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COLLECTION OF INCUNABLES AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTS IN GWALBERT PAWLIKOWSKI LIBRARY

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In the nineteenth century in the Eastern European Galicia, Gwalbert Pawlikowski, a Polish aristocrat and politician, started to collect valuable books related to the broadly defined Slavic culture. His library is nowadays considered as one of the most interesting collections in this field. The main aim of the article is to analyse the profile of this historic library in relation to Pawlikowski's founding objectives. The analysis is based on the oldest part of the book collection, i.e. fifteenth and sixteenth century early printed books that are now held in the Vasyl Stefanyk National Science Library of Ukraine in Lviv and the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław. The article describes thoroughly the most important items from the Pawlikowski collection explaining why they are ascribed to the area of Slavonic culture. The article also briefly sketches the fates of the Pawlikowski collection which was at first gathered in Medyka, then relocated to Lviv, and finally divided during the Second War – partly transported to Lower Silesia, now in Poland, partly incorporated into the book collection of the Vasyl Stefanyk National Science Library of Ukraine in Lviv.

Keywords: book collection, incunabula, Pawlikowski library, Slavic culture.

The Pawlikowski family from Medyka gathered one of the most valuable private collections of books and museum artefacts in the region of Lviv. For over 100 years since its creation at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was expanded and cared for by four generations of Pawlikowskis: Józef Benedykt Pawlikowski (1770–1830), Gwalbert Pawlikowski (1792–1852), Mieczysław Pawlikowski (1834–1903) and Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski (1860–1939).

The family tradition of collecting cultural and historical items was initiated by Józef Benedykt, Mayor of Przemyśl, who purchased the estate in Medyka in 1809 and, soon after, started to set up a collection of paintings, graphics, books and numismatic coins. However, it was Józef's elder son, Gwalbert, who was the real author of the collection which he enlarged and expanded significantly having inherited it, together with Medyka, after his father's death in 1830. Gwalbert Pawlikowski had developed an interest in collecting objects earlier than that, influenced by Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński with whom he became friends when the two cooperated in Vienna from 1820. With the passing of his father in 1830, he moved permanently to Medyka where, during his lifetime, he compiled a library

of 16,520 volumes, 13,900 of which were related either to Poland or the Slavic culture¹. The fast growing library had to be arranged and catalogued. To this end, Pawlikowski employed Stanisław Przyłęcki whom he had known due to his contacts with the Ossoliński Institute in Lviv. The Lviv historian and librarian prepared the first catalogue of the library, obtained interesting books which he would send to Medyka to enlarge the collection and acted as an intermediary in Pawlikowski's contacts with the booksellers of Lviv. Przyłęcki worked on the catalogue between 1839 and 1844. Earlier than that, in 1834–1839, the library employed Kajetan Kielisiński, but his role was limited that of curator of the artistic items; he made *ex libris* marks for the book collection (Fig. 1)². The library and the rest of the collection was transported to Lviv in the years 1848–1849 after Pawlikowski's seat in Medyka was requisitioned by the army as a field hospital when the Russians marched on Hungary. Already in Lviv, in 1850, Pawlikowski employed another librarian-curator, Henryk Schmitt, a Lviv historian who found the Medyka collection very much organised with its catalogues of engravings, numismatic coins, stamps, manuscripts and books (books were also arranged in a card catalogue, one of the most advanced solutions used in the library at the time). After Gwalbert Pawlikowski's death in 1852, the collection was inherited by Gwalbert's son, Mieczysław Pawlikowski. Schmitt continued his work in the library: he added entries to Przyłęcki's catalogue, purchased new books and worked on the catalogue of manuscripts. Thanks to his efforts, in 1874, the collection was moved to a new, larger location in the Dominican monastery where Pawlikowski rented facilities from the monks. It was not until the 1890s that the collection obtained its own seat in the Pawlikowski building at 5 3rd May Street, a building that was erected by Jan Gwalbert Pawlikowski around 1895 precisely with the aim of providing facilities for the library. Following Schmitt's death, the position of Pawlikowski's librarian was taken over by the historian Dr Ludwik Kubala who held the post until the end of his life in 1918³.

¹ Stanisław Sierotwiński, "Pawlikowski," in *Słownik pracowników książki polskiej*, pod red. Ireny Treichel (Warszawa; Łódź: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972), 1: 665. For the sake of precision, it should be mentioned that Pawlikowski also – even predominantly – collected graphical items whose value much exceeded that of the book collection. The collection of graphics, some of which were made on Gwalbert Pawlikowski's commission, was one of the most valuable and unique all over Poland. Already in the nineteenth century, it was this part of the collection that was the object of interest and study both among researchers and the general public as opposed to the library that was always somewhat ignored. Such treatment was not just, however, as Pawlikowski managed to compile an interesting book collection comprised of many unique and rare items.

² Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv, Department of manuscripts (hereinafter LNNBU), Fund 76 (Manuscripts and archive of Pawlikowski family), Series II (Pawlikowski Archive), File 331 (Letters of Stanisław Przyłęcki to Gwalbert Pawlikowski, 1836–1851) (hereinafter 76/II/331), ff. 41r., 44, 46r.; File 472 (Catalogue of the Pawlikowski Library. Letters N–R); File 473 (Catalogue of the Pawlikowski Library. Letters S–Z).

³ LNNBU, 76/III/56, f. 254, 76/I/292, f. 48–53, 276–294; Ossoliński National Institute (hereinafter: ZNiO), File 5913/I, f. 71, 153, 247, 259; Maria Grońska and Maria Ochońska, *Zbiory Pawlikowskich. Katalog* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1960), 7; Sierotwiński, "Pawlikowski," 1: 665.

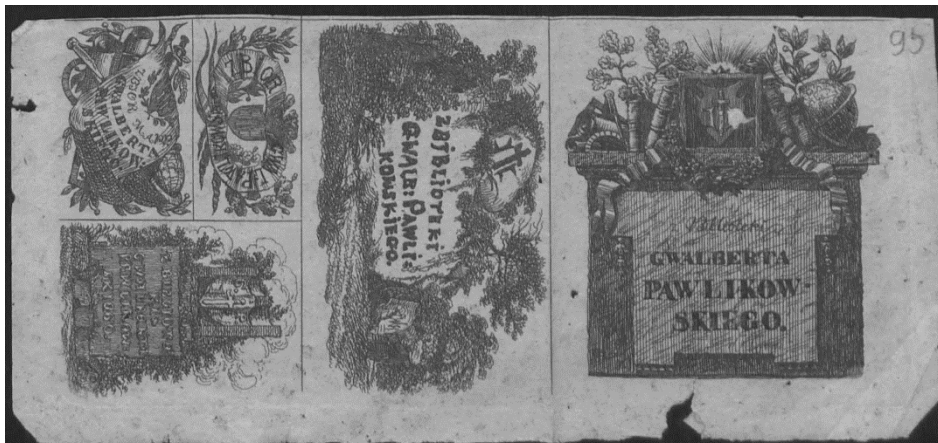


Fig. 1. Ex libris marks from Gwalbert Pawlikowski's library.

Due to the slow process of arranging the collection (Schmitt worked in the library for 2–3 hours per day), the lack of suitable facilities and Mieczysław Pawlikowski's financial, health and political difficulties, the general public had restricted access to the library in the second half of the nineteenth century⁴. Even though the collection itself did not develop as robustly as it had in Medyka, Mieczysław took care to ensure its steady expansion, for example by buying part of the books left by Aleksander Batowski. The financial difficulties experienced by the Pawlikowski family, gradual deterioration of the collection caused by the poor quality of storage facilities (dampness, damaged bindings, woodworms) and the lack of a professional library catalogue all meant that the Pawlikowskis were more and more inclined to move the collection to another institution. In 1911, Jan Gwalbert began talks with the representatives of the Ossolineum. Even so, the Pawlikowski library was not formally incorporated into the Institute until June 21, 1921, for reasons related to formalities and the outbreak of the First World War⁵. The Pawlikowski collection was given to the Ossolineum as a deposit. It remained independent as a collection: it had its own call numbers and its own librarian whilst decisions about its future could be made solely by the members of the Pawlikowski family. The Ossolineum, on the other hand, was obliged to maintain the collection which meant, among others, conserving, binding, cataloguing and stamping books as well as ensuring adequate storage facilities. At the turn of July 1921, the collection was moved to the Ossolineum building⁶. As the books were in a state

⁴ ZNiO, 5913/I, f. 71, 279–281, 283, 287.

