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The Printer as a Politician, Editor, Scholar, and Publicist – Unusual Functions of Warsaw Imprimeries (18th Century)

Abstract: The article, drawing from the author's original research and the latest literature on the subject, elucidates the multifaceted roles of 18th-century Warsaw printing houses, surpassing the conventional understanding of their functions in contemporary discourse. The focal point is directed towards the Piarist publishing house, Mitzler's Printing House, a prominent establishment founded during the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735), aimed at maintaining the role the Wettin dynasty's in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Piarist printing house, vested with the authority to publish official forms, additionally undertook editorial and publishing tasks for a comprehensive multi-volume collection of laws known as *Volumina Legum*. Material selection for this collection prioritized formal and legal validity, necessitating the Piarists to exhibit a deep understanding of Polish law. The editorial duties also compelled Mitzler de Kolof (1711–1778) to delve deeper into sources regarding the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, the owner of the printing house utilized source editions to articulate journalistic viewpoints on the political and social structure of the country, as well as to devise a reform agenda influenced by Enlightenment ideas. Warsaw printing houses emerged as pivotal actors in mid-18th century endeavours to establish an informal system for disseminating information about newly published books, combined with a specific version of a mandatory copy.

Keywords: history of 18th-century printing houses – Warsaw Imprimeries – Mitzler de Kolof – Gottlieb Enoch Jonisch – Józef Andrzej Załuski – The Załuski Library – Mitzler's Printing House – Piarist publishing house in Warsaw – Jesuit publishing house in Warsaw

Słowa kluczowe: dzieje drukarni w XVIII w. – drukarnie warszawskie – Mitzler de Kolof – Gottlieb Enoch Jonisch – Józef Andrzej Załuski – biblioteka Załuskich – Drukarnia Mitzlerowska – drukarnia pijarów w Warszawie – drukarnia jezuitów w Warszawie

The establishment of printing houses for specific political agendas in modern Europe represents a well-documented phenomenon. In 18th-century Warsaw, one such example is particularly noteworthy: a printing house established during the War of the Polish Succession with the aim of consolidating the Wettin dynasty's influence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth subsequent to the passing of King Augustus II (1733). While its existence remains unrecorded in the annals of the seminal study *Drukarze dawnej Polski*¹, it is essential to acknowledge that the operational tenure of this facility was brief, leaving scant verifiable traces in contemporaneous archival materials. The organisation of this printing house, spearheaded by Heinrich von Brühl, was executed under the auspices of Gottlieb Enoch Jonisch, a jurisprudence alumnus of the University of Jena renowned for his expertise in Polish culture, traditions, and linguistic nuances, whose recruitment to Warsaw formed a strategic component of a pro-Saxon propaganda initiative². By the end of 1734, Jonisch had already published a depiction of "rejoicing Warsaw" following the coronation of Augustus III and during the monarch's ceremonial entry, using the Warsaw Jesuit publishing house as his platform (signed G.E.I.)³. Subsequently, in the ensuing year, he embarked on a serialized German-language "court" publication titled "Fama Polonica", likely intended to emulate the format of the popular Leipzig periodical "Die Europäische Fama, welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der vornehmsten Höfe entdeckt" (published between 1705 and 1735). However, Jonisch's rendition was decidedly propagandistic in nature, closely intertwined with contemporary

1 See vol. 3, part 2: *Mazowsze z Podlasiem*, Warszawa 2001.

2 Heinrich von Brühl (1700–1763) was at Warsaw when King Augustus II died. About Jonisch see: J.D. Janocki, *Kritische Briefe*, Dresden 1745, p. 12; H. Lemke, *Die Brüder Zahuski und ihre Beziehungen zu Gelehrten in Deutschland und Danzig. Studien zur polnischen Frühaufklärung*, Berlin 1958, pp. 75, 77–78; E. Winter, *Frühaufklärung. Der Kampf gegen den Konfessionalismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa und die deutsch-slawische Begegnung*, Berlin 1966, p. 244; Z. Birkenmajerowa, *Z młodzińszych lat Jana Daniela Janockiego. Przyczynek do dziejów kultury polskiej w epoce saskiej*, Poznań 1925, pp. 35–44; J. Kurkowski, *Warszawskie czasopisma uczone doby Augusta III*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 71–74; S. Roszak, *Koniec świata sarmackich erudytów*, Toruń 2012, pp. 33, 88, 153–156.

3 *Das frohlockende Warschau, oder umständliche Beschreibung, so wohl der am 24. Januarii dieses 1734 Jahres wegen dem zu Cracau den 17 ejusdem glücklich vor sich gegangenen Crönungs-Actu, Ihro Königlichen Majestät von Pohlen Augusti III und dero Königlichen Gemahlin Mariae Josephae, zu Warschau allhier gemachten illumination, als auch des, nach beyderseits Königlichen Majestät höchst-erfreulich-erfolgter Anherokunft, den 25. November a. c. von Ihro Majestät dem Könige allhier gehaltenen Einzuges, und der am Abend darauf erfolgten Illumination, wie nicht weniger der, zu allerunterthänigster Empfangung Ihro Majestät von hiesigem Magistrat und Bürgerschaft aufgerichteten kostbaren Ehrenpforte*. At the end, the author's eloquent speech to that rejoicing Warsaw, spanning nearly a hundred lines of poetic expression. Other works were also published on this occasion by the Jesuit printing house in Warsaw, see e.g. G. Robertson, *Sermo in Solennissimo Ingressu ad Regiam Civitatem Varsaviensem Serenissimarum Majestatum Serenissimi et Potentissimi Friderici Augusti III [...] ac Serenissimae Mariae Josephae* (1734).

political exigencies. He formally petitioned the king for his approval of this initiative in the early months of 1735, emphasizing its perceived necessity for the continuation of the publication, which «il a commencé de donner au public en allemand sous le titre de « Fama Polonica » et pour entretenir lui même à les propres depens dans [sic!] un endroit de la jurisdiction de Sa Majesté une presse d'imprimerie, uniquement pour imprimer la dite pièce et les actes publics, qui y auront quelque rapport»⁴. In 1736, Jonisch formally acquired a privilege from Augustus III (dated May 28) granting him authorization to publish papers in German⁵. However, as revealed in Jonisch's correspondence to Brühl dated August 7, 1737, his compensation and quarterly disbursements for financing the project were irregular, and the funds he had received up to that point (until the end of September) remained tied up in the equipment of the printing house, which lacked a permanent location⁶. A further obstacle hindering the reconstruction of the printing house's actual role is the absence of any issue of the journal titled "Fama Polonica" in library collections and bibliographies. The only known publication that can reasonably be attributed to Jonisch's printing press is any version (or all versions?) of an anonymous pamphlet concerning the rules for appointing the ducal throne in Courland, entitled *Brevis et Succincta Enarratio Jurium Curlandiæ et Semigalliæ circa Electionem novi Principis*. This pamphlet was also printed in German (*Kurtze und deutliche Ausführung derer Curländischen und Semigallischen Rechte, bey der Wahl eines neuen Fürsten*)⁷. Its authorship was attributed by Karol Estreicher to the Saxon diplomat Friedrich Gotthard von Bülow⁸. This attribution persists in the catalogues of European libraries, alongside the conjecture

4 Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10026 *Geheimes Kabinett*, sign. LOC 454/06, c 8, [online] <https://tinyurl.com/yw7rv8ab> [access 21.07.2025]. The royal decree instructing the dispatch of a favorable decision to the Crown Chancellery, signed by Brühl, is dated May 27, 1735.

