СТАРА И РЕТКА КЊИГА

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CATALOGUING THE 17TH-CENTURY EARLY PRINTED PROTESTANT BOOKS
PUBLISHED IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

Abstract

The 17th century was a period of the development and fall of Protestant printing offices in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The difficult situation the Protestant Churches faced caused a lack of imprints in many editions of Protestant books and the destruction of a large number of copies. For these reasons, cataloguing these books presents various bibliographical challenges. A way to solve this could be by typographical analysis opening up the possibility of investigating the heritage of the Lithuanian Protestant printing houses.

Keywords: early printed books, cataloguing, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Protestant book culture

In the beginning, it is necessary to explain why the presented research concerns cataloguing the early printed Protestant books and not the early printed books from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in general. The early printed Protestant books form a specific group. They belong to one cultural circle – they are associated with the Reformed Church. They are the cultural heritage of Lithuanian Protestantism. Moreover, their relationship with the Reformation has significantly influenced some of their characteristics. As a result, they require specific treatment.

The history of the discussed printing offices is important because it explains the important characteristics of early printed book cataloguing. The intensive development of Protestantism in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania began in the early fifties of the 16th century. The Reformation was supported by the greatest Lithuanian magnates. Following their example, a large part of the nobility joined the Reformed Church. Thus, the first Protestant printing offices established were the property of the magnates (Brest-Litovsk[1], Węgrów, Łosk[2], Nesvizh[3]). The role of these printing offices was to provide the books needed to organize the Protestant churches, which included copies of the Bible, catechisms, songbooks and theological literature. From 1548, the Great Princess of Lithuania was tolerant of the Reformation. Therefore, it was possible for the printing offices to begin publishing Protestant books in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, in 1580. There was the printing office at the Reformed Church and the Protestant printing office of Jokūbas Morkūnas[4]. Protestant books were also printed by Jan Karcan[5] and Salomon Sultzer[6]. In 1575, Zygmunt III Vasa, a zealous supporter of Rome, became the King of Poland and the Great Prince of Lithuania. The time of the Counter-Reformation successes had come. The situation the Protestants were in gradually worsened. For example, at the Bishop's request, the books of one of the printing office were taken and burned in 1581, in Vilnius. The Morkūnas printing office was destroyed by the Jesuit Academy students between 1607 and 1611. Due to this, the Protestant printing offices were moved to the provinces controlled by the Protestant magnates.

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1   Mikołaj "the Black" Radziwiłł, the most important Reformation protector in Lithuania, established the printing house in Brest-Litovsk (today Belarus) in 1553. It worked to the 1574. *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, vol. 5, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich - Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1959), 45–52.

2   Węgrów (today in Poland) was an important center of Reformation. In 1570 magnate Jan Kiszka, follower of Reformed Church and latter a follower of Polish brethren, founded a printing house there. In 1574 this printing house was relocated to the Łosk. J. Kiszka established a printing house there in 1574. The end of activity took place in 1589. *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, 145.

3   Nesvizh passed to the Radziwiłł family. The printing house was established there by Maciej Kawieczyński in 1561. It was closed down by catholic prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł in 1571. *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, 70–86; 190–191.

4   Reformed Church printing office in Vilnius worked in between 1580 and 1592. Next it was directed by J. Morkūnas until around 1607–1611. *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, 130–140.

5   J. Karcan printed in Łosk (1576–1580) then he moved to Vilnius. He worked for Protestans (including Polish Brethren), since 1585 also for Catholics. He died in 1611. *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, 70–86.

6   Sultzer printing office functioned 1596–1603. *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, 160–166.

There were printing offices in Lubcha[7], Slutsk[8] and Kėdainiai[9]. In Slutsk, few Protestant books were printed, while Catholic books were printed extensively. The fall of Protestantism in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania took place in the second half of the 17th century. This was also the end of the Protestant printing offices.

The risk of religious conflicts resulted in some Protestant books being printed without signed imprints or with false imprints. Sometimes, some Protestant printing offices imitated the style of books from other printing offices. For example, Jan Karcan imitated the appearance of Konfesja sandomierska printed by Maciej Wirzbięta in Cracow[10]. It is also important to note that the history of the Protestant printing offices was often complicated. The typesetting was passed between workshops in various ways. Sometimes, it was taken over by fraud or it suffered from sudden destruction or a split when the printer would change his confession and leave some of the fonts at the Protestant church, taking part in a new workshop.