⁵ LNNBU, 54/II/57, ff. 118–127; Beata Długajczyk, "Kontrowersje wokół przejęcia medycznej kolekcji Pawlikowskich," *Rocznik Przemyski* 46 (2010): 267–271.

⁶ Agnieszka Franczyk-Cegła, "Zbiory książkowe Biblioteki im. Gwalberta Pawlikowskiego," *Galicja* 3 (2017): 130–132.

of neglect and did not have an inventory, the Institute prepared their first, make-shift inventory completed in 1925. It included 21,503 entries. In 1927, work was started to compile a new typographical inventory and an alphabetically arranged card catalogue. Prepared in manuscript and machine versions, the new inventory was completed in 1937, comprising 23,480 items in about 26,000 volumes. The inventory has gaps left for the incunables which were to be filled in later⁷. In 1937, all of the Pawlikowski collection was moved to the Pawlikowski Room in the Ossolineum. It was officially opened on April 27 during the general meeting of the Society of the Friends of the Ossolineum⁸. During the Second World War, the collection was broken up in line with the then policy of the Russian authorities: books published before 1800 were set aside and transported to the warehouse of the newly created Department of Incunables, Old Prints and Rare Books (the so-called Small Library) which stored incunables and old prints detached from the main Ossolineum collection. When the Germans took control of the city, efforts were taken to put the Pawlikowski library together again, but the task proved to be onerous; a list of old prints from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century started to be drafted in December 1941; in 1943, sixteenth-century prints were arranged according to their formats and call numbers and put in a separate bookcase in the Small Library⁹. The Pawlikowski collection was split in 1944 when the German authorities moved the most valuable part of the collection first to Kraków and then to Zagrodno from where it was transported to the Ossolineum in Wrocław. It was then that about 550 of its old prints were taken out of Lviv¹⁰ (including 7 incunables, 227 Polish-related prints and 50 foreign prints from the sixteenth century as well as 135 Polish-related prints from the seventeenth century). The rest of Pawlikowskis' books remained in Lviv where they are now part of the V. Stefanyk Lviv National Science Library of Ukraine. After 1946, it was transported from the Ossolineum warehouses to the Department of Rare Books in the former building of the *Narodnyj Dim* at 14 Lysenko Street.

The Pawlikowskis collected works related to Poland and broadly defined Slavic culture in all languages. In 1856, Henryk Schmitt wrote that this was because “the resources at his disposal were not enough to start a comprehensive collection covering the entire span of European and West-European writings” which made Pawlikowski “decide to collect mainly books that were either Polish or related to the native writings and history”¹¹. What proved decisive, however, was the idea

⁷ Currently held in the Rare Books Department of the V. Stefanyk Lviv National Science Library of Ukraine without a call number. For more information about the inventory, see: Franczyk-Cegła, “Zbiory książkowe,” 134–135..

⁸ LNNBU, 54/II/60, f. 316.

⁹ ZNiO, 17055/II, ff. 150–151.

¹⁰ Maciej Matwijów, *Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich w latach 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ossolineum, 2003), 196.

¹¹ Henryk Schmitt, “O zbiorach naukowych i artystycznych śp. Gwalberta Pawlikowskiego znajdujących się we Lwowie,” *Czas* (Kraków), 21 czerwca 1856, 1.

to preserve “ancient” Slavic artefacts, an idea that was instilled into Gwalbert Pawlikowski by his father and Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński. The Pawlikowskis, especially Gwalbert, collected any old books related to Poland, including those which were not interesting for other collectors, for example due to their poor condition¹².

The Pawlikowskis obtained books by traditional means: they either bought or exchanged them. The process of building up the collection was facilitated by the immense services of Stanisław Przyłęcki who worked for Pawlikowski as a librarian. Extremely knowledgeable in the fields of Polish literature and bibliology, he managed to acquire many valuable prints. Thus, in a letter to Pawlikowski of December 13, 1838, he wrote: “I bought the Bible for 12 guldens CM. I send it to you with the remark that, should the purchase not be to your liking, I can return it. I also send a few odd bits and pieces as per the attached note [...]”¹³. The “bits and pieces” are 26 books from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, including *Ordo misse secundum institutionem sacrosancte ecclesie Romane cum notabilibus et glossis additis* by Jan Burchard published in Kraków in 1529 by Maciej Szarfenberg¹⁴. Written around 1500 and first published in 1502, this popular print contained practical explanations of the Roman Mass rituals, providing one of the main points of reference for the codification of the Roman Missal after the Council of Trent¹⁵. The copy that belonged to the Pawlikowskis had been previously owned by the Lviv Capuchin Order which, in turn, obtained it from an unidentified order following a bequest by Father Abraham Wągiel from Osiek.

The most valuable part of the Pawlikowski library is made up of incunables and prints made in the sixteenth century. Up to 1939, the collection included 10 incunables:

1. Anianus, *Computus cum commento*. Add: [Johannes de Sacro Bosco?]: *Algorithmus*.

Strassburg : Johann Prüss, 14 XI 1488. GW 1951. CT-IV 21566/k.2

2. Bernardus Claravallensis, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis una cum homiliis et epistolis*.

Venice : Johannes Emericus de Spira, for Lucantonio Giunta, 12 III 1495. GW 3945. CT-II 7878.

3. Guillelmus de Lanicia, *Diaeta salutis*. Add: *Devota contemplatio, seu meditatio de nativitate domini. Pseudo- Bonaventura, De resurrectione a peccato ad gratiam*.

Venezia : Johannes (Petrus) de Quarengiis, Bergomensis, 1 II 1497/98. GW 4730 (Pseudo-Bonaventura). CT-I 11030.

¹² See e. g.: LNNBU, 76/II/331, f. 52.

¹³ Ibid., ff. 18–19.

¹⁴ Currently in the Ossoliński National Institute, call no. XVI.Qu.2401.

¹⁵ Paweł Milcarek, “Historia mszy,” *Christianitas* 41/42 (2009): 57–58.

4. Jacobus de Clusa, *De valore et utilitate missarum pro defunctis celebratarum*. Add: *Johannes de Mechlinia, Determinatio utrum perfecta Dei opera possint impediri daemonis malitia*.

[Lübeck : Printer of Alanus (Matthaeus Brandis?), ca 1493]. GW M10888. IBP 2963. XV.190.

5. Martinus Polonus, *Margarita decreti seu Tabula Martiniana*.

Strassburg : [Typographus Jordani de Quedlinburg = Georg Husner], 1 IX 1486. GW M21425. IBP 3622. XV.382.

6. Nicolaus de Błonie, *De sacramentis*.

Strassburg : Martin Flach, 29 V 1490. GW M26302. IBP 3928. XV.30.

7. Reinerus, *Fagifacetis, sive De moribus et facetia mensae*.

Leipzig : [Wolfgang Stöckel], 1498. GW M37654. IBP 4730. XV.199.

8. *Syntagmata, Constitutiones vel Syntagmata Regni Poloniae*.

[Leipzig : Moritz Brandis, 1488]. GW M43621. IBP 5154. XV.200.

9. Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea super evangelia dominicalia et ferialia*. Ed. Petrus de Vincentia.

Venezia : Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis pro Benedetto Fontana, 29 IV 1494. GW M46104. CT-III 14070.

10. Twinger von Königshofen Jakob, *Chronicon Martymiany dictum [bohemicum]*. Tr: Beneš z Hořovic.

Prague : [Johann Kamp?], 26 IX 1488. GW M48347. IBP 5452. XV.360.

