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Post-Tridentine Liturgical Books for the Polish Church

Printed Chant Books from Kraków
and Their Contexts

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Abstract

Post-Tridentine liturgical books printed in Poland have not attracted much attention from book historians. However, given their special, sacred, and confessionally unifying status, they provide interesting material for comparative study of printing in the large European cities (e.g., Antwerp, Venice), and smaller provincial centers such as Kraków. The paper presents as products of the printing press the *Psalterium*, *Antiphonarium* and *Graduale Romanum* printed in Kraków in 1599–1600 by Andrzej Piotrkowczyk as well as later editions of these works. The decision to commission them in a local print shop rather than abroad came after prolonged debates within the Polish Catholic hierarchy. Materials used by the printer (paper, type, ornaments etc.) and the results he achieved (typography) are analysed at the backdrop of European printing and related to more general problems involved with the production of complex and voluminous books in the economic and cultural realities of an Eastern European city.

Keywords

early modern book, liturgical books, Catholic Reformation, 16th-century Polish printing, typography, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk

Catholic liturgical books from previous eras as an object of study may be approached from several different perspectives¹. They are analysed as a direct source for the history of Christian worship, at the core of which is the Divine Office, the Mass, and the celebration of the various sacraments. Extant volumes from the manuscript era are often priceless works of art and are treated accordingly. Those dating from the early age of print, however, though they include some of the oldest preserved printed artifacts, starting with the famous 1457 Mainz Psalter, are more often than not treated as merely so many entries in bibliographic listings. They are rarely researched and described in any great detail, and very little attention is paid in particular to those created after the Council of Trent. This is quite surprising, as it would be hard to find publications better suited for demonstrating the reach of the international book market in the post-Tridentine era and also for eliciting direct questions about distribution networks and encouraging inquiries regarding the development and adaptation of new aesthetic conventions.²

The content and function of Catholic liturgical books was, obviously, an important factor in their layout. But tradition played a significant role as well. Many general features of the layout had been developed over two hundred years before the advent of printing. The organization of the text on the pages, the size of the letters, rubrication, special characters, and illustrations were all elements deliberately and schematically employed in manuscripts and printed liturgical books in centuries gone by in order to highlight the function of particular fragments and make reading, and therefore prayer and correct performance of rites, easier. Many of these features (red ink for the rubrics, the crosses marking the points at which the priest should either cross himself or make the sign of the cross over the host or the people, special characters indicating pauses in psalms and hymns, and even the musical notation for the Gregorian chant) are still present in modern Catholic missals, chant books, and breviaries. Some medieval and early modern missals are particularly good examples of how powerful the relationship between the content and the physical structure of the medium could be. At their centre (both physical and metaphorical) were often the rites of Passion Week, with their culmination on Easter Sunday. It is the liturgy for this Sunday that was adopted as the setting for the canon of the Mass (the prayers and rites that begin with the Eucharistic

¹ I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer of this text for his valuable insights.

² The limited number of book historical studies that include post-Tridentine liturgical books in their scope of interest includes: Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015, pp. 69–181 (privileges and monopolies of Venetian printers); *Research Handbook on the History of Copyright Law*, ed. Isabella Alexander and H. Tomás Gómez-Arostegui, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016 (privileges and monopolies granted by the pope and various monarchs); Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008 (engraved illustrations in missals from Officina Plantiniana); Richard J. Agee, “The Printed Dissemination of the Roman Gradual in Italy during the Early Modern Period”, *Notes, Second Series*, vol. 64, no. 1 (2007), pp. 9–42.

anaphora also include the *canon Consecrationis*, the form for the consecration of the host). This part of the missal, traditionally preceded by a full-page Crucifixion scene, contains words considered so holy that at the beginning of the 17th century some Polish Catholic writers still thought it inappropriate, even blasphemous, to explain their meaning in the vernacular.³ Of course, there is also an entirely pragmatic explanation for the placement of the canon in the middle of the volume: the volume spreads most easily in its middle and it is these pages that are most likely to stay in the desired position. Nevertheless, the physical structure of the medium in this particular instance definitely enhances and influences, or maybe even becomes, the message: that Christ's Passover and Resurrection are the centre of the Christian faith and liturgy.⁴ To further underscore the special meaning of these sections as well as the closeness of the connection between liturgical books and the early printing industry, it is also worth mentioning that among the 16th-century type specimens there are bodies (or sizes) of type identified in English and French as 'canon' and in German as 'Missal'. These were large bodies, indeed the largest owned by many printers, because *canon missae* required both special visual emphasis and good legibility, even from a distance.⁵

Liturgical imprints were of no less importance in the context of the Early Modern Polish book market. Among the oldest and most important printed *polonica* there are considerable numbers of missals and breviaries. Ferdinand Jagiellon as the bishop of Kraków ordered missals to be printed for his diocese before the end of the 1480s, and in the subsequent decades numerous editions were commissioned for other Polish dioceses as well. Polish printing was in its infancy at that time and most of these books were printed abroad, but at the expense of Polish booksellers and tradesmen, who, most probably, reaped the profits.⁶ The missals, especially those financed by Jan Haller, have been subject to more detailed bibliographical and book historical research and, despite their importance for the development of early Polish printing, are mentioned here only as a context, along with other pre-Tridentine liturgical books for the Polish church. The main focus of interest of this article will

³ Hieronim Powodowski, *Liturgia*, Kraków: Bazyli Skalski, 1604, f.) (3r).

⁴ Adrian Fortescue, "Canon of the Mass", in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908, <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03255c.htm>> (accessed on 30 Oct. 2019).

⁵ See e.g. *Type Specimen Facsimiles II (nos. 16–18): Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's "Index sive specimen characterum" 1567 & folio specimen of c. 1585, Together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen, c. 1599*, ed. John Dreyfus, London: The Bodley Head, 1972, no. 16/17 and 17/7.

⁶ A number of studies explore this subject in greater detail and in the broader European context. See e.g. Tadeusz Pietras, "Produkcja katolickiej książki liturgicznej w Polsce od końca XV do połowy XVII wieku", *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, vol. 39 (1979), pp. 171–189, vol. 40 (1980), pp. 83–117, vol. 41 (1980), pp. 222–241; Natalia Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468–1503)*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, pp. 75–81 (Polish version: Natalia Nowakowska, *Królewski kardynał. Studium kariery Fryderyka Jagiellończyka (1468–1503)*, transl. Tomasz Gromelski, wyd. pol. popr., Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2011, s. 81–94).

GRADVALE
ROMANVM
DE TEMPORE ET SANCTIS.

Ad ritum Missalis, ex decreto Sacrosancti Con-
cilij Tridentini restituti: & Pij V. Pont:

Max: iussu editi.

Collegij Societatis Jesu Nouadomy. A. 1606. 6 Ianii

Cum Officiis aliquot Sanctorum ex præcepto SIXTI V.
& S. D. N. CLEMENTIS VIII.

Addita sunt præterea Officia Patronorum Regni Polonia propria.

Ad vniformem Ecclesiarum per vniuersas Regni Polo-
niæ Prouincias vsũ.

*Authoritate & consensu Illustriss: & Reuerendissimorum DD. Archiepiscopi Gnesnen-
sis, & Prouincialium Regni Polonia Episcoporum, editum.*

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio S. R. M.

C R A C O V I Æ,
In Officina Typographica Andreæ Petricouij.
Anno Domini, M. DC.

Fig. 1 and 2. Title page of the 1600 *Graduale* and the coat of arms of Stanisław Karnkowski on its verso (National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, shelf mark 33 A 17, available online <http://www.manuscriptorium.com>)

Ad Illustris: & Rēndis: Dñm D. Archiepiscopum Gnesneñ.



STANISLAVS KARNKOWSKI,
D. G. ARCHIEPISCOPIVS GNE-
SNEN. LEGATVS NATVS, ET RE-
GNI POLO: PRIMAS AC PRI-
MVS PRINCEPS. &c.