The lack of imprints complicates the process of cataloguing, as a piece of important bibliographical information about an early printed book cannot be given, making it difficult for researchers to analyse the history of Lithuanian Protestantism. Determining who a certain book was printed by can be the answer to various questions. Was the book printed by a self-operating printing office? If that was the case, it could indicate that the readers were interested in the book. Was the book issued by a printing office owned by the Reformed Church? That would demonstrate the activities of the clergy in the book culture field. Was the book printed by one of the Protestant magnates? That would demonstrate his commitment to church life. Determining who printed a certain book enables us to determine how far-reaching the book was. It is known that the books from the Protestant printing office in Rakow reached Hungary, the Netherlands and England[11]. How far did the books from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania spread? A further question concerns the number of books published by individual printers. *Answering these questions*

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7   In 1612 John Karcan left Vilnius and moved to Lubcha (today in Belarus), in the Radziwiłł magnate family possession. The protestants printing house functioned there until around 1658 when the town was destroyed by the Tsardom of Russia invasion. *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, 70–86.

8   Slutsk (today in Belarus) was Radziwiłł town and one of the most important Reformed Church centers in Lithuania. Since 1617 there existed a gymnasium of Reformed Church. The printing house was established by Casimir Kłokocki and functioned until around 1688. In the second half of the 17th century the Protestantism in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was severely weakened. The printing house in Lubcha printed catholic and protestant books. Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, "Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki i *drukarnia w Słucku*", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, no. 12 (1967): 135–172.

9   The printing house in Kėdainiai (today in Lithuania) was founded by prince Janusz Radziwiłł around 1652. Its aims were printing handbooks for gymnasium in Kėdainiai and vernacular prayer books. It stopped working around 1657 in unknown circumstances. Henryk Wisner, "Kilka uwag o drukarni w Kiejdanach i jej publikacjach", *Czasy nowożytne* no. IX (2000): 79–87.

10 Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa. *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce. Między prasą drukarską a stosem*. Warszawa: Wydaw. SBP, 1997, 178.

11 Józef Andrzej Teslar, "Polskie wydawnictwa ariańskie w bibliotekach angielskich", *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego na obczyźnie* no. IX (1958–59): 45–50.

is impossible without determining which books come from the Protestant printing offices in Lithuania. Determining the printing office can thus provide additional information regarding the history of Lithuanian cultural heritage.

The history of the Protestant printing offices, particularly the fall of the Reformed Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, also resulted in another fact important for cataloguing. The victory of the Counter-Reformation resulted in only a small number of Protestant books surviving. Those are the books nowadays referred to as the rare or unique early printed books. In many cases, there are only one or two copies left. Sometimes, only descriptions in old catalogues, bibliographies, or other secondary sources remain. Therefore, librarians describing those kinds of books can rarely find information about them in catalogues or bibliographies. Those books are also scattered throughout many libraries all over Europe, so they cannot be easily compared. In case of a damaged copy, it is very difficult to create a full bibliographical description.

Despite all the difficulties related to cataloguing the early printed books, great progress has been achieved. For example, a book historian, Józef Lukaszewicz, wrote that he knew of only several Protestant books from the Karcan printing office in his book *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie* (The History of Helvetian Churches in Lithuania). Nowadays, a dozen or so of them have been identified. He did not know of any books from the Piotr Blastus printing house in Vilnius. Nowadays, five of them are known[12].

During cataloguing, new books from Lithuanian printing offices are often discovered. Many books from those printing offices have already been previously described in library catalogues of Lithuanian, Polish and Swedish libraries. Most often, those are the catalogues of the 16th-century collections. The 17th-century books are mostly yet to be described in catalogues. The library research in Sweden is also very important because there are books printed in Lithuania there that do not exist in Lithuanian and Polish libraries. So far, over a dozen such books have been discovered[13].

In the catalogue of early printed books of the University Library in Warsaw, 10 books were described as being printed at Jan Karcan's printing office[14]. Five of

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12 Józef Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. 2 (Poznań: w Drukarni Orędownika na Garbarach, 1843), 189.

