

INTRODUCTION

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During 150 years of its activity (1616–1773), Kražiai College left abundant cultural heritage that also included the college library¹. One of the key sources of the history of the library is a list of books compiled in 1803 (hereafter referred to as the List). It is a list of books that belonged to the college that was closed in 1773 and which were at the disposal of the former Kražiai School administered by the Carmelite monks at the time. The List has been known in historiography for over fifty years. Although it is mentioned in almost all analytical or encyclopaedic studies or papers about Kražiai College and its library, nobody has so far attempted to publicise it *in extenso*. References to the List have been limited to scholarly claims that move from one paper to another, especially those concerning the statistical data on the books (frequently they are totally wrong), a short description of the content of the library, or a mention of one book or another. Initially, the idea of publishing the List in full appeared intimidating primarily because of its complex qualities: its text is a tough nut to crack even for experienced publishers of sources. In addition, the old books are described in a way that a consistent identification of all of them – and not just individual positions or those of one’s personal choice – became possible only in the twenty-first century when digital technologies and the possibilities of text search and recognition have risen to an unprecedented level.

Our initial intention was to prepare a transcript of the List, but as soon as we started work it became obvious that such a publication would be somewhat pointless as this sort of information no longer answers the needs of twenty-first-century book research.

¹ Basic information about Kražiai and its college can be found in: *Lietuvių enciklopedija*, vol. 13, Boston, Massachusetts, 1958, p. 30–38; Povilas Kviklys (ed.), *Mūsų Lietuva*, vol. 4, Boston, Massachusetts (Vilnius), 1968¹, 1991², p. 511–520; *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, vol. 3, Boston, Massachusetts, 1973, p. 181–184; Pranas Razminas (ed.), *Kražiai*, Chicago, 1983; *Kražiai*, Vilnius-Kaunas, 1993; Ludwik Grzebień (ed.), *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, Kraków, 1997, p. 332; *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 9, Lublin, 2002, col. 1328–1329. *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, vol. 10, Vilnius, 2006, p. 743–744. The only extant building of the former college now hosts the Matthias Sarbievius Cultural Centre, which runs its own internet site (www.kraziai.lt) where some interesting visualisation can be found.

Therefore we had to broaden our objective by making it more ambitious and by identifying each and every entry of the List, of which there were over two thousand. The positive aspect of such a step is that from now on book researchers will be able to use an accurate database of the books of Kražiai library in their work. The negative aspect is that the size of the publication exceeded the original design several times.

In the process of entry identification we arrived at the idea that it would be worthwhile to undertake the most ambitious and most complex task: to locate the books extant in the libraries of Lithuania and foreign countries, all the more so that even before this publication Lithuanian bibliographers had accomplished some work in this field.

As the identification of the List entries commenced, it turned out that the books of the library of Kražiai College were unbelievably lucky: due to historical circumstances throughout the whole nineteenth century and especially the first half of the twentieth century that was so tragic to the Lithuanian cultural heritage, these books did not leave the territory of Lithuania and at present are kept in three main libraries of Lithuania: the Public Library of the Kaunas County, the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, and the Vilnius University Library. Still, this fact hardly made the Sisyphus labour easier as it turned out to be impossible to check thousands of potential volumes in each of these libraries *de visu* during the short time assigned for the preparation and publication of the List (April 2016–September 2017). Therefore we had to be content with what we managed to find up until 30 September 2017. The whole search resulted in location of over 1100 copies of books that used to belong to Kražiai College. Apart from the List itself, the surviving copies are the second most important source of the history of the Kražiai College library. Making use of the present List, the provenances and other inscriptions in the surviving books, as well as supplementing them with the information in *Annuae litterae* and *Historiae*, the editor of the List is planning to write a comprehensive history of the Kražiai College library.

We must mention the individuals whose goodwill assistance rendered the present publication more accurate and more exhaustive. First of all we are grateful to Dr Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė and Sonda Rankelienė who shared with us the manuscript version of their publication about the books of Kražiai College at the Vilnius University Library. We are particularly grateful to them for undertaking the additional task of looking for the books of Kražiai in the repositories of the Vilnius University Library using the list we had compiled. Our sincere thanks go to Sigitas Lūžys, a resident of Kaunas, who informed us about a forthcoming catalogue of seventeenth-century books kept in the libraries of Kaunas. The data from this catalogue, which, unfortunately, has not appeared yet, were included in our publication via the database <http://katalogas.kvb>.

lt:8880/index.jsp. Sigitas Lūžys and Dr Rita Urbaitytė also kindly shared his expertise in eighteenth-century books of Kražiai College currently kept in the libraries of Kaunas. We are grateful to all the staff of the Department of Old Books and Manuscripts at the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania for bringing over 2000 old books from the repositories for the editor to look through. Special thanks are due to Viktorija Bargailienė a member of the aforementioned Department who found some new books belonging to Kražiai College initially overlooked by the editor. We would also like to thank Dr Gediminas Vaskela, who helped with the sorting of the indices, and Tomas Rastenis, who did the major part of work on the layout of the book.

The Source

The List is currently kept in the holding of the documents of Vilnius Educational District at the Lithuanian State Historical Archives (collection no. 567, inventory 2, file 55). In 1773, the Society of Jesus was suppressed in Lithuania and its colleges in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth went to the Commission of National Education, which was founded in the same year and which established education districts. Kražiai was part of the Žemaitija (Samogitia) Educational District with its centre in Kaunas. After the Third Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795, the occupation authorities initially delegated the management of schools to the bishop of Vilnius. The former Kražiai College was passed on to the Carmelite monks. They opened their school in Kražiai in the autumn of 1797, and it officially functioned for twenty years until 1817.²

Early in 1803, a radical educational reform was launched in the Russian Empire. The whole empire was divided into six educational districts. Vilnius Educational District was established to administer the schools in the territory of the annexed lands of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and Duke Adomas Jurgis Čartoryskis (Czartoryski, 1770–1861), who was Emperor Alexander I's friend from young days, was appointed the curator of this district. All schools of Vilnius Educational District were subordinated to the Imperial Vilnius University, which was re-established in that same year, and to its rector.