Among those, at least half may be considered to concern in some way the broadly defined Slavic culture. In terms of content, this is true for *Syntagmata, Constitutiones vel Syntagmata Regni Poloniae* published in Leipzig in 1488, i.e. the first codification of the Polish Land Law comprising the statutes of Casimir the Great, the Kraków-Warta statue, the statutes of Nieszawa and the statue of Nowy Korczyn. The print was an immediate point of departure for the official text that remained binding for the following several centuries as the decrees were reprinted – with some changes – by Jan Łaski in *Commune incliti Poloniae regni privilegium* of 1506 which was then the source of *Volumina Legum*¹⁶. There were two editions of the *Syntagmata*: Pawlikowskis' copy is the second edition from 1488 and one of the 10 copies that have survived until the present day. In the fifteenth century, the entire print was marked with handwritten initials in red and blue while the table of contents at the beginning of the volume and some chapter titles were rubricated. The copy was initially bound in the sixteenth century with brown leather that was blind printed, mainly with a roll press. Fragments of the binding have survived incorporated into the contemporary binding made in the Ossoliński bindery after the collection was deposited in the Ossoliński National Institute at the beginning of

¹⁶ Stanisław Roman, "Najstarsze druki polskiego prawa ziemskiego (*Syntagmata*)," *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 4 (1952): 363–378.

the twentieth century. It was also then that the book was dried and cleaned having been water-damaged at some point in its history as can be seen from stains on the paper. However, the origin of the book remains unknown. Apart from contemporary marks, the only provenance mark it has is Gwalbert Pawlikowski's heraldic seal on the first folio¹⁷.

Three incunables fitted the profile of Pawlikowski library by virtue of their author. *Margarita decreti seu Tabula*, an enormously popular (22 printed editions) concise lexicon of canon law, was written by Martin of Opava, also known as Martin of Poland, a Dominican monk and Archbishop of Gniezno. The edition owned by Pawlikowski was printed on September 1, 1486 by Georg Husner. It has survived in 109 copies located in 84 different institutions all over the world, a testimony to the fact that the work was popular and had large print runs. Carefully rubricated in the fifteenth century, the Pawlikowski copy is well preserved and damage-free. It was half bound in brown leather in the Ossoliński bindery at the beginning of the twentieth century. Similarly to the *Syntagma*, its provenance marks are limited to Gwalbert Pawlikowski's heraldic seal put on the verso of the title folio and the last folio under the colophon. The copy is defective: it lacks folios a1, a2, a9, a10, n1 and n6 (blank)¹⁸.

Another incunable from the Medyka collection titled *Tractatus de administrandis rite ecclesiasticis sacramentis, celebrandisque missarum solennis et censuris ecclesiasticis canonice observandis* was written by Mikołaj of Błonie, a Polish theologian and historian living at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Created around 1430 and published in eleven printed editions from 1475 to 1500, this textbook of church sacraments (the so-called *Sacramentale*) has come down to us in 591 copies globally. The edition from May 29, 1490 owned by the Pawlikowskis has survived in 76 copies kept in 58 institutions¹⁹. The Medyka copy is also testament to the great popularity of Mikołaj of Błonie's work: its margins bear many annotations made by the hand of an anonymous fifteenth century reader. Conversely, there are no signs of earlier users: the only provenance mark is Pawlikowski's heraldic seal on the versos of the title and ultimate folios whereas the binding is contemporary, dating back to the twentieth century (only the spine shows fragments of an earlier, nineteenth-century cover).

De valore et utilitate missarum pro defunctis celebratarum, a work on funeral masses, is also part of the Slavic culture. It was written by Jacob of Jüterbogk (1380–1464), Carthusian monk and Cistercian theologian whose relation to Kraków and the monastery of Mogiła earned him the name of Jacobus de Polonia²⁰.

¹⁷ Currently in the collection of the Ossoliński National Institute, call no. XV.200.

¹⁸ Currently in the collection of the Ossoliński National Institute, call no. XV.382.

¹⁹ Currently in the collection of the Ossoliński National Institute, call no. XV.30.

²⁰ [Redakcja], "Jakub z Paradyża," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1962), 10: 363–364.

De valore was published until 1500 in four editions; the copy owned by the Pawlikowskis was published in Lubeck around 1493 and is quite rare: only 15 copies have survived, of which 11 are kept in Polish and German libraries which suggests that the author moved within these two cultural milieus. The Medyka copy has an interesting feature that it obtained during production. Namely, only a small section of the woodcut intended for the title folio (part of the frame on the left) got printed. The paper also shows contours of the drawing impressed by the ink-carrying parts of the block that are normally covered by black ink but, in this case, were left dry so that the illustration looks as if it was stamped with a blank block. The printer must have made a mistake by failing to apply ink properly on the block of wood. This was most likely the result of the printer's carelessness rather than technical problems. Printing woodcuts in old books did not require any special technical treatment and should not have posed any problems to printers. While it is true that, due to technical reasons, the first books illustrated in the 1460s first had their texts printed and only then the drawings (printers followed the wrong practice of using woodcut blocks and fonts of different thickness; the block with an illustration was then matched to the thickness of the text so that the two could appear together)²¹, the practice was abandoned fairly quickly by putting the woodcut block together with the text in the same plate; the block was fixed with wooden or metal galleys after which the entire plate was printed on the sheet of paper²². Neither was this the case of the woodcut block being worn-out even though this happened fairly often, especially with ephemeral prints of poor quality made in large numbers. Worn-out block fragments did not leave any trace on the paper, whereas here the impression is visible but colourless.

Another print from the area of Slavic culture is the incunable *Chronicon Martymiany dictum*, a Czech language chronicle by Jakob Twinger, an Alsatian historian and clergyman. The Chronicle was written in German in 1415 and printed in only five editions until 1500 (1476, 1476, 1480, 1487 and 1488), four times in German and once in Czech. In the literature, it is known as the "Roman Chronicle" or "Martin's Chronicle" after the colophon that says: "skonawa se Martymiany a neb yakož niekteř ržekagi ržimska kronyka", i.e. "thus finishes Martin's, or, as some say, Roman Chronicle". The adjective "Martymiany" (Martin's) refers to the name of the author to whom the chronicle was attributed for years: the already mentioned Martinus Polonus, i.e. Martin of Opava. The attribution is also reflected in the description of the Pawlikowski copy. An added folio bears a bibliographic citation where the author is identified precisely as Martin of Opava. The Medyka copy is one of the 16 known copies which have survived until the present day and the only one kept in a Polish library (Fig. 2)²³.

²¹ [Anonymous], "Drzeworyt," in *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1971), 621..

²² Józef Grycz, *Z dziejów i techniki książki* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1951), 43–44; Zdzisław Staniszewski, "Estetyka polskiego druku książkowego XVIII wieku. Zarys problematyki," *Ze skarbcza kultury* 12 (1960): 147.

²³ Currently in the collection of the Ossoliński National Institute, call no. XV.360.

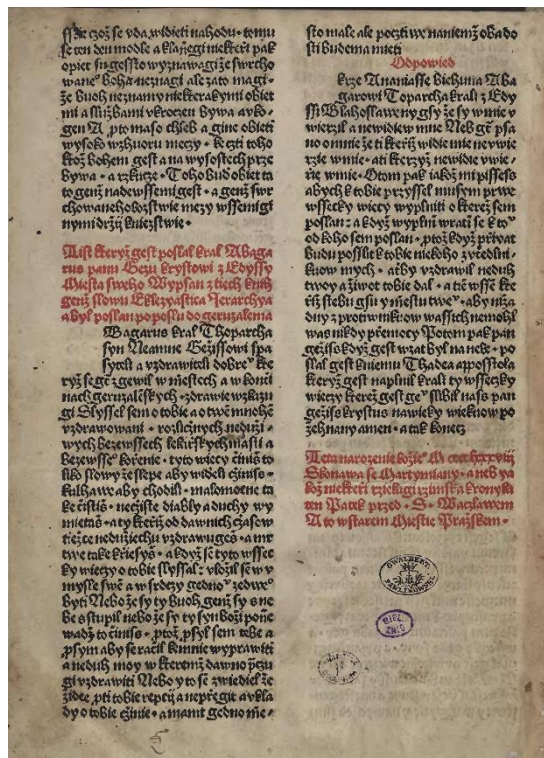


Fig. 2. Twinger von Königshofen Jakob, Chronicon Martymiany dictum [bohemicice]. Tr: Beneš z Hořovic. Prague : [Johann Kamp?], 26 IX 1488. ZNiO, Call No. XV.360.

