining ancient realities not only have a commentary function, but also a pedagogical one: the primary information is supplemented by the secondary knowledge and even a particular interpretation of the text is suggested.

The marginalia, which captured intertextuality, can also be attributed to the same hand. The reader has pointed out the interconnecting themes with other parts of the *Politics*, with the Aristotelian, and with the works of other ancient authors. An example of the first type of reference is found in the margin of Aristotle's retelling of the conspiracy of the governors on the island of Rhodes against the people, which arose out of the fear of being punished when the people sued them. Here the reader

has inscribed "564" (p. 542). On the page in question, Aristotle explicates the circumstances of the uprising on Rhodes, in which democracy was dismantled. Also, at this point in the margin there is a note "542". Although more than twenty pages separate these entries, it could be assumed that they appeared simultaneously: the reader could not have known that the sequel on the conspiracy of the governors of Rhodes was to be continued until he had reached that sequel. This shows not only close reading, but also the reader's pedagogical ambition to help future readers (and perhaps himself) navigate the book.

The reference to Aristotle's other works appears in the margin where the philosopher does not specify references to his other works. Before going into a discussion of the benefits of the modes of government (master over slave, father over children, and husband over wife), Aristotle remarkes on the conventionality of their definitions: "And again, the several recognized varieties of government can easily be defined; in fact we frequently discuss them ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις."[20] This reference, which refers to the places where these modes of government are still defined, is rather vague. On the one hand, it can be understood concerning the reference a few lines above: "Now κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους λόγους [...] that man is by nature a political animal." Here "first discourses" refers to an earlier place in the *Politics*, i.e. in the first book (cf. p. 11). These ἐξωτερικοῖ λόγοι may thus refer in the primary sense of this adjective to other works of Aristotle (not *Politics*). On the other hand, ἐξωτερικοῖ λόγοι was used in an indirect sense to refer to non-philosophical texts: rhetorical, dialectical. The author of this inscription seems to have interpreted ἐξωτερικοῖ λόγοι in its original sense, since the philosophical work of Aristotle is named in the margin: "Certainly in *Ethics*" ("Ethicis scil[icet]", p. 284). The reader has thus narrowed down the scope of Aristotle's other works that he thought the philosopher was referring to here, but only by referring to the theme of the work (several of Aristotle's *ethics* are extant: *Nicomachean Ethics, Eudemian Ethics, Magna Moralia*).

The third type of intertextual fixation – references to other authors' works – can take two forms. Aristotle, arguing that "revolutions to oligarchy and democracy and constitutional government arise from the growth in reputation or in power of some magistracy or some section of the state", gives as one such example the case in Syracuse, where the people ("section of the state"), after having defeated the Athenians in war, and thus 'from the growth in reputation', made Syracuse democratic. In the margin (p. 556), the reader refers to two ancient works: *Peloponnesian War* by the Greek historian Thucydides and *Nicias* by Plutarch, the author of ancient biographies,

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[20]   Translation of Aristotle's *Politics* to English by H. Rackham (Aristotle, *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944, Vol. 21).

which also recount this historical event. Although these references share the same function of identifying where one could read more about this event, which Aristotle recounts in just a few words (the Athenian attack on Syracuse took place in the context of the Peloponnesian War, and Nicias was one of the leaders of the attack), they have a slightly different perspective. The first reference to Thucydides suggests where Aristotle might have gotten his knowledge of the event from (*Peloponnesian War* was written in the late fifth century BC and the *Politics* in the late fourth century BC), while the second refers to a later representation of the historical event (the biography of Nicias was written sometime in the late first or early second century AD).

The reader has not only recorded the sources or representations of historical realities, but also the reception of the Aristotle's thought. The reader saw a continuation of the Greek philosopher's thought in the first book of the Roman author Marcus Tullius Cicero's *On Duties* (*Cicero l. I. offic.*, p. 602). This reference is recorded in the part of Aristotle's text where it is stated that revolutions arise from the inequality between the parts of the state and their unequal representation. It probably refers to a passage in Cicero's text, where he gives Plato's (Aristotle's teacher) warning that public officials "who care for the interests of a part of the citizens and neglect another part, introduce into the civil service a dangerous element—dissension and party strife".[21] We can therefore safely say that the reader, by marking such references, was facilitating the reading process for the prospective reader and pointing out the places where relevant additional (and repetitive) information could be found in other ancient sources.

The same hand wrotethe glosses' marginalia. In the part of Aristotle's text already mentioned, which describes the causes of revolutions, the philosopher points out that this also happens "when people allow men that are not friends of the constitution to enter into the sovereign offices", and he calls this unfriendliness towards the state ὀλιγωρίαν. In the Latin translation, this term is left untranslated, but merely transliterated in the Latin characters "oligorian". The Latin word "negligentiam" appears in the margin next to this word (p. 544). This is the traditional Latin translation of this Greek word: in the Greek dictionary *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*,[22] published by Henri Estienne and housed in the library of Vilnius University, the adjective ὀλίγωρος, from which the noun is derived, is translated *negligens*, the derivative of which is *negligentia*.

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[21] Cic. *Off.* 1.85. Translation of Cicero's *On Duties* to English by Walter Miller (M. Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913).

[22] The exact date and place of the publication are not known, as the dictionary had several editions at the end of the 16th century, and at the moment we only know that the dictionary was kept in the VU Library from the Library catalogue of the late 18th century, which does not contain this information (*Catalogus Auctorum Ordine Alphabetico dispositus in Bibliotheca Collegii Academiae Vilnensi S. I. reperibilium*, p. 45).

Also, the aforementioned passage, where it is argued that "Oligarchies undergo revolution [...] if they treat the multitude unjustly", Aristotle illustrates with the example of the revoliution in the Ionian coastal city of Erythrae, which was executed by the people that "were resentful because they were governed by a few". In naming these "few", the philosopher calls them βασιλίδων. In the Latin translation, this word has been given the meaning of the family name *Basilidae*, so the translator must have understood and interpreted it to mean that Erythrae was ruled by members of the Basilids.[23] However, the reader's interpretation is not so clear-cut, as can be seen from the gloss he left: "Of the royal family" ("E stirpe Regia", p. 572; Fig. 1). On the one hand, it can be assumed that he interpreted this Greek word as a substantivised adjective – "descendants of the kings". Thus, the author of the inscription did not think that the family that ruled Erythrae was called the Basilids, but were apparently members of some royal dynasty that ruled the city before the oligarchy. This interpretation is probably due to the fact that the Greek text has the word in lowercase and that nothing is known about these events in Erythrae or about this *Basilid* family.[24] On the other hand, the reader may have merely intended to translate what the name *Basilids* means.

A similar case of the reader translating a Greek proper noun into Latin is found elsewhere, where Aristotle argues that rebellions in the aristocracy are caused "because few men share in the honours". The philosopher uses the historical reality of Sparta as an example of such an uprising by Παρθενίαι. This Greek term *partheniai* was used to refer to the illegitimate sons of Spartan citizens, born precisely during the First Messanian War, when the Spartans were encouraged to engage in extramarital relations due to the decline in their citizen population. However, these *partheniai* were not seen as equal in virtue to legitimate sons and therefore could not hold honourable positions. It is this designation of specific Spartan citizens born at a specific time that may have led the translator to treat the word as a proper noun and not to translate it into Latin, but only to transliterate it as *Partheniae*. The reader translated it in the margin as "Virginei" (p. 585). It is likely that the author of the inscription, even if he also considered the word to be a proper noun, provided the translation to show the meaning of the word and its associated connotations to future readers who do not read Greek: both words are derived from the words meaning "fair maiden,

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[23]   Modern translators interpret this text the same way: M. Strockis translates to Lithuanian as „Basilidų oligarchijos laikais" (Aristotelis, *Politika*, Vilnius: Margi raštai, 2009, p. 181), another translation to English by C. D. C. Reeve fallows as „during the oligarchy of Basilids" (Aristotele, *Politics*, translated with Introduction and Notes by C. D. C. Reeve, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1998, p. 146).

[24]   This is witnessed by the aforementioned modern translators and researchers of Aristotle's *Politics* (Aristotelis, *Politika*, p. 379, ref. 42; Aristotle, *Politics*, p. 146, ref. 60).

virgin" (Gr. παρθένος, Lat. *virgo*). Thus, such marginalia show that the author of these glosses had a knowledge of Greek, and the fact that he translated the untranslated Greek terms indicates a pedagogical (scientific) aspect.

This conclusion is supported by the translation of another Greek word, which shows that the author of these glosses not only knew Greek, but also had some experience in translation. In discussing the causes of factions, Aristotle points out that one of them is superiority, that is, "when some individual or body of men is greater and more powerful than is suitable to the state and the power of the government; for such are the conditions that usually result in the rise of a monarchy or dynasty". In the Latin translation, the last word is left in its original form – δυναστεία. The translator chose not to translate or transliterate this word in Latin, probably interpreting it as Aristotle's use of the term in some special sense, as a synonym for monarchy. In the Greek dictionary of Estienne, to which we have already referred, this term is translated as *potentatus, potentia, imperium, ditio*. The reader has written "potestas" in the margin next to δυναστεία (p. 541). It is the choice of this term for the translation, rather than, for example, one of the dictionary variants, that also indicates a certain interpretation on the reader's part. Although *potestas*, like its cognates *potentatus* and *potentia*, can also refer to political strength and power, it is closer to the Greek δυναστεία in its derivation (which was not the least of the arguments in philological considerations of the time for choosing one variant over the other): we can see a certain peculiarity that Greek words ending in -τεία sometimes end in -*tas* in Latin (πολιτεία and *civitas*, συγγένεια and *affinitas*, etc.). Thus, it could be argued that the reader represented more of a tradition of translation that tried to stay as close as possible to the original text.

Another case of notation should likely be attributed to this anonymous reader, but not based on handwriting identity, which would be challenging to establish due to unconventional marking (more on that shortly), but based on the specificity of this reader's reading as presented so far – the tendency to organise information (references) and to interpret terminology (glosses). These marginalia are distinguished by the Greek letter κ (*kappa*). It is written five times (pp. 97–98, 122, 124; Fig. 2). They are marked in places where Aristotle was discussing *community* (κοινωνία) as the fundamental principle of the state, hence the explanation for the unconventional marking – the first letter of a Greek word. Notably, the Greek philosopher did not interpret this principle of the state as fundamental. On the contrary, the philosopher argues that it is a somewhat erroneous notion, initiated, moreover, by Plato, whose projects for the state system Aristotle criticises several occasions. After refuting his teacher's arguments in favour of the principle of *generality*, Aristotle puts forward his

fundamental principle of the state, the *plurality*. It is probably impossible to answer unequivocally what prompted the reader to mark in Aristotle's work the Platonic *community* rather than the Aristotelian *plurality*. Could this be an indication of this reader's interest, that is, that he was more Platonic than Aristotelian, or that his view of the state was closer to the concept of the *community* of citizens than to that of the *plurality* of them? Or is it evidence of the process of study, for example, when a professor (or student), in preparation for a philosophical debate on the controversial criteria of the state in (political) philosophy, uses a symbol he has invented to mark the places in which the same problematic topic is discussed?

The traces of the reading process in Aristotle's *Politics* that have been presented so far show the specificity of the work with the text that is characteristic of classical textual criticism – commenting on the realities, finding the intertexts (scholia), interpreting and translating rare or problematic vocabulary (glosses) – but not analysing philosophically, interpreting Aristotle's political thought. The latter specificity of the work on the text was left behind by another reader, identifiable both by the unity of the markings, by the clarification of the theme of a longer text fragment and the sub-paragraphing of the main statements or ideas (rubrics), and by the handwriting.

A representative case of this harmony of notes can be found in the third book of *Politics,* where Aristotle's narrative of the four different kinds of kingship (*genera Regnorum*) begins. Above the manuscript note describing the main feature of the Spartan kingship, the phrase "four kinds of constitutions" is written ("quatuor Rerum publicarum genera", p. 350; Fig. 3). Two things should be recorded in this note that reveal the specificity of the reading process and the marking. Firstly, the distinction is that there are four kinds of kingship. Aristotle begins to number these kinds of kingship only after describing the second, the barbaric one, so we can safely say that this rubric was formed just after reading the entire passage on the kinds of kingship. So, the reader went back a few pages to inscribe it. Secondly, the subject of this passage of the text, *regnum* (used in the Latin translation), has been replaced by the term *res publica*, which is used in the translation to translate πολιτεία (constitution). This discrepancy is likely due to the long history of usage and broad and intertwined meanings of these terms: *regnum* could not only narrowly mean "kingdom" as a kind of polity or all that belongs to the king by the right of ownership, but also more abstractly a "state" in the case of the king's ownership of the whole state, and *res publica* in political philosophy of the time did not only mean the Aristotelian *polity* and *politeia*, but also the abstract "state" as a kind of political entity, which naturally includes a royal element (for example, Jean Bodin wrote a treatise *De republica libri sex* (Paris, 1579), in which he argued for the institution of an absolute monarch). Thus, when the

reader used the term *res publica* here, he was not using it in the Aristotelian sense, but in a sense closer to the usage of his time, that is, a state whose kind varies, along with the kind of royal power it has.

A numbering follows this rubric in the margins, where and to which kingship it refers: "The first kingship is the supreme military power" ("Imum Regnum summa belli potestas", p. 350; Fig. 3), "The second one is among the barbarians" ("IIdum apud Barbaros", p. 351), "The third kingship is that of the ancient Greeks" ("Tertium Regnum veterum Graecorum", p. 351), "The fourth is that of the heroes, either by succession or election" ("quartum per successionem seu electionem Heroicum", p. 352). We see an uneven description of these types of royal government: the first is described by its main principle, the second and third by their names according to Aristotle, and the fourth by naming both its principle and its name. This inconsistency, which could lead the reader to be accused of a lack of precision, is of little importance here, since the reader's more abstract and critical thinking is revealed by adding a further note to each of these rubrics. As a sufficient example of this reading process, let us take its traces in the margins, where the first kingship is described. Here the reader has paraphrased Aristotle's thoughts: "The Spartan kingship, which is a kind of military command", "The command is to be limited in time and appointed by election" ("Regnum Laconicum quod est militaris quaedam praetura", "Praetura debet finiri tempore et sufragiis deferri", p. 351). He also recorded his observations: "In Rome, the military prefects were appointed as emperors for an indefinite period when the republic was attacked" ("Romae belli praefecti oppressa Rep. facti perpetui Imperatores", p. 350; fig. 3). The paraphrases indicate the reader's ability to abstract and express in his own words the main idea of the text he was reading, while the comments not directly related to the text (scholia) indicate his orientation towards ancient political philosophy and practice, and his ability to relate and compare different political phenomena (the Spartan and Roman state institutions). Thus, by putting essential information in the margins, the reader facilitated its retrieval and understanding of Aristotle's text, while including background information enriched the philosopher's text in an encyclopedic way.

There are also cases of (conceptual) reorientation of the philosophical meaning of a text. One of the themes of the Third Book of *Politics* is 'what ought to be the sovereign power in the state'. Aristotle discusses this at the theoretical level of justice. In the beginning, the philosopher identifies in whose hands it would be unjust to concentrate power (ἄδικον, *iniustum*; ἀδικία, *iniuria*): first, of the poor majority, because they would then divide the property of the rich; second, of the rich, because they would divide the property of the poor minority; third, of the tyrant, because,

as the stronger, he would use the force against the weak; fourth, of the one or a few good, because "dishonoured" would be those classes that are not honoured as good ones and would therefore be not only excluded from holding the office of government, but also from earning honour in any way. Here the reader has reinterpreted Aristotle's text from the ethical to the neutral ("physical") level. As we have said, the Greek philosopher discusses this in the context of justice and injustice, that is, in the context moral–philosophical–virtue. The reader, on the other hand, has replaced the criterion of injustice with the criterion of "inconvenience" ("incommodum", p. 309); in other words, he has moved from the ideological to the pragmatic discourse, with an emphasis on the uselessness of the listed systems for the state.

The same reader, judging from the handwriting, has highlighted Aristotle's strategy of text construction and the rhetoric of argument in addition to the text's central theme and the development of the sub-themes. A few pages further on than in the example discussed above, the reader noted in the margin: "reveals that majority is better than a few good ones" ("declarat multos meliores quam paucos licet bonos", p. 311). Having identified Aristotle's main proposition ("propositio"), the reader deconstructs Aristotle's argument ("raciocinatio"). The philosopher, according to the reader, first of all shows the premise of the argumentation for such a proposition: many people who each individually have some portion of virtue will have a complete virtue when they come together. The reader has noted the specifics of this part of the argument: "reasoning for the majority" ("Ratio pro multitudine", p. 311). According to the reader's interpretation, Aristotle goes on to test the truth of the proposition ("probatio") by giving an example of judgment of a work of art (music or poetry): the majority is better able to judge a work of art, because by judging each of its separate parts, they ultimately determine the whole, which cannot be done by a single man, since his judgment is only partial. The reader has also pointed out the rhetorical nature of this part of the argument i.e., that in this part of the text the philosopher "shows the validity of the proposition through a comparison" ("a similitudine probat", p. 312). Thus, it was important for the reader not only to highlight the main themes, but also to show how Aristotle shapes his text.

The last aspect is the marginalia that actualise Aristotle's text by relating it to the reader's reality. We do not find such striking instances of actualisation in the margins of Politics as in the *politics* mentioned above. There is, however, a certain amount of actualisation. In the margin, by Aristotle's question ("Does a change in different constitution require it to adhere to previous engagements?"), which he does not answer, there is a note by the reader: "it seems to be attributable to the Bohemians" ("Accommodari videtur Bohemis", p. 260). The importance and magnitude of this event in

Matas Grubliauskas. Manuscript Marginalia in the Political Treatises of the *Bibliotheca Sapiehana*

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European history suggests that the reader was referring here to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) in Bohemia, when Protestants revolted against the Habsburgs and the King. The reader probably interpreted the Bohemian-established government of the Thirty Dictators as a change of constitution, and the revolt as the breaking of the engagement between the Catholics and the Protestants (facilitated by King Rudolf II in 1609). Elsewhere, where Aristotle describes the pattern of appointing officials in the city of Knidos, whereby sons were excluded from power if their fathers were involved in the government at the time, or the younger brothers if their elder brothers were, the reader added an example of the current state: "In Belgium" ("In Belgio", p. 572; Fig. 1).

The direct relevance of Aristotle's text to the reader himself is captured in the following remark: "in commenting on Scripture" ("p[er] Or[ati]onem ad S[acram] S[cripturam]", p. 613). It is recorded in the margin, where the philosopher proposes a specific method to help preserve the order of the state, that is, to see whether those who would occupy the supreme magistracies possess the following qualities: "loyalty to the established constitution", "capacity to fulfill the duties", "virtue and justice [...] suited to the [concrete] constitution". The Bible refers to the qualities and characteristics of those in authority and their governance in several places, but the most common reference to practical wisdom is to the Jewish King Solomon. His authorship is attributed to *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, and his thoughts are also contained in *The Book of Wisdom.* Both books contain views on governmental (political) activities. In the first book, the author points out the need to do the king's will and obey the law (Ecclesiastes 8:2). This exhortation is similar to Aristotle's reference to the trait of a magistrate to be loyal to the constitution. The author of the second book warns kings that God would come to judge them "terribly and swiftly" if they "have not ruled rightly, nor keep the law, nor walk according to the purpose of God" (Wisdom 6:4). It can be seen that both the author of *The Book of Wisdom* and Aristotle give similar advice to the rulers of the state: to be guided by justice, to obey the established norms, and to rely on virtue. Even if we cannot determine the exact passages of the Scriptures, we can nevertheless state that the reader, in the process of reading, considered the text not only on a theoretical level, that is, expanding his political knowledge in the context of philosophy, but also on a *practical* level, by applying Aristotle's thoughts in other contexts and activities, in this case, theological studies or even in the Mass.

The marginalia in Aristotle's *Politics* largely reflect two strategies. Firstly, to enrich it with additional information that will help future readers to navigate more easily through the ancient realities and literary contexts. The second is to create a synopsis of the *Politics* that will help the reader to read it more quickly, to understand it more efficiently, and to orient himself within its topics.

Conclusions

The political philosophy treatises from the *Bibliotheca Sapiehana* that entered the VU Library suggest, based on the features of the marginalia, that the Jesuits notated them and not by their earlier or later owners. The marginalia left in the publications testify to the *scientific* (commentaries, intertextual references, analyses) and *popular* (comments on contemporary events and society) specificity of the reading process and information processing, which was more likely to have been practiced by the Jesuits who, from 1677 onwards, started teaching a course on Christian Politics. This fact would also explain the reason for the much more intensive reading of Aristotle's work (leaving more marginalia than in all the other treatises in question put together): the Jesuits did not imagine that they could master the subject of political philosophy without first of all being acquainted with the ancient authorities, and the writers of their own time were not regarded as essential for achieving this goal. In the same way, the attribution of authorship of the marginalia to the Jesuits is called for by the *factual* (the use of Latin, precise knowledge of ancient realities and works) and *ideological* (censorship and counter-argumentation of Protestant writers) moments.

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Hidden Histories:
Women, Marginal Figures,
and Unseen Influences in Print

The Madrid Publishing Industry in the Sixteenth–Seventeenth Century and the Role of Women

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Annotation. This article centres upon the role of three important Madrid printers, Pedro de Madrigal, Juan de la Cuesta and Luis Sánchez, and their widows, María Rodríguez de Ribalde, María de Quiñones and Ana de Carasa, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Under Philip II, Madrid became an important cultural and political centre for publishers and authors. Thanks to the use of the vernacular, the book market flourished in the late sixteenth century. This was the reason why the crown began to control the circulation of books with specific legislation, such as *tasas*, *privilegios*, and *aprobaciones*. Printing houses played an important political and social role. In this article, I will focus on the role of women in publishing, its frequency and its innovative results. In doing so, I aim to achieve two goals: on the one hand, I aim to describe the characteristics of the Spanish book in their political significance and, on the other hand, to show the organisation of the Spanish publishing industry and the significance of the role of women using the example of the publishing houses mentioned above.

Keywords: Printing history; Spanish book market; Habsburg monarchy; pragmatic; printing privileges; Madrilenian presses; women.

Introduction

The subject of this study concerns Spanish history of the book and the important role played by Madrilenian publishers between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Using the example of three prominent figures, namely Pedro de Madrigal, Juan de la Cuesta and Luis Sánchez, I shed light on the role of women in the printing business, often managed by families. The printing press spread in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century bringing about a true cultural revolution. In Spain, publishers were initially active in Segovia (1472), then in Barcelona and Zaragoza (1474–75), Salamanca (1481), Seville (1491) and Granada (1496). In Madrid, unexpectedly, printers were established only in 1566. However, the opening of presses coincided with a series of political changes that made the city one of the most important cultural centres of Spain. Philip II moved his court there, so the continuous production of official

documents was necessary, as was the distribution of books for students and writers.[1] The establishment of publishers in Madrid found its full expression in the founding of *Hermandad de Impresores* (1597).[2] Some of the figures analysed in this article belonged to this brotherhood: Pedro Madrigal (son), Francisco de Robles (bookseller) and Alonso de Paredes. Thanks to the latter, we have one of the first testimonies to the presence of women in publishing, as he explained their management role in his book *Institución y origen del arte de la imprenta* (1680). Women actively and necessarily contributed to the development and maintenance of the business, and guaranteed the continuity of these companies within the same families. Their involvement significantly increased at the end of the sixteenth century.

This article focuses on the characteristics of the Spanish book market and the cultural changes in society resulting from the exchange between politics (instruments of control and power) and cultural mediators (the publishers). This is made possible by describing the Madrilenian publishing world, which was significantly involved with the Habsburg monarchy, and emphasising the leading activities of women publishers in the succession of the publishing business. The research was carried out in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Archivo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Biblioteca Nacional de España, and focused on documents such as disputes between publishers (*pleitos*), wills, contracts between publishers and authors (*conciertos*), cession and sale of the privilege (*cesión y venta del privilegio de impresión*). These documents show the relationship between politics and publishing, and also contain many references to the management of publishers. The dowry letter of María Rodríguez de Rivalde for her marriage to Juan Lequerica,[3] and the legal dispute between María de Quiñones and the Hospital de los Desamparados de Madrid,[4] for example, make it possible to reconstruct the history of Pedro Madrigal's printing accurately enough. In addition to these legal documents, a number of publications from the late sixteenth century to around the time of Philip IV were analysed in order to understand how the book evolved over the years. After highlighting the vitality and specificity of the Madrilenian book market and the main trends, I have

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[1]   Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal, *Bibliografía madrileña, o descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid: Siglo XVI*, Madrid: tip. de los Huérfanos, 1891, pp. XVIII–XIX.

[2]   On the importance of this Brotherhood, see Rivero, Carlos del, *Historia de la imprenta en Madrid*, Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1935, p. 39; Cobo, Mercedes Agulló, 'Noticias de impresores y libreros madrileños de los siglos XVI y XVII', *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, 1966, No. 1, p. 202.

[3]   "Carta de dote de María Rodríguez de Rivalde, viuda que fue de Pedro de Madrigal, impresor, que aporta a su matrimonio con Juan Lequerica" (Vol. 2238, f. 575r–583v).

[4]   "Pleito entre María de Quiñones, viuda, impresora de libros, y el Hospital de los Desamparados de Madrid" (Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 27738, Exp. 9).

described the way women ended up owning their printing businesses.[5] The features of the books published by women are, for instance, the phrases "en casa de", "por la viuda de" or "por los Herederos de la viuda de".

Among the classical sources on the history of book printing, Elizabeth Eisenstein's scholarship is critical to the history of publishing across Europe.[6] Equally important is the work done by Jaime Moll, whose books focus on the role of publishers and the structure of Spanish books in the early modern age.[7] Apart from Eisenstein's and Moll's pivotal works, Andrew Pettegree's and Anthony Grafton's studies are critical to my assessment. Pettegree's study of the circulation and reception of books sheds light on the role that publishers played in connection with religious, economic and cultural issues.[8] However, he does not focus on a case like Madrid. While Grafton's emphasis on philology will help me to carefully examine the scholarly context.[9] Grafton, in particular, who sees the transmission of culture as a creative process, integrates the history of the book and the reader into an overall view of the epoch, which aims at the history of the process of knowledge.

The article is divided into two main sections, each of which is subdivided into subsections. The first section looks at the importance of the printed book in Europe

[5]   This research was accomplished through the existing literature on this subject. The most recent study of the documents regarding Madrigal's printing press was carried out by Laura Puerto Moro in the National Historical Archive. Cf. Moro, Laura Puerto, 'El taller Madrigal-Cuesta (-Quiñones): nuevos documentos para la historia de una imprenta', in: *Primera edición de la "Segunda parte del ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha" (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1615): el libro, el texto y la edición*, edited by Ana Martínez Pereira, Víctor Infantes de Miguel, Alcalá de Henares: Instituto Universitario de Investigación Miguel de Cervantes, 2018, pp. 199–228. See also Gonzáles, Carlos Fernández, 'De Juan de la Cuesta a los Herederos de Pedro Madrigal y María de Quiñones', *Marcas Tipográfica*, 2020, pp. 1–32.

[6]   See Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979; Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

[7]   See Moll, Jaime, 'Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 1979, Vol. 59, No. 216, pp. 49–108; 'Valoración de la industria editorial española del siglo XVI', in: *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'ancien régime: Colloque de la Casa de Velázquez*, Paris: Éditions A. D. P. F., 1981, pp. 79–84; 'Plantino y la industria editorial española', in: *Plantino: Un siglo de intercambios culturales entre Amberes y Madrid*, Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 1995, pp. 11–30; 'Libro y sociedad en la España moderna', *Bulletin hispanique*, 1997, Vol. 99, No. 1, pp. 7–17; 'El siglo XVII español ¿abierto a Europa? Consideraciones sobre la industria editorial española', in: *Ex-libris Universitatis: El patrimonio de las Bibliotecas Universitarias Españolas: 28 septiembre–31 octubre 2000. Santiago de Compostela,* Madrid: CRUE, 2000, pp. 83–93; 'El impresor, el editor y el librero', in: *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España, 1472–1914*, Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 2003, pp. 77–84.

[8]   Pettegree, Andrew, *The book in the Renaissance*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

[9]   Grafton, Anthony, *What Was History?: The Art of History in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

and especially in Spain, with Madrid as an important cultural centre, and illustrates the way in which politics had taken control of the print market. The second section deals with the central role of women as publishers using the historical example of two important Madrilenian printing houses: that of Pedro Madrigal and that of Luis Sánchez. I have thus tried to show how women played an important role in early modern Spanish publishing, emphasising their role in shaping social networks, but also in the history of politics.

The Book Market in Early Modern Spain

1. Printing Enterprises in Madrid

In sixteenth-century Europe, the printing press made books available to a larger audience, buyers, readers, and owners of private libraries. Thanks to this flourishing market, efforts were made to streamline the reading process.[10] Since the use of the written vernacular increasingly spread, books now covered a wide range of topics, such as history, philosophy, entertainment, etc.[11] Furthermore, the printing press was crucial to disseminating new religious views. For instance, Luther's *95 Theses* (1517) became an important tool of religious change and instigated his criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church.[12] From the late sixteenth century, the Spanish printing market began to develop in accordance with the particular constitution of the Habsburg monarchy, which, in view of its size, required the largest number of printers. As a consequence, this political setup favoured the multiplicity of important publishing centres in the different kingdoms. When Madrid became the de facto seat of the Habsburg court (1561), the city developed a flourishing centre for the book industry. This allowed publishers and prospective authors, such as Miguel de Cervantes, Félix Lope de Vega, or Francisco Gómez de Quevedo, to emerge. In the words of Don W. Cruickshank, "Madrid became an obligatory Mecca for writers."[13] Two printing houses came to the forefront in sixteenth-century Madrid: that of

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[10] For example, with the development of a new style of writing that was easier to read than the Gothic. For a general overview, see Ullman, Berthold Louis, *The origin and development of humanistic script*, Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1960.

[11] According to Sara T. Nalle, reading seems to have spread to the lower classes of Spanish society in the course of the sixteenth century. See Nalle, Sara T., 'Literacy and culture in early modern Castile', *Past & Present*, 1989, Vol. 125, p. 69.

[12] In this regard, see Pettegree, Andrew, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation*, New York: Penguin Press, 2015.

[13] Cruickshank, Don William, '"Literature" and the Book Trade in Golden-Age Spain', *The Modern Language Review*, 1978, Vol. 73, No. 4, p. 801.

Pedro Madrigal and that of Luis Sanchéz. Both were very active in Madrid, even during the period when the Spanish court was moved to Valladolid. Equally important are the women who ran these two Madrilenian printing houses and whose story represents a fairly typical path of family inheritance in publishing companies.[14] I refer to María Rodríguez Ribalde and María de Quiñones, in the case of the Madrigal printing house, and Ana Carasa, in the case of the Sánchez printing house.[15] In several cases the inheritance was transitory and women took over the business only until they remarried or until a son or another male relative could take over the business.[16] This happened because in Spain at that time women were prohibited from running a business.[17] In this regard, the typographer Alonso de Paredes wrote the book *Institución y origen del arte de la imprenta* (1680).[18] In it, he set out to describe the common customs of his time in a clear and practical way and explained how people worked in a printing business. Among these people, there were women who, as widows, were entrusted with the publishing business. Paredes did not offer a clear description of how the women managed their business. However, in his work, he claims that women had problems with proofreading, probably because they were not sufficiently trained for this task.[19]

Essentially, the Spanish printing system was based on the work and agreements among authors, publishers, printers and booksellers. The publisher used to act as an intermediary between authors, institutions, booksellers and printers. While the printer was often also the bookseller, i.e. the commercial distributor of the book. The printing process began as follows: the author or whoever owned the rights to the work entered into an agreement with a printer, who set a production budget in a contract, often with a notarised deed that made the contract a public and legal

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[14]   As Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo notes, in addition to the heiresses we spoke about, some women are also mentioned who may have started printing on their own initiative or whose status as widows was not recorded. Cf. Lorenzo, Alejandra Ulla, 'La mujer y el mercado editorial en España (1651–1750)', *Romance Notes*, 2016, Vol. 56, No. 3, p. 445.

[15]   On the activity of women printers by year and works, see Clement San Román, Yolanda, *Impresos madrileños de 1566 a 1625*, Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, 1992.

[16]   However, as Albert Corbeto noted, there were known cases in the seventeenth century where female leadership in the printing business extended beyond the transitional phase, as I show in the next paragraphs. Cf. Corbeto, Albert, 'Las musas ignoradas. Estudio historiográfico del papel de la mujer en el ámbito de la imprenta', in: *Muses de la Imprenta: La dona i les arts del llibre. Segles XVI–XIX*, Barcelona: Museo Diocesano de Barcelona, 2009, pp. 21–42.

[17]   Lorenzo, Alejandra Ulla, 'La mujer y el mercado editorial...', p. 446.

[18]   Cf. Garvin, Mario, 'Alonso Víctor de Paredes, 'Institution and Origin of the Art of Printing', and General Rules for Compositors', *Anuario Lope de Vega*, 2021, Vol. 27, pp. 514–523.

[19]   Cf. Lorenzo, Alejandra Ulla, 'Sobre los universos discursivos de impresoras y libreras en la España de la Edad Moderna', *Hipogrifo. Revista de literatura y cultura del Siglo de Oro* 9, 2021, No. 1, p. 1058.

act.[20] According to Pedraza Gracia, the publisher was the one who bore the costs of print production and at the same time decided whether a work could be published or not.[21] The output of the Spanish book was predicated on what the domestic market could easily consume. This ability to adapt to the demands of the market was also supported by a cooperative attitude on the part of the Spanish printing industry: when necessary, the publisher would divide the work between several printers or outsource it to foreign workshops.[22] According to Moll, the collaboration with foreign publishers was important, but Spanish publishing industry decided not to compete with French and Italian publishing centres.[23] Moll goes on to argue that the nature of the Spanish publishing industry did not allow the dissemination of Spanish culture abroad. The consequences of these decisions were unfavourable. For example, Spanish printers were not allowed to take part in important events such as the Frankfurt Book Fair. However, the expansion of the book market in the Spanish kingdoms was underway, which brought with it the need for regulations. The bureaucratisation of the government of Philip II and his successor thus entailed a consistent bureaucratisation of the book market. According to Reyes Gómez, Spain was the best example of press control, since it was carried out through a complex legal and commercial framework.[24] In addition, Cristóbal Pérez Pastor argues that in order to study the Madrid printed works of the sixteenth century, it is necessary to assess what the Holy Office did in relation to books, since the General Inquisitor resided in Madrid.[25] However, according to Pérez Pastor, one should not believe that the Inquisition was independent of the decisions of the Crown. As a consequence, it could decide the liceity of books prior to their publishing.[26] Indeed, recent studies of early modern European printing culture and historical book research show a cooperative rather than conflictual relationship between the press mechanism and political authority.[27]

[20] Petraza Gracia, Manuel José, 'El arte de imprimir en el siglo XV y XVI: nuevas técnicas para hacer libros en una época de cambios', in: *XV Jornadas de Canto Gregoriano*, Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" (CSIC), Huella Digital, 2012, p. 44.

[21] Petraza Gracia, Manuel José, 'La función del editor en el libro del siglo XVI', *Titivillus*, 2015, No. 1, p. 213.

[22] Cf. Moll, Jaime, 'Del libro español del siglo XVI', in: *El libro antiguo español. Actas del segundo Coloquio Internacional (Madrid, 1989)*, edited by María Luisa López-Vidriero, Pedro M. Cátedra, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1992, pp. 325–338.

[23] *Ibid*.

[24] Cf. Reyes Gómez, Fermín de los, 'La tasa del libro español antiguo', *Pliegos de bibliofilia*, 1998, No. 4, pp. 35–52.

[25] Cf. Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal, *Bibliografía madrileña o Descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid (siglo XVI)*, Madrid: tipografia de los Huérfanos, 1891, p. XIV.

[26] Cf. Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal, *Bibliografía madrileña*, p. XV.

[27] Lamal, Nina; Cumby, Jamie; Helmers, Helmer J., *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2021, p. 4.

2. Controlling the Book Market

The oversight of the Spanish book market had to ensure that authors and publishers were protected and that regulations were enforced to facilitate the control on publications by the monarchy and the Church. This was done via *pragmáticas*, issued by the king. In order to carry out my assessment, I will concentrate on the *pragmáticas* that regulated the book market passed in 1558, 1598 and 1610. In 1558, Philip II issued a *pragmática* detailing all the bureaucratic requirements for granting a printing licence.[28] In order to be published, a book had to receive a royal licence, which was granted by the Royal Council (or Council of Castile).[29] It follows that the name of the author, the printer and the place of printing as well as the privilege had to be stated on the front page. Licences or approvals, fees, and *erratas*, had to appear on the preliminary pages. Theological works also had to meet the requirements of the royal council, but for liturgical texts the approval of the bishop was sufficient.[30] The privilege, namely the granting of exclusive publication rights, was of the most important feature. The privileges were in fact a means of protecting the printers' investments from competition. Unlike the licence, it was not an obligatory element of the book, but characterised its recognition and prestige by the political institutions.[31] This was an authorisation to print a book for a limited number of years (usually 10 or 20), i.e. a form of temporary recognition of the intellectual property.

The strong involvement of church and government in the production, distribution and censorship of the press shows how concerned they were about its effects.[32] However, the regulation of the printing market had very positive effects for the companies, which is what we understand by copyright today. Prior to his death, Philip II had passed the *pragmática* of 1598, which focussed on the authorisation of imported works. This completed the legislation to protect the Spanish book market by preventing imported

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[28] Cf. Megías, José Manuel Lucía, 'La pragmática de 1558 o la importancia del control del estado en la imprenta española', *Indagación: revista de historia y arte*, 1999, Vol. 4, pp. 195–220.

[29] The Royal Council was a ruling body and key part of the domestic government of the Crown of Castile, second only to the monarch himself. This authority, which contributed to the centralisation of political power, often had long delays in granting licences and privileges to authors and publishers based outside Madrid. Hence, as Cristóbal Pérez Pastor noted, the court booksellers facilitated the dispatch of these documents, which is why many licences for books that were not printed in Madrid were issued by booksellers from Madrid (Cf. Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal, *Bibliografía madrileña*, p. XL).

[30] This meant that books published before the *pragmática* of 1558 would only be available for sale after obtaining a royal license.

[31] On how the privilege worked, see Moll, Jaime, 'El impresor y el librero en el Siglo de Oro', in: *Mundo del libro antiguo*, Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1996, pp. 27–42.

[32] Lamal, Nina; Cumby, Jamie; Helmers, Helmer J., *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, p. 11.

books from destabilising the local market. However, it was not enough to regulate the import of books from abroad, but it was also necessary to distribute publication rights well within the kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy, for the same principle of protection mentioned above. For this reason, Philip III issued another *pragmática* in 1610 that prevented authors from publishing in other Spanish kingdoms (without authorization). This meant that the national book industry was favoured by protecting the booksellers of each kingdom in the sale of works printed there.

Essentially, the licence was the key element to ensure the publication of a book. The granting of the licence was based on the approval of the book (*aprobación*), i.e. the report confirming that the content of the book did not run counter to Roman Catholic precepts. It is important to note that there could be more than one approval. For example, in the introductory pages of the *Obras poéticas del insigne Caballero D. Diego de Mendoza, Embajador del Emperador Carlos V en Roma* (1610), collected by Fray Juan Díaz Hidalgo, there are two approvals. The first, dated 6 March 1609, grants the licence for the wisdom and erudition of the author; the second, dated 23 March 1609, grants the licence because the book explained how to live in accordance with Roman Catholic morality.[33] If the licence is the first step towards publication, the second step is surely to obtain a privilege. As we have seen, with Philip III's decree, this privilege could also be multiple and include copyrights in different territories. For example, Miguel de Cervantes' *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote De La Mancha* (1605) was published with the privilege of Castile, Aragon and Portugal.[34] Richard Clement argues that the book merchant Robles did not believe the book would have sold particularly within the reign of Castile and told the printer Juan de la Cuesta to prepare an edition with other two privileges.[35] From a political point of view, the possibility of obtaining privileges for several kingdoms reflects the peculiarity of the Spanish composite monarchy and also the complicated system of press control. In this way, a book could circulate freely in other Hispanic kingdoms, but only if this privilege (and the licence) had been previously recognised, otherwise legal proceedings would be initiated.[36]

[33] Mendoza, Diego Hurtado de, *Obras poéticas del insigne Caballero D. Diego de Mendoza, Embajador del Emperador Carlos V en Roma*, collected by Fray Juan Díaz Hidalgo, Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1610.

[34] Cervantes, Miguel, *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote De La Mancha*, Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1605.

[35] Cf. Clement, Richard W., 'Francisco de Robles, Cervantes, and the Spanish Book Trade', *Mediterranean Studies*, 2002, Vol. 11, p. 120.

[36] Among the sources consulted in the National Historical Archives, particular important was the following: "Proceso contra Luis Sánchez, impresor, por introducir en el reino libros sin licencia. Madrid" (Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 25395, Exp. 3).

Finally, very important for understanding the structure of early-modern Spanish book are the paragraphs dedicated to important personalities of the time (*epistola dedicatoria*) and the reader (*epistola al lector*). The first type of *epistola* very often was for the king. For example, the historian Antonio de Herrera dedicated his translation of Giovanni Botero's *Della ragion di stato* to the King, a book that he predicted would be of great use to the King himself.[37] The dedications contained relevant information not only about the content of the book, but also about the author's aims and how the book fitted into the dynamics of political and ecclesiastical power. Instead, the second type of *epistola* contained notes that the author considered necessary for the reader. This often indicated the way in which a text should be interpreted and hence constituted a clear explanation of the content of the book. Sometimes, it also happened that the typographer addressed the reader, as for example in the work *Comentarios de las guerras sucedidas en los Países Bajos* (1592), by Bernardino de Mendoza. There, the printer Pedro Madrigal explained to the reader how he printed that book:

> Having seen in the printing of these commentaries that it is a history written by eyewitnesses, as well as a very useful reading for the variety of events, for all kinds of people and, in particular, for those who have to follow the military profession and those who govern; I have worked to put margins, and to make a table of them and other notable things, so that with the two things, and the division of the chapters, marked in the margin, one can find more easily what one wants to read, following in this the French printing that was done of this book in Paris.[38]

3. Print Acting in the Service of Power

Eisenstein's study describes the Catholic Church's attitude towards the press as predominantly repressive,[39] with the work of the Inquisition playing a special role. However, we have seen that in the Spanish context, the Inquisition was one of the many instruments used by the monarchy to maintain its rule over the territory. In the final instance, the judgment of the Inquisition also had to be confirmed by the Council of Castile. So far, I have given various examples to explain the necessary components of the early-modern Spanish book. For a better understanding of the mechanism of

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[37] Herrera, Antonio de, *Diez libros de la razón de estado. Con tres libros de las causas de la grandeza, y magnificencia de las ciudades de Iuan Botero*, Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1593.

[38] Mendoza, Bernardino, *Comentarios de las guerras sucedidas en los Países Bajos*, Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1592, p. i.

[39] Cf. Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change...*, pp. 415–421.

Ribadeneira, Pedro de, *Tratado de la Religión y virtudes que debe tener el príncipe Christiano [...]*,
en Madrid: en la emprenta de P. Madrigal; a costa de Iuan de Montoya..., 1595

co-operation between the press and the government, I will now analyse the components of a single text, which is Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Tratado de la religion y virtudes que debe tener el Principe christiano, para gobernar y conservar sus estados* (1595), published by the well-established Pedro de Madrigal. This is a clear example of print acting in the service of power. The frontispiece contains the full title of the work, the name and affiliation of the author, i.e. *Pedro de Ribadeneyra de la Compañía de Jesús*, and the name of the person to whom the work is dedicated, i.e. *Principe de España D. Felipe nuestro Señor*. The emblem of the Society of Jesus, the year of publication (1595), the privilege (*Con Privilegio*), and the final details (*En Madrid, en la emprenta de P. Madrigal, a costa de Juan de Montoya mercader de libros*) appear in the centre at the bottom. On the first page of the introductory pages, it is stated that the book has a privilege for ten years, as can be seen from the original consignment of the 15 September 1595.[40] Below the amount of the privilege is the tax set by the scribe of His Majesty's Chamber on the 29 November 1595. The price of the book with "licence and privilege of His Majesty" is five *blancas* per leaf,[41] and this price should be printed on the first leaf of each volume. In this paragraph, the formulaic phrase "con licencia y privilegio" proves how abiding by Roman Catholic orthodoxy could allow printing of this work.[42] On the next page, the Jesuit Francisco de Porres, Provincial of Toledo, signed and sealed the licence for the printing of Ribadeneyra's book on behalf of the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva. In the paragraph, Porres claims that the book was examined and approved by learned members of the Society of Jesus on the 24 March, 1595. The approbation signed by the theologian Pedro López de Montoya then declares that the treatise does not impinge upon the Roman Catholic faith, but upholds its defence. Montoya, who was appointed Censor General of the Books of the Tribunal of the Inquisition, gives an initial political assessment of Ribadeneyra's work writing that it shows the manner that catholic princes are to pursue their government, "which is one of the most important things that can be written at this time". According to Andrea Mariel Pérez González, the approval was an apologetic text, reflecting the work of the censors in the Roman Catholic framework.[43] As previously stated, the authors also knew how to ingratiate themselves with

[40]   Ribadeneyra, Pedro, *Tratado de la religion y virtudes que debe tener el Principe christiano, para gobernar y conservar sus estados*, Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1595, p. †².

[41]   On the Castilian Money Policy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see García de Paso, José Isidoro, 'La política monetaria castellana de los siglos XVI y XVII', in: *La moneda en Europa: de Carlos V al euro*, edited by Manuel Varela Parache, Juan José Durán Herrera, Madrid: Pirámide, 2003.

[42]   Cf. Reyes Gómez, Fermín de los, 'Con privilegio: la exclusiva de edición del libro antiguo español', *Revista general de información y documentación*, 2001, Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 195.

[43]   Cf. González, Andrea Mariel Pérez, 'La censura previa y la formación del juicio crítico lector: la evolución de un paratexto', *Bibliographica*, 2018, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 51–76.

the court. This is the reason why they dedicated their books to key political figures. Ribadeneyra, for example, dedicated his work to the future king Philip III, arguing that these are difficult times for rulers who want stability within their realm. This is the reason why the king had to learn the cornerstone of Roman Catholic theology. Furthermore, Ribadeneyra defines the profile of his ideal reader and the qualities the reader must have in order to understand his treatise. The above-mentioned elements are therefore in line with the requirements of Tridentine orthodoxy, which marked the intertwinement between Church and State.[44]

In the next chapter, I will focus on the entrepreneurial activity of the Madrid publishing houses, on how they were organised in the light of the above considerations. My aim is to shed light on the people who were at the core of this relationship between the press and institutional powers. Focusing on the role of women also means showing how, in a society often seen as backward, women instead played a key role and were basically integrated into the publishing system.[45]

The Pivotal Role of Women in the Spanish Book Market

1. The Case of María Rodríguez de Rivalde and María de Quiñones in Madrigal's Printing Enterprise

In the more general history of the Spanish book, women have been influential since the eighteenth century. One might think that the role of women was primarily associated with the Enlightenment. However, women have played a key role in the Spanish book market since its beginnings. Thanks to their role, some publishers have been able to establish themselves more successful than others. Pedro Madrigal's publishing business was one of these important establishments. He was one of the most important publishers in the late sixteenth century. In 1586, he and his second wife, María Rodríguez de Rivalde, opened a print shop in Madrid. There, they printed many important works, such books on law and theology, including the Royal Pragmatics.[46] Pedro Madrigal's printing house was to outlive its founder, as his heirs oversaw it

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[44]   In this sense, the Spanish case perfectly follows the ideas of Foucault, who favoured the close connection between knowledge and power. See Foucault, Michel, *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings. 1972–1977*, edited by Colin Gordon, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.

[45]   See Establés Susán, Sandra, *Diccionario de mujeres impresoras y libreras de España e Iberoamérica entre los siglos XV y XVIII*, Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2018.

[46]   Madrigal had a monopoly on the printing of the *Pragmáticas* of the years 1586–88, 1590–91, 1593. Cf. Clemente San Román, Yolanda, *Tipobibliografía madrileña: la imprenta en Madrid en el siglo XVI (1566–1625)*, Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1998, p. 28.

throughout the seventeenth century. Indeed, he seems to have died in 1594, as the prints from that year are labelled with the formula "En casa de Pedro Madrigal" or "En la Imprenta de Pedro Madrigal", which is used during the "interregnum", that is, the period when the widow is engaged in the business.[47] His widow published the heroic poem *Las Navas de Tolosa* (1594) by Cristóbal de Mesa, the *Compendio de doctrina Cristiana* (1595) by Luis de Granada, and the *Epístolas familiares* (1595) by Antonio de Guevara. According to Clemente San Román, the best year of María Rodríguez's production was 1595. She printed 93 editions, including the *Pragmáticas* of 1594, 1598 and 1600.[48] As Davinia Rodríguez Ortega notes, the inventory created by María Rodríguez in 1595 shows a well-organised and state-of-the-art typography.[49]

In 1595, María Rodríguez married Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica,[50] a printer from Alcalá, but he died shortly afterwards. Madrigal's widow therefore continued the printing press with the second Pedro Madrigal, son or grandson of the first Pedro Madrigal.[51] Pedro, the son or nephew of Madrigal, probably died around 1600, as there is evidence that María de Quiñones, his widow, married Juan de la Cuesta in 1602, who had joined the business in 1599. After marrying Quiñones, Juan de la Cuesta was put in charge of the print shop by María Rodríguez and from 1604 he began to sign works under his name with the formula "por Juan de la Cuesta". He made a name for himself in 1605 with the printing of *Don Quixote*[52] and ran the business until 1607, when he left to travel to India. The management of the printing house was transferred to his wife María de Quiñones, his mother-in-law María Rodríguez Ribalde, and Jerónimo de Salazar by a notarial deed dated 4 December 1607.[53] The latter dealt with technical matters, probably because María Rodríguez de Rivalde and María de Quiñones did

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[47] In some cases, it was also used the formula 'Ex Officina Petri Madrigal'; that is the case of Alfonso a Villadiego's *Forus antiquus Gothorum regum Hispaniae olim liber iudicum, hodie fuero iuzgo nuncupatus* (1600).

[48] Clemente San Román, Yolanda, *Tipobibliografía madrileña...*, pp. 29–30.

[49] Cf. Ortega, Davinia Rodríguez, 'Heredera de Pedro Madrigal: María de Quiñones, impresora de ingenios áureos', *Estudos Ibero-Americanos*, 2016, Vol. 42, No. 3, p. 1069.

[50] See Carta de dote de María Rodríguez de Rival, viuda que fue de Pedro de Madrigal, impresor, que aporta a su matrimonio con Juan Lequerica. Vol. 2238, f. 575r–583v. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid.

[51] Davinia Rodríguez Ortega considered the hypothesis (not confirmed) that the second Pedro Madrigal was the nephew of the founder of the printing press, so María Rodríguez was in aunt. Cf. Ortega, Davinia Rodríguez, 'Heredera de Pedro Madrigal', p. 1078.

[52] The first edition of *Don Quijote* (1605) was financed by the King's bookseller Francisco de Robles, heir to the oldest and most famous book dealer in Madrid, Blas de Robles.

[53] Jerónimo de Salazar, his name has been found in the documents about *Don Quixote* National Historical Archive. It seems he had an important role, probably as a corrector, concerning the edition of *Don Quixote*.

Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, *Segunda parte de las comedias de don Pedro Calderon de la Barca*,
en Madrid: por Maria de Quiñones; a costa de Pedro Coello mercader de libros, 1637

not have the skills to scrutinise books. Until his death in 1627, they continued to sign with the name of Juan de la Cuesta for business reasons.

After de la Cuesta died, María Rodríguez de Rivalde appointed María de Quiñones as the universal heir to the company.[54] In this year, the formula "por los Herederos de la Viuda de Pedro de Madrigal" appeared for the first time. In 1628, after the death of María Rodríguez, María Quiñones took over the final management of the company. The first print with the formula "por María de Quiñones" appeared in 1632, but in the same years prints also appeared with the indication "Herederos de la Viuda de Pedro Madrigal" (Heirs of Pedro Madrigal's widow), until 1637. This was the time Quiñones was publishing in collaboration with the bookseller Pedro Coello.[55] After that, she signed only with her own name on the works that came from her workshop until her death in 1666. Among the changes made by María de Quiñones there was the removal of the emblem of Pedro Madrigal's typography, namely the emblem of the "falcon of falconry", in some cases the sleeping lion, and the legend "Post tenebras spero lucem" (After darkness I hope for light).[56] To name a few examples of the period when Quiñones began to use her name in addition to the formula "Herederos de la Viuda de Pedro Madrigal": on the frontispiece of Mario Cutelli's *Patrocinium pro regia iurisdictione inquisitoribus siculis concessa* (1633) the royal coat of arms can be seen, as in this work the author refers to the discussion of the numerous jurisdictional disputes before the sovereign Philip IV; on the frontispiece of Francisco de Quevedo's *Carta al serenissimo muy alto, y muy poderoso Luys XIII Rey Cristianissimo de Francia* (1635) there is the Santiago cross to indicate the religiosity of the subject to which the work refers; and on the frontispiece of Calderon de la Barca's *Primera Parte de Comedias* (1636) a typical filigree with ornamental motifs appears. Together with Pedro Coello, she continued to publish parts of the comedies that were awaiting licenses.[57] This happened, for example, with *Cuarta Parte de las comedias* (1635) by Tirso de Molina; *Segunda Parte de las Comedias* (1637) by don Pedro Calderón de la Barca; *Parte veinte y tres de las comedias* (1638) by Lope Félix de Vega Carpio. Quiñones died in 1669, but her last print dates from 1666, the date on which she handed over the business to Melchor Alegre and his wife Catalina Gómez, who continued to run the workshop after her husband's death until 1691.

[54] A copy of María Rodríguez de Rivalde's testament, dated 24 March 1627, contains the appointment of María de Quiñones as universal heir. Cf. Archivo Histórico Nacional, CONSEJOS, 27738, Exp. 9: "Pleito entre María de Quiñones, viuda, impresora de libros, y el Hospital de los Desamparados de Madrid".

[55] One of the four most influential publishers of the time, together with Francisco de Robles, Gabriel de León, and Alonso Pérez.

[56] Cf. Ortega, Davinia Rodríguez, 'Heredera de Pedro Madrigal', p. 1074.

[57] In 1621, Philip IV set up the Reform Council to stem the decline in morals: the licence to publish entertaining, fiction or theatrical works was suspended.

The Quiñones case is certainly one of the most famous in the history of publishing. Indeed, in 2021, Early European Books (EEB) expanded its database by launching research into the women who published and printed some of the most important works of the time. Quiñones was included in this study. However, the case study analysed here aims to highlight the process that led to the management of Pedro Madrigal's press. The key role was therefore played by María Rodríguez de Rivalde. Through her example, which is similar to that of other widows of the time, we understand how women were critical to making decisions concerning the books to be printed. Furthermore, they contributed significantly to the book market from a social and an economic point of view. This happened before examples of books signed by women. The following case study therefore focuses on another case of women management in printing business who signed not with her name but with her institutional title.

2. The Printing Press of Luis Sánchez and Ana de Carasa

Luis Sánchez is known as the King's printer, i.e. the one who produces the official documents of the King-in-Council, the Ministers of the Crown or other bodies. He was the son of María Almazán and the typographer Francisco Sánchez. Luis Sánchez inherited his father's workshop in 1591, along with the title "Impresor del Rey", which he had been authorised to use since 1607. He enhanced the quality of his typography and increased the number of published books. He was an important publisher who was asked on numerous occasions by the authors themselves to publish their works, and he competed fervently with Pedro de Madrigal. Susana Cabezas Fontanilla says that his works were known for their accuracy and their beautiful covers, so much so that the Holy Office commissioned him its most important works, such as the *Recopilación de Instrucciones del Oficio de la Santa Inquisición* (1612).[58] The fact that important typographers, such as Alonso de Paredes, Miguel Serrano de Vargas, and Gonzalo de Ayala, worked for him bears evidence to the importance of his business. He also collaborated with the most important publishers and booksellers, such as Francisco de Robles, Miguel Martínez, Juan Berrillo, and Francisco del Val. Examples of works coming out from his business are: *Práctica de procuradores* (1591) by Juan Muñoz, *Crónica e historia general del hombre* (1598) by Juan Sánchez Valdés de la Plata, *Primera parte de la historia general del mundo* (1601) by Antonio de Herrera, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611) by Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Compendio de la filosofía y destreza de las armas* (1612) by Jerónimo de Carranza,

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[58]   Cf. Fontanilla, Susana Cabezas, 'En torno a la impresión del 'Catálogo de libros prohibidos y expurgados' de 1612', *Documenta & instrumenta*, 2005, Vol. 3, p. 17.

Vega, Lope de, *Corona tragica: vida y muerte de la Serenissima reyna de Escocia Maria Estuarda*,
en Madrid: por la viuda de Luis Sanchez, Impressora del Reyno;
a costa de Alonso Perez mercader de libros, 1627

Excelencias de la Monarquía y Reino de España (1625) by Gregorio López Madera, *Argenis* (1626) by John Barclay. His printer's emblems include: the stork with the currency *Vigilate*, used in his early days and inherited by his father; the most commonly open hand with an eye on each of the fingers and with the *Vigili Labore* badge, used from 1593; an arm with a torch receiving the rays of the sun, framed in a shield and with the legend *Celestis Origo*, used from 1595.[59] When the court moved to Valladolid between 1601 and 1606, Sanchez also opened a print shop there. The titles published in Valladolid include: *Templo militante* (1602) by Bartolomé Cairasco de Figueroa, *Historia general de la India oriental* (1603) by Antonio de San Román, *Elogio a las esclarecidas virtudes del Rey Felipe II* (1604) by Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Definiciones de la Orden de Caballería de Calatrava* (1604) by Agustín Bravo de Villafranca, *Instrucción de sacerdotes* (1605) by Francisco Toledo, *Flores de poetas ilustres de España* (1605) by Pedro de Espinosa, *Práctico de morbo gálico* (1605) by Andrés de León, *Tractatus de officio fiscalis* (1606) by Francisco de Alfaro, *Consideraciones sobre todos los Evangelios* (1606) by Hernando de Santiago.[60]

In 1589, he married Ana de Carasa, who became his successor in the print shop after his death. Ana de Carasa ran the business from 1627 and continued her husband's output.[61] In addition to inheriting the publishing business, she also received the title of official printer. Some of Ana's printed works are: *Corona tragica* by Lope de Vega (1627), *Casos prodigiosos y cueua encantada* by Juan de Piña (1628), *Cigarrales de Toledo* by Tirso de Molina (1630), *Escritura que el reyno otorgó del servicio de los quatro millones en cada uno de seys años...* (1632). Once again, it is possible to appreciate a wide range of books bore witness to the Spanish political landscape. When she died in 1633, it was her daughter Juana Isabel Sánchez who took charge of the workshop but without her name, appearing as her mother like "Impresora del Reino". Unlike María de Quiñones, Ana Carasa did not make any changes to her business. Ana Carasa's case study shows that, in addition to the title of widow or heir, a woman could also inherit the title conferred on her husband, in this specific case that of "Impresora del Reino". In this sense, Ana Carasa's publishing house was a real institution. Even though Delgado Casado emphasises that the publishing house was run by Francisco de Ocampo,[62] all its books had the title "widow of Luis Sánchez" or "printer of the kingdom".

59   Cf. Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal, *Bibliografía madrileña*, pp. XVII–XXIX.
60   Cf. Alcocer y Martínez, Mariano; Escolar Sobrino, Hipólito, *Catálogo razonado de obras impresas en Valladolid, 1481–1800*, Valladolid: Casa Social Católica, 1926.
61   Jacobo Sanz Hermida, professor at the University of Salamanca, discussed the case of Ana Carasa at a conference at the ENS in Lyon on Spanish women entrepreneurs of the Golden Age (23 September 2020).
62   Cf. Lois, Concha, 'Delgado Casado, Juan. Diccionario de impresores españoles (siglos XV–XVI)', *Avisos. Noticias de la Real Biblioteca*, 1996, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 4.

Conclusions

In this article, I have shown how politics shaped the Spanish printing market through its control apparatus, how Madrid was an important cultural centre and how women played a crucial role in the publishing industry. In the first part, I described the mechanism of control of the early modern Spanish book market as a mechanism of protection of rights and often also of co-operation between printers and politics. One of the special features of the Spanish publishing industry was that it appeared as a sort of community involving printers, publishers, and booksellers. As Elisabeth Eisenstein claimed, the press triggered a series of radical changes in society. However, the case of Madrid should be analysed from a different perspective: it was a cultural centre created by monarchical power and at the same time allowed the press to flourish. Thanks to Jaime Moll, we have at our disposal a series of works on the history of publishing and the problems of the old Spanish book, which have helped to better justify the specificity of the Spanish book industry in this study. This article outlines the development of the Madrid publishing market as potentially central to the progress of the political history of the Spanish monarchy between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The cohesion among publishers overcame the gender difference between men and women. In this regard, the most important takeaway of this article is the fact that getting women involved was vital to the maintenance and promotion of printing enterprises. Their presence in the public sphere was due to their being wives or widows or daughters. It is true that, in this way, women were still subordinate to the male presence. But in the society of the time, this was also seen as a form of protection for women, who had direct access to business anyway, which often required skills that exceeded their abilities. This is the case because they could read properly and knew the administrative regulations. In the introduction of this article, I emphasised the statement by Alonso de Paredes, who in his manual for printers had pointed out the problems that women had with proofreading. However, this did not prevent women from conducting their business. Some of them ran the companies they had inherited for long periods of time and changed the way their companies operated – as in the case of Maria de Quiñones – or continued printing as agents of the monarchy – as in the case of Ana Carasa. I do not draw the same conclusions as Cait Coker, who claimed that, "One could easily teach the history of printing using only women printers to understand the evolution of the printed book."[63] Rather, I

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[63]   Coker, Cait, 'Ladies of the Press: An Alternative History of Print', *The Caxtonian*, 2022, Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 2.

believe that the management of men and women in the Spanish publishing industry is oriented towards the realisation of a common project of organisation and functionality of society. Apart from the possible protofeminist considerations that might arise from this, the point here is to re-evaluate Madrid as an example of a specific publishing and social dynamic in a broader history of the book in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe.

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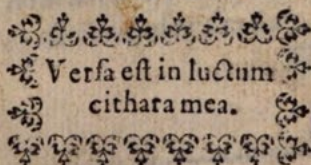
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The Intangible Identity of the Publisher: the Case of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki, Publisher of the Slutsk Printing House

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Annotation. This study will focus on a small printing house in Slutsk, founded and run by a nobleman and client of the Radziwiłłs' court, Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki. The study aims not only to highlight the place and importance of the publisher in the organisation of the printing house, but also to take a closer look at the personality of the publisher, Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki, and the phenomenon of an educated nobleman setting up a printing house to meet the cultural and social needs of his surroundings, publishing mainly secular publications, and responding to the cultural and social needs of his court and its environment. The nobleman was distinguished by his education and patronage, accumulating a rich library, and constantly taking an interest in the innovations and achievements of the world's sciences. Kłokocki's personality is reflected in his and his son's, Hieronim Jan, extensive library, with some of its books now preserved in the library of Vilnius University.

Keywords: Publisher; Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki; Hieronim Jan Kłokocki; library; Slutsk printing house; Bogusław Radziwiłł; Vilnius University Library.

Introduction and literature review

The international scientific conference *Spaudos centrai ir periferijos ankstyvaisiais Naujaisiais laikais* (*Printing Centres and Peripheries in the Early Modern Era*),[1] organised at the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, made it possible to talk about small printing houses that had been in operation for a few dozen years, and which had become a specific cultural phenomenon. This article focuses mainly on the personality of the publisher, the nobleman Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki (ca. 1625–1684), and

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[1] The conference was dedicated to the 700th anniversary of Vilnius. The city of the period in question was characterized by great religious and cultural tolerance. Various ideas and approaches flourished here, which encouraged the creation of printing houses and the popularization of books in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Being in the periphery of the European press, Vilnius managed to establish itself as a center of book printing and distribution, influencing the publishing practices in the neighboring countries. For more about the conference see: https://www.lnb.lt/en/news/10480-international-conference-printing-centers-and-peripheries-in-the-early-modern-period

seeks to take a closer look at the phenomenon of an educated nobleman running a printing press to meet the cultural needs of his surroundings, publishing a variety of publications, mostly of secular nature, and responding to the needs of his court and his surroundings, but his name is not found on the title pages of the printed publications. The book *L'impronta dell'editore* (*The Art of the Publisher)* by the famous Italian publisher Roberto Calasso attempts to describe the publishing profession, which is difficult to define, and which he describes as a 'vanishing identity of the publisher', has given rise to a reflection on this subject. He defined a publisher as someone who sees the totality of books and gives them form: "Over the last hundred years, the very shape of the publisher has changed – by publisher I mean someone who knows what kind of books he publishes and decides for himself what form they should take."[2] Venetian publisher Aldo Manuzio (1449/1452–1515) was the first publisher, who "perceived publishing as a form and moulded it in every direction".[3] Calasso also identifies other characteristics of a publisher, such as "a well-grounded person", "a lover of books", "a gatherer of small groups of like-minded people", and having published at least one famous book he would call a "one-off book". Such are the characteristics of a good publisher, which we will try to identify within the person of Kłokocki, who ran a small and relatively short-lived printing house in Slutsk. This printing house is referred to in the bibliography as the Slutsk or Radziwiłłs' printing house, and it was active under the direction of the Mazovian nobleman Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki from 1673 until his death in 1684. The last print of the printing house dates back to 1688. The printing house was donated to the Reformed Synod of Lithuania through a will in 1693, and its equipment was physically transferred to Königsberg.[4] The bibliography counts a total of 29 (30)[5] books printed in Slutsk together with the repeated prints.[6]

The aim of the article is to discuss Kłokocki's own contribution to the Slutsk printing house, the selection of books, specifics of the printing house, and themes of the

[2] Calasso, Roberto, *Leidėjo menas*, translated from Italian by Goda Bulybenko, Vilnius: Lapas, 2024, p. 134.
[3] Calasso, Roberto, *Leidėjo menas,* p. 84.
[4] Sembrzycki, Johannes, 'Die polnischen Reformirten und Unitarier in Preussen', in: *Altpreussische Monatsschrift neue Folge. Der Neuen Preussischen Provinzial-Blätter vierte Folge*, edited by Rudolf Reicke, Erst Wichert, Königsberg: Verlag von Ferd. Beyer's Buchhandlung, 1893, Vol. 30: *Der Preussischen Provinzial-Blätter*, Vol. 96, p. 47.
[5] Rozen, Fryderyk, 'Druki XVI–XVII w. z oficyn ewangelickich Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w bibliotekach Litwy. Stan badań bibliograficznych', in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, edited by Wojciech Walczak, Karol Łopatecki, Białystok, 2020, Vol. XI., p. 6.
[6] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki i drukarnia w Słucku', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 1967, Vol. 12, pp. 135–172.