5 Throughout the entirety of Augustus III's reign, censorship oversight extended beyond the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a responsibility entrusted to the Grand Chancellor of the Crown, Andrzej Stanisław Załuski. AGAD [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], Księgi Kancelarskie no. 2, p. 85; the copy of document: Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10026 *Geheimes Kabinett*, sign. LOC 454/06, c 9. See also: J. Szczepaniec, *Warunki prawno-wydawnicze rozwoju "Kuriera Polskiego" i innych gazet w Polsce czasów saskich*, [in:] *250 lat Kuriera Polskiego*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 37–38.

6 Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10026 *Geheimes Kabinett*, sign. LOC 454/06, c 10–10v.

7 The 22-page version incorporates Polish spelling conventions for surnames at a lower typographic level, such as "Kojalowicz" (p. 17), instead of "Kojalowitz" (p. 18 in the extended version). J.F. Recke and K.E. identify the 23-page version (in Latin and German) as the Warsaw prints (see footnote 9).

8 K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 13, Kraków 1894, p. 448 (F.G. von Bülow 1688–1768). The renowned bibliographer does not specify the presumed place of printing for the 22-page Latin pamphlet (for the German version — Warschau 1736).

posited in the *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexicon der Provinzen Livland, Esthland und Kurland* regarding the influential role of Herman Karl von Keyserling, the Russian envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1733 to 1744⁹. However, in this matter, the decisive authority was Józef Andrzej Załuski, who was acquainted with all the potential authors involved and ultimately adjudicated in favour of Jonisch¹⁰ (despite being in exile at the time of the pamphlet's publication). Unlike Estreicher, Załuski dated the print to 1737, albeit with some uncertainty¹¹. It is noteworthy that Jonisch's text gained prominence in European diplomacy through Jean Rousset de Missy's widely circulated *Recueil historique d'actes, négociations, mémoires et traités depuis la paix d'Utrecht jusqu'à présent*. In the introductory section of the reprint, the pamphlet's significance in addressing pivotal political issues was underscored¹².

With the conclusion of the war for the throne, the enthusiasm for the project waned among the new ruler's entourage. As evidenced by Brühl's draft response dated August 15, 1737, there were no further provisions for financing and assistance in securing a permanent location for the publishing house. Additionally, there were concerns about the lack of regular orders from the court and inadequate protection against competition from other printing houses in Warsaw. Consequently, Brühl advised Jonisch to liquidate the printing house equipment to recoup the invested funds¹³. Subsequently, the equipment fell into the possession of the Warsaw Jesuits, while Jonisch found employment in the "cabinet noir," deciphering encrypted letters of Polish magnates¹⁴. However, he

9 J.F. von Recke, K.E. Napiersky, *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexicon der Provinzen Livland, Esthland und Kurland*, vol. 2, Mitau 1829, p. 433.

10 J.A. Załuski, *Biblioteka historyków, prawników, polityków i innych autorów polskich lub o Polsce piszących z przypisami Józefa Epifaniego Minasowicza*, edited by J. Muczkowski, Kraków 1832, pp. 100–101: "Ennaratio brevis succinta jurium tąż wydał anonyme przyjaciel mój Jönisch, przez którego pozyskał kochanego księdza Janockiego księgarni mej i Kościołowi". See: Z. Birkenmajerowa, op. cit., p. 37.

11 In Muczkowski's edition we can read: "s.(Varsov.) 1737.4.I." It should probably be: s. I. [sine loco] (Varsov.) 1737.4. In a manuscript written by J.A. Załuski *Cala Polska za złoty* (manuscript BN II 3209, p. 63), we can find a slightly different bibliographic description: "4 (Varsoviae) c.[irca] 1737". The mention of the pamphlet contains no additional information: "Ennaratio brevis succinta jurium (i także anonyme przyjaciel mój Jonisch, przez którego zyskałem kochanego księdza Janockiego, a tego wierze pozyskałem)".

12 Vol. 11, Amsterdam 1746, pp. 193–208. Let us add that in response to Jonisch's pamphlet, *Reflexiones Contra Anonyme Scriptus quibus Titulus...* was printed.

13 Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10026 *Geheimes Kabinett*, sign. LOC 454/06, c 11–11v. See also: H. Lemke, op. cit., p. 75.

14 See: G.E. Jonisch to H. Brühl, July 2, 9, August 6, 1738; July 8; August 12, 16, 1739; the draft responses of Brühl, July 9, 1738 and August 27, 1739: Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10026 *Geheimes Kabinett*, sign. LOC 454/06, c 12, 13–14, 15, 16, 17, 18–18v, 19–19v, 20–20v; H. Lemke, op. cit., p. 75.

felt discontented in Warsaw and sought to return to Saxony, which he successfully accomplished in the summer of 1743. Before his departure, Jonisch engaged in negotiations with the Crown Referendary J.A. Załuski regarding the sale of his collection of parliamentary records, newspapers, and political pamphlets to the Załuski Library, likely with a positive outcome¹⁵. At the same time, Jonisch negotiated to settle his outstanding claims by acquiring duplicate copies from the Library, seeking to link this arrangement with grievances against the Jesuits. He suggested that the Referendary undertake the debt recovery process, proposing, for instance, to deduct the owed 30 ducats from the bill for certain printing services rendered at the Warsaw Jesuits' printing house¹⁶. Jonisch also urged for appropriate pressure to be applied on the friars in Warsaw¹⁷. The Jesuits were, however, dissatisfied with the transaction and attempted to annul it *post factum* without fulfilling the payment. Numerous complaints were raised by the printers to Załuski. A partially illegible draft of the Referendary's response to Jonisch's letter reveals their accusations regarding the inadequacy of the printing equipment, citing instances of damage to the press and deficiencies in font sets¹⁸. The friars sought to return¹⁹ the equipment in exchange for a refund of the amount already disbursed. The dispute persisted for a protracted period before a mutually agreeable resolution was eventually reached. Jonisch received half of the sum, some of it in copies of the Jesuit's prints (including the two-volume *Jus Regni Poloniae* by Mikołaj Żalasowski, reprinted by the Jesuits in 1741–1742?)²⁰. Books retained in Warsaw due to transport expenses (including duplicates acquired as part of a bundled transaction) following the settlement with Jesuits were subsequently offered for resale, "particulièrement à quelque seigneurs du pais", as Jonisch presumed he would not revisit the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth²¹.