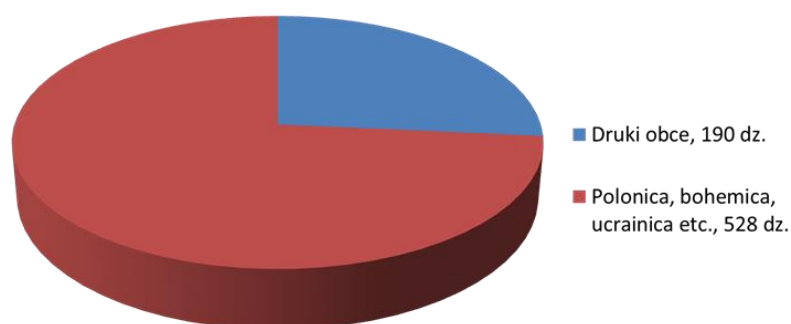
The purchase of the incunable *Computus manualis* by Anianus (Strasbourg, 1488) was also part of Gwalbert Pawlikowski's conscious policy of compiling a collection of Slavic prints as the work is bound together with *Expositio hymnorumque interpretatio* by Michael Falkener published in Kraków in 1516, which comes first in the composite volume²⁴.

It may be assumed that it was this latter print that motivated the purchase, the other incunable coming along as an "addition". The same is true for the Medyka copy of *Sermones* by Bernard of Clairvaux, published in Venice in 1495, which was also once part of a composite volume²⁵; in this case, however, the common binding was unstitched so it is impossible to identify the other works it comprised.

²⁴ Currently held in the V. Stefanyk Lviv National Science Library of Ukraine, call no. CT-IV 21566/k.2. See also: Iryna Kachur, "Inkunabuly z historycznej kolekcji Ossolineum w zbiorach Lwowskiej Narodowej Naukowej Biblioteki Ukrainy im. Wasyla Stefanyka," *Czasopismo Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich* 28 (2017): 48.

²⁵ Currently held in V. Stefanyk Lviv National Science Library of Ukraine, call no. CT-II7878. See also: Kachur, "Inkunabuly," 48.

The profile of the Medyka collection becomes clearer when it comes to sixteenth-century prints. In general, the Pawlikowski library kept 718 books published in the sixteenth century (441 of which are now held in the V. Stefanyk Lviv National Science Library of Ukraine, 277 in the Ossolineum in Wrocław). The collection is made predominantly of prints related to the broadly defined Slavic culture, i.e. to Poland, Bohemia, Ukraine etc. They account for almost three fourths of all the books (about 73 %).



Most were written in Latin (about 90 %), while the rest is in Polish, German and Czech. The collection is dominated by two types of prints: the so-called foreign Polish-related prints, i.e. books that were printed in a language different from Polish outside Polish territory but are related to Poland, for example, through the author of the dedication, a mention about Poland etc., as well as prints published in Latin in Kraków. The latter group includes teaching prints intended for the students of the Kraków Academy such as editions of works by Aristotle (an early Kraków edition of *Physics* published by Kasper Hochfeder in 1503²⁶, Ungler's 1512 edition of *De anima*²⁷, edition of *Logic* published by the same house in 1513–1516²⁸), Saint Albert the Great (*Philosophia pauperum* published by Haller in 1516)²⁹, Johannes de Sacrobosco³⁰ or Jan Głogowczyk and textbooks of arithmetic (edited, for example, by Jan of Łańcut)³¹. A lot of them were annotated with extensive teaching glosses, notes about lectures or doodles made in the margins by bored students as in the case of the commentary on Aristotle from 1516 published by Jan Haller and Florian Ungler³². An anonymous student, perhaps the same person who took note

²⁶ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 14289.

²⁷ ZNiO, call no. XVI.Qu.3279.

²⁸ ZNiO, call no. XVI.Qu.1760.

²⁹ ZNiO, call no. XVI.Qu.1582.

³⁰ ZNiO, call no. XVI.Qu.2868.

³¹ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 13196.

³² ZNiO, call no. XVI.Qu.1760.

of the year and time of the lecture twice on the title page: “Anno dni M. D. lxiij inlectorio Artis hora xvij”, drew decorative patterns next to this annotation. A gloss made by several people and the year 1563 give us an idea of how such textbooks were used: they usually served several consecutive generations of students. The group of teaching prints in Latin with an interesting typography includes the 1522 edition of *Tractatus de sphaera*, the most important astronomical work by Johannes de Sacrobosco, an English scholar living at the turn of the thirteenth century. The *Tractatus* was mandatory reading for all astronomy students at every European university, including the University of Kraków where lectures on astronomy based on Johannes de Sacrobosco’s textbook were incorporated into the *trivium* curriculum in 1406. Among others, the lectures were delivered by Leonard of Dobczyce in the summer semesters of 1504 and 1507. The first known Kraków commentary on the treatise was written as a manuscript in 1422; as the technology of printing developed, students used printed editions that were initially imported from Western Europe (for example, Nicolai Copernicus used the 1499 edition of the treatise printed in Venice)³³ and then printed locally in Kraków. The first Kraków edition of the *Tractatus* accompanied by a commentary of Jan of Głogów for the students at the Kraków Academy was printed in Kraków in 1506 by Jan Haller, in 1513 and 1514 by Florian Ungler and then in 1518 by Johann Knoblouch in Strasbourg. In 1518 and 1520, *Tractatus de sphaera* was discussed in Kraków during lectures delivered by Mateusz of Szamotuły³⁴; as a consequence, he made his own commentary on the treatise. It was printed by the publishing house of Florian Ungler and sponsored by Jan Haller in 1522. The title folio bears a woodcut print with a well-known mediaeval representation of the author offering his work to his patron; here, the author was replaced by the wise man Johannes de Sacrobosco holding a blue ball to whom Mateusz of Szamotuły offers the written work (Fig. 3). The Medyka library kept one of the dozen or so preserved copies of this edition with a sixteenth-century teaching gloss in Latin written by an anonymous student of the Kraków Academy³⁵.

Another rare and valuable Latin print is the short work *De splendidissimo Christi Jesu triumpho carmen* by Marcin Kromer on the resurrection of Christ, a work which follows in the Christian Easter tradition. As late as the beginning of the twentieth century, the print was still known only from its first edition of 1533 and the second edition of 1534 published by Hieronim Wietor³⁶. The Medyka library,

³³ Grażyna Rosińska, *Instrumenty astronomiczne na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w XV wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1974), 53; Mieczysław Markowski, “Stopniowa przewaga astrologii nad astronomią,” in *Historia astronomii w Polsce*, pod red. Eugeniusza Rybki (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975), 1: 179.

³⁴ Leszek Hajdukiewicz, “Mateusz z Szamotuł,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975), 20: 198.

³⁵ Currently in the Ossoliński National Institute, call no. XVI.Qu.3868.

³⁶ Edition of 1533: Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska. Stolecie XV–XVIII w układzie abecadlowym*, t. 9 (20), *Ko–Ky* (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1905), 277. 1534 edition: Kazimierz Piekarski, zest., *Katalog Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, vol. 1, *Polonica XVI-go wieku* (Kraków: Druk W. L. Anczyca i Spółki, 1929), 103.

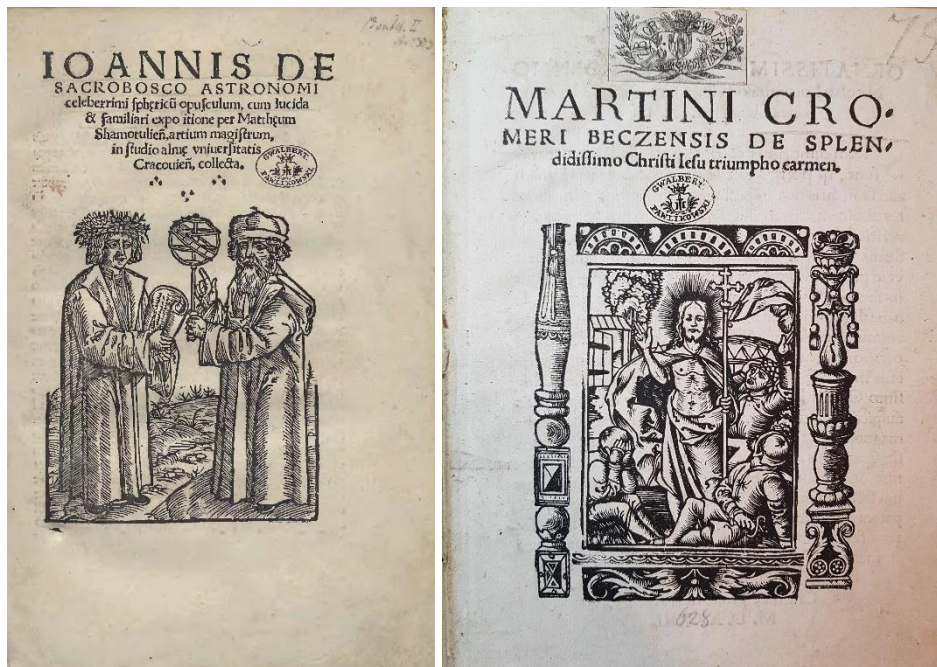


Fig. 3. Title folio of *Tractatus de sphaera* with commentary by Mateus of Szamotuły published in Kraków in 1522 by Florian Ungler and Jan Haller. ZNiO, Call No. XVI.Qu.3868.