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publications and the interests of the manager of the printing house himself through his personal library. The personal library of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki and his son Hieronim Jan, part of which is now kept in the Vilnius University Library in the Department of Rare Prints, is therefore an important object of this research. From the surviving provenances and the books of his former library, we can discuss the peculiarities of his library and identify his personal interests. This "reading" will be done using the method of provenance research proposed by Christoph Zuschlag and the four steps involved in such research: 1) examination of the object; 2) examination of the person, the institution, and the historical context; 3) expansion of the context of the archival material; and 4) contextualisation of the literature and the available online resources.[7] The article is accompanied by an appendix, which for the first time contains a list of books belonging to the library of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki and his son Hieronim Jan, which was prepared in collaboration with the staff of the Vilnius University Library. It shows a very clear path of the books: from the personal library of Kłokocki (or his son), the library of the Jesuit College and Seminary in Slutsk (*Seminarium Kłokockiego*), to the library of the Jesuit Academy in Vilnius, which is now the library of Vilnius University.

Information in the Lithuanian historiography about the Slutsk printing house is comparatively scarce, with the main outlines of its activities described in studies and handbooks by Polish and Belarusian scholars. One of the more important studies of the old Polish and Lithuanian printing houses is the multi-volume handbook *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*[8] by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, which does not precisely define the beginning of the Slutsk printing house's activities, giving the date of 1670 with a question mark, but does give the end of the printing house's activity as 1688. This guide refers to the printing house as that of Slutsk or of the Radziwiłł family and discusses its output, but does not mention the names of its manager, Kłokocki, or its main printer, Łazarowicz. Kłokocki as a printer is not mentioned in the study devoted to the administration and daily life of the Radziwiłł manor, presenting brief biograms of all individuals who worked in the manor.[9] Another detailed study of the old development of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's book industry is provided by Mikalay Nikolayev, who, in discussing the individual printing

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[7] Zuschlag, Christoph, *Einfürung in die Provenienzforschung: Wie die Herkunft von Kulturgut entschlüsselt wird*, München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2022, pp. 85–92.

[8] 'Słuck', in: Kawecka-Gryczowa, Alodia; Korotajowa, Krystyna, *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, Wrocław, Kraków: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1959, Vol. 5: *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, pp. 231–234.

[9] *Administracja i życie codzienne w dobrach Radziwiłłów XVI–XVIII wieku*, edited by Urszula Augustyniak, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Dig, 2009 (*Fasciculi historici novi*, Vol. IX), p. 273.

centres, notes that the personality of the publisher Kłokocki was prominent at the Slutsk printing house.[10] The most detailed study of him and the printing house he managed is provided by the old press researcher Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa.[11] In her scholarly article, she has provided a wealth of new information about the publisher and the printer himself, as well as about the circumstances of the founding of the printing house, based on archival documents and his discovered letters. Her findings are important not only for a better understanding of the personality of Kłokocki, but also for an understanding of the significance and place of this printing house in the history of Slutsk and the Radziwiłł family. The donation and transport of printing equipment and other links between the Reformed Synod of Königsberg and Lithuania have been discussed in more detail by the researcher of the German (Prussian) legacy, Johann Sembrzycki, who has made it possible to clarify the ending of the printing house in Slutsk, the removal of the equipment, and the start of new operations in Königsberg at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[12] The role of the Slutsk printing house has been relatively little studied in the history of printers in the GDL, its output is discussed to a greater extent in the context of the Reformed prints, whereas the role of the publisher, his educational and organisational capacities are less known.[13] The discussion of the output of the Slutsk printing house has focused on individual books, their contexts[14] and individual writers. Polish scholars have presented the personality of Zbigniew Morsztyn in relation to the court of Bogusław Radziwiłł in more detail.[15] Ina Kažuro, in her research on theses at Vilnius University, pointed out that several scientific works belonged to the personal library of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki.[16] The repertoire of books published by the Slutsk printing house and their uniqueness in the context of the GDL press are less discussed, so these issues will be addressed in this article.

[10] 'Слуцкая друкарня', in: *Гісторыя беларускай кнігі. Т. 1, Кніжная культура Вялікага княства Літоўскага*, edited by Мікалай Віктаравіч Нікалаеў, Мінск: Беларуская энцыклапедыя імя Петруся Броўкі, 2009, pp. 330–336.

[11] 'Слуцкая друкарня', pp. 135–172.

[12] Sembrzycki, Johannes, 'Die polnischen Reformirten und Unitarier...', p. 47.

[13] Rozen, Fryderyk, 'Druki XVI–XVII w. ...', pp. 1–35.

[14] Пікулік, А. М., 'Барочныя тэндэнцыі ў мастацтве магілёўскіх старадрукаў', in: *Барока ў беларускай культуры і мастацтве*, 2nd edition, Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2001, pp. 247–260.

[15] Pelc, Janusz, *Zbigniew Morsztyn, arian i poeta*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1966 (*Studia Staropolskie*, Vol. 16); Morsztyn, Zbigniew, *Emblemata*, edited by Janusz and Paulina Pelcowie, Warszawa: Neriton, 2001.

[16] Kažuro, Ina, 'Senojo Vilniaus universiteto tezės: pagrindiniai bruožai ir sklaidos ypatumai', *LMA Vrublevskių bibliotekos darbai*, 2022, Vol. 11, p. 11.

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A Few Highlights of the Biography of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki

Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki was born around 1625,[17] a nobleman from Mazovia, holder of the *Nałęcz* crest, a zealous Catholic, who did not change his faith even working in a Reformed environment. He was educated at the Jesuit college in Braunsberg (Braniewo), where Greek and Hebrew were taught, and may have attended another Jesuit college, and then, together with his brother, continued his studies at the University of Orléans from 1645 to 1647.[18] Here he was elected librarian of the German "nation", which shows his exceptional attention to books and his good knowledge not only of French but also of German. We can assume that it was at this university that the love of books, the ability to handle and collect them, and later the relentless interest in new scientific and technical discoveries were born, and that the thirst for new knowledge was also formed. After his studies, he travelled around Europe.

Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki was fluent in several languages – German, French, Latin, and Greek, wrote in Polish with numerous Latin insertions, and was distinguished by his oratorical skills.[19] Kłokocki was also a soldier, having fought and participated in battles with the Turkish, Cossacks and Swedes, and in 1652, while fighting near the village of Batoh, he was taken prisoner by the Tatars, later ransomed by his father. During this time he learned Turkish and Tatar, which was useful for his later professional activities, i.e. the selection of books and their translations.[20] Before entering the court of Bogusław Radziwiłł, he already had some experience of service at court, having previously served under the Bishop of Plock, Prince Karol Ferdynand Vasa (brother of King Władysław Vasa), one of the well-known supporters of the Vilnius Jesuits. Around 1657, Kłokocki was accepted into the service of the court of Duke Bogusław Radziwiłł and was determined 'to serve him faithfully until his death'.[21] At the beginning, he took care of the restitution of Radziwiłł's estates (together with another courtier, Samuel Przypkowski). While working for the Duke, he wrote regularly on various working matters of economic management and property,

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[17] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kłokocki, Kazimierz Krzysztof', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław et al.: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1967, Vol. XIII/1, No. 56, p. 64; Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki i drukarnia w Słucku', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 1967, Vol. 12, p. 137.

[18] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki...', p. 137; *Pisma do wieku i spraw Jana Sobieskiego = Acta Joannis Sobieski*, edited by Franciszek Kluczycki, Kraków: nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1880 (*Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia ab anno 1507 usque ad annum 1795*, Vol. 2), Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 64.

[19] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 137.

[20] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kłokocki, Kazimierz Krzysztof', p. 64.

[21] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kłokocki, Kazimierz Krzysztof', p. 143.

leaving a rich written legacy, mainly in the form of letters.[22] He later became a close friend of Duke Bogusław Radziwiłł, and surviving entries in the Duke's *Private diary* attest to their close friendship.[23] For example, the diary mentions that Duke Bogusław Radziwiłł himself attended the wedding of Kazimierz Kłokocki on 22 January 1662 and the baptism of his son Hieronim on 9 November 1664. This shows that they were very close. Kazimierz Kłokocki was an important person in the environment of Duke Radziwiłł, one of the few Catholics present here. On 13 March 1663, the Duke appointed him Governor of the Dukedoms of Slutsk and Kapyl, the town of Slutsk and the castle, even though he had previously wanted to see a Reformed person in this post. From 1665 onwards, Kłokocki also became *Stolnik* (the Pantler) of Plock, and in 1677 was elected envoy to the Sejm. Married to Regina Mirska, a zealous Calvinist, he had to maintain a religious balance at home and at work, and to be extremely tolerant towards faith.[24] Duke Radziwiłł trusted Kłokocki very much: he appointed him one of the three most important administrators of his domains (alongside Stanislaw Niezabitowski and Wespazjan Sienicki, *Podczaszy* (the Undercupbearer) of Chelmin his will. Later, after the death of Bogusław Radziwiłł, Kazimierz Kłokocki became one of the guardians of the minor Ludwika Karolina Radziwiłł.[25] Having gained more independence in economic management of various innovations in the household, which did not hinder the development of his cultural activities, Kłokocki established and managed a printing house, accumulated a rich library, took an interest in the advances of the exact sciences, procured various scientific instruments for studying physics, microscopes, optical glasses, took care of the setting up of paper mills, and then of selecting publications and their printing.[26] Thus, good organisational skills, education and a good command of languages are essential for publishing.

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[22] Several of Kłokocki's letters are stored in the Manuscripts Department of the Vilnius University Library, the Radziwiłł Archive (AGAD) contains letters written by Kłokocki to Bogusław Radziwiłł in 1658–1683 and written by him to Kłokocki, and after his death to his daughter Ludwika Karolina, as well as letters written by Zbigniew Morsztyn, Jan Ryszard Fehr and Jan Reyer Kłokocki, stored in the Czartoryski Library in Krakow (Czart. 411), see: Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', 1967, p. 136.

[23] Bagińska, Elżbieta, 'Boguslavo Radvilos įvaizdis pagal jo privatų dienoraštį – šeima, artimieji, klientai', *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 2020, No. 1, pp. 29–52.

[24] The documents testify that the tension between the Reformed and the Catholics was constantly there, especially regarding the division of sacred buildings. For example, the letter of the Bishop of Vilnius, Konstanty Kazimierz Brzostowski, summoning Stanisław Niezabitowski, the chief economist of the Slutsk and Kapyl estates, because of the Calvinist occupation of St Catherine's Church in Slutsk, regarding other churches and possessions see LMAVB, F. 43–16454, 1695.

[25] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', pp. 137–138.

[26] Kažuro, Ina, 'Senojo Vilniaus universiteto tezės...', p. 11.

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Background to the Establishment of the Printing House

The establishment of the printing house itself was, of course, linked to the Radziwiłł family. The arrival of the printing equipment in Slutsk dates back to 1672,[27] when the equipment from Kėdainiai printing house was transported from the Mintauja manor.[28] This fact is very important for the study of the publications of the Slutsk printing house and their typographical appearance. The Universal Lithuanian Encyclopaedia describes the Kėdainiai Gymnasium Printing House (also known as the Rhetas' Printing House), which was founded by Joachimas Jurgis Rhetas, a Gdansk printer, who was invited by and received support from Duke Janusz Radziwiłł, the owner of the town of Kėdainiai, and the father of Bogusław Radziwiłł.[29] Although the printing house itself was relatively short-lived, lasting only a few years (1651–1655), Rhetas' prints were characterised by a good print quality and easy-to-read typeface. The same typeface was used in the publications of the Slutsk printing house, and the encyclopaedia only tentatively suggests that 'the printing house may have been moved to Slutsk in 1655'.[30] We now know that the story of the transfer of the printing house equipment was a little more complicated; the equipment arrived in Slutsk much later, and not from Kėdainiai, but already from Mintauja. After the death of Janusz Radziwiłł, his daughter Anna Maria moved the printing house to Mintauja in Courland, and from 1672 it was moved and established in the possession of Bogusław Radziwiłł.[31]

It is obvious that the idea of establishing a printing house in Slutsk was much earlier, when Bogusław Radziwiłł was still alive, and that he blessed it, perhaps even initiated and supported it himself, and we learn about it from Kłokocki's letter to the Duke of Slutsk of 14 May 1665:

> *Będąc w Warszawie ex occasione jakoś napadłem na drukarza szukającejo służby i z drukarnią więc ad amplificationem miasta słuckiego i to desiderium, aby była drukarnia, bo jej tych czasów cała Litwa nie ma; zaciągnąłem go. Za drukarnią chce ośmset złotych, ale ją puści za sześcet złotych. Rozumem, ze P. Morsztyn pisał do WXMci; a życzę żeby nie rzucac tego, moze byc znaczny pożytek...*

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[27] In Courland manor of Mintauja also lived the daughter of Janusz Radziwiłł, Anna Maria, who became the wife of Bogusław Radziwiłł.

[28] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', pp. 144–145.

[29] 'Rheto spaustuvė', in: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, [31 03 2024]. Access via internet: https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/rheto-spaustuve.

[30] 'Rheto spaustuvė'.

[31] Pociūtė, Dainora, 'Lietuviškosios bažnyčios knyga', in: *Knyga nabožnystės krikščioniškos*, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2004, pp. XXVI–XXVII.

When I was in Warsaw, I chanced to meet a printer who was looking for a job and had a printing press, so *ad amplification* to the city of Slutsk and your desire for a printing press, because the whole of Lithuania does not have a printing press nowadays; I enlisted him. He wants eight hundred *zloty* for the printing press, but he would give it away for six hundred *zloty*. As I understand it, Mr Morsztyn has written to Your Excellency; I wish you would not put it out of your mind, it may be very useful...[32]

The letter testifies to the intensive search for a printing house and a printer, but it took some time to set up, as the new printing house needed not only equipment, but also a printer experienced in this work. The most difficult task was to acquire the printing equipment itself, which was sought much further afield than Vilnius – in Lublin, Warsaw and Königsberg. From the letters, we learn in fragments that there was a man in Warsaw who was authorised to negotiate the price and acquire the printing machine. Thus, this work of organising the printing house took much longer than planned, and was hampered by unforeseen circumstances. Firstly, the death of Bogusław Radziwiłł's wife, Anna Maria Radziwiłł, at childbirth in 1667, followed by the unexpected death of the nobleman Bogusław Radziwiłł himself, put the plans for the establishment of the printing house on hold even longer.[33] Eventually, the printing press was brought from the Mintauja Manor, presumably supplemented by some new machines and other necessary printing equipment from Lublin, and an agreement was finally reached with the printer Łazarowicz, a nobleman and blacksmith, whose family members were also in the service of the Radziwiłłs.[34] Unfortunately, not all of the prints from Slutsk have the name of the printer, only the title page of a 1677 Slutsk publication bears the name of the printer, one Bazylij Łazarowicz.[35]

In the late seventeenth century, apart from the Vilnius printing house there were almost no other printing houses in the whole territory of the GDL, except for the one in Slutsk, one in Liubca, which belonged to the Calvinists, and one in Kėdainiai, which had ceased to operate. Thus, its emergence was simply the result of the situation. However, the output of the printing house itself was more of a secular educational nature, and only a few prints reflect the influence of the Reformed Church.

[32] Kłokocki's letter to Bogusław Radziwiłł, Arch. Radz., dz. V teka 151, nr 6865, obw. III, according to: Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 145.

[33] *Leich-Procession der Durchläutigen Fürstin und Frauen*, Königsberg: Durch Friderich Reusnern, 1667.

[34] Buchwald-Pelcowa, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 147.

[35] Morsztyn, Zbigniew, *Strata niepowetowana przez złamanie wonney a rodzayney palmy*, Słuck: w Drukarni Słuckiey, drukował Bazylij Łazarowicz, 1677.

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It is not surprising that one of the printed publications had to be dedicated to the already deceased (31 December 1669) nobleman Bogusław Radziwiłł, who is mentioned in the sources: *Vitam principis defuncti* (albo *Żywota Bogusława Radziwiłła*)[36] by Zbigniew Morsztyn, who was another of Bogusław Radziwiłł's clients, a close friend and also a relative of Kłokocki's, related through his wife. The publication is mentioned in letters, but its appearance was delayed somewhat and it was not printed until 24 July 1674, when Kłokocki confirmed that 'in his home town of Rumoc he had received a consignment of the finished print.'[37] Although the book has not survived, it shows how close the Radziwiłł's courtiers were. The Polish scholar Elżbieta Bagińska, researching Bogusław Radziwiłł's environment and his *Private diary*, has noted that Radziwiłł's clientele was characterised by the kinship between his servants and clients. Often the courtiers and their children would marry each other, thus forming a close kinship.[38] The Polish researcher Karol Żojdź has even put forward the thesis that Radziwiłł's group of servants and clients was consolidated more by kinship than by religious affiliation,[39] which was exceptional in the case of Kłokocki: he did not renounce his Catholic views, even though he worked exclusively in the Reformed environment. This kinship and fellowship of clients is thus also reflected in the publications produced by Kłokocki: among the three mournful panegyrics printed in Slutsk, one is dedicated to Kłokocki's mother-in-law, Katarzyna Mirska,[40] and the other two to himself.

Slutsk has always been an important centre of the Lithuanian literature. The last member of the Olelkaičiai family, Sofija Olelkaitė, married Janusz Radziwiłł, the patron of the Reformed faith in the GDL, and all the property in Slutsk, Kapyl and other possessions passed on to the Radziwiłł family, along with the famous Duke's library. The Radziwiłł estate in Slutsk was therefore exceptionally famous for its large library, some of the books in this library (about 450) were donated to the library of Frederick

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[36] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 152.

[37] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 152.

[38] For example, Radziwiłł's clients Kłokocki, Stanisław Niezabitowski and Jan Cedrowski married the three daughters of Lyda's hetman Hrehory Mirski: Kłokocki – Regina, Niezabitowski – Mariana, and Cedrowski – Anna. There were more examples of such mutual twinning in the estate. For example, the clients of the Radziwiłł estate were the three Mierzeński brothers (Jan, Aleksander and Samuel), one of them – Jan Mierzeński married Zofia Przypkowska, daughter of Vaclav Przypkowski, Samuel's niece. Zbigniew and Feliks Morsztyn, who served the duke, were closely related to them, and Kazimierz Kłokocki was also in close contact with them.

[39] Cf.: Bagińska, Elżbieta, 'Boguslavo Radvilos įvaizdis...' p. 46.

[40] *Łzy rzewliwe nienagrodzoną opłakiwaiące stratę po zeysciu z tego swiata*, Słuck: W Drukarni Słuckiey, [Druk. Radziwiłłowska], 1681. Description from: *XVII a. Lietuvos lenkiškos knygos: kontrolinis sąrašas*, edited by Marija Ivanovič, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo bibliotekos Bibliografijos ir knygotyros centras, 1998, No. 379.

William (1620–1688), the margrave of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, in Königsberg.[41] The list of donated books bears witness to that.[42] It is known that the nobleman Bogusław Radziwiłł had supported the Königsberg library with various books in the past, and had donated the sum of 300 Fl. for this purpose, and in total, he had donated more than 500 books to the Königsberg library.[43] His daughter, Liudwika Karolina, also gave the library 60 folios and 10 *Quartbände*, which were included in another book catalogue.[44] Thus, a circle of educated people with common interests, a large library and a strong tradition of writing made it easier to develop a publishing operation.

Prints and typography of Slutsk

The printing house flourished from 1673 to 1684 (after Kłokocki's death, it remained open for three more years until 1688).[45] We learn more about the books published by the printing house from a receipt of 1687, which lists the prices of 23 prints from Slutsk, thus revealing the nature of the production and activity of the printing house for 12 years.[46] We can see that it printed funeral panegyrics, calendars, books on warfare and farming relevant to the nobility. According to Kawecka-Grycziowa, one of the first publications of the printing house was a translation of Jan Herman's book *Ziemianin, albo Gospodarz Inflandski...* (1673). This is a work on farm maintenance by Jan Herman (d. ca. 1670), a seventeenth-century German writer from the West Prussian town of Neidenburg, which was translated into Polish in 1671, reprinted in

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[41] Cicėnienė, Rima, 'Senieji atminties institucijų katalogai Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių bibliotekos rankraščių fonduose: Slucko Šv. Elijo vienuolyno 1575 m. inventoriaus atvejis', in: *Bibliotheca Lituana*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2012, Vol. 2: *Atminties institucijų rinkiniai*, p. 261.

[42] *Catalogus Librorum quarumlibet Facultatum, a Celsissimo ac Illustrissimo Principe ac Domino, Dn. Boguslao Radziwil, [...]; S. R. Imperii Principe; [...]etc. etc. electorali, quae Regiomonti Borussorm est, Bibliothecae Legato donatorum* 1668, Regiomonti: Typis Friderici Reusneri, 1673; acc.: Sembrzycki, Johannes, *Die polnischen Reformirten und Unitarier...*, p. 60. Access via internet: https://polona.pl/item-view/8cf58e95-3f96-4aca-9993-4050f6c930af?page=1

[43] Sembrzycki, Johannes, *Die polnischen Reformirten und Unitarier...*, p. 60. Access via internet: https://polona.pl/item-view/8cf58e95-3f96-4aca-9993-4050f6c930af?page=1

[44] *Series librorum, qui Bibliothecae in Prussia Regiae augmento Radziviliano, post editum hujus a. 1673 catalogum novi accessere* (Königsberg, 1712; 2 leaves in folio), written up by librarian Martin Silvester Grabe, jr., cf.: Sembrzycki, Johannes, *Die polnischen Reformirten und Unitarier...*, p. 56. Access via internet: https://polona.pl/item-view/0ab017fb-5c9f-4a06-af59-aa8456e32a3c?page=0

[45] Kawecka-Gryczowa, Alodia; Korotajowa, Krystyna, *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, Wrocław, Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1959, Vol. 5: *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, p. 232.

[46] Kawecka-Gryczowa, Alodia; Korotajowa, Krystyna, *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, p. 232.

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a second edition, and then printed in Slutsk in 1673. Much later, Ignacy Legatowicz, the publisher of the third edition of this book, writes in the preface:

> I have two reasons that led me to the third edition. The first reason is that, although the contents of this work are of moderate value, and although it is a small, partly erroneous and superstitious collection of observations on farming and the household, in my opinion it cannot be indifferent to anyone wishing to write a history of Polish agriculture, which, from the time of the foreigner Krescentina, and then the much later times of Teodor Zawacki, until the time of Haura, for a whole century has had hardly a single other writer than the present translation. The second reason is that perhaps these notes and farming tips will happily come to the attention of zealous farmers who, having learned their lesson, will be willing to correct their mistakes and errors and to make their notes on farming and housework available to the public at large.[47]

Although in the preface there is some criticism of this work for relying on 'erroneous and prejudiced observations', he also stresses that nothing better has been published in the meantime, and that this farm guide has been a good help, and that it may be an incentive to produce a better version. Thus, the first printing of the book also shows its importance for the farm and for raising productivity, and the various farming tips and comments have been useful to many who have read it.

In 1674, a patriotic poem was published to glorify Zbigniew Morsztyn's victory over the Turks at Khotyn: *Sławna Victoria, nad Tvrkami* (Słuck: Drukarnia Radziwiłłowska, 1674)[48] (Fig. 1). Two editions of this publication were printed, the second edition being supplemented by the names of the participants. The publication was very popular, selling out quickly 'among relatives and friends'.[49] It was also relevant because of the newly emerging military power and threat of the Turks, and promoted the knowledge of Turkish culture. It is apparent that several of the later printings were related to the Turkish cultural area. One of them is a meditative print *Męka Chrystusowa w ofierze Mszy św. wyrazona* (*The Passion of Christ in the Sacrifice of the Mass*, or the so-called *Kantyczki*) by Teofilis Rutka (1622–1700).[50] From 1672 to 1973 he lived

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47   *Jana Hermana z Neydenburku Ziemianin albo Gospodarz Inflandski*, W Minsku: W Drukarni Nowéy J. Stefanowicza przy Ulicy Niemihskiey w Domie OO. Rochitów, 1823, [06 04 2024]. Access via internet: http://cyfrowa.biblioteka.zamosc.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=3409&from=pubindex&dirids=5&lp=36.

48   Morsztyn, Zbignew, *Sławna Victoria, nad Tvrkami*, Słuck: Drukarnia Radziwiłłowska, 1674.

49   Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 159.

50   Rutka, Teofil, *Męka Chrystusowa w ofierze Mszy sw. wyrazona*, [Słuck]: Druk. Słvcka, [Druk. Radziwiłłowska], 1674.

SŁAWNA VICTORIA,

NAD

TVRKAMI.

OD WOYSK KORONNYCH:

N

WIELKIEGO XIĘSTWA
LITEWSKIEGO:

pod

CHOCIMEM OTRZYMANA:

w dzień

SWIĘTEGO MARCINA,
w Roku 1673.

Fig. 1. Title page of the book *Sławna Victoria, nad Tvrkami* (Slutsk, 1674).
Vilnius University Library, photograph by Jolita Liškevičienė.

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in Istanbul, where he looked after the family members of the captives.[51] Another outstanding publication of the time was *Monarchia Tvrecka…* (*The Turkish Monarchy*) (1678), which will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this paper.

The Slutsk printing house printed books for the spiritual needs of the man, one of which was *Pieśni nabożne Rzymskiego Kościoła*.[52] Among the publications from Slutsk, only a few could be attributed to the Reformed faith, such as *Godzinki każdodzienne z słowa Bożego wyjęte* (*Everyday Prayers from the Word of God*), written without permission by Krzysztof of Żarnowca and dedicated to the Duchess.[53] The publication was specially written for her needs: a small format (12°) booklet divided into twelve-hour-parts, for meditations and prayers, with psalms.[54] A translation of *Siedm Psalmow spowiednych*[55] and a book of sermons by the priest Daniel Kałaja, known only from an archival description.[56]

Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa also mentions small printings: various formulae sheets (*Formułki*), primers, school printings (*Szkółki*), small calendars, after-lesson instructions (*Instruktarze pogłowne*), tables (*Tablice horyzontalne*), and other small printings that were used for educational or everyday purposes, but which are not usually included in the larger bibliographies.[57] Slutsk was then famous for its Reformed school, so most of the works in the printing house were probably intended for their use.

The last publication of the printing house, a novel written by the young Zawisza and published in 1688, was a two-volume poetic novel entitled *Miłość bez odmiany mocna jako śmierć albo Historyja o Agnulfie, królewicu francuskim, i Floreście, królewnie sycylijskiej* (*Love without Variation as Strong as Death, or the Story of Agnulf, Prince of France and Floresta, Princess of Sicily*), which focuses on the love adventures of the three young protagonists.[58] The author of this novel was Krzysztof

51   He studied at the Jesuit College in Ostrog, then worked at the Jesuit academies and colleges in Kraków (from 1643), Poznań (from 1652), Gdańsk, and was an instructor of the Jesuit educational program in Yaroslavl. Rutka participated as a chaplain accompanying Władysław Szmeling on a mission to the Crimean Tatar Khanate, acc.: *Christian Muslim relations: a bibliographical history*, edited by David Thomas, John Chesworth et al., Leiden: Brill, 2016, pp. 807–808.

52   *Pieśni nabożne Rzymskiego Kościoła,* w Słucku: [Druk. Radziwiłłowska], 1674.

53   Krzysztof z Żarnowca, *Godzinki każdodzienne z słowa Bożego wyjęte*, [Słuck, s.a.].

54   Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 157.

55   Castro, Antonio don, *Siedm Psalmow spowiednych*, Słuck: Drukarnia Słucka, [Druk. Radziwiłłowska], 1674. Access via internet: https://luna.collegiumwitelona.pl/integro/ici/recorddetail?id=oai%3Adbc.wroc.pl%3A24278

56   Rozen, Fryderyk, 'Druki XVI–XVII w. …', p. 6.

57   Kawecka-Gryczowa, Paulina, *Drukarze dawnej Polski…*, p. 233.

58   Zawisza, Krzysztof Stanisław, *Miłość bez odmiany mocna jako śmierć,* Słuck: W Drukarni Słuckiey [Drukarnia Radziwiłłowska], 1688.

Stanisław Zawisza (1666–1721), a twenty-year-old future voivode of Minsk, who has just married Teresa Tyszkiewicz. The plot is full of abrupt turns, chivalric ideals, the interweaving of the world with the themes of constantly tested love, testifying to the need for a new secular literature and to the reading tastes of the nobility at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. At the same time, this publication demonstrates the spread of Italian-French models of writing in the Commonwealth of Both Nations at the time.[59]

After the death of Bogusław Radziwiłł, the only heir to his fortune was the minor Ludwika Karolina Radziwiłł (born 27 February 1667 in Königsberg, died 23 March 1695 in Brzeg), who donated the printing house in Slutsk she inherited from her father to the Reformed Synod of Lithuania in 1693, and in 1705 the entire printing house was transferred to Königsberg.[60] The following books were transported to Königsberg: *Monarchia Turecka* (1678), *Sławna Victoria nad Turkami* (1674) and Jan Herman's *Ziemianin, albo Gospodarz Inflandski...* (1673).[61]

The print runs and prices of the titles published by the Slutsk printing house in Sembrzycki's study provide a better understanding of the volume of production and sales of the printing house. For example, *Kantyczki* was published in a print run of 1,000 copies, *Gospodarz* was published in 1,111 copies at a price of 20 *groszi*, *About the Passion of Christ* was published in a much larger print run of 3,389 copies at a price of 4 *groszi*, primers (at a price of 4 *groszi*), calendars.[62] Thus, prices depended on the size and volume of the book, with small books for everyday use costing 4 *groszi*, and, say, *Gospodarz*, a larger format and volume, costing 20 *groszi*.

What makes the publications of Slutsk printing house stand out? It printed books mainly in Polish, although some were also printed in Latin or had Latin inserts. The books were mainly addressed to a colloquial and reading audience. In regards to its typographical uniqueness, the printing house had a few distinctive and unique decorative elements, such as the coat of arms of the Radziwiłł family and a woodcut vignette, a large laurel wreath surrounding the heraldic Radziwiłł's Eagle, which adorned most of the prints in Slutsk. Nikolaev, a scholar of the Belarusian book, considers this vignette to be the most certain signature of this printing house (Fig. 2).[63] The vignette was split in later printings (from 1678 onwards), but continued to be

[59]   Zawisza, Krzysztof Stanisław, *Miłość bez odmiany mocna jako śmierć,* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo naukowie Sub Lupa, 2015, (*Biblioteka Dawnej Literatury Popularnej i Okolicznościowej*), p. 5.

[60]   Sembrzycki, Johannes, *Die polnischen Reformirten und Unitarier...*, p. 47.

[61]   Sembrzycki, Johannes, *Die polnischen Reformirten und Unitarier...*, p. 47.

[62]   Sembrzycki, Johannes, *Die polnischen Reformirten und Unitarier...*, p. 49.

[63]   'Слуцкая друкарня', in: *Гісторыя беларускай кнігі*, Vol. 1: *Кніжная культура Вялікага Княства Літоўскага*, p. 336.

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Fig. 2. The coat of arms of the Radziwiłłs in a large laurel wreath frame is a signature
of the publications of the Slutsk printing house. From the book *Andrzeia Maximiliana Fredra,
Potrzebne Consideratie...*, Slutsk, 1675. Vilnius University Library, photograph by Jolita Liškevičienė.

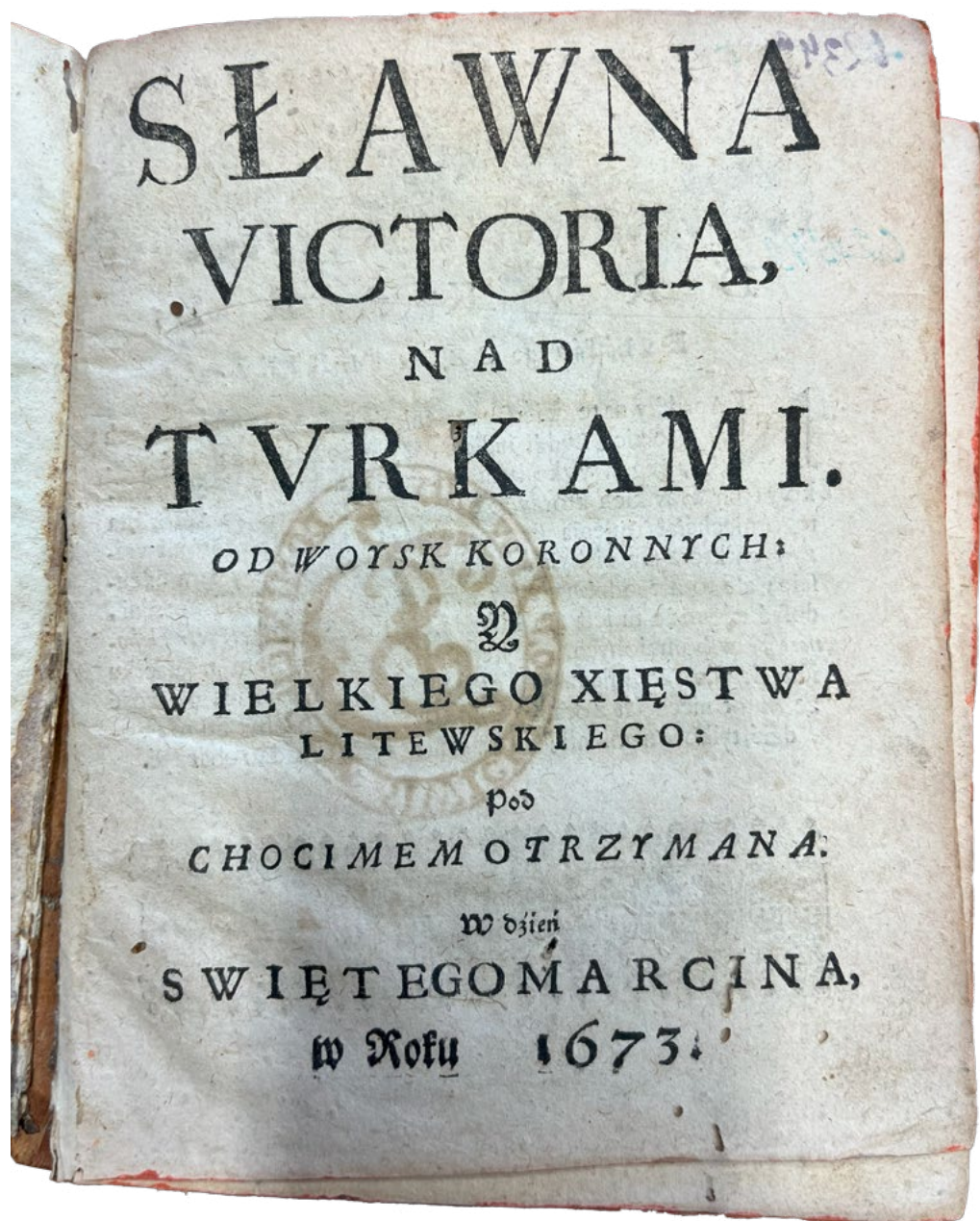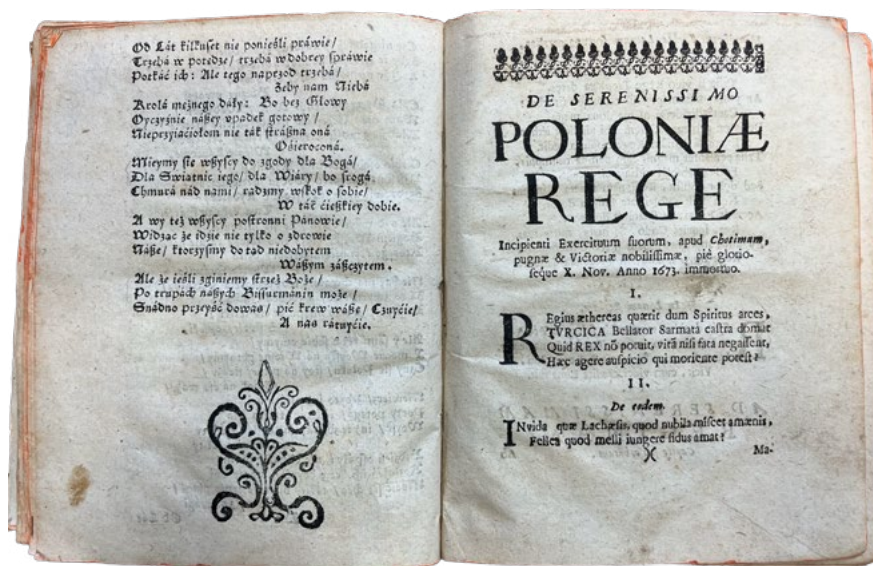**Fig. 3.** Woodcut ornamental vignette decorating several publications of the Slutsk Printing House.
From the book *Sławna Victoria, nad Tvrkami* (Slutsk, 1674). Vilnius University Library,
photograph by Jolita Liškevičienė.

used, thus allowing the dating of later printings. One woodcut ornamental vignette was also typical of the Slutsk printing house, which also adorned other publications of the Slutsk press (Fig. 3). The title page of the publications of the Slutsk printing house usually bore the inscription *Typis Słucensibus* or *Drukarnia Słucka*. The typeface of the books is clear, easy to read, the pages are not overloaded with text, and the margins are left large – these were the distinctive typographical features of the publications of the Slutsk printing house.

The Turkish Monarchy as a Tool for Learning about a New Culture

One of the more significant and noteworthy publishing ventures was the translation from French into Polish of the book *Monarchia Tvrecka…* by the English envoy and diplomat Paul Rycaut (1628–1700), which was an incredible publishing undertaking for the time.[64] The book was translated and printed in Slutsk in 1678, and is a three-part work (252 pages) decorated with 19 copperplate illustrations by the Mogilev artist Maksym Woszczanka.[65] This book is thus the fruit of the work and creativity of several co-authors. The surviving letters from Kłokocki shed some light on the publishing process itself, showing how the French original was obtained, how a translator was sought, and how difficult and uneasy it was to bring together people with the ability to translate and the language skills of the time for such a purpose. Both Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa and Nikolayev (Нікалаеў) think that Kłokocki himself took care of the original and eventually took on the work of a translator,[66] and that the publication of the book was undertaken on the initiative of the nobility of the Radziwiłł's circle.[67] Here we can see the publisher's ambition to have a relevant work and to mobilise a team for this purpose. This is also emphasised in the preface:

> *Dła tego wżiąlem przed się, przełozyć na Polski ięzyk rzecz tak potrzebną, tych czasow osobliwie, kiedy Tureckiey Woyny pogroźka po wszytkich stronach Oyczyzny naszey zabrzamiała, abysmy wiedźieli z iakiemi ludzmi sprawę mieć będziemy, y śiła fałszywych opiniy, ktorych iako y v mnie samego*

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64   Rycaut, Paul, *Monarchia Tvrecka,* Słuck: [Drukarnia Radziwiłłowska], [1678].
     The book was published in a rather large circulation for those times – 1557 copies and cost 4 Polish guilders, acc.: Sembrzycki, Johannes, *Die polnischen Reformirten…*, p. 49.

65   'Voščianka, Maksimas', in: *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas XVI–XVIII a.*, edited by Aistė Paliušytė, Vilnius: Kultūros, filosofijos ir meno institutas, 2005, p. 266.

66   Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 162.

67   Нікалаеў, Мікалай Віктаравіч, *Гісторыя беларускай кнігі*, Vol. 1: *Кніжная культура Вялікага княства Літоўскага*, p. 336.

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było niemało, tak v koźdego pełno iest o tym Narodźie, y postempkach iego, porzućili.

I have therefore undertaken to translate into Polish what is so necessary, especially at this time, when the Turkish War is resounding on all sides in our Homeland, in order to know what kind of people we are dealing with, and in order to dispel the mistaken opinions, which have been abundant in me, as well as in everybody else, about this Nation and its postulates.[68]

The book is also important as an artistic legacy. The Slutsk edition is decorated not only with copper engravings, but also with woodcuts: the signature of the Slutsk printing house and a woodcut vignette. In addition, another woodcut was created for this book, an image of a Turkish hat, which is incorporated into the text itself (p. 55). The majority of the book's illustrations are 19 full-page copper engravings. They were designed by Maksym Woszczanka, who started his printing business in Mogilev, and were the first copper engravings created in what is now Belarus. The Belarusian researcher A. Pikulik, who compared the engravings of the French and Slutsk editions, pointed out that the engravings were not engraved in Slutsk, but in Mogilev, where the printing house he founded was located.[69] It is no coincidence that the artist signed many of the illustrations he created, not only with his name and surname, but also with the place of creation – Mogilev – and the date. The artist's signature on the title page seems to summarise his entire work: *Sculpsit et delinea: Maximus Woszszczanka Mohiloviae A 1678*, meaning "engraved and drawn in Mogilev in 1678". It is no coincidence that the date is also corrected in this signature, with the last number seven corrected to eight, which would indicate that the work was started a year earlier and not completed until 1678. The copper engravings are printed on a separate sheet, with the titles of the illustrations, and the numbers in the right-hand corner indicating the place on which they are to be placed in the book.[70] The illustrations in the book were therefore not integrated into the text, but inserted into the book as stickers. The fact that the illustrations were created separately is also proved by another important appendix at the back of the book, addressed to the bookbinder: *Informacya Introligatorowi: Jako się ma z Kupersztychami sprawowacz / y na ktorym miescu one ma wkleiąc w Xiądze / przestrzegaiąc pilno Alfabetu y Numerun na onych położenego* ("Information for the bookbinder: How to deal with the copper

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[68]   Rycaut, Paul, *Monarchia Tvrecka*, p. 02–02v.

[69]   Пікулік, А. М. 'Барочныя тэндэнцыі ў мастацтве магілёўскіх старадрукаў', in: *Барока ў беларускай культуры і мастацтве*, 2nd edition, Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2001, pp. 247–260.

[70]   Each print reflects the individual work of the bookbinder, sometimes the illustrations look at each other in a mirror manner, sometimes they are reversed, etc.

engravings / and where they should be placed in the book / in accordance with the alphabet and numbering") (Fig. 5). It is a kind of an instruction manual for the book-binder, explaining where to place the illustrations when binding the book and how not to mix them. For this purpose, the artist has provided two numbering systems in the copper engravings, engraving the page number in the right-hand corner of the engraving, and at the bottom of the engraving, he has marked each illustration with the letters A to T (a total of 19 illustrations, with the title frontispiece marked with the letter A). The book block and the illustrations were thus submitted separately to the bookbinder.

The French edition of 1670 is notable and is worth comparing the illustrations of this edition with those of the Polish edition of the Slutsk printing house. The comparison shows that the engraved illustrations of the French edition by Sebastien Le Clerc (1637–1714) were directly followed by the artist Maksym Woszczanka. The compositions of the illustrations are very similar, directly following the model, with identical titles (translated into Polish), but the manner of engraving itself is slightly different: the images are larger and closer, in some cases two engravings are combined into one, and much is freely interpreted. Some of the illustrations have been copied directly, and the image is mirrored when printed. This is not an exact copying, as the Belarusian researchers put it, but a following of a model, with its own details. Thus, the artist's description of his work in the caption as "carved and drawn" indicates the work of creating the drawing and creatively transferring it unto a copper plate. This was the method used by many seventeenth-century copper engravers in the GDL, who were more of the executors, working with the received images rather than creating original ones. Interestingly, this cycle of engravings was Woszczanka's first work of such a large scale in the copper engraving technique (Fig. 5). He was educated in Vilnius by the Jesuit fathers, where he obtained a bachelor's degree in philosophy and liberal arts (1672) and a master's degree in liberal arts (1673), and may also have had some of the printing practice (it is believed he studied in Vilnius with Aleksander Tarasewicz or in his engraving workshop),[71] and then later worked in the printing house of the Orthodox Fellowship of the Transfiguration of Our Lord at Mogilev (as a printer) until his death in 1708.[72] His engraving style is much more primitive than that of the original illustrations, but the engravings are valuable for their relatively high quality of execution and the transposition of Western European iconography to the environment of Slutsk and Mogilev. As far as the printing of translated books in the GDL is

[71] Talbierska, Jolanta, 'Tarasewicz, Aleksander', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Warszawa, Kraków: Instytut Historii PAN, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2018, Vol. LII/2, No. 213, pp. 198–200.
[72] *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas XVI–XVIII a.*, p. 266.

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Fig. 4. Information for the bookbinder: "How to deal with copper engravings and where to place them in the book, observing the alphabet and numbering", from the book *Monarchia Tvrecka* (Slutsk, 1678), p. Qqqr. Warsaw National Library.

Fig. 5. Artist Maxim Voshchanka, title page of *Monarchia Tvrecka* (Slutsk, 1678) with artist's signature. Warsaw National Library.

concerned, we can speak of a "transfer" of Western culture and iconography, and the example under discussion is a clear witness to that.

The publication of this book was of great importance for the nobility of the GDL; it was very popular and widely read. The diaries of the nobility also testify to its popularity, e.g. nobleman K. K. M. Butler was relatively well educated and left the following message in his diary: "Mr M. M. Tomasevich, Voivode and Lieutenant of Breslau, arrived, I gave him the calendar *in quarto* for the year 1695 and loaned him a Polish booklet *in folio Monarchia Turecka* to read."[73] This and other messages show

[73]   Access via internet: https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/istorija/ldk-istorija-lietuvos-slektu-kas-dienybe-pagal-dienorascius-582-335109

Fig. 6. Artist Maxim Voshchanka,
hand-coloured copper engravings from
the book *Monarchia Tvrecka* (Slutsk, 1678).
Vilnius University Library.

Fig. 7. Artist Maxim Voshchanka,
hand-coloured copper engravings from
the book *Monarchia Tvrecka* (Slutsk, 1678).
Vilnius University Library.

that the book was very popular among the nobility. The book was a phenomenon, reflecting the nobility's need for this kind of informative literature, and it was also relevant because of the political situation in Europe and because of the knowledge of a different culture, customs, wardrobe, and the peculiarities of court life, and the copperplate illustrations made it very attractive. The Vilnius University Library holds a copy with all of the book's copper engravings beautifully hand-coloured, which testifies to its special significance for the reader (Fig. 6–7).[74] Interestingly, the book was later published several times in Polish "due to its popularity and scarcity" – in Leipzig (1727) and Warsaw (1732 and 1770).[75]

[74]   VUB III 7189.
[75]   Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 160.

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To summarise the publication of this book, it is a unique and special publication, the result of the combined efforts of many individuals, and it fits the model of a "one-off book", with a preface written by the publisher, which testifies to the publisher's inspiration and ambition to translate and realise a project of relevance and scope.

A Nobleman's Library – the Mirror of His Education and Interests

The successful operation of the printing house was interrupted by the sudden death of Kłokocki. Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki died on 10 October 1684. He was buried in Slutsk on 20 February 1685, before the age of 60.[76] This is also evidenced by the two funeral panegyrics dedicated to his wife and son, printed in Slutsk, which focus on the person in question. A Latin funeral panegyric, written by the Catholic scholar Jerzy Kościuszkiewicz in collaboration with the Jesuit students of Nesvizh *Fascia doloris in solennibus exequias...* ("The Brace of Pain in a Solemn Funeral")[77] is decorated with the woodcut coat of arms of the nobleman, has a four-part poetic text, and one additional poetic piece in Polish, *Condolencya* ("Condolence"), dedicated to his wife, Regina Mirska Kłokocki. It is worth quoting one fragment from the part called "The Lamentations of Wisdom", which also mentions Kłokocki's library and the printing house he owned:

> *[…] Nullis Sapientiae opibus poterat domare sciendi avaritiam,*
> *Non contentus illa, quam in Capite circumferebat BIBLIOTHECA.*
> *Erexit Sapientiae aerarium;*
> *Ad quod nova comportans, & vetera: illa subduxit, haec eripuit oblivioni.*
> *Thesaurisavit thesaurum, quem non tinea demoliebatur.*
> *Sed avaram discendi irritabat famem,*
> *Nunquam enim expletur, vel satiatur literarum aut fames, aut sitis*
> *Et quo plus potae, plus sitiuntur aquae SAPIENTIAE.*
> *Et ut opera tenebrarum semper in lucem prodirent,*
> *Quodque Atticae Noctes concipiunt diem videret.*
> *SLUCENSEM TYPUM induxit:*
> *Qui Sapientum partus ab interitu vindicaret,*
> *Sed qui literas coluit in Vita, Vestrum nunc cultum exigit Camenae.*[78]

[76] Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 64.

[77] Kościuszkiewicz, Jerzy, *Fascia doloris in solennibus exequiis [...] Casimi[ri] Kłokocki vexilliferi Minscensis oblata maestissimo cum tristissima matrefilio [...] Hieronymo Kłokocki in lenimen et solatium ab illustri et nobili iuventute studiosa Collegii Radiviliani Nesvisiensis Societatis Iesv*, Słuck, 1685.

[78] Kościuszkiewicz, Jerzy, *Fascia doloris in solennibus exequiis...*, p. B2v.

[...] No wealth of Wisdom could quench his thirst for knowledge.
Not satisfied with the LIBRARY he carried in [his] head,
He built the Treasury of Wisdom,[79]
Into which, bringing both new and old [wealth], he brought some [to the light],
and freed others from oblivion.
He assembled a treasure that was not eaten by moths, [cf. Matthew 6:20]
But fueled a great hunger for learning,
Because the hunger or thirst for science is never satisfied or satiated,
And the more one drinks of the waters of WISDOM, the more one desires them.
So may the works of darkness come to light [cf. Romans 13:12]
And see by day what *Attic Nights* create,[80]
Founded the SLUTSK PRINTING PRESS.
He who saved the creations of the sages from destruction,
And he himself, while he lived, respected science, now he demands your respect,
the Camenae.

Another print published on the occasion of Kłokocki's death is the panegyric *Nałęcz abo fascia Tromby…* by Marcin Kuczwariewicz.[81] This publication stands out from the rest of the prints of the printing house, as it is adorned with a professionally engraved, allegorical and death symbolising portrait engraving by the Vilnius engraver Aleksander Tarasewicz (signed on the right corner of the print: A. Tarasewicz Sc:).[82] It depicts a waist-length portrait of a nobleman wearing expensive ornamental armour, a fur-lined cloak topped with a sumptuous brooch, holding the insignia of power in his hand, and a sash of the emblematic figure of the coat of arms – *Nałęcz* – framing his portrait. In the foreground of the engraving, in a typical Baroque allegory of time, a horse-mounted Death chases a fleeing stag, a symbol of time, and shoots it with an arrow. Inscription says: *Omni tempore. Sic quaeritur et feritur vita* ("In all times, so life is pursued and hunted"). The inscription at the bottom in an expressive cartouche extends the theme of the engraving: *Lugubri Lugubria. Siste gradum, mortemque magni defleto Parentis. Fleto nefas Manes, et venerare pios* ("Stop your step because of

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79   I.e. the library.
80   A work by the Roman author Aulus Gellius, so called because it was written during long winter nights. There is a baroque play with meanings, because "works of darkness", i.e. books written at night have a positive meaning, unlike in the Bible.
81   Kuczwariewicz, Marcin, *Nałęcz abo fascia Tromby śmiertelney trwogę, życiu y wiekom ludzkim przy pogrzebie*, Słuck: W Drukarni Słuckiey, [Druk. Radziwiłłowska], 1685.
82   This engraving is published on the cover of a newly published book illustrating the baroque theme of death: Koutny-Jones, Aleksandra, *Visual Cultures of Death in Central Europe. Contemplation and Commemoration in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania*, Leiden: Brill, 2015 (The Northern World series, Vol. 73).

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the great loss of the departed father. Weep for the evil spirits and worship the pious")
(Fig. 8). This verse refers to the deceased father, so we can assume that this engraving
may have been taken care of by his son, Hieronim Jan, the voivode of Reczyca, who
later chose the path of a Jesuit, and who lived for a while in Vilnius. Aleksander Tarase-
wicz, an artist working in Vilnius, created a portrait engraving for the publication ded-
icated to the death of his father. The two death panegyrics for Kłokocki discussed
above are distinctive accounts of his life, and the engraved portrait, a priceless work of
art embodying the Baroque allegory of death, is a written and visual memorial to him.

The personality and education of Kłokocki is eloquently attested to by the exten-
sive library of Kazimierz Kłokocki and his son Hieronim, part of which is preserved
in the library of Vilnius University. Very little has been written about his library,
which is not distinguished in the bibliography as a special library of an educated
nobleman of the late seventeenth century, and neither its size nor other details are
known. However, the books with provenance preserved in the Vilnius University Li-
brary may shed some light on this uncertainty. The fact that the Vilnius University
Library has a large number of books with Kłokocki's provenances was noticed by the
staff of the Vilnius University Library, who were the first to start a card catalogue of
these books with Kłokocki's provenance records. On the basis of these data, a list of
the books in the VU Library was prepared, which is presented in the appendix to this
article, and which allows a brief discussion on the nature of the books in the library
of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki and his son Hieronim.

Kazimierz Kłokocki marked his books with a laconic handwritten inscription for
those times – *Ex Libris M. D. Casimiri Kłokocki D[octoris] P[hilosophiae]* ("From
the library of Doctor of Philosophy Kazimierz Kłokocki"), etc. The entry underlines
his educational background – Doctor of Philosophy. A glance at the more than 60
books of this nobleman in the library of Vilnius University reveals his wide range of
interests and the geography of book publishing. Most of the books are dedicated to
physics, mathematics, chemistry, medicine and other exact and philosophical scienc-
es. His library included Peter Borel's *Historiarum et Observationum Medicophysica*,
published in Frankfurt am Main (No. 4), or Libert Froidmont's *Meteorologicorvm*, a
six-volume book published in Antwerp at the Plantin and Moret printing house in
1627 (No. 12) (Fig. 9). Later provenance records and stamps on this book show that it
was used by the Vilnius Medical Society. His library also contained copies of disserta-
tions defended at Vilnius University in the early seventeenth century, with ownership
records. Thus, Kłokocki followed various scientific news and was interested in natu-
ral sciences, as shown by the dissertation *Theoremata et problemata* on mathematics,
optics, geometry and astronomy written by Ioannes Rudomina Dusiatski in 1633

Fig. 8. Artist Aleksander Tarasewicz, Allegorical portrait image of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki from the funeral panegyric *Nalęcz, abo Fascia Tromby...* (Slutsk, 1685). Warsaw National Library, Department of Icononography.

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LIBERTI FROMONDI

S. TH. L.

Collegij Falconis in Academia Louaniensi
Philosophiæ Professoris Primarij

METEOROLOGICORVM

LIBRI SEX.

LABORE CONSTANTIA ET

ANTVERPIÆ,
EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA,
Apud Balthasarem Moretum, & Viduam
Ioannis Moreti, & Io. Meursium.
M. DC. XXVII.

In scriptis libris Casimiri Kłokocki D?

Fig. 9. Title page in *Illvstriora theoremata et problemata mathematica*
(Vilnius, 1633) by Jonas Rudamina Dusetiškis with provenances by Kłokocki
and the Slutsk College. Vilnius University Library.

(No. 46) (Fig. 10), and the dissertation *Centuria astronomica…*[83] on the science of astronomy written by student Albert Dybliński in 1639 (No. 10).

As a person who was actively involved in the war, Kłokocki was interested in the political and military situation in Europe and the rising power of the Turkish Empire, which prompted him to translate and publish the historical work *Monarchia Turecka*, discussed earlier, into Polish. His library collection included a number of books on the Turkish Empire, such as Giuseppe Maraviglia's *Hermes Caelestus*, printed in Venice in 1665 (No. 32), and a collection of world maps. He was able to read fluently in the language, and is believed to have translated a book of orientalist interest, *Żywot Mahometa i opisanie Alkoranu* (*The Life of Muhammad and the Description of Alkoran*), which remained a manuscript.[84]

The books in his library came from a wide geographical area of Europe, and he had several books from Paris, Venice, Nuremberg, Amsterdam, and Frankfurt am Main – from the notable printing centres of the time. Most of the books in Kłokocki's library were acquired from German cities – Augsburg, Helmstadt, Hanau, Kassel, Görlitz, Hamburg, Frankfurt am Oder, Köln, Oliwa and others. His library also included books from the main printing centres of the Netherlands – Antwerp, Rotterdam, Louvain, The Hague and the French border town of Strasbourg. The library also contained books from the printing houses of Cracow, Vilnius, Riga and Königsberg, which were closer to the GDL. Ina Kažuro noted that he was interested in a new equipment for the study of physics and scientific theses defended in Vilnius.[85]

A few books came from the rare scholarly hotbeds of the time, such as a book by Jacob Le Bleu, a student of the *Academia Gissena* (No. 24), which was in his library. Interestingly, Kłokocki even had several books by Kyriakos Lentulus (1620–1678) in his library; he was professor of history, politics and practical philosophy at Herborn and professor of church history and Greek at Marburg. Apparently, Kłokocki liked and followed the work of this professor, and his library contained six books by him (No. 25–30). He also had a two-volume work *Saturnalium sermonum libri duo…* by Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), a famous Flemish thinker, philosopher and humanist of his time (Paris, 1585) (No. 31).

What conditions allowed the nobleman to build up such a rich library? Education, a good command of languages and a taste for books, he was constantly interested in new book innovations, kept track of printers' lists of books and ordered them.

[83] Dybliński, Albert, *Centuria astronomica in Alma Academia ae Universitate Vilnensi Societatis Iesu*, Vilnae: typis Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1639.
[84] Kórnik Library, Rnk, 138. According to: Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 136.
[85] Kažuro, Ina, 'Senojo Vilniaus universiteto tezės…', p. 67.

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ILLVSTRIORA
THEOREMATA
ET
PROBLEMATA
MATHEMATICA
EX
OPTICIS
GEOMETRIA
ASTRONOMIA
SPHÆRA ELEMENTARI
COMPVTO ECCLESIASTICO
IN ALMA ACADEMIA VILNENSI
Societatis IESV
publicè prælecta.
IOANNES RVDOMINA DVSIATSKI
EQVES LITHVANVS
Physicæ & Matheseos Auditor
IN EADEM ACADEMIA
publicè tuebitur.

ANNO DOMINI MDCXXXIII
Typis Academicis.

Fig. 10. Title page of Libert Froidmont's *Meteorologicorvm*
(Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus Printing House, 1627) with the provenance of Kłokocki.
Vilnius University Library, photograph by Jolita Liškevičienė.

We know that his friend Morsztyn, who lived in Königsberg,[86] provided some books at his request. Perhaps this was also encouraged by the gymnasium in Slutsk, which was famous not only for its high level of education, but also for its library, which was enlarged by Duke Bogusław Radziwiłł himself. For a long time, the library of the Reformed Synod of Vilnius was kept there as well. This library contained books in various languages, in addition to the Bible and theological treatises it also hosted secular books, such as the "German universities professors' books",[87] works by ancient authors, works on the history of the European states and other literature. Thus, Kłokocki, while taking care of the printing press and knowing the needs of the gymnasium, was also well aware of the printed materials of the time and the development of scientific thought, which was not only due to his education and his knowledge of many languages. Kłokocki himself collected material on the genealogy of the Radziwiłłs. His library also included a genealogy of the Radziwiłł family by the Lithuanian historian and Jesuit Albertas Vijūkas Kojalavičius (No. 21). The provenance records of the book show that it originally belonged to Kazimierz Kłokocki, then was inherited by his son, and later was donated to the Jesuit College of Kłokocki in Slutsk.

After the death of Kazimierz Kłokocki, his son Hieronim Jan Kłokocki inherited the library. He was born on 14 September 1664, entered the Jesuit monastery in Vilnius on 6 August 1707 and died on 8 October 1721 in Slutsk. He was well educated in Paris, knew geometry, astronomy and architecture, and served as the voivode/governor of Reczyca. Slutsk was a Jesuit mission station from Nesvizh from 1689 to 1704, a residence from 1704 to 1715, and a college from 1715 to 1773.[88] Hieronim followed in his father's footsteps, developing cultural and scientific activities, and later, after becoming a Jesuit, in his own home (manor?) he founded a college and a seminary (*Seminarium Kłokockiego*)[89] in his home town of Slutsk, where he

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[86]   Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki', p. 64.

[87]   *Slucko gimnazijos biblioteka*, in: https://proveniencijos.lnb.lt/Slucko-gimnazijos-biblioteka/

[88]   In 1693, the Jesuits arrived in Slutsk permanently, around 1697 they built their own wooden house and chapel. In 1706, Elder Hieronim Jan Kłokocki of Reczyca donate them his posessions so that their residence would be raised to the rank of a college, acc.: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995,* edited by Ludwik Grzebień, Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1996. Access via internet: *https://www.jezuici.krakow.pl/cgi-bin/rjbo?b=enc&q=SLUTSK&f=1*

[89]   Kłokocki's seminary was opened as early as 1706. Initially, it was located in the former Jesuit residence in 1714–1720, but was later moved to a wooden two-story building built by Jan Klaus in 1717–1720. This building burned down in 1752, so a new brick building was built. It provided scholarship to 12 poor students from nobility. Its first regent was Hieronim Jan Kłokocki. According to: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach...* Access via internet: *https://www.jezuici.krakow.pl/cgi-bin/rjbo?b=enc&q=SLUTSK&f=1*

served as rector (from 1718 until his death in October 1721).[90] The few surviving letters of Hieronim Jan Kłokocki of the Jesuit College in Slutsk attest to his daily activities in the financial well-being of the College.[91] He handed over the books in his library to the college of Slutsk, where they were labelled with the provenance of his position: *Ex Liberalitate Perill[ust]ris M[agnifici] D[omini] D[omini] Hieronymi Kłokocki Capit[anei] Rzeczycensis* ("From the Library of the Reverend Mr Hieronim Kłokocki, Governor of Reczyca"). In some places, the date 1707 is also recorded, indicating that the books were handed over to the college of Slutsk immediately after his entry into the Jesuit Order. The books of father and son Kłokocki formed the core of the library of the Jesuit College of Slutsk, and after the closure of the Jesuit College in the early nineteenth century, some 2,200 books from the library were taken to the library of Vilnius University.[92] Here they were distributed to different faculties. Additional inscriptions on some of the books, printed in Vilnius, indicate that they belonged to the Vilnius Faculty of Medicine and were read and used by many Lithuanian luminaries. At present, the list of books from the Kłokocki's Library in the VU Library consists of almost 70 books in their library. For a more detailed alphabetical list of the books, see the appendix to this article: "Alphabetical list of the books of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki and his son Hieronim Jan Kłokocki, kept in the Vilnius University Library."

Conclusions

If we discuss the personality of Kłokocki, we can ask what kind of publisher and founder of the printing house was he? The founder of the Slutsk printing house is considered to be Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki, who took care of the equipment and the repertoire of the publication, but the printing house itself was under the name of the Radziwiłłs, usually stating the place of the printing house as in Slutsk and the year of the publication.

Kłokocki was an outstanding *Renaissance* personality of his time, educated, multilingual, a great orator, translator, publisher, good economist, soldier, clear-minded, literate, interested in scientific innovation and other cultures. He instilled his

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[90] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach…* Access via internet: https://www.jezuici.krakow.pl/cgi-bin/rjbo?b=enc&q=SLUTSK&f=1

[91] Letters of Hieronim Kłokocki, Rector of the Jesuit College in Slutsk, regarding confirmations of the construction of the Joczany or Paneriai (Ponary) Manor and debt recovery. LMAVB, F. 273–1314; F. 273–435; F. 273–3036.

[92] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach…* Access via internet: https://www.jezuici.krakow.pl/cgi-bin/rjbo?b=enc&q=SLUTSK&f=1

educational abilities in his son, who also collected books, was interested in culture, engaged in patronage, founded a seminary, later joined the Jesuit Order and became rector of the seminary he founded. The large library of an educated nobleman was a unique phenomenon of the time. A part of the father and son's library, which was handed over to the college of Slutsk, is now kept in the library of Vilnius University and is a significant part of the cultural heritage.

The appearance of the publications of the Slutsk printing house corresponded to those typical of the environment of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and typographically they were similar to those of the Kėdainiai printing house, from which its equipment originated. The distinctive feature of these publications is the vignette of the woodcut of the Radziwiłłs' eagle in a laurel wreath by the Slutsk printing house, printed at the beginning or at the end. One of the prints bears the signature of the printer who carried out the work, one Bazilyj Łazarowicz.

The printing house published works that met the needs of the manor and its environment: commemorative works, mainly funeral panegyrics, two of them commemorating the death of Kłokocki himself, calendars, a book on farming, books related to the Turkish culture, as well as prayer books and other small publications for education and other daily needs. Kłokocki's greatest contribution to culture was the translation from French into Polish of the *Monarchia Turecka* (*The Turkish Monarchy*) and its printing in 1678 with copper engravings at the Slutsk printing house. This publication not only provided a broader presentation of the Turkish history, culture, clothes and customs through copper engravings, but was also a popular educational publication, and was quite widely read among the nobility. The book was later reprinted in the eighteenth century.

The printing house and its publications were an important cultural phenomenon of the town of Slutsk and the Radziwiłłs' court, not yet sufficiently integrated into the history and culture of the GDL, and deserving of a greater discussion and research.

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BAV 70.3.3

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Med. 18–19

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BAV 45.9.32b/1-3

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Stamps: *BIBL*[IOTHECA] *CAES*[AREAE] *SOC*[IETATIS] *MED*[ICAE]; *VILN*[ENSIS] *BIBLJOTEKA WIL*[ENSKIEGO] *TOWARZ*[YSTWA] *LEK*[ARSKIEGO]; *SIGILLUM SOCIETATIS MEDICAE VILNENSIS*; inscriptions*: Collegij Slucensis Soc*[ietatis] *JESU*; *ex Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

Bound together: Kessler, Th. *Keslerus Redivivus* ... Franckfurt am Mayn [Frankfurt am Main]: in Verlegung Johan Beyers, 1666; Toxites, M. *Onomastica II* ... Argentorati [Strasbourg]: per Bernhardum Iobinum, 1574; Paracelsus, T. *Onomasticon* ... Basel: bey Peter Perna, 1575.

Med. 818/a-c

5. **Boxhorn, Marcus Zuerius** (1612–1653). *Disquisitiones Politicae*. Editio secunda. Hagae-Comitis [Den Haag]: apud Johannem Verhoeve, 1651.

Jolita Liškevičienė. The Intangible Identity of the Publisher: the Case of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki, Publisher of the Slutsk Printing House

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6. **Case, John** (1546–1600). *Lapis philosophicus* ... Francofurti ad Moenum [Frankfurt am Main]: apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, et Anton. Hierat., 1600.

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7. **Colli, Hippolyt von** (1561–1612). *Princeps, consiliarius, palatinus, sive aulicus, et nobilis.* Editio nova. Helmestadii [Helmstadt]: typis et sumtibus Johannis Heitmulleri, 1667.

Inscriptions (double): *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

8. **Digby, Kenelm** (1603–1665). *Eröffnung unterschiedlicher Heimlichkeiten der Natur* ... Franckfurt [Frankfurt am Main]: verlegt von Balthasar Christoph Wusten, 1671.

Stamp: *SIGILLUM SOCIETATIS MEDICAE VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis Socie*[tatis] *Jesu*; *Ex libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

9. *Discursus politici de ratione status* ... [S.l.]: sumptibus Johannis Brendelii; typis Gottofredi Minzelii, 1664.

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10. **Dybliński, Albert** (1601–1665). *Centuria astronomica* ... Vilnae [Vilnius]: typis Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1639.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[o]*c*[ie]*t*[a]*tis JESU*; *Ex libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

11. **Fabri, Honoré** (1607–1688). *Tractatus duo* ... Norimbergae [Nürnberg]: sumtibus Wolfgangi Mauritii Endteri, et Johannis Andreae Endteri haeredum, 1677.

Stamps: *BIBLJOTEKA WIL*[ENSKIEGO] *TOWARZ*[YSTWA] *LEK*[ARSKIEGO]; *SIGILLUM SOCIETATIS MEDICAE VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae]; *Collegij Slucensis Socie*[ta]*tis JESU*.