13 Eugeniusz Barwiński, Ludwik Birkenmajer, Jan Łoś, Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań w S*zwecji dokonanych z ramienia Akademii Umiejętności* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1914); Czesłw Pilichowski, *Nieznane polonica w bibliotekach szwedzkich*, Gdańsk: Gdańskie Tow. Naukowe, 1962. The recent cataloguing projets are described in: Ewa Teodorowicz-Hellman, "Najnowsze badania nad polonikami w Szwecji", in *Humanizm polski. Długie trwanie – tradycje – współczesność*, ed. Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa, Marcin Cieński (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2008-9), 505–516.

14 *Katalog druków XV i XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, vol. 1,. II – XVI w., ed. Teresa Komender (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1994); *Katalog druków XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, vol. 2, ed. Teresa Komender, Halina Mieczkowska, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

them were identified thanks to the information printed in the books, whereas the printing office of the other 5 books was discovered during the process of cataloguing. In the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences catalogue, there are 7 books with imprints and 6 of them are described as originating from a Protestant printing office. In some other cases, on the basis of the content of the books, the authors of the catalogue stated that the books were printed in Vilnius. However, there are no hypotheses about the printing office. Some of them may have come from the Protestant printing offices. For example, in the catalogue of the Ossolineum Library, there is the book of the Calvinist Mikołaj Rey, and two books defending the Orthodox Church against Catholicism, among some other books whose printing offices are unknown. They may have been printed by the Protestant printers because Protestants and Orthodox Christians fought together against Counter-Reformation. There are also two panegyrics printed in Vilnius at the time the Protestant printing offices were active in the city[15]. Therefore, those books may also come from Protestant printing houses. An outstanding specialist in the area of Protestant books professor Alodia Kawecka Gryczowa claimed that many Lithuanian Protestant books are yet to be identified as such.

The printed catalogues provide information about the presumed printing offices, but there are no descriptions of the catalogue authors' methodologies. Sometimes, the methodology is not even listed, and, at other instances, the only methodology mentioned is "on the basis of typographic analysis". It is not explained exactly how the printing office is determined, so verifying these findings is difficult. In addition, different hypotheses appear in various works. This is particularly noticeable in case of the books considered to be the work of the Karcan printing office or the Jesuit printing office in Vilnius. The bibliography of the Jesuit printing office books created by the Lithuanian researcher Konstancija Čepienė contains many books without the printer's signature, listed as originating from Jan Karcan's printing house in Polish catalogues [16].

Cataloguing anonymous early printed books is a great challenge. It's enough to just remember the *Typenrepertor die Wiegendrucke* by Konrad Haebler, which en-

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1998); vol. 3, ed. Halina Mieczkowska, materiał proweniencyjny opracowany pod kierunkiem Marii Cubrzyńskiej-Leonarczyk (Warszawa; Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2007); vol. 4, ed. Halina Mieczkowska, materiał proweniencyjny opracowany pod kierunkiem Marii Cubrzyńskiej-Leonarczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2011); vol. 5, ed. H. Mieczkowska, materiał proweniencyjny opracowany pod kierunkiem Marii Cubrzyńskiej-Leonarczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2015); vol. 6, ed. Halina Mieczkowska, materiał proweniencyjny opracowany pod kierunkiem Marii Cubrzyńskiej-Leonarczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2016).

15 *Katalog starych druków Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich. Polonica wieku XVII.* vol. 1–2 ed. Barbara Górska, Wiesław Tyszkowski (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1991–1992); vol. 3–8 ed. Wiesław Tyszkowski (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1993–1996), vol. 9 ed, Wiesław Tyszkowski, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1997).

16 Konstancija Čepienė, Irena Petrauskienė, *Vilniaus akademijos spaustuvės leidiniai 1576–1805* (Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos. Centrinė biblioteka), 1979.

abled us to determine the incunabula printers. Furthermore, tools used to determine the hidden printing offices for the 16th-century books were discovered. In case of the Polish early printed books, the tool used is the *Polonia Typographica* series. The first volume appeared before the Second World War and it concerned the Kasper Hochfeder printing office in Cracow[17]. After the war, more volumes were published. The volumes contain a precise description of fonts, woodcuts, initials, vignettes, finalists, etc. The time certain fonts, woodcuts, etc. were used is specified. The exact typography of each book is described. The *Polonia Typographica* also presents reproductions of the described printed material. Thanks to the performed research, the problem of many anonymously printed books was solved. For example, in the list of books of the Protestant printer Alexander Augezdecki, 13 of his books were discovered even though they didn't have his signature. By contrast, 14 books were signed[18]. Therefore, *Polonia Typographica* is a tool for individual work, such as the identification of damaged books. It is not only used to describe the already known books. It is very likely that the research of library collections will reveal new anonyms, so we need a tool for librarians to help them determine the printer themselves.