Fig. 4. Title folio from Marcin Kromer's hymn *De splendidissimo Christi Iesu triumpho carmen* (Kraków: Hieronim Wietor, 1541) with Gwalbert Pawlikowski's ex libris mark in the upper section of the folio. Unique copy ZNiO, Call No. XVI.Qu.3150.

however, houses the unique third edition of 1541 printed in Kraków by Hieronim Wietor. The fact that Wietor reissued the book twice within several years means that there was a lot of interest in Kromer's work even if we assumed that print runs of such literature were more or less half the size of those for larger works which were published in Kraków in the average number of 500 copies³⁷. Wietor's print is characteristic for its rich ornamentation of Renaissance typography. The printer used the Venetian typeface as designed by Jenson, which he employed regularly, whilst the title-page woodcut illustration depicting the resurrected Christ was embedded in architectural frames of a Renaissance portal (their elements are partly

³⁷ Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Rola drukarstwa polskiego w dobie Odrodzenia* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1964), 70–71. After the death of Helena Ungler in 1551, the inventory of the publishing house she managed recorded 200 copies of a print whose content was similar but written in Polish: *Piessn de passione domini*. See: Artur Benis, "Materiały do historii drukarstwa i księgarstwa w Polsce. I. Inwentarze księgarń krakowskich Macieja Scharffenberga i Floryana Unglera (1547–1551)," in *Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1892), 7: 50.

repeated in earlier editions of the hymn). The unique copy from the Pawlikowski library is devoid of any provenance annotations or other signs of its previous history. The *ex libris* mark of the Pawlikowski collection and Gwalbert Pawlikowski's heraldic seal have been preserved on the title page (Fig. 4)³⁸.

The domination of books in Latin among sixteenth-century works in the Pawlikowski library is the result of two trends prevailing on the Kraków book market of the time: most of the titles appeared in Latin, while Polish books, albeit numerous, became quickly worn-out due to their popularity. During over 30 years of his professional activity, Wietor published 60 items in Polish against about 460 in foreign languages, predominantly Latin. In 1541, when Kromer's hymn was published, Wietor placed on the market 25 other prints in Latin and five in Polish³⁹. Because they were so popular, part of the books in Polish have not survived to this day, but we assume that the proportion would not change drastically even if they had. We are aware of the typographical output of other printers (Barbara Ungler published 27 Polish and 96 Latin books in the years 1536–1551) and the titles of some vanished Polish books from sources such as the inventories of the warehouses of Kraków's publishing houses, including the inventory made in 1551, following the death of Helena Ungler, in which, out of 408 titles in 11369 copies, 37 titles, albeit in as many as 3724 copies, were written in Polish. In terms of the individual titles published, Latin was the language of as much as 90 % of books. However, when it comes to the number of copies, Latin books accounted for about 67 % of Ungler's stock. Thus, looking at sheer numbers, Polish books did not lag behind Latin ones in the sixteenth-century book market. The small amount of Polish books in contemporary collections, including the Pawlikowski library, is a consequence of their great popularity and utilitarian nature. The books became worse for wear, deteriorated and were eventually scrapped.

The majority of prints in Slavic languages are written in Polish with only several in the Czech language, including *Postylla Czeska A neb Kázání a weykłady na Eua[n]geliá* by Tomáš Bavorovski (in Slawném Misti Holomúcy: v Jana Gúnthera, 1557)⁴⁰, *Zrđcadlo Slawného Margkrabstwij Morawského* by Bartosz Paprocki (Olomutii: Excvssem apud Haeredes Milichtalleri, 1593)⁴¹, the New Testament published in Prague by Bartoloměj Netolický in 1551⁴², and *Knížka w Czieszém a Niemeckem yazyku složena* by Ondřej Klatowski printed in the same city in 1540⁴³.

³⁸ Currently in the Ossoliński National Institute, call no. XVI.Qu.3150.

³⁹ Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa and Anna Mańkowska, "Wietor Hieronim," in *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983), 1, 1: 334, 342.

⁴⁰ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5931.

⁴¹ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5143.

⁴² LNNBU, call no. CT-I 9971.

⁴³ LNNBU, call no. CT-I 9262.

As regards Polish prints, Pawlikowski collection included the herbarium by Marcin of Urzędowo of 1595 from Kraków's Officina Lazari⁴⁴, *Cieplice* and *Przymiot* by Wojciech Oczko from the same printing house published in 1578 and 1580 respectively⁴⁵, Bartosz Paprocki's *Gniazdo cnoty* (Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1578)⁴⁶, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* (variant B, Kraków: Maciej Garwolczyk, 1584)⁴⁷ and *Ogród królewski* published in Prague by Daniel Siedlezański in 1599⁴⁸, *Zwierzyniec* by Mikołaj Rej from 1574 published in Kraków by Maciej Wirzbięta⁴⁹, *Dworzanin polski* by Łukasz Górnicki (Kraków: Maciej Wirzbięta, 1566)⁵⁰, Bibles (Brest, variant A⁵¹, Leopolda's from 1561⁵², 1575⁵³ and 1577, variant B⁵⁴, and Wujek's from 1599, variant A⁵⁵, 1593⁵⁶ and 1594⁵⁷), two editions of *Kronika Polska* by Marcin Bielski from 1554 (in two copies)⁵⁸ and 1564⁵⁹ as well as its 1597 version supplemented by Joachim Bielski⁶⁰, Piotr Krescentyn's *Księgi o gospodarstwie*, variant B, from the printing house of Helena Ungler from 1549⁶¹ and *O pomnożeniu y rozkrzewieniu wszelakich Pożytkow* printed by Stanisław Szarffenberger in 1571⁶², *Żale nagrobne* by Sebastian Klonowic (Kraków, 1585)⁶³, constitutions published by Mikołaj Szarffenberger in 1565⁶⁴ and 1581⁶⁵ as well as in 1588 by the Officina Lazari as variant B⁶⁶, articles of the Magdeburg Law (edition C (1565) published by Łazarz Andrysowic of Kraków around 1573–1582⁶⁷, and edition B (1562) published by the same after 1587⁶⁸, and edition C published after 1582⁶⁹; Brest edition by Stanisław

⁴⁴ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5187.

⁴⁵ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 6940, CT-II 6941.

⁴⁶ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5108.

⁴⁷ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5109.

⁴⁸ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5110.

⁴⁹ LNNBU, call no. CT-I 9216.

⁵⁰ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 6881.

⁵¹ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5865.

⁵² LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5868.

⁵³ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5863.

⁵⁴ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5863.

⁵⁵ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 20099 (2 copies).

⁵⁶ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7525.

⁵⁷ LNNBU, call no. CT-I 9970.

⁵⁸ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5069, CT-IV 5070.

⁵⁹ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5813.

⁶⁰ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5071.

⁶¹ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 6043.

⁶² LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 6042.

⁶³ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7721.

⁶⁴ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5370–5372.

⁶⁵ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5329.

⁶⁶ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5373.

⁶⁷ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7059.

⁶⁸ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7044.

⁶⁹ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7050.