There is no doubt that the compilation of the List is linked to this particular reform. On 26 February (14 February in old style) 1803, Vilnius University received an instruction from the district curator Čartoryskis, on the basis of which on 21 March (9 March) 1803 it instructed the head of Kražiai school to prepare a report on the state of the

² The history of post-Jesuit Kražiai College is best shown in a monograph by Kazys Misius (see: Kazys Misius, *Kražių mokykla ir gimnazija 1773–1844 metais*, Vilnius, 2015, *passim*).

school he was in charge of. The originals of these documents have not been found yet: we know about them only from the heading of the report.³ Having received the instruction from Vilnius University, the head of the Kražiai school, Carmelite Aleksas Šmatovičius (Aleksy Szmatołowicz, 1766–?) drafted the required report and dispatched it to Vilnius on 16 April (4 April) 1803. It reached Vilnius on 21 April (9 April). The report, which is not an object of our research and fills folios 137 to 147v of the above-mentioned manuscripts, included ‘Inventory of the Library of Kražiai School’. It does not bear a precise date but is signed by Szmatołowicz himself which shows that it was compiled at the same time and sent away along with the said report. It is referred to as ‘inventory’ only because, in addition to books, it included a list of a number of instruments from the physics classroom. In fact, it is not a library inventory or a catalogue in the contemporary sense as it lacks the basic element of a catalogue – location, or signatures, of books. Therefore ‘a list of books’ is the most appropriate name for it.

The List is written on greenish *folio*-size (22 x 36 cm) leaves. It fills folios 148 to 182v of the above-mentioned archival file (manuscript). It also has an internal page numbering, 1–67. Number 36, probably an earlier number of the file, is crossed out on the title page of the file.

The List is in the form of a table that consists of four main columns: (1) the author’s name, the title of the book, and the number of volumes (*nazwisko autorów i liczba tomów*), (2) the place of publishing (*miejsce druku*), (3) the year of publishing (*czas druku*), and (4) the number of copies (*liczba egzemplarzy*). These column headings appear on each page of the table. One page can accommodate up to 40 entries depending on the amount of text they contain, but there are 32–34 entries on average.

The inventory is classified on the linguistic-thematic basis. Linguistically, all books are divided into Latin and non-Latin. Exception is made only for the books in Polish, which appear among the Latin books. Further, Latin and Polish books are classified thematically. Different editions of the Holy Scripture are listed at the beginning; they are followed by the writings of the Fathers of the Church, of the interpreters of the Holy Scripture (exegetes), and so on. In this way, there are 27 (28) thematic sections of Latin and Polish books and seven sections based on the linguistic principle: books in (1) Old Greek, (2) German, (3) Lithuanian (Samogitian), (4) Semigallian, i.e., Latvian, (5) Italian, (6) Hebrew, and (7) French. Within these sections, the books are additionally classified by their format: first

³ „Na skutek zalecenia jo. księżęcia Popieczytela na dniu 14 februarii 1803 Wileńskiemu Imperatorskiemu Uniwersytetowi oraz na skutek zalecenia Imperatorskiego Wileńskiego Uniwersytetu szkole publicznej kroskiej na dniu 9 marca 1803 niniejszy o stanie wzmiankowanej szkoły kroskiej Imperatorskiemu Wileńskiemu Uniwersytetowi przesyła się raport” [This report on the state of the school is sent on the basis of the instruction of 14 February 1803 of His Grace the Duke and Curator to the Imperial Vilnius University and on the basis of the instruction of 9 March 1803 of the Imperial Vilnius University to Kražiai public school].

the largest, printed in the so-called *folio (secundo)* format, then *in quarto*, and so on. The List contains some repetitions (the same publication or volumes of a multi-volume work are entered in several different places), and some books appear not where they should be.

The List was based on some earlier list of books and possibly not even one. First of all, it is indicated by the thematic classification of books characteristic of the book catalogues compiled by the Jesuits.⁴ No book catalogues of Kražiai College from the period of 1616 to 1773 have survived, although they had to be compiled according to the requirements of the Society's *Institutum*. The catalogue of books of 1773/1774 that had without doubt to be compiled by the inspectors of the college, who were put in charge of registering the property of the Society of Jesus following its suppression, did not survive either. As for this lost catalogue, it is mentioned on one single occasion in the report of inspectors sent to Kražiai school by the Commission of National Education in 1782.⁵ With time it disappeared because the Carmelites of Kolainiai (a village in Samogitia), who took over the school in 1797, claimed in 1803 that the library was transferred to them 'at random', that is, without any book inventory. However, a comprehensive inventory of the property of the whole post-Jesuit Kražiai College of 30 (19 in old style) September 1797 is extant.⁶ Furthermore, a place in the text of the report of inspection to Kražiai College on 14-18 October (2-6 October) 1803 by the canon of Vilnius Pranciškus Ksaveras Mykolas Bogušas (Bohusz, 1746–1820) brings in even more confusion. This is what he writes:

Biblioteka szkolna po-jezuicka zawierać ma ksiąg wszystkich 3264. Inwentarz jej, również jako i domu i kościoła dotychczas przez poprzednich wizytatorów niepodpisany przejrzałem i podpisałem. Co mię zadziwiło, jest to, że inwentarz ten biblioteki jeszcze w roku przeszłym został zrobiony. Pytałem się o dawniejszy, odpowiedziano mnie, że go nie było i że im biblioteka z oka podana była.

[The library of the post-Jesuit school has 3264 books in all. I checked and signed the inventory of the library, also of the college and the church, which had not been signed by previous inspectors so far. What surprised me was the fact that this inventory of the library was compiled as early as [or: only] last year. I asked about the earlier one but was told that it did not exist and that the library was passed on to them [Carmelites – *D.A.*] at random.