15 G.E. Jonisch to J.A. Załuski, Juni 24, 25, 26; July 15; August 11, 1743, manuscript of the National Library in Warsaw (hereinafter cited BN), sign. III 3243.

16 G.E. Jonisch to J.A. Załuski, July 1, 15, 1743, manuscript BN III 3243.

17 See e.g.: G.E. Jonisch to J.A. Załuski, August 11, 1743, manuscript BN III 3243.

18 See J.A. Załuski's note on Jonisch's letter of August 11, 1743, manuscript BN III 3243.

19 P. Buchwald-Pelcowa highlights the use of the term "German printing house" in this context (*Drukowi winniśmy oświecenie naszego wieku... Rola książki w drodze ku Oświeceniu*, Warszawa 2003, p. 50). It is plausible that this designation refers to an adjustment made to accommodate German-language publications.

20 G.E. Jonisch to J.A. Załuski, April 18, 22; Juni 24, 1744, manuscript BN III 3244. According to K. Estreicher (op. cit., vol. 34, Kraków 1951, p. 123), the Krakow Academy lodged a protest in Rome against the reprint encouraged by J.A. Załuski, which the Jesuits undertook. The "Monitor" from 1767 reports that 500 copies were printed, with only 100 copies sold.

21 G.E. Jonisch to J.A. Załuski, Juni 24, 1744, manuscript BN III 3244.

In Dresden, a cadre of experts in Polish affairs coalesced under Jonisch's leadership, with discussions even veering towards the conception of a scientific society aimed at "expanding and disseminating knowledge in Poland", with the active involvement of J.A. Załuski²². In April 1744, Jonisch appealed to Załuski to intervene with the Warsaw Piarists to sell him separately the sixth volume of *Volumina Legum*, which, following extensive arguments, revisions and reprinting, encompassed the rights and privileges of Courland and Semigallia²³. This incident underscores yet another unconventional role of Warsaw printing houses in the 18th century. The episode, recently recounted by Stanisław Roszak, revolved around the contentious inclusion of anti-Sapieha Confederate Acts in the corpus of parliamentary constitutions, triggering a vehement backlash from representatives of the Sapieha family and necessitating the replacement of already-printed copies — reportedly at the expense of the Coadjutor Bishop of Vilnius, Józef Stanisław Sapieha²⁴. Amidst this controversy, there were promises of issuing a general manifesto registered in the Polish and Lithuanian municipal offices, as well as proposals to prompt the Sejm to address the matter through parliamentary instructions, leveraging the pretext of the purportedly excessive powers of the dissidents mentioned in the preceding volume before the nobility at large²⁵. Around 1740, a segment of public opinion also clamoured for the already published volumes of *Volumina Legum* to be ratified by a special parliamentary constitution²⁶. In response, the Piarists announced *Apologia przedrukowanego pro utilitate publica Voluminis Legum*, highlighting the futility of ratifying constitutions that had already been approved.

Where did the confusion come from? The publication of the collection of parliamentary constitutions in the Warsaw Piarists' printing house served crucial normative functions. It constituted the "*Sacer canon Reipublicae* essential for every Pole", by systematically gathering, organizing, and disseminating legal material previously published in print, thereby forming the cornerstone of public order in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The reprinted version

22 Z. Birkenmajerowa, op. cit., pp. 43–44.

23 G.E. Jonisch to J.A. Załuski, April 18, 1744, manuscript BN III 3244; J.A. Załuski, op. cit., p. 100.

24 S. Roszak, *Koniec świata...*, pp. 142–145. See also: P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, op. cit., pp. 95–96.

25 S. Konarski to J.S. Sapieha, September 1, 1740, [in:] *Listy Stanisława Konarskiego 1733–1771*, ed. by J. Nowak-Dłużewski, Warszawa 1962, p. 197; S. Roszak, op. cit., p. 144: "sejm trochę zatrudnić, bo to być może *sub titulo* «Objaśnienia novi Voluminis Legum»".

26 See *Apologia przedrukowanego pro utilitate publica Voluminis Legum* [sine loco et anno, ca. 1740], copy of the National Library in Warsaw, sign. XVIII.3.195, c 2v, *Aprobacja*. W. Konopczyński also linked *Apologia* with allegations against the content of the sixth volume of *Volumina Legum*. W. Konopczyński, *Stanisław Konarski*, Warszawa 1926, p. 35.

could leave no room for doubt regarding its formal and legal status. Publishers employed a systematic approach to exclude temporary constitutions and obsolete implementing acts²⁷. To incorporate essential documents predating the Gutenberg era, a clever strategy was employed: their validity was recognized from the date of their last approval²⁸. This tactic facilitated the inclusion of crucial texts in this monumental collection, directly impacting public life and, notably, the justice system. An illustrative instance of this influence is evident in the inclusion of Jan Swoszowski's *Postępek prawny skrócony* from 1611, featured in the third volume of *Volumina Legum*²⁹.

Although the Piarist publication was a private endeavor that did not receive royal nor parliamentary sanction, its public law aspects were exposed. The initiative was purported to originate from the initiative of senators and officials. Moreover, it was emphasized that the publication was merely a re-edition under the supervision of the Crown Referendary, Załuski, the Writer of the Crown Decrees Sebastian Fabian Rybczyński, and Crown Recorder Andrzej Franciszek Cichocki, with the general oversight of bishop of Płock (later Grand Chancellor of the Crown) Andrzej Stanisław Załuski and Grand Marshal of the Crown Józef Wandalin Mniszech³⁰. At the same time, the exclusive rights of the Warsaw Piarist printing houses to publish laws were reiterated³¹, alongside calls for a correction of errors and submission of additions. A list of subscribers was systematically published, featuring the names of both lay and clerical dignitaries,

27 W. Uruszczak, *Przedmowa*, [in:] *Volumina Constitutionum*, vol. 2, part 1, ed. by S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka, W. Uruszczak, Warszawa 2005, p. 5. See also: J. Kurkowski, "Państwa w państwie?" *Uwagi o roli magnaterii u schyłku istnienia I Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Kolekcje przyrodnicze i gospodarcze innowacje — tradycja i nowoczesność. Pamięci księżnej Anny z Sapiehów Jabłonowskiej (1728–1800)*, ed. by I. Arabas, R. Księżopolski, Warszawa – Ciechanowiec 2021, pp. 15–17.