EN GRADVALE tuo illustri sub nomine prodit,
KARNKOVII, exemplum nobile Pontificum;
Sicuti animum excelsum partes conuerteris in omnes,
Si quo ornare nouo munere Sacra quas.
Iamq; quater denos annos micat infula claro
Vertice, quotie anni, tot noua sunt merita.
Per te olim Synodi, quas vnquam Lechia obiuit,
In lucem e cæcis prodierant tenebris:
Et duce te ritus sacros Ecclesia nouit,
Et nitidè Psalmos Antiphonasq; canit.
Quam foris assidue cursisti pectore, templis
Reddantur decimas, dos pia iusta, decens:
Hæreticas quoties turmas cum laude fugasti!
Cesserunt animo fortia quæq; tuo.
At Calisianæ moles, templa illa, Scholæq;
KARNKOVII æternum nomen in altera ferent.
Quod si fata sinerit te secula viuere plura,
Omne malum cedit, Surget & omne bonum.

D. e. Andreas Schonauer.

Hymni totius anni.

Qui candis super sidera,
 Cum Patre & sancto Spiritu,
 In sempiterna secula. Amen.
 Si aliquod lectum duplex aut semiduplex
 uerentur in his diebus. Cuius Hymnorum
 debent canari super hunc roman. modo sine
 eiusdem mensp.

In festo Venescolæ, ad Vesperas,
 & ad Tertium.

Eni creator Spiritus,
 ritus, mestuorum vi fi-
 ta, impie superna gratia,
 quæ tu creasti pectora.
 Qui paraclitus diceris,
 Donum Dei altissimi
 Fons viuus, ignis, charitas,
 Et fontalis vnctio,
 Tu septiformis mune, re,
 Dextra Deitu digitus,
 ritè promissum Patris,
 (one ditans guttura,
 ecente lumen sensibus,
 de amorem cordibus,
 a nostris corporis
 ans perp eti.

Hymni totius anni.

Decorus ignis almus est,
 Qui fida Christi pectora
 Calore verbi compleat.
 Impleta gaudent viscera,
 Afflata sancto Spiritu,
 Voces diuersas intonant,
 Fantur Dei magna.
 Ex omni gente cogniti,
 Graecis, Latinis, Barbaris,
 Cunctisque admirantibus,
 Linguis loquuntur omnium,
 Iudæa tunc incredula,
 Vesana toruo spiritu,
 Ruertare multi crapulam
 Alumnos Christi concerepat
 Sed signis & virtutibus
 Occurrit, & docet Petrus,
 Falsa profari perfidios,
 Ioële teste comprobans.
 Gloria Patri Domino,
 Natòque, qui à mortuis
 Surrexit, ac Paraclito,
 In seculorum secula.
 Amen.

Se terminatur Hymni per totam
 octauam.

Ad Matutinum.

Am Christus astra
 accederat, reuerfus vnde vene-
 rat. Promissu Patris munere
 Sanctum datus Spiritum.
 Solemnis vergebat dies,
 Quo mystico septemplici
 Orbis volutus leptes,
 Signat beatis tempora,
 Dum hora cunctis tertia
 Repentè mundus intonat,
 Orantibus Apòstolis
 Deum venisse nunciat.
 De Patris ergo lumen

Cum Spiritus paraclitus
 ef fultit in di scipulos.
 Ignis vibrante lumine
 Linguae figuram detulit,
 Verbis vt essent profusil,
 Et charitate feruidi,
 Linguis loquuntur omnium,
 Turbae pauent gentiliun,
 Musto madere deputant,
 Quos Spiritus replenerat.
 Patra sunt hac mystice,
 Palchar peracto tempore,
 Sacro dorum nimerò,
 Quo lege fit remisso,
 Te nunc Deus piffime
 Vultu precamur cernuo,
 Illapla nobis coelitus
 Largire dona Spiritus,
 Dudum sacraata pectora
 Tua replenti gratia:
 Dimitte nostra crimina,
 Et da quiceta tempora,
 Gloria Patri Domino.

In festo SS. Trinitatis, ad V.



Lux beata Trini

387.

Festa Nouembris.

17. Nouembris. Sancti Gregorij Thaumaturgi Episcopi & Confessoris, Introitus Sicut ei Dominus, foli: 3. Graduale, E. ecclesiasticus, infra foli: 27. Alleluia, Tu es eccles, infra foli: 28. Offertorium, I uenit d auid, ibidem foli: 28. Communiō, F. alleluia, ibidem foli: 29.

18. Nouembris. In Dedicatione Basilicæ sanctorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli, Missa, T. Terribilis est, de communi Dedicationis Ecclesie, infra foli: 37.

19. Nouembris. In festo S. Helizabethæ uirginis nec maritis, Missa, G. audemus omnes, vt supra foli: 37. Graduale, D. iustus est gratus, infra foli: 74. Alleluia, Speciosa, infra foli: 74. Offertorium, F. alle regnum, infra foli: 45. Communiō, D. iustus est gratus, vt supra foli: 37.

19. Nouembris. Sancti Pontiani Papæ & martyris, Missa, Sicut ei Dominus, de communi uirginis maritis, foli: 3.

21. Nouembris. In festo Presentationis D. M. A. R. I. E. Virginis, Missa, vt in eius Natiuitate, supra foli: 37.

22. Nouembris. In festo S. Cecilie uirginis & martyris, Introitus, L. oquebrat de te lib moniis tuis, vt in communi uirginis & martyris, foli: 40. Graduale.

Audi filia, & uide, & inclina autem tu am: quia concipi uit rex spe ciam tuam. S. p. Sicut tu a. & pulchritudine tua,

387.

Festa Nouembris.

tu a. in tende, pro sperè proce de, & re gna.

Alleluia, Quinque prudentes, vt supra in festo S. Agnetis, foli: 36. Offertorium, Ad ducunt uirgines, in festo S. Agathe, foli: 22. Communiō, Confundantur superbi, de communi uirginum, foli: 42.

22. Nouemb. In festo S. Clementis Papæ & martyris, Introitus, I cit Do minus: Sermones mei, quos dedi in os tu um, non de fi cient de o re tu o: & mu nera tu a accepta c runt super alta re me um. Beatus vir qui tui met Dominum: in mandatis eius uoluntim. Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui sancto: Sicut

Fig. 5. A spread from the 1600 *Graduale* showing the use of initials (heights ca. 25 mm and ca. 36 mm) (National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague, shelf mark 33 A 17, available online <http://www.manuscriptorium.com>)

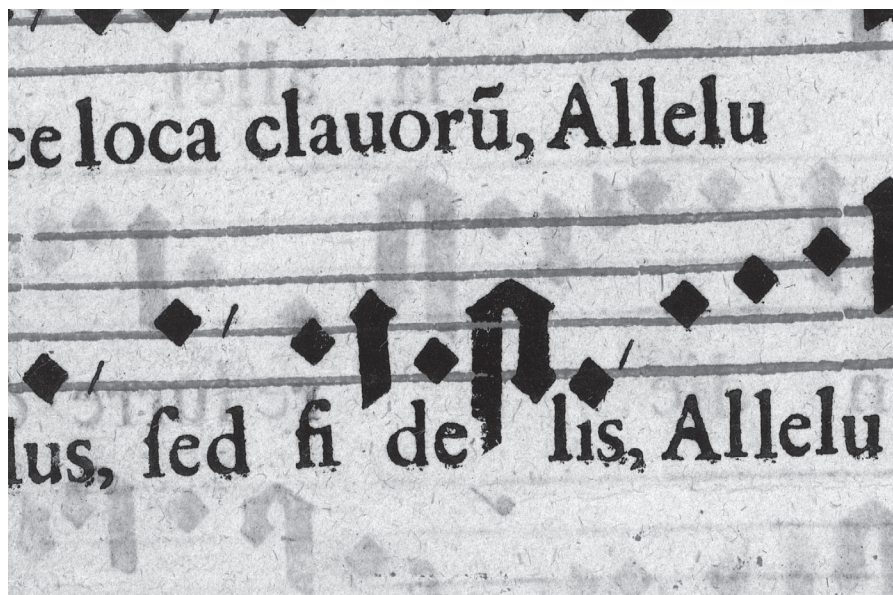


Fig. 6. A kerned neume from 1629 *Graduale*, p. 230 (Jagiellonian Library, Kraków, shelf mark 311397 IV)