A similar tool is required for the 17th-century books as well. The first stage of working on this should be to list all known early printed books from the Protestant printing offices, as well as the books without the printer's signature related to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This work was largely done by Lithuanian bibliographers[19]. The lists were the result of the research carried out in libraries throughout Lithuania and other countries, and the analysis of the earlier bibliographical literature. These lists contain more than one hundred books without imprints. The printing offices are either determined, speculated or unknown. Those are both the achievements and deficiencies of the research. The second stage should be the study of all of the known books with imprints. Thanks to that, it will be possible to sort out the initials and the typical elements used by each printing house. Other non-Protestant printing offices will, also, have to be considered in order to determine if they used the same elements as the Protestant printing offices. By comparing the equipment of various printing houses their typical characteristics can be determined.

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17 Kazimierz Piekarski, *Polonia Typographica Saeculi Sedecimi. Zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia*, vol. 1 *Kasper Hochfeder* (Kraków 1503–1505, Warszawa: Szkoła Graficzna im. Marszałka J. Piłsudskiego, 1936).

18 *Polonia Typographica Saeculi Sedecimi. Zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI wieku*, vol. 8, *Aleksander Augezdecki. Królewiec-Szamotuły 1549–1561 (?)*, Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1972).

19 Daiva Narbutienė, Sigitas Narbutas, *XV-XVI a. Lietuvos lotyniškų knygų sąrašas*, Vilnius: Lietuvių Literatūros ir Tautosakos Institutas, 2002; Daiva Narbutienė, Sigitas Narbutas, XVII a. *Lietuvos lotyniškų knygų sąrašas* (Vilnius: Lietuvių Literatūros ir Tautosakos Institutas, 1998).

So far, the preliminary analysis of the books from Jan Karcan's printing office from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century has been done[20]. The research has shown that Jan Karcan and the Jesuit Academy printing house used the same fonts. It is very difficult to differentiate the books of those two printing offices. On the other hand, some of the initials, vignettes and decorations were identified as the characteristic features of either Karcan's books or the Jesuit Academy printing office books. The preliminary typographical studies suggest the possibility to successfully determine the books of various printers.

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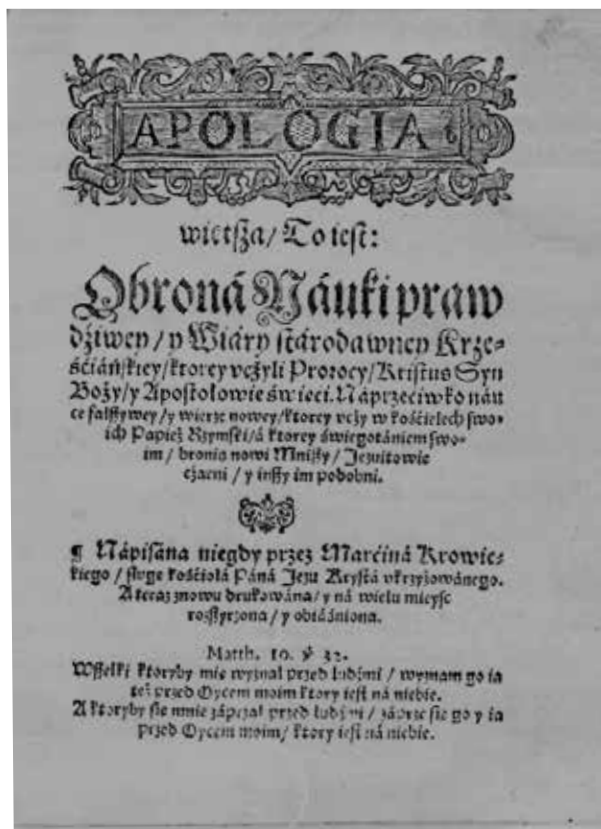
20 Fryderyk Rozen, "Problem drukarza książki O jednej osobie Stanisława Grodzickiego", *Czasopismo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich*, no. 26/27 (2017).