28 S. Grodziski, *Poglądy Stanisława Konarskiego na rozwój prawa polskiego w świetle jego wstępu do "Volumina Legum"*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" 1953, vol. 5, p. 112.

29 *Prawa, Konstytucje Y Przywileje Krolestwa Polskiego Y Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego Y Wszystkich Prowincyi Należących Na Walnych Seymach Koronnych Od Seymu Wislickiego Roku Pańskiego 1347 Aż Do Ostatniego Seymu Uchwalone*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1735, p. 67–86. See: S. Grodziski, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Volumina Constitutionum*, edited by S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka, W. Uruszczak, vol. 1, part 1, Warszawa 1996, p. 18.

30 Adam Stanisław Grabowski, later bishop of Warmia, is believed to have potentially played a significant role in the development of volume 1 of *Volumina Legum*. J. Dygdała, *Adam Stanisław Grabowski (1698–1766). Biskup, polityk, mecenas*, Olsztyn 1994, p. 124.

31 Konarski dedicated the entire §12 of the introduction to the first volume of *Volumina Legum* to that subject. *Inventarium Archivi Varsaviensis Scholarum Piarum... ordine alphabetico digestum et coordinatum Anno 1753* lists seven documents related to the printing house, dating from 1643, 1648, 1651, 1684, 1685?, 1690 (confirmation of sale by John III), and 1701. Competitors attempted to overthrow this monopoly, see J. Jastrzębski's letter to J.A. Załuski of January 13, 1735 [in:] *Korespondencja Józefa Andrzeja Załuskiego 1724–1736*, ed. by B.S. Kupść, K. Muszyńska, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1967, p. 225; K. Korotajowa, *Działalność wydawnicza księży piarów w Warszawie*, "Rocznik Warszawski" 1992, vol. 22, pp. 13–14.

as well as prominent institutions such as the Krakow Academy, numerous Jesuit colleges (16 in total), Carmelite and Dominican convents, city halls, and others³². In *Informacja o przedrukowaniu Voluminis constitutionis* of 1732, which marked the commencement of the entire project, terms such as “public benefit” and “public service” were employed³³. This characteristic “republican” feature of publishing initiatives during the era reflects the collective efforts of conscious citizens to fulfill public functions and compensate for the absence of state institutions responsible for national culture, education, legal order, and more. Printers played a crucial role in such projects, as they were the direct contractors responsible for shaping the specific form of the publication. They were tasked with the final selection of materials, ensuring the completeness and accuracy of the texts. In the case of the sixth volume of *Volumina Legum*, Jan Fryderyk Sapieha, the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, attributed primary blame (alongside the elderly writer Rybczyński) to the Piarists responsible for typography. Sapieha contended that the Piarists themselves should have possessed the requisite knowledge to distinguish between parliamentary constitutions and other texts³⁴. Tadeusz Bieńkowski previously highlighted the special involvement of printers in shaping the final version of texts edited during the periods of humanism and baroque³⁵, while Zbigniew Goliński underscored this aspect in an entry dedicated to eighteenth-century editing in *Słownik literatury polskiego oświecenia* (Eng. *the Dictionary of Polish Enlightenment Literature*)³⁶. The anecdote recounted by J.A. Załuski is often regarded as colourful, serving as an illustration of a proofreader hired by the Leipzig printing house for the edition of Jan Długosz’s works from 1711–1712. Allegedly motivated by antipathy towards Catholicism, this individual purportedly inserted malicious and compromising additions, including descriptions of the appearance

32 As stated in *Apologia...*, “prywatna industria i ochota łatwy i bezpieczny przykładem obcych krajów wynalazła sposób” to implement the project (subscription).

33 P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, op. cit., p. 92. The author highlights, however, that the publication mode of *Volumina Legum* was less official compared to the Dogiel’s *Codex*. This contrast was inevitable, considering that the primary source of international legal documentation was securely housed in the Archives of the Crown Treasury.

34 As cited in S. Roszak, op. cit., p. 145. Stanisław Konarski attributed the “error” regarding Olkiennice to his prolonged “niebytnością [...] więcej jak od roku w Warszawie”, as conveyed in his correspondence to J.S. Sapieha, September 2, 1740, *Listy...*, p. 197. The cause was purportedly negligence in supervision by the prefect of the printing house, Walenty Kamiński. See: K. Korotajowa, *Przeobrażenia organizacyjne warszawskich zakładów drukarskich w okresie staropolskim*, “Roczniki Biblioteczne” 1985, vol. 29, pp. 159–160; K. Korotajowa, *Działalność wydawnicza...*, pp. 15, 40.

35 Author of the entry *Edytorstwo* (Eng. *editing*), [in:] *Słownik literatury staropolskiej* (Eng. *the Dictionary of Old Polish Literature*), ed. by T. Michałowska with the participation of B. Otwinowska and E. Sarnowska-Temierusz, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 2002, p. 183–186.

36 Ed. by T. Kostkiewiczowa, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1991, p. 89.

of figures such as the Bishop of Chełm, Jan Kraska Tarnowski, with a focus on his unique masculine qualities³⁷.

Following this incident, the Piarists assumed supervision over the inventory of parliamentary constitutions, especially comprehensive general inventories that required special attention and substantive understanding. This responsibility was handled by individuals such as Arnolf Kazimierz Żeglicki, Teodor Waga, and Teodor Ostrowski³⁸. Thorough corrections of inventories continued even after publication, as evidenced by a recent detailed analysis by Maciej Dariusz Kossowski³⁹. While some errors were rectified through errata in a volume, the majority of remaining errors were noted on a special copy for use in subsequent editions of the index guide.

In the spirit of analogous civic endeavours, around the middle of the century, efforts were undertaken to establish a mechanism for disseminating information about new books. This initiative entailed a grassroots, voluntary

37 *Ioannis Dlugossi seu Longini... Historiae Polonicae libri XII... cum praefatione Henrici L.B. ab Huyssen*, vol. 2, Lipsia 1712, p. 293: "Vir mansueti ingenii, pacificus, et modestus, obessus corpore, et crassus, capite calvus, priapo magnus"; J.A. Załuski, *Biblioteka...*, p. 21: "studencik, półgłówek co poprawy pilnował, z nienawiści naszej religii, przychwasty poprzyszywał głupie".