Fig. 7. An example of the exact positioning of kerned neumes and letters from 1629 *Graduale*, p. 247 (Jagiellonian Library, Kraków, shelf mark 311397 IV)

be liturgical imprints from a later and less thoroughly researched period: that between the promulgation of the new Tridentine Roman missal in 1570 and the Swedish Deluge of 1655. To narrow the focus even further, of the considerable number of publications that passed through Polish and foreign presses in that period—multiple editions of agendas (later replaced by rituals), a single (but notable) missal, various mass propers for patronal feast days, multiple offices, and chant books—I will examine in detail the latter group only.⁷ This comprises twelve editions of the Roman psalter, antiphony, and gradual, printed between 1599 and 1654 by the Piotrkowczyk family in Kraków. These books are special for many reasons that will be discussed below, but have hitherto been the focus of interest largely for the sake of the liturgical chants that they contain, and approached not as a coherent group of publications but as examples of separate genres of musical imprints.⁸ Here, I would like to consider them on a more general level, as printed books, and to demonstrate how they can be approached by a book historian looking to move beyond analysis and description of the only primary sources available—the books themselves.

Ambitions and realities of a provincial market: some aspects of post-Tridentine liturgical printing in Poland

Existing bibliographical records and the available scholarship clearly show that in the later 16th and 17th centuries production of bulky and costly post-Tridentine liturgical books, such as missals and chant books, must be associated mainly with the most thriving printing centres of Early Modern Europe, such as Venice, Rome, Antwerp, Paris, and Cologne, with the Varisco, Cieri, and Giunti families and Officina Plantiniana the main players.⁹ This is not surprising. Privileges, granted by the pope himself, went initially to Italian printers and European monarchs, like Philip II of Spain, who could in their turn appoint the printers of the reformed books for their territories.¹⁰

⁷ For an extensive bibliographical list of liturgical *polonica* see Pietras, “Produkcja katolickiej książki liturgicznej”, pp. [87–109].

⁸ Ireneusz Pawlak, *Graduały piotrkowskie jako przekaz chorału gregoriańskiego w Polsce po Soborze Trydenckim*, Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1988; Beata Bodzioch, “Antyfonarze piotrkowskie z lat 1600–1645 jako źródła do badań nad chorałem gregoriańskim w Polsce”, *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, vol. 77 (2002), pp. 117–147.

⁹ There are no complete data available, though general information and statistics for this market are supplied by the USTC, and the RELICS (Renaissance Liturgical Imprints: A Census) database can prove quite useful for an overview of this output, including its territorial divisions (see, for instance, searches for ‘missale romanum’, ‘graduale romanum’, and ‘antiphonarium romanum’). For a list of post-Tridentine editions of the Roman Missal see William H. Weale, *Bibliographia liturgica. Catalogus missalium ritus Latini, ab anno M. CCCC. LXXV. impressorum*, London: Bernard Quaritch, 1886, pp. 163–171.

¹⁰ *Research Handbook*, p. 245. Grendler (*Roman Inquisition*, pp. 69–181) also focuses mostly on monopolies and privileges.

This strict control was introduced in order to ensure dissemination of the correct versions of the books and thereby to promote the liturgical reform that was introduced by Pope Pius V with the promulgation of *Missale Romanum* in 1570. From that time on, the Roman rite was to be the only one performed in the Catholic Church; any local rites and ceremonies were to be either abandoned or performed only with special papal permission. An obvious way to achieve this goal was to have old liturgical books replaced with new ones, starting with the most important—missals, agendas, and breviaries, which contained the texts of the Holy Mass and *officium divinum*, as well as guidelines for the liturgical celebrations. Apart from difficulties obtaining privileges, smaller or less prosperous printing houses would also be more likely to prove unequal to the considerable challenge of producing large print runs of the more complex and voluminous books that the missals and chant books were: usually printed in two colours and in large formats, richly decorated, and combining text and musical notation.

With this in mind, the post-Tridentine liturgical books printed in Kraków may be treated either as artifacts of minor importance (because they did not play a significant role in the development of the European book trade) or as oddities (because in a sense they should never have been printed at all). In the second half of the 16th century Kraków was the capital of Poland-Lithuania and the main cultural centre of that vast but sparsely populated state. It was also the largest printing centre in the Commonwealth, with eight printing shops operating ca. 1590. However, in order to offer a more faithful reflection of the landscape on the Kraków printing market, it must be noted that some three-quarters of all the sheets known to be printed there in the last quarter of the 16th century were produced by just two printers: Jan Januszowski and his rival Andrzej Piotrkowczyk. Editions of the core books of worship printed especially for the needs of the Polish Church in the first decades after the Council of Trent are, as may be expected, significantly less numerous than pre-Tridentine ones.¹¹ From the 1570s onwards the missals, breviaries, and agendas for the dioceses of Gniezno, Kraków, Poznań, Wrocław, Włocławek, and Płock, which had been circulating in quite numerous pre-Tridentine editions printed mostly abroad (in the Holy Roman Empire, Italy and even France), were no longer to be either republished or used. Implementation of this rule was not easy, however. It must be remembered that in the Polish Church attempts to purify the liturgy as celebrated in Polish dioceses began well before Trent, in the first decades of the century, when primates and bishops started to modify existing rites to bring them in line with the *Ordo Servandus per Sacerdotem in celebratione Missae* published in the 1490s by the papal Master of Ceremonies Johann Burchard. Considering that

¹¹ See for example Pietras, “Produkcja katolickiej książki liturgicznej”, pp. 108–109. The table is not precise, because it refers to the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century, but when combined with other available data it reveals a clear and significant drop in post-Tridentine production, especially of missals and breviaries, even when one takes into account the significant number of directories recorded for the 16th century. See also Nowakowska, *Church, State and Dynasty*, pp. 78–79 (Polish version: pp. 91–92).

rubrics for the celebration of the Mass contained in this work were later incorporated into the 1570 missal of Pius V, the Polish church was in fact ahead. And indeed, recent research has indicated that these efforts were at least to some extent successful. Visitations of parishes in the Kraków diocese at the end of the century, for example, showed that most priests usually followed the Roman rite, even if they did not have all of the newest books of worship.¹²

Nevertheless, from the early 1570s the full unification of the rite with the new *Missale Romanum* and the mystagogical catechesis of both the clergy and the laity became central concerns of the chief Polish Counter-Reformers, such as Marcin Kromer and Stanisław Karnkowski. The dissemination of the new liturgical books, so eagerly printed by western printers, progressed slowly, however, because the Polish Catholic hierarchy was reluctant not only to issue them to its parishes and to finance their publication locally, but even to enforce the Tridentine regulations at all. Only two dioceses in Poland were issued with new agendas in the early 1570s and both of these—the *Agenda sacramentalia* for the Warmia diocese and the *Agenda sacramentalia* for the Kraków diocese—were printed in 1574 in Cologne by Maternus Cholinus. They were, in fact, the same book with a few minor changes. The first agenda for the entire province of Gniezno was printed, also by Cholinus, in 1578. Again, this was in part the same book as the *Agenda ceremonialia* for the Warmia diocese published in the same year.¹³

After Karnkowski became primate in 1582 he intensified his endeavours to introduce a uniform liturgical rite in all the Polish dioceses, and his ambition to provide the clergy with new books of worship is well known. The matter was raised at provincial synods and at sessions of the chapters in Gniezno and Kraków.¹⁴ Before long, the primate had promised the commission and, also importantly, his financial assistance, to a Kraków printer, Jan Januszowski. Januszowski's first step was to obtain a royal privilege to print missals and breviaries. Then he ordered new types—'various

¹² Waldemar Kowalski, "Change in Continuity: Post-Tridentine Rural and Township Parish Life in the Cracow Diocese", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 35, no. 3 (2004), pp. 704–705. For more about the early 16th-century reforms in Polish Catholicism and about the continuity of Catholic worship see Marek T. Zahajkiewicz, *Msza święta w Polsce przed Soborem Trydenckim w świetle rodzimych komentarzy (expositiones missae). Studium historyczno-liturgiczne*, Warsaw 1972 (*Textus et Studia Historiam Theologiae in Polonia Excultae Spectantia*, vol. 1), pp. 284–298.