12. **Froidmont, Libert** (1587–1653). *Meteorologicorum libri sex.* Antverpiae [Antwerpen]: ex officina Plantiniana, 1627.

Stamps: *BIBLJOTEKA WIL*[ENSKIEGO] *TOWARZ*[YSTWA] *LEK*[ARSKIEGO]; *SIGILLUM SOCIETATIS MEDICÆ VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucen*[sis] *S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Inscriptus libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

13. **Gentillet, Innocent** (1532–1588). *Commentariorum de regno aut quovis principatu recte et tranquille administrando libri tres ...* Argentorati [Strasbourg]: sumptibus Heredum Lazari Zetzneri, 1630.

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14. **Goryński, Piotr** (d. 1542). *Statuta Ducatus Mazouiae ...* Cracouie [Kraków]: [per Hieronymum Vietorem, 1541].

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Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscription: *Inscriptus libri Casimiri Kłokocki D*[doctoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

15. **Habrecht, Isaak** (1589–1633). *Planiglobium coeleste ac terrestre ...* emendatius, auctius ac universalius editum. Norimbergae [Nürnberg]: prostat apud Paulum Fürsten; typis Christophori Gerhardi, [1666].

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[o]*c*[ie]*t*[a]*tis JESU*; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

Bound together: Sprenger, J. T. *Succincta praxis et usus globi coelestis et terrestris ...* Francofurti [Frankfurt am Main]: apud Aegidium Vogelium, 1666.

16. a) **Harsdörffer, Georg Philipp** (1607–1658). *Delitiae mathematicae et physicae der mathematischen und philosophischen Erquickstunden ...* Part 2. Nürnberg: gedruckt und verlegt bey Jeremia Duemlern, 1651.

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16. b) **Harsdörffer, Georg Philipp** (1607–1658). *Delitiae philosophicae et mathematicae der philosophischen und mathematischen Erquickstunden ...* Part 3. Nürnberg: in Verlegung Wolfgang des Juengern und Joh. Andreas Endtern, 1653.

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17. **Hermann, Johann** (17th century). *Liefflaendischer Landman* ... Riga: druktts auff eigene Kosten Henrich Bessemesser, [1662].

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18. **Höffler, Caspar** (1568–1639). *Das neue Bienen-Büchlein* ... Jetzund gantz neu gedruckt. Nürnberg: bey Johann Andreas Endter und Wolffgang des Jüngern Sel. Erben, [post 1656].

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Bound together: *Das edle Fisch-Büchlein* ... Gantz neu an Tag gegeben. Nürnberg: bey Johann Andreas Endter und Wolffgang des Jüngern Sel. Erben, [1665].

19. **Janavičius, Laurynas** (17th century). *Złoty połow na rzekach y wodach smiertelności świata tego* ... W Wilnie [Vilnius]: z drukarni Akademiey Societatis Jesu, 1665.

Inscription (ineligeable): *Jegom*[ości] ... *Panu Kłokockiemu Stolnikowi Wy...*

Ten books bound together.

20. **Jonston, Jan** (1603–1675). *Polyhistoris pars quinta seu rerum à Rudolpho Habsburgico ad Albertum II Austriacum gestarum series*. [S.l.: s.n., 1668].

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21. **Kessler, Thomas** (1575–1642). *Keslerus redivivus* ... zum vierdten mal auffgelegt. Franckfurt am Mayn [Frankfurt am Main]: in Verlegung Johann Beyers, 1641.

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22. **Kojalavičius-Vijūkas, Albertas** (1609–1677). *Fasti Radiviliani ... compendio continentes*. Vilnae [Vilnius]: typis Academicis Soc. Jesu, 1653.

Inscriptions: *Dono Perill*[ustr]*is ac M*[agnifici] *D*[omi]*ni Hieronymi Kłokocki Capitanei Rze-czycensis Inscriptus bibliothecae Slucensi Collegij Kłokociani S*[o]*c*[ieta]*tis JESU*; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

<div align="right">III 10013</div>

23. **Lang, Joseph** (1570–1615). *Elementale mathematicum* ... Friburgi [Freiburg]: impensis Lazari Zetzneri, 1613.

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<div align="right">BAV 45.9.18</div>

24. **Le Bleu, Jacob** (1610–1668). *Caerologia sive de opportunitatis occasione* ... Giessae [Giessen]: sumptib. Casparis Waechtleri; praelo Utziano, 1664.

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<div align="right">BAV 59.9.37</div>

25. **Lentulus, Cyriacus** (1620–1678). *Arcana regnorum et rerumpublica*[r]*um* ... Herbornae Nassoviorum [Herborn]: [Christophorus Corvinus], 1655.

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<div align="right">BAV 58.8.6</div>

26. **Lentulus, Cyriacus** (1620–1678). *Aula Tiberiana et solertissimi ad imperandum principis idea* ... Herbornae Nassoviorum [Herborn]: [s.n.], 1663.

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<div align="right">BAV 58.8.16t</div>

27. **Lentulus, Cyriacus** (1620–1678). *Imperator, sive de jure circa bella et pacem observando* ... Pars prior. Herbornae Nassoviorum [Herborn]: [Johannis Kürsneri], 1664.

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<div align="right">BAV 58.8.9t</div>

28. **Lentulus, Cyriacus** (1620–1678). *Janus reseratus politicus et militaris* ... Marburgi Cattorum [Marburg]: impensis Johannis Kürsneri, 1665.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Ex libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

<div align="right">III 20196</div>

29. **Lentulus, Cyriacus** (1620–1678). *Princeps absolutus* … Herbornae Nassoviorum [Herborn]: [Christophorus Corvinus], 1663.

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<div align="right">**BAV 58.8.36**</div>

30. **Lentulus, Cyriacus** (1620–1678). Prudentia militaris prisci et recentioris aevi … Pars altera. Marpurgi Cattorum [Marburg]: impensis Johannis Kürsneri, 1664.

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<div align="right">**BAV 46.9.11**</div>

31. **Lipsius, Justus** (1547–1606). *Saturnalium sermonum libri duo* … Lutetiae Parisior [Paris]: apud Gulielmum Linocerium, 1585.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis Soc*[ie]*t*[a]*tis JESU*; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

Bound together: Hayck, T. von. *De cervisia, eiusque conficiendi ratione, natura, viribus, et facultatibus, opusculum* … Francofurdi [Frankfurt am Main]: apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, 1585.

<div align="right">**BAV 53.1.11b/1-2**</div>

32. **Maraviglia, Giuseppe Maria** (1617–1684). *Hermes caelestis* … Venetiis [Venezia]: apud Valuas, 1665.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocieta]*tis JESU*; *Ex liberalitate P*[e]*rill*[ust]*ris D*[omi]*ni Hieronymi Kłokocki Capitanei Rzeczycensis*; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

<div align="right">**III 20187**</div>

33. **Mariana, Juan de** (1536–1624). *Hispani … de rege et regis institutione libri III ad Philipphum III* … Editio secunda. [Hanau]: typis Wechselianis; apud haeredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1611.

Inscriptions (double): *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Ex libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

Bound together: Mariana, J. de. *Hispani … de ponderibus et mensuris*. [Hanau]: typis Wechselianis, 1611.

<div align="right">**BAV 59.7.2b/1-2**</div>

34. *Miscellanea curiosa medico-physica academiae naturae curiosorum* … Francofurti et Lipsiae [Frankfurt am Main; Leipzig]: sumptibus Johannis Fritschii, 1677.

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<div align="right">**Med. 1648/II**</div>

35. **Naudé, Gabriel** (1600–1653). *Bibliographia politica* ... Nova Editio. Francofurti [Frankfurt am Main]: cura Heremanni Conringi, 1673.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Ex Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

<div align="right">**BAV 58.8.31t**</div>

36. **Neander, Johann Christoph** (1566–1641). *Discursus de principum potestatis summitate* ... Francofurti an der Oder [Frankfurt an der Oder]: verlegts Melchior Kloseman, [1670].

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<div align="right">**BAV 44.10.32**</div>

37. *Die neue Kunst-Schul, Das ist nuetzlicher Bericht, und rechte Anweisung allerley natürliche, wunderbarliche, seltsame Geheimnissen* ... [Nürnberg]: bey Johann Andreas Endter, und Wolfgang des Jüngern Sel. Erben, [ca. 1670].

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Bound together: Höffler, C. *Das neue Bienen-Buechlein* ... Jetzund gantz neu gedruckt. [Nürnberg: Johann Andreas Endter, po 1656].

<div align="right">**Med. 2591–2592**</div>

38. **Nuisement, Clovis Hesteau de** (1555–1623). *Tractatus de vero sale secreto philosophorum, et de universali mundi spiritu* ... Cassellis [Kassel]: typis Jacobi Gentschii, 1651.

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<div align="right">**BAV 58.8.17t**</div>

39. **Opalinski, Łukasz** (1612–1662). *Lucae Opalenii ... De officiis libri tres* ... Amstelodami [Amsterdam]: in bibliopolio Forsteriano, 1668.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis* [Societatis Jesu]; (corner torn) *Inscriptus libris Ca*[simiri Kłokocki Doctoris Philosophiae].

<div align="right">**BAV 39.8.41**</div>

40. **Osio, Theodato** (ca. 1592–ca. 1658). *Novarum opinionum et sententiarum ex vario rerum intellectualium studio erutarum sylva* ... Francofurti [Frankfurt am Main]: sumptibus Johannis Petri Zubrodt, 1669.

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<div align="right">**BAV 59.10.13**</div>

41. **Pappus, Leonhard** (1607–1677). *Epitome rerum germanicarum, ab anno M.DC.XVII. ad XLIII. gestarum* ... Editio nova. [S.l.: s.n.], 1669.

Jolita Liškevičienė. The Intangible Identity of the Publisher: the Case of Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki, Publisher of the Slutsk Printing House

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Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[*ocietatis*] *J*[*esu*]; *Ex Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[*octoris*] *P*[*hilosophiae*].

42. **Peller von und zu Schoppershof, Christoph** (1630–1711). *Politicus sceleratus impugnatus* ... Editio tertia. Norimbergae [Nürnberg]: impensis Johannis Andreae Endteri, et Wolfgangi Junioris Haeredum, 1669.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[*ECA*] *ACADEM*[*IAE*] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis Soc*[*ietatis*] *JESU*; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[*octoris*] *P*[*hilosophiae*].

43. **Richter, Gregor** (1560–1624). *Editio nova axiomatum politicorum* ... Gorlicii [Görlitz]: excusa sumptib. et typis Ioh. Rhambae, 1604.

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44. **Rocca, Bernardino** (1515–1587). *Du maniement et conduite de l´art et faictz militaires* ... Paris: chez Nicolas Chesneau, 1571.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[*ocietatis*] *J*[*esu*]; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[*octoris*] *P*[*hilosophiae*].

45. **Roomen, Adriaan van** (1561–1615). *Speculum astronomicum, sive organum forma mappae expressum* ... Lovanii [Leuven]: ex officina Ioannis Masij, 1606.

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46. **Rudamina-Dusetiškis, Jonas** (1615–1651). *Illustriora theoremata et problemata mathematica* ... [Vilnius]: typis Academicis, 1633.

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47. **Schott, Kaspar** (1608–1666). *Physica curiosa, sive mirabilia naturae* ... Pars II. Norimbergae [Nürnberg]: Johann Andreas Endter et Wolfgang jun., 1662

Stamp: *SIGILLUM SOCIETATIS MEDICÆ VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[*ocietatis*] *J*[*esu*]; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[*octoris*] *P*[*hilosophiae*].

48. **Schwenter, Daniel** (1585–1636). *Deliciae physico-mathematicae oder mathemat. und philosophische Erquickstunden ...* [Part 1]. Nürnberg: in Verlagung Jeremiae Dümlisch, 1651.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis Societatis JESU*; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[doctoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

49. **Serres, Olivier de** (1539–1619*). Le theatre d'agriculture et mesnage des champs ...* Troisieme edition ... Paris: chez Abr. Saugrain, 1605.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis Societatis JESU*; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

50. **Simmler, Josias** (1530–1576). *La Republique des Svisses ...* Anvers [Antwerpen]: par Iacques Henrycx, 1579.

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51. **Tarde, Jean** (1561–1636). *Les usages du quadrant à l'esguille aymantée ...* Paris: chez Jean Gesselin, 1638.

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52. **Thumbshirn, Abraham von** (1535–1593). *Oeconomia oder nothwendiger Unterricht und Anleitung wie eine gantze HausHaltung ... kan angestellet werden ...* Franckfurt am Mäyn [Frankfurt am Main]; Leipzig: typis Grosianis, 1675.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Casimiri Kłokocki*; *Collegij Slucensis Societatis JESU*.

53. **Thülden, Christian Adolph** (1610–1663). *Historia ab anno Christi M.DC.LII in praesens usque tempus ...* Coloniae [Köln]: apud Ioannem Antonium Kinchium, 1656.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae]; *Collegij Slucensis S*[o]*c*[ie]*t*[a]*tis JESU*.

54. **Trithemius, Iohannes** (1462–1516). *Libri polygraphiae VI ...* Argentorati [Strassburg]: sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri, 1613.

Inscriptions (double): *Collegij Slucensis Soc*[ietatis] *JESU*; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

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55. **Venator, Balthasar** (1594–1664). *Ominosa rerum series in praesentibus Imperii comitiis gestarum* ... [S.l.: s.n.], 1669.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis Soc*[ie]*t*[a]*tis JESU*; *Ex libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

Bound together: *Secunda vice resumta rerum ominosa series* ... [S.l.: s.n.], 1670; *Tertia vice resumta rerum ominosa* series ... [S.l.: s.n.], 1671; *De publica imperii securitate* ... [S.l.: s.n.], 1668.

BAV 38.7.11/1-5

56. **Vergilius Marco, Publius** (70 BC–19 BC). *Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis.* Francofurti [Frankfurt am Main]: typis viduae Matthiae Beckeri, 1613.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; įrašai: *Collegij Slucensis Soc*[ieta]*tis JESU*; *Ex libris Casim*[iri] *Kłokocki* [Doctoris Philosophiae]; *Ex liberalitate Perillustris ac M*[agnifici] *D*[omini] *Hieronymi Kłokocki.*

BAV 34.4.9

57. **Ville, Antoine de** (1596–1658). *De la charge des gouverneurs des places* ... Derniere édition. Rouen: impr. par L. Maurry, 1666.

Inscriptions: *Col*[legij] *Slucensis Soc*[ietatis] *JESU; Inscriptus libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

BAV 47.9.12

58. **Voigt, Johann Heinrich** (1613–1691). *Der kunstgünstigen Einfalt mathematischer Raritäten* ... Hamburg: gedruckt und verlegt bey Georg und Hans Jacob Rebenlein, 1668.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions (double): *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Ex Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

BAV 47.2.29

59. **Vosdassi, Johannes** (17th century). *Ethica ex moribus et cultu Domini in cruce ad mores sacerdotum relata libris VII.* Editio prima. [Oliwa]: typis Monasterii Olivensis, 1676.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Ex Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae]; *Ex Libris Perill*[ustr]*is ac M*[agnifici] *D*[omi]*ni Casimiri Kłokocki Capitanei Rzeczyciensis in S*[o]*c*[ieta]*tis JESU Inscriptus bibliothecae Slucens*[is] *S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu].

BAV 19.8.15

60. **Wassenberg, Eberhard** (1610–1681). *Aurifodina Gallica ordinibus Imperii Romani...* [Den Haag: apud Joannem Laurentium], 1672.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Ex Libris M*[agnifici] *D*[omini] *Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

Bound together: Wassenberg, E. *Gallia, in serenissimam domum lotharingicam* ... Hagae: [Den Haag]: apud Joannem Laurentium, 1671; Wassenberg, E. *Maroboduus* ... [Den Haag: apud Joannem Laurentium], 1672.

III 20192–20194

61. **Zubler, Leonhard** (1565–1611). *Nova geometrica pyrobolia = Neuwe geometrische Büchsen-meisterery* … [S.l.: s.n.], 1614.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions (double): *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Inscriptus Libris Casimiri Kłokocki D*[octoris] *P*[hilosophiae].

Alphabetical list of books by Hieronim Jan Kłokocki
kept in the Vilnius University Library

1. **Arnisaeus, Henning** (1570–1636). *Doctrina politica in genuinam methodum* … Amsterodami [Amsterdam]: apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1693.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; (covered with black ink) … [Hieronymi Kłokocki?].

2. **Bartoli, Daniello** (1608–1685). *Character hominis literati* … Coloniae Agrippinae [Köln]: apud Petrum Alstorff, 1674.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis Soc*[ietatis] *JESU*; *Dono Perillustris M*[agnifici] *D*[omini] *Hieronymi Kłokocki Capitan*[ei] *Rzecz*[ycensis].

3. **Petau, Denis** (1583–1652). *Dionysii Petavii Aurelianensis … Rationarium temporum in partes duas* … Editio secunda. Parisiis [Paris]: sumptibus Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1634.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Collegij Slucensis S*[o]*c*[ieta]*tis JESU ex liberalitate Patris D*[omi]*ni Hieronymi Kłokocki Capitanei Rzeczycensis*.

4. **Pexenfelder, Michael** (1613–1685). *Apparatus eruditionis* … Norimbergae [Nürnberg]: sumptibus Michaelis et Joh. Friderici Endterorum, 1670.

Inscriptions (double): *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu] *ex liberalitate P*[e]*r*[illus]*tris D*[omi]*ni Hieronymi Kłokocki Capitanei Rzeczycensis 1707*.

5. **Sanson d´Abbéville, Nicolas** (1600–1667). *Die gantze Erd-Kugel, bestehend in den vier bekannten Theilen der Welt* … Franckfurt am Mayn [Frankfurt am Main]: in Verlegung Johann David Zunners, 1679.

Stamp: *BIBLIOTH*[ECA] *ACADEM*[IAE] *VILNENSIS*; inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis Societatis JESU*; *Ex liberalitate Perill*[ust]*ris D*[omi]*ni Hieronymi Kłokocki Capitanei Rzeczycensis*.

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6. **Seneca, Lucius Annaeus** (4 BC–65). *Tragoediae* ... Editio postrema. Amstelodami [Amsterdam]: apud Henricum et Theodorum Boom, 1676.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis Soc*[ieta]*tis JESU*; *Ex Liberalitate Perill*[ust]*ris M*[agnifici] *D*[omini] *Hieronymi Kłokocki Capit*[anei] *Rzeczycensis*.

<div align="right">**III 9222**</div>

7. **Spanner, Andreas** (1639–1694). *Polyanthea sacra* ... Tomus primus. Augustae Vindelicorum et Dillingae [Augsburg; Dillingen]: apud Joannem Casparum Bencard., 1702.

Inscriptions: *Ex Liberalitate Perill*[ust]*ris M*[agnifici] *D*[omini] *D*[omini] *Hieronymi Kłokocki Capit*[anei] *Rzeczycen*[sis]; *Residentiae Slucensis Societatis JESU A*[nno] *1706*.

<div align="right">**BAV 9.1.6p**</div>

8. **Vernulaeus, Nicolaus** (1583–1649). *Institutionum politicarum libri quatuor* ... Lovanii [Leuven]: apud Ioannem Vryenborch, 1647.

Inscriptions: *Collegij Slucensis S*[ocietatis] *J*[esu]; *Ex Liberalitate R*[everendi] *P*[atris] *Hieronymi Kłokocki S[ocietatis] J*[esu].

<div align="right">**BAV 58.1.7**</div>

List of publications was compiled by the librarians of the Rare Books Division of Vilnius University Library: Virginija Galvanauskaitė, Sondra Rankelienė, Aušra Rinkevičiūtė

Hebrew Printing in Moravia in the Late Eighteenth Century: Exploring the Highs and the Lows of a Local Print Shop

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Abstract. This paper explores the only long-lasting Hebrew printing house in Moravia, operated by the Neumann family and later by Josef Rossmann in Brno (Brünn) and Mikulov (Nikolsburg) between 1753 and 1803. The aim is to examine the Moravian Hebrew printing within a broader context, and assess the significance of this regional, narrowly oriented printing house.

This research is based on analysis of 108 editions in Hebrew, Yiddish and Jüdischdeutsch published in Brno and Mikulov. These primary sources, especially their paratexts, together with archival sources are the background for further conclusions presented in this paper. By examining the printed works in terms of genres, themes and languages, and identifying published authors as well as discerning the publishing strategy employed by the Moravian Hebrew print shop, this study reveals a nuanced picture of this enterprise.

Despite its local focus, with connections to regional authors and a limited publishing strategy, the printing house demonstrated some aspirations to transcend its provincial status. This was evident through endeavours such as reprinting Jewish Enlightenment editions and seeking to broaden its market reach. The Moravian Hebrew printing house can serve as a model for similar enterprises on the periphery; this research thus contributes to a deeper understanding of their potential and constraints.

Keywords: Hebrew printing; Moravia; eighteenth century; Josef Karl Neumann; Josef Rossmann.

Introduction

In the late eighteenth century, traditional Jewish society underwent a process of transformation, greatly influenced by the Jewish Enlightenment, the *Haskalah*. This transformation is also reflected in the output of the only Hebrew printing house operating in Moravia between 1753 and 1803. This printing house run by members of Neumann family and later by Josef Rossmann has been so far studied only marginally, with a focus on its history rather than printing production. Even without emphasizing the fact that Hebrew printing is a peripheral phenomenon compared to printing in general, at least in terms of quantity, this printing house can be characterised as peripheral also in terms of the number of editions, volume of output, geography and

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reach.[1] As a territory of the Habsburg monarchy, Moravia was on the periphery of the German-language area and the German-speaking Jewish settlement. The second half of the eighteenth century saw a period of stagnation for Hebrew printing (not only) in the Habsburg monarchy – the Hebrew printing houses in Prague were in decline, while the Hebrew printing in Vienna did not begin until the early 1790s. Due to these facts, Moravian Hebrew printing, along with Hebrew printing in the eighteenth century in general, has been usually overlooked.[2]

This research is based on the detailed analysis of printed production of Moravian Hebrew printing press, which during 50 years of its activity in 1753–1803 published 108 editions in Hebrew, Yiddish and Jüdischdeutsch. These editions, along with archival sources, are primary sources for my research.[3] The printed production was analysed in terms of authors, genres, themes and languages; research into paratexts revealed also details about published authors and the publishing strategy which were up to now neglected. This approach will reveal more details about the working of the Moravian printing house, but also more generally about specialised workshops out of the centres.

[1] Hebrew printing and Jewish book culture have so far received less attention by modern book historians. While there are some partial studies available, they have focused on specific themes or regions, and a comparison to general book printing in particular is still missing. A modern perspective, based on a quantitative analysis of Hebrew printing of the earlier period, is adopted for instance by Pavel Sládek, e.g. Sládek, Pavel, 'Printing of Learned Literature in Hebrew, 1510–1630', in: *Print Culture at the Crossroads: The Book and Central Europe*, edited by Elisabeth Dillenburg, Howard Louthan, Drew B. Thomas, Leiden: Brill, 2021, pp. 387–410.

[2] There are several important studies on the Hebrew printing in the eighteenth century by M. Andreatta, J. Baumgarten, M. Bendowska, F. Bregoli, G. Freudenthal, D. Sadowski, B. Strobach, but we do not have any systematic treatise, except for – with a few reservations – Gries, Zeev, *Book in the Jewish World, 1700–1900*, Oxford, Portland: Littmann Library of Jewish Civilization, 2014. For an overview with further bibliography, see Hill, Brad Sabin, 'Hebrew Printing', in: *The Encyclopaedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by Geoffrey Kahn, Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 233–262; Schrijver, Emile G. L., 'Jewish Book Culture since the Invention of Printing (1469–ca. 1815)', in: *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, edited by Jonathan Karp, Adam Sutclife, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 291–315; see also the entries in the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Book Cultures Online*, edited by Emile Schrijver, Leiden: Brill, first published online 2021.

[3] The bibliographical data are based on Vinograd,Yeshayahu, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book. An Inventory of Books Printed in Hebrew from the Beginning of Hebrew Printing ca. 1469 to 1863*, Jerusalem: Institut for Computerized Bibliography, 1993–1995, Vol. 2, pp. 109–111 (Brunn), p. 480 (Mikulov), the BHB database (*Bibliography of the Hebrew Book 1470–1960*. Access via internet: https://www.nli.org.il/en/research-and-teach/catalogs/bibliographic-databases#hebrewbook) and the catalog search (especially catalogs of the Library of the Jewish Museum in Prague and the National Library of Israel).

Broader Context of Hebrew Printing in Moravia

During the five decades of its operation, the Hebrew printing house in Brno published, among others, two prayer books. The first one is a two-volume *mahzor*, a prayer book for the Jewish High Holidays,[4] printed in Hebrew with instructions in Yiddish, the vernacular language of the Ashkenazi Jews (Fig. 1). The second one is titled *Gebete der Juden*, a German translation of the prayer book for the weekday, *siddur*, printed in Hebrew letters.[5] Apart from the forty-year gap between their publication, the most noteworthy difference between these two prayer books lies in the cultural gap in their target audience. While the first prayer book was intended for traditional Jews, the second one aimed at a newly emerging, narrow group of modernized Jews known as *maskilim*, who were influenced by the ideas of the Jewish Enlightenment, the *Haskalah*. I do not mean to imply that the latter prayer book replaced the previous one, quite the contrary. Still, their publication serves as an example of the changes occurring within Jewish society in the second half of the eighteenth century. Since these changes are also reflected in the printed output of other contemporary printing houses, the Moravian Hebrew printing house was not an exception in this trend.

Both prayer books were published in Brno (Brünn), where the only continuously operating Hebrew printing house in Moravia was founded in 1753.[6] After the death of its founder Franz Josef Neumann in 1760, his widow Anna Franzisca Neumann took over the printing press and temporarily relocated the business to the nearby city of Mikulov (Nikolsburg). It was during this time that the printing house started printing books in Latin, German and Czech.[7] The printing house

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[4]   *Mahzor* in two parts: *Maḥzor ḥeleḳ rishon / sheni ke-minhag Pehem Polin Merhrin we-Rejsen…*, Brno: Franz Josef Neumann, 1756 (BHB 000306698, part two).

[5]   *Gebete der Juden oyf dos gantse jor*, Brno: Josef Karl Neumann, 1796, not in BHB.

[6]   The first Hebrew books in Moravia were printed by Isaac Prostitz between 1602 and 1605 in his native Prostějov (Prossnitz). More on Prostitz see Jelínková, Andrea, 'Hebrew Printing in Moravia at the Beginning of the 17th Century', in: *Hebrew Printing in Bohemia and Moravia*, edited by Olga Sixtová, Prague: Jewish Museum in Prague – Academia, 2012, pp. 153–163; Heller, Marvin J., 'Often Overlooked: Hebrew Printing in Prostejov (Prossnitz)', in: *Further Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 117–127. Apart from Brno and Mikulov, books in Hebrew in the Habsburg monarchy were printed in Prague from 1512, and in Vienna from 1794. Hebrew printing houses were located in Lviv (Lemberg) and Zolkiew (Zhovkva) in Galicia (now Ukraine), which was part of the Habsburg empire from the 1770s. On Hebrew printing in Bohemia see *Hebrew Printing in Bohemia and Moravia*; for the later period, see Hecht, Louise, editor, *Judaica Olomucensia*, 2015, No. 1, Special Issue: Jewish Printing Culture between Brno, Prague and Vienna in the Era of Modernization, 1750–1850.

[7]   For more details on the Neumann Latin, German and Czech printing house see Jelínková, Andrea, 'From Mikulov to Brno – the Neumann Printing House and its Production', *Knihy a dějiny*, 2021, Vol. 28, pp. 6–38.

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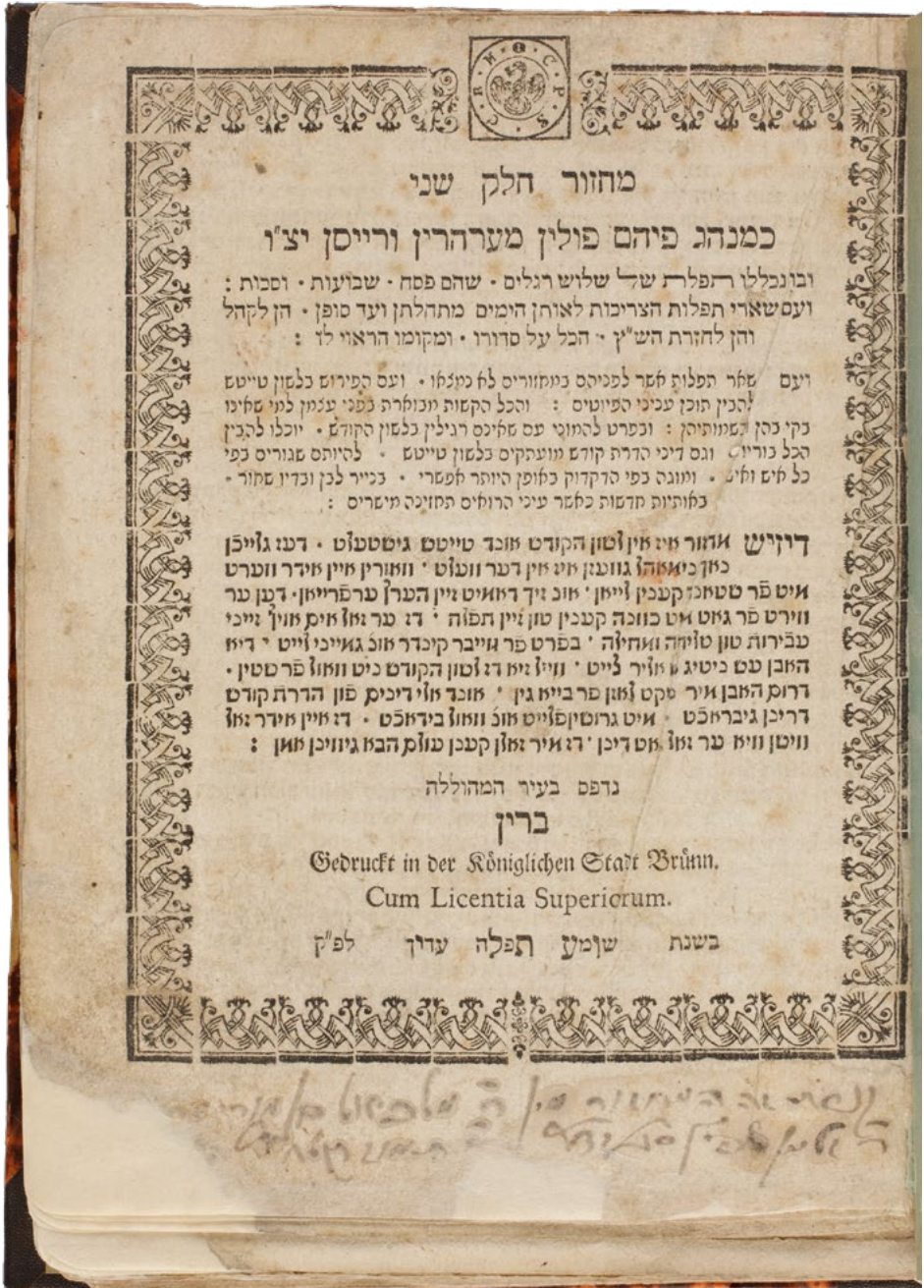
Fig. 1. Prayerbook for High Holidays, *Mahzor,* Brno: Franz Josef Neumann, 1756.
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague.

eventually moved back to Brno and split into two separate enterprises, a non-Hebrew and a Hebrew one. The Hebrew printing house was managed from 1781 by the founder's son Josef Karl Neumann. In 1797, Neumann sold the business to his former partner Josef Rossmann, who ceased operations six years later and the printing equipment ended up being auctioned.[8] The founder of the printing house, Franz Josef Neumann, was a Jewish convert to Christianity, while the other owners were all Christians.

Involvement of the Christian printers in Hebrew printing was a common feature in this era. This was the case of the sixteenth-century Venice, then the capital of Hebrew printing, where Jews were not allowed to own print shops. The most important Venetian print shops producing books in Hebrew (Bomberg, Giustiniani, Zanetti, di Gara) were run by Christians, and the same is true for the print shops of northern and central Europe (Switzerland, Germany) in the age of the Reformation. It was rather exceptional for Jewish printers to have complete ownership of the printing press, and this feature was typical for early modern Central and Eastern Europe – for example, Prague, Cracow or Lublin. As the printing became more widespread and the centres of Jewish life shifted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the number of Hebrew printing houses grew – mainly in the German cities (Frankfurt/Main and Oder, Hanau, Jessnitz, Fürth, Sulzbach) and in northern Italy (Livorno).[9] From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, Amsterdam became the most important centre of the Hebrew and Yiddish printing in Central Europe, catering also to the needs of the Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe.[10]

Since its establishment, Neumann printing house had several advantages. The printer had a monopoly on the printing of Hebrew books in Moravia and the exclusive right to import them, which was otherwise prohibited. Such a vast support

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[8] On the Neumann and Rossmann Hebrew printing house see Freimann, Aharon, 'Die hebräische Druckereien in Mähren', *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, 1917, Vol. 20, pp. 33–44; Flodrová, Milena; Nosek, Bedřich, 'Auswahlkatalog hebräischer Drucke Brünner Provenienz', *Judaica Bohemiae*, 1975, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 83–104; Jelínková, Andrea, 'Ohncensurirte viel übles in sich enthaltende Bücher. On the Registration and Censorship of Hebrew Books in Moravia in the mid-Eighteenth Century', *Judaica Bohemiae*, 2019, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 5–30; Jelínková, Andrea, 'Publishing Practice and Reading Culture of Moravian Jews in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', *Judaica Bohemiae*, 2022, Vol. 57, No. 1, pp. 33–62 with references to older literature.

[9] In addition to the literature mentioned in footnote 2, see the entry 'Printing, Hebrew', in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edition, edited by Fred Skolnik, Michael Berenbaum, Detroit, New York, San Francisco, New Haven, London: Thomson Gale, 2007, Vol. 16, pp. 529–538; also Heller, Marvin J., *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, 2 Vols.; Heller, Marvin J., *The Seventeenth Century Hebrew Book*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 2 Vols.

[10] On Amsterdam see Berger, Shlomo Z., 'Books for the Masses: The Amsterdam Yiddish Book Industry 1650–1800', *European Judaism*, 2009, Vol. 42, pp. 24–33.

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was unparalleled in Moravia or neighbouring Bohemia.[11] However, this favour did not result from the emperor's generosity, but was rather purposeful and driven by the economic motives and pragmatism. In line with the principles of mercantilism, domestic business was encouraged, which in turn facilitated censorship, regulation and supervision of book production and trade. In light of potential local sales, demographic data reveals a relatively small population.[12] The output of the Moravian printing house was certainly not limited to only serving local needs; in the mid-1750s, the founder Neumann had the privilege of exporting Hebrew books to neighbouring Silesia; later, however, his successor's attempt to obtain privileges for printing liturgy and Bible for the Sephardic Jews of Vienna in the 1790s did not succeeded. The first destination for export to consider was certainly Austrian Poland, which fell under Habsburg rule after the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772. However, we lack data to confirm any export.[13] On the other hand it is worth mentioning that the export of Jewish books was facilitated by the nature of the Jewish languages, i.e. Hebrew and both Jewish vernaculars, Yiddish and Jüdischdeutsch, which were used throughout the Ashkenazi region, with no regard to borders.

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[11] Moravia (Margraviate of Moravia) is a historical region in the east of today's Czech Republic, one of the historical Czech lands (formed by Bohemia, Moravia and Czech Silesia). Czech lands were part of the Habsburg monarchy, Brno was a capital of Moravia. On Moravia see Miller, Michael Laurence, *Rabbis and Revolution. The Jews of Moravia in the Age of Emancipation*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

[12] The number of Jewish inhabitants in Moravia reached about 20,000 in the middle of the eighteenth century and 28,000 at its end, representing about 2.2% of the total population. Approximately half of them were women and children, whose literacy and reading ability was limited. This leaves about 10,000 persons who may be assumed to have some reading ability, which does not imply that they actually engaged in reading. Data from Putík, Alexandr; Sixtová, Olga, *History of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia. From the First Settlements until Emancipation: Exhibition Guide*, Prague: Jewish Museum in Prague, 2002, p. 70 and pp. 75–76; Miller, Michael Laurence, *Rabbis and Revolution,* p. 350. On Jewish reading in the earlier period see Bonfil, Robert, 'Reading in the Jewish Communities of Western Europe in the Middle Ages', in: *History of Reading in the West*, edited by Gugliel-mo Cavallo, Roger Chartier, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999, pp. 149–178; Shear, Adam, 'Audiences of Jewish Books since the Invention of Printing', in: *Encyclopedia of Jewish Book Cultures Online*.

[13] It is not clear whether the imports to Austrian Poland were restricted by the existing privileges of the local printers. Documentation from 1793 reveals the efforts of the Viennese printers Hraschanzky and Schmid to enter the market in Silesia, where they allegedly succeeded more than in the Czech lands. However, both of them were, unlike Neumann, wealthy printers. See Cermanová, Iveta 'The Fall and Rise of Hebrew Book Printing in Bohemia 1780–1850', in: *Hebrew Printing in Bohemia and Moravia*, edited by Olga Sixtová, Prague: Jewish Museum in Prague – Academia, 2012 pp. 215–237, here p. 226.

Universal and Specific in the Output of the Moravian Printing House

As mentioned previously, the basis for the conclusions is the analysis of 108 editions in Hebrew, Yiddish and Jüdischdeutsch printed between 1753–1803 in Moravian towns of Brno and Mikulov. The closer examination revealed, that the Neumann and Rossmann print shop printed mainly liturgy and *halakhah* (Jewish religious law). About 40% of the published titles was liturgy (various prayer books), while religious law made up more than 22%.[14] (Fig. 2) The remaining portion of the print output, slightly less than 40%, comprises ethics and philosophy (12%), devotional literature (11%), educational and popular educational literature (10%), and Bibles and miscellanea (7% combined). In the late 1780s, the printing house also published several works influenced by *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment, both reprinted and original ones (e.g., the first Jewish monthly in German printed in Hebrew letters, translations of Psalms into German or a book of poetry).[15] New genres emerged too, covering both non-religious and purely secular topics, such as a biography of Emperor Joseph II, a handbook for official correspondence, or a chronicle documenting historical events in the Habsburg monarchy between 1740 and 1800.[16] Although interesting, this part of the production was marginal in the Neumann and Rossmann printing output. The printer also published several reprints of books published originally by the *Orientalische Buchdruckerei* in Berlin, a printing house publishing exclusively educational Enlightenment literature, which became a flagship of the Berlin *Haskalah*.[17] It is also evident that some *Haskalah* editions were printed

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[14] The percentage is based on the titles and editions, not on the print run. The latter was by far the largestfor liturgical literature, as it was used on a daily basis.

[15] In 1798, two works by Moses Mendelssohn, *Sefer ha-nefesh* (BHB 000300686) and *Fedon* (BHB 000300688) were reprinted among others in Brno. The original works are e.g. *Jidishdajtshe monatsshrift*, Prague, Brno: Elsenwanger [Josef Rossmann], 1802, not in BHB; translation of Psalms *Tehilim*, Brno: Josef Karl Neumann, 1797 (BHB 000304836); a "language poetry" *Shire tehila,* Brno: Josef Rossmann, 1800 (BHB 000121754).

[16] *Karakteristik/Lebens beshrajbung Josefs II*, Brno: Josef Rossmann, 1799, not in BHB; *Der folshtendige landadfokat*, Brno: Josef Rossmann, 1799, not in BHB; Trebitsch, Avraham, *Korot ha-ʿitim*, Brno: Josef Rossmann, 1801 (BHB 000133646).

[17] On the Orientalische Buchdruckerei see Lohman, Uta, 'Sustenance for the Learned Soul: The History of the Oriental Printing Press at the Publishing House of the Jewish Free School in Berlin', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 2006, Vol. 51, pp. 11–40; Feiner, Shmuel; Naimark-Goldberg, Nathalie, *Cultural Revolution in Berlin: Jews in the Age of Enlightenment*, Oxford: Bodleian Libraries – University of Oxford, 2011, pp. 55–60; Feiner, Shmuel, *The Jewish Enlightenment*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, pp. 322–327; Sadowski, Dirk, 'Orientalische Buchdruckerey', in: *Enzyklopädie jüdischer Geschichte und Kultur*, edited by Dan Diner, Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2013, Vol. 4, pp. 441–444.

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Fig. 2. Penitential prayers, *Slihot*, Brno: Franz Josef Neumann, 1757.
Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague.

in Brno at the behest of the Prague group of young adherents of the *Haskalah* who chose to publish it on neutral location to avoid confrontation with the traditionally minded Prague scholarly and rabbinic establishment.[18] This part of the production was probably also aimed at export. As a novel kind of literature, it had a potential to be exported especially to the Austrian Poland where the large Jewish community presented a promising market for sales. Even after considering the export on one hand, and the import, albeit limited, to Moravia on the other, it is obvious that the printing output of the only printing house reflects the local need and demand, as well as the contemporary reading interests constantly shaped by changing socio-cultural circumstances.

With regards to the genres, themes and publishing strategies of the Neumann and Rossmann printing shop, a detailed analysis of the Moravian Hebrew printed production revealed two specific kinds of literature: the publications of liturgy beyond the standard prayer books for daily and festive liturgy[19] and those of religious-legal literature (*halakhah*) written by living authors, especially Moravian rabbis and educated lay leaders. Nearly 70% (16 out of 23 editions) of the religious-legal works are written by Moravian living authors, indicating a higher proportion compared to other Hebrew printing shops in Prague or Vienna. In terms of the publishing mode, this type of literature – contemporary *halakhah* and, to a lesser extent, specific liturgy – was mostly published at the author's expenses, often with contributions from their family or relatives. Usually, it was the only author's published book, and the only edition at the same time. These editions, along with religious-legal works of traditional authors, commissioned by the heads of Moravian *yeshivot*, the higher Talmudic religious schools, reflect the connection between the Moravian Hebrew printing press and local Jews. The publishing of contemporary religious-legal literature provides, alongside with the author's self-presentation, an example of the intellectual capital that Moravian traditional *yeshivot* offered. By publishing their own works in a local printing shop, the Moravian authors became published authors, and therefore could enter contemporary religious-legal debates in a larger Ashkenazi area (Fig. 3–4).

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[18] The threats of the "Talmudists and Rabbanists" against the publishers of *Jüdischdeutsche Monatschrift* are mentioned by Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein. See Kestenberg-Gladstein, Ruth, 'A Voice from the Prague Enlightenment', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 1964, Vol. 9, Issue 1, pp. 295–304, p. 297, footnote 11.

[19] Several editions of the so-called *tikunim* liturgy, containing customs based on Kabbalah, e.g. collection of prayers *Likutej tilim*, Brno: Josef Karl Neumann, 1790, which its editor Jehuda Kobler published because "… these tikunim are not even in Moravian siddurim, but only in manuscripts".

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Fig. 3. Jacob ben Mordecai Model, supercommentary on Asher ben Jehiel *Masekhet Makot*, Brno: Josef Karl Neumann, 1786. Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague.

Fig. 4. Shelomo ben Adret, *Hidushei halakhot le-ha-RaSHBa*, Brno: Josef Rossmann, 1798. Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague.

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The Ups and Downs of the Moravian Printing House

In reality, the situation of the Hebrew printing in Moravia was much more complicated than this idealised view. A more in-depth analysis shows that the printing production experienced significant ups and downs, and there were periods of several years without any works being printed. Archival documents confirm that the printer was often indebted. Despite declaring bankruptcy in the mid-1780s, the company was later rescued thanks to the support of the company of several business partners (*kompagnie*), which funded the development of the print shop and also several editions. In 1797, Josef Karl Neumann sold the printing house to one of his former creditors, who continued printing for next six years, but closed the print shop down in 1803. This marked the downfall of the Neumann and Rossmann print shop, despite its monopoly on printing Hebrew books in Moravia and little competition in other parts of the Habsburg monarchy.[20] All in all, the final quarter of the eighteenth century was certainly not a glorious time for the Hebrew printing. Yet, what constraints did the Moravian Hebrew printing house have to face and what held back from its development and prosperity? Furthermore, were these constraints specific to the conditions in Moravia, or were they, in more general terms, also relevant to other Hebrew printers in the Habsburg monarchy?

The example of the Moravian Hebrew printing house illustrates the difficulties faced by a regional printing house and sheds some light on the factors, both subjective and objective, that affected its functioning. The Neumann and Rossmann printing house in Brno was a local print shop specialising in printing for a religious and linguistic minority, and what should be emphasized, a traditionally oriented minority. The Jewish population in Moravia was greatly impacted by a ban that barred Jews from residing in royal towns. Even in Brno, the capital city where the printing house operated, the Jewish community was almost non-existent.[21] Most Moravian Jews thus lived dispersed throughout smaller towns and villages; these traditionally oriented rural Jews were tightly integrated into their communities and had no need to define

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[20]   In Vienna, the Hebrew printing houses had not started continuous printing until the early 1790s, and the Hebrew printing house in Prague was stagnating. On Vienna and the situation of Hebrew printing in general Hecht, Louise, 'Christian Printers as Agents of Jewish Modernization? Hebrew Printers in Prague, Brno and Vienna', *Judaica Olomucensia*, 2015, No. 1, pp. 30–52; on Hebrew printing in Prague see Cermanová, Iveta, 'The Fall and Rise', pp. 215–237.

[21]   Only a small number of Jews lived permanently in Brno, most of them were members of the Dobrushka family. The family supported the Sabbatian heresy, and later, thanks to Shendl Dobruska, Brno became the Moravian centre of Frankism. See Miller, Michael Laurence, *Rabbis and Revolution*, pp. 52–59; on Frankists see Maciejko, Pawel, *The Mixed Multitude: Jacob Frank and the Frankist Movement, 1755–1816*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, [2011].

themselves in contrast to the modernity and acculturation, generally associated with urban life.[22] Adherence to the tradition was also present in the Moravian Hebrew printing production, which strongly influenced the sales and hindered the publishing strategy.

As previously noted, the core of the production consisted in liturgy, various types of prayer books, and religious-legal literature (*halakha*); indeed, these genres dominated in the contemporary print production in Hebrew.[23] Liturgical editions were not only the most frequent but they also had the highest print run due to their higher circulation.[24] In principle, liturgy was intended for the largest audience, yet within liturgy there are quite different types, as evidenced by the two different prayer books introduced earlier. Devotional literature in Yiddish and the Bibles were also aimed at the widest audience.[25] Religious-legal literature was printed at the initiative of rabbis and religious teachers to supplement the studies in higher religious schools, *yeshivot*.[26] As for other genres printed in Moravia – ethics, philosophy and educational literature in Hebrew – the target audience is not as univocal, but it was certainly not a mainstream literature for the masses.

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[22] The low level of acculturation in no way precludes the functional integration of Jewish communities into the state administration. However, religious life at that time was shaken by the Frankist movement, which had many supporters in Moravia. On different levels of acculturation Feiner, Samuel; Naimark-Goldberg, Nathalie, *Cultural Revolution in Berlin*; Feiner, Shmuel, *The Jewish Enlightenment*; in Italy, Bregoli, Francesca, *Mediterranean Enlightenment: Livornese Jews, Tuscan Culture and Eighteenth-Century Reform,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.

[23] Liturgy accounted for roughly one-third (Sadowski) to one-half (Schmelzer) of the output of Hebrew printers between 1650 and 1770. Other strongly represented genres are religious-legal literature and Bible. For details see Schmelzer, Menaham, 'Hebrew Printing and Publishing in Germany 1650–1750: On Jewish Book Culture and the Emergence of Modern Jewry', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 1988, Vol. 33, pp. 369–383, here p. 380, and Sadowski, Dirk, 'A Hybrid Space of Knowledge and Communication: Hebrew Printing in Jessnitz, 1718–1748', in: *Space and Spatiality in Modern German Jewish History*, edited by Simone Lässig, Miriam Rütrup, Oxford, New York: Berghahn, 2017, pp. 215–230, here p. 219.

[24] According to archival sources, the print run oscillated between 400–2000 copies, i.e. with an average of 1200 copies.

[25] Nonetheless, this isn't without reservations, as seen in the controversy caused by Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible into German (*Biʾur*).

[26] It is quite surprising that traditional editions of the Bible or its adaptations (*Tzeʾena u-reʾeena*), or manuals for ritual slaughter are, with one exception, completely absent from Moravian print production. On the other hand, we can not expect a small printing house to print the large and expensive canon works of the Jewish religious study (*Talmud, Arba turim, Shulhan Arukh*).

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Problem with Language(s)

In addition to the target audience, the language was a significant factor in the publishing strategy too. The print shop published books in Hebrew and in the Jewish vernacular languages used by Moravian Jewry – Yiddish, Jüdischdeutsch (Ashkenazic German) and later also German, always printed in Hebrew script.[27] Although 70% of the Moravian output was published in Hebrew, this does not necessarily imply that 70 % of Moravian Jews were proficient in this language, quite the contrary.

It is noteworthy to remind the challenges that the Hebrew language faced in the late eighteenth century. While it remained the language of liturgy, religious study and written communication of the scholarly elite, it was not understood by most people.[28] Among Jews, the language of the daily life was Yiddish, later Jüdischdeutsch (Ashkenazic German), which was also used when interacting with the Christian society.[29] This complex linguistic situation is described by the words of Jewish typesetter Adalbert Iskra in the Hebrew work *Kedushat Yisraʾel,* published in Brno in 1788. In the colophon, Iskra states: "As everyone always thinks that none of us is able to make anything in the Hebrew language, I have put all my efforts to make this book as a pure beauty and in the best way."[30] It is symptomatic, however, that his statement was not printed in Hebrew but in Jüdischdeutsch, the Jewish vernacular.

On the other hand, Hebrew and other Jewish vernacular languages were transnational, making it easier to understand and to trade with no regard to the borders. Printer Neumann seemingly made considerable efforts to export his books to neighbouring countries: he even conducted a market survey into the demands among Jews

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[27] On Yiddish with references to further literature: Kahn, Lily, 'Yiddish', in: *Handbook of Jewish Languages: Revised and Updated Edition*, edited by Lily Kahn, Aron D. Rubin, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017, pp. 642–748; on Ashkenazic German Wexler, Paul, 'Ashkenazic German', *International Journal for the Sociology of Language*, 1981, Vol. 30, pp. 119–130. A detailed discussion on the language of the Jews in Czech lands, see Kestenberg-Gladstein, Ruth, *Neuere Geschichte der Juden in den Böhmischen Länder*, Tübingen: Mohr – Siebeck, 1969, pp. 162–165. On the language of the Moravian books, see Soxberger, Thomas, 'Eighteenth century Yiddish prints from Brünn/Brno as evidence of a linguistic shift in Moravia', *Judaica Olomucensia*, 2015, No. 1, pp. 62–89.

[28] See Schatz, Andrea, *Sprache in der Zerstreuung. Die Säkularisierung des Hebräischen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen: Vandhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009; Shavit, Yaacov, 'A Duty Too Heavy to Bear: Hebrew in the Berlin Haskalah, 1783–1819: Between Classic, Modern, and Romantic', in: *Hebrew in Ashkenaz: a Language in Exile*, edited by Lewis Glinert, Miller, Michael Laurence: Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 111–128.

[29] Czech was used too, but to a lesser extent. Kestenberg-Gladstein, Ruth, *Neuere Geschichte,* pp. 162–165.

[30] Wolf Lichtenstadt, *Kedushat Yisraʾel*, Brno: Josef Karl Neumann, 1788 (BHB 000144439), fol. 90b, colophon.

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in Bohemia and tried to obtain the privilege to print prayer books for Sephardic Jews in Vienna, but he did not succeed. His efforts came to an end with the establishment of the large and wealthy printing house of Anton Schmid in Vienna in 1794. Since then, the small local printing house in Brno could no longer compete with the giant merchant Schmid.[31]

All in all, the above-mentioned findings can be seen as the external constraints, i.e. they are related to the small target group, the traditionally oriented audience that prefers intensive reading and orthopraxy literature (liturgy, religious law), as well as the complex language situation. Aside from these external factors, we must also consider the internal constraints when examining the Neumann and Rossmann Hebrew print shop. The printer seemed to display little involvement and commitment. The reeditions of the Enlightenment literature can serve as a good example. Although some of them were only the second editions, released ten years after their instead of its *editio princeps* in Berlin, they were lacking any new paratexts, prefaces, introductions, etc. Unlike in Prague, where Christian-run print shops closely cooperated on the Enlightenment editions with prominent local Jewish *maskilim*, no such cooperation or partnership is evident in Brno.[32]

The owners of the Moravian printing house were, aside from its founder, mostly businessmen with lacking expertise in publishing books for Jewish audiences. The print shop relied on its Jewish editors and proof-readers to act as the contact for clients, authors and publishers.[33] The number and potential of local authors was limited, and it seems that the printer did not exploit it in full. Nevertheless, a handful of local authors, including some who worked for the printing house and influenced its editorial programme, produced and published several original books in Brno. These works, created in occasional or recurring cooperation with several foreign or local primary and secondary elites, are the most interesting works published by

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[31] On Schmid and his later rivalry with the Prague Hebrew printer Moshe Israel Landau see Cermanová, Iveta, 'The Fall and Rise', pp. 230–237.

[32] On the collaboration between the Prague print shop of Barbara Elsenwanger and the *maskil* Israel Landau see Kestenberg-Gladstein, Ruth, *Neuere Geschichte*, pp. 146–169. The Enlightenment monthly *Jüdischdeutsche Monatschrift* was indeed printed in Brno, which in no way reflects the ideological influence of the printer Rossmann, but rather the tension between the young generation of *maskilim*, adherents of Haskalah, and their traditionally-minded fathers in Prague.

[33] The author's preface to the third edition of *Sefer ha-brit*, Zhowkva, 1807, informs about the publishing practice in the Neumann and Rossmann printing house: "... the gentile [a non-Jew] from the city of Brno ... and his two Jewish advisors ... can do nothing and can certainly not publish a Hebrew book without the advice of these two Jews. Since he cannot read and does not understand the holy language and is ill-equipped to decide on this matter ...". Quoted in Ruderman, David B., *The Best-selling Hebrew Book of Modern Times: the Book of the Covenant by Pinḥas Hurwitz and its Remarkable Legacy*, Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 2014, pp. 33–34.

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the Neumann and Rossmann press. Along with the aforementioned contemporary halakhic writings, these include a very interesting mystical-scientific encyclopaedia *Sefer ha-brit* by Pinhas Hurwitz;[34] a small treatise on methodology of the Talmudic study *Omer mi-Yehuda*; an original translation of the Psalms into German by Falk Kohen and his additions to *Zekher rav*; or, the aforementioned chronicle *Korot ha-ʿit-im*[35] (Fig. 5). These original Moravian works are the product of a fruitful cooperation between local intellectuals and the print shop's publishing strategy.

Conclusions

The Neumann and Rossmann Hebrew printing house in Brno was a local print shop on the periphery, at least according to the traditional definition of the periphery as a marginal space.[36] Moravia was a periphery of the German-speaking Jewish settlement and, in linguistic terms, a border area between Western and Eastern Yiddish. When it comes to Hebrew printing, neither Brno nor Mikulov can be considered major players, as their importance in this area does not measure up to that of Prague, Amsterdam, Vienna or, later, Vilnius.[37] In general, the factors that influence the functioning and development of a local printing house are both objectively rational and subjectively accidental.[38] In the case of the Hebrew printing house in Brno, the objective factors are primarily printing for the needs of a religious and linguistic minority, accounting for roughly 2% of the country's total population. Along with this primary constraint, we must also take into account cultural differences: the Moravian Jews were a traditional rural community, and their reading habits and preferences are hardly comparable to those of the Christian majority.[39] Most books printed in Moravia were used for liturgical needs, ritual practice or study, or intensive, repetitive

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[34] On this book Ruderman, David B., *A Bestselling Hebrew Book*, passim.

[35] On these works see Jelínková, Andrea, 'Publishing Practice and Reading Culture', pp. 33–62.

[36] Issues of centre and periphery are discussed in Pettegree, Andrew, 'Centre and Periphery in the European Book World', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2008, Vol. 18, pp. 101–128.

[37] On Vilnius as a center of Hebrew printing in Eastern Europe see Gries, Zeev, 'Romm Family', in: *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, [09 04 2024]. Access via internet: https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Romm_Family, online.

[38] For more details see Sidorko, Clemens P., *Basel und der jiddische Buchdruck (1557–1612). Kulturexport in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Basel: Schwabe, 2014, pp. 102–103 and pp. 117–122.

[39] For comparison, the Neumann non-Hebrew printing house printed some 130 editions in about 30 years (1770–1800). Its portfolio includes books in Latin for the university and religious orders, as well as books in vernacular languages (German and Czech), including specialist literature, textbooks, popular and entertaining prose and plays. The German-language books in particular reflect both contemporary tastes and changes in reading interest, but also the educational efforts of the late Enlightenment.

ספר

זכר רב

מליצה יקרה על אזן שומעת • בו שרשי לשון הקודש נמצאת •
בלי יתרון ובלי מגרעת • ומתוכה רצוף אהבה מוסתרת ותוכחת
מגולה נובעת • אשר יסד וחקר חד מחכמי ספרד הפייטן
הגדול • חכם לב הכולל בנימין מוספיא
לפ״ק אורו היה זרוח בקהל עדת ישורון ק״ק
ספרדים באמשטרדם הבירה יע״א שנת
השצ״ח ליצירה :
אמנם קטני 'ערך לא ידעו ערכו • והיה בעיניהם חתום וסתום •
עד שקמתי אני שקמתי אם למקרא דרדקי דבי רב ירחמיאל
המכונה פלק בן לא״א מה״ר נתן כהן לאל עליון
ופתרתי אותו בל״א : והצבתי ציונים על
כל שורש מקומו בתנ״ך אשר פי יקבנו

שושן עמק

נרפס בעיר ברין

תחת ממשלת ארונינו החסיד האדיר והמיוחס מאד
לעפאלדום השני הקיסר רומי
הרם ירום הודו וינשא מלכותו
לאורך ימים ושנים אמן

Cum Licentia Superiorum.

Brünn
gedruckt bei Joseph Karl Neumann,
1790.
ביושר לבב לפ״ק

Fig. 5. Benjamin ben Imanuel Musafia, *Zekher rav*, translated and supplemented by the editor Falk Kohen, Brno: Josef Karl Neumann, 1790. Courtesy of the Jewish Museum in Prague.

reading. Extensive reading associated with the publication of new genres did not emerge until the last years of the print shop activity, though only marginally. We should bear in mind that for a significant number of Jews, the book was an object of study rather than reading for pleasure. The study of religious texts was seen as a ritual substituting the practices that were lost after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Therefore, it was a religious duty to study the Bible, exegesis and the basic texts of rabbinic Judaism.[40] The difficult situation of Hebrew at the end of the eighteenth century also played an important role. If we combine these external constraints with the printer's lower involvement, his cultural and linguistic barriers, and the small circle of authors and publishers, we get a more or less realistic picture of the fifty years of Hebrew printing in Moravia.

The Moravian Hebrew print shop can serve as a model for understanding the factors that shaped the activity of a local and regional printing house. Through the study of regional print shops (and regional and peripheral phenomena in general) within the general framework and recurring patterns, we can discern what is standard and unique, universal and local in their production.[41] Investigating print shops on the outskirts, away from central hubs, through a modern book history perspective, helps us understand the marginal phenomena as an integral part of greater book culture.

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[40]   See Bonfil, Robert, 'Reading in the Jewish Communities', especially pp. 161–162.
[41]   This view applies for instance Piasecka, Maria, 'The Standard and the Exceptional in a Provincial Print Shop: The Case of Early Modern Oels', in: *Print Culture at the Crossroads*, pp. 411–431.

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Humanists Originating from the Territory of Modern Slovakia and Their Activities in Bohemia and Moravia in the Period before the Battle of Biela Hora. Introduction to the Issue, Starting Points, and Theses of the Research[1]

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Abstract. During several years of research, we registered a relatively large number of (mostly) Protestant authors originating from Slovakia or those who worked in Slovakia for a long time and published at least one work in one of the Czech or Moravian cities in the period before the Battle of Biela Hora (White Mountain, 1621). There was a very diverse group of humanists, among whom we find clergymen, professors of the Charles University, teachers, scribes, etc. Authors of extensive works in Latin or in the vernacular, patrons, or owners of interesting book collections. In the upcoming study, we would like to summarise the common characteristics of these personalities and seek answers to the questions of who these personalities were, what kind of social environment they came from, why they left their homeland and worked outside it, how successful they were in their new workplace and how they integrated into the local community of educated people, in which printing offices their works were published, what topics they dealt with, what their confessional orientation was.

Keywords: Bohemia; Moravia; Upper Hungary (Slovakia); humanists; prints; authors; translators.

Introduction

The history, political and cultural past of Slovakia, like many other today independent countries and states or specific regions, cannot be separated from the European context. On the contrary, in researching the history of book culture, literature, or more broadly understood cultural history, it is also necessary to deal with the ties of Slovakia to the surrounding countries. The evidence that these ties existed is also a large number of (mostly) Protestant authors originating from the territory of modern

Slovakia, or those who worked for a long time in the territory of modern Slovakia and in the period before the Battle of Biela Hora published at least one work in one of the Czech or Moravian cities. The mutual influence of religious and cultural traditions can be traced back to the period of the common Great Moravian Empire.[2]

Economic, political, and cultural relations between the Czech and Hungarian states were established very early. Cultural contacts were particularly evident in Slovakia, which was immediately adjacent to the Czech state.[3] The rapid economic and cultural boom of Prague and Bohemia in the fourteenth century also significantly influenced Hungarian conditions. Cultural contacts, especially between western Slovakia and Moravia, represented by the arrival of scribes from Bohemia, mutual contact, and exchange of members of religious orders, and gradually also the arrival of Czech, Moravian, and Silesian Protestant preachers in Slovakia can also be traced earlier than the fifteenth century.[4] They settled in the border area, worked here among Slovak Protestants, spread Czech religious literature and fraternal hymnals on Slovak territory, which were used in religious ceremonies. In the fifteenth century, it is impossible not to mention the negative influence of religious movements (Hussites, Sparks (followers of Jan Jiskra) and Brethren) that originated in Bohemia and spread to our territory. In the late fifteenth century, during the reign of Matej Korvín, especially after the annexation of Moravia to Hungary, favourable conditions arose for intensive economic and cultural relations, as well as for the fluctuation of people between Moravia and Slovakia, which also spread to Bohemia under the Jagiellonians.[5] After the Battle of Mohács (1526), the Czech lands and Slovakia became part of the multinational Habsburg monarchy, which created circumstances enabling mutual Czech-Slovak relations to develop within one state. In the period at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries, cultural, literary, and confessional relations are documented by the participation of a relatively large number of Slovak scholars in the formation of Czech cultural and literary life.

On the basis of the prints that personalities originally from Slovakia published in the Czech countries or contributed to them as authors, we can deduce their professional, religious, or political orientation. Although many of the relatively large community

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[3] Varsik, Branislav, 'Kultúrne vzťahy Čechov a Slovákov', in: *O vzájomných vzťahoch Čechov a Slovákov*: *Zborník materiálov z konferencií* HÚ SAV, Bratislava: SAV, 1956, p. 36.

[4] Pauliny, Eugen, *Slovesnosť a kultúrny jazyk Veľkej Moravy*, Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1965, p. 30.

[5] *Upevňovanie vzťahov Čechov a Slovákov pri vyučovaní dejepisu*, Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1961, pp. 41–48.

of Slovak educated people, which we managed to identify in the Czech countries, are really only authors of small occasional literary works (congratulatory, celebratory poems, occasional speeches, etc.), these authors and their works are also part of the mosaic documenting the integration of the educational community of humanists originating from the territory of modern Slovakia into wider educational networks.

Slovak students in Bohemia and Moravia

In the case of Upper Hungarian scholars, the fact that there was no university on the territory of modern Slovakia was certainly one (but not the only) determining factor of their activity outside their original homeland. Studium generale in Bratislava functioned only for a very short time (1467–1491) and the need for education in a humanistic spirit was saturated by the university centres of Krakow and Vienna and, last but not least, by the Protestant universities in Wittenberg and Prague, where after completing their studies at gymnasiums and lower schools, in the sixteenth century already abundantly established on the territory of Slovakia, mainly our Protestant students studied.[6] However, it seems that it was more about pan-European cultural trends than a real need. In our country, the journeys to foreign education also affected pre-university studies, i.e. studies at lower level schools,[7] no less significantly than university studies, and this despite the quite satisfactory offer of home schooling of this type. Thus, study stays abroad have generally become a common part of the educational curriculum, and not only for the upper classes. Above all, Protestants coming from prosperous Upper Hungarian towns completed lower studies at more important Czech city schools, naturally then continued their studies at Charles University, and Bohemia or Moravia often became their home. For understandable reasons, students mostly chose prestigious schools in cities where they had relatives and acquaintances,[8] or where members of the religious community they applied for studied and worked as their first starting schools for foreign studies.

The Jihlava School was famous and probably one of the most visited Czech city schools with students coming from the territory of modern Slovakia.[9] In 1562, the

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[6] Ružička, Vladislav, *Školstvo na Slovensku v období neskorého feudalizmu (po 70-te roky 18. storočia)*, Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1974, pp. 53–54.

[7] Holý, Martin, *Vzdělanostný mecenát v zemích* České *koruny (1500–1700)*, Praha: Academia: Historický ústav, 2016, p. 69.

[8] Martínek, Jan, 'Slovenský humanista Martin Moncovicenus', *Slovenská literatúra XVI,* 1969, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 200.

[9] Kákošová, Zuzana, 'Humanisti 16. storočia ako širšie kultúrne a literárne spoločenstvo', in: *Česko-slovenské vztahy, Evropa a svět. Brněnské texty k slovakistice VI,* edited by Ivo Pospíšil, Miloš Zelenka, Brno: Slavistická společnost Franka Wollmana; Masarykova univerzita: Ústav slavistiky, 2004, p. 45.

rector Matej Rakovsky (1537–1559) was the brother of the well-known humanist Martin Rakovsky (ca. 1535–1560). Among their listeners, we can mention, for example, the compiler of the bilingual Latin-Slovak catechism printed in Hlohovec in 1585,[10] Jan Pruno Fraštacky (1560–1586) with his classmates Ondrej Tursky (the late sixteenth century) and Jan Bizacius (the late sixteenth century), the evangelical priest and educator of Palatine Juraj Thurzo (1567–1616) Nikodem Sartorius (1556–1595), the teacher and priest Martin Monkovicenus (1593–1630) from Liptovský Bobrovec,[11] or Samuel Ričinsky (sixteenth–seventeeth century), who in 1622 represented the rector and co-rector at the school in Banská Bystrica.[12] Among the future professors of the University of Prague, Slovak scholar Vavrinec Benedikt Nedožersky (1555–1615) studied here alongside Martin Bachaček from Nauměřice (1539–1612) and Jan Campanus Vodňansky (1572–1622).[13] One of the prominent representatives of Utraquism was the parish priest and prolific writer Juraj Tesak Mošovsky (ca. 1545–1617). Among the lesser-known personalities were Gašpar Janoš (sixteenth–seventeeth century), Klemens Klein (d. 1653), Štefan Omasta (sixteenth–seventeeth century), Juraj Šmidelinus (ca. 1570–1617) and Matuš Vita (sixteenth–seventeeth century).[14]

Already at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, the cultural contacts of humanists coming from the territory of modern Slovakia with the educational environment of Uherský Brod were rich. From 1576, the dramatist and religious writer Pavel Kyrmezer (d. 1589) was the parish priest and then the dean, while in 1581 his religious theater play Tobias was also performed here.[15] Prominent representatives of protestants and representatives of contemporary humanistic writing from Slovakia worked at the higher school in Uherský Brod,[16] e.g. in 1586 they were Jeremiaš Parlagius (sixteenth–seventeeth century) and Pavel Parlagius (sixteenth–seventeeth century), whose family origins are probably linked

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10 *Malý katechizmus a Hlohovec (K 500. výročiu reformácie)*, [05 11 2018]. Access via internet: https://www.ecavhc.sk/fileadmin/user_upload/Maly_Katechizmus_A_Hlohovec.pdf.