Murmeliuſ from 1560⁷⁰), Polish translation of *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* by Justus Lipsius, i.e. *Politica Panskie, To iest, Navka, Iako Pan Y Kazdy Przelożony Rządnie żyć y sprawować sie ma* (Kraków: Officina Lazari, 1595)⁷¹, Reinhard Lorichius' *Księgi o wychowaniu* (Kraków: Dziedzice Marka Szarffenbergera, 1558)⁷², religious prints: Polish translation of *Meditaciones* by Luis de Granada titled *Zywot Pana Iezvsow* (Kraków: Jakub Siebeneycher, 1592)⁷³, Marcin Łaszczy's *Okvlary Na Zwierciadlo Nabozenstwa Chrzescianskiego w Polsce* (Kraków: Officina Lazari, 1597)⁷⁴, *Katechizm Albo Wizerunk prawey Wiary Chrześcianańskiej* (Kraków: Mikołaj Szarfenberger, 1566)⁷⁵, *Desiderosvs, Abo Scieszka Do Milosci* (Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1589)⁷⁶. Stanisław Grodzicki's *O Iedney Osobie W używaniu Sakramentu Ciała Pańskiego* (Vilnius: Jan Karcan, 1589)⁷⁷, works by Piotr Skarga: *Bractwo Miłosierdzia* (Kraków: Jan Januszowski, 1598)⁷⁸, *Kazania O Siedmi Sakramentach Kościoła S. Katholickiego* (Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1600)⁷⁹, *Proces Na Konfoederacia* published by the same⁸⁰, *Żywoty Świętych* (Vilnius: Jan Ślęcki, 1579)⁸¹, *Postilla Catholica* by Jakub Wujek (variant B and C published by Siebeneycher in 1584)⁸² and his *Postilla Catholica Mnieysza* published by Piotrkowczyk in 1590⁸³.

Among the prints in Polish, two items stand out: a catechism published in Königsberg by Hans Daubmann in 1561 and *Sposob Osady Nowego Kijowá* by Józef Wereszczyński published in Kraków by Andrzej Piotrkowczyk in 1595 *Catechismus : Albo Dziecinne Kazania o Nauce Krześciańskiej, z Niemieckiego yęzika na Polski pilnie przelożone* translated by Hieronim Małecki is known from only two copies: Pawlikowski's⁸⁴ (Fig. 5) and the one kept in the library of Berlin's Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Sposob Osady Nowego Kijowá, y ochrony niegdy Stolicy Księstwá Kijowskiego od niebeśpieczeństwá wszelkiego... by Józef Wereszczyński, abbot of Sieciechów and Bishop of Kyiv, a book containing a description of Kyiv and Ukraine's defences against the Tatar invasion, was published in Kraków by Andrzej Piotrkowczyk in 1595 as a continuation of Wereszczyński's *Pobvodka ... do podniesienia Woyny świętey spolną ręką przeciw Turkom y Tatarom...*, printed

⁷⁰ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7395.

⁷¹ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 6959.

⁷² LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5199.

⁷³ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7186.

⁷⁴ LNNBU, call no. CT-I 9670.

⁷⁵ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7190.

⁷⁶ LNNBU, call no. CT-I 10357.

⁷⁷ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7308.

⁷⁸ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7146.

⁷⁹ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5926.

⁸⁰ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7147.

⁸¹ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5530.

⁸² LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 6038/1-2, CT-IV 5932/1, CT-IV 5933/1, CT-IV 6039/1.

⁸³ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 6037.

⁸⁴ LNNBU, call no. CT-II 7304.

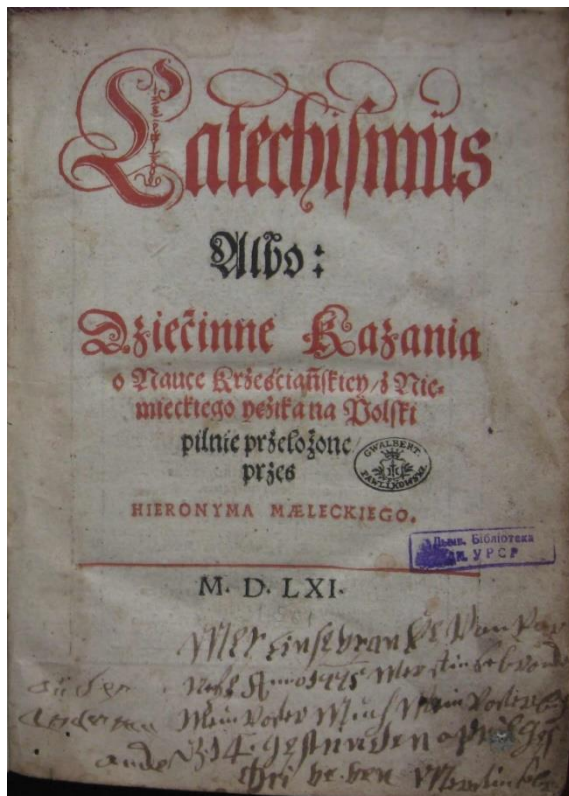


Fig. 5. *Catechismus : Albo Dziecinne Kazania o Nauce Krześciańskiej, z Niemieckiego języka na Polski pilnie przelożone* translated by Hieronim Małeki and published in Königsberg by Hans Daubmann in 1561, LNNBU, sygn. CT-II 7304.

in 1594 also by Piotrkowczyk. Both works follow in the tradition of anti-Tatar literature which blossomed all over Europe in the sixteenth century in response to Tatar incursions. Around 2,500 of the so-called *turcice* were published at the time (as many as 1,000 in German), most of which expressed an anti-Ottoman sentiment⁸⁵. *Sposób osady nowego Kijowa* was written as a letter to the deputies to the ordinary Kraków parliament whose session started on February 6, 1595. Deliberations did not go beyond the threat of the Turkish invasion (materialised later as the so-called Long Turkish War of 1593–1606) and the anti-Turkish alliance with the Habsburgs⁸⁶. Wereszczyński advocated for an alliance not only

⁸⁵ Carl Göllner, *Turcica: die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Bucharest; Berlin; Baden-Baden, 1961–1968).

⁸⁶ Izabela Lewandowska-Malec, *Sejm Walny Koronny Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i jego dorobek ustawodawczy (1587–1632)* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2009), 37–38, 410.

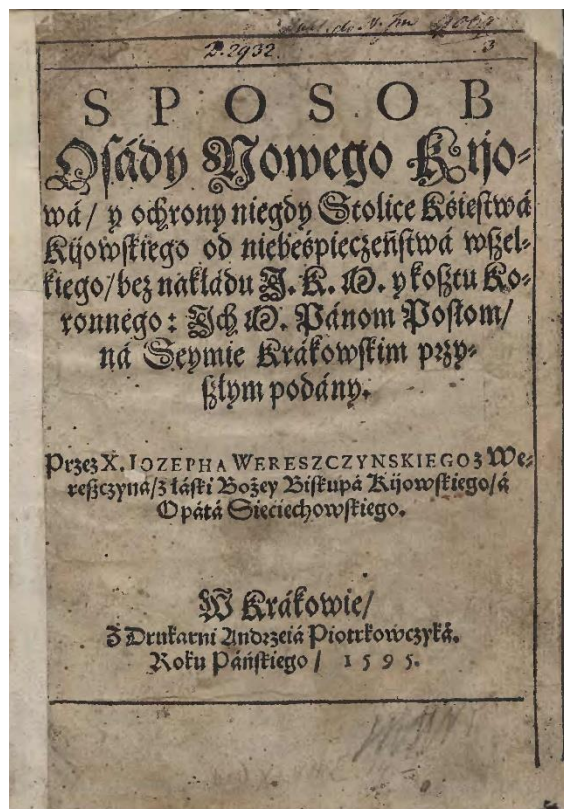


Fig. 6. *Sposób Osady Nowego Kijowa, y ochrony niegdý Stolicy Ksiestwa Kijowskiego od niebezpieczeństwa wszelkiego* by Józef Wereszczyński (Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1595). ZNIO, Call No. XVI.Qu.2282.

with the Habsburgs but also with Feodor I of Russia, hoping that, together with the Polish King, Sigismund III Vasa, the rulers would combine their forces against the Turks. *Sposób osady nowego Kijowa* was signed by the Bishop as a list from Sieciechów on January 1, 1595; the print was published in January or the first days of February, 1595, so that it could be distributed to the deputies. Starting with the description of contemporary Kyiv, the author puts forward his own proposal to set up two new settlements near Kyiv – both of which he calls Upper Kyiv or the Kyiv Colony – based on the Magdeburg Law, confer economic rights on those settlements and organise defence. He also ensures the deputies that the new Kyiv settlement will defend the Republic against an invasion from Turkey or Moscow. Published with a small print run as a parliament-related document, the print has survived in few copies. Two of them were recorded by Estreicher in 1938: one in the Ossolineum Library, the other in the Pawlikowski Library. The latter copy also belonged to the Ossolineum at some point in time judging from old library

annotations that are characteristic of the nineteenth-century Ossoliński Institute: *zap. 1835, ad XLVII.E.14.4* (in pencil) and *dublet do N. Inw. 9069/3*. The last two annotations refer to the numbers in Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński's library which were duplicated by the Pawlikowski copy. It became part of Lviv's Ossolineum before 1835 and was most likely a gift as suggested by the number written in pencil on the title folio: *D. 2932*⁸⁷. As a duplicate copy, it was probably intended to be exchanged, which is how it was moved to the Pawlikowski collection (Fig. 6)⁸⁸.