¹³ *Agenda sacramentalia ad usum Dioecesis Varmiensis accommodata*, Köln: Maternus Cholinus, 1574 (*Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* [hereafter VD] ZV 21139, see <http://www.vd16.de/>); *Agenda sacramentalia ad usum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, Köln: Maternus Cholinus, 1574 (not recorded in VD 16); *Agenda ceremonialia ad usum Dioecesis Varmineis accommodata*, Köln: Maternus Cholinus, 1578 (VD 16 ZV 21140); *Agendorum Ecclesiasticorum Liber in usum Provinciae Gnesnensis conscriptus*, Köln: Maternus Cholinus, 1578 (not recorded in VD 16). See more details in the fascinating study by Władysław Nowak, "Geneza Agendy biskupa Marcina Kromera", *Studia Warmińskie*, vol. 6 (1969), pp. 173–210, especially p. 193ff.

¹⁴ See e.g. Andrzej Bruździński, *Działalność prymasa Stanisława Karnkowskiego w zakresie wprowadzania uchwał Soboru Trydenckiego w Polsce 1581–1603*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PAT, 1996, pp. 226, 249.

letters,' as he called them, and musical staves and notes, as he wrote in one of his surviving letters¹⁵—but it was all in vain, as he never obtained the most lucrative commissions he had hoped for so dearly, and Karnkowski's plans to have missals published for the whole province of Poland remained unfulfilled, despite the wishes of the king, Stefan Batory, the primate, and the printer. Interestingly enough, there is no known documentation indicating any exchange between the Polish hierarchs and the Apostolic See regarding the award of the privileges necessary for printing liturgical books for the entire province.

Nevertheless, Januszowski was eager to make use of the materials he had invested in. In 1585 he published an agenda for the Olomuc diocese¹⁶ and in 1587, after a heated debate and resistance from the canons of Kraków and their bishop, Piotr Myszkowski, he managed to publish the *Missale Varmiense* for Marcin Kromer, who had received the pope's permission to retain the ancient rite used in his diocese. With these publications Januszowski proved that he was capable of rendering a book as beautiful as those produced by his famous west European counterparts. Moreover, in the extant contract for the printing of the *Missale Varmiense*, books produced by Officina Plantiniana were named as the model, and the resemblance is indeed striking.¹⁷ Its harmonious layout and clear typography, tasteful use of woodcut ornaments and illustrations, and good-quality paper make *Missale Varmiense* one of the most beautiful books printed in Poland in the late 16th century. Later on, in the early 1590s, Januszowski also printed agendas for the whole of the Polish province.¹⁸

We have exceptionally rich extant documentation detailing Januszowski's efforts and the misfortunes he suffered.¹⁹ Unfortunately we have far fewer sources concerning the publication of Piotrkowczyk's chant books, but in fact Januszowski is part of their story too. As *typographus ecclesiasticus*, appointed by the 1589 provincial synod, he expected to obtain the commission to publish chant books for the Polish Church. The primate promised, before the council, that he would be the one to publish these books, and repeated this declaration on the pages of an agenda printed by Januszowski in 1591. But ultimately the printer lost the commission, because in the years 1598 and 1599 he was working on a huge Bible folio in the translation

¹⁵ See Letter from Jan Januszowski to Jan Zamoyski, 20 July 1599, in Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Z dziejów polskiej książki w okresie Renesansu*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975, pp. 296–297: “kazałem noty wielkie, średnie i małe, także i litery rozmaite dla tego gotować” —“I ordered big, medium and small notes as well as various letters to be prepared” (own translation).

¹⁶ *Agenda caerimonialia secundum ritum Cathedralis Ecclesiae Olomucensis: ad usum eiusdem dioecesis*, Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1586.

¹⁷ See e.g. the folio *Missale Romanum*, Antwerpen: Officina Plantiniana, 1574 or other editions.

¹⁸ E.g. *Agenda ad uniformem ecclesiarum per universas provincias Regni Poloniae usum*, ed. H. Powodowski, Kraków: Jan Januszowski, 1591.

¹⁹ Apart from the above mentioned studies it is worth mentioning: Justyna Kiliańczuk-Zięba and Katarzyna Gara, “Listy Jana Januszowskiego do Marcina Kromera i Tomasza Plazy dotyczące produkcji *Missale Varmiense* (1587) w Drukarni Łazarzowej”, *Terminus*, vol. 20, issue 3(48) (2018), pp. 381–399.

by Jakub Wujek, which engaged two of his three presses for a prolonged period.²⁰ According to Januszowski it was the bishop of Krakow, Cardinal Janusz Radziwiłł, unwilling to wait any longer with the publication of the chant books, who allowed Januszowski's rival, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, to print them. Januszowski, who, despite holding both the official title and the privilege, was forced to cede the commission, was so embittered that on 20th July 1599 he wrote to the influential chancellor Jan Zamoyski himself, asking him to intervene with the primate and other hierarchs. To no avail. According to Januszowski, Piotrkowczyk had managed to convince the bishops because, unlike other Kraków printers, he did not expect any financial assistance.²¹

In 1599 the canons of Gniezno tried to block Karnkowski's project. They decided that there were no printers in Poland able to produce chant books beautifully enough. If the publication was necessary, they argued, it would be better to commission the new books in Venice.²² Admittedly, these doubts were not entirely unfounded, even given the success of *Missale Varmiense*. There were indeed few accomplished printers in Poland-Lithuania, and throughout the 1570s and 1580s Kraków was still the only city with more than one permanent printing shop. It was far from assured that any of these relatively small workshops (none of which had more than three presses), all generally inexperienced in publishing music, would be able to produce voluminous chant books in larger print runs, especially if these were to compete visually with the Venetian imprints for which the Polish clergy had a clear preference.²³ It is also probable that, due to the relatively small size of the market and limited number of presses in workshops, printing outside Poland was both faster and cheaper.²⁴

It is even more interesting that when the canons debated the publication of the *Graduale* they suggested that it would be more practical and less expensive to buy parchment and hire a scribe to copy the books by hand.²⁵ On the one hand this suggestion may be read as a sign of their utter ignorance of publishing issues. On

²⁰ See Gryczowa, *Z dziejów polskiej książki*, pp. 296–298.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 297: “podając ten *praetext*, że ratunku żadnego nie potrzebuje”—“arguing, that he does not need any help” (own translation). Interestingly enough, Kawecka-Gryczowa concludes (p. 298), contrary to the facts, that Januszowski won this battle and that the *Psalterium* was never printed.

²² Pawlak, *Graduały piotrkowskie*, p. 78 incl. footnotes.

²³ Most of the later 16th- and early 17th-century missals and breviaries I have encountered during my research in Polish libraries were printed by either Giunti or Cieri. This is confirmed by Agnieszka Górniak, “Potrydenckie mszały weneckie z XVI i XVII wieku w polskich bibliotekach kościelnych”, *Fides: Biuletyn Bibliotek Kościelnych*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2012), pp. 149–201. Venetian or Antwerp editions were also specifically requested for the church in Zamość in 1598, see *Cracovia impressorum XV et XVI saeculorum*, ed. Joannes Ptaśnik, Lviv: sumptibus Instituti Ossoliniani, 1922, no. 804 incl. footnote.