⁴ This is easy to see in any catalogue of the libraries of Jesuit colleges.

⁵ *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów szkół Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim 1782–1792*, oprac. Kalina Bartnicka, Irena Szybiak, Wrocław [etc.], 1974, p. 74: 'W collegium biblioteka, ksiąg dostatek. Widziałem rejestr podpisany od lustratorów' [The college has a library with many books in it. I saw a list of these books signed by inspectors].

⁶ Translated by Irena Katilienė from Polish into Lithuanian, this highly significant inventory of the property of Kražiai College appears in Misius's above-mentioned monograph as an appendix, see: Kazys Misius, *op.cit.*, p. 278–309.

These words do not bring any clarity as to which library inventory Bogušas signed: the one we are publishing (one copy of which might have been left in Kražiai for keeping), or some other. Nor is it clear what inventory he had in mind when writing about ‘last year’: the one compiled during 1802/03 academic year or some earlier.

In any case, the fact that the compilation of the List was based on earlier inventories is confirmed by particular places in the text. For example, some grave mistakes in the dating of books when not only the last digit but decades or even centuries differ (see Nos. 374, 670, 808, 1228, and 1235), distorted names of authors and Latin common words in the book titles can be explained either by misunderstandings or by mix-ups when copying an earlier text.

Reliability of the Bibliographic Data

The identification and attribution (in case the author is not given) of many positions of the List has turned into a small individual research. Here is one example. The original entry no. 50 is as follows:

Baratii SI Comentarium, tomi IV

Moguntiae

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3

Trusting the text and facing a name that can also be read as *Baralii* we would first rack our brains for long hours trying to figure out which author is borne in mind here as we will not find this name in any databases. If eventually we realise that it is the Portuguese Jesuit Sebastião Barradas (1542/43–1615), another obstacle will be facing us: which of his works is indicated here. And although it will be an easy task with all the bibliographic databases at hand (*Commentaria in concordiam et historiam evangelicam*), the next puzzle will be the edition of this work. In general, it is not at all clear what is meant by four volumes and three copies. And only after ransacking libraries will it become clear that what it means is four volumes of commentaries of the New Testament published in Mainz from 1609 to 1612 and bound in three volumes currently kept in different libraries of Vilnius.

This example is a good illustration of the challenges faced while compiling similar lists of books of no longer existing libraries. First of all, the authors’ names are given with mistakes, translators into Latin or other languages are often indicated as main authors; book titles do not comply with contemporary rules and frequently only two or three main words are written and not necessarily in the order as they appear in the title; there are mistakes in indicating the place, and especially the year of publishing. In many cases, the place and the year of publication are not indicated at all due to defects of the copies (for example, a missing title page), to their original absence on the title page (in incunabula and some

palaeotypes), or because of doubts as to which date should be chosen (for instance, in the case of several volumes of a multi-volume work like in the above example), and the like.

All that prevented us from identifying all positions of the List with 100 per cent accuracy. The cases when the numbers of volumes or copies 'are hiding' different editions that can only be identified by finding particular copies are especially difficult (cf. entries nos. 21, 26, 34, 49, 56, 65, 72, 79, 102, etc.). Also, there are cases when several different printers (publishers) published books with identical titles in the same city and in the same year and they are never indicated in the List. Thus certain mistakes are inevitable in identifying the sleek entries of the List, yet we tried to leave as few of them as possible. We hope that our successors will correct them.

A fair amount of misleading statistics associated with the books of the former Kražiai College has spread in bibliographic literature (its list is given in the chapter 'Studia et dissertatiunculæ'). The source of it is the List itself. Previous scholars were not critical enough with regard to the total number of copies (3264 books) given at the bottom of the List, and somebody did not take the trouble to count the positions entered (2126 entries). In this way, almost all papers on the library of Kražiai College feature the claim that in 1803 the library had books of 2126 titles the total number of which was 3264 copies. As for these numbers, it must be noted that the List includes both printed books and manuscripts, and the latter are quite numerous. Below is the list of the manuscripts in the order as they appear in the List:

401	Constitutiones ecclesiae cathedralis Vornensis	-	1561	1
424	Theologia manuscripta	-	-	13
432	Theologia manuscripta	-	-	1
627	Hoffmana Zasiew kłolu, manuscriptus	-	-	1
767	Theologia moralis manuscripta	-	-	1
890	Compendium mathematicarum propositionum manuscriptum	-	-	1
1036	Philosophia manuscripta in variis partibus	-	-	14
1184	Sententiae ex eticis orationibus, manuscriptus	-	-	1
1185	Comitia Tulianae [s] reipublicae, ditto	-	-	1
1512	Summariolum vitae defunctorum in collegio Crosensi SI	-	-	1
1514	Responsa ad quaesita circa foundationem collegio Plocensi	-	-	1
1628	Katechizm pisany	-	-	1
2105	Anonymi Liber manuscriptus	-	-	1

Total 38

As can be seen here, the List mentions 38 bound manuscript volumes although their number might be bigger as at first sight some positions of printed books can also be attributed to manuscripts (cf. List entries nos. 1189, 1316).

Another thing is that the above-mentioned number of 3264 volumes is wrong. Although Aleksas Šmatovičius, the head of the school at the time, signed the List confirming its accuracy, the preliminary checking that we had carried out showed that the number of volumes should be 3284. Yet even this number is incorrect. This can be easily proven when the data contained in ‘The register of books recorded in the list’ (*Katalog tytułów książek w rejestrze umieszczonych*),⁷ a separate table at the end of the List, and the data in the List itself are compared. For example, the said table indicates that the second section – that of patristics – consisted of 30 volumes. This number was derived by adding up the copies indicated in the last column of the entries no. 16 to 44 of the List, although there is a mistake even here: the number of volumes should amount to 32. The actual number of volumes in this section must have been much bigger. First of all attention should be paid to the fact that the words ‘NN volume(s)’ next to the book titles can mean three different things: (1) the total number of volumes of a particular publication (for example, *Opera omnia*) by a certain author, (2) the factual number of volumes held in the Kražiai library in particular, and (3) the actual volume of a particular edition. This aspect emerged in the process of work and had to be always borne in mind when counting the copies, while the choice between the first and the second options raises some doubts.