When it comes to typography and artwork aesthetics, a book that stands out in the Pawlikowski collection is a rare Wrocław missal printed in Kraków in 1505 by Kasper Hochfeder⁸⁹, itinerant printer from Bavaria brought to the Polish city by Jan Haller around 1502. The printer was active in Kraków from 1503 to 1505, cooperating with Jan Haller; during that period his presses produced 35 titles in Latin, which were predominantly teaching prints for the purposes of the Kraków Academy. The most challenging undertaking of Kasper Hochfeder's and Jan Haller's was the publication of *Missale Wratislaviense* initiated by Sebastian Hyber, a burgher of Kraków who ran the then largest bookstore in Kraków located at the Market Place. Hyber obtained a licence from Wrocław Bishopric to print the new missal already in 1502. However, because of the large sums of money required, Hyber engaged Haller, as sponsor, and Hochfeder as printer. In a lot of respects, the Wrocław Missal was indeed an exceptional project. It was the first time in Kraków that such a huge typographic challenge was taken up and the first time a musical notation was to be printed as an attachment to the missal. Hochfeder printed three basic variants of the missal: with a red interline and the body of the text in a frame (variant A), without an interline and frame (variant B), with a woodcut representation of the Crucifixion that was different from the one in variant A and B (variant C). The missal had a very impressive typographical design: to print it, Hochfeder used five typefaces, six full series or individual initials and three woodcuts which were made especially for his publishing house just like the series of 6 initials made on Haller's commission, a fact proved by his printer's mark embedded in the initial "K"⁹⁰. The Pawlikowski copy is the B variant in which some of the mistakes from variant A were corrected. The three illustrations decorating the missal are: the woodcut before the title folio depicting the resurrection of Piotrovin by St. Stanislaw, the woodcut on the title folio with representations of Silesian patrons and coats-of-arms and the woodcut before the first folio of the Canon with the scene of the Crucifixion. The title folio – with patrons of the Wrocław Diocese, St. Jadwiga on the right, St. John the Baptist on the left as well as a shield bearing the emblems of the Wrocław Diocese

⁸⁷ However, it does not correspond to the number in the Ossolineum Donators' Book, see ZNiO, Manuscript Department, call no. 1298.

⁸⁸ Currently in the collection of the Ossoliński National Institute, call no. XVI.Qu.2282.

⁸⁹ Currently in the collection of the Ossoliński National Institute, call no. XVI.F.4317.

⁹⁰ Maria Błońska and Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, introduction to *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi: zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia*, z. 1, Kasper Hochfeder, 1503–1505, wyd. Kazimierz Piekarski (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1968), 19.



Fig. 7. Canon from *Missale Wratislaviense* (Kraków: Kasper Hochfeder, published by J. Haller and S. Hyber). ZNiO, Call No. XVI.F.4317.

and bishops Jan Roth and Jan Thurzo in the centre of the composition – was made by Konrad Baumgarten, a printer from Wrocław who fashioned the woodcut block in 1503 or at the beginning of 1504 (after February 2 when Thurzo was approved by Casimir II of Cieszyn, Landeshauptmann over Silesia, for the position of Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese). At the time, an identical woodcut appeared in Wrocław as an independent ephemeral print; it was attached as the first folio to some copies of Wrocław Missal's 1499 edition published by Peter Schöffer in Mainz. It bore the house mark of Konrad Baumgarten placed on the shield with Thurzo's coat of arms located on the right-hand side of the composition. Baumgarten also made another woodcut block, this time without his house mark. This one was sent to Kraków and used for the new Wrocław Missal printed by Hochfeder. Most likely, Baumgarten sold the block, judging from the removal of the house mark. The Wrocław printer was probably also the author of the woodcut depicting the Crucifixion, given the formal similarities with the works by Baumgarten who, in turn, might have been inspired by the Canon woodcut used in the missals printed by Jerzy Stuchs. The woodcut that was made in Kraków is the one with Priotrovin's resurrection⁹¹. In the Pawlikowski copies, the scene of the Crucifixion was coloured by hand, and the initial of *Te igitur* was illuminated (Fig. 7).

⁹¹ Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, "Wrocławskie drzeworyty Konrada Baumgartena," in *Rocznik Sztuki Śląskiej* 9 (1973): 7–11; Antonina Betterówna, *Polskie ilustracje książkowe XV i XVI wieku: (1490–1525)* (Lwów, 1929), 16–21.

The print is also accompanied by single sixteenth-century marginalia including musical notation. Some missing folios were completed in the second numeration (E1, E8, H1, H7-8, L1, L8) with manuscript texts with lines ruled in with a lead pencil from the early sixteenth century, using red ink to reflect the sections of the missal that were printed in red. The print's binding had long stayed original and unchanged (it was only in the nineteenth century that it was renovated to the detriment of the copy: for example, sixteenth-century manuscript annotations were covered by the endpaper pasted onto the back board). The original board was bound in brown leather which was stamped by a strickle, brass roll and stamps; made in the first decade of the sixteenth century, it displays certain formal similarities with the bindings produced by the Master of Four Saints. It repeats the stamped images of a fleuron and a two-headed eagle, a reference to the elements in the coats of arms of Jan Rotha (eagle) and Jan Thurzo (flower). Haller might have concluded a contract with a Kraków bookbinder who bound some of the copies near the printing house to send them later to Wrocław. The hypothesis remains a suggestion and requires more extensive research into the covers of the surviving copies of the Wrocław Missal. The binding was protected by metal elements: bosses in the corner pieces and the centre piece as well as metal clasps that have survived either in fragments in the corners or in the form of traces on the binding.

The group of rare books in the Pawlikowski library also contains a volume from the Vilnius Royal library of Sigismund II Augustus comprising two works bound together: *De Institvenda Stvdiorvm Ratione* by Saint Basil the Great printed in Basel in 1537 by Heinrich Petri and *De Ratione Studii Pverilis* by Juan Luis Vives published by Balthasar Lasius and Thomas Platter also in Basel in 1537⁹². The binding was made in Vilnius in 1550, using a plaquette with the so-called supralibros III (on the front board, heraldic supralibros with an inscription on the rim reading: "Sigismvndvs Avgvstvs Rex Poloniae Magnvs Dvx Lithvaniae"; on the back board, inscription supralibros reading: "Sigismvndi Avgvsti Regis Poloniae Monvmentvm Anno 1550") and brass roll No. 5. Following the death of Sigismund II Augustus, the copy remained in Vilnius but we do not know under what circumstances. It is not likely that it was moved to the book collection of the Vilnius Jesuits in 1572 to comply with the King's last will: the book does not bear any ownership marks that would confirm that. In the seventeenth century, the composite volume was owned by Caspar Lüpckerman, sub-rector in the Royal Gymnasium in Tylża, who died after 1689⁹³. In the eighteenth century, Józef Andrzej Załuski (1702–1774) obtained it for his collection, leaving handwritten

⁹² ZNiO, call no. XVI.O.9593–9594.