38 Ostrowski undertook the preparation of the inventory during the reign of Stanisław Poniatowski at the direct request of the king himself, who, in 1778 "nad podziw rzucił się do wertowania konstytucji. Chce je mieć po wszystkich swoich rezydencjach i teraz do Łazienek egzemplarz kupić kazał, a że w drukarni konstytucji elekcyjnej nie stało, oddrukować ją kosztem swoim przyrzekł". Consequently, volumes 7 and 8 of *Volumina Legum* likely became part of Stanisław August's immediate political agenda. Ostrowski presented the completed inventory to the king in 1779, and in recognition of his efforts, he was awarded the Merentibus medal. T. Ostrowski, *Poufne wieści z oświeconej Warszawy. Gazetki pisane z roku 1782*, ed. and introduction by R. Kaleta, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1972, pp. 20–21. At that time, Filip Zdziełowski held the position of Prefect of the Printing House. The mysterious co-publisher (?) of *Volumina Legum* is identified as "Stankowicz". Szymon Bielski, in a note mentioned by K. Estreicher, wrote: "Prawa i konstytucje Królestwa Polskiego i W.X. Litewskiego przez Stankowicza zebrane tomów VIII od roku 1347 do 1780". (*Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Regii Varsavienis Clericorum Regularium Scholarum Piarum renovatus*, Varsavia 1822, p. 245). There is, however, no Piarist with this surname in the order's records in the Piarists' Archives in Krakow, nor in the materials of Ludwik Chmaj, nor in studies documenting distinguished Piarists, including Bielski's *Vita et scripta*. The explanation for this discrepancy could be as follows: it may have been an astonishing mistake made by some of Bielski's assistants, who, in 1822 (when Bielski was 77 years old), were completing the catalog based on the work of A. Horányi (*Scriptores Piarum Scholarum*, vol. 2, Buda 1809, pp. 716–717). They may have confused the translator and publisher of Konarski's works, Urban Michał Szostowicz, with the Hungarian Piarist Mikołaj Franciszek Stankowits?, who was listed directly adjacent to him. The volumes of *Volumina Legum* from the edition in 1782 did not require any special "collecting" efforts. Szostowicz remained in Warsaw during the years 1773–1782. For information on Szostowicz in the literary community, see T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Poeci ze środowiska pijarskiego w wieku oświecenia – rekonstruans*, [in:] *Wkład pijarów do nauki i kultury w Polsce XVII–XIX w.*, ed. by I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, Warszawa – Kraków 1993, pp. 76–78, 83–86.

39 M.D. Kossowski, "Inwentarz praw polskich" Kazimierza Arnolfa Żeglickiego z adiustacją druku, "Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej" 2017, vol. 48, pp. 263–297.

iteration of the compulsory copy system, wherein printing houses assumed a pivotal role, also parallel with their own interests. Such a role represented an additional function of printers, one that was uncommon for the era but aligns with contemporary practices. Let us recall the contents of Załuski's renowned advertisement, published in November 1753 in "Kurier Polski": wherein the prefects of printing houses were requested to deliver a copy to the Załuski Library and its librarian, Priest Canon Jan Daniel Janocki, was responsible for advertising information about them in newspapers and submitting them for review in a magazine published in Warsaw by Wawrzyniec Mitzler⁴⁰. That circulation of bibliographic information fostered an environment where authors or publishers could anticipate an augmented demand for their works, while the Załuski Library acquired a new source of books at minimal cost. The magazine "Warschauer Bibliothek" and the advertisement section of "Kurier Polski" were designated as intermediaries between the author, the printing house, and the readership, including foreign audiences. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that Załuski issued an appeal to printers to furnish bibliographic information to the Library in "Kurier Polski" on May 12, 1745, and on February 9, 1746, requested to be kept informed about developments in Warsaw newspapers⁴¹. The project initiated in 1753 underwent a gradual maturation process. The analysis of advertisements and reviews reveals that the system operated efficiently in 1754. However, in the subsequent years, the absence of the Crown Referendary, who departed for France from 1755 to 1758, significantly diminished its effectiveness⁴². Eventually, the third element of the system (although not the most

40 "Kurier Polski", 14.09.1753: "Są upraszani Ichmć PP czy XX Prefekci Drukarni, aby odtąd, kiedy co spod ich prasy do druku wyjdzie, egzemplarz jeden do Biblioteki przesłać raczyli, której Prefekt Imć X. kanonik Janocki będzie miał staranie o tym, żeby w publiczną była włożona Gazetę i oraz przesłany egzemplarz komunikować Imci Doktorowi Mitzlerowi, który wydał już pierwszy tom *Diarii Eruditorum Varsaviensis* i dalej kwartałami kontynuować będzie, aby tak i za granicą wiadano, co też nasi Polacy kiedy niekiedy do druku podają [...]". See also: J. Kozłowski, *Szkice o dziejach Biblioteki Załuskich*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1986, pp. 34–36.

41 J. Szczepaniec, *Obowiązkowy egzemplarz biblioteczny w Polsce w drugiej połowie XVIII w.*, "Rocznik Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich" 1957, vol. 5, pp. 352–355.

42 S. Roszak compared the number of individuals sending and receiving publications from J.A. Załuski for the years 1743–1760. According to his analysis, the year 1747 stands out as having the highest activity, followed by 1755. Subsequently, the year 1750 along with 1752, and finally 1748, coupled with 1758 in terms of activity levels. S. Roszak, *Środowisko intelektualne i artystyczne Warszawy w połowie XVIII w. Między kulturą sarmatyzmu i oświecenia*, Toruń 1997, p. 113. This suggests that the system described above had a more official and broader public character compared to the scope of exchange of publications among Załuski's regular correspondents. However, it is worth noting that there was likely a significant overlap between these two circles.

Precise summaries of press advertisements of the time are contained in the publication: S. Grzeszczuk, D. Hombek, *Książka polska w ogłoszeniach prasowych. Źródła*, vol. 4, part 1: *Od "Nowin Polskich" do "Kurieru Warszawskiego" 1729–1764*, ed. by Z. Goliński, Kraków 2000.

vital), the Warsaw “gelehrte Zeitschriften” intended for both domestic and foreign audiences, and connected to varying degrees with the Załuski Library, ceased to exist⁴³.