²⁴ On the question of whether it was cheaper, I have come across at least two indications that the latter was indeed the case, described by Jadwiga Ambrozja Kalinowska, *Stanisław Hozjusz jako humanista 1504–1579. Studium z dziejów kultury renesansowej* (Olsztyn: Hosianum, 2004), p. 130–131 and Stanisław Bodniak, “W oficynie architypografa. Rzecz o kłopotach Januszowskiego”, *Silva Rerum*, vol. 5, issue 8–9 (1930), p. 9.

²⁵ Pawlak, *Graduały piotrkowskie*, p. 78 incl. footnotes.

the other hand, however, it may simply be a reflection of a practice common at that time. Surprising as it may seem, they were not the only ones who thought this way. In 1589 the bishop of Płock, Wojciech Baranowski, advised the deans in his diocese to have handwritten copies of chant books made with texts corresponding to those in the Roman Missal.²⁶ In monasteries chant books were still being copied out by hand throughout the 17th and sometimes also in the 18th century. There could be many reasons behind it. For monasteries the most probable one is economy—it was not easy to print a chant book, especially for the use in a monastic choir. These books were often very large and contained music adapted to the rules, needs and customs of particular orders, which meant that a relatively small number of copies was needed. Copying books by hand must have been expensive but printing less than a few hundred antiphonaries or graduals would also turn out very costly.²⁷ However, in the scale of the entire church province with a few thousand of parish churches in need of new books, printing should be considered as a more practical and cheaper solution.

Nevertheless, the possibility must be taken into account that in late 16th-century Poland graduals were perceived as manuscript books. Most of the chant books from this period surviving in Polish libraries are handwritten volumes. Moreover, surviving visitation protocols from various Polish dioceses from around 1600 confirm widespread possession by parish churches of old handwritten liturgical parchment codices, as well as repairs to them.²⁸

Investment and profit: the Kraków chant books

Andrzej Piotrkowczyk Sr must have begun the printing of the first set of chant books in the early months of 1599 at the latest.²⁹ The *Psalterium*, which contained the least music and was the smallest of the three chant volumes, was published first. It appeared

²⁶ See Andrzej Rojewski, "Recepcja ksiąg liturgicznych soboru trydenckiego w archidiakonacie dobrzyńskim w latach 1597–1609", *Studia Płockie* 7 (1979), pp. 188, 191.

²⁷ For more on this topic see James J. Boyce, *Carmelite Liturgy and Spiritual Identity: The Choir Books of Kraków*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008, pp. 209, 300. See also Jolanta Gwóźdź *Kultura pisma i książki w żeńskich klasztorach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2015, pp. 182–185. Among other things the author describes a handwritten copy of the 1600 *Antiphonarium* from a Benedictine convent in Lviv. Cf. Ilona Ferenczi, "Das Gradual von Ajak. Eine ungarische liturgische Handschrift aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 45, no. 3/4 (2004), pp. 303–329.

²⁸ See e.g. Teofil Długosz, "Sprawy liturgiczne w XVI w. w diecezji krakowskiej. Próbką z obszaru kilkunastu parafii", *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny*, vol. 4 (1951), pp. 298–299; Rojewski, "Recepcja ksiąg liturgicznych soboru trydenckiego", pp. 197–200; Stanisław Chodyński, *Organy, śpiew i muzyka w kościele katedralnym wrocławskim. Szkic historyczny*, Wrocław: H. Neuman, 1902, pp. 58–63.

²⁹ Andrzej Piotrkowczyk Sr was active as a printer in the years ca. 1574–1620, his son Andrzej Sr printed books between 1620 and 1645, and his hereditaries continued the tradition until 1673. Both Andrzej Sr

in 1599 and is nowadays known in two defective copies held in the National Library of Poland in Warsaw.³⁰ The information on the year of publication comes from Estreicher³¹ and is confirmed by Piotrkowczyk in surviving dedications for Stanisław Karnkowski from the *Antiphonary* and *Graduale* published in 1600. Later editions of the books printed by Piotrkowczyk Sr include the second edition of the *Antiphonarium* from 1607, and then a complete set of the *Psalterium*, *Antiphonarium*, and *Graduale* from 1614. After Piotrkowczyk Sr died in 1620, his son prepared a new edition of the *Graduale* in 1629, and his heirs reprinted the *Antiphonarium* in 1645, the *Graduale* in 1651, and the *Psalterium* in 1654.

Straightforward as it may appear, this short list was not easy to compile and can hardly be regarded as definitive. Despite their large format, bulkiness, the fact that they were written in Latin, and the high probability that at least some copies would find their way into institutional libraries (these factors usually indicate a good chance of survival), and owing to what was most probably their extensive usage,³² the five oldest editions are extremely rare, although not entirely non-extant, as Estreicher's bibliography, or even entries in the Central Catalogue of Rare Books in the National Library of Poland, might suggest.³³ Over the course of my research I have been able to locate further copies of the 1600 *Graduale* and *Antiphonary*, as well as what is so far a unique copy of a previously unrecorded 1614 *Psalterium*, in library holdings both in Poland and abroad.³⁴ These findings were largely possible thanks to the publication of online library catalogues and digitization of rare book collections.³⁵ Needless to

and Andrzej Jr managed to print over 400 known editions each. In terms of printed sheets their known outputs amount to around 11400 for Andrzej Sr and 6200 for Andrzej Jr. In the first decades of the 17th century their print shop was probably the largest and most efficient in Poland-Lithuania. Polish-speaking readers can find basic information on these printers in *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVII wieku*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Małopolska*, part 1–2, Wrocław 1983.

³⁰ Shelf marks SD XVI.F.1000 and SD XVI.F.1009.

³¹ See Karol Estreicher and Stanisław Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 25, Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1913, p. 387.

³² See Goran Proot, "Survival Factors of Seventeenth-Century Hand-Press Books Published in the Southern Netherlands: The Importance of Sheet Counts, *Sammelbände* and the Role of Institutional Collections", in *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016, pp. 160–201.

³³ See Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 12, Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1891, p. 171; vol. 17, Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1899, p. 320, and Estreicher and Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 25, p. 387; Centralny Katalog Poloników XVI wieku and Centralny Katalog Poloników XVII–XVIII wieku at polona.pl.

³⁴ The unique copy of the 1614 edition of *Psalterium Secundum ritum Officii Romani ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restituti per hebdomadam dispositum* printed by Andrzej Piotrkowczyk is held in the library of Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne in Przemyśl (shelf mark XVII.683). Further copies of the 1600 editions of *Antiphonarium iuxta ritum Breviarii Romani, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restituti* and *Graduale Romanum de tempore et de sanctis ad ritum missalis* come from the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague (shelf marks 33 A 16 and 33 A 17 respectively, available online: manuscriptorium.com).

³⁵ There is an intriguing disproportion in numbers of surviving copies of various editions. According to the Central Catalogue of Rare Polonica (Centralny Katalog Poloników) in Warsaw, confirmed by

say, the newly located copies, especially the 1600 *Antiphonary* and 1614 *Psalterium*, with their surviving dedicatory letters, shed new light on the Kraków chant books.

In the context of his rivalry with Januszowski, the question of Piotrkowczyk's financial independence seems especially interesting. The assumption usually made by researchers, perhaps on the basis of Januszowski's story, is that liturgical books were commissioned and paid for in advance by members of the Catholic Church hierarchy.³⁶ The issue is more complex, however. It is possible that the Piotrkowczyk family financed the printing of these voluminous musical imprints largely independently, without any particular help (aid, or 'ratunek' in Polish) from the bishops, just as Januszowski implied in his abovementioned letter. A strong indication that this was indeed the case are the dedicatory letters found in the editions, written by members of the Piotrkowczyk family to the most important personae in the Polish Catholic Church. It has been assumed that the dedications were placed in the chant books as expressions of the printers' gratitude for financial assistance. But they might in fact have been inserted in order to encourage future benevolence and, possibly, in the hope of some form of more tangible reward from the addressees. No other Polish liturgical imprints are known to contain similar dedications from their printers.³⁷ If there are any dedicatory letters, they are from the hierarchs responsible for the publication. As a genre of writing, dedicatory letters are usually highly conventional and prone to rhetorical exaggeration, and therefore must be approached with caution and treated as an indication rather than proof. But they should not be entirely dismissed as sources of information.