11 *Slovenský biografický slovník*, Martin: Matica slovenská, 1990, Vol. IV: (M–Q), p. 218.

12 'Samuel Ričinský', in: Szinnyei, József, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, [05 11 2018]. Access via internet: http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/; Kuzmík, Jozef, *Slovník autorov slovenských a so slovenskými vzťahmi za humanizmu*, Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1980, Vol. 2: (N–Ž), p. 627.

13 Kákošová, Zuzana, 'Humanisti 16. storočia…', p. 45.

14 Compare: Kuzmík, Jozef, *Slovník autorov slovenských a so slovenskými vzťahmi za humanizmu*, Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1980; Ružička, Vladislav, *Školstvo na Slovensku v období neskorého feudalizmu (po 70-te roky 18. storočia)*, Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1974, and others.

15 Winter, Zigmund, *Život a učení na partikulárních* školách *v* Čechách *v XV. a XVI. století*, V Praze: nákladem České akademie císaře Františka Jozefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1901, p. 743.

16 *Pamätnica trenčianskeho gymnázia (350 rokov trenčianskeho gymnázia)*, Trenčín: Stredná všeobecnovzdelávacia škola, 1969, pp. 7 and 147.

to the Slovak village of Očová,[17] Peter Berger (d. 1607), a well-known supporter of Slovak students studying in Wittenberg and Prague, also lived in Uherský Brod – the guardian of Ondrej Rochotius (1583–after 1622), who probably also studied here.

Students coming from modern Slovakia then acquired a higher humanistic education at foreign universities, especially at German universities and in Prague, for which they decided on the one hand because of its territorial and linguistic proximity, on the other hand, on the basis of the Protestant orientation of the Charles University there and the fact that, in the historical context, although most of its students and professors came from Germany,[18] but in the pre-White Mountain period representatives of the Slavic peoples gained significant representation and influence here.[19]

A certain, though smaller, part of students coming from modern Slovakia and subsequently working mainly in the territory of Bohemia or Moravia studied in Wittemberg (Martin Rakovsky, Chrystophor Preyss (b. 1515), Juraj Sartorius (sixteenth–seventeeth century) and Jan Textoris (sixteenth–seventeeth century)) or in Vienna (Chrystophor Preyss and Jan Silvan (1493–1573)).

Religious Situation in the Czech lands and in the Kingdom of Hungary

Regarding the religious situation, the religious conditions in the Kingdom of Hungary in the pre-White Mountain period had no parallel in the whole of Europe. Although a Catholic monarch ruled here, most of the magnates had already deviated from Catholicism half a century ago and professed the ideas of church reformers Martin Luther or John Calvin. Protestants were four times more numerous than Catholics among the faithful. Protestant education was developing, and printing presses were in the hands of non-Catholics.

In 1575, a common confession of faith presented by the Czech non-Catholic estates was adopted at the regional assembly. In the next period, it was established as the *Confessio Bohemica* and in the years 1609–1620 it was the legal basis of Lutheranism in Bohemia. Many of Czech nobles but also priests and scholars were

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[17] Kuzmík, Jozef, *Slovník autorov slovenských a so slovenskými vzťahmi za humanizmu*, Vol. 2, p. 559.
[18] Šmahel, František, *Alma mater Pragensis. Studie k počátkům univerzity Karlovy*, Praha: Karolinum, 2016, pp. 186–187.
[19] In 1611, for example the dean of the Faculty of Arts V. Benedikt Nedožerský (1555–1615) proposed to restore the old privilege of four votes at the university, three of which were awarded to the Czech nation including the Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks and Hungarians, and one to the Germans. University officials were also elected accordingly. Compare: Frimmová, Eva, 'Staroslovanské tradície v diele humanistických autorov', in: *Ideové prvky národného príbehu v dlhom 19. storočí*, edited by Mária Kohútová, Eva Frimmová, Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2014, p. 34.

followers of the so-called Utraquism (and they referred to themselves as Utraquists / *Utraquisti* or *Kališníci*), a Christian confession that arose from the Czech Reformation (or Hussites) and was only suppressed by re-Catholicization after the Battle of Biela Hora. The name Utraquism itself comes from the Latin expression *sub utraque specie*, that is, under both ways, which refers to the main self-identification of the Utraquists – receiving the Sacrament of the Altar under the method of bread and wine. The Utraquists, based on Hussiteism, also advocated the view that the University of Prague can (and should) take theological positions even on controversial questions of faith. Already in the fifteenth century, Utraquism was the dominant faith in Bohemia and had a strong presence in Moravia, although the Utraquists were always considered a full-fledged part of the undivided Roman Catholic Church.[20]

Protestants (originally mostly Lutherans), who came to Bohemia and Moravia, were inclined to different denominations, some remained with the Augsburg creed, e.g. Matej Plorantius (sixteenth–seventeeth century), some became members of Jednota Bratská, e.g. Pavel Jessenius (d. 1594), and others sympathised with Utraquism, e.g. Juraj Tesak Mošovsky or Anabaptism, e.g. Jan Silvan. It also depended on the direction in which the landlord they served leaned. However, sometimes there were also disputes between individual denominations. In the year 1617, Ferdinand II became the emperor. It was known that he belonged to the absolutist rulers, he denied the secular rights of the nobility, and moreover he decided to re-Catholicise the already predominantly Protestant lands of the Czech Crown. His policies led to religious strife and violations of religious freedom. This was also the immediate cause of the Battle of White Mountain.

Professional employment of Slovaks in Bohemia and Moravia

It was not unusual for a Slovak studying in the Czech Lands or returning home from studies at a foreign university through the Czech regions to stay there, find a job, or accept a job offer from a Czech school or parish. If he was literary active, his works were usually published on the Czech territory. A general phenomenon in the life of former Prague students and graduates after their departure from the academic environment was marriage, often multiple times, with the help of which a former teacher would obtain both the status of a full-fledged citizen and a more significant social position in the city. This step in life, by which he definitively broke with the university, which required celibacy from its teachers until the reforms in 1609–1611, was

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[20]   Gažík, Peter, 'Náboženské hnutia pred reformáciou', in: *Rozmer: časopis pre kresťanskú duchovnú orientáciu*, Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 36.

the usual way of social ascension, at least to better material conditions. From the further course of their lives, it is evident that former teachers were headed for the more lucrative professions of city scribes, notaries, private doctors, etc. From there, there was a direct path to positions in the city council, or even to ennoblement or an improvement of the coat of arms, which increased the prestige of a university graduate to the highest possible social level. By achieving the noble predicate, the university graduate did not, as a rule, obtain any important city office or a necessary change in financial conditions, but rather confirmed his belonging to the urban elite. University studies had an impact on the life career of a student in the sixteenth century in the sense that no matter what position he ended up in, he usually started as a teacher in one of the lower schools.[21]

An important group of humanists active in Bohemia and Moravia consisted of those whose activities were in some way directly connected with Charles University. They worked here as professors, also held the positions of deans and rector or other positions connected with the administration and activities of the university, e.g. Vavrinec Benedikt Nedožersky, Daniel Basilius (1585–1628), Jan Jessenius (1566–1621), Peter Fradelius (1580–1621), among the lesser known Juraj Berger (sixteenth–seventeeth century), Matyaš Molesynus (d. 1597) and Juraj Moller (sixteenth–seventeeth century).

The university had lower schools in central Bohemia under its management, to which it appointed its graduates as rectors and teachers.[22] Many of them also continued their master's studies or earned a doctorate, and so many students from Upper Hungary connected their professional activities with some Czech school. They usually even alternated between several positions (Matyaš Molesynus, Ondrej Rochotsky, Gašpar Sextius (sixteenth–seventeeth century) and others) and there were also those who worked as tutors in noble families during their studies (Juraj Fabricius (d. 1633), Matej Plorantius, Juraj Michal (sixteenth–seventeeth century), Ondrej Rochotius and others).

The second, equally important group consists of clergy. These were mostly originally Upper Hungarian members of the evangelical confession, who after ordination found employment in Bohemia and joined one of the Protestant churches there, such as Pavel Kyrmezer from Banská Štiavnica, who worked in Moravia and became a dean in Uherský Brod in 1575, Matej Plorantius, a Lutheran church administrator from Lipník nad Bečvou, Samuel Rochotius (sixteenth–seventeeth century), a spiritual administrator from the Moravian village of Prusinovice, or also an important

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[21] Šmahel, František, *Alma mater Pragensis*..., pp. 572–573.
[22] Winter, Zigmund, *Život a učení na partikulárních školách*..., p. 173 and the following.

evangelical church official Juraj Tesak Mošovsky, who sympathised with utraquism, whether Pavel Jessenius was a member of *Jednota Bratská* (Unity of Brothers) or Anabaptist Jan Silvan.

The year 1621 is considered a turning point in the sense that on 23 June this year, as a result of the defeat of the Czech estates in the Battle of White Mountain (8 November 1620), 27 rebellious estate leaders were executed on the Old Town Square in Prague. In retrospect, the Battle of Biela Hora near Prague tends to coincide with the beginning of the Thirty Years War. Its consequence was a significant loss of independence of the Czech lands until 1918. The defeat of the Czech states was followed by mass persecution of non-Catholics. Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor instituted a strict re-Catholicization policy, abolished the estate system in the country, and restored monarchical absolutism with a land system. The German language was *de jure* equal to Czech but *de facto* it was superior to it. In addition, the Czech nobility lost many properties and privileges through confiscation. Mandates directed against Czech Protestants triggered mass emigration. Hundreds of thousands of Czechs left for neighbouring countries, especially Poland and the Kingdom of Hungary (modern Slovakia and Hungary). From the point of view of the history of book culture, this year is considered a breakthrough also because the publication of non-Catholic literature was limited. It was considered heretical. Non-Catholic authors moved their publishing activities into exile. In Bohemia, not only the political situation and society's attitude towards non-Catholics changed, but also the status of Charles University, and many non-Catholic scholars were forced to leave the Czech lands. During this period, many of the Slovak scholars working in Bohemia and Moravia ended their public activities. Some converted to Catholicism (Daniel Basilius, Juraj Moller) and some returned to their original homeland (Samuel Rochotius, Michal Lazius).

Contact of the Slovaks with Printed Media in Bohemia and Moravia

Before the battle on White Mountain, approximately one hundred educated people, whose origin is linked to the territory of modern Slovakia, came into contact with printed books, literature and writing in the broadest sense of the word in the territory of Bohemia and Moravia. Those who were active in publishing wrote in Latin or in vernacular – the Czech language. Latin was still the preferred language in developing scientific fields during the period of humanism. This applies especially to medicine and some natural sciences, from the sciences that we would call humanities today, especially to history and linguistics. The use of Greek words in the titles of scientific works and occasional poetry or directly in their text was also frequent (e.g. J. Kyanka

(d. 1619), O. Rochotius). However, artistic and popularising works in Czech have already begun to be created. Most Latin words entered the literary language in the sixteenth century. Czech humanists often resorted to Latin if they wanted to explain something to experts. Most Latin words were used in school (*regula, phrasis, figura, forma, partes, praeceptor…*), in medicine (*pulse, pilule, konfekt, purgati, kompleksí, exponovati, mutovati…*), in law (*process, recess, session, impugnation…*).

In this period, humanist Czech language culminated in the so-called *Kralická Biblia* (Bible of Kralice, printer Zachariaš Solín Slavkovský (d. 1596)), which then became the de facto norm both in the homeland and in exile for almost two centuries. This so-called *bibličtina* was used in Slovakia almost until the middle of the nineteenth century as the language of evangelical writings. On the other hand, the work intended for the people was also dominated by authors originating from Upper Hungary (e.g. theater plays by P. Kyrmezer and J. Tesák Mošovský, calendars by Daniel Basilius, etc.), in which it can be assumed that our authors have many Slovakisms, and that is mainly because at the time when our authors working in the Czech Lands were still studying at Lower Slovak schools, the polarisation of Czech language into official – biblical (book) and unofficial – Slovakized (colloquial) Czech language still had not ended. The definitive decision to declare Czech as the sacral and official language, i.e., also the teaching language of the Evangelical Church, was implemented by the Evangelical clergy only at the synods in 1610 and 1614.[23]

Among the producers of texts in which Slovak elements appear, we hawe to mention the only known Slovak first printer working outside the territory of Slovakia – Mikuláš Bakalár Štetina (ca. 1450–before 1520). He was already active in Pilsen at the end of the fifteenth century and printed in Czech. Part of his publications consist of small informative and entertaining reading; he also published educational and travel writings. He processed, translated, and edited their texts himself.[24]

The borrowing of words from German language was also significant. These were first used only in the colloquial language, some of them later passed into the written language and even into poetic language. For example in J. Silvan's *Spiritual Songs* we find words like: *heft, šrám, plac, punt, trošovat*.[25] Similarly, a significant number of Germanisms can be found in the vernacular texts of J. Tesak Mošovsky.

From the point of view of genre composition, the work of Slovak humanists also

[23] Doruľa, Ján, 'Bibličtina', in: *Liturgické jazyky v duchovnej kultúre Slovanov*, edited by Peter Žeňuch, Peter Zubko, Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2017, p. 16.

[24] 'Bakalár-Štetina, Mikuláš', in: *Encyclopaedia Beliana*, [08 06 2023]. Access via internet: https://beliana.sav.sk/heslo/bakalar-stetina-mikulas.

[25] *Antológia staršej slovenskej literatúry*, edited by Ján Mišianik, Eva Tkáčiková, Bratislava: VEDA, 198, p. 274.

reflected the variety of contemporary Czech literature. Authors directly connected to Charles University published not only scientific works reacting to current contemporary events (about the plague, astrological writings...), but also various polemical, historical, philosophical and political treatises. In addition to the works with which university professors contributed to the development of the scientific fields that were gradually established at the Charles University, our authors also created and published works, whose genre was secular, and that could be considered popularising (spreading knowledge – news for the general public). These related to descriptions of various events, natural phenomena (earthquakes, interesting places, political or social events). It is possible to also include a description of the town of Louny by M. Rakovsky or some works by O. Rochotsky. And, for example, Christophor Preyss published a celebratory poem in honour of the passing of Emperor Maximilian II at the Julier mountain pass (modern Switzerland, canton of Graubünden).

A specific genre aimed at the folk and middle-class environment was preaching. The author of several sermons in the vernacular language was J. Tesak Mošovsky, Matej Plorantius preached about the devastating fire in the city of Lipník nad Bečvou, but Superintendent Eliaš Láni (1575–1618) was of great importance for Czech (and Slovak) evangelical writing, who never left the territory of Slovakia, and only his single work was published: Kázanj Pohřebnj, *Při Pohřbu Oswjceneho a Welikomocného Pána / Pana Giřijho Thurzy z Bethlemffalwy* (Funeral sermon at the funeral of the noble and Great Lord Mr. Georg Turzo from Bethlemfalva). Alexander Socovský's sermon '*CONCIO HABITA In funere Illustrissimi Comitis…*' was part of (an addition to) the title registered under Eliaš Lani's name.[26] The cultural-historical significance of a set of printed sermons delivered over the deceased palatine Juraj Turzo (1667–1616)[27] points out not only that, apart from (Hungarian) Levoča, they were also printed outside the territory of Slovakia, but also the fact that they were also published in vernacular languages. Publication of Lani's sermon marks the beginning of an era of publishing sermons as a literary genre, which is at the forefront of the educational writings of the Protestant Church, whose main concern in publishing them is to lead people to the only source of faith – the Bible. In addition, religious sermon has to instruct, educate and make a person capable of thinking, believing and acting. That is why the priest reads, interprets and preaches the Scriptures using biblical motifs.

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[26] 'Láni, Eliáš', in: *KPS–Databáze Knihopis*, [17 01 2024]. Access via internet: https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/7G5ITNJGDQJAFTQXQ3DMLCKY16QPU81EDLNHM9S9CALAJMT85V-39495?func=find-b&find_code=WAT&x=0&y=0&request=L%C3%A1ni+Eli%C3%A1%C5%A1&filter_code_1=WT-P&filter_request_1=&filter_code_2=WLN&adjacent=N.

[27] A Latin sermon *Oratio exequialis... D. Georgio Thruzoni* by the superintendent Izák Abrahamides Hrochotský was also published in Levoča in 1617.

In addition to sermons, our authors in Bohemia and Moravia also published various religious and moral tracts, commented on ethical and moral issues (J. Tesak Mošovsky) and developed spiritual poetry represented by psalms reworked into songs or verses (V. B. Nedožersky, J. Silvan).

Calendars were no less important items in the bookshop than religious literature. Their publication was one of the main economic pillars of the book printing business and was ensured by certain privileges granted primarily to the author himself, but also to the printer. Daniel Basilius, originally from Upper Hungarian (Slovak) authors, focused on this segment of the market, whose calendars were no different from other calendars published by the Czech authors.

In the heyday of the humanistic education, writing poetry dedicated to close people or important personalities on various occasions (birth, death, marriage, coronation...) was both a fashion and a common social practise, and a way of expressing and maintaining interpersonal relationships. Such occasional poetry was published not only in separate collections, but congratulatory, celebratory and other verses were part of almost every book published during this period. It can be stated that almost all Upper Hungarian scholars who were literary active contributed as co-authors of at least one short poetic composition to one of the occasional anthologies published in abundance, especially in Prague. Sometimes personalities who were in friendly contact with their compilers, but who themselves never worked outside the territory of Hungary, contributed to such anthologies. The research of small contributions in the anthologies is not yet complete, but it gradually reveals personalities about whom we did not know until now, or about whom we have a minimum of additional information (e.g. Andrej Rajecenus (sixteenth–seventeeth century), Jeremiaš Berger (d. 1606), Jan Frostius (sixteenth–seventeeth century) and others).

In addition to the direct authors of various literary formations in Bohemia and Moravia, there were also other personalities who contributed to the creation of books, or in a broader sense, they indirectly contributed to the development of education and book culture. They were, for example, translators. One of them – Pavel Jessenius participated in the translation of the Bible of Kralice (the so-called *Kralická Biblia*), who's language also played an important role in the life of Slovak Protestants. Žigmund of Púchov (d. 1584) in turn translated into Czech and probably partially supplemented the well-known work of Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) *Cosmographiae universalis libri VI...*[28]

[28]   The work was translated into Czech under the title *Kozmograffie Cžeská to gest wypsánij o ploženij Kragin nebo Zemij y Obyčegijch Národuow wsseho Swieta a hystorygij podlé Počtu Leth naněm zběhlých, prwé nikdá tak pospolku w žádném jazyku newidaná,* (Praha 1554). Compare: Bokrosová, Katarína, 'Cosmographiae Sebastiana Münstera (1488–1552) ako veľký projekt bazilejskej tlačiarenskej rodiny Petri (Henricpetri)', in: *Studia Bibligeraphica Posoniensia 2021*, edited by Miriam Ambrúžová-Poriezová, Bratislava: Univerzitná knižnica v Bratislave, 2021, p. 183.

Jakub Moller (d. 1609) was the translator of the work *Speculum mundi indurati*. His translation was published in Prague in 1598 under the Czech title *Mirror of the hardened world*, and the Czech Jesuit preacher, religious writer and censor Matej Antonin Koniaš included it in his *Index of Prohibited Books* with the condition this means, that the work could be used with the removal of religiously objectionable parts. Vaško Zaleský (sixteenth–seventeeth century) is the author of the preface and possibly also the translator of the work *Book of episcopal, doctoral and scribal oaths with an explanation of them* (Olomouc, 1542), the author of which is considered Urban Rhegius (1489–1541).[29] Last but not least, we should mention the already mentioned first printer Mikuláš Bakalár Štetina, who, in preparation for printing, translated works from Latin into Czech himself.

Research into the history of book culture is an integral part of historical research – but especially research into the spiritual and cultural development of any nation. Not only the authors and translators of literary works themselves participated in it, but also patrons, thanks to whom humanists could not only study, but also publish their works. We know that some humanists, – O. Rochotsky or P. Kyrmezer were directly dependent on the patronage of the Czech and Moravian nobility. On the contrary, from the territory of modern Slovakia, he established himself as such a patron in the Czech Republic, for example Mikuláš Novacius (1555–after 1620) from Ružomberok, but a well-known patron was Stanislav Turzo (1470–1540), at whose instigation and whose expense the publication about feudal law *Prawa(!) Manska(!)* was published in Litomyšl in 1538.[30]

Evidence of the education of personalities coming from the territory of modern Slovakia was not only that they themselves were authors and translators (or supporters of authors and translators) of books, but also that many of them owned books. As evidenced by the owner's records in historical publications, some had at least one book, e.g. Ján Bastner (sixteenth–seventeeth century), Eliáš Berger (1562–1644), Matej Plorantius, Michal Sudor (d. after 1618), Štefan Omasta. And, for example, the source material for the biography of Juraj Tesak Mošovsky consists only of the data provided by him in the prefaces and dedications of his prints or even handwritten notes. He wrote them down in his copy of Veleslavin's *Historical Calendar* in the form

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[29] 'Knížka přísah biskupských, doktorských a písařských s vysvětlením jich', in: *KPS–Databáze Knihopis*, [17 01 2024]. Access via internet: https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/MPQKCNNNVHH83E9CLG45J9QX-E9MY2GECC1N52X8K8VKSD34HQN-58055?func=full-set-set&set_number=275856&set_entry=000004&format=999.

[30] 'Prawa(!) Manska(!)', in: *KPS–Databáze Knihopis*, [17 01 2024]. Access via internet: https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/VKAGVETDXETQTD9BGMLKX5MLX6PST85GTBQXFBPAVMSDD4VTNF-21674?func=-full-set-set&set_number=327262&set_entry=000004&format=999.

of memories.[31] He recorded them on blank sheets intended for the owner's individual notes, which were used in the calendars. An interesting book collection was owned by a pastor from the Moravian village of Prusinovice and a relative of Ondrej Rochotsky, Samuel Rochotsky. It was possible to identify 15 books with a handwritten ownership note from his library.

The formal arrangement of the works, in which Slovakian personalities participated as authors or in any other way, reflected the trends of the time and did not show any signs of exceptionality.

In the last decades of the sixteenth century the hobby of covering book pages with decorative elements, initials, frames, friezes, dividing lines, vignettes, which was combined with an intricately composed, obscuringly extended title on the title page, flourished. This often included the entire content of the work, its dedication, the year of publication encrypted in the chronology and its reason. Many books were bound in leather or parchment binding, often with a lion stamped in gold, as a heraldic symbol of the Czech lands. The coat of arms with a lion or other coats of arms with the symbols of the Czech nobility, which often contributed financially to the publication of the work, or to whom the work was dedicated (rarely it could also be the coat of arms of the author himself, if he was elevated to the status of a noble) used to be displayed in the front part of the book – in frontispiece, or behind title page. For example Jan Kyanka's (d. 1619) print Ἐυφςαδία seuἘπαςδις Ecclesiæ et Reipublicae Prostannae... contains a heraldic depiction of the Austrian eagle or in O. Rochotsky's prints they are used in addition to the royal signs of Rudolph II and Matej II also the signs of Karel the Elder from Žerotin.

From the point of view of cooperation with Czech and Moravian printers, the largest number of prints by Slovak authors in this period were published in Prague by sixteen printers, of which the most important in terms of the number of prints published was Pavel Sessius (d. after 1631), as a printer working for Charles University. He was followed by: Jiří Dačický (d. after 1618), Daniel Sedlčanský (d. 1637) and Jiří Černý (Nigrín) (d. 1606). Outside of Prague, two presses were operating in Litomyšl by Andreas Graudenx (d. 1618), a total of three presses in Olomouc by Fridrich Milichtaller (d. 1590) and his heirs, one press each by Šebastián Olivetský Jr. (d. after 1542) and Jan Günther (d. 1567), and one press in Hradec Králové by Martin Kleinwechter (sixteenth–seventeeth century). No printer was exclusively engaged in printing Slovak prints. The nationality of the person ordering the prints was

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[31] Today it is a very rare publication stored in the Library (Prácheňské museum in Písek) of the Písek Museum under the signature III, 315. Compare: Sedláček, August, 'Paměti Jiříka Tesáka Mošovského a jeho syna', in: *Časopis Musea království českého*, 1909, Vol. 83, No. 1, p. 57.

not important at all, just as the relationship between the confessional affiliation of the author and the printer was not so important either. Except for Pavel Sessius, who printed mainly for the university, and therefore also the works of authors connected in any way with the university, and only to a lesser extent other presses, most of the printers were focused on printing works of a certain type (current news – news, small press, proto-scientific works, religious press with regard to confession...). However, the proximity of the place where that particular printer worked undoubtedly also played a role.

Conclusions

The issues associated with personalities originating from the territory of modern Slovakia, active at the turn of the seventeenth century in Bohemia and Moravia, are very broad and can be viewed from several perspectives. For now, it seems most feasible to follow the line of life and works of selected personalities and then, based on the available secondary information, try to create a kind of 'social networks' within which these personalities functioned. When delving into the study of the life and work of individual humanists, new connections emerge that show diverse cultural, confessional, personal, business and political connections. At the same time, it can be seen that the gifted individuals coming from our territory did not get lost, they were able to establish themselves in a culturally close environment, flexibly adapt to the requirements and conditions of their new homeland, establish new beneficial contacts, develop their gifts and talents, and enrich their surroundings with them.

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Innovating Print:
From Historical Techniques
to Digital Revelations

The Hidden Vilnius: Background Images and Architectural Fragments of the City in the Seventeenth–Eighteenth Century Publications

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Summary. There are not many authentic images and plans of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Therefore, every surviving fragment depicting the old city is important. It is often hidden in the background, behind the portraits of various saints and noblemen created by famous artists (Pranciškus Balcevičius, Aleksandras and Leonas Tarasevičius, Michael and Thomas Schnops, Konrad Götke). The background images of the city are often incorporated into the panegyrics glorifying the nobility, in the maps of the region and the provinces (Hirsz Leibovicz, Nicolas Sanson), in the vignettes and initials decorating the books, in the assignment books of Vilnius Academy students, or in the paintings of book owners on flyleaves. Most often, such background images of cities are not mentioned by art historians, historians, or literary scholars who have studied the works themselves and the engravings that adorn them. A review of the books printed in Vilnius (653 prints) and the material gathered during twenty eight years of work with old prints in the Vilnius University Library revealed forty two documents with thirty two different views of the city, possibly Vilnius, in the background of the illustrations, either panoramas or architectural fragments of buildings. The article presents these background images, dividing them into conditional groups (*Surely Vilnius, Vilnius?, Could be Vilnius*), 'pulling' them into the foreground. Their authenticity is discussed, the images are identified to the extent possible, compared with the known and confirmed images of Vilnius and architectural objects that have survived to the present day, and attempts are made to find out what criteria can be used to classify or exclude a particular background image of Vilnius. The newly discovered, previously overlooked old images of Vilnius could add to the gallery of already known images of Vilnius, illustrate books and articles, and, possibly, serve as reference material for the restoration projects of some of the buildings of Vilnius.
Keywords: Old Lithuanian graphics; views of Vilnius; background images; Vilnius Academy Printing House; Vilnius University Library.

Introduction

There are not many authentic images and plans of Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries. They are known to

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researchers and are often published to illustrate texts on the history of Vilnius. In preparation for the exhibition dedicated to the 700th anniversary of Vilnius, and after a closer look at the well-known works of artists and engravers who worked in Lithuania and were published, it was noticed that many of the architectural images of Vilnius – or of the cities and individual buildings outside Vilnius – are hidden behind the figures in the main illustrations of the books. Modern equipment with good optics allows the finest details of the engravings to be highlighted, so it was interesting to compare the confirmed images of the city of Vilnius with the ones that seem to be visible, but are often overlooked by researchers, lying in the background of the engravings. A closer look at all the illustrations in the books revealed architectural details not only in the large illustrations but also in the smaller ones: initials, vignettes, bookplates, wallpaper, and also in hand-drawn drawings in books. It would be a pity if these fragments of towns and buildings were to remain unnoticed, unexplored, and secondary to the known images.

There are not many studies on the representation of Vilnius in old publications. The best known is Vladas Drėma's album *Dingęs Vilnius* (The Lost Vilnius). In addition to paintings and other art forms on individual sheets, it also discusses images of Vilnius in the foreground of book illustrations. Drėma's album covers only a few secondary images of Vilnius: the Schnops brothers' (Michael Schnops, active ca. 1610–1675; Thomas Schnops, seventeenth century) frontispiece of Vilnius, carried by eagles at the top as printed in the panegyric *Senator septem consularibus*, the image of Vilnius Old Town visible behind St Casimir by Franciszek Wacław Balcewicz (active ca. 1746–1753), the building of Vilnius Bernardine Monastery, found on the map of the Bernardine Province of Lithuania, by Hirsz Leibowicz (ca. 1700–1770), and the buildings of Vilnius behind the personification of *Abundantia* in the engraving '*Verus antistes et prudens senator...*' by an unknown artist. Other researchers of Lithuanian printmaking (Jolita Liškevičienė, Vidmantas Jankauskas, Maria Kalamajska-Saeed, Skirmantė Šarkauskienė), while discussing the symbolism, meaning, portraits and methods of execution of the engravings, usually do not deal with the city panoramas and small details of the architectural fragments of the cities that are hidden in the background of the engravings.

The aim of this research is to present images of Vilnius that might be hidden in the background, so that art researchers, architects and historians can study them and suggest whether or not they can be considered the images of Vilnius. This presentation will attempt to do so with some old-new images of Vilnius or non-Vilnius, found in the engravings of publications printed mainly in Vilnius printing houses in the seventeenth–eighteenth century.

THE SCOPE OF DATA. Publications with images of Vilnius, or possibly Vilnius, was an important illustrative material for exhibitions of old publications organised by the Vilnius University Library (hereafter VU Library), recorded throughout the almost 30 years of work at the Library. After deciding to explore this topic, it was agreed to additionally review all of the old publications, printed in Vilnius, photographed and available in the Digital Collections of the VU Library (hereafter DC). It was assumed that documents printed in the printing houses of Vilnius in the small details and illustrations might contain more images of Vilnius than non-Vilnius documents. We can say with certainty that the aforementioned website contains all of the most beautiful and valuable and important publications from Vilnius. Most of them are documents printed at the Vilnius Academy printing house.[1] The DC of VU Library has 653 publications published by Vilnius printers: 33 publications from the old Vilnius University collection called *Bibliotheca Academiae Vilnensis*, 25 from the sixteenth century, 214 from the seventeenth century, 256 from the eighteenth century, 118 prints from the collection of Lithuanian books, 3 books in Cyrillic, and 4 publications printed in Latvian.

SIGNATURES OF THE ENGRAVERS. At the same time, all the signatures of the illustrators and engravers found in the Vilnius books were recorded. A very large number of the illustrations found, especially the smaller ones – initials, vignettes, headpieces, tailpieces – are anonymous. Information about the engravers is important for researchers of old books, art and graphics, so we will present all the signatures of engravers found in Vilnius publications from the seventeenth and eighteenth century[2] in tables (Tables 1 and 2), including the presence of a frontispiece or a background image of Vilnius, or possibly of Vilnius, in that illustration. Since the aim of the study is the depiction of Vilnius or 'possibly Vilnius' in the foreground of the engravings, the following discussion will be limited to the undecorated editions currently in the VU Library, i.e. those with extant illustrations.[3]

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[1] In total, according to the catalog of Konstancija Čepienė and Irena Petrauskienė *Vilniaus akademijos spaustuvės leidiniai, 1576–1805*, more than 3,200 titles of various publications were printed in this printing house.

[2] No engravers' signatures were found in the books printed in Vilnius printing houses in the sixteenth century.

[3] For example, in the VU library, many books from the seventeenth century illustrated by Götke are currently without frontispieces and other illustrations: Denhoff, Johann Friedrich, *Ara triplex spei publicae, augustae, sacrae, fortunatae, in adventu serenissimi principis Poloniarum Sigismundi Casimiri...,* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, [1643] (VU Library III 10879) or Hińcza, Marcin, *Głos pański z Ewangeliey Adwentowych z naukami*, Vilnius: Basilian Printing House, 1643 (VU Library III 10745; Lr 662), etc.

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THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGRAVERS.[4] Let's briefly discuss the seventeenth-century artists and/or engravers whose signatures were found in the 20 different books. Almost all of them were printed by Vilnius Academy printing house and only one by Vilnius Holy Trinity Basilian monastery printing house.

The earliest of signatures of the creators found in the illustrations of the Vilnius Academy printing house publications is the signature of an unknown engraver 'IS' in the engraving depicting St Casimir published in Grzegorz Święcicki's (1577–1617) book *Theatrum s. Casimiri ...* (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1604).[5]

Initials 'I.V.' by an unknown artist or engraver were found next to to the Trumpet coat of arms of Vilnius Bishop Abraomas Vaina (1569–1649) the dedication the book *Tęcza Przymierzá Wiecznego...* (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1633)[6] by Jesuit Walenty Bartoszewski (1574–1645).The initials are composed in such a way that they appear to be the initials of yet another member of the Vaina family, but a search for a Vaina living around 1633 with the letter 'I' or 'J' in his name did not turn up anything. For this reason, until proven otherwise, they can be considered as the initials of the designer of the coat of arms.

One of the most famous painters who worked in Lithuania in the seventeenth century was Conrad Götke (active 1635–1665). He worked in Braniewo in 1635 and as a freelance painter in Vilnius in 1636–1665. According to the researcher Liškevičienė,[7] he left his signatures in 22 publications. However, only six illustrations signed by him with three different signatures have survived in the VU library (see Table 1). The most famous of these is the frontispiece adorning the seventeenth-century book *Septem Chodkiewicii heroes...* (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1642)[8] by Piotr Kazimierz Łacki.

The engraver Daniel Pelzeldt (active ca. 1649) signed an engraving in the panegyric to the Tyszkiewicz family by Konstanty Drucki-Horski (seventeenth century) *Lux lunae Tyszkievicianae...* (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1649).[9] Another engraving of his in the book, in which we find a secondary view of Vilnius, will be discussed later.

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4   See Table 1.
5   The city depicted behind St Casimir is Pollock, so this article will not mention more about this secondary view of the city. VU Library III 18722–18723, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000240494#00012
6   VU Library III 11493, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000556161#00002
7   Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Konradas Giotkė – XVII amžiaus pirmosios pusės Vilniaus graveris', *Knygotyra*, 2010, Vol. 55, pp. 65–78.
8   Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Konradas Giotkė...', pp. 65–78.
9   VU Library III 10871, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000454208#00005

In the sixteenth century, the painters brothers Schnops worked in Vilnius. Around 1610 Michael was active in Germany, later he and his brother came to Vilnius from the Netherlands via Hungary,[10] and worked in Vilnius from 1666 to 1675. More interesting is the following inscription under the illustration, which is not considered by all researchers to be a reference to the authorship of the Schnops brothers: '*Casimirus Don Schnops figurebat // Saulus PodSchnops excudebat*'. It is the signature of the engraving next to the wings of the Radvilas' Eagles, carrying Vilnius in the publication by Alexander Poźniak (seventeenth century) *Senator septem consularibus…* (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1666).[11]

Goldsmith Laurent Willoncz (active ca. 1660–1667)[12] from Lübeck, who came to Vilnius to study and stayed there, signed under the coat-of-arms of the Kryszpin-Kirszenstein family, which was printed in a poetic work '*Skarbiec starozytnych kleynotow...*' (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1666)[13] for the burial of Anna Młocka Kryszpin-Kirszenstein (ca. 1610–1666), written by Władysław Giedroyć (seventeenth century).

The signature of the poet, painter and engraver, future igumen and archimandrite of the Troitsky-Illynsky monastery in Chernigov, Wawrzyniec Kszczonowicz (ca. 1650–1704),[14] is found in the book *Virtus dexterae...* (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1674)[15] by the Scottish nobleman and student of the Vilnius Academy, Jacob Bennet (seventeenth century) in an inserted 1673 plan of the Battle of Khotyn.

Most of the signatures on the illustrations were left by the brothers Aleksandras (ca. 1650–1727) and Leonas (ca. 1650–1703) Tarasevičius who worked in Vilnius for some time. Apart from Vilnius, A. Tarasevičius worked in Hlusk, Kyiv and Russia. His signatures have been found in two books in the VU Library, and 12 different signatures have been found on 28 engravings. The largest number of his signatures (Table 1) is found in the so-called '*Rosarium et officium b. Mariae Virginis…*' (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1687)[16] by Alexander Hilary Palubinsky (1626–1679). The

[10] VU Library BAV E 142, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000617903#00005

[11] VU Library BAV E 142, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000617903#00005

[12] Kalamajska-Saeed, Maria, 'Wilno jako ośrodek graficzny w XVII w. Postulaty badawcze', *Biuletyn Historyi Sztuki*, 1993, Vol. 55, p. 199.

[13] VU Library III 11948, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000567669#00002

[14] About W. Kszczonowicz: 'Lavrentij Krshchonovich', in: *Izbornik,* [18 12 2023]. Access via internet: https://web.archive.org/web/20210417235302/http://litopys.org.ua/suspil/sus133.htm

[15] VU Library III 10868, DC version lacks this battle plan: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000431264#00005

[16] VU Library BAV 8.1.9t; III 18400$_{(1–2)}$, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000426278#00003

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artistic value and originality of the engravings in this publication, among other Lithuanian and foreign scholars, have been best studied by Liškevičienė.[17] Aleksandras' brother, L. Tarasevičius, worked in Vilnius and Kyiv. The VU library has one book signed by him with two different signatures.[18]

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGRAVERS.[19] The signatures of artists and engravers of illustrations of the eighteenth-century publications printed in Lithuania were found in 12 titles printed in the printing houses of the Vilnius Academy, Basilians and Franciscans, and in the Radvilas' printing house in Nesvizh. Two works by the Czech-born Vilnius engraver Josef Perli (active 1750–1818) were printed at an unidentified printing house.

The signature of Simon Thaddäus Sondermayr (active ca. 1725–1750), an engraver at the court of the Archbishop of Cologne, who worked in Cologne and Augsburg, appears on an engraving commissioned in Augsburg with a portrait of the Grand Marshal of Poland, Józef Wandalin Mniszek (1670–1747) in the publication *Aurorœ Solis Sarmatici...* (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1727)[20] by Adam Ignacy Naramowski (1686–1736).

Initials S.I. S.J. mark the sheet of illustrated exercises '*Propositiones mathematicae ex geometria civili et militari...*' (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1744)[21] published in 1744 and intended for the students of Vilnius Academy. It is possible that the author's initials are 'S.I.' and that SJ (Societatis Jesu) refers to the author's affiliation with the Jesuit Order, to which the Vilnius Academy belonged at the time.

The engravings in the six titles contained five different signatures of Balcevičius, a Lithuanian artist and engraver who worked only in Vilnius. He is so far the only book illustrator to have worked for three printing houses: the Vilnius Academy, Basilians and Franciscans.

Two other publications bear the signature of Perli, a Czech engraver and card maker who worked in the Czech Republic and, from 1778, in Vilnius.[22] Those are separate sheets of graphics depicting the Blessed Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ.

An unidentified painter S. Mackiewicz (active in the eighteenth century) and

17 Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Aleksandro Tarasevičiaus iliustracijos A. Palubinskio „Rožynui"', *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, 1996, Vol. 8: *Lietuvos grafikos istorijos šimtmečiai*, pp. 43–60.

18 Bartoszewski, Ferdynand, *Phænomenon szczęsliwe lew y słonce...* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1692, VU Library III 14483; III 14477; III 19629, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000481308#00006

19 See Table 2.

20 VU Library IV 18309, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000497777#00007

21 VU Library IV 24870, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_001017130#00001

22 'Josef Perli', in: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija,* [20 12 2023]. Access via internet: https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/josef-perli/

engraver Jan Onufry Piotrowski (1754[23]–1770) left their signatures under the illustration of the coffin of St Boniface in the book *Nabozenstwo do swiętego Bonifacego męczennika...* (Vilnius: Franciscan Printing House, 1770)[24].

BACKGROUND IMAGES OF VILNIUS. THE GROUPINGS. In all the publications reviewed, 42 titles were found, including two of the maps, whose illustrations show views of a city, possibly Vilnius, in the background or interspersed with other figures. A total of 32 different cityscapes or architectural fragments of city buildings were found. For convenience, three groups of Vilnius images can be distinguished.

The first group, tentatively named *Surely Vilnius*, includes images showing Gediminas' Hill with the remains of the castle, the Three Crosses, Gates of Dawn (Gates of Medininkai), the name of the city or a part of it, or its architectural fragment. That is to say, it is known beyond doubt that here fragments of Vilnius are depicted.

The second group of illustrations, conditionally titled *Vilnius [?]* includes images that have architectural, geographical or landscape similarities with the buildings of Vilnius, the undulating landscape of the city, hills, etc.

The third group of images, tentatively titled *Could be Vilnius*. It includes images created by an artist who worked in Vilnius or not only in Vilnius, as well as unsigned (anonymous) images found in publications published by any Vilnius printing house.

Let's explore a few lesser-known background images of Vilnius, or possibly Vilnius. It is important to note that this article does not evaluate the views from an artistic point of view, nor does it attempt to ascertain their architectural accuracy in comparison with the surviving buildings of Vilnius that are known to exist or are known from drawings.

First Group: *Surely Vilnius*

Ten images were found where the name of Vilnius or truly distinctive parts of the cityscape – the Hill of Three Crosses or the Upper Castle – were prominent. We will discuss seven of them, which are less well known and less discussed by other researchers.

VIEW OF VILNIUS. The engraving by engraver Pelzeldt with a view of Vilnius in the aforementioned panegyric to the Tyszkiewicz family '*Lux lunae Tyszkievicianae...*' by Drucki-Horski will surprise no one. At the end of the book we find another engraving with a galloping knight (Vytis?). The rider is riding over a city

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[23] Surdokaitė-Vitienė, Gabija; Poligienė, Svetlana, 'Trakų Dievo Motinos kartotės XVII–XIX amžiuje', *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, 2018, Vol. 90, p. 161.

[24] VU Library IV 22490, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000998986#00017

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adorned with pointed towers of churches and castles (Fig. 1), with the easily recognisable ruins of the Three Crosses on the left and the nearby castle – probably the Upper Castle – on the hills. This background view was only identified as a view of Vilnius in the description of the collector Jaunius Gumbis' collection of old publications.[25]

Fig. 1. Pelzeldt's panorama of Vilnius.

VILNIUS CATHEDRAL. In the frontispiece, created by an unknown author for the panegyric to Konstanty Kazimierz Brzostowski (1644–1722) '*Verus antistes … domino D. Constantino Brzostowski …*' (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1687)[26], behind the personification[27] of Descent, Abundance and Virtue in a single

[25] *Advokato Jauniaus Gumbio kolekcija: knygose išlikusi praeitis*, compiled by Aušra Racevičienė, translated by Aušra Simanavičiūtė, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2018, p. 117.

[26] VU Library III 14509; III 14464; III 18148, not in DC.

[27] Liškevičienė, Jolita, *Mundus emblematum: XVII a. Vilniaus spaudinių iliustracijos*, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2005, pp. 201–205.

figure, on the left, we can see the Three Crosses of Vilnius and the buildings painted at the foot of the hills (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Vilnius Cathedral with hills in the background by an unknown artist.

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According to Drėma,[28] it depicts a primitively painted lower castle of Vilnius, enclosed by an archaic city wall of wooden poles. However, since the work is dedicated to Brzostowski's appointment as the Bishop of Vilnius in 1687, it is most likely that Vilnius Cathedral is depicted here. The same illustration, but on the right, shows another church. More research would be needed to find out which church (Trakai?, Smolensk?) is depicted here (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Unidentified Vilnius or possibly Vilnius [?] church.

VILNIUS OLD TOWN. The portrait of St Casimir[29] by Balcevičius, an artist who worked in Vilnius, with Vilnius depicted behind him, is widely known.[30] Behind St Casimir one can see the Vilnius Cathedral, the "fantastic" Upper and Lower castles

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28   Drėma, Vladas, *Dingęs Vilnius...*, p. 107.
29   *Effigies S. Casimiri Regij Poloniae et M. D. L. Principis...*, [Vilnius: Basilian Printing House], 1749, VU Library does not have this publication. Illustration taken from the Polish National Library: https://polona.pl/preview/dfc656cc-356f-4256-bbd3-fbe674046989.
30   'Ne vien dangus = Heaven and beyond', [18 12 2023]. Access via internet: https://www.tartle.lt/lt/kolekcijos/bazilijonu_vienuolynas.html

"restored" by the artist, according to Drėma,[31] the Hill of the Three Crosses, part of the buildings of the old town of Vilnius that was in the territory of the Vilnius Lower Castle, and also the small chapel at the foot of Gediminas' Hill.

A very similar engraving (Fig. 4), probably based on Balcevičius but with obvious differences, hand-coloured, without the signature of an artist or engraver, is pasted into Jan Zrzelski's (1680–1746) book *Bolesław albo Krol bolesci Jezus Christus ...* (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1740)[32].

Fig. 4. Vilnius behind the portrait of St Casimir by Balcevičius and an unkown author.

31 Drėma, Vladas, *Dingęs Vilnius...*, p. 86.
32 VU Library IV 12491; DC has a copy of this book without a pasted picted of St Casimir.

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In this engraving, Vilnius Cathedral is no longer visible, but the chapel of St Casimir and the much larger brick, unplastered Lower Castle, more houses from the Old Town, Upper Castle, similar to one by Balcevičius, and the Three Crosses on the adjacent hill.

At the foot of Gediminas' Hill, in both Balcevičius' and an unknown author's (the brighter one) engravings we can see the small chapel mentioned above. If we open the satellite images of Vilnius city centre and compare the location of the chapel in the two engravings in question, we can see that the location of the small chapel could correspond to the location of one of the defensive towers of the Lower Castle of Vilnius, identified in 2021[33] (see Fig. 5 marked blue), or to the location of the current location of café Rotonda (see Fig. 5 marked red).
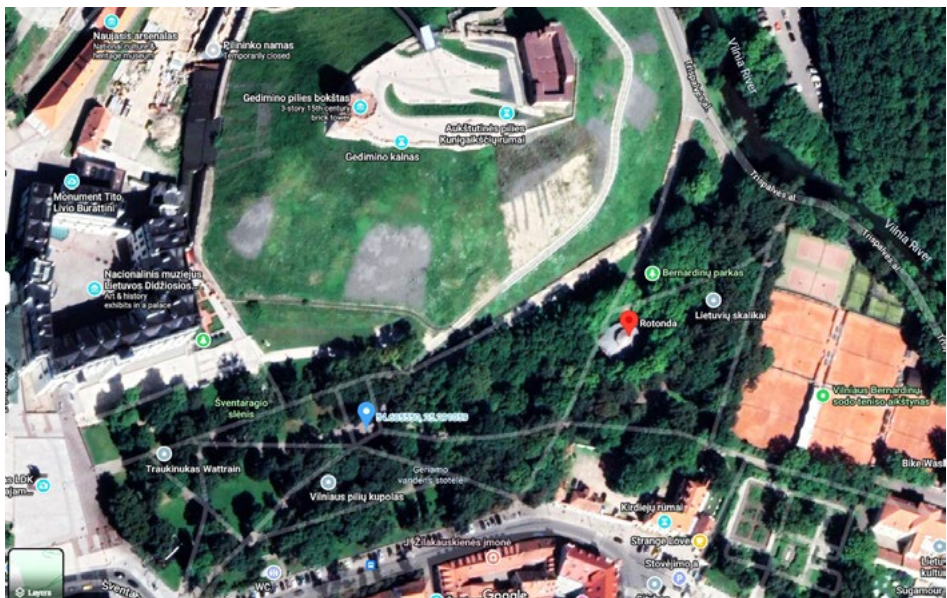
Fig. 5. Possible location of the chapel on the site of the defence tower (blue) or the Rotonda café (red).

One can only hope that some researchers will answer the question: could this small unnamed chapel, which exists in the works of several artists depicting Vilnius,

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[33]   Jakubauskas, Ramūnas, 'Gedimino kalno papėdėje surastas paskutinis nežinomas Žemutinės pilies bokštas', *lrytas*, [19 12 2023]. Access via internet: https://www.lrytas.lt/kultura/istorija/2021/05/11/news/gedimino-kalno-papedeje-surastas-paskutinis-nezinomas-zemutines-pilies-bokstas-19321111

be a remnant of the tower of the defensive wall of the Vilnius Castle, which was still visible to the eyes of the artists who depicted the capital city in the seventeenth and eighteenth century?

VILNIUS BUILDINGS. An interesting case is the sheet of exercises (Fig. 6),[34] intended for the students of the Vilnius Academy, whether they were studying mathematics, geometry or military science, already mentioned above and dating from 1744, probably engraved by a Jesuit using his initials 'S.I.'
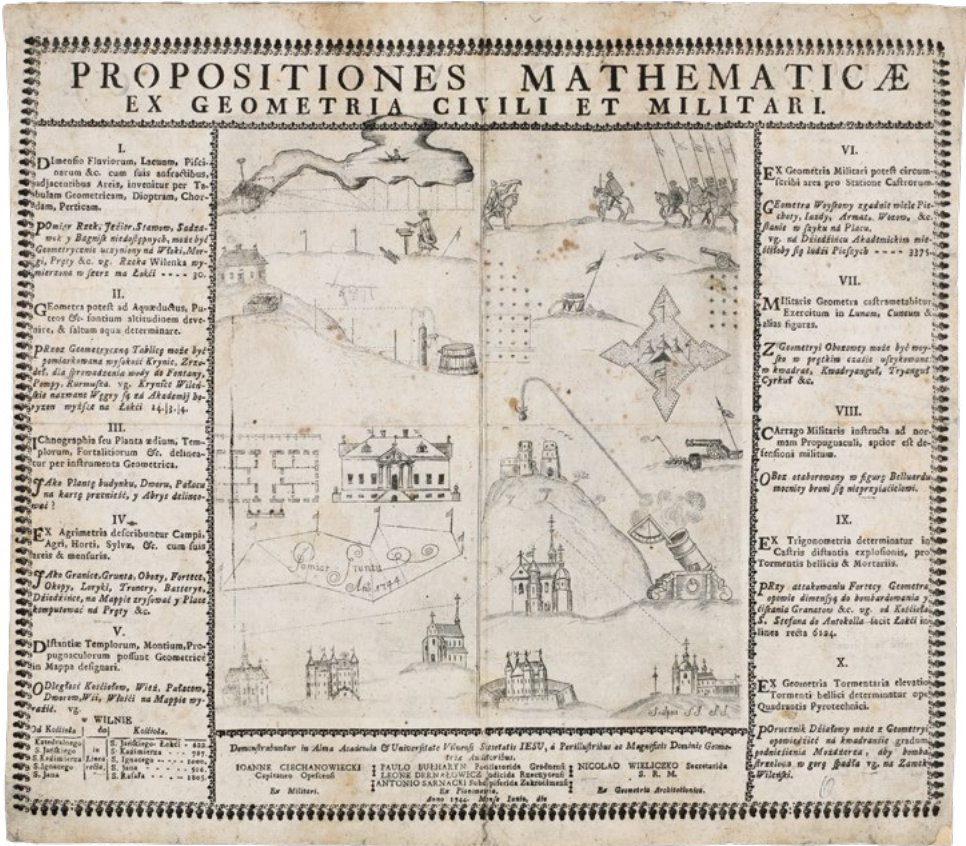
Fig. 6. Exercise sheet with the buildings of Vilnius in 1744.

[34] This exercise sheet was published as annex at the end of Michał Baliński's book *Dawna Akademia Wileńska* (Sankt Peterburg, 1862, p. 605 and 1 fold. sh.) and presented as '*Parodomoji geometrijos programa arba matematiniai civilinės ir karinės geometrijos uždaviniai, skirti išspręsti Vilniaus akademijos studentams*'. Author thanks Dr Jolita Sarcevičienė for the suggestion.

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After studying the exercises, it turns out that in addition to the easily distinguishable Gediminas' Hill with the tower of the Upper Castle at the foot, it also shows Vilnius Cathedral with the Chapel of St Casimir and the former guard tower, now the bell tower, standing next to the cathedral (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7. Vilnius Upper Castle and the Cathedral with bell tower in 1744.

Above is a view of the first known water supply point in Vilnius since the sixteenth century, the Vingriai springs, with a bricked water reservoir and a nearby, possibly, cabin of the water point keeper – an important object for the city (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8. Vingriai springs in 1744.

Next, we trace the exercises to the ensemble of Vilnius University, which currently still houses St John's Church, probably the palace of the magnates Sapiehas in Antakalnis,[35] the church of St Peter and Paul in the vicinity, and two other Vilnius buildings that were difficult to identify but which may have been St Stephen's Church and the Sluškai Palace. If so, it would be very interesting to know what kind of figures adorned the tops of the towers of the Sluškai Palace? (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9. St John's Church, the Sapiehas Palace in Antakalnis, Church of SS Peter and Paul in 1744 and 2024, St Stephen's Church [?] and Sluškai Palace [?].

ANTAKALNIS TRINITARIAN MONASTERY. The Graphics cabinet of the VU Library contains several sheets of the aforementioned Perli's prints depicting various saints. In one of them, 'Prawdziwy wizerunek P. Jezusa Nazarańskiego w Wilnie na Antokolu u X.X.Trynitarzow' (Vilnius: s.n., 1778)[36] at the bottom of the painting, under the feet of Jesus, we can see the buildings of the Trinitarian (Saviour's) church and monastery complex in Vilnius, Antakalnis, and the Sapiehas Palace [?] as the artist saw it in about 1778 (Fig. 10).

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[35] Compared with the drawing of the project proposal for the restoration of the Sapiehas Palace from the book: Janonienė, Rūta; Purlys, Evaldas, *Sapiegų rūmai Antakalnyje*, Vilnius: Nacionalinis muziejus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai, 2012, p. 113.
[36] VU Library PerJ IA–1, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB06_000000062#00001

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Fig. 10. Depicted by Perli the complex of buildings of the Trinitarian Monastery of Vilnius in Antakalnis in 1778 and 2024.

VILNIUS ON MAPS. The representation of the city or its buildings on various maps should also be mentioned. This article will present only two map representations of Vilnius, but there are certainly many more similar representations of cities on maps.

The first is the map of the province of Lithuania, '*Provincia Litvana Ord. S. P. Francisci reg. ob. sub tit. S. Casimiri...*' (Nesvizh, ca. 1760)[37], drawn up by the Lithuanian engraver Leibowicz and printed in Nesvizh around 1760, showing Bernardine churches and monasteries in various places of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Around Vilnius, near the Hill of the Three Crosses, we also find a view of the Vilnius Bernardine Monastery complex. For comparison, here is a photograph of the most famous nineteenth-century Vilnius photographer, Józef Czechowicz (1818–1888), from 1872–1880. It shows the church of the Bernardine monastery in Vilnius with all four corner towers still in place[38] (Fig. 11).

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[37] VU Library 3K–102, not in DC.
[38] VU Library F 82–886, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000384023#00001.

Fig. 11. Vilnius Bernardine Monastery by Leibowicz and J. Czechowicz.

In one of the many maps by the famous French cartographer Nicolas Sanson (1600–1667) depicting the lands of Courland and Semigallia, '*La Curlandé duché et Semigallé...*' (Paris: chez l´Auteur, 1659), we see Vilnius as a large city compared to other cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, surrounded by a defensive wall,

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situated at the confluence of two rivers. The same atlas[39] contains more similar views of Vilnius, all at the confluence of two rivers. For the sake of interest and to give an idea of the accuracy of the views of cities on such maps, we present next an image of Trakai, found on the same map, which shows a double castle connected by a bridge on the islands of a large lake (Fig. 12).

Fig. 12. Vilnius and Trakai on Sanson's map of Courland and Samogitia.

[39]   [A collection of maps from various atlases of Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and other Western European countries by Nicolas Sanson, Alexis-Hubert Jaillot and other publishers], s.l., [1659–1703], VU Library M 1557, not in DC.

Second Group: *Vilnius [?]*

Only six images belong to the group tentatively called *Vilnius [?]*, which will discuss illustrations with architectural-geographical-landscape similarities to the buildings of Vilnius, the undulating landscape, the hills etc.

SOBOR? In one of the Mamonichi printing houses (active 1574–1624, intermittently 1577–1582), a Cyrillic edition of *Molitvennik ...* (Vilnius: Mamoniches Printing House, 1617)[40] contains a headpiece with an Orthodox baptismal scene in the centre. Behind it is the tower of a church or monastery, which bears a striking resemblance to the tower of the Sobor of the Assumption of the Mother of God in Vilnius[41] (Fig. 13).

Fig. 13. Vilnius Sobor of the Assumption of Our Lady.

[40]   VU Library Rk 282, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000635546#00037.
[41]   Although the church was rebuilt (architect Nikolay Chagin) only in the nineteenth century after its destruction during the 1794 uprising and the similarity is probably accidental, there is also no information on how this church looked in the sixteenth century.

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VILNIUS OLD TOWN [?]. In the work *Sacra lithothesis* (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1621)[42] by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595–1640), dedicated to the foundation of the church of Kražiai by Jonas Karolis Chodkevičius (ca. 1571/1572–1621), there are visible town buildings in the background of the three out of four engravings by an unknown author. They are usually not mentioned by scholars when examining the engravings and the literary text.[43]

In the first engraving of Chodkevičius praying, the city in the distance resembles Vilnius. For a better idea, compare the city in the engraving with the aforementioned panorama of Vilnius by Schnops, printed on the frontispiece of a publication dedicated to the Radziwiłłs. And then, behind the defensive wall of the city, you can see Vilnius Cathedral with its bell tower (in the Schnops' engraving published after the Flood, a bell tower perhaps? does not have a roof) and a tower similar to the dome of St Casimir's Church, already near the Gates of Dawn. In the fourth engraving in *Sacra lithothesis*, we can see what appears to be a continuation of the Vilnius [?] city view[44] – a building with several pointed towers and, further to the right, a square and a tall tower with a house attached to it (Fig. 14).[45] All of the above are also found in the Schnops' engraving, which is undoubtedly pictures Vilnius.

Fig. 14. Panorama of Vilnius.

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[42]   VU Library III 10711, not in DC.
[43]   Liškevičienė, Jolita, 'Kražių bažnyčios statybos pradžia', *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, 2005, Vol. 36, pp. 33–38; Šarkauskienė, Skirmantė, 'Motiejaus Kazimiero Sarbievijaus *Akmens pašventinimas* (*Sacra lithothesis*): žanro problema', *Literatūra*, 2004, Vol. 46(3), pp. 86–98; Jankauskas, Vidmantas, 'Istorinė tematika senojoje Lietuvos grafikoje', *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, 1996, Vol. 8, pp. 20–42.
[44]   When comparing with the engraving by Schnops, the view is more from the left than with Schnops.
[45]   In the engraving in the third book *Sacra lithothesis* we also find a view of the church and fragments of the city, but these architectural elements are not specific to Vilnius.

VILNIUS [?] LANDSCAPE. Similarities with the distinctive hilly historical landscape of Vilnius can also be seen in an engraving by an unknown author, published in the book *Armatura fortium* (Vilnius: Franciscan Printing House, 167?)[46]. Let us compare this book's, admittedly very undistinguished, engraving with Józef Peszka's (1767–1831) superb watercolour[47] of 1808 depicting the panorama of Vilnius (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15. Vilnius hills as seen from the Cathedral.

On the left side of the watercolour, the Castle Hill sweeps off to the right in five hills, similar to the illustration in '*Armatura fortium*'. Incidentally, the engraving also shows two towers with pointed roofs at the foot of the Castle Hill, possibly the towers of the city's defensive wall that were still standing at the time, and which were depicted in the engravings discussed above (Fig. 4) and identified in this article as the chapels at the foot of the Castle Hill. For a better idea, it should be explained that the view of the hills of Vilnius depicted in the engraving could be similar if the viewer stood behind the Cathedral and turned towards what is now Sereikiškės Park.

[46]   VU Library IV 25790, not in DC.
[47]   VU Library PeszJ IID-1, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB06_000001938#00001.

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VILNIUS [?] PANORAMA FROM SEREIKIŠKĖS. Now let us look at Vilnius from the other side and pull closer the engraving '*The Elevation of Mary*' by A. Tarasevičius from the aforementioned publication, the so-called Polubinski's *Rosarium*[48] (Fig. 16).

Fig. 16. Panorama of Vilnius from Sereikiškės.

Under the cloud, the city with Castle Hill on the right is quite clearly visible. If we imagine that we are looking at the view of Vilnius from the Sereikiškės Park, from further away, then perhaps Vilnius would look like this? For comparison, let us look at another watercolour[49] by the same artist, Peszka, with a panorama of Vilnius in 1808 from Sereikiškės Park and the Botanical Garden. Just by counting the towers, starting with the tallest one from right to left, it is easy to see that there are almost as many of them – six distinctly different ones – and that they are arranged similarly in both images, despite the fact that Peszka's and Tarasevičius' panoramas of Vilnius are separated by 121 years.

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[48] Compiled by Aleksandras Hilarijus Polubinskis (1626–1679).

[49] VU Library PeszJ IID-1, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB06_000001937#00001.

VILNIUS [?] PANORAMA FROM THE GATES OF DAWN. Another interesting panorama of Vilnius[50] from the side of Gates of Dawn (see Fig. 17) was found in the book *Philosophia juxta inconcussa...* (Napoli: typis Felicis Mosca, sumptibus Bernardini Gessari, 1732)[51] by Antoine Goudin (1639–1695), drawn in black ink by an unknown artist.

Fig. 17. Panorama of Vilnius from the Gates of Dawn.

The two images are separated by almost 300 years, but some similarities can still be found: the tower of the Vilnius Holy Spirit Orthodox Monastery Cathedral, which rises beyond the city wall, is very similar to the dome seen in the drawing, with an equally small tower and with an even smaller dome and a cross. It is known that there was a corner round (rotund) tower to the left of the Gates of Dawn (Gates of Medininkai).[52] There are no surviving records of such a round tower in the other corner of the defensive wall on the right. Thus, if this drawing were truly to be regarded as a view of Vilnius, perhaps the round tower on the right would be a clue to modern researchers as to where to look for the rotunda tower to the right of the gate.

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[50] That this could possibly be Vilnius is mentioned in a book by Rankelienė, Sondra; Saudargienė, Indrė, *Bibliotheca curiosa*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2016, p. 148.

[51] VU Library BAV 57.7.1, not in DC.

[52] Drėma, Vladas, *Dingęs Vilnius...*, pp. 138–139.

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Third Group: *Could be Vilnius*

This group includes images whose authors have not been anywhere else, i.e. have lived and worked only in Vilnius. Also small images: vignettes, initials, headpieces and tailpieces, and anonymous illustrations in the background of books printed by Vilnius' printers. There are 23 images meeting these criteria in the VU Library repositories and digital collections. A few of them are worth discussing in more detail.

A CITY IN THE FIELDS. First of all, we should mention the frontispiece by A. Tarasevičius, dedicated to the dissertation of Teodoras Bilevičius (ca. 1655–1724) '*Triplex philosophia rationalis, naturalis & moralis* ...' (Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1675)[53], defended at the Vilnius Academy; in the centre, but in the background, for all to see yet at the same time hidden city in the distant fields. By the way, situated at the foot of the rolling hills (Fig. 18).

Fig. 18. A city in the fields in an engraving by A. Tarasevičius.

A CITY BEHIND ST CASIMIR. Let us return once again to the aforementioned prayer book, the so-called *Rosarium* by Polubinskis. On its frontispiece, the city is visible behind St Casimir, with the great towers of churches rising up. The book was printed

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53   VU Library III 14771, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000535696#00001.

by Vilnius Academy printing house, and the author of the engraving, as well as author of the original[54] part of it – with St Casimir – was A. Tarasevičius, an artist working in Vilnius at the time. St Casimir is also more connected with Vilnius than not. Whether the city behind his back can be picturing Vilnius (e.g. St Casimir's Church?) is something that other researchers may be able to answer (Fig. 19).

Fig. 19. A city behind St Casimir by A. Tarasevičius.

A CITY BEHIND ST ALBERT. The Lithuanian engraver Balcevičius, already mentioned, is interesting because he has never worked anywhere else but Vilnius. It would therefore be understandable that Balcevičius could have depicted the environment in which he lived in his works. The registry of the works by this artist and

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[54] Vasiliauskienė, Aušra, 'Aleksandro Hilarijaus Palubinskio sudarytos knygos *Rosarium et officium b. Mariae virginis...* iliustracijos: nauji faktai ir aspektai', *Logos*, 2006 January–March, Vol. 45, p. 126.

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engraver does not include the Dominican monk St Albert of Bergamo (1214–1279, known as the *Vileonian* based on his birthplace). It was found in two books printed by the Franciscan and Basilian printers in Vilnius.[55] This portrait may have been excluded from Balcevičius' works because it was copied, as was common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from a portrait of St Albert of Bergamo by another artist, the Italian Giovanni Fabbri (active 1736–1776, d. 1777), published in a book[56] about this saint in 1748 (Fig. 20[57])?

Fig. 20. St Albert by J. Fabri and P. V. Balsevičius

The portrait by Balcevičius is certainly a little different, more meticulous and ornate than Fabbri's engraving. Behind St Albert in both portraits, the buildings in the distance, like a city wall with gates, stand out. This is probably not the city wall of Vilnius, but these fragments of an unknown city hidden in the background are worth mentioning.

AN UNKNOWN CITY. An engraving by an unsigned artist with architectural details of an unidentified city in the background is also on a large-format sheet with a religious text in Latin, '*Sacrum convivium*' (Vilnius: Franciscan Printing House, 1758),[58] printed in Vilnius published by the Franciscan printing house in Vilnius. More time and research is needed to find out what buildings and in which city are depicted here (Fig. 21).

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55   *Zywot błogosławionego Alberta Willeonienskiego...,* Vilnius: Franciscan Printing House, 1752, VU Library IV 22069; Hubčinskis (Hubczyński), Ignotas, *Zakon trzeci braci kaznodzieiow*, Vilnius: Basilian Printing House, 1779, VU Library IV 22940/₁₁, not in DC.

56   Ricchini, Tommaso Agostino, *De vita et cultu B. Alberti Villaeoniensis*, Roma: H. Mainardi, 1748, not in VU Library.