Following this observation, one can attempt counting the volumes in the patristics section. If we assume that the factual number of volumes held in the library at the time is indicated next to the book titles, we will see that there were not 32 but at least 63, that is, twice as many. If we attempted to count them bearing in mind the actually known copies of Kražiai, the number would be different again. The situation is similar in the section of the Church historians (*Historici sacri*). There were 55 volumes according to the compiler of the List, and 87 volumes according to our count. Such significant margin of error in just two of 35 sections of the List leads to a valid claim that the so far indicated number 3264 (3284) should be forgotten and a simple conclusions should be drawn: the number of actual volumes held in Kražiai College was considerably bigger. How many volumes were there?

In the 1797 inventory of the property of the former college, the number mentioned in reference to books was 3854, noting that it includes not only volumes in

⁷ The table, originally on folios 182–182v of the manuscript, is omitted in our publication as not providing any new information.

good condition, but also books with defects, rotten books, and manuscripts.⁸ In 1808, Juozapas Simonas Rodovičius (Rodowicz, c. 1778–1812), head of Kražiai gymnasium, carried out an inspection of the 1797 inventory and thus commented on this number:

The indication of 3854 books was a mistake of the one who submitted and the ones who accepted the inventory. In 1807, inspectors conducted a revision of these books and the register of the library compiled in 1803 gives a smaller number of books. Rubricellae and small manuscripts were counted in. The current inventory explains it in its library list in which machinery, tools, and books were enumerated. Manuscripts, slightly rotten and of no use whatsoever, were appended to the library inventory in a separate list.⁹

These words show that nobody knew for certain how many books were kept in Kražiai. Due to these reasons and above-mentioned counting problems the accurate number of books (volumes) indicated in the List will probably remain unknown, but the hypothetical margin of 3500-3550 is quite realistic.

The number of 2126 book titles, which is frequently mentioned in literature, is also wrong. First of all, an accurate count of all the entries reduced their number to 2125. Secondly, many books the Kražiai copies of which were found in the libraries of Vilnius and Kaunas are bound together. There are some volumes that contain multiple publications. In the early nineteenth century, nobody described the parts of such volumes and a bound volume was treated as one unit no matter how many different books it contained. Thirdly, when the copies of particular books that used to belong to Kražiai College were found, it turned out that even the number of 2-4 copies often hid as many as several different editions of the same book that had to be approached as separate bibliographic positions, or even different books by the same author. Fourthly, there are books the provenances of which do not raise any doubt about their being part of Kražiai library, but it is impossible to collate them with the positions in the List (see appendix 'Appendix librorum Crosensium'). It means that until all sixteenth-eighteenth-century publications kept in the libraries of Lithuania are accurately described, it is impossible to determine the actual number of book titles. Still, bearing the above circumstances in mind, it is now possible to raise the number of book titles of the List to at least 2500.

⁸ See: Kazys Misius, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁹ *Ibid.*

In 1966, Meilė Lukšienė published a paper in which she attempted to elaborate on the statistics of the books of the List by centuries and places of publication.¹⁰ These figures still dominate bibliographic literature and Kazys Misius, a Lithuanian researcher of the history of the post-Jesuit Kražiai College, reiterates them in his monograph. They differ considerably from our data. These margins of error were caused by the large percentage of entries lacking precise indications of the place and the year of publishing. The use of text search software helped us to reduce this number, that is, many books were identified, but one cannot expect miracles and the percentage of similar positions remains rather high (11-12%). In addition, there were mixed cases when the place of publishing was given but the year was not, or vice versa. In these cases we included several editions as potential variants, which in their turn were included in indices even if there was just one copy of a book. This means that a 2-3% error margin is possible in our data, in addition to the 11-12% of books the accurate identification of which failed. We hope that when at least some of them are identified in the future, the statistics below will change again.

With these introductory observations in mind, the statistics of the books by centuries is as follows:

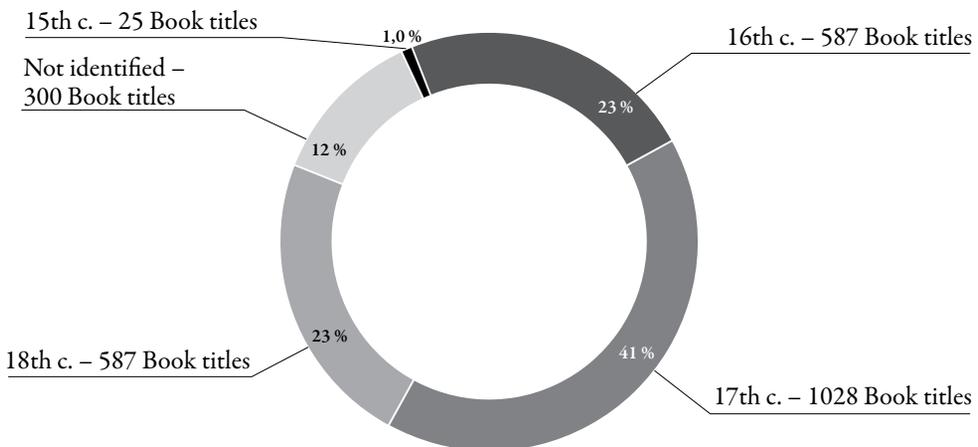


Figure 1. Distribution of books by centuries.