The main editor, Wawrzyniec Mitzler de Kolof, secured the privilege from King Augustus III on December 9, 1754 to establish a printing house in Warsaw. However, it wasn’t until more than two years later, in May 1757, that the printing house commenced its operations⁴⁴. Detailed accounts of Wawrzyniec Mitzler de Kolof’s activities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth shed light on his endeavours. As a graduate of Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Erfurt universities, Mitzler de Kolof exemplified a trend among educated graduates of Saxon universities⁴⁵ who sought opportunities and careers in the East during that era. However, the common denominator of Mitzler’s activities tends to be underestimated, posing challenges as regards its accurate interpretation. In a recent analysis by Lutz Felbick, the multifaceted career of Mitzler de Kolof was examined, with a particular focus on his musical accomplishments and musicological perspectives, including his philosophy of music. Felbick underscored Mitzler’s remarkable professional versatility and transitions, which encompassed diverse roles such as composer, musicologist, founder of a correspondence music society, proprietor of a music bookstore, and lecturer in Leipzig, but also a home teacher conducting geological research and chemical experiments, a secretary and librarian in Końskie at the Małachowski family, editor of Warsaw periodicals, editor of Polish historical sources, royal historiographer, as well as a court counselor and doctor, along with Warsaw bookseller and printer. Contrary to the notion that Mitzler’s various pursuits resulted from consecutive failures, Felbick emphasized that Mitzler consistently regarded his

43 J. Kurkowski, *Warszawskie...*, pp. 109–111. In the papers of J.A. Jabłonowski, there is a settlement from 1760 with Mitzler for “Acta Litteraria,” which includes a demand to complete the 1756 yearbook (trimester 4) and “obligację na 3 lata” [3 yearbooks?]. Jabłonowski added: “dam tedy na 1760 rok”. At the same time, he anticipated that “JP Konsyliarz Mitzler zapieczętowany da mu projekt jak *perpetue* utrzymać «Acta Litteraria», ale *fundum* obmyśli, nie co rok”. National Science Library in Lvov, fond 103, division IX, folder 152, part 2, c. 40–40v. As we know, only the fourth trimester of the 1756 yearbook was completed and it was published on the bookstore market as late as on December 10, 1763 (the preceding one was advertised on August 22, 1759).

44 *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 216. From 1736 onward, Mitzler operated his own type foundry. Prior to establishing a printing house in Warsaw, he served as an intermediary for orders from Leipzig printers. Cf. e.g. the case of printing the work of Holy Sepulcher Wacław Muratowicz — J. Kurkowski, op. cit., pp. 117–118, 142.

45 How the term “Saxon universities” was understood at that time and why they represented a fairly uniform type of education, see G. Mühlpfordt, *Die “Sächsischen Universitäten” Leipzig, Jena, Halle und Wittenberg als Vorhut der deutschen Aufklärung*, [in:] *Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte in Sachsen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Nationale und Internationale Wechselwirkung und Ausstrahlung*, herausgegeben von K. Czok, Berlin 1987, pp. 26–27.

musical and musicological endeavours as secondary activities⁴⁶. It is indeed challenging to categorize Mitzler de Kolof as a philosopher in the contemporary sense. He exhibited a marked reluctance to formulate original theoretical frameworks. Mitzler labelled himself as the “apostle of Wolff’s philosophy”, however, Mitzler’s allegiance to Wolff’s philosophy was more akin to a broader philosophical worldview characterized by a quest for comprehensive knowledge and truth across all domains of inquiry. This approach, often termed “christliche Weltweiser”, sought to apply a uniform research methodology rooted in the logical rigour of mathematics to explore various facets of life and knowledge. Lutz Felbick aptly describes Mitzler’s approach as that of a “Universalgelehrter”⁴⁷, emphasizing the universality of his methodological approach, deductive reasoning and the systematic analysis of reality rather than deep dives into diverse fields of study. After *De usu atque praestantia philosophiae in theologia, iurisprudentia, medicina*’s publication in 1736, Mitzler’s primary focus gradually shifted towards the pragmatic application of philosophy, seeking to validate theoretical tenets through practical implementation. The overarching objective was the amelioration of societal conditions and the enhancement of the quality of life for all individuals, a pursuit characterized by the propagation of truth and the advancement of universal happiness, as articulated by Wolff’s adherents in Leipzig. It is pertinent to underscore the notion of influence and enlightenment emanating from the upper echelons of society, emblematic of the early Enlightenment circles in Saxony, notably championed by Mitzler’s mentor, confidant, and correspondent, Johann Christoph Gottsched⁴⁸. Within such a milieu, the establishment of a proprietary printing press, facilitated by the generous patronage of the Grand Chancellor of the Crown, Jan Małachowski, held paramount significance. This venture not only afforded access to influential circles within the court of King Augustus III but also promised active engagement in the publishing initiatives of the prestigious Żałuski Library, thereby serving as a pivotal conduit for effective communication with the intended audience⁴⁹. As correctly observed by Felbick, following the inception of the

46 L. Felbick, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler de Kolof – Schüler Bachs und pythagoreischer “Apostel der Wolffschen Philosophie”*, Hildesheim 2012, p. 84.

47 L. Felbick, *Der Universalgelehrte Lorenz Christoph Mizler (1711–1778)*, “Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki” 2012, vol. 3/4 (57), pp. 89–104.

48 Gottsched came to this concept over time, see J. Jarzęcka, *Życie umysłowe w Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1729–1762 w świetle listów z Polski do Gottscheda i poloników występujących na łamach jego czasopism*, “Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej” 1980, publishing series A, vol. 15, p. 86.

49 Andrzej Stanisław Żałuski had already conceived the idea of establishing printing houses and bookstores “ad usum publici” in Krakow and Warsaw as early as the 1940s. Cf. e.g. letters of A.S. Żałuski to J.A. Żałuski of January 25 and November 30, 1753, manuscript BN III 3253. Despite

printing house, Mitzler directed his efforts primarily towards its operation, thereby constraining his engagement in other spheres of activity⁵⁰.

The quantitative records documenting the output of the Mitzler publishing house alone inadequately capture the nuanced character of its activity. Upon meticulous examination, discernible indications of contemporary political engagement emerge, evidently influenced by figures such as Chancellor Małachowski⁵¹. An illustrative instance is found in the subsequent edition of Stanisław Duńczewski's *Traktat o starostwach*, released in 1758, which notably aligns with the dispute over Rokitno. The inclusion of a preface, featuring a distinct commitment from the Mitzler printing house, alongside the didactic reprints of oaths sworn by state officials before the king (ranging from chancellors to the crown translator of oriental languages), suggests the substantive involvement of the proprietor of the publishing enterprise⁵². Consequently, it is unsurprising that within *Respons na refleksyje o władzy kanclerskiej i sądowej jurysdykcji jego in publicum wydanym* published by the faction of Crown Court Marshal Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech, Mitzler emerges as a principal antagonist⁵³.