57   J. Fabri illustration from the internet source [04 01 2024]. Access via internet: https://books.google.lt/books?id=Ei9oAAAAcAAJ&pg=PP2&lpg=PP2&dq=b.+albertus+villeoniensis&source=bl&ots=3ky_3E283v&sig=ACfU3U09WhBiYxarywiOHtWEeh-PxfbWAw&hl=en&sa=X-&ved=2ahUKEwj8nd2orqH-AhUUrosKHaycB2QQ6AF6BAgJEAM#v=onepage&q&f=false

58   VU Library IV 31424, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000983823#00001
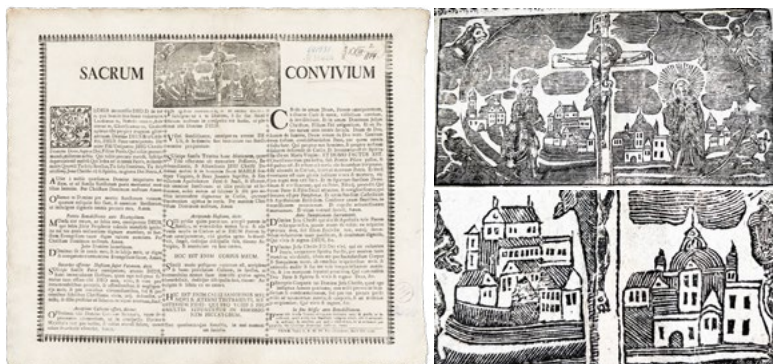
Fig. 21. Fragments of an unknown city.

A CITY BEHIND JESUS. In various eighteenth-century editions[59] of the Polish and Lithuanian Gospels compiled by Jonas Jaknavičius (1589–1668), we find an unknown artist's illustration of cities in the background, both in the background of the hills and in the plains. Some of them closely resemble earlier images attributed to Vilnius on the basis of certain geographical (the hills of Vilnius with the Castle Hill) or architectural (the defensive wall of the city with the Gates of Dawn (Gates of Medininkai) features (Fig. 22).

Fig. 22. A City behind Jesus.

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[59]   *Ewangelie polskie y litewskie...*, Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1738, 1753, VU Library Lr 1053; Lr 1057, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/en/objects/VUB01_000387510#00005; https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000387490#00008.

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A CITY BEHIND THE CRUCIFIX. Quite a few books with religious content[60] published by the Vilnius Academy printing house have illustrations by unknown artists of a crucified Jesus and the city view behind him. These could also be panoramas of the city of Vilnius, some more similar, others less so, such as the defensive wall of Vilnius with the Gates of Dawn in the centre (Fig. 23 above) or the Old Town of Vilnius with the Cathedral and the grounds of the Lower Castle (Fig. 23 below).[61]

Fig. 23. A City behind the Crucifix.

60   Kosakovskis, Jurgis, *Rozancius Szwęciausios Maryos Pannos yr saldziausy warda Jezusa...,* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1797, 1791, VU Library Lr 1256, Lr 1291, DC: https://kolekcijos. biblioteka.vu.lt/en/objects/VUB01_000394327#00057;   https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/en/objects/ VUB01 _000394388#00055; *Director animæ quotidianus...,* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1734, VU Library IV 7012, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000494752#00004; *Corona domini salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi...,* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1753, VU Library IV 6692, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000490418#00004.

61   Kosakovskis, Jurgis, *Rozancius Szwęciausios Maryos Pannos yr saldziausy warda Jezusa...,* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1797, 1791, VU Library Lr 1256, Lr 1291, DC: https://kolekcijos. biblioteka.vu.lt/en/objects/VUB01_000394327#00057;   https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/en/objects/ VUB01_000394388#00055; *Director animæ quotidianus...,* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1734, VU Library IV 7012, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000494752 #00004; *Corona domini salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi...,* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1753, VU Library IV 6692, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000490418#00004.

FRAGMENTS OF A CITY IN MINIATURE ILLUSTRATIONS. It has already been mentioned that architectural details of cities created by unknown artists in publications[62] printed in Vilnius were also found in miniature illustrations: vignettes, initials, headpieces or tailpieces. These mostly depict miniature architectural formations – small cityscapes, views of castles, buildings and churches. Here are a few examples of such illustrations, selected from publications printed in Vilnius[63] (Fig. 24).

Fig. 24. Fragments of a city in small illustrations.

62   *Illustrissimo, reverendissimo domino, d. Antonio Josepho Zołkowski episcopo Alalejensi, suffraganeo Albæ Russiæ, decano cathedrali & officiali generali Vilnensi sub diem consecrationis ad infulam alalejensem, collegii Vilnensis scholarum piarum applausus. D. D. Annô Domini MDCCXLV*, Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1745, VU Library IV 30647, DC: https://kolekcijos. biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000545668#00003; Phaedrus, *Bajek ksiąg pięc ...*, Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1774, VU Library IV 22667, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/ objects/VUB01_000497823#00014; Marliani, Ambrogio, *Plac polityki...*, Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1771, VU Library IV 12880, DC: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/ VUB01_000521734#00009; *Sztafeta Polska podróżnym do korrespondencyi piórem uprojektowana...*, Vilnius: Franciscan Printing House, 1757, VU Library BAV C 461.
63   There are many publications with the same miniature illustrations and it would not make sense to list them all, so we will give only one example of a certain vignette, initial or headpiece.

Conclusions

The examination of a large number of publications printed by Vilnius Academy printing house, as well as books carrying works by well-known engravers who worked in Lithuania, has revealed that the background of the engravings, as well as the vignettes, initials, headpieces and tailpieces, contain small panoramic or individual building images of Vilnius or other places, which are not widespread and/or little known to researchers of old book illustrations, art researchers, historians, and literary scholars. One can hope that the images of Vilnius and non-Vilnius presented in this article will become more familiar to researchers who will study them and find out whether they belong to Vilnius or not, as well as to artists, book illustrators, and designers, who may have more material for their work and for the illustrations of various publications. It would also be nice to see these old-new images of Vilnius distributed as illustrations for historical texts, complementing the more common historical images of Vilnius.

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Appendices

Table 1. Signatures of the seventeenth-century illustrators

Author's signature in publication	Name	Title of the publication	Vilnius	Shelf Mark
IS	-	Święcicki, Grzegorz. *Theatrum s. Casimiri* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1604.	+	III 18722–23 III 18873–74 III 8162 III 17860
I.V. [?]	-	Bartoszewski, Walenty. *Tęcza Przymierzá Wiecznego* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1633		III 11493
Conrad9 Götke sculp. Vilnae	Konrad Götke, active 1635–1665	Lacki, Petrus Casimirus. *Septem Chodkiewicii heroes* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1642		III 10847
Con: Götke scul.		Hincza, Marcin. *Głos Panski z ewangeliey Adwentowych* ... Vilnius: Basilian Printing House, 1643	+	III 10745
		Oziembłowski, Ioannes. *Annuli nuptiales ad felices et augustos hymenaeos* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1647		III 18730
Con: Götke scul: Vilnæ		Wolski, Stanisław. *Troyaki prognostyk* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1644		III 10763
		Vaišnoravičius, Kazimieras Jonas. *Marmur na którym budynek iasny wysoce urodzoney ... Jagnieszki Czernickiey Komarowey* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1645		III 10886
		Sulinski, Adam. *Plausus epithalamicus inter nuptias ... Georgii Iacobi Szweryn* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1644		III 19623
Daniel Pelzeldt. Sculp. Vil:	Daniel Pelzeldt, active seventeenth century	Drucki Horski, Constantinus. *Lvx lvnæ Tyszkievicianæ* … Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1649	+	III 10871 III 10918

Author's signature in publication	Name	Title of the publication	Vil-nius	Shelf Mark
Casimirus Don Schnops figure-bat // Saulus Pod Schnops excudebat	Michael Schnops, active ca. 1610–1675; Thomas Schnops, seventeenth century	Poźniak, Aleksander. *Senator septem consularibus C. Marij Aquilis signatus* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1666	+	III 8639 BAV E 142 III 18132
Micha: ... Schnops delin: // Thom: Schnops Scalp: M.T.Schnops Sc		Naruszewicz, Kazimierz Aleksander. *Meta felicitatis* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1666		III 10867 III 18124 III 18177
M.To. Schnops Sc.		Naruszewicz, Kazimierz Aleksander. *Phœnix orbis Litvani* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1666		III 10869 III 18124a III 15109
Lorens Willatz sculq. Vilnae	Laurent Willatz, eighteenth century	Giedroyć, Władysław. *Skarbiec starozytnych kleynotow* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1666		III 11948
L:Krzczonowicz fecit.	Wawrzyniec Krzczonowicz, seventeenth century	Bennet, Jakób. *Virtus dexterae* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1674		III 18134 III 10868 BAV 5.2.40$_{/3}$ III 14495
Alex:Tarassowicz sculp. Viln. AT.	Aleksander Tarasewicz, ca. 1650–ca. 1727	Narmunth, Mikołaj. *Quatuor Decades problematvm* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1685	+	III 14771 BAV 58.8.24$_{/2}$
Alexander Tarasewicz sculpsit. (twice) A.Tarasowicz sculpsit (twice) Alex:Tarasewicz sculp. Alex.Tarasowicz sculp.(three times) Alex.Tarasowicz sculpsit.(twice) Alex.Tarasowicz. A.Tarasewicz scul: Alex:Tarasewicz sculpsit. AT.(eleven times) AT A.T.		*Rosarivm et officivm b. Mariæ Virginis* ... Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1687	+	III 18400$_{(1–2)}$ BAV 8.1.9t

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Author's signature in publication	Name	Title of the publication	Vilnius	Shelf Mark
L.Tarasewicz sculp. LT sculp.	Leon Tarasewicz, ca. 1650–1703	Bartoszewski, Ferdynand. *Phænomenon szczęsliwe lewonce...* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1692		III 14483 III 14477 III 19629

Table 2. Signatures of the eighteenth-century illustrators

Author's signature in publication	Name	Title of the publication	Vilnius	Shelf Mark
Simon Thade Sondermayr Graveur de // S.A.S.E. de Cologne sc. Aug. Vind	Simon Thadeus Sondermayr, active ca. 1725–1750	Naramowski, Adam Ignacy. *Aurorae solis Sarmatici ...* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1727		IV 18309 IV 22113 BAV 71.2.8$_{/1}$ IV 20944a
Sculpsit S.I. S.J.	S. I.	*Propositiones mathematicæ ex geometria civili et militari ...* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1744	+	IV 24870
F.Balcew: sc: Vilnae.	Franciszek Wacław Balcewicz, active 1746–1753	Illicz, Reginald. *Maiestas et pietas Austriaca de amplitudine contendens ... D. M. Josephæ ...* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1746	+	IV 16645 IV 30396 IV 30663
Fr.Balcewicz sc: Vilnae		Dziewulski, Jakub. *Kompas zbawienny ...* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1746		IV 21677
Franc. Węcesl: Balc. Sculp. Vilne		*Effigies s. Casimiri regij Poloniae et. M.D.L. principis ...* Vilnius: Basilian Printing House, 1749	+	VUB nėra
Fr:Balc: sc: Viln:		*Zywot błogosławionego Alberta Willeonienskiego ...* Vilnius: Franciscan Printing House, 1752	+	IV 22069
Franc: Balc: sc: et exc: Vilnæ		Przyłęcki, Franciszek. *Theologia duchowna i ascetyczna ...* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, [1763]		IV 21458$_{(1–16)}$ ir kt. egz.
Fr:Balc: sc: Viln:		Hubčinskis, Ignotas. *Zakon trzecbraci kaznodzieiow.* Vilnius: Basilian Printing House, 1779	+	IV 22940$_{/1(1–2)}$ IV 7526$_{/1}$ IV 21630$_{/1(1–3)}$

Author's signature in publication	Name	Title of the publication	Vilnius	Shelf Mark
Skulp Jozef Perl exc. J.P. Wilnie // correcta 1825 a[nn]o	Josef Perli, active 1750–1818	*Obraz Cudowny N.P.M. w Kosciele S. Michala w Wilnie.* Vilnius: s.n., 1750		PerJ IA–1
Sculp. Jozef Perl in Wilnie R. 1778		*Prawdziwy wizerunek P. Jezusa Nazarańskiego w Wilnie na Antokolu u X.X.Trynitarzow.* Vilnius: s.n., 1778	+	PerJ IA–1
H.L. Sculpsit Nesvisii.	Hirsz, Herszek Leibowicz, ca. 1700–1770	Leibowicz, Hirsz. *Provincia Litvana Ord. S. P. Francisci reg. ob. sub tit. S. Casimiri ...* Nesvizh: s.n., ca. 1760	+	$3K–102_{(1–2)}$
S.Mackiewicz de // I.Piotrowski Sc.	S. Mackiewicz, eighteenth century?, artist; Jan Onufry Piotrowski, active 1754–1770, engraver	*Nabozenstwo do swiętego Bonifacego męczennika ...* Vilnius: Franciscan Printing House, 1770		$IV\ 22490_{/1}$

Sondra Rankelienė. The Hidden Vilnius: Background Images and Architectural Fragments of the City in the Seventeenth–Eighteenth Century Publications

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Printing Errors and Methods of Correction in Sixteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Lithuanian Books

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Summary. The article analyses printing errors in sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Lithuanian-language books printed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Duchy of Prussia. The errors are classified according to the time of their correction. The first section deals with the very last correction of errors made in the printing house after the final proofreading, the second with the work of the compositor and imposition, and finally with two methods of correcting errors after the printing process has been completed.

Printing errors can be technical (i.e., due to the use of poor quality materials or processes), proofreading errors, and various accidents such as turning a sheet upside down. Proofreading errors usually occur during typesetting and although attempts are made to correct them before press, they can be corrected during impression or even after the printing process is completed. Errors corrected while printing can be detected by comparing several copies of a publication.

The oldest Lithuanian publication with signs of proofreading is the first book in Lithuanian – *Catechismvsa Prasty Szadei* by Martynas Mažvydas (1547). Minor textual discrepancies in the two surviving copies indicate that the final proofreading was done after the printing started; the errors were corrected and the work at the press continued. Because of high prices of paper, pages with errors were not destroyed and ended up in random copies during the binding of the book. Corrections of this type have been observed in almost all sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Lithuanian books. Differences between copies sometimes make it possible to reconstruct which side of the sheet was printed first. And the particular arrangement of the corrections suggests that typeset text had been proofread and corrected several times during the printing process.

One of the surviving copies of Danielius Kleinas' grammar of the Lithuanian language (1654, in German) is exceptional. The errors in its last pages were due to a technical decision of the printer, who decided to typeset part of the book twice to speed up its printing (one set was not free of errors, the second set was less error-prone).

Errors could be concealed after the printing was completed by pasting in slips of paper. The earliest publication with corrections of this type is Baltramiejus Vilentas's collection of pericopes in the *Evangelijos bei Epistolos* (*Gospels and Epistles*, 1579). Even some theological errors were corrected in this impractical way. The hymnal of Jonas Bretkūnas (1589), printed by the same Georg Osterberger's press, is the first Lithuanian book with a provided

list of errors and their corrections (errata). Owners of books used more intensively for teaching or liturgy usually corrected errors according to the printed instructions in ink (pencil became common later), and less often by erasing the text from the paper.

The digitisation of old books and the proliferation of digital versions of original copies have made it possible to read several copies of the same print simultaneously. A technical image processing tool, an automated photocopy aligner, has been developed for this purpose, which helps to spot typographical or proofreading differences in the copies, and also serves philological analysis, for example, by enabling a more accurate reading of the text in the critical editions.

Keywords: History of typography; typographical errors; heritage of Lithuanian printing.

Introduction

Typos are a constant concern for publishers. Errors can occur at any stage of a book's production: in the drafting, writing, copying, typesetting, correcting during proof-reading at the printer's, or even while collating signatures at the bookbinder's. Mistakes have always been avoided, and when they did happen, efforts have been made to correct them.[1]

The article discusses the methods of correcting errors in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books in the Lithuanian language, and tries to reconstruct the time of the correction of errors during the publication process. Those errors that were corrected while printing are the most difficult to detect; the rarest are the events related to technical processes, such as printing from a duplicated composition (two versions of the text were printed at the same time), or reprinting a part of the edition (the type was reassembled and reprinted). Errors were also corrected after the printing had been completed: they were hidden with slips of paper printed at the printing house, or a list of noticed errors (errata) was printed for the benefit of the reader of the book.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, books in Lithuanian in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were printed in one city – the capital Vilnius. For a short time, a printing house was also active in Kėdainiai (where the only book in Lithuanian was printed). The oldest centre of Lithuanian books was Königsberg in the Duchy of Prussia, which provided the literature most important to the Lithuanian-populated province of Prussia, known as Lithuania Minor or simply Lithuania. All printers make mistakes and try to correct them, and the correction methods under discussion are not specific to the region; the same processes took place in printing houses

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in other countries. Percy Simpson, Harry Carter, Charlton Hinman, Leon Voet and many other researchers were among the first to reconstruct and describe in detail the correction methods used by printing houses in England, the Netherlands and other countries.[2]

The aim of this paper is to draw attention to a little-studied topic in the history of Lithuanian typography, to register the types of proofreading errors, to classify them according to the time of correction during the printing process, and to present the developed automated method of detecting corrections in different copies.

Proofreading in Print

It is well known to bibliographers, librarians, bibliophiles and other researchers of printing that every copy of a book is unique; it is even impossible to find two identical copies of the same edition if it was printed before the mid-nineteenth century. Not only are there differences in paper, binding, ownership and reader's marks, but there are also typographical discrepancies. Typographical differences can take two forms: differences in printing execution, which are caused by technological processes or the materials used (e.g., uneven ink coverage, defects in paper), or differences in the content, where the printed text or the layout of the text does not match in different copies.

The differences are due to the old manual printing method. The compositor assembled the metal sorts (*litterae*) from the case; the impositor broke the lines into pages, tied them into galleys, and set up the forme on the printing bed; the ink was applied using two balls, and a damp sheet of paper was rolled under and pressed down onto the forme with a platen, impressing one side of the sheet. The proofreader (or the author himself) reviewed the first impression and noted errors; corrections were done in the forme, and the printing started. However, while the proofreading continued, the printing press was not stopped to save time, and some copies of the sheet were printed before the proof was revised. Only when the last proof was returned were the

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[2]   Simpson, Percy, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London: Oxford University Press, 1970 [1935]; Carter, Harry, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600. The Lyell Lectures 1968*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969; Hinman, Charlton, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963, Vols. 1–2; Voet, Leon, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co., London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, New York: Abner Schram, 1972, Vol. 2: *The Management of a Printing and Publishing House in Renaissance and Baroque*; *Printing and Misprinting. A Companion to Mistakes and In-House Corrections in Renaissance Europe (1450–1650)*, edited by Geri Della Rocca de Candal, Anthony Grafton, Paolo Sachet, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023.

errors corrected in the typesetting and printing continued. The cost of paper in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries accounted for between one-third and three-quarters of the total cost of printing, so much so that those printed pages with errors were not destroyed and ended up in random copies during the binding of the book.

Proofreading errors corrected during impression may include minor spelling or punctuation errors, letters reversed, swapped, or placed upside-down in the typesetting, omitted words, incorrect breaks in words, wrong musical symbols or notes, etc. There are some books in which errors were more likely to be corrected in the margins or in the headings alone.

The first book in Lithuanian, *Catechismvsa Prasty Szadei* by Martynas Mažvydas (d. 1563), published in 1547,[3] already contains proofreading differences that appeared during the impression. Two copies of the catechism are known to exist: in the library of Vilnius University (VUB; kept in Odessa until 1957)[4] and in the library of Nikolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (BUT; until WWII this copy belonged to the library of the University of Königsberg).[5]

The Vilnius copy lacks a comma after the word *radidamij* C3r[37][8], but the Toruń copy has it (Fig. 1). The uneven placement of the spacing between the words made it possible to determine when this correction was made: the comma before the conjunction *idant* (that) was inserted during the correction of the forme in the printing bed during the impression.[6] Further corrections were made in the same signature C, such as corrections to the melodies of the hymns (the copies differ in the pitch of several notes in the first and the last staffs on pages C5r[41] and C8v[48]). The correction of the notes leaves no doubt that the proofreading was deliberately done during the printing process. Mažvydas took these melodies from the Polish hymnal of Jan Seklucjan.[7] A comparison of the melodies in the Catechism and in this hymnal

[3] Mažvydas, Martynas, *Catechismvsa Prasty Szadei, Makslas skaitima raschta yr giesmes del kriksczianistes bei del berneliu iaunu nauiey suguldidtas*, Königsberg: Hans Weinreich, 1547.

[4] *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija, serija A: Knygos lietuvių kalba, t. 1.: 1547–1861*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1969, p. 240; Palionis, Jonas, 'Об изданиях литовского катехизиса 1547 г.', *Annali dell'Instituto universitario orientale. Sezione slava*, 1961, Vol. 4 (1), pp. 67–68.

[5] Bibliographer Vladas Žukas was one of the first to draw attention to the origin of the Toruń copy from Königsberg: Žukas, Vladas, 'Senos lietuviškos knygos Lenkijos bibliotekose', *Bibliotekų darbas*, 1970, Vol. 7, p. 19.

[6] Noticing this difference in printing led to the first thought that the comma letter could have fallen out as the forme was being moved or have been pulled out by a sheet of paper being lifted after impression, but this version must be rejected due to the exact alignment of the line with the margin edge in the VUB copy and the uneven spacing between the words in the BUT copy.

[7] Seklucjan, Jan, *Pyesńy duchowne a nabożne...*, Königsberg: Hans Weinreich, 1547, p. 17; cf. Michelini, Guido, *Martyno Mažvydo raštai ir jų šaltiniai*, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2000, p. 108.

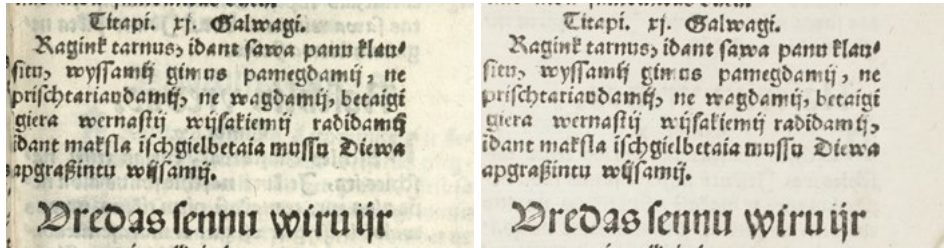shows that the Vilnius copy is the pre-correction copy, while the Toruń copy is the corrected copy.[8]

Fig. 1. Catechism by Martynas Mažvydas (1547), p. C3r[37]$_8$:
the VUB copy has *radidamij idant* (illustration on the left), while the BUT copy
has been corrected to *radidamij, idant* (illustration on the right)
Vilnius University Library (Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka): L$_R$ 5650 (illustration on the left)
Library of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu):
Pol.6.II.189 adl. 3 (illustration on the right)

The book prepared by the priest Mažvydas is a translation from Polish of Martin Luther's Small Catechism, with various translated and original appendices from other sources (a poetic preface, a primer, hymns, etc.). The book was printed in the first printing house in Königsberg. Hans Weinreich was at the same time printing Lutheran religious literature in other languages of the region, such as German, Polish, and Old Prussian.

The first Lithuanian book has been reprinted many times for scientific and educational purposes, although all but two of the facsimile editions (1979 and 2017) have been made from the Königsberg (now Tórun) copy, and the typographical differences between the copies have not been noted in any of these editions.

It is possible that there were proofreading differences in another work by Mažvydas, the *Paraphrasis* (a liturgical description of the institution of the Eucharist or the Last Supper), which was published as a supplement to a hymnal in 1589.[9] Two copies are known to have existed, but one has been lost and we have just a photocopy of it,

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[8] Other small differences observed in the copies of Mažvydas' catechism came out during printing when the type was moved in the printing forme, for example, the different distance between the letter ſ and the ligature *ch* in the word *naſchle* (widow) 38$_{14}$ can be seen; due to the loose line the letters moved and gaps of different sizes between the words appeared in the last page of the copies (p. 79). The Toruń copy also has some corrections by hand, e.g., *nakti ijr diewa* 38$_{16}$ (night and god) the ending *wa* is underlined and corrected to [*die*]*na* (day) in the margin (in the facsimiles the margin was retouched, but the underlining remained).

[9] Mažvydas, Martynas, *Paraphrasis, permanitina poteraus malda*, in: Bretkūnas, Jonas, *Giesmes Duchaunas…*, Königsberg: Georg Osterberger, 1589, pp. K1r–K7v.

published in 1922.[10] It is therefore no longer possible to verify whether the differences between the extant copy in Uppsala and the lost copy in Königsberg are due to the sixteenth-century printing or to the retouching of the facsimile edition at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A number of proofreading differences were noted in *Postilla* by the priest and translator of the Lithuanian Bible Jonas Bretkūnas (1536–1602), published in 1591 in a large print run, of which several dozen copies have been preserved.[11] Some copies have errors (pre-correction signatures have been bound in them), while others have been corrected, and the signatures that were bound in those were printed after the proofreading.[12] With so many surviving copies, it is possible to reconstruct the printing process quite accurately and to determine which side of the page was printed first. Some corrections are on the front side of the sheet, others are on the reverse side, after the paper has been turned over in the printing press. About a dozen such corrections have been noted to this day. A comparison of some of the proofreading differences in the eight copies suggests that the number of corrected copies was greater than the number of pre-corrected ones (Fig. 2).[13]
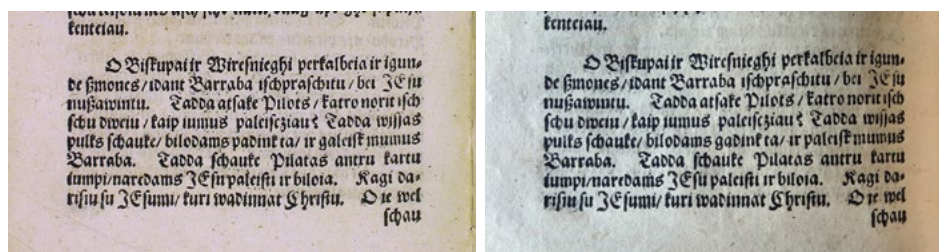

Fig. 2. *Postilla* by Jonas Bretkūnas (1591, Vol. I), p. 380_{21}: in the LMAVB copy there is an error in *p*adink ta / ir *g*aleiſk (line 4 from the bottom, illustration on the left), while in the LLTIB copy it has been corrected to *g*adink ta / ir *p*aleiſk (illustration on the right)
The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences
(Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka): LK–16/1 (illustration on the left)
Library of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore
(Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos instituto biblioteka): B 1108 (illustration on the right)

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10   *Mažvydas. Seniausieji lietuvių kalbos paminklai iki 1570 metams*, spaudai parūpino Jurgis Gerullis, Kaunas: Švietimo ministerija, 1922, pp. 135–148.

11   Bretkūnas, Jonas, *Postilla, tatai esti Trumpas ir Prastas Ischguldimas Euangeliu, sakamuiu Baszniczoie Krikschczionischkoie nuog Aduento ik Waeliku*, Königsberg: Georg Osterberger, 1591; Bretkūnas, Jonas, *Postilla, tatai esti Trumpas ir Prastas Ischguldimas Euangeliu, sakamuiu Baszniczoie Krikschzionischkoie nuog Waeliku ik Aduento*, Königsberg: Georg Osterberger, 1591.

12   Aleknavičienė, Ona, 'Senoji lietuvių raštija internete', *Archivum Lithuanicum*, 2008, Vol. 10, pp. 319–320.

13   Šinkūnas, Mindaugas, 'Korektūriniai spaudos skirtumai kai kuriose lietuviškose XVI–XVII a. knygose', *Archivum Lithuanicum*, 2021, Vol. 23, pp. 43–44. https://doi.org/10.33918/26692449-23002.

There are also corrections in another *Postilla* by the founder of the Lithuanian literature in Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the canon of the Chapter of the Samogitian Diocese, Mikalojus Daukša (d. 1615), published in 1599 in the printing house of the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius.[14] A comparison of the two copies of the *Postilla* reveals the nature of the corrections: mostly the footnotes in the margins have been corrected, as the narrow margins required a lot of word breaks in typesetting (in some of the copies, the marginalias were printed with defects, Fig. 3). Corrections also appear in the sermons, e.g., *wínas* (wine) in VUB copy 14_6 is replaced by *wíenas* (one) in the LNB copy. There are also inconsistencies in the line and page breaks of the edition, e.g., the last line of page 44 of the VUB copy is printed as the first line of page 45 in the LNB copy. There are also differences in the line breaks of 96_{25-27}, 99_{23-24}.[15]
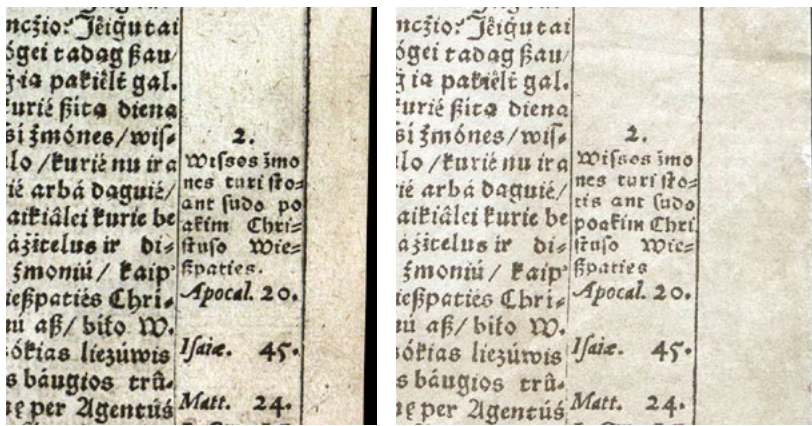

Fig. 3. *Postilla* by Mikalojus Daukša (1599), p. 7: in the margin of the LNB copy there is an error *ſto=* (illustration on the left), which has been corrected in the VUB copy to *ſto=|tis* (illustration on the right)
Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania
(Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka): NA1/599 (illustration on the left)
Vilnius University Library (Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka):
LR 1619 (illustration on the right)

Proofreading for printing was also carried out by authors in the seventeenth century, for example, in the publication of the Lutheran hymnal and prayer book by the

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14 Daukša, Mikalojus; Wujek, Jakub, *Postilla Catholicka. Tái est: Ižguldimas Ewangeliu kiekwienos Nedelos ir szwętes per wissús metús*, Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1599.
15 Daukša *Postilla*'s VUB copy (L_R 1619) was compared with the LNB copy (NA1/599//76367). The latter copy previously belonged to the seminary in Kaunas and was one of those used in the publication of the facsimile edition in 1926 (Cf. Biržiška, Mykolas, 'Del Daukšos Postilės', in: *Daukšos Postilė. Fotografuotinis leidimas*, Kaunas: Lietuvos universitetas, 1926, p. 13).

priest Danielius Kleinas (1609–1666).[16] The printing of these books took a long time, starting as early as 1662, but due to various disruptions they were only completed in 1666. The interruption in the printing process is evidenced by the uneven wear of the typeface and the surviving documents. A comparison of three of the four surviving copies shows that the corrections are similar to those in the other books examined: spelling and typesetting errors, omitted words, corrected spacing between letters. One case shows that corrections may have been made in several stages: an error is printed, then corrected; another error is spotted and corrected again. This resulted in three versions of the same signature (Table 1).

Page, line	BUT: Pol.7.II.4334	SBB: En 9811	SBB: En 9813
$96_{18, 22}$	*wardá* […] *ąuginanczę* (misprint)	*wardą* […] *áuginanczę* (corrected)	*wardą* […] *áuginanczę* (corrected)
104_0	*04* (misprint)	*104* (corrected)	*104* (corrected)
96_0	*diodime* (misprint)	*diodime* (misprint)	*diddime* (corrected)

Table 1. Proofreading corrections of signature G in Danielius Kleinas' hymnal (1666): copies in Nicolaus Copernicus University Library in Toruń (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu, BUT: Pol.7.II.4334) and Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, SBB: En 9811 and En 9813)

The scope of corrections varies. For example, the books by Bretkūnas, Daukša, and Kleinas were corrected in the main text, page headings, or margins, while correcting the postil of *Knyga nobažnystės* seems to have been limited to the chapter headings.[17] Two copies of the first 1653 edition of this postil from Kėdainiai are known to exist: in the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum Library of the National Museum in Kraków (MNK-Cz), and in the library of the Uppsala University Library (UUB).[18] Four corrections of the chapter titles have been found, which indicate that the corresponding signatures in the Kraków copy are pre-correction, while those in the Uppsala copy

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[16] Kleinas, Danielius, *Neu Littausches verbessert- und mit vielen neuen Liedern vermehretes Gesangbuch... = Naujos Giesmju Knygos, kurrose sénos giesmes su pritárimu wissû Baźnyczos Mokitoju per musu Lietuwa yra pagérintos, o náujos grážos giesmes pridétos...,* Königsberg: Friedrich Reussner, 1666; Kleinas, Danielius, *Neues Littausches sehr nöthiges und Seelenerbauliches Gebetbüchlein, oder Naujos labbay privvalingos ir duszoms naudingos Maldu knygeles...,* Königsberg: Friedrich Reussner, 1666.

[17] Minvydas, Samuelis; Božimovskis, Jonas, *Summa, abá Trumpas iszguldimas Ewanieliu Szwentu per wisus meatus dienomis Nedelos Báźnićiose Krikśćioniszkose skaytomu...,* Kėdainiai: Joachim Jerzy Rhete, 1653.

[18] Šinkūnas, Mindaugas, 'Antrasis *Knygos nobažnystės* pirmojo leidimo postilės *Suma evangelijų* (1653) egzempliorius', *Knygotyra*, 2021, Vol. 77, pp. 72–86. https://doi.org/10.15388/Knygotyra.2021.77.90.

of the same edition were printed after correction. For example, the word order confused by the compositor has been corrected and the Latin abbreviation *Ioan.* has been changed to a Lithuanian locative form *Joniep* 97$_{22}$ (Fig. 4).
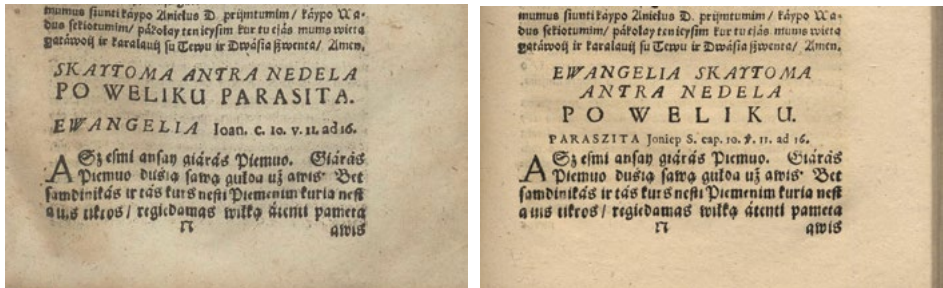

Fig. 4. *Knyga nobažnystės* postil *Summa* (1653), p. 96: the chapter heading was misprinted in the MNK-Cz copy (illustration on the left), but corrected in the UUB copy (illustration on the right)
Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum of the National Museum in Krakow
(Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie):
VIII–XVII.845 (illustration on the left)
Uppsala University Library (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek):
Obr. 66. 176 (illustration on the right)

Computer algorithms make it possible to compare multiple copies of a publication in sequence and to detect printing differences. Their function is to accurately align two photographs of the same page from different copies on the basis of the so-called homography of the images. This way, the image of the page is matched according to the area of the text block, ignoring differences in the resolution of the photographs, the size of the margins and the angle of photography or the distance of the paper from the camera lens, etc. The overlapped photographs are displayed alternately (creating an animation of the pairs of photographs) and thus the inconsistencies in the text (differences of print) become apparent. It is possible to notice quite subtle changes made, e.g., the signature mark Q of the *Knyga nobažnystės* postil *Summa* in the Uppsala copy was set in the gothic-style ("blackletter") Schwabacher letter, while in the Kraków copy it was set in the roman-style Antiqua letter.

The proofreading corrections observed suggest that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, proofreading was done at the printer's premises or the author had to be resident in the vicinity of the printing house to be able to indicate the necessary corrections in time.

Printing Differences Due to the Duplication of Text in the Print Forme

In a few cases, the differences in the text may have been caused by a compositor (or compositors) when setting the text twice. It may have been necessary to set the same text twice if a part of the book was too short for a full signature or when the production needed to be speeded up.

For example, some copies of the postil *Punktai sakymų* (1629) by the lexicographer and Jesuit preacher Konstantinas Sirvydas (d. 1631) differ in the first signature.[19] It is likely that re-setting of this signature was done and it was re-printed in 1644 together with the second part of the postil. The uncirculated copies of the first part of the postil were apparently intended to be distributed together with the second part.

A copy of Danielius Kleinas' Grammar of the Lithuanian language (1654), acquired by the Vilnius University Library in 1999, is special.[20] The last eight pages are not the same as that of the other known copies: the breaks in lines are different, there are spelling and proofreading errors (fewer in the Vilnius copy than in the others, the accentuation is accurate, and the use of nasalized and capital letters is more precise), and new corrections have been added to the errata. There is only one such copy known that differs from the other eight, but it must be assumed that there were many more, though they have not survived or have not yet been found (Fig. 5).
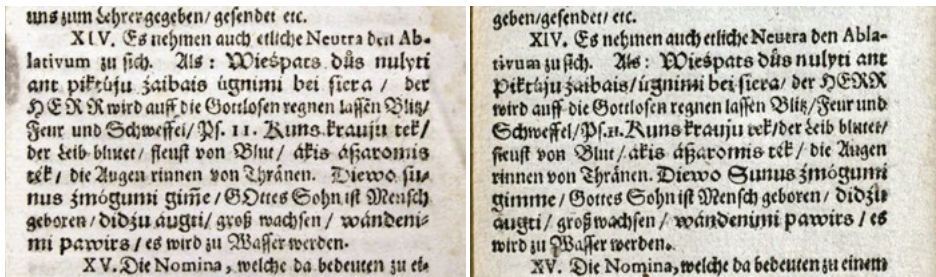
Fig. 5. Grammar of the Lithuanian language *Compendium* by Danielius Kleinas (1654), p. 109: proofreading differences caused by typesetting the same text twice
Library of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu): SD 21 725 I (illustration on the left)
Vilnius University Library (Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka): L$_R$ 1983 (illustration on the right)

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[19] Sirvydas, Konstantinas, *Punkty kazan od Adwentu áż do Postu...*, Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1629.

[20] Kleinas, Danielius, *Compendium Litvanico-Germanicum, Oder Kurtze und gantz deutliche Anführung zur Littauschen Sprache, wie man recht Littausch lesen, schreiben und reden sol*, Königsberg: Johann Reussner, 1654.

There have been various considerations as to how such differences in the print could have occurred. It has been speculated that the forme of the print could have been damaged by accident and had to be re-set. Or that after the distribution of types, it was discovered that the number of impressions of this signature had been too small and the typesetter and the workers on the press had to repeat their work.[21] However, it is most likely that the same pages were set twice and arranged in a certain order on a single printing plate in order to make more efficient use of the press, i.e., two copies of a half-signature were worked together in a run.[22] The differences between the copies in this case are due to a technical decision by the printer (Fig. 6).
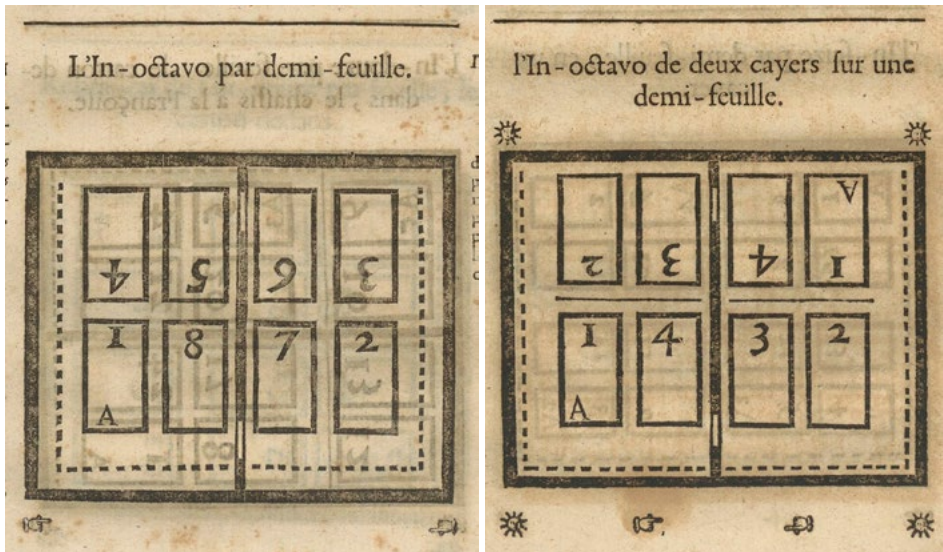
Fig. 6. Work-and-turn imposition of the pages on the printing forme,
which is used to print two copies of an eight-page signature (illustration on the left)
or four copies of a four-page signature (illustration on the right) in a run;
engravings from Martin Dominique Fertel,
La Science Pratique de l'Imprimerie, 1723, p. 151, 157
National Library of France (Bibliothèque nationale de France): RES P-Q-245

Sometimes, the forewords could be omitted or interchanged on the initiative of the printer (or even by the will of bookbinder). Two of the four known copies of

21 Šinkūnas, Mindaugas, 'Danieliaus Kleino gramatikų (1653 ir 1654) konvoliutas Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekoje', *Archivum Lithuanicum*, 2004, Vol. 6, p. 45, 49.

22 Novickas, Elizabeth, 'The printer and the scholar: the making of Daniel Klein's *Grammatica Litvanica*', *Archivum Lithuanicum*, 2004, Vol. 6, p. 21, 26.

Kleinas's hymnal do not have the prefaces of the editor and have a different title page, which is not dated 1666 but 1667.[23] The printer, Friderich Reusner, removed Kleinas' prefaces and substituted his own dedication in German to the Duke of Prussia, in which he expresses his gratitude for having been granted the privilege of printing church and other books in the Lithuanian language. The printing of the hymnbook took a long time, starting under the direction of the printer's father. The work did not run smoothly, and because of the delays, Kleinas and other priests appealed to the Duke at least three times for permission to set up a printing house in Tilžė, thus limiting the monopoly and speeding up the printing of books in Lithuanian.[24] The permission was not granted; Reusner was warned, but the printing still dragged on. The work started to move forward after the heir took over the printing house. Since the prefaces of the publication mention these problems, the new printer, having secured the privilege of printing Lithuanian books, apparently decided not to distribute the prefaces of the recently deceased Kleinas, which were damaging to the reputation of the printing house.

Sometimes the copies of the same book do not match for other reasons, like when different editions are produced to accommodate the addressees (or even the censors). Such differences could be called editing differences. For example, the New Testament of 1701 was prepared by the Reformed Church of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and adapted to the needs of the Lithuanian Lutherans by explaining in brackets the dialectal words that were not used by them in Prussia. A part of the edition includes a Lithuanian title page, a dedication to the King of Prussia and a Lithuanian foreword;[25] the rest of the edition is slightly larger, with a preface on the history of the Bible translations and the errata. Moreover, the title page was made bilingual since it was distributed to the Latin-speaking readers (there are slightly fewer surviving copies of this part of the edition).[26]

[23] Kleinas, Danielius, *Neu Littausches verbessert- und mit vielen neuen Liedern vermehretes Gesangbuch... = Naujos giesmju knygos, kurrose sénos giesmos su pritárimu wissû Bažnyczos Mokitoju per musu Lietuwa yra pagérintos, o naujos gražos giesmes pridétos...*, Königsberg: Friedrich Reussner, 1667.

[24] Kaunas, Domas, 'Archyviniai dokumentai apie Mažosios Lietuvos senosios raštijos ir spaudos darbuotojus', *Knygotyra*, 1998, Vol. 32, pp. 451–456.

[25] *Naujas Testamentas Wieszpaties Musu Jezaus Kristaus...*, Königsberg: Friedrich Reussner Heirs, 1701.

[26] *Novum Testamentum Lithvanicum... = Naujas Testamentas Lietuwiszkas...*, Königsberg: Friedrich Reussner Heirs, 1701.

Correcting Errors After Printing

There is no possibility of correcting errors once the printing is complete. Some corrections still can be made with a manufactured stamp (e.g., to indicate an omitted sponsor), with scissors and glue (e.g., after a gross theological error has been printed), or with pen and ink, if aesthetical considerations allow such intervention.

Due to the large volume of work, correcting printed copies was a painstaking and time-consuming task, so it was rarely used by printers. Such corrections are rare in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lithuanian literature, and only a few cases have been noted. The oldest known book in which errors were concealed by glueing-over the correct text is the *Evangelijos bei Epistolos*,[27] prepared by the priest Baltramiejus Vilentas of Königsberg. When errors were found in the pericopes (in the New Testament), paper with the correct words was printed, cut out in small slips, and carefully pasted over the misprinted words. Two surviving copies of this edition are known to exist, in Vilnius and Berlin. Both have those pasted slips, so it is very likely that the corrections were made by the printer Georg Osterberger, who printed the book in 1579. For example, in the Vilnius copy, the phrase *Szodis paſtoia Kunu* (Word became Flesh) has been corrected from *Szodis buwa Kunu* (Word was Flesh). In this copy, one pasted slip of paper has fallen off: we see *Malones ir teiſibes* (Grace and justice) and a yellowed square outline in place of the slip, whereas in the Berlin copy the phrase stayed pasted on: *Malones ir tieſos* (Grace and truth, Fig. 7).
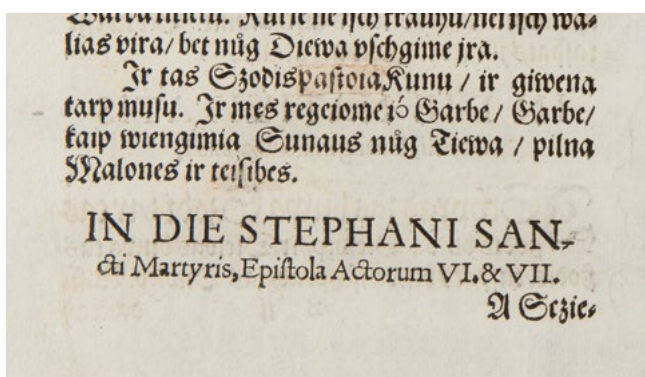
Fig. 7. *Evangelijos bei Epistolos* by Baltramiejus Vilentas (1579): on the word *buwa* there is a pasted slip with the word *paſtoia* B2v[12]$_{20}$, the correcting slip on the word *teiſibes* is missing B2v[12]$_{23}$ Vilnius University Library (Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka): L$_R$ 1387

27   Vilentas, Baltramiejus, *Euangelias bei Epistolas, Nedeliu ir schwentuju dienosu skaitomosias, Baszniczosu Chriksczonischkosu pilnai ir wiernai pergulditas ant lietuwischka szodzia*, Königsberg: Georg Osterberger, 1579.

This impractical way of error correction was later abandoned by Osterberger's printing house. When printing the aforementioned Lithuanian hymnal by Bretkūnas (1589), a list of the errors to be corrected was compiled and printed, which is the first errata in a Lithuanian book (Fig. 8).[28]
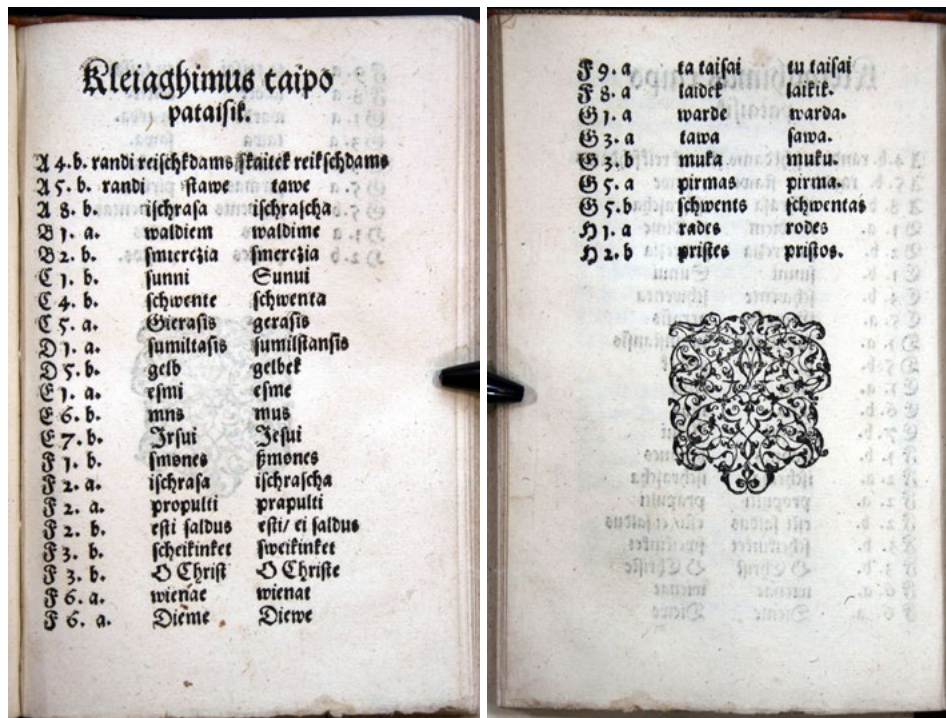
Fig. 8. The errata in *Gieſmes Duchaunas* by Jonas Bretkūnas (1589), p. I7r–I7v
Uppsala University Library (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek): Utl. rar. 175 (123.322)

Almost all later Lithuanian books have it. Of course, such lists do not correct errors, but only give the reader instructions on what to correct in the book themselves. The list is usually placed at the end of the book, but it can also appear at the beginning of the book, since in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the title page, prefaces, and the table of contents were often printed last.

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[28] Earlier I mistakenly stated that the first Lithuanian errata was in *Postilla* by Bretkūnas (1591) – Šinkūnas, Mindaugas, 'Korektūriniai spaudos skirtumai kai kuriose lietuviškose XVI–XVII a. knygose', *Archivum Lithuanicum*, 2021, Vol. 23, p. 43.

Fig. 9. Danielius Kleinas' *Compendium Litvanico-Germanicum* (1654), p. 45: corrections made by the owners of the books in accordance with the provided list of errors and corrections: *diema* corrected as *diena* by cutting out part of a letter from the paper (illustration on the left), *dienôs* corrected in ink to *diena* (in the wrong place; illustration on the right)
Vilnius University Library (Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka): L$_R$ 1983 (illustration on the left)
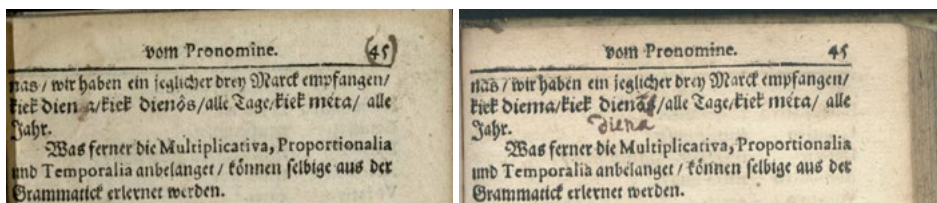Saxon State Library – State and University Library Dresden (Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden): Ling. Slav. 251, misc. 2 (illustration on the right)

Lists of errors were often accompanied by accusations against typesetters for not being careful, complaints against printers for not sending proofs on time, and sometimes against authors for not reading the proofs. For example, Kleinas's correction sheet for grammar errors states that the author did not receive a revision proof from the printer in time due to the distance (he lived in Tilžė and the printing took place in Königsberg), and the kind reader is therefore requested to make sure that he himself corrects the mistakes without reproach before he begins to read this book. Readers have made corrections, and some of the surviving copies have more corrections, others have fewer. The most frequent corrections were done in ink. Some readers were very meticulous, for example, the owner of the Vilnius copy corrected not only in ink, but also used a sharp tool to erase unnecessary letters or parts of letters and diacritical marks from the paper. His corrections made in this manner are sometimes barely visible (Fig. 9).

Conclusions

Printing errors can be technical (i.e., due to the use of poor quality materials or processes) and typesetting mistakes. Errors that occur during typesetting can be corrected before press, but can also be corrected during printing or even after the printing process has been completed. A careful comparison of several surviving copies of an edition allows us to reconstruct the stages of the book's production and to determine at what point an error was corrected in the sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Lithuanian publications discussed here.

There is no doubt that proofreading of Lithuanian books was done as early as the sixteenth century. The oldest Lithuanian print with the signs of proofreading is the

first book in Lithuanian language – the catechism by Martynas Mažvydas (1547). Minor textual discrepancies in the two surviving copies indicate that the final proof-reading was completed after some impressions were done; the errors were corrected in the printing bed and the work continued. Such corrections are found in almost all sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Lithuanian books.

One of the surviving copies of Danielius Kleinas' grammar of the Lithuanian language (1654) shows a technical printer's decision, when part of the book was set twice to speed up the printing process and make efficient use of the press.

The earliest publication in which the errors were concealed after the printing process was completed by pasting slips of paper is the collection of pericopes *Evangelijos bei Epistolos* (1579) by Baltramiejus Vilentas. Some theological errors were corrected in this impractical way. The hymnal of Jonas Bretkūnas (1589), printed by the same Osterberger's press, is the first Lithuanian book with errata included. Owners of books used more intensively for teaching or liturgy usually corrected errors according to the printed instructions in ink, and less often by scraping printed ink off paper.

The digitisation of old books in libraries around the world and the proliferation of digital versions of original copies have made it possible to read several copies of the same edition simultaneously. A technical image processing tool, an automated photocopy aligner, has been developed for this purpose, which not only makes it possible to spot typographical or proofreading differences in the copies, but also serves philological analysis, for example, by enabling a more accurate reading of the text in critical editions.

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Kleinas, Danielius, *Neu Littausches verbessert- und mit vielen neuen Liedern vermehretes Gesangbuch... = Naujos Giesmju Knygos, kurrose sénos giesmes su pritárimu wissû Baźnyczos Mokitoju per musu Lietuwa yra pagérintos, o náujos grážos giesmes pridėtos...*, Königsberg: Friedrich Reussner, 1666.

Kleinas, Danielius, *Neu Littausches verbessert- und mit vielen neuen Liedern vermehretes Gesangbuch... = Naujos Giesmju Knygos, kurrose sénos giesmos su pritárimu wissû Baźnyczos Mokitoju per musu Lietuwa yra pagérintos, o náujos grážos giesmes pridėtos...*, Königsberg: Friedrich Reussner, 1667.

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Bound in Vilnius? Technological Features of the Bindings of Early Books Printed in Vilnius

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Summary. As the printing technology spread in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, at the end of the sixteenth century Vilnius became an important regional printing centre. This period also corresponds with some of the earliest records of the significant growth of bookbinders' activities in Vilnius and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in general. Nevertheless, very little is still known about the characteristics of the local craftsmen's works. As an effort to cover this knowledge gap, the following paper presents a study on the technological features of the bindings of the earliest books printed in Vilnius during 1575–1610. The bindings of these books have hardly been documented and may be considered to be one of the potential sources on the anonymous works of the local craftsmen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

The research has been based on the detailed analysis and documentation of the binding techniques. Particular attention has been paid to their structural features in order to draw some similarities and differences, prevailing trends and isolated cases that might represent some regional bookbinding practices. The collected data showed that less than half of all the bindings examined can be considered as original bindings. It allowed to identify some of the features characteristic of the north and central European tradition in leather and parchment bindings. The study includes undecorated books previously hardly noted by Lithuanian researchers, while the limp laced-case parchment bindings were recorded for the first time in local prints. This gives a broader picture of the variety of binding methods used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Despite the fact that the surviving material is too fragmentary to draw unambiguous conclusions, the results of the study significantly expand the knowledge about the shape of the books printed in Vilnius and provide a stronger basis for future comparative studies of historical bindings in Lithuania and the neighbouring countries.

Keywords: Bookbinding; bookbinding craft history; Vilnius; early modern books

Introduction

Thanks to the Gutenberg's invention, bookbinding finally emerged in Europe in the late fifteenth century as a self-sustaining, urban profession. A century or so later, a similar process took place in Vilnius, where the proliferation of printing houses in

the last quarter of the sixteenth century led to an increased demand for local crafts serving the local press, including bookbinding. At the end of the sixteenth century, Vilnius not only became a new European, and the first printing centre of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter – the GDL), but also, according to the sources, it attracted a large number of people involved in the bookbinding trade.

It is rather paradoxical that although some of the identities of the craftsmen have been revealed and there is information about the bookbinders' guild that operated in Vilnius in the early seventeenth century, there is still a notable lack of material that would help to link the names of Vilnius' craftsmen, at least chronologically, to specific bindings. In the absence of knowledge about the characteristics of the Vilnius bookbinders' work, it remains unclear how to reliably identify local artefacts in the vast number of bindings of books printed in various early modern European printing houses and preserved in the collections of Lithuanian libraries. This situation is, on the one hand, related to the unfavourable historical circumstances which have led to the destruction or dispersal of various historical sources and old library collections. In addition, the vast majority of book bindings are anonymous. On the other hand, there seems to have been little attempt to study the surviving books printed in Vilnius or owned by Vilnius residents as a potential source of information on local bookbinding, to look beyond isolated cases and to identify some more general trends in the craft. Although there are various bibliographical lists on early modern printing in the GDL, the nature of bindings of printed books is largely unrecorded or only briefly summarised in most of the descriptions. Thus, even some of the most relevant sources are currently not documented in any detail or analysed conceptually.

Edmundas Laucevičius, who studied the history of bookbinding in the GDL in the 1970s, is still the scholar who has devoted the most research to this field in Lithuania. A significant number of books printed in Vilnius, although he did not specifically distinguish them as such, has been reviewed in his study *Bindings of Books in Lithuanian Libraries in the Fifteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.[1] The bindings are described and identified mainly on the basis of their decorative elements. However, in attributing various items to bookbinders of Vilnius, Laucevičius was, unfortunately, rather laconic, and attributions of some bindings still raise numerous questions today. Moreover, considering the progress made in research on the history of European bookbinding over nearly fifty years, Laucevičius' approach needs to be supplemented by a more comprehensive study of the artefacts.

Although there is a common notion in the scholarly literature that in the early modern period printed books were distributed only unbound, recent research

[1]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai Lietuvos bibliotekose*, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1976.

increasingly reveals a more complex historical reality. Whether because of the cost of materials or transportation, or because of the demands of book owners, a large number of prints were in fact probably sold unbound (*in crudo*). However, although it is still difficult to determine to what extent, some publications were distributed already bound as semi-finished products, which were completed by a local book-binder according to the customer's wishes.[2] They could also be sold in simple binding (in parchment or paper, without decoration), and sometimes even in a rather fancy way. For example, it has been found that decorated leather-bound books, in which the owner would only need to stamp his ownership mark in a special space left on the cover, were also sold in some places.[3] These cases, recorded in the history of the printed book both in Western Europe and in the neighbouring Poland, show that the principles of the distribution of printed books in the early modern period are not yet fully understood. It also shows that, it is not always effective to strictly distinguish the place of binding from the place of printing when studying early printed books. Moreover, it can be assumed that, contrary to Laucevičius inclination, the books used by the citizens of the GDL were not bound exclusively by the local craftsmen.[4]

Apart from Laucevičius, the few contemporary studies in Lithuania include works by Enrika Blikertaitė, Gražina Smaliukienė,[5] Aušra Čiuladienė, Medeina

[2] Pickwood, Nicholas, 'Italian Laced-Case Paper Bindings', *Journal of Paper Conservation*, 2019, Vol. 20, Issue 1–4, pp. 122–151. https://doi.org/10.1080/18680860.2019.1748416. Pickwood, Nicholas, 'Unfinished Business: Incomplete Bindings Made for the Booktrade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century', *Quaerendo*, 2020, Vol. 50, Issue 1–2, pp. 41–80. https://doi.org/10.1163/15700690-12341465.

[3] Płaszczyńska-Herman, Katarzyna, 'Buying Bound Books in Sixteenth-Century Kraków: Using Inventories and Bindings to Uncover a Thriving Retail Market', in: *Print Culture at the Crossroads: The Book and Central Europe,* edited by Elizabeth Dillenburg, Howard Louthan, Drew B. Thomas, Leiden: Brill, 2021, pp. 344–366.

[4] Examining the bindings of books owned by the Vilnius Jesuit Academy library, the connection between the printing region and the nature of the binding technology was recorded. For example, a number of works printed in Italy were bound using techniques specific to the Italian region, those from the Netherlands were bound with Dutch techniques, and those from France with French techniques, etc. Since books for the library were not only bought from printing houses of various countries (through intermediaries or without them), but also donated by the alumni, and in the seventeenth century they were also bought second-hand, some of them entered the territory of the GDL already bound and used elsewhere. More about the Italian prints of the library of the Vilnius Jesuit Academy and their bindings see: Rusteikaitė, Ieva, 'Puošnu ir praktiška: XVI a. viduryje – XVII a. pirmojoje pusėje Italijoje ir Abiejų Tautų Respublikoje spausdintų knygų įrišai Vilniaus jėzuitų akademijos bibliotekoje', *Knygotyra*, 2023, Vol. 80, pp. 228–262. https://doi.org/10.15388/Knygotyra.2023.80.130.

[5] Smaliukienė, Gražina; Blikertaitė, Enrika, 'Vilniaus akademijos spaustuvės XVII a. leidinių įrišai Vilniaus universiteto ir Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių bibliotekose', *Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka*, 2018, Vol. 2013/2014, pp. 79–92.

Steponavičiūtė and Daina Ragauskienė[6] on certain bindings of the seventeenth-century publications by the Vilnius Academy printing house. However, they discuss the bindings of books printed in Vilnius only from some aspects (either ornamentation or based on the results of laboratory studies of some materials used in the binding process), or they touch only on isolated cases, while no distinct features that could help in identifying the local artefacts are presented. This still leaves a lack of a clearer picture of bookbinding in a particular period, and of the trends in its development in this region.

In the absence of a specific attribution of the work of a particular bookbinder, and in order to narrow down the problems raised by the tricky question of the relationship between printing and binding sites, this article proposes to search for the works of Vilnius craftsmen among anonymous bindings of books printed in Vilnius. Of particular relevance are those prints whose provenance shows that they have not drifted too far from Vilnius over time. In search of a more effective methodological approach, it is proposed that the study should not only include an analysis of the decorative elements, but also record all aspects of the work and the stages of binding. Such seemingly insignificant technological nuances in handmade bindings of the period have become the certain signs of a personal working methods and, especially in the case of anonymous works, provide valuable insights into the aspects of the book's production and circulation.[7] It also adds a new dimension to the existing historical studies on the everyday life, economic activities and socio-cultural aspects of Vilnius citizens: it takes a step towards understanding what particular type of Vilnius craftsmanship might have looked like and how local artefacts were made.

The aim of this research was to find out what the bindings of books from the early Vilnius printing period were like and whether they could provide any evidence about the local bookbinding craft. To achieve this goal, firstly, a review of the existing sources and research material on bookbinding in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was conducted, and, secondly, an analysis and documentation of the technological aspects of the bindings of books printed in Vilnius in 1575–1610 was completed. Some of the Vilnius' bookbinders of the late sixteenth century were undoubtedly

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[6] Čiuladienė, Aušra; Steponavičiūtė, Medeina; Ragauskienė, Daina, 'Ką atskleidžia knygos įrišo ir bloko kompleksiniai tyrimai?', *Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka*, 2018, Vol. 2013/2014, pp. 64–78.

[7] This approach, which highlighted the importance of technological bookbinding research, was popularized by Ján Alexander Szirmai's monograph *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). Today, among other researchers, this type of research is being developed particularly fruitfully by the British scholar Nicholas Pickwood and the Ligatus Research Center at the University of the Arts London.

active in the early seventeenth century. Therefore, in order to give a more complete picture, Appendix 1 to this article contains a list of the bookbinders, box-makers, and booksellers of the GDL who have been documented in written sources so far, covering a longer period from the beginning of the sixteenth century until 1655.

The invasion of Vilnius by the Moscow army in the middle of the seventeenth century is undoubtedly the most important chronological turning point, which determined both the development of the region as a whole and the circumstances of the city's craftsmen. However, the present research focuses on the shape of the books printed in Vilnius before 1610, i.e. during the earliest period of regular activity of the local printing presses. Thus, the initial chronological boundary of 1575 was established by the date of the publications of the earliest printing houses of Mamoničiai and Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila (Pol. Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł) the Orphan (later the Vilnius Jesuit Academy), which began operating in Vilnius around that time. The date of the end at 1610 has been chosen symbolically for the time being, as it marks some important events for the city of Vilnius, including, in particular, a major fire that changed the face of the city, killing many inhabitants and destroying much of the city's infrastructure, and thus also damaging the local printing houses and craftsmen's workshops.[8] In the future, this study should be extended to include an analysis of the publications printed in Vilnius before 1655, thus highlighting the changes in the form of the printed book over eighty years (i.e. from 1575 to 1655) as it relates to the bookbinding process.[9]

The list of printed books to be examined has been compiled on the basis of bibliographical lists of the sixteenth to seventeenth century Lithuanian books.[10] In the case of ownership marks, it has been taken into account whether the book in question may have been bound outside of Vilnius. With a few exceptions, the

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[8] 'Du liudijimai apie 1610 m. didįjį Vilniaus gaisrą', *Naujasis Židinys-Aidai*, 2006, No. 11, pp. 452–458.

[9] Such research is part of my ongoing PhD project, currently conducted at the Vilnius Academy of Arts.

[10] Čepienė, Konstancija; Petrauskienė, Irena, *Vilniaus akademijos spaustuvės leidiniai, 1576–1805: bibliografija*, Vilnius: LTSR MA CB, 1979. Narbutienė, Daiva; Narbutas, Sigitas, *XV–XVI a. Lietuvos lotyniškų knygų sąrašas = Index librorum latinorum Lituaniae saeculi quinti decimi et sexti decimi*, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2002. Narbutienė, Daiva; Narbutas, Sigitas, *XVII a. Lietuvos lotyniškų knygų sąrašas = Index librorum Latinorum Lituaniae saeculi septimi decimi*, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 1998. Ivanovič, Marija, *XVII a. Lietuvos lenkiškos knygos = Polska książka na Litwie w XVII w.: kontrolinis sąrašas*, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo bibliotekos Bibliografijos ir knygotyros centras, 1998. *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos kirilikos leidinių kolekcija, 1525–1839: katalogas*, compiled by Ina Kažuro, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2013. *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija. Serija A: Knygos lietuvių kalba. T. 1. 1547–1861*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1969. *Lietuvos bibliografija. Serija A: Knygos lietuvių kalba. T. 1. 1547–1861. Papildymai*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1990.

technological features of bindings have been analysed in the main heritage collections held by Lithuanian libraries. The material gathered is summarised in Appendix 2, which includes a list of the surviving original bindings, and is expected to encourage further research, comparison and analysis of these artefacts. In selecting the terminology for the descriptions of the bindings, reference was made to the *Language of Bindings* thesaurus produced by the Ligatus Research Centre, which is the most comprehensive and coherent dictionary of historical bookbinding terminology currently available.[11] The paper then goes on to consider how much and what material has survived and how it might be interpreted in relation to the data recorded in written sources.

Bookbinding in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century

In Western Europe, the specific bookbinding processes that developed before and after the invention of the printing press were already fairly well established in the sixteenth century. They included the processes of beating of the quires, sewing, cutting the edges of a bookblock, rounding and backing of the spine, endband sewing, board attachment, covering, tooling and attachment of the fastenings (Fig. 1).[12] The binding process has certainly evolved over time, especially with the increasing print runs, but at a rather slow pace. The changes were mainly related to the desire to speed up some of the operations in textblock sewing, endband sewing, backing, etc. Nevertheless, a comparison of the workshop environment and tools suggests that a sixteenth-century bookbinder would have been quite comfortable in an eighteenth-century bookbinder's workshop.[13]

Already in the sixteenth century, bookbinding in Western Europe covered a fairly wide range of products, from the cheap to the luxurious, from the utterly modest to the highly decorated, from the semi-finished to the exquisitely crafted.[14] Although there were bookbinders working for royal courts who bound only books of

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[11]   Language of Bindings (hereinafter – LoB), https://www.ligatus.org.uk/lob/help. Since 2022, the translation of terms into Lithuanian has been ongoing.