⁹³ *Zur öffentlichen Prüfung und zu den Versuchen der Schüler im freien Vortrage und im vierstimmigen Gesange, welche ... in der Aula des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Tilsit gehalten werden sollen, sowie zur Prüfung der Ober-Prima und zur Entlassung der Abiturienten ladet ganz ergebenst ein der Direktor* (Tilsit: Druck von J. Reylander & Sohn, 1874), 19.

annotations and a seal with his name on the title page (“I. A. Zalvski”). From the Załuski collection, the book somehow reached a Lviv bibliophile whose characteristic ownership annotations can be seen on the first and third folios added after the front board (“№259. Consig.” written in pen and “243” written in red crayon and repeated on the title page)*. The next stage was the Pawlikowski collection where the book arrived in the nineteenth century⁹⁴.

Andrzej Trzeciecki the Younger, secretary of King Sigismund II Augustus, owned another rare book in the Pawlikowski collection, a composite volume with *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechow⁹⁵ and *De vetustatibus Polonorum* by Jost Ludwik Decjusz⁹⁶, printed in Kraków in 1521 by Hieronim Wietor. Andrzej Trzeciecki the Younger was closely related to the Sigismund library as, following the death of his father, by the same first name, in 1547, he took over his tasks in the library. As of 1548, he was responsible for purchasing books for the King's library in Kraków. Trzeciecki performed this function for several years after which he focused on reform, writing, and publishing activities. Trzeciecki himself had his own book collection – part of which he inherited from his father, an eminent humanist – that was later dispersed. In 1574, he gave one volume to Dr Bartold Reich (1525–1589), advisor, lawyer and envoy of Zofia Jagiellonka, a fact he commemorated with the following annotation: „Clarissimo Viro, Domino Bartholo Richio Ivris utriusque Doctori, Decano S. Blasii Brunsui, et Illustrissimae Sophiae Brunsuicensium & Luneburgensium Principis in Poloniam Oratori, amico charissimo, & perpetua obseruantia colendo, Andreas Tricesius Eques Polonus, Secretarius Regius, Esse sui dedit hoc monimentum & pignus amoris, Cracoviae. VI. Non. Maij Anno salutis MDLXXIII” and “Mnemosynon Clarissimi insigni doctrina, & vitae integritate uiri, Domini Bartholi Richii Iuris prudentiae Doctoris, et Decani S. Blasii Brunsuigae, Illustrissimae Principis ac Dominae D. Sophiae, Infantis Poloniae, Brunsuicensium & Luneburgensium Ducis, ad Comitata Varsaviensia Electionis noui Regis Anno salutis MDLXXIII Oratoris”⁹⁷. The book also contains other notes confirming Reich's ownership: a 10-line anagram of his name and an entry with biographical information about him: “Annus natalis doctissimi atque integerrimi

* The author of the article has preliminarily identified the bibliophile as Józef Dobek Dzierzkowski or Józef Kraiński, but the issue must be investigated further.

⁹⁴ Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona. Pomnik kultury renesansowej* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988), 79–83; Józef Adam Kosiński, “Monumenta Zygmunt Augusta w zbiorach Ossolineum,” *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 11 (1967): 417; Dorota Sidorowicz-Mulak, “Królewskie księgi w Ossolineum i ich proveniencje. O kilkunastu woluminach z biblioteki Zygmunt Augusta,” in *W czwartek o szesnastej. Wybrane wykłady ossolińskie z lat 2014–2016* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 2016), 167.

⁹⁵ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5039.

⁹⁶ LNNBU, call no. CT-IV 5040 adl.

⁹⁷ From 1568, Reich was also the Dean of St. Blasius Church in Braunschweig. See: Jan Pirożyński, *Zofia Jagiellonka (1522–1575) i jej księgozbiór* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2004), 260.

Viri D. B. Bartholi Richii I. V. D. Decani S. Blasii Brunsuigi &cet. qui natus est Holschmindi die 18 Augusti que erat dies veneris 1525 sub vesperam nubilosam”. In 1610, the lawyer’s legal successor, Johann Theodor Reich, gave the book to his friend Matthias Gerdes (†1626), a Wismar receiver: “Simplicitas, rectumq[ue] tuum, mea cura, meum eor[um] Perpetuo recta me juvet ire via. Cl. Viro D. Matthaio [sic] Gerdes Reip. Wismariensis Syndico, amico et compatri p[e]rpetuam colendo d[e]dit Brunsvigae 26 Maij A.C. 1610”. The later history of the book remains unknown up to the time when it was purchased by Gwalbert Pawlikowski in the nineteenth century. The typical Pawlikowski binding (half binding on cardboard, black paper, fore-edges coloured in yellow) dates back to the first half of the twentieth century when the Pawlikowski library was taken over as a deposit by the Ossolineum. The deposit contract of 1921 says that the Institute undertakes to bind the unbound books in the Pawlikowski collection and renovate those bindings that were in a poor state of repair, spending no less than “1/10 of the amount spent for the purpose in the National Ossoliński Institute”⁹⁸, and adds that the obligation ceases to be valid after the books have all been bound. The books from the Pawlikowski library that arrived in 1921 were generally in a bad condition due to the ongoing deterioration of the collection (dampness, layer of soot on the volumes, damaged bindings) caused mainly by the financial problems of the family. Thus, the Institute embarked on a huge task of protecting the Pawlikowski collection, including by binding the books.

The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prints listed above make up the most valuable part of the Pawlikowski collection, but do not exhaust it. Describing it, a short text from Lviv’s *Gazeta Wieczorna* of June 11, 1921, written soon after the collection was incorporated into the Ossolineum, read as follows: “although the collection cannot boast a lot of rarities which it would not be possible to find elsewhere, the items that it does have are all of very high quality”⁹⁹. The overview of the fifteenth-sixteenth century books from the collection confirms this opinion. Systematically compiled by Gwalbert Pawlikowski, the collection is mostly made up of the so-called foreign Polish-related prints and Latin prints published in Kraków which are rare and valuable either because of their edition or due to the features of a particular copy. It was the collecting logic that made the library stand out among the other contemporary book collections that were often assembled with a focus on the material or utilitarian nature of the books. Pawlikowski gathered all prints related to the Polish and Slavic culture to amass a collection, still existing in present-day Lviv, that became one of the most valuable libraries in nineteenth-century Galicia.

⁹⁸ Wilhelm Bruchnalski, *Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich ustawy, przywileje i rzeczy dziejów jego dotyczące* (Lwów: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1928), 669.

⁹⁹ Biblioteka im. Pawlikowskich przenosi się do Ossolineum, *Gazeta Wieczorna* (Lwów), 11 czerwca 1921, 4.

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- Zur öffentlichen Prüfung und zu den Versuchen der Schüler im freien Vortrage und im vierstimmigen Gesange, welche ... in der Aula des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Tilsit gehalten werden sollen, sowie zur Prüfung der Ober-Prima und zur Entlassung der Abiturienten ladet ganz ergebenst ein der Direktor.* Tilsit: Druck von J. Reylander & Sohn, 1874.

КОЛЕКЦІЯ ІНКУНАБУЛ І ВИДАНЬ XVI СТ. У БІБЛІОТЕЦІ ГВАЛЬБЕРТА ПАВЛІКОВСЬКОГО

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У XIX ст. у східноєвропейській Галичині Гвальберт Павліковський, польський аристократ і політик, розпочав колекціонувати цінні книги, пов'язані з широко означеною слов'янською культурою. Нині його бібліотеку вважають однією з найцікавіших колекцій у цій галузі. Основна мета статті – проаналізувати профіль цієї історичної бібліотеки у поєднанні з завданнями, які Павліковський ставив при її заснуванні. Аналіз ґрунтується на найдавнішій частині книжкової колекції, тобто на стародруках XV і XVI ст., які зараз зберігаються у Львівській національній науковій бібліотеці України ім. В. Стефаника та Національному закладі імені Оссолінських у Вроцлаві. У статті дбайливо описано найважливіші предмети колекції Павліковського з поясненнями, чому їх відносять до ареалу слов'янської культури. Стаття також коротко окреслює долю колекції Павліковського, яку спочатку збирали в Медиці, потім перемістили до Львова, і зрештою розділили під час Другої світової війни – частково перевезли до Нижньої Сілезії, тепер у Польщі, частково включили до книгозбірні Львівської національної наукової бібліотеки України ім. В. Стефаника.

Ключові слова: книжкова колекція, інкунабула, бібліотека Павліковського, слов'янська культура.

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