It is hardly surprising that both the *Antiphonarium* and the *Graduale* of 1600 were dedicated to primate Stanisław Karnkowski (Fig. 2), who, together with his bishops, ordered the printing of the books in the first place. It is therefore reasonable to suspect that at least some of the copies of the 1599 *Psalterium* also carried a dedicatory letter to the primate. Both the aforementioned dedications in the 1600 volumes and a letter to Jan Andrzej Próchnicki from 1614 indicate

my own research, copies dated for 1614 and before are very rare, whereas those from 1645 onwards are quite numerous. For example, there are two copies of the 1600 *Antiphonarium*, a single copy of the 1607 edition, three or four copies of the 1614 edition, but twenty-seven copies of the 1645 edition. The ratio is similar for early and late editions of both the *Graduale* and the *Psalterium*. Perhaps this disproportion can be explained by the fact that later editions contain certain changes to the melodies and the office from the versions in the earlier publications. These later versions, considered official, may have replaced earlier books, which were subsequently discarded and lost.

³⁶ See e.g. Bodzioch, "Antyfonarze piotrkowskie", Pawlak, *Graduały piotrkowskie*.

³⁷ There are, however, traces of a similar practice of offering a religious book to various bishops by its author. In 1512 Florian Ungler printed in Kraków *Ordo misse* by Johannes Burchardus with a commentary by Samuel Zaborowski. The book has survived in at least seven states with coats of arms of various Polish bishops on the title pages. Some of the states contain also Zaborowski's dedication to the primate Jan Łaski (see Elektroniczna Baza Bibliografii Estreicherów, <https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/baza/wpis/?id=19629>, accessed 13 Feb 2020 and Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 23, Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1910, p. 414).

as much.³⁸ However, the paratexts are missing in both surviving copies, and according to Estreicher, who was aware of only one copy of this book, the 1599 psalter was dedicated to bishop of Kraków Jerzy Radziwiłł.³⁹ Nonetheless, the existence of one dedication need not preclude that of another, because in other instances Piotrkowczyk did offer his books simultaneously to at least two different hierarchs. Evidence of this is provided by the surviving alternative title page of the 1600 *Antiphonarium*, which bears the coat of arms of Radziwiłł's successor, Bernard Maciejowski, and a Latin poem by Gabriel Joannicy on its verso.⁴⁰ This quite probably meant that the printer sent his books out to several bishops across the Polish province, counting on additional remuneration for his hard work and expenditure from more than one source.⁴¹

A further indication of his self-reliance is supplied by the dedication to the prepositus of Miechów, Henryk Firlej, which has fortunately survived in a newly recovered *Psalterium* of 1614. It would be unreasonable to suppose that a person relatively low down in the church hierarchy had financed an entire edition of the *Psalterium*. Moreover, Piotrkowczyk clearly states in this letter that the edition was his own initiative and that he had taken it because the 1600 edition had sold out.⁴² Similar expressions, indicating that the printer enjoyed a certain degree of independence, can also be found in the 1614 *Graduale* dedicated to Jan Andrzej Próchnicki, bishop of Lwów.⁴³ In the later editions likewise, the printer (or printers) always offered his work to the hierarchs furnished with an expression of his hope of eliciting an

³⁸ "Dederam in lucem superioribus annis, Illustrissime Reverendissime Antistes, libros Ecclesiastico officio et cantui servientes, eosque Metropolitano Gnesnensi beatae recordationis Stanislaw Kankovio dicaveram: nunc recussis iisdem unum ex his primarium, Graduale videlicet ad te . . . destino" (*Graduale* 1614, f. [2]r).

³⁹ Estreicher and Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 25, p. 387.

⁴⁰ The title page is in the collection of the National Library of Poland in Warsaw (shelf mark SD XVI.F.1038).

⁴¹ In this light one should consider the inclusion of a dedication to the bishop of Warmia, Szymon Rudnicki, in the 1607 *Antiphonarium* as just one possibility rather than a foregone conclusion (see Bodzioch, "Antyfonarze piotrkowskie", p. 135). It is assumed that such a dedication would have been inserted in the book given the presence on the verso of the title page of Rudnicki's coat of arms and an ode signed by the canon of Włocławek, Matthias Sisinius (Maciej Zyznowicz). Later editions of chant books held dedicatory letters to the prepositus of Miechów Henryk Firlej (a 1614 *Psalterium*), the bishop of Lwów Andrzej Próchnicki (a 1614 *Antiphonarium*), primate Jan Wężyk (a 1629 *Graduale*), the bishop of Kraków Piotr Gembicki (a 1645 *Antiphonarium* and a 1654 *Psalterium*), and primate Maciej Lubieński (a 1651 *Graduale*). Aside from the abovementioned I have not come across any other parallel sets of paratexts, though in the Ossoliński National Institute (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich) in Wrocław there is a copy of a 1651 *Graduale* with a blank verso on the title page, suggesting perhaps that in this case the printer did not intend to insert the dedicatory letter to Gembicki in every copy.

⁴² "Cupiens itaque ego ad utilitatem Ecclesiae Dei, de meo penu tenui aliqua proferre, Psalmos Hymnosque, aptatos ad numerum, ante aliquot annos typis mandaveram, quorum cum summa his diebus sit penuria, iterato recudere, atque sub tuo amplissimo nomine, hoc ipsum quicquid est, lucem aspicere volui. Videbatur mihi non indecens, ut ad te opus hoc mitteretur . . ." (*Psalterium* 1614, f. [2]r).

⁴³ See n. 38 above.

expression of their gratitude, or of his gratitude for their previous generosity, rather than with thanks for any direct financial involvement on the part of the dedicatees. Greater involvement of the Catholic hierarchy in the financing of the Piotrkowczyk family's projects may be suspected after 1621, when the provincial synod ruled that bishops should pay for new chant books for their dioceses and distribute them at no cost to the parishes. However, there are no traces of any such editions from the early 1620s, and the 1629 *Graduale* was published at the printer's own expense, according to the permission for its publication granted by the 1628 synod. Only in one instance, in a 1654 *Psalterium* dedicated to bishop of Kraków Piotr Gembicki, does a Church hierarch's name appear on the title page. But even this does not mean that the bishop financed the printing. A few decades later, in 1712, the bishop of Kraków, Kazimierz Łubieński, asked the Kraków Academy print shop, which had inherited the presses, types, and copyrights from the Piotrkowczyk family, to print a run of new chant books. It is clear from the archival material that the bishop did not intend to pay for the edition in advance but expected it to be delivered.⁴⁴ It should therefore be considered probable that the family had been self-sufficient as printers of chant books. The publications clearly had not ruined either Andrzej Piotrkowczyk Sr or his heirs; on the contrary, they most probably made him the profit that Januszowski had hoped for in the first place.

Statements recurring in the dedicatory letters to the effect that previous editions were no longer available for purchase suggest that the books sold well. Sales were certainly boosted by visitations undertaken in various dioceses in the last years of the 16th century and the first of the 17th. From sources that have been published to date it is clear that in this period the bishops ordered parish priests to buy new liturgical books. In 1601, for example, the bishop of Kraków, Bernard Maciejowski, summoned the parish priests from the Bytom deanship to Olkusz and Oświęcim in order to check whether the admonitions of his predecessor, Jerzy Radziwiłł, who had visited the deanship's parishes in 1598, had been heeded. According to the records of Maciejowski's meetings with the clergymen, the bishop personally exhorted them to buy the antiphonaries and graduals that had recently been published in Kraków. In one instance the printer's name is mentioned: the rector of Mysłowice was exhorted to buy "graduale et antiphonarium Cracoviae typis Andreae Petricovii impressa."⁴⁵ Another indication that Piotrkowczyk's books were in circulation all over Poland are visitation protocols from the Dobrzyń archdeaconry in the Płock diocese. Visitations there took place in 1597, 1599, and 1609. Records from the earlier two described most of the chant books held in the parish churches there as either "antique", "parchment", or "worn out", whereas in 1609 the books were for the most part "new", "paper", or both

⁴⁴ *Privilegia typographica Polonorum*, ed. Maria Juda, Lublin: UMCS, 2010, p. 144; Janina Dobrzyńska, *Drukarnie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1674–1783*, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1975, pp. 43–44.