¹⁰ Meilė Lukšienė, 'Bibliotekos Lietuvoje XIX a. pirmojoje pusėje', *Bibliotekininkystės ir bibliografijos klausimai*, vol. 5, Vilnius, 1966, p. 111: 'Most of the books there were of the seventeenth century – 834 titles; 494 titles of the eighteenth century, and 350 titles of the sixteenth century <...> 251 titles were printed in Vilnius, 245 in Cologne (Colonia), 117 in Antwerp, 90 in Cracow, 85 in Warsaw, 67 in Lyon (Lugdunum), 52 in Rome, 48 in Basel, 41 in Venice, 33 in Paris, 20 in Vienna, and so on.'

A list of the cities where the books of Kražiai College were printed:

Altenburg (Germany)	Jena (Germany)	Nysa (Poland)
Amsterdam (Netherlands)	Kalisz (Poland)	Oberursel (Germany)
Antwerpen (Belgium)	Kempten (Germany)	Oliwa (Poland)
Augsburg (Germany)	København (Denmark)	Olomouc (Bohemia)
Baden (Switzerland)	Köln (Germany)	Paderborn (Germany)
Bamberg (Germany)	Königsberg / Kaliningrad (Russia)	Padova (Italy)
Basel (Switzerland)	Konstanz (Switzerland)	Palermo (Italy)
Bassano Del Grappa (Italy)	Košice (Slovakia)	Paris (France)
Berlin (Germany)	Kraków (Poland)	Pinsk / Пінск (Belarus)
Bern (Switzerland)	Landshut (Germany)	Poznań (Poland)
Braniewo (Poland)	Lausanne (Switzerland)	Praha (Bohemia)
Brescia (Italy)	Leiden (Belgium)	Regensburg (Germany)
Brugge (Belgium)	Leipzig (Germany)	Regensburg-Stadtamhof (Germany)
Bruxelles (Belgium)	Leuven (Belgium)	Rīga (Latvia)
Canterbury (England)	Liège (Belgium)	Roma (Italy)
Chelmno (Poland)	Losk / Лоск (Belarus)	Rostock (Germany)
Coimbra (Portugal)	Lübeck (Germany)	Saint-Gervais (?)
Częstochowa (Poland)	Lublin (Poland)	Salamanca (Ispanija)
Dillingen (Germany)	Lucca (Italy)	Salzburg (Austria)
Douai (France)	Lüttich (Belgium)	Sandomierz (Poland)
Dresden (Germany)	Luxembourg (Luxembourg)	Schleusingen (Germany)
Eger / Cheb (Bohemia)	Luzern (Switzerland)	Solingen (Germany)
Fermo (Italy)	L'viv / Львів (Ukraine)	Speyer (Germany)
Ferrara (Italy)	Lyon (France)	Strasbourg (France)
Firenze (Italy)	Madrid (Ispanija)	Straubing (Germany)
Frankfurt am Main (Germany)	Mainz (Germany)	Supraśl (Poland)
Fribourg (Switzerland)	Mannheim (Germany)	Torino (Italy)
Gdańsk (Poland)	Marburg (Germany)	Toruń (Poland)
Genève (Switzerland)	Merseburg (Germany)	Toulouse (France)
Genova (Italy)	Milano (Italy)	Tournon (France)
Gouda (Netherlands)	Mölsheim (Germany)	Trino (Italy)
Graz (Austria)	Mons (Belgium)	Trnava (Slovakia)
Grodna / Гродна (Belarus)	Montbéliard (France)	Tübingen (Germany)
Hagenau (Germany)	München (Germany)	Venezia (Italy)
Halle (Germany)	Münster (Germany)	Vilnius (Lithuania)
Hamburg (Germany)	Napoli (Italy)	Warszawa (Poland)
Hanau (Germany)	Násviž / Нясвіж (Belarus)	Wien (Austria)
Heidelberg (Germany)	Navagrudak / Наварудак (Belarus)	Wittenberg (Germany)
Herborn (Germany)	Novgorod-Sivers'kij / Новгород-Сіверський (Ukraine)	Wrocław (Poland)
Ingolstadt (Germany)	Nürnberg (Germany)	Würzburg (Germany)
Innsbruck (Austria)		s.l. (unidentified)
Jelgava / Mītava (Latvia)		

Meanwhile, the graph of the cities that contributed the largest numbers of books to the Kražiai library looks like this:

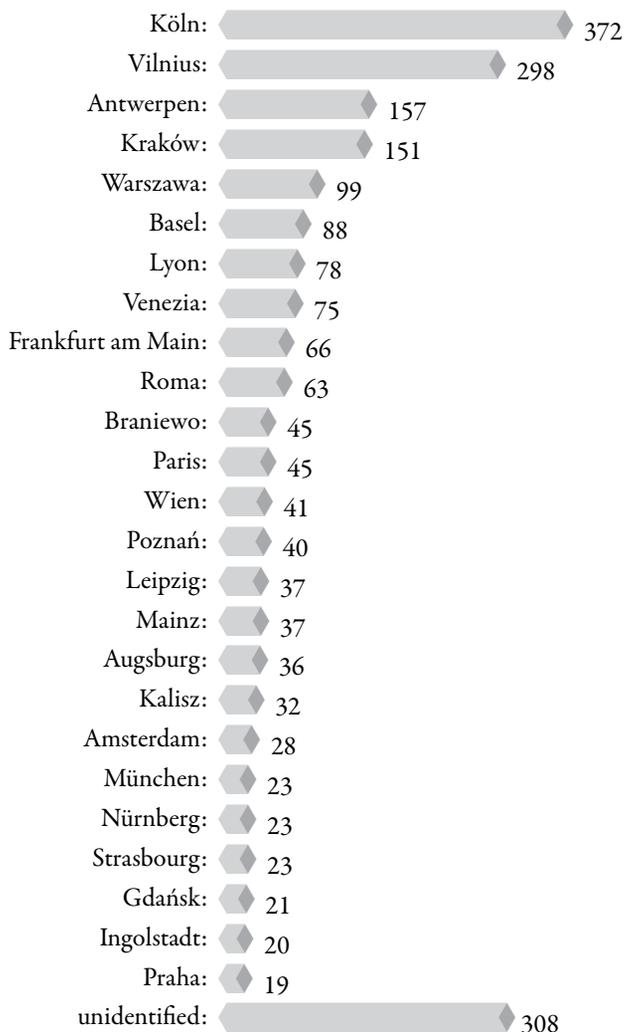


Figure 2. The cities that produced the largest numbers of books of the Kražiai library.