[12]   Szirmai, Ján Alexander, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, pp. 173–284.

[13]   For comparison see the well-known late sixteenth-century wood engraving depicting bookbinders at work by Jost Amman and illustrations used in various eighteenth and ninteenth century publications, dedicated to bookbinding craft, such as Diderot's and Alambert's Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, or Dudin's L'Art du relieur doreur de livres.

[14]   Pickwood, Nicholas 'Unfinished bindings'; Pickwood, Nicholas 'Italian Laced-Case Paper Bindings'; Pickwood, Nicholas, 'The Interpretation of Bookbinding Structure An Examination of Sixteenth-Century Bindings in the Ramey Collection in the Pierpont Morgan Library', *The Library 6*, 1995, Vol. 17(3), pp. 209–249. https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-17.3.209.
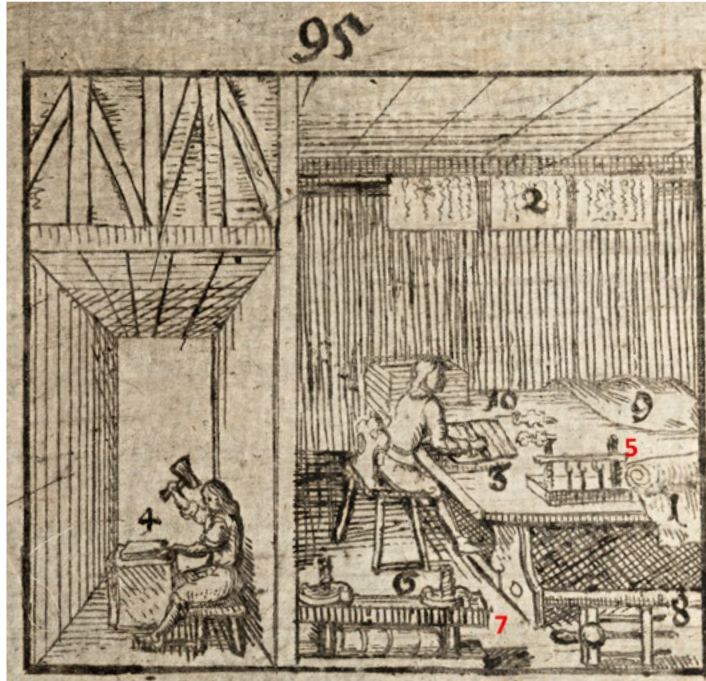
Fig. 1. Bookbinder's workshop. An illustration from Jan Amos Komensky's ORBIS SENSUALIUM PICTUS published in 1667 in Brieg (the Vilnius University Library, hereinafter – VUL, III 3951): 1) roll of paper; 2) paper sizing; 3) making of quires; 4) beating of quires; 5) sewing frame; 6–7) shaping of the spine; 8) a plough; 9) piece of leather for covering: 10) clasps.

exceptional quality and splendour, the urban bookbinders carried out the work of a wide range of complexity. Inventories, surviving artefacts and written sources, such as the earliest European bookbinding manuals, the manuscripts of Anshelm Faust from 1612 and Dirck de Bray from 1658, also attest to a certain variety of binding techniques applied by the same bindery.[15]

From what is known about bookbinders of Vilnius in the sixteenth century, it is evident that the craftsmen in this field are mentioned more frequently in written sources from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In the first quarter of the sixteenth

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[15] Faust, Anshelm, *Beschrijvinghe ende onderwijsinghe ter discreter ende vermaerder consten des boeck-binders handwerck = Presciption et enseignement de la discrète et jameuse science de la manifacture des relieurs de livres*, Brüssel: Bibliotheca Wittockiana, 1987. Bray, Dirk de, *Kort onderweijs van het boeckenbinden = A short instruction in the binding of books*, Amsterdam, Uithoorn: Atelier de Ganzenweide, 2012.

century, only three persons are known to have been involved in bookbinding and/or book trade, and from the eighth decade of the sixteenth century this number rose to thirteen (Appendix 1). The earliest mentions of bookbinders are associated with the scriptoria of Orthodox and Catholic institutions.[16] The scarcest data are about individuals who may have been active between the second and the eighth decades of the sixteenth century. There is also virtually nothing known about the binding issues of the very first books printed by Skaryna in Vilnius: whether the owners of the printed books were solely responsible for the binding or if the publisher was involved as well? Were there sufficient local craftsmen to bind these books? Were there any copies bound in Vilnius? The copies preserved in Lithuania were completely re-bound in the twentieth century, while the individual copies preserved in libraries in other countries have been bound in quite different ways and periods, and most probably not in Vilnius.[17]

The account books written during Sigismund Augustus' residence in Vilnius in 1547–1548 show that the King not only purchased the books but also paid for their binding.[18] In Laucevičius' opinion, such entries in the Vilnius account books indicate that some of the books in the royal library were bound by Vilnius craftsmen during this period.[19] However, the books for the King's library could also have been bound by the craftsmen who came from abroad and worked extensively at the court[20] or they may have been sent already bound from elsewhere. The analysis of the stamps, made by Laucevičius or other researchers, do not provide sufficient information about the bindings themselves, since both the decorative tools and the plates of supralibros may have been made in one place and stamped elsewhere. They may also have been stamped in Vilnius, just on the books already bound abroad. Therefore, conclusions about the activities of bookbinders of Vilnius in the mid-sixteenth century in relation to the King's library remain, for the time, being more of a hypothesis than a well-founded statement. It could be confirmed or refuted by a more detailed analysis not only of the stamps used in cover decoration, but also of the entire structure of the surviving books.

It is more likely that the city's bookbinders, whether local or foreign craftsmen, became more active in Vilnius when it became really convenient. As more or less

[16] Cicėnienė, Rima, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės rankraštinės knygos kultūra (iki XVI a. antrosios pusės)*, PhD dissertation, Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 2011, pp. 191–192, 211–212.

[17] E.g., copies of Francysk Skaryna's Little Traveler's Book in the Wrocław University Library (BUWr XVI, 1764) and the Cambridge University Library (CUL F152.e.14.1).

[18] Chmiel, Adam, *Rachunki dworu królewskiego 1544–1567*, Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1911, p. 241, 272, 279.

[19] Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai…*, p. 113.

[20] Vitkauskienė, Birutė Rūta, 'Amatininkai, architektai ir dailininkai LDK valdovo dvare', *Lietuvos pilys*, 2007, Vol. 2 (2006), pp. 54–67.

regular private and institutional local printing activities began to take shape in the eighth to tenth decades of the sixteenth century, the print runs of locally printed books started to increase, along with the various needs for book distribution and binding. The higher number of craftsmen active in Vilnius during this period, as recorded in written sources, is directly linked to the activity of local printers (Chart 1). This reasonably suggests that during this dynamic period a significant number of locally printed books, aimed primarily at the local reader, were bound locally and that at least some of them preserved their authentic form.
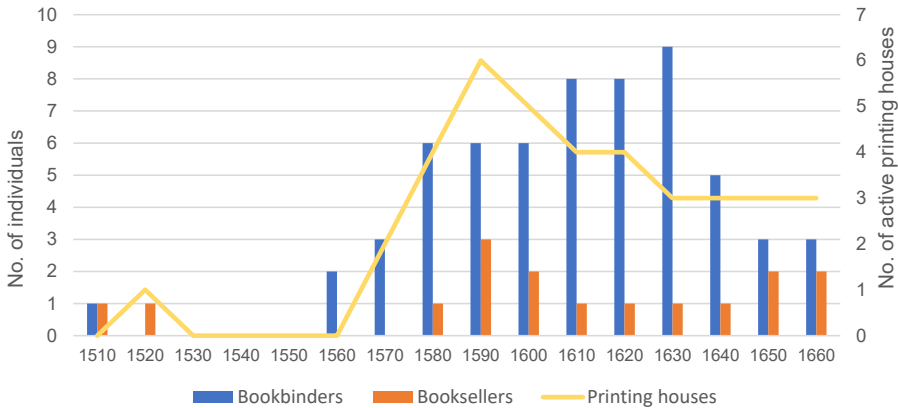
Chart 1. Bookbinders, booksellers and printing houses active in Vilnius from 1500 to 1660

In the late sixteenth century, it was already common practice in Vilnius for a large number of craftsmen of a particular profession to form a guild, so the increasing number of bookbinders also encourages us to speculate about the date of the founding of the guild.[21] The earliest mention of the Vilnius Bookbinders Guild is currently recorded in 1633.[22] Some scholars, beginning with Janina Rodkiewiczówna, are inclined to believe that Vilnius Bookbinders Guild could have been established as early as the end of the sixteenth century.[23] At a similar time, the earliest records of the bookbinders' guilds in the vicinity of the GDL were recorded: in the middle of

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[21] It can be confirmed both by surviving documents related to the guilds of the city of Vilnius (see Łowmiański, Henryk, *Akty cechów wileńskich, 1495–1759*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006), and by recent historical research about Vilnius (e.g., Ragauskienė, Raimonda, *Vilniaus „aukso amžius": miesto gyventojai ir svečiai XVI a. 6–7-ajame deš. (Vilniaus vietininko teismo knygų duomenimis)*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2021) that the guild communities and their rules were indeed active.

[22] A privilege for the widow of Vilnius' bookbinder and bookseller Reck given in 1633. See Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai…*, p. 118.

[23] Rodkiewiczówna, Janina, *Cech introligatorski w Wilnie: zarys historyczny*, Vilnius: Wydawnictwo Magistratu m. Wilna, 1929, p. 7.

the sixteenth century in Kraków, [24] in 1580 in Prague, and in 1586 in Königsberg.[25]

The earliest known statute of the Vilnius Bookbinders Guild, drawn up in 1665, shows that it was very closely related to (according to Laucevičius, 'copied from'[26]) the statutes of the Kraków Bookbinders Guild of 1592 and 1603.[27] The significant secular demand of the copying and binding of books began to emerge in the environment of the University of Kraków, established in the mid-fourteenth century, and later with the advent of the early printing. As a result, by the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the craft of bookbinding was already well established in this city. Therefore, it would not be surprising if, during the period in question, the bookbinding craft that was establishing itself in Vilnius was based on the example of such craftsmen's organization in Kraków. Due to the influence of the neighbouring regions, the already-established Vilnius Magdeburgian practice of organising crafts into professional fraternities in the late sixteenth century, and the large number of craftsmen recorded in the sources (which was probably larger in reality), the establishment of a guild in Vilnius at the end of the sixteenth century was certainly possible.

The contacts between craftsmen of Vilnius and Kraków in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century are also evidenced by the craftsmen who had previously worked in Vilnius and appear in the entries in the guild book of Kraków.[28] There are also records of connections with Poznań (Appendix 1, columns 10, 12–13 and 11, 16). There is a good chance that there was an exchange of knowledge, skills and tools between the craftsmen of these cities. All this should also be reflected in their works. Unfortunately, the early modern Polish bookbinders' artefacts have so far been studied mainly in terms of their decorative aspects, which poses a considerable obstacle to a broader picture of the techniques of this craft in the neighbouring country.[29] Comparison of the publications has so far been limited to this one aspect, and most of the undecorated books inevitably remain outside the scope of the comparative analysis.

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[24] Lewicka-Kamińska, Anna, 'Dzieje oprawy książkowej w Polsce. Stan badań, problematyka i postulaty', in: *Dawna książka i kultura,* edited by Stanisław Grzeszczuk, Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975, p. 163. *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa (1507–1795)*, compiled by Stanisław Krzyżanowski, Franciszek Piekosiński, Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności Krakowska, 1909, Vol. 2 (1587–1696), Issue 2, pp. 1298–1303.

[25] Helwig, Hellmuth, *Das Deutsche Buchbinder-Handwerk. 1*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1962, pp. 47–48.

[26] Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai…*, p. 21.

[27] *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa…*, pp. 1296–1322.

[28] Chmiel, Adam, I*ntroligatorzy cudzoziemscy i zamiejscowi w Krakowie w latach 1574–1646,* Kraków: Drukarnia Narodowa, 1929 (*Exlibris*, Vol. 7, Issue 2), pp. 97–98.

[29] *Tegumentologia polska dzisiaj = Polish bookbinding studies today*, edited by Arkadiusz Wagner, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015.

In addition to various aspects of the regulation of the craft, the statutes of Vilnius Bookbinders Guild of the late seventeenth century records the nature of the master-pieces to be submitted in order to obtain the status of a Master of a guild. Books had to be bound in the vegetable-tanned (also called *red*) or alum-tawed-tawed (*white*) leather, with gilded or coloured edges, furniture, and blind- or gold-tooled.[30] The titles recorded in the statute are popular prints from the late sixteenth century, which came to the Vilnius statute from the statutes of the Kraków Guild of 1592 or 1603.[31] No bindings that precisely show all these features among the examined sixteenth-century Vilnius bindings have been found, and it is not known whether any such bound publications specified in the statute have survived anywhere. However, this does not mean that these high-quality or, one could say, bindings of the highest and exemplary quality were not used in Vilnius in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. It is likely that only somewhat simpler artefacts have reached our days.

It is worth mentioning that the bookbinders in Vilnius not only bound imported and locally printed books but also sold them.[32] In the later inventories of individuals who traded in books in the late seventeenth century, a wide variety of the binding types can be identified: they include books *in crudo* (unbound), quarter paper, bound in paper, parchment, leather, velvet, tooled, with or without furniture.[33] It can be assumed that in the late sixteenth century, the production of local printing houses was in demand among the literate part of the sixteenth-century society, concentrated in the capital but from here also distributed to other regions of the GDL. It is not clear to what extent the case of Jokūbas Morkūnas (Pol. Jakub Markowicz, Jacob Markowitz, ca. 1550–after 1611)[34] a bookbinder, printer, book merchant and publisher, was exceptional at the end of the sixteenth century, but the fact that the same person was involved in book printing, bookbinding and bookselling could be a symptomatic example of an early stage of the printing business and the book market formation, characterised by the lack of

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[30] Paragraph IV of the Statute of the Vilnius Bookbinders Guild, Łowmiański, Henryk, *Akty cechów wileńskich…,* pp. 312–313.

[31] Krzyżanowski, Stanisław, *Piekosiński, Franciszek, Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa…,* pp. 1308–1316.

[32] Ivinskis, Zenonas, 'Knygų prekybos klausimu Lietuvoje XVI–XVII amžiuje. (Keletas trumpų įnašų Lietuvos kultūros istorijai)', *Bibliotheca Lituana,* 2016, Vol. 1, pp. 139–162. Meilus, Elmantas, 'Pora vaizdelių apie vilniečių gyvenimą maskvėnų okupacijos metu (1655–1661 m.)', *Lietuvos istorijos met-raštis,* 2003, Vol. 2002/1, pp. 145–48. Petrauskienė, Irena, 'Knygų plitimo keliai Lietuvoje XVI–XVIII a.', in: *Kultūrų sankirtos: skiriama dr. Ingės Lukšaitės 60-mečiui,* Vilnius: Diemedis, 2000, pp. 173–174. On bookbinders in early modern Vilnius in English see Niedźwiedź, Jakub, *Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Vilnius,* Turnhout: Brepols, 2023, pp. 301–308.

[33] Ivinskis, Zenonas, 'Knygų prekybos klausimu….'

[34] Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai…,* p. 16. Lukšaitė, Ingė, 'Jokūbas Morkūnas – Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kultūros veikėjas', *Gimtasis žodis,* 2000, No. 6, pp. 2–8.

specialisation.

The reviewed material suggests that the second half of the sixteenth century was an important period for the formation of the local bookbinding trade, and that from the last quarter of the sixteenth century onwards it was possible in Vilnius to take care of various book acquisition and binding issues. The nature of bookbinding craft was probably quite diverse and adapted to the needs, status and budget of the customer. This suggests that a significant number of books were bound locally in this period. And although a few original bindings of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Vilnius publications have survived, the technological decisions of the craftsmen recorded in them provide very valuable insights into the possible nature of the local craft.

Binding of Books Printed in Vilnius in 1575–1610

This study covers a total of 131 books printed in Vilnius between 1575 and 1610, selected from existing bibliographic lists. Some of the prints examined are small editions, and therefore were sometimes bound together with other publications to form Sammelbände. The study of historical bindings did not include a number of prints whose bindings have been almost completely lost.[35] Taking these cases into account, a total of 110 bindings were used as sources for the study.
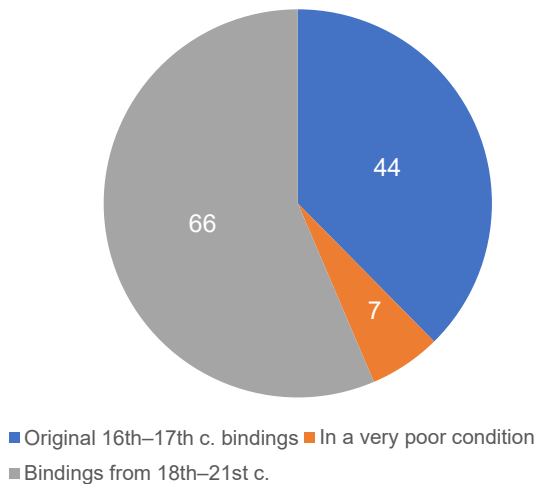
Chart 2. General overview of the condition of the bindings (number of items)

Unfortunately, about a half of all bindings were bound or rebound much later

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[35]   This refers to prints whose binding has been completely dismantled at one time or another.

Fig. 2. A typical binding from the late seventeenth to eighteenth century (VUL III 18640, https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000480973#00001).

in the eighteenth and twenty-first century (Chart 2). While the twentieth and twenty-first century bindings are quite easily identified by various modern materials or binding and book conservation techniques, the eighteenth-century bindings are more reliably identified not only by the general technological solutions typical of the period, but also by the records of repair and rebinding found in some of the similarly-bound books.[36] This suggests that in the early eighteenth-century Vilnius, books were bound in a rather modest and practical manner: the cover was often covered with the sprinkled vegetable-tanned leather (mostly calfskin, but cases of sheep or goatskin have also been found), the block was sewn to the single cord sewing supports, with the simple fold endleaves, and the covers were barely tooled, with a few lines making a frame on the both sides of the cover (Fig. 2). Books with a composite cover (covered with more than one material) and books covered with various types

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[36]   Such cases were found in the books owned by the library of the Vilnius Jesuit Academy, e.g., Vegetius Renatus, Flavius et al., *Flavii Vegetii Renati viri illvstris de re militari: sexti Ivlii frontini uiri consularis de strategematis [...]*, Coloniae: ex officina Eucharij Ceruicor., 1532. The Vilnius University Library (hereinafter – VUL BAV) 35.9.8.

Fig. 3. A hand-coloured red paper typically found in the books printed in the Vilnius Academy Printing House: a publication printed in 1644 (on the left) and a publication printed in 1733 (on the right) (VUL BAV 37.9.14 https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000461843#00001; IV 22135 https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000500937#00001).

of decorated paper are also more likely to be the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century (re)bound books.[37] It is not entirely clear when – the eighteenth century or earlier – the hand-coloured red paper, often found in various forms in the bindings of the Vilnius Academy publications, was applied (Fig. 3).

The least studied bindings from the late seventeenth century remain the most difficult to identify: it is not clear how to distinguish them more precisely from the early seventeenth-century bindings. Therefore, the date of the publication and the general knowledge of the development of the European bookbinding trends in this period remain the main criteria. The fact that prints were also kept unbound for decades is also problematic.[38] The already published data on the bindings of Vilnius Academy prints from the late seventeenth century (which belonged to the individuals and institutions outside Vilnius) suggest that the stiff-board parchment bindings were still

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[37] E.g., Majoragio, Marco Antonio, *De Arte Rhetorica qvos jpse latinos fecit* […], Venetiis: apud Franciscum Franciscium Senensem, 1571. VUL BAV 33.1.7.

[38] C.f., publication dates in the late-seventeenth century inventories of the bookbinders, see Ivinskis, Zenonas, 'Knygų prekybos klausimu…'.

in use in this period.[39] At the end of the century, the leather decoration was probably already being done using sprinkling techniques, which were said to be particularly popular in the eighteenth century. More detailed studies of bookbinding from the late seventeenth to nineteenth century, in the future would help identify more precisely the changes in the form and materials of bindings in this period.

Thus, excluding the bindings of books dating from later than the late seventeenth century, 44 bindings of books printed in Vilnius between 1575 and 1610 are considered original or partially original (as only parts of them have survived) (see Chart 3 and the full list in Appendix 2). A detailed analysis of the artefacts is somewhat limited by the fact that not all of them are equally well preserved. Moreover, there are some cases where dating remains in doubt, especially in the absence of the more detailed studies of bindings from later periods. Nevertheless, they are also included in the list of original bindings and have been studied in detail.
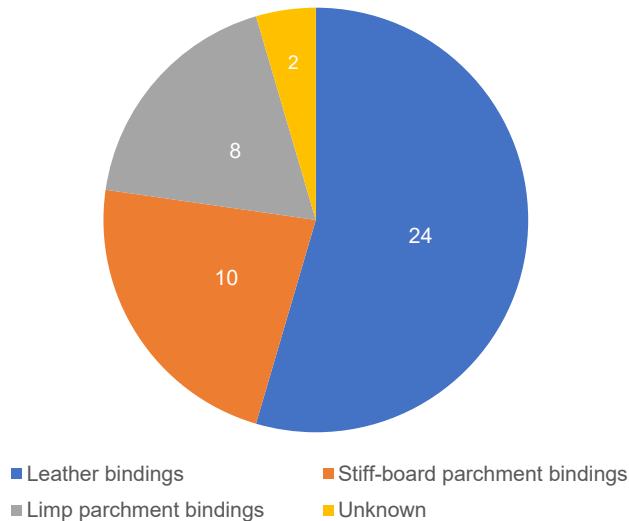
Chart 3. Binding techniques recorded among original sixteenth- and seventeenth-century bindings (number of items)

On the one hand, it is obvious that such a small number of bindings dating back to the earliest period shows that the information on the bindings of books printed in Vilnius of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century is very fragmentary. Since it reveals only a very small portion of what was probably a much larger phenomenon,

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[39] '17th century Bindings of the Books Printed by the Vilnius Academy Printing House', in: *The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences*, [06 03 2024]. Access via internet: http://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/4862.

the statistics of the results of the study should be interpreted with caution. Even a single surviving binding may represent a more widely used, but not extant, binding technique. On the other hand, the rarity of this almost archaeological material makes it particularly valuable, since these single bindings are probably the only complete sources of information on the authentic form of the late sixteenth-century books from Vilnius. For this reason, it would be very important in the future to take this value into account, not only by documenting them in detail, but also by ensuring that the structure of these artefacts is preserved with a minimal intervention.

Among the original bindings and their fragments of printed materials from Vilnius, about a half of them (24 bindings) are leather, and about a third (18 bindings) are parchment bindings (Chart 3). These are the main binding techniques used in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European books, among which the most distinctive are the variants, representing the bookbinding traditions of different geographic areas.

As the region of the GDL became a kind of crossroads between the East and the West, and between the cultural influences of northern and southern Europe, this was also reflected in some sixteenth-century manuscript bindings, which show features of the bookbinding tradition that was widespread in southeastern Europe, and was apparently applied in the Orthodox scriptoria for some time.[40] In this context, it is worth emphasising that in the examined bindings of the books printed in Vilnius, including the heavily repaired and rebound Cyrillic editions, no elements characteristic to the Greek-type bindings or other eastern Mediterranean bookbinding traditions were recorded, and that all of the original bindings examined undoubtedly belong to the Western (and thus also Northern and Central) European bookbinding practices.[41] It is agreed that the various crafts of Central and Northern Europe, and hence of the Commonwealth of Both Nations, were strongly influenced by the German craftsmanship. Bookbinding would be no exception, and some similarities can be observed in the analysed bindings.[42] However, more detailed comparative studies of the crafts of these regions would be needed to substantiate this claim and to highlight the specific nuances.

[40] Keršulytė, Edita, 'XVI a. rankraštinės knygos „Šventųjų gyvenimo aprašymai" įrišas: atvejo tyrimas', *Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka*, 2013, Vol. 2009/2010, pp. 26–41. Cicėnienė, Rima, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės rankraštinės knygos kultūra…*, pp. 110–111.

[41] Szirmai, Ján Alexander, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, pp. 95–98.

[42] Compare the role of craftsmen of German origin in the more extensively studied fields of craftsmanship in the GDL, such as goldsmithing (Laucevičius, Edmundas; Vitkauskienė, Birutė Rūta, *Lietuvos auksakalystė: XV–XIX amžius*, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2001) or bell casting (Žalėnas, Gintautas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos bažnyčių varpai ir jų gamintojai*, PhD dissertation, Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2015).
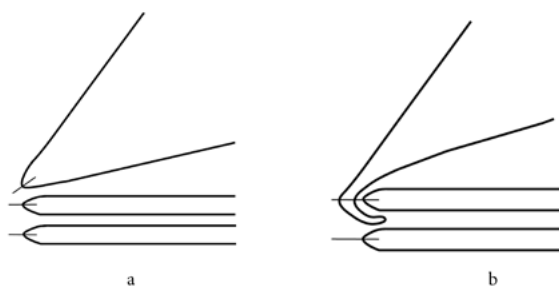
Fig. 4. Common types of endleaves: a) fold endleaf; b) text-hook endleaf (Ieva Rusteikaitė, 2023).

Fig. 5. A sample of a texture of an unbeaten paper in book printed in Vilnius in 1585 (the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, hereinafter – MMNLL, KC889854/1585).

It was also possible to identify a number of features common to most of the bindings. Two types of the predominating endleave structures were identified: fold endleaves and text-hook endleaves, sewn together with the first and the last gatherings of the textblock (Fig. 4). However, the use of the endleaf guard is less frequent. Although watermarks have been recorded on the endleaves, except in a few cases (Appendix 2, No. 4, 13, 33), it has not been possible to link them more clearly to any specific paper mills of the GDL.

In the many books printed in Vilnius, the textblock paper has a distinctive feature. It has a rather pronounced texture, which results of the paper being pressed between the pieces of a woollen felt during its production, and the sheet itself is quite thick and stiff (Fig. 5). This would suggest that, when binding these books, the procedure of beating the quires performed by the bookbinder (Fig. 1) was either omitted or carried out without giving it much importance. The lack of beating is usually
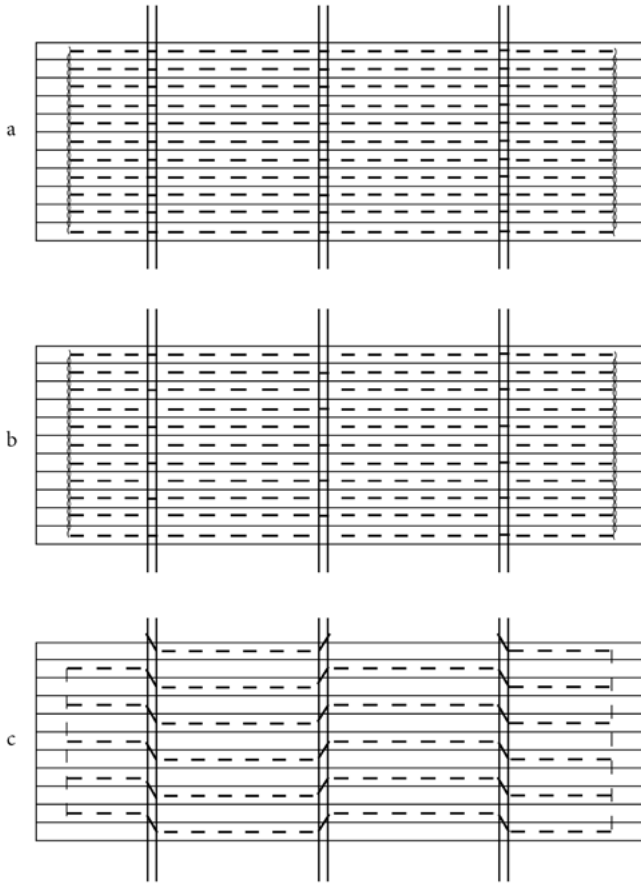
Fig. 6. Common types of sewing techniques:
a – all-along; b – bypass; c – two-on (Ieva Rusteikaitė, 2023).

Fig. 7. A stuck-on endband, worked on textile lining (MMNLL Blenk.1/595).

associated with the cheaper bindings, but in the books printed in Vilnius the distinctive texture of the paper was recorded in both the quite fancy and decorated leather bindings and the undecorated parchment bindings. It is also possible that the rather stiff paper is somehow related to the German tradition of printing text on unsized paper in the printing house, while the printed sheets were sized by the bookbinders before binding (Fig. 1).[43]

Although the variety of sewing techniques in the studied bindings is quite wide and there is no clearly predominant one, it can be stated that almost all sewing methods widely used in the European bookbinding during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were applied in the bindings of locally printed books. This includes abbreviated sewing techniques developed out of the need to optimise the binding process (Fig. 6). In all cases, the edges of bookblock are cut and often coloured red, blue or yellow. The distinctive regional binding techniques also include the widespread stuck-on endbands with a front bead, which are worked on the lining made of folded undyed cloth or parchment (Fig. 7).[44] No sewn endbands were found in either leather or parchment bindings. The method of clasp attachment, where the strap is attached to the right side and the catchplate to the left side of the cover (rather than the other way around), is also a common regional feature closely related with a German bookbinding practice. The features identified in the leather and parchment binding are discussed separately in more detail below.

Leather Bindings

Despite the different formats of the publications, the majority of leather bindings use three sewing supports, with two supports being less common and four of them being extremely rare. Cord seems to be the predominant material used for sewing supports (whereas in western and southern Europe in the sixteenth century, the use of alum-tawed sewing supports was also quite common). Among some isolated cases, a few bindings with false bands glued onto narrow spine linings stand out (No. 3, 6, 10) (Fig. 8). A similar practice was known in Germany and Italy in the sixteenth century.[45] Quite often, the frayed-out slips of the cords and the extensions of the transverse spine linings were adhered to the inner side of the boards, while the extensions of the endband linings were almost always adhered to the outer side of the boards. The bindings seem to be characterised by the medium-width or narrow transverse

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[43]   Szirmai, Ján Alexander, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, pp. 177–178.
[44]   Stuck-on endbands, LoB, https://www.ligatus.org.uk/lob/concept/2540.
[45]   False bands, LoB, https://www.ligatus.org.uk/lob/concept/1326.

Fig. 8. Three double sewing supports and two false halfbands visible in the spine of a damaged book (VUL II 2232/1–13).

Fig. 9. Adhesive-laminated board made from printed waste (MMNLL KD453876a, 453876/1589).

linings made of parchment, while the textile linings was more frequently used for the endbands.

For the boards, a millboard or adhesive-laminated boards made from waste material were used more frequently than wood (Fig. 9).[46] For this reason, a relatively few books with metal clasps (five cases), usually attached only to wooden boards, were recorded. Instead, leather ties were chosen more often than the textile ones (eleven cases). The vast majority of books printed in Vilnius were bound in the vegetable-tanned

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[46] Adhesive-laminated board, LoB, http://w3id.org/lob/concept/1192.

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Fig. 10. A slot made in the turn-in of the tail edge of a book cover (VUL II 2256).

leather, mostly calfskin, although there were also a few cases of the vegetable-tanned goatskin or sheepskin. Only two of the bindings examined (No. 1, 22) are covered with white alum-tawed skin. Most of the turn-ins of the covering material are un-even, and there are particular diagonal slots in the area close to the endbands – a very common feature found in all leather bindings (Fig. 10). However, no distinctive corner shapes were recorded: usually they were either mitered, or folded in the way that foredge turn-in overlaps the turn-ins at the head a tail.

There is one exceptional binding covered with vegetable-tanned pigskin (No. 7). This is the only case seen so far in the context of both foreign and local prints in Lith-uanian rare book collections, as pigskin was usually prepared as a white alum-tawed skin. The case of a limp leather binding covered with a piece of vegetable-tanned leather without turn-ins (No. 21) was also unusual. If more similar cases were to be found in the future, it could be determined whether the binding belongs to the six-teenth century or some later period.

As all leather bindings are decorated with blind or gilt stamps, a few remarks should be made on the techniques of decoration. About a half of the leather bindings are decorated with both blind and gold tooling, the other half being done with blind

Fig. 11. A decorated leather binding of a book printed in Vilnius in the late sixteenth century
(MMNLL Blenk.1/595).

tooling only (Fig. 11). The number of different finishing tools used per binding varies from one to ten. The most common combinations were various rolls, small hand tools, and panels. The latter, used in book decoration, were probably thicker (than those used in the printmaking, for example) and, in some cases, may have been made both of wood and metal. Often they were engraved on both sides with different images, distinctly decorating the left and right boards of the book.[47]

Apart from the technological details, one of the most valuable aspects of the analysis of cover decoration is not so much the attempts to link specific types of stamps to specific craftsmen, but rather the fact that the style of decoration or the types of the ornaments allow us to identify, with some degree of certainty, a particular period of binding. It also reflects the tastes of the readers from that period and even, in some cases, their particular ideological preferences.

Among the books examined, there were no bindings decorated exactly in the same way. However, several stylistic groups can be identified. For example, in the bindings of books printed in Vilnius (e.g., No. 5, 17, 20), a particular Renaissance-style

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[47]   Gehrt, Daniel, 'Pictorial Renaissance Bookbindings and the Domestication of Lucas Cranach's Iconography: An Overlooked Medium of the German Reformation', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformation History*, 2022, Vol. 113, Issue 1, pp. 70–108. https://doi.org/10.14315/arg-2022-1130104. Wagner, Arkadiusz, *Superekslibris Polski: studium o kulturze bibliofilskiej i sztuce od średniowiecza do połowy XVII wieku*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2016, p. 456.

ornamental expression was quite popular. It derives from the style that emerged in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century and was closely linked to the Reformation movement and the works of Lucas Cranach. In the sixteenth century and beyond, it became a kind of 'brand' of the Reformation and was widely used not only in books but also in interiors and various household items.[48] Over the years, the ideological role of this style of decoration has diminished or taken on new forms that were disconnected from the Protestant worldview. This German-origin style was very popular in the books used in the GDL and seems to have continued throughout the seventeenth century.[49]

The Mannerist style (e.g., No. 6, 13, 39), known for its centre-piece decoration often combined with cornerpieces of the same style, is a result of the fascination with Orientalist motifs that spread throughout Europe in the late sixteenth century in the decoration of various artefacts, including books.[50] In the central part often there is medallion featuring a single arabesque or rollwerk ornament, but there are also numerous depictions of figurative scenes, usually based on some Biblical motifs. One of them is a medallion depicting the profile of Christ's head, also very often used in the late sixteenth century on the covers of the books from Polish libraries (No. 4, 6, 8, 10).[51] The woodcut attributed to Melchior Lorck, a sixteenth-century Danish engraver of the German origin, seems to be the source of this type of panel engravings.[52] The engraver had been commissioned by the Plantin Press for some time, and it is therefore possible that this, just like many other decorative elements, was transferred to the book covers from some printed book illustrations. It is worth noting in particular that, the bindings combining Mannerist (the left side) and German Renaissance (the right side) styles were quite popular in the Commonwealth of Both Nations.[53]

[48] Gehrt, Daniel, 'Pictorial Renaissance Bookbindings…'.

[49] This style was followed in the engraving of the rolls with portraits of the royal Jogailaičiai family in the region of the Commonwealth of Both Nations in the mid-sixteenth century (these were not found in the examined bindings). See Wagner, Arkadiusz, 'Poznańskie radełko jagiellońskie z lat czterdziestych XVI wieku. Problem treści ideowo-politycznych i wzorów ikonografi cznych', *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, 2012, Vol. 56, pp. 83–111.

[50] Byrne, Janet S., *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981, pp. 32–33.

[51] Perault, Guillaume, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum. Tomus primus [-secundus]*, Antwerp, 1587. Baza opraw zabytkowych XV–XVIII, in: Biblioteka Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, [05 03 2024]. Access via internet: http://ptpn.locloud.pl/items/show/4789.

[52] 'Christ, left profile, ac. number: 17.42.32', in: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, [05 03 2024]. Access via internet: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/377475. I am grateful to Dr Jolita Liškevičienė for the consultation.

[53] See Baza opraw zabytkowych XV–XVIII.

The books decorated in the Jesuit style can be distinguished as a separate group (No. 1, 7). The monogram IHS of the Society of Jesus, imprinted in the central part of the covers, is probably mainly seen in the books belonging to the Jesuit libraries or written by Jesuit authors. It is therefore quite reasonable to attribute this type of binding, as in the Protestant style, to the function of an ideological and missionary tool.[54]

Parchment Bindings

The group of parchment bindings can be divided into stiff-board (ten cases) and limp (eight cases) bindings. Almost all of the stiff-board parchment bindings have been quite heavily repaired in later periods (eighteenth and twenty-first centuries), and therefore the data they provide are not complete. Among the limp parchment bindings, more of the original structures survived. The majority of the parchment bindings are laced-case structures (fourteen cases). In only three stiff-board bindings, repaired in later periods, the slips of the cord sewing supports were frayed out and adhered to the inner side of the boards, instead of being laced. (No. 31, 38, 40).

In many of these bindings, the quires are sewn using two-on or mixed (all-along and two-on) sewing techniques, on two or three single parchment, vegetable-tanned leather or alum-tawed skin tongues. Their slips are often unsplit, quite short, and cut square.[55] The only unusual case of sewing supports recorded is the one with long pointed slips (No. 29), which are more often associated with the Dutch bookbinding practice. The use of vegetable-tanned leather for sewing supports is noteworthy (No. 25, 27, 34, 40, 43, 46) (Fig. 12). Such material of sewing supports in parchment bindings is mentioned by Faust in his early seventeenth-century instructions as a method of German binding.[56]

The bookblock edges of the parchment bindings are mainly painted blue or red. There are a few cases of sprinkled edges, a decorative technique which seems to be more associated with the seventeenth-century than with sixteenth-century bindings. The rounded spine is lined mainly with two transverse parchment stripes. There are a few cases where the spine is lined with four parchment linings or where textile

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[54] Lichański, Jakub Zdzisław, 'Book Bindings from the Collections of the Library of Collegium Societatis Iesu in Braniewo, as a Missionary Tool of the Jesuit Order. An Introduction to Research', in: *Jesuit Culture between Texts and Arts*, edited by Małgorzata Lisecka, Magdalena Lisecka, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2021, pp. 99–118.

[55] Unlike the Dutch bookbinding tradition, which uses sewing supports made of two layers of parchment tongues (as well as two-layered cores of endbands) and leaves the slips quite long and pointed. C.f., Bray, Dirk de, *Kort onderweijs van het boeckenbinden…*, pp. 64–65, 84–85.

[56] Faust, Anshelm, *Beschrijvinghe ende onderwijsinghe …*, p. 58.

Fig. 12. A parchment binding with laced slips of the vegetable-tanned leather sewing supports (on the left) and square cut slips seen under the pastedown (on the right) (VUL II 331).

linings, rather than parchment ones, were used (No. 32). Several other bindings used overall paper spine lining pasted over the entire area of the spine; it is difficult to say whether this was an original binding or the result of a later repair (No. 27, 29, 42).

About half of the parchment bindings have either lost their endbands or have them not attached at all (eleven cases in total). The surviving endbands were made using a folded parchment or textile lining, with a core made of alum-tawed skin, or simply sewn directly onto the edge of the lining without a core. Only one binding (No. 27) has the endband core slips laced through the cover. In contrast, in almost all cases of parchment bindings, the extensions of the endband linings are adhered to the inner side of the boards.

The books were mainly covered with the calfskin parchment. Only in two cases (both bindings repaired at a later date) has goatskin or sheepskin parchment been recorded (No. 31, 36). It is noteworthy that among the stiff-board bindings, examples of red or green-coloured parchment (No. 30, 35) have been found, often associated with the German bookbinding tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[57] Yellow-coloured parchment has also been recorded in several limp parchment bindings (No. 27, 41). Among the bindings examined, only two stiff-board parchment bindings were decorated with a few gilt stamps (No. 37, 39), while all the others were without any decoration.

[57] Pickwood, Nicholas, 'The Origins and Development of Adhesive Case Bindings', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 2012, Vol. 19, p. 119.

In general, the parchment bindings of books printed in Vilnius are slightly different from the more widely studied variants from the southern[58] and northern[59] Alpine regions: they are more likely to use single (parchment, vegetable-tanned leather or alum-tawed skin) sewing supports, with square cut short slips. A number of them are covered with unlined calfskin parchment, and the pastedowns in all cases are fully pasted to the inside of the cover. Although these bindings bear a number of similarities to the German craftsmanship, some details, such as the tendency to use unlined parchment, may be a feature of the local or simply cheaper binding method.

Parchment bindings have so far been almost completely neglected in the history of Lithuanian bookbinding, which is why it is important that this study is the first to record limp parchment bindings of locally printed books. Among the bindings studied, it is the limp rather than the stiff-board parchment bindings that are better preserved and therefore provide more information. They are often associated with cheaper bindings because of their simpler and quicker execution and the slightly less material needed. The economy of some of the bindings of books printed in Vilnius is confirmed not only by the lack of decoration, but also by the absence of endbands (No. 29, 33, 34, 41), as well as by the use of parchment manuscript waste for the cover (No. 25, 34), unlined parchment, etc. With more data, such features would allow them to be linked to retail bindings.

Summarising the examined data on leather and parchment bindings, it is possible to draw a certain picture of the overall characteristics (Appendix 3). Currently, the least data is available for the stiff-board parchment bindings, most of which have been repaired or rebound. Nevertheless, the data on leather and limp laced-case parchment bindings can be generalised, and give at least a rough indication of the binding techniques used in locally printed books.

The Question of Provenances

To conclude the review of the research results, the issue of ownership marks recorded in the bindings should be discussed. In general, a considerable number of books lack information about their previous owners from the sixteenth to seventeenth century. However, there were not so few publications belonging to the libraries of the Jesuit colleges in Daugavpils, Nesvizh and Orsha. The examination of the bindings

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[58] E.g., Pickwoad, Nicholas, 'Libros para leer. Encuadernaciones comerciales en pergamino y papel en la época de la imprenta manual', in: *Grandes encuadernaciones en las bibliotecas reales: siglos XV–XXI*, edited by María Luisa López-Vidriero Abello, Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2012, pp. 95–122.

[59] Faust, Anshelm, *Beschrijvinghe ende onderwijsinghe ….*; Bray, Dirk de, *Kort onderweijs van het boeck-enbinden…*

did not reveal any technological links between the books from the same printers or owned by the same owners. As a distinctive feature, some books belonging to the library of the Lutheran and Reformed Synods of Vilnius were bound (probably repaired by rebinding) in covers that had been used previously for other, larger books (e.g., No. 22, 28).

It seems to be somewhat exceptional that about one third of the examined printed books with surviving original bindings were owned by Merkelis Giedraitis (Melchior Giedroyć, ca. 1536–1609) and/or the Jesuit College of Kražiai. Despite a few very similar bindings of the books printed in Vilnius and at the Plantin Press (No. 34, 46), which belonged to Giedraitis, there is not much in common between them in terms of structure or decoration. A more detailed examination of other bindings of books belonging to Giedraitis and the Kražiai Library would provide a better insight into the technological similarities or differences.[60]

Nevertheless, a book printed in Cologne in 1583 (No. 45), which belonged to Giedraitis and was bound in parchment, is directly related to the issue of Vilnius bookbinding practices. On the inner side of the left cover of this book, there is a surviving inscription on the endleaf regarding the acquisition of the book in Vilnius, along with the price of the book and the binding.[61] The inscription suggests that the book was not only bought in Vilnius but was also bound there. However, examination of the binding shows that the case is not so simple. The upside-down inscription in the book, the type of attachment of the bookblock and the cover, and the structure of the endleaves, suggest that the bookblock was sewn at one time and the cover was attached at a another time, probably using the cover of another book. In such a case, the inscription on the inner side of the cover would refer to the circumstances of the acquisition and binding not of the book that belonged to Giedraitis, but rather of the book that had previously been protected by this cover. Nevertheless, although the origin of the binding raises further questions, the possibility that Giedraitis acquired and bound at least some of his books in Vilnius seems plausible. In addition, such records allow us to confirm that some books bound in Vilnius had limp laced-case parchment bindings.

Another interesting, but equally complicated case, which does not provide a direct answer regarding the place of binding, is the record of the acquisition of the

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[60] The basis for this is a list of books owned by the library of Kražiai Jesuit College and now are preserved in the Vilnius University Library. According to the authors who compiled it, a number of books are well preserved and with authentic bindings. See Vaitkevičiūtė, Viktorija; Rankelienė, Sondra, 'Kražių jėzuitų kolegijos knygos Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekoje', *Knygotyra*, 2017, Vol. 68, pp. 254–342. https://doi.org/10.15388/Knygotyra.68.10723.

[61] Vaitkevičiūtė, Viktorija; Rankelienė, Sondra, 'Kražių jėzuitų kolegijos knygos…', p. 288.

Postile printed in 1594 in the printing house of Jokūbas Morkūnas in Vilnius (No. 13). On the last page of the print there is a record of the acquisition of this book by Adomas Počopovskis (Adam Poczopowski) in Vilnius in 1596. An original late sixteenth-century binding with wooden boards, covered with vegetable-tanned leather and richly decorated, could also serve as an example of a book bound in Vilnius. Laucevičius discusses this case in his study on bookbinding. According to the researcher, the watermark of the local paper mill is clearly visible on the paper of the right pastedown and the inscription of Počopovskis on the right flyleaf indicates that the book was bound in Vilnius.[62] However, Laucevičius was mistaken in stating that the inscription was on the right endleaves. In fact, Počopovskis left his ownership mark on the blank verso of the last printed page, and from the right endleaves only the pastedown remains (i.e. the flyleaf is lost). Thus, we have evidence of the acquisition of this publication in Vilnius, while only the watermark Habdank, supposedly used in the local paper mill, would partly attest to the fact of its binding in Vilnius.[63] Such cases highlight the importance of a comprehensive analysis of the structural elements of the binding for the dating or attribution purposes.

Although various provenance records in the books do not fully clarify the question of the place of binding of any of the books printed in Vilnius that have been examined, the hypothesis that a significant number of the examined original bindings of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books printed in Vilnius could have been bound by bookbinders active in Vilnius in the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century remains sufficiently justified. Such assertions could only be confirmed by further research, covering both the technological features of the bindings and their provenances.

Conclusions

So far, the scholarly literature on the bindings of books preserved in the Lithuanian libraries has focused only on one or a few (mostly decorative) aspects of the craft, or on isolated cases. This makes it difficult to get an overall picture of the features of the local craftsmen's work. In order to approach this problem, the conducted research aimed to clarify what the bindings of early Vilnius printed books were like and what they could testify about the local bookbinding craft. The study can be considered as an exploratory initial phase of a larger study, which aimed to partially fill this gap with new and more diverse data on the bindings of books printed in Vilnius.

[62]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *XV–XVIII a. knygų įrišimai…*, p. 34.
[63]   Laucevičius, Edmundas, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1967, Pt. 2, pp. 1025–1047.

Since the vast majority of historical bindings are anonymous, we will probably never know the true and absolutely accurate answer as to where and by whom these books were bound. The only way to overcome this obstacle is to conceptually group and analyse the artefacts according to the place of printing, the ownership marks, the historical and contemporary collections of the books, and the technological nuances of binding. Taking into account the data recorded in written sources about the bookbinders operating in Vilnius in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this study adopts a somewhat risky strategy of exploring the local bookbinding practices in the early books printed in Vilnius and preserved in the Lithuanian libraries. It is neither the only nor the right way, but it certainly narrows down the somewhat complicated issue of the relationship between the places of book printing and binding in early modern Europe. In addition to these obstacles, it is also important to point out the fundamental lack of a records and detailed descriptions of bindings, without which no further research or significant synthesis of the data is possible. It is regrettable that a large number of digitised documents are still presented on the websites of Lithuanian libraries without any images of the cover, let alone of all four edges and the endleaves of the book. In this context, one of the most important parts of this research inevitably consisted of the description of the bindings themselves and the compilation of a list of surviving original items.

A review of the available material on the development of the craft of bookbinding in the GDL suggests that the late sixteenth century was the time of the formation of bookbinding as an independent craft in Vilnius (and the GDL). The virtually unrecorded activity of the bookbinders in other cities of the GDL and, on the contrary, the strong concentration of the craft in Vilnius in the late sixteenth century encourages the idea of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Vilnius as one of the most important centres of printing, book trade and bookbinding in the region. Individuals from other regions could also buy books and have them bound in Vilnius. The aforementioned cases of books belonging to Giedraitis, or even to Počopovskis, although they do not provide a definitive answer to the question of whether these books were bound in Vilnius, suggest that the possibility of such a case was certainly considerable.

It appears that, rather than attempting to link individual artefacts to specific bookbinders, it is much more constructive to seek some broader trends in the craft within the region, such as those in the GDL or the Commonwealth of Both Nations. From the most general point of view, is is quite resonble to associate the vast majority of the examined bindings with western European bookbinding. Close contacts between the craftsmen of Vilnius and Kraków in the late sixteenth century make it reasonable to

expect to find a number of common features in the work of the craftsmen from both cities. However, more data is currently needed regarding the structure of the various decorated and undecorated books used in these regions.

The analysis of the data on books printed in Vilnius has shown that the surviving material on their original bindings from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century is not only very fragmented but also quite diverse. At this stage of the research, it is therefore still difficult to draw firm conclusions about the prevailing practices of the local bookbinding trade. Each recorded case could be an example of a much larger phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw at least a rough picture of the technological features characteristic of the leather and parchment bindings of the locally printed books. It would be useful to refine and supplement it with some new data in the future.

Despite the great diversity, several common features have been recorded across many artefacts. It seems that local bookbinders often omitted one of the initial binding processes – the beating of the quires. Among the structures of endleaves, there are several predominant types, including a fold and text-hook endleaves. It is also noticeable that the bindings use only stuck-on endbands and that various types of cardboard were used rather than wooden boards for the cover. In addition, at least three dominant stylistic decorative groups can be identified within the set of books bound in leather. The group of limp parchment bindings is particularly interesting. Artefacts of this nature, usually undecorated by any stamps, have been largely absent from the Lithuanian research, and it is the first time that they have been recorded in the locally printed books. The limp covers (sometimes recycled), the lack of endbands and decoration, and the abbreviated sewing techniques are the features that open up the possibility of linking some of these bindings to the cheaper commercial formats of the books printed in Vilnius. It is expected that the list of original bindings of the early Vilnius publications and their descriptions compiled during this research will significantly supplement previously published descriptions of books printed in Vilnius and provide a stronger foundation for the comparative studies on bookbinding in the future.

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Appendix 1. Bookbinders, box-makers, booksellers active in Vilnius in 1500–1655

No.	Earliest date	Latest date	Name	Profession	Location
1.	1512	–	Perfirijus (Пръфирія)	bookbinder	Vilnius, Lubčia
2.	1519	–	Hawryla	bibliopola	Vilnius, Poznań
3.	1522	–	Ferman Litwin	bibliopola	Vilnius, Poznań
4.	1569	1585	Stanisław Sienicki	bookbinder	Land of Vilnius Cathedral Chapter
5.	1569	1581	Franc, Francisco, Proncius	bookbinder	Land of Vilnius Cathedral Chapter
6.	1575	1577	Jan Oskola	bookbinder	Kraków, Morkūnas workshop in Vilnius
7.	1582	1591	Stanislaus Bogdan, Bogdanowicz	bookbinder, bibliopola vilnensis	Vilnius, Poznań
8.	1586	–	Wojciech Fröhlich	civis et bibliopola Vilnensis	Vilnius
9.	1587	1613	Grigier	bookbinder	Vilnius
10.	1587	1612	Matys Introligator	bookbinder	Grigieris workshop in Vilnius, Kraków Bookbinders Guild
11.	XVI a. pab.	–	Bałtazar Wiosło	bookbinder	Poznań, Morkūnas workshop in Vilnius
12.	1595	–	Jan Jaskłowski	bookbinder	Morkūnas workshop in Vilnius, Kraków Bookbinders Guild
13.	1595	–	Paulus Migdałowski	bookbinder	Morkūnas workshop in Vilnius, Kraków Bookbinders Guild
14.	1592	1607	Jakub Markowicz, Jacob Markowitz	bookbinder, bibliopola, printer, publisher	Vilnius, Kraków, Poznań
15.	1598	–	David Brettner	bibliopola Vilnensis	Vilnius
16.	1602	–	Jan Goniecz	bookbinder	Morkūnas workshop in Vilnius, Poznań
17.	1603	1610	Jendrys Introligatorczyk, Jendrzey Intorligator	bookbinder	Vilnius

No.	Earliest date	Latest date	Name	Profession	Location
18.	1611	–	Michał Introligator	bookbinder	Vilnius
19.	1612	1617	Simon Introligator	bookbinder	Vilnius
21.	1614	–	Jan Szczurecki	bookbinder	Vilnius
22.	1622	–	Matys Jakimowicz	bookbinder	Vilnius
23.	1623	–	Krzysztoph Mokry-cki	box-maker and bookbinder	Vilnius
24.	1623	–	Endris Sczwartz	bookbinder	Vilnius
25.	1624	–	Marian Pękowski	bookbinder	Vilnius
26.	1624	–	Adam Byliński	bookbinder	Vilnius
27.	1627	–	Wojciech Mirk	bookbinder	Vilnius
28.	1628	–	Jakub Wyczkis	bookbinder	Vilnius
29.	1631	–	Jerzy Grudzyński	box-maker and bookbinder	Vilnius
30.	1633	–	Gothard Reck, also his widow	bookbinder, bibliopola	Vilnius
31.	Early 17th c.	1633	Johannes Wolrabi	bookbinder, bibliopola	Vilnius, Amsterdam
32.	1633	–	Jan Baziulewicz	bookbinder	Vilnius
33.	1633	1643	Jakob, also his widow?	bookbinder	Vilnius
34.	1635	1667	Michał Markiewicz	bookbinder	Vilnius
35.	1636	–	Jakub Kruncius	bookbinder	Vilnius
36.	1636	–	Jakub Der	bookbinder	Vilnius
37.	1641	–	Mathias Dubiele-wicz	bookbinder	Vilnius, Kraków Bookbinders Guild
38.	1641	–	Jan Witowicz	bookbinder	Vilnius
39.	1642	1668	Elias Thiell, Heliasz Thyl, Elias Thill (Elder)	bookbinder, bibliopola	Chomutov (Bohemia), Kraków, Vilnius Bookbinders Guild, Königsberg
40.	1645	–	Mathia Gladis	bookbinder	Vilnius, Kraków Bookbinders Guild
41.	1655	1667	Martinus Pękalski	bookbinder, civis et bibliopola Vilnensis	Vilnius

(Compiled from: Cicėnienė, 2011; Laucevičius, 1976; Łopaciński, 1946; Meilus, 2003; Paknys, 2006).

Appendix 2. A list of original bindings of books in the Lithuanian collections printed in Vilnius in 1575–1610

Leather bindings

1. Skarga, Piotr. *Artes duodecim sacramentariorum seu zvingliocalvinistarum …* Vilnius: Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila the Orphan Printing House, 1582.

Vilnius University Library (VUL) II 2231

Inboard binding covered with alum-tawed skin

Endleaves: Separate-sewn fold (2 leaves) with a watermark depicting an axe with moon.

Sewing: Sewn all-along; 2–3 folds per gathering; on 3 double cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 wide transverse parchment spine linings.

Edges: Cut; undecorated (?).

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with red and white thread on the edge of the parchment lining.

Cover: Millboards covered with alum-tawed goatskin or sheepskin; tight back with 3 raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips and extensions of the spine linings adhered to the inner sides of the boards; endband lining extensions adhered on the outer side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling and gold-tooling made with 8 different tools, including lettering (the title and the year '1583'), two panels depicting Jesuit IHS monogram and a coat of arms of Merkelis Giedraitis (Melchior Giedroyć).

Fastenings: 2 pairs of leather ties.

Notes: This copy belonged to the Library of the bishop of Samogitia Merkelis Giedraitis.

2. Erasmus, Desiderius. *Księgi pierwsze, To iest Rycerstwo chrześciańskie a żywot duchowny na 22 części rozdzielone …* Vilnius: Jan Karcan Printing House, 1585.

Wroblewski Library of Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (WLLAS) L-16/37

Binding covered with leather

Endleaves: –

Sewing: –

Spine: –

Edges: –

Endbands: –

Cover: Vegetable-tanned calfskin or sheepskin.

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Attachment: –

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 7 different tools, including centrepiece panel.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of ties.

Notes: Completely rebound in the twentieth century. Only parts of the original covering material left.

3. Vega, Emanuel de; Jurgevičius, Andrius. *De pio, et in sancta ecclesia iam inde ab apostolis … Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1586.*

VUL II 2232/1. https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000427122#00001

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn fold (2 leaves) with unidentified watermark (fragment).

Sewing: Pack-sewing on 3 double cords.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 narrow transverse parchment spine linings on which false halfbands are adhered.

Edges: Cut; coloured red.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with two different threads on the edge of the textile lining.

Cover: Millboards covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin; tight back with 5 raised bands.

Attachment: Spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Tooling with roll(s) and centrepiece panel(s?) (blurred).

Fastenings: –

Notes: *Sammelband* of several printed books (including books printed in Riga and Kraków). Likely to be bound together after 1610. The copy belonged to Piotr Emulewicz (*Petrus Emulewicz*) and to the Library of Duneburg (now Daugavpils) Jesuit College.

4. Idem.

Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania (MMNLL) Blot.1/585. https://www.epaveldas.lt/preview?id=C1B0001064779

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Front endleaf repaired in the twentieth century, back endleaf is separated and sewn (2 leaves) with a guard (?); with a watermark depicting an eagle.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 1–3 folds per gathering; on 3 double cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 medium-width transverse parchment manuscript waste spine linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue or green.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked on parchment lining.

Cover: Either millboards or adhesive-laminated boards; covered with vegetable-tanned calf-skin; tight spine with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips and endband lining extensions adhered to the outer sides of the boards; extensions of spine linings adhered to the inner sides of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling and gold-tooling with 7 different tools, including centre-piece panels depicting right profile of Christ and the Crucifixion.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of suede ties.

Notes: *Sammelband* of 12 books printed in the end of the sixteenth century.

5. Possevino, Antonio. *Moscovia*. Vilnius: Jan Karcan Printing House, 1586.

VUL II 2237

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook (?) (2 leaves) on the left; separate sewn fold (2 leaves) on the right.

Sewing: Sewn all-along; 2–4 folds per gathering; on 3 single cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded, backed; with 2 narrow transverse parchment linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: Added in the nineteenth or twentieth century.

Cover: Boards made of oak wood with shallow bevelled edges; covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin (?); tight spine with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips and extensions of spine linings adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling and gold-tooling with 5 different tools, including rolls and centrepiece panel depicting the Virgin with the Child on the crescent moon; title inscription the fore-edge (vertical position).

Fastenings: 2 pairs of hooked clasps cut from copper plate; only one hook riveted to a strap anchored to the edge of the right board is left; straps made of vegetable-tanned leather lined with parchment.

Notes: rough repair in the eighteenth to twentieth century. A copy belonged to the Library of Kražiai Jesuit College and Stanislovas Kazimieras Vaina (Stanisław Kazimierz Woyna).

6. Possevino, Antonio. *Atheismi Lutheri, Melanchthonis, Caluini, Bezae, …* Vilnius: Jan Karcan Printing House, 1586.

VUL II 2615

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn fold (2 leaves) with guards (?).

Sewing: Sewn all-along; 4 folds per gathering; on 3 double cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 narrow transverse parchment spine linings; 2 false halfbands with trimmed slips.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue or green.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with two-colour threads on the parchment lining and the cord core.

Cover: Adhesive-laminated boards (?) covered with vegetable-tanned goatskin or sheepskin; tight spine with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips (?) and endband lining extensions adhered to the outer side of the boards; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling and gold-tooling with 5 different tools, including a centrepiece panels depicting right profile of Christ and arabesque ornament.

Fastenings: –

Notes: *Sammelband* of three books, all of them printed at the end of the sixteenth century.

7. Vega, Emanuel de. *Evangelica et apostolica doctrina …* Vilnius: Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila the Orphan Printing House, 1586.

VUL II 2244

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn fold (2 leaves) with a watermark depicting sceptres in a circle.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 1–3 folds per gatherings; on 2 double cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 (3?) medium-width transverse parchment spine linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured yellow.

Endbands: Lost (?) (possibly parchment lining fragment may be left).

Cover: Either millboards or adhesive-laminated boards; covered with vegetable-tanned pigskin; tight spine with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips adhered to the outer (?) side of the boards; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling or gold-tooling with 6 different tools, including a centrepiece panel with Jesuit IHS monogram.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of suede ties.

Notes: Covering material in the spine area is completely lost. This copy belonged to *Rzatkowski* and to the library of Orsha Jesuit College.

8. Grodzicki, Stanisław. *O poprawie kalendarza …* Vilnius: s.n., 1587

VUL II 2242

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Only left paste-down remains.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 2 (?) folds per gathering; on 3 double cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Spine used to be lined with 2 narrow transverse parchment linings.

Edges: Cut.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked on the textile lining.

Cover: Millboards covered with vegetable-tanned goatskin or sheepskin; tight back with raised bands (?).

Attachment: Sewing support slips and spine lining extensions adhered the inner side of the boards. Endband lining extensions adhered to the outer side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 6 (?) different tools, including centrepiece panel depicting a profile of Christ (very blurred).

Fastenings: 2 pairs of suede ties.

Notes. Only front board and several of the first gatherings remain.

9. Grodzicki, Stanisław. *O iedney osobie …* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1589.

VUL II 2229

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook (1 or 2 leaves).

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 2–4 folds per gathering; on 3 single cords with frayed out slips. **Spine**: Rounded; with narrow transverse parchment manuscript waste linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured yellow.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with several threads on the textile lining.

Cover: Millboards covered with vegetable-tanned goatskin or sheepskin; tight back with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips and endband lining extensions adhered the outer side of the boards. Spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling and gold-tooling with 9 different tools, including centrepiece panels with arabesque ornament.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of suede ties.

Notes: *Sammelband*, with another volume printed in Vilnius in 1589.

10. Idem.

MMNLL KD.453876a

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn with guards (remain only paste-downs in both sides); with unidentified watermark.

Sewing: Sewn all-along; 1–4 folds per gathering; on 3 double cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 transverse parchment manuscript waste linings; 2 false halfbands made of single cord with frayed out slips.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue or green.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on (damaged); worked on parchment manuscript waste lining.

Cover: Adhesive-laminated boards covered with vegetable-tanned goatskin of sheepskin; tight back with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support and false halfband slips adhered to the outer side of the boards; adhered to the outer side of the boards. Spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards. Endband lining extensions adhered to the outer side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 6 different tools including a centrepiece panels depicting right profile of Christ and the Crucifixion.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of ties (completely lost).

Notes: In 1639 the copy belonged to Stanislaus Dargusz (?) and to the library of Kražiai Jesuit college.

11. Grzegorz z Żarnowca. *Obrona Postylle ewanyelickiey …* Vilnius: Stret Ciszkiewicz, 1591.

WLLAS KJ5456 Jabl.

Binding covered with leather

Endleaves: –

Sewing: –

Spine: –

Edges: –

Endbands: –

Cover: Wooden boards bevelled only in the inner side; covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin.

Attachment: –

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with at least 4 different tools.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of hooked clasp fastenings (recreated?).

Notes: Likely to be bound or repaired later than 1650. Repaired in 2009. The copy belonged to

the library of the Evangelical and Reformed Synod of Vilnius and, later in the eighteenth century, to the ecclesiastical library in Slutsk.

12. Rej, Mikołaj. *Postylla polska* … Vilnius: Jokūbas Morkūnas Printing House, 1594.

MMNLL Blenk.2/594

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Added in the nineteenth to twentieth century.

Sewing: Sewn on 3 double cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; without linings (?).

Edges: Cut; undecorated.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked on the edge of a textile lining.

Cover: Wooden boards covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin; tight back with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with two-line and three-line rolls.

Fastenings: –

Notes: Likely to be repaired later than 1650. Text of the missing gatherings are reconstructed as manuscript. The copy belonged to the library of the Lutheran and Reformed Synod of Vilnius.

13. Idem.

A sample from Dr Jaunius Gumbis collection. https://lithuanianart.com/artwork/759

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn; with a watermark *Habdank* in the right paste-down.

Sewing: Sewn all-along (?) on 3 double cords.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 narrow transverse parchment linings.

Edges: Cut.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with two threads on the edge of the textile lining.

Cover: Wooden boards (?) covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin; tight back with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced twice through the wooden boards; endband lining extensions adhered to the outer side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling and gold-tooling (?) with 5 or more different tools, including a centrepiece panel depicting *Fleur-de-lis*.

Fastenings: Two pairs of hooked clasp fastenings with catchplates attached under the leather.

Notes: Binding description is based on photographs. The copy was bought in 1596 in Vilnius by Adam Poczopowski for three or nine (?) *złoty*.

14. Ledesma, Diego de; Daukša, Mikalojus. *Kathechismas …* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1595.

VUL Lr 4165–4166. https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000408123#00001

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: –

Sewing: Sewn on 2 cords.

Spine: –

Edges: Cut; coloured green or blue.

Endbands: –

Cover: Wooden boards (?) covered with vegetable-tanned goatskin or sheepskin.

Attachment: –

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling in 3 different tools.

Fastenings: None.

Notes: Completely rebound in 1995, only boards (?) and covering material remain original.

15. Śmiglecki, Marcin. *O bostwie przedwiecznym syna bozego*. Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1595.

VUL II 2255 https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000265206

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn endleaf (2 leaves) on the left; with a watermark, depicting a cross in the coat of arms in the front; separate sewn text-hook on the right.

Sewing: Two-on sewing; 2 folds per gathering; on 3 single cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 wider textile linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with red and white threads on the edge of a textile lining.

Cover: Millboards covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin; tight back with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips adhered and spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards; endband lining extensions adhered the outer side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling and gold-tooling with 7–10 different tools, including centrepiece panels depicting *Fleur-de-lis* and arabesque ornament.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of suede ties.

Notes: The copy belonged to the Library of the bishop of Samogitia Merkelis Giedraitis and the Library of Kražiai Jesuit College.

16. Idem.

VUL II 2256.

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook (1–2 leaves).

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 2 folds per gatherings; on 3 single cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; without lining.

Edges: Cut; coloured yellow.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked on the edge of a textile lining.

Cover: Millboards covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin with a small patch in the cover; tight back with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips and endband lining extensions adhered the outer side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 5 different tools.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of alum-tawed skin ties.

Notes: The copy belonged to *Paulus Pihelius* and to the Library of Kražiai Jesuit College.

17. Idem.

MMNLL Blenk.1/595

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook (2 leaves).

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 2 folds per gathering; on 3 single cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; without lining (?).

Edges: Cut; coloured yellow.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with red and white threads on a textile lining and cord core.

Cover: Millboards covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin with a patch in the cover; tight back with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips adhered the inner (?) side of the boards; endband lining extensions adhered to the outer side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 6 different tools.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of suede ties.

Notes: The copy belonged to the Samogitia Seminary Library.

18. Żarnowca, Grzegorz z. *Postilla* … Vilnius: Jan Karcan Printing House, 1597.