⁴⁵ See Franciszek Maroń, "Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Kościoła w obecnej diecezji katowickiej. Dekrety egzekucyjne do protokołów wizytacyjnych z r. 1598", *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* 5 (1972), pp. 263–274, Piotrkowczyk's name is mentioned on p. 271.

of these.⁴⁶ The new paper graduals most probably came from Piotrkowczyk's print shop. But despite these favourable circumstances, some copies of the *Graduale* seem to indicate that the printer was sometimes unable to sell the whole stock. It seems that in 1614 he still had some copies of the 1600 edition left, which he tried to sell with a new title page; his heirs did the same with copies of the 1614 edition in 1651.⁴⁷

Considering the design

Obviously, all of the chant books discussed here were edited for use with the post-Tridentine Roman missal and breviary, and as such they contain texts from those publications, which was duly noted both on the title pages and by Piotrkowczyk Sr in his dedications.⁴⁸ In the context of book design it is also important to note that the printer was fully aware of the books' origin, function, and meaning for the Church. He also knew that the gradual would be used most often by a cantor intoning mass chants from the pulpit, and on rarer occasions by small groups of singers in collegiate or cathedral churches.⁴⁹

Despite the importance of these volumes for the history of Catholic liturgical music in Poland, we do not know who chose and edited the melodies for publication or who supervised the printing process. Although the books were reprinted from 1629 with some changes to the melodies (ordered by the provincial synod of 1628), they never followed the benchmark *Editio Medicea* of 1614. Instead, as musicological research has demonstrated, they contained older variants of melodies used originally in Kraków and Lesser Poland and later throughout the country.⁵⁰ Hence the books comprised textual matter adjusted to meet the newest standards alongside melodies that remained faithful to local tradition. This combination is telling, as I will argue below, and can be closely associated with certain features of the design.⁵¹

⁴⁶ See Rojewski, "Recepcja ksiąg liturgicznych soboru trydenckiego," pp. 187–203. It is to be noted that the author was most probably not aware of the existence of Piotrkowczyk's chant books, so he makes no link between the appearance of the new paper graduals and antiphonaries and their publication.

⁴⁷ See Pawlak, *Graduały piotrkowskie*, pp. 81 and 82. Pawlak argues that these title editions were actually second editions from the same year. However, a closer analysis of the 1651 *Graduale* in the collection of Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski (shelf mark XVII 1750) confirmed that it is in fact a 1614 edition with a new set of paratexts. I have not been able to inspect the 1614 copy from Międzyrzecz Wielkopolski but Pawlak's description of the copy suggests a similar solution, with perhaps an addition of 'XIV' to the date M.D.C.

⁴⁸ See e.g. the beginning of the dedicatory letter to Stanislas Karnkowski in *Graduale* . . ., Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1600, f. [2]r.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Bodzioch, "Antyfonarze piotrkowskie," pp. 132–139. Pawlak, *Graduały piotrkowskie*, p. 99 and ff.

⁵¹ The literature regarding early modern book design, its relationship with the content and research methodologies in this field is limited. The researchers use different approaches, rooted in various fields

Piotrkowczyk's chant books are among the largest and most complex books produced in Early Modern Poland. Some descriptions of their physical form have been produced, but this is a subject worthy of further attention.⁵² They are all in folio format, with pages measuring ca. 37 cm × 27 cm (measurements of the leaves in the biggest surviving bound copies). The paper is of local origin, of a quality similar to the paper used in Januszowski's *Missale Varmiense*. However, in later editions the paper becomes thicker and more yellowish and this is the reason why the typography of the Kraków chant books cannot be fully appreciated.⁵³ The same holds true for other liturgical imprints from the Piotrkowczyk print shop, such as the *Missae propriae patronorum et festorum Regni Poloniae* of 1618, which were published also in Venice a few years later.⁵⁴ When viewed as digital photographs on a computer screen, Piotrkowczyk's work could easily pass for a product of a 17th-century Venetian press. When the pages are viewed directly, however, a tremendous difference in the paper is noticed—its inferior quality in the Kraków version negatively affects the viewing of the typography.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the Piotrkowczyks' chant books were produced with considerable skill and diligence. Printing of liturgical music was anything but straightforward at that time. As two colors were expected (red staves with black notes on them), the Piotrkowczyks, like most printers producing chant books or missals at that time, used the multiple impressions technique. Sheets bearing musical notation were passed through the press at least two times: once for red staves and red textual elements, the second impression for the black text with initials and notes. This necessitated either the reworking of the forme with the staves by replacing the staves and parts of the text with sorts containing notes and textual elements that were to be printed in black, or a second forme being made for the black elements. The notes were most

of study: new bibliography, genetic criticism, new philology, communication studies, anthropology. Some draw from practical knowledge of typographers and graphic designers. Here I do not wish to dwell on methodological and theoretical issues, which, when applied to a book historical research, call for a separate study. It is, however, worth mentioning a few studies that can give some sense of direction: Donald Francis McKenzie, "The Book as an Expressive Form" in McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 9–30; Gérard Genette, *Seuils*, Paris: Seuil, 1987 (in English: *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, transl. Jane E. Lewin, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, here especially the initial chapters referring to publishers peritexts); Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012 (here especially chapters 1–3).

⁵² By Pietras ("Produkcja katolickiej książki liturgicznej", pp. 208–218), Pawlak (*Gradały piotrkowskie*, pp. 85–89) and Bodzioch ("Antyfonarze piotrkowskie", pp. 143–145).

⁵³ In 1600 *Antiphonarium* 50 leaves have thickness of 7 mm, in 1654 *Psalterium* the same amount of leaves measures 8,5 mm.

⁵⁴ Other editions of this work were commissioned in Antwerp or in Venice, in formats and layouts that corresponded with the typography of available missals.

⁵⁵ The copies that I examined are held in the National Library of Poland in Warsaw: shelf mark XVII.4.3703 (*Missae propriae patronorum et festorum Regni Poloniae*, Venezia: Giunti, 1626) and shelf mark XVII.4.6414 (*Missae propriae patronorum et festorum Regni Poloniae*, Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1618).

probably typeset together with the black text, although it seems improbable at first sight, because the neumes often hang below the top line of the text verses. A closer inspection shows, however, that there is no overlapping and that the neumes and the letters were fitted together with great precision. In order to achieve this level of accuracy many sorts with neumes must have been kerned, sometimes even the neume itself had to be cut into in order to fit with the sort below (see Fig. 6 and 7).⁵⁶ Most of the time the printers managed to keep the register and made sure that all of the red and black elements fitted together well.⁵⁷ All in all, Piotrkowczyk's chant books are in no way inferior to their western counterparts in terms of their typography.

For Piotrkowczyk Sr the printing of the chant books also entailed considerable preparations and investments. There are no records of his workshop publishing musical imprints prior to 1599, so it is reasonable to conclude that he had to order sorts for staves and notes, as well as a new typeface—a roman on a body measuring a little less than 190 mm for 20 lines, which in 16th-century terminology can be described using its French name, 'petit canon romaine'—which is not present in his earlier publications.⁵⁸ The printer also had to acquire decorative roman initials in three sizes (heights around 58 mm, 36 mm and 25 mm) corresponding with his new typeface as well as notes and staves. They were likely bought after the spreads for the three books were planned. There were initials that appeared more than once in a single forme, even on one page, so multiple blocks of at least some letters, including M, D and I, were required.⁵⁹ The printer's goal was to enlarge his pool of woodcut initials rather than to collect a stylistically uniform set. In the 1599–1614 editions the initials come from at least three different alphabets, but the most often used ones have similar characteristics (Fig. 3–5). In later editions numbers of both the alphabets used and their sizes increase, which makes the overall design of the later chant books less coherent. The origin of the initials, which followed design patterns present in many European imprints of the time, is unclear; some of them, especially those used in later editions, might have been

⁵⁶ The process of kerning types is described in Joseph Moxon, *Moxon's Mechanick Exercises, Or, The Doctrine of Handyworks Applied to the Art of Printing: A Literal Reprint in Two Volumes of the First Edition Published in the Year 1683*, vol. 1, New York: Typothetæ of the City of New York, 1896, pp. 179–182.