Finally, we will address the statistics of the books previously held in Kražiai College. The key prerequisite and proof of the attribution of a book to Kražiai College is the presence of the provenance inscriptions 'collegii Crosensis (Crozensis, Krozensis)' and the like. In order to locate them, the majority of the positions of the List had to be checked *de visu*, because the tradition of description of old books in published catalogues compiled along the lines of the European standards is still rather new in Lithuania.

Levas Vladimirovas's *Lietuvos inkunabulai* (The Incunabula in Lithuania) published in 1975 was the forerunner in this field. After the re-establishment of the independence, the number of similar catalogues has been gradually growing. However, they cover only a very small part of the old book collections kept in the country's libraries. Recently the cataloguing and description of old books has moved directly to the internet. In the context of the books of Kražiai College, the situation is the following: before 1 September 2017, Lithuanian bibliographers followed the standards in registering all the incunabula (books printed before 1500 inclusively) found in Lithuania, the sixteenth-seventeenth-century books held in the libraries of Kaunas, and the so-called palaeotypes (the books printed from 1501 to 1550 inclusively) kept at the Vilnius University Library. In order to demonstrate the extent of work that had to be done, the chart first of all depicts the history of the Kražiai College library and of the transfers of its books:

VICISSITUDINES BIBLIOTHECAE COLLEGII CROSENSIS EIUSQUE LIBRORUM

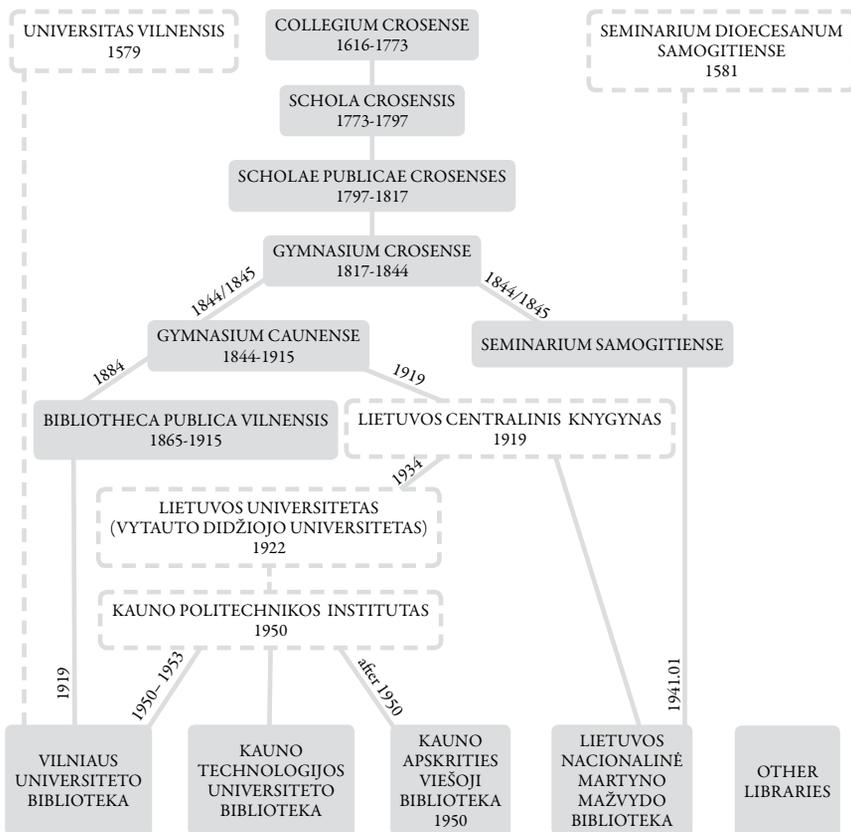


Figure 3. The history of the Kražiai College library and the transfers of its books.

It shows that at present the larger part of books from Kražiai College found their way to three main libraries of Lithuania: the Public Library of the Kaunas County, the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, and the Vilnius University Library. Other institutions have just sporadic books, and it is not known how they found their way to these libraries. It means that the collections of eighteenth-century books should be checked in Kaunas, and that of sixteenth-eighteenth-century books should be examined in the two above-mentioned libraries in Vilnius. Due to the short time assigned for the preparation of this publication for press (April 2016–September 2017), it was simply impossible to complete this checking and therefore we had to be content with what we could find before 30 September 2017. In addition to the work done by the goodwill assistants from the Vilnius University Library mentioned earlier in the introduction, the editor himself checked in full the collections of old books at the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania. In this way, over 1100 volumes that used to be part of the Kražiai College library were identified before 1 October 2017.

The located books of Kražiai College are distributed among the libraries as follows:

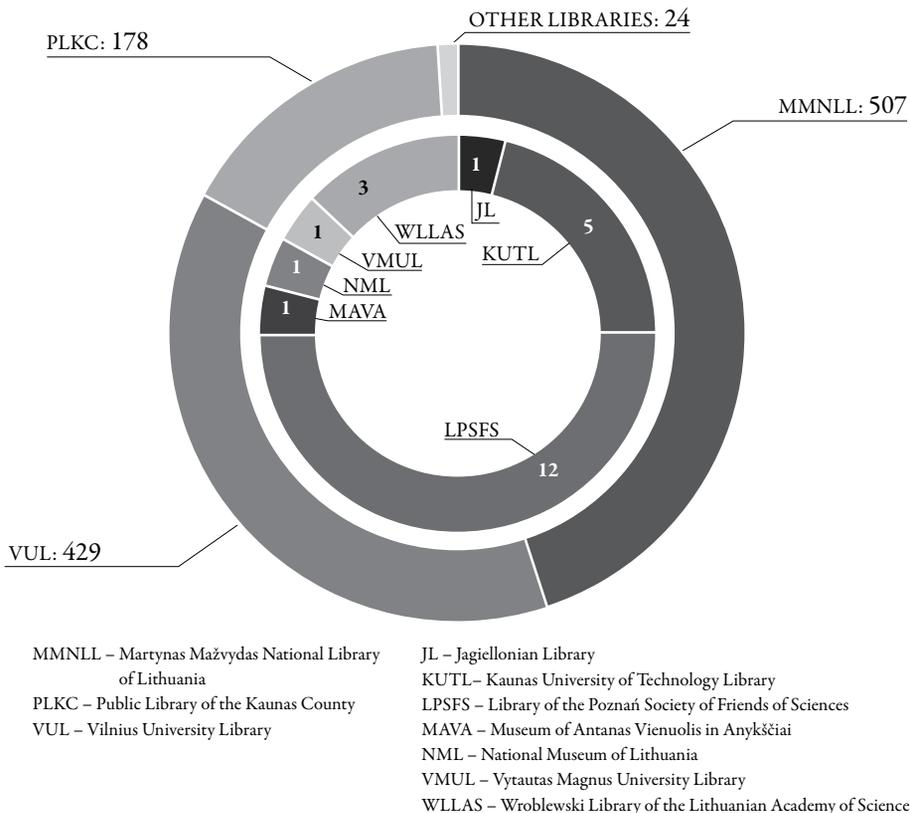


Figure 4. Distribution of the Kražiai books by libraries.

The Value of the List

The List will be useful first of all to those book historians who are doing research on non-existing libraries of Lithuania, to the experts in old books, and to bibliographers who on a daily basis are dealing with identification and attribution of old books. For example, when describing some defective book (lacking the title page or opening pages), the presence of the book in the List, along with other arguments, can serve as a proof of its origin or at least a reference to it.

The List will be of use to all scholars in general whose field of research includes Kražiai College and its multifaceted legacy. The latter can be illustrated by the example of the so-called Kražiai manuscript of 1695.

Eight students of the Society of Jesus who took a course in rhetoric at Kražiai College in 1694/95 left an invaluable result of their studies – a 700-page codex with an intricate baroque title, ‘Fructus horni meditationis rhetoricae Crosis ab academicis Societatis fusi et in cornucopiam depositi, sive specimina profectus in utraque eloquentia rhetorum Crosensium Societatis Iesu anno M DC XCV sub reverendo patre Petro Puzyna professore dignissimo’,¹¹ which is currently kept at the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, Poland (manuscript 1866 IV). Fragments of its prose and poetry have already been publicised¹² and a publication in extenso is about to be completed as well.

The prose section of this codex consists of 31 speeches on various themes in which, according to the requirements of the time, the students were expected to sparkle with the so-called *eruditiones*.¹³ The sources of some *eruditiones* would be revealed, but more often than not the reader was expected to recognize them. For example, Jonas Horodeckis wrote in his speech ‘Encomium Ursi’ (In Praise of a Bear):

I have not mentioned that a bear not only entertains the rulers but also brings them up. For five days a she-bear suckled Alexander, the son of Priam and Alope, who had been abandoned in the woods, as Natale Conti tells in chapter 23 of book 6 of *Mythologiae* relying on reliable sources.¹⁴

¹¹ ‘Annual fruits of rhetorical meditation gathered and laid in a cornucopia in Kražiai by students of the Society of Jesus, or work samples in rhetoric by students of the class of rhetoric at Kražiai College under the tutorship of Reverend Father Peter Puzyna, the most valuable professor of the year 1695.’

¹² *Kaip jėzuitai žemaičių mylias trumpino. 1695 m. Kražių rankraščio prozos fragmentai*, Živilė Nedzinskaitė and Darius Antanavičius (eds.), Vilnius, 2014; Darius Antanavičius, ‘1695 m. Kražių rankraščio chronogramas’, in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra, vol. 39: XVI–XIX a. lietuviško ir kitakalbio rankraštinių paveldo tyrimai*, Vilnius, 2015, p. 53–80; Jolita Liškevičienė, ‘1695 m. Kražių rankraščio apipavidalinimas’, *ibid.*, p. 81–113; Živilė Nedzinskaitė, ‘Iš 1695 m. Kražių rankraščio: Pauliaus Zavistovskio poema apie šv. Kazimierą’, *ibid.*, p. 149–201.

¹³ On this particular concept see: Ž. Nedzinskaitė, *Tepaliks kiekvienas šlovę po savęs... Motiejaus Kazimiero Sarbievičiaus poetikos ir poezijos recepcija XVII–XVIII amžiaus LDK jėzuitų edukacijos sistemoje*, Vilnius, 2011, p. 64.

¹⁴ *Kaip jėzuitai žemaičių mylias trumpino. 1695 m. Kražių rankraščio prozos fragmentai*, p. 214.

Before the publication of the List one could only suggest that the author must have had the cited book at hand but there was no sufficient evidence to prove that it was in Kražiai. Now the List shows that it was the case because the College had the first (see no. 1327 in the List) and one other (no. 1356) editions of this book.

There is another example of a 'hidden' *eruditiones*. In that same speech, Horodeckis also tells that '[a bear's] weapons, I have the claws in mind, first of all stick out from under dried blood, like once a sword in the hand of the newly-born Pyrrhus or Castriot, or an anchor in the thigh of Seleucus'.¹⁵ The words about the sword-shaped mark on Castriot's hand were taken from Marinus Barletius's (1450–1512) book *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum principis* that used to be frequently reprinted. It appears that Kražiai College had one of the first editions of this work (no. 1783). Interestingly, the copy of Kražiai College has survived and is currently kept at the Public Library of the Kaunas County under signature R 31914. In addition, from the inscriptions left in this particular copy we learn that after Horodeckis had used it in 1695, some work was done on it in 1696 (probably it was rebound) and the college paid 20 groszy for it. It is obvious that if and when appropriately applied, the information contained in the List adds new colours to the bibliographic data that might appear dry at first sight.