WLLAS L-16/2-28

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Replaced with modern ones.

Sewing: 2–4 folds per gathering; on 3 double cords (?).

Spine: Rounded.

Edges: Cut; coloured (?).

Endbands: Lost (?).

Cover: Wooden boards bevelled in both (inner and outer) sides; covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin (later re-backed with tanned sheepskin); tight back with raised bands (?).

Attachment: –

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 8 different tools, including cornerpiece panels (?).

Fastenings: 2 pairs of hooked clasp fastenings, with catchplates attached over the leather.

Notes: Repaired in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The copy belonged to the library of the Lutheran and Reformed Synod of Vilnius.

19. Manutius, Aldus. *Elegantiae*. Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1598.

VUL II 2241. https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000241956#00001

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Only separate sewn text-hook (2 leaves) on the right remains.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 1–4 folds per gathering; on 3 single cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 medium-width textile linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked on a textile lining.

Cover: Only right side of the cover remains; millboard covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin; tight back with raised bands (?).

Attachment: Sewing support slips, spine lining and endband lining extensions adhered the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 1–2 different tools.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of alum-tawed skin (?) ties.

Notes: Spine and the front cover are completely lost. The copy belonged to several owners, including the Franciscan convent in Kaunas.

20. Wujek, Jakób; Daukša, Mikalojus. *Postilla catholicka*. Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1599.

VUL Lr 1618

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Later added (pasted over the original endleaves).

Sewing: Sewn all-along; 1–2 folds per gathering; on 4 cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: –

Edges: Cut; coloured blue or green.

Endbands: Worked on the textile linings.

Cover: Millboards covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin; tight back with raised bands.

Attachment: Sewing support slips adhered to the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 7 different tools, including a centrepiece panel depicting the Crucifixion.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of sued or alum-tawed skin ties.

Notes: Repaired in different periods. This copy belonged to the Library of Kražiai Jesuit College.

21. Grodzicki, Stanisław. *Ewanielik*. Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, late 16th c.

MMNLL R.XVI:B.4(1–6)

Limp binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Separated sewn endleaves (2 leaves) with an unidentified watermark on the left.

Sewing: 1–2 folds per gathering; sewing repaired later by stabbing the text block; without sewing supports.

Spine: With 2 wide textile linings.

Edges: Cut; undecorated.

Endbands: None (?).

Cover: Without boards; covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin; without turn-ins; tight back (?).

Attachment: Spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the cover.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 1 three-line roll.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of textile ties.

Notes: *Sammelband* with the books printed in Kraków, latest in 1616.

22. Rej, Mikołaj. *Postilla lietuwiszka*. Vilnius: Jokūbas Morkūnas Printing House, 1600.

MMNLL A1/600. https://www.epaveldas.lt/preview?id=C1R0000047394

Inboard binding covered with alum-tawed skin

Endleaves: Later added.

Sewing: Sewn on 4 single cords.

Spine: Rounded.

Edges: Cut.

Endbands: Later added sewn endbands.

Cover: Later added wooden boards (?); covered with white alum-tawed pigskin reused from another (larger) book.

Attachment: –

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 10 different tools.

Fastenings: None.

Notes: Rebound in different periods, the last one dating in 1997. The copy belonged to the library of the Evangelical and Reformed Synod of Vilnius.

23. Gretser, Jacob. *Rudimenta linguae Graecae*. Vilnius: Jan Karcan Printing House, 1604.

WLLAS L-17/168/1–4

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: Later added endleaf on the left; separated sewn endleaf (2 leaves) on the right.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 4 folds per gathering; on 3 single cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 medium-width parchment linings.

Edges: Cut; sprinkled red.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with the front bead; worked with white and reddish thread on the edge of parchment lining.

Cover: Wooden oak boards with bevelled edges in both sides; covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin.

Attachment: Sewing support slips and spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards; endband lining extensions adhered to the outer side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 8 different tools, including a centrepiece panel depicting the Virgin with a Child.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of hooked clasp fastenings. Straps made of two layers of vegetable-tanned calfskin.

24. Smotrickij, Meletij. *Antigrafe, …* Vilnius: Holy Spirit Fraternity's Printing House, 1608.

WLLAS L-17/32

Inboard binding covered with leather

Endleaves: –

Sewing: Sewn on 2 sewing supports (?).

Spine: –

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: –

Cover: Covered with vegetable-tanned calfskin.

Attachment: –

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling with 5 different tools, including centrepiece panel with arabesque ornament.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of ties (replaced with new ones made from leather).

Notes: rebound in the twentieth century, only covering material remains original. The copy belonged to the Library of Zhirovichy Basilian Monastery.

Parchment bindings

25. Skarga, Piotr. *Pro sacratissima eucharistia …* Vilnius: Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila the Orphan Printing House, 1576.

VUL II 1335

Laced-case limp parchment binding.

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook (2 leaves). Entire paste-down area pasted to the cover.

Sewing: Sewn all-along; 4 folds per gathering; on 3 vegetable tanned leather supports with split slips.

Spine: Rounded; either lost or absent spine linings.

Edges: Cut; undecorated.

Endbands: Either lost or absent.

Cover: Covered with calfskin parchment manuscript waste lined with printed paper waste; natural hollow back; without cover extensions or joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover.

Decoration and titling: –

Fastenings: 2 pairs of leather ties.

Notes: Front cover and endleaf are completely lost. Repaired after 2010.

Ieva Rusteikaitė. Bound in Vilnius? Technological Features of the Bindings of Early Books Printed in Vilnius

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26. Skarga, Piotr. *Artes duodecim sacramentariorum …* **Vilnius: Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila the Orphan Printing House, 1582.**

WLLAS L-16/17. https://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/1535

Laced-case limp parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn (2 leaves) with a guard (?). Entire paste-down area pasted to the cover.

Sewing: Sewn all-along (?); 2–3 folds per gathering; on alum-tawed skin supports with short square cut slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 medium-width transverse parchment linings.

Edges: Cut; undecorated.

Endbands: Either lost or absent.

Cover: Covered with calfskin parchment without lining; natural hollow back; with cover extensions.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of alum-tawed skin ties.

Notes: Repaired in the eighteenth-nineteenth century (overbacking).

27. Idem.

VUL II 331

Laced-case limp parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn (2 leaves), with a watermark depicting an angel. Entire paste-down area pasted to the cover.

Sewing: Two-on sewing; 2–3 folds per gathering; on 2 tanned leather supports with square cut slips.

Spine: Rounded; with wide paper panels.

Edges: Cut; undecorated (?).

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with red and white thread on the parchment lining and alum tawed-skin core.

Cover: Covered with yellow-coloured (?) calfskin parchment without lining; natural hollow back; with cover extensions; without joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support and endband core slips laced through the cover.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of leather ties.

Notes: this copy belonged to the Kražiai Jesuit College Library.

28. Volanas, Andrius. *Andreae Volani libri quinque …* Vilnius: Daniel Łęczycki Printing House, 1584.

WLLAS L-16/20. https://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/2422

Laced-case parchment binding

Endleaves: Later added sewn endleaves.

Sewing: Later two-on sewing (possibly based on the original); 2–3 folds per gathering; on single parchment sewing supports.

Spine: Rounded.

Edges: Cut.

Endbands: Lost; remains only holes of lacing of core slips in the cover.

Cover: Later added modern millboards covered with calfskin parchment; natural hollow back (?); without cover extensions or joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of ties.

Notes: Completely rebound in nineteenth to twentieth century. Only the covering material may be original (likely taken from another book). The copy belonged to the library of the Lutheran and Reformed Synod of Vilnius.

29. Vega, Emanuel. *Assertiones theologicae …* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1585.

MMNLL KC889854/1585. https://www.epaveldas.lt/preview?id=C1B0001008807

Limp laced-case parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn fold (2 leaves).

Sewing: Sewn all-along (?); 2–3 folds per gathering; on 2 parchment or alum-tawed skin supports with longer and pointed slips.

Spine: Rounded; with overall paper lining (?).

Edges: Cut.

Endbands: None.

Cover: Covered with calfskin parchment without lining; natural hollow back; with cover extensions; without joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of alum-tawed skin ties with pointed extensions.

Notes: The copy belonged to the library of Kražiai Jesuit College.

30. Vega, Emanuel de; Jurgevičius, Andrius. *De pio, et in sancta ecclesia iam inde ab apostolis …* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1586.

VUL II 2221/1. https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000427122#00001

Coloured laced-case stiff parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn fold (2 leaves); with an unidentified watermark (fragment) on the left; separate sewn text-hook (2 leaves) on the right.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 1–3 folds per gathering; on 3 single alum-tawed skin supports with split slips.

Spine: Rounded; with medium-width transverse parchment linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured red.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked in two-colour threads on the textile lining and the alum-tawed skin core.

Cover: Thin millboards covered with green-coloured calfskin parchment, without lining; natural hollow back; with cover extensions and joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support and endband core slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards; endband lining extensions adhered to the outer side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: None.

Notes: *Sammelband* of 11 different books printed in Vilnius, Kraków and Riga, the late sixteenth century.

31. Volanas, Andrius. *Assertionum de eucharistia falsarum …* Vilnius: s.n., 1586.

MMNLL Blot.1/586. https://www.epaveldas.lt/preview?id=C1B0001073541

Laced-case stiff-board parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn outside-hook (2 leaves) (repaired).

Sewing: Two-on sewing; 3 single cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded.

Edges: Cut.

Endbands: None.

Cover: Millboards covered with goatskin or sheepskin parchment; tight (?) back; without cover extensions or joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: None.

Notes: Repaired and completely rebound in 1995. Only the covering material remains original. The library of the Evangelical and Reformed Synod of Vilnius.

32. Jurgevičius, Andrius. *Mendacia et convitia evangelica …* Vilnius: Jan Karcan Printing House, 1588.

MMNLL Blot.1/588. https://www.epaveldas.lt/preview?id=C1B0001074100

Limp (?) laced-case parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate text-hook (2 leaves?) with a guard.

Sewing: Sewn all-along; 2 folds per gathering; on 3 single parchment supports with short square cut slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 4 (?) medium-width transverse textile linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: None (?) (2 of the linings may be part of the endband linings).

Cover: Thin millboards (added later?), covered with calfskin parchment without lining; natural hollow back; with cover extensions (?) and joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of parchment or alum-tawed skin ties.

Notes: The copy belonged to the library of the Bishop of Samogitia.

33. Grodzicki, Stanisław. *Prawidło wiary haeretyckiey.* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1592.

VUL II 334

Limp laced-case parchment binding.

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook (2 leaves) with a watermark depicting an eagle. Entire paste-down area pasted to the cover.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 2 folds per gathering; on 3 alum-tawed skin supports with short square cut slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 4 (?) narrow transverse parchment linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: None.

Cover: Covered with calfskin parchment; natural hollow spine; without cover extensions; with joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the cover.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of suede ties.

34. Idem.

VUL II 2235. https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUB01_000423959

Limp laced-case parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook (2 leaves) with a watermark depicting the moon. Entire paste-down area pasted to the cover.

Sewing: Two-on sewing; 2 folds per gathering; on 3 single vegetable-tanned leather supports with cut square slips.

Spine: Rounded; lined with 4 (?) medium-width parchment linings

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: None.

Cover: Covered with calfskin parchment manuscript waste without lining; natural hollow back; without cover extensions; with joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the cover.

Decoration and titling: None (?).

Fastenings: 2 pairs of alum-tawed skin ties.

Notes: The copy belonged to the Library of the bishop of Samogitia Merkelis Giedraitis and to the library of Library of Kražiai Jesuit College.

35. Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Marka Tulliusa Cicerona Ksiegi o Starosci*. Vilnius: Jan Karcan Printing House, 1593.

WLLAS L-16/21

Laced-case stiff parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn fold (2 leaves) with unidentified watermark on the right.

Sewing: Two-on sewing; 2–3 folds per gathering; on 3 single parchment supports with split and square cut slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 narrow parchment linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue or green.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with two different threads on the edge of the textile lining.

Cover: Millboards covered with red-coloured parchment and without lining; natural hollow back; without cover extensions; with joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards; endband lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards over the turn-ins.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of textile ties.

Notes: Covering material is recycled from another book.

36. Śmiglecki, Marcin. *Opisanie disputaciey Nowogrodzkiey.* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1594.

WLLAS L-16/13. https://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/322

Laced-cover stiff parchment binding

Endleaves: Later added (?).

Sewing: Sewn on 3 cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: –

Edges: –

Endbands: –

Cover: Covered with reversed goatskin parchment (?).

Attachment: Sewing support slips adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: None.

Notes: Rebound during repair in 2004.

37. Krowicki, Marcin. *Apologia …* Vilnius: Jokūbas Morkūnas Printing House, 1602.

VUL III 11289

Stiff-board parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn fold (2 leaves) with a guard; made of different paper with different unidentified watermarks in both sides. Entire paste-down area pasted to the cover.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 2–3 folds per gathering; on 3 split alum-tawed skin supports with split and short square cut slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 narrow parchment linings.

Edges: Cut; sprinkled red.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with front bead; worked with red and white thread on the parchment lining.

Cover: Millboards covered with calfskin parchment lined with paper; natural hollow back; without cover extensions; with joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards; endband lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards, under the turn-ins.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling and gilding with 3 different tools, including ornamental panel with allegoric figure.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of ties (completely lost).

38. Krowicki, Marcin. *Apologia …* Vilnius: Jan Karcan Printing House, 1604.

WLLAS L-17/111

Laced-case stiff parchment binding

Endleaves: Later added.

Sewing: Sewn on single cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: –

Edges: Cut; sprinkled (?) blue.

Endbands: –

Cover: Millboards covered with calfskin parchment.

Attachment: Sewing support slips adhered to the inner side of the board (later repair?).

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: None.

Notes: Repaired in the nineteenth or twentieth century. The copy belonged to the library of the Evangelical and Reformed Synod of Vilnius.

39. Svencickis, Grigas. *Theatrum s. Casimiri …* Vilnius: Vilnius Academy Printing House, 1604.

WLLAS L-17/79. http://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/5039

Laced-case stiff parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook (?).

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 1–2 folds per gathering; on 3 single parchment supports with split slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 2 medium-width transverse textile linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: Folded stuck on with front bead; worked with white and reddish threads on textile linings and twisted parchment core.

Cover: Boards replaced during the treatment; covered with calfskin parchment; natural hollow back; with joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support and endband core slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: Blind tooling and gilding with 6 different tools, including centrepiece panels with *Fleur-de-lis* and arabesque ornament.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of ties (replaced with new ones made of leather).

Notes: completely rebound and repaired in 1989. The copy belonged to the library of Jesuit residence in Grodno.

40. Idem.

MMNLL R.XVII:C.475. https://www.epaveldas.lt/preview?id=C1B0003449289

Laced-case stiff parchment binding

Endleaves: Later added (remains of a stub of text-hook endleaf structure?).

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 1–2 folds per gathering; on 3 single vegetable-tanned leather supports which slips are broken and repaired with cord.

Spine: Rounded; without lining.

Edges: Cut.

Endbands: Lost or absent.

Cover: Millboards covered with calfskin parchment; natural hollow back.

Attachment: –

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: None.

Notes: Covering material is recycled from another book during repair.

41. Idem.

MMNLL KDR.XVII:C.475/604

Laced-case limp parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook with a guard.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 1–2 folds per gathering; on 3 single alum-tawed skin (?) supports square cut slips.

Spine: Rounded; with narrow transverse textile linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: None.

Cover: Covered with translucent yellow-coloured calfskin parchment; natural hollow back; with joint crease line; with turn-ins only in the extended fore-edge.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of suede ties.

42. Smotrickij, Meletij (Смотрицький, Мелетій). *Threnos, …* Vilnius: s.n., 1610.

WLLAS L-17/136

Stiff-board parchment binding

Endleaves: –

Sewing: Resewn on 3 cords with frayed out slips.

Spine: Rounded; with overall spine lining (?).

Edges: Cut; coloured red.

Endbands: –

Cover: Modern millboards covered with reversed parchment; remaining holes of the lacing of endband core slips; hollow spine; with joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: None.

Notes: Repaired in the nineteenth or twentieth century without preserving original (laced-case) cover attachment. The copy belonged to the library of Lutheran and Reformed Synod of Vilnius.

Only book block, without cover

43. Vega, Emanuel de. *Evangelica et apostolica doctrina …* Vilnius: Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila the Orphan Printing House, 1586.

WLLAS L-16/4

Endleaves: –

Sewing: Two-on sewing; 2 folds per gathering; on 3 single vegetable-tanned skin supports.

Spine: Rounded; lost or absent linings.

Edges: Cut.

Endbands: Lost or absent.

Cover: Lost.

Attachment: –

Decoration and titling: –

Fastenings: –

44. Rej, Mikołaj. *Postylla polska*. Vilnius: Jokūbas Morkūnas Printing House, 1594.

MMNLL Blenk.1/594

Endleaves: Lost.

Sewing: Sewn all-along (?) on 3 double cords (with extra supports added during the repair).

Spine: Medium-width textile spine linings.

Edges: –

Endbands: –

Cover: Lost.

Attachment: –

Decoration and titling: –

Fastenings: –

Notes: In a very poor condition with historical repairs.

Comparative samples

45. Du Preáu, Gabriel. *De vitis, …* Köln: Johann Quentel Printing House, 1583.

VUL II 2688

Laced-case limp parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn outside-hook; with unidentified watermark on the right.

Sewing: Mixed sewing techniques; 1–2 folds per gathering; on 3 single alum-tawed supports with slightly pointed slips.

Spine: Rounded; with 4 narrow transverse parchment linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured red.

Endbands: Folded stuck-on with a front bead; worked on a parchment manuscript wastes lining with a parchment core.

Cover: Covered with calfskin parchment without lining; natural hollow back; without joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support and endband core slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the boards.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of ties.

Notes: Inscription on the paste down indicates that the book was bought and bound in Vilnius in 1590 (*An[n]o 15 Junij 90 Vilna[e] Empt[us] Constat 2 fl Compactio 8 gr*). The book block seems to be sewn in a style similar to the Dutch pattern with the cover recycled from another book, bound in Vilnius and reused in this sample. The copy belonged to the library of the bishop of Samogitia Merkelis Giedraitis and the library of Kražiai Jesuit College.

46. Lipsius Iustus. *De constantia libri duo*. Leiden: Plantin Printing House, 1589.

VUL P 177–178

Laced-case limp parchment binding

Endleaves: Separate-sewn text-hook (2 leaves); with a watermark depicting the moon. Entire paste-down area pasted to the cover.

Sewing: Two-on sewing; 2 folds per gathering; on 3 single vegetable-tanned leather supports with square cut slips.

Spine: Round; with 4 (?) medium-width parchment linings.

Edges: Cut; coloured blue.

Endbands: None.

Cover: Covered with calfskin parchment manuscript waste without lining; natural hollow back; without cover extensions; with joint crease.

Attachment: Sewing support slips laced through the cover; spine lining extensions adhered to the inner side of the cover.

Decoration and titling: None.

Fastenings: 2 pairs of alum-tawed skin ties.

Notes: The binding is identical to No. 33. The copy belonged to the Library of the bishop of Samogitia Merkelis Giedraitis and the library of Kražiai Jesuit College.

Appendix 3. Characteristic features of the bindings of books printed in Vilnius in 1575–1610

	Leather bindings	Stiff-board parchment bindings	Limp parchment bindings
Endleaves	Fold endleaves or text-hook endleaves.	–	Fold endleaves or text-hook endleaves.
Sewing	All-along or two-on sewing on single or double cord sewing supports.	–	All-along or two-on sewing on single parchment or vegetable-tanned leather sewing supports.
Spine	Rounded spine, lined with transverse parchment or textile linings.	–	Rounded spine, lined with transverse parchment or textile linings.
Endbands	Stuck-on, worked on a folded textile strip, with or without a core.	–	Without endbands.
Boards	Wooden boards, millboard or adhesive-laminated boards.	Millboard or adhesive-laminated boards.	Without boards.
Cover and bookblock attachment	The slips of cords are fryed out and adhered to the inner side of the boards. The extensions of the transverse spine linings are adhered to the inner side of the boards. The extentions of the endband linings are adhered to the outer side of boards.	–	The slips of the sewing supports are unsplit, cut square and laced through the cover. The extensions of the transverse spine linings are pasted on the inner side of the boards.
Covering	Vegetable-tanned calfskin. Diagonal slots in the leather turn-ins in the endband area.	Coloured or un-coloured calfskin parchment. With joint creases. Without cover extensions?	Undyed calfskin parchment. Without paper lining. With joint creases. Without cover extensions.

	Leather bindings	**Stiff-board parchment bindings**	**Limp parchment bindings**
Decoration	Blind tooling with of rolls, small hand tools and panels. Sometimes gilded.	–	Without decoration.
Fastenings	Leather ties attached through 'I' notches in the cover. Straps with hooks are attached to the right board, while catchplates are attached to the left board. The catchplates are attached over the leather (i.e., after the covering).	–	Leather ties attached through 'I' notches in the cover.

The Königsberg Laboratory of Genres: Choices of Polish Publishers in the Duchy of Prussia (1545–1575)

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Abstract.[1] In this paper, I analyse the genre choices made by vernacular print agents working in Königsberg in the mid-sixteenth century. I argue that the publishing programme in Polish was structured as a set of fundamental genres intended for religious education in the vernacular from a Lutheran perspective. This case study comes from observations of the paratexts of several books, in which their publishers–editors explicitly stated that the publications were part of a larger strategy to fill gaps in the book market defined by two factors: the genre of the book and its confessional affiliation. The Königsberg publishers, who competed with each other and did not always work together, were thus seeking to ultimately provide an exhaustive set of books seen as essential to Lutheran piety.

Keywords: Prussia; Königsberg; sixteenth century; print culture; vernacular printing; Polish-language publishing; print genres.

Introduction

Stanisław of Lwów's *Apology that is the Defence of the Holy Faith* (1554) was composed as a dialogue between a Pole, representing the traditional Roman Catholic view, and a traveller from Königsberg, who shares news of the Lutheranisation of the Duchy of Prussia. In the preface to this work, the author explained the choice of interlocutors in the following words: "Therefore I have written this in a manner of a conversation between the Pole and the Prussian to provide a better and easier understanding, because the first heretical writings in Polish came to Poland from Prussia."[2] Thus, by 1554, the neighbouring duchy was already clearly perceived in Poland–Lithuania[3] as a source of Protestant 'novelties' disseminated by an efficient

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[1] This research was funded by the National Science Centre, Poland (grant no. 2020/37/N/HS2/00467).

[2] Stanisław ze Lwowa, *Apologia to jest Obronienie wiary świętej krześcijanskiej Kościoła pospolitego przeciw naukam kacerskim*, Kraków: Dziedzice Marka Szarffenbergera, 1554, fol. A$_3$v: "Przeto dla lepszego i łatwiejszego wyrozumienia napisałem obyczajem rozmowy Polaka z Prusakiem, bowiem z Prus napierwej kacerskie pismo do Polski polską mową poszło."

[3] I use the generic term "Poland–Lithuania" to describe the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland as a single political body also before the formal union established in 1569.

printing industry that adopted a strategy to use not only Latin and German but also Polish to spread Lutheran ideas. Königsberg thus offers an informative case study of a genre-based strategy by vernacular publishers.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the city, located in the Duchy of Prussia, became an increasingly important local political and cultural centre. Having adopted Lutheranism as its state confession, its involvement in local confessional debates increased, including the role it played for dissidents in the neighbouring areas of Poland–Lithuania.[4] Its regional impact was thus growing, but its position in the Germanic culture of the Holy Roman Empire remained peripheral, relying a lot on the cultural transfer from Nuremberg.[5] Despite being a centre of printing, having taken ideas and technical printing solutions from the larger German cities,[6] Königsberg was nevertheless far beyond the efficiency of production observed in Germany, and, because of its isolated position, it is easier to observe and thus analyse. Although peripheral for German speakers, it filled a gap in the vernacular market in other languages, such as Polish, through publishing programmes shaped by confessionally driven Protestant publishers and other print agents who collaborated with the Prussian printing shops.

The presence of print agents in the city was limited, but it was sufficient to create varied dynamics. During Duke Albrecht's rule, several print agents were active, and at least four printing shops operated from the 1520s until Albrecht died in 1568. Hans Weinreich ran a permanent printing press in the city from 1524, and more than two decades later, other competitors began to appear. In 1549, Czech printer Alexander Aujezdecki started operations, and a branch of Wittenberg's Hans Lufft printing

[4] Małłek, Janusz, 'Das Herzogtum Preußen und die Reformation in Polen', in: *Polen und Preussen vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert. Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2011, pp. 317–331; Friedrich, Karin, 'Die Reformation in Polen-Litauen', in: *Polen in der europaeischen Geschichte*, edited by Hans-Juergen Boemelburg, Michael Mueller, Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 2011, Vol. 2, pp. 133–135. On the examples of dissidents from Poland taking refuge in the Duchy of Prussia in the 1540s see Warmiński, Ignacy, *Andrz. Samuel i Jan Seklucyan*, Poznań: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskie, 1906, pp. 148–152.

[5] See Thielen, Peter Gerrit, *Die Kultur am Hofe Herzog Albrechts von Preußen (1525–1568)*, Göttingen: Musterschmidt Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1953, pp. 201–203.

[6] Regarding printing, it is worth noting that all the printing shops were run by craftsmen migrating from: Gdańsk (Weinreich), Litomyšl (Aujezdecki), Wittenberg (Lufft), and Nuremberg (Daubmann). On the exemplificatory details of transferring the shop and its printing woodblocks from the imperial city of Nuremberg to Königsberg in case of Daubmann see Jurkowlaniec, Grażyna, 'Repurchased, Ordered, Inherited: The Origins of Woodcut Blocks in the Königsberg Printing House of Hans Daubmann and His Heirs', *Knygotyra*, 2023, Vol. 80, pp. 175–196. https://doi.org/10.15388/Knygotyra.2023.80.128

shop was established in 1549, run by Andreas Aurifaber, Lufft's son-in-law. Five years later, another shop was opened by Hans Daubmann, who eventually outpaced other entrepreneurs and dominated the local market, as confirmed by the ducal privileges granted to him in 1558 and 1564.[7]

This environment also offers a unique opportunity to study how Polish-language publishers dealt with the sparse vernacular printing tradition. When the first Polish-language publications were printed in Königsberg in the 1540s, vernacular Polish books were not being broadly produced. Cracow was the only relatively prolific centre of Polish book production, but it was primarily Catholic;[8] thus, for Polish-speaking Protestants, a comprehensive book offer oriented to a Protestant confession had to be started from scratch. This is one of the reasons the Polish-language share of vernacular printing in Prussia was surprisingly high.[9]

Book production in Königsberg was overall quite diverse: religious books dominated the market, but academic works – mostly history and natural history – were also printed, alongside utility books and popular science – including handbooks and reference books, such as herbals, dictionaries, phrase books and law collections – and official printing for the ducal court.[10] Various languages were used in printing, including Latin, German and, to a lesser extent, Polish; there were also the first attempts at printing in Old Prussian and, later, pioneering Lithuanian

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[7]   For overviews of print culture in Königsberg in the sixteenth century see 'Królewiec', in: *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, edited by Krystyna Korotajowa, Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1962, Vol. 4: *Pomorze*, pp. 217–224; Körber, Esther-Beate, *Öffentlichkeiten der Frühen Neuzeit. Teilnehmer, Formen, Institutionen und Entscheidungen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Herzogtum Preußen von 1525*, Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1998, pp. 206–221.

[8]   For overview of the Cracow printing industry see Pirożyński, Jan, 'Kraków', in: *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, edited by Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983, Vol. 1: *Małopolska*, part 1: *Wiek XV–XVI*, pp. 110–113. Compare also an analytical commentary of the industry panorama in Cracow: Komorowska, Magdalena, *Piotrkowczykowie. Z dziejów drukarstwa krakowskiego przełomu XVI i XVII wieku*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2023, pp. 25–40.

[9]   See Bock, Vanessa, 'Die Anfänge des polnischen Buchdrucks in Königsberg. Mit einem Verzeichnis der polnischen Drucke von Hans Weinreich und Alexander Augezdecki', in: *Königsberger Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte (Aus Archiven, Bibliotheken und Museen Mittel- und Osteuropas: Editionen – Studien – Verzeichnisse),* edited by Axel E. Walter, Köln: Böhlau, 2005, Vol. 1, pp. 129–134; Małłek, Janusz, 'Polska Reformacja na Mazurach', *Rocznik Teologiczny*, 2018, Vol. 60/3, pp. 294–297.

[10] My working calculations based on VD 16 and editions not included there (ca. 15%) result in ca. 600 editions printed in Königsberg between 1524 and 1575. Having classified the identified editions, my preliminary assessment of the subjects covered by the Könisgberg production is as follows: religious books (59.9%), occasional printing (13.1%), official printing (8.8%), utility books and popular science (8.8%), academic books (7%), belles-lettres (0.7%), uncertain topic (1.7%, usually for non-extant books informed by other sources).

publishing.[11] However, almost all Polish books published in Königsberg were religious, so a study of Polish-language production categorised by broad subject groups is not as useful as it might seem because it would then be impossible to understand the detailed purposes of the publications and the ways in which they varied. I will therefore first analyse the genres of the published texts to trace the relationships between smaller sub-sets of texts that represent the same or similar genres. In so doing, I will consider Polish-language publishing programmes to be undertakings that modernise and introduce new qualities to vernacular printing in Polish. The term *genre* is applied functionally to identify the prevalent pragmatic aspect of the text from the communication perspective, and as such, my approach does not aspire to reflect the potential multifaceted functionalities that each text performs, remaining merely a way to organise a broad body of data.[12] The analysis will combine bibliographic data, based on VD16 and my own research in catalogues and libraries in Poland, Germany and Lithuania, with identified genres of the extant and non-extant printed works from Königsberg,[13] and my starting point will be the perspective of Izabela Winiarska-Górska, who convincingly showed the enormous influence of Protestant writing on the development and modernisation of printed Polish.[14] I will elaborate on this by

[11] The earliest works in both languages were catechisms, often supplemented – as in the case of the famous work by Martynas Mažvydas – with a collection of hymns. More on the early printing in Old-Prussian and Lithuanian cf. Petkūnas, Darius, 'The sources of the 1545 Old Prussian language Catechisms', *Acta historica universitatis Klaipedensis*, 2007, Vol. 35, pp. 189–208; Braziūnienė, Alma, 'Martynas Mažvydas i początki słowa drukowanego na Litwie', *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Bibliologia*, 2000, Vol. 4(340), pp. 47–60; Vladimirovas, Levas, 'Karaliaučiaus spaudos pradininkas Hansas Veinreichas ir pirmieji jo darbo tęsėjai (XVI–XVII a.)', *Knygotyra*, 1961, Vol. 1, pp. 99–110.

[12] This approach was inspired and informed by the perspective of 'linguistic genre studies' (Polish: 'genologia lingwistyczna'), cf. Wojtak, Maria, *Wprowadzenie do genologii*, Lublin: UMCS Wydawnictwo, 2019, pp. 86–93.

[13] The dataset comprises bibliographical data of all the editions discussed in this text, as well as additional metadata tagged by the author, information on the copies, and bibliographical references: https://doi.org/10.18150/XPUTC6. This data should be perceived as working information and is expected to be updated as new findings are encountered both in the source materials and the state of the art. My Polish book data includes, as for the moment, information on 89 editions printed between 1530 and 1575. Within this number, I was able to consult 68 editions with extant copies, whereas within the rest, I assess the sources reliably confirming the existence of 11 editions (copies lost), and I consider 8 editions alleged (I find the information on them too vague to verify they existed).

[14] Winiarska-Górska, Izabela, 'The impact of Lutheran thought on the Polish literary language in the 16th century', in: *Languages in the Lutheran Reformation: Textual Networks and the Spread of Ideas*, edited by Mikko Kauko et al., Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019, pp. 79–102. For the earliest study arguing for the impact of Prussian authors and publishers on the Polish language development see also Rospond, Stanisław, *Studia nad językiem polskim XVI wieku (Jan Seklucjan, Stanisław Murzynowski, Jan Sandecki-Malecki, Grzegorz Orszak)*, Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1949.

showing that the educational goals for the religious literature enable its analysis as an endeavour consisting not of isolated publications of single books or pamphlets but as a well-thought-out long-term strategy implemented by multiple actors – a network of print agents both collaborating and competing with each other – to provide a set of fundamental publications that give the recipients a complex picture of the Lutheran worldview.

Books for the Gradual Understanding of Religion

One of the publishers active in the city, Jan Seklucjan, often mentioned in his paratexts either previously printed works or those to be published soon. In the 1549 edition of his catechism, for example, he recalled the previous edition, from 1547, and indicated that its print run was already sold out and that he had responded to audience requests for their own copies by providing a new edition.[15] In the 1568 edition, he indicated that it contained updates and additions that had not been included in the two previous versions.[16] Similarly, in a 1547 hymnbook, Seklucjan referred to the catechism from the same year and suggested that the presented hymns would be complementary to it.[17] Then, in the 1559 edition of the hymnbook, he anticipated further updates in response to future church orders for Prussia in order to ensure that parishioners could use books that were compliant with the latest regulations for religious life in the country.[18]

These and other statements by Seklucjan led me to conclude that the order of the published works mattered and was, at least to some extent, deliberate. In some cases – that is, works by a single print agent – this may reflect an individual plan, but in others – when several agents competed to draw attention or funding to their own publication of a given type – it demonstrates a community need being met. I

[15] Seklucjan, Jan, *Catechismus to jest Krótka a prosta starej wiary chrześcijańskiej nauka*, Königsberg: Hans Weinreich, 1549, fol. A$_2$r: "A gdym to obaczył, że wam niemały pożytek ku zbawieniu uczył i wiele inych jest, którzy oń proszą, ale go już nie dostało."

[16] Seklucjan, Jan, *Catechismus to jest Dziecinna a prosta nauka chrześcijańskiej wiary*, Königsberg: Hans Daubmann, 1568, fol. A$_2$r: "Dałem był dwakroć katechizm dla was wydrukować, moi mili bracia i siostry w Panie Krystusie, abyście się byli nauczyli tej krótkiej a dziennej nauki, bez której żadny człowiek zbawion być nie może … żem ji po trzecie poprawiwszy (gdzie była potrzeba) dał wydrukować, przydawszy k niemu nieco potrzebnej nauki z przodku, czego w inych pierwszych nie było."

[17] Seklucjan, Jan, *Pieśni duchowne a nabożne*, Königsberg: Hans Weinreich, 1547, p. 4: "A gdym wam przed kilka niedziel wydał książki o nauce zbawiennej, które zową katechizmus z wykładem, dla <tegom> też i teraz zgromadził ty święte pieśni i niektórem sam uczynił…"

[18] Seklucjan, Jan, *Pieśni chrześcijańskie dawniejsze i nowe*, Königsberg: Hans Daubmann, 1559, fol. 139v: "A potym, gdy Ceremonije a porządek kościelny będzie wydan, tedy ich [= new hymns] też tam nieco przyłożemy."

therefore find it informative to examine how Polish-speaking Lutherans perceived these steps in the religious education of Prussia.

Catechisms – the books comprising the very basics of faith and serving as the main tools of religious education – were published consistently throughout the period, with at least one vernacular edition every five years.[19] The production was initially more frequent, likely due to a quarrel between Seklucjan and Jan Malecki over the orthographical standards,[20] but new editions were still consistently supplied in the following years. Notably, the earliest catechisms tended to be rudimentary tools conveying minimally commented articles of faith. For instance, Seklucjan's catechism from 1545 and Malecki's from 1546 consumed only a single sheet of paper per copy, resulting in eight folios in octavo format. Gradually, their contents were enlarged: in 1547 and 1549, one copy of the catechism (edited by Seklucjan) was printed on twelve sheets, while the first translation of Luther's *Enchiridion* by Jan Radomski in 1562 demanded nine. Seklucjan's 1568 catechism was on thirteen sheets, and the 1574 second translation of *Enchiridion* by Hieronim Malecki required eight and a half sheets.

In terms of the education provided by these publications, the earliest re-translated, re-edited or re-printed works offered readers a first insight into religious matters from a Lutheran perspective and thus could have been perceived as equivalent to the "small catechism" as defined by Luther. However, it was only in the late 1550s that more complex Polish catechisms were introduced to the Königsberg book market, with translations by Johannes Brenz (1556) and Andreas Osiander (1561), copies of which required 77 and 52.5 sheets, respectively. The volumes themselves were different from the introductory catechetical works, and their textual structures offered more in-depth commentary on each of the articles of faith in the text. Even though Luther's large catechism was not translated into Polish within this community, the other publications played a similar role, becoming more advanced tools of religious education that expanded the substance that had first been introduced by the "small catechisms". Importantly, the recognition of separate catechisms, including either primary or elaborated contents, mirrored the two levels of catechisation established by Luther.[21]

Hymnbooks, too, were printed throughout the period under discussion. Both catechisms and hymnbooks were needed because church orders in the Duchy of Prussia recommended teaching from the vernacular printed version of the catechism

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[19]   Kordyzon, Wojciech, 'Production of Vernacular Catechisms in Early Modern Königsberg (1545–1575), Its Dynamics and Goals Defined by the Print Agents', *Knygotyra*, 2023, Vol. 80, pp. 147–174. https://doi.org/10.15388/Knygotyra.2023.80.127

[20]   See Winiarska-Górska, Izabela, 'The impact...', pp. 89–94.

[21]   Wandel, Lee Palmer, *Reading Catechisms, Teaching Religion*, Leiden: Brill, 2015, pp. 38–49.

and provided a list of hymns to be sung during the church service.[22] Given their more frequent and repeated use, hymnals were likely among those most exposed to damage while being used, whether by individuals, households or entire parishes.[23]

There was also some variety in the printed forms in this genre. An elementary hymnbook was compiled by Seklucjan in 1547 and then reprinted with extensions and alterations in 1550 and 1559, always in a handy octavo format that facilitated its everyday use. A non-extant hymnbook by Michał Hey Stawicki (1554) and a partially preserved collection compiled by Hieronim Malecki (1568) were also octavos and thus could have played a functionally similar role to Seklucjan's works. In contrast, a hymnbook by Walenty of Brzozowo (1554) – edited under the supervision of Seklucjan – was a voluminous folio of 276 leaves, thereby offering the market a luxurious, profusely decorated volume suitable for festive or ceremonial use, but it appeared only after there were at least two editions of smaller and cheaper – both in production and purchasing costs – collections for daily use. At the other extreme lay the *Litania polska dla kościołów polskich Księstwa Pruskiego* (Polish litany for Polish churches in the Duchy of Prussia); this undated single-sheet octavo booklet also provided a hymn with score, yet in the form of an ephemeral print. Although only one example of such a hymn printing is known in this language and area, one can assume that such perishable and cheap *Flugschriften*, comprising single hymns, were likely disseminated for readers to either use as single impermanent texts or to aggregate into collections, perhaps bound together for preservation or future use. However, the true scale of the production of such ephemera is very difficult to assess reliably.

An apparent breakthrough in publishing choices was the vernacular Bible. Only the New Testament was translated into Polish by the Königsberg Lutherans, in a publishing endeavour initiated by Seklucjan using a translation by Stanisław Murzynowski. The translation was published in stages, beginning with the Gospel of Matthew in 1551, but the printing was stopped due to a disagreement between the pro-Osiandric party, which comprised the translators, and the censor opposing them, Friedrich Staphylus.[24] However, printing soon resumed, and the first part of the New Testament covering the four gospels was finalised in the same year. It was

[22] For the example of the *Kirchenordnung* from 1558 see Hubatsch, Walther, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968, Vol. 3: *Dokumente*, pp. 100–101 (catechisms), 111ff. (hymns).

[23] Małek, Janusz, 'Ekspansja kultury polskiej na Prusy Książęce w XVI wieku 2014', in: *Dwie części Prus. Studia z dziejów Prus Książęcych i Prus Królewskich w XVI i XVII wieku*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015, pp. 250–251.

[24] The circumstances and the identified print variants are discussed by Buchwald-Pelcowa, Paulina, *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972, Vol. 8: *Aleksander Augezdecki, Królewiec – Szamotuły, 1549–1561(?)*, pp. 14–15, 67–68.

followed shortly thereafter by the second part in 1552, providing the rest of the text. By 1553, the complete New Testament had been published with a joint title page.

This must have been seen by its creators as a serious advance in religious education; Seklucjan, at least, was well aware of the pioneering nature of this work when he apologised to readers in the introduction to the Gospel of Matthew for potential deficiencies in his translations, noting that, "The first [most important] things come with a difficulty, particularly when compared with more inferior things."[25] He thus presented his endeavour as a challenge that none had attempted before in the vernacular market for printed books. In the introduction to the Acts and Epistles from 1552, he noted that he was driven by the desire to ensure the correctness of the translation rather than an elegant choice of words, which was considered by his opponents an excuse to readers who might accuse him of unlearned simplicity. [26] Regardless of any beauty in the language, he saw the translations as a tool to counteract heresy and impiety, which was a serious and overtly stated motivation for creating a vernacular translation that challenged the reader with more sophisticated apparatus: a complex system of navigating between biblical verses, references and comments not previously encountered in Protestant religious books for vernacular Polish recipients.[27]

Seklucjan's Bible thus performed a stabilising role, which Winiarska-Górska described using the term *vernacular Vulgate* because the translation was intended to provide a reliable and objective view of the sacred text.[28] This conviction is reflected in the short work preceding the biblical text and entitled *Ortografija polska* (Polish orthography). It was compiled by the translator Murzynowski to describe and postulate a standard notation of the Polish language. This effort shows that printing the Bible was seen by the Königsberg community as an educational undertaking in that it reinforced a version of the spoken language that was chosen and used by the executors of the printed edition but was not shared by all speakers of the language, as is evident from the associated linguistic controversies.

Interestingly, the first edition of the Gospel of Matthew translation contained short passages preceding the chapters of the biblical text that appeared to be interpretive commentary. Indeed, an opponent of Seklucjan notoriously denounced these

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[25]   *Ewangelija według Mateusza świętego*, Königsberg: Aleksander Aujezdecki, 1551, fol. B$_1$v.

[26]   *Testamentu Nowego część wtóra*, Königsberg: Aleksander Aujezdecki, 1552, fol. A$_4$v.

[27]   Winiarska-Górska, Izabela, 'The impact...', pp. 97–99.

[28]   Winiarska-Górska, Izabela, *Szesnastowieczne przekłady Pisma Świętego na język polski (1551–1599) jako gatunek nowożytnej książki formacyjnej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Wydziału Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2017, p. 8, pp. 123–127.

as theologically inappropriate and even erroneous in a letter to the duke,[29] and this fierce criticism resulted in discontinuation of this editorial practice in the other three gospels.

The biblical commentary was not offered again by Königsberg publishers until 1556 when the first postil was printed. Three years after finalising New Testament edition, Seklucjan, as the publisher of the postil by Grzegorz Orszak, noted that, for many readers, the text of the New Testament alone was insufficient and that they wanted vernacular commentary.[30] To explain the order of these publications, he described the New Testament as the foundation upon which one can build by commenting on the sacred text.[31] He thus indicated that the postil was the next step after securing a printed biblical text for readers. From this perspective, the postil was not only a tool for preachers but also a more learned and detailed commentary for adherents. Less novel, yet still as tools for spreading the Word of God, two other postils were translated and published by Ostafi Trepka. None of these postils, however, were as exhaustive as the Polish translation of *Hauspostille* by Luther, which was not published until 1574 and was considered to be a basic theological compendium for adherents and for household religious education rather than for theologians; the much more extensive and theologically advanced *Kirchen-Postilla* was not translated at that time.

The complimentary books on religious topics were more diverse than the core publications intended for religious education. For instance, prayerbooks were printed constantly but in smaller numbers than catechisms, and Seklucjan translated and published one such collection by Urbanus Rhegius in 1549 (reprinted in 1551), provided an admonitory address with a follow-up collection of prayers in 1557, and compiled a broader collection in 1559. More specialised works started to be published as early as 1545: a household manual by Seklucjan entitled *Oeconomia albo Gospodarstwo*, which was later incorporated into his catechisms, and a translation of a humanist drama by Thomas Kirchmayer that was turned into a morality play by Mikołaj Rej in his *Kupiec* (1549), also published by Seklucjan. However, the more advanced works with pastoral potential were not printed at the start of the Polish

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29   Winirska-Górska, Izabela, 'The impact...', p. 98. The document presented by Jan Malecki to the is held in GStAPK, XX HA Msc B, Nr. 208 (Haereses et errores in commentario Ioannis Secluciani in Matthaeum, per Ioannem Maletium ministrum ecclesiae Lyccensis collecti et confutati).

30   Seklucjan, Jan, 'Przedmowa', in: Grzegorz Orszak, *Postylla polska domowa*, Königsberg: Aleksander Aujezdecki, 1556, fol. A$_2$v: "Ja, widząc tę pracą niektórych dobrych ludzi, którą uczynili około zebrania i wyłożenia tej postylle, a rozumiejąc też o tym, że wiele ludzi języka polskiego nie przestają na samym tekście Nowego Testamentu krom wykładu, a zwłaszcza na niedziele i dni, których święcą przez rok, nie pamiętając onych próśb, że mię oto często a gęsto zacni ludzie języka polskiego, abych im jaką postylle przełożył, prosili."

31   Seklucjan, Jan, 'Przedmowa', fol. A$_1$r.

printing endeavour in Königsberg but instead began to appear in the 1550s at the same time as the postils and large catechisms. Works elaborating on individual piety also soon emerged, such as an admonitory writing from 1557 (*Przygotowanie chrześcijańskie ku śmierci a wyprawa do wiecznego żywota* [Christian preparation for death and an journey to eternal life], 1557, non-extant) – perhaps alluding to the convention of the Protestantised *artes bene moriendi* – and a translation from Desiderius Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (*Rycerstwo chrześcijańskie*, 1559), which highlighted the importance of individual faith rather than the superficial following of ecclesiastical rites. Broadening the perspective on theological knowledge, more demanding discourses historicising religious dogmatics and discussing more abstract concepts, such as the Word of God (*Książki o tym, skąd wzięło początek słowo Boże* [Books on the origin of the Word of God], 1557), the development of the Mass rites (*Praktyka o mszy* [Divination on Mass], 1559) and the biblical chronology of millenarism (*Dzień sądny a skończenie tego świata, kiedy ma być* [When the Judgement Day and the ending of this world is to be expected], 1559), started to be offered to vernacular Prussian readers.

Interestingly, controversial works that should, in theory, have been printed extensively throughout the period due to their persuasive value were in fact published particularly at the start of Polish vernacular printing in Prussia and then discontinued. Seklucjan started with a well-tested genre of the early German Reformation in the 1520s: the dialogue. In 1547–1549, five editions of four polemical works in dialogue were published, discussing the need to reform church rites and practices. In 1551, the prose narrative on Francesco Spiera – notorious in the Protestant world – was published in Polish, but polemical publishing soon thereafter became gradually less productive. This probably reflects how Prussian Lutherans lost their influence on the development of the Reformation in Poland and Lithuania where, from the late 1550s, Reformed circles were building their own communication strategies, disseminating their own books and gaining new supporters, thus making exports from Prussia less profitable and efficient. It may also show how Prussian publishers limited their search for new adherents, perhaps preferring to cherish their existing supporters, who were mostly in Prussia but also in Greater Poland, where Lutheranism dominated among the evangelical confessions.

The production in Königsberg during this period seemed to be focused mostly on genres that supported gradual steps in religious education. Catechisms were printed regularly, with other genres that offered everyday support for individual piety – such as hymnbooks and prayerbooks – printed more consistently but less often. Genres fostering a more enhanced, comprehensive understanding of religion, such as large

catechisms, Bibles and postils, were gradually added in the subsequent decade and were soon followed by specialised works focusing on single aspects of the doctrine.

Normative Religious Books for Sustainable State Piety

Official commissions from the ducal court were a separate group of vernacular Polish publications within the theme of religious texts. The multilingual society of the Duchy of Prussia required communications that were diversified, particularly in the languages used. Nevertheless, the decision to translate into the vernacular some of the printed communications from the duke to his Polish-speaking subjects was unusual and may have been partly dictated by their significant numbers compared to other linguistic minorities within the state, such as speakers of Lithuanian, (Old) Prussian and Latvian. While there is very little evidence of secular mandates or ordinances issued by the duke being translated into Polish,[32] documents pertaining to standardising religious practices were published consistently throughout the period.

As mentioned, some Polish-speaking publishers prepared vernacular Polish editions, motivating their actions by the demands of the Prussian church order, which was a document comprising statements on the doctrine, practical rules regulating religious life, ecclesiastical ceremonies and certain aspects of social relations within the local state church.[33] At least some part of the vernacular production can thus be perceived as complying with the church order in Prussia. More importantly, the church order played a vital role in stabilising the religious aspects of public life, playing both educational and disciplinary roles. Making the order understandable to different linguistic communities also consolidated the authority of the duke as both secular and church leader of the state.

Polish versions of the church order were updated and issued quite regularly, with the scheduling of publication obviously dictated by changes to the original German version. The church order from 1544 (*Ustawa o zwierzchniej chwale Bożej i o kościelnych ceremoniach*) was published in Polish that year; the one from 1558 was published in Polish in 1560 (*Ustawa albo porząd kościelny*); and the last order supervised

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[32] Only two mandates in Polish printed by Daubmann have been identified until now (and one of them marked as dubious), see Chojnacki, Władysław; Szymańska-Jasińska, Małgorzata, *Bibliografia rozporządzeń pruskich wydanych w języku polskim (XVI–XIX wiek)*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2001, p. 37.

[33] On the church orders see Hubatsch, Walther, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968, Vol. 1, pp. 38–43. For in-depth content analysis see also Wojak, Tadeusz, *Ustawy kościelne w Prusach Książęcych w XVI wieku*, Warszawa: Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 1993.

by Duke Albrecht, in 1568, was published in Polish in 1571 (*Ustawa albo porząd kościelny*). These were not furnished with additional visual or textual supplements, and their authority was built solely upon the prefatory signature of the duke as the issuer. The first of the orders was also preceded by a printed mandate in German and Polish in 1543, and translation of the latter is only known from a handwritten excerpt, which summarised rudimentary recommendations for religious practices.[34] Although it might be reasonable to assume that such documents had more limited potential for export to Poland or Lithuania than polemical or educational books, Polish translations of church orders could also be disseminated outside Prussia; thus, they would be understood not only as an act of local governance but also as a tool to promote the Lutheran vision of the state church among potential recipients in neighbouring Poland–Lithuania in order to influence the Reformation there.

Confessions were the other way to acknowledge dogmatic positions, and there were several personal confessions stated by individuals and printed in the vernacular in Königsberg: Seklucjan published his in 1544 (*Wyznanie wiary chrześcijańskiej*) and Stanisław Lutomirski in 1556 (*Confessio to jest Wyznanie wiary chrześcijańskiej*). Both were addressed to church and secular officials in Poland to counter allegations of heresy, so these were not publications intended as state documents. The confession of Tilemann Heßhusen, translated and published in 1574 (*Wyznanie o chwalebnej świątości ciała i krwie Pana naszego Jezu Chrysta*), might have been seen as a more official document because he served as Bishop of Samland in 1571–1577 as it summarised his teachings on the eucharist. But what influenced the public sphere more than personal confession, it is certainly the Augsburg Confession, which functioned as a more official marker of Lutheran orthodoxy. Competing translations of *Confessio Augustana* by Jan Radomski and Marcin Kwiatkowski were published almost simultaneously in 1561; Radomski's clearly sought the patronage of the duke, as the edition presented readers with Albrecht's coat of arms on the verso of the title page, while Kwiatkowski's reached out to Rafał Działyński, the noble patron of Lutheranism in Greater Poland, to whom the dedicatory letter was addressed.

The Schmalkaldic articles were published anonymously by the Königsberg presses of Hans Daubmann in 1566, perhaps to disseminate them among Polish-speaking communities outside Prussia. In 1567, the collection known as the *Repetitio corporis doctrinae Prutenici* (consisting of the Augsburg Confession, its apology and the

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[34] GStAPK XX HA HBA J 2 Kasten Nr 969 (O swietcznoszy [i.e., Oswieconego?] Kxyanszeczya Pruskyego mandat, a rozkazanye, w ktorym bedzye lud napominan ku boyazny boskey, ku zpylnosczyau chodzenyu do Kosczyola, ku przygmowanyu swyątoszczy kosczyelnych, y ku gynssym rzeczom zbawyennym, 1543).

Schmalkaldic articles), which laid down in a binding form the Protestant doctrine for Prussia for both secular and church authorities, was accepted by the synod in Königsberg. Then, in 1569, it was made the state confession, with all public officials required to pledge allegiance to its doctrinal guidelines.[35] In the same year, the *Repetitio corporis doctrinae* was published in a Polish translation, and a significant number – 306 – of the copies were purchased by the duke Albrecht Friedrich,[36] perhaps to secure and control its dissemination, thus suggesting the major role that it played in his confessional policy at the time.

Specialised instructions played a complementary role to these official and semi-official printings that aimed to regulate the religious life of the duchy. In 1559, *Chrzest albo Sposób chrzczenia* was published, whose subtitle highlighted its accordance with the latest version of the church order ('as it is described in the church order of the Duchy of Prussia and other orders'). The *Examen theologicum* (German *Ordinanden examen*) – instructions on how to examine candidates for the ministry prepared by Philipp Melanchthon – was also printed in Polish in 1566, providing a reference for the knowledge and abilities expected from vernacular preachers. As it was preceded by a foreword by Duke Albrecht, in which he stated his wish to improve the competence of local preachers after having commanded the visitation of the parishes,[37] the publication had the authority of an official document to be used within the state.

Most of these books lacked introductions by the publisher other than the secular ruler issuing the document because they presented official policies of the state and were printed to consolidate religious rules – both internal rules, as in the case of church orders, and adopted external rules, such as confessions and other doctrinal works from the Lutheran world. Such normative publications, usually sponsored by the state and the duke, were thus consistently provided to Polish-speaking recipients. Presumably, their normative purpose was to help shape Lutheran orthodoxy within the duchy, and the process was thus overtly controlled by secular authority to implement the confessional policies. What can be seen as essential in this context is that the entire group of normative documents in Polish, whether official or with the support of the duke, pertained to religious life and contributed to implementing the Lutheran worldview for the public. In a way, these publications determined the

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[35]   Körber, Esther-Beate, *Öffentlichkeiten...*, p. 280.

[36]   See GStAPK XX HA Ostpr. Fol. 13486, fol. 192r. The purchase is discussed by Shevchenko, Nadezda, *Eine historische Anthropologie des Buches. Bücher in der preußischen Herzogsfamilie zur Zeit der Reformation*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007, p. 50.

[37]   Melanchthon, Philipp, *Examen theologicum, to jest Słuchanie albo doświadczanie w nauce słowa Bożego tych, którzy bywają na urząd kaznodziejski wezwani i posłani,* Königsberg: Hans Daubmann, 1566, fol. A₃r–v.

axis around which all other confessionally driven books and pamphlets published by other print agents, both with and without ducal support, were developed.

Utility Genres as Complementary Investments

Another group of books comprises those printed in vernacular Polish but not pertaining to the religious themes that dominated the local book market. Among the genres published in Königsberg that can be classified as utilitarian – that is, almanacs, calendars, herbals, news, law collections, handbooks and reference books – all of those in Polish were reference books connected to linguistics, namely dictionaries and phrasebooks.

Unlike religious books, the earliest dictionaries and phrasebooks printed and reprinted in Königsberg seem to be investments by the printer Hans Daubmann. The first dictionary, published in 1558 and 1570, was a reprint of a highly popular and successful work by Franciscus Mymer – *Dictionarius trium linguarum* (Dictionary of the three languages) – printed in Cracow at least three separate times (1528, 1541 and 1550) by the printers Hieronim Wietor and Marek Szarffenberg. Formatted in convenient octavos, the two Königsberg editions did not introduce any significant changes to the Cracow versions. The words in the three languages – Latin followed by German and Polish – were grouped into thematic sections (religion, justice, countryside, arms, fruits and vegetables, etc.) ordered alphabetically in three columns in each section. Daubmann preserved even the dedicatory letter in Latin addressed to the Cracow nobleman Seweryn Boner, signed by the author of the dictionary Mymer and dated 1528. Daubmann's decision to reprint the Cracow dictionary shows that, despite the active vernacular publishers in Königsberg who were editing religious books, such as Seklucjan, Trepka and Malecki, enterprising Prussian printer was nevertheless studying other Polish-language printing centres and copying their ideas to develop his own business in a profitable way enabling partial independence from the commissions of other publishers using his presses. His choice of investment was rather typical and low-risk but reveals a niche he wanted to fill, particularly in a region of Prussia that relied heavily on Polish–German language contact and was densely inhabited by speakers of both languages.

The same pattern can be seen in Daubmann's publication of an anonymous phrasebook, *Wokabularz sentencji rozmaitych* (Dictionary of various sentences), which provided translations of not only individual words but also entire sentences, organised according to different everyday situations and printed alternately in Polish and German. First published in 1558 in octavo format, it was later reprinted in 1565,

1566, 1568 and 1571, showing that it sold well and that new print runs needed to be prepared frequently. This text was also copied by the Königsberg publisher from editions printed in Cracow, where the phrasebook was published by Wietor at least twice (1539 and 1541) under a different title: *Polskie książeczki wielmi potrzebne ku uczeniu się polskiego, przy tym i po niemiecku wyłożone* (Polish books much needed to learn Polish, and also laid out in German).

Giving a new title to the anonymous work enabled Daubmann to build his own brand based upon his editions. He also decided to give the books a more distinct form, furnishing them with a few woodcuts depicting schoolchildren and, most importantly, supplementing the text with his own preface (in Polish and German). In this, he explained that he printed the book because a command of both languages is considered most useful in the region – illustrating the predominance of German and Polish in the Prussian borderlands – and because children are commonly taught both languages; he therefore intended to support children's learning.[38] Importantly, he did not claim authorship of the phrasebook because he stated in the preface that he "found the book useful at the very moment he got it",[39] implicitly referencing previous editions.

The only exception to this pattern was the monumental and extensive Latin–Polish dictionary by Jan Mączyński (*Lexicon Latino-Polonicum*, 1564), which was either not feasible or too risky for a printer to undertake and which was a prestigious external commission that the author himself had to raise funds to publish.[40] In contrast, the modestly sized and handy linguistic reference books printed by Daubmann can be considered an economically justified reaction to Polish-language publishing in Prussia. Looking for an efficient way to take advantage of the gradually growing vernacular book market, Daubmann made a relatively safe investment in learning tools with no apparent confessional affiliation. His predecessors before 1554, on the other hand, who executed the earlier productions, did not invest in the new publishing sector, relying solely on commissions from religiously driven clients.

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[38] Daubmann, Hans, 'Wiernemu czytelnikowi', in: *Wokabularz rozmaitych i potrzebnych sentencji polskim i niemieckim młodzieńcom na pożytek teraz zebrany*, Königsberg: Hans Daubmann, 1568, fol. A$_3$r.

[39] Daubmann, Hans, 'Wiernemu…', fol. A$_3$r–v.

[40] Körber, Esther-Beate, *Öffentlichkeiten…*, p. 213. On the procedure of the preprint corrections provided by Hieronim Malecki and Jan Radomski, who shortly before had been seeking to compile their own dictionary and were discouraged to do so due to the activities of Mączyński, see Barycz, Henryk, 'Jan Mączyński, leksykograf polski XVI wieku', *Reformacja w Polsce*, 1924, Vol. 3, pp. 236–238.

Conclusions

This case study of Königsberg is not intended to suggest any universal pattern for publishing strategies in early modern languages. It does, however, provide some insight into how one such process happened. My argument is that the entire market in Prussia was subordinated to building a new ideal society – a value that was shared by the confessionally driven publishers and their patrons, such as the duke. Such a newly created society, which was Lutheran, multilingual and multi-ethnic, needed a proper education, and the gradual increase in the complexity of the books dedicated to religious education shows that the entire endeavour was conceptualised as processual: the catechisms illuminated the new truth, the Bible provided the relevant source and the postils and other learning devices, such as commentaries, taught the procedures of interpretation. This also happened in an environment with clear rules, with church orders and printed confessions supporting and organising the intellectual sphere. Only after some time did other secular print agents try to fit into this model, such as Daubmann, who offered his linguistic reference books as a tool to support, not interfere with, the designed education model.

Abbreviations

GStAPK   Geheimes Staatsarchiv – Preußischer Kulturbesitz
  HBA   Herzogliches Briefarchiv
  Msc.   Manuscripta
  Ostpr. Fol. Ostpreußische Folianten

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Deciphering Rigas Velestinlis' *Charta* of Greece (1796–7) by Using Digital Humanities Approaches and 3D Visualization Tools

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Abstract. During the eighteenth century, Vienna – following Venice – emerged as the major printing centre publishing Greek books, acting out a crucial role in the preparation of the Greek War of Independence. One of the most prominent historical documents printed there was the *Charta* (map) of Rigas Velestinlis, (1796–7). Rigas was an emblematic personality of the Greek Enlightenment, whose passion for freedom led him and his colleagues to martyrdom (1798), while attempting to distribute his printed material full of ground-breaking revolutionary and educational ideas. His *Charta*, although a scholar depiction of the Balkans, included an extensive array of symbols, figures and pictures, and today is considered as a 'multimedia' piece ahead of its time.

In this paper, we will present digital humanities applications to study the history of Greek printing during the pre-revolutionary period, analysing the cultural heritage material of Rigas' *Charta*. By using digital tools, 3D graphics and visualization techniques, we intend to uncover Rigas' messages hidden on the map, highlighting Vienna's importance as a Greek printing centre. This methodological approach aims at revitalizing the interest in the history of Rigas' life and works, contributing to a deeper understanding of the historical background that generated the *Charta's* creation.

Keywords: Digital humanities; Greek printing centres in the eighteenth century; digital applications; history of Greek printing; digital cultural heritage; history of cartography; XR applications in education; new teaching methodologies.

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Introduction

Rigas Velestinlis' *Charta* of Greece is one of the most important works of the Neohellenic Enlightenment and the most prominent example of Greek cartography during the pre-revolutionary period.[1] It was printed in 1796–97 in Vienna and consists of 12 sheets, each approximately 50x70 centimetres, which, when combined, form a large map with overall dimensions of 2m x 2m. Created by Rigas Velestinlis (1757–1798) in 1,220 copies, it contributed to shaping the ideas that inspired the Greek Revolution of 1821.[2,3] Today, only sixty (60) copies of this historic map have been preserved, scattered around the world in large galleries, libraries, archives, map, and private collections.

Historically significant objects of such magnitude have the ability to convey information, enthusiasm, and knowledge through interaction and observation, enhancing memory and providing a stimulus for creative discussions and further research. However, despite Rigas being widely regarded as a precursor of freedom, and his literary works being known in the Greek tradition, Greek school textbooks include few and sporadic references to the *Charta*. Consequently, most people struggle to understand the connection of this map to Rigas' life and death or its significance in the history of Greek typography. Moreover, the surviving original copies of the *Charta*, as rare and valuable historical material, are usually stored in closed libraries and strictly guarded spaces for security, preservation, and conservation reasons. This fact makes access for the public and the educational community extremely difficult to impossible. It is vital though, to bring to light such significant historical documents and to motivate the next generation to get in touch and reinterpret hidden treasures of the Greek cultural tradition, in this instance, through new technology applications and visual art creations.

The educational use of archival and library documents is a consistent goal of institutions holding collections of significant cultural value. It aims at the core of the educational process, facilitating students' contact with society and the environment, connecting knowledge about the past directly to the present. Furthermore, it enhances the awareness of young people regarding the protection and preservation of

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[1] Tolias, Giorgos, ʿΑποχαιρετισμός στο Γένος. Αυτοκρατορία και πατριωτισμός στο χαρτογραφικό έργο του Ρήγα (1796–97)ʾ, in: *Χάρτα της Ελλάδος,* edited by Ν. Κ. Κομνηνός, Athens: Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, 2010.

[2] Karamberopoulos, Dimitrios, *Rhigas Velestinlis, Map of Greece..., Vienna 1796–1797*, Athens: Scientific Society of Studies Pheres-Velestino-Rhigas, Academy of Athens, 1998.

[3] *Rhigas Velestinlis, Revolutionary Scripts. Revolutionary Proclamation-Human Rights-The Constitution-Thourios*, edited by Dimitrios Karamberopoulos, translated by Vassilis K. Zervoulakos, Athens: Scientific Society of Studies Pheres-Velestino-Rhigas, 2008.

primary sources in the future. Maps, as representations of space, serve as visual educational tools, contributing to a broader understanding and interpretation of historical events. The use of cartographic material in teaching, combined with the simultaneous study of the geographical framework, promotes the development of critical thinking, initiative, and collaboration, enriching the learning process.

Taking advantage of the rich cartographic material available in the collections of the Onassis Library and the Cartographic Heritage Archives of the General State Archives, the two institutions have been collaborating since 2018, designing innovative educational activities that incorporate significant cartographic documents into the teaching of various lessons of the school curriculum. This collaboration serves as a good example of synergy for the utilization and dissemination of cultural heritage in education, reintroducing important historical documents to the public, motivating young people to approach the lesson of history of Greek Printing in an interesting way, and using digital applications and innovative learning techniques.

In this work, we will present selected educational activities inspired by Rigas' *Charta* and implemented for groups of primary and secondary schools in Greece and Greek schools abroad. The aim was to teach challenging and demanding subjects in a pleasant and creative way, as well as to acquire digital skills. Additionally, through this study it will be demonstrated how new technologies, combined with Object-Based Learning (OBL), Game-Based Learning (GBL), and Project-Based Learning (PBL) methods, can be applied in history, geography, cartography, and art lessons, enhancing the benefits of knowledge acquisition, multiplying the potential for the dissemination of a historical object, engaging different audiences, and providing unlimited opportunities for collecting, researching, and presenting events and scientific data.

Vienna's Pivotal Role in the History of Greek Printing

During the Enlightenment era, Greek communities established by merchants across various cities in Europe and the Ottoman Empire engaged in extensive commercial activities, concurrently fostering noteworthy typographical and publishing endeavours. Vienna emerged as one of the preeminent political, commercial, financial, and cultural centres of its time. Post-1790, the Greek community in Vienna reached the zenith of its cultural and financial prosperity.

Several factors contributed to Vienna's prominence in Greek printing during this period. One of the most important is that in 1780, Emperor Joseph II of Austria ceased the joint governance with his mother, Maria Theresa, and assumed sole

administration of the imperial throne. Subsequently, he promulgated two decrees on freedom of the press (June 11, 1781) and religious tolerance (October 3, 1781), with the ultimate aim of fostering free thought within his state and curtailing the stringent control exerted by Catholicism over the social and intellectual aspects of the Empire.

Fig. 1. Vienna during the eighteenth century.

This marked the inauguration of a liberal regime that necessarily applied to the Greeks in Vienna as well. However, these Greeks had already secured imperial privileges for their residency from the former Empress Maria Theresa, thereby fortifying the Hellenic community in this city. Indeed, following Joseph II's decrees, there was a notable influx of Greek intellectuals to Vienna.