⁵⁷ For more details on the technique of printing music see Elisabeth Giselbrecht and Elizabeth Savage, "Printing Music Technical Challenges and Synthesis, 1450–1530", in *Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Elisabeth Giselbrecht, and Grantley McDonald, London: Routledge, 2018. For more on color printing see Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage, *Printing Colour 1400–1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions*, Leiden: Brill, 2015. Cf. Maria Przywecka-Samecka, *Dzieje drukarstwa muzycznego w Polsce*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1993, p. 13.

⁵⁸ See *Type Specimen Facsimiles II*, typeface no. 17 (with a description on p. 3). Piotrkowczyk's typeface is similar to this design. For later editions the printer used a different Roman typeface of this size, bought sometime between 1607 (after the *Antiphonarium* was printed) and 1614 (before the new set of chant books was published).

⁵⁹ In 1599 *Psalterium* the two blocks with initial 'D' used in a single forme can be found e.g. on pages 180, 231, 142, and 143, with the 'M' on pages 97 and 98, with the 'I' on page 272.

bought from other Kraków printers.⁶⁰ Last but not least Piotrkowczyk must have ordered the massive majuscules (ca. 35 mm in height), probably woodcuts, that are visible on the title pages of all the editions studied for the purposes of this research (Fig. 1). The staves, the notes, and the roman type were also used in other editions discussed here, and survived well into the 18th century, when they served to print the *Psalterium* and *Graduale* in the print shop of the Kraków Academy.⁶¹

Two more remarks should be made on the design. The choice of a Roman typeface for a liturgical book was not an obvious one, especially in a region of Europe where Venetian liturgical imprints were so cherished. A research on graduals printed in Italy showed that before 1600 they were almost exclusively typeset in blackletter. This was even the case in the Plantin's psalters and antiphonaries from early 1570s.⁶² It is only after Editio Medicea in 1614 that we can speak of the gradual adoption of Roman typefaces as standard in printed books of Gregorian chants.⁶³ Piotrkowczyk's choice of typeface was therefore not a matter of following a well-established convention, and as such is worth viewing in a broader context. The renewal of Polish Catholicism was initiated by bishops who cherished humanist ideals and who paid close attention to the design of books published for them. One of these was Kromer, who personally took care of the missal for his own diocese and chose Roman typefaces for it. The other liturgical imprints produced with the involvement of Kromer or Karnkowski by Januszowski in Kraków or by Cholinus in Cologne all used Roman typefaces. It is therefore more than tempting to attach a more general cultural message to roman letters in Piotrkowczyk's chant books. Even if the hierarchs were merely following an

⁶⁰ This question requires further detailed research. One indication that Piotrkowczyk bought woodblocks from other Kraków printers is the woodcut of the winged putto's head from the *Psalterium* (1599, p. 230). The same woodcut, with identical fractures on its left side, can be found in imprints made by Mikołaj Szafrzenberger (*Biblia. Nowy Testament*, transl. Jan Leopolda, Kraków: Mikołaj Szafrzenberger, 1577, f.)(4r) as well as his 'Flying Print Shop' (Drukarnia Latająca) (i.a. Jan Kochanowski, *Pieśni trzy*, Warszawa: Drukarnia Latająca Walentego Łapki, 1580, f. [A]1r). Examples of similar initials used in European (mostly French and German) books can be found i.a. in Erhardt D. Siebner and Dieter Urban, *Initialen + Bildbuchstaben*, Munich: Bruckmann, 1983; *Decorative Alphabets and Initials*, ed. Alexander Nesbitt, New York: Dover Publications, 1959, pl. 65–66; *Handbook of Renaissance Ornaments*, ed. Albert Fidelis Butsch, New York: Dover Publications, 1969, pl. 143–150. The question of identical initials used by various Kraków printers is raised by Agnieszka Franczyk-Cegła, "Problemy metodologiczne w identyfikacji anonimów typograficznych na podstawie druków krakowskich z lat 1601–1620", *Terminus*, vol. 21, issue 4(53) (2019), pp. 437–457.

⁶¹ Cf. *Psalterium Romanum*, Kraków: Typis Universitatis, 1716 and *Graduale Romanum*, Kraków: Typis Universitatis, 1740. See also Dobrzyniecka, *Drukarnie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, p. 44.

⁶² Cf. *Psalterium dispositum per hebdomadam . . .*, Antwerpen: Christophe Plantin, 1571 (Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1555–1589: A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, vols. 1–5, Leiden: Brill, 1982 [hereafter Voet PP], no. 2115) and *Antiphonarium iuxta Breviarium Romanum restitutum*, Antwerpen: Christophe Plantin, 1573 (Voet PP 58).

⁶³ It is confirmed by sources cited in Agee, "Printed Dissemination", *passim*, and the editions of chant books available for viewing in the database of Progetto Raphael: http://www.cantusfractus.org/raph_1/edizioni.htm (accessed on 9 June 2020).

aesthetic custom or fashion, this must have been associated with the cultural movement that formed them. Moreover, this visually striking break with traditional design came at a very significant point in time, which in the context of Polish Catholicism marked the transition from the pre-Tridentine to the Tridentine liturgy.

The second remark concerns the notes themselves. The melodies in these chant books were printed using medieval gothic neumes, which were popular only locally and were virtually absent from 16th-century liturgical books printed outside Poland. By that time western Europe had adopted a form of Gregorian quadratic notation. It is impossible to tell why this old-fashioned kind of notation was chosen for the Kraków chant books and who was responsible for that choice (it can only be noted that the same notation was also used in the aforementioned *Missale Varmienne*). But on a general plane, whereas the Roman letters can be read as a sign of change or renewal, the neumes seem to point in the opposite direction, to an older tradition that was considered worth retaining.

Conclusion

The 17th century brought further reforms in questions of liturgy: the introduction of the *Rituale* in place of the *Agenda*, and the creation of the *Processionale*, as well as the revision of the Gregorian chants published as the abovementioned *Editio Medicea*. However, by that time Kraków had lost some of its importance as a cultural and economic centre and it witnessed no more heated debates about the publication of liturgical books. The fact that the Piotrkowczyk family published works as demanding as choir chant books for over fifty years in what was quite a narrow market not only confirms their great prowess as printers but also shows how deeply rooted the tradition of Gregorian chant in Poland was. Furthermore, the fact that Karnkowski preferred to foster local tradition rather than replace it with new ideas imported from abroad is an important testimony to both the original strength of the Polish Catholic communities, dating to the decades before Trent, and the primate's ambition.

The last recorded edition of a liturgical chant book printed, at least in part, with Piotrkowczyk's sorts was published in the first half of the 18th century in the Jagiellonian University print shop, at the request of the bishop of Kraków. This was a period when printing of liturgical books in the city was much more difficult than in the final decades of the 16th century. The production of the *Psalterium*, which was preceded by twelve months of preparations, took two years (1713–1714) and brought financial loss; the *Graduale*, finally published in 1740, took ten consecutive years to print.⁶⁴ These editions were clearly a matter of honour (the university's silver regalia had almost been sold to finance the printing) and would have not been

⁶⁴ Dobrzyniecka, *Drukarnie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, p. 44.

undertaken by a commercial print shop by any means. Nevertheless, the very fact that these new editions of chant books were published in Kraków means that after the initial phase of mistrust in the abilities of local printers the Piotrkowczyk family had managed to convince the Catholic hierarchy in Poland that as local printers they were able of producing a more than acceptable liturgical book.

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