Editing principles

Similar lists of books of non-existing libraries are published in different ways depending on the material and the editors' ambitions.¹⁶ The objective we set to ourselves was not only to provide scholars with a transcript of the List, but also to supply it with identification, as accurate as possible, of its entries and with detailed indices.

The List is published in the languages of the original, that is, in Latin and Polish. The table was preserved. The entries are numbered (they are not numbered in the original). The text of the source appears in a larger type. Attempts were made to preserve as many qualities of the original in the transcript as possible (for instance, the mistakes in proper names), but not all. Capitalization was considerably reduced. In some cases, a book had

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

¹⁶ Some examples of publication of book catalogues of Jesuit colleges in different countries: *Magyarországi jezsuita könyvtárak 1711-ig*, vol. 1–2, Szeged, 1990–1997 (*Adattár XVI–XVIII. Századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, vol. 17/1–2); J. Trypučko, *The Catalogue of the Book Collection of the Jesuit College in Braniewo Held in the University Library in Uppsala*, vol. 1–3, Warszawa–Uppsala, 2007 (*Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis*, vol. 41); N. Szewc, *Próba rekonstrukcji biblioteki Lwowskiego Kolegium jezuickiego (1596–1773)*, Kraków, 2008; S. Orsolya, *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Germanici et Hungarici Romae*, Budapest–Eger, 2015. In 2014–2015, the staff of the Department of Old Books at the Vilnius University Library compiled the online version of the catalogue of books of the Vilnius College library listed by authors (see: www.virtus.mb.vu.lt).

to be identified first and only then it was possible to read the author's name and various abbreviations. Arabic numerals can sometimes be read in different ways. In such cases, a question mark is placed after the number, which expresses a doubt or a different option of reading; alternatively, another possible number is added after an oblique.

An original inscription is followed by its identification given in a smaller type. It consists of: (1) the surname and the name of the author, (2) years of birth and death, (3) the title of the book, (4) references to bibliographic literature. Describing old books, the ISBD rules¹⁷ were not applied, as they are applicable only for bibliographical data bases and catalogues *sensu stricto*, while the List is common publication of a historical source.

The authors' surnames and names are given in their best-known forms (their variants can be found in bibliographic databases such as, for example, <https://thesaurus.cerl.org>). The dates of birth and death of particular authors vary considerably and the most widely accepted dates are given. The book title is given in the abbreviated form, although attempts were made not to abuse this principle because when the long sixteenth-eighteenth-century titles are shortened so drastically it becomes difficult to grasp the content of the book. The editor modernised and unified the spelling and punctuation of the Latin and Polish book titles. If the place and the year of a print are correct in the main entry, they are not repeated. If they are wrong, the correct place (the city) and the correct year are given separately. The publishing houses (typographers) are not given as, firstly, they are not indicated in the original entry, and, secondly, upon identifying a book it is easier to find them in the bibliographic literature. When citing bibliographic sources, attempts were made to prioritize the works by Lithuanian bibliographers in order to demonstrate their achievements of the recent decades. In other cases the works of foreign bibliographers are given. Usually one authoritative source is cited. Special mention should be made of the registers of books that appeared in German-speaking countries in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries (*Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke*). Following the codes of these registers, now it is very simple to see the title pages of the majority of the books cited in the List and even browse through an entire book using the websites <https://gso.gbv.de> and <https://opacplus.bib.-bvb.de>. The absence of a reference to bibliography without a particular commentary does not mean that such a book was not identified: simply, in order to save space we decided against including long addresses of the internet sites we used. A list of these sites is given in the chapter 'Fontes bibliographici'. As during the next twenty years it will be possible to access detailed images of most of the books contained in the List online, gradually the need for bibliographic references will drop in general. Knowing the author's name

¹⁷ ISBD. *International Standard Bibliographic Description. Consolidated Edition*, Berlin-Boston, 2011.

and surname, the exact beginning of the title, and the place and the year of printing will suffice.

The identification section of an entry closes with additional information on currently known copies of Kražiai College and short notes that point to the errors in the date of the original entry, the owners of the Kražiai copies, and other characteristics. It should be noted that the indication of the extant books of Kražiai does not entail their detailed description as it is not the aim of this publication. Therefore provenances and other inscriptions should be sought either in the given bibliography or by ordering the particular book following the abbreviations of libraries the list of which is given in the chapter 'Sigla bibliothecarum'. To be understood by bibliographers everywhere, the above notes are in Latin.

The second part of this publication, which is of utmost importance to bibliographers, consists of the database of the List. Five separate indices were compiled: (1) an alphabetical index, mostly of authors, (2) an index of book titles, (3) a chronological index, (4) a topographic index, and (5) a short list of book owners.

In the indices, the titles of the books are noticeably shortened. The indices of authors and places cover only the main authors of the books and the cities of printing. Co-authors (other authors, editors, publishing houses, printers, and the like), individuals mentioned in the titles, and locations other than the city of printing were not included in these indices because the main purpose of the List and the indices was as accurate as possible identification of the entries and assistance in finding particular books. The original entry appears in the indices only in those cases when the author of a book and the title were not identified, and there were doubts regarding the given place and the date of printing. In the chronological index, the earliest date is taken as the basis for dating multi-volume publications the printing of which took several years; so, for example, if a publication was printed from 1601 to 1607, it should be searched under 1601; individual volumes are not reflected in the indices. The same can be said about the places of printing: if several cities are mentioned, a book appears under the name of the first city in the index. In four indices, the located books of Kražiai College are printed in red colour. This will allow forming a clear picture of the share of the extant books and especially of their thematic and chronological distribution.

*Translated into English by
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