As a result, Vienna became one of the most significant political, commercial, financial, and cultural centres of its era. The city's strategic location and economic prosperity attracted diverse communities, including Greeks involved in trade and commerce, providing a foundation for remarkable typographical and publishing endeavours. These activities were closely tied to the broader Enlightenment ideals and the intellectual curiosity of the time. As part of this cultural revival, Vienna became a hub for the printing and publication of Greek language works. Vienna served as a meeting point for Greek scholars, facilitating discussions on new ideas and the exchange of knowledge. This intellectual milieu gave rise to the translation, writing, and publication of several Greek books and maps. Scholars, merchants, and students from the Greek diaspora engaged in discussions on novel concepts surrounding natural law, liberty, progress, toleration, fraternity, constitutional government, and the secular modernization of social structures.

During this era, Rigas Velestinlis arrived in Vienna. Rigas is widely acknowledged as the most prominent figure of the Greek Enlightenment. His political ideas and revolutionary activism, inspired by the spirit of the French Revolution, played a significant role in the Greeks' struggle for independence in the early nineteenth century,

influencing neighbouring Balkan populations with radical notions of political and social equality. Beyond his role as an intellectual activist for the Revolution, Rigas was primarily an innovative scholar and teacher.

Vienna held profound significance in Rigas' life. During his two sojourns (1790–91, 1796–7), Rigas actively engaged with Vienna's Greek community, establishing collaborations and friendships with several of its members. He published his works in some of Vienna's most renowned publishing houses, linking his renown and, in at least one instance, determining his fate. His body of work consisted predominantly of translations, revolutionary scripts, and a limited but significant cartographic production. His notable map, the *Charta*, stands as the first-ever printed map in the Greek language, created by a Greek scholar, representing a cartographical monument in the history of Modern Greek printing.[4] In 1797, Rigas was apprehended by Austrian secret services, accused of revolutionary printing activities, and was killed with seven of his colleagues a few months later in an Ottoman prison at Belgrade. At the same period, the Markides Pouliou Greek printing house of Vienna, one of the foremost printing establishments of the Greek diaspora, was shuttered, as it was associated with Rigas' revolutionary printing activity.

The Rigas Velestinlis' *Charta* (Map) of Greece (Vienna, 1796–1797)

The Rigas' *Charta* stands as a paramount creation of the Neohellenic Enlightenment and a distinctive exemplar of Greek cartography from the pre-revolutionary era.[5] Published in Vienna between 1796 and 1797, the *Charta* comprises of 12 sheets, each measuring approximately 50x70 cm, collectively forming a substantial map with dimensions totalling 2x2m. Envisioned by Rigas Velestinlis (1757–1798) and engraved by Francois Müller, it was produced in 1,220 copies.

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[4]   Tolias, Giorgos, 'Maps printed in Greek during the Age of Enlightenment, 1665–1820', *e-Perimetron*, 2010, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1–48.

[5]   Tolias, Giorgos, 'Αποχαιρετισμός στο Γένος...', 2010.

Fig. 2. Rigas' *Charta* of Greece.

Deliberately incorporating symbols, the map includes scenes depicting daily life in ancient Greece, 162 ancient Greek, Roman, and medieval coins, over 5,800 toponyms, archaeological monuments, mythical heroes, comments, historical battles, and topographic drawings.[6] These iconographic elements, rooted in the rich classical and European cartographic and literary traditions, primarily of French origin,[7,8] served

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[6] Ubicini, Jean-Henri-Abdolonyme, 'La Grande Carte de la Grece par Rhigas', *Révue de Géographie*, 10th edition, 1881.

[7] Laios, Georgios, 'Οι Χάρτες του Ρήγα. Ἔρευνα ἐπί νέων πηγῶν', *Δελτίον Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας Ελλάδος*, 1960, Vol. 14, pp. 231–312.

[8] Livieratos, Evangelos, 'On the cartography of Rigas *Charta*', *e-Perimetron*, 2008, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 120–145.

to bolster Rigas' vision for the establishment of a free democratic state in the Balkan Peninsula.

Embracing principles of freedom, justice, and equality, the *Charta* reflected the historical continuity of Greek culture and civilization from antiquity to the eighteenth century. The utilization of symbols endowed the *Charta* with extraordinary communicative power, aimed at fostering the national identity of the Greeks and other enslaved peoples in the Balkans, earning it the characterization of a "multimedia" creation from another era.[9] Beyond its revolutionary significance, the *Charta* possessed educational value, designed to function as supportive educational material, showcasing its creator's innovative ideas for providing high-quality education freely in Greek schools in the Ottoman Empire and Europe.[10]

Presently, only 60 surviving copies of this historical map are scattered across the globe in major galleries, libraries, archives, map libraries, and private collections. Both the Onassis Library and the Central Services of the General State Archives of Greece house complete copies of the 12-page *Charta* each. Despite its historical importance, *Charta's* educational aspect is often overlooked, with limited references to it in Greek school textbooks. Rigas' connection with the map, his life, death, actions, and revolutionary ideas aimed at creating a radical free republic in the Balkans remain relatively unknown. Accessing the physical material of Rigas' *Charta* proves challenging as it is infrequently exhibited and usually stored in private library rooms and exclusive spaces, limiting public exposure. Consequently, only a few individuals have had the opportunity to see, touch, or study one of the surviving copies of Rigas' *Charta*.

Given its status as a principal exhibit at the Onassis Library, the hidden symbols and narratives within the *Charta* have become a wellspring of inspiration for a series of educational activities.[11,12,13] These initiatives leverage advanced technological tools to transmit its liberating messages, ensuring its enduring significance in the realms of education and historical discourse.

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[9] Livieratos, Evangelos, 'On the cartography of Rigas *Charta*...' 2008, pp. 120–145.

[10] Tolias, Giorgos, 'Αποχαιρετισμός στο Γένος...', 2010.

[11] Hatzigianni, K., 'Educational Activities from the General State Archives of Greece: Examples of Implementation', in: *Αρχειονομία. The Practices of General State Archives of Greece*, edited by Maria Ch. Vakalopoulou, Emanuel N. Karapidakis, Athens, 2012.

[12] Sarra, Ch., Archival Resources as an Integral Parameter of Educational Processes. Presentation to the work-shop '…εις ο φυλάσσεται το αρχείον του Σχολείου'. Searching the archives of our school, 1929–1989', Historical Archives Group, ESUA, 2018, Athens. Access via internet: http://www.pspa. eu/index.php/drastiriotites-pspa/mathitikoi-omiloi/69-mathitikoi-omiloi-2017-18/136-omilos-istorikis-erevnas-arxeiou-pspa

[13] Pazarli, Maria; Diamantis, Kostas; Gerontopoulou, Vasiliki, "Hack the map', a digital educational program inspired by Rigas Velestinlis' *Charta* of Greece (1796–1797)', *International Journal of Cartography*, 2021, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/23729333.2021.1972908

Theoretical Framework

The history is considered a challenging and demanding subject for various reasons, such as the excessive focus on dates and events, the complexity of the material, difficulty in comprehension, the distance from daily life, or generally the lack of interest. Furthermore, the teaching of this subject in Greek primary and secondary schools continues to be carried out in an outdated manner, where rote learning is encouraged, relying on dense and obscure books without sufficient use of visual material and maps suitable for children. Often, educators teach the subject as a secondary assignment without specialization in the field, resulting in students feeling boredom, fatigue, indifference, and confusion due to the volume and complexity of the information they are required to memorize. However, the teaching of history can become more engaging and enjoyable through innovative methods, including interactive lessons, the use of technology, the incorporation of digital storytelling, and the application of critical thinking activities in learning.

It has been observed that utilizing objects in education (Object-Based Learning) enhances and makes the learning process more effective. OBL is an educational method involving objects in the learning environment, strengthening students' analytical thinking and critical abilities.[14,15] Objects are used as educational tools, contributing to communication, collaboration, observation, and social skills. This approach provides an interactive experience for students, prompting them to experientially engage with various subjects, communicate with each other based on the object. OBL allows students to explore ideas, processes, and events related to the object and further connect these observations to complex ideas and abstract concepts. Moreover, it mediates and enhances learning, facilitating substantial and in-depth understanding of a cognitive domain, leading to a long-term outcome in relation to memory.[16]

This result is further reinforced and transformed into a distinct experience when combined with project-based learning (PBL) and game-based learning (GBL). PBL is a teaching approach emphasizing collaboration among students, challenging them through actions rather than passive listening, using real scenarios they may

[14] Chatterjee, Helen J.; Hannan, Leonie; Duhs, Rosalind, *Object-Based Learning: A Powerful Pedagogy for Higher Education*, London: Routledge, 2013.

[15] Chatterjee, Helen J.; Hannan, Leonie, *Engaging the Senses: Object-Based Learning in Higher Education*, London: Routledge, 2015.

[16] Romanek, Devorah; Lynch, Bernadette, 'Touch and the Value of Object Handling: Final Conclusions for a New Sensory Museology', in: *In Touch in Museums: Policy and Practice in Object Handling*, edited by Helen J. Chatterjee, Oxford, New York: Berg, 2008, pp. 275–286.

encounter in the real world, and increasing the likelihood of long-term retention of knowledge and skills. This method cultivates an active approach to learning, enabling students to effectively confront uncertainties and opportunities.

GBL, as defined by Kapp,[17] involves applying elements of a game (use of point systems, rewards, grading tables, competitions, achievements) in an educational context with the aim of modifying user behaviour, promoting increased engagement, encouraging creative thinking, normalizing failure, and making participation more enjoyable.[18] Utilizing this methodology increases motivation for learning, enhances problem-solving abilities, and improves understanding. Game-based learning does not replace traditional learning but is considered an alternative, more attractive method for young learners, encouraging them to acquire knowledge and skills in subjects considered 'difficult', challenging, or even boring.[19] Research indicates that as students' performance in the game improves, the same happens with their decision-making skills, while positive reactions and emotions prevail, contributing to and facilitating perception.

According to the above theoretical framework, we sought to integrate synthetically all the aforementioned teaching methodologies in the design of educational activities for Rigas' *Charta*, aiming at a deeper understanding by the participants of its significance for Modern Greek history and its better connection with the rest of Rigas Velestinlis' printing works. Additionally, by combining a variety of new visualisation tools, we attempted to make Greek cultural heritage available to all, unleashing the imagination and possibilities of representing the past.

The Educational Programs on Rigas' *Charta*

The pedagogical and cultural aim
The primary objectives of all educational initiatives centred around Rigas' *Charta* were to underscore the significance of this notable historical document, imbue it with vitality, and stimulate the emerging generation's interest in deciphering its concealed

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17 Kapp, Karl, *The gamification of learning and instruction: Game-based methods and strategies for training and education*, San Francisco, CA: Pfeiffer, 2012.

18 Deterding, Sebastian; Dixon, Dan; Khaled, Rilla; Nacke, Lennart, 'From game design elements to gamefulness: defining "gamification"', in: *Proceedings of the 15th International Academic Mindtrek Conference: Envisioning Future Media Environments*, edited by Artur Lugmayr, New York: ACM, 2011, pp. 9–15. https://doi.org/10.1145/2181037.2181040

19 Papadakis, Stamatios; Kalogiannakis, Michail, 'Evaluating the effectiveness of a game-based learning approach in modifying students' behavioural outcomes and competence, in an introductory programming course. A case study in Greece', *International Journal of Teaching and Case Studies*, 2019, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 235–250. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJTCS.2019.10024369

messages through the application of advanced digital technologies. Participants were encouraged to:

- a) Acquire an understanding of the life and contributions of Rigas Velestinlis.
- b) Discern the covert messages and symbols intricately engraved on the map.
- c) Integrate archival materials into the educational framework.
- d) Creatively synthesize elements of history, geography, cartography, visual arts, and information technology to formulate digital projects related to this cartographic artefact.
- e) Engage in historical research, utilizing primary sources, antiquated maps, and archival materials.
- f) Collaborate innovatively through diverse cognitive modalities.
- g) Familiarize themselves with cutting-edge digital tools, cultivate digital competencies, and assume roles as technology creators.
- h) Conceptualize ideas through the utilization of contemporary digital technologies and effective communication practices.
- i) Revitalize antiquated documents, endowing them with a meta-textual existence for the benefit of future readers.

Paintelling: Travelling with the myths and the symbols of Rigas' Charta

The educational initiative entitled '*Paintelling: Travelling with the Myths and Symbols of Rigas' Charta*' originated as a conceptualization within the Onassis Library in 2019, targeting families with children aged 8–12 and educators. Focused on the exploration of a remarkable historical document, the educational objective was to transform the study of the map into an engaging and liberating experience for children, fostering their expression of ideas and emotions. Consequently, the pedagogical approach evolved into an entertaining educational game involving puzzle-solving and visual creativity within the realms of history and geography.

Fig. 3. The paintelling educational technique.

Employing the educational technique of paintelling, the educational program

creatively amalgamated various art forms, including performance storytelling, painting, dance, pantomime, lyrical singing, role-playing, and object puppet theatre. The overarching goal was to inspire and unleash the expressive capacities of participants, tapping into inherent abilities of both children and adults, thereby augmenting learning through an innovative and playful methodology. Throughout the program, dynamic storytelling and boundless imagination converged with large-scale painting on a white surface affixed to a wall, punctuated by musical and theatrical components, props, and digital applications. This multi-sensory approach actively engaged both the body and mind, fostering OBL and GBL learning and facilitating profound comprehension within the cognitive domain.

The implementation of this initiative, executed in collaboration with author and illustrator Leda Varvarousi and with the scientific review of the Cartographic Heritage Archives of the General State Archives of Greece, spanned the period from 2019 to 2024. Over 400 primary schools, involving more than 8,500 students and teachers, actively participated in the program, which was conducted through both digital channels (Zoom, Webex, Teams, etc.) and on-site sessions at schools. This educational initiative achieved exceptional success, owing not only to its thematic content but also to the compelling presence and pedagogical approach of the educator, Lida Varvarousi. Also, the paintelling technique can be easily applied to many other thematic categories, supporting knowledge in various learning styles and environments.

Children's book: Young Rigas and the secret symbols of Charta[20]
The revolutionary life of Rigas Velestinlis served as the impetus for the development of a children's book (targeting children aged 8–12 years) by the Onassis Library in collaboration with the author and illustrator Leda Varvarousi, under the scientific review of the Cartographic Heritage Archives of the General State Archives of Greece. The digital version of the book, available in Greek, can be freely accessed and downloaded for reading.

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[20]   See and download the children's book here: https://www.onassis.org/whats-on/paintelling-travelling-with-the-symbols-and-myths-of-rigas-charta/digital-material-a-journey-with-the-myths-and-symbols-of-rigas-charta-through-a-childrens-book

Fig. 4. The children's book on Rigas' *Charta*.

This children's edition transports its readers back to the Greek region approximately 250 years ago, a period preceding the outbreak of the 1821 Revolution, characterized by the absence of a Greek state and the prevalence of enslavement. Rigas, a young boy, ventures to engage in independent thought, drawing comparisons between the splendour of ancient Greek culture and the current plight of his homeland. Driven by this realization, he takes decisive action. Embarking on a fictional journey accompanied by a conversational bird, Rigas explores ancient sites, encounters mythical heroes, partakes in historical events, and witnesses epic battles. Infused with inspiration and fervour, he endeavours to disseminate the principles of freedom and justice to all. To materialize this vision and awaken the dormant spirit of enslaved Greeks, he conceives the notion of crafting a large map adorned with cryptic symbols.

This educational resource has been incorporated into all educational initiatives centred on Rigas' *Charta* designed for primary education. Disseminated digitally to all Greek primary schools, the material serves as a supplementary tool for history and geography lessons, fostering OBL, GBL and an enjoyable and creative approach to learning. Moreover, it cultivates an emotional connection with a historical document, instilling a positive disposition and enthusiasm for historical knowledge, while contributing to the preservation and promotion of cartographic cultural heritage. As of 30 April 2024, the digital version of the book has garnered over 7,700 downloads.

To enrich the on-site visitation experience at the Onassis Library concerning the physical exhibition of Rigas' *Charta*, an initial concept materialized into the development of an Augmented Reality (AR) application.[22] This application was conceived as an exploratory tool designed to engage visitors in scrutinizing the concealed messages dispersed across the twelve pages of the map. Commencing with the activation of the symbol of the dormant lion, symbolizing the awakening of enslaved Greece, the application incorporated a narrated explanation to elucidate its metaphorical significance. Subsequently, additional symbols were incrementally introduced, augmenting the overall experiential depth.

Observing the enthusiastic reception of the public actively engaging with the artefact, the decision was made to extend accessibility beyond the confines of the library. Consequently, the application, titled *Rigas' Charta*, was made available on the Google Play app store as a complimentary educational tool. This step aimed to enhance the viewing experience for any rendition of the *Charta*, fostering broader engagement.

Fig. 5. The AR application *Rigas' Charta* (Google Play).

This AR application allows users to explore the map through an Android device,

21   Diamantis, Kostas; Gerontopoulou, Vasiliki; Pazarli, Maria, "Bringing to life Rigas Velestinlis' Charta of Greece (1796–7) by using Augmented Reality Technology and 3D visualization", *International Conference on Digital Transformation in Culture and Education*, 2022, pp. 1–13. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5881728

22   See and download the AR application *Rigas' Charta* from Google Play: https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.kosmad.rigasmap

wherein fifteen (15) symbols would come to life in 3D and 2D form. The application seamlessly operates on various map formats, both physical and digital, encouraging users to uncover symbols such as: 1. 162 ancient and medieval coins; 2. Jason and 'Argo'; 3. Hercules and the Amazon; 4. The ancient Greek theatre; 5. Ancient Olympia and the Olympic games; 6. The Oracle of Delphi; 7. Colossus of Rhodes; 8. Pyrrha and Deucalion; 9. The female figure on the forehead; 10. Hero and Leander; 11. The battle of Plataeae; 12. The naval battle of Salamis; 13. The battle of Thermopylae; 14. The sleeping lion; 15. The Wind Rose.

Through a hidden treasure game, both readers and users participate in a fun interactive experience that creates images and feelings that remain long after the educational activity is over, supporting OBL, GBL and PBL learning. The application can be used with all copies and editions of the *Charta*, both physical and digital. Educators are motivated to reproduce the 12 sheets of the map and collaborate with their students to affix them to a wall, conceptualizing Rigas' *Charta* as an interactive and stimulating puzzle project. The AR application was distinguished at the DH AWARDS 2021 as 1st Runner up in the Best use of DH for fun category[23].

Livestreaming guided tours at the Onassis Library[24]
Amid the prolonged closure of schools during the pandemic of COVID-19 (2020–21), transitioning to online learning and facing restrictions on educational excursions, the Onassis Library undertook an innovative initiative by introducing an online educational activity. This initiative sought to offer an engaging alternative to students and teachers confined to their homes, injecting interest into the educational process. The interactive digital tours, delving into the treasures of rare book collections, archives, and artworks, effectively bridged cultural heritage with education. This endeavour aimed to enhance history lessons, leveraging inclusivity and ensuring equal participation among schools across Greece.

The live online sessions, lasting for a standard teaching hour (45 minutes), were facilitated through various online platforms such as Zoom, WebEx, MS Teams, etc. During these sessions, schools actively engaged in a 'living documentary', unravelling lesser-known stories that could emanate from historical facts. The program was presented in both English and Greek, with the option of sign language interpretation upon request. Primary and secondary education students had the unique opportunity to explore archetypes and ancient books, gain insights into the impact of the invention of printing on the dissemination of ideas during the Greek Revolution of

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[23] See the results here: http://dhawards.org/dhawards2021/results/
[24] Γεροντοπούλου, Β., Ζωντανές διαδικτυακές περιηγήσεις στην Ωνάσειο Βιβλιοθήκη, 8ο Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο ΕΚΕΔΙΣΥ: Εκπαίδευση και Πολιτισμός τον 21ο αιώνα, 13–14 Μαΐου 2023.

1821, and familiarize themselves with the life and significance of Rigas Velestinlis, including the role of his *Charta* in his life and death.

These interactive online tours facilitated participant discussions and inquiries about the exhibits at the Onassis Library, fostering OBL methodology. The educational program was complemented with online games and quizzes, leveraging the kahoot.com online platform, implementing a GBL approach. From 2020 to 2024, this online activity reached more than 400 primary and secondary school units, including special schools, involving over 9,000 students and their teachers. The remarkable success of this educational program prompted the decision to maintain its online format even beyond the pandemic, advocating for equal access to educational opportunities, addressing issues of discrimination and inequality in education. This initiative serves as a commendable example of open access to knowledge and may be easily emulated by other cultural organizations, museums, archives, and libraries, as it is above all a zero budget project.

Fig. 6. The Livestreaming guided tours at the Onassis Library.

The Panhellenic student competition 'Hack the Map: Rigas' Charta'[25]
During the academic year 2020–21, the Onassis Library orchestrated a nationwide student competition titled '*Hack the Map: Rigas' Charta*'. Executed entirely in the digital realm, the competition was a collaborative effort with the Cartographic Heritage

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[25]   Diamantis, Kostas; Gerontopoulou, Vasiliki; Pazarli, Maria, 'The Panhellenic Student Competition "Hack the Map: Rigas' Charta" – Building a new educational paradigm for generation next', *2nd International Online Conference on Digital Transformation in Culture and Education (DTCE22)*, 2023. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7560256

Archives of the General State Archives and the Department of Geography at Haroko-pio University. Drawing inspiration from Rigas' *Charta*, secondary school students enrolled in Greek educational institutions, in Greece and abroad, along with their teachers, were invited to merge historical and cartographic materials with contemporary digital technologies. The objective was to create augmented reality and virtual reality applications, digital storytelling projects, and 3D video games tailored for both PC and Android devices.

Fig. 7. Screenshots from the school digital projects on Rigas' *Charta*.

Within the framework of this digital competition, school teams were tasked with conceiving and presenting one of the following digital projects:

- An augmented reality (AR) application, transforming one or more symbols depicted on the map into a 3D format.
- A virtual reality (VR) application, constructing in 3D at least one scene from the map.
- A digital narrative exploring the myths or symbols illustrated on the map.
- A 3D video game utilizing information derived from the map.

To execute their projects, participating school teams were given the flexibility to employ freeware programs, open-source software, or any online tools specifically designated for educational purposes. This educational initiative played a pivotal role in cultivating diverse digital skills among participants, exposing them to innovative digital tools and methodologies such as Object-Based Learning (OBL), Game-Based Learning (GBL), and Project-Based Learning (PBL) that are likely to benefit them in their future professional endeavours.

A total of 44 school teams, comprising approximately 1,000 students and their educators, engaged in the competition. These teams exhibited creative integration of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) with history of printing, geography, and visual arts. Through this process, they delved into historical research, familiarized themselves with essential elements of Greek cultural heritage, explored

the iconographic richness of a historical map, and navigated the realm of distance learning. This immersive experience equipped them with functional, structural, and strategic skill sets that hold significant value for their future careers.[26]

It is vital to bring to light such significant historical documents and to motivate the next generation to reuse and reinterpret hidden treasures of the Greek cultural tradition, in this instance, through new technological tools and visual art creations. The application of such technologies strengthened the emotional involvement of the participants with a historical document and cultivated a positive attitude and enthusiasm towards the learning process, enriching the content of history and geography lessons and created awareness on cartographic cultural heritage through the use of innovative technical tools in education. Also, it encouraged creative thinking, allowing discovery learning and giving the participant a feeling of surprise and excitement. Finally it gave the opportunity to the participants to visualize their ideas by using their knowledge and imagination, in accordance with new digital technologies and contemporary communication practices.

The educational program, '*Hack the Map: Rigas' Charta*', serves as a noteworthy exemplar of digital literacy. It effectively promoted the creative integration of ICT with various subjects in the school curriculum, embracing both synchronous and asynchronous online education. Ultimately, it emerged as an incubator for nurturing a new generation of citizens prepared to confront the challenges posed by a rapidly changing world. Supported by the Onassis Foundation, the project commenced in December 2020 and concluded in June 2021, with commendable digital school projects being awarded prizes totalling 6,000 euros.[27] This educational initiative was one of the most challenging and innovative during the difficult period of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Classroom: an open access educational platform (in Greek)[28]

In response to the educational obstacles posed by the difficult public health situation, the Onassis Foundation introduced the *Classroom* platform,[29] a comprehensive educational website designed to enhance participation in the competition. This open-access

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[26] Sofos, Alivisos, 'Digital Literacy as a Category of Media competence and Literacy – an Analytical Approach of Concepts and Presuppositions for Supporting Media Competence at School', in: *Fokus Medienpädagogik – Aktuelle Forschung-und Handlungsfelder*, edited by Petra Bauer, Hannah Hoffmann, Kerstin Mayrberger, München: kopaed, 2010, pp. 62–82.

[27] Watch the digital school projects on Rigas' *Charta* here: https://classroom.onassis.org/course/view.php?id=43

[28] See the presentation of the Classroom platform here (in Greek): https://pretalx.ellak.gr/media/moodlemoot2020/submissions/NKSXU9/resources/Moodle_Moot_2020-V.Gerontopoulou-G.Patseas_rFJluOh.pdf

[29] Visit the 'Classroom', the educational platform of the Onassis Foundation: https://classroom.onassis.org/

repository collated a wealth of educational content pertaining to the Enlightenment era, Rigas' life and works, and the *Charta*. The platform featured free Moodle lessons that seamlessly integrated disciplines such as history, geography, visual arts, and technology. It provided an array of supporting materials, including videos, educational scenarios, bibliography, worksheets, high-quality digital copies of *Charta*, and external sources. The intention behind offering these resources was to stimulate, inspire, and assist school teams in their projects. Notably, the *Classroom* platform emerged as a valuable resource for online applications, facilitating school teams in both preparation for and participation in the student competition. Crucially, even after the competition's conclusion, the platform continued to host this material, ensuring ongoing accessibility to all.
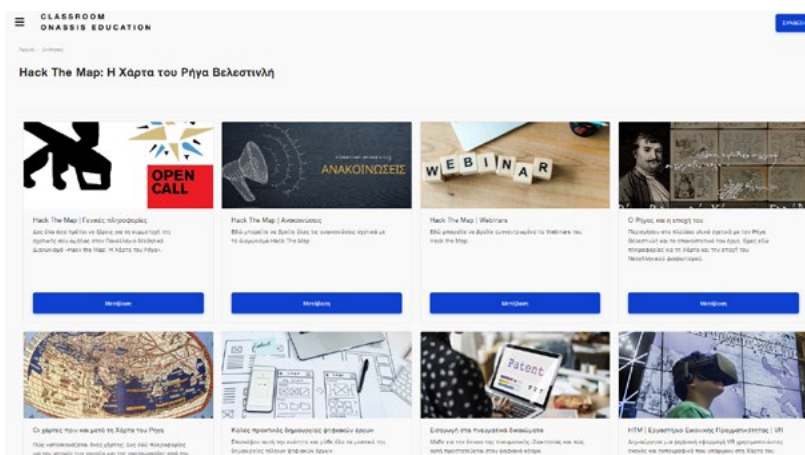
Fig. 8. The *Classroom*, Onassis Foundation's digital educational platform.

Furthermore, the educational platform serves as a versatile tool for distance learning, delivering guidelines, practical scenarios, workshops on emerging technologies, and exemplars of digital projects. It provides an interactive space for participants to pose questions, earn badges through gamification tied to educational videos, obtain certificates of participation, and establishes a mechanism for students and teachers to evaluate the program. The digital platform's content is freely available to all visitors and undergoes continuous expansion with the addition of new educational materials each year.

The Onassis *Classroom* was launched in December 2020, and was funded by the Onassis Foundation. Ongoing endeavours are in progress to enhance the platform by incorporating new educational materials and online workshops, furthering its educational impact and promoting OBL, GBL and PBL methodologies.

AR, VR, Digital Storytelling, 3D Video Game
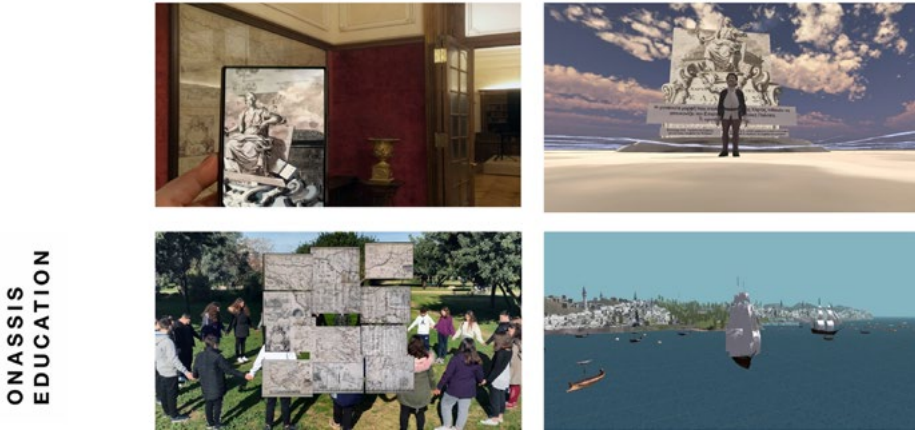
Fig. 9. Screenshots from the online workshops.

In order to augment the digital proficiency of participants and familiarize them with a variety of digital applications and methodologies, a series of online workshops, webinars, and presentations were orchestrated. Accomplished researchers and scholars led these sessions through platforms such as Zoom and WebEx, delving into specialized software, applications, and techniques. The session topics were meticulously crafted to align with the digital classifications of the competition works, encompassing Virtual Reality (VR), Augmented Reality (AR), Digital Storytelling, and 3D Video-game development. The preparatory workshop series culminated in a Problem-solving Q&A session, and all associated materials enriched with useful tutorial videos were made available on the *Classroom* platform for interested individuals. This advanced digital experience afforded students and their educators an opportunity to deepen their comprehension of 2D and 3D graphic design, video game and application creation, animation, level and gameplay design, fundamental programming concepts, video creation, editing, and digital content processing. Furthermore, participants explored metaverse development tools, empowering them to infuse a historical cartographic document with renewed vitality and offer fresh interpretations and meanings for future readers, experiencing OBL, GBL and PBL pedagogical approaches.

The workshops were free and open to all. Specifically, some of the related workshops included:

- Rigas' *Charta* in the digital world – *Hack the Map* – 11 02 2021[30] '*The Battle of Dervenakia*' (Fig. 10). Using the *3Ds Max* modelling software and the Unity 3D game engine, a scene was composed in order to recreate the historical scene of the Greek battle of Dervenakia[31]. The creation of a 3D flag was used as an example to demonstrate how to animate an object for a game engine with bone usage, skinning and keyframe animation within *3Ds Max*, whereas *Gimp* was used in order to create textures with transparency. All the material was then gathered inside of the *Unity 3D* game engine in a 3D layered composition by adding 2D and 3D elements, creating and detailing the terrain, adding particle and sound effects along with a camera motion so as to create a simple narration of the composition, presenting an animated version of the classic battle to the viewer.
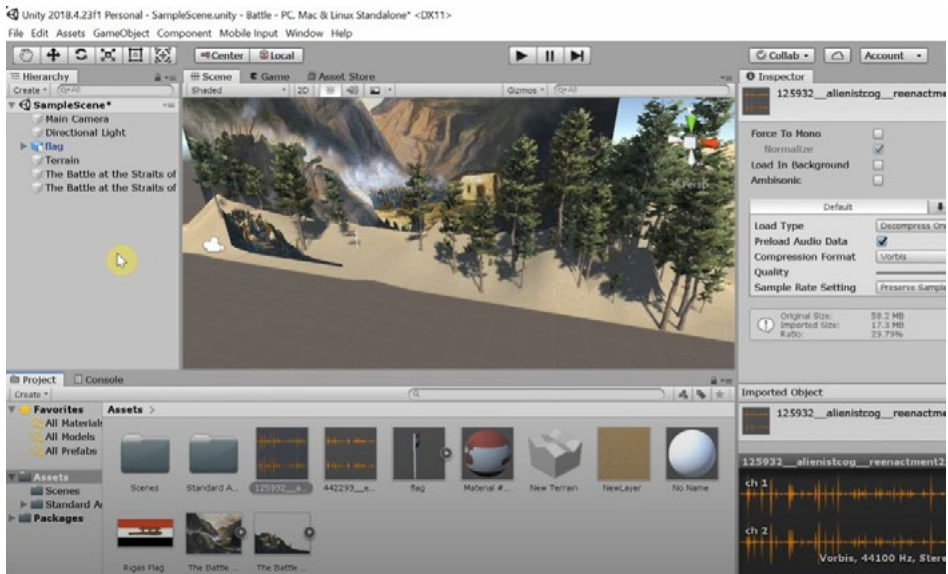
Fig. 10. Rigas' *Charta* in the digital world – *Hack the Map* workshop.

[30] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6KasNrcrdU
[31] https://www.nationalgallery.gr/en/artwork/the-battle-at-the-straits-of-dervenakia/

- Building 3D models for imaginary worlds – *Hack the Map* – <u>17 03 2021</u>[32] (Fig. 11). The notions of polygonal geometry creation, geometry flow and optimization for games were presented, how 3D axes, pivots and units are used and their best practices, how by using the *3Ds Max* software the creation of basic objects can be easily achieved, and how this geometry can be enhanced by editing it to add details. It was demonstrated how to duplicate geometry and make clones, techniques used to add variation for the duplicate objects from a single object like a tree or a rock. Additionally, modelling with splines was demonstrated as an alternative method to create a tree trunk and how this can be turned into geometry, and the process of creation for the models of a windmill, houses, a bridge, and vegetation using various modifiers available to the software were presented.
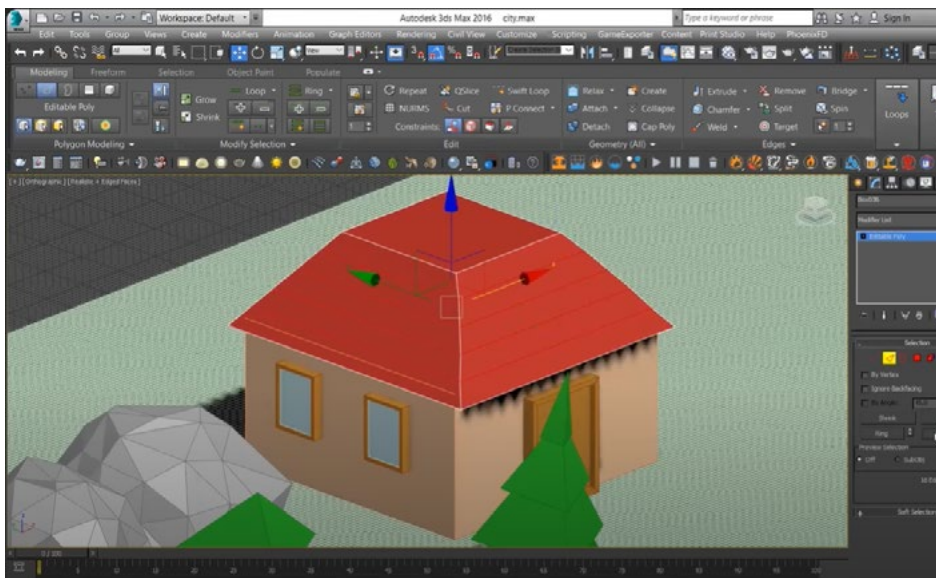
Fig. 11. Building 3D models for imaginary worlds – *Hack the Map* workshop.

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[32] <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6KasNrcrdU</u>

- Adding materials and textures to 3D Models – *Hack the Map* – 31 03 2021[33] (Fig. 12). This workshop explained the concept of texturing and unwrapping a 3D object, in which the surface of a 3D model is unfolded onto a single 2D square space of a certain pixel resolution (i.e. 1024 by 1024 pixels) in order to be painted on, with the final result being displayed back onto the 3D model. The difference between the various texture maps such as diffuse or normal maps and the concept of optimization with regards to textures were covered. Using the online image editing software *Photopea*, the creation of tillable textures was covered to apply them back in a 3D object inside of the *3Ds Max* software. Basic UV unwrapping techniques and how to create a variety of textures that can be reused on multiple objects to save system memory, such as wood for trees, a bridge, house elements etc. and other best practices were also presented.
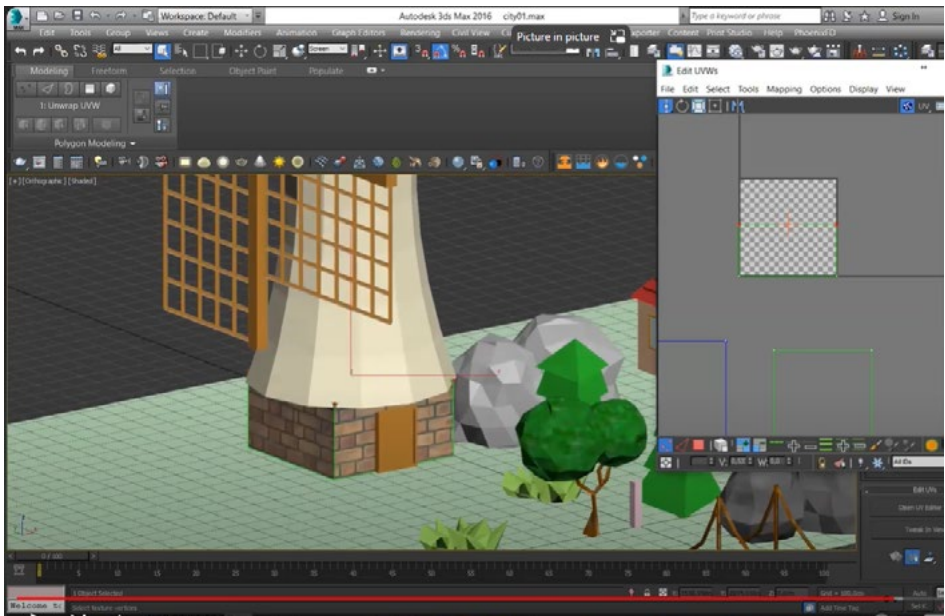

Fig. 12. Adding materials and textures to 3D Models – *Hack the Map* workshop.

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[33] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6KasNrcrdU

- Creating animations for 3D models – *Hack the Map* – <u>07 04 2021</u>[34] (Fig. 13). An introduction to animation and concepts like keyframes, loops and hierarchies were presented. Continuing with the material created in the previous workshops, an animation for the windmill was created inside the *3Ds Max* software. The object linked in a parent-child hierarchy and a motion with the appropriate keyframe type that can loop forever seamlessly was created and explained. This is a fundamental concept as most of the animations created for videogames are intended to play in a loop. The process of creating bones and skinning objects such as a tree and a bridge was demonstrated, as well as a more advanced setup using a biped skeleton for a biped character rig and animation.
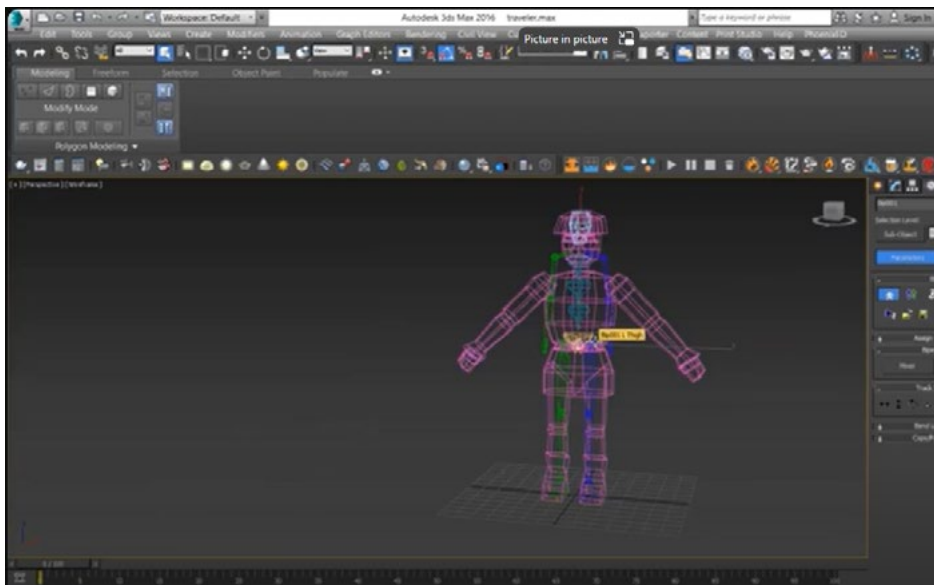

Fig. 13. Creating animations for 3D models – *Hack the Map* workshop.

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[34] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YhekzBFJk6E

- Incorporating 2D and 3D elements into game engines and Q&A – *Hack the Map* – <u>14 04 2021</u>[35] (Fig. 14). Core game design concepts were explained, the work process of exporting models from the *3Ds Max* software to the *Unity 3D* and the *Unreal* game engines, such as those of rock assets and the animated trees created on the previous workshops. The animated models of the wind-mill and the bridge were also imported, and a simple level was created with the models, materials, and animations setup inside of the game engine. The importance of colour and lights as a mechanism was presented and empha-sized for the game design creation, as for example the use of a light source in order to highlight a point of interest and draw the player's attention. Further-more, the importance of collisions in a level was discussed for detection and definition of the game area.
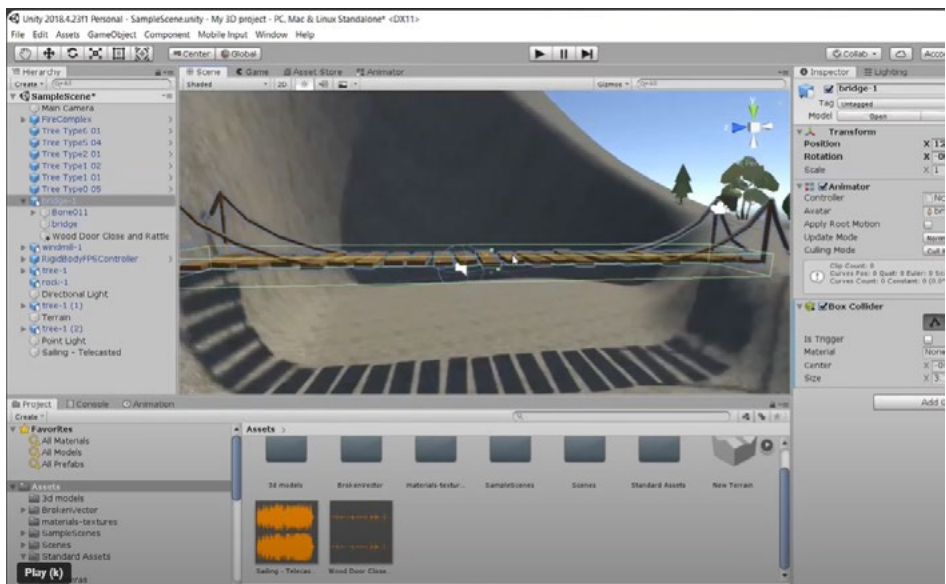

Fig. 14. Incorporating 2D and 3D elements into Game engines and Q&A – *Hack the Map* work-shop.

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[35] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oiVO_6-pER0

- Q&A and intermediate 3D graphics workshop – *Hack the Map* – <u>12 04 2021</u>[36] (Fig. 15). Using the image editing software *Gimp* to cut a coin out of the *Charta* map was presented as the purpose of this advanced 3D workshop was to bring to life a drawing from Rigas' *Charta*. This was then imported into *3Ds Max* and setup in order to create a 3D geometry model, that one of a crab as depicted on one of the coins featured on the *Charta*. Projection mapping techniques for the easy texturing and UV mapping were demonstrated, and how to optimize the geometry and retopologize it for a better polygon flow, how to add custom bones in a full skeleton hierarchy and animate them, and finally how to import the result into the *Unity 3D* game engine and set it up as a 3D element that pops out to life from Rigas' *Charta*.
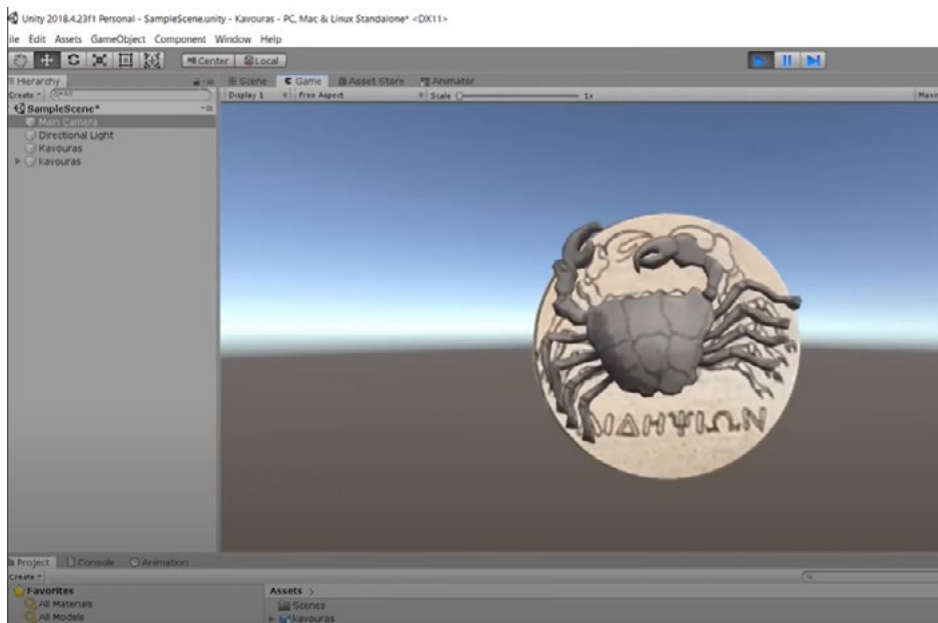

Fig. 15. Q&A and Intermediate 3D Graphics – *Hack the Map* workshop.

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[36] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jEDzmvNwAkg

- AR workshop with *Unity 3D – Hack the Map –* 30 03 2021[37] (Fig. 16). In this workshop it was demonstrated how to use the template scenes provided at the *Onassis Classroom* for AR content and the *Vuforia* AR engine. It was shown how to create an enhanced scene with loopable graphic elements such as sea waves, world creation and terrain techniques, how to use the image editing software *Photopea* in order to process textures and import them into *Unity 3D*, how to use free game assets and implement them into the project, how to create and customize particles, how to write custom code so as to trigger events and how to create custom selection buttons, making a complex multimedia AR scene.
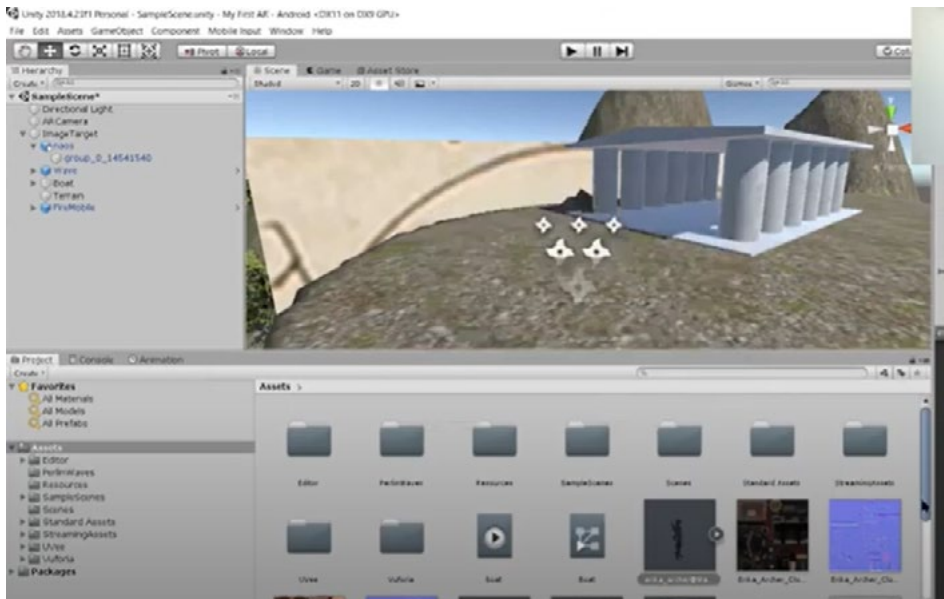

Fig. 16. AR workshop with *Unity 3D – Hack the Map*.

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[37] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tzIvJs7rqG8

- VR workshop with *Unity 3D – Hack the Map – 01 04 2021*[38] (Fig. 17). In this workshop it was demonstrated how, by using the *Unity 3D* VR template freely available at the *Onassis Classroom*, a complete VR scene can be created. It was presented how to create simple scripts in C# in order to interact with the viewer, how to place information graphic pop-up boxes and to trigger them in order to enrich the VR navigation experience as the viewer would navigate across the elements of the *Charta* map. The flow of creation for additional levels was also presented as well as the necessary steps and techniques for level transitions.
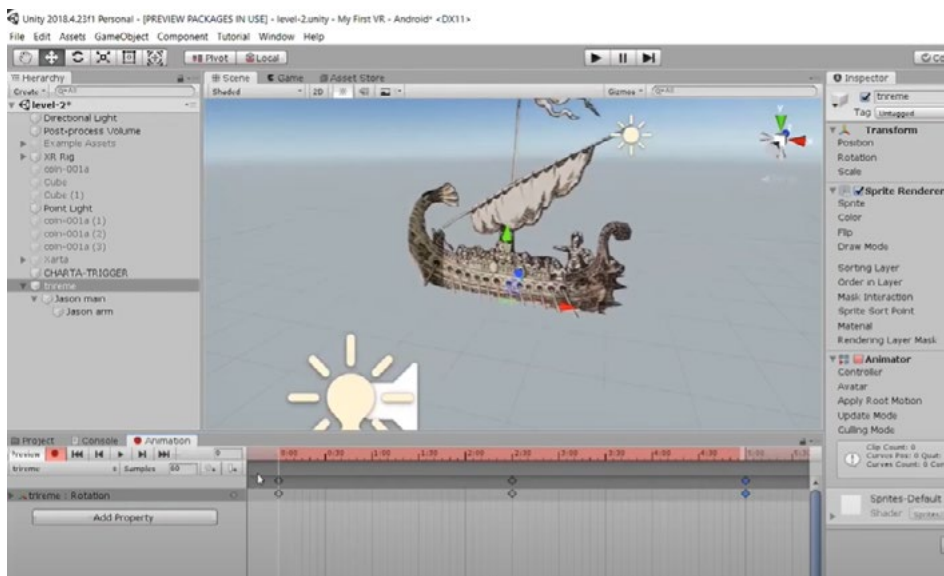

Fig. 17. VR workshop with *Unity 3D – Hack the Map*.

- 3D video game workshop with *Unity 3D – Hack the Map* – <u>08 04 2021</u>[39] (Fig. 18). Using the free material available at the *Onassis Classroom* for the videogame template, core level design concepts were demonstrated with the creation of the 3D scenery enriched by a forest, the drawing of a pathway towards the point of interest, a temple from the *Charta* of Rigas. The usage of particles and lighting was analysed, how to import, convert and animate a variety of 2D and 3D elements within the level, how to add collisions for the player and the objects created, how to create game mechanisms such as a riddle solving mechanism with a button in order to answer correctly a question and open the temple door using simple scripting in C#. Multiple level creation and transitioning was showcased, with the creation of an additional level within the temple where animated platform mechanics were created.
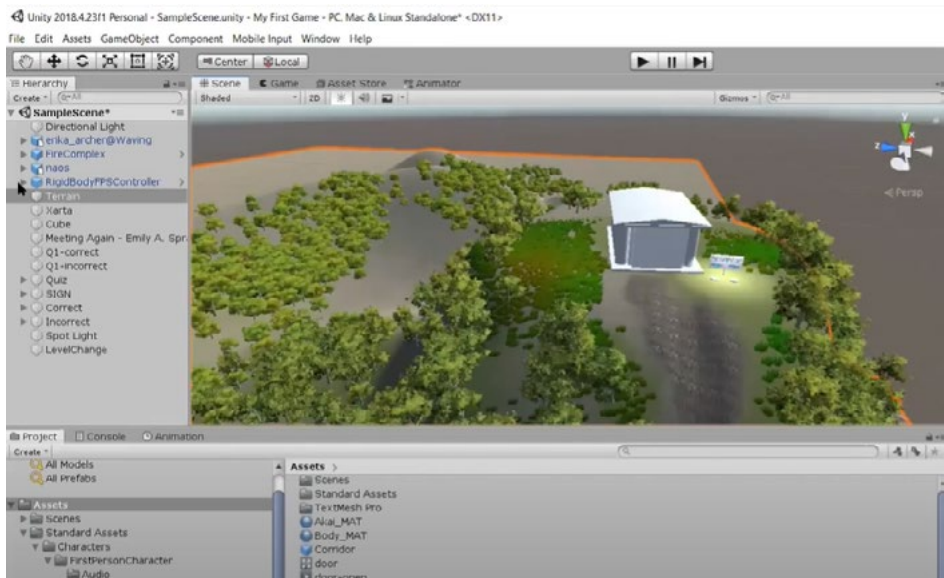

Fig. 18. 3D Video game workshop with *Unity 3D – Hack the Map*.

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[39] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wI70G2cCH7g

- Digital Storytelling workshop with *Openshot – Hack the Map* – 06 04 2021[40] (Fig. 19). Using the free material provided in the 'Onassis Classroom', basis synthesis was explained and the layer structure of a free video editing software like *Openshot*. Storytelling concepts were presented, how to import and animate a diverse range of material formats or how to create original material using the image editing software *Photopea*. Effects, blending, transparency, transitions, and animation techniques were presented, the usage of sound effects and the rendering process was also explained as well as the concepts of resolution, bitrate, and video formats.
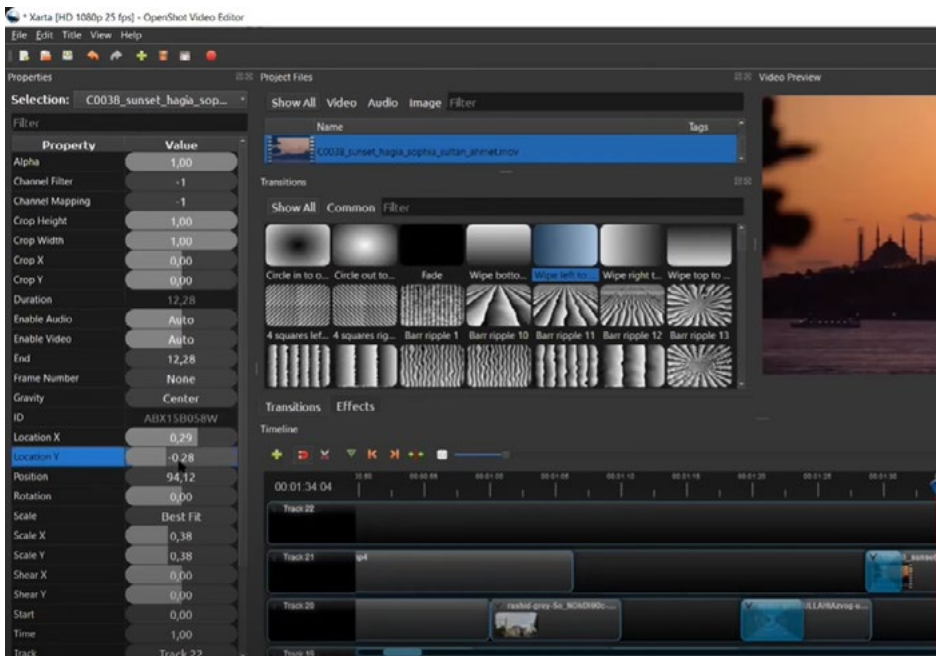

Fig. 19. Digital storytelling workshop with *Openshot – Hack the Map*.

Supporting educational materials on the competition theme
Within the framework of the educational programs, the academic collaborators and partners in the competition were committed to compiling all pertinent supporting materials related to the competition theme. This compilation included diverse elements such as video recordings, notes, optional scenarios, bibliography, digital exhibitions, editions, documentaries, references, and illustrative examples. In addition, they meticulously developed ten (10) Moodle lessons, offering comprehensive theoretical resources on Rigas' *Charta* and presenting insightful case studies on aspects such as the historical context, Rigas Velestinlis' revolutionary persona, the history of cartography, and more. These lessons were thoughtfully crafted to facilitate further exploration and development by school teams. Through this curated material, participants and readers were provided with the opportunity to immerse themselves in and draw inspiration from the narratives and symbols associated with this heroic figure and his map. All supporting materials were subsequently uploaded to the *Classroom* platform, ensuring accessibility to all.

Evaluation
All educational programs and materials underwent thorough evaluation through anonymous written questionnaires, which garnered enthusiastic feedback from a diverse range of participants, including students, parents, educators, and external scientific collaborators. The programs were universally recognized for their originality, innovation, and interdisciplinary nature, with a notable emphasis on their synthetic approach. The success and innovativeness of their implementation were attributed to the support provided by a structured, functional, and user-friendly educational digital platform – the *Onassis Classroom*. This platform played a pivotal role in facilitating remote communication and interaction between organizers and participants.

Despite their focus on a singular historical object, all educational programs effectively captivated a majority of participants with different backgrounds, skills and interests highlighting the significance of Rigas' *Charta* and its vast research possibilities. The digital school projects provided tangible evidence of the programs' impact, as students demonstrated a genuine connection and drew inspiration from this monumental document of cultural and cartographic heritage, thereby fostering their creativity. Furthermore, the integration of new technologies with the knowledge domains of Modern Greek history, geography, and cartography was acknowledged as highly beneficial for the learning process, enhancing participants' digital skills and cultivating a deeper appreciation of Greek cultural heritage among the new generation.

Both students and teachers expressed a keen interest in participating in similar initiatives in the future, advocating for their inclusion in the school curriculum. They also put forth ideas and proposals for new training sessions focusing on digital tools, applications, and platforms, such as *Blender 3D*, *Unreal Engine*, and 3D modelling tutorials. Also, many educational and cultural organizations adapted such kind of initiatives and educational methodologies like OBL, GBL and PBL in their new educational programs and curricula (e.g. Eugenides Foundation, University of Piraeus, University of West Attica, National Centre for Scientific Research-Demokritos, Benaki Museum, National Historical Museum, Aikaterini Laskaridis Historical Library, etc.).

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of 100 questionnaires submitted by educators and students can be found below.
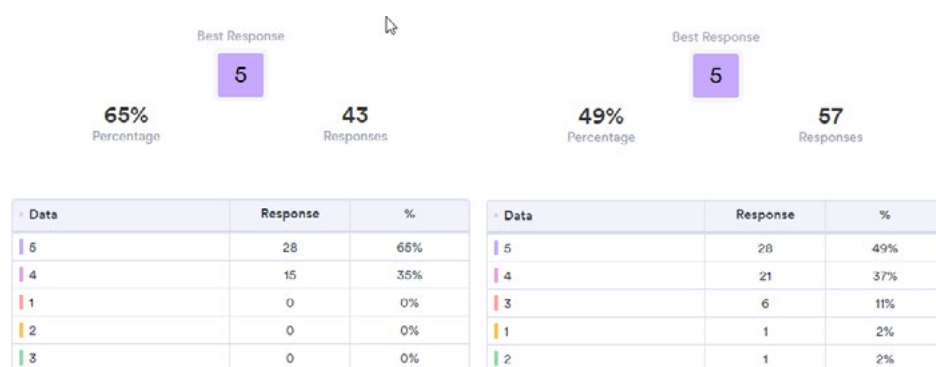

Data	Response	%
5	28	65%
4	15	35%
1	0	0%
2	0	0%
3	0	0%

Data	Response	%
5	28	49%
4	21	37%
3	6	11%
1	1	2%
2	1	2%

Fig. 20. The digital educational platform was user-friendly. (Left: educators, right: students)

Data	Response	%
5	30	70%
4	13	30%
1	0	0%
2	0	0%
3	0	0%

Data	Response	%
5	30	53%
4	23	40%
3	3	5%
2	1	2%
1	0	0%

Fig. 21. The educational program was well structured. (Left: educators, right: students)
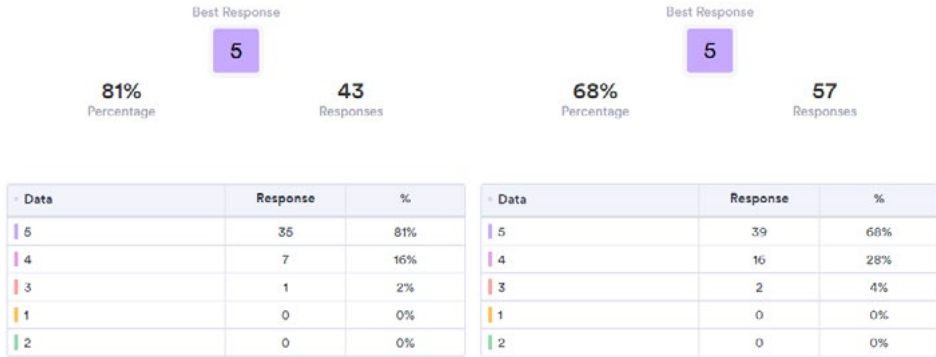
Fig. 22. The content of the educational program was innovative. (Left: educators, right: students)

Fig. 23. The educational program generated new ideas. (Left: educators, right: students)

Fig. 24. The educational program gave me useful information. (Left: educators, right: students)
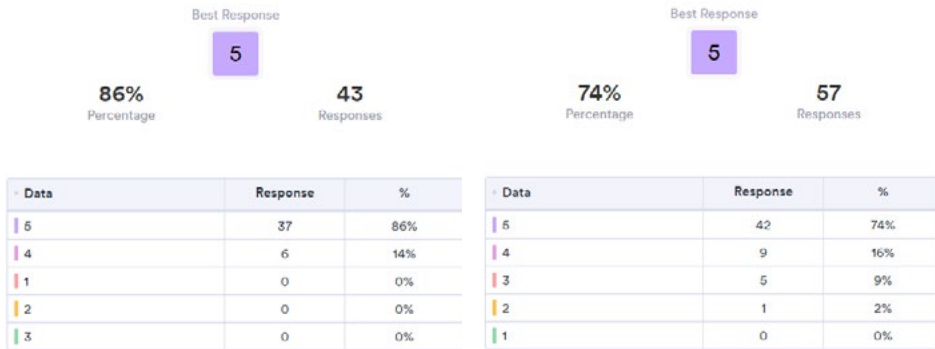
Best Response **5** — 86% Percentage — 43 Responses

Data	Response	%
5	37	86%
4	6	14%
1	0	0%
2	0	0%
3	0	0%

Best Response **5** — 74% Percentage — 57 Responses

Data	Response	%
5	42	74%
4	9	16%
3	5	9%
2	1	2%
1	0	0%

Fig. 25. The instructors were adequately prepared for the subject matter they presented. (Left: educators, right: students)

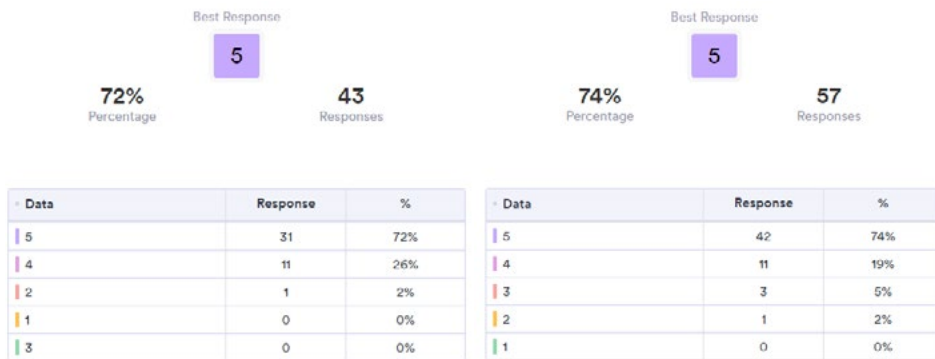Best Response **5** — 72% Percentage — 43 Responses

Data	Response	%
5	31	72%
4	11	26%
2	1	2%
1	0	0%
3	0	0%

Best Response **5** — 74% Percentage — 57 Responses

Data	Response	%
5	42	74%
4	11	19%
3	3	5%
2	1	2%
1	0	0%

Fig. 26. The instructors were engaging. (Left: educators, right: students)

Best Response **5** — 77% Percentage — 43 Responses

Data	Response	%
5	33	77%
4	8	19%
3	2	5%
1	0	0%
2	0	0%

Best Response **5** — 77% Percentage — 57 Responses

Data	Response	%
5	44	77%
4	9	16%
3	4	7%
1	0	0%
2	0	0%

Fig. 27. The instructors were open to the dialogue. (Left: educators, right: students)

Conclusions

The possibilities technology has to offer are vast and constantly evolving. They range from the sense of immersion and virtual presence to the recreation and presentation of an artefact, the visualization of its symbolisms to many more. Using AI tools, the users can now have an intriguing conversation on a virtual environment with a historic figure, without leaving their house, or they can even generate artificial landscapes using 3D geometry to present information like never before. Text can become narration and symbols and signs can become a videogame of knowledge, which could help the participants to enrich their own knowledge in an intuitive manner. More importantly, with the expansion of the broadband internet, all of those historical artefacts can become accessible virtually to everyone around the world, at any time, breaking down the barriers of countries or the physical buildings.

Residing in the contemporary digital era provides an exceptional opportunity to bridge gaps across diverse scientific disciplines. The utilization of powerful technological tools enables the minimization of distances, connectivity with previously unfamiliar audiences, and the cultivation of communicative, social, and cultural links, thereby reshaping the dynamics of how we relate, learn, and interact.[41] Archives and libraries are dynamically adapting their relationship with new technologies, significantly influencing how information is received and processed, thereby unlocking avenues for revitalizing the past. The usage of such technologies strengthened the emotional involvement of the participants with a historical document and cultivated a positive attitude and enthusiasm towards the learning process, enriching the content of history and geography lessons and created awareness on cartographic cultural heritage through the use of innovative technical tools in education. Also, it encouraged creative thinking, allowing discovery learning and giving the participant a feeling of surprise and excitement.

Confronting the challenges of a swiftly changing world, the Onassis Library has effectively upheld and reinforced its connections with audiences through innovative online and on-site educational initiatives. These endeavours have extended to Greek students both domestically and internationally, fostering a meaningful discourse with Hellenic cultural heritage and encouraging collaboration between cultural and educational entities. By preserving and reinterpreting historical materials and primary sources using novel digital approaches for subsequent generations, challenging traditional practices, devising innovative communication pathways, and extending social and educational benefits, we have come to recognize the potential for broadening

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41   Boude Figuerdo, Oscar Rafae; Sarmiento, Andrea Jenny, 'The challenge of training university professionals to integrate mobile learning', *Educacion Medica Superior*, 2017, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 61–77.

and enriching our comprehension of history of printing, geography, cartography and museology.

The series of educational programs inspired by Rigas' *Charta* serves as an exemplary illustration of how historical documents can be seamlessly integrated into the educational process, imparting new significance to the discourse with future learners. This approach engages young individuals, promotes cross-disciplinary interpretations by incorporating various scientific fields, and employs methodologies such as Object-Based Learning (OBL), Game-Based Learning (GBL), and Project-Based Learning (PBL) alongside metaverse applications and techniques.

Through this comprehensive interdisciplinary approach, Rigas' *Charta* is presented in an accessible and contemporary manner, inspiring and motivating the new generation to engage with cartographic heritage. This innovative learning strategy, laying the foundation for a novel educational model tailored to contemporary learners, effectively merges the digital realm with the humanities. It facilitates a profound understanding of our cultural wealth, rendering it accessible to the educational community and the general public. Consequently, it would be highly valuable to witness similar activities included in future school curricula and embraced by other cultural and educational organizations.

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THEATRUM LIBRI 2

Printing Centers
and Peripheries
in the Early
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