Over the course of his career, he increasingly intertwined contemporary political affairs with his typographic pursuits. In 1770, he faced a punishment of two weeks' confinement in the tower and a fine due to the publication of issue 21 of "Monitor", which contained satirical content targeting the Krasiński

the correspondence indicating the dispatch of equipment for the establishment of a printing facility in Warsaw, the actualization of this plan did not materialize. According to Roszak, the main impediment stemmed from the excessively stringent requirements imposed on the prospective director of the printing house. S. Roszak, op. cit., p. 98; J. Kozłowski, op. cit., pp. 98–99.

⁵⁰ L. Felbick, op. cit., p. 95.

⁵¹ Already from Końskie he wrote to J.Ch. Gottsched (June 24, 1743) that Małachowski "in einen wichtigen Reichsachen mitgebrauchen wollen". He had been visiting Małachowski since at least May 9. See H. Lemke, *Lorenz Mitzlers Anfänge in Polen*, [in:] *Deutsch-slawische Wechselseitigkeit in sieben Jahrhunderten*, Festschrift für E. Winter, Berlin 1956, pp. 276–277; W. Mitzler to J.A. Załuski, Końskie, Juni 3, 1759 — manuscript BN III 3259.

⁵² About this case see: J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 142–143. J.E. Minasowicz to J.A. Załuski, April 26, 1758, manuscript BN III 3258: "Z drukarni mitzlerowskiej w tych dniach wychodzi in lucem księga in plus minus alphabet zawierająca, kosztem kanclerza w. k. wydana sub schemate «Traktat o starostwach» [...] Korrekty na rekwizycję edytora dopilnowałem i prefacyję polską z tytułem ułożyłem". "Acta Litteraria Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae" 1756, trimester 2 (on sale from Juni 5, 1758), p. 148.

⁵³ See manuscript of the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Art and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow, sign. 311, c 94v. In response to the dissemination of *Projekt* on the Chancellor's judicial authority within Warsaw, particularly amidst the discord between Małachowski and Mniszech, an inquiry surfaced: "Radbym się nauczył, z którego prawa i konstytucji ten p. Mitzler ten punkt przysięgi wyczytał, bo każdy assessor nie kanclerzowi, ani podkanclerzemu fidelitatem poprzysięga, ale prawu i sprawiedliwości". For more information, see: J. Kurkowski, op. cit., pp. 209, 234, 247, 255.

family⁵⁴. Subsequently, in 1774, he encountered the threat of legal proceedings for printing lampoons directed at Adam Poniński⁵⁵. Moreover, he actively engaged in polemics concerning the Gdańsk “Zulage”, steadfastly advocating for the rights of the royal court⁵⁶. During Stanisław August’s reign, Mitzler fervently advocated for the rights of dissidents, triggering a parliamentary inquiry into his printing house’s operations in November 1766. Moreover, in 1769, the edition featuring a discourse on tolerance, titled *Kopia responsu Króla IMci Pruskiego do jednego z wodzów konfederacji polskich*, was confiscated⁵⁷.

However, paramount significance should be attributed to Mitzler’s journalistic threads concerning the flaws within the political and social system of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Remarkably, the opportunity for direct commentary on contemporary affairs was facilitated by Mitzler’s involvement in the program dedicated to editing historical sources on the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, formulated by J.A. Załuski. Leveraging this program, which referred to European models of erudite humanities, Mitzler espoused journalistic discourse inspired by the “Siècle des Lumières”, advocating for an enlightened monarchy characterized by strong royal authority, predicated upon humane principles of natural law, religious tolerance, and harmonious societal collaboration to attain universal prosperity and happiness⁵⁸. The philosophical underpinnings of Mitzler’s advocacy were rooted in Wolff’s rationalistic and pragmatic philosophy, which systematized various scientific disciplines and their methodologies. Subsequently, Mitzler’s journalistic pursuits primarily centered on Polish-language periodicals, notably the publication of “Monitor” during the years 1769–1776. This attitude adopted by the publicist-reformer – a Lutheran and a foreigner outside the country’s elite, with an adherence to Wolffian scholarship – gave rise to significant tensions in his interactions with the institutions, political entities, and intellectual circles of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, united with Saxony. Gottlieb Enoch Jonisch and Jan Daniel Janocki voiced critical opinions regarding Mitzler’s editorial commentaries, advocating for erudite, comprehensive, and maximally objective historiography devoid of contemporary political biases and journalistic

54 It is highly probable that it was authored by Gracjan Piotrowski. E. Aleksandrowska, *Relacje Jana Heynego, agenta księcia Ksawerego Saskiego, o “Monitorze” (1765–1770)*, “Pamiętnik Literacki” 1976, vol. 67, no. 3, pp. 186–187; “Wiadomości Warszawskie”, 04.04.1770, no. 28, *Suplement*.

55 E. Aleksandrowska, *Wawrzyniec Mitzler de Kolof (1711–1778)*, [in:] *Pisarze polskiego Oświecenia*, ed. by T. Kostkiewiczowa, Z. Goliński, vol. 1, Warszawa 1992, p. 179.

56 W. Konopczyński, *Mrok i świat. Studia historyczne*, Warszawa 1911, pp. 225–226.

57 J. Kurkowski, op. cit., pp. 121, 143; E. Aleksandrowska, op. cit., pp. 178–179. See also: J.B. Wessel to J.A. Załuski, April 3, 1767, manuscript BN III 3267: “Słyszałem też, że u pana Mitzlera drukowane być mają deklaracja dworu rosyjskiego i list Panina nawet i po polsku”.

58 More on this subject: J. Kurkowski, op. cit., pp. 197–241, 245–258.

influences⁵⁹. A reference within Janocki's draft letter indicates the circulation of an unpublished "admonitio" in Warsaw in 1756 (written also in Polish), which scrutinized Mitzler's activities and portrayed him as a false critic of the Polish nation⁶⁰. Notably, the Wrocław bookseller and publisher Johann Jacob Korn regarded Mitzler as a "charlatan" and terminated correspondence with him on these grounds⁶¹. In 1759, the Court Marshal expressed a desire to bring Mitzler to "absolument faire le procès" for summarizing Maurycy Saski's argument on the vulnerability of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the "Nowe Wiadomości Ekonomiczne i Uczone", "mais les autres sénateurs ont dit, que j'ai bien fait et que je mérite plutôt des récompenses que de punition"⁶². Furthermore, objections were raised by Mitzler's magnate patrons, including Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski, the Załuski brothers, and Jan Małachowski⁶³. In 1761, the latter recommended Mitzler's case to the Crown Referendary, emphasizing that Mitzler's actions were not motivated by conscious wrongdoing but rather by a lack of consultation "ad superiores in materia status", therefore on matters beyond his expertise⁶⁴. It pertains to footnote 132 in the first volume of *Historiarum Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae scriptorum... collectio magna*, with a commentary on Russia's pivotal role in determining the throne's succession in Courland⁶⁵. Noteworthy is Primate Władysław Łubieński's address

59 J. Kurkowski, op. cit., pp. 225–226.

60 J.D. Janocki to J.A. Załuski? A.S. Grabowski? August 19, 1756, The National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg, (BN microfilm, ref. no. 15996); J. Kurkowski, op. cit., p. 225.

61 J.J. Korn to J.D. Janocki, February 3, 1755: "Mitzler ist in meinem Urtheil schon lange ein Charlatan gewesen, ich [habe] daherr schon von verschiedenen Jahren alle Correspondenz mit ihm unterbrochen", manuscript BN III 3274.

62 Subsequently, Mitzler articulated his desire to enter into polemical discourse with Maurycy Saski's text, albeit with the caveat of avoiding any measures that might perturb the court or the minister. W. Konopczyński, op. cit., p. 402 (note 170). See also: M. Klimowicz, *Polsko-niemieckie pogranicza literackie w XVIII wieku. Problemy uczestnictwa w dwu kulturach*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1998, pp. 32–33.

63 J. Kurkowski, op. cit., pp. 116–117, 121, 141, 143, 208–209, 225–226; H. Lemke, *Die Brüder...*, pp. 140–148; P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, op. cit., pp. 134–138. See also e.g. J.E. Minasowicz to J.A. Załuski April 15, 1762, manuscript BN III 3262: "Według rozkazu zleconego byłem natychmiast u Imć P. Mitzlera i punkt listu stosujący się do niego zupełnie onemu przeczytałem, obiecał wszystko accurate wypełnić in omnium punctis, clausulis, articulis; wyjąwszy artykuły wiary katolickiej, co kiedy ekscypuje, jakoby nic nie uczynił, ale podobno nec dum hora veniti — sinite eos crescere usque ad messem". Evidently, Minasowicz harbored doubts regarding the innocence of the proprietor of the printing house.

64 J. Małachowski to J.A. Załuski, March 18, 1761, manuscript BN III 3261.

65 Varsavia 1761, p. 476. It was about note: "Iam non illa Livonia pars ad Polonia pertinet, quae regis Vladislai IV tempore pertinuit. Iam non tres Polonia habet clientes fiduciaros, quos Vasallos vulgo dicunt, sed tantum unicum, Curlandiae ducem, nunc serenissimum Carolum, Augusti III indulgentissimi patriae patris filium dignissimum, qui tamen, ut dicam ut res est, Augustissimae Elisabethae, omnium Russorum imperatricis, gratia magis hunc ducatum, quam Polonorum beneficio

during the Senate council on October 25, 1762, wherein he advocated for the endorsement of Mitzler's editorial endeavors by the senators' benevolence, stressing the imperative of subjecting them to censorship and approval prior to publication⁶⁶.

Meanwhile, the proprietor of the printing house actively engaged in pivotal polemics pertinent to the nation's interests. Notably, amidst discussions on Konarski's treatise *O skutecznym rad sposobie*, he undertook the translation of the work into German⁶⁷. Moreover, he also printed *Opisanie krótkie niektórych interesów Najjaśniejszej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* regarding parliamentary governance and avenues for its amelioration, garnering acclaim from a reviewer in Toruń⁶⁸. Against the backdrop of concerted efforts to enhance the monetary system, catalysed by the Grand Treasurer of the Crown, Teodor Wessel, the proprietor produced a comprehensive study titled *Historia numismatica Poloniae*⁶⁹. In 1773, through a series of articles featured in "Monitor" entitled *O uszczęśliwieniu Polski*, he articulated an expansive blueprint for political, social, and cultural reforms and initiatives envisaged to effectuate transformative change⁷⁰. Subsequently, in 1776, within the series entitled *O umniejszeniu nędzy ludzkiej*, Mitzler contributed to discussions concerning the humanization of criminal law, deliberated upon during sessions of the Sejm⁷¹.

These instances serve as illustrative vignettes substantiating the thesis of the ideological commitment of the Mitzler printing house. Beyond its conventional commercial pursuits, the establishment endeavoured, to the best of its ability, to discharge the distinctive mission of an "enlightened" printing press—a primary

obtinuit". It is noteworthy to include that Mitzler extensively promoted his publishing house internationally, cf. e.g. "Altonaischer Mercurius", 19.05.1761, p. 3 (Warschau, vom 9 May); J. Jarzęcka, *Obraz życia umysłowego Rzeczypospolitej doby saskiej w świetle wybranych lipskich czasopism naukowych (1710–1762)*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 138–139.

66 Manuscript of the University of Warsaw Library, sign. 115, vol. 2, p. 123.

67 Despite undertaking this task upon the directives of the court of Augustus III, the first two parts of the translation were ultimately published (*Von einem nützlichen Mittel zum Bestande der ordentlichen Reichstäge in Pohlen*). E. Aleksandrowska, op. cit., p. 176; *Drukarze...*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 222. See also: J.E. Minasowicz to J.A. Załuski, April 15, 1762, manuscript BN III 3262: "teraz [Mitzler] tłumaczy niemczyzną z dyspozycji dworu dyssertacyję X Konarskiego o sposobie stanowienia sejmów, która w różnych umysłach różne tu sprawiła skutki, jedni ją jako bezprawie wolności czyniącą ganią i z autorem potępiają, drudzy bronią, aprobują i dziełem doskonałym rozumnego patryjoty byćdź sądzą, zgoda *quot capita, tot sensus*".

68 "Thornische Nachrichten von gelehrten Sachen", 15.06.1765.

69 J.A. Załuski, *Cała Polska...*, manuscript BN II 3209, c 174; J.A. Załuski, *Biblioteka...*, p. 89.

70 "Monitor" 1773, no. 56–72; E. Aleksandrowska, op. cit., p. 177.

71 J. Kasprzyk, *Recepcja literatury niemieckiej w czasopismach polskiego Oświecenia*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici", Filologia Polska XXX, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, 178, 1987, pp. 17–20.

conduit for the dissemination of the reformist ideals espoused by its proprietor and prefect. Noteworthy is the precedent set by select Warsaw printers in the 18th century, who assumed multifaceted roles as editors, authors, public law experts, scientists, politicians, and publicists, leveraging their publishing houses as platforms for active engagement across diverse domains typically unconventional for typographers.

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